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Front Pages

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The current issue is the third of the eleventh volume of the *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts (AJHA), published by the Arts, Humanities and Education Division of ATINER*.

Gregory T. Papanikos
President
ATINER

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10-13 June 2024, Athens, Greece

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Birth of the Cool Musical Quotes in Marty Paich Arrangements on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley*

By David A. Ferguson[*]

In 1957, Miles Davis released Birth of the Cool (Davis, 1957) which featured Davis with a unique instrumental ensemble called a nonette. This ground-breaking collaboration between Davis and arranger Gil Evans featured works that had been released either in radio broadcast or as singles several years prior to the album's release. In 1960, arranger Marty Paich collaborated with singer Mel Tormé and produced the album Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley (Tormé, 1960). This album, the fifth collaboration with Paich, featured Tormé with a 10-person ensemble. This group was inspired by the Miles Davis Nonette, and shared a common mellow vibe. Two songs that Paich arranged on Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley (Tormé, 1960) reference musical snippets, or quotes, from Miles Davis' recording of "Godchild" on Birth of the Cool (Davis, 1957). This paper serves to illuminate and analyze the musical quotations from Birth of the Cool (Davis, 1957) used by Marty Paich on these two arrangements. This paper also places these works within the broader context of the evolution of American popular music and culture.

Introduction

Musical quotations commonly occur in Jazz improvizations, with soloists frequently inserting portions of T.V. themes, classical tunes or what have you over the chord progression of a jazz standard (Bryce & Fortner, 2007; Primack, 1999). Burkholder (1994) classifies this practice as "musical borrowing" which he defines as "taking something from an existing piece of music and using it in a new piece" (p. 863). Further, Burkholder (1994) notes that while this practice has a long history in composed and arranged music going back to the renaissance, it flourished with great abundance among composers of the 20th century.

This paper illuminates and analyzes the use of musical quotations from Miles Davis' *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) in Marty Paich's arrangements heard on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960). The specific arrangements highlighted are the Rodgers and Hammerstein songs *"Surrey With the Fringe on Top"* and *"Hello Young Lovers"* wherein Paich inserts quotes from the Miles Davis nonette version of the song *"Godchild"*. Both the Davis and Tormé recordings are highly regarded as jazz music exemplars (Fordham, 2009, Cerra, 2018) and they share many common elements. I assert that, in addition to a similarity in instrumentation, the use of these quotes by Marty Paich indicates a nod to the

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influence of *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) on the emergence of the West Coast "cool jazz" sound. I further maintain that, because of the context of Jazz as an African American-created artform, these quotes not only fit the tradition of Burhkolder's (1994) musical borrowing, but also fit the African American tradition of "Signifyin(g)" (Gates, 1988/2014).

Background

Terms and Brief History

This paper uses terms specific to jazz forms and instrumentation. For context, it is important to understand that the size of instrumentation of jazz ensembles has changed over time. New Orleans brass bands of the early 1900s consisting of 8-12 pieces (Jones, 2003). By the early 1920s, recorded jazz was performed in small ensemble settings with Piano, Bass, and Drums as a rhythm section along with wind instruments like Trumpet, Trombone, and Clarinet. Sometimes a Tuba was used as a bass instrument, and sometimes a Banjo or Guitar would be present in the rhythm section, but generally early jazz ensembles would be a 5 to 7 member group, such as Louis Armstrong's "Hot 5" or "Hot 7" groups (Kirchner, 2000). By 1938, Count Basie and similar jazz orchestras had expanded to include 3 Trumpets, 3 Trombones, and 4 Saxophones along with the rhythm section of Piano, Bass, Drums, and Guitar making ensembles of roughly 14 members (Kirchner, 2000). By the 1940s, a standard swing band was a little larger with the addition of a Baritone Saxophone, an additional Trumpet, and often an additional Trombone making a group between 15-17 musicians (Kirchner, 2000). We collectively call groups like these "big bands".

In the period following World War II, while big bands continued to operate, there was a return to smaller jazz ensembles that utilized Piano, Bass, and Drums along with wind instruments like Trumpet, Alto or Tenor Saxophone, and sometimes Trombone. Smaller groups of 5 members could give more space for the individual freedom of improvisation that was favored in the music that would come to be known as bebop (Tirro, 2009). We generally call groups like this "combos".

Both combos and big bands would perform music that had forms recognizable to musicians and listeners of the day. Forms like the 12-bar blues, when arranged for larger groups would frequently have full ensemble section that would enlist all members of the group to play just prior to the end or the last statement of the song. As this part of the arrangement would often be loud and boisterous, this section would come to be known as the "shout chorus". Shout choruses are usually associated with big band arranging, and are not limited to blues forms, but they often serve to layer on an additional theme above the original arranged tune (Kernfeld, 1995).

Another common form is known as "popular song form", which is most often 32 measures in length with one phrase or melodic and harmonic idea being stated in the first 8 measures, then again in the next 8 measures, followed by different material in the 3rd 8 measures, only to return to the original theme in the last 8 measures. Laid out with a letter for each section, we would call this AABA form with the "B" section being referred to as the "bridge" (Kernfeld, 1995). There are certainly variations on this form in jazz, but the most common 32 bar form, and the one used the music analyzed in this paper utilize the AABA form.

Terms like "bridge", "shout chorus", "big band", and "combo" will be used frequently throughout the paper. In addition, particular instrumentations will also be important details since variants or hybrids between big bands and combos such as octets, nonettes, and dek-tettes or "tentettes" (8, 9, and 10-piece groups respectively) are central to much of this paper.

Miles Davis and *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957)

In the mid 1940s, Claude Thornhill's Orchestra had been in search of a warmer ensemble sound than most of the big bands of the day. Part of how Thornhill sought to achieve that warmer sound was with the inclusion of Tuba (used in a non-bass role) and French Horn, which was very unusual at the time (Sultanof, 2011). Gil Evans became the chief arranger and musical director of the band from 1946-1948 by which time this established proclivity toward innovative instrumentation already in place (Tirro, 2009). Thornhill's band was especially known for its approach to lush ballads (which his band's instrumentation would seem to favor), but Evans frequently arranged modern, non-ballad tunes like *Donna Lee* and *Anthropology* that were usually associated with a much smaller bebop combo for the Thornhill band (Sultanof, 2011). By 1948, Thornhill was not interested in the bop influence to which Evans was becoming increasingly drawn, so Evans and Thornhill amicably parted ways (Davis, 2002).

Miles Davis came of age in New York City while Evans was working with the Thornhill band and the bebop era was just beginning (Tirro, 2009). The young Davis was a frequent sideman with Charlie Parker and his quintet. Here, Davis used the new language of bop in his improvisational approach, though always with a modicum of restraint relative to his peers (Carr, 1998). In 1948, several musicians were gathered at Gil Evans' apartment thinking about how to combine the qualities of bop with the sensibilities of the Thornhill band sound, and they imagined a group that would include Miles Davis on trumpet (Sultanof, in Davis, 2002). This group approached Davis with the idea of a 9-piece group of Trumpet, Alto Sax, Baritone Sax, French Horn, Trombone, Tuba, Piano, Bass, and Drums. Miles Davis was not only interested, but by all accounts he took charge of the ensemble, began calling rehearsals, and got the band a gig at Manhattan's Royal Roost for two weeks in September 1948 which included a radio broadcast of two of its shows (Sultanof, 2011).

The Davis-led group and its arrangements were lauded by fellow musicians; however, general audience views were mixed at best (Carr 1998). In spite of this, Walter Rivers and Pete Rugolo from Capitol Records were willing to take a chance and record the group (Sultanof, 2011). The first recording session was on January 21, 1949 and the selections *Move, Jeru, Budo,* and *Godchild* were recorded on that date (Davis & Troupe, 1989). In all, a total of 12 selections were recorded between January 1949 and March 1950, and 4 singles were initially released (Sultanof, 2011). By 1955, Capitol released a 10 inch LP of the 8 tracks that had previously been released as singles, and they were released with the title of *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) (Sultanof, 2011). This 1955 release garnered scant attention, but after Capitol phased out10 inch LPs, the album was re-released in 1957. This 12-inch format included 11 of the 12 tracks that were recorded, and gained much more attention in the general public (Carr, 1998).

The moniker of "cool" is an interesting topic in and of itself. Tirro (2009) notes that within the history of jazz, the term "Hot Jazz" was generally used to describe the early combo music from New Orleans sometimes called "Traditional" or "Dixieland" Jazz. Referring to this new particular style of jazz as being "cool" was a way to distinguish the sound and style from something that had a connotation with the past while also emphasizing an element of restraint in the music that "Hot Jazz" didn't have.

In addressing the etymology and ethos of "Cool Jazz", Tirro (2009) explains that:

> "cool" in the present discussion will refer to music that is restrained, relaxed, excellent, and during the 1950s, fashionable…this music developed from three styles current during the 1940s- sweet (commercial) dance music, swing, and bebop- and that the resulting new style was named, retrospectively, "cool jazz." These jazz musicians as they worked together, furthermore, were not part of a movement of dissent or artistic confrontation, but rather a band of serious-minded professionals seeking to improve themselves and their art (p. 17).

Tirro (2009) goes on to show how the sound labeled as "cool" in the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) came to inspire and give rise to the "Cool Jazz" or "West Coast Jazz" sound.

Marty Paich and Mel Tormé

The West Coast jazz scene was growing in the 1950s and was being populated in part by musicians either attuned to a *Birth of the Cool* aesthetic or who were directly involved in the creation of such music. Gerry Mulligan, Baritone Sax player and arranger on several *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) tracks, moved out to California in the early 1950s where he began performing and recording with ten-piece groups similar to the instrumentation found on *Birth of*

the Cool (Davis, 1957) (Tirro, 2009). Mulligan's "pianoless tentette" along with regional influences such as Dave Brubeck's octet were influences on Marty Paich's formulation of his own ensemble (Cerra, 2018).

Marty Paich was working a great deal as a session player, as a music director (for Peggy Lee), and as an arranger (including for Disney's *Lady and the Tramp*) when he recorded the 1954 album *Marty Paich Octet: Tenors West* (Cerra, 2018). Paich made use of divergent instruments in his octet, including vibes, bass clarinet, and alto flute in addition to more traditional jazz instruments. As the 1950s progressed, Paich continued to be influenced by Mulligan's group and the timbres utilized on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957), and began to work more frequently in the dek-tette format, settling eventually with an instrumentation that included Alto, Tenor, and Baritone Saxophones, two Trumpets, French horn, Trombone, Tuba, Piano, Bass, and Drums. Sometimes there was no piano and other times, an additional tenor sax was substituted for trombone (Navidad, 2005).

Part of what was appealing about this instrumentation was that it eliminated much of the doubling of parts that was common in big band writing at the time. In stripping that away, and offering a more varied timbral pallet, soloists could be supported without being covered by a thicker texture of a larger ensemble. Paich therefore used this format on albums with Art Pepper, Sammy Davis Jr., and of course Mel Tormé (Navidad, 2005).

Mel Tormé was interested in moving from being known as a musician singing popular music for teenagers to establishing himself as a jazz vocalist in the mid-1950s. Paich had a good reputation as a jazz arranger and as someone who worked well with vocalists, so Tormé approached Marty Paich to do arrangements for his upcoming recording projects (Navidad, 2005). Together, they developed the instrumentation for the dek-tette based on Mulligan's group and the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) sessions (Cerra, 2018). Jazz critics have come to regard the work that Paich and Tormé did together with the dek-tette to be the high point of each of their respective careers (Cerra, 2018). In all, Paich and Tormé did five albums together. The dek-tette was specifically featured on the latter four albums, and *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960) is the last of the set (Cerra, 2018).

Method

Burkholder (1994), proposed a method by which quotated or borrowed music could be categorized and placed within a typology for a given genre. In this method, one seeks to answer the following three sets of questions:

> First, the analytical questions: For any individual piece, what is borrowed or used as a source? How is it used in the new work?

> Second, interpretive or critical questions: Why is this material borrowed and used in this way? What musical or extramusical functions does it serve?
> Third, historical questions: Where did the composer get the idea to do this? What is the history of the practice? Can one trace a development in the works of an individual composer, or in a musical tradition, in the ways existing material is borrowed and used? (p.864)

Burkholder (1994) also provides guidance in terms of questions that would assist the scholar in describing and relating the new music to the quoted music. This guidance, along with the 3 groups of questions listed will be used in conducting this analysis.

For original source material from *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957), I was able to refer to published scores (Davis, 2002) though for formatting, I copied the material into a grand staff so as to better fit the confines of an academic paper. For the Mel Tormé/ Marty Paich material, I transcribed the music from the recording. I used MuseScore (2023) v.3, an open-source music notation program for both the copying of published material and the presentation of transcribed music.

Analysis

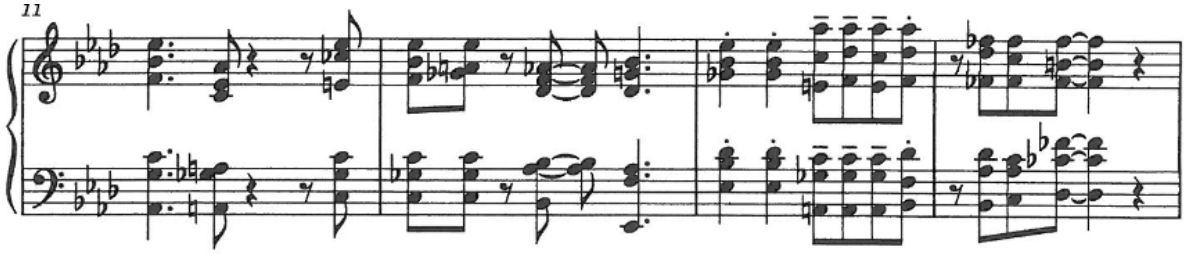
All of the analyzed, quoted music discussed in this paper is from a single track from the album *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) entitled "*Godchild"*. It is a piece by George Wallington, arranged by Gerry Mulligan, which had a history of being performed frequently by many groups prior to the recording of *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957). In fact, Mulligan did an arrangement of *"Godchild"* for the Claude Thornhill Orchestra so there is a history and lineage with this particular piece of music (Davis, 2002) going back and through *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957). Two songs on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960) contain quotes from *"Godchild":* "*Hello Young Lovers"* by Rodgers and Hammerstein, and "*Surrey With the Fringe on Top",* also by Rodgers and Hammerstein.

The arrangements and use of *"Godchild"* quotes in "*Surrey With the Fringe on Top"* and "*Hello Young Lovers"* will be analyzed individually. In both arrangements, it is fair to say that Paich is working in the same genre generally as *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957). Given that the instrumentation of the Miles Davis nonette and the Marty Paich dek-tette are very similar, it is reasonable to say that the arranged Mel Tormé material and the borrowed music from Miles Davis are from the same medium. Given this similarity, and what we know about the evolution of "cool jazz" it is also fair to assume that listeners, particularly jazz aficionados at the time would recognize the quotations. The quotations are usually made in full texture, they appear a single time in each arrangements, in passing, and are minimally altered from the original.

Surrey with the Fringe on Top

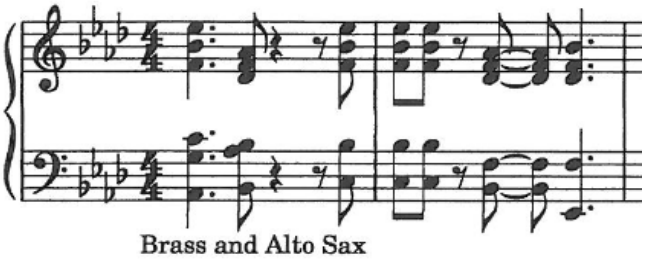
The original material quoted in "*Surrey with the Fringe on Top*" begins at measure 103 in the "*Godchild"* score, and can be seen in figure 1. Figure 2 shows the quoted portion which occurs at 2:09 on the Mel Tormé recording.

Figure 1. Original Birth of the Cool "Shout Chorus" Material from m.103-106 in Godchild



Original material copied from original score (Davis, 2002)

Figure 2. Quoted material used in "Surrey with the Fringe on Top" from 2:09 on Mel Tormé recording



As one can see, the quote in figure 2 is just two measures in length and is in the same key as the original. Paich keeps the rhythm and the melody the same but alters the harmony so that it fits more closely with the chord progression of "*Surrey with the Fringe on Top"*. It is worth noting that the quote also serves a functional role in establishing a new key. The Paich arrangement was pitched in G major until 2:09 on the recording when the "*Godchild"* quote is introduced, putting the new key in A flat major, which continues until the end of the piece.

Hello Young Lovers

"*Hello Young Lovers"* employs a quote that is actually a combination of two, two-measure quotes from "*Godchild"* and serves as a transition into a saxophone solo section. The first portion of the quote comes from the first bars of the *"Godchild"* melody which are measures 4 and 5 in the score (Davis, 2002). The second portion is from two measures from the "*Godchild"* bridge at measures 73

and 74 in the score (Davis, 2002). The full quote (or combination of the two quotes), occurs at 1:22 on the Mel Tormé recording, and is shown in Figure 3. Figures 4 and 5 show the original material from the Mulligan arrangement of "*Godchild"* on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957).

Figure 3. Quoted sections used together at 1:22 in "Hello Young Lovers"

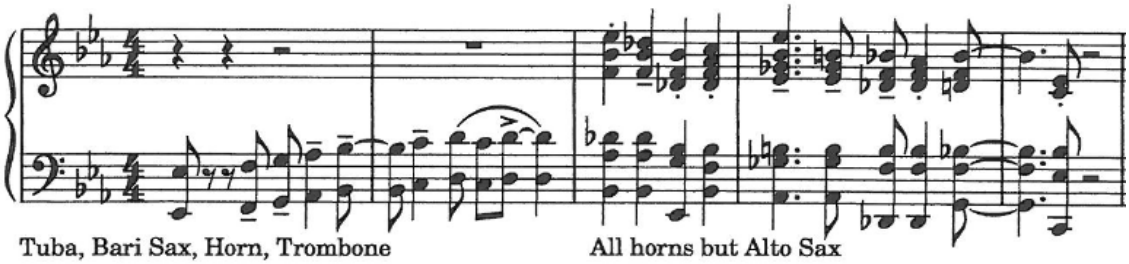
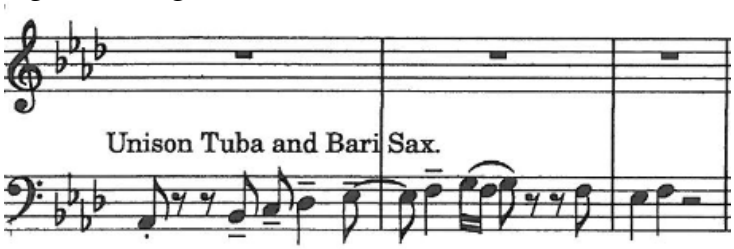
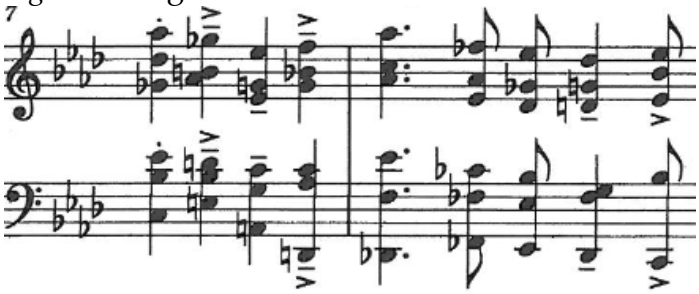


Figure 4. Original Birth of the Cool "Godchild" material from measure 4-5



Original material copied from original score (Davis, 2002)

Figure 5. Original Birth of the Cool "Godchild" material from measure 73, 74



Original material copied from original score (Davis, 2002)

In comparing the original *"Godchild"* to the quoted sections in *"Hello Young Lovers"*, one can see that they are in different keys. The original is in A flat major and the quoted sections are in E flat major. The lead voice in each quote matches the original, albeit in a new key. Paich alters the rhythm of the 2nd measure in the quote electing for two eighth notes and an eighth note tied to a quarter instead of the more tremulous 16th note gesture in the original. The second half of the quote utilizes a very similar articulation pattern as the original with the first quarter note being short and the second being long. The rhythms are the same between the two, and, as with the quote in *Surrey with the Fringe on Top*, Paich simplifies

the harmonic language used so that it more closely fits what came before and what follows in *Hello Young Lovers.* In this particular case, the quote is serving as an interlude of sorts breaking up the end of the vocal line and the beginning of an Alto Saxophone improvised solo.

Further Analysis and Discussion

Since jazz lovers would have been aware of *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957), and since the records and the ensemble clearly served as a catalyst for much of the "Cool Jazz" movement of which Marty Paich and Mel Tormé were a part (Carr, 1998), it would seem that the extramusical purpose of these quotes is to signal to the listener that Paich and Tormé are giving an homage to the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957). I would also venture to say that Paich and Tormé likely wanted to sound like they were "cool", just like the quoted material was "cool". Paich is, in these moments, invoking this well-regarded Jazz Art music in such a way as to imply the connection that he and Mel Tormé are engaged in the same type of artistic enterprise as Miles Davis and *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957).

As noted earlier, the practice of quoting other musical works in new compositions or arrangements goes back hundreds of years. Jazz is a young genre that was less than a century old when these recordings were made, but it has deep roots in centuries of African American culture. African American culture has a common practice that Gates (1988/2014) refers to as "Signifyin(g)". Signifyin(g) can take on many forms, but one key feature is repetition and revision. Gates provides a jazz-based example wherein Jelly Roll Morton's recording of *Maple Leaf Rag (A Transformation)* "signifies on Scott Joplin's signature composition, 'Maple Leaf Rag' recorded in 1916" (Gates, 1988/2014, p. 69). In this example, Morton uses the same melody of the original, but adapts the form of the composition and plays with the styles employed. Gates (1988/2014) observes that "Morton's composition does not 'surpass' or 'destroy Joplin's; it complexly extends and tropes figures present in the original. Morton's Signification is a gesture of admiration and respect" (p. 69). While Paich's quotes are a much shorter gestures, when viewed through the lens of Signifyin(g), they seem to demonstrate the respect of the original through repetition and revision.

Gates' (1988/2014) scholarship is largely presented as a theory for literary criticism, but he makes a point to highlight jazz as providing many examples of Signifyin(g) in music. Gates states:

> Jazz is the classical music of twentieth-century American culture, and….it is based on the art of riffing, on repetition, and revision, the very definition of signifying in the tradition. All the jazz greats, going back to Jelly Roll Morton, had 'quoted' other compositions and solos, making improvisation one of the highest American art forms (p. xxx).

By quoting "*Godchild"* from *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) then, Paich brings back the connotations of the previous work while creating something new, infused with the signifier's background and influences at the same time, which is key in the practice of "Signifyin(g)" (Gates, 1988/2014). Gates also notes a playfulness in signifying and the revision it offers, and I think that these elements of playful reflection and revision are present in Paich's use of *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) quotations.

My assertion that Paich and Tormé wanted to sound like they were "cool" by association becomes a little more clear when overlaying Gates' (1988/2014) lens of Signifyin(g) over the analytical framework posed by Burkholder (1994). Here, when Paich signifies on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) by quoting *Godchild* on "*Surrey with the Fringe on Top"* and *"Hello Young Lovers"*, he brings about another feature of what Gates (1988/2014) observes in Signifyin(g), which is the valorization of the signifier. These examples represent an homage to earlier creators while also putting the signifier in the foreground. So when looked at as signification, those quotes (repetition and revision) both highlight what has come before and lift up that which is presently created are designed to lift up Paich and Tormé in the Signifyin(g) tradition.

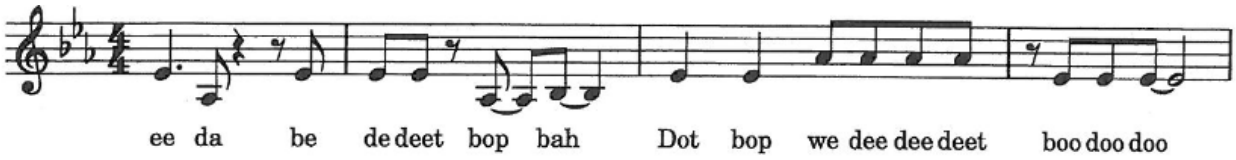
In addition to the notion that Paich was signifying on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957), it is worth noting that Paich does a lot of quoting in general in arrangements on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960). In fact, in *Surrey With the Fringe on Top*, he quotes the folk song "*Turkey in the Straw"* with muted trumpets at 1:09 on the recording during the bridge. Navidad (2005) notes that on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960), Paich uses quotes to link sections of arrangements frequently, especially on the track "*Once in Love With Amy"* where he quotes "*Makin' Whoopie*" (by Kahn and Donaldson), "*Easy Living"* (by Robin and Rainger), and "*Things Ain't What They Used to Be"* (by Mercer Ellington). Navidad (2005) also observes that Charlie Parker's "*Steeplechase"* is quoted as a link to an Alto Sax solo on the track "*Too Close for Comfort"*. So it is fair to say that part of the reason why Marty Paich used quotes from *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) is because he was using lots of quotes from many sources on arrangements on this particular album. One big distinction, though, is that the quotes used on the above mentioned tracks are making reference to lyric content of the song being sung, referring to lyric content in the songs that are quoted. In this way, the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) quotes are in a special class of quotes since they refer to a sound and ethos of mellow restraint that became emblematic of West Coast Jazz.

Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley (Tormé, 1960) is noteable with respect to the use of quotes. Earlier arrangements for Mel Tormé albums didn't make extensive use of quotes with the same frequency or in the same way that he does on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960). One clue about why these quotes emerged, and why *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) quotes in particular appeared on

Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley (Tormé, 1960) is because Mel Tormé made one such quote on a previous album.

On the 1956 album *Mel Tormé and the Marty Paich Dek-tette* (Tormé, 1956) on the track "*Lullaby of Birdland"* (by George Shearing), Tormé quotes the "*Godchild"* shout chorus that is shown in Figure 1 as a part of an improvised scat solo exchange with the trumpet soloist at 2:09 on the recording. It is in E flat major as opposed to A flat major in the original, but there is minimal change to the melodic material of this quote. The last note is the only one changed from the original, in order to match the harmonic foundation of the new piece (*Lullabye of Birdland*). That quote is shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5. Mel Tormé vocal scat on Lullaby of Birdland. Quotes Godchild shout chorus at 2:09



With this quote, combined with Mel Tormé's already keen interest in the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) aesthetic, it seems that he signaled to Paich that doing more signifying references such as this would be fun….or "cool". Tormé even made this quote before the more widely consumed 1957 re-issue of *Birth of the Cool*, so he was quoting "Cool" before it was really cool. It is my view that Paich picked up on this, and began arranging with more quotes in mind because he knew that Tormé (and perhaps also his audience) would appreciate them. By the time work on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960) came along, Paich was set to insert many quotes into arrangements for Tormé, including the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) quotes identified in this paper.

Racial Considerations

Any discussion of the role of music and its role in shaping or reflecting 20th century culture in the United States should include a discussion of race. The U.S. in the mid-20th century was racially divided, and this was true in music as well (Peretti, 1992). Mel Tormé and Marty Paich and the members of their band were white, while Miles Davis and a couple other performers in his nonette on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) were black.

I initially suspected that the use of quotations, and adoption of a similar instrumentation to a group led by an African American would be the result of some sort of cultural appropriation. Examples of white entertainers appropriating black music are sadly very common with one such example being the manner in which Elvis Presley appropriated black style, mannerisms and performance

practice (Cotkin, 2016). More than that, Presley appropriated songs themselves like "*Hound Dog"* by Big Mamma Thornton, an African American blues musician (Weisbard, 2023).

On further review, however, I think that the evolution of the ensemble used in these recordings came from a racially neutral vantage-point insofar as that might be possible. Miles Davis was certainly the leader of the *Birth of the Cool* nonette, but the group was racially mixed with white collaborators such as Gil Evans and Gerry Mulligan providing much of the foundation for the instrumentation used. In this way, it would appear less like this would be an incidence of appropriation, but more moments of celebration and respect.

Collaboration between and across racial lines in Jazz was not unheard of. MaGee (1995) details the ways that the tune *"Copenhagen"* was recorded by black bands and white bands. With each subsequent recording, the next group incorporated elements of the version that came before it. MaGee also observed that the concept of signifying applied here, noting that what was happening was signifying as a metaphor for revision (Gates, 1988/2014). All of this is to say that while appropriation has taken place in the music industry there are examples of signifying as a sign of mutual respect.

Tirro (2009) takes great pains to demonstrate an absence of racial conflict in the creation of *Birth of the Cool*. Davis himself also didn't indicate any kind of conflict, but he did look at *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) in racial terms, making a point to say that the music from the album "came from black roots. It came from Duke Ellington" (Davis & Troupe, 1989, p. 119). Miles Davis further explained:

> White people back then liked music they could understand, that they could *hear* without straining. Bebop didn't come out of them and so it was hard for many of them to hear what was going on in the music. It was an all-black thing. But *Birth* was not only hummable but it had white people playing the music and serving in prominent roles. The white critics liked that. They liked the fact that *they* seemed to have something to do with what was going on. It was just like somebody shaking your hand just a little extra. We shook people's ears a little softer than Bird or Diz did, took the music more mainstream. That's all it was. (Davis & Troupe, 1989, p. 119)

Davis did note that African American musicians would sometimes give him a hard time for hiring white musicians for his groups, but Davis maintained that he hired the musicians because of their sound or the music that was in them rather than their skin color (Carr, 1998).

