The Mantle Dancer in the Hellenistic Period: Glorification of the Himation*

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*T*his article focuses on the continuity and change in artistic representations of the female veiled dancer in the Hellenistic period, compared to Classical originals and neo-Attic copies. I shall refer to this type of dancer as the "mantle dancer", a term coined by previous researchers in the field.[1] The mantle dance as a specific category is not mentioned in those ancient sources that attest to the existence of several kinds of dance in ancient Greece, though it has on occasion been related to the *baukismos* dance mentioned by Pollux.[2] Knowledge on this dance is therefore based mainly on its abundant portrayal in works of art.

The function and meaning of the mantle dance, though not completely clear, can be related to various contexts: religious, cultic, theatrical and popular. Thus, the scope of the artistic depictions comprises both cultic figurines and votive reliefs depicting Nymphs, Horai, Charites and Hesperides, as well as representations of professional dancers. Differentiation among representations of these divinities in works of art is often vague, and based mainly on their attire and attributes, the context of the scene and the accompanying figures. Identification becomes even more difficult in works by neo-Attic artists, who used to adapt and transform figures to suit them to other media and different artistic purposes, such as the production of serial reliefs. Though literary sources frequently refer to the Nymphs, Horai, Charites and Hesperides, with a profusion of detail concerning their attributes, nature and functions, and with emphasis on their dancing, visual representations reflect the literary concepts only to a very limited degree. Personifications of these charming goddesses in the visual arts are known mainly from descriptions of lost ancient representations and a few painted vases, such as the Francois krater.[3] Another

important source, which may have influenced the visual arts, is related to the seasonal festivities and pageants, which included dancing and theatrical processions.[4]

The attire worn by all performers of the mantle dance is similar: an ample cloak, enwrapping the body and on some occasions drawn closely over the head, or covering the lower part of the face as well, leaving only the eyes unveiled. This mantle, which is often depicted as extremely thin and transparent, and worn over a long full *chiton*, becomes the most expressive component of the composition, both concealing and revealing the bodily shape and identity of the dancer.

The works of art that refer to this dance portray female dancers, mainly in relief and round sculpture, appearing in small groups or as solo performers. Some painted vases also depict mantle dancers, such as the red-figure Apulian *pelike*, in Copenhagen (Fig. 1).[5] The crowded, sophisticated composition decorating this *pelike* includes in the upper zone a richly clad and veiled mantle dancer, performing to musical accompaniment provided by *auloi, lyra*, *xylophon* and harp players. The rhythm of her dancing appears swift and impetuous and comprises large and well defined movements, such as the throwing of the head backwards and the lifting of the right elbow towards the head. Her embroidered drapery, which includes a *himation* and a *chlamys* covering her head, mouth and nose, sweeps in large, undulating folds behind her and is clearly differentiated from the plain *chiton* worn by the musical performers.

As will be seen in the following examples, illustrations of the mantle dance comprise a wide range of movement motifs, from poised and rather static stances, to animated spinning motions performed while standing on the toes, and many sophisticated gestures with the mantle. The strong appeal these dancers must have had in reality, and which may have influenced their popularity in art, seems related to their potential to create a broad range of expressions and emotions, and hold the interest of the audience by means of their concealment. In this sense, the main instrument of the dance - the mantle - may be considered as an attribute, performing the role of a mask. I consider this idea to be fully developed in the bronze statuette known as the Baker Dancer (Fig. 14),[6] who is depicted wearing an *himation* that completely enfolds her body, head and face, so that only the eyes are visible. A similar concept can be found in the cloak of the Hellenistic actor, a cloak that did not so much mould the body as conceal it, suggesting that it covered a hidden psyche.[7]

The covering of head and hands has been interpreted by most researchers in terms of both an "oriental" custom, and as reflecting the fashion worn by

Fig. 1:   Mantle dancer and musicians, red figured *pelike* (after Wegner 1949, Pl. 24).

Greek matrons in public.[8] With regard to the veiling of women's faces, an Assyrian Code of about 1500 BCE, published by Jastrow,[9] shows that the original intention of this custom was to distinguish between married women, harlots and unmarried women.[10] To what extent can this Assyrian regulation be applied to women in ancient Greece? As far as we know, courtesans in Athens had no recognizable uniform.[11] Nevertheless, Plutarch too states that the veiling had the purpose of protecting married women from the eyes of strangers,[12] and a traveller of the 3rd century BCE quotes Herakleides Kritikos, who mentions that Theban women wrap their head in such a manner that only the eyes remain uncovered.[13] It seems that the habit of wearing a fold of the *himation* as covering for the head was occasional and prescribed more by convention than by law. We find women veiling their faces in various circumstances, such as in a gesture of mourning and sorrow (e.g. the "Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women" in Constantinople[14] and the figure of Auge on the Telephos frieze of the Pergamon Altar[15]), in depictions of brides,[16] and as protection in cold weather.[17] Similarly, the significance of the veiling in depictions of the mantle dance is in some instances religious and cultic,[18] while in others it serves as a means to enhance the sense of mystery behind the veil, emphasizing the hidden attractiveness of the performer.

The motif of covering the hands with the *himation* is also used in different connotations, both lay and religious. Several painted vases dated to the 5th century BCE depict Bacchic nymphs wearing a long, fluttering *peplos* with wide sleeves, which completely cover their arms and hands.[19] The shape of these sleeves resembles wings,[20] and they seem to belong to a ritual dance. A different example of cultic hand veiling can be found in a Roman relief that depicts a religious procession.[21]

With regard to mantle dancers in the Hellenistic period, in some instances – such as figurines found in sanctuaries – the meaning of the hand covering seems to be cultic,[22] while in others it is clearly used for the sake of its artistic appeal. The motif of holding the drapery under the covered hand became extremely popular in Hellenistic sculpture, and appeared for the first time in several female draped figures dated to the end of the 4th century BCE.[23] By means of gathering, stretching and lifting the material upwards and forwards, the structure of the folds is altered, and new foci are created, which do not depend on the movement or rhythm of the body.[24]

The veiling of the head, face and hands appears to be related to traditional rules of purity, which reflect the fear of offending the gods through touching or contaminating a sacred place or object.[25] Many acts and devices designed to keep away and to expel evil, unclean powers formed part of the belief in the magic or demoniac force of uncleanness. This belief originated numerous apotropaic-cathartic provisions directed towards the enhancement of purity and the frightening of demons, such as washing hands and wearing a clean garment, dancing and playing loud music, etc.[26]

Another feature, which has also been interpreted as apotropaic, is that of a high conic peak of hair or peaked hood, which forms part of the attire of Hellenistic terracotta mantle dancers from Troy and Cyprus. These figurines are also heavily veiled, to the point that we only see their eyes, and their origin has been interpreted as Oriental, mainly on account of their hairstyle, which displays a conic hood (Fig. 2).[27]

The leading artistic motif of the dance, the long, wide and enveloping *himation* which appears as a constant attribute of the mantle dancers, may have developed from an original type used to portray winter dances performed during a season festival. Ancient sources mention festivities of this sort in connection with Demeter, Cybele, Dionysus and Adonis.[28] A terracotta figurine from the sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth,[29] which depicts a mantled woman, may be interpreted as pertaining to the cult of the goddess. As described by Mommsen,[30] the original winter feasts were subject to significant changes and possibly

Fig. 2: Cultic dancer, terracotta figurine (after Queyrel 1988, Pl. 32, Fig. 304).

developed into Bacchic rituals. An eventual illustration of these winter festivities is depicted on an Athenian relief calendar, sculptured in marble and illustrated with figures, showing the feasts being celebrated each month.[31] The first upper register on the right side of the calendar represents the feast of the *Maimakteria*,[32] which took place in November / December. The month in question is represented in the above-mentioned calendar by two draped figures. I shall discuss the draped dancing figure depicted by the side of Scorpion (Fig. 3). The dancer is shown performing an agitated movement, leaping off the left foot, which is just touching the ground, while the right foot is raised in the air and bent at the knee. The garment, which completely covers the formless body, arms and head, is very plain and coarse. A long shawl wraps the head and neck, and falls in long, fluttering ends to either side of the body, thus enhancing the impression of swift movement. The main interest of the costume lies in the footwear: short boots, which end above the ankle in free-falling fringes or tassels. These shoes

seem to be some kind of *embades*[33] worn both for daily use and in the context of acting. The *Maimakterion* figure on the calendar in question is plump and graceless, and possibly for this reason it has been interpreted by some scholars as a man disguised as a woman executing a liturgical dance on occasion of the *Maimakterion* feasts.[34] Philostratos tells us of similar veiled dances performed during the *Anthesteria* festivities at Athens in honor of Dionysus.[35] According to this source, veiled men – disguised as Bacchants, Nymphs and Horai – performed dances at the theater in Athens. Pollux too mentions a dance connected to Artemis and performed by disguised men wearing women's clothing and ugly masks.[36] Testimony to the practice of transvestite cultic dancing can be found in a series of Attic vase paintings, which depict bearded dancing male *komasts* dressed up as women.[37]

Fig. 3: Draped dancer, Athenian relief calendar (after DarSag, *s.v.* "Maimakteria", Fig. 4791).

The complete wrapping of the body in a long, enveloping garment and veil was especially appropriate to the spirit of redemptive mystery cults, as can be learned from the portrayal on several Roman sarcophagi and on the Campana reliefs, illustrating some stage of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries. One of these, a sculptured marble urn known as the "Lovatelli urn", depicts three scenes which have been interpreted by some scholars as depicting the rites held for the purification of Herakles.[38] Accordingly, the scene in the middle of the urn is explained as depicting Herakles as *mystes* seated on a stool covered by his lion skin. A long robe envelops his body and completely covers his head. Though our knowledge of the proceedings of the Eleusinian mysteries is quite limited, the significance of the veiling in this case seems to be related to the acts of purification and penitence.[39]

Fig. 4:   Mantle dancers, neo-Attic krater (after Grassinger 1991, Fig. 14).

With regard to the festivities dedicated to Adonis, all the ancient sources mention the orgiastic nature of the cult, which was celebrated by women and included frenetic dancing to the sound of shrill flutes and tambourines.[40] Red-figure vases of the 5th and 4th century BCE, which portray the *Adonities* in great detail, feature female dancing figures of several types, including mantle dancers.[41] It is interesting to note that in the Hellenistic period – due to the tendency to religious syncretism – a fusion occurred amongst several divinities, to the point that Plutarch reports that in his time it was believed that Adonis was Dionysus.[42]

In summary, though there is ample artistic evidence for the existence of a specific type of veiled dance, the so-called mantle dance, the original iconographic type is not known. Some researchers have raised the possibility that the original composition was based on a fresco painting of the 4th century BCE.[43] Nevertheless, the accepted opinion is that the mantle dancer was created from the very beginning specifically for the relief medium, as can be concluded from the surviving copies of these dancers in neo-Attic works or art.[44] It should be noted that neo-Attic artists borrowed their models freely from various ancient sources, their eclectic choice being mainly influenced by their *penchant* for

Fig. 5: Dancing *Hora*, neo-Attic relief (after
LIMC I[2], *s.v.* "Horae", Fig. 9).

adornment. By copying and integrating original works of art into a new decorative system – which differed considerably from the function and meaning of the original works - they contributed to the preservation and reconstitution of lost originals, including representations of the mantle dance.[45]

Reliefs

A neo-Attic krater in the Broadlands Collection[46] displays a decorative frieze, which includes a gathering of the most frequent types of mantle dancers (Fig. 4). One group depicts the archaistic version of the dance of Pan with the Nymphs, followed by three individual mantle dancers in different poses, and four dancing Nymphs. This last group is composed of three maidens, each one holding the end of the *himation* of the dancer in front of her, and one figure dancing on tiptoe. No thematic connection between the different elements of the composition can be found, beyond the fact that all the dancing figures are indistinctly identified as Nymphs. Some of the figures, together with other mantle dancers, appear on the lower frieze from the Tribune of Eshmoun.[47]

Fig. 6: Dancing *Hora*, neo-Attic relief (after
LIMC I[2], s.v. "Horae", Fig. 10).

The individual figures and the groups of dancers that appear in the Tribune also derive from previous works of art,[48] and are considered to be "modernizations of the classical prototypes" which have not survived.[49] Similar figures of mantle dancers continued to be popular in the Hellenistic period[50] and appear in several contexts. Two reliefs found in the Theater of Dionysus in Athens depict mantle dancers that have been identified as Horai or Aglaurides, and formed part of a triad of dancing maidens. The first figure (Fig. 5),[51] dated to the end of the 1st century BCE, is shown in left profile, moving forward in both a dynamic and composed motion. Her head is held very upright and bears a stern, concentrated expression. The part of the *himation* that covered her head has slipped backwards at some point in her dance, and is shown as a thick, elliptical bunch of material swaying loosely behind her neck. Her wavy hair is done up in a knot. She is wrapped in a long and voluminous mantle, which falls in rich and manifold rhythmic patterns. As a result of her dancing, the thin drapery clings to her body and reveals the graceful shape of her breast and legs. Both arms are slightly flexed at the sides of the body, and her hands

Fig. 7: Dancing Nymph, marble altar (after
LIMC VIII[2], *s.v.* "Nymphai", Fig. 32).

grasp the *himation* to permit free movement. The figure is very harmonic and serene, and at the same time displays a dramatic quality which is especially obvious in the deep fan-like folds of the free floating parts of the *himation* at the back. Stylistically, this quality is related to the rhythm of the cloak of Teuthras and his companions in the Telephus frieze,[52] though the pattern of some folds, such as the thick small bunches above the left arm and the almost circular, flat design on the left hip, reflect neo-Attic taste.[53] A similar mantle dancer is depicted on a krater in the Metropolitan Museum in New York,[54] on a triangular base, formerly in the Lateran and now in the Vatican Museum,[55] and on the altar from Mentana, where it appears twice, apparently in connection to Bacchic initiation.[56] An additional relief from the theater of Dionysus in Athens[57] portrays a different type of mantle dancer, mainly characterized by the impressive depiction of the unfolding mantle (Fig. 6). This figure is shown as completing a swift turn, while holding the upper end of the *himation* with her right hand, and performing a diagonal, closed movement with her left arm. The slanting line created by this movement motif, and the elaborate, dynamic pattern of the

Fig. 8:   Pan and dancing Nymphs, votive relief (after Pottier 1881, Pl. 7).

floating drapery, become the focus of the composition. The light material of the mantle seems to react to the dancing steps with an independent counter movement of its own, and thus creates a complex pattern of curved lines and light effects. In contrast with this rapid and energetic movement motif, the features of the face of the dancer are represented as calm, balanced and symmetric, to the point that the relation between the depiction of the head (with its classical traits) and the attire (in neo-Attic style) becomes very slight. Regarding the original model for this figure, it would seem that the multi-dimensional space created by the diagonal movement of the left arm could have been invented only in the mid-4th century BCE.[58] The same dancer appears on the right side of the above-mentioned base in the Vatican (formerly in the Lateran Museum), and on a relief in Palermo.[59]

A further variation of the mantle dancer representation is known mainly from its depiction on a circular marble altar of the Augustan period (Fig. 7).[60] On one side of the altar we see Pan holding a *syrinx* and turning his head toward a female figure identified as a Nymph, wrapped in an ample, light and transparent *himation.* She is stepping forward, lifting her garment with her left, covered hand and holding her right arm flexed at the hip, in a poised, coquette stance. This movement motif appears in late Classical works, such as the votive relief to Hermes and the Nymphs in Berlin,[61] and the relief depicting the Round Dance of Pan and Nymphs in Oxford.[62] Nevertheless, the controlled rhythm and relaxed atmosphere of the early works has been replaced by

Fig. 10: Hermes and dancing Nymphs, votive relief (after *LIMC* I[2], *s.v.* "Acheloos",
Fig. 194).

complex and contrasting elements, such as the emphasized and exaggerated
design of the folds of the *hymation* of the dancer (which is now endowed with
life of its own), and the depiction of her full and high-breasted body, which
appears as almost naked.[63] The device to disclose the nude female body beneath
a light and clinging drapery can be occasionally found in early works of art,
such as the modeling of the breast of the goddess in the scene of the "birth of
Aphrodite" on the Ludovisi throne.[64] Nevertheless, in this and similar works
of art, transparency is mainly used to emphasize the beauty and perfection of
the nude female body. In the Hellenistic period, the use of transparent drapery
became extremely popular, to the point that it has been considered as one of
the hallmarks of the style of this period.[65] Moreover, the purpose of transparency
of the garment is quite different and in many cases – such as in the example
under discussion – it conveys subtle erotic elements, which are implied in the
precise delineation of the full forms of the breast, belly, buttocks and legs of
the dancer.[66]

Additional mantle dancers repeatedly appear on votive reliefs, which depict
three maidens each holding the one in front of her by the end of her *himation* or
clasping her hand.[67] The scene is often represented in a cave, a clear allusion to

the cult of Pan in Athens.[68] The visual depiction of the cave frame originated in Athens round 340 BCE, and became a distinctive mark for Nymph reliefs.[69] A votive relief from Eleusis, dated to the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, depicts three mantle dancers each holding the others by the tail of the *himation* (Fig. 8)*.*[70]On the left side of the *ex-voto* is a large head of *Acheloos* (a bearded old man who personifies the approaching spring, and is the father of the Nymphs) followed by the figure of Pan playing the *syrinx* and three maidens wrapped in their mantles dancing before an altar. This triad forms a closed group, which is given a central position on the relief. Their attire is composed of two garments, which are clearly differentiated: a *chiton* falling in small regular folds, and a full but light *himation*, which loosely enfolds the body. Each figure is presented in a slightly different manner with regard to the draping of the attire and the direction of the dancing. The movement motif shows some variation in the upper part of the figures but similarity in their step: the three maidens proceed in a rhythmic, sedate processional dancing step, which is indicated mainly by the similar positioning of one foot backwards with a raised heel. This artistic formula (originally belonging to the Horai*)* reflects the main characteristics of the goddesses, such as regularity, moderation and joy in dancing.[71] Though the dance proceeds along a parallel line, some illusion of depth and space is suggested by means of the variation in the positioning of the head and body of the dancers.[72] The leader of the dance is depicted in profile, while the second dancer's lowered head is shown in a three-quarter view, and the last dancer turns backwards. The high-relief upper border of the relief, decorated with sheep and goats, also contributes to the sense of a multi-dimensional, real space.[73]

The large number of votive offerings that relate to the cult of Pan and the Nymphs, reflects its extreme popularity in Hellenistic times. Menander deals with the subject in an ironic manner in his comedy "Dyskolos", in which the celebration of the cult of the Nymphs in a nearby shrine is sharply criticized: "These Nymphs are / Nothing but trouble to me, being next door. / I think I'll put my house down, build another / Away from here!-Look how the devils sacrifice? / They bring hampers and wine jars, not to please / the gods, but their own guts."[74]

Later variations of the scheme of three mantle dancers each holding the others by the end of the *himation,* can be found in several examples, such as the reliefs in Rome and Pireus, which depict draped figures proceeding towards a tree that is emerging from a garlanded rock.[75] The inclusion of the tree implies that the Nymphs have been transformed into Hesperides.[76] The character of these
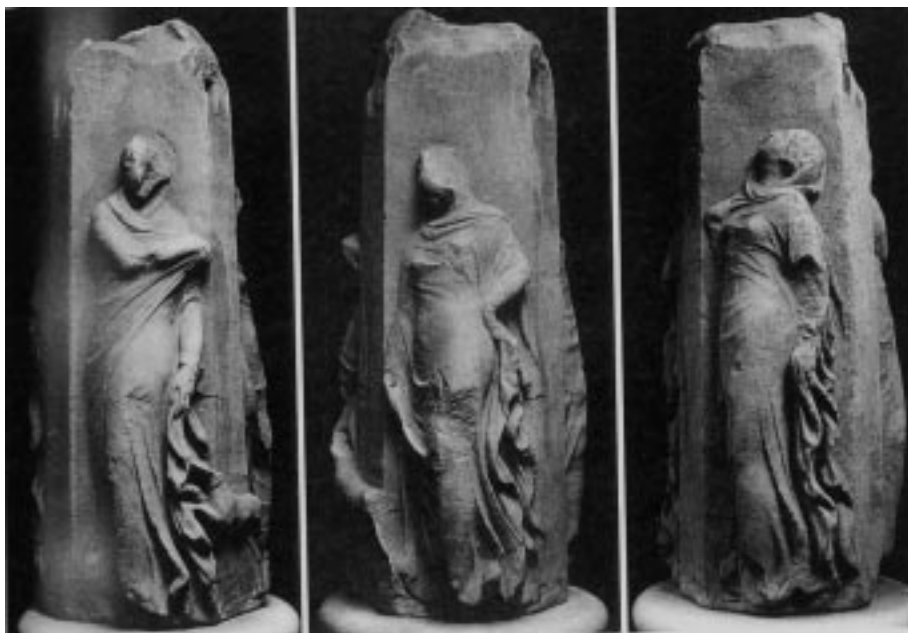
Fig. 10: Dancing *Charites*, marble pillar (after *LIMC* III[2], *s.v.* "Charites", Figs. 31-33).

dancers differs considerably from the earlier reliefs. The shapes have become schematic and ornamental and thus the illusion of depth and roundness that seem to have characterized the original depiction of the dance, is lost.[77] Though the heads of the dancers are turned in different directions and display variations in their headdress, the position of the body and the folds of the drapery are depicted in a uniform, linear rhythm. This and similar reliefs disclose the changes that took place in the original scheme of the dancing Nymphs. The basic composition remains popular and was therefore often copied, but the free borrowing from different artistic sources (Classical and Hellenistic) is dictated by other considerations than the conveyance of classical values related to the depiction of space and fidelity of movement. This new approach is well illustrated in a marble relief from Halicarnassus dated to the second half of the 2nd century BCE,[78] which exhibits a further variation of the dancing triad (Fig. 9). The scene develops parallel to a neutral, hollowed out background, framed by large pillars, which relates to an architectural setting. At the extreme left is *Acheloos*, who is represented here with his usual huge, long-haired bearded head, but in this case he is also given one horn and the forequarters of a bull.[79] The procession of the Nymphs is led by Hermes, wearing a short *chiton* and a

Fig. 11: Nymph dancing before Pan,
marble relief (after Picard
1963, Fig. 485).

chlamys draped on his left shoulder.[80] Both the figure of Hermes and the first Nymph are related to Classical models, whilst the two other Nymphs belong to a different, later tradition: they display elongated proportions, tiny heads and flat draperies. The dancing motion, which is implied in the fluttering drapery of the first Nymph, is contradicted by the static, straight folds depicted in the following Nymphs. Moreover, though all three Nymphs are linked one to the other by the holding of the *himation,* the second and third figures proceed at a different rhythm and pace. Thus, an incongruity is created with regard to the depiction of the eventual movement, which seems to be related to the unimportance of convincingly rendering the relationship between the figures, and as an attempt to create diversity.

Figures of three mantle dancers dancing individually are also to be found on several works of art in the Hellenistic period. The original archetype has not survived, but scholars are of the opinion that it can be reconstructed from those works of art related to this type. In one of these examples, the *Hekataion* from Fiumicino, three dancers decorating the flat faces of a *herm* and are worked in high relief, have been identified as Charites or Nymphs (Fig. 10).[81] Two of

Fig. 12: Three mantle dancers, drawing after
candelabrum base (after Cain 1985, Pl. 91,3).

the figures have suffered severe damage to their faces, and only the third dancer
has survived in a better state. A dog, which represents an attribute of Hekate,
accompanies one of the dancers.[82] Three different and characteristic stances of
the mantle dance are depicted . The performer whose head is complete, is shown
in an attitude of an orgiastic Maenad: her hooded head is thrown backward,
and her breast is arched and twisted in a rather forced manner. Her right arm
is flexed upward and her left is held to the side of the body. Her drapery enwraps
the full form of her body and cascades down behind her, displaying a deliberate
contrast between the clinging *himation* and the fluttering ends of the *chlamys*, a
stylistic trait that appears in all three figures. This specific type also appears on
a round base in Copenhagen,[83] whilst the movement motif of the second dancer
(with bent arm on her hip) is depicted in the statuette known as the "Titieux
Dancer",[84] a terracotta in Leipzig,[85] a figurine in the Greau Collection,[86] and the
amphora Borghese.[87] The type was already known in the 4th century BCE, as
can be seen in a marble depicting a draped and hooded Nymph dancing before
Pan (Fig. 11).[88]The liveliness and richness of the dynamic style of the *Hekataion*
Torlonia differs considerably from the balanced and rational Classical model,
and seems to reflect a late Hellenistic variant of the neo-Attic adaptation of

Fig. 13: Round Dance of Pan and Nymphs, marble relief (after Havelock 1964, Pl. 20, Fig. 14).

this type.[89] The treatment of the drapery follows the late Hellenistic tradition, while other details (such as the exaggerated rhythms of the movement) reveal the neo-Attic trend. Fuchs dates this work to the end of the 2nd century BCE or the early 1st century CE.[90] All three dancers are depicted on a lost candelabrum base, known from a 16th century sketch (Fig. 12),[91] which provides important missing details, such as the heads and feet of the dancers.

Dancing Nymphs also appear on a much repeated composition that depicts the Round Dance of Pan and the Nymphs (Fig. 13).[92] This particular scheme differs from all the previously mentioned compositions, in that it depicts Pan and three Nymphs dancing together in a closed circle around an altar, instead of the usual linear pattern.[93] Each Nymph is represented as performing a different figure of the dance, as can be seen from the depiction of the individual stances and drapery motifs. Emphasis is given to the freedom of movement and spontaneity of dancing, but at the same time the figures are clearly related to one another by the reciprocal response of their motions, which refer both to the central point (the altar) and to the nearest dancer. A number of factors combine to create a clearly perceivable illusionistic space: the graduation of relief depth, variation of the size of the figures and use of foreshortening. The figure of Pan is larger and in higher relief than the Nymph at his left side, and the Nymph furthest from the spectator is in the lowest relief.[94] There is much controversy with regard to the dating of the original Round Dance, and the

Fig. 14: *Baker Dancer*, bronze figurine (after Thompson 1950, Pl. 1).

medium in which it was first created, sculpture or painting. Though formerly attributed to the 4th century BCE, more recent research dates the original composition to the second half of the 3rd century BCE, on account of its three-dimensional character and circular composition.[95] Copies of this lost original work of art are found in a relief in Paris,[96] a relief in Belgrade,[97] and a frieze on a marble amphora in Naples.[98]

Statuettes

A small bronze statuette, known as the *Baker Dancer* (Fig. 14),[99] gives concrete form to the unique character and expressive possibilities of the mantle dancer. This small figurine (20.5 cm. high) depicts a dancer entirely muffled in the act of performing a sophisticated pirouette: she has just lifted her right leg in a crossing movement toward the left, while holding one end of her *himation* in her left hand. Simultaneously, she enfolds herself in her garment up to her mouth by means of a dramatic, sharp-angled motion. Her whole body participates in the many-sided movement, which is composed of contrasting open, closed and diagonal motions, equilibrated by the stresses of the centrifugal force. The transitory pose is stable, balanced and dynamic, as a result of its spiral, pyramidal composition. Thompson, who wrote a comprehensive article on the subject of the *Baker Dancer*, mentions that "the center of gravity and of interest are thus held within the mass, making the figure a coherent unity, as tense as a coiled spring."[100]

The dancer wears a *chiton* and a *himation*, which are described in rich contrasts of texture, weight and mass.[101] The long *chiton* reaches the floor, where it falls in regular, deep and tubular folds, which spread out like a peacock's tail, trailing behind the dancer and balancing the tilted head and the extended forward left arm. The mantle is smooth, shiny, light and transparent. Its diaphanous quality is carefully depicted: the overfold of the *chiton*, as well as

the cord around the waist, show through at the hip.[102] Thus a contrast is created between the horizontal, protruding and diverging folds of the himation and the vertical, deep and parallel folds of the *chiton* worn underneath.[103] The back view shows long fringes, which seem to flutter behind the dancer as a result of her swift turning. These fringes often appear as from the 3rd century BCE, and are especially conspicuous in the above-mentioned frieze of Salagassos.[104] The surface of the *himation* – which the dancer has drawn tightly over her head and upper body – is animated by several groups of folds, created by the interaction between the forms of her body, the light material and the movement. The mantle not only covers and enwraps the dancer, but also

Fig. 15: *Baukismos* dancer, terracotta figurine (after Langlotz 1965, Pl. XVI).

becomes a clearly independent and leading motif. In addition, great attention has been given to the finish of the statuette from different perspectives. Each angle conveys a rich and varied picture of sophisticated rhythms and motions. Thus, the *Baker Dancer* reflects in many ways the new language of the Hellenistic style.[105]

A thin veil – with cutouts for the eyes – masks the face of the dancer, a characteristic that has been interpreted as the statuette depicting a professional, mime or pantomime dancer.[106] Nevertheless, in view of the fact that similar masked dancers were found in sanctuary deposits, it is possible that the Baker Dancer too was connected to cultic dancing.[107] It should be noted that in the Hellenistic period, works of art functioned in a different role, which was more decorative and functional than previously. The religious connotation in the iconography was largely suppressed,[108] and therefore the dichotomy between cultic *versus* lay interpretation became anachronistic. With regard to the character of the dance, the figurine might portray the *baukismos* dance, which was Ionian in origin.[109] This type of dance is also depicted in a statuette in the National Museum of Tarentum (Fig. 15).[110] Despite the differences of media,

complexity and artistic quality, some resemblance between these figurines can be pointed out in the handling of the drapery and the pose. The long, enveloping *chiton* falls and trails at the back of both dancers in a similar fashion, and the *himation* – though designed in a simple manner in the terracotta figure – also displays fringes. As to the movement motif, the Tarentum dancer displays a more static and simpler conception than the complex and sophisticated motion of the *Baker Dancer*, but a similar angular act of veiling herself with the cloak, while extending the opposite arm sidewards.

The terracotta figurines of the Hellenistic period, known as Tanagras, also illustrate general stylistic tendencies of this time,[111] and comprise many draped female figures, including depictions of mantle dancers. Because these and other types of dancers have been found in tombs, they have given place to a great deal of speculation concerning their function, meaning and purpose. Early research contented that these statuettes represented objects that were dear to the

Fig. 16: Mantle dancer, terracotta figurine (after Zimmer 1994, Fig. 42).

defunct and they were put in the tomb merely as ornaments.[112] Later on, the discovery of the Hellenistic necropolis of Myrina and Tarentum, where considerable numbers or coroplast figurines were found, supplied further and important information on the subject. Though the exact significance and purpose of the statuettes is not yet known, the hypothesis has been put forward that they may be considered as related to imitative magic, i.e. figurines of dancers were placed in the tomb so that they would go on dancing and rejoicing the deceased eternally. They are also believed to represent an apotropaic function of protecting the defenseless soul of the deceased from evil spirits.[113] The motif of women completely enwrapped in their mantles (standing, sitting, playing and holding different attributes) plays a dominant role within the rather

Fig. 17: Mantle dancer, terracotta figurine (after
Schneider-Lengyel 1936, Pl. 74).

limited Tanagra repertoire, and is thus closely related to Hellenistic sculpture, where similar motifs can be profusely found.

Coroplast mantle dancers repeat compositions that have been discussed above, but also present new aspects of the dance, together with stylistic innovations. Thus, at first glance, the general bearing of a terracotta figurine in Berlin (Fig. 16),[114] dated to the 2nd century BCE, displays a striking similarity to the *Baker Dancer*. The young girl is enfolding herself with the *himation* with her right arm lifted towards her shoulder (so that a similar triangle is formed), while spinning around herself, and extending her left arm forward. Moreover, the *chiton* is also depicted as falling in heavy, deep folds on the floor, while the *himation* is contrasted as thin, transparent, and smooth, animated by a few groups of folds. Nonetheless, different, anti-classical tendencies come to fore in this figurine, such as the sharp-edged fishbone folds, which appear on the drapery falling from the extended left arm of the dancer. Moreover, the proportions of the head and the body of the Berlin dancer differ considerably

from those of the Baker Dancer. While the rounded head and strongly built body of the latter refer her to early sculpture,[115] the small head and the slender, tubular forms of the former reflect the tendency toward elongation that became popular during the later 2nd century BCE.[116]

The characteristic sophistication of the mantle dance reached a high point in another terracotta statuette, currently in Munich (Fig. 17).[117] The complexity of form, and the ability to translate static poses into a dancing sequence in a convincing manner, endows this and similar figurines with a life-like quality, which was much cherished in Hellenistic sculpture, especially in the coroplast media.

* * *

The iconographic subject of the mantle dancer displays two main aspects: design of the drapery (with emphasis on artistic expression of the *himation*) and depiction of the movement motif. Representation of the dance appears in several variations, such as the compositional type of three maidens grasping hands or the border of their attire and performing a choral dance, and the design of solo dancers. Visual representations of the mantle dance were popular in the middle years of the 4th century (rare examples exist in vase paintings of the 5th century BCE) and were even more current during the 3rd and the 2nd century BCE, as well as in the neo-Attic workshops. The basic (original?) type of the dancer wrapped in her *himation* consistently appears in the many examples depicting the dance, but significant differences in style, composition and purpose can be pointed out in later depictions. Though it is tempting to interpret these differences in terms of the overall stylistic and cultural development of the Hellenistic period, it should be kept in mind that at this time many styles were simultaneously in use.[118] Nonetheless, it seems that while early representations tend to depict mantle dancers in a three-quarter view or frontal position, with little suggestion of foreshortening and a rather uncomplicated pattern of drapery, later works display a new conception of movement in space and an elaborate structure of drapery. This tendency is clearly seen in the figures that display a spinning and twisting movement of the body, while head and arms are sent in opposite directions, thus creating an open silhouette, deep shadows and complicated patterns of folds.[119] The complexity of space that is apparent in some Hellenistic works, is also achieved by creating several foci of interest, which lead the eye diverging directions.

The popularity of the mantle dancer type in the terracotta media seems to reflect the general prosperity of the Tanagra figurines in the Hellenistic period, illustrating the more sophisticated taste of the time, and the new interest in

elegant and elongated female figures, as well as complex and dramatic depictions of motion and drapery. The unity of body and drapery and the subordination of the drapery to the forms of the body,[120]which was taken for granted in the Classical period, had ceased to exist and the garment had become an independent entity, following its own laws of mass, weight and counter-reaction to movement.[121] As pointed out above, the drapery not only reacts to the motions of the dancer, but also creates them. Moreover, the surface of the *himation,* with its peculiar qualities of lightness, thinness and transparency, is especially emphasized. Though the creation of transparent-looking drapery belongs to Archaic painting and Classical sculpture, it mainly served the purpose of revealing the loveliness of the nude female body, whereas in the Hellenistic statuettes it was used to convey sensuality and to reveal the clothes worn beneath the *himation.*[122] This new language of forms constituted part of the innovative artistic tendencies that appeared in draped female statuary in the Hellenistic period.

Notes

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1. Heydemann 1879; Weege 1926; Emmanuel 1926; Sechan 1930; Lawler 1962; Lawler 1964.
2. Pollux *Onom.:* 4.100; Hesychius *s.v.* "Baukismos".
3. As pointed out by A. Ovadiah and Sh. Guretzki 1985: 115, literary personifications of divinities already appear in the *Iliad* and the *Theogony.*
4. As described by Callixenos of Rhodos, Athenaeus *Deipnos.*: V 198 A, the allegorical personifications of the Horai appeared for the first time in the pageant of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.
5. Wegner 1949: Pl. 24; another example refers to a 5th century krater in Mount Holyoke College ,Galt 1931: 374, Fig. 1.
6. New York, Metropolitan Museum, bequest of W.C. Baker. Detailed discussion of this figurine follows.
7. Wiles 1991: 195.
8. Lawler 1964: 113; Queyrel 1988: 104ff.; Summerer 1996: 111.
9. Jastrow 1917: 209-215.
10. *Ibid.:* A part of Jastrow's translation of paragraph 39 of Text no.1(col. 5: 42-105): "Wives or (daughters as well as concubines (?) when (they go out) on the street, are to have their heads (covered). The daughters…whether in (street) costume…or in garments of (the house)?…are to be veiled (and) their heads (uncovered) whether (daughters of a man).. or…(two lines missing)…(is not) to be veiled. If she goes out…into the street during the day, she is to veil herself. The captive woman who without the mistress (of the house) goes out to the street is to be veiled. The hierodule who is married to a man is to be veiled in the street. The one who is not

married to a man is to have her head uncovered in the street and is not to veil herself. The harlot is not to veil herself; her head is to be uncovered."

11. Wiles 1991: 192.
12. Plutarch *Mor.*: 232 C: When someone inquired why they (the Spartans) took their girls into public places unveiled, but their married women veiled, he said, "Because the girls have to find husbands, and the married women have to keep to those who have them!".
13. Dicaearchus: 1, 18; cf. Thompson 1950: 383; Thompson 1963: 103; Hamdorf 1996*:* 111.
14. Constantinople, Archaeological Museum; Charbonneaux 1984: Fig. 250
15. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; Charbonneaux 1973: Fig. 303.
16. *Ibid.*: Fig. 91; the covering of the face of the bride with a veil symbolizes her modesty and virginity.
17. Galt 1931: 378-379.
18. Thompson 1963: 52, 103; Töpperwein 1976: 43; Queyrel 1988: 104.
19. DarSag: *s.v.* "Maenads", 1483, Fig. 4766.
20. Euripides, *Bac.*: 748 and 1091 compares Maenads to birds.
21. Vatican Museum; Cumont 1963: Pl. VIII.
22. Several fragments of figurines from Ilion, believed to represent mantle dancers, were presumably sold at the sanctuary where the mantle dances took place, Thompson 1963: 52.
23. Horn 1931: 18, 45.
24. *Ibid.:* The same motif appears several times in connection with mantle dancers in the Frieze of Salagassos (Sidon), dated to the end of the 2nd century BCE; cf. Fleischer 1979: 297.
25. Thompson 1963: 52; Queyrel 1988: 104; ritual hand-washing, whose purpose was not to contaminate a sacred object, and the wearing of pure clothes is mentioned by Hesiod, *The Works and Days*: 725 ff., as well as by Homer, *Il.* 1: 449; 9:171; 16: 230; 24: 305ff.; *Od.*4: 750; 17: 48. A Greek-Persian relief illustrating a sacrificial scene depicts two masked and gloved magi, Cumont 1963: 135, Fig. 10.
26. *RE* Suppl. VI, *s.v.*"Katharsis"*,* 151-162.
27. Thompson 1963: 104; Queyrel 1988: 102-104, Pl. 32, Fig. 304 states that the scheme of the dance as depicted by the figurines found in Cyprus, represents a new occurrence of the Hellenistic period.
28. Töpperwein 1976: 43 believes that the mantle dancers found in Pergamon belong to the cult of Demeter and Cybele.
29. Farnell 1905: 3, Pl. IX.
30. Mommsen 1968: 64.
31. Bötticher 1865: 385-420; *LIMC* VI(2) *s.v.* "Menses": 257. The frieze has been variously dated, from the 2nd century BCE to the Imperial period. In the Christian era, the calendar was transferred to the wall of the Athenian church Panagia Gorgopiko.
32. DarSag: *s.v.* "Maimakteria", 1554.
33. DarSag: *s.v.* "Embas", 593-595.
34. We have several examples of transvestism in ancient rituals and dances.
35. Philostratos *Life of Apoll.:* IV 21, 73-74.
36. Pollux *Onom.* 3: 104; Nilsson 1957: 186.
37. Miller 1999: 223-53.
38. Mylonas 1961: 205, Fig. 83. According to Lenormant, DarSag II. 1: 565, all the initiated in the Eleusinian mysteries wore a *nebris*.

39. *Ibid.:* 205ff.; Farnell 1905: 239 mentions the difficulty of finding the original mystic motive for the veiling.
40. Williamson 1995: 127; Apollodorus, 3, 14, 3-4; Aristophanes, *Lys*.: 389-396.
41. Mantled dancing figures are depicted on a hydria in London, British Museum (E 141); cf. Atallah 1966: 185, Fig. 44.
42. Plutarch *Symp.:* IV 3; cf. Atallah 1966: 101, who mentions that several cultic practices were common to both divinities.
43. Feubel 1935: 72.
44. Fuchs 1959: 34.
45. Zagdoun 1993: 235-244. The beginning of the neo-Attic workshops has been dated to the middle of the 2nd century BCE, see Fuchs 1959: 193.
46. Grassinger 1991: 158-160., Catalogue no. 5. The krater has been dated to 20 BCE. It is heavily restored, and its main interest resides in the depiction of the different types of figures.
47. Stucky 1984: Pls. 7, 12, Fig. 4, dates the Tribune to the 4th century BCE, on basis of the compact proportion of the Nymphs, and the harmonious relation between the drapery and the body; Edwards 1985: 203-206; Grassinger 1991, 110.
48. Grassinger 1991: 110.
49. Edwards 1985: 206.
50. Harrison 1965: 58.
51. Athens, National Museum, Inv. No. 259; Fuchs 1959: 102 no. 6a; Edwards 1985: 207, Pl. 74; *LIMC* V(1) *s.v.* "Horai": 504 no. 9; V(2) *s.v.* "Horai", Fig. 9.
52. Pergamon, Great Altar. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; cf. Charbonneaux 1973: 283, Fig. 304.
53. Edwards 1984: 207 states that this figure is "clearly derived from the 5th century Aglauros", whilst Fuchs 1959: 102 considers it to be an eclectic neo-Attic creation, which employs motifs taken from two or even three early prototypes.
54. Richter 1925: 203, Pl. VI; Grassinger 1991: 113, Pl. 169, Cat. No. 22.
55. Ducat and Fuchs 1965: 20, Fig. 3; Fuchs 1959: 97, no. 1a; Edwards 1985: 239.
56. Rome, Terme Museum; Harrison 1977: 272, Figs. 9, 10; Fuchs 1959: 97, no. 1b.
57. Athens, National Museum, Inv. No. 260; Weege 1926: Fig. 85; Fuchs 1959: 99 no. 3b; *LIMC* 1 (1) *s.v.* "Horai" 504, no. 10; *LIMC* 1 (2) *s.v.* "Horai", Fig. 10.
58. Fuchs 1959: 100; also Bieber (1977: 66) considers the relief to be a copy of a 4th century original.
59. Palermo, National Museum; Fuchs 1959: 99, no. 3d.
60. Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican; Fuchs 1959: 98, no. 2a; *LIMC* VIII(2): *s.v.* "Nymphai", Fig. 32.
61. Boardman 1985: Fig. 176.
62. Havelock 1964: Pl. 20, Fig. 14. This particular dance will be discussed further on.
63. Grassinger 1991: 113.
64. Charbonneaux 1984: Fig. 127; Clark 1985: 68ff.; Kleiner 1984: 179 quotes Pliny *NH* XXXV: 58 who stated that Polygnot was the first artist who painted women draped in transparent garments, but mentions that the literary source is contradicted by the fact that this device can already be found in Archaic vases.
65. Kleiner 1984: 176.
66. Fowler 1989: 135: "one of the most charming features of the Hellenistic aesthetic is the suble eroticism that pervades both the poetry and the visual arts."
67. The motif of dancing maidens clasping hands seems to have been invented originally for the depiction of Charites, and later on was used in relation to Horai

and Nymphs. Both the grasping of the end of the *himation* and the holding of hands symbolize the oneness of the goddesses (Roscher: *s.v.* "Horai": 2727).

68. Following the victory at Marathon, the cult of Pan was celebrated in Athens in a famous grotto in the Acropolis.
69. Edwards 1985: 256.
70. Athens, National Museum, Inv. No. 1445; Pottier 1881: 354, Pl. 7; Feubel 1935: 54; Picard 1963: 1239, Fig. 484.
71. Roscher: *s.v.* Horai: 2726; Philostratos *Imag.* 2,34; Xenophon *Symp. 7,5.*
72. Feubel 1935: 56; Fuchs 1959: 21-23.
73. Two archaic works of art in terracotta, which depict Nymphs dancing in a circle, testimony to the original circular character of their dance, see *LIMC* VIII(2): 588, Fig. 27 and 29a.
74. Menander *Dysk.*: 444-449.
75. Museo delle Terme, Paribeni 1951: 106, Fig. 1; Piraeus Museum, Fuchs 1959: Pl. 3 b.
76. Paribeni 1951: 106.
77. See note 73.
78. Halicarnassus, Turgut Reis School; Bean and Cook 1955: 99, Pl. 12c: *LIMC* I(1): *s.v.* "Acheloos": 23, no. 194; *LIMC* I(2): 41, Fig. 194; Fuchs 1959: 21, no. A3a.
79. This type is related to the myth according to which *Acheloos* wooed Deinaeira under the disguise of half bull, snake and man; cf. *LIMC* I(1) *s.v.* "Acheloos": 12.
80. Edwards (1985: 65) states that this type of Hermes often appears in connection with the Nymphs.
81. Rome, Museo Torlonia; Hauser 1889: 41 no. 56; Fuchs 1959: 34, no. C6e, Pl. 7; Edwards 1985: 196; *LIMC* III(1): *s.v.* "Charites": 198, no. 31; *LIMC* III(2): 155, Figs. 31-33.
82. In Athens, the cult of the Charites was linked to *Artemis-Hekate*. For this reason, Charites are sometimes represented dancing around the goddess and holding her attributes.
83. Ny Carlsberg Glyp.no. 128; Fuchs 1959: 34, no. C 6d; Edwards 1985: 196.
84. Paris, Louvre Museum; Schneider-Lengyel 1936:Pl. 54; Edwards 1985: 231.
85. Eberhard : Pl. 43, Fig. 173.
86. Weege 1926: 192, Fig. 246.
87. Grassinger 1991: Cat. No. 51, Fig. 56.57.
88. Picard 1963: 1240, Fig. 485.
89. Fuchs 1959: 39.
90. *Ibid.*
91. *Codex Coburgensis* Fol. 3; Hauser 1889: 42 No. 57; Fuchs 1959: 34 no. C6b; Cain 1985: 205 Cat. no. 161, Pl. 91,3.
92. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum; Hutton 1929: 240-243, Fig. XIV; Havelock 1964: 51-58, Pl. 20, Fig. 14. This copy has been dated to the end of the 2nd century BCE.
93. Havelock 1964: 51.
94. Hutton 1929: 240; Havelock 1964: 51.
95. Havelock 1964: 54.
96. Paris, Louvre Museum; Schmidt 1922: 30, Pl. XIV (2); Hutton 1929: 241; Feubel 1935: 64; Fuchs 1959: 27 no. B2.
97. Fuchs 1959: 28 no. B4a.
98. Naples, National Museum; Havelock 1964: 53, Pl. 20 Fig. 16; Grassinger 1991: Cat. no. 21 (with extensive bibliography), Figs. 74, 76.
99. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Thompson 1950: Fig. 1, 2, 3, 11; Mertens

1985: Fig. 32. Thompson dates the statuette within the period 225-175 BCE.

100. Thompson 1950: 375.
101. *Ibid.*: 373.
102. *Ibid.:* 379.
103. Kleiner (1984: 181) elaborates on the motif of transparency of the garments in Hellenistic art.
104. Fleischer 1979: 297, Figs. 3, 4.
105. Kleiner 1984: 181-184.; Thompson (1950: 379).
106. Thompson 1950: 383.
107. Thompson 1963: 104.
108. Reeder 1988: 25.
109. See note 2 above, and Thompson 1950: 379.
110. Langlotz 1965: 248, Pl. XVI. 2nd century BCE.
111. Uhlenbrock 1990: 48.
112. Graepler 1994: 43.
113. Langlotz 1965: 68; Miller Ammerman 1990: 40; Graepler 1994: 47.
114. Berlin, Staatliche Museen; Schneider-Lengyel 1936: Fig. 69; Zimmer 1994: Pl. 42.
11.5. Thompson 1950: 379.
116. *Ibid.*
117. München, Staaliche Antikensamlung. Schneider-Lengyel 1936: Pl. 74. The statuette has been dated by Kleiner 1984: 157 to about 250 BCE and by Thompson 1950: 374 to the late 2nd century BCE.
118. Pollitt 1986: 265.
119. Reeder 1988: 24.
120. Pollitt 1986: 269.
121. Kleiner 1984: 140-142, 182-186.
122. Pollitt 1986: 271.

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Portrait and Mask, Signifiers of the Face in Classical Antiquity

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*O*ne of the most common forms of facial representation in ancient Classical culture was the portrait. It is taken for granted by many scholars that some form of "realistic" portraiture existed during this period.[1] Since one of the central features that enables recognition of "realism" in a portrait is its likeness to the face, I would like to explore this aspect of "realism". The portrait was not the only form of facial representation in Classical culture. We are also familiar with theater masks, mummy mask-portraits and other forms of depiction.[2] The specific questions this article will deal with will be concerned with the relation between the various representations of the face and their "original" model, i.e. the face itself. Knowledge of what the face was like is a crucial part of understanding a culture, since we tend to infer vital information from the face – this is true in modern and ancient times.[3]

The above aim may seem slightly paradoxical. How are we to examine the relationship between representation and original if the original is no longer available to us?[4] I believe that this problem, as we shall see below, opens up a wider range of discussion.

We tend to take our own faces for granted yet they are revealed to us only through an interaction with otherness - human or mechanical. While other people's faces may be generally familiar, on certain occasions or following different grooming they may seem strange to us. If the effects of the passage of time are taken into consideration the questions become more persistent. What were our faces like in the past? How can we know what people who lived before us looked like? These issues question the accessibility of recognition of likeness in the face, and the answers undoubtedly underscore the representations of the face as major elements in our dealings with what we

consider to be the original face. The questions posed here compromise two groups, with implications that will lead us back to the study of classical art:

1. The problem of the passage of time resulting in changes in the face is a constant of our daily life since our faces change from day to day and over the years. Consequently, the problem of the inaccessibility of the "original" face is not just a problem when considering ancient art. It is a problem we deal with every day.

2. The effect of human society on our lives and thoughts through language, suggests that just like the body, so too are our faces a product of society's molding forces. Society manifests itself concretely through the gaze of another human. Since we are always in some *specific social situation* we are constantly obliged to adapt our faces to it, and thus the face seen is always already not the "original" because it is being determined by the gaze of another human.[5] Even if we are alone, the fact that our own faces can be known to us only as a reflection means that we are unable even to perceive our own "original" faces.

These considerations raise a strong doubt concerning the "existence" of an original face or at least of our ability to know it. This has led me to a different hypothesis that I hope may better explain our perplexities concerning the face, and also locate the study of ancient representations in the main path of the study of the face. Rather than the ineffectual task of trying to consider the likeness of the representation to its original (both in everyday life and in ancient art), my hypothesis here is that the "original" of the face exists only through our constant recreation of it by means of representations. This should lead to an understanding of ancient representations as ancient society's way of creating the faces of their times. The considerations are therefore not of the likeness between a portrait and an ancient "original" face but of two quite different issues:

What kind of relationship did different forms of ancient representations have with their contemporary faces? This question will be answered utilizing semiotic theory, as the ancient representations such as the portrait or the mask form specific types of signs.

What kind of relationship did ancient representations of the face form with each other? This is an important consideration since we may say that the "original" face was formed or existed only as a function of this interaction.[6]

Person, *prosopon, persona*

The consequences of the above considerations will eventually lead to speculation as to what it meant to have a face in the various stages of Classical

culture, which in turn will have an effect on our understanding of the various aspects of being a person in that culture. For the face, which in the present article is seen as the unattainable signified (of the mask and the portrait), may itself (and in its various forms of the mask and the portrait) become a signifier of the notion of the person. Such understanding of the face is supported in philological and anthropological studies of representations of the face in language: the Greek *prosopon*, and the Latin *persona*.

Marcel Mauss initiated this discussion by arguing for an evolutionary process in the concept of the person as a self-contained judicial and moral entity. He brings examples of several cultures that feature very close correspondence and even identity between mask, face and name. All three actually refer to the social role as an all-inclusive template that organizes and determines almost every aspect of what we would call an individual.[7] Other anthropologists have seen this in other cultures. Geertz says this about Balinese culture,[8] and Read about morality in the Gahuku-Gama.[9] Mauss continued to sketch the way he thinks the ancient Roman conception of an individual as mask-role evolved into a conception of the unique individual defined as a legal and moral fact.[10] A similar route is taken in Nédoncelle's study of the terms *prosopon* and *persona* although he stresses their practical meaning, which is a reference to the actual individual one would see walking down the street.[11] He points to a different starting point for these two terms. *Prosopon* is the Greek term referring to face, whereas the Latin *persona* has the meaning of mask.[12] Both terms evolved to mean something more – the entity that we may loosely call a person or an individual.[13] This evolution takes them through the meaning of "role", which is retained in them.[14] The use of *prosopon* or *persona* signifying role for defining the concept of personality is also evident in philosophical discourse[15] and helps to clarify the anthropological studies cited above in respect to Classical culture. It seems, according to all the studies cited, that en route to the definition of an individual in Classical society there was a consideration of his face or mask and his role in society. But we must also take notice of the different etymology of *prosopon* and *persona* – especially the stronger connection between face and mask in the Greek *prosopon* than in the Latin *persona*.

Castoriadis has stressed the Greek culture as the birthplace of "autonomy".[16] He specifically attaches this to the birth of philosophy as a being in a position to ask questions about what we ought to ask questions about. The visual correlate of personal autonomy is the ability to see for oneself. This ability manifests itself in a two-fold manner. On the one hand it entails a distancing of subject from object, an ability to see from the outside, an "objectivity".[17] On the

other hand it invites self- reflection as to the status of such a position.[18] I am concerned here with the first and more apparent of these manifestations of autonomy. This positioning reveals itself in visual representation when the distancing of subject from object creates a certain kind of representation, which is dependant on an *actual* point of view. Although this is true as a general trend in Classical art, it is nonetheless only part of the story. It goes hand in hand with a trend towards systematization, which subjects the tendency to see for oneself, which could be interpreted in a completely personal and incommunicable way (a specular collapsing), to the creation of criteria for the agreement on what is seen. In fifth-century Athens we can see a balancing of these two forces. The visual correlate of personal autonomy – the ability to see for oneself, is balanced with the collective project, which consists in the ability to agree with others about what you "see". This ability is achieved via an agreement on the correct representation of reality (what we see), and this is done through a social agreement on the same and the different. Greek society's agreement on the categorization of reality (what is the same and what is different) was achieved not by referring to an extra social source of truth,[19] but by creating institutions for the determination of a correct categorization of reality. In visual representations this means that one's own vision is cultured by social agreement. This dichotomy of vision is reflected in the Greek stories and literature that deal with the problem of mimesis.[20] Greek representations of "face" during this period would certainly have been subject to this dichotomy. If we refer to the "face" as a reference to the actual presentness of an individual we must consider that the portrait and the "mask" temper this presentness. At this stage the portrait refers to a specific human being but not necessarily one actually seen by the artist.[21] The mask in this context does not mean a hiding of the face but the realization that it has an existence only within the cultural agreements. My own formulation for this sort of mask is "the face as seen by the Other".[22] Phrasing this more strongly we could say that the quality of "existence" is given to something present only if it complies with cultural agreements of categorization. Thus even though there is a Greek project of autonomy, there is some similarity to "mask/role" cultures which stress the social persona as the locus of individuality. The similarity of wording for face and mask in Greece, in this view, is not coincidental, but part of a culture that sees face as existing only through social agreement on a categorization of reality. The representation will be like the face not if it will show its complete difference from other faces, but only if it will be like other faces that "exist" because they play a significant part in society.

Fig. 1: The *Pronomos vase* (after Wiles 2000: Pl. 11)

Mask and portrait in the fifth century – the symbolic mode of signification
The parallel workings of portrait and mask in the establishment of the face in this period can be seen in the "Pronomos vase" (Fig. 1). The differences between tragic masks and portraits have to do with the different societies they refer to. The Classical portrait refers to the imaginary society of the polis. Tragic masks directly refer to an imaginary society of myth and ritual that has a connection to the polis' formulation of society.[23]

The "Pronomos vase" shows Dionysus and Ariadne in the top row center, and around them the actors in a satyr play. The three adult players are in the top row with their respective masks held in their hands. The chorus is shown to their sides and in the lower row. It features young beardless men who hold their satyr masks in their hands, except for one who has donned his mask and is dancing. The Aulos player, Pronomos, is at bottom center. It is my contention that this form of depiction shows a correspondence between the roles available in mythic life, and those available in city life.

This detail of the Pronomos vase shows two actors of a satyr play with masks (Fig. 2). Their faces show equality as members of the polis. The only difference between them is in the mythic roles they are playing. The one on the right is holding a mask of Silenus, the one on the left, a mask of Heracles. The youngsters, situated below, all exhibit similar likeness among themselves. They cannot even differentiate themselves in the satyr play. All play satyr parts and this may refer to their place in the society of the polis as those who are not yet differentiated. The elders have a possibility of differentiating themselves in mythic and in its corresponding political life through the roles they play. The youngsters are equal as young people of the polis who are not yet incorporated into adult society and are therefore "outsiders", like the Satyr parts they play in the theater.[24]

Fig. 2: Detail of the *Pronomos vase* (after Boardman 1989: Fig. 323)

We may test this formulation of the correspondence between mask and portrait by looking at some of the portraits of the period. Although no original Greek portraits from the fifth century B.C. are extant, we can look at Roman replicas of such portraits. [25] These replicas, or maybe adaptations of replicas, exhibit a strange likeness to each other in their facial features. I believe that the reason for this, if we are to accept some sort of accuracy in Roman representations, was a reluctance on the part of the Greeks to portray the uniqueness of an actual person because this would have countered the standards of equality (*isonomia*) and sameness[26] that were upheld by the polis, and the equalizing view of the face which may have been their consequence. Formulation of the face in this period presents us with a person equal and like other persons.[27] The ability or permission to go beyond this equality is only permitted in service of the polis. A good example of this can be seen through comparison of the portraits of Pericles, Xanthippus and Anacreon (Fig. 3).

Anacreon the poet was probably positioned in the Agora next to Xanthippus (Pericles' father).[28] They all embody the model citizen of self-control, playing the part allotted to him by the society in which he lives, rather than the particular details and problematics of his personal life.[29] The ability to distinguish facially between Xanthippus and Anacreon is limited to their functions or roles in the

| Pericles | Xanthippus? | Anacreon |

Fig. 3: Left - Pericles as Strategos (after Richter I, 1965: Fig. 435). Center - Xanthippus? (after Richter I, 1965: Fig. 426). Right - Anacreon (after Richter I, 1965: Fig. 280)

city:[30] Anacreon wears the poet's or symposium participant's corona and Xanthippus has the Strategos' helmet. Regarding portraits, this indicates that while the polis would honor a person by setting up his statue in a public place, that statue would generally be a sign of the symbolic i.e. arbitrary type.[31] In other words its recognition as meaningful does not depend on an iconic likeness to an "original" face, but on the play of likeness and difference within the sign system. Thus "Pericles" can be distinguished from another *strategos* (or perhaps they are the same?) only by his name[32] and a slight change of posture. This again shows the correspondence of the portrait with the mask whose meaning is not determined by its likeness to a specific face, but by the differences established inside the system and which may be referred to as a "symbolic sign". The difference between mask and portrait manifests itself in the name. The portrait's name refers to a person existing in actual society while the mask's name refers to a mythic hero.

The two Roman copies of Miltiades and Themistokles, both of them *strategoi*, seem to employ a different strategy for the portrait than those of Pericles and Xanthippus. They differ from each other in a way that does not accord with my formulation of the portrait in fifth century Athens. But do they reflect Greek originals of the fifth or of the fourth century BC? Or maybe they are reflections of Roman taste? Richter thinks that they adhere to stylistic norms of the fifth century BC and that they are reflections of private dedications, not dedications of the polis, or that they were created outside of Athens where there were fewer
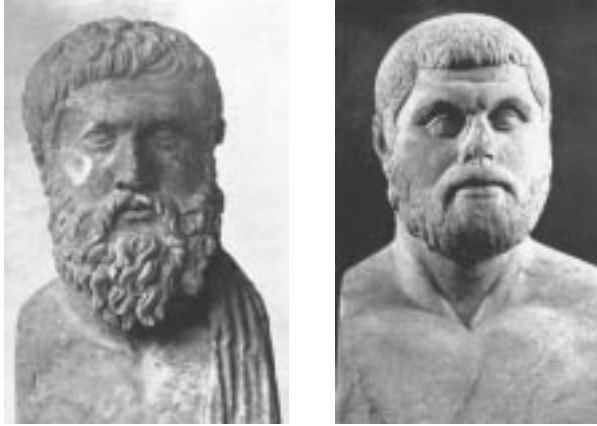
Fig. 4:   Miltiades (after Richter I, 1965: Fig. 382)   Themistokles (after Richter I, 1965: Fig. 405)

restrictions on private dedications in public places (Miltiades in Delphi and Themistokles in Argos) (Fig. 4).[33] It is possible that while the Athenian polis advocated a vision of *isonomia* in which the person is able to distinguish himself (as unique) only in the service of the polis, the rest of Greece opted for more show of enterprise and autonomy in the individual. However, the dating of the originals is problematic and Zanker thinks these are reflections of fourth century BC political imagery.[34] But even this interesting interpretation is not secure because of the uncertainty as to whether we are seeing a close reflection of originals or a later reworking of them.[35]

Rather than relying on Roman replicas, however, we can instead utilize a known Greek original portrait about a century older, to demonstrate the interworkings of likeness and difference in regard to the face.[36] This is the portrait of Kroisos, especially as described and read by Stewart. In his analysis of sameness and difference that interact in the statue, he stresses not only its sameness as part of a group (the best – the *aristoi*) but also its sameness as a sign of presence countering the obvious absence of Kroisos himself, whom the monument says was killed in battle.[37] Since texts like this were read aloud in sixth-century Greece, Kroisos is evoked as present by voice and by memory.[38] His sameness is a function of this presence, as well as a marker of social equality within the group (Fig. 5).