It is my view, then, that the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) quotes that Paich includes in these arrangements are not to usurp power or creative agency from Miles Davis, for reasons of race or any other reason, but rather to "signify" on and lift up this "cool" material. Further, beyond the quotes themselves, the adoption of a mellow sounding group with French Horn and Tuba signified on the instrumentation of the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957). On some level, I think that

the inclusion of these quotes is an acknowledgement that the West Coast Cool Jazz movement emerged from the sound of the Miles Davis Nonette on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957), and as a result, deserved recognition. In the end, I think that this is the role that these quotes play on Marty Paich's arrangements on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960*).*

Summary and Further Considerations

The Marty Paich Dek-tette is an example of a West Coast Jazz ensemble that drew its inspiration from *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957). The album *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960) has arrangements of two pieces of music that include quotes of *"Godchild"* from *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) placed there by arranger Marty Paich. These quotes represent an homage and referent to *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) that evoke its past and ongoing influence with West Coast Jazz. By signifying (Gates, 1988/2014) the *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) in two songs on *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960), Paich lifts up the originator of a sound that embodied cool restraint and relaxation for a generation still weary from war and anxious of the existential threat from the Cold War.

Borrowed music, or quotes, continue to be used in modern music, similarly signifying on past musical traditions. Gates (1988/2014) said that "hip-hop is signifying on steroids" (p. xix). Researchers like Sewell (2013) have developed typographies of sampling practices to document the use of quotes and other borrowed music in the hip-hop genre. In this way, Paich's arrangements and use of quotes are part of a long and continuing tradition of signifying in music.

Further research could center on influences that West Coast Jazz had on future recorded music, including hip-hop. It might also be instructive to study Paich's quotations on other albums to see if there are broader patterns present, or if his signifying on *Birth of the Cool* (Davis, 1957) was limited to *Mel Tormé Swings Shubert Alley* (Tormé, 1960).

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'L celeste e 'l vulgare Amore instituiti da Platone:' Bellori's Interpretation of Annibale Carracci's Theme of Love in the Farnese Gallery

By Esthy Kravitz-Lurie[*]

In 1672 Giovanni Pietro Bellori, Annibale Carracci's biographer, published a comprehensive study of the Carracci's paintings in the Farnese Gallery, interpreting Annibale's ceiling as expressing a conception of "heavenly and common love formulated by Plato." Charles Dempsey, a pivotal twentieth-century scholar disagrees with Bellori's interpretation and replaces it with Virgil's verse "omnia vincit Amor," suggesting that idea of "Love conquers all" expresses the spirit of the ceiling. In this paper, I follow Bellori's interpretation and argue that he understood Annibale's depictions of same-sex love, pederasty, marriage, and sexual gratification as allusions to Pausanias's heavenly and common Aphrodite in Plato's Symposium.

Introduction

The ceiling of the Farnese Gallery is a masterwork depicting classical love, rendered with images of gods, goddesses, heroes, and mythological creatures engaged in acts of love, lust, and desire (Figure 1).[1] It was created between 1597 and 1601 by the Bolognese painter Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), who was assisted by his brother, the painter and engraver Agostino Carracci (1557–1602).[2] They executed an illusionistic ceiling with overlapping images of fictive statues, framed pictures, and antique medallions, all done in fresco. The work includes

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1. This article developed out of the first chapter of my Ph.D. Dissertation. I thank my adviser, Prof. Daniel M. Unger, for his comments and discussions.

2. According to Bellori, Agostino rendered two paintings on the ceiling: *Aurora and Cephalus* and *Venus and Triton.* In Giovan Pietro Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88-89. Robertson suggested that Agostino was more involved in the planning and painting of the ceiling. Clare Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (Milan: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 172-173. The paintings on the walls were executed separately from the ceiling by Domenichino and Lanfranco, who were guided by Annibale. Dempsey dates the walls to 1603-1604. Charles Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci: The Farnese Gallery Rome* (New York: George Braziller, 1995), 81-84. According to Martin, this work was not finished until 1608: John Rupert Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), 138.

thirteen paintings set in quadrature and framed "as pictures," with silver or gold painted frames; images of *ignudi*, naked figures of men and satyrs seated at both sides of the paintings; and eight bronze-like medallions, their surfaces seemingly cracked, and their margins damaged to make them look like reliefs from antiquity. These medallions are set among the paintings, some of them overlapped by the painted frames. Annibale also painted pairs of fictive herms and statues, nude and semi-nude male figures of male lovers, which resemble sculptures from ancient Greece. These pairs of lovers are seen all over the ceiling: undressing against the painted frames and embracing at its four corners.[3] This celebration of erotic love and desire was rendered at the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, the home of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese (1573–1626), around the same time that his brother, Ranuccio Farnese (1569–1622), the Duke of Parma and Piacenza, married Margherita Aldobrandini, the niece of Pope Clement VIII, celebrated in Parma in 1600.[4]

Figure 1. *Annibale Carracci, Ceiling of the Farnese Gallery (1597-1601), Farnese Palace, Rome, Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

3. This display of sculptures, paintings, and reliefs, all produced in fresco, has been interpreted as an allusion to the Renaissance *paragone*, one that suggests the superiority of painting over sculpture. Robert Baldwin, "Annibale Carracci and the Farnese Ceiling," (1997), 2-21 in https://www.socialhistoryofart.com/essaysbyperiod.htm, 8, 15-16; Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 158, 170-171, 174; Julian Kliemann and Michael Rohlmann, *Italian Frescoes: High Renaissance and Mannerism, 1510–1600* (New York: Abbeville Press, 2004), 457.

4. On the marriage, see Charles Dempsey, '"*Et nos cedamus amori*:' Observations on the Farnese Gallery," *Art Bulletin* 50, no. 4 (1968): 363-374, 366-367, 374; Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting Around 1590*, II vols. (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 1971) I, 94. Roberto Zapperi, *Eros e Controriforma: preistoria della Galleria Farnese* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1994), 116: Baldwin suggests that, owing to his high position as prince of the Church, the cardinal, who avoided sexual imagery in the Christian art he commissioned, "was free to display a more libertine courtly taste" in his family palace. Baldwin, "Annibale Carracci and the Farnese Ceiling," 5.

In his *Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architteti Moderni*, published in 1672, the Carracci's biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696), gave the most detailed account of Annibale's work in the Farnese Gallery, which he published sixty-one years after Annibale's death. He was most qualified for this study, which he accomplished with the help of the Carracci's acquaintances, who were familiar with their work. The most influential were: Bellori's protector and educator, Francesco Angeloni (c.1559–1652), a writer, a historian, and an antiquarian, who had around six hundreds of Annibale's drawings in his collection;[5] the Bolognese Monsignor Giovanni Battista Agucchi (1570–1632), who followed Annibale's career from Bologna to Rome, and wrote the first account of the latter's work in his treatise on art, of which only fragments have survived;[6] and Annibale's Bolognese students Francesco Albani and Domenichino Zampieri, who joined him in Rome for the final stages of his work on the ceiling.[7]

In his essay, Bellori explained Annibale's conception of love on the Farnese Gallery ceiling by referring to its four corners, where herms depicted as classical lovers are embracing right above pairs of Cupids wrestling as in a Greek *gymnasium* (Figures 2–5). He understood the embracing herms and the wrestlers as a whole and interpreted them as symbols that reflect Plato's conception of love: "The painter wished to represent with various symbols the war and peace between heavenly and common love formulated by Plato."[8] Hellmut Wohl noted that Bellori's terminology corresponds with Pausanias's "Heavenly and Common Aphrodite (Love)," from his speech in Plato's *Symposium* (181b–c), and mentioned it in a note in Alice Sedgwick Wohl's English translation of Bellori's *Lives*.[9]

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5. See Montanari's introduction in Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 4-5; Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 196; On Angeloni's collection, see Donatella L. Sparti, "Il Museum Romanum di Francesco Angeloni. La Quadreria," *Paragone* 49, no. 17 (1998): 46-79; Donatella L. Sparti, "Il Museum Romanum di Francesco Angeloni: formazione e dispersion," Paragone 49, no. 22 (1998): 47-80.

6. Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 196; Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice: Vite de' Pittori Bolognesi,* III volumes (ed.) Giampietro P. Zanotti (Bologna: Tip Guidi all'Ancora, 1841), II, 162; Silvia Ginzburg–Carignani "Domenichino e Giovanni Battista Agucchi," in *Domenichino 1581-1641 (*eds.) Claudio Strinati and Almamaria Tantillo (Milano: Electa, 1996), 121-137, 121-138.

7. On the correspondence between Albani and Bellori, see **Evelina Borea, "Bellori 1645. Una lettera a Francesco Albani e la biografia di Caravaggio," *Prospettiva* 100 (2001): 57**-69. On Domenichino and Bellori, see Montanari's introduction in Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 4-5.

8. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 84; *"Volle figurare il pittore con varii emblemi la guerra e la pace tra 'l celeste e 'l vulgare Amore instituiti da Platone*." Giovan Pietro Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori, Scultori e Architteti Moderni (*ed.) Evelina Borea (Turin: Giulio Einaundi Editori, 1976), 60.

9. For the note, see Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 111, no. 75.

Figure 2. *Annibale Carracci, The Herm Lovers with Cupids Wrestling for the Wreath and the Medallion Europa and The Bull (south-west corner, detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

Figure 3. *Annibale Carracci, The Herm Lovers with Cupids Wrestling for the Torch and the Medallion Hero and Leander (south-east corner, detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

Figure 4. *Annibale Carracci, The Herm Lovers with Cupids Embrace and the Medallion Cupid and Pan, (north-east corner, detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

Figure 5. *Annibale Carracci, The Herm Lovers with Cupids Wrestling for the Palm and the Medallion Apollo Flying Marsyas. (north-west corner, detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

In his 1968 article, *'Et nos cedamus amori*,' Charles Dempsey rejected Bellori's concept of love regarding the Farnese Gallery ceiling. Rather, he linked *Cupid and Pan*, one of the eight medallions on the ceiling, to Virgil's allegorical characters implied in his verse *"omnia vincit Amor"* (*Ecl.* X: 69), suggesting the verse's literary meaning, "Love conquers all," as the overriding theme (Figure 4).[10]

I disagree with Dempsey's suggestion on the grounds that the idea of love on the Farnese Gallery ceiling cannot be delineated based on a random medallion, which is not special in shape nor in size, but similar to the other seven. As flexible as *"omnia vincit amor"* may be, the idea that "Love conquers all" cannot project the complexity of this work, which I believe, illustrates tales that seem to have been carefully chosen from classical and contemporary poems to evoke Plato's conception of love. In the present essay, I discuss Bellori's interpretation for Annibale's ceiling as based on the conception of love related in the *Symposium*. I take into account that at the time that the Carracci worked on the Farnese ceiling, Plato's *Symposium* was no longer overshadowed by Marsilio Ficino's (1433–1499) *Commentary on Plato's Symposium* (1484).[11] Although it was still considered an outrageous text, its content was being circulated in both Greek and Latin and it was known to classical scholars, poets, and humanist, some of whom were acquainted with the Carracci.

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Plato's *Symposium* was available throughout Europe when the Carracci frescoed the Farnese Gallery ceiling. Janus Cornarius (Johann Hainpol, 1500–1558), a Protestant physician who lectured on Greek medicine, had translated Plato's complete works into Latin. His *Platonis Atheniensis philosophi summi* was published in Basel in 1561.[12] This translation was followed by Joanes Serranus's (Jean de Serres, 1540–1598) Latin translation of *Platonis opera quae extant omnia*, published by Henri II Estienne the son (Henricus Stephanus, 1528–1598) in Basel in 1578, which remained the standard version until the early nineteenth century. This text includes an *ad verbum* translation of Plato's *Symposium*, printed in

10. Dempsey, "*Et nos cedamus amori*," 370-371.

11. For other scholars that relate to Bellori's theme of love, see, Silvia Ginzburg–Carignani, *Annibale Carracci a Roma: Gli affreschi di Palazzo Farnese* (Roma: Donzelli Editore, 2000), chap. 3; John Gash, "Hannibal Carrats: The Fair Fraud Revealed," *Art History* 13, no. 2 (1990): 240-248, 247.

12. On this translation, see Todd W. Reeser, *Setting Plato Straight: Translating Ancient Sexuality in the Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 11-12, 50, 315. Reeser also mentions ***De Conviviorum veterum Graecorum,*** an earlier text published by Cornarius, "on the rites customs and speeches of the banquets of the ancient Greeks and of the Germans of our time: and on the difference of opinion between Plato and Xenophon." This text, which includes translations of Plato's *Symposium* and Xenophon's *Symposium*, was published in 1546. See Reeser, *Setting Plato Straight*, 12.

parallel columns along with Plato's Greek text and arranged according to the Stephanus system of pagination – the same system that is still used in modern editions.

According to James Hankins, Serranus intended for his translation of the *Symposium* to replace Ficino's *Commentary*, as Ficino had omitted Alcibiades's tale of seduction in order to avoid any reference to homosexual love.[13] By the end of the Cinquecento, both Cornarius's and Serranus's translations were being circulated in Italy. Starting in 1570, Plato's writings were studied in the universities of Pavia, Turin, Pisa, Ferrara, and Rome, which gradually established cathedrae of Plato's philosophy.[14] In 1601 Dardi Bembo (1560–1640), an Italian scholar of Hellenistic studies, published *Tutte l'opere di Platone*, the first complete translation of Plato's works into Italian.[15] Despite the growing popularity of Plato's ideas, the *Symposium* was treated with caution. Todd W. Reeser notes that Cornarius's translation includes an addition in which Cornarius expresses his disapproval of homosexuality and that Serranus's translation carries a note at the beginning of the dialogue that talks about the evils of pederasty.[16]

Annibale and Agostino Carracci executed a complex work on the Farnese Gallery ceiling: portraying subjects from contemporary and classical literature, which reflects Plato's conception of love in the *Symposium*. The Carracci were

13. James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II vols., (Leiden, New York: Brill, 1991), II, 804, 807. Ficino replaced Alcibiades's speech with material that was taken partly from Diogenes Laertius, from Plato's *Apology*, and from Proclus's *Commentary on Alcibiades,* where Socrates is celebrated as a teacher. See Sears introduction in Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love,* trans. Jayne Sears (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1985), 9; before Ficino's *Commentary*, Alcibiades's speech was translated by Leonardo Bruni, who left out portions of the text to avoid any reference to homosexuality. See Todd W. Reeser, "Translation and the Antitheses of Same-Sex Sexuality in Leonardo Bruni," *Exemplaria* 18 (2006): 31-66, 60-63. Bruni's text was sent in the form of a letter to Cosimo de' Medici in 1435 to contradict the opinion of Ambriogio Traversari, the Latin poet, who was trying to undermine Plato's authority by stressing the homosexual content of his writings. In Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, I, 80-81. For Bruni's version, see also 399-400.

14. James Hankins, "Platonism, Renaissance," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward Craig (London and New York: Routledge, 1998) 439-447, 440-441, 445-446. I am grateful to Prof. James Hankins, who confirms that Serranus's and Cornarius's prints were not prohibited in Catholic Europe and that religious prohibitions hardly affected scholarly literature.

15. See Sears (intro.) In Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium*, 23; Hankins, "Platonism, Renaissance," 1998, 440.

16. On Cornarius's disapproval in *De conviviorum veterum Craecorum*, 44-47, and on Serranus's disapproval note: "A blemish in this debate that must be despised" ("Naevus in hac disputatione detestandus") in Serranus, *Platonis Opera Quae Extant Omnia*, 3: 171, see Reeser, "Translation and the Antitheses of Same-Sex Sexuality in Leonardo Bruni," 59-60, no. 40.

learned artists who called upon their Latin formal education, gained in *La Scuola di Grammatica*, which they attended in Bologna.[17] Agostino in particular, was known for his mastery of Latin, for his erotic prints, and for his associations with the most prominent scholars of the time.[18]

The three Carracci – Annibale, Agostino, and their older cousin Ludovico, who introduced the brothers to the practice of painting – were known for their collaborated projects in the Palaces of Bologna, which reflects their interest in Latin literature, as well as their training in fresco painting: In *La Sala dell'Eneide* in Palazzo Fava (1584–1586), they painted images from Virgil's *Aeneid* accompanied with Latin inscriptions.[19] In Palazzo Magnani, at the *piano nobile* (the first floor), the Carracci depicted stories from Rome's foundation, which were accompany by inscriptions from Plutarch *Parallel Lives*.[20] Their interest in classical myths is reflected in their consulting on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, an approach which they passed to their students in *La Accademia degli Incamminati*, which they established in Bologna.[21]

The upbringing of these two artists, seems to have prepared Annibale and Agostino for the complicated task on the ceiling of the Farnese Gallery: where they disguise the controversial conception of love from the *Symposium* with images of love affairs taken from the literature of their period. However, the delicate balance probably required the involvement of a Greek scholar, an iconographer who would have been able to relate to the *Symposium* conception of same-sex love in a refined manner. Apparently, that scholar was Fulvio Orsini

17. On Annibale and Agostino's education, see Charles Dempsey, "Some Observations on the Education of Artists in Florence and Bologna during the Later Sixteenth Century," *Art Bulletin* 62, no. 4 (1980): 552-569, 561-562.

18. On Agostino's knowledge of Latin, see Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, I: 265-266; Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 118. For his verses, see Giovanni Antonio and Giovanna Perini, *Gli scritti dei Carracci: Ludovico, Annibale, Agostino* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editorale, 1990), 55-58. On his range of disciplines, which, apart from art and poetry, included music, philosophy, mathematics astronomy, geography, cartography, anthropology, and natural history, see Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 118. For Lucio Faberio's funeral oratory see Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, I: 299-312; Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Malvasia's Life of the Carracci,* trans. Anne Summerscale (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2000), 180-209. On his *Lascivie*, see Sara F. Matthews–Grieco, *Erotic Cultures of Renaissance Italy* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), 31-33.

19. Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 69. Andrea Emiliani, *Bologna 1584: Gli esordi dei Carracci e gli affreschi di Palazzo Fava* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa editoriale, 1984) 188-189.

20. Andrea Emiliani and Stanzani Anna, *Le storie di Romolo e Remo di Ludovico Agostino e Annibale Carracci in Palazzo Magnani a Bologna* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa editoriale, 1989), 180-181.

21. Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 160; Clare Robertson, *I Carracci e l'invenzione: osservazioni sull'origine dei cicli affrescati di Palazzo Fava* (Bologna: Nuova Alfa Editoriale, 1993), 275.

(1529–1600), the loyal secretary and librarian of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589) and Cardinal Odoardo Farnese, who resided in the Farnese Palace for most of the time that the Carracci worked on the ceiling.[22]

Owing to his outstanding scholarship, Orsini's was chosen as the Greek language proofreader of the Vatican Library in 1591, and in all likelihood, he was familiar with the *Symposium* through his associations with scholars who were involved in translations of Plato's writings. Orsini shared his passionate interest in Greek manuscripts with Robert I, Estienne (Robertus Stephanus 1503–1559), a French printer and publisher, the father of Henri II Estienne, who published Plato's complete works in 1578. Orsini and Estienne were considered the most competent copyists of Greek manuscripts in the Cinquecento.[23] The latter visited Italy on three occasion between 1547 and 1555 in search of manuscripts of Greek novels for publication. It seems reasonable to assume that Orsini knew this family of printers and was aware of their business enterprises in both Paris and Basel. Estienne became a Protestant and moved his business to Geneva around 1556, where he was able to publish Greek manuscripts uncensored.

Orsini also maintained a correspondence with Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529–1597), a Cres philosopher, who continued his education in Venice and Ingolstadt, before joining the University of Padua in 1547. His goal was to eliminate Aristotle's influence in Italian universities and replace it with the study of Plato's philosophy. He established the first cathedra of Plato's philosophy in 1577 in Ferrara. In 1592 he moved to Rome, invited by Pope Clement VIII to occupy a chair of Platonic philosophy at *La Sapienza*, where he remained until his death in 1597.[24] In 1577–1578, Patrizi wrote *L'Amorosa Filosofia* based in Aristophanes's theory of the Hermaphroditus (*Symp.*189e–194e), and in that connection, he corresponded with Orsini regarding his pupil, the female philosopher Tarquinia Molza (1542–1617), who was under the protection of Cardinal Allesandro Farnese and to whom he dedicated the work.[25]

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22. Giuseppina Alessandra Cellini, *Fulvio Orsini in Palazzo Farnese* (Firenze: Giunti, 2010), 249-253.

23. Gareth L. Schmeling, *The Novel in the Ancient World* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), 393; Tim Whitmarsh, *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 288.

24. Jill Kraye, "The legacy of ancient philosophy," in *Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Philosophy (*ed.) David Sedley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 323-354, 334-335; Orsini was also acquainted with Marcus Antonius Muretus, a French classical scholar, who taught Plato's philosophy in Rome in 1576. Both Orsini and Muretus were invited to teach in Krakow University, but rejected the offer. Gabor Almási, *The Uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531-1584), Andreas Dudith (1533- -1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe*, (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2009), 74, see also note 16.

25. On this correspondence, see Sandra Plastina, "Is Francesco Patrizi's L'Amorosa Filosofia a heterodox reading of the Symposium?" *Intellectual History Review* 29, no 4 (2019): 631-648, 631; Pablo Maurette, "Plato's Hermaphrodite and a Vindication of the

Orsini was interested in Greek iconography. His *Imagines et elogia virorum illustrium*, published in 1570, includes illustrations of herms of Greek philosophers (headless and with heads) with their Greek names.[26] There are illustrations of Socrates resembling Alcibiades's satyr from the *Symposium* (Figure 6), based on a bust and a herm of Socrates in the Farnese collection (Figures 7, 8).[27]

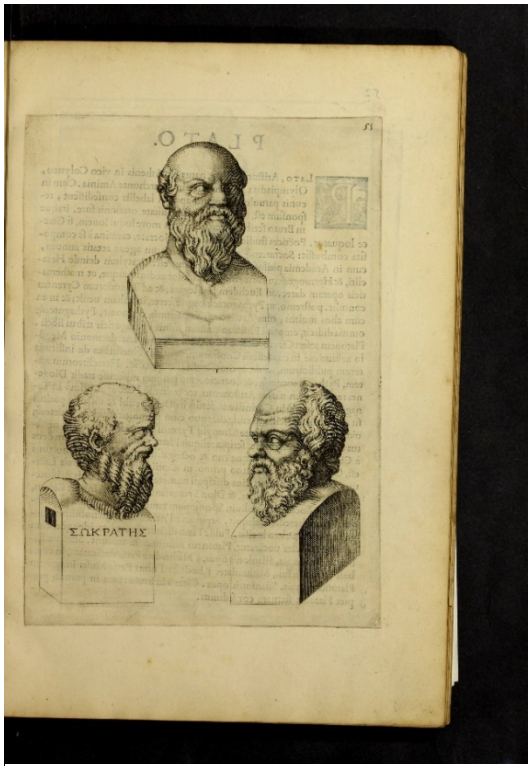

Figure 6. *Busts of Socrates, from Fulvio Orsini, Imagines Et Elogia Virorvm Illvstrium (Rome 1570),* [*Https://Digital.Clarkart.Edu/Digital/Collection/P16245coll5/Id/65012*](Https://Digital.Clarkart.Edu/Digital/Collection/P16245coll5/Id/65012)

Sense of Touch in the Sixteenth Century," *Renaissance Quarterly* 68, no 3 (2015): 872-898, 873.

26. The headless herms were inspired by those drawn by Pierro Ligorio found in Tivoli in 1488 in the collection of Julius III in Rome. Nancy Thomson de Grummond, *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2005), 942, 1108-1109.

27. Fulvio Orsini, *Imagines et Elogia Virorum Illustrium et ervditor ex antiqvis lapidibvs et nomismatib. expressa cum annotationib. ex Bibliotheca Fvlvi Vrsini* (Rome: Antoine Lafery, 1570), 50-51. The image of Socrates as the Silenus of Alcibiades, as describe in Plato's Symposium, was known in the Cinquecento. It appears in Erasmus's *Enchiridion* (1503), *The Praise of Folly* (1509), the adage to *The Sileni Alcibiades* (1515), and *The Godly Feast* (1522). See Christian Linda Gregorian, "The Figure of Socrates in Erasmus' Work." *Sixteenth Century Journal* 3, no. 2 (1972): 1-10. On Aretino's comedies: *Lo ipocrito* (1542), *La Talanta* (1542), and *Il filosofo* (1546), see Raymond B. Waddington, *Aretino's Satyr, Sexuality, Satire, and Self-Projection in Sixteenth-Century Literature and Art* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 124-132.

Figure 7. *Herm of Socrates, A 2nd Century CE Copy of the 4th Century BC Original (Inv. No. 6415). Farnese Collection National Archaeological Museum, Naples. Berthold Werner, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons*

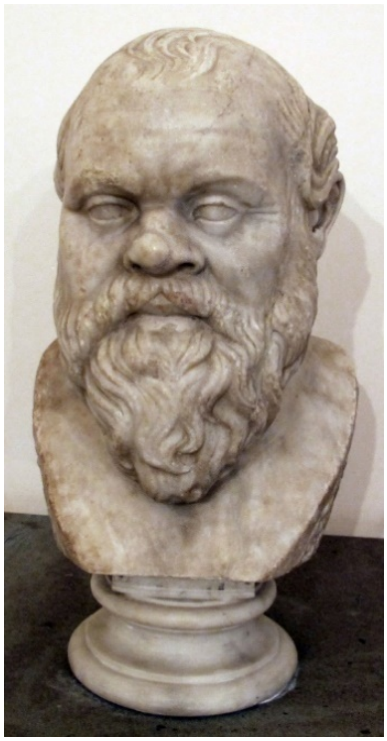

Figure 8. *Bust of Socrates, A 380 AC Copy of the Greek Original (Inv. No. 6129). Farnese Collection National Archaeological Museum, Naples. Sailko, CC BY 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons*

Modern scholars suggest that Orsini was the iconographer of the *Camerino*, Odoardo's personal chambers in the Farnese Palace, which Annibale decorated between 1595 and 1597, just before he began work on the gallery.[28] In her article "*Ars Vincit Omnia*," published in 1990, Robertson suggests that Orsini might have been Annibale's adviser for the Farnese Gallery.[29] In "Annibale in the Farnese Palace: A Classical Education," published in 1999, Gail Feigenbaum strengthens this suggestion, by proposing that Orsini had introduced Annibale to the "methodology of the humanist, philologist, archaeologist, and antiquarian," and that Annibale, whom she believes to be the iconographer of the ceiling, seeks out his advice when needed.[30]

Orsini's interest in herms, noted above, seems to have reinforced his involvement in the iconography of the ceiling, where the pairs of herms resembling Greek philosophers strongly suggest the influence of Orsini's scholarship.

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Bellori referred to the importance of these herms in his description of the Farnese Gallery. At the beginning of the second section "The Argument of the Images," he specifically pointed out the embracing herms in the corners, which he described as "the Loves painted as fictive figures," linking them to Plato's conception of love:

> Before describing the fables [the paintings] it is appropriate that we present the Loves painted as fictive figures above the cornice on the four sides of the gallery, upon which the entire conceit and the allegory of the work depends. The painter wished to represent with various symbols the war and peace between heavenly and common love formulated by Plato.[31]

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28. Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* 180-183; Charles Dempsey, 'Annibale Carrache au Palais Farnese', Le Palais Farnèse, Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1981, vol. 1, 269-311, 227; Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 109.

29. Clare Robertson, "*Ars Vincit Omnia*: The Farnese Gallery and Cinquecento Ideas about Art," *Mèlanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome: Italie et Mèditerranèe* 102, no. 1 (1990): 7-41, 21-22. On other scholars' suggestions of either Orsini or Agucchi, see Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 171; Denis Mahon, *Studies in the Seicento Art and Theory* (London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1947), 115-116; Martin, *The Farnese Gallery* 38f, 144f.; Dempsey, "*Et nos cedamus amori*," 365 no. 18

30. Gail Feigenbaum, "Annibale in the Farnese Palace: A Classical Education," in Daniele Benati et al., *The Drawings of Annibale Carracci,* exh, cat. (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1999), 117-221.

31. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 84. *Avanti descrivere le favole conviene che proponiamo gli Amori dipinti ne' quattro lati della Galleria finti reali sopra il cornicione, da cui dipende tutto il concetto ed allegoria dell'opera.Volle figurare il pittore con varii emblemi la guerra e la pace tra 'l celeste e 'l vulgare Amore instituiti da Platone*. Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori,* 60.

Bellori began to describe these herms before he got to "The Argument of the Images," noting their prominence on the ceiling and their resemblance to classical sculptures:

> But between the *quadri* and the medallions very beautiful figures of terms in fictive stucco are interposed, which from the middle up imitate human form and bellow taper into a rectangular form in the antique manner.[32]

He noted that they were designed as typical classical lovers – the beardless young pupil and his bearded master:

> The figures of the terms are robust beardless youths and bearded ones of manly age, expressing strength: some entirely nude, some partially covered […].[33]

He mentioned their gestures of love, which were enhanced by the painter's illusionistic effects on the corners of the ceiling (Figures 2–5):

> Among other remarkable effects of the perspective to be found in this artful work is the one in the four corners of the Gallery, where the figures of the terms meet and embrace from one wall to another with admirable visual sense […].[34]

Bellori explained that a similar effect was achieved by other pairs of 'Loves' (this time referring to the four pairs of Cupids at the four corners of the ceiling), painted in the triangular spaces created between the two herms, embracing at the level of their shoulders while their torsos and their pillar legs are splitting off to the sides. Bellori promised his readers that he would soon return to these 'Loves.'[35] Yet, when he got to "The Argument of the Images," were he revealed Plato's conception of love as the theme of love for the ceiling, he first addressed the embracing pairs of herms as the bearers of this love, calling them "the Loves painted as fictive figures […] upon which the entire conceit and the allegory

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32. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 83. *Ma tanto fra i quadri quanto fra le medaglie, s'interpongono bellissime figure di termini di stucco finto, li quali dal mezzo in su imitano la forma umana, e sotto diminuiscono in quadro all'uso antico.* Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 57.

33. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 83. *Le figure de' termini sono giovani robusti senza barba ed in età virile con la barba, in espressione di fortezza: chi tutto ignudo, chi alquanto ricoperto, chi la testa avvolta di panno […].* Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 58.

34. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 84. *Fra gli altri riguardevoli effetti di prospettiva che si ritrovano in quest'opera artificioso è quello ne' quattro canti della Galeria, dove le figure de' termini da un muro all'altro s'incontrano e si abbracciano insieme con mirabil senso dell'occhio […].* Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 59.

35. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 84; *"[…] e simile effetto rendono ancora gli Amori coloriti nel mezzo e ne' vani infraposti fra' medesimi angoli, de' quali appreso diremo*." Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 59.

depends."[36] Only after that did he move on to described the pairs of Cupids that are wrestling within their embrace.

Bellori described the pairs of Cupids by using opposing names to emphasize their rivalry over the virtues. The first pair is "Heavenly Love and Common Love," wrestling for the crown of laurel and representing "the victory over the irrational appetite." The second pair is "Divine Love and Impure Love," wrestling for the torch. The third is "Supreme Love and Earthly Love," embracing to represent "the passion uniting with reason." The fourth pair is described as "Eros and Anteros," fighting over the palm, as in the statues that the Eleans placed in the *gymnasium*.[37]

Dempsey understands these pairs of Cupids as Bellori's interpretation of the ceiling's theme of love. He disassociates them from the embracing herms and interprets them separately by following a Renaissance Neoplatonist conception of love:

> We must thus understand that the *concetto* of the ceiling is based upon a Renaissance Neoplatonic scheme illustrating the perpetual struggle of Celestial Love (aided by Reason) against the baser affections (which are irrational) governed by Amor vulgare, with Victory awarding the palm to the former. The twin Venuses of Renaissance Neoplatonism, through their respective offspring, are once again opposed in the eternal campaign waged between Sacred and Profane Love for dominance over the human soul.[38]

This understanding of Bellori's theme of love has proven inadequate to interpret the erotic celebration of love depicted on the paintings of the ceiling, and Dempsey replaces it with Virgil's idea of "Love conquers all." In *The Invention of Annibale Carracci* (2008), Robertson questions Dempsey's theme of love, noting the flexibility of Virgil's verse, easily bent to interpret almost any image of love. She wonders at what stage of the work it was introduced and questions Bellori's complete misunderstanding of Annibale's theme of love, asking, "if Bellori is wrong, how did he go so wrong?"[39]

Yet, Bellori was not wrong. He was following a classical Platonic conception of love taken from Pausanias's speech in Plato's *Symposium* (*Symp.* 181b–c), rather than a Renaissance Neoplatonist perception. In that speech, Pausanias speaks of two kinds of Love, which he presents as Common and Heavenly Aphrodite: "Common Love" is a man's desire for a woman or a boy, a vulgar kind of love, designed for sexual gratification or procreation. Whereas "Heavenly Love" is an attraction between two males, a purer and higher kind of love, which creates great ideas, laws, and heroic deeds. This is the love of the philosophers, the

36. See the full quotes on p. 10. For the Italian see note 30.

37. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 84.

38. Dempsey, "*Et nos cedamus amori*," 363.

39. Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 170, 147,

pederastic relationship between the master, Erastēs, and his young pupil, Erōmenos, which is destined for greatness.[40]

Bellori identified Pausanias's heavenly love in the four corners of the Farnese Gallery ceiling, where, as I noted above, fictive pairs of herm lovers, a beardless youngster and a bearded mature man, are embracing, while pairs of Cupids are wrestling within their own embrace (Figures 2–5). Bellori considered this disposition of wrestlers and herms as a single image, referring to both the herms and the wrestlers as "Loves" and hinting at the conception of same-sex love, described in the *Symposium,* which was rooted in the Greek system of education:[41] The master-pupil relationship, which often started at the *palaestra*, where young boys were introduced to the virtues by wrestling and where they were seen by the masters, who selected the most promising youngsters to continue their education.[42] Bellori's description of the Loves, wrestling for the virtues, and of the herm lovers embracing above them seems to reflect the classical love of the Greeks that Plato dealt with in his writings.[43]

In the *Symposium*, Pausanias's conception of heavenly love is emphasized using the example of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the male lovers whose union resulted in their attempt to overthrow the tyrant Hippias in 514 BCE (*Symp*. 182c).[44] The Farnese collection of sculptures included a two-piece Roman marble copy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton by Kritios and Nesiotes (477–476 BCE), which replaced Antenor's original bronze statues. These statues were moved from the Medici's collection to the Farnese family estate in 1538 upon the marriage of Cardinal Odoardo Farnese's grandparents – Margaret of Austria (widow of Alessandro de Medici) and Ottavio Farnese (1525–1586), the second Duke of Parma.[45] They are shown standing naked and holding their swords of

40. See Nehamas's introduction in Plato, *Symposium*, trans., Alexander Nehamas and Paul Woodruff (Cambridge, UK: Hackett, 1989), xvi.

41. On the Greek system of education, see Kenneth James Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), 16-17, 42-44; Nehamas's introduction in Plato, *Symposium*, xiv-xv.

42. Plato's school was established in the Athenian *gymnasium*, and it was thee that the philosophers recruited young pupils. See Mike McNamee and Jim Parry, *Olympic Ethics and Philosophy* (London: Routledge, 2012), 12-13.

43. The connection between love and wrestling is well established in Plato's dialogues (see Thomas. F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 216-218): In the *Symposium*, 217b-c, Alcibiades tries to seduce Socrates by wrestling. In *Lysis*, 204b, 206e–207a, Socrates visits a *palaestra* in Athens, inquiring who is the favorite beauty (*kalos*) among the boys. In *Charmides*, 153d-154a, Socrates visits the *palaestra* of Taureas, inquiring if any one of the wrestlers "happens to be distinguished in wisdom or in beauty or both."

44. Despite their failure, they were celebrated as the tyrannicides and seen as symbols of the Greek democracy. See Plato, *Symposium*, 15 note 20.

45. Barbara A. Barletta, "Medici family," in *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology* (ed.) Nancy Thomson de Grummond (New York: Routledge, 1996), 737-743,

which only the hilts remain (Figure 9). The beardless young Harmodius is raising his right hand, thrusting his sword forward, holding a second sword in his left hand. The bearded Aristogeiton is extending his left arm, which is covered by a cape, directing his sword forward.[46]

Figure 9. *Harmodius And Aristogeiton, Statuary Group of the Tyrannicides. Roman Copy of the 2nd Century CE After a Kritios and Nesiotes Model of 477—476 BCE. (Inv. Nos. 6009, 6010). Farnese Collection, National Archaeological Museum Naples. Miguel Hermoso Cuesta, CC BY-SA 3.0, via Wikimedia Commons*

The story of these lovers and their statues was well documented by classical authors and was probably known to the classical scholars of the Carracci's period. In his "Descriptions of Greece" (1.8.5), the second- century the Greek geographer,

738-739; Hippolyte Taine, *Lectures on Art.*, trans. John Durand (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1875)**, 135.**

46. The Farnese collection also included two classical busts of the bearded Roman Emperor Hadrian (Inv. 6067, 6069) and two statues of his young beardless beloved, Antinous (Inv. 6030, 6314), as well as a significant number of classical busts of Greek philosophers, among them a herm of Socrates (see Figure 7). Its matching companion, a herm of a curled young Alcibiades, is displayed in the Musei Capitolini (MC1160).

traveler, and writer Pausanias noted that their statues were erected in the agora to mark their efforts to sustain Athenian democracy by killing Hipparchus, the brother of the tyrant Hippias, and that they were stolen during the Persian wars.[47] In *The History of the Peloponnesian War* (VI.54–59), Thucydides contended that the couple's motivation was not the liberation of Athens, but rather jealousy.[48] Aristotle discussed this matter in his *Athenian Constitution* (XVIII), where he recounted that Hipparchus took a fancy to the young Harmodius and that Aristogeiton's jealousy led him to conspire with Harmodius to overthrow the tyrant.[49] The statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton in the Farnese collection might well have influenced the artists' decision to display pairs of male lovers repeatedly depicted as a bearded old lover and a beardless young beloved, evoking Pausanias's idea of heavenly love.

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Bellori contended that except for the herms embracing in the four corners, the rest of the paintings evoke the conception of common love. He began with *The Chorus of Bacchus and Ariadne*, the central piece on the ceiling:

> […] coming now to the descriptions of the fables (paintings), we shall commence first with those of profane love and with the great Bacchanal, the most copious one, set lengthwise in the middle of the vault as the principal object of the eye.[50]

In this painting, Annibale depicted the wedding procession of Bacchus and Ariadne, a celebration of drunken fauns, satyrs, and maenads, playing instruments and dancing to exhaustion (Figure 10).[51]

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47. Pausanias, *Descriptions of Greece*, VI vols. (London: Macmillan, 1898), I, 41.

48. This text was translated into Latin in 1452, and in the sixteenth century it entered into the discussion of European politics and political theory. Mark Fisher, *The History of the Peloponnesian War* (London: Macat Library, 2017), 9.

49. **On** Harmodius and Aristogeiton **in classical literature see Mark D. Schachter, *Voluntary Servitude and the Erotics of Friendship: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern France* (Hampshire, Burlington: Ashgate, 2008),** 32-33.

50. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 84. *[…] e per venire alla descrizzione di esse favole, comincieremo prima da quelle dell'Amor profane e dalla gran Baccanale, la piú copiosa collocata per lungo nel mezzo la volta, come principale oggetto dell'occhio*. Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 57.

51. Dionysus approach to love and marriage is evoked in the closing scene in Xenophon's *Symposium* (IX: 5-7). See Fiona Hobden, *The Symposion in Ancient Greek Society and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 221. Further, in Plato's *Symposium,* where Alcibiades, crowned with ivy and as drunk as Dionysus, appears uninvited at Agathon's party, followed by a girl playing a flute and a drunken crowd and forcing the participants (who had agreed to remain sober) to continue their discourse on love under the influence of wine (*Symp.*212d-215a). See William Mure, *A Critical History of*

Figure 10. *Annibale Carracci, The Chorus of Bacchus and Ariadne (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

Robert Baldwin suggests that this image alludes to Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (I, 527-556), adapted by Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494) for his *Stanze* (I: 110-112), which he started in the vernacular in 1478 but left unfinished.[52] The two parts of this painting emphasize the contrast between the graceful figures of Bacchus and his bride, riding in their carriages on the left, and the grotesque figures of Silenus and the common Venus on the right. Silenus is depicted drunk and falling off his donkey, and the common Venus is lying half-naked at his feet.

Bellori made certain that his readers understood the representation of Ariadne and the common Venus as an allusion to Pausanias's common Aphrodite, emphasizing her dual functions: marriage and sexual gratification (*Symp.*180e). He described Ariadne as meant for marriage, "no longer tearful and sad over the infidelity of Theseus,"[53] who abandoned her on the Island of Naxos, but grateful to Bacchus, who had found her upon his return from India "and smitten by her beauty, he chose her to be his bride."[54] He described the common Venus, half-naked and exposed to Silenus's gaze, emphasizing the notion of carnal desire:

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the Language and Literature of Antient Greece, V vols. (London: Brown, Green & Longmans, 1857), V, 499-460.

52. Baldwin argues that five images on the Farnese ceiling– *The Chorus of Bacchus and Ariadne*, *Polyphemus Seducing Galatea*, *Europa Abducted by the Bull*, *Hercules and Iole*, and *Jupiter and Ganymede* allude to *Le Stanze* (I, 97-119), where Poliziano adapted passages from the Claudian ***Epithalamium*** and Ovid, *Ars Amatorial* to describe the scenes of love that Vulcan carved in the doors of Venus's garden. Baldwin also proposes that the allusion to the Claudian ***Epithalamium***, written in the fourth century for the marriage of Emperor Honorius and Maria, empowered the Farnese's alliance with the Aldobrandini. Baldwin, "Annibale Carracci and the Farnese Ceiling," 3-5.

53. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 85.

54. Ibid, 84.

> But on the first plain further on the foreground a half-nude woman lies on the ground, raised up by her right arm bent on a hammock, supporting her head on her hand; and as if startled out of her sleep by the clamor, […]. This is common and earthly Venus, with impure love at her side, who folds his arms and leans on her shoulders. She has her breast and loins uncovered, and she puts out her left hand, plucking from the ground the mantle that covers the rest of her body.[55]

Bellori's description of this Venus is reminiscent of the description of Ariadne in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (I: 527-556) and the one in Catullus's poem (LXIV: 36–50), where she (once abandoned by Theseus) awakens on the island, naked and alone.[56] Bellori's analogy suggests that he interpreted the two female figures in *The Chorus of Bacchus and Ariadne* by following the duality of Pausanias's common Aphrodite who was meant for either marriage or for sexual desire.[57] This reading explains Bellori's interpretation of this painting as a depiction of "profane love."

Pausanias's definition of common love also includes the love of boys, when pursued only for the pleasures of the flesh and not for educational reasons (181b).[58] Images of such love are evoked in Annibale's *Jupiter and Ganymede* and *Apollo and Hyacinth*. These paintings show the gods carrying their young prey to heaven to satisfy their passions (Figures 11, 12). Their subjects follow passages from Orpheus's lamentation in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (X: 143-219), where Orpheus (after failing to rescue Eurydice) recounts the advantages of loving young boys over women, which he justifies by recalling the love Jupiter and Apollo had for them.[59]

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55. Ibid, 85. *Ma nel primo piano piú avanti giace in terra una donna seminude sollevato col destroy braccio piegato ad un poggiuolo, reggendo il capo su la mano; e quasi per lo strepito scossa dal sonno, […] Questa è Venere vulgare e terrena, standole a fianco l'Amore impuro, che raccolte le bracia, si sppoggia sopra la sua spalla; ha ella disvelato il petto e 'l seno, e stende la sinistra pigliando in terra il mano che ricuopre il resto del corpo.* Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 62.

56. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916), VIII: 176-82.

57. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 85. On Annibale's reference to an ancient sarcophagus that describes Ariadne discovered by Bacchus in Naxos, see Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 44.

58. Pederasty is also discussed in the speeches of Phaedrus and Eryximachus, as a legitimate kind of love that describes the relationship between the old lover (the master) and the young beloved (his pupil) and it is explained as the noblest form of education. On pederasty and homosexual love in the speeches of the *Symposium*, see Nehamas's (intro.) in Plato, *Symposium*, xv-xvi.

59. On *paiderastia* in portrayals of Ganymede by Michelangelo, Correggio, Cellini, and Romano, which project the tensions between Neoplatonism and Christianity, see James M. Saslow, *Ganymede in the Renaissance: Homosexuality in Art and Society* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1986), chap. I-III; on homoerotic depictions in

Figure 11. *Annibale Carracci, Jupiter and Ganymede (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

Figure 12. *Annibale Carracci, Apollo And Hyacinth (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

To highlight the idea of pederasty, which is suggested on both sides of *Jupiter and Ganymede* and *Apollo and Hyacinth*, Annibale replaced the human *ignudi* with pairs of satyrs, hinting at the characterization of these creatures as seducers of young boys as evoked in the group statue *Pan and Daphnis* (or *Olympus*), a Roman copy by Heliodoros in the Farnese collection in which an old and ugly satyr is seducing his young pupil with his reed pipe (Figure 13).[60]

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the Renaissance, see Bette Talvacchia, *Taking Positions: On the Erotic in Renaissance Culture* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1999), chap.7; Ann Haughton, "Myths of Same Sex Love in the Art of the Italian Renaissance," *Exchanges: The Warwick Research Journal* 3, no. 1 (2015): 65-95.Haughton, 65-95; Dall'Orto, Giovanni, "Socratic Love as a Disguise for Same-Sex Love in the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of Homosexuality* 16, no. 1-2 (1989): 33-66.

1. 60. This statue inspired two other paintings rendered by Annibale and his studio in the same years that he worked on the Farnese Gallery ceiling. *Silenus with a Boy* (now in the National Gallery in London) was produced around 1597–1600, probably under the guidance of the humanist Fulvio Orsini (https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/annibale-carracci-marsyas-and-olympus). *Marsyas and Olympus*, where a vicious satyr is

Figure 13. *Pan and Daphnis (or Olympus), A Roman Copy (3rd–2nd BCE), by Heliodoros, (Inv. No.6329). Farnese Collection, National Archaeological Museum Naples. Virtusincertus, CC BY 2.0, via Wikimedia Commons*

This idea is also evoked in Alcibiades's speech in the *Symposium* in which he compares Socrates to the satyr Marsyas or to Silenus (*Symp*. 215b–215d), accusing him of being "crazy about beautiful boys; he constantly follows them around in a perpetual daze" (*Symp*. 216d).

Following Pausanias's definition, Bellori could have identified the heterosexual love affairs depicted on the paintings and the medallions of Farnese Gallery ceiling, as images of common love. Despite their allusion to the Latin literature and to the literature of the period, their conception of love corresponds to examples of love referred to in the speeches featured in the *Symposium*.

Annibale's *Paris and Mercury* and *Pan and Diana*, depict two improper propositions of love, representing infatuation with material beauty, illustrated in these paintings by beautiful things, which exposes the moral weakness of the receivers. In *Paris and Mercury*, Paris is tempted by the apple of discord handed to

seducing a young boy with his reed pipe, is dated to 1600 and is in the Doria Pamphilj collection. On the statue, see Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, 157-158.

him by Mercury (Figure 14). This image alludes to Homer's *Iliad*, where Paris declared that Venus was the most beautiful goddess in the contest, and she promised to reward him with the beautiful Queen of Sparta, Helen, wife of Menelaus, an incident that eventually led to the Trojan War. In *Pan and Diana*, a distorted Pan is seducing the chaste goddess with a beautiful offering of white wool (Figure 15), an image taken from Virgil's *Georgics* (III: 391-393).[61]

Figure 14. *Annibale Carracci, Paris and Mercury (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

61. Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 54.

Figure 15. *Annibale Carracci, Pan and Diana (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

The desire to possess beautiful things as evoked in these two paintings is addressed by Diotima in Plato's *Symposium*, where she struggles with the question of the lover's desire for beauty. Her ideas on love are expressed by Socrates, who presents her ladder of love which evolves from the loving of a particular beautiful body to the loving of all bodies, from the loving of beautiful souls to the higher stage of loving of knowledge – the laws, public activity, and philosophy. She tells Socrates that if he reaches the highest step on this ladder, he will never desire the possession of physical beauty. As expressed in the

Symposium, "If you once see that, it won't occur to you to measure beauty by gold or clothing or beautiful boys and youth" (*Symp*. 211d).[62] Her reference to beautiful clothing or beautiful bodies seems to match Diana's infatuation with the white wool and Paris's attraction to the most beautiful woman, both of which represent the lowest step on Diotima's ladder of love and can be classified as a common kind of love.

The idea of unrequited love and rejected love, two sides of the same coin, is depicted in Agostino's *Aurora and Cephalus*, which portrays the goddesses abducting the mortal young hunter Cephalus, who is rejecting her attempt to embrace him (Figure 16).

Figure 16. *Agostino Carracci, Aurora and Chephalus (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

The subject of the painting is based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (VII) as well as on Gabriello Chiabrera's contemporary musical drama *Il Rapimento di Cefalo*, which was performed in 1600 for Maria de'Medici's wedding.[63] The idea of unrequited love can be traced back to Alcibiades's tale in the *Symposium*, where he describes himself passionately in love with Socrates and suffering (physically and emotionally) first from Socrates's lack of interest and later from his total rejection (*Symp.* 219d).[64]

The painting of *Galatea* on the western side of the ceiling depicts a scene from the Claudian *Epithalamium for Honorius and Maria*, where Cupid summons Triton to carry Venus over the sea to the Emperor's wedding (*Epith*. 215–270). It is unclear why Bellori confused Venus and Galatea, but one of the three Nereids

62. See Nahamas's interpretation of Diotima's speech in Plato, *Symposium*, xix.

63. Dempsey, "*Et nos cedamus amori*," 368 ; Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 58.

64. On Alcibiades suffering of unrequited love, compared to Gallus (In Virgil, Ecl. X) and to other classical protagonists, see Carol U. Merriam, "Clinical Cures for Love in Propertius 'Elegis,'" *Scholia: Studies in Classical Antiquity*, 10 (2001): 69-76, 69-70.

portrayed in this painting is certainly Galatea, who appears in Claudian's poem. In the poem, Cupid finds the savage sea creature Triton, half-man and half-fish, pursuing the beautiful Nereid Cymothoë, who eludes him and faints from fear (*Epith*. 215). He promises Triton that if he carries Venus to the wedding, he will reward him by overcoming Cymothoë's resistance (*Epith*. 220-228). Agostino painted Triton transporting Venus over the water (Figure 17), accompanied by Galatea, Psamathe (Dodo), and Cymothoë, who are astride sea beasts, as mentioned in the poem (Epith. 260-265).

Figure 17. *Agostino Carracci, Galatea (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

Agostino depicted one of the Nereids (who seems to be Galatea) looking straight at the viewers and pointing at Cymothoë, who seems to be the fearful Nereid, half hidden behind Venus. Galatea's pointing gesture suggests that Triton is fulfilling his part of the deal and that Cupid, who is depicted flying above the images, arching his bow to launch his arrow, is about to resolve Triton's unrequited love.[65]

The subject of unrequited love is also featured in Annibale's two paintings of Polyphemus's failed attempt to seduce Galatea. *Polyphemus and Galatea* portrays the cyclops trying to seduce the Nereid, while she, enchanted by the soft tunes of his reed pipe, is attending to him unaware of his repulsive looks (Figure 18).

65. The female figure in this painting was described as Galatea by Bellori (see Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 87-88), as "Marine Venus" by Malvasia (see Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, I: 316), as Thetis by Dempsey (in Charles Dempsey "Two 'Galateas' by Agostino Carracci Re- Identified," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte, 39 (1966): 67-70; and also as Venus (in Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 56). See also Claudius Claudianus, *The Works of Claudian*, (London: J. Porter and Langdon and Son, 1817), 144ff.

Figure 18. *Annibale Carracci, Polyphemus and Galetea (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

This story, which is told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XIII750–897), ends with Polyphemus's savage attack on Acis, Galatea's lover and rescuer, who metamorphoses into a river of blood. In his description, Bellori noted that love softened Polyphemus, who tried a gentle approach to attract the beautiful Galatea:

> The most savage beasts feel sentiments of love: behold, rough Polyphemus, Neptune's son, largest of the Cyclops, sits on a crag in the Sicilian sea, enamored of Galatea: and there he sooths his pangs, singing hoarsely to the sounds of his shepherds' pipes." [66]

Polyphemus's approach to beauty, as described by Bellori, reflects Diotima's argument on the need of all creatures to reproduce and give birth in beauty:

66. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 89. *Sentono affetti d'amore I piú ferini petti: ecco il crudo Polifemo figliuolo di Nettunno il maggiore de' Ciclopi siede sopra uno scoglio del mare siciliano, fatto amante di Galatea; e quivi disacerba I suoi affanni, rauco cantando al suono di pastorali canne*. Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 70. Dempsey associated this painting to Philostratus's *Imagines* (II: 18). See Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 60-61.

> […] whenever animals or persons draw near to beauty, they become gentle and joyfully disposed and give birth and reproduce; but near ugliness they are foul-faced and draw back in pain" (*Symp*. 206d).

As if following this idea, in *The Wrath of Polyphemus*, Annibale portrayed the beautiful Galatea escaping the ugly cyclops, whom she encountered on the shore (Figure 19). The rejected Polyphemus is expressing his unrequited love in an explosion of fury, violently uprooting a rock from the ground with which to chase Galatea and her rescuer back into the sea.[67]

Figure 19. *Annibale Carracci, The Wrath of Polyphemus (1597-1601), Farnese Gallery, Rome. Public Domain, via Wikimedia Commons*

Annibale's four *quadri riportati minori* portray passive male protagonists subjugated to their active female companions, who exhibit their power and authority.[68] These four paintings are Baroque heterosexual versions of the reversal of the traditional roles of the lover and the beloved from antiquity. This idea of love was expressed by Alcibiades in Plato's *Symposium*, where he tells

67. Dempsey compared the uncontrolled fury of the Christian night Orlando in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (XXIV: 15) with Polyphemus fury. See Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 64-65.

68. On the reversed roles of the lover and the beloved, see Esthy Kravitz–Lurie, "Hercules and Rinaldo: Annibale Carracci's Invenzione of Tasso's Epic Hero," *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts* 3, no. 2 (2016): 123-142, 134-139; on the passivity of the male figures, see Baldwin, "Annibale Carracci and the Farnese Ceiling," 3.

how as a young boy, he went against the norms of his society by trying to seduce the old master Socrates, "as if I were his lover and he my young prey!" (*Symp.* 217c).[69]

In *Hercules and Iole*, the reversed roles are symbolized by having the protagonists exchange clothes and attributes: Hercules is wrapped in Iole's mantle and is holding her tambourine (Figure 20). Iole has his club and lion skin and is extending her arm across his broad shoulders in a patronizing gesture. Bellori linked this painting to Tasso, and Dempsey notes that it describes a relief of Hercules and Iole engraved on the entrance to Armida's palace, where Cupid appears as in *Hercules and Iole*, laughing at Hercules's effeminate state (*La Gerusalemme liberata*, XVI: 3).[70]

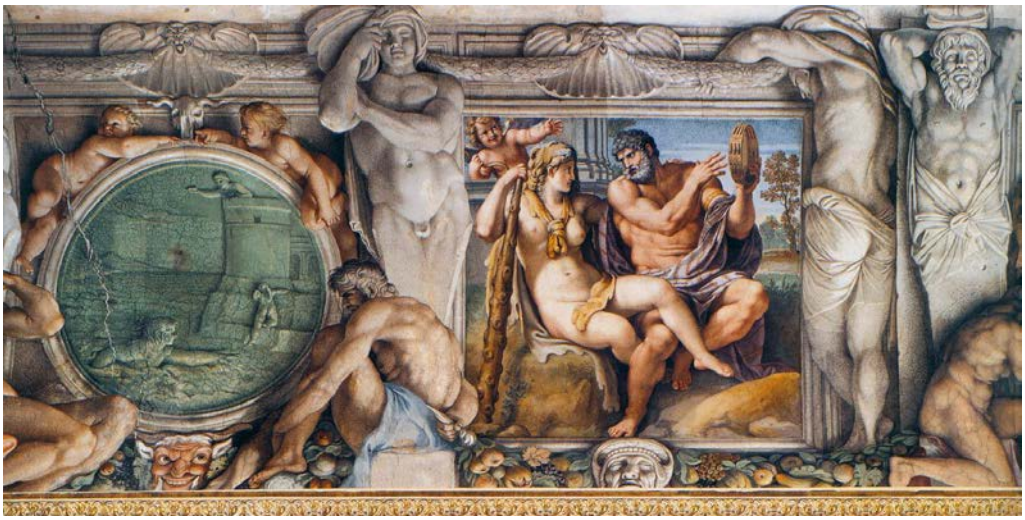

Figure 20. *Annibale Carracci, Hercules and Iole, with a Threesome of Herms and the Medallion Hero and Leander (detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

In *Venus and Anchises*, the Trojan warrior is portrayed as a chambermaid, shown removing Venus's sandals, the goddess's robes and necklaces already having been piled on a nearby chair (Figure 21). In this painting, Anchises's subjugation is compared to Hercules's by the image of the latter's lion skin on the floor at Anchises's feet, as well as his club, which is held by one of the herms who

69. See Nahamas's introduction in Plato, *Symposium*, xxiii; Mateo Duque, "Two Passions in Plato's Symposium: Diotima's To Kalon as a Reorientation of Imperialistic Erōs," in *Looking at Beauty to Kalon in Western Greece: Selected Essays from the 2018 Symposium on the Heritage of Western Greece* (eds.) Heather L. Reid and Tony Leyh (Iowa: Parnassos Press – Fonte Aretusa, 2019), 95-110, 95.

70. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 89; Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 68. On this tale, see also Ovid, *Heroides and Amores* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), IX: 73-134; Ovid, *The Fasti, Tristia, Pontic Epistles, Ibis, and Halieuticon of Ovid* (London; New York: G. Bell, 1899), II: 303-358; and Angelo Poliziano, *The Stanze of Angelo Poliziano* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), I: 114.

is leaning against the picture's frame. This painting includes the Latin inscription, "*Genvs vnde Lativm*," taken from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I: 6).[71] It further highlights Annibale's humorous depiction of the reversed roles of these lovers: a masculine-appearing, breast-less goddess, and a warrior-chambermaid, who are declared (in the inscription) as the founders of the Latin race.

Figure 21. *Annibale Carracci, Venus and Anchises with a Threesome of Herms and the Medallion Cupid and Pan (detail of Figure 1) 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

In *Jupiter and Juno*, Annibale presented Jupiter disarmed by Juno's beauty. This painting follows Homer's *Iliad*, (XIV: 197ff), where Venus lent her enchanted belt to Juno in order to distract Jupiter from supporting the Trojans in the Trojan war, in which the two deities favored opposing sides.[72] Annibale depicted Jupiter ignoring his weapon, the lightning bolt (which is forgotten under the marital bed) at the sight of the seductive belt that Juno is wearing under her bare breasts (Figure 22).

71. Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 70; Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, I, 93, 103: Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 88.

72. Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci*, 74; Posner, *Annibale Carracci*, I: 103, 107: Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 87.

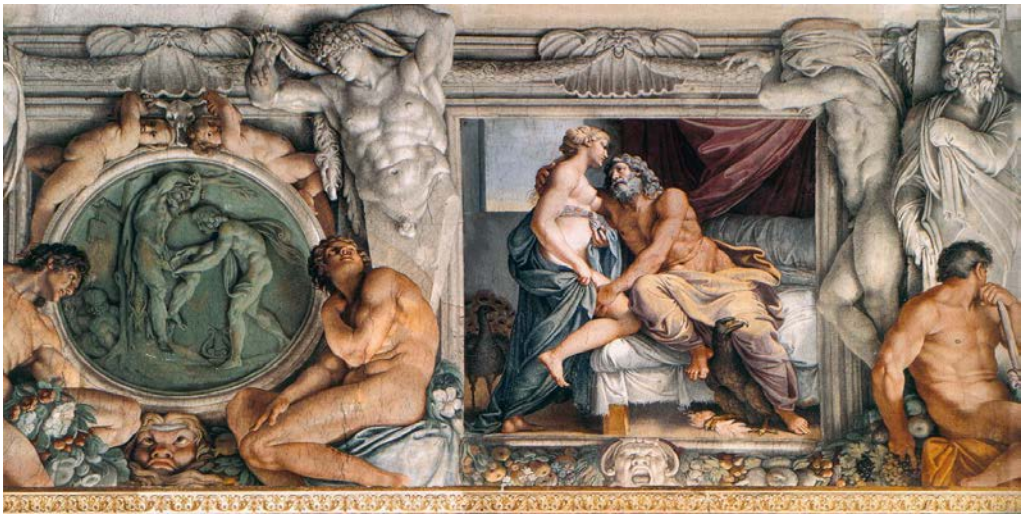

Figure 22. *Annibale Carracci, Jupiter and Juno, with a Threesome of Herms, and the Medallion Apollo Flight Marsyas (detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

The reversed role of lovers appears once again in *Diana and Endymion*, where Annibale depicted the mortal shepherd in an eternal sleep, surrendering to Diana, the chaste goddess, who appears at nightfall to take advantage of his unconscious state (Figure 23).[73]

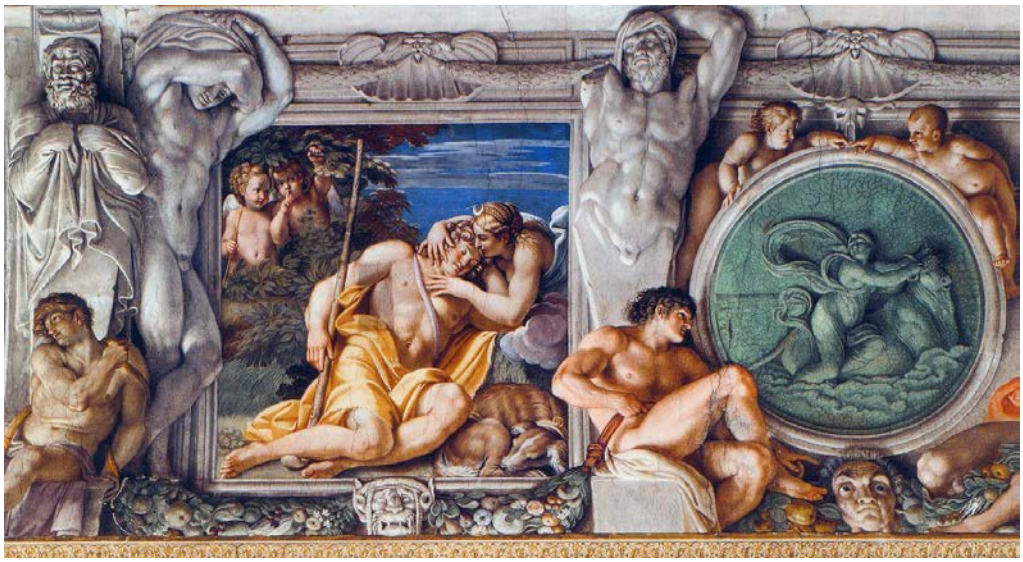

Figure 23. *Annibale Carracci, Diana and Endymion with a Threesome of Herms, and the Medallion Europe and the Bull (detail of Figure 1), 1597-1601, Farnese Gallery, Rome*

Grouped around these four paintings, Annibale repeatedly figured trios of herms and statues, which included: a couple undressing against the painting's frame while peeking at the scenes of love inside, and a third figure of an older master standing by their side (Figures 20–23). The painter seems to have shaped

73. Ibid, 88.

them as classical images of an old philosopher in the company of two younger fellows. They seem to correspond to the playful atmosphere described in the introductory dialogue of the *Symposium*, where the older Apollodorus is asked by the young Glaucon and his friend to tell them what was said about love at Agathon's drinking party (*Symp*. 172b).

The classical philologist Diskin Clay noted that as the speeches in the *Symposium* evolve, the reader is under the impression that Apollodorus is guiding Glaucon and his friend from one speech to another.[74] Such is the viewer's impression when observing the herm lovers grouped in threes around these scenes of love on the Farnese ceiling (Figures 20–23). The enthusiastic gestures of the pairs peeking at these scenes seem to suggest that they are expressing the same kind of curiosity as Glaucon and his friend in the *Symposium*, whereas the older figure seems to resemble Apollodorus, standing aside and tolerating the youngsters' excitement.

After describing the paintings and the bronze-like medallions, Bellori moves on to "The Allegory of the Fables," where he classifies the medallions, listing only seven out of the eight, and naming six of them as depictions of profane love:

> The medallions follow, Boreas abducting Orithyia, Salmacis with Hemaphroditus, the god Pan embracing Syrinx, Europa carried off by the bull, Leander drowning, Eurydice returned to Hades: these represent the vices and injuries of profane love, which are overcome by Apollo flaying Marsyas, standing for the light of wisdom that strips the soul of its ferine skin.[75]

Bellori excluded *Apollo Flying Marsyas* from the category of common love (Figure 5), but marked the other medallions as depictions of heterosexual desire: abduction, persuasion, copulation, and the reckless loss of the beloved, which make them appropriate to the category of common love.[76]

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74. In the *Symposium*, Apollodorus is repeating what Aristodemus (who was present at Agathon's party) had told him about the event. See Diskin Clay, "The Tragic and Comic Poet of the Symposium," *Arion* 2 (1975): 238-261, 240.

75. Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters*, 92. *Seguono le medaglie, Borea che rapisce Orizia, Salmace con Ermafrodito, il dio Pane che abbraccia Siringa, Europa rapita dal toro, Leandro sommerso, Euridice di nuovo rapita all'inferno: sono li vizii e li danni dell'amor profano; a cui soprasta Apolline che socortica Marsia, inteso per la luce della sapienza che toglie all'anima la ferina spoglia.* Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 77.

76. The last issue has to do with the medallion *Orpheus and Eurydice*, which describes Orpheus's loss of his wife at the gate of the underworld. In the *Symposium*, Phaedrus expresses his low opinion of Orpheus: "Orpheus, however, they (the gods) sent unsatisfied from Hades, after showing him only an image of the woman he came for. They did not give him the woman herself, because they thought he was soft (he was, after all, a cithara-player) and did not dare to die like Alcestis for Love's sake, but contrived to enter living into Hades. So they punished him for that, and made him die at the hands of women." Plato, *Symposium*, 179d. See Michael J.B. Allen, "Eurydice in Hades: Florentine Platonism

The tale of Marsyas, the arrogant satyr who tempted Apollo to a music contest, appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (XI: 146-193). Alcibiades's relates to Marsyas in the *Symposium*, where he compares the luring of Socrates's words to the satyr's music, both utilized as tools of temptation, which infuriates the gods (*Symp.* 215b-d).[77] Unlike Socrates, Marsyas is vanquished by Apollo, who puts an end to his alluring tunes. This reading of the tale, which shines on Marsyas, presenting him as less arrogant than Socrates, could be what led Bellori to distinguish *Apollo Flying Marsyas* from the other medallions and to interpret his affairs with Apollo, as an example of heavenly love.

Interestingly, Bellori paid very little attention to *Cupid and Pan*, which he omitted from his list of medallions and failed to classify it. He described it wrongly when he reviewed the paintings on the northeastern side, as Amor, who is tying the satyr (Pan) to a tree trunk: "*Amore che doma e lega il satiro al tronco*."[78] His notion regarding the bound satyr does not fit with the image in this medallion, where the satyr is supporting himself with one arm braced against the protruding roots of the tree behind him, while a child-Cupid (mimicking the gesture of conquering) has his foot on his hairy thigh (Figure 4). Bellori's erroneous description of the bound satyr is, rather, one associated with the tale of Marsyas tied to the tree in *Apollo Flying Marsyas*, which faces *Cupid and Pan* on the northwestern side of the ceiling.

Bellori's list of medallions completes his description of the ceiling. His readers cannot but notice his persistence in maintaining the theme of "common and heavenly love" throughout the description of the entire ceiling: the corners, the paintings, and the medallions, including references to classical and contemporary literature when describing the subjects of the paintings. His failure to described or even classify *Cupid and Pan* raises some questions: Was Bellori avoiding this young Eros in his ridiculous attempt to conquer an old satyr? If so, why? In "Reevaluating Cupid and Pan" published in 2022, I argue that the subject of this medallion was based on Alcibiades's tale of seduction in Plato's *Symposium*, where Plato describes Alcibiades and Socrates, as a young Eros and an old satyr, whom Alcibiades's tries to seduce, as they wrestle in the *gymnasium* (*Symp.* 215b-216d, 219b).[79] This image matches those in *Cupid and Pan*, where a

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and an Orphic Mystery," in *Nuovi Maestri e antichi testi. Umanesimo e Rinascimento alle origini del pensiero moderno*, (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2012), 19-40. 31, 33 note 55.

77. On Apollo and Marsyas, see also Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, XI: 146-193.

78. Bellori, *Le Vite de' Pittori*, 68. "Beginning again at the opposite side, in the same order, between the two medallions of Cupid taming the satyr and tying him to a tree and Salmacis embracing Hemaphroditus, we come to the image of Venus and Anchises." Bellori, *The Lives of the Modern Painters,* 88.

79. Esthy Kravitz-Lurie, "Reevaluating Cupid and Pan: The Story of Eros and the Satyr in the Farnese Gallery", in *Journal of Baroque Studies*, no. 3: 2 (2022), 159-182.; On Socrates's and Alcibiades's allegorical characters, see Mark David Usher, "Satyr Play in Plato's Symposium," *The American Journal of Philology* 123, no. 2 (2002): 205-228, 214-215.

child Eros tries to seduce a resisting old satyr. I believe that the correct description of this medallion would have ruined Bellori's puzzle of references and hints, which led his readers to Plato's *Symposium*. It would have clearly revealed the unconventional literary source responsible for the conception of love depicted on the Farnese Gallery ceiling.

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In this essay I followed Bellori's interpretation of the theme of love depicted on the Farnese Gallery ceiling. His references to Plato's *Symposium* seem to unwrap the complexity of Annibale's work: representations of mythological love affairs based on classical and contemporary literature, which are consistent with the conception of love in the *Symposium*. The Carracci's representations of same-sex love, love of boys, marriage and sexual gratification, the reversed roles of lovers, rejected love and unrequited love, and infatuation with material beauty, all of which are evoked in the paintings on the ceiling, created what Bellori understood to be a conception of love formulated by Plato. Bellori hinted at the *Symposium* by referring to Pausanias's heavenly and common love, which he used to classify the paintings. With the exception of the medallion *Apollo Flying Marsyas*, he interpreted all the paintings on the ceiling as depictions of common love. Yet, he found an expression of Pausanias's heavenly love by observing the pairs of herms embracing over the wrestlers in the four corners of the ceiling.

Referring to the contemporary literature as sources for the subjects of the paintings while addressing Plato's unconventional conception of love, hints at the involvement of a classical scholar such as Orsini, who could deal with this issue with delicacy. It required the inventiveness of well-read painters, such as Annibale and Agostino, who could see the advantage of following the outrageous conception of same-sex love with the images of the herm lovers, which they used as illusionistic devices, architecturally designed to embrace above the images of the wrestlers and to act as separations between the ceiling's paintings. The Carracci created an ingenious masterwork, a puzzle of texts and images, whose elucidation required Bellori's expertise. He managed to provide that insight with discretion, following the enigma in the Carracci's work, offering hints based on literary references, and trusting his readers to follow his clues.

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The Method in the Madness: Dionysus in the Arts of the Modern Era

*By Alexandra Massini**

This article, derived from my forthcoming book, examines how the irrational was represented through the juxtaposition of Dionysus and Apollo. Ever since Nietzsche's Geburt der Tragödie*, the polarity of the two gods has been codified in Western culture. However, while their discrepancy as opposites has been widely appropriated, little attention has been given to their similarities which can be found in classical art and literature and again from the Renaissance onwards, when Plato's praise of "madness" was rediscovered, and images of Dionysian character were re-produced. This article briefly traces back the roots of Nietzsche's ideas and confronts these with examples from the visual arts. It also re-considers the ancient Dionysus and his transformations across time, investigating which aspects of the god were favoured versus others. Bacchus, "id est vinum" recited a popular formula, but from Michelangelo to Caravaggio and beyond, this was not the only Dionysian guise to be known. While often depicted as a merrymaking god of nature, darker aspects could be chosen. It is the madness and disorder, as well as the reasons for their revelation (or omission) that are explored, in the belief that these provided the sources for Nietzsche's dualistic formulations and many a modern "coniunctio oppositorum".*

Introduction

When investigating Dionysus in the visual arts, two approaches are possible: either a concentration on a single period and theme, with the goal of eviscerating every possible manifestation of the god; or a comprehensive sweep through time. The former has the disadvantage of providing a single lens focus and rendering a partial image of the god; the second loses depth of analysis. Both paths have been taken by different authors, each building on the experience of the predecessor. What hitherto was missing, however, was a study of visual representations that pulled together the strings of Dionysus's many identities and layered meanings. My research, only synthetically anticipated in this article and more fully expounded in my forthcoming book, utilizes both approaches, in the hope of providing a more comprehensive picture of the god and do justice to his multiplicity.

Not one but many *Dionysoi*, can be encountered. Difficult to catch, let alone define, they need to be uncovered in their different areas of origin. In this sense, I take three major directions. First, I explore the ancient Dionysus and his representations in art. I also examine how the all-powerful Greek god, lord of nature, divine mysteries, and inspiration, was gradually transformed into the

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Roman Bacchus and, eventually, into a humanized emblem of wine and drunkenness. Secondly, I wish to identify which aspects of the god were favoured, when and why. In this sense I also investigate the reasons for the transmission (or omission) of his most sinister traits, aware of the fact that in all earlier studies, the dark side of Dionysus was either forgotten or overstated, but never fully integrated with his joyful counterpart. Third, I wish to demonstrate that Nietzsche's Dionysus was not simply the product of the nineteenth-century (as frequently claimed), but rather the result of mistaken identities, partial survivals or distorted interpretations that began much earlier. Indeed, the polarity of the Dionysian and the Apollonian has very distant origins.

Ultimately, I hope to have synthesized the complexity of Dionysus, both ancient and modern, illustrating what aspects were accepted more readily than others and to what extent the equation of Dionysus and Apollo was known or adopted. My aim has been to illustrate how artworks surviving from antiquity could encapsulate various perceptions of Bacchus, and how the Dionysian irrational was expressed in the visual arts of the modern era.

Nietzsche's Dionysus

At Palazzo Massimo in Rome is an over life-size marble statue of an aged and full-bodied man clad in female robes and wearing long hair. The identification with Dionysus Sardanapallos, first proposed after the discovery of the piece in 1928, is unanimously accepted.[1] The statue is a Roman copy after an early Hellenistic original and is known through other ten replicas including one in the British Museum and one in the Vatican. It derives its name from the antique inscription "Sardanapallos" carved on the Vatican exemplar, associating the figure with the Assyrian king of the seventh century BC, famous for his dissolute opulence and feminine attires[2] (Figure 1).

The sculpture then seems to correspond to the stories of the exotic provenance or return of the god from the east. It also echoes a famous description

1. Ludwig Curtius, "Sardanapal", *Archäologisches Jahrbuch* 43 (1928), 281-297; Adriano La Regina, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme* (Milan: Electa, 1998), 148.

2. Erwin Pochmarski, "Neue Beobachtungen zum Typus Sardanapal", *Österreichische Jahreshefte* no. 50 (1972-75), 41-67, especially 44; Erwin Pochmarski, "Nochmals zum Typus Sardanapal", *Österreichische Jahreshefte* no. 55 (1984), 63-75. Cfr. Hans-Ulrich Cain, *Dionysus, Die Locken lang, ein halbes Weib?* (Munich: Museum fuïr Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke, 1988), 54; Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Monumenti Antichi Inediti,* (Rome: Pagliarini, 1767) vol. II, n. 163; Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Il Museo Pio Clementino illustrato e descritto* (Milan: Bettoni, 1818-22 [1794]), vol. II (1819), 257-268, Pl. XLI, first recognized the statue as Dionysus. The inscription on the Vatican piece is disputed and occasionally dated to the 17th century.

of Dionysus written by Lucian in the second century AD, in which the god, dressed as a female, conducted an army of women to conquer India[3] (Figure 2).

Figure 1. *Dionysus "Sardanapallos", First Century AD After a Hellenistic Original of c. 300 BC, Luni Marble, Palazzo Massimo, Rome, H 206 cm*
Source: Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, CC BY-SA 3.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0>, via Wikimedia Commons. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/52/0_Dionysos_Sardanapale_-_Pal._Massimo_alle_Terme.JPG.

3. Henry Watson Fowler and Francis George Fowler, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 253.

Figure 2. *Dionysus and Maenads, Front Detail of an Amphora Attributed to Kleophrades, c. 490 BC, Clay, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich*
Source: Dionysos: Verwandlung Und Ekstase, Renate Schlesier, Agnes Schwarzmeier, eds. Exhibition Catalogue (Berlin, Pergamonmuseum, 5 November 2008 – 21 June 2009) (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2008), p. 149, Fig. 3.

Besides its ambiguous iconography the sculpture bears an intriguing historic significance. To commemorate the centenary of Nietzsche's birth, in 1944, the statue was sent to Nazi Germany as a gift from Mussolini (who at the same time was construing his idea of Augustan and Apollonian grandeur in Rome). It was then taken to the Nietzsche Archiv in Weimar where it was to serve as a symbol of the Nietzsche-Dionysus cult conceived by Walter Otto. It remained boxed until 1947, was then transferred to the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, and only returned to Rome in 1991.

In the same room of the museum, another statue, in bronze, presents a youthful Dionysus that is curiously Apollonian. His real identity is only recognizable through the wreath of vine leaves on his head and the *thyrsos* he holds. On the contrary, his nudity, slender body, and hairstyle could easily be mistaken for Apollo's characteristic traits. The statue was found in 1885 in the river Tiber and was created by a classicizing artist for the early imperial entourage.[4] It corresponds to an original at Woburn Abbey and is known through other twenty copies and subsequent variations. Ultimately, however, it harks back to the most famous statue of Dionysus, one that had been created by Praxiteles (fourth century BC) and that, according to Callistratus (third century AD), had best captured the madness (*μανία*) of the god[5] (Figure 3, 3a).

4. Paul Zanker, *Klassizistische Statuen* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1974), 64.

5. Callistratus, *Descriptions*, 8: "the eye was gleaming with fire, in appearance the eye of a man in a frenzy; for the bronze exhibited the Bacchic madness and seemed to be divinely inspired, just as, I think, Praxiteles had the power to infuse into the statue also the Bacchic ecstasy". The statue is referenced in Pliny too (XXXIV.69). See also Andreas Emmerling-Skala, *Bacchus in der Renaissance* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1994), vol. I, 266.

Figure 3 and 3a. *Dionysus, First Century BC, Bronze, Palazzo Massimo, Rome, H 158 cm Source:* Adriano La Regina, *Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme* (Milan: Electa, 1998), p. 146; *Dionysos*, detail, bronze, bone inlay, copper. Photo: *ibid*.

The juxtaposition of the two statues in the same room confronts the visitor with the paradoxical and multifaceted nature of Dionysus. On the one hand he is presented as the god of wine, albeit with a strangely mannered composure more often associated with Apollo. On the other hand, he is represented as licentious, feminine, and somewhat decadent. In fact, as a transvestite. Exhibited as they are and taken together, the two statues evidence the elusive character of Dionysus, and the dualism that has shaped our modern perception ever since Nietzsche's formulation of the Apollo-Dionysus dichotomy. The very fact that the Sardanapallos was intended to be exhibited in the Nietzsche Archiv in Nazi Germany is an irony that reinforces his contradictory ambiguity.

The polarity of Dionysus and Apollo was famously expressed by Friedrich Nietzsche in *Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik*, published in 1872 with a dedication to Richard Wagner.[6] However, Nietzsche's ideas had their origins in the poetry of earlier German Romantics such as Schiller, Schlegel, Hölderlin, and, to some extent, even Goethe.[7] It had also been theorized by scholars such as Friedrich Creuzer, Karl Otfried Müller, and Johann Bachofen who first juxtaposed Apollonian clarity and Dionysiac frenzy and similarly characterized the debate between Neoclassicism and Romanticism.[8]

Nietzsche was certainly inspired by these precedents although he emphasized the conflict of the two rather than their similarities. In this respect he was also influenced by the definition of Apollo as the god of order introduced by Johann J. Winckelmann's *Gedanken* on Greek art, that were published in 1755.[9] Winckelmann's well-known praise of Apollo as the expression of rational harmony, "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" finds a counterpart in the exploration of deranged mental states that began with the *Sturm und Drang* and was then fully expressed in nineteenth-century Romanticism (Figure 4).

6. Friedrich Nietzsche, *Die Geburt der Tragödie*, ed. Giorgio Colli (Milan: Adelphi, 2007, first published in Basel, 1872)

7. Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, *Die Götter Griechenlands* (1788), Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel, *Über das Studium der Griechischen Poesie* (1795); J. C. F. von Schlegel, *Rede über die Mythologie* (1967); Friedrich Hölderlin, *Brod und Wein* (1807); Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust II* (1825-26), especially the Helena act, written at the same time as he was translating Euripides' *Bacchae*.

8. Friedrich Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*, (1819-21); Jacob Burckhardt, *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), especially ch. III on the re-awakening of Antiquity. See also Giorgio Colli, *La sapienza greca.* (Milan: Adelphi, 1977 and 2007), vol. I, 38.

9. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Gedanken über die Nachamung der Griechischen Werke*. (Dresden: 1755).

Figure 4. *Apollo Belvedere, Roman Copy of the Second Century AD, After an Original Attributed to Leochares, c. 330 BC, Marble, Vatican Museums, H 220 cm*
Source: ttps://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b9/Apollo_del_Belvedere.jpg Livioandronico2013, CC BY-SA 4.0 <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0>, via Wikimedia Commons.

In Nietzsche's own time the juxtaposition of the two gods was also expressed by his friend Erwin Rohde who insisted on the obscure aspects of Dionysus and his Eastern provenance, pointing out that he originated in Thrace and was therefore not readily accepted in the Greek milieu.[10] This view rested on the Greek diffidence against anything "alien" as exemplified by Euripides's *Bacchae* (405 BC) and the friezes of the Parthenon (447-432 BC), the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus (c. 350 BC) and the Altar of Pergamon (166-156 BC).[11] These indeed must have been considered, for Pergamon had just been excavated (in 1886), while the Parthenon and Halicarnassus friezes were already in the British Museum. Long before Nietzsche, however, the juxtaposition of the two gods had been explored on several occasions in the seventeenth-century and in the Renaissance, yet, in fact, it went back all the way to antiquity.

Dionysus and Apollo in Ancient Greece

Comparisons of the two gods are provided in early Greek inscriptions and later authors such as Callimachus (third century BC), who refers to the two as brothers that were both honoured at Delphi.[12] Similarly, in Plutarch (c. 45-120 AD) we read that at Delphi Dionysus had a role comparable to that of Apollo, since he represented the transformations of nature that were re-enacted by priests through the dismemberment of animals and other rituals symbolical of death and resurrection.[13]

The same correspondence is further expressed by Latin authors of a much later date. In the first book of his *Saturnalia* Macrobius (early fifth century) quotes Aeschylus, Euripides and Aristotle and states that the two gods are one and the same and are both venerated on Mt. Parnassus.[14] Aeschylus indeed had called for

10. Erwin Rohde, *Psyche, Seelenkult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen* (Freiburg and Leipzig: Mohr, 1890/94).

11. The metopes of the Doric (exterior) frieze of the Parthenon (446-440 BC), included the fight of the Olympian gods against the giants, the Athenians against the Amazons, the Lapiths against the Centaurs, and possibly the Sack of Troy. Similar scenes were carved at Halicarnassus and the Great Altar at Pergamon respectively illustrating the Amazonomachy and the Gigantomachy.

12. "And Dionysus too was honoured at Delphi together with Apollo because of the following reason. The Titans gave to Apollo – his brother – the limbs of Dionysus that they had dismembered… And Apollo gathered them near the tripod…." my translation from Giorgio Colli, *La sapienza greca*, vol. I: 211, 4 [B 15].

13. Plutarch, *De E apud Delfos*, 9, 389, A-B, Dario del Corno, ed. (Milan, 1993), 145-146.

14. "What has been said of Apollo may also be taken as said of Bacchus. In fact, Aristotle, the author of the *Theologumena*, positively asserts that Apollo and Bacchus are one and the same divinity… Similarly the Beotians while recognizing that Mount Parnassus is sacred to Apollo, venerate there, at the same time, the Delphic oracle and the Caves of Bacchus as being sacred to the same god; wherefore the rites of Apollo and

"Apollo, crowned with ivy, the Bacchus, the diviner", and Euripides had followed suit invoking "Oh Bacchus, dominator, friend of the ivy, oh Paean Apollo, expert of the lyre".[15]

Striking equivalents can be found in the visual arts. Pausanias (110-180 AD) tells us that the pediments of the temple of Apollo at Delphi represented on one side Apollo with the Muses, on the other Dionysus with the Bacchae, while several Greek vases illustrate Apollo and Dionysus on opposite faces[16] (Figure 5). As for statues, various Roman derivations from Praxiteles' prototype show a conflation of the two gods and, in later periods, would even be restored with pieces from one or the other (Figure 6).

Figure 5. *Apollo with the Kithara, Dionysus with a Kantharos, Attic Hydria by the Rycroft Painter, Last Quarter of the Sixth Century BC, Clay, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, H 42.5 cm*

Source: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, Inv. 1917.477, H 42.5 cm. Photo: author's archive.

Bacchus are performed on one and the same mountain…. Euripides writes in his *Licymnian* that Apollo and Bacchus are one and the same god [*Apollinem Liberumque unum eundemque deum esse significans*]". Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, P. Vaughan Davis, ed. (London, 1969), 128 (*Saturnalia* I, xviii, 1-6); Cfr. G. Colli, *La sapienza greca* (2007), vol. I, 79, 378.

15. My translation from G. Colli, *ibid*. p. 79, Aeschylus, fr. 86 (Mette), and Euripides, fr. 477 (Nauck) as quoted by Macrobius, *Sat*. I, xviii, 6.

16. Pausanias, X, xix, 4.

Figure 6. *Dionysus, Second Half of the First Century BC, Marble Statuette, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin*
Source: Dionysos, Exh. Cat., Berlin, 2008, *op. cit*., p. 28, Fig.1.

The clearest expression of the *coniunctio oppositorum* of the two gods we find in Plato. In a well-known passage of the *Phaedrus* Plato (c.428-348 BC) had described four kinds of inspiration that he calls *manìa* and that "set us free from established conventions". They are "the madness of the prophet, which belongs to Phoebus, that of the mystic, belonging to Dionysus, that of the poet, coming from the Muses, and the fourth kind, Love, which is tied to Aphrodite".[17]

To Plato, divine inspiration, most associated with Apollo, is characteristic of Dionysus too and presupposes a condition of "possession" or "intoxication". A few lines earlier in the *Phaedrus* we read that "the greatest blessings can reach us through divine madness, which is given to us as a gift from heaven".[18] And further on in the dialogue Socrates adds that these "benefits" can be received by mortals from the gods only "when they are in a state of frenzy", a state often identified with intoxication from wine.[19] In *Laws* Plato further declares that wine was given to men "so they go mad too" and then exemplifies the concept citing

17. Plato, *Phaedrus* 265b. Plato, *Phaedrus and Letters VII and VIII*, Walter Hamilton, ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1973), 46-48; Eric Robertson Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational.* (Berkeley: University of California, 1951), 64-65.

18. Plato, *Phaedrus* 47.

19. Plato, *Phaedrus* 244.

Homer's mad (*mainomenos*) Dionysus.[20] From Plato's descriptions it appears that while both gods are agents of divine inspiration they can also embody more mysterious and potentially sinister aspects. An echo of these, in the case of Dionysus, is found in the Sardanapallos image, although it has been convincingly demonstrated that the bearded type was rarely shown after the late fifth century BC and was replaced more frequently by the youthful, Apollonian version with a nude, slender body and long hair.

The Theatre and the Art of Liberation

The statues of Dionysus of the later classical period, when he entered the Olympian circle, became more "Apollonian" and composed. Archaic mythologies, on the other hand, had characterized Dionysus as the god of disorder connecting him to violent rites which were rarely accepted within the *polis*. These persisted, albeit muted in concept and purpose, in theatrical representations.[21]

In the many Dionysian festivals connected to the god and the cycles of nature (such as the *Anthesteria* or the later *Dionysia*), the de-structuring potentials of his cult were channelled (and disempowered) into a communal theatrical celebration. The aim, besides the need to express the citizens' unity and values, was the acknowledgement of their instinctual forces and the possibility to release them under control and in particular circumstances.