In my terminology the function of the portrait at this stage is very similar to that of the mask. It operates as a conventional sign that does not have to comply with the dictates of likeness with an observed model. This "arbitrariness" is
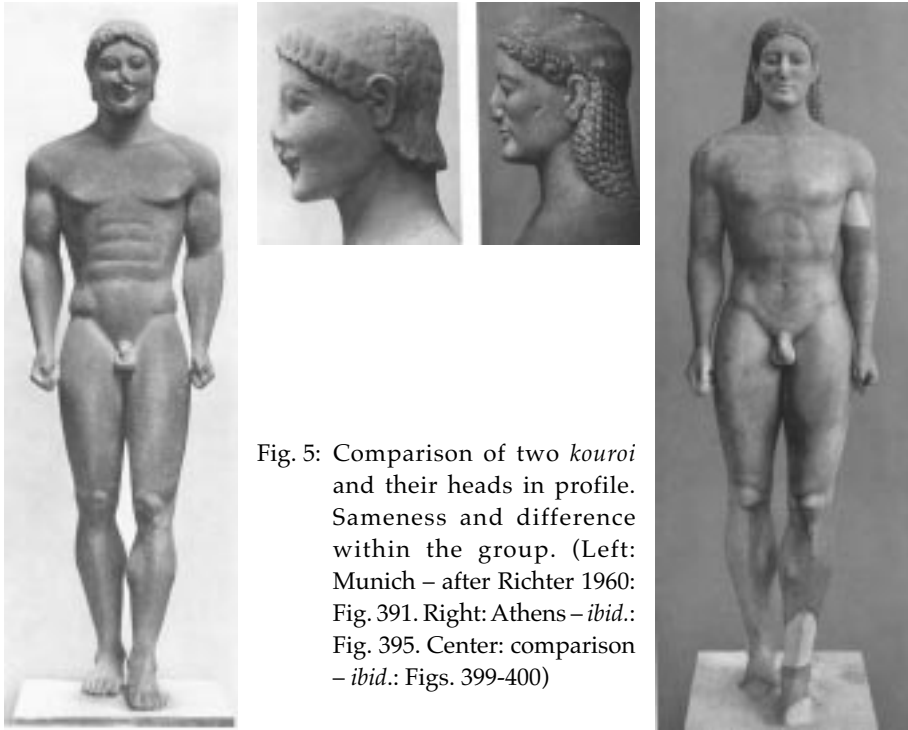
Fig. 5: Comparison of two *kouroi* and their heads in profile. Sameness and difference within the group. (Left: Munich – after Richter 1960: Fig. 391. Right: Athens – *ibid.*: Fig. 395. Center: comparison – *ibid.*: Figs. 399-400)

signified by the mask-like qualities of this type of portrait: its presence in the vicinity of many others that are like it;[39] the equal attention it attracts to both face and body;[40] and, like a mask, the portrait actually constructs the "actor" wearing it.[41] It does not signify an "inner" sense of individuality, which somehow is conveyed to the face, but on the contrary it is the "face" as seen in society. We may even reverse the usual understanding of the portrait as more lifelike than the mask and say that a classical mask worn by an actor during a performance may have had more lifelike qualities than the portrait.[42]

These considerations reinforce my formulation of the "face" at this stage as "the" man / woman as seen by the Other, or the human as constructed in society by forces other than himself – those of language and societal conventions.[43] This means that the mask and the portrait are not seen as radically different. They indicate existence in society, which is also moral existence. Masks refer to a mythical society, while portraits refer to the imaginary[44] society of the polis. The face that is constructed by them is the face as ethical character, which is conceived as a function of existence in the city or in myth. This face tends to conflate or to interconnect these two societies.

The face seen by the artist – the iconic and indexical modes of signification
The next stage of development is marked by a greater reference of masks to actual society, and a greater reference of portraits to actual individuals. This is especially evident in New Comedy masks. Wiles shows how these masks differ from the classical ones in several ways: 1. they depict people as they are and not as they should be, or worse than they are; 2. they allow a greater degree of characterization because they operate as a system that allows differences between specific masks in a play to formulate variations on a basic mask type; and 3. they start to exhibit an innerness, which is integrated with exteriority.[45] An illuminating instance of this may be seen in the Eros and tiger mosaic from the House of the Faun in Pompeii (Fig. 7) as it is interpreted by Wiles.[46] The structuring force of the "masks" illuminates the relationship mentioned earlier between mask and role in the etymology of the Greek word *prosopon* and the Latin word *persona*. Once the masks are set, the characters are set, the paths the story may develop are set and the ethics[47] of the story are set.

Yet the masks differ from portraits in that they convey universal truths (both in ancient Tragedy and Comedy),[48] while the portraits are more attuned to actuality. This growing gulf constructs "face" differently. *It is my contention that this difference is determined by the requirement from a portrait that it rely on an actual viewing of the model.*[49]

This difference started to manifest itself in the fourth century B.C. Although masks began to show wider possibilities of expression and character – they were still constrained by the need to comply with, or to help to formulate the typification of society, which was essential to the workings of the polis. Portraits, on the other hand, may have had their origin not in collective thinking, but in the need to distinguish the unique, the different – the existing individual. It is therefore not strange that their driving force was in the post-Classical polis or in connection to powerful individuals – mostly rulers. The making present of an existing individual was achieved using different kinds of signs to those previously used: 1. The iconic sign, using actual sight, caters to the need to represent an actual human being – one that exists in the specificity of his actions in time or in history. Its measure of success lies in its likeness to the original or in the ability of vision to re-present an object in actual time and place. Post-classical art developed a method of representing an instance of time as part of a continuum, and a portion of space as part of a unified three-dimensional space.[50] This method of giving uniqueness to a moment was translated in the case of portraits to the uniqueness of the individual. 2. This type of iconicity has an added edge to it. It is also an indexical sign – it points to existence. The

portrait could not exist had the artist not seen the original (the face) in a specific point in actual time and space.[51]

There is literary evidence for this change in the mode of portrait making. Alexander's insistence on a certain person who was commissioned and allowed to represent him made clear the binding tie between the model and his actual observer – the artist. Lyssipus, Apelles and gem-maker Pyrgoteles were the ones chosen to depict Alexander in portraits.[52] Pliny takes it for granted that portraiture requires this type of actual presence of the model in front of the artist.[53] Yet the reasons given for Alexander's insistence on certain artists are not concerned only with the exactitude of appearance achieved by these portraits, but by the similitude of character conveyed by them.[54] This implies that iconic resemblance is subject to assessments that take into account aspects of character. The way to understand this type of iconicity is through the approach that character is connected to bodily appearance.[55] Alexander's insistence on the portrayal of his character is another way of marking the uniqueness of the individual.

During this same period however, this approach also involves the earlier understanding of existence as *existence in society*, which tends to temper the exclusiveness of iconicity that is dependent on actual sight. This type of portrayal had more to do with the mask-like qualities of the portrait as it was now conceived. Mask-Role-Character-Ethics were linked with the conceptual help of physiognomy and philosophical discourse.[56] The portraits of philosophers, poets and some Hellenistic rulers show similarity to different masks, thus stipulating their interpretation in relation to the roles exemplified by masks. But we may also add that theater masks had a role in introducing uniqueness into the portraits by incorporating "characters" that were formerly considered marginal or base into the portraits, and thus allowing more personal tendencies to infiltrate the older portraits of the polis.[57] In this way, the masks themselves, incorporated into the portrait, played a dual role: reintegration of the individual into society and the possibility of uniqueness within that society, stated in society's terms.[58]

The interaction between the various forms of signification utilizing the iconic, indexical and symbolic modes can be seen in the portraits of this period. The full statue of the Stoic philosopher Chrisyppus indicates the actual moment of sight recreated before us by exhibiting a momentary expression, disheveled hair, the twisting of the body as if "captured" in the midst of making an intense point (Fig. 6). These are signifiers of iconicity and of indexicality, and give the impression of the idiosyncrasies of actual observation, recreated as it took place.

Fig.6: Chrysippus, as reconstructed in the Louvre by Charbonneaux. (after Richter, II, 1965: Fig. 1144)

The compositional device of divergent directional dynamics, integrate the statue with actual space, as it is experienced by the viewer. The same devices of momentary time and unified space are incorporated even when the face is shown separately from the body. This type of composition makes Chrysippus into the hero of a drama, by making him the focal point of time and space. The drama bestows uniqueness upon him, using the ability of art to give an impression of the singularity of the moment, and its ability to recreate it over and over again for the viewer – as if he was present at the exact moment when this actual viewing (by the artist) took place.

Although Chrysippus' uniqueness is seen as "captured" in a specific moment, he is also a type: a philosopher and a rigorous thinker who "played a part" in the post-Classical polis and was iconographically connected to earlier philosophers.[59] He also compares with New Comedy characters or types as an old man not interested in the social niceties or money (an unkempt beard), and a slave with a crafty look achieved by the asymmetrical eyebrows.[60] Applying these characteristics to Chrysippus we might say that his philosophical outlook is incorporated into the portrait. He is allowed to look like a slave because he believes there are no differences between humans since they all share in a common natural rationality.[61] Perhaps there is also a reference to Chrysippus' ability to think, especially the ability to see through philosophical impasses,
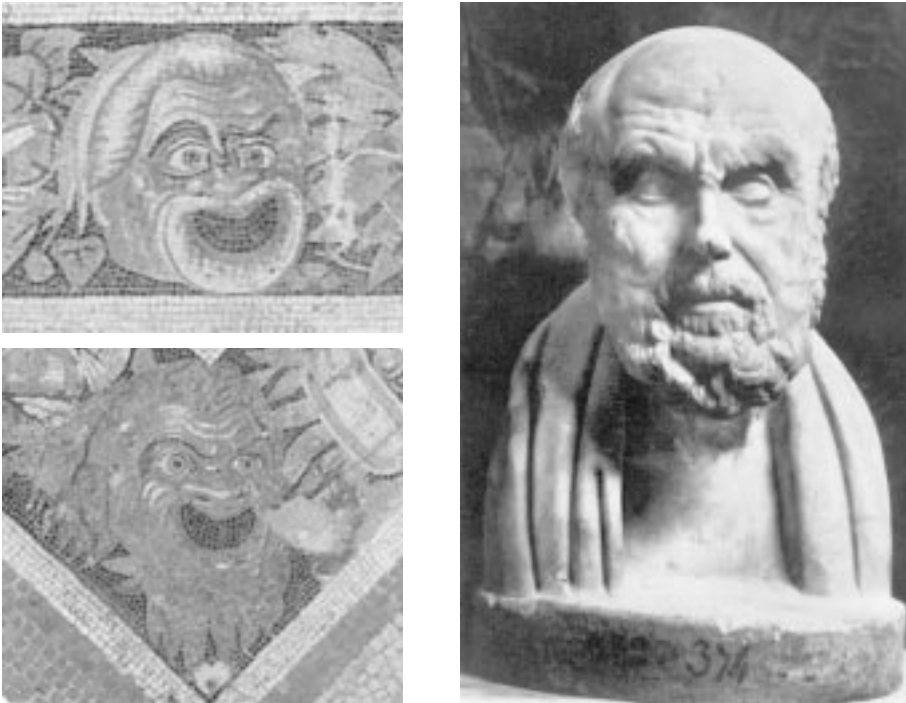
Fig. 7: Portrait of Chrysippus from Naples (after Smith and Bieber 1984: Fig. 69), compared with (top) a New Comedy slave mask and (bottom) a mask of an old man from the Eros and tiger mosaic in the House of the Faun in Pompey (after Lessing and Varone 1996: 134).

which may be comparable to the cleverness or craftiness characteristic of the slave mask (Fig. 7).[62]

The meaning of this is that, in addition to the new tendency to show the individual as unique or singular, he is also shown as connected to society through his role and even through the specifics of his thinking in that society. But in contrast to the portraits of the previous century, the specific life of the person portrayed and its problematics and contradictions are now taken into account, not only his existence as a general role.[63]

The interaction of these factors caused a change in the semiotic status of the portrait. Its iconic status is seen as referring to a relationship between model and representation, which may be judged in terms of the like and the unlike as it is seen. In addition the portrait is seen as indexical in the sense that it could not exist had the person not existed. But this indexicality is not a strong one because of the convention of composing a sighting – *as if* it had been sighted.

The portrait may not have actually had to be produced from a viewing, but it assumes that the origin of the portrait lay in such a viewing. Although these two modes are conditioned by societal conventions (what it is to be like) – they deny those conventions and claim "naturalness". Nonetheless, these modes do not obliterate the portrait's still-relevant reference to the face as mask, which forms itself as a system mainly by reference to other signifiers (masks) and not by direct reference to the model (actual face). It is this type of signification that I described as "the face seen by the other", which takes into account the conventionality of constructing the face. Perhaps it is the specific interaction of these modes and the way they temper each other that makes it impossible to see a complete dependency on just one of them. Indexicality is conditioned by sight, actual sighting may be replaced by an as-if, and the mask or role tends to bring into account the person's actual role. These modes seem to be integrated or to reveal a desire for integration and this hints at the possibility of a split between the unique individual as he is experienced, and between the role he is playing. In the portraits and in the masks of this period this split is held at bay because both the iconic-indexical mode and the symbolic mode assume vision as coming *from without* so that the individual "as he is experienced" and the individual as he is "seen by the other" may conflate, and this allows an integrated vision of "face". Its counterpart in thought and language may be seen in the usage of the terms *prosopon* and *persona* while attempting to integrate between divergent aspects of personality - the human capacity for rational and moral agency, each person's distinct nature and talents, and the social roles we all play.[64] The understanding of uniqueness – not as a function of outward sight but as a function of "inner" sight or inner contemplation,[65] may put this entire project into an insoluble tension. The tension between "as seen by the other" and "as looking within" will not allow this form of integration and a new vision of "face" will have to be produced – but that lies beyond the scope of this article.[66]

However, I would like to mention one other form of portrait, which shows a unique type of integration between iconic, indexical and symbolic modes of signification. This type utilizes the mask not in the symbolic mode as "the face seen by the other", but in the indexical mode – *as that which is actually on the face*.

The uncanny mummy portraits of Roman Egypt
Masks have been dealt with so far only from their external side, whereas they have a more uncanny side, the inner side. The mask's "other" side is the side

A.

B.
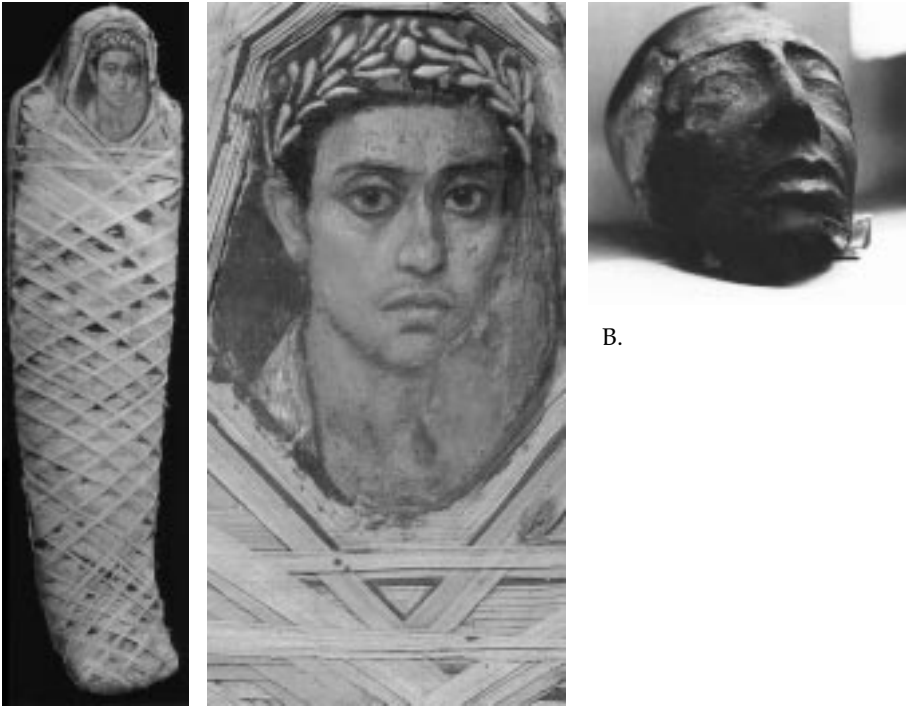
Fig. 8A: Mummy from Hawara; detail of the portrait-mask (after Walker 2000: Pl. 9)
Fig. 8B: Old kingdom mummy mask: Plaster soaked linen wrappings molded over the
face (after Ikram and Dodson 1998: Fig. 192)

that forms the strongest kind of signifying relationship. It establishes an indexical bond with the face that is not dependant on sight but on the actual presence of the face in the underside of the mask. This understanding may help explain the strange character of the Fayum portrait-masks.

Egypt shows continuous evidence of the indigenous custom of funerary masks placed on the sarcophagus of the mummy. This makes the argument that the Roman portraits of Egypt had a strong connection with the indigenous Egyptian practice of burial, very plausible.[67]

An ancient Egyptian mummy "mask" (Fig. 8B) shows that the Roman Egyptian portrait (Fig. 8A) had its origin in the Egyptian concern with preserving the face. 'The earliest external ornamentation of mummies took the form of the moulding of the body contours into plaster soaked linen wrappings'.[68] This custom continuously changed form in the course of Egyptian

A.   B.

Fig. 9A: Egyptian mummy mask, Eighteenth dynasty (after Ikram and Dodson 1998:
          Fig. 197)
Fig. 9B: Roman Egyptian mummy portrait from 160-170 A.D. (*ibid*.: Pl. xxii)

history,[69] but the Roman-Egyptian custom of painting the dead man's face on
the shroud or inserting a portrait in the shroud is completely in line with this
tradition. The differences lie in the techniques and in the implications of the
different techniques, but not in the theme of preserving an imperishable face
over the exact place of the dead man's face.[70]

My argument here is that the placement of the portrait on the body, on top
of the actual place of the face, puts these portraits in a complex semiotic
relationship with their model. On the one hand they form an indexical
relationship with the face, pointing to its presence by their existence. In doing
so they utilize the other side of the mask (the one we usually forget), which
points to the face inserted into it as a negative. On the other hand, on their
positive side, they utilize Hellenic forms of representation based on mimesis
or on the iconic relationship discussed earlier in this article. This relationship
is based on an actual viewing of the model by the artist, and a reenactment of
that viewing by the spectator.[71] Both significations indicate the presence of the
model but they do so in different ways, which may reflect upon the coalescence
of different cultures. [72]

The differences between a mask and a representation in painting of the face can be seen in a comparison between an Egyptian mummy mask (Fig. 9A), and the mummy portrait of a lady from el-Rubayyat (Fig. 9B). The actual viewing that served as the act of origin for this portrait is apparent in the painting. This viewing is incorporated into the painted portrait by the use of light and shade, which indicates a certain moment of viewing and by the relationship between viewer and viewed incorporated into the painting. The artist looks upon the head from a certain angle, which is the one the viewer will also see the head from. This viewing position seems to cause a response in the person depicted and she is shown turning her head towards the viewer. Sometimes there is also a hint of an expression indicating momentary emotions or attitudes as in some portraits.[72a] In some of these figures we can see a technique by which the hair is shown as a large mass with inner differentiation of color and with the use of some highlights. The overall rendering is of the visual effect of the hair rather than of its material and details and this also indicates a specific position involving distance between viewer and viewed. The artist is transmitting the object *as seen from a distance*, which makes it appear as a mass rather than as minute detail; distance is thus transmitted through the consequent blurring of sight. It even incorporates time - a short interval of viewing – an instance that does not give the artist the time needed for minute scrutinizing. This is true even if this is a "style" chosen by the artist because it is a style that incorporates into itself the effects of actual viewing. The meaning of this is that a condition of dependency (a functional relationship) is a prerequisite of this type of style and it forms the conditions for its existence.

The different forms of signification reflect different attitudes towards individuality and their syncretism in this culture suggests a unique attempt at cultural integration. The Roman-Hellenistic attitude, which incorporated actual viewing and mimesis, was the result of seeing a major part of human existence as existence in this world.[73] The iconic form of signification allows the interplay of the various forms of this-worldly existence to come into play. On the one hand it takes into account the idiosyncrasies of everyday existence, the mood, the actual sighting of a person, which is understood as uniqueness. On the other hand it is rooted in social agreement. It is as if the artist and model form a pact, which includes an agreement on the categorization of reality into what it is to be like and what it is to be different. This agreement, when it is based on actual sight, includes a systematization of reality, which takes the form of a sequential view of time and space, which means the construction of a continuum of moments and of three-dimensional space. This project is basically a project

of transcendence, which means the belief in a possibility of seeing the whole, or systemizing knowledge by seeing from without.[74] But this transcendental vision, when translated into visual terms as the ability to see from without, has a strong this-worldly orientation[75] because it is not an attempt to withdraw from the world but rather to understand it better.[76]

In contrast to this, the Egyptian view does not stress transcendence as an ability to form an objective point of view by *seeing from without*, but rather it stresses homology, which means a "fluidity" of material among, organic, non organic, humans, gods, nature, universe, viewer and viewed.[77] It does not allow the detachment that is needed in order to systemize, does not form a functional (dependant) relationship between viewer and viewed, and does not stress time and space as a continuum. The type of "homology" described here is reflected in Egyptian art as a tendency to separate every moment as if it were severed from the next one, or as if it were the only moment. Egyptian art seems timeless not because it does not consider time, but because it is only interested in the fullness and totality of the present. The same holds true for its view of space. In Greek art the relational aspect of space as a continuum, which stems from a functional relationship (a dependency) of viewer and viewed, is evident as a distance (it is termed perspective in Renaissance art). This is of course subsequently denied and naturalized. In Egyptian art this relative relationship is not even denied because it is never even imagined. Instead, the Egyptians opt for what Brunner-Taut calls "Aspective", which is a non-distance, an ever-hereness. Space is seen as successive planes, which have no distance or depth from each other or from the viewer, as if the viewer were in the same plane as the viewed, perhaps not even opposite him.[78]

The Egyptian mummy is equipped for eternity with a mask that forms a direct contact with the features underneath it. It thus forms an indexical sign, which can not be doubted since it does not rely on the contingencies of actual sighting (which is a dependence) or on the testimony of another human being, but on a direct impression from the original. The Hellenic form of mimesis may at first glance bring us even closer to the person, but this is steeped in an uncertainty because it is the person *as looked upon*. We must, before accepting this representation as valid, agree in advance to the following: 1.the human ability to doubt, which takes the form of the ability to see for oneself (autonomy);[79] 2. the systematization of time and space, which makes this sighting reliable, and which is the result of a belief in the ability to distance oneself and thus form an "objective" view. This involves in addition a subsequent forgetting that this is in fact a relation of dependency; and 3. the

categorization of what it is to be like and different in this society. So, although at first sight the Hellenic form seems to present us with a more life-like image, we must understand that this appearance is steeped in uncertainties and contingencies that form the very foundations or conditions of its existence.

The mummy mask suggests an uncanny role precisely because it is fitted to a face, which turns its interior into an indexical sign. The Hellenic-Roman attitude grafts on this form of signification a second one, in the iconic mode. This contributes to an ambivalent understanding of these portrait-masks. The ambivalence lies in the assumptions of continuous presence embodied by the form of indexical signification, and the transience implied by the iconic-mimetic mode. Perhaps in Roman Egypt this mixture of signification modes may have offered a way to show the deceased already in the afterworld, in an ever-lasting presence, as has been suggested by E. Friesländer.[80] This was done by using the age-old Egyptian indexical mode together with the Hellenistic iconic mode. But this was an iconic mode that had been stripped of many of its methods of showing doubt, since all the portraits assume the same pose, and the same unified background.[81] This form of integration created an Egyptian ever-presentness stated in Hellenic terms, or a Hellenic Transcendence (ability to objectify) taken in another direction – not the transcendence of society and its ability to formulate itself, but perhaps a more personal transcendence in the direction of other-worldly existence. This mixture was thus not "Egyptian", because it had an element of doubt in it as to the validity of a complete ever-presentness (or ever-regeneration, which is another form of it). It also was not Hellenic because it used the indexical mode to signify the disavowal of transience, and it modified the Hellenic iconic mode in its own direction of the disavowal of objectivity. It was, rather, a new creation that perhaps reflected a transcendence, which manifested itself in the direction of a belief in an existence beyond this world. The face that was created was perhaps the face as we would experience it if we were also in that blessed mode of existence.

Conclusion

Facial here-ness as an indicator of presence is one of the issues that seem "natural" and are therefore all the more suspect of hiding a metaphysical system. The many paradoxes inherent in the concept of the face lead to my hypothesis that the actual face may be a signified, which is forever illusive in the present, yet always already there. This illusiveness manifested itself in ancient Classical culture as various forms of representations, which formed different kinds of relationships with each other and with the face, and thus

reconstructed it. The representations dealt with in this article - the portrait and the mask - were constituted using various forms of significations, which interact between themselves to create complex concepts of the "face".

The description of the theater mask, as the "face seen by the Other" seems a useful definition for understanding the function of the mask in the formulation of the face in the fifth century BC. The portraits of this period partake in these mask-like qualities of representation and form symbolic signs by virtue of a relation of signifier to signifier, while maintaining an arbitrary relationship (in regard to likeness) with their model. The portrait's name and attributes of societal role perform the function of pointing to a specific person. The face of this period is constructed by conflating mythical masks and societal portraits. The post-Classical period is different in its new insistence on actual viewing as the originating point of the portrait. This puts the portrait in an iconic and indexical relationship with its model, which stresses his uniqueness. Theater masks in the New Comedy form a new classification or typology of society that helps in the construction of character and ethics. The face that masks and portraits construct is a face of integration between individuality and uniqueness on the one hand, and the roles one plays and one's moral possibilities, on the other. This integration is facilitated by an understanding of vision as seeing from a distance, one of its aspects being the uniqueness of such a sight and the other, its systemizing and unifying nature.

A unique mode of integration was seen in Roman Egypt. Here, the indexical mode of signification stresses the ever here-ness of the face. The Hellenic iconic mode, which is grafted on it, takes this ever here-ness in a specific direction. By casting doubt on the possibility of an everlasting moment or an everlasting regeneration in the Egyptian mode, it hints at the possibility of escaping transience in the direction of a transcendence of otherworldly nature. It shows the face as the possibility of a personalized and unique existence beyond this world and this time. Further developments, such as the Roman *imagines*, social changes, the understanding of vision as directed inward, would eventually change these forms of representation and formulate new conceptions of the face.

Notes

1. A few examples. Richter 1965, I: 18 explains the portraits as partaking in a dichotomy between realism and idealism. The portraits in the late fifth century BC were

progressively realistic, "each is a real likeness". Toynbee 1973: 9, 'For the purposes of this book a Roman historical portrait is defined as the true, individual, realistic likeness of an identifiable, specific personage…' See also Kleiner 1992: 31; Breckenridge 1968: 82-84.

2. For theater masks in general, see Bieber 1961; Wiles 1991 with further bibliography, Wiles 2000; Marshal 1999. There were other forms of facial representations such as the masks of the elders - the *imagines maiorum* in Rome, but these will not be dealt with in this paper. See Polybius 6. 53-54; Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae* 35. 4-14. See also Flower 1996: 10-15, 23-26, 32-33, 59.

3. Since we tend to read a lot of information about the person from the face, it seems that representations of the face also play a major role in these considerations. On the variety of information we can learn from the face, see Roth I. and V. Bruce, *Perception and Representation*, Buckingham 1995: 138-193 (facial recognition and identification); Ekman, P., W. Friesen, *Unmasking the Face*, Englewood Cliffs, 1975; Ekman P. (ed.), *Emotions in the Human Face*, Cambridge, 1982 (emotions); Berry, D., and J. L. Finch Wero, "Accuracy in Face perception: A view from Ecological Psychology", *Journal of Personality*, 61 n. 4 (1993), 497-520 (character and personality with further bibliography); Bull, R., N. Rumsey, *The Social Psychology of Facial Appearance*, New York, 1988 (connections between face and person evaluation). In ancient culture the connection between facial appearance and person evaluation was even more pronounced in the science of Physiognomy, which made a definite connection between bodily and facial appearance and between traits of character; see for instance, Evans 1969.

4. Breckenridge 1968: 5 poses this key question; still on 82-84 he uses the same terminology. At first glance it may seem possible in Classical studies to actually compare the original face to the representation in the study of mummy portraits – especially those from Roman Egypt. The direction hinted at here is the one taken by several contemporary studies that try to determine the relationship between a recoverable "original" face and its representation. These are important studies, but contrary to one might expect they do not clarify the matter once and for all, but open up new problems. For instance, Filer 1997: 121-122, reports on earlier studies in which sometimes there is a match between age and gender of the mummy and sometimes complete disagreement. His own C.A.T. scanning of eight mummies from the Ptolemaic and Roman periods reveal an agreement between sex and age findings from the scan with those suggested by the mummy portraits (122-125). Other studies have tried to "reconstruct" the face using the mummies as evidence, see Walker 2000: 46-47, catalogue no. 9. But here the argument seems circular since there is no way of knowing how the faces actually looked without agreeing in advance with our own culture's definition of likeness and our way of representing it. In addition, current reconstruction artists establish the way a face could have looked based on knowledge of average skin and fat thickness. This is statistical knowledge and I am not quite sure how exact it could be in regard to ancient Egypt. In addition, 'averages can never match the delicate topographic features of a given individual', Enlow 1996: 122. Perhaps the ancient artist who saw the actual and specific model is more reliable regarding the particular face. The reason that this

line of study is only minutely relevant for this article is, as I am trying to establish, not a lack of the facts (if we only knew the facts of the face we could establish its connection to the representation…) but a more fundamental lack. This lack bars us from "originality" because of our existence in society, in language and in a specific situation, which is always different from another situation. The bare facts of the face can never be known or rather they are accessible only through their representations. A more fruitful direction is suggested in the article by Ovadiah and Frieslaender 2000, which looks at the mimetic conventions used in these portraits. My study will go further in this direction and suggest other forms of sign making which operate in the process of producing and viewing the portraits from Roman Egypt and other classical portraits.

5. Gombrich 1972 discusses the art-historical aspects of this. He reflects on the two problems noted here: namely, the changes in the face because of the passage of time and the different situation that we are constantly in, which he refers to as the application of the mask to the face, see Gombrich 1972: 3-17. The triad of face mask and portrait will have a major role in my study, but I will try to put them in a systematic relationship to each other, which is not fully explored in Gombrich's article.

6. I utilize semiotic theory based on Sauseurian linguistics. Jameson summarizes Derrida`s position on this issue (1972: 173-176): The classical conception of the sign as a necessary relationship between Thing and Name must be replaced by a conception which doubts the "Metaphysics of Presence" – The idea that we could come face to face once and for all with objects. Instead, Derrida, following Levinas, introduces the concept of the trace. Contrary to the present-ness it seems to evoke – the signifier as a trace is the impossible, but actual, belief in a past that was never a present , see also Jameson 1972: 186-187. The acoustic, or in our case visual images, are the ones that create the notion of a presence. But this is not via some mystical connection with an original meaning or object, but through their mutual interaction as acoustic or visual images. Yet the notion of the trace does not abandon the belief in an origin (because then the whole notion of the sign would be meaningless), rather it points out (the perplexing fact) that the origin is reciprocally an origin only by virtue of the non-origin. To have a "meaning", in our case a face, is already to take into account a past in which this face existed, yet that past was never actual - an always already absent present. Derrida 1982: 11-13, and P. Spivak, *Introduction to Derrida* 1976: xvii-xviii, with relevant quotes from Derrida.

7. Mauss 1985: 4-12.

8. 'The immediate point is that in both their structure and their mode of operation, the terminological systems conduce to a view of the human person as an appropriate representative of a generic type, not a unique creature with a private fate.' Geertz 1984: 129.

9. The moral obligations of a person shift between types of individuals, such as between his own tribe and people of other tribal groups or people of other statuses. In opposition to Christian ethics which delegate an intrinsic worth to an individual life, in the Gahuku-Gama 'it is clear that the value of an individual life is primarily

dependant on these social criteria' (a social tie or membership in a particular social group), Read 1967: 192-202; quotation from 202.

10. Mauss 1985: 14-19.

11. Nédoncelle 1948: 299.

12. Nédoncelle 1948: 284-285. *Prosopon*`s first meaning is face, but very early it also came to mean mask, *ibid*. 279.

13. For the term *prosopon* see Nédoncelle 1948: 278-281. For *persona, ibid*. 296-298.

14. Nédoncelle 1948: 281; 296-298.

15. See Cicero's *personae* theory following Panaetius' *prosopon* theory, Gill 1988: 173-176, 179-182, 187-196. See also text to n. 64.

16. Castoriadis 1991: 20-21.

17. See Frankfort 1949: 12-14 for a formulation of this in reference to the question of what is meant by knowledge.

18. See Jay 1994: 25, 30-32, who formulates this distinction as between a distancing of subject from object and a self-reflecting mirroring of the same.

19. Castoriadis 1991: 20. I diverge here slightly from Castoriadis' presentation of the autonomy achieved in Greece. He sees the striving towards a personal and a collective autonomy as two facets of the same tendency, which manifests itself in philosophy and in politics respectively. I stress rather the founding of institutions for reaching agreement.

20. For instance, the two stories about the painter Zeuxis: one, that in order to form the image of the beautiful Helen for the people of Kroton, he used five virgins as models, and then made a composite image of them. The other story tells that his imitation of grapes was so perfect that it deceived the birds that flew to them. (The story continues that Parrhasios later surpassed him), Pollitt 1990: 150-151. I am formulating this as a dichotomy between an autonomy of vision as an experience in actuality (the distinct individual, the actual grapes) and the realization that representation is dependant on an agreement about the categorization of reality (the same and the different), without which there would be no demarcation, and same and different would have no meaning.

21. See Brilliant 1991: 7, who presents Gadamar's view that in order for a portrait to be considered as one, it must establish a relationship between a specific existent person and his representation. The problem of course lies in – what does it mean to exist? At this stage I am suggesting that Existence is closely connected to some form of communality. This means that there can be a portrait of Homer because "Homer" exists in the community's thoughts. The demand that the proof of existence in portraits should be mediated by actual sight is a later development, as I will elaborate below. Even this was never practiced in its extreme form in Classical culture; namely, the demand that the portrait be actually done in the presence of the model.

22. See Fink 1995: 3-5. I use "Other" here in the Lacanian sense of that which we are born into and has the power to formulate our lives and our thoughts. It allows communication, but it does so by first alienating us from our prior existence and then by naturalizing that alienation. See also n. 42 below.

23. This is clearest in Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, see Wiles 2000: 19, 58-59.

24. See Wiles 2000: 128-130.
25. See Zanker 1995: 11-14 for the problems in interpretation of these copies or adaptations.
26. Vernant 1982: 60-61, sees the basis of the equality (*isonomia*) in the feeling of likeness: 'All those who shared in the state were defined as *homoioi* – men who were alike – and later more abstractly as *isoi*, or equals'.
27. According to Breckenridge, there is a heroicizing tendency in these portraits, see Breckenridge 1968: 87-93. I might add that this may be a function of the parallelism between myth and the imaginary city.
28. See Richter 1965, I: 75 for the position of the statues.
29. The poet Anacreon distinguishes himself as a model citizen showing restraint in speaking in public, but his problematic biography as a friend of the tyrants (the Peisistratids) and an indulger in an Ionic "soft" way of life is not brought into consideration, see Zanker 1995: 24-31. Pericles' life story and the personal struggles he encountered are not reflected in his portrait either. The juxtaposition of Xanthippus and Anacreon in the Athenian agora celebrates the ability to distinguish oneself in respect to the roles or possibilities offered by the polis.
30. See Pollitt 1986: 59-62.
31. See Hawks 1977: 25-26, 129. The foremost example of this type of sign is language.
32. This herm of Pericles is inscribed with his name. Although it is of a Roman date, there is evidence for the actual base in Athens, which was inscribed. Richter 1965, I: 104. But, as we can see in the following story, sometimes even names were not allowed. See Aeschines, III, 186 (*Against Ctesiphon*), about the refusal of Miltiades` request that his name be inscribed in the *stoa poikile*. Breckenridge understands this as referring to Miltiades' request that his name be inscribed on the painting of the battle of Marathon so that his likeness could be recognized. Eventually, the only way he could be recognized was following permission to depict him at the head of his men, Breckenridge 1968: 88.
33. Richter, 1965, I: 95, 99.
34. Zanker 1995: 57-58; 63-65. The patriotic renewal of Athens by Lycurgus had its eyes on the past. It showed the great Athenians of the past as exemplary citizens. Even Miltiades the victor of Marathon, later convicted of treason, was conceived of as a moderate citizen with a mantle, who had returned to ordinary life, not as a *strategos* with a helmet.
35. Zanker 1995: 63-64.
36. Vernant 1982: 61-62 sees the equality of the polis as rooted in earlier aristocratic equality among members of the same group. It may therefore be justified to compare these earlier portraits with the status of the face in fifth century Athens since they both shared the ideal of sameness and equality among a certain class. Fifth century democracy broadened that class to all male citizens, not just the *aristoi*.
37. Stewart 1997: 65-70. Stewart counters this with the play of difference. He sees these forces as forming the type of the *kouros*, and criticizes conceptions that see the type's historical evolution as a function of forces of "realism" or "naturalism". See Stewart 1997: 65, 68. This fits well with my criticism of the view of "face" as a fixed entity whose naturalness can be recognized and other products compared to it.

38. Stewart 1997: 66.
39. See Stewart 1997: 63-64 for the large number of *kouroi*. See also above for the vicinity of Xanthippus and Anacreon.
40. Wiles says that the tragic theater mask of the fifth century BC exhibits the characteristic of drawing equal attention to face and body, Wiles 1997: 77.
41. 'There could be no sense of uniqueness of the individual once the actor donned his tragic mask, in accordance with the principal that classical art should deal in universal truths', Wiles 1991: 69.
42. Marshall 1999: 188-189, the actors were able to give the mask multiple expressions.
43. This is against Marshal 1999: 190, point 8 and nn. 21-23. Otherness should be understood in the case of the mask as Otherness coming from within society and language. See n. 22 above. It is not meant to alienate the audience at this stage because this type of Otherness is the one society aims to naturalize. Its Otherness is forgotten. The construction of the "face" as achieved by the mask and portrait as this stage naturalizes this conception of the face within the city. This may seem to counter authors such as Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux, who see the mask as having a function of "Otherness" or of dethreading or reversing the centrality with which we tend to view ourselves as subjects by making us the object of the look, see Frontisi-Ducroux 1989:151-153; Vernant 1991: 111-112. What I contend, therefore, is that the mask functions not as a signifier of Otherness, which reverses cultural norms, but as a way in which society, utilizing masks, works to naturalize Otherness. Perhaps we could say that the mask I refer to operates within the realm of Otherness, which is the realm of laws, regulations and the steering of the individual into ready-made forms. The otherness that is defined from "across the borders" (the demon or the god, Dionysus, Gorgon, Satyrs), or outside and before language may be the vision of complete enjoyment that decenters our vision of ourselves as those who are constituted in language, see Fink 1995: 107. The Otherness that works inside society has the tricky job of simultaneously estranging us from existence and making us forget that estrangement, so that we can recognize the existents (objects and faces). This is what I mean by categorization which allows us to recognize the similar and the different by making us forget that it can only do so by first splitting us from the impossible multifariousness and meaninglessness of that existence.

    Perhaps the difference between these two notions of Otherness is signified in the mask of the god as frontality, while Otherness that comes from within society is naturalized by its reference to the whole head. Frontality may only be experienced in two-dimensional representations or reliefs and perhaps this is a characteristic of the masks referred to by Vernant and Frontisi-Ducroux. The tragic masks I am referring to operate within a society in which to be a person is a function of role. Athenian Democratic society takes that function of the tragic mask and instills it in the actual democratic face.
44. I use the word "imaginary" in the sense of something that is imagined and subsequently imaged. It is not opposed to "real", but may actually conduce reality and partake in it.
45. Wiles 1991: 68-69, 71, 87. The ability of the character to expose an "inside" which is different from the "mask" is virtually impossible in Classical masks. This seems to

have started to change in New Comedy, which deals with "people as they are". Pollux's catalogue of New Comedy masks is far more extensive than masks of the Classical period and allows an interaction between types of masks to create new meanings for every specific play, Wiles 1991: 71, 87. Some masks may be asymmetrical, and this allows some form of double-entendre, Wiles 1991: 82; 166-167. The masks may be seen acting in the play and at the same time addressing a different message to each other or to the audience.

46. See Wiles 1991: 83-85.

47. Ethics may be understood here as *a judgment of character* - what is a good character to have or what is human excellence and how does it lead to human fulfillment. This form of Ethics has been termed "virtue ethics", Stateman 1997: 7-8; 17-18; Taylor 1991: 6. It seems that this is the main question for writers about ethics in Antiquity. The consequences of this for the tale may be a finding out of the true character (and hence the ability for fulfillment), as revealed by a certain action. For the Stoic formulation of personal excellence as a function of the role one is allotted to play in life, see Taylor 1991:48-49, more elaborately worked out by Gill 1988. For Aristotle's concept of virtue ethics as striving to fulfill the main function of a man (to be an excellent man) by perfecting the intellectual virtue – reason, see Taylor 1991: 59-71. The ancient virtue ethics position is opposed to what is generally named "duty ethics" which stresses what one ought to do based on some universal principles and understands moral reasoning as a matter of applying these principles, while the agent's well-being is given no positive moral value, Statman 1997: 3-8.

48. Wiles 1991: 85.

49. The consequences of this are a functional relationship between artist and model – which means a relationship of dependency or contingency. This is never fully realized in antiquity and it comes to the fore only in modern painting, perhaps starting with Velasquez, see M. Foucault, *The Order of Things*, New York, 1973, 3-16.

50. For elaboration, see the text below referring to the full-length statue of Chrysippus, see also Brunner-Traut 1986: 425-426, 433, and text to n. 78.

51. On these types of signs, see Hawks 1977: 25-26; 128-129; that portraits form an indexical mode of signification is suggested by Steiner 1977: 112, following Pierce. I emphasize the difference between indexicality that relies on the actual observation of the model and the earlier mode of pointing that utilizes the name of the "model", but does not insist on the verification of his existence using vision.

52. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae*, 7.125.

53. Pliny, *Naturalis Historiae,* 35.79-97; Pollitt 1990: 160. Pliny tells the story of Alexander's coming to Apelles' studio and discoursing on various aspects of painting. He explains this as a function of having decreed that the only one to paint his portrait would be Apelles.

54. See Stewart, 1993: 343, from Plutarch, *De Alexandri Magni Fortuna aut Virtute, Moralia,* 335A-B.

55. The conceptual framework for this is worked out in philosophy and in the ancient science of physiognomy, see Breckenridge 1968: 123; Evans 1969: 5.

56. The connections are elaborated by Wiles 1991. New Comedy's system of masks

revealed to the audience a preset tendency in the participants' *ethos* (character), Wiles 1991: 3-4. This is only a tendency and it is refined in dialectic between the words and the mask. This is because a mask of the New Comedy had multiple features which could be understood fully only in relation to other masks and to the action of the play, *ibid.*, 71, 87. The association of mask (*prosopon* or *persona*) with character and hence with ethics was understood as the revelation of virtue through the choices of characteristics or habits made by a person. Physiognomical theorizing was used to form the relationship between a person's appearance and his character, *ibid.*, 86-88. Philosophical theorizing as to the unity of a person, allowed a vision of the connections of "internal" and "external" characteristics (moral life and physical appearance respectively), *ibid.,* 69; 85. Stoic philosophical theorizing in this area linked the concepts of *prosopon* and *persona* with a person's uniqueness, his social role and his moral obligations. This was first worked out by the Greek philosopher Panaetius and later taken up by Cicero, see nn. 15 above, and 64 below.

57. I am assuming an influence of masks on portraits, but it may be argued that the influence was also the other way around. The example I will bring is from Chrysippus' portrait, which I claim was influenced by masks invented for Menander's plays a generation earlier. Since actual archaeological evidence from the time itself (the actual masks or Chrysippus' "original" portrait) is lacking, I offer a hypothesis and try to show its plausibility from the existing evidence. The examples themselves may be from Pompeii or Lipari, while the portraits are of a Roman date.

58. Wiles sees in the period following Aristotle a change in the conception of the person as dependent on the polis. The question the comedies answer is: Are you foremost a member of the polis or a member of humanity? see Wiles 1991: 30. Yet Wiles warns against using the modern sense of autonomy for ancient Hellenic culture, which always endorsed a view of interconnections of person and society, *ibid.*, 186-187. Swain maintains that contrary to accepted opinions, the city remained the locus of identity in Hellenistic and Imperial times, see Swain 1998: 108-109. See the following references for the working out of the interconnection between individual and community in post-Classical and Hellenistic Philosophies, and the distinctions between ancient conceptions of individuality and ethics and modern enlightenment concepts: MacIntyre 1985: 54-55; 155-156; 194-196; 220-221; Long 1983: 184-191; Gill 1988: 172-176; 179-182; Gill 1996: 15-16; 61-69.

59. Zanker 1995: 38-39 (Socrates), 94-95 (Zeno), 96-102 (Chrysippus).

60. See Zanker 1995: 110-113, who compares Chrysippus with marginal types such as a fisherman seen in portraits. See Wiles 1991: 83-85 for interpretation of the masks.

61. Arnold 1911: 274-279, Long 1996: xiii, 141-143, Zanker 1995: 112.

62. See Zanker 1995: 98-99. Chrysippus was described as 'The knife that cuts through the Academic's knots'.

63. In the case of ruler portraits, individual sighting is combined with the mask of the hero or of the God. According to Smith, this mode is in conflict with the civic portrait, which forefronts the tension between soul and body, Smith 1988: 110-111.

64. See Panaetius and Epictetus' theories and their reflection in Cicero, Gill 1988: 173-

174, 188-193.

65. Later on in the history of art it might change into as "experienced by myself" or as "subjective feeling".

66. I hope to deal with this in future publications. The first stage of this development may be seen in Plato, but its vivid manifestation starts with Plotinus. See Alliez and Feher 1989, 47-63, esp. 62-63, in reference to the myth of Narcissus. This may be the beginning of a new formulation of the face in which looking from without may be a hindrance, not an asset. It is coupled with a new formulation of the subject as centered on the soul, which has a connection to divinity. But the later modernist experience of the uniquely felt and independent self, with its accompanying questioning of the value of representation due to the relation of dependency it is based upon and the inherited nature of its materials and formulas, is only hinted at in antiquity.

67. The conception that Roman Egyptian portrait masks are a continuation of Egyptian funerary traditions seems accepted by many scholars now. For the opinion that these were mystical Egyptian beliefs in Romanized form, see Corcoran 1997: 47-51; that they form continuity with Egyptian funerary forms, see Shore 1972, 25-26; Corcoran 1995: 3, quoting Root, *Faces of Immortality*. Corcoran 1997: 51.

68. Quoted from Ikram and Dodson 1998: Fig. 192. See also Taylor 2000: 10.

69. For an overview, see Taylor 2000: 9-13.

70. In fact there was even a custom in the Middle Kingdom of portraying the dead in an every-day outfit on the mummy-board. Ikram and Dodson 1998: 171 and Fig. 226. So even the Roman custom of depicting the deceased in everyday clothing was not new.

71. There is an ongoing debate as to when the portraits were actually made. See Frieslaender 2000: 89-90, nn. 4, 5, 6 for the varying points of view. Frieslaender concludes that in view of the iconography, composition, and details of expression the portraits were conceived only after death, *ibid.,* 97. This may not fit well with my own views on the iconic mode of these portraits, which seems to have involved a viewing of the model while alive. Montserrat 1997: 37 believes these portraits were painted after death, and argues for the conventionality or social realities of these portraits, not their naturalistic ones. Corcoran 1997: 50 holds that the portraits may have been done during lifetime for cultic purposes, but even she believes that this is a portrait only in the "symbolic" sense; Corcoran 1997: 51 quotes D. Thompson, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, 1982, 15. So even scholars, who see a possibility for the portrait during life, are inclined to view it as conventional. In my view this "conventionality" or reflection of social realities is never absent from Classical art and I referred to it as the "mask"– the face as seen by the "Other" of society, that which is reflected in theater masks and which is always represented in Classical portraits. This does not exclude the assumption of a new form of signification that relies, not on the conventionality of the mask (the relationship of mask to mask), but on a new iconic relationship, which creates a three-way interaction between model, artist and spectator. This may not have to actually be produced in a viewing but it assumes the origin of the portrait is in

such a viewing. See below for the signs of such a viewing in the mummy paintings.

72. Walker 2000: 25: 'A remarkable coexistence of a Greek cultural heritage, a Roman domination of the political and social order, and a faith in the only religious system to offer a coherent vision of the afterlife thus survived in some centers into the fourth century AD. Throughout the three centuries of mummy portraiture there is no evidence of any break in continuity or of any conflict between the disparate elements of this delicately balanced way of life'.

72a. Walker 2000: Figs. 30, 39, 40, and 64.

73. Eisenstadt 1986: 29.

74. This may also be formulated as the ability to form "second order" thinking – a thinking about thinking, see Elkana 1986: 48-58. See also Frankfort 1949: 13-14, 20-21 – on the differences between objective and subjective in Classical and pre-Classical societies of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

75. I utilize Eisenstadt's general reference to the exploration of the cosmos and of the social and political order as 'a strong this-worldly orientation of this transcendental vision', for the specific area of vision, Eisenstadt 1986: 29.

76. In Hellenic society this took the form of a systematization of knowledge in philosophy and science and a constant reconstruction of the political and social order, see Eisenstadt 1986: 2-3, 5-6, 29-31.

77. For the formulation of this concept of "homology", see Wilson 1949: 71-75. I utilize this concept in the area of art and vision.

78. Brunner Taut aptly comments on Egyptian space and time: 'They have no dynamism, only form'. The description of Egyptian attitudes to space and time is based on Brunner-Traut 1986: 429-445, esp. 430, 437, 441. I am aware that there are divergences from this mode in Egyptian art, but I refer to the typical forms.

79. This project was of course never fully realized in Antiquity, because autonomy was conflated with religion and with societal conventions, and that gave rise to the varying and often conflicting views of mimesis during that age. The exposition of sign referring to the face, which was taken up in this article, is an instance of the juxtaposition of these various views.

80. Friesländer 2000: 91-94.

81. Friesländer 2000: 91-92.

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Aquatic Figure Types from Caesarea-Maritima*

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A large number of sculpted images associated with water have been found among the ruins of Caesarea. The corpus includes statues of fishermen, of the Dioscuri, of Eros riding a dolphin, of the *Genius* and the Tyche of the city, of Aphrodite, Priapos, Isis, Serapis, Asclepios, Hygieia, Apollo, Hecate and Dea-Roma. All of these figures were associated either with seawater, sweet water or shores and embarkations – Aphrodite by nature, the others in accordance with their deeds or duties.

The Caesarean images of the above listed deities (with the exception of Tyche[1] and Aphrodite), though being mostly of common types, lack in most cases the attributes relating to aquatic functions. Nonetheless, and in spite of the fact that most of the images were found in later fills, sometimes far from their original contexts, the complementary evidence suggests that they can all be referred in some way or another, directly or indirectly, to the harbor activities and the *salus* – wealth and health – of the inhabitants of Caesarea. These aspects, regarding Tyche, Isis, Serapis, Asclepios, Hygieia, Apollo and Hecate, have been discussed in my article "Representations of Deities and the Cults of Caesarea,"[2] and more extensively in a forthcoming chapter on "The Sculptural Decoration of Herod's Circus", and will not be dealt with here. The present discussion will focus on images of Aphrodite, Eros riding a dolphin, the Dioscuri, Dea Roma, fishermen and the nymphaeum statuary (Hygieia and the *Genius* of the city).

The Aphrodite Types [3]
As no definite evidence of Aphrodite's cult in Caesarea exists, not one of her images found in the city can unequivocally be considered a cult statue. Almost

Fig. 1: *Aphrodite removing her sandal*. The
Israel Antiquities Authoity.

all of the pieces are headless and were found out of their original context, making it impossible to know which stood for the goddess and which were meant to be portrait-statues in her guise. Apart from a lead statuette taken from a tomb by Dan Bahat in 1966,[4] the rest of the Caesarean images of Aphrodite seem to belong to the aquatic figure types. Seven of the types are presented below, the rest are included in a report on the sculpture uncovered in the ruins of Roman and Byzantine Caesarea in the years 1992-1998 (in preparation).

a. Aphrodite removing her sandal: A bronze statuette of Aphrodite and Priapos was found in two parts during an underwater survey carried out south of Caesarea in 1987 by Haifa University, directed by E. Galili and A. Angert.[5] The statuette depicts Aphrodite untying her sandal, while leaning with her left arm against a column surmounted by an image of Priapos (Fig. 1).

From the Hellenistic period on, the motif of removing a sandal, formerly used for Nike in her Temple parapet on the Acropolis,[6] was also adopted for Aphrodite. In regard to Aphrodite the motif is interpreted as a ritual act that the goddess performed in preparation for her sacred bath.[7] The type was

Fig. 2: Aphrodite *Anadyomene*. The Israel
Antiquities Authoity.

common in South-Italy, Egypt, Asia-Minor and the islands during the late
Hellenistic period, and was widely copied in the Roman Period.[8] Statuettes of
this type could have been owned by private homes,[9] kept as apotropaic objects
by mariners, or offered to the goddess in her sanctuaries.[10] The Caesarean
statuette, found on sea bed together with other belongings of a sunken ship,[11]
was probably owned by one of the sailors, not only because of the marine
nature of Aphrodite, but also due to the presence of Priapos, her son.[12]

From poems in Priapos' honor it becomes clear that he was considered the
god of harbors and protector of sea-merchants, fishermen, and navigators in
general.[13] In one of the dedications, Archelaus asks Priapos, the 'God of the
harbor,' for a blessing on his voyage.[14] In other dedications Priapos himself
encourages mariners, fishermen and other seafarers to set sail, promising them
his protection, or giving them useful advice and instructions.[15]

b. The Anadyomene type: A marble statuette of Aphrodite accompanied by
either Priapos, Hermes or Eros, was found by the IAA expedition in 1995 in a
disturbed layer (where *decumanus* S5 and *cardo* W1 intersect) not far from a
domestic Roman bath (Fig. 2).[16] Though Aphrodite's upper body is missing,

Fig. 3:   Aphrodite *Pudica*. Sdot-Yam Museum.

the arrangement of the drapery, firmly knotted around the hips, suggests that the figure was not holding up the garment with her hand to cover her genitalia in a gesture of modesty; rather she was arranging her hair, lifting a bunch of curls in each hand in order to tie them together on the crown of her head.

This type, though not showing the goddess rising from the sea, is called *Anadyomene* in association with Apelles' Aphrodite, painted for the sanctuary of Asklepios on the island of Kos.[17] Although no description of the lost painting is available, the types of the half-draped or fully nude goddess arranging her hair, in sculpture[18] and on mosaic pavements,[19] are considered to be its derivatives. The differences between the versions may be explained as reflecting different stages in the bathing sequence, and when the goddess is accompanied by a dolphin or a Triton, the preceding bath in the sea, rather than the rising from the sea, is perhaps suggested.[20]

Like the Aphrodite removing her sandal, the *Anadyomene* Aphrodite too is accompanied by Priapos.[21] If the figure standing by the goddess' side in the Caesarean piece really is Priapos, and if it did not belong to the decoration of the Roman bath, it could possibly have had the same meaning and function as the bronze statuette shown in Fig. 1 (type a), even though the context of discovery is different.

c. The Pudica type: Also associated with the goddess' bath, or with her being born from the sea, are the *pudica* types, especially when shown with the drapery falling over a vase, or accompanied by an Eros riding a dolphin.[22] Havelock argues that the goddess is depicted naked because of her divine birth in the sea and her seafaring responsibilities as *Euploia* at Knidos, and not because she is engaged in a bath.[23] 'The *hydria*,' she writes, 'implies the wide range of her powers, her fertility, her unending freshness and youth.'[24] Havelock's comment,

Fig. 4. Aphrodite *Pudica*. The Israel Antiquities
Authoity.

that the use of a dolphin, a tree, or an Eros (sometimes riding a dolphin) as supporting motif was due to the copyists' preferences,[25] serves to support the idea that these attributes, as well as the vase[26] or garment, were intentionally added as reference to either Aphrodite's sacred bath or her marine origin and function.

The fragmentary marble piece from Caesarea (Fig. 3),[27] although half-draped, can be classified among the *pudica* types. The drapery held in the goddess' left hand, with the intention of covering the genitalia, is wrapped over the loin and leg on which she leans. The upper body is missing, making it impossible to know whether the right arm was raised towards the head, like the restored arm of the Uffizi Aphrodite,[28] or bent above the breast so as to hide it, as in the Capitoline and Medici Aphrodites,[29] and in several portrait statues in the goddess' guise of modesty.[30]

The fragmentary statuette (Fig. 4), found by the IAA expedition in 1994,[31] can also be classified with the *pudica* types. Similar to the former example (Fig. 3), the goddess is holding the corner of the drapery that covers her left thigh.

Fig. 5. Aphrodite *Pontia Euploia*.
Combined Caesarea Expedition.

Although the upper body is missing, it is apparent, based on the arrangement of the drapery at the back and on the figure's right side, that the edge of the dress was hanging over the goddess' right arm in a manner similar to the Mazarin (or Landolina) type.[32] The statuette was found during the excavation of the Byzantine bath complex; yet the context of discovery in the fill between a mid 3rd century CE floor and an early Byzantine one, indicates that the Caesarean statuette could not have been part of the decoration of the bath. Its original context and function, whether in the public or the private sphere, is unknown.

d. The Pontia Euploia type: Though the *Pontia Euploia* type is often identified with Aphrodite, the protectress of seafarers, it is arguable whether the prototype is that of the goddess herself or of a nymph. It is, however, generally accepted that the type was meant to represent an acquatic divinity, often shown holding or leaning on a vase lying on its side on top of a column, and accompanied by an Eros riding a dolphin.[33]

Obviously, some of the *Pontia Euploia* statues can be considered fountain figures. The one from Ephesos, for example, came from a nymphaeum;[34] and the one from Perge, now in the Antalya Museum, came from one of the rooms of the southern thermae.[35] It is highly likely that the Caesarean example (Fig. 5), found by the Combined Caesarea Expedition in the fill of the Herodian quay of the inner harbor in 1993,[36] was also used as a marine or fountain figure placed by the water. However, as the head, arms and base of the figure are missing, the reconstruction and exact identification of the statue are not possible. It may have borne a portrait of a Roman lady, like the *Pontia Euploia* portrait statues in the Conservatori and Capitolino museums.[37]

Fig. 6. Venus *Marina*. The Israel Antiquities
Authoity.

e. The Marina type: The so-called *Venus Marina* type was probably also inspired by representations of nymphs.[38] Like the *Pontia Euploia*, the *Venus Marina* is usually shown holding or leaning on a vase or a dolphin. Her left arm, supporting her loin, is covered by a mantle wrapped around her hips and legs in two layers. Though mistakenly identified by Vermeule as a young divinity or ruler,[39] the Caesarean piece (Fig. 6) is almost certainly a fragment of a statue of the *Venus Marina* type.[40] Such statues were used in both public and private contexts: the one from Oudna, for example, came from the city's thermae,[41] and the one from Pompeii from a private dwelling.[42] Where the Caesarean example was originally displayed, we will probably never know.

f. The 'Nymph' type: The 'Nymph' type, depicting a female figure standing with one foot on a rock, bending slightly forward while leaning with one or both arms on one of her knees, was adopted for representations of Aphrodite and Nymphs.[43] Muses are similarly represented, though frequently holding a musical instrument.[44] When identified as Aphrodite the figure is usually represented half draped.

Fig. 7. A Nymph. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

In the Caesarean version of the type (Fig. 7)[45] the figure is not leaning on her knee, instead raising her dress to expose her bent right leg. The missing left arm was probably raised, perhaps as in the terracotta figurine in the British Museum,[46] though in contrast with the British Museum example, that from Caesarea obviously held nothing in her hands.

The statuette was found in a Byzantine bath complex, one meter above the floor, and about three to four meters distance from a small fountain-basin, which has several small steps to its right, leading to nowhere. It has been suggested by Peter Gendelman, that the steps could have served, among other possibilities, for sculpted decoration.[47] The statuette, in spite of its small dimensions, could have functioned as an ornament for the fountain-basin, or been placed elsewhere in the bath, within a niche or on a shelf or other type of wall-protrusion.

g. The Crouching type: In the innumerable replicas of the *Crouching Aphrodite*, attributed to the Hellenistic sculptor Doidalsas of Bithynia, the goddess is totally nude, crouching in her sacred bath to receive a shower of water.[48] The type, regarded in Hellenistic times as 'appropriate for a sacred landscape, where water would have formed an element of the cult',[49] became in Roman times considered suitable for secular settings: private or public pools, where the goddess' reflection could be seen in the water; or fountains, where the goddess could enjoy the water flow.