That these led to the birth of the theatre was recognized from Nietzsche onwards. Rohde, for example, stated that the actor's ability to take on another identity was akin to the transformation operated in the participants of Dionysiac feasts when they entered a state of ecstasy.[22] In experimenting "otherness" one can enter the unknown and exorcize its dangers (Figure 7).

20. Plato, *Laws* VI.672 and VI.773d, as cited in Karl Kerényi, *Dionysus: Archetypal Image of Indestructible Life* (Princeton University Press, 1996 [1976]), 131. Cfr. Homer, Iliad VI, 129, where *Dionysus mainomenos* inspires the madness of Lycurgus.

21. K. Kerényi, *ibid.* demonstrated the original Dionysus to be linked to pre-Homeric myths of the Minoan world, where he is identified with the Minotaur. Only in later versions is he transformed (or humanized) into a more "manageable" figure. While the connection with Crete is presented even by Pausanias, it has ancient roots: Hesiod writes: "Dionysus of the golden hair took as blooming spouse the blonde Ariadne, daughter of Minos, whom he made immortal and without age" (see G. Colli, *La sapienza*… 25-26). In the Homeric epics, Dionysus is only mentioned on four occasions (two of which dealing with wine) and is never associated with the Olympian gods. Cfr. *Iliad* VI.130-140. See Richard Seaford, *Dionysus* (London and New York: Routledge, 2006), 16, 27.

22. E. Rohde, *Psyche*…. p. 37.

Figure 7. *Attic Pelike with a Flute Player and a Male Actor Dressed as a Maenad, 470-460 BC, Clay, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin*
Source: Dionysos, Exh. Cat., Berlin, 2008, *op. cit*., p. 80, Fig. 1.

The great Dionysia in Athens were dedicated to Dionysus Eleuthereus, (the Liberator), and began with an evening procession of dressed up males who played music, danced and exchanged ritually permitted obscenities. Next was the sacrifice of 300 animals which ended with a lavish banquet.[23] The performances began on the following day with dithyrambic chants followed by the standard three days of the tragic contest. The bloodshed of animals at the beginning was both an offering to the gods and a means to cleanse communal sins. Indeed, the show could only start after the theatre had been purified through the blood of sacrificed pigs. Seen in a wider social context, this was a way to divert a potential violence that had better be directed at scapegoats rather than humans. Today an idea of the *catharsis* effected by such bloodbaths may be gained in the performances staged by Hermann Nitsch.[24]

23. This was one of the rare occasions for Athenian citizen to consume meat. See Susan Gödde, in *Dionysos: Verwandlung Und Ekstase*, Renate Schlesier, Agnes Schwarzmeier, eds. Exhibition Catalogue, (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 2008), 100.

24. Aristotle states that the tragedy originated from the dithyramb (*De arte poetica*, IV, 1449) which was originally sung to accompany sacrifices. In this sense, the tragedy can be seen as a ritualization, and thus mitigation, of another violent, yet necessary, practice connected with Dionysus. Cfr. René Girard, *La violence et le sacré* (Paris: Grasset, 1972);

The necessity of sacrifice is also found in a variety of stories connected to Dionysus. In the Dionysus-Zagreus myth the god himself as a child is dismembered by the Titans and then re-assembled by his brother Apollo, while in the *Bibliotheca* attributed to Apollodorus of Athens we find the stories of the Argive women who devour their children, the madness of Lycurgus and Agave who kill their own sons, and the transformation into dolphins of the pirates of Naxos[25] (Figures 8-9).

We also find the tragedy of Orpheus, a man endowed with the abilities of a god and punished for the weaknesses of a mortal. Regarded as the counterpart of Apollo, Orpheus charms all creatures with his music yet ultimately is torn apart by maenads by order of the jealous Dionysus. Indeed, he is guilty of assuming control of nature, infringing the conditions imposed by the gods and preferring Apollo to Dionysus. Torn between the two gods and the concepts they represent, Orpheus was invented to encapsulate their conflict and a synthesis of the two (Figure 10).

Figure 8. *Detail from the Neck of a Kalpis with the Death of Pentheus 500-490 BC, Staatliche Museen, Berlin*
Source: ibid. p.104, Fig. 7.

Walter Burkert, *Homo Necans: the Anthropology of ancient Greek sacrificial ritual and myth* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986); Walter Burkert, *Savage Energies: Lessons of myth and ritual in ancient Greece* (University of Chicago Press, 2001).

25. The *Bibliotheca* was attributed to Apollodorus of Athens (late 2d century BC) but was composed at a much later date (2-3d century AD).

Figure 9. *Dionysus Sailing Amidst Dolphins, "The Ezekias Eye-Cup", Kylix, c. 540-35 BC, Clay, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, Munich*
Source: Dionysos Augenschale des Exekias.jpg, CC BY 2.5, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=2243797.

Figure 10. *The Death of Orpheus, Detail from the Lid of an Attic Lekanis (Cosmetic Bowl), c. 450-425 BC, Clay, Musée du Louvre, Paris*
Source: author's archive.

Perhaps the most immediate example of the disruptive force of Dionysus are the maenads themselves who live in the woods and reject the conventional life of Greek women, habitually secluded in the *gynaeceum* (Figure 11).

Figure 11. *Dancing Maenads, Detail of a Kylix Painted by Makron, c. 480 BC, Clay, Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, Dm 33 cm*
Source: Dionysos, Exh. Cat., Berlin, 2008, *op. cit*., p. 153, cat. nr.1.

Euripides' *Bacchae*, for instance, are compelled by an irresistible urge to leave their households and follow the invisible force of a stranger that will endow them with mysterious powers. The established order is thus subverted by women who take on the role generally ascribed to men. The same paradoxical ambiguity we find in the god's disguise as a woman by which he enters Thebes in Euripides' tragedy. Dressed up as a vulnerable female he is not recognized as a potentially dangerous foreigner, yet eventually he conquers the city through the hands of its very own women.

Bacchus in Rome

The subversive potentials of the early Dionysus have come down to us mainly through archaic or early classical texts such as Euripides' *Bacchae*. In later traditions, the obscure aspects were subdued or modified and whenever they appear, they were appropriated for specific contexts.

In Republican Rome of the second century BC laws such as the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* (186 BC) were passed to curb the danger of Dionysiac mystery cults, yet these survived in the private sphere, as testified by the

decorations of the Villa of the Mysteries in Pompeii or the frescoes of the Villa Farnesina in Rome (Figures 12-13).

Figure 12. *Sylenus and the Reclining Dionysus, Detail from the Triclinium of the Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii, c. 60-40 BC*
Source: Wolfgang Rieger, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/26/Roman_fresco_Villa_dei_Misteri_Pompeii_008.jpg.

Figure 13. *Frescoes from the Cubiculum B of the Villa Farnesina, ca. 21 BC. In the Centre: Dionysus Nursed by Leucotea, Palazzo Massimo alle Terme, Rome*
Source: Matilde De Angelis d'Ossat, ed., *Scultura antica in Palazzo Altemps: Museo Nazionale Romano* (Milan: Electa, 2003), 227.

Dionysiac iconography also lent itself to the hero image of Hellenistic rulers and Roman generals who, like Dionysus and Alexander the Great, had conquered the East. The most famous case is the embodiment of our two opposites (the Apollonian and the Dionysian) by Octavian Augustus on the one hand and Marc Antony or Pompey on the other at a moment when the Dionysian or Eastern world started to be perceived as a byword of debauchery.[26] However, it may also be noted that while Octavian's public imagery relied on Apollonian aspects, the decorations found in the bedrooms and triclinia of his villas are surprisingly Dionysiac in content.

In the public sphere of the Roman world the mysterious Dionysus, who inspired the rejection of established rules, was increasingly tamed into the "safer" image of the wine drinking Bacchus or the old vegetation god Liber. The term in Latin also means "free", so the god Liber, like the Greek *Eleuthereus*, was thought to liberate men from their cares. While recounted by Latin authors such as Ovid (43 BC - 17/18 AD), the fearsome effects of Dionysian frenzy described in Euripides' *Bacchae* and echoed on Greek vases, find no illustration in the visual arts of ancient Rome, and leave ground to sarcophagi illustrating positive revelries, triumphal processions or the story of Bacchus and Ariadne[27] (Figure 14).

Figure 14. *The "Badminton Sarcophagus", The Four Seasons and the Triumph of Bacchus, c. 270 BC, Marble, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*
Source: author's archive.

In general terms, the disruptive Dionysus was progressively turned into a more manageable Bacchus, god of wine and merry-making. As such he survived well into the Renaissance and beyond.

26. Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1988).

27. The purpose of such themes in funerary contexts has been recently investigated in Paul Zanker, and Björn Christian Ewald *Mit Mythen leben: die Bilderwelt der Römischen Sarkophage* (Munich: Hirmer, 2004).

The Moralized Bacchus of Medieval Times

The "taming" of the Greek Dionysus and his transformation into the Roman Bacchus was accelerated in late Antiquity when the perception of the god came to be heavily influenced by Christian apologists, who dismissed him as a corrupted representative of paganism, dubious communal rites, drunkenness and sexual license, or, on rare occasions, assimilated him into a Christological reading referencing the wine of the Eucharist.[28] Such interpretations paved the way for the moralized Bacchus that was circulated in the later medieval period through the *Ovidius moralizatus* (a Latin prose allegorization of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by the French Benedictine Pierre Bersuire, c. 1290-1362) or the *Ovide Moralisé* (a French verse paraphrase of the same text written by an unknown author and transmitted through twenty manuscripts).[29] The miniatures illustrating such texts are indicative of the "loss of power" endured by the god. For example, in the Codex Vat. Reg. lat. 1480, fol. 176r (a French manuscript of the *Ovide*, c. 1370/90) Bacchus is shown with huge horns, dressed in a dark dress, and mounted on the back of a dragon-like panther (Figure 15). The nude and positively sensual god of wine that inspired happiness and super-powers, has been turned into a demonic creature suggesting vice. Far from menacing, he ends up ridiculed and reduced to a mere caricature of his former self.

28 George Sampatakakis, *Bakkhai-Model: The Re-Usage of Euripides' Bakkhai.* Ph.D. thesis (University of London, 2004), 56.

29 The Metamorphoses were among the few classical texts to be circulated well into the Middle Ages. The "*Ovidius moralizatus*" constitutes the 15th book of Bersuire's "Dictionarius, seu reductorium morale" (moralized version) of the widely circulated Encyclopedia compiled around 1240 by Bartholomaeus Anglicus. See A. Emmerling-Skala, *Bacchus…*II, 1022 (on Bersuire) and 791 (on Bartholomaeus Anglicus). On Bersuire see also William Donald Reynolds, *The Ovidius moralizatus of Petrus Berchorius: An Introduction and Translation*. Ph.D. thesis (University of Illinois, 1972).

Figure 15. *Bacchus, from the Ovide Moralisé, France, c. 1370/90, Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 1480, fol. 176r, Vatican Library, Rome*
Source: A. Emmerling-Skala, *Bacchus*… (1994), *op. cit.*, vol.II, p. 1286, Fig. 20.

Bacchus in the Renaissance

Expunged of any destructive powers, Bacchus re-emerged in the Renaissance, at the time of the general rediscovery of classical antiquity, when he became the symbol of a hedonistic and socially desirable way of life. Significantly, in his *Canti Carnascialeschi*, Lorenzo de' Medici, the very sponsor of the Neoplatonists, described him as a happy drunkard, a character he did not possess in Antiquity.

Dionysian revelries and triumphs along with wine-drinking and merriness became a favorite artistic repertoire in palace interiors, to judge from Titian's Bacchanals for Alfonso D'Este in Ferrara, and Giulio Romano's frescoes at Mantua, to Annibale Carracci's gallery-ceiling at Palazzo Farnese in Rome. What comes out of these images is the fun, not the brutal or disruptive potentials (Figures 16-17).

Figure 16. *Titian, Bacchus and Ariadne, 1523-25, Oil on Canvas, National Gallery, London, 175 x 193 cm*
Source: Wikimedia Commons. By Titian - National Gallery, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=611549.

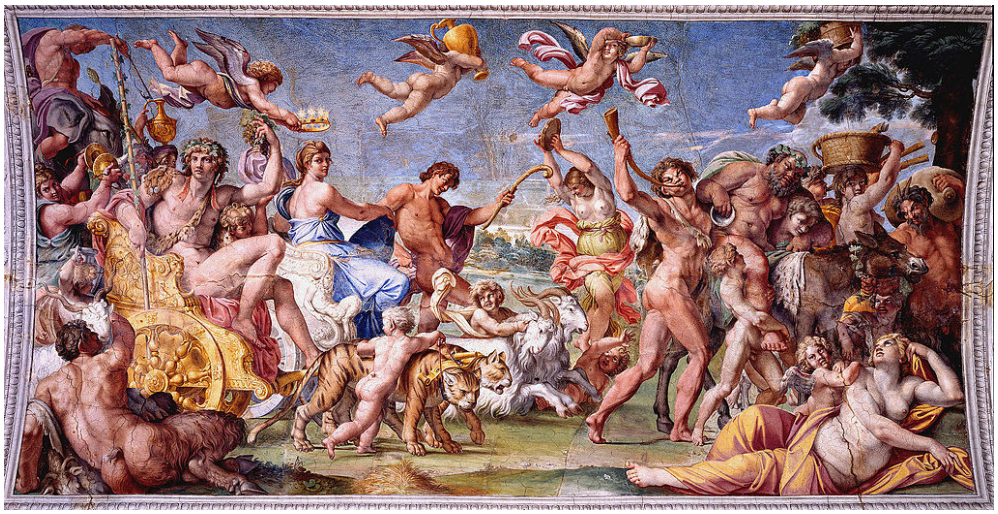

Figure 17. *Annibale Carracci, The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne, 1598-1600, Central Fresco, Gallery of the Loves of the Gods, Palazzo Farnese, Rome*
Source: Wikimedia Commons. By Annibale Carracci - Web Gallery of Art: Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=12214597.

Despite being treated at length in Philostratus and Ovid, which were the main mythological sources of the Renaissance, the stories of the maenads, Lycurgus or Pentheus did not become an established artistic subject, and, with few exceptions, they are hardly seen outside illustrated editions of the *Metamorphoses.* Yet the tendency to avoid representations of Dionysus as god of disorder, madness and maenadism did not mean that such subjects were ignored by Renaissance humanists.

As testified by Vincenzo Cartari's dictionary of images of the ancient gods (first published in 1556), Bacchus was known, at least in certain circles, as a "ferocious youth".[30] This was naturally mediated by the rediscovery of classical literature. Lucian's *Dionysus*, for example, was known in humanistic circles from Alberti onwards.[31] A manuscript of the *Dionysiaca*, written by Nonnos of Panopolis in the fifth century, arrived to Florence from Byzantium and was read by Angelo Poliziano (long before it was published in Antwerp in 1569), providing inspiration for the latter's *Fabula di Orfeo* (c. 1480). Most poignantly, Plato's characterization of Dionysus as inspiring madness and, therefore, being identical with Apollo, was widely circulated through the translations of Marsilio Ficino. Particularly appealing to Ficino's Neo-Platonic Academy and the circles of Lorenzo de' Medici, was the *Symposium* (c. 385/370 BC) where Plato had stated: "Truly all of you, have possessed in common the divine madness and Dionysiac rapture of those who love wisdom".[32] Ficino and his associates also adopted Plato's statement, expressed by Socrates in the *Phaedrus*, that "madness (*μανία*) comes from the gods, whereas sober sense (*σωφροσύνης*), is merely human".[33] Folly is therefore more praiseworthy than moderation and self-control, for it is only the *ekstasis*, the loss of self, that allows man to enter a superior realm and acquire supernatural powers. Such concepts were readily adopted in Faustino Perisauli's poem *De triumpho Stultitiae* (written around 1490 and published in 1521) and certainly influenced Erasmus who was in Italy 1505-09 and published in 1511 his *Praise of Folly*, where he affirms that 'man will be outside of himself and…. will share in the Highest Good'.[34]

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30. Vincenzo Cartari, *Le Imagini de i dei de gli antichi.* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556). The edition I refer to is: G. Auzzas, F. Martignago, M. Pastore Stocchi, P. Rigo (Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1996).

31. Emilio Mattioli, *Luciano e l'Umanesimo* (Naples: Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici, 1980).

32. Giorgio Colli, *La sapienza*, vol. I, p.151.

33. Plato, *Phaedrus* 244d.

34. Desiderius Erasmus, *The Praise of Folly*, ed. John P. Dolan, *The essential Erasmus*. (New York: Meridian, 1964), 172. On ecstatic drunkenness in Erasmus see also Michael Andrew Screech, *Ecstasy and the Praise of Folly* (London: Duckworth, 1980), 35, 105; Marjorie O'Rourke Boyle, *Christening Pagan Mysteries: Erasmus in Pursuit of Wisdom*. (Buffalo: Toronto University Press, 1981), 51. On Perisauli's influence on Erasmus see the

To Renaissance humanists, who pursued a synthesis between the classical and Christian traditions, the divinely inspired *manìa* endowed men with artistic creativity and philosophical insight, and additionally elevated the soul to God. In this sense they agreed with Plato that divine inspiration could equally derive from Apollo, the god of the arts, poetry, music and divination, and from Bacchus, the liberator of the spirit, god of wine and nature. The juxtaposition of the two, undoubtedly derived from Plato's *Phaedrus*, is repeatedly stressed by Marsilio Ficino who writes in his *De Triplici Vita* (published in 1489): "Bacchus brings us two things in particular: wine and the odour of wine to renew the spirit, by the daily employment of which the spirit becomes Apollonian and liberated."[35] Ficino even identified himself with Dionysus and dubbed his protégé Pico della Mirandola as 'Apollo'. Indeed, he ends the *De Triplici Vita* exclaiming: "Rise and greet Pico, our Phoebus. I often call him my 'Phoebus' and he likewise calls me 'Dionysus's and "Liber" for we are brothers."[36]

While we cannot postulate that the complex arguments known to Renaissance scholars were the driving force behind the representation of Dionysiac themes for decorative purposes, they may have inspired some famously ambiguous images such as Michelangelo's statue in the Bargello or Caravaggio's paintings. These works are indeed characterized by subtle psychological overtones that step beyond the simple drunkenness of the god and must have derived from learned inputs. Both artists had indeed been exposed to classical culture and humanist speculation, with Michelangelo beginning his career at the court of Lorenzo il Magnifico, and Caravaggio entering the circle of Cardinal Francesco Maria Del Monte.

Michelangelo's Bacchus

Much has been written about Michelangelo's statue and the way it expressed, like no other, the ambivalent characteristics of Dionysus[37] (Figure 18). Swollen,

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introduction by Alberto Viviani, ed., in Faustino Perisauli, *De Triumpho Stultitiae.* (Florence: Il Fauno, 1963).

35. As quoted in John F. Moffitt, *Caravaggio in Context* (Jefferson, NC and London: Mc Farland, 2004), 126. See also Edgar Wind, *Misteri pagani nel Rinascimento* (Milan: Adelphi, (1999 [1971]), ch. 4, 11, 12.

36. Marsilio Ficino, *Three Books on Life,* Carol V. Kaske, John R. Clark, eds. (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Text Society, 1989), III: 25-26.

37. Important studies include: Michael Hirst, "Michelangelo in Rome: An Altar-piece and the 'Bacchus'", *Burlington Magazine* no. 123 (1981), 581-593; Constance Gibbons Lee, *Gardens and gods: Jacopo Galli, Michelangelo's Bacchus, and their Art Historical Settings*, Ph.D. thesis, Brown University (1981); Paola Barocchi, *Il Bacco di Michelangelo* (Florence: Museo Nazionale del Bargello, 1982); Charles H. Carman, "Michelangelo's Bacchus and divine frenzy", *Source, Notes in the History of Art* no. 2:4 (1981), 6-13; Michael Hirst, Jill Dunkerton,

sensual, and tipsy he sways backwards and appears to dance rather than walk. Already Giorgio Vasari in 1550 noted the unique combination of "the vigour of a young male and the round fleshiness of a woman", so wondrous that it "frightened those that were not accustomed to such things".[38] Instructed by the artist, Ascanio Condivi replied in 1553 that the statue, "merry" and "squinting lasciviously as those possessed by the love of wine, corresponded in every particular to the intentions of ancient writers".[39] On the one hand we find his earthbound sensuality, on the other the divine nature and the *manìa* described by Plato or Callistratus and well known to Michelangelo and his earliest protectors.

Making and Meaning. The young Michelangelo. The artist in Rome 1496-1501 (London: National Gallery Publications, 1995); Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, Nicholas Penny, Cristina Acidini Luchinat, eds., *La Giovinezza di Michelangelo*, Exhibition Catalogue (Florence: Artificio Skira, 1999); Ralph Lieberman, "Regarding Michelangelo's Bacchus", *Artibus et Historiae* no. 22:43 (2001), 65-74; Luba Freedman, "Michelangelo's Reflections on Bacchus", *ibid*. no. 24:47 (2003), 121-135; Sergio Risaliti, Francesco Vossilla, *Il Bacco di Michelangelo. Il dio della spensieratezza e della condanna* (Florence: Maschietto, 2007); Philippe Morel, "Le "Bacchus" de Michel-Ange: de l'ivresse à la contemplation divine", *Accademia* no. 12 (2010), 51-73; Erin Sutherland Minter, "Discarded deity: the rejection of Michelangelo's Bacchus and the artist's response", *Renaissance studies* no. 28:3 (2014), 443-458.

38. "…una certa mistione di membra maravigliose, e particolarmente avergli dato la sveltezza della gioventù del maschio e la carnosità e tondezza della femmina... ch'era cosa incredibile vedere i pensieri alti, e la maniera difficile con facilissima facilità da lui esercitata, tanto con ispavento di quelli che non erano usi a vedere cose tali, quanto degli usi alle buone, perché le cose, che si vedevano fatte, parevano nulle al paragone delle sue." Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori*, (1568) ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence: Sansoni, 1906), VII, 150.

39. "… la cui forma e aspetto corrisponde in ogni parte al'intentione delli scrittori antichi. La faccia Lieta, et gli occhi biechi et lascivi, quali sogliono essere quegli, che soverchiamente dall'amor del vino son presi." Ascanio Condivi, V*ita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti raccolta per Ascanio Condivi da la Ripa Transone* (1553), C. Davis ed. (Heidelberg: Universitäts-Bibliothek, 2009, e-book), 20 (11*v*).

Figure 18. *Michelangelo, Bacchus, 1496-97, Marble, Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, H 184 cm (without base)*

Source: By Michelangelo - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Michelangelo_Bacchus.jpg, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3528305.

The patron of the statue was the ambitious Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1461-1521), a nephew of Sixtus IV and papal *Camerlengo*, who in those years was building the grandest palace in Rome (the Cancelleria, later confiscated by Leo X).[40] The construction, near his titular church of San Lorenzo in Damaso on the *Via Papalis*, was financed with twenty thousand gold ducats earned in a night's gambling. Within this context, the commission of a classicizing (yet tipsy) Bacchus from a man who in Rome was second only to the Pope, testifies to the status that antique pieces were acquiring in the courts of the Renaissance, which vied with each other at staging the best collection.

40. The palace was confiscated when Riario, stripped of his properties, was exiled in 1517 on the grounds of an alleged plot against Leo X.

Riario had already purchased Michelangelo's *Sleeping Cupid*, now lost, that the agent Baldassare del Milanese had passed off as an antique worth two hundred gold ducats. Realizing the fraud, the Cardinal was reimbursed but he called Michelangelo to Rome challenging him to produce another statue in competition with ancient masterpieces.[41] Rather than simply prompted by a desire for compensation, the *Bacchus* played a substantial role in Riario's cultural politics. In fact, the audacious Cardinal envisaged a theatrical space for the courtyard of his palace and intended to recreate, within the ambience of Christian Rome, a stage for classical performances under the aegis of Dionysus.[42] Among Riario's friends was the Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto, whose paraphrase of Plato's *Phaedrus* (starring the young Tommaso Inghirami, future papal librarian) was set in the suburban villa of their banker Jacopo Galli. It was in fact the latter who ultimately obtained Michelangelo's statue.[43]

Far from being a man of poor taste and "little understanding of sculpture" (as Condivi described him long after his death), Riario was sophisticated and demanding enough to face Michelangelo with the challenge of meeting his grand expectations and then to reject the outcome.[44] To please such a patron the *Bacchus* would have required a heavy cultural substratum that a generic copy of an antique would not possess. It is therefore no coincidence that our statue should be charged with allusions to the Bacchic *furor* and the *manìa* so dear to Neoplatonists. Among the literary sources for Michelangelo's rendering may have been Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, where the youthful Bacchus is crowned with grapes and ivy and capable of terrifying deeds, or Virgil's *Georgics*, where Bacchus is described as the

41. The story of the lost Cupid is reported by Condivi and Vasari, see Paola Barocchi, ed., *Giorgio Vasari. La Vita di Michelangelo nelle redazioni del 1550 e del 1568* (Milan: Ricciardi, 1962), I,13; Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (1553), G. Nencioni, M. Hirst, C. Elam, eds. (Florence: SPES, 1998), 17-18. The encounter with Riario and the commission of the Bacchus is recorded in Michelangelo's first letter from Rome, written on 2 July 1496 to Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici (who first had the idea of the fake antique): see Giovanni Poggi, *Il carteggio di Michelangelo* (Florence, 1965-1983), 5 vols., I,1. See also N. Baldini, D. Lodico, A.M. Piras, "Michelangelo a Roma. I rapporti con la famiglia Galli e con Baldassarre Milanese", in Weil-Garris Brandt, Kathleen, Nicholas Penny, Cristina Acidini Luchinat, eds., *La Giovinezza di Michelangelo*, Exhibition Catalogue (Florence: Artificio Skira, 1999, 149-162.

42. S. Risaliti, F. Vossilla, *Il Bacco…* (2007), 14; Christoph L. Frommel, "Raffaele Riario, la Cancelleria, il teatro e il *Baco* di Michelangelo", in Weil-Garris Brandt, et al. *La Giovinezza…* Exh. Cat. (Florence, 1999), 143-148.

43. Howard Hibbard, *Michelangelo* (London: Penguin, 1985), 49-50; Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 102.

44. Condivi, writing on behalf of Michelangelo, had every reason for slandering the Cardinal who not only had rejected the statue, but had also fallen out of favour with Leo X de' Medici, dying in exile in 1521. Michael Hirst, "Michelangelo in Rome…" (1981), 581-593.

"splendour of the world" and "the god of joyous mysteries". Another possible source, as we learn from Condivi, could have been Boccaccio's *Genealogia Deorum*.[45] Even if classical authors were not directly known to the sculptor, they certainly were to Poliziano, who had already acted as thematic advisor for Michelangelo's *Battle of the Centaurs* (1492) and certainly to Riario himself.[46]

Some of the characteristics described in classical literature were also present in the extant antique statues of the god, but these inevitably showed an Apollonian type with long hair and an Olympian countenance that Michelangelo's sculpture does not possess. In fact, he added a vague intoxication hitherto unprecedented, as if he wished to surpass any ancient model and bring the statue to life.[47] With the exception of sarcophagus reliefs, no other image known to the sculptor illustrated the god as swaying (let alone dancing). Michelangelo thus left to posterity a new image of Bacchus whose visual sources, if any, are yet to be found.[48] The statue he produced was a personal interpretation of the subject, albeit mediated by a humanist milieu and literary reminiscences. This is even more striking considering that the *Bacchus* counts among the first large-scale, free-standing statues since Antiquity.

The ambiguity in Michelangelo's rendering is deliberate and goes beyond the drunkenness registered by Condivi but only suggested in the sculpture. In fact, rather than staggering, Michelangelo's *Bacchus* appears to dance. The very fact that the viewer must circle around the statue to experience it to the full, sets the god in motion and reveals more than one side to his character.[49] From one standpoint we see the raised cup, the tilted head and the "lasciviously squinting eyes", from the other the reeling torso, protruding belly and raised leg. The skin of the panther in his left hand and the accompanying Pan nibbling at the grapes

45. See: Ovidio, *Le Metamorfosi*, transl. Guido Paduano (Milan: Mondadori, 2007), 138; the stories of Pentheus and the pirates of Naxos are in book III, 525-730; the story of Orpheus dismembered by the Bacchae is in book XI, 1-84. See also Virgilio, *Georgiche*, transl. Carlo Carena (Turin: UTET, 1971), I.5-6, 152-153; II.1-8, 184-185; Giovanni Boccaccio, *De Genealogia deorum gentilium libri*, ed. Vincenzo Romano (Bari: Laterza, 1951), XXV.

46. Poliziano was also the advisor of Botticelli's *Primavera* (1482) painted for the same Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici who also owned Michelangelo's lost *St John the Baptist* and had an antechamber festooned with histories of Bacchus. See John K. Shearman, "The collections of the younger branch of the Medici", *The Burlington Magazine* no. 117 (1975), 12-27, here 25 n. 40.

47. I disagree with Edgar Wind who, citing Pico, argues that the gods should be represented as filled with the power they dispense. This was not the case with classical statues of Bacchus nor with the god appearing in Euripides's *Bacchae*, for the god is not mad nor drunk himself. Cfr. Edgar Wind, *Pagan mysteries in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1968 [1958]), 178.

48. I refer to my forthcoming book for a full discussion of the visual sources and precedents that Michelangelo would have used.

49. See R. Lieberman, "Regarding …" (2001), 65-73.

are not visible from the viewer's left and are gradually revealed only when changing position.