It is an enticing possibility that the Caesarean piece (Fig. 8),[50] like the one from Antioch,[51] functioned as a fountain figure, especially since it was found reused in a stone fence on the south-west corner of the hippodrome, not far from the *euripus* recently found by Y. Porath.

Eros riding a dolphin

Erotes riding or carrying dolphins often served as pool and fountain adornment.[52] The fragment from Caesarea is badly damaged;[53] and though only the head of the dolphin and the arms of the rider remain, it is obvious that the dolphin was represented as if plunging into the water, with its head down and its body and tail raised upwards, similar to the fountain ornaments from Capua and Ephesus,[54] or in the *Pontia Euploia* Aphrodite in Berlin.[55] On its way, the Caesarean dolphin has managed to catch a fish. The rider was lying on his belly, clasping the dolphin's head with both arms.

The fracture on the right hand side of the fragment suggests that the group was originally attached to another figure. As Eros riding a dolphin is Aphrodite's companion in several statuary types,[56] we can not

Fig. 8. *The Crouching Aphrodite.* The National Maritime Museum, Haifa.

rule out the possibility that the Caesarean fragment was part of a statue of Aphrodite. Whether or not this was so, and whether it was placed by the water or elsewhere, the theme of Eros riding the dolphin is in itself evidence of its acquatic character.

Fishermen

Another type of fountain ornament is that of a fisherman.[57] The remains of two statues of fishermen were found among the ruins of Caesarea. The one in Milano, which is better preserved, was found in 1964, in the sands to the north of the lower aqueduct (Figs. 9-10).[58] In this piece the fisherman is seated on a high rock while fish swim past his feet. The support at the fisherman's back, and the unsculpted back of the rock, indicate that the statue was meant to be placed within a niche or against a wall, possibly of a *piscina,* fountain, or nymphaeum.

Fig. 9.   Fisherman. Arch. Museum, Milano.   Fig. 10. Fisheman. Arch. Museum, Milano.

It is not known where the fisherman now in the Sdot-Yam museum (Fig. 11) was found.[59] In this example the figure appears to be offering the fish for sale, rather than catching them. However, this impression could be due to the poor state of preservation or to the artist's lack of skill. As the back of the figure is carved, the statue could have been located in the middle of a pool or a fishpond (*piscina*).

The comparatively large number of fishponds uncovered at Caesarea[60] not only reflects the prosperity of certain Caesareans, but is also evidence of a trade. The *piscinae* uncovered recently by the IAA expedition are small Byzantine domestic breeding pools that provided their owners and guests with fresh fish. The numerous lead fishing-net weights found in the harbor, most likely lost by locals fishing, suggest that since the late 1st century 'Herod's breakwaters were of more use as artificial reefs enhancing a fishery than as protection from the sea ....'[61] Although most of the archaeological evidence is Byzantine, we may assume that *piscinae* for breeding and storing fish were also part of the urban architecture and life of Roman Caesarea.[62] Hence, the possibility that statues of fishermen were connected with fishponds is not out of the question.

Fig. 11. Fisherman. Sdot-Yam Museum.

Dea Roma

A small fragmentary relief showing an armed goddess on a galley was found by the IAA in the fill of Herod's circus in 1995 (Fig. 12).[63] The figure is frontally posed in the approximate center of the fragment, between the stern (*aplustre* or αφλαστον) and the stem (*prora*),[64] holding a spear in her raised right hand and a shield in her left. The goddess, dressed in *peplos* with *apoptygma*, is girded with either an *aegis* or a *periamma* whose cords fall diagonally from her shoulders to the center of her breast where they support a circular medallion.[65] Because of the damage it is hard to determine whether the head was originally helmeted; the proportions between the parts below and above the eyes, however, allow the assumption that it was. Style and technique suggest a late 1st century BCE or an early 1st century CE dating.

Although the figure is portrayed on the model of Athena,[66] identification as Roma, in view of the goddess' importance in Caesarea and the Caesarea and Rome interrelationships, should not be ruled out. The origin of the worship of Roma in the Greek-Hellenistic world, its link to the Ruler cult, the derivation of her images (in statuary, gems and coins) from Greek prototypes of Athena,

Fig. 12. Dea Roma. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

and her dominion over land and sea, have all been comprehensively studied.[67] It was under Augustus that Roma began the transition from deification of the Roman people to the symbol of the Empire. Her joint cult with Augustus created a symbol of the unity of the new Empire, although it was not till the time of Hadrian that Roma began to be worshiped in Rome itself.[68]

The Augustan attitude towards Roma is well reflected in poetry.[69] In Horace, for example, Augustus is termed guardian of Imperial Rome and Roma is referred to as *regia*, *potens* and *domina*,[70] which imply Roma as an emblem not only of the city of Rome but also of the entire state.

Like Roma, the ship too has been conceived as a metaphor for the State. As the oldest extant evidence of the Ship of State allegory dates back to the 6th century BCE, the Romans must have adopted the *topos* from Greek literature.[71] Among the examples cited by scholars to illustrate the concept, the controversial ode by Horace "*O navis referent*"[72] is the most prominent. Quintilian interpreted the ode as an allegory composed of a series of metaphors in which Horace represents the State under the semblance of a ship, the civil wars as tempests, and peace and good will as the haven.[73]

Fig. 13. Dioscuros. The Israel Antiquities
Authoity.

Correspondingly, Roman symbols such as Roma's head, the she-wolf, the fig tree of the forum and a fortress borne on Roman galleys in glyptic and numismatic material of late Republican and Imperial Rome, are also considered emblems of the State metaphor. Since Hadrian's reign imperial galleys on coins were labeled among others, as the Ship of Felicity, of Providence, of Abundance, and of the delight of Imperial Government.[74]

In addition to the Samothracian monument, a number of Hellenistic and Roman ship monuments have also survived. Some belonged to fountains, and several still retain traces of the statuary that was supported by them.[75] It is not unlikely that in some of the monuments the image was that of the deity with whom the monument was somehow associated. Supporting this supposition are the sculpted representations in the Dijon and Baia Archaeological Museums:[76] a bronze statuette of an unknown goddess and an image of Tutela of the navy of Miseno carved on a statue base, respectively.

The figure on the Caesarean relief is armed. Her appearance matches the description of Dea Roma as warlike (*bellatrix* or *Martia*) by Melinno, Ovid and Martial,[77] and in Augustan art.[78] Moreover, Caesarea Maritima was one of the Early Roman eastern cities, where the cult of Roma was joined with that of the

Fig. 14. The Dioscuros house (Drawing by Rivka Mushaev).

Emperor.[79] According to Josephus the statues of Roma and Augustus that Herod placed in their temple were in the guise of Hera in Argos and Zeus Olympios.[80] The description of the Caesarean Roma given by Josephus, though insufficiently detailed, does not accord with our knowledge on the Hellenistic and Early Roman representations of the goddess in the east. The statue must have been unarmed, as otherwise the likeness between this image and that of Hera of Argos would not have been mentioned. We may assume, based on what is known about Herod's connections with the Imperial court,[81] that the statue mentioned by Josephus was not the sole image of the goddess in the city.

The depiction on the Caesarean relief (Fig. 12), if it is indeed Dea Roma in the galley, could have been a token of Herod's loyalty to Augustus, of the arrival of Dea Roma at Caesarea, and of her duty as protectress of the newly built city and port, both named after the Emperor Augustus. Needless to say, it is only a fragment that we are dealing with, and so have no idea whether the goddess was accompanied by other figures and / or inscription. The above hypothesis may in the future be confirmed or refuted if the missing parts of the relief are discovered.

Fig. 15. View of one of the pedestals in the Dioscuros house. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

The Dioscuri (Castores):

The type presented in the Caesarean fragment (Fig. 13)[82] of one of the twin brothers standing beside a bust of his horse, is known from other Roman sites, mainly in Greece, Italy and North Africa. Most of the pieces came from public contexts like the Athenian Agora, the theater of Leptis Magna, the Apollo sanctuary of Cyrene, or the thermae at Baia and Cyrene.[83]

The Caesarean example was found by the IAA expedition in 1992 in a small room (A) of a large Roman house (Fig.14). It was found lying on the Roman mosaic floor, covered with debris, on top of which Byzantine flagstones were laid. Since the statue is broken and none of the missing fragments were found in the same room, it is reasonable to suggest that the statue was transferred to the room only after it had been damaged.

As in Roman times the Dioscuri were usually worshipped together and represented in pairs,[84] there is no reason to suspect that the Caesarean case is different. Peter Gendelman, who excavated the complex, suggested that the two pedestals (about 50 x 50 cm each) preserved on both sides of the main hall entrance, facing the peristyle pool (B in Fig. 14 and Fig. 15), may have supported the statues of the Dioscuri brothers.

Castor and Pollux, often referred to as Castores, were funerary and cosmic deities of salvation, patrons of the Roman army, of athletes and of athletic contests, and protectors of sailors, particularly against storms at sea.[85] If the Caesarean Dioscuri statues indeed originally stood at the access to the hall and
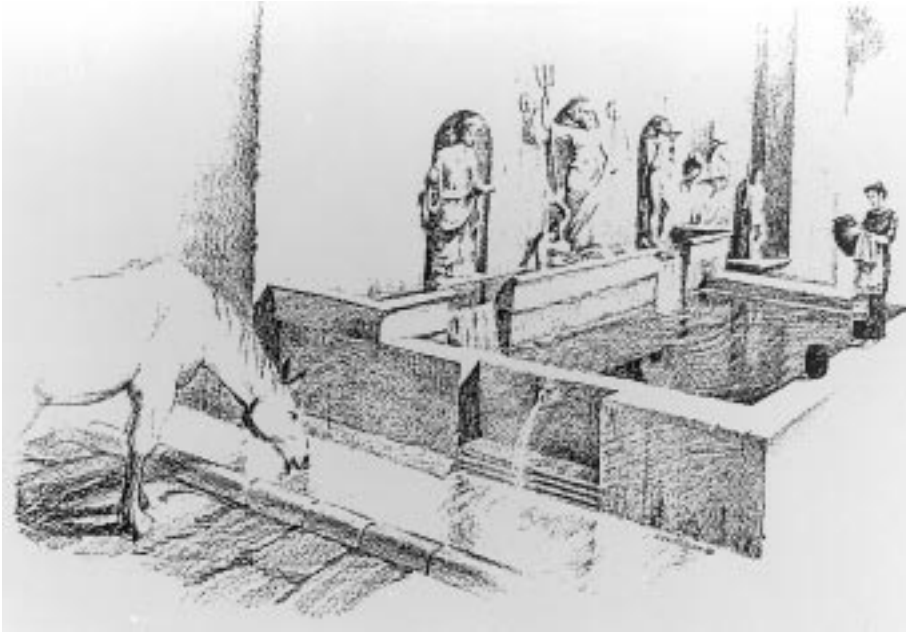
Fig. 16. Reconstruction of the nymphaeum (Drawing by Lev Filipov).

peristyle, what did this signify? Were they meant to be fountain figures, in recollection of watering their horses at the Juturna Fountain after their miraculous intervention at the battle of Lake Regillus (499 or 496 BCE), or should we consider a more sophisticated interpretation? We could perhaps draw some conclusion if we knew the owner's identity and status, but apart from several graffiti (not yet deciphered) found on fresco-fragments not far from the pedestals, no written information is as yet available. Until the graffiti are deciphered, we can only suggest that in Caesarea, an important seaport and station base of Roman legions, where athletic contests took place regularly, the Dioscuri could have been revered in all their aspects, and have even become an emblem for demonstrating the city's political and ideological association with Rome.[86]

The Nymphaeum statuary
The nymphaeum at the north-western corner of the Augustus and Dea Roma Temple Platform (Figs. 16,19),[87] excavated by Negev in the 60s., and again in 1994 by Sander from the IAA expedition, supplied us with two marble statues 1.75 and 1.56 m in height. The one uncovered by Negev (Figs. 17-18)[88] is that of an Emperor[89] or a *genius*,[90] semi-nude with his cloak falling from his right

Fig. 17. *Genius*. Frontal view. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

Fig. 18. *Genius*. Back view. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

shoulder to cover his back and fill in the space between his legs. A cornucopia laden with corn, grapes and other flora, is placed by the figure's right leg.

The statue uncovered by Sander lay under one of the nymphaeum niches (Figs. 19-20). It is of a standing female figure, dressed in *chiton* and *himation.* The *himation* with an overfold at the front, envelops the lower body and is gathered over the left forearm. Lev Filipov reconstructed the figure as Hygieia, based on similar representations of the goddess in the Pushkin and Kassel Museums.[91]

As many of the temples of the healing deities, Asclepios and Hygieia, were located beside water sources including healing springs, it is not surprising to find Hygieia functioning as a fountain ornament in nymphaea or thermae. Statues of Hygieia, for example, were found in the frigidarium of the forum thermae in Ostia, in the Villa Massimo-Negroni nymphaeum in Rome,[92] and in the Apamea nymphaeum in Syria.[93]

Considering the importance of the cult of Asclepios and Hygieia in Roman Caesarea,[94] we may argue that the Caesarean Hygieia (Fig. 20) could have been

Fig. 19. Hygieia when discovered. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

Fig. 20. Hygieia. The Israel Antiquities Authoity.

accompanied by a statue of Asclepios, as it had been in Ostia[95] and Apamea, rather than by Poseidon, as suggested by Filpov's reconstruction (Fig. 16).

In relation to Hygieia and Asclepios, the third figure with cornucopia (Figs. 17-18), may be interpreted as the *Genius* of the city. The three together would ensure the *salus* (welfare)[96] of the inhabitants of Caesarea in both respects: health and wealth. This tentative interpretation relies, of course, on the identification of each of the statues being correct.

In conclusion

The great number of acquatic images found in Caesarea is not surprising. In addition to the outer and inner harbors, the city had many water-facilities that could have been adorned with marine and fountain figures: private and public baths, gardens, *piscinae*, nymphaea, and fountains. The smaller statuettes could have belonged to individuals involved with water activities, like sailors and fishermen, or dedicated to one of the city's marine deities.

The main difficulty in defining the exact function of each image lies in the context of discovery. In many cases the poor state of preservation also presents

an obstacle. Apart from the nymphaeum statuary (Figs. 17-20), and the bronze statuette of Aphrodite and Priapos (Fig. 1), none of the other examples discussed in this paper was found in its original location. The site of discovery can be misleading, especially when a piece is found in a disturbed layer (Fig. 2), a fill (Figs. 4,5,13), or in secondary use (Fig. 8). We may assume that since large-scale statues were hard to move, they were probably transported not too far from their original place of display, even when designated for the lime kilns that were usually built where piles of marble were available. Small-scale figures, on the other hand, could easily be moved from one place to another.

Whether the Dioscuros (Fig. 13) actually decorated the Roman house where it was found, or was originally displayed elsewhere, does not change the fact that the Dioscuri were considered as protectors of mariners in Caesarea, as they were in many other seaports. The various types of Aphrodite presented above, wherever they were displayed, and whatever heads they bore, probably always signified the goddess' birth or sacred bath, and in certain cases also her duty as *Euploia*, the protectress of seamen. Likewise, the fishermen (Figs. 9-11), no matter where they were placed – in private gardens, fish-stores, *piscinae*, nymphaea or fountains – were always connected with fish and water.

In other words, even if the context of discovery of some of the examples is not clear, their association with water, and thus their significance as acquatic figures ensuring the wealth and health of the permanent or temporary inhabitants of Caesarea, seems to be explicit.

Notes

*   For permission to study the statues I am indebted to Yosef Porath (IAA), Avner Raban, Kenneth G. Holum, Joseph Patrich (CCE), Rina and Arnon Angert (the Sdot Yam museum), and Avshalom Zemer (the National Maritime Museum Haifa). Special thanks to Peter Gendelman and Gili Rosenblum, who spent days helping me determine the necessary data concerning the context of discovery of each item. The photographs are by Assaph Peri, Tzila Sagiv, Zaraza Friedman, Israel Zafrir, and Rina Angert.

1.   The function of Tyche as protectress of the Caesarean port, of the Roman fleet including warships, and of navigators in general, is evidenced by the personification of the port that accompanies her and by the warship prow on which she rests her right foot. Tyche's birthday was celebrated at Caesarea on March 5th, on the same day of the *Navigium Isidis*, and her cult was linked with that of Isis and Serapis (Gersht 1984; *idem* 1996; *idem* 1999: 15-16; Wenning 1986).

2. Gersht 1996. For further information on water in the cultic worship of Isis and Serapis, see Wild 1981.

3. Aphrodite was one of the most popular goddesses in the Graeco-Roman world. Many of her Roman statues are considered copies, variations, or derivations of Greek and Hellenistic prototypes. Though similarly interpreted by the Romans in general, they were often differently used: e.g. as cult statues or to decorate public or private buildings; or to bear portraits, at first of aristocratic ladies of the imperial court, and from the Flavian period of non-imperial women as well. Whereas statues of imperial women in the guise of Aphrodite were usually shown in public, non-imperial representations were mostly displayed within the funerary realm. On Roman women in Aphrodite's guise, see Wrede 1981: 306-323; Kleiner 1981; *idem* 1992: 280-283; D'Ambra 1993: 107-108,112-113; *idem* 1996: 219-232; Gersht 1996a; Matheson 1996: 188-189, 193.

4. This is a funerary portrait of a Flavian woman, as shown by her coiffure. The deceased, possibly an inhabitant of Roman Caesarea, is depicted nude like Aphrodite, though with her hands crossed over her buttocks (reported in *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* [*Excavations and Surveys in Israel*], 17 (1966), 16 [Hebrew]).

5. The base was found first and Aphrodite and Priapos two weeks later. The two pieces matched perfectly. Total height of base and figures *ca.* 16 cm., IAA 91-3588; see Angert 1988-1989.

6. Simon 1988; *idem* 1997: 133-134. Nike's gesture of removing her sandal is interpreted by Simon as a recollection of the sacred custom of entering certain sacred precincts with bare feet.

7. Havelock 1981: 122-123, Cat. 87; *LIMC* II: 57-58; Havelock 1995: 83-85.

8. Havelock 1981: 122-123, *idem* 1995: 83-85; Bieber 1961: 99; Künzl 1970.

9. Bieber 1961: 104.

10. Bieber 1961: 144.

11. Angert 1988-1989.

12. Aphrodite is accompanied by Priapos in many of her statues, statuettes and figurines. In these she is most commonly shown untying her sandal or arranging her hair *(LIMC* II: 56 Nr. 449, 66 Nr. 558, 77 Nr. 680, *LIMC* VIII: 210 Nrs. 181-182, 233 Nr. 1, 1031 Nrs. 14-15, 1035 Nr. 85, 1038 Nr. 119, 1040-41 Nrs. 165-167; A. Angert and R. Gersht, *Aphrodite and Priapos: Types and Meaning* [in preparation]). In addition to the Caesarean piece, at least three examples of the type are known from the region: the bronze and marble statuettes from Sidon and the Baniyas (*LIMC* II: 163 Nrs. 196, 202, VIII: 1031 Nr. 14), and the bronze statuette recently found on the sea bed in Ashkelon (reported in Ma'ariv 11.5.1999: 13, unpublished).

13. Herter 1932: 216-220; Parker 1988: 3-6,9,11.

14. Parker 1988: 6.

15. *Greek Anthology* X, Epigs.1-2, 4-9, 14-16.

16. Marble. H. 17 cm., W. 7.2 cm., Thickness 4.6 cm. Because of the damage to the figure attached to Aphrodite's left leg, it is difficult to claim positive identification.

17. Pliny *NH* 35.91.

18. Bieber 1977: 64, Figs. 220-222, 224; Havelock 1995: 86-92; *LIMC* II: 54-56 Nrs. 423-434, 439-449; 76-77 Nrs. 667-680; VIII: 202 Nrs. 78-85, 206 Nrs.133-140.

19. At least four are known from Roman North Africa: the El-Djem, Oudna, Thuburbo-Majus and Lemta mosaics. In three of these Aphrodite is shown standing in water (*LIMC* VIII: 209 Nr. 169; Yacoub 1995: 189-192, Figs. 98-101).

20. On the different opinions concerning this matter, see Bieber 1961: 98 and Havelock 1995: 86-92 with bibliography. Aphrodite is also represented arranging her hair in some of the replicas of the crouching type (Bieber 1961: 83, Figs. 294-295).

21. E.g. *LIMC* II: 56 Nr. 449, 77 Nr. 680, VIII: 233 Nr. 1. Several examples of the type came from funerary context: e.g., Kassab 1988: 34 Nr. 5, Figs. 52-53.

22. The *pudica* types are suggested to be derived from the Knidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles. Havelock 1995: 23ff, 74-80; Bieber 1961: 20; Becatti 1971: 25-26.

23. Havelock 1995: 36, 140.

24. Havelock 1995: 36.

25. Havelock 1995: 75.

26. Havelock's failure in interpreting the *hydria* and *loutrophoros* of the Knidian and Capitoline Aphrodites has already been noted by Friedland 1997: 167 and n. 95-96. See also Stewart 1996.

27. Found out of context in 1966 west of the Hippodrome. Marble, H. 102 cm. Gersht 1996b: 438.

28. Bieber 1977: Fig. 228.

29. Havelock 1995: Figs. 18-19.

30. Bieber 1977: Figs. 239, 241, 242.

31. Marble, H. 9.2 cm., W. 7.5 cm.

32. *LIMC* II: 84 Nrs. 756-758; Giuliano 1985: 521-522, Cat. X,11.

33. *LIMC* II: 69-70 Nrs. 599-604, VIII: 201 Nrs. 69-73; Becatti 1971: 29-31; Inan 1989.

34. *LIMC* II: 70 Nr. 601; Erdemgil: 36, 38.

35. Inan 1989: 273.

36. Marble, H. 110 cm.; Gersht 1995: 113-116.

37. Stuart-Jones 1968: 237, Nr. 34, Pl. 90; *idem* 1969: 127-128. Nr. 54, Pl. 25; Fittschen and Zanker 1983: 52-53 Cat. 68, Pl. 85.

38. Becatti 1971: 17-23, Pl. I-XXIX; Bieber 1977: 49-50, Figs. 177-178, 180-185; *LIMC* II: 65-66, Nrs. 554-559, III: 201 Nrs. 66-68.

39. Vermeule 1981: 5, 55 Ill. I.

40. IAA. 69-1025, Marble, H. 60 cm.; Gersht 1996b: 437-438.

41. *LIMC* II: 66 Nr. 555.

42. *LIMC* III: 201 Nr. 68.

43. *LIMC* II: 74-75 Nrs. 644-653, VIII: 892 Nrs. 2-3; Higgins 1967: 125 Nr. 2, Pl. 59C; Lippold 1956: 234-235 Cat. 11, Pl. 108.

44. *LIMC* VII: 996-997 Nrs. 194-198, 204-209; Stuart-Jones 1968: 226 Cat. 29, Pl. 85.

45. Marble, H. 17.6 cm., W. 8.7 cm.; Head, left arm and hand, and the lower part of the legs are missing.

46. *LIMC* II: 75 Nr. 651; Higgins 1967: 125 Nr. 2, Pl. 59C.

47. The Israel Antiquities Authority Excavation Project at Caesarea 1992-1998, Final Reports Publications II (in preparation).

48. *LIMC* II: 104-106 Nrs. 1018-1040, III: 215 Nrs. 244-247.

49. Ridgway 1981: 15-16.

50. Marble, H. 26 cm.; The National Maritime Museum, Haifa, Inv. 2021: Gersht 1996b: 437.

51. The Antioch example came from a cache uncovered in a room of a 4th-5th century small villa. The dolphin's mouth, on the goddess' left, was the fountain spout. Kent Hill 1981: 93; Kapossy 1969: 17; Campbell 1936: 8-9, Fig.13.

52. Ridgway 1970: 93-94; Kapossy 1969: 39 (from the nymphaeum in Casa della Fontana Grande); Cantilena 1989: Cat. 157; Aurenhammer 1990: 89-91, Cat. 69-71.

53. Marble, H. 49 cm., L. 43 cm. Found in 1985, Peleg and Reich 1992: 144, 161; Gersht 1987: 19-20 Cat. 10.

54. Ridgway 1970: 94; Erdemgil: 70, 72. In the first the dolphin's tail entwines Eros' body.

55. Becatti 1971: Figs. 56-57

56. See e.g. Becatti 1971: Figs. 47-52, 56-57.

57. Squarciapino 1952: 29-32; Kapossy 1969: 45,47; Korkuti 1971: Ill. 95.

58. Marble, H. 60 cm.; Frova 1965: 305-311, Figs. 402-405; Gersht 1996b: 446-447.

59. Marble, H. 25 cm.; Gersht 1987: 58 Cat. 60; Gersht 1996b: 446-447.

60. Flinder 1976: 77-80; *idem* 1985: 173-178; Spier 1993: 124-133; Horton 1996: 189.

61. Oleson 1996: 373

62. The Caesarean Roman lamp with the image of a grotesque fisherman is perhaps further evidence for such a notion. I thank Karmit Goor for the information.

63. H. 16 cm., W. 19 cm; lower body of figure from above the knees down and body of vessel missing.

64. The stern is fan-shaped, cf. Reddé 1986: Figs. 32-35, 41-42, 50-51, 53, 58, 64; Casson 1971: Figs. 114, 116, 119-121, 129, 131, 140-141; Morrison 1996: 201, 218, 221, 226, 237, 240-242, 253; the stem is curved, terminating in a trifoliate lotus leave (on the origin of the lotus as ship ornament see, Torr 1964: 68).

65. In favor of the *periamma* are the folds delicately carved on the chest, although the unusual *aegis* worn by Athena from Pergamon also leaves the breast uncovered, Boardman 1985: Fig. 199; *LIMC* II: 981 Nr. 267. *Periammae* were worn by goddesses as well as by mortals. Those, for example, worn by the Nikai carved on the temple parapet at Athens, have no medallions, Simon 1997: 130-131, Figs. 6-7. Those worn by the Nikai in Cirene, Paribeni 1959: Cat. 137-138, Pls. 81-83, and by the girl in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, have a Gorgon's head medallions, Connely 1988: 22, Pl. 3, Fig. 9, and those worn by the female figures in the Larnaca Museum have medallions with raised central bosses, Connely 1988: 22-23, Pl. 10, Figs. 34-37. On 4th century BCE vase-paintings *Periammae* are often worn by males as well as females, e.g. Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978: Pl. 10/2, 137/1; *idem* 1982: Pls. 168/1, 172/1, 173/1, 176, 177/1, 178/2-3, 190.

66. Her posture and the arrangement of the *peplos* are somewhat similar to the Athena Hephasteia in the Vatican, Bieber 1977: Figs. 376-378. The motive of Athena standing on a galley, although uncommon in Greek and Roman depictions, is not baseless. Soon after the victory at Salamis a ship was introduced into the Panathenaic festivals, Barber 1992: 114. Two commemorative inscriptions, dated to the Hellenistic period, inform of a banked galley (*dikrotos*) manned by a mixed crew of Milesian and Smyrnaean sailors and named the *Athena*, and of a galley named *Parthenos* manned

by Smyrnaeans only, Casson 1971: 354-355 and note 53. In the Roman period ships named after Athena belonged to Greeks, Casson 1971: 359, those named after Minerva belonged to Romans, Casson 1971: 358. Minerva is entitled *navis* by Ovid, *Trist* 1. 10. 1.

67. See Vermeule 1959: 105-106; Mellor 1975, 1981; Fayer 1975, 1976; Price 1984: 40-47, 162-163, 267-268; Bowra 1957.

68. Mellor 1981: 997, 1005, 1027; Boatwright 1987: 129-130

69. Mellor 1981: 1005-1010.

70. Horace, *Odes* 4. 14. 41-44; *Epist* 1. 7. 44 and 2. 1. 61

71. On the Ship of State metaphor in Greek and Roman writings, see Fraenkel 1957: 154-158; Anderson 1966: 87; Stewart 1993: 146-147 with further bibliography.

72. *Odes* 1. 14

73. Quintilian 8. 6. 44; Fraenkel 1957: 154-158. In spite of what Quintilian wrote, scholars, including Anderson (1966), believe that it was not Horace's intention to employ an allegory on the Ship of State. Anderson reminds us that other metaphorical ships formed part of the ancient poets' regular stock of ideas: the Ship of Life, the Poetic ship and the Ship of Love. Of all three he regards the Ship of Love as the most probable allegory in 1. 14.

74. Lehmann 1973: 207-209 with references.

75. Lehmann 1973: 192-206.

76. Lehmann 1973: 212 with further bibliography; Miniero 2000: 52-53;

77. For Mellinno's hymn to Rome, see Bowra 1957: 21, 23; Ovid, *Trist*. 3, 8, 51; Martial, 5, 18, 5. The association of Rome with Ares has served, among other purposes, to show the warlike nature of the goddess, Bowra 1957: 23, 24.

78. Cf. the Gemma Augustea and the Hapsburg Cameo, Vermeule 1959: 105 nos. 29-30; Mellor 1981: 1013, Pl. 1.

79. Mellor 1975: 94-95, 143.

80. Josephus *BJ* 1. 21. 7 [414]; *AJ* 15. 9. 6 [339].

81. Richardson 1996: 184-185, 226-234; Roller 1998: 10-75 (both with further bibliography).

82. Gersht 1996: 321 Fig. 19, 324; *idem* 1999a: 393. A bronze statuette, Gersht 1999: 28 Fig. 21) and another fragment of a statue of Castor or Pollux, (drawn out of the sea in 1997), are displayed in the Sdot-Yam museum.

83. Picard 1958: 435-465; Paribeni 1959: Nrs. 386-389; Traversari 1959: 183-208; Caputo and Traversari 1976: Nrs. 7-8, Pls. 6-8; De Franciscis 1963: 79 Fig. 97; *LIMC* III: 572 Nrs. 50-54, 614-615 Nrs. 28-32; Geppert 1996: 124-127, Cat. P15, P16a-b, P24, P28 (?), P33, P43, P58-P68 .

84. In Cyrene and Sparta, for example, of the two brothers Castor was more honored. The evidence, though, relates to pre-Roman times: Traversari 1959: 196.

85. Albert 1883; Adkins 1996: 41-42; *LIMC* III: 630-633.

86. R. Gersht, "Caesarea and Rome – The Sculptural Evidence" (in preparation).

87. The reconstruction is by Lev Filipov; Porath 1996: 112-113.

88. Negev 1966: 143; *idem* 1967: 52; Gersht 1987: 45 Cat. 39.

89. Cf. Niemeyer 1968: 112-113 Cat. 126, Pl. 47 for the statue of the Emperor Pupienus (CE 238). Like in the Caesarean example, Popienus is standing semi-nude, with his

cloak hanged over his left shoulder and arm. The cornucopia is on Popienus' right side. In other representations with the cornucopia attached to the emperor's leg, the figures are dressed in armour, *idem*: 98,100 Cat. 60,64 Pls. 21/I, 22.

90. Cf. Reinach 1965: 45 Nr. 5, for a similar figure from Tunis.
91. Bieber 1977: Figs. 173-175; *LIMC* V: 558-559 Nr. 40. Likewise the figure could have been that of Hera-Juno or Demeter, *LIMC* V: 840 Nrs. 192-195, IV: 853 Nr. 60; or even a portrait statue of one of the empresses, such as those of Livia in the Louvre and in the Museo Nazionale, Naples, Bieber 1977: Figs. 16-17; or that of Faustina the Elder in the Museo Capitolino, Stuart-Jones 1969: 33 Cat. 23, Pl. 4. The latter came from a nymphaeum in the Massimo-Negroni villa.
92. Kapossy 1969: 19.
93. Schmidt-Colinet 1985: 119-133, Fig. 1.
94. Gersht 1996: 305-324.
95. Kapossy 1969: 21.
96. It should be noted that the Roman goddess Salus was identified with Hygieia. She was frequently depicted on coins feeding a snake from a *patera* and holding a scepter: Adkins 1996: 198; *LIMC* VII: 657-659 Nrs. 22-27,33-54.

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The "Kalybe Structures" –
Temples for the Imperial Cult in Hauran and Trachon: An Historical-Architectural Analysis

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*H*auran and Trachon were clearly frontier areas. In spite of their relative proximity to Damascus on the one hand, and the cities of the Decapolis on the other, these areas, characterized by the black, basalt landscape, were known to be wild and dangerous (Fig.1).[1] Only with their transfer to King Herod in 23 BCE did things begin to change. Herod succeeded in controlling the Itureans, as well as the Nabataeans, who had already begun to settle in these regions from the beginning of the first century BCE. Furthermore, he began settling Jews there, some of whom had just arrived from Babylon. Herod, and later his sons, ruled this large area for about 100 years, until it was included in Provincia Arabia in 106 CE.[2] Establishment of the new provincial capital in Bosra, the paving of the Via Traiana Nova, and the bringing of the 3rd Cyrene Legion to

Fig. 1: The distribution of the "Kalybe" Temples in the Hauran and Trachon.

Bosra (its new permanent base) – all hastened the urbanization and Romanization of Hauran and Trachon. For these areas, as for the others in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, the second and third centuries CE were times of great flourishing and growth.[3]

The reign of the Antonine and Severan Emperors was particularly beneficial to these areas. Much was done by Philip the Arab (244-249 C.E.), who, in the village of his birth (today called Shuhba) in the land of Trachon, established a city which he named after himself – Philippopolis.[4] Thus, within a relatively short time, Hauran and Trachon, 'Basalt Land' were transformed from frontier areas with virtually no history into important foci of activity in the eastern Roman Empire.

When the first of the European travelers, such as W. J. Bankes (1819), L. de Laborde (1827) and M. de Vogüe (1860) surveyed portions of the 'Basalt Land', they were surprised to discover architecture that, in its construction methods and wealth of forms, was not only not inferior to architecture in the western provinces of the Roman Empire, but in many cases surpassed it, especially in unique, local solutions to the construction challenges posed by an almost woodless region.[5]

In this article I focus on a group of seven temples and stress the uniqueness and originality of their architecture, as developed here in the 'Basalt Land'. This unique group of temples is called the "Kalybe" Temples (in Greek: καλύβη). First let us explain the source of their name.

M. de Vogüe, a French nobleman, researcher and traveler, in the course of his many years of travel in Syria found a well-preserved worship structure with two Greek inscriptions (Fig. 2) in a village named Umm Iz-Zetun to the south of Ledja (Trachon).[6] These two inscriptions, very similar in content, told a story of the residents of the village (whose ancient name we do not know), who erected the "Kalybe" temple (with the adjective: ἱερά - 'the holy', added to the Greek name) in honor of Emperor Probus, in the seventh year of his reign, i.e. in 282 CE.[7] Hence, this is a building for worship, a temple, intended especially for worship of the Emperor. We should notice that the term "kalybe" is not mentioned in any of the building inscriptions found elsewhere in the entire Greco-Roman world, except here in the Umm Iz-Zetun inscription.[8]

De Vogüe himself, and other investigators in his wake, located additional structures in Trachon and Hauran, which, because of their great similarity to the structure at Umm Iz-Zetun, they called the "Kalybe Structures".[9] Today in the Trachon/Hauran region we know of six such structures, in addition to the one at Umm Iz-Zetun, all similar in plan and design. No inscriptions whatsoever
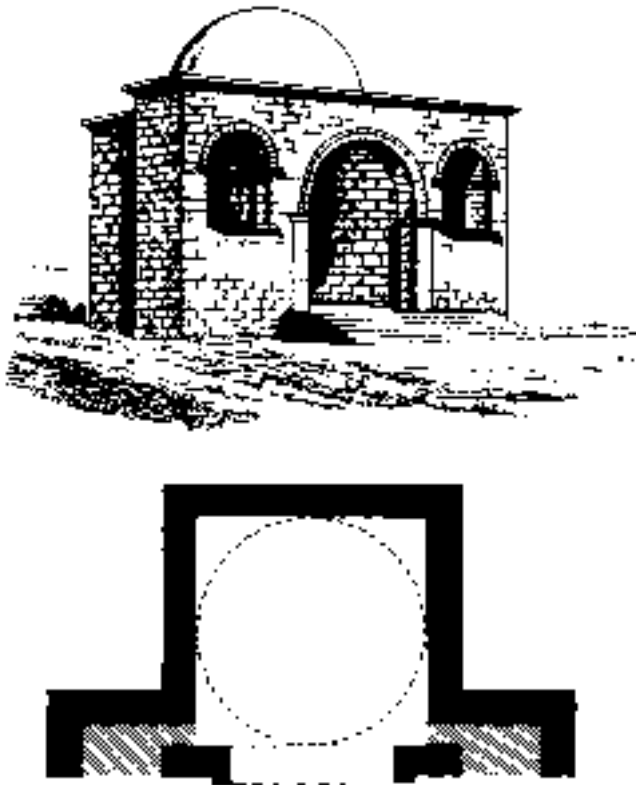
Fig. 2: Umm Iz-Zetum, the "Kalybe" Temple, plan and
         suggested reconstruction.

were found in these other buildings indicating that they are a unique group of structures sharing a common architectural component, a common inspiration, and were meant for the Imperial cult. I shall briefly describe these seven temples and then focus on their characteristics.

Umm Iz-Zetun (Fig. 2)
This temple is located in a small village on the southern edge of Trachon, about 10 km north of Philippopolis (Shuhba).[10] The "Kalybe" Temple described by de Vogüe was designed as a building with one hall, square in shape, roofed with a dome. The hall was entered via an arched entrance as wide as the hall itself. The entrance façade of this structure was widened by the addition of short walls to the left and right of the entrance, one on each side. These walls were decorated with semi-circular niches, roofed by half-domes. The hall was entered from the outside by a flight of stairs.
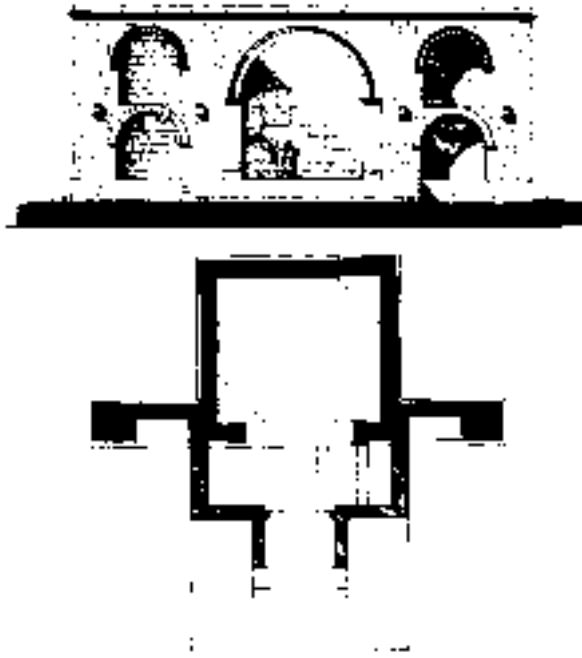
Fig. 3: Shakka, the "Kalybe" Temple, plan and
suggested reconstruction.

Shakka (Fig. 3)

Shakka, the ancient Saccaea, in southeastern Trachon, is about 8 km east of
Umm Iz-Zetun.[11] The main part of the structure at Shakka, highly similar to its
neighbor at Umm Iz-Zetun, is a square hall with a wide, arched entrance façade.
Short walls were added to both sides of this entrance façade, like wings,
decorated with two niches, set one above the other, on each side. These niches
were square and topped with arches. Opposite the entrance façade was a square
expanse, as wide as the façade, with a flight of stairs between the two bordering
walls (the *antae*). The only hall in the building was roofed by a stone dome set
on four stone beams, placed diagonally above the four corners of the hall
(squinches). These beams enabled the round dome to be set over the square
space.

Il-Haiyat (Fig. 4)

Il-Haiyat site is located in southeastern Trachon, 7 km northwest of Shakka.[12]
It is a wide building with its length on an east/west axis. The structural plan
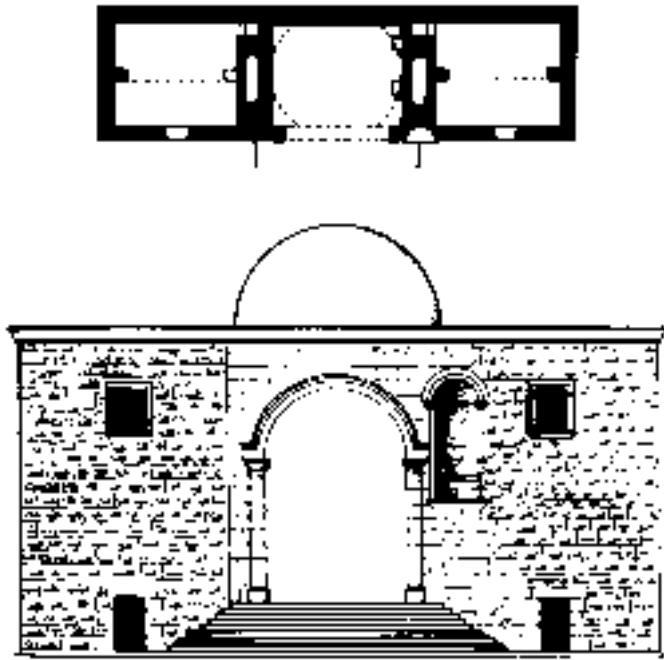reveals three halls arranged in a row, almost identical in dimensions. The central

Fig. 4: Il-Haiyat, the "Kalybe" Temple, plan and suggested
   reconstruction.

hall, which had apparently been domed, opens to the north with an arched opening, almost as wide as the hall itself, and raises the entire height of the building, whereas the two side halls were each divided horizontally into two stories. Each hall on the lower floor had a small entrance, and on the upper floor there were windows located above the entrances. There were two flights of stairs to the upper floor, located in the thick walls that separate the central hall from the side halls.

An unusual semi-circular niche, roofed by a half-dome, is situated between the arch crowning the central entrance and the western window. The depth and height of this niche allow for the placement of a statue.

The *Hexastyle* Temple at Philippopolis (Figs. 5-7)
Philippopolis (now called Shuhba) (Fig. 5) was built in southern Trachon by Emperor Philip the Arab between 244-249 CE.[13] Construction of this city was never completed, but enough was built to show that it would have been a large city with monumental public buildings. Among the buildings first erected were two "Kalybe" temples. The first, the *Hexastyle* Temple, was built in the
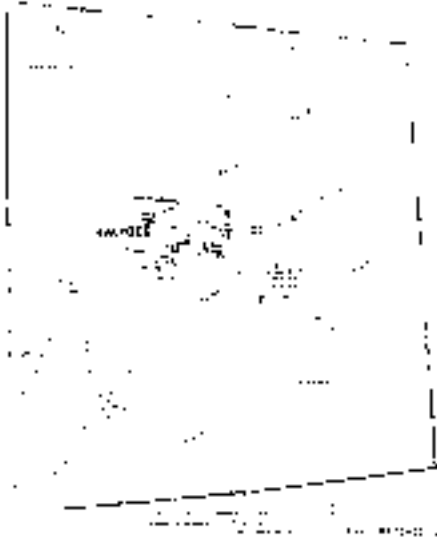
Fig. 5: Philippopolis, city-plan. Note the
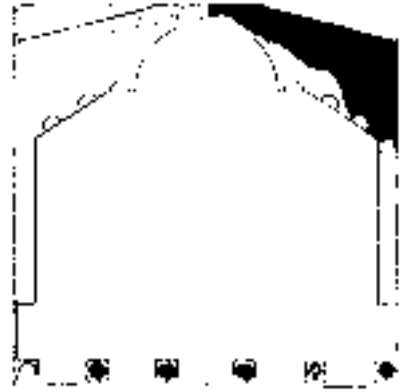locations of the *Hexastyle* Temple
and the "Kalybe" Temple.

Fig. 6: Philippopolis, the *Hexastyle*
Temple, a plan.

Fig. 7: Philippopolis, the *Hexastyle* Temple, suggested reconstruction
(drawn by E. Ben-Dov).

very heart of the city, not far from the forum. By the beginning of the 20th century, when it was surveyed by Butler, all that remained of the structure were a few sections of walls and four of the six columns of the *porticus*, which had originally stood at the temple entrance façade. Despite its poor state of preservation, it was possible to sketch a schematic plan of this structure (Fig. 6).[14]

What we can see is a *hexastylon-prostylon* temple, i.e. six columns of the *porticus* standing opposite the entrance façade. Behind the outer columns of the *porticus* are straight walls joined to the diagonal walls alongside the Temple apse (central niche). It is an open structure, like an exedra. Its façade, facing the apse, features a *porticus* of six columns set on Ionic bases and carrying Corinthian columns (Fig. 7). At the center of the rear wall, as stated, there was a semi-circular niche (the apse), which had probably been covered by a half-dome. At each side of this niche, arranged symmetrically, there were diagonal walls. In each of these two walls there were three small semi-circular niches. Between the ends of the two diagonal walls and the corner columns of the *porticus* of the façade, straight walls extended towards the broad apse, delineating an expanse that could be entered through the *porticus* in the façade. It would seem that the expanse opposite the apse, that is the broad area between the two straight walls and the *porticus*, was not covered (Figs. 6-7).

The "Kalybe" at Philippopolis (Figs. 5, 8-10)

The open worship structure at the center of Philippopolis is part of an expansive complex, apparently a palace, located next to the Forum.[15] This "Kalybe" has been excellently preserved. It has been studied by many scholars and preservation and reconstruction activities have recently been undertaken by the Syrian Antiquities Authority. Already at the start of the 20th C. Butler defined this as a "Kalybe" structure, while M. Gawlikowski recently called it: 'le sanctuaire imperial'.[16] Indeed, the "Kalybe" at Philippopolis is a monumental structure, which, with its broad façade (almost 30m), bounds the west side of the Forum (Figs. 8-9).

The "Kalybe" at Philippopolis is designed as an exedra, with a semi-circular niche at the center (the apse), on both sides of which are diagonal walls continued by perpendicular, parallel walls, that form a regular, rectangular expanse at the front of the building. This apse, a 6m opening, was covered by a half-dome. Parallel to the building's façade, a few meters from it, a low wall, decorated with alternating rectangular and semi-circular niches, extended in a way reminiscent of the *proscenium* walls in the Roman theaters (Fig. 19).[17] Leading to the front of the Kalybe was a staircase, the width of the entire façade

Fig. 8: Philippopolis, the "Kalybe" Temple, view from the East.

(ca. 30m), which offered easy access from the forum level, about 3m lower than the "Kalybe" floor. Both the diagonal walls alongside the apse had large, rectangular entrances leading to two rooms, symmetrically located on either side of the central apse. Each of the two perpendicular and parallel walls, which delineate the rectangular expanse opposite the apse, featured two rectangular niches set side-by-side.

The "Kalybe" at Philippopolis is outstanding not only for its impressive dimensions, but also for its excellent construction. Its architectural decoration has barely survived, but even from what remains one can conclude that it was, like the building itself, of basalt stone. However, the statues in the niches, especially that of the Emperor, which was set in the apse, were presumably made of marble (Fig. 10).[18]

Temple "C" at Kanawat [Kanatha] (Figs. 11-13)
Kanawat was one of the largest cities in the center of Hauran and its history is well documented in historical sources.[19] Temple 'C' is one of the three temples from the Roman period that was studied in Kanawat, but, unlike the other two, in the Byzantine period it became incorporated into a large ecclesiastical complex and significant alterations were made in its structural plan.[20] Several researchers who visited Kanawat during the 19th and early 20th centuries noted
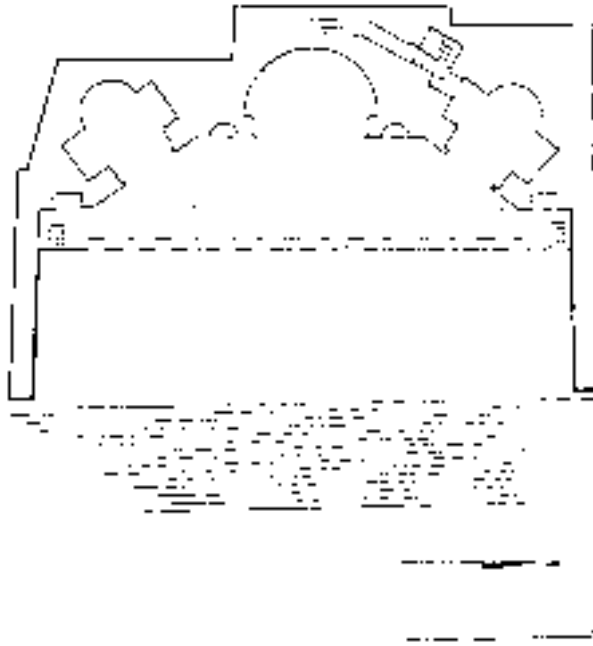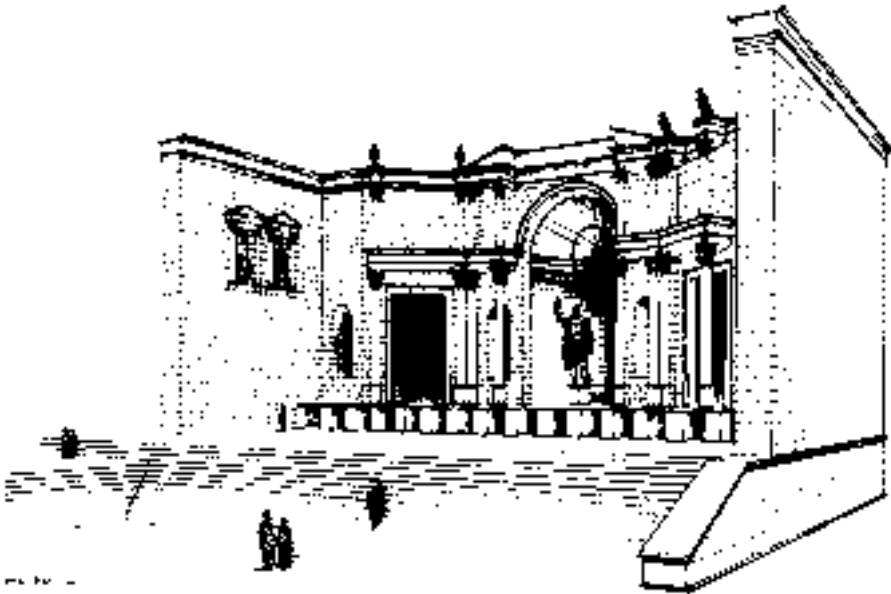
Fig. 9: Philippopolis, the "Kalybe" Temple, plan.

Fig. 10: Philippopolis, the "Kalybe" Temple, suggested reconstruction (drawn by E. Ben-Dov).
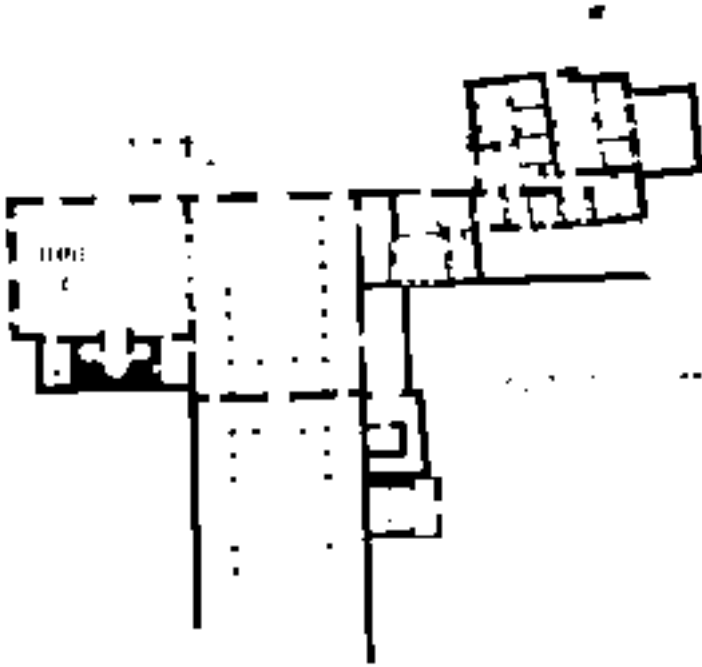
Fig. 11: Kanawat, the ecclesiastical complex, a plan. Note the location of Temple 'C'.
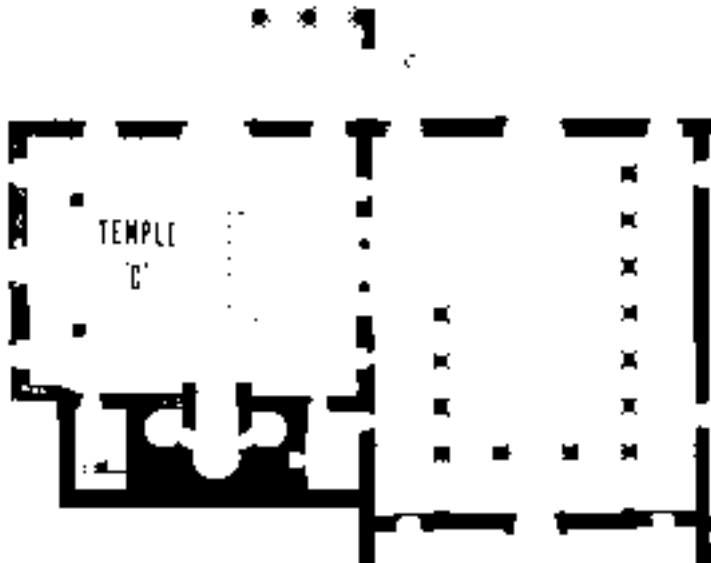

Fig. 12: Kanawat, Temple 'C', a plan. Note the tri-apsidal niche and the *porticus*.

the Roman structure incorporated into the Byzantine complex, and dated it from the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE, seeing it as a 'temple-like structure'.[21]

Temple 'C' is a rectangular building, whose entrance façade comprises a *porticus* of four columns set between corner pillars, facing north. This arrangement, i.e. the *tetrastylon in antis*, is rather rare in classical architecture. In the shafts of the four columns of the *porticus*, about halfway up, corbels (brackets) were placed to support statues. This decorative component is also rather rare in classical architecture and has been found only in a few places in Syria.[22] The space between the two central columns of the *porticus* is larger than the spaces between the side columns, suggesting that this is what bore the Syrian gable (Fig. 13).[23]

The two long eastern and western walls of the Temple are smooth. They stand behind the pillars of the entrance *porticus* and are attached to the south wall of the Temple. The southern wall, opposite the entrance, is designed as a semi-circular niche (the apse), with a rectangular room on each side. Both these rooms open to the north, to the inner open space of the Temple.
In the circular wall of the apse three decorative, round niches were arranged symmetrically: a niche with a larger opening at the center and smaller ones to each side. The inner space of the Temple, between the apse wall, the entrance *porticus* and the two long walls, was not roofed. On the other side of the Temple *porticus* covered by the Syrian gable, was a rectangular space stretching to an imposing 2-story-high wall with a semi-circular niche, roofed by a half-dome, containing the Emperor's statue (Fig. 13).

The "Kalybe" at Bosra (Figs. 14-18)
Bosra, on the southwestern slopes of Hauran, became the capital of Provincia Arabia at the beginning of the second century CE and the permanent base of the third Cyrene Legion.[24] The preponderance of its public buildings were built in the course of the second and third centuries CE and attest to a period of growth and development in Bosra during this period.[25] Among all of the "Kalybe structures" studied in this article, that of Bosra enjoyed the most impressive location, being situated at the intersection of the two main, colonnaded streets of the city.[26]

The plan of the Bosra "Kalybe" is in the form of an exedra, at the center of which is a semi-circular niche covered by a half-dome, with diagonal walls stretching out on both sides. The resemblance of this "Kalybe" to that of Philippopolis is very clear, and the only significant difference between the two is that the open façade of the former (24.6m long, almost like Philippopolis)
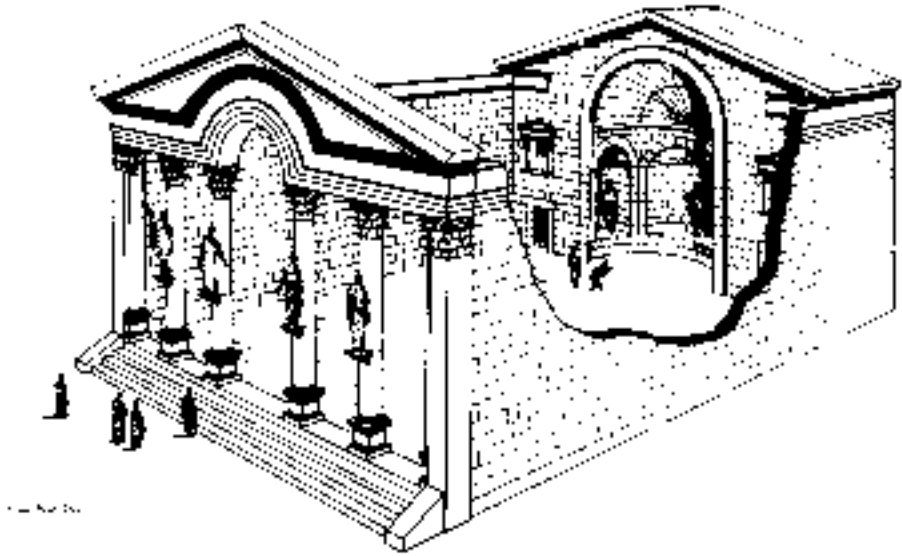
Fig. 13: Kanawat, Temple 'C', suggested reconstruction (drawn by E. Ben-Dov).
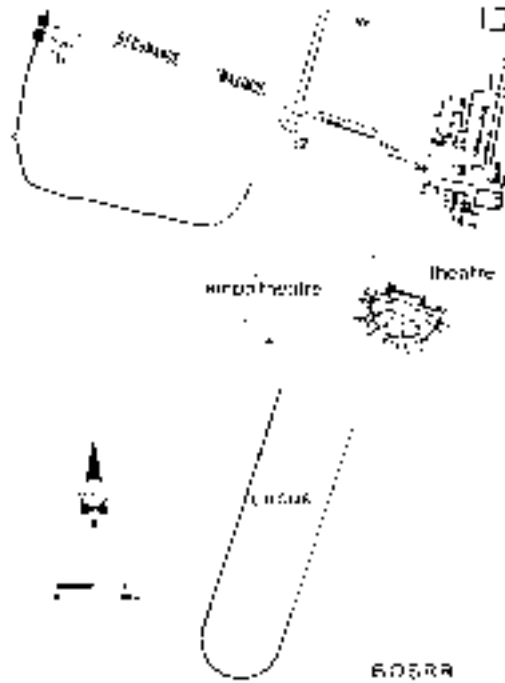

Fig. 14: Bosra, southern part of the city, a plan. Note the location of "Kalybe" Temple (A).

Fig. 15: Bosra, the "Kalybe" Temple, schematic plan.

was not bound by two short, perpendicular walls, but by two columns, set opposite pilasters one at each end of the "Kalybe's" façade (Figs. 15-17).

At the centre of the Bosra "Kalybe" there was, as stated, a semicircular niche with a smaller niche on either side. Two diagonal walls, each 5m long, continued the short walls alongside the central niche. Each of the two short walls features a small semi-circular niche and a pilaster, which complete the broad façade of the "Kalybe" structure. The preserved architectural decoration attests to an exceptionally high level of execution. If one judges by the large number of decorative niches that were situated in the three stories of the structure, one can assume that many statues originally decorated the "Kalybe" in addition to that of the Emperor, which was set, as can be logically assumed, in the central niche (Fig. 18).

* * *

A close look at the plans of the seven "Kalybe structures" studied here and their execution indicates that we have a group of buildings with unique architectural

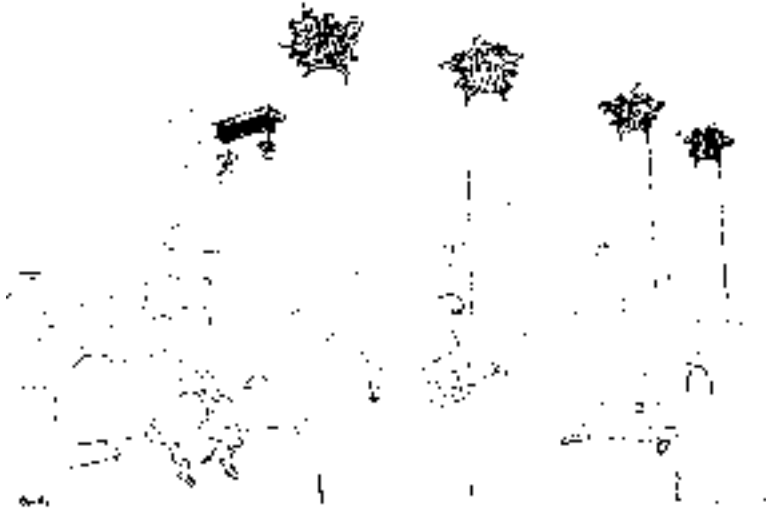Fig. 16: Bosra, the two columns of the "Kalybe" Temple as seen from the
Hymophaeum (phot. Dr. M. Burdajewicz).

Fig. 17: Bosra, the "Kalybe" Temple as seen in early 19th century (drawn by Ch,. Barry
in 1819).

Fig. 18: Bosra, the "Kalybe" Temple, suggested reconstruction (drawn by E. Ben-Dov).

Fig. 19: Sabratha, the theatre (late second century CE
(note the reconstructed *scaenae frons*).

characteristics. Furthermore, all of the seven structures were erected in a given, defined geographical area, namely, on the southern slopes of Trachon and Hauran. The northernmost of these sites discussed, Il-Haiyat, is only ca. 45 km away from the southernmost site, Bosra; while the distance between the westernmost and easternmost sites is not more than 20 km (Fig. 1).

This is a delimited area – the "Basalt Land" – first and foremost characterized by the fact that the only building material that it has in abundance is basalt stone, an excellent material despite the great difficulty encountered in splitting and using it. All seven of the "Kalybe structures" studied here were built entirely of basalt stone.

Chronologically, it seems logical to assume that all seven of the "Kalybe Structures" were built during the course of the third century CE, apparently during the second half of that century. Indeed, only one of the seven "Kalybe" buildings, that of Umm Iz-Zetun, is dated precisely (282 CE), but also the two structures at Philippopolis can also be very confidently dated to 244-249 CE, the time of the reign of Philip the Arab. The "Kalybe" at Bosra, because of its great similarity to that of Philippopolis, can reasonably be dated to the middle of the third century CE. The dating of the other "Kalybe structures" is less precise, being based upon architectural-typological considerations.

Regarding the spatial relationship of the seven "Kalybe structures", five of them were erected in cities, located for the most part in central and very prestigious sites, while the other two were built in villages.[27]

A study of the plans of the seven structures indicates that despite their great similarity, they can be divided into three clear sub-categories:

A. Temples with a roofed *adyton*

Three temples belong to this sub-category: Umm Iz-Zetun, Shakka and Il-Haiyat. Each of these has a square, roofed hall at the center of the building, with a few stairs leading up to it. The centrality of the hall is emphasized by the addition of wings or side halls, arranged symmetrically on either side of the open central hall.

B. Temples with a *naos* shaped like a semi-circular hall and a *porticus* at the entrance

This sub-category features only two temples, Temple 'C' at Kanawat and the *Hexastyle* Temple at Philippopolis. The *naos* in these temples is designed as a semi-circular hall (apse) covered by a half-dome. At the ends of the wall, at the center of the apse, there are two parallel walls, one on each side, that form a

Fig. 20: Miletos, the *Nymphaeum* (late second century CE) suggested
reconstruction (drawn by Dr. J. Hülsen).

rectangular space at the entrance; the *porticus* stands opposite the apse. The space between porticus and apse was left unroofed. Of the seven "Kalybe structures", only these two have entrance colonnades.

C. Open exedra-like temples

The "Kalybe structures" at Bosra and Philippopolis belong in this sub-category. They are the largest and most decorated of the seven. Their broad, open façades, with the semi-circular, central, half-dome roofed niches, face the central streets or plazas and recall the abundance of architectural decorations on the *scaenae frons* of theaters or of the *Nymphaea* (Figs. 19-20, 22). The central apse, where, presumably, the Emperor's statue stood, created a very powerful focus. The impressive architectural decoration - mainly two to three stories of rows of columns and carrying entablatures, arranged symmetrically alongside the central niche - contributed to a monumental and attractive sight.

A possible source of inspiration for these open, exedra-like "Kalybe structures" may have been the Septizodium, which was erected in 203 CE by Septimius Severus near the Palatine Hill (Fig. 21). The plan of the Septizodium was preserved on a contemporary map of Rome (*Forma Urbis Romae*). The Septizodium was unfortunately dismantled in 1588, but before this occurred it was sketched by several artists. Its main feature was a solid wall, decorated by
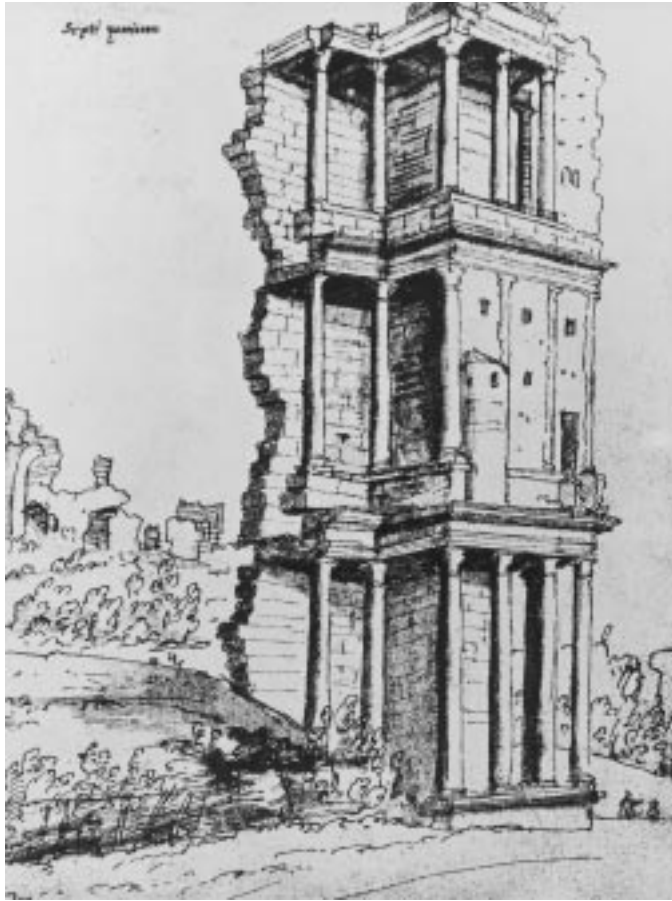
Fig. 21: Rome, the Septizodium (dedicated in 203 CE), as
          drawn by Martin van Heemskerk between 1532 and
          1536.

semi-circular niches with identical openings. Short walls, against the broad
façade wall, bounded the structure, one at each side. Parallel to the façade
wall, on its three niches, there rose three stories of sets of columns, one above
the other, separated by entablatures. One may assume that the walls of the
building were covered with colorful marble panels and that many reliefs and
images once contributed to the plethora of decoration.[28]

For an additional possible source of inspiration for the "Kalybe structures" one
can look at the 'Imperial Halls' ['Kaisersaal' or 'Marmorsaal']. These 'Imperial
Halls', richly decorated in a *scaenae frons* manner were, among other functions,
used for the Imperial cult. 'Imperial Halls' functioned as the main halls in the
Bath-Gymnasium complexes, which were built in tens of cities of Asia Minor.
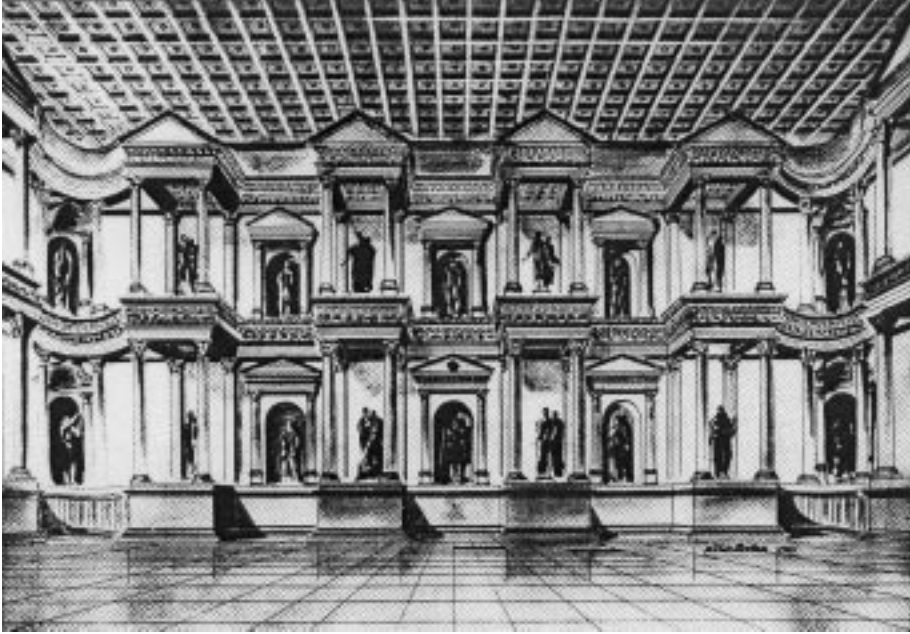
Fig. 22: Side (Pamphylia), Building 'M' (State Agora). Ceremonial Hall (Imperial Hall) reserved for the Emperor cult. Suggested reconstruction.

Bath-Gymnasium complexes were a new architectural type developed in Asia Minor during the Imperial Era combining the Roman Bath and Greek Gymnasium.[29]

The open worship temples studied here are essentially different from the classic temples of the Graeco-Roman world of the first centuries of the C.E. We call them the "Kalybe" temples, as they were indeed called by the residents of Hauran and Trachon. Their purpose was to serve for the worship of the Emperor, which led to their special, unusual design, differentiating them from all the other temples erected at the same time throughout the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire.

The chief architectural characteristic common to all seven of the "Kalybe" temples is that of their being open structures - that is, that their central space, be it rectangular (like a room), or semi-circular (like an apse),was left open, thereby making the approach to it easy and unhindered. It should be remembered that this unique design of the "Kalybe" temples is diametrically opposed to the design of the temples of the Graeco-Roman world. In classic Graeco-Roman temples, the *naos* (i.e. the main hall of the temple) was seen as the home of the god or goddess, with the statue in the *naos* representing the

god/goddess – him/herself. In the latter case, we can understand why the pilgrims were not allowed to enter the temple itself, but instead gathered in the sacred area (the *temenos*) to observe the sacred rituals. Between them and the *naos* was the *pronaos*, i.e. the entrance room and the columns of the *porticus* of the temple entrance façade.

The "Kalybe" temples, on the other hand, represent a revolutionary approach, contrary to the traditional one of the idol temples. In their plan and design, the "Kalybe" temples directly face the pilgrims and invite them to approach the Emperor's statue. This unobstructed connection between the pilgrims and their Emperor's image does not diminish the grandeur and power that was reflected by the statue standing in the niche, overlooking those gathering at its feet.[30] We must remember that worship of the rulers was not a rare phenomenon in the Graeco-Roman world. In contrast, however, other temples erected in Italy and throughout the provinces for the worship of the emperors did not differ in their plans and designs from those built for the gods.[31] It was only here, throughout the "Basalt Land", in the course of the third century, that Imperial cult temples were erected whose plans and designs, as we have seen, provided a solution to the need for a new expression of religious worship, and thus the "Kalybe" temples offer fascinating testimony to original and daring architectural thought.

Notes

1. Avi-Yonah 1966: 170-173 "Trachonitis" and "Auranitis", Miller 1984: 8-55, Farioli-Companati 1991-1992: 177-232.
2. Avi-Yonah 1966: 90-91, Map 6 p. 92, Map 20 p. 172, Map 21 p. 173.
3. Bowersock 1983: 1-75, Glueck 1965: 3-45, Negev 1997: 520-686, Sartre 1991, Millar 1993: 27-126, Woolf 1997: 1-14, Gawlikowsk 1997: 37-54.
4. For the establishment of Philippopolis, see Segal 1988: 83-87, Segal 1997: 55-57, Avi-Yonah 1976: 88, Dussaud 1927: 360, 363, 380. For Philip the Arab, see Shahid 1984: 65-93.
5. For the first researchers who worked on Hauran and Trachon during the 19th century, see Segal 1998: 109-130. For the characteristics of building in basalt and the unique architectural solutions for building without wood, see Segal 1998: 122-123.
6. de Vogüe 1867: 41-43, Butler 1903: 396. The two inscriptions were analyzed by Littman, epigraphist, who accompanied the Princeton expedition, see Littman 1915: 357-358. These two inscriptions are: 765(12) *C.I.G.* 4592 and Add. III, p. 1181; C. Graham, *Transactions ot the Royal Society of Literature,* VI, 903; Waddington, No. 2545=*I.G.R.* iii 1186: 765(13) *C.I.G.* 4591; Waddington, No. 2546=*I.G.R.* iii 1187:
7. Emperor Probus (full name: Marius Aurelius Probus) was born in 232 CE, in

Good Fortune! The community of the village and of the god built the sacred Kalybe through (?)lor, [son] of Cassianus, veteran(?), and Ghadu, [son] of Nashdu, councilor, and Nigrinus, [son] of Marcus, veteran(?), commissioners of construction

Good Fortune! For the preservation and victory of our lord Marcus Aurelius Probus Augustus, in [the] seventh year was built the sacred Kalybe by [the] community of the village, successfully.

Sirmium (in Hungary today) and was assassinated by his troops in 282, the year in which the "Kalybe" structure was erected in his honor at Umm Iz-Zetun. For Emperor Probus, see Hornblower and Spawforth 1996: 1250.

8. The term "Kalybe" is unknown in any inscription except the two at Umm Iz- Zetun. The only Greek source which mentions this term is Hesychius of Alexandria, who apparently lived in the 5th century CE and who composed a Lexicon in which he assembled rare Greek terms. See Latte 1963:. 403. Next to the term, Hesychius lists two other terms that seem similar in meaning to the word "kalybe" – σκηνή and παστάς, i.e. meaning a hall or room. See also Liddell and Scott 1940: 870, 'chamber'=καλύβος, ὀχ=καλύβη.

9. Butler 1903: 396.

10. de Vogüe 1867: 41-43, pl. 6, Garret 1914: 127.
11. de Vogüe 1867: 43-45, pl. 6, Butler 1903: 396-397, Figs. 140-141.
12. de Vogüe 1867: 41-43, Butler 1903: 394-398,Figs. 142-143, Dussaud 1923: 355.
13. See note 4 above.
14. Butler 1903: 378-380, Fig. 131, Freyberger 1992: 293-331, Burns 1994: 219.
15. Butler 1903: 382-384, Segal 1988: 154-156.
16. Amer and Gawlikowski 1985: 1-15,Figs. 1-2.
17. See for example, the theater at Bosra, Syria: Finsen 1972, or, for the theater at Bet Shean, see Segal 1995: 56-60, Figs. 49-58.
18. The statuary remains found in the "Land of Basalt", in Hauran, Trachon and the Golan Heights, were, in large part, made of local stone, i.e. in basalt, but in the large cities, such as Bet Shean, tens of statues were found made of various kinds of marble. For the basalt statues found throughout Trachon and Hauran, See Butler 1903: 414-422, Dunand 1934. In particular, see Pls. XVIII, XX, XXI, XXIII for the best basalt statues discovered in places like Philippopolis, Si'a Kanawat and Suweida. In addition, See Dentzer-Feydy 1986: 261-310, Dentzer-Feydy 1992: 227-232. The basalt statuary that was found at the Trachon and Hauran sites is, in the nature of things, the product of local work. This is not the place to deal with the artistic aspects of these statues, but note only that it is local art, folk art, which, despite the fact that it was influenced by classical sources, draws first and foremost on its local, eastern roots. See Avi-Yonah 1961: 43-57, 59-64, 65-95. The situation is different in the Decapolis cities, such as Bet Shean (Scythopolis). We have selected Bet Shean not only because it is very close to the Trachon/ Hauran regions (remember that Kanawat and Bet Shean are only about 100 km apart), but primarily for the fact that most of the public buildings were made of basalt, while the architectural decoration and the sculptural remains found there were of marble. Many tens of statues, if one can judge by their design and size, were intended to stand in monumental public buildings. The artistic level of many of these statues attests to the fact that they were executed at important centers throughout the eastern basin of the Mediterranean Sea, such as Aphrodisias. This division, between the statuary finds in Trachon and Hauran and those from cities such as Bet Shean, is not only a matter of geography. The population of Bet Shean, which was one of the Decapolis cities, was exposed to classical culture over a long period. It is reasonable to assume that the composition of its ethnic population was also different from that of Suweida, Shakka or Philippopolis. Obviously, the importation of numerous marble statues from distant places, in order to present them throughout these cities, cost a fortune which only the wealthiest of cities could afford. For the statues discovered at Bet Shean, See Tsafrir and Foerster 1997: 85-146, Figs. 37-41, especially 128-131, Vitto 1991: 33-45, Figs. 1-1, Foerster and Tsafrir 1990: 52-54, Skupinska-Lovset 1983, Foerster and Tsafrir 1992: 117-138, Figs. 9-15. See also Ovadiah and Turnheim 1994.
19. Avi-Yonah 1976: 45, Butler 1903: 357-361, Brunnow and Domaszewski 1909: 118-132, Burns 1994: 191.
20. Amer 1982: 257-275.
21. Butler 1903: 358

22. Horizontal supports (brackets or corbels) for supporting statues, unlike those intended to carry entablature, arches or domes, are rare phenomena in classical architecture and are widespread mainly in Syria. In the columns that were part of the colonnaded main streets of Palmyra and Apamea, there were such supports, meant to hold statues. See Segal 1997: 47-52, Figs. 49-51, Segal 1998: 109-130, n. 23. It was most rare to find such corbels (brackets) set in the *porticus* columns in the temples. In all six of the porticus' columns of the Baal-Shamin Temple at Palmyra, there were brackets to carry statues. In our region we find them in a few temples, like the northernmost of the two at Atil and in the "Kalybe" structure at Shakka. In the latter, these corbels were set in the façade walls of the temple entrance, on both sides of the central hall, a pair on each side. For the Baal-Shamin Temple at Palmyra, see Collart and Vicari 1969-1975: I, 101-111, II, Pl. LXIX. For the northernmost of the two temples at Atil, see Butler 1903: 343-346, Fig. 121; Brunnow and Domaszewski 1909: 102-106, Burns 1994: 52. For the "Kalybe" structure at Shakka, see Butler 1903: 396-397, Figs. 140-141.

23. Researchers on the history of classical architecture are not of one mind regarding the origin of the "Syrian pediment", but to the best of our knowledge, the earliest of the Syrian pediments known today is in the Temple of Dushara, a Nabataean worship site at Si'a (Si) in Hauran. This Temple is dated with certainty, thanks to the inscriptions, to the latter part of the first century. BCE. For the sanctuary at Si'a and the Dushara Temple, see de Vogüe 1867: 30-38, Pls. 1-4, Butler 1903: 334-340, Butler 1916: 365-402, Dentzer 1985: 65-83. In addition, see Crema 1959: 139-143, Boethius, Ward-Perkins 1970: 440-443, Lyttelton 1975: 195-197, 260-261, Segal 1997: 113-115, Figs. 125, 127-128, n. 72.

24. Butler 1914: 215-295, Segal 1988: 101-148, Sartre 1985: 88-152, Miller 1983: 110-123, Cerulli 1978: 135-176, Freyberger 1989: 45-60, Foss 1997: 189-269 (see an extensive chapter on Bosra, 237-245).

25. The building inscriptions that were found at Bosra attest to the fact that most of the public buildings in the city were erected starting from the 60's of the second century CE and thereafter. See Isaak 1990: 151-159, n. 22.

26. For the design of the square and the relationships between the colonnaded streets and the other buildings at the center of the city, see Segal 1997: 155-157, Figs. 189-190.

27. In the two inscriptions discovered at Umm Iz-Zetun, it is explicitly stated that the "Kalybe" building was built by all of the villagers: τὸ κοινὸν της κ≈μης. See more for these inscriptions above in Note 6. For the status of the villages and the reciprocal relationships between them and the cities in Provincia Arabia, see Villeneuve, 1985: 63-136, Foss 1995: 218-222, Gentelle 1985: 19-62, Millar 1993: 250-256, MacAdam 1994: 53-68, Hirschfeld 1997: 33-71, Figs. 1-64.

28. Crema 1959: 545, Figs. 718-719, Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 273, Pl. 143, Gors 1996: 432-434, Figs. 488-490.

29. Ward-Perkins 1981: 292-299, Figs. 190-191, Yegül 1982: 7-31, Yegül 1992: 250-313.

30. There is much research literature on everything related to the iconographic aspect of the Imperial cult. For some of the more modern studies concentrating mainly on the Imperial cult in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, see Price and Trell 1977, Harl 1987, Price 1984, Miller 1987: 143-164, Woolf 1994: 116-143,

Bowersock 1994, Rose 1997: 108-120, Elsner 1997: 178-199, Skupinska-Lovset 1999. For the sculptural-artistic aspects of the images of emperors in the third century CE, see McCann 1979: 477-512, Pls. I-XXIV.

31. Starting in the days of Augustus and until the end of the ancient period, before the rise of Christianity, scores of temples were erected for the Imperial cult. Julius Caesar was the first in whose honor a temple was erected in the Forum Romanum itself. Temples for the Imperial cult were erected in Rome itself, but they were primarily widespread in the provinces. The cities saw to the erection of these temples and concerned themselves with regular worship in them, as a proper expression of their loyalty and relationship with Rome and its rulers. Many of these temples survived in Rome and the provinces, and we can see the wide variety in their plans, methods of execution, size and grandeur. A study of these does not indicate anything that differentiated them from the temples erected to the various gods. Naturally we can present a few examples of Imperial cult temples built in Italy and the provinces, starting from the time of Augustus and ending with Septimius Severus:

    ** the temple in honor of Julius Caesar [Divus Julius] in the Roman Forum, see Crema 1959: 174-175, Fig. 168, Nash 1968: 512-514, Figs. 630-633.

    ** the temple in honor of Augustus in Vienne, the ancient Vienna in Gallia Narbonensis (in southern France today), See Crema 1959: 176,Fig. 171; Kahler 1970: 37, Figs. 34-35.

    ** the temple in honor of Augustus in Pola, the ancient Pietas Julia in Illyria (now in Croatia), see Kahler 1970: 38, Fig. 41.

    ** the temple in honor of Augustus in Ankara, the ancient Ancyra in Galatia (now in Turkey). On the walls of the *pronaos* of this temple an almost complete, bilingual (Greek/Latin) inscription was found of "Res Gestae Divi Augusti", known as the Monumentum Ancyranum. This represents, in essence, the will and testament of Augustus, and summarizes his deeds and achievements ("Index rerum a se gestarum") as he wished them to be recorded, see Crema 1959: 179, Krencker and Schede 1936. For the inscription itself, see Brunt and Moore, 1967.

    ** the temple in honor of Vespasian, Divus Vespasianus, located at the foot of the Tabularium in the Roman Forum, See Nash 1968: 501-514, Figs. 1320-1323.

    ** the temple in honor of Trajan in the Forum of Trajan, the largest of the Roman forums, see Nash 1968: 450-456, Figs. 547-557; Packer 1997: 131-135.

    ** the temple in honor of Trajan in the Acropolis of Pergamon, the Traianeum, see Akurgal, 1978: 82, Pls. 32, 343a; Stiller, 1895.

    ** the temple in honor of Hadrian at Campus Martius in Rome, the Hadrianeum, see Nash 1968: 457-461, Figs. 558-567.

    ** the temple in honor of Septimius Severus in the New Forum at Lepcis Magna in north Africa, the Gens Septimia, see Boethius and Ward-Perkins 1970: 476-479, Figs. 177-178; Ward-Perkins 1993: 31-54, Figs. 14-23, Pls. 20-22.

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From Raw Materials to a Compound and Back Again: A Look at One Element of Crusader Architecture

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During the 12th century new architectural elements and motifs appeared in the Near East and in Western Europe in parallel. These were amalgamations of Eastern and Western technical practices and traditions of form, which were in themselves grafts affixed onto Roman heritage. Remnants of Roman architecture and instances of its secondary usage, common in Medieval landscapes in both East and West, served as a basis for reprise, interpretation and elaboration. Several components of Crusader architecture in Palestine can be perceived as an offspring of this process, as a reflection on it, and/or as its catalyzer.

Thus, exploration of the decorative potential enfolded in the mode of laying arch stones yielded a wide range of interpretations. These include, for example, the gadroon arch,[1] the zigzag arch[2] and the arch of adjoining discs.[3] Moreover, the very geometry of the arch was subject to variations.[4] Equally intriguing in their simultaneous evolvement in East and West are a flourishing of capitals that were derivations of the Corinthian order,[5] various metamorphoses in the shape of the column,[6] the ornamental exploitation of polychrome masonry, and certain methods in the treatment of stone, such as embossment.[7]

Only a few of these elements have been studied as particular subjects. This fact is probably connected with the nature of contemporaneous sources. In the case of Crusader architecture, the charts, pontifical documents, chronicles, and accounts of pilgrims and geographers refer to the existence of edifices, their place in the holy geography, their appertaining to certain communities, and sometimes the rituals held in them; the structures themselves played a secondary role in this type of literature, and there is little information relating to them. Only in the 19th century did the first written evidence appear that

Fig. 1: Central nave, Resurrection Church, Abu Ghosh
(Emmaus) (Photo by the author).

showed partial interest in the type of architectural elements in question.

In this article I intend to show the interesting nature of these elements, which verge on the structural and the ornamental. Being on the margins of the main body of constructional effort, and therefore less subject to the dictates of fixed patterns, these motifs are the ones that more explicitly expose the imprint of a particular artist or atelier, or the route of their activity and influence. Clearly, they treasure invaluable information concerning the building of which they form a part. It is these motifs that often reflect spontaneous and original expressions. Moreover, they constitute a footprint as well as a signifier of the dialogue between preserved traditions and functional dictations on the one hand and spontaneous innovations on the other. The unveiling of their formation, identification of their components and tracking of the spread of
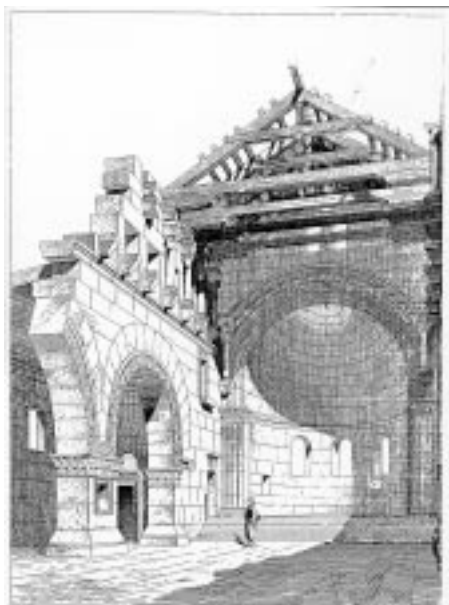
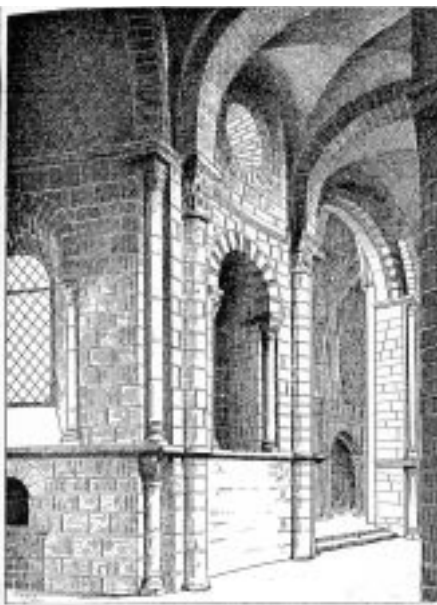Fig. 2: Church of Qalb Louzeh (after de Vogüe 1865, Pl. 99).

Fig. 3: Church of La Couture (Le Mans) (after Enlart 1902).

their usage may illuminate one of the most complex themes in the history of art in general and in that of architecture in particular - namely, the dynamics of intercultural conjunctions.

As a sample case the present article deals with an element that appeared almost concomitantly in both East and West – namely, in Jerusalem of the Crusaders and its vicinity, as well as in various regions in France, such as Normandy, Pays de la Loire, Centre, Champagne-Ardenne, Burgundy and Provence. Its bizarre originality accorded it numerous interpretations, some of them fantastic, as well as very picturesque appellations; the better known among the latter is 'elbow column'. In form and function this element embodies a unique hybridization between two utterly different methods of support (Fig. 1). Functionally it is a corbel, but one whose external, protruding part is sculptured as an engaged column, bearing a capital on top, and ending at the base in a horizontal projection, perpendicular to the wall. A corbel directing the roofing load of the to the depth of the wall (Fig. 2) and an engaged column directing it to the structure's foundations (Fig. 3) are entirely different modes of support. Both were well known before the 12th century, and they served in both East and West in numerous architectural contexts and in manifold variations of form and style. Nonetheless, the combination of the two methods
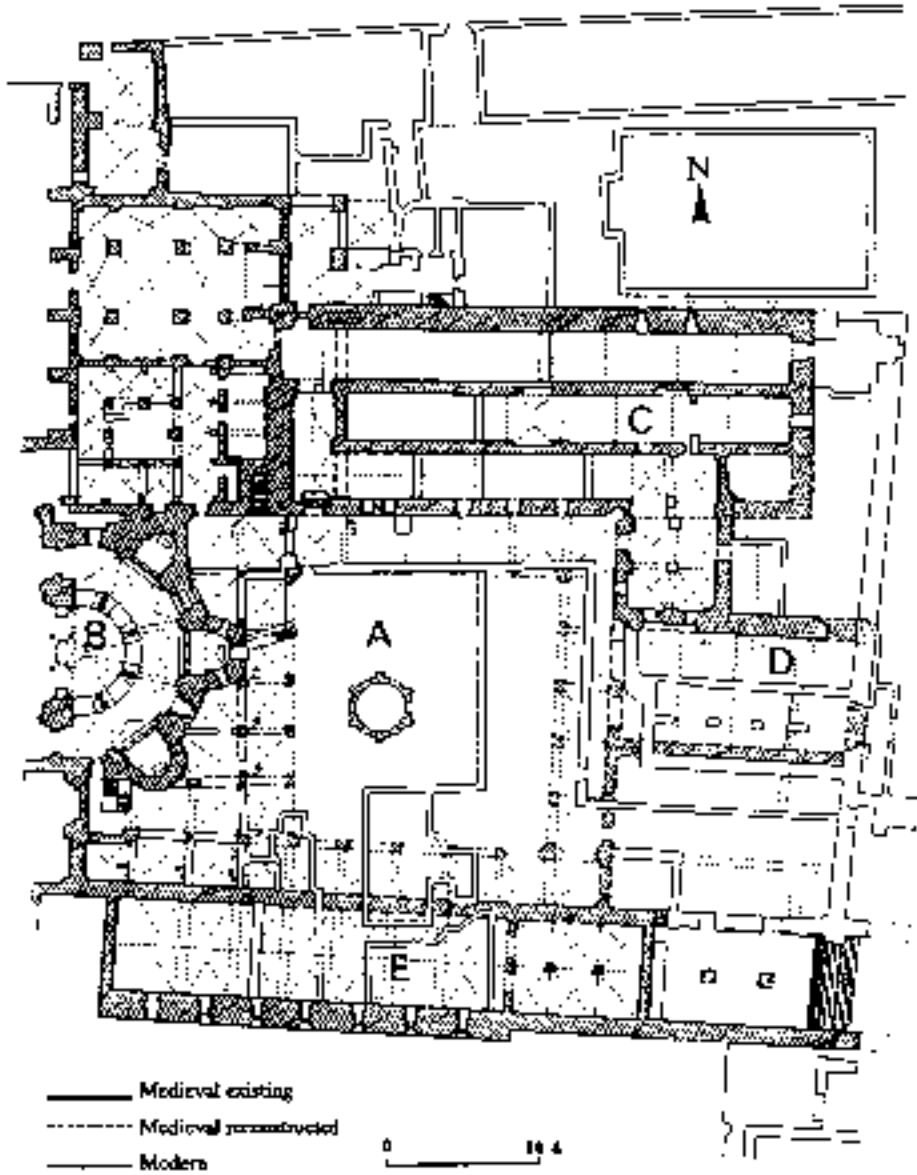
Fig. 4: Elbow columns (1-10), cloister, Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem. A - cloister,
B - ambulatory of chorus dominorum, C - dormitories, D - chapter house,
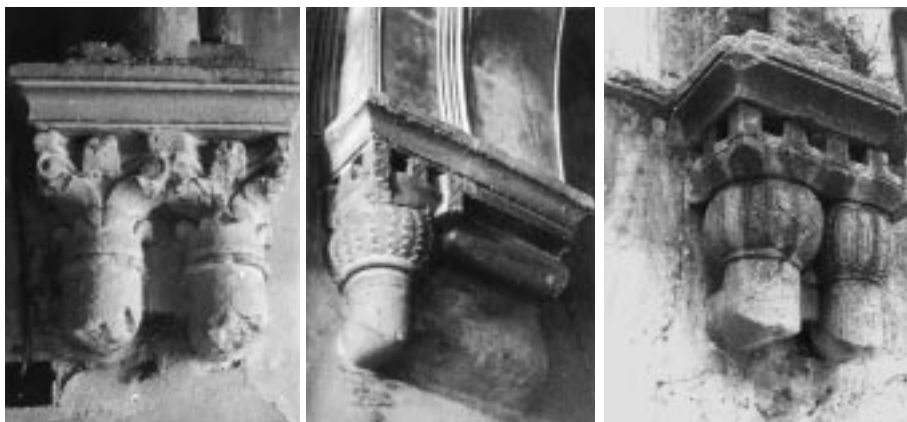E - refectory (Plan after Clapham 1921, Pl. 1).

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Fig. 5 (Left): Elbow columns (No. 1), north gallery, cloister, Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

Fig. 6 (Middle): Elbow columns (No. 5), west gallery, cloister, Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

Fig. 7 (Right): Elbow columns (No. 10), south gallery, cloister, Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

of support in one element by means of furnishing one with the form of the other was the invention of a Jerusalem atelier. The present article focuses on two revelatory junctions in the complex history of this element: the first is its birth in Jerusalem, within the frame of the construction enterprise of the First Latin Kingdom, and the second – the continuation of its existence in the region after this kingdom's fall.

The birthplace of the elbow column was the building site of the Augustinian monastery in Jerusalem, which adjoined the most sacred Holy Sepulchre. Evidence offered by written sources and by the complex remains suggest that this project was carried out in connection with the imposition of Augustinian rule on the secular chapter of the Holy Sepulchre, an operation initiated by the Patriarch Arnoulf of Choque in 1114.[8] One of the sole non-military projects to have been built during the second decade of the 12th century, this complex was erected in order to answer pressing religious and political imperatives.

The central, connecting space of the complex was the cloister (Fig. 4). It was adjacent from the east to the three then-existing Byzantine chapels that commemorated the three last stations of the Via Dolorosa. It is among the remains of the northern and eastern galleries that the earliest elbow columns known were found (Figs. 5-7). Serving as a means of support, they formed the spring point of the transverse arches that separated between the units of the

Fig. 8: East elevation, belfry,
Ejmiacin cathedral, Armenia
(after Parsegian 1990, A-0001).

vaulted roofing of the galleries. The ten elbow columns found, which constitute in all probability about one fifth of the entire original array, are paired and monolithic; i.e., each pair of columns is sculptured, together with its capitals, on the front of one stone, measuring about fifty centimeters in height and width. This corbel-stone protrudes about twenty five centimeters from the wall, a measure representing about one third of the block's depth.

The capitals of the elbow columns offer valuable insights. The three pairs found *in situ* in the northern gallery are a variation on the plain-leaf Corinthian capital (Fig. 5), well known already in Roman architecture.[9] The use of its derivatives was common throughout the Middle Ages in the whole area of influence of the Roman Empire, in East and West alike. Antecedents to this frequent component of Crusader architecture[10] could thus be found both in the countries of origin of the Crusaders and in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood.[11]

In contrast, capitals of elbow columns similar to those found *in situ* in the western and southwestern parts of the cloister have so far been detected in Crusader architecture in this site only (Figs. 6-7). This rarity earned them picturesque descriptions, such as the following one by the Marquis Mélchior de Vogüé: '…large abaque supporté par un globe, le tout taillé comme les manches d'un pourpoint du xvi siècle.'[12] Alternatively they were interpreted (e.g. by Thomas Boase and Camille Enlart) as the failing of a local artist to execute a Corinthian capital.[13] This type of capitals, which is utterly different from the Corinthian type and all its derivatives, was widely used in Armenian

Fig 9: Elbow columns, Bab al-Silsila, Jerusalem (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

Fig. 10: Elbow columns, Siqaya al-Adil, Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

architecture since the 4th century and throughout the Middle Ages (Fig. 8). It appeared in series both on top of free-standing columns in internal spaces and in blind arcades decorating external walls, generally accompanied by matching globular bases.[14] The fact that capitals of this type were also used in the architectonic frames of Armenian manuscript illuminations testifies to the conventionality of this element in the Armenian tradition of construction.[15] The identical globular structure of the capitals and the repetitive geometrical patterns decorating them offer a clear-cut evidence for the activity of Armenian stonemasons on the site, and, to say the least, for their participation in the creation of the elbow column, which, as specified, shared the same stone block with the capitals.[16]

Like the capitals, the elbow column too shows traces of different traditions. Religious architecture in the Middle East, combining Hellenistic heritage with Roman techniques, showed an unmistakable preference for corbels as internal wall supports, whereas the column was used as a free-standing support. The walls of a synagogue, a church or a mosque were usually conceived as an area devoid of engaged elements – a grid for mosaics, mural paintings, or inscriptions. Religious architecture in the West, in contrast, made extensive use of engaged columns, thus following the Roman conception of the wall as a mass, liable to be hewed or bear engaged elements. The elbow column is in fact a hybridization of the two approaches.

Within the discussed cloister, which was built hurriedly yet formed part of

Fig. 11: Entrance, Kubakkiyya, Jerusalem (Photo
by the author).

a highly prestigious project, the elbow column bears witness to the working of stonemasons of different traditions side by side, a situation that proved to be a fertile ground for spontaneous, original inventions. The present example is of a clever, economic device that could serve even if additional roofing support was needed over existing walls, where mural supports had not been preplanned. On the one hand, it bore on the technique of overhanging support that was commonly used in the region; on the other hand, through preserving the image of engaged columns it quoted the method of support retained in the architectural memory of the Western patron. These are probably some of the reasons for the popularity this element enjoyed in Latin architecture in Jerusalem and its vicinity.

Until 1187 the elbow column in this region continued to undergo structural and aesthetic development. I will not touch upon this evolvement in the present article,[17] but rather turn to the second aspect I proposed to examine, namely, the fortunes of the elbow column after 1187 in its native area.

Second phase: Abbasid
Third phase: Fatimid
Fourth phase: Crusader and Ayyubid
Fifth phase: Mamluke
Later

Fig. 12: Elbow columns (Nos. 1-12), portico, al-Aqsa mosque,
Jerusalem (Plan after Hamilton 1949, 40).

Fig. 13: Elbow columns (No. 11), portico, al-Aqsa mosque,
Jerusalem (Courtesy of Israel Antiquities Authority).

A primary study of post-Crusader monuments in Palestine shows that the life of the elbow column was not ephemeral. Dozens of examples of Ayyubid and Mamluke architecture from the 13th and 14th centuries found in Jerusalem testify to its having become a part of the local vocabulary of forms. Some copious examples are Bab al-Silsila (Fig. 9),[18] the Siqaya al-Adil (Fig. 10),[19] the Mausoleum of Emir Aidughdi Kubaki (the Kubakkiyya) (Fig. 11),[20] the northern portico of al-Aqsa mosque (Figs. 12-13),[21] the Turba of Baraka Khan,[22] and the Khatuniyya Madresah (Figs. 14-15).[23] Derivations very close to the elbow column were found in a post-Crusader infrastructure in the Last Supper Hall on Mount Zion, among the findings of the Armenian museum (Fig. 16), in Jami al-Maghariba on the Temple Mount (Figs. 17-18), at the sides of the western

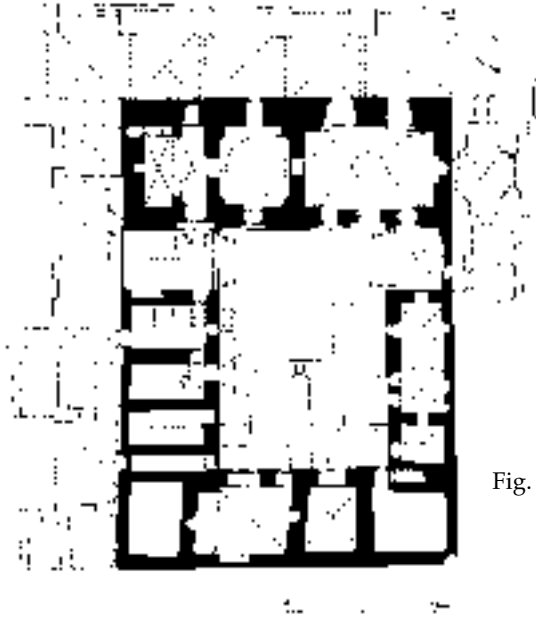Fig. 14: Elbow columns (Nos. 1-7),
Khatuniyya Madresah,
Jerusalem (Plan after
Burgoyne 1987, 344).

Fig. 16: Elbow columns, Armenian
museum, Jerusalem (Photo by the
author).

Fig. 15: Elbow columns (No. 7),
Khatuniyya Madresah,
Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

Fig. 17: Entrance, Jami al-Mghariba,
Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

Fig. 18: A console, Jami al-Mghariba,
Jerusalem (Photo by the author).

doorway on the main entrance to al-Aqsa, and in Haram al-Khalil in Hebron (Fig. 19).

Some of these cases undoubtedly present a secondary usage of Crusader elements. The distinction between secondary usage, driven by practical, aesthetic or even ideological reasons, and independent Ayyubid or Mamluke fabrication constituting an act of quotation by copying and/or interpreting is a most interesting issue with regard to each of the examples cited.[24] Yet as far as the history of local post-Crusader architecture is concerned, either way means an adoption and an integration of the element in question. In this process the first instances of Ayyubid secondary usage of Crusader elbow columns in prestigious contexts, like the portico of al-Aqsa and Bab al-Silsila, certainly served as additional inspiraton.[25]

The present article will not discuss all the characteristics of the Ayyubid and Mamluke elbow column. However, a change in architectural context, probably pointing to the vitality of the element, should be noted. The elbow columns of the Crusaders were situated on internal walls, whereas those of the Ayyubids and Mamlukes were located mainly in external parts of buildings, generally at the entrance. In Mamluke architecture, where the portal formed an object for special aesthetic accentuation, the elbow column found its place

Fig. 19 (Left): A console, Haram al-Khalil, Hebron (Photo by the author).
Fig. 20 (Middle): Elbow column, north gate hall, Caesarea (Photo by the author).
Fig. 21 (Right): Elbow column, south aisle, church of Anvers (Manche) (Photo by the
        author).

among other elements of the overhanging support system. It was positioned
at the two sides of the doorway, beneath the lintel or the arch. It is noteworthy,
however, that the elbow column is missing from the wide range of stucco
decorations that ornamented the Mamluke façades. This absence may reinforce
the assumption that in this region, unlike in Europe, the elbow column never
became a purely decorative element.[26] The continuation of its design exclusively
in stone testifies to the preservation of its tectonic aspect.

Structurally, the local post-Crusader elbow column reverted to the most
archaic phase of the Crusader element and even simplified it. The pairs of
columns were hewed, together with their capitals, in one stone block,
measuring, as did the archaic model, about fifty centimeters in length and
height. A significant characteristic was the diminution in the effort to create an
illusion of a freestanding element. This tendency may be manifested in shaping
the side wall totally plain, in marking the inner angle of the 'elbow' by a slit
only, or in omission of the space between the pairs of columns. The side walls
of the capitals show a similar tendency. Ayyubid capitals remained relatively
close to the two types of capitals that characterized Crusader elbow columns
of the early phase: the globular capital, and the plain leaf capital derived from
the Corinthian capital. In both types, as in the elbow column itself, no effort
was made to give the side walls the appearance of a free-standing element.

Mamluke samples that continued these types of capitals exhibit a drawing away from the Crusader model. Compared to the trends that governed Crusader elbow columns until 1187, the Ayyubid and Mamluke elbow columns thus present a regression to the primary tectonic conception of this element, both in their reduced articulation and in the lack of attempt to create an illusion of a free-standing element.

All these examples lie in dubitable terrain. Monuments erected in Jerusalem in the 12th-14th centuries often changed ownership, activity or religious association. The very brief Ayyubid phase is hardly discernible from the Crusader phase, not only because of its proximity to it but also because it combined large use of Crusader edifices with secondary usage of Crusader elements and/or with Crusader imitations. This unclarity found expression in Max Van Berchem's analysis of Siqaya al-Adil's supports: 'Les retombées antérieures s'appuient sur deux chapiteaux latins,' but 'le tout est de style arabe'.'[27] Robert W. Hamilton, studying the portico of al-Aqsa in detail twenty five years later, detected six construction phases; the fourth of which, however, he labeled 'Crusader and Ayyubid.'[28] Forty years later still, H. Burgoyne, analyzing the monumental sculpture of Siqaya al-Adil, had to admit that 'no reliable criterion has been recognized for differentiating between Crusader sculpture and later copies of it.'[29] It should be mentioned, however, that the study of the elbow column allows some elucidation with regard to the exact association of certain edifices.[30]

Political expansion carried the Ayyubid and Mamluke secondary usage and on-going fabrication of elbow columns beyond the borders of Jerusalem, which was a province governed by either Egypt or Syria. Evidence to this is found, to cite a list of monuments that is by no means exhaustive, in Khan al-Nabk located between Damascus and Homs,[31] in Emir Shebab's castle in Hasbayya on the southern end of the Bekaa valley,[32] and in Azem's palace, built by As'ad al-Azem, Pasha of Damascus, on the ruins of a former palace erected by the Mamluke ruler Tankiz.[33]

These isolated specimens raise not only the issue of the chronological and geographical borders of the phenomenon in question, but also that of the route of its spread in the region. It is not improbable that the unique elbow column was transferred by an atelier whose members traveled following a ruler's invitation.[34] This hypothesis may be supported through a close study of the overall construction enterprise of Ayyubid and Mamluke rulers. Some of these rulers are, for instance, al-Malik al-Mu'azzam Issa (1180-1227), under whose reign the Crusader elbow columns were integrated into the centre of the eastern

wing of the al-Aqsa portico; al-Malik al-Kamil Shaban, during whose reign the 1345 addition of elbow columns to the western part of al-Aqsa's portico was apparently made; and al-Malik al-Nasir Hassan, who is mentioned in a 1350 inscription embedded in the eastern end part of the al-Aqsa portico, where Mamluke secondary usage of Crusader elbow columns is observed as well.

A leap to the coast, to Chateau Pèlerins in Athlith and Caesaria, reveals a series of elbow columns that are entirely different from the ones so far discussed.[35] Dating from the middle of the 13th century, these elbow columns (Fig. 20) reflect an explicit connection to similar series created in Western Europe from the beginning of the 13th century (Fig. 21). The similarity is manifested in the proportions of column and capital and in the shaping of the capitals. Moreover, the shaping of the column as free-standing by means of the removal of the mass that connected it to the wall betrays its having been to Western Europe. Indeed, the shift from the creation of a 'metaphor' of a free-standing column to the design of a real one occurred only after the sojourn of the elbow column in Europe, at the end of the 12th century and beginning of the 13th. It echoed one of the metamorphoses the element underwent in different regions in France simultaneously, while integrating into the early Gothic monumental sculpture.[36]

Architectural motif or sculptural element, the elbow column, is clearly disclosed as evidence and signifier. At the beginning of the 12th century it typifies an original Crusader creation, fusing inspirations from diverse sources. In the middle of the 13th century, the elbow columns of the coastal Caesarea and Chateau Pèlerins portray the back-and-forth transferal of Crusader heritage between the Terra Santa and Europe. And in between, so to speak, the Ayyubid-Mamluke elbow column bears witness to stagnation taking over the innovativeness of Crusader art, and naturalization turning the compounds of this art into one of the raw materials of the place.

Notes

1. The gadroon arches appeared in the 12th century in various sites almost synchronically. In the West they can be found in churches in the regions of Aisne, Mayenne and Charente, and in Palermo; in the Holy Land Crusader construction used them in many monuments in Jerusalem, but also in Tripoli, Gibelet, Nazareth and Canna. The use of this type of arch continued in Ayyubid and Mamluke architecture. For a first inventory of this architectural motif, see Enlart 1925: 97-98. See Enlart, *ibid*.

also for a suggestion of this motif's having had its origins in the architecture of 11th century Cairo, and Golvin 1970: 91, n. 4 for a suggestion of Norman and Moslem origins. Armenian origins, and an interpretation of some instances of this motif's usage in Jerusalem as a statement of Armenian identity are proposed in Kenaan-Kedar 1998: 83-85.

2. Numerous variations of this mode of laying the arch stones are common in the 12th century in Anglo-Norman architecture as well as in Crusader sites in the East: Tarsus, Beyrouth and Jerusalem, and later Tripoli, Lerida and Palermo. For a first inventory and a suggestion for origins in Normandy and Ile-de-France, see Enlart 1925: 108-109.

3. The arch of adjoining discs, which can be regarded as a derivation of the gadroon arch, is less cited in literature. It is found, for example, in the cloister of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, in the Cathedral of Bourges and in the churches of Notre-Dame-La-Grande in Poitiers and Saint-André-le-Bas in Vienne. Near Eastern Hellenistic and Coptic fragments bearing identical décor present a probability for Oriental sources of inspiration.

4. See for example, Golvin 1970: 81-106.

5. For one of the various derivations, the plain leaf Corinthian capital, see below n. 9, 10; for another, the capital featuring wind-blown Acanthus leaves, see Grabiner and Pressouyre 1993: 357-382.

6. See Grabiner 2001.

7. See Ellenbllum 1992: 168-178; Boase 1999: 219-225.

8. See Grabiner 1993: 169-180.

9. These capitals were variously interpreted. Some scholars have regarded them as a simplified type of the classical Corinthian capital, developed for distant-from-view localities such as upper stories; others have suggested that the details of leaves in this type of capitals were intended to be painted or added in *stucco.* Numerous as they are, the Roman samples do not provide any clear-cut evidence. See for example, Scrinari 1952: 40-41, 69-73 and nos. 40-43; Belloni 1958: 58-59 and Figs. 50-53; Von Mercklin 1962: 53, 90, 91, 199, 274, 408, 409 and Figs. 431, 445. 716, 930, 931; Heilmeyer 1970: 140-143 and Pls. 50-51; Pensabene 1973: nos. 229, 290, 306, 325, 406-542.

10. The large use of these capitals in Crusader architecture is manifested, for example, in the cathedrals of Lydda, Sebaste, Gaza and Tartus; in the churches of al-Bireh, Iblin, Nablous and Mount Thabor and the chapel of Margat; on a smaller scale, in the portal of the Nativity grotto in Bethlehem and the shrine marking the spot of the Ascension of Mohammed in Jerusalem.

11. Examples are many - e.g. the ensembles published in Enlart 1902: 373, 380-382; Kautzsch 1936: nos. 32, 34, 38, 145, 148, 151; Thouvenot 1938: 63-82; Pressouyre 1993: *passim*. For antecedents in Jerusalem and its vicinity, see Kon 1947: 80-81 and Pl.XIV; Avigad 1983: 178; Fischer 1990: nos. 38, 39a, 39b.

12. Vogüé 1863: 210.

13. Enlart 1928: 179; Boase 1967: 9.

14. See Parsegian 1990: *passim.* See also Grimm 1864: *passim;* Strzygowski 1918: I, 121 and ff., Fig. 23 and ff., II, 518 and ff., Fig. 557 and ff..; Macler 1920: 253-268;

Khatchatrian 1948: 57-144; Nersessian 1973: *passim;* Donabedian 1988: 55-92, especially 63 and Figs. 20, 27, 30, 31-35, 40; id. 1989: 83-120 and particularly Figs. 24, 33, 45.

15. Some examples are the 13th century Synopsis of the Evangelists from the New York Pierpont Morgan Library, no. 740 fol., 4 vs. published in Nersessian, 1945: Pl. XXV r.; the architectural décor of the scene of Adoration of the Magi in an 1263 Armenian manuscript from the Washington Freer Gallery of Art, no. 56 II, see Nersessian 1945: Fig. 235; and the architectural décor of 14th century illuminations published in Narkiss 1979: 82, 83, 86, 95.

16. For the continuous existence of an Armenian community in Jerusalem from the 5th century on and the close relationship it held with the Crusader authorities in various fields, artistic production being one of them, see Williams 1849: 554-560; Rey 1883: 84-88; Prawer 1972: 214-232; id. 1976: 222-224; Hintlian 1976: *passim*; Narkiss 1979: 11-12; Hamilton 1980: 188-211; Azarya 1984: 54-58; Prawer 1985: 59-116; Stone and Amit 1997: 27-44; Kenaan-Kedar 1998: 77-92.

17. For this evolvement, see Grabiner 1999: 192-201.

18. See Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 129-130; Van Berchem 1927: 123; Enlart 1928: 222; Hamilton 1933: 34-40; Buschhausen 1978: 187 n.185-186 and 189 ff; Burgoyne and Folda 1981: 323; Burgoyne 1987: 45.

19. See Van Berchem 1922: 103-108; Le Strange 1965: 188; Burgoyne 1987: 141-142, 278, 450.

20. For the mausoleum, the contexts of its construction and possible origins of some of its parts see Clermont-Ganneau 1899: 21; Van Berchem 1922: 204, 207, 209, 249-251; Vincent and Abel 1926: 968 and n. 12, 13; Walls 1974: 49; Drory 1979: 154 and n. 17; Burgoyne 1987: 142-143.

21. For the complex history of the construction of the portico see Hamilton 1949: 39-44, which complements Van Berchem 1927: 415-419, 425-436.

22. See Van Berchem 1922: 103-108; Burgoyne 1987: 141-142, 278, 450.

23. See Van Berchem 1922: 280; Burgoyne 1987: 343-345 and 355.

24. An illuminating example is the case of the portico of al-Aqsa, where elbow columns from the three central Crusader bays presented a model for Ayyubid and Mamluke additions. The complex chronology of this portico (see n. 20) thus enfolds a still more complex chronology – that of the group of the 12 paired elbow columns and their capitals. Of these, some are Crusader built, situated in genuine Crusader context; some are Crusader built but incorporated in this structure after 1187, having been originally assigned to another context; and others are later imitations. For a discussion of this unique case, see Grabiner 1994: 103-131.

25. For al-Aqsa, see n. 24. As to Bab al-Silsila, the Crusader origin of its monumental sculpture is doubtful. For suggestions of specific origins, see Van Berchem 1922: 207; Folda 1977: 273; Bahat 1990: 139.

26. For some of the European successions of this element, see Grabiner 2000: 329-343; Grabiner 2001: 59-68.

27. Van Berchem 1925: 103.

28. Hamilton 1949: 40.

29. Burgoyne 1987: 112.
30. One example is the former entrance to the Islamic museum that was inaugurated in 1923 at the south-west of Temple Mount, in the north-western area of a Crusader hall - in all probability one of the annexes to *Templum Salomonis* – which had been converted after 1187 into the Jami al-Maghariba mosque. The study of the elbow-supports of the entrance leads to the conclusion that a post-Crusader construction is concerned. Even if the elements in question (Figs. 17-18) exhibit secondary usage, they are not Crusader, but in fact inspired by Crusader canon - unlike the interpretation in Bourgoyne 1987: 269.
31. Herzfeld 1943: 50.
32. For the issue of this site's constructors, see Deschamps 1934: I, 29 and II (Pls.); Deschamps 1939: VII.
33. Lorey 1925: 367-372.
34. For expansion on the activity of local or travelling ateliers in the service of Mamluke rulers, see Baer 1980: 145-146; Burgoyne 1987: 97-99.
35. The architectural sculpture of Athlith is documented in Pringle, 1993: 69-79, and that of Caesarea in Kennan-Kedar 1997: 165-178.
36. The loss of this element's tectonic aspects and its absorption into the vocabulary of Gothic decorative motifs is discussed in Grabiner 2000: 338-343; Grabiner 2001: 59-68.

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Ecclesiastical Politics as Reflected in the Mural Paintings of San Pietro al Monte at Civate[1]

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*T*he church of San Pietro al Monte Pedale sopra Civate (Lecco, Lombardy) stands on the slopes of Monte Pedale, high above the village of Civate, and can only be reached only by a strenuous climb up a mule trail. Near it lies the so-called oratorio di San Benedetto, a small structure whose original function is unclear (Fig. 1). These two edifices are the remains of a Benedictine monastery established, according to legend, by Desiderius, the last Lombard king, in the 8th century. It was destroyed and rebuilt several times, deserted and resettled,

Fig. 1: Civate, San Pietro al Monte and the "oratorio" di San Benedetto, third quarter of the 11th century, looking from south (photo by author)

Fig. 2: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, the great lunette, mural painting, last decade of the 11th century, *Apocalyptic Vision of the Seventh Trumpet* (after Gatti 1980: Fig. 48)

gradually declining until being finally abandoned in 1798. A second church, which belonged to the monastery and was dedicated to San Calogero, sits at the foot of the mountain.[2]

The present church of San Pietro and the "oratorio" of San Benedetto are believed by most scholars to date from the third quarter of the 11th century. It was probably during the last decade of the same century that some changes were made to the edifice of the church and it was decorated with mural paintings and stucco reliefs.[3]

At that time the monastery played an important role in the ecclesiastical life of the region. The church of San Pietro possessed several renowned relics – Peter's right arm, links of the chain with which he had been bound, an ampulla with Paul's blood, the tongue of Pope Marcellus (d. 309), and two keys. In addition, the abbots of the monastery claimed that Pope Adrian I (772-794) had given them the authority to grant plenary indulgences to those who had taken the trouble to reach the church. The monastery itself was known as "Second Rome" and the church of San Pietro al Monte at Civate thus became an important place of pilgrimage for penitents seeking absolution from their sins and readmission to the Christian community.[4]

This article deals with the mural paintings, which present a particular reflection of the pretentious claim of this mountain abbey church to grant plenary indulgences. The wide range of subjects offers a compendium taken from various sources and with no apparent link between them: the Wise Virgins (Matthew, 25: 1-13) and Abraham's Bosom (Luke, 16: 16-23), the Vision of the

Fig. 3: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, the small lunette, mural painting, last decade of the 11th century, *Abraham's Bosom*

Seventh Trumpet (Revelation, 11: 15 - 12: 17) and Heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation, 21: 9 - 22: 5), the Acts of Saints Peter and Paul and Popes Gregory and Marcellus, the names of the Virtues (based on the *Psychomachia*) and others. I will focus here mainly on two of the murals. The first depicts the Apocalyptic Vision of the Seventh Trumpet and can be seen on the great lunette crowning two small bays ending with an apse and the corridor from which one both enters and exits the church (Fig. 2). The second depicts Abraham's Bosom, and is found on the small lunette crowning the inside of the entrance door (Fig. 3). The prominent location of the two paintings and the fact that the faithful see both of them simultaneously, just as they are leaving the church, may indicate that they were intentionally designed to serve as the main focus of the pictorial program and to reveal the ultimate, in the sense of both final and definite, message.

The Vision of the Seventh Trumpet reads as follows:
And the seventh angel sounded. … And the temple of God was opened in heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament. … And there appeared a great wonder in heaven; a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars. And she being with child cried, travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered. And there appeared another wonder in heaven; and

Fig. 4: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, corridor, eastern vault, mural painting, last decade of the 11th century, *Heavenly Jerusalem* (after Zastrow 1983: Fig. 141)

behold a great red dragon, having seven heads and ten horns, and seven crowns upon his heads. … and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered, for to devour her child as soon as it was born. And she brought forth a man child, … and her child was caught up unto God, and to his throne. And the woman fled into the wilderness, … And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels. And prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven. And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world: he was cast out into the earth, and his angels were cast out with him.

The visual representation at Civate has been restricted to three elements: the confrontation of the woman and her son with the dragon, the upraising of the child to God, and the war in heaven.

The Apocalyptic woman and her son were interpreted by some medieval theologians as the Virgin Mary and Christ, while others saw them in a more spiritualized manner, as personifying the Church and the Christian believer, the *filius ecclesiae*, who is reborn through baptism.[5] The identity of the woman as either the Virgin or the Church is not as crucial as that of her child, because Mary may in fact also represent *Ecclesia*.

Traditionally, the woman of the 12th chapter of the Apocalypse is represented in medieval art as standing or seated.[6] However, at Civate she is shown reclining beneath a coverlet on a *kline.* Because of the evident resemblance to Byzantine

Fig. 5: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, apse of southern bay, mural painting, last decade of the 11th century, the *angelic hierarchy* (after Chierici 1978: 79)

renderings of the birth of Christ, it has been generally accepted that in this case the woman should be identified as Mary.[7] However, during the Middle Ages this iconographical scheme was not restricted to the Nativity alone. Rather, it was used in many other representational scenes of birth in general, such as those of Anne giving birth to Mary[8] and Elisabeth giving birth to John the Baptist,[9] as well as Hagar giving birth to Ishmael and Sara giving birth to Isaac[10] and Manoah's wife giving birth to Samson.[11] Thus, it cannot be assumed that the Apocalyptic woman at Civate represents Mary or indeed alludes to her just because she is shown giving birth. Rather, it would seem that the artist was motivated by the wish to remain faithful to the text, which refers explicitly to the fact that the woman is "travailing in birth, and pained to be delivered … [and finally] brought forth a man child".