Entirely different from any of the static classical groups, Michelangelo has manipulated the subject and the statue's *contrapposto* in such a way as to render the *manìa* or *furor* that only the god of "joyous mysteries" could convey.[50] This may also be the reason why the statue was rejected and given to the banker Jacopo Galli: Bacchus is represented in all his potential danger, one that was inappropriate for a cardinal of Riario's visibility.[51]

In the free-standing statues of Antiquity, the god had rarely been shown inebriated or prey to the derangement he instils, even if Callistratus had described Praxiteles' Dionysus as the work that "best captured his madness (*manìa*)". While Praxiteles' original no longer exists, it inspired most of the Dionysoi that have come down to us through Roman copies, but none of these illustrates intoxication. Callistratus's words then referred more to a state of divine inspiration than to alcoholic alteration. On the contrary Michelangelo's *Bacchus* seems to hold a wider range of meanings: the divinity, the inspiration, the ambiguity, the inebriation, the threat. It has no single prototype (nor viewing point) and appears to synthesize concepts drawn from literature.

Besides the unsteady pose and the effeminate body, other elements differ from ancient statues and suggest potential threats: with drilled eyes and a gaping mouth Bacchus looks at his cup as if aware of the dangerous effects of wine.[52] Additionally, unlike the traditional *nebris* or skin of a fawn (symbolic of ritual sacrifice), he holds the pelt of a panther, which may refer to the cruel rites performed in honour of Bacchus, the "ferocious youth" accompanied by panthers that was described by Vincenzo Cartari and earlier mythographers.

Michelangelo's *Bacchus* is a unique representation of the long-forgotten Dionysian dualism, for he is both the god of joy offering the cup of wine and the god of destruction.[53] Allusive of the latter is also the little creature by his side, which, rather than a satyr, seems to be an infant Pan. Similar horned figures with cloven feet had characterized the iconography of the devil in the Middle Ages

50. R. Lieberman, *ibid*, 67.

51. Different opinions have been voiced: some suggest that the Bacchus was moved to Galli's adjoining property after the hand incidentally broke during the construction of the Cancelleria (S. Risaliti, F. Vossilla, *Il Bacco…* (2007), 47; others follow Condivi and believe the statue to have been carved from the start in Galli's garden, where it was recorded in Heemskerck's drawing. In this case the hand may have been intentionally broken to present the sculpture as antique, only to be re-attached by Michelangelo himself around 1553. Such a view was already voiced by contemporaries like Jean-Jacques Boissard writing in the 1550's (published in 1597). For a fuller discussion see: C. L. Frommel, "Raffaele Riario, la Cancelleria…", in *La Giovinezza…* (Florence, 1999), 143-148; M. Hirst, J. Dunkerton, *Making and meaning…* (1995).

52. Cited from L. Freedman, "Michelangelo's reflections…" (2003), 128.

53. A. Emmerling-Skala, *Bacchus …* (1994), I, 258-259.

and Michelangelo's inclusion, aside of stabilizing the statue, seems to intentionally underline the dehumanizing effect of excessive drinking, one that brings man on the verge of bestiality. As observed by the late Michael Hirst, the artist "transformed an interpretation of languor into one of latent violence", of the kind that had been associated with the Roman *Liber* and feared by the Church fathers.[54] This helps to explain why Michelangelo's *Bacchus* elicited contradictory feelings, prompting the Cardinal to rid himself of the problematic image. Despite his grand palace with an in-house theatre and his avant-garde taste, neither Riario nor the Roman scene were ready for such a revolutionary image, one that remained unparalleled until Caravaggio's paintings of the subject. It cannot be a coincidence that Michelangelo's *Bacchus* was rarely copied or reproduced in small collectible bronzes, as instead was the case with the equivalents by Sansovino or Giambologna.

The "latent violence" that Dionysus instilled in the Bacchae and that led to the dismemberment of Pentheus, Lycurgus and Orpheus, was generally exercised (or inflicted) on mortals. While driving others to madness and drunkenness, rarely does the god appear "mad" or drunk himself. The two most prominent exceptions are Michelangelo's statue, and the god's intoxicated portrayals at the hands of Caravaggio.

Bacchus from Caravaggio to Rubens and Beyond

Merisi's paintings in the Galleria Borghese and in the Uffizi, both dating to the artist's early years in Rome, are arguably the best-known images of Bacchus as god of wine and altered states (Figures 19-20). According to Giovanni Baglione's *Vite de' pittori* of 1642, the so-called *Sick Bacchus* was painted around 1593 when Caravaggio frequented the workshop of Cavalier d'Arpino.[55] The canvas is indeed recorded in the latter's possession in 1607, when it was sequestered by the Apostolic Chamber and handed to Scipione Borghese, nephew of Pope Paul V. The Florentine *Bacchus* is generally dated to 1597, when Caravaggio was under the protection of Cardinal Del Monte, who commissioned

54. Cfr. St. Augustine *City of God* VII.24, as quoted in M. Hirst, J. Dunkerton, *Making and Meaning…* (1995), 33. L. Freedman, "Michelangelo's Reflections…" (2003), 130.

55. Giovanni Baglione, *Le vite de' pittori, scultori et architetti dal pontificato di Gregorio XIII del 1572 in fino a' tempi di papa Urbano VIII nel 1642*, J. Hess, H. Röttgen, eds. (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1995), 136. Giovanni Baglione's chronology is contradicted in Giulio Mancini's *Considerazioni sulla Pittura* (1625) where the painting is dated to the time of Caravaggio's residence with Monsignor Pandolfo Pucci. The title "Bacchino malato" was first given by Roberto Longhi, "Precisazioni nelle gallerie Italiane. I. Galleria Borghese. Michelangelo da Caravaggio", *Vita artistica*, no. 2 (1928), 28-35; see also R. Longhi, *Mostra del Caravaggio e dei Caravaggeschi*, Exhibition Catalogue (Florence: Sansoni, 1951).

the painting as a gift for his friend Ferdinand I de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.[56]

Figure 19. *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Selfportrait as Sick Bacchus, c. 1593-94, Oil on Canvas, Galleria Borghese, Rome, 67 x 53 cm*
Source: Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons (attribution not legally required). https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caravaggio_-_Autoritratto_in_veste_di_bacco_-_INV_534.jpg.

Figure 20 *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, Bacchus, 1596-97, oil on canvas, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, 95 x 85 cm*
Source: Caravaggio, Public domain, attraverso Wikimedia Commons. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bacchus_by_Caravaggio_1.jpg.

56. Philippe Morel, "Bacchus malade", *Les bas-fonds du baroque. La Rome du vice et de la misère,* Exhibition Catalogue (Milan: Officina Libraria, 2014), 128-131.

Baglione describes the former piece as a self-portrait of the artist, an identification that is generally accepted even if the iconography eschews traditional prototypes.[57] The pale, almost greenish complexion of the protagonist seems to bear testimony to the ill health of the artist, who worked on the painting before (or after) entering the Hospital of Santa Maria della Consolazione due to a wounded leg.[58] Indeed, the unconventional pose, with one knee bent and the other stretched, may render the way Caravaggio had to sit in order to alleviate his suffering. The facial expression follows suit, with the mouth distorted in a forced smile.

Unlike the common renderings of Bacchus, showing the god as a happy and handsome youth, this version has a double-edged meaning. On the one hand we find the sensuously exposed shoulder, the juicy grapes and lush ivy-wreath that befit the wine-god, on the other there is the unusual nocturnal ambience and the protagonist's state of pain and possible drunkenness. Caravaggio's *Sick Bacchus* is thus characterized as a hybrid creature that is half-god, half-human and reflects the duality of the ancient Dionysus *mainomenos* who, manifested himself in human form and, in Plato's words, had given wine to men "so they go mad too".

The lunar pallor is indeed characteristic of the *furor lunaticus* experienced by those seeking inspiration or drinking excessively and echoes Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata* (1531), where poets are described as pale ("for studying too much") and crowned with ivy.[59] As the artist well knows, and conveys to the viewer with a telling glance, the borderline between inspiration and drunkenness is easy to cross.

In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, published in that same year of 1593, grapes and ivy are the attributes of Bacchus, symbolizing indulgence in the senses and amorous passion. In the Christological sense, however, the grapes referenced the wine of the Eucharist and the blood of the Saviour, while the evergreen ivy, hard to eradicate and constantly springing up anew, could be adopted as a symbol of eternal life. The interpretation of Bacchus as an ante-type of Christ had occasionally appeared in patristic texts and was used by Renaissance theologians

57. …"e fece alcuni quadretti da lui nello specchio ritratti. E il primo fu un Bacco con alcuni grappoli d'uve diverse, con gran diligenza fatte, ma di maniera un poco secca." Kristina Herrmann-Fiore, "Il *Bacchino malato* autoritratto del Caravaggio ed altre figure bacchiche degli artisti", *Quaderni di Palazzo Venezia* no. 6 (1989), 94-134.

58. Maurizio Calvesi, *La Realtà del Caravaggio* (Turin: Einaudi, 1990), 12-14, and Peter Robb, *L'enigma Caravaggio* (Milan: Mondadori, 2001), 44, underline the presence in the Ospedale della Consolazione of patients affected by malaria and other ailments due to poverty. Robb also associates the funereal light and the marble table to mortuary chambers. Rossella Vodret Adamo, *Caravaggio. L'opera completa* (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana, 2009), 44, suggests the wound in the leg to be inflicted by a kicking horse.

59. Howard Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (Boulder, CO and Oxford: Westview Press, 1985 [1983]), 21; J. F. Moffitt, *Caravaggio in Context…* (2004), 131; P. Morel, "Bacchus malade…" (2014), 130, with the quotation from Alciati: "per lo troppo studio".

such as Giles of Viterbo, working at the papal court of Julius II. I would argue however, that while an allegorical ambiguity is certainly intentional, Caravaggio's self-portrait remains a secular image, one that, despite the pale complexion of the sitter, chiefly conveys sensuality and intoxication.

Similar aspects also characterize the Uffizi *Bacchus* who invites the viewer to drink from his cup and consume the delicious fruit laid out on the table. The realism of the image is such that one even perceives the ripples in the wineglass and the different skin tonality of the sitter's torso and tanned hands. The offer comes from a young, seductive boy with a bare shoulder, blushed cheeks, and a drowsy look. This time, it is not a portrait of Caravaggio himself but rather of his friend, and favourite model, Mario Minniti.[60]

In their physical credibility, Caravaggio's depictions of Bacchus and other half-naked youths, call to mind the famous scene of Trimalchio's banquet narrated in Petronius' *Satyricon*. In passage V.41 we read: "A pretty, little boy came into the room, wearing a wreath of vine leaves and ivy in his hair, *like a little Bacchus, or Father Liber. He did for us a number of imitations of* Bacchus under various forms: as Lynaeus, Bromius, Evius and so on. Then, warbling some of Trimalchio's poetry in a shrill voice, he went around offering the guests grapes from his basket".[61] Such description must have been familiar to cultivated Renaissance audiences and could have been reproduced in Del Monte's household, where banquets involving young boys dressed *all'antica* were frequent.[62]

Grapes indeed also appear in the Florentine *Bacchus*, complementing the youth's seductive appeal, but, as in reality, they are deceptive, for the sweetness of the fruit quickly becomes rotten. Positioned in the foreground, the sinister reminder cannot be overlooked and functions as a *memento mori*, additionally reinforced by the black ribbon held in the boy's right hand. Yet rather than chastising, the painting intends to warn the viewer about the transience of good things and an encouragement to seize the day with its delightful opportunities. The very hand holding the ribbon, for instance, composes a gesture that may

60. The identification with Mario Minniti is proposed in Christoph L. Frommel, "Caravaggio, Minniti e il Cardinale Francesco Maria del Monte", *Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio. La vita e le opere attraverso i documenti: Atti del Convegno internazionale di studi* (Rome: Logart Press, 1996), 18-21. It is also accepted in Helen Langdon, *Caravaggio: a life* (London: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1999), 145.

61. See Avigdor W. G. Posèq, "Caravaggio and the Antique", *Artibus et Historiae* no. 13 (1986), 147-167; see further A.W.G. Posèq, "Bacchic Themes in Caravaggio's Juvenile Works", *Gazette des Beaux Arts* no. 115 (1990), 113-121, especially 114. See also J. F. Moffitt, *Caravaggio in Context …* (2004), 115. For the primary source see Petronius, *The Satyricon*, ed. William Arrowsmith (New York: Mentor, 2014), 49-50.

62. See the Avviso of January 1605, quoted in Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters: a Study in the Relations between Italian Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Icon, 1971), 29. On homosexuality in the entourage of Caravaggio's patrons see Creighton E. Gilbert, *Caravaggio and his two Cardinals* (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, 1995).

have sexual allusions.[63] Along with the fruit and the wineglass, the viewer is thus presented with an offer to join the party before it is too late.[64] Given that the painting was a gift from Del Monte, one might imagine that it expressed an invitation, fictional or real.

The *caveat* inherent in the enjoyment of pleasures to which the Uffizi *Bacchus* invites the spectator, has a different taste in its Roman equivalent. Indeed, the *Sick Bacchus* seems to be inspired by the melancholic mood of the party's aftermath, when the effects of drinking are inevitably felt.[65] Still offering fruit, the Roman Bacchus addresses the viewer with a look that is charged with multiple meanings, reinforced by fact that the image is a self-portrait.

Up to the sixteenth century, when representing themselves, artists rarely used a mythological disguise and if any they would choose Apollo, the god of the arts, rather than Dionysus in his altered state. However, as re-proposed by the Neoplatonists and here by Caravaggio, the wine-god could fuel creativity and inspiration just like his counter-part Apollo. Bacchus could thus be adopted as protector, or an alter-ego, even at times of weakness, when the human body and the fallible mortal nature left the poet (or painter) far removed from Mount Parnassus and the lofty heights of Apollonian perfection.

Despite the critiques, the rejected paintings, and the very nature of his art, distant from counter-reformatory austerities and academic dictates, Caravaggio had a profound impact, contributing to the rise of new themes that explored human weakness. His legacy was picked up by artists like Rubens, who was in Rome in 1602 and again in 1606-1608, or Velázquez, who arrived in 1629-31 and then in 1649. The latter's *Triumph of Bacchus*, painted before he departed from Madrid in 1629, is now in the Prado and is better known as *Los Borrachos* (the Drunkards). Like Caravaggio before, Velázquez combined a realistic depiction of contemporary characters with the mythological presence of the wine-god and a satyr (Figure 21).

Analogous themes of drunkenness, transitioning between myth and reality, were explored by Rubens. His *Drunken Silenus* (1619-25), which hung in his own house and is now in Munich, illustrates the aged satyr staggering along with uncertain steps[66] (Figure 22). As he lurches forward, he is supported by his

63. As illustrated in *Les bas-fonds du baroque…* (2014), nr. 26: 198-199, the index and middle finger bent to hold the thumb, composed the gesture of the *fica* and commonly alluded to the sexual act.

64. The invitation echoes Lorenzo de' Medici's lines from the *Canzona di Bacco*, written a century earlier, albeit on a different, and public, occasion: "Quant'è bella giovinezza / che si fugge tuttavia! / Chi vuol esser lieto, sia / Del doman non c'è certezza..".

65. On the melancholy of the *Sick Bacchus* see H. Hibbard, *Caravaggio* (1983), 272; H. Langdon, *Caravaggio…* (1999), 69-70.

66. The painting originally comprised half-length figures and was later enlarged by Rubens himself. On the Drunken Silenus see: Svetlana Alpers, *The Making of Rubens* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 101-157. The artist produced various paintings on this

mythical companions and a crowd of people, male and female, in modern dress. Utterly intoxicated and inserted in the realm of Rubens' contemporaries, Silenus loses his age-old authority as educator of classical heroes and becomes identifiable with *any* drunkard. The fact that the same image could also be somewhat rejuvenated and adapted to illustrate Bacchus himself, is indicative of the final stages of the god's transformation and disempowerment.

Figure 21. *Diego Velàzquez, Los Borrachos, 1628-29, oil on canvas, Museo del Prado, Madrid, 165 x 225 cm*

Source: Diego Velázquez, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b8/Los_borrachos_o_el_triunfo_de_Baco_1629_Vel%C3%A1zquez.jpg.

subject; among these are the *Bacchanal with the Sleeping Ariadne* in the National Museum in Stockholm and the *Bacchanal* in the Uffizi.

Figure 22. *Pieter Paul Rubens, The Drunken Silenus, 1619-1625, Oil on Wood, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, 212 x 214.5 cm*
Source: Peter Paul Rubens, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons. https://upload.Wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/3/32/Peter_Paul_Rubens_-_The_Drunken_Silenus_-_WGA20297.jpg.

In the *Bacchus with Nymph and Satyr*, painted by Rubens in 1638-1640 and now in the Hermitage, Bacchus has nothing of the handsome Apollonian youth seen in classical prototypes and Renaissance derivations. Turned into a fat and ageing drunkard he is incapable of any reason let alone inspiration. The brutality and terrifying power he had been able to infuse in his followers are gone, for at this point the boundaries to the irrational could no longer be crossed (Figure 23).

Figure 23. *Pieter Paul Rubens, Bacchus, 1638-40, Oil on Canvas Transferred from Panel, Hermitage, St. Petersburg, 91 x 161 cm*
Source: Peter Paul Rubens, Public domain, via Wikimedia Commons. https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9f/Peter_Paul_Rubens_-_Bacchus_-_WGA20321.jpg.

Conclusion

In this rapid *excursus* from Antiquity to the Baroque age, I hope to have illustrated some of the ways in which Dionysus was transformed across the

centuries. Progressively tamed, the god lost his multi-faceted character and mysterious powers, to become a byword of wine, hedonism, or excess.

In ancient Greece, no other god was as widely venerated or so frequently represented in the visual arts. He and his followers were by far the most common subject in vase painting from the sixth century BC onwards.[67] Greek statues of Dionysus were copied by the Roman conquerors from the second century BC, and in Imperial Rome Dionysian imagery was frequently carved on sarcophagi fronts.

The reason for his ubiquitous appearance is that no other god counted such a physical presence in man's life. Many stories narrate of his epiphanies and often assimilate him to real historic personalities. Thus, he presided over vegetation and wine, and introduced man to the rudiments of agriculture, he was the god of happiness, the triumphant conqueror, and the inspirer. This character he shared with Apollo, whose nature as Olympian god, however, called for distance and perfection. Dionysus, by contrast, was a chthonian deity and therefore more humane than his "brother". Born of a mortal woman, Dionysus could die himself: as a child he was dismembered by the Titans and then re-assembled by Apollo. Yet he was also capable of infusing madness and punishing anyone who dared to resist his will.

Powerful, ambivalent, and dangerous as he was, Dionysus could not be accepted in Rome unless in a subdued and domesticated form. This process initiated when his identification with Liber Pater connected him foremost to nature, detracting attention from the *ekstasis* and the visionary abilities he instilled in the Mysteries (which indeed were forbidden). Although his potentials were still explored in literature, to judge from the poems of Catullus and Horace, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, or Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, the way was paved for his transformation into a tamed Bacchus and his metonymic identification with wine.[68]

In the Middle Ages Bacchus was condemned, moralized, and largely forgotten, if not, occasionally, reconciled with Christian beliefs.[69] Only in the Renaissance did he resurface from the ruins of the past, albeit in a different version. Of his ancient self he sometimes retained his aspects as inspirer, lord of nature, and triumphant hero returning from the East, but most of all was he was seen as a fun-loving wine-god derived from pagan mythology.

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67. Cornelia Isler-Kerényi, *Dionysus in archaic Greece*: *an understanding through images* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 1.

68. Obvioulsy the passages of such transformation were far more complex than could ever be outlined here; one only needs to consider that between Euripides's *Bacchae* and Nonnos's *Dionysiaca* over 800 years had passed by.

69. Thus, as remarked in Albert Henrichs, "Loss of self, suffering, violence: the modern views of Dionysus from Nietzsche to Girard", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* no. 88 (1984), 205-240, here 213-14, Dionysus could be seen "either as the Antichrist or as a prefiguration of Christ."

From the medieval devilish creature, that inspired all kinds of debauchery, he was reduced to a light-hearted symbol of pleasure and an appropriate subject to decorate dining rooms and villas.

Although his mysterious powers were known in humanist circles and represented by select artists such as Michelangelo and Caravaggio, the frenzy he could inspire was increasingly moved to the less menacing sphere of satyrs, or half-beasts like Pan. One had to wait for the Romantic age to see the Dionysian *manìa* or *furor*, and the irrational in general, resurrected from the ashes and fully accepted, or even pursued, by Nietzsche and his heirs.

And yet, across time, of all the gods that populated the classical world, it was Dionysus along with his retinue of merry satyrs and bacchantes to maintain the most substantial afterlife.[70] Among the reasons for this persistence is his polymorphous nature and adaptability, and the fact that he remained, more than any other mythological figure, the embodiment of the lust for life and the repository of all projections of human happiness.

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70. Michael Philipp, "Herrschaft und Subversion. Die dionysische Bildwelt von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart", *Dionysus, Rausch und Ekstase,* Exhibition Catalogue (Munich: Hirmer, 2013), 10-23, here 10.

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The Syndrome of an Emigrant: Memory, Trauma, Longing, and Loss in the Art of Józef Czapski

By Irena Kossowska[*]

This article addresses the multilayered thematic area focused on the impact of trauma, caused by war and political oppression, on the attitudes of artists who followed combat trails and migration routes to ultimately settle far from their homeland. What I consider particularly challenging in this field of study is to find an answer to the question: why did some of the forcefully displaced artists manage to integrate with the art scene of their final destination, while others preferred to attain their position on the cultural margins of the new locality? The best exemplification of these complex issues is the biography of Józef Czapski (1896-1993), a Polish writer, essayist, art critic, and painter, who fought in the ranks of the Polish army on the fronts of World War I and World War II, and, eventually, permanently settled in France. I argue that it was the wartime and the hell of migration that caused Czapski's inability to fully assimilate in the Parisian art world, and stimulated his aversion to avant-garde progressivism and innovative experimentation. My analyses reveal that his paintings epitomise remnants of collective and individual trauma, an overwhelming sense of loss, and a 'residue' of painful experiences resulting from expulsion and exile.

Introduction

Poland developed a long tradition of political emigration. In the 19th century thousands of Poles left their native country – a consequence of three consecutive partitions of the Polish state between three empires (Russia, Prussia, and Austria-Hungary). Due to political repressions following the national uprisings in 1830, 1848, and 1863, subsequent waves of migration spread all over the world. In the post-1945 period, thousands of Polish soldiers and officers – who enlisted in the Polish Armed Forces in the Soviet Union and in the West during World War II – did not return to their homeland, aware of the oppressive nature of the newly established communist regime. They settled in Western Europe, predominantly in Great Britain, France, and Italy, but also in North America, Asia, Eastern and Southern Africa, and New Zealand. As a consequence, hundreds of Polish artists dispersed across all the continents in search of better life and work conditions. The exploration of the strategies of adapting to the new local cultural environments, institutional policies, and/or national agendas undertaken by the émigré artists reveals the multifaceted effects of forced displacement.

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The best exemplification of these complex issues is the biography of Józef Czapski (1896-1993), a Polish writer, essayist, literary and art critic, and – above all – a painter, who fought in the ranks of the Polish army on the fronts of World War I and World War II to permanently settle in Paris to represent the interests of the Polish government-in-exile and to lobby for non-communist Poland. The objective of this article is to determine to what extent the 'residue' of the war ordeal, political persecution, and migratory hell was decisive for Czapski's ethical and artistic choices, and for the development of his artistic attitude and career. I will analyse the process of adopting or neglecting the artistic codes and patterns – which were already existent, dominant or emerging on the Parisian art scene – in relation to the native cultural core of Czapski and to the trauma which he experienced on the wartime routes.

The discourse of *The Syndrome of an Emigrant* unfolds along the following narrative line: after the *Introduction*, there is a subsection dealing with the literature on Czapski's life and work, followed by a brief outline of the artist's biography. The next subsection concerns the political conditions of Czapski's activity in exile and interpersonal relations with important players on the French political scene. It also testifies to his transcultural interests. The subsequent part of the text, titled *Czapski's musée imaginaire,* tackles upon his artistic genealogy as he saw it, and his comprehension of the essence of the creative process. The *Expression of the inexpressible*, another subsection, addresses Czapski's 'living library', comprised of the patrons of his thoughts and studies – writers, philosophers, and poets of various nationalities, and emphasizing the artist's aloofness from the art market and from the phenomenon of the persistently growing commodification of art. This part also relates to Czapski's self-reflection on his position in the French artistic life, presented along with my counter-argumentation. Ultimately, it reveals the expression of solitude and alienation in Czapski's painting, caused by the 'residue' of tragic historical events that conditioned the artist's approach to the surrounding reality. *Emblematic Émigré Artist* concludes the previous analyses in order to emphasise the idiosyncratic features of Czapski's intellectual and artistic attitude as well as his moral standing.

Critical Reflection on Czapski

Core literature on Czapski is basically comprised of three biographies: Murielle Werner-Gagnebin's *Czapski. La main et l'espace* (1974),[1] Wojciech Karpiński's *Portret Czapskiego* (2003)[2] [The Portrait of Czapski], and Eric Karpeles's *Almost*

1. Murielle Werner-Gagnebin. *Czapski. La main et l'espace*. Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme – Slavica, 1974.

2. Wojciech Karpiński. *Portret Czapskiego* (Portrait of Józef Czapski). Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, 1996.

Nothing: the 20th-Century Art and Life of Józef Czapski (2018).[3] Written on the basis of numerous meetings and discussions between the author and the painter, Werner-Gagnebin's book presents a point of view coinciding with the artist's self-reflection. The biography by Karpiński is mostly a memoir as what bonded the author with Czapski were close relations, frequent meetings in Paris, shared experiences, and numerous discussions. Published by Jil Silberstein, a poet and journalist, for whom Czapski became an artistic authority, *Lumières de Josef Czapski* (2003)[4] is a remembrance of the friendship with the artist, while Karpeles's story about Czapski is the artist's biography, captured in the context of the history of the 20th century, and the author's account of studying Czapski's life as well as reconstructing his thought and activity. Moreover, it is a testimony to the perception of Czapski's painting by another painter, i.e. Karpeles himself, and an expression of the author's aesthetic sensitivity. Enriched with essays by Wojciech Karpiński and Adam Zagajewski, another version of Czapski's biography is contained in Karpeles's monograph, titled *Józef Czapski: An Apprenticeship of Looking*.[5] The philosophical aspects of the artist's creative attitude as well as his ethical and epistemological reflection were analysed by Zbigniew Mańkowski in the book *Widzieć prawdę: Józefa Czapskiego filozofia twórczej egzystencji* [Seeing the Truth: Józef Czapski's Philosophy of Creative Existence] (2005).[6]

However, what is crucial to understand Czapski's complex creative personality are his own reflections on historical events and the current geopolitical situation in Europe, on literature, which he read in many languages, and on the art he saw, both that of the old Masters and his contemporaries. Czapski testified to the tragic history of World War II in the books *Wspomnienia starobielskie* (1944) [*Memories of Starobielsk*][7] and *Na nieludzkiej ziemi* (1949) [*Inhuman Land*].[8] The story of his life as well as contacts with high-ranking

3. Eric Karpeles, *Almost Nothing: the 20th-Century Art and Life of Józef Czapski*. New York: New York Review Books, 2018.

4. Jil Silberstein. *Lumières de Josef Czapski*. Montricher, Switzerlad: Les Éditions Noir sur Blanc, 2003.

5. Karpeles, with essays by Wojciech Karpiński and Adam Zagajewski, *Józef Czapski: An Apprenticeship of Looking*, New York, London: Thames & Hudson, 2019.

6. Zbigniew Mańkowski. *Widzieć prawdę: Józefa Czapskiego filozofia twórczej egzystencji* (Seeing the Truth: Józef Czapski's Philosophy of Creative Existence). Gdańsk: Słowo/ Obraz Terytoria, 2005.

7. Józef Czapski. *Wspomnienia starobielskie* (Memories of Starobielsk). Rome: Oddział Kultury i Prasy 2. Korpusu, 1944 (First French edition: *Souvenirs de Starobielsk*. Paris: Collection "Temoignages", 1945; English-language edition: *Memories of Starobielsk: Essays Between Art and History*, translated by Alissa Valles. New York: New York Review Books, 2022).

8. Czapski. *Na nieludzkiej ziemi* (Inhuman Land). Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1949 (French edition: *Terre inhumaine*, introduction by Daniel Halévy. Paris: Editions Self. Librairie Plon, 1949; English-language edition: *Inhuman Land: Searching for the Truth in Soviet Russia, 1941-1942,* translated by Antonia Lloyd-Jones. New York Review Books, 2018.

politicians, intellectuals, friends, family members, and acquaintances were reconstructed by researchers on the basis of such publications as *Dzienniki. Wspomnienia. Relacje* (1986) [Diaries. Memories. Accounts],[9] *Swoboda tajemna* (1991) [Secret Liberty],[10] *Wyrwane strony* (1993) [Torn out Pages],[11] *Świat w moich oczach* (2001) [The World in My Eyes],[12] *Wybrane strony. Z dzienników 1942-1991* (2010) [Selected Pages. From the Diaries 1942-1991],[13] *Tumult i widma* (2017) [Tumult and Phantoms],[14] and *Rozproszone. Teksty z lat 1923-1988* (2020) [Dispersed. Texts from the Years 1923-1988].[15] Czapski's texts on art were included in a majority of those volumes with the books *Oko* (1960) [The Eye][16] and *Patrząc. Z autoportretem i 19 rysunkami autora* (1983) [Seeing. With a Self-Portrait and 19 Drawings by the Author][17] being comprised exclusively of such pieces. *Listy o malarstwie* (2019) [Letters about Painting][18] are also focused on this topic. The self-reflective dimension of Czapski's writing, his thoughts on his own creative output, is invaluable.