Pregnancy, labor and motherhood in Christian theology are associated as much with the Church as with the Virgin. The church conceived itself as engendering, raising and nourishing penitents within its womb through
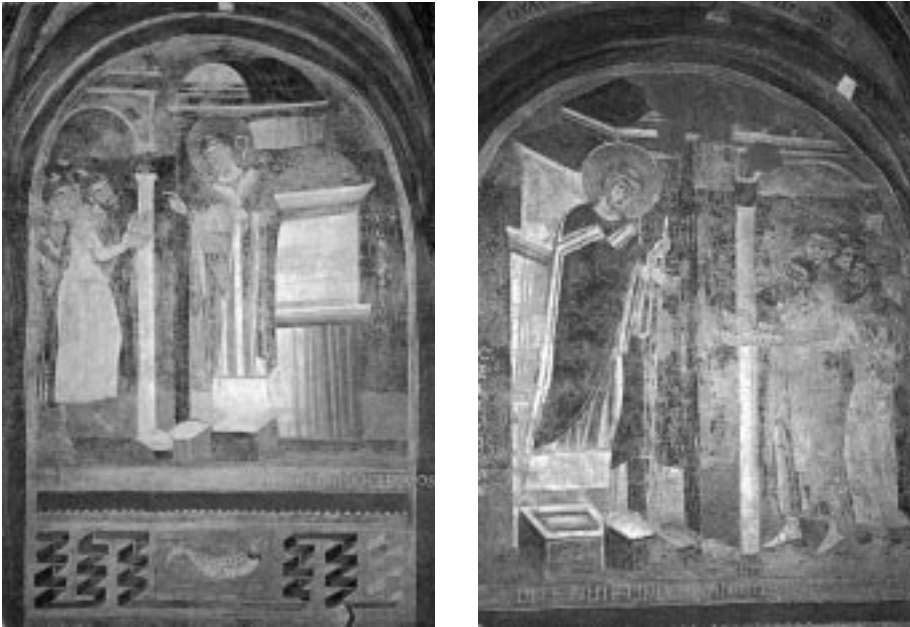
a   b

Fig. 6: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, corridor, southern and northern walls, mural
         painting, last decade of 11ᵗʰ century, (a) *Pope Gregory preaching* and (b) *Pope
         Marcellus beckoning a group of believers*

sermons, preaching and instruction of the believer's soul. The birth itself was
linked with baptism, since the baptized soul is reborn to new life.[12] I believe
that two of the *tituli* that accompany the paintings of San Pietro al Monte, clearly
indicate that the Apocalyptic woman here represents *Ecclesia*. The first
inscription, seen over the arch surrounding the scene dedicated to Revelation
12, emphasizes the agonies of birth: "H[E]C [PARI]TVRA DOLET GENITI SED
MVNERE GA[V]DET…". While Mary – the Holy Virgin – was free from the
agonies of labour, *Ecclesia* never ceases to give agonizing daily birth to her
spiritual offspring and to cry out to God to deal kindly with humanity.[13] The
second inscription, which surrounds the adjacent apse, refers to the everlasting
struggles and trials of the Church: "ECCLESIAE VARIOUS CONFLICTVS
ATQVE LABORES".[14]

Regarding the identity of the child, most scholars tend to interpret the image
at Civate as Christ ascending to heaven.[15] However, if we identify the woman
here as *Ecclesia*, and not as Mary, her child must be undoubtedly interpreted as
representing the faithful soul, who faces the danger of spiritual death but is
reborn through baptism and will be granted redemption and be brought close
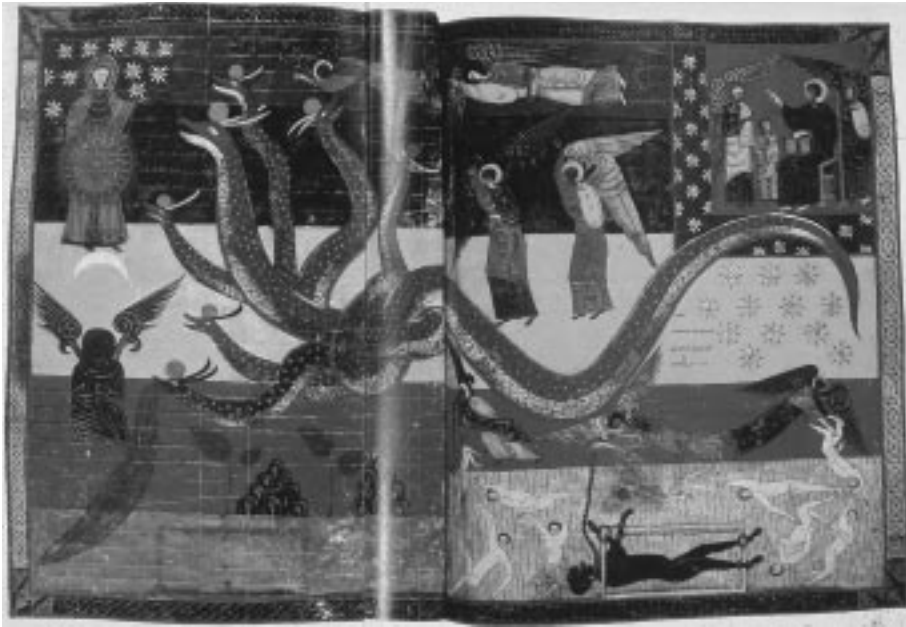
Fig. 7: *Beatus*, Madrid, Bibl. Nacional, olim B31 = Vitr. 14-2 Facundus, fols. 186v-187r,
11th century (1047?), *Apocalyptic Vision of the Seventh Trumpet*

to God, through faith and penitence.[16] The suggestion that the child alludes
here to the Christian believer is also supported by his visual appearance. The
artists working at Civate made a clear distinction among three categories: Christ
is always shown with a cruciform halo (Fig. 4); angels and saints bear plain
haloes (Fig. 5, 6); and ordinary figures have no halo (Fig. 6). The child – both
immediately after his birth and in the angel's arms – has no halo, and hence
can be identified as an anonymous representative of the common people.
Furthermore, his diminutive size, his nakedness and the *Orant* gesture, as well
as the elevation to heaven, being conventional medieval artistic elements to
characterize the soul of the believer destined for redemption, reinforce the claim
that he represents the faithful soul.[17]

   We do not know for certain whether this mural was based on a particular
theological commentary. Nonetheless, both the iconography and the *tituli*
indicate that it reflects those texts that interpreted the woman as the Church
and her son as the faithful. It seems probable that the patron who commissioned
the pictorial program had relied on the *Explanatio Apocalypsis* of the venerable
Bede (c. 673-735), a copy of which was kept in the scriptorium of the monastery

Fig. 8: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, entrance, mural painting, last decade of the 11th century, *Christ handing the keys to St. Peter and the book to St. Paul* (after Zastrow 1983: Fig. 139)

in the 12th century.[18] Bede viewed the woman of the Apocalypse as *Ecclesia christi*, which gives daily spiritual birth to the Christians, who are promised salvation from the clutches of Satan and whose souls will ascend to the Divine presence.[19]

While there are indications that Bede's *Explanatio Apocalypsis* may have served here as a theological source of inspiration, the visual sources still remain uncertain. It was suggested that the Civate representation was influenced by illuminations of the *Beatus* commentaries (Fig. 7).[20] Indeed, both the miniatures and the discussed mural juxtapose the confrontation of the woman and her son with the dragon, the child that was "caught up unto God, and to his throne" and the "war in heaven". However, the differences are quite distinct. In the *Beatus* illuminations, Hell, its inhabitants and torments, are given far greater prominence than that given it in Revelation, and God and the redeemed child are confined to the right-hand corner.[21] At Civate, on the other hand, there is no Hell. Only a few little devils – depicted as small, similar and barely noticeable shadows – stand for the notion of Hell, while God reigning in Heaven is shown in the center of the composition. Moreover, unlike the *Beatus* illuminations, it is the child, not the woman, who is shown here twice, in order to illustrate the chronological development from danger to deliverance. His upraising and salvation are greatly stressed and constitute the essence of the tale: he is placed beside God, within the realm of the same huge *mandorla*.

A comparison of the mural at Civate with the *Beatus* illuminations reveals

Fig. 9:   Civate, San Pietro al Monte, crypt,
southern wall, mural painting, last
decade of the 11th century, *A Wise
Virgin* (after Chierici 1978: 87)

the shift of emphasis as neither accidental nor meaningless. Rather, it appears
to indicate a different interpretation of the text and to offer a different message.
While the *Beatus* illuminators were fascinated by the subject of the fall of Satan
and sinners, the artists who worked at Civate saw the salvation of the child as
the main issue. Although the defeat of evil and the victory of the righteous are
but two sides of the same coin, the deliberate choice of one or the other reveals
two separate viewpoints.

The central role given to the deliverance of the child – the Christian faithful
– is reinforced by detaching the occurrence from the traditional iconographic
context. All the monumental representations of the Seventh Trumpet that are
known today appear within a narrative sequence devoted, at least in part, to
the disasters and cataclysms that are destined to descend upon mankind after
the breaking of the seventh seal by the Lamb (Revelation, 8-9).[22] Examples of
this can be seen in the murals in the baptistery of Novara (Piedmont) (early
11th century),[23] Sant'Anastasio in Castel Sant'Elia near Nepi (Viterbo, Lazio),[24]

Fig. 10: Civate, San Pietro al Monte, general view facing east
(after Chierici 1978: 81)

San Severo in Bardolino (Verona, Veneto)[25] and St. Savin sur Gartempe (all three dated to the end of the 11th century or beginning of the 12th century).[26] Furthermore, all these narrative cycles of disasters accompany a representation of Christ in Majesty, situated respectively in the dome (Novara), the apse conch (Castel Sant'Elia) and the tympanum (St. Savin).[27] The allocation of a sumptuous format and a prime site to these triumphal theophanies quite naturally makes them the crowning glory of the pictorial program. At Civate, in contrast, not only is the somberness tempered and the Vision of the Seventh Trumpet shown without the series of disasters, but it also overshadows all the other representations and consequently gains a unique importance and a new meaning. The lunette's extraordinarily grand scale, opulent format and unusual location above two apsidal structures and one gate, which replace the standard

Fig. 11: Sant'Angelo in Formis, west wall, mural
painting, 1072-1087, *Last Judgement*

and modest rectangle, immediately bring to the observer's mind both the
triumphal arches that dominate the church's apse and the tympana that crown
its portal. These architectonic elements embodied in medieval thought the
triumphant Christ as well as bearing celestial connotations. For that reason,
they usually served as an infrastructure for representations of the great
theophanies, which "were given monumental form … and are exclusively of
the majestic, not to say triumphal, kind".[28]

There is thus no particular singularity in the dedication of the great lunette
at Civate to the majestic image of Christ reigning in heaven. Rather, its
uniqueness lies in the juxtaposition of a theme taken from the twelfth chapter
of the Apocalypse within this context. In other words, the Vision of the Seventh
Trumpet can be seen to have undergone a transformation of its message, with
the catastrophic elements having disappeared, being subdued and replaced

by an optimistic spirit. The redemption of the faithful not only constitutes the crowning glory of the individual representation, but is also the meta subject of the overall pictorial program. This sophisticated process of transformation began with the selection of certain details and the omission of others, continued with their precise arrangement in the composition, and ended with detaching the occurrence from the cyclical illustration of the cataclysms to which it had traditionally belonged, in literature as well as in the visual arts. The intentions were further supported by the choice of a scale, shape and location that bore triumphal meanings and eschatological connotations.

Early Christian art focused on the victorious aspect of the Apocalypse, as revealed in chapters four (Christ in Glory among the four living Creatures and the Elders), five (the Lamb with the seven-sealed book) and 21-22 (Heavenly Jerusalem) of the book.[29] It was only from the 11th century that monumental art paid attention to the disasters. But even then triumphal arches and tympana were reserved for the image of *Christus triumphans*. The Civate artists combined both approaches: dedicating the wall to a catastrophic vision, but treating it as a triumphant theophany. By adding the story of the child's salvation the 11th century artists reflected the spirit of Early Christian art, with its grand hope for the redemption of all true believers.

This conscious decision to stress the victory of the righteous, rather than the punishment of the sinner, is also evident in the representation of Abraham clasping to his bosom the three tiny figures of righteous souls in the small lunette that crowns the inner side of the portal (Fig. 3). The image of Abraham's Bosom, which derives from the parable of Lazarus and Dives (Luke, 16: 16-23),[30] is included in the various cycles devoted to the parable.[31] However, in most cases it appears in representations of the Last Judgment, either as one component among others pertaining to Paradise,[32] or as the sole feature of it.[33] Lazarus is thus presented as a universal image of the soul of the righteous believer who has ascended to Paradise and is worthy of being taken to Abraham's Bosom because his faith is comparable to that of the "father of faith". Hence the artists often depicted two, three, four or even more figures instead of one.[34] Whether Abraham's Bosom forms part of a cycle depicting the Evangelical parable, or whether it appears as part of the Last Judgment, this visual metaphor of deliverance is traditionally juxtaposed with the opposite motif – the punishment of the sinner.[35]

At Civate Abraham's Bosom constitutes an independent theme. By omitting the traditional balancing scene of hell and sinners, the focus lies firmly on the righteous – the *MULT[ARUM] GENTIVM* – whose sins have been forgiven

and who are worthy of redemption. Moreover, Abraham does not appear in the usual setting among trees, beside a gate, or within an architectural framework – a schematic allusion to Paradise or Heavenly Jerusalem. Rather, he is shown against a neutral background, with no clear indication of specific place. The celestial city, on the other hand, is represented separately, on the adjacent vault (Fig. 4). Could this be a duplication of the same subject? In several medieval exegeses *Sinus Abrahae* is not considered as Paradise or Heavenly Jerusalem itself but as the *temporale aliquos animalum fidelum receptaculum* or *refrigerium interim* – the temporary abode of restorative repose for the righteous souls between their bodily death and their resurrection. This place is not indeed "heavenly", but half way between hell and paradise. It is but a stage prior to the Second Coming and Last Judgment.[36] By depicting Abraham's Bosom separate from Heavenly Jerusalem, the Civate artists may have been attempting to accentuate the fact that the *refrigerium interim* and the eternal city are two separate places and two separate stages in the believer's redemption.[37]

The message conveyed here is remarkably similar to that in the first mural discussed, depicting the Seventh Trumpet. In both cases the emphasis is on the redeemed believer, while the role of disasters and torments is minimized or even omitted. Thus, the current interpretation of these two scenes, as mere abbreviations of a cycle of the Apocalyptic catastrophes or of a detailed representation of the Last Judgment, is somewhat inadequate and ignores the true spirit and message of the overall pictorial program. I believe that the various scenes in San Pietro al Monte visually unfold the long road of the pilgrim visiting this remote church – from the sin, through repentance and penance, and a life of good deeds, preached and guided by the Church, followed by absolution and repeal of the temporal punishment (i.e. the plenary indulgence) and eternal redemption.[38]

Before the penitent crosses the threshold of the church he encounters a representation of Christ handing the keys to St. Peter and the book to St. Paul (*traditio legis et clavis*) (Fig. 8). The inscription refers explicitly to man's guilt: "[NOS] INTRA[RE] IVBE DONATOS MVNERE CVLPE […]" and the scene makes it clear to the pilgrim that absolution is granted only by the Church, which is represented here by the two saints. The book – the Credo – refers to the process that the believer must undergo before his sins will be absolved and the indulgence granted, while the keys are of course the means of entrance to the heavenly kingdom.

As he enters the church the pilgrim encounters a representation of Pope Gregory – SANCTVS GREGORIVS – who is preaching to a group of believers,

the catechumens and the sinners who have recently received the word of God, and a similar representation of Pope Marcellus – [MAR]CELLVS [P]AP[A] - who is beckoning another group (Fig. 6). From the inscription that accompanies the first scene we learn that Gregory is teaching the people: "VENI[T]E FILII [AVDITE] ME TIMOREM DOMINI DOCEBO VOS…". This is taken from the sacrament of Penance conducted on Maundy Thursday, in which the penitent receives absolution before the indulgence releases him from the temporal penalty.[39] The second scene is also associated with penitents whose sins were forgiven, as Pope Marcellus (d. 309) is known to have focused much attention on the subject of absolution.[40] The inscription that accompanies this scene ("AC[CE]DITE FILII ET INLVMINAMINI …") probably refers to the sacrament of Baptism, which was regarded since early Christian times as *Sacramentum illuminationis*.[41] The two scenes represent, therefore, instruction and baptism as the two primary stages in the process of penitence and absolution.[42]

The recognition by the Christian believer of his guilt (Fig. 8), followed by his repentance and the absolution (Fig. 6), confer upon him a new life. His soul, saved from spiritual death, ascends to the throne of God (in the great lunette) (Fig. 2). After corporeal death, the soul will be brought to Abraham's Bosom (in the small lunette) (Fig. 3); finally, at the End of Time, it will remain forever in Heavenly Jerusalem (in the vault) (Fig. 4).

The pictorial program of San Pietro al Monte at Civate thus seems to reflect and stress the monastery's special authority to grant plenary indulgences. Furthermore, the pilgrim is not only confronted with the various stages he must go through, but he is also spared the usual depictions of the sinners and their punishments: the road to redemption is shown without mentioning its complement – the road to damnation. Just as the Vision of the Seventh Trumpet has been detached from the catastrophic cycle of the Apocalypse, with a concomitant stress on the salvation of the believer, so too does Abraham's Bosom stand alone, with no reference whatsoever to hell and its inhabitants. This positive and optimistic point of view can be seen in other scenes as well. The Wise Virgins,[43] who according to St. Augustine represent the souls that have accepted the Catholic faith and are worthy of salvation, are depicted without their foolish sisters, who represent the souls of the heretics and sinners who will be condemned and cast down to Hell (Fig. 9). The Wise Virgins remind the Christian believer both of his present daily conduct and of his future salvation.[44] Even the names of the Virtues are inscribed without those of the Vices: SPES, FIDES, [CH]ARITAS (Fig. 3) and PRVDENTIA, IVSTITIA, FORTITVDO, TEMPERANTIA (Fig. 4).[45]

Such an approach is rare in medieval art, and especially in Romanesque or contemporary Byzantine art, which placed an overwhelming emphasis on sinners, Satan, Hell and punishment.[46] It is the old story of thunderous silence! What is absent from these mural paintings is just as relevant as what is present.

It is worth noting that the two lunettes, which face the believer as he leaves the church (Fig. 10), replace the *contrafacciata*. This wall is dedicated in many Italian churches to a monumental representation of the Last Judgment, whether in mural painting or in mosaic (Fig. 11). The purpose of these representations, which contrast the two main aspects of human life, is to warn the worshiper, who is leaving the house of God and returning to his mundane world, that he is responsible for his choices and, consequently, for the results. In Civate, on the other hand, the believer perceives only a depiction of the rewards awaiting the faithful. The Vision of the Seventh Trumpet and Abraham's Bosom both convey here a unique message and radiate a totally different spirit. It would appear that the deliberate choice of certain subjects, no less than the omission of those subjects which were more usually presented to balance them, together with their formal arrangement and placement in a new architectural context, stemmed from the desire to both express and stress the penitentiary function of this remote church. The eschatological redemption that awaits all Christian believers, and the immediate reward that is promised to those who make the specific pilgrimage, are interwoven here at San Pietro al Monte Pedale sopra Civate.

Notes

1. This article is based on my M.A. thesis, *The Mural Paintings of San Pietro al Monte at Civate: The Iconographical Program*, submitted to Tel Aviv University (1989), under the supervision of Prof. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar (Hebrew).
2. For comprehensive information about the history of the former monastry, see Bognetti 1985 (1957); Marcora 1985 (1957), *passim*: as well as Kingsley Porter 1967 (1917): III, 388-389 (San Benedetto), 390-399, 402-404 (San Pietro); Gatti 1980: 8-11; Meiri-Dann 1989: 23-35; Virgilio 2000: 35-45.
3. For dating of the murals, see Feigel 1909: 217; Bognetti 1985 (1957): 39-41; Salvini 1954: 630; Salvini 1964: 69; Mancinelli 1971: 15-17, 38; Chierici 1978: 223; Gatti 1980: 15 (esp. n. 34). On the mural paintings and the stucco reliefs, see all the above mentioned and Toesca 1942; Toesca 1943; Christe 1978 (1); Christe 1983; Christe 1984; Virgilio 2000: 15-29, 31-32, 47-56.
4. Marcora 1958: 35; Marcora 1974: 166-167; Marcora 1985 (1957), 219; Colli 1978-1979: 3 (esp. n. 6); Gatti 1980: 10-11 (esp. nn. 9-15), 14-15 (esp. nn. 29-30).

5. Prigent 1959: *passim*. The spiritualist interpretation was much more popular in the Early Christian period and early Middle Ages than the Mariological one. Western theologies preferred the spiritualist interpretation, as for example, Venerabilis Bedae, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, II, in Migne (ed.), *Pat. Lat*., XCIII, cols. 165-169 (esp. 167); Beatus de Liebana, *Beati in Apocalipsin, libri duodecim*, H.A. Sanders (republished), *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, 6 (1930), 455-456, 464; Berengaudus, *in Apocalypsin Expositio,* in Migne (ed.), *Pat. Lat*., XVII, cols. 872-881 (esp. 875). As for the influence of those commentaries upon the visual renderings, see Van der Meer 1938: 422; Fonrobert 1968: I, 144, 147; Klein 1981: 124, 126-128, 140. For further information, see Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 124-131.

6. For the standing woman, see for example, the miniature in the *Trier Apocalypse*, Trier, Staatsbibl., Cod. 31, fol. 37r, first quarter of the 9th century (Van der Meer 1938: Fig. 96). For the seated woman, see for example, the miniature in the commentary to the Apocalypse by Haimo d'Auxerre, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodl. 352, fol. 8v, first half of the 12th century, Christe 1977: Fig. 2. For more examples, see Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 109-119, 143-144.

7. Klein 1981: 128-129; Van der Meer 1938: 425-426; Demus 1970: 293; Mancinelli 1971: 37; Colli 1978-1979: 247. About Byzantine renderings of the Nativity see Schiller 1971: I, 65-67. The mosaic in the church of Daphni (beginning of the 11th century) provides many points of comparison, Grabar 1979: 115-117.

8. Réau 1957: II-2, 162-164; Schiller 1980: IV-2, 63-66. See, for example, the miniature in the menologion of Basleios II, Rome, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. grec. 1613, fol. 22r, 979-984, Schiller 1980: IV-2, Fig. 511.

9. See for example, the mosaic of the dome of the baptistery of Florence (13th century).

10. See for example, the mosaic of the so-called Abraham dome in the west wing of the atrium at San Marco in Venice (for the birth of Ishmael) and the west lunette of the same dome (for the birth of Isaac) (beginning of the 13th century) (Demus 1988: 133, 138, Pls. 48, 49b).

11. See for example, the mural painting in the southern wall of the nave of San Vincenzo at Galliano (near Cantù), 1007, some 30 km. western to Civate, Zastrow 1983: Fig. 31.

12. See above, n. 5 and Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 151-152.

13. Klein 1981: 129, n. 26, 131-132, n. 35; Lo Menzo 1986: 145-147.

14. On this inscription, see Christe 1984: 126; Christe 1992: 240-241.

15. For example, Fonrobert 1968: 147; Schrade 1966: 106-108; Klein 1976: 120 and n. 260; Colli 1978-1979: 247 (n. 17).

16. See above n. 5 and Klein 1976: 118-119; Prigent 1959: 10-16.

17. Kemp 1972: 138; Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 157-161.

18. In the list of the 76 manuscripts that were kept in the scriptorium, which closes a manuscript of 199 pages, written at Civate in the 12th century, one can read as follows: *Beda super actus apostolorum et epistulas (sic!) canonicarum et aposcalipsim [!] in uno volumine* (Berlin, Staatsbibl., Ms. theol. lat. fol. 564, fol. 199v). See Zeische 1974: 279.

19. See above, n. 5 and Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 162-163.

20. Klein 1979: 151-152, 160; Klein 1992: 188. More about the connections between the *Beatus* illuminations and the mural at Civate, see Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 135-141.

21. Neuss 1931: *passim*; Klein 1979: *passim*; Klein 1981: *passim*. See also Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 106-109; 115-117, 121-123.

22. Christ 1992: 239-244.

23. The walls of the drum of the octagonal building depict the seven cataclysms that occur when the seven angels sound their trumpets (Rev. 8-12). One scene is dedicated to the Seventh Trumpet Vision. See Chierici 1966; Al-Hamdani 1969; Wettstein 1971; Mauck 1975; Klein 1979: 141-142.

24. On the southern wall of the transept are represented, among others, the opening of the first four seals and the Four Horsemen (Rev. 6) and the Visions of the Fourth (?), Fifth and Sixth Trumpets. Three scenes, at least, were dedicated to the Seventh Trumpet Vision, one on the southern wall of the transept and two on its northern wall. See Matthiae 1961; Hjrot 1970; Hoegger 1975.

25. The Apocalyptic cycle is spread over two registers on the southern wall of the nave. Today we can see, among others, the Visions of the Fourth trumpet or of the Sixth Seal (Rev. 6, 12-17) and of the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Trumpets. See Caiani 1968; Christe 1978 (2); Sala 1987; Klein 1979: 146.

26. One of the barrel vaults of the porch is dedicated to representations of the Fifth, Sixth and Seventh Trumpets Visions. The last one is spread over two panels. It seems that the adjacent vault as well included scenes derived from the book of Revelation. See Yoshikawa 1939; Kurmann-Schwartz 1982; Christe 1985; Klein 1979: 142.

27. The dome of the baptistery of Novara appears to have been dedicated to a representation of Christ in Majesty and the symbols of the Evangelists, Wettstein 1971: 4, or one of the celestial visions that are derived from Rev. 4-5, Chierici 1966: 23 and Fig. D. In the apse conch in Castel Sant'Elia we can find Christ, standing between Saints Peter and Paul and two other saints, above the four rivers of Paradise and the Lamb. Below, in the wall of the apse, there are twelve sheep – the Apostles, women-martyrs, two archangels and *Maria Regina* in Majesty. On the eastern wall (in fact, triumphal arch) are depicted the Four and Twenty Elders of the Apocalypse, who address Christ and the Lamb, and prophets. On the tympanum that crowns the portal of St. Savin there is a representation of Christ in Majesty in a round *mandorla*, accompanied by the letters *alpha* and *omega* and angels bearing the instruments of the Passion. This triumphal vision is surrounded by the twelve Apostles and twelve angels who form a celestial choir. No trace remains of the murals in the apse of San Severo in Bardolino.

28. Van der Meer 1978: 33. Triumphal arches, see for example, at San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome (440-461), SS. Cosma e Damiano, Rome (526-530) and Sta. Prassede, Rome (817-824) (Oakeshott 1967: 70-73, 295-297, Figs. 183, 185; 90-94; 204-207, Figs. 121, 123). More information, see Réau 1957: II-2, 686-694; Van der Meer 1978: 33, 51-73. On tympana and portal lunettes and their decoration, see Connant 1975; Christe 1966; Christe 1991; Kenaan Kedar 1990: 60-64; Christe 1992: 244-255.

29. See above, n. 27 and Christe 1974; Klein 1992: 159-167; Kinney 1992.

30. Réau 1957: II-2, 348-352, 734, 750-751; Lucchesi Palli 1968: 31; Plotzek 1971; Baschet 1993; Baschet 1996. For further information, see Meiri-Dann 1989: I, 182-209.

31. See for example, a miniature in the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Paris, Bibl. Nat., Cod. gr. 510, fol. 149v, end of the 9th century (Nersessian 1962: 207, Fig. 7); and a

miniature in the *Codex Aureus Escorial*, Madrid, Bibl. Escorial, Cod. Vitrians 17, fol. 117v, 1045-1046 (Plotzek 1971: 32).

32. See for example, the mosaic in the cathedral of Torcello, the 12th century, and the sculptured tympanum of the western portal of Ste. Foi at Conques, c. 1124.

33. See for example, the western portal of the cathedral of Bourges, c. 1270-1280.

34. See above, the representations mentioned in nn. 32-33.

35. A Byzantine ivory from the beginning of the 11th century (?) (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Nv. A. 24-1926) provides a good example, Williamson 1982: Pl. 14.

36. For example, Tertullian, *Adversus Marcionem*, IV, 34, 10ff. in Migne (ed.), *Pat. Lat.*, II, 444-445. See also Le Goff 1984: 47-48; Russell 1997: 49, 68-69.

37. On the representation of Heavenly Jerusalem in medieval art, in general, and at Civate, in particular, see Réau 1957: II-2, 721-723, 751; Colli 1979; Colli 1981; Colli 1982; Colli 1983; Gatti Perer 1983 (esp. the catalogue); Kühnel 1987: esp. 145-149; Klein 1992: 165-166 (esp. n. 31).

38. See above, n. 4. On the process from guilt to eternal salvation, see Kent 1913; Hanna 1913.

39. About Maundy Thursday and the Reconciliation of Penitents, see Thurston 1913: 417. Siccardo, the Bishop of Cremona in the 12th century, mentioned the formula for approach to the *penitentes* on this day: "venite, venite, venite, filii, audite me, timorem Domini docebo vos", *Sicardi Cremonensis Episcopi Mitrale*, in Migne (ed.), *Pat. Lat.*, CCXIII, 301-302.

40. Marcora 1985 (1957): 179 and n. 15; Gatti 1980: 20, n. 42.

41. Magistretti 1896: 337.

42. For more about the connection between penitence and baptism, see Caldwell 1980: 28-29.

43. On the crypt and its decoration, see Gatti 1980: 40-43. Today only two of the virgins and some traces of the other three still remain.

44. Augustine, *Opera Omnia, Sermo XCIII,* in Migne (ed.), *Pat. Lat.*, XXXVIII, 573; Réau, II-2, 353-358, 747.

45. The names of the theological virtues are inscribed above the arch surrounding the small lunette and those of the cardinal virtues are inscribed in the four corners of the vault with the representation of Heavenly Jerusalem.

46. Hall 1983: 137-143.

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The Impact of the Black Death on the Sculptural Programs of the Pilgrimage Church St. Theobald in Thann: New Perception of the Genesis Story*

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The sculptural programs of the pilgrimage church St. Theobald in Thann (in the Alsace district) have been surveyed and documented in several contexts. They have also been included in anthologies discussing the Parler sculptural projects and the art of southern Germany.[1] The complicated iconography of these vast programs, however, has not yet been systematically studied, and their subjects and images have been presented as meaningless; or, as phrased by Otto Schmitt, as a radical, futile expansion of the narrative stemming from the incompetence of the artist and his desire for decorative covering of the entire area.[2] I would like to argue, that the Genesis sculptural cycle of Thann, executed around the middle of the 14th century, echoes the new theological and moral perceptions, associated with the exegesis of the Genesis story, that emerged in southern Germany as a consequence of the Black Death. I contend that the new narrative illustrating the life of Adam and Eve reflects an attempt to understand the coherency of the divine plan in light of the plague and to change it by optimistically and mercifully re-writing human history and fate. The new narrative contains three unique images:

1. The penitant baptism of Adam and Eve in the Tigris River.
2. The angels teaching Eve to nurse.
3. Seth being granted a branch from the Tree of Mercy for mankind (This scene is depicted at Schwäbisch Gmünd).
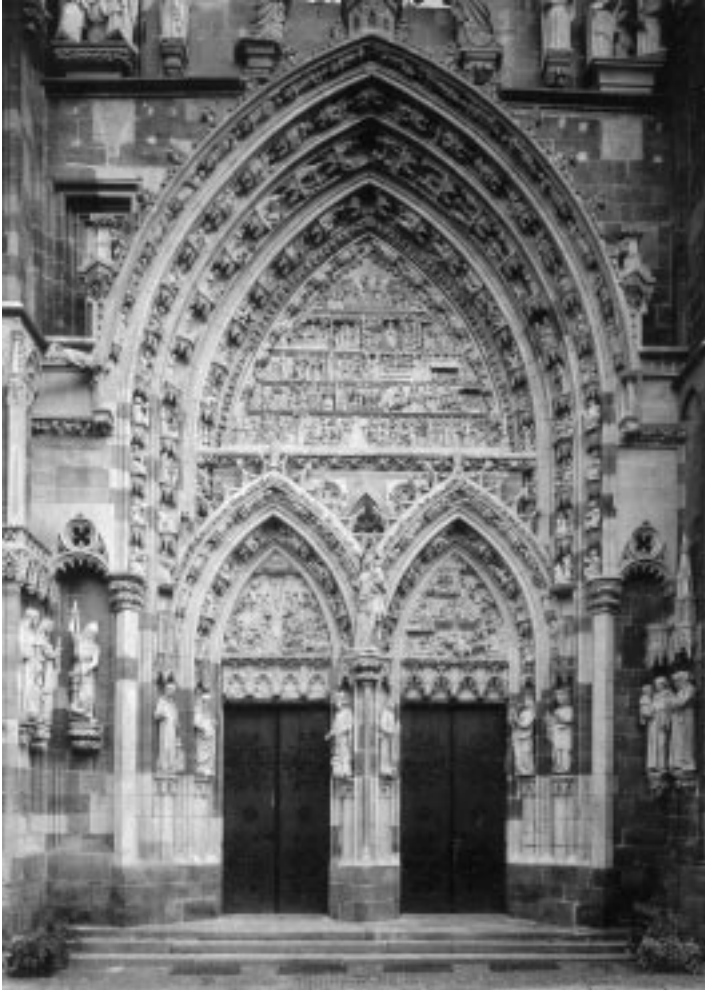
Fig. 1: St. Theobald in Thann, west façade, 1330-1380 (after Kirner
        1990: 7).

The new subjects and images at Thann were not, therefore, a macabre
expression of events during the plague, but rather a comforting vision for grief-
stricken humanity. During the plague pessimistic writings that presented the
epidemic as divine retribution for the moral corruption of mankind, discussed
the nature of its penance.[3] The new narrative at Thann, on the other hand,
discusses these issues through optimistic, comforting literature and creates, in
my opinion, an analogy between contemporary divine judgment, namely the
plague, and the protoplastic judgment, subsequent to the original sin.

Fig. 2: *The Bethrothal of Adam and Eve*, St. Theobald in Thann, west façade, detail of the upper tympanum, middle archivolt, 1340-1351 (Photo by author).

Furthermore, I would like to suggest that the growing attention given to Eve's character in artistic presentation relates to the indictment of woman in spreading of the plague, an aspect that has seldom been discussed.[4]

The 23 scenes portraying the first of the six epochs of mankind installed on the third inner archivolt of the upper west tympanum, constitute the most elaborated cycle of the Creation in the cathedral sculpture (Fig. 1). The narrative begins with the separation between heaven and earth, based upon astrological studies,[5] and concludes with the Inebriation of Noah.[6] The right side of the archivolt is devoted to a description of the prosperity and blessing of the divine creation, and the left side to the history of the protoplasts, beginning with the betrothal of Adam and Eve (Fig. 2). The next five niches illustrate the sequence of events following the original sin up to the expulsion from paradise (Figs. 3-4). The following scene then breaks the continuity of the biblical story to depict an enigmatic scene (Fig. 5): Adam and Eve bathing. Their heads appear above the waves as they gaze at each other. Naively fashioned heads of four fishes appear among the waves. The anatomical details of the fishes are depicted by means of a few simple lines engraved on the surface. The waves are deeply and crudely carved one on top of the other, creating a kind of schematic "mountain" of waves.

This scene was identified by Reigers and later by Schmitt as Adam and Eve's penitant baptism in the Tigris River.[7] This narrative appears here for the first time in monumental cathedral sculpture, and its source is most probably in the 14th century vernacular German poem titled "Eva und Adam".[8] Nothing is known about the poem's author, other than his name LUTWIN, which is mentioned in the text.[9] The poem is based on the 4th century Latin text *Vita Adae et Evae* but it introduces several significant digressions from the original.

Fig. 3: *The Original Sin*, St. Theobald in Thann, west façade, detail of the upper tympanum, middle archivolt, 1340-1351 (Photo by author).

Fig. 4: *The Inquiry and the Explusion from Paradise*, St. Theobald in Thann, west façade, detail of the upper tympanum, middle archivolt, 1340-1351 (Photo by author).

The poem has been discussed since 1881 and frequently studied,[10] but its most important interpretation is by Halford 1984. Halford has shown that in the popular German version Eve's sin is presented as innocent and naive, and she becomes a symbol of penance, bravely bearing the consequence of her sin. The poem suggests the possibility of forgiveness, mercy and return to paradise. The concept of the original sin takes a mild turn here and the couple is presented as suffering out of proportion to their sin. In Lutwin's poem Eve is not presented as a seductive or temptress, and Adam is not the victim of her temptations. Rather he is depicted as an equally ardent partner to sin. Standing before God, the strong and moral character of Eve is presented in contrast to the weak character of Adam, who does not hesitate to throw all the responsibility on her.[11] As opposed to Adam, Eve shows complete awareness of her misdeed, stating that "I thought I was doing right but unhappily I was deceived by my own folly, for I have been disobedient."[12]

After the explusion from paradise the couple undergoes great lamentation. Their search for food has failed and Eve asks Adam to kill her; perhaps then

Fig. 5: *The Penitant Baptism*, St. Theobald in Thann, west façade, detail of the upper tympanum, middle archivolt, 1340-1351 (Photo by author).

God will have mercy and return Adam to paradise.[13] Refusing to sacrifice her, they continue to wander and suffer starvation. After 23 days Adam decides to take the active step of penitence in order to alter their destiny. Eve asks him to explain to her what penance is and insists that she alone should perform it.[14] The act that Adam decides they must undertake is that of penitent baptism: Eve shall stand for 37 days without moving, eating or speaking up to her neck in the Tigris river; Adam shall do so for 40 days in the Jordan. While setting off to do his penance, Adam commands the river and the fish to stand still and mourn with him.[15] This precise moment is depicted in Thann but here both baptisms have been merged into a single image. The significance of this unique scene has not yet been studied. Apart from its identification by Reigers, nothing has been written about it. I believe that this desire to alter their destiny by the protoplasts reflects an optimistic yearning for a better reality during the terror of the Black Death. This active longing was reflected in an artistic re-writing of history and granting of divine forgiveness long before the sacrifice of Jesus. The choice to represent this new narrative around 1350 may be viewed as a consequence of the extended theological debate on the nature of penitence, which was intended to lead to a solution to the reign of death. Adam's baptism, which is clearly associated with Jesus' baptism in the Jordan River, will grant him the forgiveness that he hoped for along with his future return to paradise.

Fig. 6: *Birth of Cain*, St. Theobald in Thann, west façade, detail of the upper tympanum, middle archivolt, 1340-1351 (Photo by author).

The sculptural representation, however, is not a mere illustration of the text: it combines both baptisms into one. Lutwin goes on to tell how Eve, immersed in the Tigris River, is once again deceived by the devil, who has now transformed himself into an angel of light. In his disguise, the devil convinces Eve that her sins have been forgiven, prior to her having completing the designated period of repentence.[16] Eve's second fall leads God to abandon her, accepting only Adam to his bosom. The narrative at Thann not only leaves out this complication, but it also unites Adam and Eve's destinies. The sculptural work in Thann is not frugal with details. It is characterized by extreme expansion of the traditional Gothic narrative, laden with images and iconographical innovations. The cycle presenting the life of the Virgin alone, for example, is depicted in approximately 40 scenes. Therefore, the decision not to separate these two baptisms, but to unite them, omitting Eve's second fall, is most significant. The fish heads in this image relate explicitly to Adam's baptism, namely the one that was concluded. Eve's attendance at this baptism scene is not only a formal one; it implies the merging destinies of the couple, and therefore the image suggests that forgiveness and paradise were promised to them both.

Subsequent to Eve's second fall, the couple parts in anger. The pregnant Eve turns to the Western side of the world, and Adam to its East. When the time comes and Eve undergoes the pains of labor, God ignores her pleas for help. As a last resort, she applies to Adam to act as an intercesser between her

Fig 7: *The Quest of Seth for the Oil of Mercy*, Heiligkreuz minster in Schwäbisch Gmünd, south-east porch, 1351-1360 (Photo by author).

and God; angels are sent down in order to deliver Eve's baby and then to teach her how to nurse and care for him. This is the seventh scene on the left side of the archivolt (Fig. 6): Eve sits on a clod of earth, supporting Cain with her left leg. One angel grasps the baby, holding him out towards her breast,[17] while two others stand behind her and pray. The text explains this scene as the granting of divine benevolence to Eve and her reacceptance by God.[18] Following this event, Eve's second penitence is depicted and she becomes a true symbol of both penitence and the exemplary wife and mother. The introduction of these two scenes into the sculptural rendition in Thann is not accidental; only those scenes discussing the mitigation of mankind's fate have been interwoven into the traditional narrative – an approach that is almost subversive to the Christian moral. Other scenes that fail to discuss this have been omitted.

Lutwin's poem ends with the Legend of the Quest of Seth for the Oil of Mercy and the Holy Rood. The various versions of this story had already been adapted into the plot of Adam and Eve's life in earlier texts, mainly prior to the 12th century.[19] Although this plot is not depicted in Thann, it does appear in the Genesis cycle installed on the south-east porch of the Heiligkreuz minster in Schwäbisch Gmünd (Fig. 7). Adam lies on the ground, on his sickbed, supporting his head in his hands. Eve sits behind him. Her right hand grasps his shoulder while her left is held to her breast, exhibiting her storm of emotions. Behind them one can see a sprouting tree. To their right Seth receives a branch

from an angel standing at the entrance to a Gothic structure symbolizing paradise. Inside the canopy is a tree. Seth points toward his parents. The scenes depict Eve's mourning over the death of Adam and Seth's journey to paradise, pre-figurations of the Pieta and Crucifixion. The image is formulated in an exceptional manner: a sort of continuous narrative within an architectural layout usually reserved for single scenes or images.

A comparative study of this episode from Lutwin's poem with earlier texts raises new aspects reflecting, as I see it, its direct association with the plague. Seth's voyage begins with a description of Adam and Eve's children coming to support their dying father. The children, who have yet to experience death and sickness, are amazed by their father's suffering and request an explanation. At this point the different sources are at odds. In a Greek text from Early Christian times, the *Apocalypsis Mosis*,[20] Adam replies that he is "crushed by the burden of trouble."[21] In a Medieval Latin text, *Vita Adae et Evae*,[22] Adam's reply is slightly different, and he says, " I am sick and in pain."[23]
In all versions, Adam mentions maladies and epidemics that will plague man prior to death. Lutwin's version expands upon the cruel nature of these.[24] At the request of his sons, Adam describes what sicknesss and suffering are. While this description in the other sources takes up five lines at most, Lutwin's text is much too long to be quoted here, continuing on for approximately 150 lines.[25] Adam's detailed explanation apparently relates to the arguments reasoning the plague. Stating that death and diseases are punishment for the original sin, Adam quotes the words of God:

> "'You shall endure all kinds of misfortune… I shall lie upon you
> seventy maladies which will plague you from head to foot. I shall
> spare you nothing, and without pity from me you will suffer in all
> your limbs sickness and torment… as will all those who come after
> you.'"[26]

Afterward, at the request of Adam, Seth and Eve set out for paradise, in quest of the Oil of Mercy, which is produced from the Tree of Life, so that Adam can be cured. In the *Apocalypis Mosis*, the angel sent to speak with them denies their request.[27] In the *Vita*, instead of the Oil of Mercy, they are given fragrant herbs to treat Adam's body.[28] Lutwin's version also claims that no oil was received, but instead a branch from the Tree of Mercy, which is the Tree of Life, was given to them.[29] This development is not found in any of the other sources. According to the Archangel Michael, on the very day that the branch bears fruit, the Oil of Mercy will flow for all mankind. This invention is a sharp

digression from the traditional text. Other legends explaining the origin of the Tree of Crucifixion from the 12th century on mention seeds or a branch from the Tree of Knowledge, the symbol of death, that were delivered to Seth.[30] Halford argues that Lutwin's original supplement, the accomplishment of the Journey and granting of the branch of the Tree of Life, the symbol of rebirth and hope, were intended to reinforce the role of the latter tree through contrast.[31] Furthermore, she claims that Lutwin was not interested in the story of the Holy Rood at all, only in the promising of salvation! In Lutwin's version, after Eve's death Seth carried out a second journey to paradise; it was only then that he received a branch from the Tree of Knowledge, on which the Savior would be crucified.

Which version of Seth's journey served as a departure point for the presentation at Schwäbisch Gmünd? The first allusion identifying this scene is the image of Eve lamenting Adam. Realizing that Eve is still alive, one can assume that this is the first voyage to paradise. Reading the narrative from left to right could potentially mean a chronological narrative development: first the branch was given to Seth and later it was planted in Adam's skull, becoming a tree. However, all the sources report that Eve accompanied Seth on his journey; moreover, the blossoming of the tree is only mentioned subsequent to her death! These contradictions between texts and image thus invalidate any possibility of reading the narrative as continuous. The late German Gothic sculptor does not hesitate to introduce the same figure a number of times during the same occurrence. Why then has Eve been omitted from Seth's journey? I believe that the omission was intended to suggest that this was Seth's second journey. The narrative should thus be understood as simultaneous rather than chronological; three events that occurred at different terms were merged into one image: Eve's lamentation, the blossoming of the branch from the Tree of Mercy that was planted on Adam's grave, and Seth's second journey to paradise by himself, which is only mentioned in Lutwin's text. Quinn interprets Seth's journey as mankind's quest for divine mercy. She defines Seth as an almost abstract figure, existing exclusively to perform his mission: "to fetch for mankind the gift of God's mercy",[32] which is the meaning of the image in Gmünd. The same type of formal narrative unification that reinforeces the content of the image has already been demonstrated in the penitant baptism.

The sculptural programs at Thann are ascribed to the Parler school of southern Germany, with a close affinity to the production of Johann Parler from Gmünd, the son or nephew of Heinrich Parler from Schwäbisch Gmünd. Johann served as the *Werkmeister* of the Minsters of Freiburg in Breisgau and

Fig. 8: *The Creation*, Freiburg in Breisgau cathedral, northen choir portal,
after 1354 (Photo by author).

Basel; his influence on the church in Thann is almost definitive.[33] Whether the
project in Thann was supervised by him or by the *Parlieren* (the Meister's
substitutes), there is general consensus that its stylistic tendency was first
manifested in Schwäbisch Gmünd. Therefore, it may be assumed that the two
not only share stylistic qualities but also an iconographical source — Lutwin's
poem. The topic of the Creation forms the focus of the iconographical programs
in almost all the monumental works produced by the southern branch of the
Parlers, such as at Freiburg in Breisgau (Fig. 8) and Ulm (Fig. 9). It appears to
me that this emphasis given to the Genesis story and its exegesis after the plague,
and the transition of the cycle from marginal sculpture to the main tympanum
at Ulm, strengthens the assumption that via the first penitent sinners, a
discussion on contemporary fate was being carried out.

Ever since the 80's of the 20th century, theories connecting the Plague and
stylistic or iconographic changes in art have been refuted.[34] Polzer has shown
that many subjects such as "the Triumph of Death" or "the Confrontation of
the Living and the Dead" were common motifs as long ago as the early 14th
century as part of man's moral occupation with Death.[35] In fact, however,
depictions of the daily reality of the plague, which were extensively expressed
in the literature of the time, did not find their way into the visual arts, apart
from rare manuscript illuminations of mass burials or Flagellant processions.[36]
Even St. Sebastian and St. Roch, the Christian saints and plague protectors,

Fig. 9: *The Creation*, Ulm minster, west façade, 1380-1420 (after Lipp
1995: 4).

only became popular in the 15th century.[37] The single new image to be inscribed in the 14th century as a consequence of the plague was the "Danse Macabre", although its origins may be traced back to the literature of the 13th century[38] Bergdolt claims that the plague of 1348 did not constitute a turning point for the visual arts, whose stylistic and iconographic tendencies before and after the plague only slightly changed.[39] The only iconographic phenomenon during the 14th century directly related to the plague was the increasing number of works relating to the destiny of humanity (such as the Last Judgement); in themselves, these presentations are not new.[40]

But as Lerner and Marshall have shown, the atrocities of the plague were not only channeled into neurotic or pessimistic responses. Another path taken was the optimistic attempt to change reality through descriptions of the blissful prosperity that would be granted to those seeking penitence, and by creating new images through which the divine decree could be manipulated and altered.[41] The emerging of the new narrative at Thann after the Black Death is so unprecedented that it can only be comprehended as reflecting these hopes. The introduction of this new narrative expressed the longing to change human history and destiny as it had been determined in the traditional theology. The scenes set free the first couple, and especially Eve, from guilt and offer a promise of divine mercy. Halford noted that Adam's stance in the penitence baptism not only symbolizes the birth of the second man, but also indicates that there is hope for fallen mankind.[42] For her, Lutwin's poem is a comforting tale for

humanity and this is the essence of the cycle at Thann.

Furthermore, Eve's purification may echo a specific social situation. In addition to the Jews and astronomical arguments, women too had been blamed for the outbreak of the epidemic. At the University of Paris contact with women was condemned as deathlike, and in order to cleanse the air from the epidemic, any sexual intercourse or sleeping beside a woman was forbidden. In Burg Karlstein, which was built as a safe haven against the plague for Karl IV, all women, including the Kaiser's wife, were prohibited to enter during the epidemic.[43] In the face of this misogyny, Lutwin's explanation of the divine plan is an original and a surprising one: "Whoever curses Eve and seeks revenge… is commiting a sin himself, for as I understand it, God permitted sin [to enter the world] so that it would bear witness to his great mercy and because he wished to assume human flesh… Mercy will be granted, so that it may increase."[44]

Was it due to its complete exoneration of Eve that Lutwin's poem was chosen as the narrative source for the cycle at Thann? If this was indeed so, it must be explored to what extant this choice reflected the the local matronage of Thann: the city's sole heiress, benefactress and donor, Johanna Pfirt, under whose initiative the sculptural program at Thann had begun.[45]

Notes

*   I wish to thank Prof. Nurith Kenaan-Kedar for introducing me to the church and sculptural programs of Thann, which have been neglected by previous generations. This paper is drawn from my PhD Diss.: *The West Façade of the Pilgrimage Church St. Theobald in Thann: The Sculptural Programs, Meanings and Functions*, written under the supervision of Prof. Kenaan-Kedar, at Tel-Aviv University.

1. The main publications are as follows:
    Dehio 1940: 103-105; Engel 1923; Kaufmann-Hagenbach 1952: 9-15, 17, 51, 54;
    Kirner 1996; Kletzel 1934: 100-104; Pinder 1925: 48-50; Pinder 1924: 79-83;
    Recht 1978a: 284; Scheurer and Lehni 1980; Schmitt 1940: 45-62; Schmitt 1951:
    104-109;
2. Schmitt 1951: 107-108; Schmitt 1940: 50-52.
3. On the pessimistic literature and the comfort prophecies, see Lerner 1982: 77-105.
    Meiss discusses the religious escalation consequent to the Plague: see Meiss
    1978 (1951): 74-78; further reading: Horrox 1995: 111-157.
4. Dieckhoff 1978: 77; Dinzelbacher 1996: 245.

5. This topic forms one of the main chapters of my PhD Diss.
6. The relief was removed from its original location to the next archivolt due to architectural alternations executed between 1340-1350. See Scheurer and Lehni: 150, 164.
7. Reygers 1937: 145; Schmitt 1951: 107-108; Kirner 1996: 27.
8. For the primary source and its translation see Halford 1984.
9. "May all who at this time bear or read this (book) desire that God may be gracious to the autor... He is called Lutwin...". See *ibid.:* 237-239. Eis failed to prove that the poet was a Cisterian friar who had settled in Bohemia around 1300. See: *ibid.* 10-11; Eis 1935: 59-63.
10. First published by Meyer and Hofmann 1881.
11. "'Lord, the woman whom you gave me as a companion, it is she who became aware of the succulence of the apple. She ate and gave me some, which I also tasted, but the fault is hers; in comparison my fault is not so great'". See Halford 1984: 247. Halford based her interpretation of Eve's character on Murdoch; see *ibid.:* 14-15, 59-86.
12. *Ibid.:* 247.
13. "'I wish to god that I were dead, since you suffering... All this is my fault, because I did wrong. Adam, friend and husband, if you desire it then kill me...'". See *ibid.*: 253.
14. "'Penance? What is that?' she asked. 'You must describe it to me... Therefore, Adam, tell me what act of penance you plan to undertake. Seeing that it was I who sinned and you who did nothing wrong I alone should penance'". See *ibid.*: 254.
15. "'Oh Jordan... Together with all that moves in you and lives a natural Life, fish or anything that swims, you must stand by me and mourn...' when he had spoken he straightway saw the fishes round him; they remained still and did not swim". See *ibid.*: 255. Murdoch discusses the Jewish origin of the penance and its significance; see Murdoch 1973: 37-51; see also Ohly 1976: 43-55.
16. Eve did not conclude her penance, as she got out of the river after 18 days. See Halford 1984: 256.
17. This scene could be interpreted as a prefiguration of Maria suckling the Infant.
18. *Ibid.:* 79-80.
19. On the origions of the Legends, see Quinn 1962: 1-12; Halford 1984: 28-35; Réau 1956: 100-101.
20. Wells 1966: 134-154.
21. *Ibid.*: 141, v, 5.
22. A revised version of Wells' translation has been published in Whittaker 1984: 147-167.
23. Wells 1966: 141, xxx, 4.
24. Halford 1984: 275.
25. *Ibid.*: 275-276.
26. *Ibid.*: 277.
27. Wells, 1966: 144, xiii, 1-5. Instead of the branch a promise of salvation at the end of times is given.

28. *Ibid.***:**144-145, xliii, 1-3.
29. Halford 1984: 279-281.
30. Quinn 1962: 9-11.
31. Halford 1984: 33.
32. Quinn 1962: 4.
33. The design from Fribourg, by Johann Parler, is ascribed to the west façade of Thann; see Scheurer and Lehni 1980: 150; Recht 1978b: 278.
34. Van Os 1981: 237-249. This important article has been criticized by Freuler and Wainwright 1986: 327-328.
35. Polzer 1982: 115-119; Bergdolt 1994: 214-218.
36. This observation has been pointed out, for example, by Polzer and Berdolt. (Polzer 1982: 111; Bergdolt 1994: 212). A rather rare presentation of the actual experience of the plague occurs in the manuscript of *Gilles le Muisit* dated to 1353 (Bruxelles, Bibliothèqe Royale Albert I, Ms. 13076/77, fol. 12v, 16v, 24v). See Dieckhoff 1978: 73-75.
37. Marshall 1994: 485-529; Polzer 1982: 111-113.
38. Bergdolt 1994: 214-217; E. Mâle 1986: 318-319, 328-348.
39. "Die Pest von 1348 bedeutete für die bildende Kunst keinen wirklichen Umbruch, da sich Kunstmotive und selbst der Stil vor und nach der Schwarzen Tod nur unwesentlich unterscheiden". See Begrdolt 1994: 218.
40. *Ibid.:* 213.
41. Marshall 1994: 485-488. On the "wondrous times" on earth, see Lerner 1982: 81-94.
42. Halford 1984: p. 13.
43. Dieckhoff 1978: 73-75.
44. Halford 1984: 283-284.
45. It is beyond the scope of this article to discuss her matronage. For some of its aspects, see Heider 1997: 6, 17, 22.

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Taddeo Zuccari's Decoration for the Frangipani Chapel in S. Marcello al Corso, Rome*

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*T*he Frangipani Chapel and its Patron

According to Vasari, Taddeo Zuccari was commissioned by Mario Frangipani[1] to decorate his family chapel in S. Marcello al Corso, after Taddeo had completed decoration of the Mattei Chapel in S. Maria della Consolazione in 1556.[2] Vasari comments that Taddeo had not long begun work when he had to break off in order to decorate another church in Rome for the obsequies of Emperor Charles V,[3] which took place in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli on March 4, 1559.[4] When Taddeo died in 1566, the paintings at the Frangipani Chapel were still unfinished, and his brother Federico completed them in the same year.[5] Hence, it may be concluded that the decoration of the Frangipani Chapel was begun, at the latest, at the beginning of 1559 and dragged on, with many interruptions, for the following eight years.

The decoration of the Frangipani Chapel (Fig. 1) offers a typical example of a Cinquecento compartmentalized chapel decorative design.[6] The paintings illustrate the life of St. Paul. The altarpiece, painted on slate, represents *The Conversion of St. Paul* (Fig. 2). The rest of the scenes were painted in fresco and framed in stucco relief. On the left wall is *The Blinding of Elymas* (Fig. 8), and on the right wall - *The Healing of the Cripple at Lystra* (Fig. 9). On the barrel-vault three scenes are painted: on the right is *The Raising of Eutychus* (Fig. 10), with an accompanying inscription beneath: EVTYCHES. AMORIVIS. EXCITATVS (the power of love arouses Eutyches); on the left is *St. Paul Bitten by a Viper on the Island of Malta* (Fig. 11), and the inscription beneath it: VIPERAE. MORSVS. INNOXIVS (unharmed by the bite of a viper);[7] while in the middle of the vault is *The Martyrdom of St. Paul* (Fig. 12). The lunette above the altar is largely taken up with two sections of the semi-circular broken pediment of the frame

of the altarpiece and the narrow window between them. In the remaining space on either side of the window is a figure reclining on the pediment, attended by child angels. Painted on the alabaster window is the dove of the Holy Spirit set in a brilliant sky. On either side of the pier-pilasters of the entrance arch are two figures: above - prophets,[8] and below - what appear to be saints, although these are difficult to identify due to the poor condition of the fresco.[9] On the soffit of the entrance arch, four ovals alternate with three medallions, all containing bust figures (Fig. 1). The ovals feature the Four Doctors of the Latin Church (St. Jerome, St. Gregory the Great, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine) and the medallions feature St. Peter, St. Paul and St. John the Baptist (Fig. 13).

Today, it is difficult to reach a definitive idea concerning the original colors of the frescoes. Water leakage from the ceiling had damaged the frescoes on the vault. In 1965 they were restored, and areas that had been repainted in the 19th century were repaired.[10] In the altarpiece, the problem is even more severe. The painting is constructed from a number of slate boards and the connecting areas of the boards had been damaged. Moreover, in the bottom part of the painting the slate had deteriorated and the paint had become detached completely. During the 1965 restoration the boards were reattached and large areas were repainted.[11]

The Frangipani Chapel was constructed as a family burial chapel. At the bottom of each of the side-walls are three marble portrait busts, of members of the Frangipani family, set into circular niches. Beneath each statue is an epitaph inscribed with biographical details of the deceased. On the left wall are the statues of Antonino the father and of his two sons, Curzio and Mario, the latter of whom had commissioned the decoration.[12] It is unknown who the sculptor was or when the statues were made, or even if they were especially made for the chapel.[13] On the right wall are the statues of three of the younger generation of the Frangipani family: Muzio, the son of Mario, and his two sons, Roberto and Lelio.[14] These statues are attributed to the Bolognese sculptor Alessandro Algardi and are dated to between 1630 and 1640.[15] On either side of the altar is a marble relief with the Frangipani coat of arms: two symmetrical rampant lions holding four loaves of bread.[16]

The inscription above the altarpiece reads:
D. [Divo] PAVLO APOST. MARIVS FREGEPANIVS DD [Dedicavit] MDLX.[17] (Mario Frangipani dedicated [the chapel] to the Apostle Saint Paul [in the year] 1560).[18]

Mario Frangipani (1506-1569) served as a *conservatore* of Rome several times, as well as a *cancelliere*.[19] In 1556 he was appointed by Pope Paul IV as *Commissario delle Antichità Romane,* and served in this position until 1567.[20] It seems that

upon his appointment, Mario decided to found the chapel as a memorial to himself and his family.[21] According to an agreement, the Church authorities conceded to Mario Frangipani a chapel dedicated to St. Paul, and committed to holding twelve masses per year. In return they received from Mario a house near S. Carlo ai Catinari.[22] Mario's reasons for choosing S. Marcello are obvious: the Frangipani lived nearby the church,[23] and had prior relations with its authorities. In the church records, a number of receivable payments are dated to 1497 for the burial of Frangipani family members in the old church, before it burned down in 1519.[24] One of the family members is also mentioned as a supervisor for the construction of the new church.[25]

Mario Frangipani's decision to choose Taddeo as his painter may be attributed to Taddeo's success in decorating the Mattei Chapel, which led to a great number of additional commissions during the years 1556-1566.[26] As a consequence, the decoration of the Frangipani Chapel lasted eight years.

There is no known document that suggests who might have been resposible for the chapel's iconography. It may be reasonably assumed that the Frangipani were assisted by the learned Augustinian monk, Onofrio Panvinio, who was a friend of Mario Frangipani and his brother Curzio. Curzio, who was *maggiordomo* to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese,[27] introduced Panvinio to the Cardinal when Panvinio arrived in Rome from Verona in 1550.[28] At the beginning of the 1560s, Panvinio took part in writing the iconographic program for the paintings commissioned from Taddeo by Cardinal Farnese, for his family palace at Caprarola.[29] During the same period, Panvinio wrote a book about the Frangipani family and dedicated it to Mario - the patron of the chapel.[30] It may be assumed that the close relations between Panvinio, the Frangipani brothers and Taddeo Zuccari produced the iconographic program for the chapel paintings.

Iconography of the Paintings

Monumental fresco cycles of the life of St. Paul were not common in Rome in the 16th century.[31] However, scenes from the life of St. Paul did form part of iconographic programs that comprised other themes, mainly those illustrating the life of St. Peter.[32] A main theme from the life of the former - his conversion on the road to Damascus - was very common in the 16th century, in Rome and other regions.[33] This particular theme may reflect the new Counter-Reformatory interests in conversion and salvation. It conveys a clear message to the Protestant sinners of the time.

The Conversion of St. Paul

The *Conversion of St. Paul* (who was called Saul prior to his conversion) begins the series. It captures the moment of miraculous vision and revelation. Saul,

the Jewish persecutor of Christians, who had realized the real power of God, becomes converted to Christianity and a defender of the true faith.

The Acts of the Apostles tells the story of Paul's conversion three times, in an almost identical way. In addition, Paul himself describes it in three of his letters.[34] When Paul, in the company of his companions, was on the way from Jerusalem to Damascus, a blinding light from heaven flashed over him, and knocked him to the ground. He heard the voice of God, while his companions stood by amazed, 'hearing the voice but seeing no man'. They raised him up and led him into Damascus, where he met Ananias who restored his sight and baptized him. After the conversion, Paul was pronounced to be God's instrument (*vas electionis)* and appointed to carry out His 'name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel' (*Acts* 9:15).

The conversion of St. Paul is offered as clear evidence of the heavenly grace and salvation given to the ignorant and the sinner, as stated in *The First Letter of Paul to Timothy* (1:12-16). According to St. Augustine, Christ selected Saul, His fiercest enemy 'so that, after the performance of such a miraculous cure, no sinner might despair of obtaining forgiveness'.[35] Jacobus de Voragine explains why the Church celebrates the conversion of St. Paul and not of other saints:

"In the first place, the conversion of Saint Paul is a greater example than the others, to prove to us that there is no sinner who may not hope for the grace which he needs...Finally, this conversion was more of a miracle than the others, since God showed by it that He could convert His cruellest persecutor, and make of him His most loyal apostle...The conversion was also miraculous in the manner in which it was accomplished, namely, the light which prepared him for conversion. This light was sudden, immeasurable, and divine...". [36]

The heavenly light that brought about the conversion of St. Paul is used as a metaphor when sent to the Gentiles '...to open their eyes, that they may turn from darkness to light and from the power of Satan to God...' (Acts 26:18). St. Paul is the chosen apostle to deliver the Gospel to the Gentiles so as to allow them, in accordance with his own experience, to "turn to the light", that is, to the grace that God grants his faithful through the Church (Ephesians 3:7-10).

In a broader sense, the conversion of St. Paul constitutes a sign to the sinners that they are not to lose hope of being blessed with the grace of God. His activity is seen as similar to the struggle of the Catholic Church against the heretic Reformers. Just as he worked to spread the Word of God to faraway districts, so too would the Catholic Church spread the true faith in the world once again. Acceptance of the authority of the Roman Church would lead to harmony and

salvation; resistance, however, would be futile: 'Therefore he who resists the authorities resists what God has appointed, and those who resist will incur judgment' (*Romans* 13:2).[37]

The image of St. Paul in the scene of the *Conversion* in the Frangipani Chapel deserves special attention (Fig. 2). Paul is shown as a beardless young soldier, lying on the ground, having fallen off his horse. The biblical text does not specify Paul's age at the time of the conversion, nor his clothing nor the fact that he was riding a horse when he heard the voice of God. From the 12th century the *Conversion* became an equestrian scene.[38] St. Paul as a young soldier appears for the first time in art in the middle of the 13th century, after a long tradition in which he was presented as a bearded old man with a bald head, wearing civilian garb.[39]

In two important works from the first half of the 16th century, in Rome, St. Paul is described in two different ways: as a young soldier - in a tapestry based on Raphael's cartoon from the years 1513-1517 for the Sistine Chapel (Fig. 3), and as an old man, in civilian garb - in Michelangelo's fresco from the years 1542-1545 in the Pauline Chapel(Fig. 4).

Under the influence of the Counter-Reformation, when questions of decorum in art were discussed, Raphael's historically "more correct" treatment of the subject commended itself to the Church authorities. Michelangelo's presentation of St. Paul as a bearded old man received much criticism. In his treatise "On the Errors of Painters", Gilio da Fabriano criticised Michelangelo's presentation of Paul as a sixty-year-old man at a time when he would have been merely eighteen or twenty.[40] Gilio's diatribe did not appear until 1564, the year of Michaelangelo's death, but there is indirect evidence that his opinion had already been made known when the Pauline frescoes were first unveiled in 1550. In 1551, when Vasari, on commission from Pope Julius III, painted the altarpiece of *St. Paul Being Healed of his Blindness* for the Pope's family chapel (del Monte) in S. Pietro in Montorio, he made the protagonist young. In his autobiography of 1568 Vasari writes: 'I painted the panel in this Chapel in the theme of the conversion of St. Paul. But, to distinguish it from that executed by Buonarroti in the Pauline Chapel, I made St. Paul young as he himself writes.'[41] The implication, therefore, is that Michelangelo had erred.

There is no doubt that Taddeo was aware of this criticism, and his choice to present St. Paul as a young soldier may have resulted from his wishing to "correct" Michelangelo's "error".[42] Another reason for this presentation seems to be connected with the life of one of the Frangipani family members - St. Ottone Frangipani.

St. Ottone had experienced similar events to those of St. Paul. He was a young soldier who converted to Christianity and changed his way of life after experiencing a heavenly apparition. St. Ottone was born in the middle of the 11th century, and at the age of twenty he joined the army and fought beside the Guelphs and Popes Nicholas II and Alexander II. In one of the battles he was kidnapped by his enemies and led in chains into imprisonment in the basement of a dark tower - exposed to starvation, cold and other horrors, until he was saved by a miracle. One night while he was sleeping, an image appeared in heavenly brightness, promising him salvation in the name of the Lord, if he would leave military service and the other futilities of this world behind him. St. Ottone left the army, his home, and all the wealth and respect he had gained, and began his pilgrimage. He settled in Ariano, where he lived the life of hermit and cared for the poor. He died and was buried there.[43]

There is evidence that a religious cult of St. Ottone used to take place in the Frangipani Chapel in S. Marcello.[44] We are also told about a visit by someone from the Cathedral of Ariano at S. Marcello (before 1902) who recognized an image of St. Ottone in the Frangipani Chapel. However, when he asked the brothers in the sacristy for information about the Saint, only a few knew his name.[45] Today, there is no recollection of any sort of cult for this saint in the church.

Based on the above, a number of conjectures may be suggested. First, the image of St. Paul in the altarpiece as a young soldier at the time of the apparition may suggest that the Frangipani wanted to create a link between St. Paul and the "family Saint" in some way. Furthermore, when the new church of S. Marcello was built to replace the one that had burned down, all the dedications of the chapels were changed except the one that continued to be dedicated to St. Paul.[46] Mario Frangipani may have coordinated with the Church authorities the dedication of the chapel to St. Paul; or, alternatively, he may have chosen the chapel that was dedicated to St. Paul in view of his perception concerning the similarities between the life of St. Paul and that of Ottone Frangipani.[47]

Second, the image of St. John the Baptist in one of the medallions on the soffit of the entrance arch could have a link to St. Ottone's life – at the time when he was a hermit and lived a life of chastity in Ariano. There is some similarity between the representation of St. John with the cross on his left shoulder (Fig. 13) and that of St. Ottone, which appears in an engraving, in which he is holding a cross in exactly the same manner (Fig. 14).[48] The similar iconography appears to have led to a mistake in Ariano in identifying the image of St. John the Baptist as that of St. Ottone. This is corroborated by another interesting piece of evidence. The images in the ovals and in the medallions on

the soffit appear, from right to left, in the following order: St. Jerome, St. John the Baptist, St. Gregory, St. Peter, St. Ambrose, St. Paul and St. Augustine. Reading them in parallel pairs starting from the center of the arch, going downward, they appear as follows: St. Peter - in the center, St. Gregory and St. Ambrose – on either side, followed by St. John the Baptist and St. Paul, and at the end – St. Jerome and St. Augustine. This placing of St. John the Baptist across from St. Paul may refer to the two periods in the life of St. Ottone.[49]

The Miracles of St. Paul and his Martyrdom
Four scenes in the Frangipani Chapel depict the miraculous deeds of St. Paul. These miracles illustrate how the Lord rewards His believers. They effectively convey the power of faith and, by extension, the power of the Church to triumph over schismatic heretics.

According to the order of their appearance in the *Acts*, the first scene is on the left: *St. Paul Blinds Elymas at Paphos* (*Acts* 13:6-12) (Fig. 8), for trying to keep Paul from preaching in front of the proconsul Sergius Paulus and asking '...to turn away the proconsul from the faith'. However, the blinding of Elymas - the Jewish sorcerer - resulted in Sergius Paulus' assumption of the new faith: 'Then the proconsul believed, when he saw what had occurred, for he was astonished at the teaching of the Lord'. The blinding of Elymas and the conversion of the proconsul were the first miracles of St. Paul. The obvious metaphor here concerns blinding and enlightenment. Blindness is the result of ignorance, while the subsequent enlightenment is a result of Paul's power as the *vas electionis* to convey, by word and deed, the will of God. The importance of this story, however, lies not in what happened to Elymas but rather in what happened to Sergius Paulus; not what St. Paul did to the Jews, but rather what he did to the Gentiles. The blinding of Elymas was a necessary element only because of its effect on the conversion of the proconsul. Here, the apostolic status of St. Paul is proven in his act of converting the Gentiles to Christianity and in his adopting a Gentile name - Paulus - from the proconsul.[50] The inscription on Raphael's cartoon on the same theme emphasizes this aspect. In translation it reads: 'By means of Saul's preaching, Sergius Paulus, the proconsul of Asia, embraces the Christian faith'.[51] It may be concluded that what happened to Elymas was considered of minor importance, and therefore not even mentioned in the inscription.

On the right wall is a depiction of another miraculous deed that resulted in conversion – *The Healing of the Cripple at Lystra* (Acts 14:8-11) (Fig. 9), because 'he had faith to be made well'. This event forms a logical successor to the *Blinding of Elymas*. Not only does it continue the representation of the effects of

Fig. 1:   Taddeo Zuccari, View of the Frangipani Chapel,
S. Marcello al Corso, Rome. 1559-66.

miraculous deeds, but it also defines the range of Paul's powers. He can convert by inflicting harm, as in the blinding of Elymas, or by healing, as he does at Lystra when he cures a cripple.

The miraculous deeds continue on the vault. On the right side is the scene of *The Raising of Eutychus at Troas* (Acts 20:9-12) (Fig. 10). A man who had come to hear St. Paul preaching fell asleep due to the length of the sermon and fell from the third storey. St. Paul 'went down and bent over him', held him in his arms and revived him. On the left is the scene of *St. Paul Bitten by a Viper* (Acts 28:1-6) (Fig. 11). After Paul's shipwreck at Malta, he was putting branches on a fire when a viper appeared and fastened onto his hand. The saint shook off the viper, unharmed by its venomous bite. The Maltese who had gathered watched in astonishment and subsequently 'said that he was a god'. Obviously, this is a

Fig. 2:   Taddeo Zuccari, *The Conversion of St. Paul*.
Frangipani Chapel, S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

reference to salvation through true faith in God.

The *Martyrdom of St. Paul* (Fig. 12) concludes the Pauline series. It is placed on the vault above the *Conversion*. In the Acts (9:15-16), we find the evidence that links between these two events: 'But the Lord said to him: Go, for he is a chosen instrument of mine to carry my name before the Gentiles and kings and the sons of Israel; for I will show him how much he must suffer for the sake of my name'. After his conversion, St. Paul was chosen to carry Jesus' name to mankind and by his martyrdom his suffering was realized to be for this Name.[52]

Style and Modes of the Paintings

In the literature concerning the Frangipani Chapel the scenes are described in general as having classical values, expressed in clear and simple compositions. Art historians are divided in their opinions as to Taddeo's reasons for adopting

Fig. 3:   Tapestry after cartoon by Raphael, *The Conversion of St. Paul*.
          Pinacoteca, Vatican. Cartoon c.1513-17.

Fig. 4:   Michelangelo, *The Conversion of St. Paul*. Pauline Chapel,
          Vatican. 1542-45.

Fig. 5 (Top):   Francesco Salviati (att.), *The Conversion of St. Paul*. Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome. c. 1545.

Fig. 6 (Middle): Francesco Salviati, *The Conversion of St. Paul*. Cappella del Pallio, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Rome. 1548-50.

Fig. 7: Ludovico Carracci, *The Conversion of St. Paul*. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna. 1587-89.

Fig. 8:   Taddeo Zuccari, *The Blinding of Elymas*. Frangipani Chapel,
S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

Fig. 9:   Taddeo Zuccari, *The Healing of the Cripple at Lystra*. Frangipani
Chapel, S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

Fig. 10: Taddeo Zuccari, *The Raising of Eutychus*. Frangipani Chapel, S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

Fig. 11: Taddeo Zuccari, *St. Paul Bitten by a Viper on the Island of Malta*. Frangipani Chapel, S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

Fig. 13: Taddeo Zuccari, *St. John the Baptist*. Frangipani Chapel, S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

Fig. 12: Taddeo Zuccari, *The Martyrdom of St. Paul*. Frangipani Chapel, S. Marcello al Corso, Rome.

Fig. 14: *St. Ottone Frangipani*. Engraving.

these values, which they see as expressing a change from the Mannerist style typical to his work in the Mattei Chapel, created at the beginning of his artistic career (1553-6). I will refer to their opinions after the following analysis of the works in the chapel, in which I will attempt to show that Taddeo's style as reflected in the chapel's paintings reveals prominent Manneristic values.

The Conversion of St. Paul

In the *Conversion* scene (Fig. 2) Taddeo divided the composition into two equal horizontal parts. In the lower one, compressed into a mass, are St. Paul, his horse and his companions. The upper part is more "airy", and contains the heavenly vision. In the center of the bottom part lies the extremely foreshortened figure of St. Paul. His right arm is held out from his right side and his left arm is raised. His eyes are shut and his face is towards the apparition. At his sides are his companions, trying to shield themselves from the powerful brightness of the light. One companion, on the left, is leaning toward St. Paul to help him up. The upper part of the panel shows Jesus, accompanied by the heavenly host, bending down and stretching his right hand towards St. Paul.

This scene reflects the influence of four works on the same theme that were painted in Rome during the first half of the 16th century: the cartoon by Raphael (1513-1517) (Fig. 3); Michelangelo's fresco in the Pauline Chapel (1542-1545) (Fig. 4); the panel painting by Francesco Salviati (c.1545) (Fig. 5);[53] and the fresco by Francesco Salviati in the Cappella del Pallio in the Palazzo della Cancelleria (1548-1550) (Fig. 6). Although Taddeo borrowed certain motives from them, his final work created a scene with entirely different stylistic characters.

Taddeo borrowed from Salviati's panel the motive of the saint being thrown backwards from his horse with one leg still caught in the stirrup. However, for the first time in such portrayals he showed the saint in sharp foreshortening. Specifically, the horse in Taddeo's painting fills up a large area in the lower part. Though it is in diagonal motion from right to left, it looks as though it has been halted - since the companions in front of it block its motion and St. Paul has not yet freed himself from it. The "frozen" motion of the horse in Taddeo's painting is evident in comparison to the horses in Raphael's and Michelangelo's works: the former depicts the horse galloping diagonally into the distance, as if out of the picture frame; whereas the latter depicts it in the center, in extreme foreshortening, breaking through the agitated groups to its left and right, and galloping toward the inner space as one of the companions attempts to halt its flight.

St. Paul's companions in Taddeo's painting, who are moving in different directions, seem to create a similar chaos to that seen in Salviati's panel. However, this only seems to be chaotic, since it in fact shows a calculated balance: two

companions, that in the right foreground and that in the left background, are facing away from the event in the same pose; the companion in the left foreground, extending his hand forward, is paralleled by a man raising his hand on the other side of the horse, with both facing the main event.[54] The companion bending to help St. Paul also appears in Salviati's fresco, and is an exact imitation of the figure in Michelangelo's fresco. Other figures were borrowed by Taddeo for the companions in the lower part of his fresco. The soldier in the left foreground is clearly taken from the image of one of the soldiers in Raphael's and Giulio Romano's fresco – *The Battle of Ostia,* in the Stanza dell'Incendio. The powerfully twisted body of the soldier running towards the spectator, in the right foreground, was a common Mannerist device in the second half of the 16th century, especially in illustrating one of the soldiers in the *Resurrection of Christ*, as in Marco Pino's fresco in the Oratorio del Gonfalone.[55]

In the upper part of the *Conversion*, Taddeo represents (as does Michelangelo before him) the apparition as a great heavenly vision.[56] The foreshortened figure of the hovering Christ, flanked by the heavenly host, appears from within the heavenly light, in headlong descent and pointing downward with His right hand. It is interesting to note that despite Gilio da Fabriano's criticism of Michelangelo that the image of Christ in his fresco had been painted without the respect it deserved,[57] Taddeo chose nonetheless to paint precisely this image, in this as well as in other works.[58]

Other than borrowing certain figures from earlier artists, Taddeo's composition is not like any others (except Michelangelo's which served for inspiration), especially in the handling of space. Although he attempts to create depth - as seen in the diagonal of the horse, St. Paul's foreshortening and the large figures in the foreground and smaller in the background - the overall result is quite flat. This is one of the characteristics of the Mannerist style.[59] This becomes clear if we compare Taddeo's painting to another painting of the same theme, painted twenty years later by Ludovico Carracci (Fig. 7). The comparison shows that although the two artists, independently, created works similar in details - their results are quite different. Both paintings have a vertical rectangular format, in both the horse is depicted in a similar pose - in diagonal foreshortening from right to left, and in both there is a small number of companions portrayed in slight chaos. Despite the similarities, the use of space in Carracci's painting is entirely different from that in Taddeo's. In the former, the diagonals formed by the horse on the one side and the people on the opposite side, create a kind of funnel into the picture space, terminating in a landscape with a bridge. The background is therefore not blocked, and the eye may wander to the horizon. In contrast, Taddeo blocked the background with the horse's

head and the figures in front of it that halt its motion and create a "screen" with their bodies. As a result, the scene appears to be taking place in the foreground in a somewhat finite space.[60]

The Side-walls and Vault Paintings

In both paintings on the side-walls - on the left, *St. Paul Blinding Elymas* (Fig. 8) and on the right, the *Healing of the Cripple at Lystra* (Fig. 9), Taddeo used an off-center vanishing-point that he situated close to the chapel entrance. In other words, he calculated the perspective from the position of the spectator entering the chapel. An off-center vanishing-point is, of course, a regular feature of later Mannerism, and in side-wall decorations in chapels it is generally situated near the entrance.[61] Taddeo follows this general rule.[62]

In *St. Paul Blinding Elymas*, the event takes place within an architectural structure that reveals only a small part of it to the spectator. In the background is a wall with classical characteristics, while the foreground shows a column and a floor with bricks inlaid diagonally. Taddeo arranged the crowd into two groups facing each other. In the center of the right group stands St. Paul, gesturing toward Elymas with his right hand. The blinded sorcerer stands at the center of the composition, helplessly reaching out into empty space. In the center of the left group the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, is seated on a podium. They all enact their roles behind the screen of gesticulating onlookers occupying the immediate foreground. Everyone is facing the event, and several of the onlookers direct the spectator's attention with their extended hands. The young man embracing a column on the left side takes up quite a big part of the foreground.[63] It appears that Taddeo ascribed great importance to the crowd - seen in complicated positioning and sharp gestures. Such figures, whose gestures are generally meant to call the spectators' attention to the main event, instead draw their attention to the figures themselves. Indeed, some of the qualities that Shearman indicates as especially characteristic of the Mannerist style - effortless resolution of difficulties, complexity of form, fantasy, invention, intricacy and caprice - apply fully to this painting.[64]

From a drawing for the *Blinding of Elymas*, it can be discerned that Taddeo originally considered a different way of presenting this theme.[65] In this drawing, St. Paul and Elymas confront one another in the foreground, symmetrically balanced to left and right of the procurator enthroned in the center, offering evidence that Taddeo knew Raphael's cartoon, in which the same theme is presented in a similar symmetrical way. We cannot, of course, know why Taddeo altered his composition from the more symmetrical and classical to that with Mannerist characteristics. He moved the main occurrence to the background

and created a "screen" of people in front of it, in gestures that demonstrate the artist's virtuosity. However, even in Taddeo's fresco the affect of Raphael's cartoon is recognizable in the massive architecture in the background and in the lack of proportions between it and the figures in the scene.

In the *Healing of the Cripple at Lystra*, Taddeo also split the onlookers into two groups: on the right they are represented in different gestures, while the group on the left is more static. In front of the left group stands St. Paul, and behind him is Barnabas, at whose feet the cripple kneels on crutches. In the background, behind the architectural structure, appears the landscape of Lystra. On the right is a round temple, which may be a temple of Zeus, and a statue - difficult to identify due to the bad condition of the fresco - but which may be a statue of Hermes.[66] Here, Taddeo describes, on a small scale, the temple and the statue in Raphael's cartoon of *St. Paul at Lystra*.

In the *Healing of the Cripple*, we witness a breach of the classical canons. The diagonal angle of the stairs in the foreground leads to a vanishing-point on the right, while the figures and their hands are extended forward, leading the eye of the spectator to the left - the place of the main event. The foreground is crowded with large figures that, rather than gradually leading into the distance, lean toward the spectator and block the way into the background. The overall effect of the composition is one of two disconnected planes: the foreground where the event takes place, and the scenic background to the event.

According to Gere, 'In the *Blinding of Elymas* and the *Healing of the Cripple* the influence of the Sistine Ceiling is still evident, but these carefully balanced compositions with their studied *contrapposto* and frozen movement seem less inspired by the corner spandrels than by the *Drunkenness of Noah* and *Noah's Sacrifice* in the center of the vault...'.[67] I believe, however, that if there was indeed any influence of the Sistine Ceiling on Taddeo, it was one of the virtuoso display of the movements and gestures of the *ignudi* or that of the figures in the spandrels of the ceiling; or even, to be more precise, that this influence reached Taddeo by way of Raphael.

In the three scenes on the vault: *The Raising of Eutychus* (Fig. 10), *The Martyrdom of St. Paul* (Fig. 12) and *St. Paul Bitten by a Viper* (Fig. 11) - the composition is fairly simple. The scenes take place in the foreground, with a small number of participants, and within a very limited space. A comparison between *The Raising of Eutychus* and *The Martyrdom* and their preparatory drawings, reveals that the number of the figures that appear in the frescoes has been vastly reduced.[68] It is possible that the modification was dictated by the height of the chapel and the need to make the scenes on the vault as clear as possible.

In conclusion

Gere states that the Frangipani Chapel paintings show Taddeo moving away from the High Roman Mannerism of the Mattei Chapel (1553-56) towards a 'classicizing tendency' with "classical" values of 'lucidity, balance and order'.[69] Regarding the significance of Taddeo's classicism, Gere states that it 'was not a superficial change of style to suit contemporary taste, but an expression of the deepest level of his personality'; and that 'his "classicism" was less a deliberate, and isolated, reaction against the current of contemporary taste than the emergence of a latent aspect of his personality at a moment when the climate of taste was propitious'.[70]

Partridge agrees with this general thesis but disagrees with Gere as to the significance of Taddeo's increasing classicism. He states that Taddeo's 'increasing classicism can be accounted for only by an increasing conservatism and religiosity in both Taddeo and his patrons, shaped by the larger social, religious and political forces of the period'. Partridge recognizes in the Frangipani paintings 'elements which become important in Counter-Reformation art...'.[71]

Macioce also repeats this idea that emphasizes Taddeo's tendency towards classicism: 'A S. Marcello Taddeo elabora un linguaggio nuovo facendo proprie quelle indicazioni di chiarezza di semplicità che erano state i principi base dell'arte del primo Rinascimento...'.[72] She attributes the reason for this to the taste that 'scaturiva dallo stesso clima teorico che aveva prodotto le riforme artistiche del concilio di Trento'.[73]

I believe that the above-mentioned readings of the Frangipani Chapel paintings are unconvincing, resulting from an a priori way of thinking, according to which there must be a link between the works of art that carry messages that serve the Church during the Counter-Reformation, and their style. In fact, most art historians agree that the artists and the patrons reacted to the new religious atmosphere in different ways, allowing the coexistence of different styles.

In my opinion, the paintings in the Frangipani Chapel display a wide range of Mannerist effects, developed and exploited in the 16th century: crowds performing like a chorus; serpentine figures; repoussoir figures introduced to be admired as objects in themselves, irrespective of the subject-matter of the compositions in which they feature; an off-center vanishing point (the side-walls paintings); a composition with figures compressed into a closely-packed space (the altarpiece). Despite all the above, the Mannerist devices in the Frangipani Chapel paintings neither confuse nor distract from the narrative, which is easily legible. Hence, the images were able to satisfy both the patron

in their sophistication, and the Church authorities – for their successful expression of the spiritual values, didactic and propagandistic ideas that they sought to promulgate.

Notes

* I would like to express my most heartfelt thanks to the Marchese Doimo Frangipane for the fruitful discussions on his family chapel and for the warm hospitality that the Frangipane family showed me.

  I would also like to thank Prof. Valentino Pace, who shared with me the ideas about the iconographical program of the decoration and was kind enough to read the draft of this article and make helpful comments.

1. The family name appears in different spellings: Frayapanus, Frangapane, Fregepanius, Frangipane, Phrigepanius, Frajampane, Frajapanis. I use the spelling Frangipani because this is how the chapel is mentioned in the church documents.
2. Vasari: VII, 84.
3. *Ibid.*: 86.
4. For the ceremony's date and Taddeo's decorations in S. Giacomo degli Spagnuoli, see Berendsen 1970: 809-810.
5. Vasari: VII, 97. Federico's painted part of the chapel was marginal; therefore, I consider Taddeo as the only painter of the chapel. This issue has been addressed by Gere 1969: 82-86.
6. Lewine (1960: 62-3) noted that in the churches built in Rome between 1527-1580 there usually existed a contrast of a whitewashed nave with colored chapels, supporting the principle of compartmentalization. This type of decoration gives an effect of great richness and *varietà.* It is also found in the Mattei Chapel, which Taddeo Zuccari frescoed between 1553 and 1556 in S. Maria della Consolazione.
7. In the literature this scene is called *St. Paul Shipwrecked on the Island of Malta,* for example: Gere 1969: 72; Gigli 1977: 117; Macioce 1984: 112; Acidini Luchinat 1998: 66. This subject comprises two episodes: Paul's shipwreck and the viper bite. However, in this fresco one can see very clearly that the main scene is the viper bite. Either way, I have named this scene St. *Paul Bitten by a Viper* in accordance with the accompanying inscription.
8. By the end of the 16th century such pairs of Prophets had become one of the standard features of Roman chapel decoration. Similar pairs by Taddeo Zuccari are the Prophets flanking the altar in the Mattei Chapel, and those on the side-walls flanking the high altar of S. Eligio degli Orefici in Rome. Girolamo Muziano's Prophets on the entrance-pilasters of the Gabrielli Chapel in S. Maria sopra Minerva closely resemble Taddeo's, but are in monochrome simulating bronze.
9. The left figure is holding a lily in her left hand. According to Acidini Luchinat (1998: 62) this figure may be St. Antony of Padua. However, the connection of this Saint to the iconography of the chapel is unclear. Acidini Luchinat identifies the

second figure as an 'Apostolo', probably Barnabas. There is no basis for such identification.

10. Salerno 1965: 117.

11. *Ibid.* In the restoration of the altarpiece the restorers relied mostly on a painting in the Doria-Pamphili Gallery that is considered to be a *bozzetto* of the actual altarpiece. See *Descrizione Ragionata della Galleria Doria* 1823: 15-16, 147; Sestieri 1942: 370 no.569.

12. For the inscriptions, see Forcella 1869-84: II, 306 no.945; 308 no.954; 535 no. 1610.

13. Grisebach 1936: 66-69; Heimbürger Ravalli 1973: 94-95; Montagu 1985: I, 167.

14. For the inscriptions, see Forcella 1869-84: II, 310 no. 960; 312 no. 966; 314 no. 970.

15. Montagu 1985: II, 426-27.

16. There is a link between the Frangipani's coat of arms and the family name. "Frangere" in Latin means "to break," and "panis" means "bread", that is: to break bread, which in Hebrew means "to sell or to buy bread." According to literary sources, until the 8th century the family name was "Anicia". One of the family members was a baker. In the year 717, when there was a great flood and starvation in Rome, he distributed bread to the poor people who cried out to him 'Frange nobis panem', that is, 'sell, respected man, bread' (break bread for us). After this occurrence, the family changed its name, first to "Frangentes panem", and later to "Frangipane". The lions seem to be part of the previous coat of arms. See Zazzera 1617: 1,6; Fedele 1905: 207-209; Fedele 1910: 505; Sabatini 1907: 9.

17. Acidini Luchinat (1998: 62 and n.32 on p. 76) claims that the DD, which appears in the literature citing the inscription, has no meaning and, therefore, suggests changing it to AD. However, the DD appears very clearly in the Chapel. Furthermore, there is no reason to change the inscription, because it bears meaning, as I have suggested with the kind help of Father Ubaldo from S. Marcello, and the Marchese Doimo Frangipane. An inscription where "D.D." appears after the patron's name but has been interpreted as *donum dedit* (gave a gift), can be seen in: Ronen 1969-70: 428. The word POST in Macioce 1984: 112, should certainly be APOST.

18. 1560 may be the year Taddeo began to decorate the chapel or began painting the altarpiece, since according to Vasari, prior to 1559 Taddeo executed very little of the decorations. This could not be the year the altarpiece was finished since, again according to Vasari (VII, 96-97), Taddeo completed the painting only after Federico left for Venice, i.e. after 1563. The assumption that Salerno (1965: 117) makes that this is the date Taddeo terminated his work in the chapel is belied by Vasari's comment that in 1566, upon Taddeo's death, the decoration of the chapel had not been completed.

19. Zazzera 1617: 36; Filiziani 1973: 199.

20. Lanciani 1990: III, 162: 1556, 20 dicembre: "Deputatio in suprastantem et conservatorem antiquitatum et Statuarum pro dño Mario de Frangipanibus". Also see Moroni 1840-61: XV, 85.

21. From a notarial document of 13 June 1556 it appears that a chapel was conceded to Mario and his brother Curzio in April 1554. However, only in 1556, following Curzio's death in 1555, did Mario begin to make the necessary arrangements with the Church authorities. See ASR, *Fondo Collegio dei Notari Capitolini*, Not. B. de Comitibus, prot. 622, fols. 45v.-45r.

22. Archivio di S. Marcello al Corso, *Inventario e Descrizione della Chiesa di S. Marcello raccolte nell' anno 1726 da fra Evangelista Maria Venturi sindaco del sudeto convento e padri chiesa e sua descrizione* (manuscript), fols. 6v. - 7r: 'Cappella di S. Paolo. Questa è dei Sig.ri Frangipani nobilissimi romani...Fu dotata dal' illustrissimo Sig. Mario Frangipani, d'una casa posta confinante con I RR. PP. di S. Carlo ai Catinari di rendita di scudi 18 l'anno con l'obligo ancora di messe 12 l'anno, come appare per istromento al nostro libro dei contratti...Gli utensili che giornalmente servono alla detta cappelle sono i seguenti: una Croce con 4 candelieri inargentati con vernise d'oro, Carta Gloria, In principio, e lavabo simile e due candelieri inargentati e tutti di legno, tovalie et altro come all'inventario di sagrestia'.

23. The family palazzo stood at the foot of the Capitol in Via dei Delfini 16, in the Campitelli quarter. St. Ignatius of Loyola lodged in this house (from 12/1539 to 2/1541) during the first part of his stay in Rome. See Tacchi-Venturi 1899: 13-19.

24. Archivio di S. Marcello al Corso, *Liber introitus conventus S. Marcelli de Urbe* (manuscript), Nov. 1497, Feb. 1510, no page. I thank Padre Ublado for drawing my attention to this information.
    The church burned down on the night between the 22nd and 23rd of May 1519. On the 8th of October that same year, Pope Leo X issued a bull for construction of the new church. See Gigli 1977: 7-27.

25. Pasquale 1981: 277.

26. The Mattei Chapel has received much praise by Vasari: VII, 83. For a chronological list of Taddeo's artistic activity, see Mundy 1989: 48-51.

27. Curzio had much knowledge of Latin and Italian poetry, philosophy and rhetoric. This was known to Pope Paul III, who entrusted the supervision of Curzio's promotion to the various positions, to his grandson, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. See Zazzera 1617: 35. Curzio later became the *maggiordomo* to Cardinal Farnese. See Robertson 1992: 220. The *maggiordomo* of the Cardinal played an important role in organizing the artistic commissions of his patron. He sent messages concerning the commissions and reported their progress. The artist approached the Cardinal directly only when he was dissatisfied with the treatment he received. Many of the *maggiordomi* were interested in art. For example, Tizio Chermandio, another *maggiordomo* of Cardinal Farnese, had a palace, opposite the church of S. Eustachio, whose façade was frescoed by Federico Zuccari with scenes from the life of St. Eustace.

28. For the meeting Curzio initiated between the Cardinal Farnese and Panvinio, see De Libero 1943:102. This meeting took place at the beginning of the 1550s rather than at their end as claimed by Robertson (1992: 220). According to the inscription on his epitaph in the chapel, Curzio died in 1555.

29. Robertson 1992: 220-221; Partridge 1978: 494-530.

30. Onuphrii Panvinii Veronensis Fratris Eremitae Augustiniani, *De Gente Fregepania*, libri quatuor, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cod. Barb. Lat. 2481.

31. The major painting cycles of the life of St. Paul, in the second half of the 16th century in Rome are: G. Vasari, Cappella del Monte, S. Pietro in Montorio, 1551; Taddeo Zuccari, Cappella Frangipani, S. Marcello al Corso, 1559-1566; Cristofano Roncalli, Cappella di S. Paolo (Cappella della Valle), S. Maria in Aracoeli, c.1584-1586.

32. The scenes from the life of St. Paul, as part of iconographic programs that include scenes from the life of St. Peter, are: Raphael's cartoons for tapestries for the Cappella Sistina, Vatican, 1513-1517; Perino del Vaga and assistants, roundels above the doors of Sala Paolina (Sala del Consiglio), Castel S. Angelo, 1545-1547; Cappella Paolina, Vatican: Michelangelo 1542-1550, Lorenzo Sabbatini 1573-1576, Federico Zuccari 1583-1584; Nicolo Circignani (Il Pomarancio), Cappella degli SS. Apostoli (Cappella di S. Francesco Borgia), Il Gesù, c.1585; Caravaggio, Cappella Cerasi, S. Maria del Popolo, 1600-1601.

33. *The Conversion of St. Paul* appears in each of the cycles mentioned in notes 31 and 32 above, except for the Cappella del Monte. In addition: Francesco Salviati, Cappella del Pallio, Palazzo della Cancelleria, 1548-1550; Francesco Salviati (att.), Galleria Doria-Pamphili, c.1545; Caravaggio, for the Principe Guido Odelscalchi, 1600. The most prominent works of *The Conversion* in the 16th century in North Italy are: Pordenone, Spilimbergo, Cathedral, c.1524; Moretto, S. Maria presso S. Celso, Milano, c.1529-1530; Parmigianino, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, c.1530; Procaccini, S. Giacomo Maggiore, Bologna, c.1543; Tintoretto, The National Gallery of Art, Washington D.C., c.1545; Ludovico Carracci, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna, 1587-1589.

34. Acts of the Apostles 9:1-9; 22:3-11; 26:12-21. The Letter of Paul to the Galatians 1:11-17. The Letter of Paul to the Ephesians 3:1-9. The First Letter of Paul to Timothy 1:12-16.

35. St. Augustine made this point in at least five sermons. The sources are quoted by Arbesmann 1954: 18-19.

36. De Voragine: 126.

37. For the interpretation of Luther of these verses and other similar ones, in connection with the political authority of the 16th century, see Hillerbrand 1968: 43-63, esp. 53, 59.

38. Réau 1955-59: III, iii, 1042. For the horse motive and its meaning corresponding with the *Conversion* scene, see also Dobschütz 1929: 87-111; Steinberg 1975: 26-27; Martone 1977: 167-171.

39. Steinberg 1975: 23-25; Martone 1977: 178. St. Paul's representation as a soldier is connected to the story of his persecution of the Christian community, and to his position after his conversion as a defender of the Christian faith.

40. Gilio da Fabriano: II, 45 : 'Mi pare ancora che Michelagnolo mancasse in quel San Paolo abbarbagliato ne la nova Capella, che, essendo egli di 18 o 20 anni, l'abbia fatto di 60...'.

41. Vasari: VII, 893: '...et in tanto io feci la tavola di quella Cappella dove dipinsi la Conversione di S. Paolo; ma per variare da quello che avea fatto il Buonarruoto nella Paulina, feci S. Paolo, come egli scrive, giovane...'.

42. Although the second edition of Vasari's *Vite* was published about two years after Taddeo's death, it may be assumed that Taddeo was acquainted with Vasari's opinions. At the beginning of Taddeo's artistic activity, the two were personally acquainted when they worked together on a number of projects. In 1550, both took part in the decorations made to celebrate the election of Pope Julius III. The two also worked together in 1553 while decorating the Villa Giulia. Relations between the two appear to have continued, since Vasari considered Taddeo, years later, as a friend

and invited him to Florence to see his artistic works (1564). See Vasari: VII, 99.

43. Zazzera 1617: 3; *Acta Sanctorum,* Martii, III, 466-470; Vitale 1794: 21-23, 63, 193-195, 206, 229; Sabatini 1907: 34-38.

44. Vitale 1788: 17.

45. Sabatini 1907: 37 n.1.

46. For the list of chapels in the old church of S. Marcello, see Soulier 1899: IV, 192.

47. I could not find any documented reason for the Frangipani's choice of a chapel dedicated to St. Paul. Doimo Frangipane considered two, possibly related, reasons. The first is that from a topographical point of view, the house of the Frangipani family was close to the Church of S. Marcello and to the house where, according to tradition, St. Paul had lived during his stay in Rome (where today stands S. Maria in Via Lata - across from S. Marcello). The second reason is that St. Paul was a *civis romanus* - a Roman citizen and a Roman saint, and the Frangipani, as a Roman family, could find greater affinity to him than to any other saint.

Another reason, mentioned in the literature, for the Frangipani's choice of a chapel dedicated to St. Paul - is not relevant since it is based on erroneous information. According to Macioce (1984: 118) (without noting her sources) it is possible to find in St. Paul's life a reference to one of the members of the Frangipani family - a Jew who between the 11th and 12th century converted to Christianity, and was referred to as 'Benedettio detto "Cristiano"'. The error lies in that this same convert was in fact a member of the Pierleoni family, which, ironically, was a rival of the Frangipani's during this period, see Fedele 1904: 400-405; Fedele 1910: 495-6, 499; Zema 1944: 169-170; Gregoroviuis 1967: IV, part 2, 414.

Acidini Luchinat (1998: 62) makes the same mistake.

48. I received a photograph of the engraving from Doimo Frangipane and from the church authorities of Ariano. I could not find its source.

49. The order of the medallion figures raises some questions. Since the chapel was dedicated to St. Paul it would be expected that his image would appear in the central medallion. However, if St. Paul was to be presented in the center, this would mean that St. Peter would be taken out of the program. Therefore, since it was preferable to represent both St. Peter and St. Paul, the central placing was given to the more important Apostle - St. Peter. Although an even number of medallions could have been chosen, presenting St. Peter across from St. Paul, this was not done. The uneven number (7) of medallion thus made it necessary to decide who would be presented parallel to St. Paul.

50. For theological sources of these thoughts, see Shearman 1972: nn. 79-80 p.58.

51. 'L SERGIVS PAVLLVS / ASIAE PROCO[N]S[UL] / CHRISTIANAM FIDEM / AMPLECTITVR / SAVLI PREDICATIONE'.

52. It is interesting to note in this connection a painting by Domenico Beccafumi - *St. Paul on a Throne*. St. Paul is seated at the center of the composition, to his right is the scene of his conversion and to his left - his martyrdom. St. Paul's suffering is portrayed as an event that was already foreseen at the time of his conversion. See Briganti 1977: tav. VII.

53. This work is attributed to Salviati or to another artist who worked under his supervision; see Mortari 1992: 137 no. 81.

54. Gere's (1969: 72) distinction that the composition faces towards the center is, in my opinion, not accurate.

55. See Boase 1971: fig. 163; Borea 1962: 39 and fig. 32. Ronen 1969/70: 425-427 and figs. 11,12,13,18 represent other examples to illustrate this idea. Federico Zuccari represented precisely the same figure in the fresco of the *Plague of the Gnats in Egypt*, which he painted in 1561-3 at the Vatican, See Gizzi 1993: fig. p. 137. At this time, Federico was still dependant on Taddeo in terms of his artistic development and would borrow from him different motives for his works.

56. In the *Acts* nothing is said about a physical appearance of Christ when Paul saw a light and heard a voice. In order to illustrate their source, however, the figure of Christ appears in most of the scenes of the Conversion, first only in his upper body in the center of a circle in the sky, and later also in full figure, either with or without angels. A number of 16th century artists in North Italy - Pordenone, Moretto, Parmigianino, Ludovico Carracci - adhere to the Biblical text and have eliminated the figure of Christ altogether (for details regarding their works, see note 33 above). Michelangelo was the first to represent the apparition as a great heavenly vision.

57. Gilio da Fabriano: II, 44-45.

58. Taddeo painted in this same pose the angel in the scene of the *Agony in the Garden* on the ceiling of the Mattei Chapel in S. Maria della Consolazione; see Gere 1969: fig. 69. In an engraving by Cornelis Cort of the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, dated 1567, from Taddeo's painting or drawing, the upper part is very similar to that in the *Conversion* scene in the Frangipani Chapel, that is, to that of Michelangelo. The positioning of the angel's left hand in the engraving is even more similar to that of Michelangelo's Christ's hand; see Bierens de Haan 1948: no. 33, Fig. 8.

59. Freedberg 1990: 425.

60. Strinati (1984: 121) noted that Taddeo represented a similar compressed composition in his fresco of the *Battle of Tunis*, which he painted in 1565 at the Sala Regia.

61. Naturally, the central vanishing-point continued to be used during this period. A noteworthy combination of the central and the off-center vanishing-point is found in Daniele da Volterra's decoration of the Cappella della Rovere (1548-53) in S. Trinità dei Monti. Here a central vanishing-point is used in the frescoes of the side-walls, but the painting of the balustrade at the bottom of the frescoes does not correspond with this. Its perspective is executed from the standpoint of those entering the chapel. During the High Baroque the use of an off-center vanishing-point on the side near the altar was fairly frequent. As a result of this a truly different impression of space has been created. The spectator looks from the entrance obliquely into the picture space, with the perspective running in the direction of his gaze. This, in fact, was one of the means by which the spectator was drawn into the scene, and made to feel directly involved. One example of this practice is Pier Francesco Mola's fresco of *St. Peter Baptizing SS. Processus and Martinian in Prison* (c.1650), on the left wall of the Cappella degli Apostoli (now Cappella di S. Francesco Borgia), in the Gesù.

62. Taddeo used the same device in the side-walls paintings in the Mattei Chapel.

63. Taddeo could have known this motif from Raphael's *Expulsion of Heliodorus*. He used it in two of his works in the Mattei Chapel: *The Last Supper* and *Ecce Homo*. For

Donatello and Mantegna as sources for the motive in Raphael's *Expulsion of Heliodorus*, see Ronen 1978: 129-133. For the motif in works of the 16th century, see Kecks 1989: 266-280.

64. Shearman 1967: 19-22.

65. Windsor, Royal Library, inv. n. 6016. (Popham-Wilde 1949: n. 1067, Pl. 84; Gere 1969: n. 257, Pl. 88).

66. In *Acts* 14:13 it is told that the inhabitants of Lystra identified Paul and Barnabas with Zeus and Hermes because these were their local gods who had been expected to return.

67. Gere 1969: 72.

68. For the drawing for *The Raising of Eutychus*", see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, inv. n. 67.188 (Gere 1969: n. 142, Pl. 84; Mundy 1989: n. 16). For the drawing for *The Martyrdom*, see New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, inv. n. 1975.553 (Gere 1969: n. 146, Pl. 82; Mundy 1989: n. 19).

69. Gere 1969: 72 and 59 for the definition of the classical values.

70. *Ibid.*: 100, 128.

71. Partridge 1972: 217.

72. Macioce 1994: 117.

73. *Ibid.*: 113 . The same is repeated by Gigli 1996: 125.

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Imperial Ideology in the Triumphal Entry into Lille of Charles V and the Crown Prince (1549)*

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*I*n 1549, Charles V, Emperor of Rome and ruler of the Hapsburg Empire, presented his only son and heir, Philip, to his subjects throughout the Empire (in a journey that had begun in Genoa at the end of 1548 and finished with splendid festivities in Antwerp).[1] In this cycle of Entries, two Northern French cities occupy a prominent position: Valenciennes and Lille displayed outstanding, albeit utterly different, patterns of decoration. The Valenciennes decoration was Italianate, emphasizing classicist values (*à l'antique*), the like of which had never previously been seen north of the Alps.[2] In Lille, the provincial capital, the decorative program accentuated iconographical features with pronounced imperialist and propagandist highlights.

These two processions, one aspiring to adopt an ornamental model underscored by Renaissance elements, and the other with its sumptuousness, exuberant character, and propagandistic passion, stand out by virtue of their outstanding styles, which greatly contrasted with the conservative design and the choice of sometimes anachronistic themes in the panorama of other northern French cities.[3]

The preparations for the imperial reception in Lille were unprecedented. The decoration was extremely rich and varied. The provincial capital displayed to the Emperor and his son more triumphal arches, platforms and *tableaux vivants* than ever before seen in the northern cities (with the exception of Antwerp).[4] It is therefore not surprising that Calvete de Estrella, secretary to Philip II, who documented the journey, devoted special space in his memoirs to this triumphal procession (contrasting greatly with his extremely sparse

descriptions with regard to most of the northern towns). In fact, his explicit descriptions enable us to imagine and picture the decor, in all its splendid detail, along the triumphal route.

One must bear in mind that we have no visual records for the Imperial procession in Lille. Indeed, for these ephemeral events all we have to rely on is testimony from verbal chronicles. We must therefore imagine the procession and reconstruct the triumphal arches and the platforms, as well as the ensemble of performed *tableaux vivants* ("living pictures"), and visualize the floats and the triumphal chariots.

In Lille the emphasis was on militantly Catholic propaganda, with great pomp and splendor announcing in its thematic program the style and subjects that would be manifestly expressed later in the Baroque. The iconographical scheme of the triumphal procession was manifestly political, depicting an image of the ideal emperor, Charlemagne's true heir and successor, Defender of the Church and the Faith. The authors of the program were also providing an immediate response to the politico-religious crises (in particular, the capitulation of the Protestant princes of Saxony and Hesse at Mülberg, 1547), which the Emperor had managed to overcome prior to departing on his triumphal journey.[5]

Two topics were highlighted: (1) the idea of the transfer of powers from father to son, accompanied by guidance and instructions to a Christian prince[6] (inspired by the treatise of Desiderius Erasmus to the Emperor himself before his anointing)[7]; this topic constituted a natural leitmotif of the entire 1548-1549 cycle of Imperial Entries, which were designed to present the Crown Prince; and (2) the Emperor was depicted as an *imperator* submitting himself to the service of the Church – an ideal Christian prince, Defender of Christendom and extirpator of heresy.

The iconographical program of the Triumphal Procession in Lille especially accentuated the image of the ideal emperor, Defender of Catholicism. This idea first took shape and was expressed in Charles's Triumphal Entry into Bologna (1529), and in the ceremonies in which he was crowned Emperor of Rome by Pope Clement VII in 1530.[8] In the entry into Bologna and the coronation ceremonies, denoting the outcome of the protracted struggle between Charles and François I King of France to acquire hegemony in Europe, as well as the former's confrontations with the Papal throne, there emerged several of the patterns of imperial propaganda that were to culminate in Lille some two decades later.

Bologna would appear to have marked the emergence of Charles as

successor to the Roman emperors, an image overlaid with the medieval ideal of submitting his sword and scepter in the service of the Church; the true heir and successor to Charlemagne, the soldier and knight of God. This triumphal itinerary shaped the imperial myth, which presented a virtuous Emperor possessing spiritual status, Protector of the Church.[9] These themes reflected Charles V's imperial ideology. There was an interweaving of motifs inspired by the classical heritage (successor to the Roman Empire) with medieval religious ideas (the heir and direct scion of Charlemagne). These images formed a leitmotif, albeit in different hues and with different emphases, which was to be found in Charles's Triumphal Entries throughout the Empire, from 1529 up to his funeral procession in 1558.

Following Charles V's recognition by the Pope and his coronation in Bologna, we note the ideological restoration of the Roman imperial imagery of Caesar triumphant fused with Christian imperial propaganda. However, the imperial iconography appears to have crystallized in the Emperor's Triumphal Entry into Rome in 1536. As Carrasco Ferrer points out: 'In the capital of the Empire of the Caesars, on 5th April, 1536 this *Miles Christi* must surely have felt closer to his destiny.' [10]

In Lille in 1549, these motifs were accentuated in an unprecedented fashion. Special emphasis was placed on the image of the Christian ruler. We are witness to the revival of the medieval conception of the Holy Roman Empire, with Caesar as the ruler of the world (*Domine Mundi*), placing his sword in the service of the Faith: the soldier of God and Defender of the Church. This image, which to a large extent derives its inspiration from St. Augustine, was enthusiastically adopted and cultivated later by Clement VII, who (under duress) crowned Charles. This ethos, as adopted by Erasmus, was clearly expressed in his treatise *Institutio Principis Christiani* (1515), with the idea of the ruler as a soldier in the service of God already emerging for the first time in Erasmus's ethical theory as expounded in his essay *Enchiridion Militis Christi*, Louvain, 1503 (*The Enquiridion or, A Manual for a Christian Soldier*).[11] This ethos, which is accentuated in the *Institutio*, is also echoed in his later essays. Inspired by St. Augustine, Erasmus stressed the principle of the perfect prince, placing himself in the service of Christ, Himself the true *King of Kings* and *Lord of Lords*.[12]

The Emperor's victories over the infidels were therefore naturally highlighted in the city's iconographical program: the victory over Suleiman the Magnificent at the gates of Vienna (1532), the siege and conquest of La Goletta (1535), and the victory at Mülberg in which the Lutheran princes Johann of Saxony and Philip of Hesse had been defeated (1547). The victories over the

Muslim infidels were presented on two platforms at the city gates.[13] The episode describing the siege of La Goletta (Halq el Qued), and the routing of the fleet of Barbarossa (Khaïr-ed-Dîn), commander of the Turks, was presented as a *tableau vivant*, in a stronghold. The Emperor, led by Mars and Neptune, penetrated the fortress held by the Turks and the Moors, while Barbarossa fled. The Emperor released a fettered damsel who had been guarded by demons and Turks, and also set free Christian captives who had been incarcerated by the infidels. He then reinstated the King of Tunis on his throne, restoring the symbols of government to him.

The text, on a banner held high in the tower by the personification of Fortitude (*Fortitudo)*, highlights the moral ethos of the Emperor's victory:

Des Dieux Neptun et Mars, Charles accompigné [sic]
La mer passa et d'assault la Goulette a gaine'
Le Tyran meit en suitte et Tunes il entame
Plusieurs chresetiens delivere, au Roy rend son royaume.

(Accompanied by the gods Neptune and Mars, Charles crossed the sea and conquered La Goletta. He put the Tyrant to flight and attacked Tunis. Releasing several Christians and returning his kingdom to the King.)

We have here a typical blend of classical themes and Christian motifs – the Emperor, as a Christian savior accompanied by Mars and Neptune on the one hand and by theological virtues on the other. By highlighting the victories over the infidels at Vienna and in Tunis, the Emperor is given prominence as the defender of Christendom and the worthy successor to his forefathers, the scion of Charlemagne and legitimate successor to his Burgundy ancestors, someone worthy of wearing the emblem of the Order of the Golden Fleece. His political aspirations, as primarily underscored in the cities of Northern France and Flanders, were mainly nurtured by the ideas shaped and fostered in the court of the Dukes of Burgundy, and by Duke Philippe le Bon (1429), as well as by the aspirations for a new Crusade. Charles also wished to emphasize the fact that he was the true heir and successor to his Spanish ancestors, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, who had spearheaded the resolute and violent struggle against the infidels.

Victory over the infidels was a motif greatly nurtured by imperial mythology. It is first found in Italy, with Charles's return as conqueror from Tunis (1536).[14] The motif is also reflected later in the works commissioned by the court, notably the series of prints by Maarten van Heemskerck (1555-1556), devoted to *Victories of Charles V*.[15] Heemskerck, it should be noted, was personally involved in

Fig. 1:   Marteen van Heemskerck, *The Fall of Tunis*, woodcut from the series of *The Victories of Charles V*, 1555-1556, Paris, Bibl. nat. Estampes, C7a fol. 63, No. 175.

decorating the triumphal arches together with Salviati. [16] In analogy to Lille (Fig. 1), the Emperor is seen breaking down the fortified gates of the city. The seventh print in the series is entitled: "The Emperor enters Tunis in triumph, victorious through his courage in the war; the African yields at once and is put to flight. 1535." (TUNETAM CAESAR, BELLI VIRTVTE TRIVMPHANS, \INGREDUVR VICTOR, CEDENS FVGIT ILLICET AFER. \1535.) The print depicts the Imperial army advancing through the gates into the city of Tunis. On the right we can recognize the Emperor himself in full regalia, accompanied by his faithful admiral, Andrea Doria.[17] In addition, a series of twelve tapestries was commissioned, after cartoons by Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (1546-1547), now on display in Vienna's Museum of Art History. [18] It should be noted that Vermeyen himself held the position of an official recorder in the Emperor's entourage that went on the "Crusade" to Tunis.[19] In the imperial myth woven at court, this victory occupied a central place. It was therefore only natural that it continued to appear and be referred to in texts and festivities at the Hapsburg court for a prolonged period, even after the Emperor's death.[20]

Fig. 2: Marteen van Heemskerck, *The Liberation of Vienna*, woodcut from the series
of *The Victories of Charles V*, Paris, Bibl. nat. Estampes, C7a fol. 61, No. 171.

Along the triumphal route (in front of the "Holy Trinity" Hospital) [21] a
magnificent triumphal arch was erected, with three openings, depicting the
Emperor's victory over Suleiman the Magnificent and the repulse of the latter
from the very gates of Vienna. On the arch could be seen Prudence (*Prudentia*),
with below it the Victory of Pallas Athene over the Gorgons. The interweaving
of Christian motifs with classical quotations was repeated time and again in
Lille. To a great extent it characterized the spirit of the Northern Renaissance,
which contrasted and interwove Christian moral motifs with themes inspired
by Antiquity. On another "stage" in the same arch one could see Suleiman at
the head of his troops confronting a maiden defying him, the personification
of Vienna. The Ottoman attempt at conquest was perceived by Charles as the
attempt by paganism to overcome Christianity. In the imperial mythology, this
military action was perceived as a form of crusade. [22]

After his victory at Vienna and what he perceived as the delivery of Christian
Europe from the Saracen menace, the Emperor departed on a triumphal journey
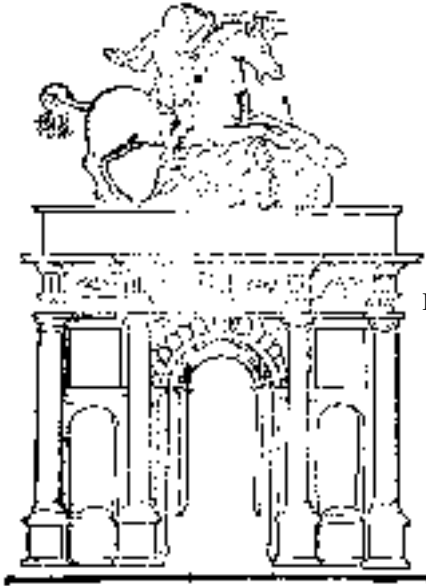
Fig. 3: *Arch with Equestrian Statue of the Emperor*, designed for the Entry into Milan in 1541. (After Giulio Romano, an illustration from the book by Giovanni Alberto Albicante, *Tratto dell'intrar in Milano di sua maesta Caserare Carlo V.*) Vienna, ÖNB, Sammlung von Inkunablen, Alten und Wertvollen Drucken (Inv. 40.B.36).

throughout Italy. In Mantua a magnificent reception was held for the victor. The reception hall at the Palazzo Te was decorated by Giulio Romano. On one of the walls the Emperor can be seen mounted on his steed and surrounded by Turkish captives. It is possible that this composition was one of the sources of Maarten van Heemskerck's inspiration in the *Victories* series that he created for the Emperor. The fifth engraving in Heemskerck's 1555-1556 series (Fig. 2),[23] depicts *The Liberation of Vienna by Charles V* (1529). His brother Ferdinand is accompanying the Emperor, mounted on his horse. The two princes occupy a prominent place in the left foreground. A fallen Turkish soldier is being trampled beneath the Emperor's horse, while in the background we can discern the Sultan and his troops. The scene is glossed by a caption praising the Emperor's legendary victory over the cruel enemy: 'In Pannonia the Emperor defeats the fiercely raging Turks, bringing to Vienna relief from a cruel siege.' Although the Emperor did not actually conduct the battle,[24] this "victory" nevertheless became an important chapter in the imperial mythology. The print, however, stresses the Emperor's personal involvement in the battle and presents him in his most Roman *all'antica* image. A woodcut illustration by Erhard Schöne for Johann Haselberg, *Des Türkischen Kaysers Heerzug* (Nuremberg, 1530), depicts the Emperor personally facing his enemy Suleiman, both mounted on their steeds and followed by their troops.[25] The equestrian motif recurred in the course of the same journey, in Sienna and several years later also in Milan.

Fig. 4: Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen(?), *Charles V as Saint James of Compostela "Matamoro,"* Worchester Art Museum.

An arch designed by Giulio Romano embodies the Imperial Triumph and expresses the Imperial ideology. It is topped by a huge figure of the victorious Emperor on horseback crushing the Empire's enemies: the infidel Saracens in Tunis, the Turks, and the Indians (Fig. 3).[26] The equestrian motif occupied a prominent place in the Imperial ideology. Inspired by the images of a victorious leader, it followed the Renaissance models in the Italian Entries, and appeared as a sculptural element on the triumphal arch. Already in his Imperial Triumphal Entry into Rome (1536) the Emperor appeared as a triumphant Roman Imperator: mounted on a white horse and wearing a purple cape, he embodied the figure of the ancient conqueror. At the head of a procession marching along the ancient *Via Triumphalis,*[27] Charles had re-established himself as the legitimate successor to the Roman Empire.

This image was based on patterns of description of the Roman imperators (Marcus Aurelius as conqueror mounted on his horse). The motif was in turn adopted in the Italian Renaissance. Hapsburg imperial mythology, fostering the image of the Emperor as the direct successor to the Roman emperors, adopted this motif, which became an integral part of ceremonial imagery.[28] However, inspired by northern medieval sources, the Renaissance motif was supplemented by personifications alluding to infidelity and heresy, being trampled beneath his horse's hooves.

One of the typical instances of the transformation of the Renaissance motif and its re-interpretation inspired by Hapsburg Imperial propaganda is expressed in the work that the Emperor commissioned to commemorate the repulse of the Muslims. In the picture, which was ascribed to Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen (Fig. 4), the Emperor in full armor is represented in the role of *St. James of Compostela "Matamoro"*, trampling a Muslim infidel underfoot on his steed. [29]

Even though the only source for the Triumphal Entry to Lille is a verbal one, the account provided by the Crown Prince's secretary, Juan Cristóval Calvete de Estrella, is rich and detailed. His other descriptions of the journey tend to the laconic, but when it comes to the outstanding Entry to Lille with its exuberant and elaborate performances, he provides such a detailed description of the procession that we can vividly imagine the nature of the decorations, the displays, and the *tableaux vivants*. Although certain analogies can be discerned between the motifs prominent in the Italian Entries, the comparison highlights the medieval heritage in the northern cities, and in particular in Lille. While in Italy the ideal imperial Roman past and the ancient heritage were highlighted, in Lille the stress was rather on late medieval allegorization.

The city's second Triumphal Arch displays a reference to the Emperor's victory over the Lutheran heretics. It shows a maiden representing Justice (*Justicia*). Below, on the platform, the Emperor is accompanied by Jupiter, trampling underfoot two fettered damsels wearing "German dress", representing the principalities of Saxony and Hesse. The verses highlight the nature of Imperial power and the idea that the Emperor reigns by the grace of the Holy Faith. The inscription atop the Triumphal Arch emphasizes the idea that the Emperor rules by virtue of the Faith:[30]

Le seigneur tout puissant, qui tout en sa main tient,
Vous a donné l'Empire, ou plains d'ans (sic) vous maintient
A fin que la Foi Sainct en Iesu Christ florisse
Sur rebelles vous donne exercer la Justice.

(The Omnipotent Lord, who holds everything in His hand/Has given you the Empire, Long may you reign/So that the Holy Faith shall flourish in Jesus Christ/Enabling you to bring justice to bear against rebels.)

The imperial ethos and its revival, and the image of the Christian prince who is Defender of the Faith, to a large extent derive their inspiration from the treatise that Erasmus dedicated to the young prince three years before he was anointed ruler of the Hapsburgs. The *Institutio Principis Christiani* was immensely influential in shaping the idea of Christian monarchy (a motif also reflected in other works by Erasmus). [31] Erasmus's theory simultaneously bolstered and shaped the medieval legacy of the ideal ruler as Defender of Christendom. It should be noted that at the beginning of his reign, inspired by Erasmus, Charles hoped to revive the principles of the early Church through internal reforms. He also aspired to prevent the rift between Lutherans and Catholics, at first acting with forbearance towards the Reformists.