The other publications on Czapski's life and work are introductions to albums and essays in exhibition catalogues concerning his art. The most important publications of this type include texts by Joanna Pollakówna, an art critic who discussed the artist's creative output with Czapski himself while visiting him in France. They are comprised of the monograph *Czapski* (1993)[19] and introductions to exhibition catalogues: *Czapski. Malarstwo i rysunek* [Czapski. Painting and Drawing] (1986)[20] and *Józef Czapski. Malarstwo i rysunek* [Józef Czapski. Painting

9. Czapski. *Dzienniki. Wspomnienia. Relacje* (Diaries. Memories. Accounts), edited by Joanna Pollakówna. Kraków: Oficyna Literacka, 1986.

10. Czapski. *Swoboda tajemna* (Secret Freedom). Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PoMOST, 1991.

11. Czapski. *Wyrwane strony* (Torn out Pages), edited by Joanna Pollakówna and Piotr Kłoczowski. Montrichet: Éditions Noir sur Blanc, 1993.

12. Czapski. *Świat w moich oczach* (The World in my Eyes). Ząbki – Paris: Apostolicum. Wydawnictwo Księży Pallotynów, 2001.

13. Czapski. *Wybrane strony. Z dzienników 1942-1991* (Selected Pages: From Diaries 1942-1991), vol. 1, edited by Emilia Olechnowicz. Warszawa: Instytut Dokumentacji i Studiów nad Literaturą Polską, 2010.

14. Czapski. *Tumult i widma* (Tumult and Specters). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2017.

15. Czapski. *Rozproszone. Teksty z lat 1923-1988* (Scattered: Texts from 1923-1988), vol. 1 and 2, edited by Paweł Kądziela, Warszawa: Biblioteka „Więzi", 2020.

16. Czapski. *Oko* (Eye). Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1960.

17. Czapski. *Patrząc. Z autoportretem i 19 rysunkami autora* (Looking: With a Self-Portrait and 19 Drawings of the Author). Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 1983.

18. Czapski. *Listy o malarstwie* (Letters on Painting), edited by Mateusz Bieczyński and Janusz Marciniak, Poznań: Uniwersytet Artystyczny w Poznaniu, 2019.

19. Joanna Pollakówna. *Czapski*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka, 1993.

20 *Czapski. Malarstwo i rysunek* (Czapski: Painting and Drawing), edited by Joanna Pollakówna, exh. cat., Muzeum Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, May – June 1986.

and Drawing] (1990).[21] Moreover, significant exhibitions of Czapski's art, shown in Poland, encompass: *Dzienniki Józefa Czapskiego. Katalog* [Diaries of Józef Czapski] (1991),[22] *Józef Czapski: malarstwo ze zbiorów szwajcarskich* [Józef Czapski: Paintings from Swiss Collections] (1992),[23] *Wnętrze. Człowiek i miejsce* [Interior: Man and Place] (1996),[24] *Józef Czapski. Obrazy i rysunki ze zbiorów prywatnych* [Józef Czapski: Paintings and Drawings form Private Collections] (1996),[25] *Józef Czapski. Widzenie życia* [Józef Czapski: A Vision of Life] (2000),[26] and *Józef Czapski: Autour de la collection Aeschlimann* (2007).[27] Considering the presentations of Czapski's art abroad, one can distinguish exhibition catalogues from Galerie Motte in Geneva (1966, 1971),[28] Galerie Bénézit in Paris (1961),[29] and Musée Jenisch in Vevey (1990).[30] Critics' comments on and accounts of the artist's expositions were collected in *Czapski i krytycy* (1996) [Czapski and Critics].[31]

21. *Józef Czapski. Malarstwo i rysunek* (Józef Czapski: Painting and Drawing), edited by Joanna Pollakówna, exh. cat., Muzeum Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, February – April 1990.

22. *Dzienniki Józefa Czapskiego. Katalog* (Diaries of Józef Czapski: A Catalogue), edited by Janusz Marciniak and Joanna Pollakówna, exh. cat., Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, 1991.

23. *Józef Czapski: malarstwo ze zbiorów szwajcarskich* (Józef Czapski: Painting from Swiss Colletions). Introduction by Stanisław Rodziński, exh. cat., Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Muzeum Narodowe w Poznaniu, Muzeum Narodowe w Warszawie. Kraków: Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, 1992.

24. *Wnętrze. Człowiek i miejsce. Józef Czapski w stulecie urodzin* (Interior. The Man and the Place: Józef Czapski on the Centenary of his Birth), edited by Zofia Gołubiew and Barbara Małkiewicz, Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, April – May 1996.

25. *Józef Czapski. Obrazy i rysunki ze zbiorów prywatnych* (Józef Czapski: Paintings and Drawings from Private Collections). exh. cat., Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 1996.

26. *Józef Czapski. Widzenie życia* (Józef Czapski: Seeing of Life), edited by Wojciech Zmorzyński, exh. cat., Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, Oddział Sztuki Współczesnej, March – June 2000.

27. *Józef Czapski: Autour de la collection Aeschlimann*, edited by Piotr Kłoczowski exh. cat., Warszawa: Zachęta Narodowa Galeria Sztuki / Galerie Plexus, 2007.

28. *Catalogue de l'Exposition de la Galerie Motte*, edited by Konstanty Jeleński, Geneva 1966; *Catalogue de l'Exposition de la Galerie Motte*, edited by Thierry Vernet, Geneva 1971.

29 . *Catalogue de l'Exposition de la Galerie Bénézit*, edited by Michel de Ghelderode, Paris 1961.

30. *Joseph Czapski. Rétrospective*, edited by Jean Louis Kuffer, Michel de Ghelderode, Wojciech Karpiński, Jeanne Hersch, and Andrezj Wajda, Musée Jenisch,Vevey, June - September 1990.

31. *Czapski i krytycy* (Czapski and Critics), edited by Małgorzata Kitowska-Łysiak and Magdalena Ujma, Lublin: Wydawnictwo UMCS, 1996. In April 2016, the Józef Czapski Pavilion was opened, which is a branch of the National Museum in Kraków, where the artist's archival materials and works have been stored.

A Short Biography of Czapski

Czapski could share his rich, multifaceted biography with several people, at the very least.[32] Born in the Czech capital city of Prague into an aristocratic family (his mother, Josephine, derived from the Austrian family of Thun-Hohenstein, whereas his father, Jerzy, was a descendant of the Prussian counts of von Hutten), Józef Maria Emeryk Franciszek Ignacy Czapski (1896-1993) spent his happy and prosperous childhood in Priluki near Minsk (at the time the territory was a part of Imperial Russia, today it belongs to Belarus). He attended secondary school in Petrograd, where, in 1915, he undertook the study of law. As a subject of tsar Nicholas II, he was mobilised in 1916. In 1917 he enlisted in the First Krechowce Uhlan Regiment, a part of the Polish First Corps, singled out from the Russian army. However, under the influence of Tolstoy's pacifism, in 1918 he left the army ranks to start a religious phalanstère in Petrograd. Yet, the commune was ephemeral. The very same year saw Czapski resume his military service; nonetheless, by command's consent, he was not sent into combat. Instead, he was entrusted with the mission of finding these officers from his regiment who had gone missing in Russia. Therefore, holding a diplomatic passport, he covered considerable distances across the USSR territory, at the same time eye-witnessing the dramatic conditions in which the Russian population lived. His mission was a fiasco, as it turned out that the officers he was looking for had already been executed.

Russian philosopher, writer, and poet, Dmitry Merezhkovsky – whom Czapski met in Petrograd – convinced him that one should fight for liberty by force of arms. Consequently, Czapski re-conscripted to the army during the Polish-Soviet War in 1919. He was awarded the War Order of Virtuti Militari – the highest Polish military honor – and promoted to the rank of second lieutenant in recognition of showing heroism in the Kiev Offensive, conducted in 1920 by the Polish Army in alliance with the forces of the Ukrainian People's republic against the Soviet Red Army.[33]

With his taste shaped in the salons of affluent aristocracy, who relished art and music, Czapski began to pursue his dream of developing his skills as a painter in the 1920s, taking advantage of the system of art education that was being consolidated in the newly established sovereign Second Polish Republic. As of 1921, he continued the studies of painting – which he commenced at the School of Fine Arts in Warsaw in 1918 – at the Academy of Fine Arts in Krakow under

32. Czapski, *Dzienniki. Wspomnienia. Relacje* (Diaries. Memories. Accounts), edited Joanna Pollakówna (Kraków: Oficyna Literacka, 1986); Pollakówna, *Czapski* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Krupski i S-ka, 1993); Czapski, *Wyrwane strony*; Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*; Czapski, *Świat w moich oczach*; Karpeles, *Almost Nothing*.

33. Adam Zamoyski. *Warsaw 1920: Lenin's Failed Conquest of Europe*. New York: HarperCollins, 2008.

the supervision of, among others, Józef Pankiewicz, the promoter of Post-Impressionism, who had just returned from France. In 1924, accompanied by a group of his students, who adopted the name of Komitet Paryski [Paris Committee], Pankiewicz moved to the branch of the Krakow-based academy that was established in Paris. He taught his disciples to venerate Paul Cézanne and Pierre Bonnard and to show respect to the old masters, whose works they admired together in the Louvre galleries. These fascinations of the young years left a lasting mark on Czapski's artistic attitude.

Czapski returned to Poland in 1932. However, the outbreak of World War II interrupted the artistic career he had just embarked on. Re-mobilised, he was captured by the Soviets during the defensive campaign of the Polish Army against the joint invasion of Poland by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in September 1939.[34] Initially detained in the prisoner-of-war camp in Starobilsk, he was later transferred to the detention camp in Pavlishchev Bor near Smolensk and, eventually, to Gryazovets near Vologda.[35]

In July 1941 the Polish government-in-exile in London and the Soviet authorities signed the Sikorski-Mayski Agreement, which provided for amnesty for the Poles who were held captive in the USSR.[36] At the time, Czapski joined the Polish Armed Forces forming in Totskoye under the command of general Władysław Anders. However, a vast majority of the prisoners of war from Starobilsk did not conscript to the newly-formed army, which aroused concern among the command. For the second time in his life, Czapski was entrusted with the mission of tracing the fate of those Polish officers who had gone missing. As general Anders's *chargé d'affairs*, Czapski traversed the Soviet territory from Moscow to Kuybyshev in the frosty winter of late 1941 and early 1942. He reached Soviet decision-makers in the NKVD [the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs] headquarters in Lubyanka and in the Gulag [a system of labor camps] central office in Chkalovo, Kazakhstan. Unsuccessfully. Why?

In March 1940, the Soviet secret police conducted mass executions, shooting 22,000 Polish officers, members of prison authorities, border guards, representatives of the judiciary, doctors, clergy, intelligentsia and landowners, who were held in prisons and detention camps in Starobilsk, Kozelsk, and Ostashkov.[37] What saved Czapski from execution by firing squad was the

34. John Erickson. "The Red Army's March into Poland". In *The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939-41*, edited by Keith Sword. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991: 1-27.

35. Jan T. Gross. "Polish POW Camps in the Soviet-Occupied Western Ukraine" In *The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939-41*, edited by Keith Sword. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991: 44-56.

36. Josef Garlinski *Poland in the Second World War*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1985: 109.

37. Salomon W. Slowes. *The Road to Katyn*. Translated by Naftali Breenwood. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992; George Sanford. *Katyn and the Soviet Massacre of 1940: Truth,*

intervention of the German embassy (Nazi Germany was USSR's ally until 1941), undertaken at the request of Czapski's mother's family, who was well-connected with several German families.

The fact that Poles were executed at Stalin's order was consistently concealed by the Soviet authorities as well as by Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill. Germans, who discovered mass graves in Katyn in April 1943, while marching east, were accused of this war crime. It was as late as in 1990 – the time of Mihail Gorbachev's presidency – that the Russian authorities admitted that the annihilation of Polish élite was one of the gravest war crimes of Stalinism.[38] Never did Czapski have any doubts as to who was liable for the crime and exposed attempts at distorting this historical truth throughout his life.

While traversing the territory of the USSR, Czapski saw the enormous existential poverty and anguish of ordinary Russians. To compensate for the difficult experience, he wrote down his reflections on the history of European painting on the train from Moscow to Tashkent. Earlier, while imprisoned in Gryazovets, he resorted to art as an alternative world, a world completely different from the tragic living conditions in the camp. The camp authorities consented for the prisoners to undertake educational activities after a whole day of grueling physical work. Within the framework of self-education, Czapski delivered, in French, a series of talks on Marcel Proust's prose, in which he was engrossed during his several-month sojourn in London in 1926.[39] To the extent to which it was possible, he used scraps of paper to sketch portraits of his fellow prisoners and scenes from camp life. Drawing restored in him the determination to survive and offered a mental escape. When treated for tuberculosis in camp hospital, he began to write the history of European painting from David to Picasso. Unfortunately, his notebook was lost.

In March 1942, while staying with the staff of Anders's army in Yangiyo'l near Tashkent in Uzbekistan, Czapski bought a black linen-bound notebook to resume the habit of writing an 'intimate diary' he started keeping in his youth. The pre-war volumes of the diary have not been preserved. By the end of his life,

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Justice and Memory. London, New York: Routledge, 2005; Victor Zaslavsky. *Class Cleansing: The Massacre at Katyn*. Translated by Kizer Walker. New York: Telos Press, 2008; Eugenia Maresch. *Katyn, 1940*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Spellmount, 2010.

38. *Katyn: A Crime Without Punishment*, edited by Anna M. Cienciala, Natalia S. Lebedeva, and Wojciech Materski. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007; Allen Paul. *Katyn: Stalin's Massacre and the Triumph of Truth*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2010; Alexander Etkind et al. *Remembering Katyn, Cambridge*, UK: Polity Press, 2012.

39. Czapski's lectures were written down by two befriended fellow prisoners, and appeared in Polish translation in 1948*:* "Proust w Griazowcu" (Proust in Griazowietz). *Kultura* 1948 (12): 25-36; 1948 (13): 22-43. See also Czapski, *Lost Time: Lectures on Proust in a Soviet Prison Camp*. Translated by Eric Karpeles. New York: New York Review Books Classics, 2018.

Czapski filled the pages of 278 such notebooks with casually rendered drawings of fragments of the reality he observed and regularly wrote accounts of everyday events. Today, they constitute an invaluable testimony to 20th century events, both those constituting the 'grand narrative' of objective political history and the very personal ones, shaping the artist's 'minor narrative.'

Due to the pressure exerted on Stalin by British and American authorities, the undernourished, emaciated, decimated by diseases, and poorly equipped with weapons Anders's army of over 75,000 soldiers as well as 37,000 members of the prisoners' families, who had been deported to the heartland of Russia,[40] were evacuated to Iran.[41] As the head of the Department of Propaganda and Education at General Anders's staff, Czapski traversed the entire combat trail from Russia through Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, the Caspian Sea, Iran, Iraq, Palestine, and Egypt to Italy. He conveyed the picture of the warfare hecatomb in both his diary and the books published after the war: *Wspomnienia Starobielskie* [Memories of Starobielsk] (1944)[42] and *Na nieludzkiej ziemi* [Inhuman Land] (1949).[43]

Densely filled with hardly legible handwriting, verses on the pages of the diary adjoin or overlap with views of the streets of Tashkent, scenes of the army being transported by ship, or interiors of camp barracks – all rendered by means of a few lines – and, further, with images of Arabs and camel silhouettes, sketches of mosques, minarets, pyramids and desert landscapes, streets of Baghdad, Brindisi, and Taranto, and views of the Gulf of Naples. Let us consider a fragment of the description of the march through the territory of Iran – an account compensating for the lack of possibility to paint and demonstrating Czapski's curiosity of the world and sensitivity to new, earlier unseen, landscapes.

"The deserts between Mashhad and Teheran with rocky mountain-reefs, growing out of a sudden from the desert plain as if from a sea, once bluish grey, once lilac, pink or even lemon yellow; the sandy deserts of Transjordan, with hundreds of lightweight camels, coffee or white fur bearing, munching on shabby prickly bushes, or tens of miles evenly covered with black stones so that nothing else can be seen but these black stones, turning lightly violet and red at sunset."[44]

In Loreto near Ancona, Czapski sketched Luca Signorelli's fresco, adorning the walls of Santa Casa di Loreto. Made amidst the turmoil of war, this escapist gesture was a manifestation of an attempt at 'suspending' time and imbuing the present with the past. Being deep-rooted in the past – be it calming the tormented

40. Keith Sword. *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union 1939-1948*. London: St. Martin's Press, 1994.

41. Norman Davies, *Trail of Hope: The Anders Army, an Odyssey across Three Continents*. Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2015.

42. Czapski, *Wspomnienia starobielskie*.

43. Czapski, *Na nieludzkiej ziemi*.

44. Czapski, *Tumult i widma*, 9-10.

psyche or awakening dark memories – will become an integral part of Czapski's creative personality.

Political Connections and Transcultural Interests

A resident of Paris since 1946, Czapski worked intensively on behalf of the Polish government-in-exile based in London (he was demobilised in 1948 with the rank of major). He had many contacts among both the French non-communist left, the political centre, and conservative leaders. He would meet André Malraux, the Minister for Information – later appointed the Minister of Cultural Affairs – in the government of general Charles de Gaulle and de Gaulle himself, trying to convince them to support the Polish cause. Owing to family lineage, it was as early as in the 1920s that he developed relations with Parisian intellectual élite and met, among others, Jacques Maritain, François Mauriac, Léon Paul Fargue, Paul Morand, Drieu de la Rochelle, Maurice Sachs, and Daniel Halévy, who later helped him to move on the intricate political scene. He regularly cooperated with the *Kultura* [*Culture*] monthly, published by Instytut Literacki [Literary Institute] founded by Polish émigrés in Rome in 1946 and transferred to Paris in 1947. The magazine addressed politics and culture-related issues and was smuggled to the People's Republic of Poland. Highly esteemed as a writer, literary critic, war memoirist, and anti-Soviet dissident, Czapski became a moral authority for Poles in exile. However, due to law-abiding censorship, he remained unknown to a majority of the public in Poland until the early 1990s - a time of political breakthrough and transformation in East-Central Europe, following the collapse of the Berlin Wall. In communist Poland, Czapski's texts were circulated as *samizdat*, as they expressed contempt for the Soviet regime and sympathy for the anguishing Russian nation, not to mention the relentless search for the truth about the Katyń massacre.

Czapski was both a patriot – distant from nationalism and chauvinism – and a cosmopolite. Fluency in foreign languages (Russian, French, German, and English), which he achieved at home and cultivated owing to considerable reading, as well as the paths of life, which led him to diverse geocultural zones, made him open to cultural variety and specificity. One of the many examples of this attitude was when, while searching for publications on Shia and Sunni Muslims in Teheran, he discovered the book by Joseph Arthur de Gobineau, *Les religions et philosphies dans l'Asie Centrale*, which became his indispensable talisman. He subscribed to the concept of *atonie* (meaning a type of inertia). According to Gobineau, the condition of apathy, indifference, and helplessness was typical of the inhabitants of Central Asia, governed by subsequent dynasties, who fought

one another. Czapski will diagnose émigrés in post-war Paris with such an attitude.[45]

The paths of Czapski's peregrination led him to almost all continents: Europe, Asia, Africa, as well as North and South America. In 1950 he visited the United States and Canada, where he raised funds among Poles to subsidize the publications of Instytut Literacki. In 1955, he spent four months traversing the trail leading from Brazil, through Uruguay and Argentina, to Venezuela, collecting money for the same purpose. During these journeys he created a chronicle of everyday events and situations in both drawing and writing. While in New York and Chicago, he would sketch workers, the urban poor, the homeless, factories, ports, skyscrapers, and museum galleries. It was at this time that his ostensibly anti-aesthetic creed was strengthened. "Only a gaze that refuses to falsify a difficult truth could extract beauty from these streets," he remarked.[46] In South America, he was fascinated by the diversity of ethnicities, exotic plants, colorful birds, and Brazilian Gothic. In the title of one his books, Czapski described this abundance of visual stimuli as *tumult*. The full title of the book is *Tumult i widma* [Tumult and Phantoms][47] and is a reference to Blaise Pascal's antinomy between *le tumulte* and *le repos* – confusion and calm, in which the latter part was replaced by Czapski with the notion of phantoms, understood as fragments of the past looming from memory. However, Czapski did not record the warfare upheavals and traumatic experiences – which seemingly faded away, superseded by current events – in the narrative layer and in the depicted motifs of his paintings. Instead, he succumbed to visions, which were aroused by an accidental visual impulse and which evoked emotions and reminded him of the past. He explained his creative intuitiveness in the following manner:

> "This primeval vision is grace. Everything you do will seem to be evil, for it is burdened with thought and will. […] Never will we become equal to the vision that comes to us. When faced with it, we have to admit our misery."[48]

Czapski's Musée Imaginaire

Czapski resumed painting in the early 1950s, after a ten-year-long break, uncertain of his skills and searching for inspiration in the art of the old and contemporary masters. The diversified assembly of artists he considered to be his

45. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing,* 239-240.

46. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing,* 277.

47. Czapski, *Tumult i widma.*

48. Krystyna Czerni, "Czy Józef Czapski mógłby zostać członkiem Grupy Krakowskiej" (Could Józef Czapski Become a Member of the Krakow Group?). In *Józef Czapski. Obrazy i rysunki ze zbiorów prywatnych* (Józef Czapski: Paintings and Drawings from Private Collections), 10-11.

progenitors included: Francisco Goya, Rembrandt, Georges Roualt, and Chaïm Soutine as well as Pierre Bonnard, Henri Matisse, and Nicolas de Stäel on the opposite end of the expressive range. However, self-irony saved him from derivativeness or emulation of the original models. "You must discover everything with your entire self under the brush, which may be 40 years after you had heard this discovery, after you had understood and comprehended it intellectually, or even emotionally, but not in your work, not at the tip of your brush," he claimed.[49] Czapski transferred his imaginary museum to the pages of his *journal intime*, at the same time analyzing the remarks of the artists he considered to be his spiritual allies, owing to which he could conceptualize his own creative struggles illustrated with miniature sketches of his intended or already completed works. In this way, a personal library was created, and at the same time a kind of archive documenting his output. An ardent opponent of abstraction, both in his aesthetic discourse and in painting, he appreciated the abstract compositions of Nicolas de Stäel. Nevertheless, he was most satisfied with the figurative turn in the artist's late art. This is how he explained his objections to abstract art: "By rejecting observation, studying nature, without exploring those already existing forms through which the artist reaches forms of creative transposition, or even sublimation, art becomes an experience of a purely accidental moment."[50] He expressed even sharper criticism in a statement written in 1985: "[abstraction is] the amalgam of what we call pure intuition with pure latitude."[51] Having adopted Cézanne's concepts in his youth, he strove to capture the essence of the phenomena observed. On the other hand, he highly valued the abstract dimension of the painterly matter in figurative art, above all the luminous color tissue admired since his youth in Bonnard's painting.[52] Also, the point of reference for the late Czapski became the pictorial idiom of Milton Avery who synthesised the observation of nature by approaching abstraction.[53]

From the 1960s to the 1980s, Czapski increasingly subjected his life to the imperative of painting, gradually resigning from political activity and journalism on behalf of free Poland and a free world. It is worth mentioning that, in 1950, he was a co-founder of the Congress for Cultural Freedom in Berlin. In order to focus to a maximum extent on art, he decided on radical self-restraint and withdrew into the intimacy of his studio-room at Maisons-Laffitte (the seat of the editorial board of *Kultura* in the vicinity of Paris) as if he had retreated into monastic space. This was where he transposed onto canvas the succinct notes he hastily recorded in his sketch books, heading towards synthesis through emotional condensation and formal asceticism. In his opinion, maximum concentration

49. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 234.

50. Czapski, *Swoboda tajemna*, 15.

51. Czapski, *Swoboda tajemna*, 16.

52. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing*, 276.

53. Czapski, Letter to Zygmunt Mycielski dated to 27 September 1985; see Karpeles, *Almost Nothing*, 434-435.

during the painting process enabled the evocation of 'involuntary memory' (he borrowed the notion of *memoire involontaire* from Marcel Proust) and brought one closer to the state of contemplative prayer.[54] "Look not beyond memory, the memory which shocked you – the rest is but an obstacle," he recorded in his diary in 1961.[55]

Czapski referred to glancing at the vibrant fabric of current life, which liberated emotions, as a 'flash of sight', an 'illumination', or a 'flight'. For him, an insightful gaze was synonymous with grasping the core of the perceived phenomena. In the crumbs of everyday life, unnoticed by other passers-by, he discerned both an aesthetic value and an emotional load. "After leaving a museum, we notice things that we would have missed before; a green shutter, a ginger stain on the wall […], but this lasts shortly: after a while we fall into a whirl and go blind again," he remarked while explaining the constant pursuit of serendipitous visions.[56]

Czapski's mature painting was an attempt to capture the essence of the human condition, both in its tragedy and in its ridiculousness. The perspicacity of vision in his art was inextricably connected with empathy. His review of Mark Tobey's exhibition from 1961 confirms the imperative to be sensitive to socio-political and universal affairs.

"All Tobey […] is *grâce*, but the *grâce* of a person who has never been to war and who just passed by these fifty years. Yesterday's *France Observateur* – sixty dead Arabs in the Seine River, Arab ghetto, persecution. This *grâce* of Tobey's, this contemplation fuelled by religious syncretism (behaviourists, Zen) is comprised of a kind of detachment from an essential part of our life, our globe."[57]

A long series of images of an anonymous (male or female) inhabitant of Paris, a *flaneur*, a passer-by lost in the hustle and bustle of metropolitan life, in a labyrinth of streets and metro stations, or one confined in the interiors of railway wagons, cafés and bars, museum galleries and theatre boxes; always alone, deep in thought, immersed in themselves. Also, studies of an impoverished, disabled, elderly person, marginalised in society and helpless in the face of their misfortune. The motifs described above might be treated as depictions of the main protagonist featured in Czapski's paintings, which originated between the 1950s and the 1980s. I will argue that this alienated figure, who was the point of focus in the narrowly-framed scenes rendered by Czapski, is the artistic equivalent of the mental condition of the artist himself (see Figure 1).

54. Czapski, *Wyrwane strony*, 150.
55. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 45-46.
56. Czerni, "Czy Józef Czapski mógłby zostać członkiem Grupy Krakowskiej", 10.
57. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 255-256.

Figure 1. *Józef Czapski, Old Woman, 1965, Oil on Canvas, 71 x 92.6 cm, National Museum in Krakow*

Figure 2. *Józef Czapski, Lonely Woman, 1979, Oil on Canvas, 92 x 50 cm, Private Collection*

A plethora of Czapski's artistic output may be referred to as studies of solitude (see Figure 2): overwhelming, incapacitating solitude, which – despite many contacts with friends and acquaintances in Paris, London, Geneva, New York or Buenos Aires, he experienced acutely; the solitude in which phantoms of

tragic past revived. Filling the pages of his diary with a volley of words, which overlapped with drawings, constituted an antidote to solitude.

"The expression of solitude in my work is often commented on. Maybe it's true, but I never pose this kind of question. […] I subjugate myself to daily life, to the discoveries I make seeing a table, a basket, a face in a window or a café. That's where I find the point of departure I call disinterested discovery, the joy of it! Maybe that's the solitude people find, this world apart," he remarked.[58] This is how he explained his mindful insight into common motifs, street episodes or everyday objects he was surrounded with: "Each time, it is almost nothing. But that 'almost nothing' signifies everything."[59] (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. *Józef Czapski, Lamp and a Sink (Self-Portrait), 1959, Oil on Canvas, 80 x 100 cm, Private Collection*

The verbal record of emotional amplitude, the dissection of one's own psyche, the polemic with oneself – particularly with regard to the reception of philosophical reflection and the exegesis of the creative process – found their equivalent in anonymous images of people who are solitary, mentally isolated (even while having other people around), equally alienated or living shattered lives. Frozen while waiting behind the window of his salon, a hairdresser evokes an impression

58. Unpublished letter to Richard Aeschlimann, Richard Aeschlimann's Archive, Chexbres, see Karpeles, *Almost Nothing,* 410-411.

59. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing,* 22.

of a person immersed in an aquarium, protecting him from the hustle and bustle of the street. The self-referential motif of a 'picture within a picture' captures the aura of Pascal's *le repos*, filling the spaces of art galleries, isolated from the 'tumult' of the outside world, the spaces where – as if inside a soundproof ball – art lovers engage in the contemplation of paintings.

Frequently rendered as if observed indirectly, in a mirror, the protagonists of Czapski's paintings have almost lost their physical existence and seem to be sublimated from corporeality. Deprived of identifiable physiognomic features through radical compositional cropping, they seem to be confined by objects. Fragmented figures 'imprisoned' between armchair backrests, silhouettes inserted into a spiral staircase, feet and thighs moved to the edge of the frame, treated as metonymic sign of a human figure – an art historian will easily identify these compositional schemes as borrowed from Japanese woodcuts and a continuation of the tradition of Edgar Degas and Pierre Bonnard (see Figure 4).