The struggle with the Lutheran princes marked a clear turning point, constituting an uncompromising declaration of loyalty to the Papal throne. [32] As a matter of course, this issue was highlighted in the Triumphal Entries throughout Italy. The Emperor adopted this political line, which undoubtedly subsequently influenced the subjects presented in the triumphal processions in the North also. Nevertheless, in Lille the victory over the heretical princes was given particular prominence, and it is no coincidence that it was presented in analogy with *Charlemagne's Victories over the Saxons.*[33]

The Hapsburg imperial mythology emphasized that Charles V was the true successor to Charlemagne, Restorer of the Holy Roman Empire and Defender of Christendom – Emperor and King of the Christians. This idea of continuity between Charles V and Charlemagne his ancestor was already hinted at in his Entry into Bruges (1515), and took shape later in his coronation in Aachen (1530), where he was symbolically handed the sword of the founder of the dynasty. The motif of the continuation of a legacy and emphasis on a heritage became a permanent component of the imperial propaganda.[34] From the 11th century onwards, Charlemagne had been perceived as the heroic Defender of the Church and extirpator of heresy; both temporal ruler and Soldier of God. This myth nurtured visions of the renewal of the Crusades under "the new Charlemagne". The reverberations of these visions were used as a propaganda vehicle by the advisers and poets at the Hapsburg court, feeding the imperial propaganda.

In a stained-glass window designed by the court painter Bernard van Orley

as a Triumphal Arch for the Cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula in Brussels (1537), the Emperor is presented at prayer by Charlemagne, his spiritual patron; stressing the ideological analogies between the two Emperors, the artist depicts both of them as Christian Knights wearing armor under their imperial capes and invested with other symbols of imperial rank. [35] The Hapsburg imperial myth fostered aspirations of establishing the Holy Roman Empire, and hopes of redeeming Jerusalem, the heritage of his Burgundy ancestors.

Following his coronation in Bologna by Pope Clement VII, the Emperor had adopted the Augustinian motif of the Knight of Christendom. This motif became an integral part of the imperial mythology, and was to be accentuated in the Triumphal procession in Lille. A decade later it would be further elaborated in Charles's funeral procession. In this context, three topics were given a prominent place in the Triumphal Entry in Lille: *The Triumph of the Faith, Titus' Triumph over Judaea,* and *Gideon's Destruction of the Altar of Baal and His Cutting Down of the Asherah* (Judges 6:24-28).

The Triumph of the Church was presented on a platform in the shape of the Imperial cross, at the entrance to the Palace.[36] The *tableau vivant* had very clear connections with the legacy of the late Middle Ages, compared to analogous descriptions designed under the inspiration of Savonarola in Italy.[37] The platform showed the story of Emperor "Philip the Arab" (Marcus Julius Philippus, 244-245 CE) who, as Calvete de Estrella notes, was the first Christian Emperor. The allegory of the Triumph of the Church was shown through the personification of *Ecclesia*, a young maiden garbed in scarlet apparel, holding a cross while trampling underfoot a hideous old woman, personifying heresy. This was a standard image both in the depictions of faith (*Fides*) in the medieval *Psychomachia*, as well as in mystery plays.[38] However, as in Italy, *Ecclesia* was accompanied by the Church fathers, also representing the Church hierarchy: Pope – St. Gregory, Cardinal – St. Hieronymus, Archbishop – St. Ambrose, and Bishop – St. Augustine. At their side walked the temporal rulers, Soldiers of the Faith. The procession of rulers was led by the Emperor himself, holding the symbols of his authority. In his footsteps there walked Charlemagne, Godefroi de Bouillon (Godfrey of Bouillon), leader of the First Crusade, and St. Louis, King of France (Louis IX) who revived the Crusades, and Isabella and Ferdinand the Catholic Monarchs, Defenders of Christendom.[39] In this procession of the Defenders of the Faith, Prince Philip, the Crown Prince, brought up the rear. On the other side of the platform, on the left, were shown the heretical foes of God: the Lutheran German princes accompanied by Julian the Apostate, Simon Magus, Arius, Martin Luther, Zwingli, and others. The

Emperor's sword and shield were symbolically turned towards the enemies of the Faith.[40] The spectacle, which was presented on the Imperial cross, accentuated and re-highlighted a central motif of the imperial mythology: the Emperor, a Christian ruler, proffering his sword to defend the Church and save it from the perils of the unbelievers and heretics. This was a topic that had been alluded to at his coronation in Bologna and was then particularly accentuated in the imperial display in Lille. [41]

As the imperial journey proceeded along the triumphal itinerary, the Emperor and his son were able to watch the *tableau* entitled *Titus' Triumph over Judaea*. Since the Middle Ages this topic had been interpreted as the triumph of Christianity over Judaism. Accordingly, the idea of a ruler placing his sword in the service of the Church was highlighted here too. This topic was also reminiscent of an additional motif that was underscored in the 1549 procession: that of the transfer of powers from father to son and heir, providing an appropriate Christian example. In this splendid display, there could be seen on the right the Roman senators, and at their feet the Jewish captives. Titus ascended the platform with great pomp, accompanied by his father Vespasian and the Seven Virtues (naturally underscoring the religious-moral aspects of his victory). On the left could be seen the Destruction of Jerusalem and the Temple.[42] The inscriptions on the banners held by young Roman soldiers reinforced these messages, also highlighting the link between the Emperor's current *Victories over the Infidels* and *Titus' Triumph Over Judaea*. There was also an allusion to the Crown Prince continuing his father's laudable path.[43]

The association between Charles V's victories over the infidels and Titus's victories was already alluded to in a Triumphal Entry of the Emperor, on his return as victor from North Africa: the Triumphal Procession in Rome (1536), inspired by Pope Paul III, passed under Titus's Triumphal Arch. Next to it was erected an ephemeral triumphal arch, in reference to Charles's contemporary victories over the Muslims.[44]

Continuing along the triumphal route, there were displayed scenes relating to the story of Gideon. On either side of the platform were displayed two episodes: the Revelation of the Angel to Gideon and the Building of the Altar to God (Judges 6: 19-26), and the Destruction of the Altar of Baal and the Asherah (Judges 6: 27-32). Next to these episodes on the Triumphal Arch in the form of an altar, was shown the story of Gideon and the woolen fleece (Judges 6: 36-40). The story was presented in juxtaposition with Constantine destroying the idols, another significant scene (the image of Gideon as the extirpator of heresy was interpreted according to the medieval tradition, in which the episode

constituted a form of prefiguration of the apocalyptic vision of Jesus's overthrowing the Antichrist and his Jewish disciples).[45]

The story of Gideon and the woollen fleece occupied an important place in the imperial propaganda, stressing the association between Charles and his Burgundy ancestors (rulers of Northern France and Flanders in the 15th century). Charles thereby underscored the fact that he was their direct heir, who is worthy of wearing the emblem of the chivalrous Order of the Golden Fleece (founded in 1429 by Duke Philippe le Bon), and that he was realizing his Burgundy forefathers' aspirations to extirpate heresy. Already in the 15th century[46] the *Gedoeinis signa* had been chosen by Guillaume Fillastre, spiritual mentor of Philippe le Bon, Duke of Burgundy and chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece, as the most revered appellation for the order of the Golden Fleece.[47] In stressing the motif of Gideon overcoming idolatry and heresy as a prefiguration of the Emperor, his mythological figure was further embodied as the ideal ruler, Christ's knight, and a faithful successor to his Burgundy ancestors. It should be noted that the Emperor himself patronized the Order of the Golden Fleece, seeing himself as more worthy than any other to wear the emblem. The myth of the leader of the restored Crusades was closely related to the image of the ideal Christian emperor. The analogy between the Emperor-as-Gideon and the Emperor-as-Constantine smashing idols demonstrably underscored the propaganda and mythological attributes of the ideal emperor. According to the imperial mythology, Charles was conceived as the legitimate successor of Charlemagne and of Emperor Constantine, the first Christian emperor – the archetypes of the ideal emperor, the Knight of God and Defender of the Church.[48]

Charles's profound religious beliefs, which were imbued with the medieval spirit of chivalry, made him a perfect *Miles Christi*. This idea also recurred and was accentuated in the displays related to the motif of the transfer of powers from father to son – a theme continually reiterated in this series of receptions, processions, and ceremonies in which the Emperor presented his son as his heir. On one of the Triumphal Arches, on the triumphal route, Constantine the Elder was shown handing over his sword and scepter to his son Constantine.[49] The other side of the Arch showed the victories of Constantine the Great over the Emperor Maxentius[50] – another archetype of the image of the Christian ruler, extirpator of heresy, but of course also a reference to the transfer of imperial and spiritual powers from father to son. This aspect was naturally highlighted in the memoirs of Calvete de Estrella, who presents Constantine as Defender of the Christian Faith.[51]

Thus in the iconographical program of the triumphal procession, Emperor Charles V was presented as the legitimate heir of Charlemagne and Constantine the Great, the founders of the Holy Empire, but also as following in the footsteps of Titus and Gideon, the emissaries of God, as extirpators of heresy. This image was also presented as a model to be emulated by his heir.

The imperial ideology was meticulously established. As we know already, in Charles V's first Triumphal Entry into Rome as the Christian Caesar, he passed from the Temple of Peace and the Colosseum beneath the arches of Constantine, Vespasian, and Titus, and then to the old *Via Sacra* and the Basilica of St. Peter where he was received by the Pope. As mentioned by the chronicler Ceffino in his *Triomphante Entrata*, 'one can imagine the pleasure of His Majesty as he contemplated the glorious memory of his famous predecessors.'[52]

In Lille, the episodes relating to the transfer of powers from father to son were illustrated by allegories with a pronounced didactic character, designed to mold the path of the heir. On one of the platforms in the center featured a personification of *Liberality*, a white-robed maiden placed between the Emperor and his son. On the right one could have seen the Triumph of Liberality over Avarice (*Avaritia*), an old woman trampled underfoot (according to the legacy of *Psychomachia*).[53] Representations of Liberality triumphing over Avarice, however, had been rather rare in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, on the west facade of the Cathedral of Sens, Avarice was seen confronting Liberality, a queen who has laid bare all her treasures.[54] The *tableau* was given a contemporary air through additional figures representing this sin, side by side with Judas Iscariot and Nabal. The companions of Avarice also included Midas. Next to these two scenes could be seen the *Triumph of Liberality over Prodigality and Tyranny*, depicted as captives languishing at her feet. The inscriptions underscored the didacticism of the scenes (this category also included scenes with an analogous didactic message, such as *The Triumph of the Virtues over Envy*, and *Triumph over Evil*). [55]

This category included as well one of the displays on which the Prince's secretary dwelled. Calvete de Estrella describes one of the most fascinating emblematical performances, the like of which had not been seen in any of the triumphal processions. Atop a triumphal arch was the Hapsburg eagle (the Emperor) on the imperial throne. The double-headed eagle held in its beak banners that it was presenting to a lion (the Prince). The inscriptions were once again allusions to the Emperor's victories over infidels and unbelievers. The imperial eagle/Emperor was accompanied by two personifications of theological virtues: Faith and Hope. Faith (*Fides*), garbed in white, grasping a

crucifix and holding a banner in her hand addressed the eagle, demanding that he bestow his protection on the Christians "in the shadow of his pinions." Hope (*Spes*), clad in green, was holding an armillary sphere symbolizing the universe.[56] In the context of imperial propaganda, this might also have alluded to the orb held by the Emperor, signifying his sovereignty over the Roman Empire. (It may also have been be replaced by a crown, one of Hope's attributes in a secular allegory). In her other hand Hope was carrying a white dove. This unusual attribute might have referred to Faith, but also to Peace. Since, like the dove of the Ark, replacing the raven (Genesis 8:7-12), this dove too was holding a green branch in its beak, it became a symbol of peace. Thus the inventive emblematic representation alluded to another imperial virtue. The allegorical performance virtuously demonstrated the inventive weave of attributes. New emblems had replaced the most traditional ones, engaged in praise of the imperial *persona*. In this new context it would seem that the authors of the Triumphal program apparently took poetic liberty in replacing the crown, one of Hope's emblems, with a sphere; while the dove replaced the crow that was associated with Hope in the Renaissance iconography (because it calls "cras, cras!" – in Latin, "tomorrow, tomorrow").[57] The green branch however might have been alluding to the flowers often held by Hope, especially in the sixteenth century (she could also wear a crown of flowers or hold a basket of flowers). The dove, holding an inscribed banner in its beak, addressed the subjects, calling upon them to trust the valiant ruler and his successor. Below the eagle's throne, symbolizing the majesty of the Imperator and the idea of the Empire, was a cavern, containing a terrible dragon (the House of Tudor), flanked with a salamander (the House of Valois), accompanied by "Fear" – as representatives of the Emperor's foes, threatened by a ferocious lion (the Prince). The extraordinary blend of emblematical figures exclusively presented in Lille might have been expressing a new idea in this particular context of political imperial propaganda, confronting the Emperor for the first time with his rivals, the European sovereigns, marking the Imperial triumph over the Tudors and the Valois. However, in the emblematical display the blend of secular symbolism together with devotional allusions stressed one of the key ideas of the imperial triumphal processions: the Emperor, Protector of the Church and the Believers, supported by the theological virtues, Faith and Hope.

This theme was later elaborated in Maarten van Heemskerck's composition commemorating the Emperor's victories (Fig. 5). [58] The opening print of the series introduces the beholder to the victorious Emperor. Charles V is seated on his throne, much like a Roman imperator. The imperial throne is decorated

Fig. 5: Marteen van Heemskerck, *Charles V Amidst His Vanquished Adversaries*, 1555-1556.

with the imperial *impresa*.[59] His adversaries are seen on either side of the imperial throne: Pope Clement VII (his former rival), François I, King of France, and the dukes of Saxony, Hesse, and Cleves together with Suleiman. In Heemskerck's emblematical print, the eagle is seen between Charles's feet and seems to be part of the throne itself. In its beak it grasps a ring to which are attached the cords that encircle the Emperor's opponents.[60]

The Triumphal Entry culminated in two large platforms, the like of which in terms of mastery and splendor had never previously been seen in all the Triumphal Entry ceremonies throughout the entire Empire. On a huge platform in front of the Palace two "palaces" were erected: "The Palace of Virtues", which could be traversed on the way to "The Palace of Honor" (according to Calvete de Estrella, the motif originated in 'the classical Roman heritage'). [61] Before The Palace of Honor awaited those welcoming the Emperor and his son-'The Great Leaders of the Past'-Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar, Augustus, Constantine the Great, and naturally Charlemagne as well, but also King David.

The Emperor and his son, accompanied by the Virtues, approached the palace by a steep winding path. (This was a clear reference to the Choice of Hercules: an allegorical moral fable according to which Hercules was invited to choose between Vice and Virtue. The path of Virtue was a narrow rocky path leading upwards towards Fame. In choosing the Pillars of Hercules for his own heraldic emblem, the Emperor conceived of himself as a virtuous Christian Hercules.)

Along the climb to the "The Palace of Virtues", could be seen Flavius Julianus Claudius (Julian the Apostate), Nero, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, Arius, Luther, Zwingli, and other heretics, trying in vain to penetrate the Palace. Naturally their efforts failed, and they tumbled down into the depths of Hell. This description of sinners and heretics trying to ascend "The Ladder of Virtues" was inevitably reminiscent of the medieval image of the "The Ladder of Virtues," which only the righteous could manage to climb, while sinners fell off it straight into the Jaws of Hell. [62]

On the other side of "The Palace" was a *tableau vivant*, *The Triumph of Fame over Death*. This scene reflected the influence of the motif of Petrarchian triumphs (*Trionfi*).[63] Fame (*Fama*) led a procession of the great emperors, representing both the Roman and Christian past: Julius Caesar and Charlemagne, and in their wake the Burgundy ancestors, the Hapsburgs and the Spaniards, of Charles V and the Crown Prince. Fame was leading the two latter figures toward the Triumphal Chariot, accompanied by representatives of both their real and ideal genealogies. The latter was of manifest typological significance in shaping the imperial mythology. The Emperor was perceived on the one hand as a Roman emperor and hence the heir and successor of the great rulers of ancient times – Alexander of Macedon, Julius Caesar, and Augustus. This was a noteworthy identification of the current emperor with the figure of the Roman emperors, in particular Augustus, [64] as alluded to already in the Italian Entries. This motif took shape in the rhetoric of the Holy Roman Empire and was referred to in the course of the various ceremonies and receptions in honor of the Emperor, on both sides of the Alps. At the same time there emerged a typological Christian pattern, emphasizing Charles's legitimate link with the Christian sovereigns who had extirpated heresy. At the head of the ethical genealogy of the Soldiers of the Lord and the Defenders of the Church stood Constantine the Great and Charlemagne, the fathers of the Christian Empire. Notably, those who designed the iconographical scheme of the Triumphal Entry into Lille managed to match the Emperor's aspirations by emphasizing the motif of the triumph of the imperial ruler's fame and his commemoration, not necessarily as a commander and victor according to the standard depictions of

rulers, but as someone worthy of being remembered and immortalized as a Soldier of God and Defender of the Church, deserving spiritual reward and redemption.[65]

Following the Christian interpretation of the triumphal motif, in Triumphal Entries into cities north of the Alps, Virtue led the Emperor towards the Triumphal Chariot, pointing towards *The Triumph of Fame*. Finally all the "Princes" were joined to "Fame" in the "Royal and Eternal Triumphal Procession" towards the "Port of Salvation."

This moment proclaimed the ultimate climax of the procession. On a huge platform at the palace gates, decorated with tapestries, stood a ship, its sails spread, entering the "Port of Salvation." On its deck were the Emperor's Virtues.[66] Before the "Port" could be seen a magnificent palace, the "Palace of Felicity" (*Felicitas*). This platform constituted the most sumptuous and original spectacle ever seen in Charles V's triumphal processions. More than anything else, this manifestation highlighted the religious-militant nature of the Triumphal Procession. At the threshold of the palace the personification of *Felicitas* awaited the Emperor and his son. When the "ship" entered the "Port of Salvation," she gave a splendid reception in the Emperor's honor, leading the Emperor and his son, accompanied by the Virtues, to the Gates of Paradise.[67]

Through the *tableau* of the "Triumphal Ship," the designers of the program of the Triumphal Entry into Lille imparted a pronounced Christian idea, not hitherto given ceremonial expression, echoing of course the idea of the Ship of Christian Life sailing on the stormy sea of life and conveying those believers who are worthy to the Safe Shores of Salvation.[68] Already in early Patristic literature the Church had been imagined as a ship (*navis*) carrying believers towards Salvation, a metaphor visualized from the very dawn of Christianity in funerary art. The metaphor of a Ship of Salvation occurred later in late medieval and Renaissance moralistic literary sources in France and the North, especially through the Pilgrimage of Life metaphor. In Jean de Courcey's *Chemin de Vaillance* (*Way of Valor*, 1424-1425), the Seven Virtues accompany the knight to the Ship of Low into the Port of Salvation.[69] The authors of the Entry were usually humanists, poets, and members of the local urban chambers of rhetoric. In creating this impressive spectacle of the imperial Ship of Salvation, they were able to allude both to liturgical and theological sources and to literary imagery that would have been familiar to urban, and in particular courtly, audiences.

The motif of the Triumphal Ship heralded the funeral procession (*Pompa Funebris*) held a decade or so later in Brussels (Fig. 6).[70] In Lille, and later in

Fig. 6: Johannes and Lucas van Duetecum, *The Ship of Salvation*, woodcut
illustration from *La Magnifique et Somptueuse Pompe Funèbre – de Charles V*,
Antwerp, Christoph Plantin, 1559. Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum
(Inv.R.44.8).

Brussels, there was clear expression of the Emperor's desire to be presented
and commemorated as a "Christian Prince" conveyed to the Gates of Paradise
in the Ship of the Righteous. [71] In the midst of the funerary ship, behind its
central mast, stood the empty imperial throne, topped with the imperial crown,
decorated with the heraldic double-headed eagle and framed with the
theological virtues. Faith (*Fides*) sat in the center on the "cornerstone," holding
the chalice and the crucifix. Hope (*Spes*) stood at the bow, holding the anchor;
and Charity (*Caritas*) stood at the stern with the burning heart in her hands.
An image of the Crucifix surmounted the imperial *impresa* on the flag above,
unfurled from the central mast of the allegorical ship, suggesting the Emperor's
religious role and his submission to the Lord, at the same time also implying
the glorious salvation awaiting his soul. The Latin texts accompanying the
print explain the ship's condensed iconography, evoking the image of Charles
as Caesar and a religious leader at one and the same time. He is being
commended for his justice, piety, and virtue: a victorious ruler, motivated first
of all as a soldier in the service of the Holy Church. The text praises the Emperor

for "introducing people to Christ" and "purifying them." [72] The flags of the Turks and the Moors are cast down on the rocks in the sea, indicating the Emperor's victories over the infidels.

The funeral *tableau* intentionally depicted an image of the ruler as the Knight of God, Defender of the Faith, and the Catholic Church, embodying the emblematic image of Charles V. [73] In the sea, behind the ship, could be seen the heraldic Pillars of Hercules topped with the imperial crowns of the Holy Roman Empire and bearing the imperial device: *Plus ultra*, commemorating the Emperor's aims of conquering and extending the Holy Empire's borders with the aid of Faith for the sake of the Holy Church. The emblematic ship was harnessed to tritons symbolizing the Emperor's "unbounded" rule throughout the world. This ship combined images of the earthly ruler with transcendental allusions. His journey in this world had reached its end, at a fitting place, at the feet of the Throne of God who is the "Lord of Lords, King of the Kings of the World."

In Lille the mystical ship of the virtuous ruler, Knight of God and Defender of Christendom, reached the Port of Salvation and the Gates of Paradise. The motif of the ship in the Lille militant Entry expressed both the image of the Ideal Prince, through which the Emperor wished to detach himself from his authority, but also the legacy that he was bequeathing to his son.

Later in Brussels in 1558, Philip elaborated this imagery for his own political program. Through the performance of the Ship of Salvation in which the funeral procession culminated, it would appear that Philip II was manipulating the visualization of the ideal ruler for his own purposes, responding, however, to his father's will and imperial ideology, while at the same time establishing his own identity as a legitimate heir, a king in the service of the Church.[74]

With the decoration of the square in front of the palace, the triumphal procession reached its climax and its end. This platform profiled the main components of the imperial mythology: *The Triumph of Faith,* [75] *The Triumph of Fame*, and *The Triumph of the Mystical Ship*. These presentations epitomized the imperial propaganda, which reached unprecedented heights in Lille.

The Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire aspired to be remembered primarily as Defender of the Church and eradicator of heresy, a worthy successor to Constantine, founder of the Christian Empire, and to his ancestors from Charlemagne to the Dukes of Burgundy and the rulers of Spain- as the one who had succeeded in preserving the integrity of the Holy Empire and repulsing the Muslim threat that had menaced its borders. As a Christian Prince he deserved an "earthly" reward, by being welcomed at journey's end to the

"Chariot of Fame" at the gates of the "Palace of Honor." But his main reward lay in bringing his ship to the "Safe Shores of Christian Salvation."[76] In Lille, more than anywhere else throughout the Empire, the emphasis was upon the militant nature of the Triumphal Procession. The authors of the iconographical program of the Imperial Entry into Lille were successfully responding to the aspirations of Charles V, Emperor of Rome and the Hapsburg Kingdom. What was presented there was an expression of the vision of Empire and the image of the ideal Emperor: the pattern of *imperium* that had been forged throughout the Late Middle Ages, in Dante's *Monarchia*[77] as expressed later, albeit in a more restrained fashion, in van Heemskerck's *Victories* series as well as Vermeyen's series of tapestries.

The themes of the Lille triumphal procession illustrated the Emperor's political ambitions and their fulfillment. Defeating the adversaries who had threatened his vision of the Roman Empire, Charles appeared as Charlemagne's true heir and successor. Charles strove to re-create a unified Christian Empire ruled by the one Emperor: a Christian Prince whose sword was that of the virtuous Augustinian Soldier of Christ.

Notes

1. The primary source for all the Triumphal Entries of the Emperor and the Crown Prince is the record of the journey written by the Prince's secretary: Juan Cristóval Calvete de Estrella, *El Felicissimo viaje d'el alto y muy poderoso Principe Don Felipe, hijo del Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo, desde España á sus tierras de la baxa Alemaña* Madrid, 1930 (Antwerp 1552).
2. Pinson 1989: 201-213.
3. Pinson 1983: 152-186.
4. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 370-408; see Jacquot 1960a: 452; Strong 1984: 88.
5. Jacquot, *ibid*., 440 and 480.
6. The imperial *Instructions* comprise a series of pedagogical letters addressed by Charles V to his son, tracing his vision of the Empire and ideas of governance, intended to instruct Philip on how he should rule his future realm. (The earliest letter was written

in 1538 and the last dates from 1556, shortly after the Emperor's abdication.) See Meadow 1998: 37-38 and n. 7.

7. Erasmus Desiderius, *Institutio Principis Christiani* (The Education of a Christian Prince), 1515. See also Mesnard 1960: 45-56.

8. Chastel 1960:197-206, esp. 197-199. See also Jacquot 1960a: 422-425.

9. See Strong 1984: 78-80.

10. See Carrasco Ferres 2000: 101.

11. See Huizinga 1955: 91-102; Bené 1969: 373. It was conceived by Erasmus as a manual of personal Christian doctrine in which he lay down strategies for the defense of Christianity against its enemies. (Etymologically *enquiridion* refers to a *manual* or a *dagger*).

12. The imperial ideology was elaborated by St. Augustine in *The City of God* (*Civitate Dei)*. On this issue, see Yates 1960: 57-91; see Béné 1965: 351-373; see also Strong 1984: 66 and 75-97.

13. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 373-374.

14. See Chastel 960: 204. Chastel notes that the decorations of the Triumphal Arches in Rome and Florence were said to be influenced by Schiavone's composition *The Battles of Charles V against Barbarossa*, and *The Conquest of La Goletta* by Giorolomo da Capri.

15. Veldeman 1977: 56, n. 13 and 97, n. 2.

16. Chastel 1960: 200; Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 96-97

17. Rosier 1990-1991: 30-31.

18. See Chastel 1960: 204; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv. 3577: 2038-2047. A series of eight engravings based on Vermeyen's tapestries, entitled *La conquista de Tunès*, is now conserved in Real Alcazar, Seville, see: Jacquot 1960a, 429 and n. 15.The series of tapestries, *The Conquest of Tunis*, manufactured by Willem Pannemaker, Brussels, 1554-1558; Madrid, Patrimonio Nacional, Palacio Real. See *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: 83 and nos. 211-214.

19. Chastel, *idem*. See also Checa 2000: 29.

20. *Idem*.

21. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 381-382.

22. Hantsch 1959: 51-60.

23. Jacquot 1960a: 427, 432, and 442. See *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: No. 97.

24. Rosier (1990-1992: 29-30) points out that Charles V, however, was not in Vienna in 1529, since he was engaged at that time in another battle against François I, King of France. He did indeed come to Vienna in 1532, while the Turks were conducting raids in the vicinity of the city, but by the time Charles V arrived, the Turkish Sultan had already been routed.

25. See Rosier 1990-1991: 30-31 and Fig. 7; see also *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: No. 97.

26. A woodcut by Giovanni Alberto Alcibcante (after Giulio Romano), *Tratto dell'intra in Milano di sua maesta Cesare Carlo V* (Vienna ÖNB, Inv. 40.B.36). See Chastel 1960: 204 and Jacquot 1960: 432-443. See also *Exhibition Catalogue* 2000: No. 243.

27. Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 89.

28. Mofitt 2000: 37-40.Moffitt points out to the importance of Marcus Aurelius in the Emperor's spiritual milieu, involved in shaping the Imperial Idea of Charles V, especially in his role of the Christian Knight.

29. Janson (1935-6: 22-23) points out that St. James, the Patron Saint of Spain, was appended *Matamoro* ("killer of the Moors") to commemorate his miraculous interventions in the battles against the Moors from the 10th century onward; a similar motif can also be seen as a statue on the triumphal arch in the Entry into Valenciennes, see Pinson 1989: 210.

30. See Calvete de Estrella 1552: 390-391. During the same period the Emperor commissioned an equestrian portrait from Titian, *Portrait of Charles V as Conqueror at the Battle of Mülberg*, 1548, Madrid, Prado.See Moffitt 2001.

31. See Gilmor 1951: 129-130. It should, however, be noted that Erasmus, continuing the Augustinian legacy, influenced the evolution of the view of the king placing his troops in the service of the Christian struggle, a motif which first took shape in his treatise: *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*. See Béné 1965: 143-150.

32. Monsier 1967: 86. It should be noted that this chapter in the Emperor's victories is the only one to be directed against foes from within the Empire itself, the defeat of the Protestant heresy threatening the integrity of the Hapsburg Empire. Heemskerck's *Victories* series contains three prints (X, XI, and XII) which are devoted to the series of events involving the insurrection of the Protestant princes, highlighting their subjection to the imperial throne. See Rosier 1990-1991: 32-34 and Figs. 12-14.

33. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 392.

34. See Yates 1960. The theme of Charles V as "The New Charlemagne" becomes a central motif among the court poets, a motif which recurs both in the Italian triumphal processions and in the Northern cities (*ibid*., 61, 85). It must also be stressed that the motif of Charles as the legitimate heir of Charlemagne constitutes part of the expression of the aspirations to re-establish the Empire, and also expresses the competition between the House of Hapsburg and the House of Valois to acquire hegemony. See also Strong 1984: 10 and 62.

35. See Jacquot 1960: Pl. XX.

36. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 400-401.

37. The theme of *The Triumph of Faith* evolved in Italy during the Renaissance period, in the scheme of triumphal processions. Savonarola's influence can be identified in Titian's 1508 work (known to us today through the prints): Jesus Triumphant could be seen sitting on the globe, in the Triumphal Chariot harnessed to Four Emblems of the Evangelists; at the side of the Chariot were the Church Fathers, and in front of it the Prophets bearing emblems of the Old Testament; behind the Triumphal Chariot walked the Martyrs bearing their emblems. This iconographic formula was later adopted in Bologna (1529). The motif of *The Triumphal Procession of Faith* or *The Church* was inferred in Dante's writings, *The Divine Comedy: Purgatorio* (Canto 15). On this issue see: Charterou 1928: 63-64.

38. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 400-401. See Mâle 1958: 203, 222.

39. "Ferdinand the Catholic expelling Spanish Jewry and the Moors from Andalusia," seen on the Second Triumphal Arch, in the Imperial Triumphal Entry into Bologna. See Jacquot 1960: 421.

40. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 401.

41. As soon as the city gates of Bologna, the Emperor was received with two banners

calling on him to place his sword in the service of the Church, which would naturally assure his fame. See Jacquot 1960: 420.

42. This theme has of course since the Middle Ages been interpreted as punishment of the Jews for not acknowledging the divinity of Jesus and not believing in him. In the *Apocalypse of the Duke of Savoy*, 15th century (Escorial E.Vitr.V, fol. 33 v), the very moment when the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun (Revelations 16:8) is compared with the destruction of the Temple by Titus. The interpreter takes Titus as the arm of God taking revenge on the unclean Jews. This motif recurs also in contemporary dramas, such as *Jeu de destruction de Jérusalem*, a supplement to *The Mystery Play of the Assumption of the Virgin,* see Poliakov 1981: I, 306. Here Titus is described as the Knight of God who, in destroying Jerusalem, takes revenge on behalf of the Mother of God.

43. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 379-381. The inscription on the first banner reads: "*Voici Comment le Preux Titus\ A vaincu la Triste Judée\ Par le moyen des Septs vertus\ ou sa personne estoit fondée\ Plusiers captifz en son armée\ Par dedans Rome il amena\ Dont pour icelle Renommée\ Son hault bruict [sic] par tout résonna*" (See how the valiant Titus\ Conquered sad Judaea\ By means of the Seven Virtues\ In which his person is founded\ Several captives in his army\ He paraded through Rome\ For this Fame\ His reputation echoed far and wide). The lesson of the scene is made explicit as we read on the fourth banner: "*C'est [sic] histoire assez nous disgne\ Comment Charles l'imperateur\ Faict faire à son fils tres insigne\ triumphe en sublime hulteur.\ Et si Titus hault bellateur\ A mis Judée soubs [sic] ses mains\ Philippe (à nostre hault heur)\ vaincra les meschants inhumans."* (This is a history which dignifies us\ How Charles the Emperor\ Indicated to his very distinguished son\ a triumph most splendid.\ And if Titus the great warrior\ Subjugated Judaea \ Philip when that great day comes\ will conquer the wicked inhumans"*); idem, 380*.

44. Jacquot 1960a: 431; see also Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 93 and 96-97. The scene representing the battle of La Goletta faced symbolically the Triumph over the Jews of Judaea, on Titus's Triumphal Arch.

45. This image occurs in late 14th century exegesis, in the *Bible moralisée de Jean le Bon* (Paris, Bibl.nat.fr. 167 fol. 59) we can read: *cea segnefie que Jhuscrist detruira en la fin antechrist avec les siens* (this means that Jesus Christ will in the end destroy the Antichrist with his followers). In the illustration of the moralization, juxtaposed with the story of Gideon, Jesus can be seen overthrowing the Antichrist and the Jews (his disciples).

46. In most of the Emperor's Triumphal Processions, there appears the image of Jason, in order to refer to the "Golden Fleece" (for example, London 1522; Florence 1531; Brussels and Antwerp 1549). The reference to Gideon in this context, which occurs in 1531, on the occasion of the celebrations of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Tournai, is an exception. Nevertheless, we know that in Tournai both Jason and Gideon could be seen on the Triumphal Arch; see Yates 1960: 80. On the subject of the Order of the Golden Fleece and its emblems, the Golden Fleece and the continuity of the dynasty, see Tervarent 1958: cols. 380-381. For the Emperor's special affinity to his Burgundy ancestors and the Order of the Golden Fleece, see also Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 82-83.

47. See Huizinga 1965: 85-86.

48. See Yates 1960: 58-60; see Jacquot 1960a: 421, 441, 464, and 484.

49. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 375.

50. Constantine's victories over Maxentius constitute part of the Augustinian heritage in determining the ideal Christian ruler. These motifs appeared as early as the 15th century in France, for example in Charles VIII's Entry into Rouen. See Koningson 1968: 60-61.

51. Calvete de Estrella, *ibid.*, 375-378. Later the story is shown of the transfer of powers from David to Solomon.

52. As quoted by Carrasco Ferrer 2000: 93.

53. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 385-386.

54. See Mâle 1958: 229, n. 96 and Fig. 76: Mâle points out that Liberality, as a generous queen, is an image depicted already in the writings of Alnus de Insulius, *Liber de planctu nature*, PL. CCX, col. 474.

55. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 398-399. In Douai, the same year, in the imperial triumphal procession the theme of "The Victory of the Virtues over the Sins" could be seen on the Triumphal Arch. See Pinson 1983: 160-161.

56. For the meaning of the sphere, see Tervarent 1958: cols. 358-363.

57. See Tervarent 1958: col. 114.

58. Maarten van Heemskerck created a series called *The Victories of Charles V* (1555-1556), apparently based on drawings following the decoration of the Triumphal Arches in Rome. See Vasari 1581: 572-573. According to Vasari, he was referred to as somebody who 'specialized in describing the battles of the Christians against the Turks.' On this issue, see also Williams and Jacquot 1960: 372-373. Part of the "Victories" series was published in Antwerp by Hieronymous Cock's publishing house.

59. See Rosenthal 1971: 204-208 and Sider 1989: 257-272.

60. The caption of this emblematical print reads: "Here Pope, the King of France and the Dukes of Saxony, Hesse and Cleve cede to the keen eagle before whom Suiliman flees distraught." See Rosier 1990-1991: 25.

61. In his memoirs, Calvete de Estrella (Calvete de Estrella 1552: 396-398) notes that the motif of the "Palace of Honor" is influenced by the classical heritage. The theme appears in Italian courtly literature of the 16th century, and may have influenced the design of the triumphal processions. In 1548, in the Royal Entry of Henri II, King of France, to the City of Lyon, the motif of the "Palace of Honor and the Virtues" appeared in the form of the Colossal Triumphal Arch. See Chartrou 1928: 91. The book of Henry II's Entry also contains woodcuts documenting the imperial decorative scheme. This shows that in Lyon, a "Palace of Honor" was built as a compact structure above the Triumphal Arch. (*L'Entrée de Henri ll à Lyon en 1548*, Paris, Bibl. nat. Rés. Lib31.14, fol 26). The theme was also adopted in courtly poetry in the Low Countries, and is referred to in the poetry of the court poet of Margaret of Austria, Regent of the Low Countries, Jean le Maire Le Belge; see Chartrou, *idem*.

62. There is a clear reference here to the medieval "Ladder of the Virtues" motif, known to us since the 12th century in *Hortus Deliciarum*. See Mâle 1958: 211-213 and Fig. 50.

63. The description of Fame tramping on Death, as it appeared in Lille (see Calvete de

Estrella 1552: 402) reflects medieval imagery. There is here a typical weave of a Renaissance motif together with a medieval image. It should be noted that also in Henri II's Entry into Rouen in 1550, there appeared the Petrarchian motif of the Triumph of Fame over Death, but in a different form, more closely related to the motif of the *trionfo della Fama* in Italy (see Chartrou 1928: 84). Here the enthroned Fame is holding the fettered figure of Death. Another variation of the motif of triumph over Death was seen in Charles V's Entry into Douai in 1549. Here Death was shown in the figure of an old woman trampled under the feet of Fame. See Pinson 1983: 161.

64. In the Triumphal Entry into Florence (1539), a statue was displayed of the Emperor holding the imperial scepter and accompanied by the inscription: "AUGUSTUS CAESAR DIVINUM GENS AUREA CONDIT SAECULA" ("Augustus Caesar, the offspring of gods, founds a Golden Age"); see Strong 1984: 75.

65. On the issue of the triumphal motif of Fame as it evolved in the 15th and 16th centuries, see Martone, 1990,219. See also Cholcman 1998: 40-44.

66. Calvete de Estrella 1552: 407-409.

67. It should be noted that the motif of the Ship of Religion appears later in 1550, in the Entry of Henri II into Rouen, where the Triumphal Chariot of Religion, in the form of a ship, was conducted by unicorns (Chastity). The King was sitting in the Ship accompanied by Virtues. (See Chartrou 1928: 84-85). It is possible that this image was designed under the inspiration of the reverberations from the Entry into Lille of the Emperor and the Crown Prince. The fierce and persistent competition between the two courts for prestige and status in Europe should not be ignored.

68. *Les obsèques et grandes pompes funèbres de l'Empereur Charles V, faites en la ville de Bruxelles, traduitz d'Italien en Francoys*, [Paris, Martin l'Hommé, 1559], Paris, BN Roth, 2418, fols. 3-4.

69. Wenzel 1973: 373, 376 and 378.

70. *Magnifique et Somptueuse Pompe Funèbre faite aux obsèques et funérailles du très victorieus empereur Charles V. Celebree en la ville de Bruxelles*, Antwerp, Cristoph Plantin, 1559. Illustrated with woodcuts by Johannes van Duetecum after Lucas van Duetecum.

71. Strong (1984: 95-96) interprets the allegorical ship in the funeral procession of the Emperor in relation to Jason's ship; in other words, a link with the Emperor's heraldic symbolism and the Burgundy genealogy. This interpretation ignores what is described in the documentation relating to the itinerary of the Emperor's funeral (see nn.68 and 70 above). Schrader (1998: 76-81) identifies the allegorical ship as the "ship of state." Although he is aware of the role of a spiritual leader adopted by the Emperor, Schrader ignores the pageant of the allegorical ship in the Lille Entry and mainly stresses its political meaning.

72. As quoted by Schrader 1998: 78-79.

73. For the significance of the imperial seal, see Bataillon 1960: 13-27, Rosenthal 1971, and Strong 1984: 76.

74. On Philip's shaping his own identity as ruler through his father's funeral procession, see Schrader 1998: 71.

75. The Emperor's victories over the opponents of the Empire were also interpreted since the coronation procession in Bologna, as the Triumph of Faith over Heresy.

76. See Jacquot 1960: 474.
77. See Yates 198: 1-28; see also Rosier 1990-1991: 26 ff.

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The Identity of Hieronymus Bosch's Wayfarer

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Perhaps no single figure in all of Hieronymus Bosch's work has elicited a more chaotic array of interpretations than the so-called *Wayfarer* (ca.1510) and the almost identical figure on the outer panels of the famous triptych, *The Haywain*, painted about ten years earlier.[1] The iconographical problems posed are the most basic. Who is he? What is he meant to represent? Is his position on the outside panels of the *Haywain* significant to the narrative of that work, and, if so, in what way? An explanation that seems to provide a more complete answer

Fig. 1: Hieronymus Bosch, *The Wayfarer,* ca. 1510. Boymans-van Beuninger Museum, Rotterdam.

Fig. 2: Caricature of a Jew, *Kikeriki,* Vienna, ca. 1900 (after Schreckenberg 1996:327).

Fig. 3: Hieronymus Bosch, outer panels of *The Haywain*, Prado Museum, Madrid.

than any so far advanced is that the figure is a representation of the Eternal (or Wandering) Jew.

The legend of the Wandering Jew is quickly told. According to it, a certain Cartaphilus was present as Jesus passed, carrying his cross to Calvary:

> Cartaphilus passed by him, hit him and told him to go more quickly. Thereupon Jesus said to him, "I am going, and you shall wait until I return." Cartaphilus became a Christian, was baptised in the name of Jesus, and by returning to his then age of thirty every hundred years, kept living as a pious witness to the passion of Christ, hoping for his redemption at the end of the world.[2] (Figs. 5, 6)

Histories of the Eternal Jew recite a seemingly endless number of variations on this tale, along with various "sightings" of the Wandering Jew. One of the best-known is the account of Paulus von Eitzen, bishop of Schleswig, who "saw" the figure praying in a Hamburg church in the winter of 1542. He is described as

> …a tall man, dressed in threadbare garments, with long hair, standing barefoot in the chancel; whenever the name of Jesus was pronounced he bowed his head, beat his breast and sighed profoundly. It was reported that he was a shoemaker named Ahasuerus who had cursed Jesus on the way to the crucifixion. On further questioning he related the historical events that had

Fig. 4: *The Haywain* (open). Prado Museum, Madrid.

occurred since. He conversed in the language of the country he happened to be visiting.[3]

This version contains several of the most common attributes of the Wandering Jew as the tale was elaborated over the centuries: the name Ahasuerus, the poverty-stricken appearance, the wild hair, and the occupation of a shoemaker. In his most basic form, he is reduced to a simple figure, striding along with his walking stick as shown in figures 7 and 8, and, in more recent, overtly anti-Semitic form, he is large-nosed (Fig. 9), carrying a money-bag (Fig. 10), or the caricatured Jewish peddler, pursued by barking dogs (Fig. 2).

It seems hardly necessary to point out that anyone familiar with the overall silhouette of the Wandering Jew must be struck by the similarity between it and Bosch's *Wayfarer*, striding along, driving a barking dog from his heels, his "long hair" coming through a rent in his hat, "in threadbare garments," his shoemaker's awl (Fig. 11) attached to the hat in his extended hand. In the tree behind him an owl perches, symbolic of, among other things, blindness, in this case the blindness of Jewry to the true faith. Featured more prominently in the foreground than mere composition might account for is an animal casually taken to be a cow, but which is more probably an ox, the ox being, among other things, also a symbol of Jewry (stubbornness).[4]

Several scholars have found in the details of the landscapes of both the *Haywain* panels and *The Wayfarer* elements that are linked to the astrological symbolism of Saturn, the planetary body which presides over criminals, beggars, cripples and those afflicted with *acedia*, sometimes translated as sloth

Fig. 5: Gustave Doré, *Cartaphilus (or Ahasuerus) Observing the Procession to Calvary from his Shoemaker's Shop,* 1856 (after Schreckenberg 1996: 295).

Fig. 6: *The Wandering Jew,* French, 18th century (after Schreckenberg 1996: 29).

Fig. 7: *The Jew Ahasuerus*, German, 1618 (after Schreckenberg 1996: 296).

Fig. 8: *Le Juif-Errant* (The Wandering Jew), French, before 1869 (after Schreckenberg 1996: 293).

or melancholia. None, however, have pursued with serious curiosity the connection between such a landscape and the main figure within it. In this regard, two interesting images reproduced by Eric Zafran in his fascinating study, *"Saturn and the Jews,"*[5] suggest the solution. The first (Fig. 12) shows us a figure simply described as "A Jew," and the second (Fig.13), two figures described as "melancholics." They are strikingly similar, though made by different artists and separated by almost 50 years, and this because, as it turns out, in medieval thought, the Jew, too, is "born under Saturn."

As early as the fourth century, St. Augustine considered Saturn a god of the Jews, and the idea seems to have become well-fixed in the Christian imagination by the ninth or tenth c. when a Christian scholar named Alcabitius wrote:

> He [i.e., Saturn] is bad, masculine, in daytime cold, dry, melancholy, presides over…hatred, obstinacy, care, grief, lamenting, evil opinion…miserly gains, over old age and impossible things, far travels, long absence, great poverty, avarice…He has the faith of Judaism, black clothing; of days, Saturday and the night of Wednesday.[6]

Saturnian landscapes typically feature a gallows or a pillory (like those seen in the distance behind the ox in *The Wayfarer),* scenes of robbery, murder and other criminal violence, alongside images of agricultural labors, since earth is Saturn's element. Because it roots in the earth, the pig is frequently found in many

Fig. 9: *The Wandering Jew,* Sweden, 1833 / 57 (after Schreckenberg 1996).

Fig. 10: Jobst Mellern, *Der Gelb Geckl* (The Yellow Fop). Prague, 16th century (after Rubens1973:89).

Fig. ll: Hieronymus Bosch,
The Wayfarer, Rotter-
dam, detail.

Fig. 12: *A Jew,* German, 1510
(after Zafran 1979: 7).

depictions of the world of the "children of Saturn" (Figs. 14,15,16); and, because it is so loathsome to the Jews, it can almost always be counted on to be found somewhere in his vicinity, as it is, for example, in both *The Wayfarer* and *The Haywain*.

A final, less harmless manner in which Jews are associated with Saturn involves the seemingly ineradicable myth of blood libel, the ritual murder of children. The most enduring image of Saturn in the popular mind is the one so savagely rendered by Goya: that of the enraged god devouring his children (Fig. 17). The most appalling assimilation of Jewry with Saturn is undoubtedly that which finds a metaphorical identity between Saturn devouring his children and the Jew devouring the (Christian) children whose blood is needed for the making of Passover *matzoh* (Fig. 18).

In sum, because it seems likely that all of this would have been considerably more familiar to Bosch's contemporaries than it is to us, the identity of our figure might have been much more easily available to them than it might be to ordinary viewers in our own times.

* * * * *

One regards the opened *Haywain* with a heavy heart: it is relentless in its religious pessimism. Left panel: the fall of man. Center panel, a distant Jesus displays before us a world gone mad with avarice. In pursuit of meaningless enrichment – it's all hay! – mankind robs, kills, plunders, gulls, tears his neighbor's clothes from his back. Dear God, even the holy Church stuffs its sacks with hay, following the haywain like an idol! Right panel: the inescapable end, in hell, eternal torment, eternal damnation. It is a work of endless lamentation, a "wehe-

klage" over the lost state of God's world. One closes the triptych with a sigh: is it so? Forever and ever and ever and ever and ever? The closed panels confront us: the Christian heart lifts as it recalls the promise of return and redemption embodied in the figure of the Eternal Jew, doomed to wander the wretched world until Christ's promise to him is redeemed.

No wonder Bosch paints him with such sympathy! He is the very incarnation of the promise of redemption, of salvation at the end of days. Jewry fits into the course of Christian history as an

Fig. 13: *Melancholics*, German, 1557 (after Zafran 1979: 7).

> …indispensable entity. Its survival up to the end of history and its final conversion in the last moment of history, or shortly before it, was a condition *sine qua non* for the salvation of mankind, the second advent of the Lord and the dawn of a new day, of the Kingdom of Heaven.[7]

In the essay in which this passage appears, Leschnitzer is attempting to account for the profound ambivalence in Christian consciousness concerning the Jew. Part of his method is to make an assumption frequently made about the Wandering Jew: that he is a symbol of the Jewish people as a whole, a model of their history and an explanation of their endurance long after mighty powers have risen and fallen. Put with brutal simplicity the question he addresses is one which all students of Jewish history come to ask at one time or another: why didn't Christianity kill them all off and be done with this stiff-necked people

Fig. 14: Hans Sebald Beham (or George Pencz), *Children of Saturn*, ca. 1531 (after Zafran 1979: 5).

Fig. 15: Anonymous, *The Children of Saturn,* German, 3rd quarter of the 15th century (after Panofsky 1955: Ill. 213).

Fig. 16: Anonymous , *Children of Saturn,* German, 1445 (after Zafran 1979: 5).

once and for all? And the answer, or a large part of the answer, is that whenever this solution is offered, some segment of the Christian world is always there to remind the rest that this otherwise vile nation of deicides still has a role to play in the world: they are a constant reminder of the promise of the second coming of Christ.

This final caveat explains the non-stereotypical manner in which the Eternal Jew is so often depicted. He is frequently shown (as in Figs. 6, 7 and 8) dressed in contemporary garments, with few, and often none of the clichéd anti-Semitic elements so universal in other depictions of Jews. And this removes a last objection to the identification of our figure as the Wandering Jew: the objection that he "does not look like a Jew." Leaving aside his conversion at the time of his life-altering experience, his very existence represents not *denial* but *proof* of the divinity of Jesus, and proof that the world depicted in *The Haywain* will *not* go on forever and ever and ever. No wonder, then, that Bosch could give him the kindly, worldly-wise, almost sweet sadness with which he views the corrupt world through which he has wandered since the Crucifixion. He is the only ray of hope in the painting.

Fig. 17: Francisco Goya, *Saturn devouring his Children,* ca. 1820. Prado Museum, Madrid.

Notes

1. A summary of the various interpretations of the figure is provided by Snyder 1973: 3: "A good example of the problems encountered in interpreting Bosch's works is the bewildering scholarship of the so-called *Landloper* (tramp). The striding figure… has been identified as the Biblical prodigal son (Gluck, De Tolnay), a peddler (Seligman), a vagabond thief (Conway), an errant drunkard (Bax), a wayward shepherd (Calas), a personification of Sloth (Zupnick), a child of Saturn (Pigler), a personification of the melancholic humor of Saturn (Philip), and finally an image of *Elck* (Everyman) of Netherlandish proverbs." More recently, Graziani 1982 has suggested that the figure is a representation of Poverty. See Graziani, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 45, 1982: 211-16.
2. Schreckenberg 1996: 291.
3. *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 1971: 259-62.
4. I am grateful to Leanna Friedman of San Francisco who brought this attribute of the ox to my attention, and to Beverly Zimmer, editor of *The Midwest Ox Drovers Association Newsletter*, for her expert help in confirming my intuition that the animal in *The Wayfarer* might indeed be an ox. (Private correspondence).

Fig. 18: *Saturn,* Peter Wagner, *Almanach,* Nuremberg, 1492 (after Schreckenberg 1996:331). The distinctive "Jewish" hat and the "rota", a round yellow ring or wheel on his breast identify *Saturn* as a Jew.

5. Zafran 1979: 16-27.
6. Ibid.: 16.
7. Leschnitzer 1986:227-35

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The Azulejos of Lisbon: Art and Decoration, a Short Survey

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*T*his study presents some of the most important *azulejos* (glazed tiles) that decorate churches and palaces in Lisbon, pointing out the characteristics and changes in the art of the *azulejos* that occurred during the 16th, 17th, and the 18th centuries. The focus here is on Lisbon, although there are, of course, many *azulejos* to be found in other cities. This art also spread beyond Portugal's continental borders – to the islands of Madeira and Açores, and to Brasil.

Fig.1:   Palace of Sintra, Hall of the Arabs (after Sabo et al. 1998:Pl.57)
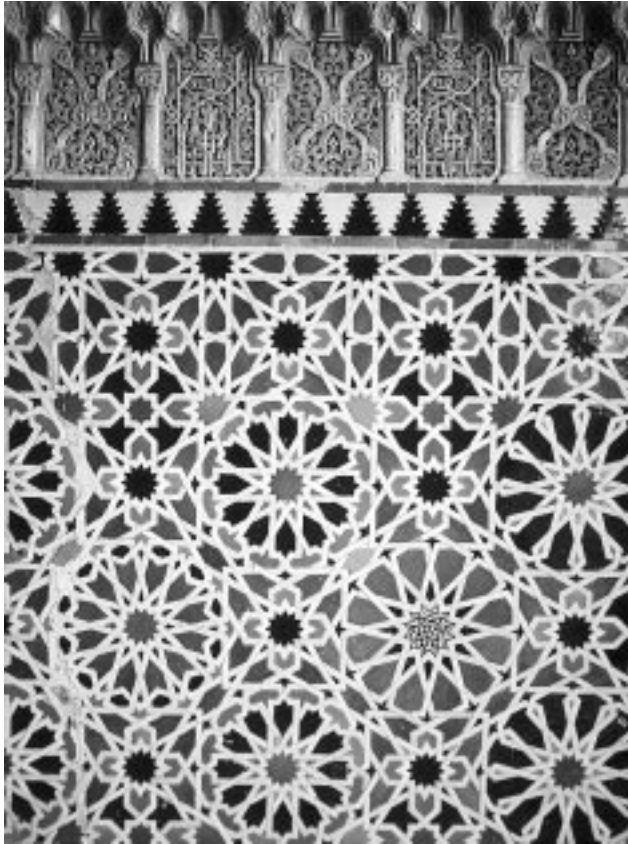
Fig. 2: Alhambra, Granada, Ambassadors Hall

The *azulejo* was first used in Mesopotamia. The name derives from the Arabic term for a small**,** smooth polished stone - *aljulej* or *azulej* which evolved to *azzelij* in Muslim Spain and then to *azulejo* in Spanish and Portuguese. The earliest *azulejos* introduced into Portugal were those imported by King Manuel I (who thanks to the Portuguese Discoveries, became one of the richest monarchs of Europe) at the beginning of the 16th century.[1] This king, after visiting southern Spain, imported *azulejos* from Seville, an important center of production, to decorate his palace at Sintra. This palace has remained almost intact, for the 1755 earthquake (which destroyed large parts of Lisbon), caused it only minor damage. The palace at Sintra (now called the National Palace of Sintra) near Lisbon was built on the foundations of an earlier residence of the Muslim rulers, who were expelled by Portugal's first king, Afonso Henriques in 1147. The kings who followed him enlarged and altered the palace, but the most important changes were those of Don Manuel I.

The room in the Palace of Sintra called *The Arab Room* (Fig.1) is one of many examples of the use of patterns of Spanish Muslim *azulejos*, known as *Mudejar*. The geometric patterns present similarities with those in 14th century Alhambra, Granada, in the Ambassadors Hall (Fig.2). However, while in the Portuguese palace the *azulejos* emphasize the architecture (such as forming borders around the doors and windows), in Muslim Spain *azulejos* were used in combination with *stucco* decoration – resulting in *horror vacui.* The pattern of the *azulejos* in this hall of the Sintra Palace creates an optical illusion that the blocks are stacked diagonally. The upper border is composed of Gothic lines with stylized lilies and thistles in relief. Such work in high relief was unknown in Spain in that period – so it seems possible that it was produced in Portugal, probably inspired by the *della Robbia* ceramics, imported from Italy.[2]

The technique called *majolica or maiolica* (the origin of the name may have come from the ceramics of Maiorca, according to one theory, but there are also other theories) made it possible to paint directly on the tiles. The famous Florentine *della Robbia* family of artists developed the production of high relief terracotta covered by a thick enamel opaque glaze on which mineral colours were painted. The Italian ceramists brought the *majolica* technique, developed at the end of the 15th century, to the Netherlands, where Flemish ceramists adopted the technique, as well as the iconography of the Italian Renaissance. Portuguese noblemen at first imported from Italy entire tableaux for their large villas, such as scenes of Virgil's Aeneid, produced in Urbino.[3] The Netherlands also supplied many tableaux in the Mannerist style for palaces such as that of Vila Viçosa, in Alentejo.[4] This led Flemish ceramists to settle in Spain and Portugal and to establish workshops there.[5] Gradually, Portuguese craftsmen mastered the *majolica* technique and local production became well established.

The Adoration of the Shepherds (Fig.3), of ca.1580, is one of the earliest masterpieces of Portuguese *azulejos,* attributed to Marçal de Matos, one of the great masters of 16th century *azulejaria* art in Portugal. He had followed, so it seems, an engraving of an Italian painting of the Renaissance, or of a Flemish painter. Now on display in the Museu Nacional do Azulejo, this was formerly the retable wall of the chapel of Our Lady of Life (Nossa Senhora da Vida) in the Church of Santo André in Lisbon: the rectangle in the upper lunette with the scene of the Annunciation indicates the place where a window had once been. The blue and white squares create perspective; illusory depth can be observed in the rectangles of the base, the pedestals, and the columns. An Apostle is featured within each of the *trompe-l'oeil* niches on the sides of the central scene: John the Evangelist and his eagle are on the left and Luke and his bull on the right.[6]

Fig. 3: Church of S. André, Retable wall, Museu Nacional do Azulejo (after
Sabo et al. 1998: 26)

The scene of *The miracle of S. Roque* healing a victim of the plague is depicted on a panel in the Church of S. Roque, Lisbon, of ca.1580 (Fig.4a). This is by Francisco de Matos, who is assumed to have been the nephew and pupil of Marçal de Matos, the artist of the retable with the Adoration, mentioned above. Their workshop was one of the earliest Portuguese *azulejo* workshops. The younger artist signed his works and dated them. Their workshop drew its inspiration from the Italian and Flemish Renaissance and Baroque paintings for both the iconography and the style of its *azulejos*. The scene of the *miracle of S. Roque* (Fig. 4a) appears in the central medallion, placed above an *amphora*, surrounded by garlands of fruits and flowers, crowned by a woman's winged bust, a diadem of feathers on her head. The artist borrowed the wrought-iron (*ferronerie*) motifs from Flemish engravings and combined these with Italian *grotesques*, cornucopias, flowers, and ribbons on a yellow ochre background, thus producing a Baroque effect.[7]

a   b

Fig. 4a: S. Roque Church, *The saint healing a plague victim* (after
           Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.87)
Fig. 4b: S. Roque Church, *Grotesques* (after Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.87)

Flemish engravings were widely accessible in Portugal during the 60s and 70s of the 16th century. Italian books of architecture and ornamentation, as well as engravings were certainly a source of inspiration for the *grotesques* and other motifs so frequent in *azulejos* of the last decades of the 16th century.[8]

The panel on a pilaster in the late 16th century São Roque Church (Fig.4b) presents *grotesques* on a yellow ground, with *putti* or angels growing out of flowers. The sponge and the spear, the instruments of Christ's Passion, appear within the oval medallion. The style of this panel, which is from a Seville workshop, differs from the one near it. Thus, simultaneously and in the same monument, we find *azulejos* from both a Portuguese and a Seville workshop.[9] Spain's rule over Portugal (from 1580 until 1640) led to the renewed importation of *azulejos* from Seville, where the work was executed in *majolica*, of course, in accordance with contemporary fashion.
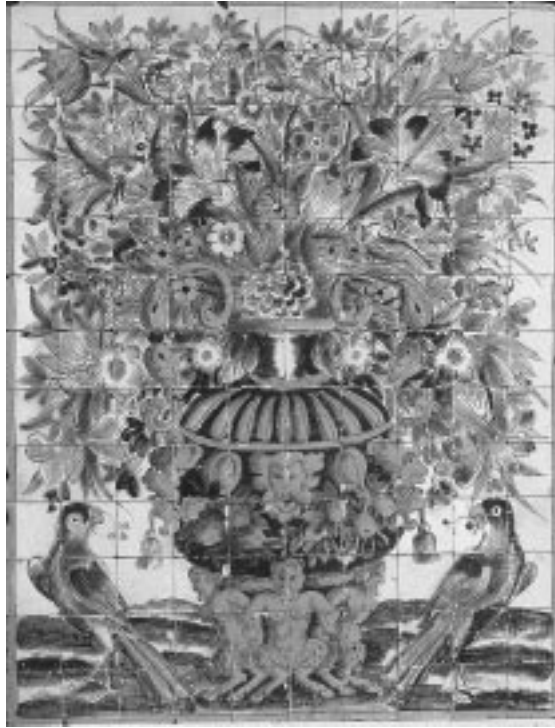
Fig. 5 : *Albarrada* (after Sabo et al. 1998: 30)

The pattern known as *diamond-point* ("*ponta de diamante*") appears on tiles, also of Seville production, in the same church.[10] This pattern is an adaptation of the *cassetone* or coffered ceilings of Classical architecture; small oval shapes resembling inset jewels were added in the bands. The effect of three-dimensionality is created by the way the forms are lighted on one side and shaded on the other.

Floral vases recur frequently in 17th century *azulejo* friezes: a*lbarradas,* from the Arabic name *albarrello* for a vase with two handles or water jar. The inspiration for such floral arrangements may have been Flemish flower paintings. The vase or basket is usually flanked either by birds, as on the *azulejo* from a convent in Lisbon, now in the Museu Nacional do Azulejo (Fig.5), or by *putti* in other cases, and other birds perched on the branches amid the leaves. Rather than the meticulous painting of Flemish works, here the flowers are painted with lively brushstrokes. The composition is symmetrical. Flowers symbolize *vanitas*, because their beauty is ephemeral, but they may also hint at metamorphosis, or may also be the symbol of the passage of the soul into eternity. Because these *albarradas* appear frequently in churches and monasteries,

Fig. 6: Convent of Santa Teresa, Carnide, Altar front (after Meco 1985: 34)

they may also suggest another meaning. A monk (Juan de la Cruz) wrote that "flowers symbolize perfection of soul, and a bouquet of flowers, spiritual perfection".[11]

The use of *azulejos* for the decoration of altar fronts or *antependia* is unique to Portugal, for it is found nowhere else. Several of these altar fronts (which can be found all over Portugal in churches and convents) follow a similar composition: the motif of the *Tree of Life* – trees with green leaves and flowers completely cover the background, and birds, some of them peacocks, appear perched on the branches.[12] These compositions seem to have been inspired by Oriental designs – probably Indian chintzes or embroidered textiles. It is important to remember that Portugal at this time had already "discovered" India and established strong commercial ties with it, and thus were accessible to artists. A 17th century *antependium* or altar front that was in a convent in Alcáçovas presents many similarities with Indian chintzes and Indian carpets and other textiles. The lower frame, with animals facing one another, includes tigers and elephants, as depicted in Indian art.[13]

Another altar front from the 17th century convent church of Santa Teresa Carnide, Lisbon, presents a central medallion with a coat of arms and a cross within it; the cross is the symbol of the new life given by Christ – immortality – to his believers. Large peacocks perched on flowering trees further emphasize eternal life. [14] Animals, mostly of Oriental origin, figure in the lower frame. (Fig.6)

Fig. 7: Carcavelos Church, *Nagini* on pendentif (after Meco
1985: 34)

The influence of Indian motifs is again visible in the inclusion of a *nagini,* a pagan figure of Hindu mythology, in the *pendentif* of the cupola in the 17th century Church of Carcavelos (near Lisbon) (Fig.7).[15] The *nagini* is associated with fertility and abundance. Her upper body is nude, and her lower body is formed by intertwining snakes; she holds on her head a large *amphora*, from which branches, leaves and flowers grow, with birds among them. The walls of the narthex in the 17th century chapel of Santo Amaro, Alcantara in Lisbon are decorated in the *grotesque* style. The arms and legs in the medallions are the emblems of the saint. *Nagini* appear here, placed in the spaces between the panels, on an illusionistic pilaster; in the lunette above, an *albarrada* is depicted with *putti* on the sides. The retable with a scene of the saint as a pilgrim is hung as a picture.[16] Thus, these two churches are examples of the adoption of pagan figures in a religious context.

Fig. 8: Carcavelos Church, carpet style (after Sabo et al.
1998: Pl.90)

The *azulejos* in this church present what is called the *tapete* (carpet) style: a repetitive pattern of geometric and plant motifs covering the walls. These designs were frequently used in churches and monasteries, with inset votive pictures depicting scenes from the lives of saints or of Christ. The scene of *St. Anthony preaching to the fish* is depicted in a blue-and-white *tableau*, attributed to Gabriel del Barco. This artist, born in Spain, is credited with having introduced the Baroque blue-and-white *azulejo* painting into Portugal, following the style of Flemish artists (Fig. 8).[17] By the end of the 17th century the blue-and-white style had become the prevailing fashion. This was probably due to the influence of Chinese pottery, which had reached Europe, and had been adopted by Dutch ceramists, who then created the well-known *Delft blue* pottery. During this period (the last quarter of the 17th and the first quarter of the 18th century), Portugal imported *azulejos* made by Amsterdam workshops, such as
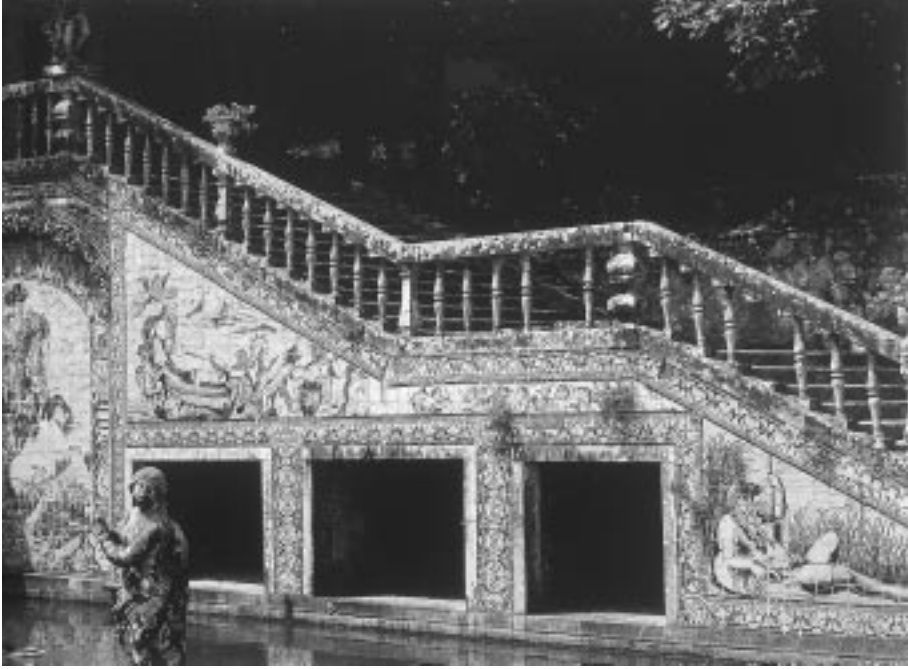
Fig. 9: Palace of Fronteira, Great garden and pond (after Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.100)

that of Jan van Ort, and from 1699, after his death, that of Willem van der Kloet, where large tile panels were created. For a period before this, however, between 1687 and 1698, the King had banned the importation of *azulejos*, thus protecting local artisans. Gabriel del Barco became prominent during this period, and Portuguese manufacturers gradually began to employ local painters to create monumental works and substitute the Dutch workshops. [18]

After Portugal regained its independence from Spanish rule, and the wars of restoration ended (in 1668), the nobility were again in a position to decorate their villas with rich *azulejos*. The Palace of the Marqueses da Fronteira, in Benfica (a suburb of Lisbon) is one of the most beautiful of noble dwellings of this period, and has one of the most important collections of 17th century *azulejos* in Lisbon. The gardens were inspired by Italian gardens, and this palace is one of the earliest to have had *azulejaria* specially created for the decoration of its gardens. The *azulejos* of the palace are of three types: polychrome, Flemish imported blue-and-white, and local blue-and-white.

The Great Garden of this Palace shows Italian inspiration: its hedges cut with precision seem to echo the architecture, which is decorated with many statues and *azulejos* representing the elements, the seasons, months, and the

Fig. 10: Palace of Fronteira, *Singing lesson* (after Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.on 34)

signs of the Zodiac.[19] Blue-and-white *azulejos* decorate the staircase of the Pond architecture in the Great Garden (Fig. 9).[20] On the side of the staircase, a river-god is shown; further on, the god Neptune, holding his trident, sits within a boat, while a *putto* crowns the god.

A long *azulejo* frieze covering one of the benches in the garden of the Palace of the Fronteira includes satirical scenes presented by cats and monkeys in a parody of human behaviour. One of these scenes is the 'Singing Lesson' (Fig. 10). [21] These scenes followed a genre initiated by the Flemish painter, David Teniers. In fact, such themes may be considered as continuing ancient models, as well as Medieval illustrated manuscripts.

The Gallery of the Arts in this Palace has niches built along the long wall with statues of the planetary gods placed within them; above the niches, busts of generals appear inside garlands of glazed ceramic in the *della Robbia* style. All the parts are decorated with *azulejos*, even the interiors of the niches. On the sides of the niches, the *volute consoles* presented in perspective feature bearded male busts, with tasseled cushions on their heads. Birds and plants decorate the balustrades.[22] On the lateral wall of this gallery, the allegorical figure of Poetry (*Poezia)* appears seated within the side niche, with flying *putti* holding a crown and a ribbon with an inscription (Fig.11).[23] The *azulejos* are in

Fig. 11:   Palace of Fronteira, Gallery of Arts (after
            Sabo et al. 1998, Pl.108)

the blue-and-white style. Here too, the busts appear within garlands of glazed ceramics in the *della Robbia* style.

The statues in the lateral niches represent Apollo (with his lyre near him) in one, and Marsyas (his body showing the signs of his punishment) in the other. According to Dante, the flaying of Marsyas was like the agony to which the poet subjects himself, in order to attain the "crown of laurel". Raphael had painted this theme, associated with Dante in the Stanza della Segnatura at the Vatican.

The goddess *Ceres* in her dragon car flying over the clouds to *Olympus* is depicted in a scene in the Hall of Pictures (*Sala dos Painéis*) of the Palace; it is in the blue-and-white style and is one of the *tableaux* attributed to the Flemish workshop of Jan van Oort, ca.1670 [24] (Fig.12), ordered by the Marquis of Fronteira and imported from Amsterdam. [25]

One of the battle scenes that cover the walls of the Hall of the Battles (*Sala das Batalhas*) in the same palace, represents the Battle of S. Miguel. Except for some colour accents, such as the flags, the large panel is in the blue-and-white style. The inserted inscriptions refer to the names of the commanders.[26]

Fig. 12:   Palace of Frontiera, *Ceres,* Hall of Pictures (after Sabo
et al. 1998: Pl.111)

The Palace of the Marqueses da Fronteira, as can be seen from these examples, presents a very rich iconography: mythological themes, battles, and also satirical motifs.

The late 17th century Church of the Convent of Madre de Deus has very large *tableaux* of *azulejos*, all executed in the blue-and-white style, the work of important Flemish workshops. The idyllic landscape was probably made by Jan van Oort's workshop, although some scholars believe that the *azulejos* of this church were made in collaboration between the Van Oort and the Willem van der Kloet workshops.[27] The architecture of the pavilion is Baroque, and the figures are courtly. This composition seems somewhat out of context in a church.[28] In the same church, the large *tableaux* of *azulejos* combine well with the *talha dourada* (gilt wood carving), adding to the Baroque effect. The blue-and-white style *tableaux* have also been attributed to the same workshops (Fig.13).[29]

Life-size figures in *azulejo* placed in entrances, patios and on stair landings, appear among the *azulejos* in the early 18th century Patriarchal Palace (Palacio da Mitra) (c. 1730). These figures, known as *figuras de convite* (invitation figures),
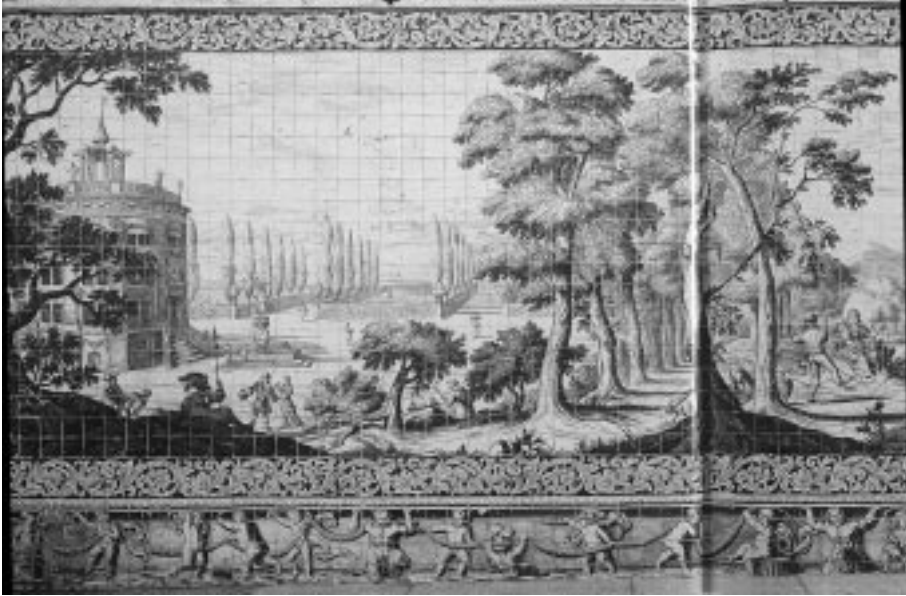
Fig. 13:   Convent Madre de Deus, Landscape (after Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.118)

are unique to Portugal and are found only in *azulejo,* and seem to have been taken from the theatre, and from the Baroque sense of pomp. The life-size figures establish direct eye contact with the viewer, surprising him, while courteously inviting him to enter. They greet the arriving guests, welcoming them. An artist who signed himself "PMP" invented these figures (Fig. 14).[30]

The façade and the gardens of the 18th century Palace of the Condes de Mesquitela, in Carnide, Lisbon (built before the 1755 earthquake) are an example of Rococo *azulejos*. The four large scenes on the terrace represent allegories of the four seasons in blue-and-white panels encircled by polychrome frames; a lively rhythm is created by the cut-out outlines. Above, portraits of Roman rulers, in blue-and-white style, appear within medallions hanging from polychrome garlands. *Azulejos* with life-size depictions of famous Classical sculptures, placed on pedestals, decorate the terrace and gardens of the same Palace. Among these representations of famous statues in *azulejos* are the *Amazon by Polykleitos*, the *Wrestlers,* the group of the *Gaul killing his wife*, and the *Farnese Hercules.* (Fig. 15).[31]

The destruction of large sections of Lisbon in the 1755 earthquake, gave rise to a change in the style of *azulejos*: Neoclassicism made its appearance, adopted from French and English styles. The forms became simpler and more delicate, and the colours more subdued, and restricted to soft tones.[32]

Fig. 14: Palace of Mitra, *Invitation Figure* (after Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.139)

The art of *azulejaria* in Lisbon underwent several changes over the centuries, influenced and inspired by Indian art, the Italian Renaissance, Flemish painting, Baroque, Rococo, and Neoclassicism. Engravings and printed books were widespread and made the works of famous artists easily accessible to Portuguese *azulejo* artists and craftsmen. At first, polychrome was the prevalent style, but this later changed to blue-and-white, and then back again to polychrome. The themes depicted included mythological, religious, as well as historical and satirical scenes, and were used in both religious and secular contexts. Artists created pictures in panels of all sizes, and also decorated architectural elements, such as walls, niches and benches in gardens. *Azulejos* were used for both interiors and exteriors of palaces and villas.
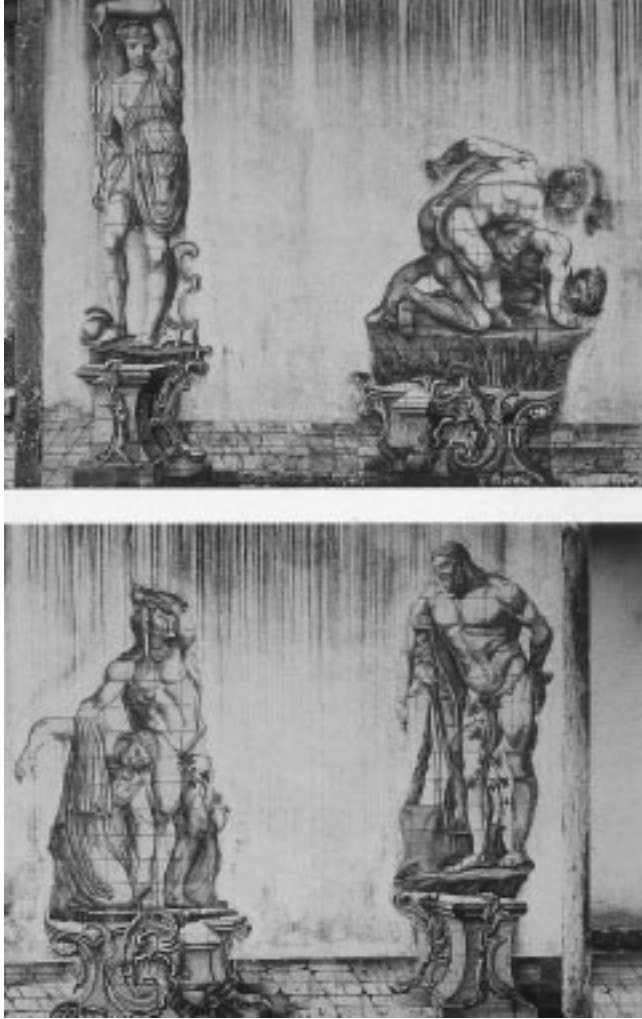
Fig. 15:   Palace of Condes de Mesquitela, Carnide, *Classical statues* (after Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.191)

Portuguese modern day artists, many of them well-known, such as Vieira da Silva, Julio Resende, and others, have carried on the tradition and continue to create new *azulejos* to decorate the walls of railway and metro stations, as well as of many public buildings.

Notes

1. Sabo et al. 1998: 20-22.
2. Sabo et al. 1998: 22.
3. Marggraf 1991: 201.
4. *Ibid*.
5. The commercial and cultural ties between Portugal and Flanders were well developed in the 15th and 16th centuries, see Everaert and Stols 1991: 8-9.
6. Pereira 1995: 42, 43, Figs. 43-46; Sabo et al. 1998: 26-27.
7. Sabo et al.1998: 27, Pl. 87; Pereira 1995: 42, Fig.42.
8. Engravings and books by architects such as Serlio with decorative frames on the covers, and books and engravings of Flemish editors and printers certainly exerted an important influence on the 16th century artists who created the Portuguese *azulejos;* see Mandroux-França 1983: 87-90, Ills. 86-89.
9. Meco 1985: Fig. 10; Sabo et al. 1998: 27, Pl. 87.
10. Sabo et al. 1998: 28.
11. *Ibid*. 31-32.
12. Monteiro 1998/99: 161-176.
13. Meco 1985: 34.
14. Meco 1985: 31-33, Fig. 26; Pereira 1998: 46, Figs. 65-66; Sabo et al. 1998: 32. For one of many parallel compositions of birds among branches and Christ's monogram in the center, see the 5th century mosaic in the Archepiscopal Chapel at Ravenna.
15. Meco 1985: 34; Sabo et al. 1998: 32, Pls. 90, 91; the same figure also appears in the narthex of the Santo Amaro Chapel, in Lisbon, see *ibid.,* 32, Pls. 96 97.
16. Sabo et al.1998: Pl. 94.
17. Sabo et al. 1998: Pls. 90-91.
18. Marggraf 1994: 29-30.
19. Meco 1985: Fig.29; Sabo et al.1998: Pls.2-3; Neves 1995: 82, 85.
20. Neves 1995: 90-92; Sabo et al. 1998: Pls. 100-101.
21. Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.34.
22. Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.109.
23. Sabo et al.1998: Pl.108.
24. Sabo et al. 1998: 36, Pl.111; Neves 1995: 59 attributes this panel, as well as all the others in the hall, to the Dutch Van der Kloet.
25. Van Dam 1994: 59.
26. Neves 1995: 36-37; Sabo 1998: Pl.114.
27. Marggraf 1994: 19-20; Sabo et al., 1998: 41-42.
28. Sabo et al. 1998: Pl.118.
29. Sabo et al.1998: Pls. 118-119; Arruda 1998: 60-64.
30. Sabo et al., 1998: 45, Pl. 139; Arruda 1993.
31. Sabo et al., 1998: Pls.188-191.
32. Sabo et al. 1998: 48, with Pl. on 48; Meco 1985: 71; Pereira 1995: 50-51, Pls. 103-110.

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Theorizing Modernism in Art: Puzzles of Formalist Aesthetics and the Heritage of Romanticism

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The Problem

The title of this article refers to a pair of concepts, i.e. *modernism* and *formalism*, which are closely related both in artistic practices and in criticism. This link has been established, developed, and continuously refined through the ongoing internal dialogue between authors and artists on the one hand, and theorists on the other. In the following, I intend to show that a rethinking is required in the current descriptions of the relationships between modernism and postmodernism, while taking into account the far reaching contribution of the German Romantics to some cardinal later developments both in philosophy and art theory.

Since the first decades of the 20th century the concern for formal qualities generally acknowledged as "formalism", has been by and large what we might call the hallmark of art criticism, gradually leaving little room for earlier or alternative exegetic enterprises. Despite a number of substantive differences in their approaches to formalism, theorists share two common commitments, which make up the core of formalist aesthetics, and which can be summarized as follows: one, the definition of art in terms of its formal qualities, i.e. *form* vs. art as *representation* or *expression;* and two, the dichotomy of *form* vs. *content*, or in other words, art's autonomy vs. heteronomy, considered as the cardinal characteristic of the artistic aspects of modernism.

In a narrow, historical sense, "formalism" and "modernism", despite a certain circularity, became almost interchangeable in the field of art theory, mainly in the writings of such critics as Alfred Barr, Clement Greenberg and later on Michael Fried, and Rosalind Krauss, to mention but a few. Johanna Drucker remarks: 'For these authors, and many who took their writings as a

premise and foundation, modernism simply *was* the history of the development of self-referential and self-critical abstraction – leading to the grid and the monochrome field as ultimate end points.'[1]

While examining and connecting a wide and varying range of artistic experiences, the critical strategies adopted by the above-mentioned critics resulted in a set of concepts and criteria mainly intended to deal with those features that were thought to be definitely characteristic of European painting since Post-Impressionism (although the first painter discussed is Manet), i.e. from Avant-Garde and up to Abstract Expressionism. The canon of formalist criticism (or, more exactly, as it has been codified by tradition), emphasized the move of painting toward non-representation, which reached its peak in abstraction, in the self-evidence or determinacy of stylistic means (which disclosed and soundly articulated the autonomy of the medium, i.e. Greenberg's *flatness*) and, as such, pointed to an alleged ontological completeness of the art object, as if it were consciously detached from its ideological or cultural context. In other words, the formalist critics systematically highlighted those features that pertain to form rather than to content, and in terms of which the plastic work of art can be described both as self-contained (i.e. a perceptual entity) and self-referential (i.e. a semiotic unity) .

According to Francis Frascina, Barr's critical model might be seen as a paradigm by using Kuhn's terminology:

> For Barr the existing paradigm for modern art history and criticism would have been under stress because it could not *systematically* account for modern developments. (In Kuhnian terms the situation before Barr may even be characterized as *pre*-paradigmatic). So, by emphasizing formal characteristics of paintings as especially revealing, he could construct a particular history of modern art. His paradigm could be not only elaborated and *theorized* but also extended to account for new paintings. Clement Greenberg had a major influence on both these kinds of developments. […] Greenberg is also the major figure in the extension of the paradigm to account for new developments in terms of its formal predictions. He could account for Abstract Expressionism in general, and Jackson Pollock in particular, within the paradigm's narrowly circumscribed set of problems.[2] (italics in text)

Taking into account the various uses of the terms "formal" and "formalism", the concern with form basically characterizes aesthetic appreciation, generally described as the pleasure one takes while focusing on the formal qualities of the objects of contemplation. This article unfolds in two main steps. The first step, aimed at an unbiased reading of the modernist idiom, is expected to reveal a broad sense of "aesthetic" that goes far beyond the formal values of the visual mode, as they have been articulated by the apparently monolithic modernist criticism. The second step suggests that this broad approach to the aesthetic can challenge the currently acknowledged link between modernism and formalism on the one hand, and the break between modernism and postmodernism on the other, as they are usually posited in the critical tradition.

Consequently, the question of form over content, as the central issue involved in the debates around formalism might be seen only as the *prima facie* of a much larger theoretical investigation, which questions the role played by art (literature, in the first place, and non-verbal arts, by extension), in the shifting relations between the realm of language and the realm of Being; or, as will be further described in the present context, between the *aesthetic* and the *political*. The former (which also includes all references to form, formalism, and formal qualities), became from the very beginning the site of emerging oppositions between modernism and postmodernism, both at the level of conceptual frameworks and at the level of approaches to art.[3]

However, more recent theoretical developments in the field have brought to the fore sound arguments against this position: namely, that postmodernism can no longer be viewed solely in terms of its opposition to an aesthetic mode of thinking, while the latter is identified with modernism. On the contrary, upon examining the origins of the postmodern debate, one notices that it first emerged from a wide range of theoretical approaches to artistic practices, and as such it uses in the analysis of culture, the analytical apparatus of both poetics (in a specific sense) and aesthetics (in a general sense). As Patricia Waugh underlines:

> […] the term Postmodernism first appeared in the context of literary criticism as a way of describing aesthetic practices which seemed to be related to those of Modernism but also to have moved beyond them. […] By the early eighties, however, the term shifts from the description of a range of aesthetic practices involving playful irony, parody, parataxis, self-consciousness, fragmentation, to a use which encompasses a more general shift in thought and

seems to register a pervasive cynicism about the progressivist ideals of modernity.[…] At this point, the term becomes inflected with a kaleidoscope of meanings drawn from those human sciences variously engaged in the production of a theoretical palimpsest where the specific *aesthetic* origins of the term are almost entirely obscured.[4]

The legacies of this poetic and/or aesthetic mode of thinking, which are merging into one another, become obvious every time one focuses on the discourse about postmodernism, as it has been articulated over a span of four decades. An almost random choice of foundational postmodern texts helps to confirm this. For example, Ihab Hassan, in "Toward a Concept of Postmodernism", [5] a text that heavily draws on literary tradition, describes some schematic differences between modernism and postmodernism, understood as cultural concepts, by using pairs of opposites mostly belonging to literary theory/poetics, discursive/textual analysis and aesthetics.

At first glance, while focusing on formal qualities, which are also those that are aesthetically relevant, modernist criticism first and foremost sheds light on modernism as a whole (both as some specific artistic practices and as a general cultural climate). It thus emphasizes the modernists' propensity to unity and autonomy, as the corollaries of the aesthetic. In this respect, the idea of opposing the deconstructive impetus to the "formative imperative", appears to be informing a common analytical strategy to differentiate between post-modernism and the legacies of modernism.

For example, H. J. Silverman remarks:

If it can be said […] that postmodernist thinking *enframes, circumscribes* and, *delimits* modernist thinking, then where are the places in which modernism in philosophy comes to an end? This closure occurs in many places and in many different ways. Postmodernism enframes modernism without identity or unity. It is fragmented, discontinuous, multiple and dispersed. Where modernism asserts centering, focusing, continuity – once the break with tradition has already occurred – postmodernism decenters, enframes, discontinues, and fragments the prevalence of modernist ideals.[6] (italics in text)

Silverman sees modernism and postmodernism here as paradigms, including structures of consciousness, cultural realities, and artistic styles; as exhibiting certain pairs of opposite characters such as unity vs. multiplicity; continuity vs. discontinuity; focus vs. fragmentation. However, in this case as well as in Ihab Hassan's paradigms, the opposites belong to the field of aesthetics and not to the field of metaphysics.

In a similar way, Lyotard[7] describes the difference between modernist and postmodernist *episteme* by using postmodern architecture as an heuristic model in which the aesthetic / formal changes reveal a body of interests deeply marked by the postmodern debate. In "Answering the Question: What Is postmodernism?"[8] too, he refers to the category of the aesthetic in the most general way, polemically quoting J. Habermas, who talks about the uncompleted project of modernism in terms of the aesthetic experience not primarily in connection to judgments of taste, but when the aesthetic is used to explore a living historical situation and as such to take part in cognitive processes and normative expectations. Formal unity, first observed in artistic practices and then appraised by formalist criticism, again points to a more general level, that of theoretical discourse as aiming at a synthesis among related cultural tendencies, procedures and attitudes, which can be identified under the headings of modernism (here Enlightenment) and its critique, i.e. postmodernism.

Thus, in re-locating the limits between modernism and postmodernism not so much as distinct boundaries but rather as open-ended thresholds, one should consider in depth certain relationships between *form, formalism* and *aesthetic*, in light of the renewed theoretical interest in the aesthetic. The latter mainly starts from the 'connection of Kant's conception of judgment to the questions of aesthetics and language',[9] as further developed by the German Romantics into a theory of literature, i.e. an aesthetics, that basically changes modern philosophical conceptions of truth. In the last decade, in the light of re-examination of some basic issues in the field of philosophy and art theory, Romanticism has been considered as the bridge between Modernism and Postmodernism, both from artistic and conceptual aspects. This opinion is held, among others, by Patricia Waugh (quoted above), who notes that:

> […] if *Romanticism* (and romantic thought) is constructed as a "beginning" for Postmodernism, it may be possible to loosen Modernism itself from its traditional critical moorings by viewing its texts through an engagement with postmodern aesthetic discourses.[10]

While pursuing the same path, Edward Larrissy, the editor of a recent book indicatively entitled *Romanticism and Postmodernism*, asserts that:

> […] just as it has often been claimed that Modernism is essentially a remoulding of Romanticism, so this volume addresses the proposition that Postmodernism is also yet another mutation of the original stock. […] It could thus be seen as referring specifically to the typically postmodern discovery of Postmodernism in Romanticism. [11]

I suggest that this path of thought offers a novel, and so far neglected, perspective of the formalist theory of visual arts. Consequently, the following sections will discuss formalism in visual art within a framework that includes an enlarged, cultural signification of aestheticism (as a mode of thought), of aesthetic (as a no-rule-bounded yet creating its own rules, formative principle), and of aesthetics (as a body of theory including bodies of knowledge, while blurring the well-delimited boundaries between them, as initiated by the early German Romantics).

From this vantage point, Modernism, Romanticism and Postmodernism will be questioned not as either opposed or identical cultural concepts, but as cultural constructs engaged in a dialogical self-definition and re-definition process, which shapes an infinitely differentiated continuum with specific manifestations both in the field of art practices and in criticism.

The connection between such formalist critics as Clive Bell, Roger Fry, and later on Clement Greenberg, and the lineage of modernist aesthetic thinking is offered by the theories of symbolist art (which prolonged the Romantic ideas into the second half of the 19th century), and as such made themselves deeply felt in the writings of the first generation of formalist critics, i.e. Alfred Barr and Clement Greenberg.

Flatness **or the Dilemmas of Autonomy**

I have chosen Greenberg's "Modernist Painting"[12] as a paradigmatic formalist text, whose main concept is *flatness,* which asserts in terms of painterly purity the unity and autonomy of the pictorial medium. Thus, this text can be taken as the point of departure for a discussion attempting an alternative reading of the idiom of formalist criticism. The word "flatness" itself enjoyed an immense popularity and became in time the basic predicate ascribed to modernist art vs. pre-modernist:

> Manet's paintings became the first Modernist ones by virtue of the frankness with which they declared the surfaces on which they were painted […]. It was the stressing, however, of the ineluctable flatness of the support that remained most fundamental in the processes by which pictorial art criticized and defined itself under Modernism. Flatness alone was unique and exclusive to that art. […]. Flatness, two-dimensionality, was the only condition painting shared with no other art, and so Modernist painting oriented itself to flatness as it did to nothing else […].(6)

Moreover, the same concept, i.e. *flatness* appears in different contexts and is used every time a new form of modernist art has to be defined. In this respect, *flatness* as the distinctive feature of modern painting, provides a "family resemblance", enabling the critic to point out the continuity between a few otherwise separate historical movements.

For example, after Manet and Cézanne, i.e. Post-Impressionism, "flat" painting came to the fore in Cubism. Writing about the collage technique as developed by Braque and Picasso, Greenberg considers *flatness* to be the most noticeable feature of early Cubism (1911-1912), which 'well turned traditional illusionist paintings inside out' (105). And further:

> In the same year, Braque introduced capital letters and numbers stencilled in *trompe-l'oeil* in paintings whose motifs offered no realistic excuse for their presence. These intrusions, by their self-evident, extraneous and abrupt flatness, stopped the eye at the literal, physical surface of the canvas in the same way that the artist's signature did; […]. The surface was now *explicitly* instead of implicitly indicated as a tangible but transparent plane.(105)

It is *flatness* once again, which becomes the common denominator for those artists whose work is known under the heading of American modernist painting, i.e. abstract expressionism. Concerning this specific development of artistic modernity, in his essay " 'American Type' Painting" (93-103), Greenberg builds up a salient argument in terms of which one can see the former as an original yet integrated stage of the main modernist trends in Europe (since the end of the 19th century and up until the middle of the 20th century), which asserted the self-consciousness of the medium.

On the one hand, "Modernist Painting" might be said to mark the accomplishment of a long process by which modernist art has been codified in terms of artistic formalism, i.e. autonomy, identified by Greenberg with painterly *flatness*. Since the 1930s and 1940s in the USA, the formalist idiom has been elaborated by various authors concerned with the 'modern period' and the modernist interpretation and explanation of art history. However, besides Clement Greenberg, the best known contribution is Alfred H. Barr's *Cubism and Abstract Art* (1936), in which painterly autonomy is described in terms of *abstraction:* 'For an "abstract" painting', underlines Barr, 'is really a most positively concrete painting since it confines the attention to its immediate, sensuous, physical surface far more than does the canvas of a sunset or a portrait'.[13]

While writing the great narrative of modernism in art, and formulating a suitable critical apparatus in order to provide analytical tools for description, interpretation and evaluation of the multifarious artistic tendencies and experiences under the heading of "formalism", both Barr and Greenberg conflated historicism and stylistic analysis with some earlier and more general inquiries into the nature of art, such as those of Clive Bell and Roger Fry[14]. These latter critics belonged to a specific trend in aesthetics, generally acknowledged as "formalism". In this respect, formalist criticism as codified by Barr and more so by Greenberg, can be seen as an unabridged development of one of the main categories of interest in art, i.e. form, along with representation, expression and audience response, all interests from which the main theories of Western art derived. On the other hand, both Barr and Greenberg, in turn, profoundly influenced a new generation of critics, such as Michael Fried and Rosalind Krauss. Fried's essay "Three American Painters", for example, is devoted to the work of K. Noland, J. Olitski and F. Stella, and asserts that formal criticism in the vein of Fry and especially Greenberg is the most appropriate approach to contemporary forms of art, which are "explicitly self-critical".[15] According to Fried, this tendency, i.e. art's self-consciousness, goes back to Manet, and is described as *flatness*, the term used by Greenberg himself.

Krauss, in her essay indicatively entitled "Grids",[16] modifies the pictorial flatness into a non-representational *qua* non-literary quality, which recalls Barr's earlier thoughts on abstraction and, as such, identifies modernity with a purely visual, i.e. non-verbal mode, where the latter basically yields a "will to silence".

Thus, while using *flatness* as a pivotal term, one can describe a work of art, i.e. a painting, as a self-contained, i.e. autonomous entity, in which the self-

sufficiency of the visual medium *qua* painting, is achieved by intensifying the painterly qualities, and as such leading to a reduction of representation, the final stage of which is abstraction.

Taking into account that most critical terms are common to both poetry and painting, the visual model of artistic autonomy is paralleled by a verbal one. As we have seen in the above quoted texts, the view of form over content can be described either as anti-illusionism or as non-representationalism, i.e. as abstraction or in terms of a self-referential text, by applying semiotic procedures. In this case, the refusal of representation appears as a kind of hostility to narrative and even as a deliberate choice of silence, and can be described in semiotic terms as the priority of the signifier over the signified.

The equation of formalism with modernism is a characteristic not only of Greenberg's essays but also of the modernist mainstream, whose tenets and critical canon were primarily concerned with an ideal of unity and self-sufficiency or autonomy. However,

> [I]t was Greenberg who seemed to achieve the Copernican revolution which Modernist theory so desperately needed: a form of criticism in which principles of relevance were connected to an apparently coherent theory of change and development in modern art; a theory according to which the "internal" dynamic aspect of each form of art lay in its tendency toward"self-definition" and "purity of means".[17]

This is why, in the deconstruction of the central elements of formalist criticism in the visual arts (i.e. the rejection of its canon), Greenberg's authoritarian position became the preferential address of the postmodernist attack upon this view of modernism, which has been felt increasingly as reductive and sterile. Drucker reconstructs the emergence of the canon, during a process of reading and re-reading of anthologized texts during a long process of intertextualization and mutual references:

> Clive Bell and Roger Fry were read by Alfred Barr and Clement Greenberg who were read by Michael Fried and Rosalind Krauss, by Tim Clark and Victor Burgin. These references continue to be read – by myself and my students – because they form the history of a strain of thought within the history of modernism. [18]

On the one hand, the triad *form – formalism – aesthetic,* as it appears in various texts (despite certain visible differences between them), underlies the alleged dichotomy between Postmodernism and Modernism as cultural modes. Lash concludes that:

> Aesthetic modernity is, by the conventions of most art historians and literary critics, dated from the last decades of the nineteenth century. It constitutes a break with representation, hence a certain self-referentiality and above all a set of formalisms. Commentators such as Foucault and Richard Rorty have noted similar phenomena taking place approximately concurrently in epistemology, moral philosophy and the social sciences. The postmodernity of the 1960s, on the other hand, consider for example Peter Brook in theatre and Sylvia Plath's poetry, means a break with formalisms, a break with the signifier; it means a new primacy of the unconscious, of the bodily and the material, of desire, of libidinal impulses. The work of Foucault, Lyotard and Deleuze not only clarifies this new aesthetic substrate and indicates its ethical and political implications; the work of these writers is part and parcel of theoretical postmodernism itself.[19]

On the other hand, as I have suggested earlier in this article, postmodernism itself emerged from, and developed around, certain aesthetic epistemological models, and this fact links the postmodern dialogue between philosophy and poetry with 'the centrality of the aesthetic (aesthetic experience, art and other related phenomena) in modernity.'[20] This dialogue can be traced back to the Romantic theory and its critical reactions to some basic ideas first enunciated by Kant.

Thus, the formalist approach, which asserts that formal qualities are aesthetic qualities, *par excellence*, and as such they constitute the core of formalism (both as certain stylistic features and as a set of critical tools), invites exploration of a rich diversity of clues and relationships between modernism and postmodernism (as specific practices in the visual arts and as a cultural climate). From this vantage point, these threads of thought can be seen not merely as irreconcilable gaps but rather as a continuity in diversification of what Waugh describes as a 'specifically *aestheticist* modern thought inaugurated by philosophers such as Kant and embodied in Romantic *and* Modernist art'[21] (italics in text).

I believe that Greenberg himself in "Modernist Painting", suggests to his potential readers such an understanding of autonomy of the medium, i.e. *flatness*, not so much in terms of the object's formal elements as opposed to its content, or stylistic characteristics, but rather as a kind of self-awareness (referring both to the artist and to its products), and meaning in his own words the 'self-critical tendency that began with the philosopher Kant'. And he continues:

> Because he was the first to criticize the means itself of criticism, I conceive of Kant as the first real Modernist. The essence of Modernism lies […] in the use of the characteristic methods of a discipline to criticize the discipline itself – not in order to subvert it, but to entrench it more firmly in its area of competence.[…] The self-criticism of Modernism grows out of, but is not the same thing as the criticism of the Enlightenment. *The Enlightenment criticized from the outside, […] Modernism criticizes from the inside, through the procedures themselves of what which is being criticized.* (5) (italics added).

This point of departure sheds more light on *flatness*, while following Greenberg's argument as it develops along the entire text and not as it is usually quoted (i.e. either as a *terminus technicus* or as the ineffable essence of the painterly purity). A close and unbiased reading of the text, reveals several interrelated accounts of *flatness,* which testify to the intricacy of modernist criticism as providing a (so far) neglected looking forward (i.e. Postmodernism), as well as backward (i.e. Symbolism and Romanticism).

First, Greenberg traces the roots of Modernist art through the philosophical concept of self-criticism back to Kant, and suggests that while developing self-criticism, i.e. self-awareness (in terms of the medium's artistic values), art achieves more freedom of thought in dealing with its content values (meaning everything one can describe in the widest sense as reference). In this respect, *flatness* does not abolish "representation" (or "reference"), in general but only the representational format (i.e. a traditional formalized semantic and syntactic code through which one refers to whatsoever we take as reality or world); and consequently the inherited variations of representation as established by a received / passive tradition. Greenberg remarks that:

> Realistic, illusionist art has dissembled the medium, using art to conceal art. Modernism used art to call attention to art. The limitations that constitute the medium of painting – the flat surface, the shape of the support, the properties of pigment – were treated by the Old Masters as negative factors that could be acknowledged only implicitly or indirectly. Modernist painting has come to regard these same limitations as positive factors that are to be acknowledged openly. […] It is not in principle that Modernist painting in its latest phase has abandoned the representation of recognizable objects. What it has abandoned in principle is the representation of the kind of space that recognizable, three-dimensional objects can inhabit. […] *Three-dimensionality is the province of sculpture, and for the sake of its own autonomy, painting has had above all to divest itself of everything it might share with sculpture. And it is in the course of its effort to do this, and not so much – I repeat – to exclude the representational or the "literary", that painting has made itself abstract.* (6-7) (italics added).

The above leads to a second account of autonomy (understood here as the power of the artistic medium to recast the relation between presentation and representation). The latter is articulated, i.e. re-defined, only through an aesthetic, i.e. self-reflexive act of enhancing presentation, i.e. *flatness*.

Greenberg's kind of formalist criticism does not as such propose total disregard of representational subject matter or emotional values, seeing them rather not separately but as embodied in artistic form. Like other influential types of formalism, this means not only picking up the formal features of a form of art, but also laying great stress on the relationships between different elements of the work; in other words, the work of art appears as a *unity* and only in this way can it be understood theoretically and appreciated aesthetically. Although this unity refers to both "matter" and "form" as basic components that together make up the work of art, form (either pure or organic), is usually considered the distinctive value of art. The aesthetic functions of form, i.e, to clarify, enrich, organize complexity, and unify – can be seen as highly consistent with the functions of pictorial formalism, i.e. *flatness* in Greenberg's view.

In order to get a better understanding of the role ascribed by Greenberg to the autonomous, i.e. aesthetic act in changing our perception of the world through the medium of painting, one can resort to what Andrew Bowie, describes as Kant's critique of the "ready-made world" and of representational

theory of truth, which underlies the later emergence *via* Romantic theory, of the idea that works of art are bearers of truth. According to Bowie, 'Rather than being a mirroring of what Hilary Putnam has termed a "ready made world" […] whose structure can be said to pre-exist our knowing of it, for Kant *knowledge* of the world became the product of the activity of the knower.'[22]

Consequently, in giving up the illusionistic three-dimensional configuration of the painted world (representation) and increasing an "unnatural" painterly quality i.e. *flatness* (in terms of which presentation is articulated),[23] the modern artist becomes a critical subject involved in world-making through a process that leads from the reproductive agency to the productive imagination; from representation, through presentation to the unpresentable, i.e. abstraction.

Finally, *flatness* has been described as simultaneously playing a double role: it is both an aesthetic (formal, immanent) quality of a work of art, and an analytical/critical term that affords a theoretical approach to Modernist vs. Old Masters' art: 'I repeat', Greenberg concludes, 'that Modernist art does not offer theoretical demonstrations. It could be said, rather, that it converts all theoretical possibilities into empirical ones, and in doing so tests, inadvertently, all theories about art for their relevance to the actual practice and experience of art.' (9)

As described in this context, modernist art as self-critical and self-conscious, undermines once more the break between Modernism and Postmodernism, grounded on claims that the former posits an opposition between *praxis* and aesthetics, while Postmodernism returns art back to a form of *praxis* in life. This starts from Greenberg's anchoring in Kant's philosophy. In Waugh's opinion:

> Greenberg is drawing attention […] to the self-reflexive concern of modernist art with its own formal nature. Kant showed that truth could only be discovered through a self-reflexive awareness of the tools and methods of thought used in its investigation. *So too, the formal properties of modernist art define the mode and nature of its autonomous aesthetic truth: content is form. Art discovers the pure essence of its own condition through formal self-reflexivity.*[24] (italics added).

Reading Greenberg's text, *via* Kant, one can find certain affinities with the Romantic conception of art as philosophy and philosophy as art, as later developed by the German Romantics while fundamentally re-articulating the

relationship between philosophical and aesthetic investigation. On the one hand, this "aesthetic turn" which has been described in the present context as aestheticism, can bridge the gap between Greenberg's claim that art becomes theory (while focusing and enhancing its own internal/formal values), and the Romantic heritage. On the other hand, it affords a re-evaluation of formalism within the intellectual climate of Postmodernism.

Formalism as Aestheticism: From Romanticism to Postmodernism and Back
As I have suggested in the first part of this article, one of the main tenets of modernity, which came under attack during the debate around the postmodern, was, according to Docherty, the 'emancipation proposed by Enlightenment [which] brings with it its own incarcerating impetus: its "freedom" turns out to be simply the form of a freedom, an aesthetics rather than a politics of freedom.'[25] However, according to the same author, the postmodern re-writing of modernity, understood as a general reconsideration of culture, highlights the co-presence of aesthetic and politic issues within a tensioned relationship: '[…]the salient fact', underlines Docherty, 'is that aesthetic postmodernism is always intimately imbricated with the issue of a political postmodernity'.[26]

Waugh also points out the deep-rooted presence of the aesthetic in the postmodern intellectual climate while identifying what might be called a *continuity in differences* between Modernism and Postmodernism, which she termed (as above quoted) *aestheticist* modern thought. Thus, while taking into account the aesthetic ground of formalist criticism, i.e. its interest in questions concerning form, deliberate concentration on formal qualities, self-referentiality, autonomy, and art for art's sake, I shall try to restore in a tentative way the forgotten liaisons between formalist criticism and some earlier threads of thought, in order to disclose the Romantic heritage underlying the main theses of formalist criticism (as they seem to be enunciated in Greenberg's article "Modernist Painting").

Thus, in Greenberg's wording, *flatness* or surface is a paradigmatic term to describe modernist artistic autonomy. This perceptual self-sufficiency or self-referentiality, which also implies a certain aesthetic relation between object-subject, characterizes not only the visual arts but was also prevalent in both literature and literary criticism during the first half of the 20th century, such as New Criticism. However, this typical modernist break between the poetic language and its referents, is already felt in the late phases of Symbolist poetry (whose first exponent, Baudelaire, initiated the age of modernism in art as well), mainly in the poetic work of Mallarmé: 'Our principal aim', says the

latter, 'should be to make the words of a poem self-mirroring.'[27]

In contrast, the focus on the signifier or on textual immanences, is considered by Ihab Hassan as one of the main features of the postmodernist enterprise. In his above-quoted table, Modernism is associated with Romanticism/Symbolism, and as such can be described (among others) in terms of form (conjunctive, closed); root/depth; interpretation/reading; and *signified*. In its turn, Postmodernism is associated with Pataphysics/Dadaism, in terms of antiform (disjunctive, open); rhizome/surface; against interpretation/misreading and *signifier*. The former term was probably inspired by S. Sontag's essay, "Against Interpretation" first published in 1961, in which she asserts in a way that unexpectedly recalls Greenberg's modernist *credo*:

> What is needed, first, is more attention to form in art. […] What is needed is a vocabulary – a descriptive, rather than prescriptive, vocabulary – for forms. The best criticism, and it is uncommon, is of this sort that dissolves considerations of content into those of form.[…] *Transparence* is the highest, most liberating value in art – and in criticism – today. Transparence means experiencing the luminousness of the thing in itself, of things being what they are.[28]

Later, Waugh remarked, 'by the eighties, writings by Derrida, Foucault, Kristeva, Lyotard and Barthes had begun a thoroughgoing critique of Structuralism, involving an attempt to give priority to the signifier over the signified, to demonstrate the radical indeterminacy of textual meaning.'[29]

Rather then asserting a clear-cut opposition between modernism and postmodernism, based on an alleged dichotomy between the signifier and the signified, however, I believe that the above quoted texts employ the components of the semiotic entity (which describe here the text/work and its signification as conceived by Modernism and Postmodernism), not so much in terms of a break but rather as that of a potentially inconclusive yet mutual relationship between sign-vehicle and meaning on the one hand, and between sign and its referent on the other. The latter aspect, in turn, implies the dimension of representation (which in this context is understood as a synonym of the referential function of *semiosis* in general). In other words, from this vantage point, the work of art can be seen both as referring to an outer world, or as an autotelic or self-referential sign. This distinction nicely fits that made by Greenberg between the representational art of the Old Masters and the self-conscious display of *flatnes*s by the pictorial medium characterizing modernist

art, which is committed to a formalist prevalent principle of creation.

However, as we have seen from the above quoted texts and from Greenberg's wording itself, this self-referential, self-conscious, i.e. formalist art does not abolish representation but re-articulates it, i.e. as presentation, according to certain formative rules of the medium itself. This paradox, which asserts that language as well as art achieves transcendence toward the world only by enhancing its internal organization and autonomy, i.e. intransitivity, appears in the early Romantic theories on language and literary theory. In this context, it is worth quoting from Novalis' *Monologue*, which describes the inherent paradox of the autotelic nature of language, in which what is commonly named communicative or referential language is seen as an erroneous idea. This paradox consists in the fact that only by expressing itself, language (and, accordingly, a work of art), becomes able to disclose a world. Novalis remarks that:

> It is a strange thing about speaking and writing; a real conversation is just a game of words. One can only be amazed at the ridiculous mistake, that people think they speak for the sake of things. Of the fact that language is peculiar because it only concerns itself with itself, nobody is aware. That is why it is a wonderful and fruitful secret, – that precisely when someone speaks just in order to speak he pronounces the most splendid and original truths. […]
> If one could only make people understand that with language it is as with mathematical formulae – They constitute their own world –They only play with themselves, express nothing but their wonderful nature, and this is why they are so expressive – precisely for this reason does the strange game of relations of things reflect itself in them. Only via their freedom are they members of nature and only in their free movements does the world – soul express itself and make them into a gentle measure and outline of things.[30]

In light of this thread of thought, Greenberg's conception of modernist painting concerning the self-conscious affirmation of the medium, i.e. *flatness*, appears not so much as the outcome of a reductive formalism, i.e. concern for formal elements *qua* internal organization, but as an extension in the field of modernist painting, or the meeting point of some earlier crossovers between aesthetic

and philosophical investigation. As such, it can be seen as belonging to a theoretical tradition started by Kant yet irreducibly connected with Romantic further elaborations of his philosophy. In this respect, Bowie's comment on *Monologue* as a text about language and literature, i.e. art, can also provide a better understanding of formalist criticism's claim regarding the foremost importance of the internal relationships between different elements, which make up an articulated world, and from which all possible significations can arise:

> The most obviously striking aspect of *Monologue* is Novalis' dismissal of the representational model of language [...] The essential aspect of language lies, then, not in the identifying of "things", but in the ways language, like mathematics, can establish new *relations* between things, relations which constitute what a thing is understood to be. [...] The crucial factor is the need to combine elements of the world, including the finite elements of language itself, in new ways which constantly point beyond themselves, thereby employing the finite means to a non-finite purpose.[31]

This peculiar relationship between the finite and the infinite, with its far-reaching consequences on the definition of art as form, underlies the formalist modernist aesthetics and highlights the deep rooted affinities between romantic theory and idealist philosophy. Copleston notes:

> The feeling for the infinite obviously constitutes a common ground for romanticism and idealism. The idea of the infinite Absolute, conceived as infinite Life, comes to the fore in Fichte's later philosophy, and the Absolute is a central theme in the philosophies of Schelling, Schleiermacher and Hegel. *Further, we can say that the German idealists tend to conceive the infinite not as something set over against the finite but as infinite life or activity which expresses itself in and through the finite.* [32](italics added).

Furthermore, inasmuch as the 'typical romantic was inclined to conceive the infinite totally aesthetically, as an organic whole',[33] while drawing upon Schelling's view of the world as a self-proclaiming work of art, conversely, the work of art becomes in Schlegels' writings an organic unity or form, whose

demand for universality is inextricably embedded in its internal/finite organization. Peckham explains:

> What it meant was that it is the task of the artist to organize his work according to unique principles, principles derived as far as possible from the semantic character of the literary work, and that organization should be as intricately complex and tightly interwoven both thematically and formally, as he could make it. […] Thus the culturally transcendent task of the artist became the creation of a work unique and emergent both in meaning and in structure. […] And in the successful accomplishment of that artistic task, the sacred in human existence becomes visible and accessible.[34]

This specific connection between the particular and the general, or the finite and the infinite within a work of art can also be found in the definition of beauty which in turn is identical to the definition of symbol. Thus, according to Todorov,[35] the Romantic aesthetics, which can also be described as a semiotics, can be reduced to a single concept, viz. symbol. Schlegel explained in 1801:

> According to Schelling the beautiful is the *infinite represented in finite form* under which definition the sublime is already included, as well as it should be. I entirely agree with this definition, but I would prefer to define the expression in the following manner: the beautiful is a symbolic representation of the infinite. Stated in this way, it becomes clear at the same time how the infinite can appear in the finite. [36] (italics in text).

In this description one can find both the notion of art as a organic unity and as a semiotic unity, according to the specific Romantic approach to symbol vs. allegory; such an approach fundamentally changes the traditional relationship between particular/finite/signifier and general/infinite/signified. In asserting the complete fusion of the signifier and the signified, the symbol (i.e. the work of art or the beautiful form), becomes a self-referential, autotelic or aesthetic sign. In Schelling's *The Philosophy of Art,* the "absolute" artistic representation is symbolic through the complete lack of difference between the particular and the universal. This means that the symbol *is not only signifying* but *it is* or, in Todorov's wording it 'signifies thorough the signifier's intransitivity'.[37]

According to Schelling:

> Mythology as such and every poetic rendering of it in particular
> are to be comprehended neither schematically nor allegorically,
> but rather *symbolically.* This is the case because the requirement of
> absolute artistic representation is: representation with *complete
> indifference*, such that the universal *is* completely the particular
> and the particular simultaneously the entire universal, and does
> not merely mean or signify it. The requirement is poetically
> resolved in mythology, since each figure in it is to be taken as that
> which it is, for precisely in this way is each also taken as that
> which it means or signifies. Meaning here is simultaneously being
> itself, passed over into the object itself and one with it. […] Their
> reality is one with their ideality […]; Their ultimate charm resides
> precisely in the fact that they, by simply *being* as they are without
> any reference to anything else –absolute within themselves –
> simultaneously always allow the meaning itself to be dimly
> visible.[38] (italics in text).

I suggest that it is this fundamental aesthetic Romantic concern for form, both
as concentration on the specific properties of art and *poiesis* or aesthetic
production, that underlies the modernist conceptions of art, beyond what is
usually described in terms of "formalism". Looking back, one can find the
Romantic heritage embedded in the main formalist definitions, i.e. those
definitions that are usually quoted in anthologies and textbooks. First, through
the "Romantic connection" one can better understand the Symbolists'
theoretical interest in the first generation of modernist artists, such as Manet
or Cézanne. Regarding the spiritual ascendance of symbolism, Raymond writes
in *De Baudelaire au Surréalisme*: 'Qui voudrait cependant chercher les origines
de la poésie de notre temps et marquer le sens profond de ses tentatives devrait
remonter au-delà de Baudelaire, de Hugo, de Lamartine, jusqu'au
préromantisme européen'.[39] [However, whoever wishes to search the origins
of poetry in our time and to point out the deep meaning of its experiments
should go back beyond Baudelaire, Hugo, and Lamartine, and reach as far as
European Preromanticism].(my translation M.S) Verbal as well as visual
symbolist art unfolds around the symbol, which establishes the connection
between all the manifestations of a unique principle, i.e. the absolute, be it
spirit or idea. The symbol is conceived of as a self-contained or artistic form,

i.e. a verbal or a visual image, through which the reader/spectator can engage in search of infinite analogies and correspondences, i.e. emergent meanings.

Later on, in abstract art from Kandinsky and Mondrian to Malevich, form, which replaces narrative representations with pure visual, i.e. self-reflexive painterly excellence is, in fact, meant to reveal both higher truths and invisible horizons. The ultimate purpose of form is, in Kandinsky's view, to disclose the spiritual in art;[40] or, as Mondrian remarks, to reconstruct '*an equivalent appearance of the subjective and the objective, of the content and the containing: an equilibrated duality of the universal and the individual*; and this "duality–in-plurality" creates *purely aesthetic relationship*'.[41] (italics in text).

Finally, a concern for form, which directly influenced Greenberg's criticism, was developed in the criticism of the visual arts in the first half of the 20th century by Bell and Fry. The central term employed by them was that of "significant form", a name for a quality common to all good visual art, and used to focus attention on the work's internal organization, as the only source of any possible further meaning; and therefore as a source of pleasure. However, when Bell establishes links between the way in which pure visual forms generate meaning and the mathematical values, he brings to mind Novalis' *Monologue.* Bell asserts the following:

> For, to appreciate a work of art we need to bring with us nothing from life, no knowledge of its ideas or affairs, no familiarity with its emotions. Art transports us from the world of man's activity to a world of aesthetic exaltation. For a moment we are shut off from human interests; […] The pure mathematician rapt in his studies, knows a state of mind which I take to be similar, if not identical. He feels an emotion for his speculations, which arises from no perceived relation between them and the lives of men, but springs, inhuman or super-human, from the heart of an abstract science. *I wonder, sometimes, whether the appreciators of art and of mathematical solutions are not even more closely allied*.[42] (italics added).

A better understanding of "significant form" can be reached from its further development by the philosopher Langer, in *Philosophy in a New Key* and *Feeling and Form*. Langer formulated the idea of a separation between the two kinds of symbolism designated as "discursive" and "presentational". She contends that authentic presentational symbolism belongs to visual and musical forms,

epitomized by non-verbal works of art, i.e. presentational forms, which are alternative ways of ordering inchoate experience. In order to explain the creation of meaning through these non-discursive complexes, Langer appeals to *Gestalten*, which are both objects of perceptions, i.e. aesthetic entities, and meaningful analogous, non-propositional structures of "embodied" meaning, i.e. semiotic entities; this convergence is akin to Schelling's view of symbol. The cardinal feature of this kind of symbolism can be described in terms of "expressiveness" or the basic characteristic of *Gestalten*/works of art, a term that has both a semiotic purpose and an aesthetic one. From a communicative perspective, expressiveness is the capacity for formulation and objectivation of internal reality in terms of a "significant form". From an aesthetic point of view, expressiveness refers to perception of emotional qualities (emergent or tertiary qualities) as seen in things when we look at them as a whole. In this respect, a general equivalence is posited between the semiotic and the aesthetic (in the very vein of Romantic theory). Langer notes:

> The work as a whole is the image of feeling, which may be called the Art Symbol. It is a single organic composition, which means that its elements are not independent constituents, expressive in their own right, of various emotional ingredients, as words are constituents of discourse, and have meanings in their own right, which go to compose the total meaning of the discourse.[43]

Despite the diversity of what counts as *formal,* there is one thing that all these examples have in common, and from which we can better understand what is at stake in what has been previously described as aestheticist thought from Kant, through Modernism and until up to Postmodernism, *via* the tradition of Romantic philosophy. In every case, the concentration on *form* can be seen as an argument about the aesthetic; i.e. the work of art as form or aesthetic entity is conceived of as something that is not bound by general or ordinary rules and is significant inasmuch as it is not-rule bounded. Otherwise put, art epitomizes a language whose semantic content, i.e. internal organization, is not reducible to other kinds of discourse, or to "ready-made ideas"; and due to this aesthetic status, i.e. in terms of imaginatively compelling patterns, it articulates truth, viz. discloses a world. This comprehensive approach to form was acknowledged through Romantic theories, for which, as Bowie puts it, the 'work of art [was] understood as the manifestation of a unification of necessity and freedom not possible in any other realm of human activity'.[44]

Thus, in re-locating the problem of formalism and form within the boundaries of this aestheticist thought and not merely as a concern for purely painterly forms, one could change many current assumptions regarding the role played by formalist criticism in the cultural landscape of the 20th century and the deep, and still neglected, relationships between Modernism and Postmodernism in the visual arts. However, while recalling that Romantic thought as a theoretical heritage (whose impact on poststructuralist, deconstructivist, and postmodern philosophy are now being reexamined), was driven by the insights of Kant's philosophy, I can only quote Greenberg's apparent aside in "Modernist Painting": ' […] I conceive of Kant as the first real Modernist'.

Notes

1. Drucker 1994: 61.
2. Frascina 1985: 11.
3. On this point, see Docherty 1993:1-31.
4. Waugh 1997: 4-5.
5. Hassan 1993: 146-156.
6. Silverman 1990: 5.
7. Lyotard 1993: 47-50.
8. *Ibid*., 1993: 38- 46.
9. Bowie 1997: 58.
10. Waugh 1997: 4 .
11. Larissy 1999: 1.
12. The following quotations are from Greenberg's essays "Modernist Painting", "Collage" and "'American-Type Painting'", in Frascina and Harrison 1982: (page numbers in text).
13. Barr 1966: 11.
14. See Bell (1914)1928; Fry (1920) 1961 and (1926)1956.
15. Fried 1982: 115-121.
16. Krauss 1987: 9.
17. Harrison 1985: 218.
18. Drucker 1994: 3.
19. Quoted in Waugh 1997: 17.
20. Vattimo 1993: 110.
21. Waugh 1997: 3.
22. Bowie 1997: 31.
23. I use the distinction between representation and presentation in the sense established by Unger 1999: 172.
24. Waugh 1997: 70.

25.   Docherty 1993: 14.
26.   *Ibid.,* 3.
27.   Quoted in Nicholls 1995: 38
28.   Sontag 1964: 12-13.
29.   Waugh 1997: 5.
30.   Quoted in Bowie 1997: 65-66
31.   *Ibid.,* 66-69.
32.   Copleston 1963: 35
33.   *Ibid.,* 34.
34.   Peckham 1986: 132.
35.   Todorov 1983: 279.
36.   Quoted in Schulte-Sasse, 1997: 209.
37.   Todorov 1983: 292.
38.   Schelling 1989: 48- 49.
39.   Raymond 1969: 11.
40.   Kandinsky 1972.
41.   Mondrian 1987: 135.
42.   Bell 1928: 25-26.
43.   Langer 1957: 134.
44.   Bowie: 14.

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