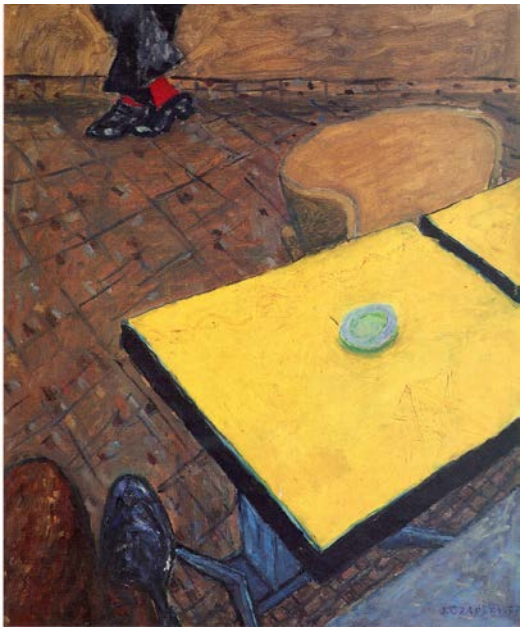

Figure 4. *Józef Czapski, Yellow Tables and an Ashtray, 1957, Oil on Canvas, 65 x 54 cm, Private Collection*

However, despite referring to Bonnard and Matisse, Czapski gradually departed from the *peinture-peinture* dogma, which implied a purely chromatic speculation. What is striking in his mature painting is condensed expression; therefore, his respect for Goya, Rouault, and Soutine shall not be surprising. He believed that inside him, there was a suppressed expressionist who persistently strove to capture the essence of pain (see Figure 5).

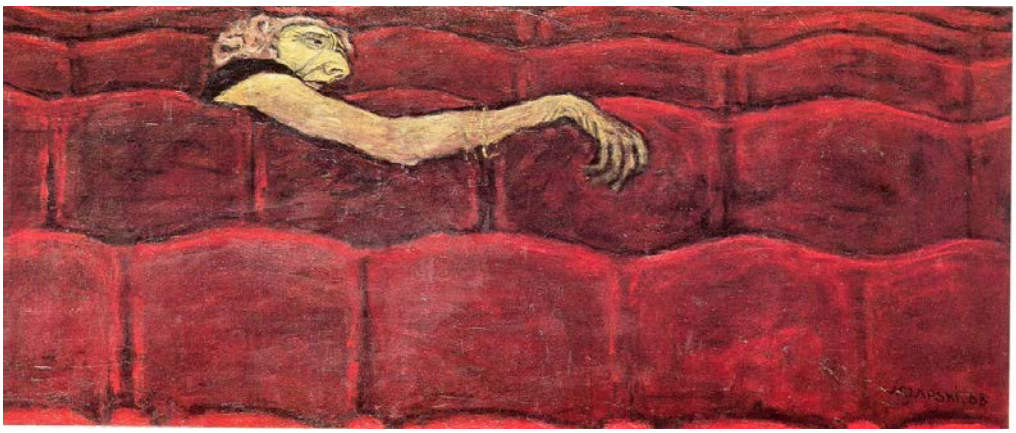

Figure 5. *Józef Czapski, Lonely Woman – Red Armchairs, 1968, Oil on Canvas, 52 x 115 cm, Private Collection*

Expression of the Inexpressible

"Painting is better, calmer, after I have looked into the abyss," he noted in 1988.[60] In the relentless pursuit to make a hardly defined vision real, amidst creative doubts and hesitations, a trace of which was left in the memoirs, Czapski revealed the duality of his attitude. After all, he looked for hints in both Goya's 'black paintings' and the chromatic intensity of Matisse's canvases.

Yet, he concluded bitterly: "The French stifled me."[61] Wrongly so. The sediment of traumatic experiences became the essence of his art. In the context of the artist's statements, the compositional effects and motifs he employed can be interpreted as creation of artistic equivalents of human existence which cannot reach its full capacity in relation to the surrounding world. His studies of solitude can be interpreted as an image of a torn world, which – similar to his psyche – does not submit itself to integration. In his paintings, depicting forlorn railway platforms and empty café interiors, human existence is but implied, recalled from memory. The artist often quoted the words of Ludwig Wittgenstein: "If one makes no attempt to express the inexpressible, then nothing is lost, but the inexpressible is – inexpressibly – contained in what is expressed."[62] This is how Czapski paraphrased Wittgenstein's thought: "[…] it is about vision, it is about the unconceived expression of unconceived feelings, it is an expression of a dark experience."[63]

60. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 97.

61. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 96.

62. Ludwig Wittgenstein, Letter to Paul Engelmann dated to 9 April, 1917; cited after Czesław Miłosz, *Nieobjęta ziemia* (Uncovered Land) (Paris: Instytut Literacki, 1984), 116.

63. Józef Czapski, *Wybrane strony. Z dzienników 1942-1991* (Selected Papers: From Diaries 1942-1991), vol. 1, edited by Emilia Olechnowicz (Warszawa: Instytut Dokumentacji i Studiów nad Literaturą Polską, 2010).

The patrons of Czapski's considerations were eminent writers, philosophers, and poets: Fyodor Dostoyevsky, Lev Tolstoy, Vasily Rozanov, Aleksey Remizov, Marcel Proust, Simone Weil, Marie Maine de Biran, Charles Du Bos, Rainer Maria Rilke, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, Paul Valery, André Malraux, Albert Camus, Samuel Beckett, Aldous Huxley, and Emil Cioran. On the pages of his diary he created a type of a 'living library' and engaged in incessant 'dialogue' with the authors of the works described therein, commenting on their thoughts and deploying counter-arguments to their statements. He argued about the sense of suffering and infinite sacrifice for others with Simone Weil, for whose works he reached most often. This theme resonated best with his troubled psyche. In commentaries to Weil's notes he asked: "Is this exclusivity of suffering, sole suffering, Truth?"[64] The last words he recorded in the diary shortly before his death, when he was almost blind (his sight deteriorated since the 1980s), were: 'Starobielsk' (just to remind: the POW camp in which he was interned) and 'Katyń' (the site of mass graves of Polish officers). Czapski found salvation from despair in the writings of mystics. "This background, this undertone, one must not forget about it and should carry it deep in the lining of one's consciousness in order to be able to live," he argued.[65]

This article is only intended to introduce Czapski. It is too concise to reflect the polyphonic nature of his personality. Its purpose is to emphasise the idiosyncratic character of his creative output and, simultaneously, the marginal position he held on the Parisian artistic scene. He distanced himself from current artistic trends, which resulted from his mental inability to involve in artistic progressivism, and from constant searching for the artistic idiom that would best convey his personality. "After finding myself in solitude, my will to live, to work, manifests itself in breathing again with my own breath, seeing again, breathing with the eyes," he wrote.[66]

Although his works were shown in Parisian galleries – Galerie Lambert, Bénézit, Jacques Desbrière, and Jean Briance – and his artistic output was regularly exhibited in Grabowski Gallery in London and Galerie Plexus in Chexbres near Lausanne, for many years he found himself outside the mainstream exhibitions and beyond the art market. His paintings were purchased mostly by relatives from the extended Austrian-German-Russian-Polish family or by affluent friends. It was only at the expositions in Switzerland – regularly organised since 1973 by the art dealer Richard Aeschlimann, who befriended the artist – that buyers from the United States of America and Canada as well as members of the British royal family began to show interest in Czapski's work. Still, Czapski did everything in his might to resist the mechanisms governing the art market. For example, he rejected the proposal of having a series of exhibitions in several venues in

64. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 196.
65. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 158.
66. Karpiński, *Portret Czapskiego*, 258.

Germany because he considered the dealers' estimates of his paintings to be overpriced. In Poland, most exhibitions of his art have been held after 1990. The only monograph dedicated to the artist's oeuvre and published in Switzerland during his lifetime was *Czapski – la main et l'espace* by Murielle Werner-Gagnebin.[67]

A good illustration of Czapski's marginal position in the Parisian artistic milieu was when a curator from Central and Eastern Europe recommended the artist's name to the commission qualifying artworks to the Biennale de Paris, scheduled for 1985. The commission was perplexed as none of its members was able to remember Czapski's art. Eventually, ten of his pictures were shown, but this did not result in either the critics' interest or financial success (which was never important for Czapski).

Distanced from the artistic mainstream, Czapski perceived himself as a painter who represented the obsolete post-Cézannesque era. Although he treated it as a manifestation of the instinct of self-preservation with regard to the commercialization and commodification of art, he considered his artistic attitude to be completely *passé*.[68] Wrongly so. His biography of an emigré exemplified a complex relation between the historical and political context of art and the artistic vision, a relation that was far from being illustrative. Despite his incessant curiosity of the world and openness to the Other, despite his immense literary and artistic erudition, the essence of Czapski's art were the ghosts of the past whose impact escalated due to the impossibility of returning 'home', understood as the mental and emotional core of personality. "I think that painting is always a challenge and that my canvases contain a lot of darkness, like an inner gash, hundreds of times more than my relations with people do, even with those to whom I'm close," Czapski confessed in a letter to his friend, Ludwik Hering, who lived behind the Iron Curtain and with whom Czapski was engaged in a love affair before the war.[69]

In 1949, marking the 10th anniversary of the joint Nazi and Soviet invasion of Poland, Czapski published in *Kultura* an essay titled *Szeptem* [In a Whisper], in which he reflected on modern amnesia:

"I sometimes think that man has no right to exist, that we are all alive only thanks to our thoughtlessness, our disloyalty, our unremembering. If we could remember for real and remember constantly, no one would be able to breathe, to stay alive," he observed.[70] Nevertheless, his own writings – encrusted with literary

67. Werner-Gagnebin, *Czapski. La main et l'espace*.

68. Czapski, "Śmierć Cézanne'a" (The Death of Cézanne), *Kultura*, 1985 (6) 108-110.

69. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing*, 297. The correspondence between Czapski and Hering was published in: *Listy 1939-1982* (Letters 1939-1982). Introduction by Adam Zagajewski, edited by Ludmiła Murawska-Péja, Dorota Szczerba, Julia Juryś, and Piotr Kłoczowski, Gdańsk: Fundacja Terytoria Książki, Instytut Dokumentacji Studiów nad Literaturą Polską, 2016-2017.

70. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing*, 267.

and philosophical quotations – reveal an abiding memory of annihilation and demise. He ended *Szeptem* with a bitter conclusion:

> "As we speak and write the most sacred words, even our memories of those who died take on the sleekness, the shine of inert, polished wooden objects, of tools of propaganda. All over this planet we repeat words, words, words – and this gives us permission to think that we're being faithful? On this anniversary perhaps it'll be better to be silent and think. To see everything that we have lived through, to get to the bottom of things and not stop halfway, to not erect any rosy screens of fiction between ourselves and reality, to not tape up the wounds with optimistic band-aids, which only hasten the rot. To remain silent."[71]

For Czapski, painting became the silence concealing profound interiorization of the trauma of war. He died in Maisons-Lafitte near Paris on 12thth January, 1993, aged 96.

Emblematic Émigré Artist

The Syndrome of an Emigrant features key moments from Czapski's life and the major points of his reflection on art and human existence. It depicts Czapski as a firsthand witness and participant of the turbulent history of the 20th century, happening in Europe, Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa.

The outbreak of World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in tsarist Russia, the Polish-Soviet war of 1919-1920, and the course of World War II left an indelible mark on his life. Consequently, he became an emphatic observer of the suffering of dozens of thousands of civilian refugees and soldiers fighting on frontlines. Despite such traumatic experiences, Czapski remained open towards people, displayed willingness to meet and exchange opinions with them, and maintained his curiosity of the world and the energy to work for the causes in which he believed. He was always himself and did not change his convictions, irrespective of the dramatic circumstances in which he found himself. Nevertheless Czapski never freed himself of the war trauma, which was reflected in both his writings and historical journalism as well as in the sphere that can be found at the other extreme of objective historical narration – in the aesthetic experience, in the manner of comprehending the essence of painting, and in the expression of the artistic form created.

Despite his intensive diplomatic and publishing activity, he never lost his passion for the pictorial idiom he considered to be fully authentic – anti-avant-garde, free of the imperative of constant progressivism and experimenting, resistant to contemporary fads and mainstream artistic trends, striving to capture the unchangeable essence of the surrounding reality. With the passage of time,

71. Karpeles, *Almost Nothing*, 267.

his painting (of Post-Impressionist genealogy) acquired a more pessimistic tone and featured a more profound expressionist deformation of the situations, figures, and objects observed. The remnants of collective and individual trauma, the overwhelming sense of loss, and the 'residue' of painful experiences resulting from expulsion and exile kept him from embarking on entirely new artistic paths. The memory of the war hecatomb was the reason why Czapski preferred to set his position on the cultural margins of the Parisian art scene – a decision that entailed difficulties and frictions in his career.

Although Czapski was gifted with exceptional personality and polyphonic artistic talent, he became an emblematic Polish post-World War II émigré artist. The alienated figures shown in the narrow frames of his paintings might be read as a symbol of the fate of hundreds of thousands of Poles exiled from their country during the joint Nazi and Soviet invasion in 1939, sent to labour camps in Germany and the USSR during the six-year-long occupation of Poland or following combat trails with the Allied Forces. They serve as a token of the lives of those Polish emigrants who were deprived of the opportunity of returning to their homeland by the communist regime which Moscow imposed on the People's Republic of Poland in 1945.

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Aesthetics of the Fantastic in Pan's Labyrinth

By Claudia Panisello[*]

*The paper addresses the analysis of aesthetics in Guillermo del Toro's **Pan's Labyrinth**, a 2006 film in which the fantastic genre predominates. Various aspects are studied: The structure of the plot and composition of the story, which revolve around the presence of two fictional levels: one related to the events of the characters in the mimesis context of the historical and a second fictional level related to the fantastic, producing an understanding of the metaphysical reality of the film. Semiotics of the work in relation to the fantastic regarding the link between Ofelia and the pan. Semiosis of the internal pragmatics of the work in relation to the viewer and the PECMA flow. The acting role of the character Ofelia and her wisdom within the different options presented by the plot. The cultural construction and the attitudinal around gender, are analyzed in relation to their significance. The contribution made by this analysis is an approach to the perceptual process within the film and its relationship with the fantastic. The intervention of the fantastic causes the rupture of the real mimesis, where fantasy allows transgressing the limits of the understanding of the real and generates a character with unusual metaphysical projections.*

Introduction

The paper addresses the analysis of aesthetics in Guillermo del Toro's **Pan's Labyrinth**, a 2006 film in which the fantastic genre predominates. The intervention of the fantastic causes the rupture of the mimesis of the real to allow the assimilation of diverse alternatives, generating in the receiver of the work a PECMA flow (by its acronym Perception, Emotion, Cognition and Motrice Action) that allows the assimilation of two fictional levels that are intertwined through the character Ofelia.

Various aspects will be analyzed in relation to the conformation of this fantastic cinematographic work: a) The structure of the plot and composition of the story, which revolve around the presence of two fictional levels: one related to the events of the characters in the mimesis context of the historical and a second fictional level related to the fantastic, producing an understanding of the metaphysical reality of the film. b) Semiotics of the work in relation to the fantastic regarding the link between Ofelia and the pan. c) Semiosis of the internal pragmatics of the work in relation to the viewer and the PECMA flow. d) The acting role of the character Ofelia and her wisdom within the different options presented by the plot. The feminine, the cultural construction and the attitudinal around gender, are themes present in this work and will be analyzed in relation

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to their significance within it.

From the point of view of the mimesis of reality in the film, the most absolute desolation on the part of the girl upon arriving at that new house in a place in the middle of the forest, where her pregnant mother feels sick. Her stepfather Captain Vidal, is a ruthless character, who wants to put an end to the Republican partisan warfare. The second fictional level proposes Ofelia's relationship with the pan. Ofelia was a Princess, daughter of a King, and she had come out of the maze long ago, in another life. The constitution of a model character, Ofelia, the only one who perceives the fantastic fictional reality linked to the primary fictional reality. The acting role of the character Ofelia and her wisdom within the different options presented by the plot. The feminine, the cultural construction and the attitudinal around gender, are themes present in this work and will be analyzed in relation to their significance within it. The idea is to unravel the role of the character Ofelia and her wisdom within the different options that the plot presents to her.

Methodology/Materials

Some of the texts that make up the bibliography are: Conde, Juan Alberto (2019) *Semiotics of cinema and audiovisuals, new trends*. Ed. Utadeo. García de Molero, Írida y Finol, José Enrique (January-June 2006) *Film semiotics: A symmetrical/ asymmetrical dialogical model for the analysis of filmic text/discourse* (2006) ACADEMIC QUORUM Vol. 3, Nº 1,, Pp. 77 - 104, Maracaibo, University of Zulia. Lotman, Yuri. (1999) *Culture and explosion*. Barcelona, Editorial Gedisa. Lotman, Yuri (1982) *Structure of the artistic text*. Madrid, Isthmus. Roas, David, *The fantastic as destabilization of the real: elements for a definition*, Barcelona, Autonomous University of Barcelona.

The constitution of the character Ofelia proposes a different attitude of women with respect to the paradigm. The intervention of the fantastic causes the rupture of the real to allow the assimilation of possible alternatives where fantasy allows the limits of the possible to be transgressed and at the same time generates a character with unusual projections. Prestigious scholars of the female gender will be mentioned in the analysis: Seyla Benhabib in *Situating the Self*, Judith Butler in *Undoing Gender*.

Development

The author uses the word "pan" to designate a faun, however, Pan is generally accepted as a name of a Greek deity. Within the context of the analyzed

film, "pan" is used as a synonym to faun. The faun, from a mythological point of view, according to Pierre Grimal's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Mythology* is:

> "Faun seems to have been a very ancient Roman god, whose cult was located in the Palatine itself or in its immediate surroundings. Because of his name, he appears as a beneficent, "favorable" god, protector particularly of flocks and shepherds, which facilitated, under Greek influence, his identification with the Arcadian god Pan... Sometimes he is considered the son of Circe and Jupiter... the fauns are, in classical times, jungle and country geniuses, companions of shepherds, and the equivalent of the Hellenic satyrs. Like theirs, their nature is double: half man, half goat; They have horns and, often, goat hooves." (p.193)

The structure of the plot and composition of the story, which revolve around the presence of two fictional levels: one related to the events of the characters in the mimesis context of the historical and a second fictional level related to the fantastic, producing an understanding of the metaphysical reality of the film. The fantastic creates other point of view different of the mimesis of the historical reality. The inner process of the caption of other fiction options, generates in the viewer a PECMA flow (for its acronym Perception, Emotion, Cognition and Motrice Action) in the first instance associated with the impact of the ominous due to the presence of the unusual monster (faun) and the capture of a situation of unhappiness of the girl due to her experiences at the family and historical levels.

Following Torben Grodal in his article "The PECMA flow: a general theory of the cinema experience"in Juan Alberto Conde in *Semiotics of Cinema*:

> "The emotional systems of the brain are located in primitive (subcortical) parts of the brain, especially in the lower central part of the brain often called the limbic system (or the primitive mammalian brain) and some adjacent parts in the dorsal stem (of reptiles) and cortical areas at the front of the limbic system. Here we find the centers of fear and sexual needs, among others, and the centers that connect emotional labels with experiences when they are stored in long-term memory, when memories are recovered or when they are compared with present experiences. Emotional and perceptual processes are, therefore, interconnected when we watch movies."(pp. 26-27)

The previous quote implies the interrelation between emotional and perceptual processes with the contemplation of audiovisuals and cinema. It means that when contemplating certain images or listening to certain music or sound, a perception would be produced that interconnects with the individual's previous experiences.

This circumstance is what is closely related to the subjectivity of each person. Subjectivity is what each person thinks or feels about something. The subjective is what comes from each individual, which means a unique and own way of feeling the things that an individual experiences or contemplates. For the same reason,

each person receives a different impact when watching a movie. What is unique and characteristic of each being is subjective, and that is why sometimes someone likes a movie and for another it is something indifferent or unpleasant.

From the point of view of the mimesis of reality in the film, the most absolute desolation on the part of the girl when she arrives at that new house in a place in the middle of the forest, where her pregnant mother feels unwell. Her stepfather is a ruthless character, Captain Vidal, who intends to end the republican guerrilla[1] after the Spanish Civil War[2]

Elements are taken from *Semiotics of cinema and audiovisual* by the editor Juan Alberto Conde, which incorporates the position and themes of several authors, in relation to the audiovisual topic. In this text Torben Grodal studies: "The PECMA flow: a general theory of the cinema experience", where he defines what the flow is that is experienced when having the audiovisual experience, defined as: "I model the flow of perception, emotion, cognition and motor action" (Conde, 2019: 25)

From the point of view of the receiver of the film, there is a comprehension of the two fictional levels: one that would be mimesis of reality and another that would be relative to the fantastic, producing an understanding of the metaphysical reality of the film.

These categories are those that are put into operation when being in contact with the audiovisual medium. Contemplation requires the attention of the visual sense, which brings the images to the brain. Likewise, through hearing, you can hear what is being transmitted and also incorporate that auditory image on a cognitive level. As the cited author points out:

> "When we watch a horror movie, our hearts beat harder, we receive an increase in adrenaline levels, our muscles tense, and our fear focuses on our perceptions of visual and auditory stimuli. The experience can only be fully described in terms of the interaction of the dimensions of PECMA" (Conde, 2019:25)

According to David Roas, "the fantastic problematizes the limits between reality and unreality (or fiction)" (p.113) These planes are those that are put into operation when in contact with the audiovisual medium. Contemplation requires the attention of the visual sense, which brings the images to the brain. Likewise, through hearing, you can hear what is being transmitted and also incorporate that auditory image on a cognitive level. As the cited author points out: "When

1. The anti-Franco guerrilla, also called Maquis, was "the set of guerrilla movements opposed to the Franco regime established in Spain after the Civil War and that began to operate already during the strife." (es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maquis_(guerrilla_antifranquista)]

2. The Spanish Civil War or War of Spain, also known in that country as the Civil War par excellence... was a war conflict - which Later it would also have repercussions on an economic crisis that broke out in Spain after the partial failure of the coup d'état of 1936" (es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish_civil_Guerra)].

we watch an horror movie, our hearts beat harder, we receive an increase in adrenaline levels, our muscles tense, and our fear focuses on our perceptions of visual and auditory stimuli. The experience can only be fully described in terms of the interaction of the dimensions of PECMA" (Conde, 2019:25)

In this case, not only the visualization of the pan, but all the elements that correspond to the fantastic generate an estrangement and a perception of the strange, the ominous meaning of Ofelia's escape to an other world. The grasshopper who becomes a fairy, who guides her to the labyrinth, constitutes the beginning of the secondary fictional reality. Fairies, according to Cirlot's *Dictionary of Symbols*: "symbolize the supernormal powers of the human soul, at least in the esoteric version... They can make characters, palaces, and wonderful objects appear. They dispense riches (symbol of wisdom). The faculties are the fairies, not in a magical aspect, but as simple latent possibilities suddenly illuminated... In a more traditional sense, objectively, the fairies are spinners like the grim reapers... They are then the personification of stages of spiritual or soul life..." (Cirlot, 1997: 242)

In this sense, the fairy is Ofelia's first guide, the first to trace a diverse bias in her "real" life, since she recognizes it in the grasshopper, showing him a drawing of a fairy, and he becomes a fairy. The fairy, then, is the one who guides her, like a reaper of the journey of her life and the metaphysical destiny of her life, towards the labyrinth. Ofelia, enters the maze the first time, following the grasshopper who later turns into a fairy. In a way, she is entering a deeper meaning of her life, linked to a metaphysical reality that transcends it. That is, Ofelia, by being linked to that pan she finds in the labyrinth, becomes linked to the secondary fictional reality, which invades and permeates her life. She is going to follow the directives that the faun gives her, and by fulfilling them, she will accomplish what she had to do to become the Princess again in a different reality, which is the one shown at the end of the film. In that secondary fictional reality, she was the daughter of a King, and she had left the labyrinth long ago, in another life. Supposedly, the father would have created that reality, in which she dies, and she would be back with her original family.

The audiovisual experience we have at that moment, then, influences our emotional and psychic system, influencing our emotions. There has been an introspection of that audiovisual. The interaction implies an assimilation of what is being heard and visualized, definitely influencing emotions, even creating effects such as sweating, muscle tension, unconscious movements, etc. The incorporation of that fairy in the journey of film understanding is unquestionable, since the receiver contemplates the film predisposed to see a reality foreign to that of the temporal historical existence that everyone live.

The production of PECMA arises from the activation in the brain of the understanding of the stories or narratives that are being witnessed, and that constitute a unit of meaning with an influence on the perceptions of reality. In this sense:

> "Narrative mechanisms are central to the configuration of human meaning in general. These mechanisms are supported by a series of mental functions located primarily in the frontal lobe, but also in the limbic system and the dorsal stem. The unmediated use of narratives serves to offer a frame of reference for agency through planning and control actions, and to integrate plans, goals and motivating emotions in a PECMA flow" (p. 85, *Film Semiotics*)
>
> "Tension can be transformed into relaxation when goals are met. This applies when the main goals are achieved. But the achievement of a subgoal or a subsubgoal can change the perceptual and emotional configuration in such a way that a new subgoal or a subsubgoal can become urgent and, therefore, we have a pecma-pecma-pecma flow... This action motor is the transition to solo in terms of brain-body architecture. In real life, flow need not begin with a perception: a person can remember that they want something, and that can start a new direction of flow. In films, however, it is the perception of activities on the screen that gives rise to the spectator's simulation of flow, even though the flow in that diegetic or narrative world may begin inside the protagonist's mind." (*Film Semiotics,* 33)

The viewer sees the fairy who guides the girl towards the labyrinth, then the faun who is in that labyrinth and who is going to entrust her with three tasks, as a subgoal, to reach the final goal of becoming Queen of that fantastic world.

Following *Film Semiotics*: "Present "online" perceptions and their correlated emotions signal possible future actions: escape through that door, approach that person, and obtain that goal. Conscious emotional experience is, therefore, colored and modalized by muscular tension, since it is the muscles, whether the arms, legs or speech organs, that put into action our preferences and, consequently, that Muscular intentional colors the experience. Mirror neurons in the premotor cortex may play a prominent role in inducing action tendencies in viewers that reflect the characters' actions and intentions. In mental simulations, such as watching movies, the modeling of actions in the premotor areas does not lead, of course, to specific motor actions, since the motor centers are only resonating, but not executing. (*Film Semiotics*,32)

Even the smallest child knows how to differentiate what the concrete temporal reality that he or she lives is from the contemplation of an audiovisual or the cinema. The comprehension of that reality captured only by the senses does not imply a reaction from the receiver. The individual understands that he cannot absolutely influence that second reality, or fictional reality, which is not the historical, temporal, linear reality.

The person intelligently evaluates whether that fictional world could be influenced by any individual live actions, and comes to the conclusion that the fiction could not be changed, and that what is being seen is beyond the reach of reality. This happens at all ages, without the need for explanation, since the reality of audiovisual or cinema is interpreted as something far from one's own real experience. The cognitive evaluation of the incidence in that fictitious world happens spontaneously, causing passive contemplation of what is visualized.

The monster in this case is the faun, who comes into action when Ofelia enters the labyrinth, which remains in a fictional reality secondary to the main reality of the film, since it is only seen by Ofelia. Even at the end, when the Captain chases her through the labyrinth, when he looks at her, the girl is seen in full shot with the baby in her arms speaking towards nothingness. Therefore, the fictional levels in this film do not intersect, but are only valid for Ofelia, throughout the entire film. This secondary level where the faun is, gives Ofelia's actions meaning.

Ofelia is prevented from entering the labyrinth by Mercedes, the housekeeper, that is the person in charge of the establishment where the Captain and the family are. This character warns her that in that labyrinth she could get lost, which is what at last happens to Ofelia, not because she has been lost in a literal sense, but because that secondary fictional world, where the faun lives, is the one that will gain space in her actions of primary fictional reality.

The labyrinth is: "Architectural construction, without apparent purpose, with a complicated structure and from which, once inside, it is impossible or very difficult to find the exit...According to Diel, the labyrinth symbolizes the unconscious, error and distancing from the source of life. Eliade points out that the essential mission of the labyrinth was to defend the center, that is, the initiatory access to sacredness, immortality and absolute reality... it is possible to interpret the knowledge of the labyrinth as a learning of the neophyte regarding the way to enter the territories of death" (Cirlot, 1997:273-274)

The initiatory sense of sacredness, immortality and absolute reality is within the labyrinth through the character of the faun, who tells her: "You are Princess Luana, daughter of the King of Betmorra... Your father did all over the world. open portals that would allow your return." With these words, the faun is the one who informs Ofelia of her true identity, and also that she has to maintain an interior of excellence: "We must make sure that your essence has not been lost," the pan tells her.

The faun gives her the book of crossroads, which is a book with blank pages, in which the letters and actions will be drawn every time Ofelia opens it. The presence of the book is associated with wisdom. In this sense, Ofelia's wisdom is related to a comprehension of her being in a metaphysical perspective that does not follow her primary cultural construction, but rather is directed towards a departure from what is expected of a character with an attitudinal behavior linked to rule. Seyla Benhabib in *Situating the Self,* determines the essence of women in relation to Hegelian philosophy, the being with its determinations but without the consciousness of oneself as opposed to "being-in-oneself". Judith Butler, in *Undoing Gender*, refers to what the impositions of feminine cultural construction mean. Ofelia's wisdom is linked to a way of being herself, since she searches inside herself and she lives that secondary fictional reality in a transcendent sense.

Her attitude is that of a subject woman since she carries out the actions being true to herself, in an intelligent and wise way. Judith Butler in *Contingent*

Foundations: Feminism and the Question of "Postmodernism" Butler points out the relationship between subject and power and the permanent resignification of one in relation to the other; and affirms that the subject "...is totally political, perhaps the most political, to the point where it is stated that it is prior to politics itself." (Butler, 1992:29) Ofelia handles herself with the freedom typical of an intelligent subject outside the paradigm. She is the one who opens the book, she is the one who transforms the white nothingness of the pages into letters and drawings, which are the significants of deep meanings.

Cirlot says regarding letters:

> "In all traditions, letters have a symbolic meaning, which is sometimes divided into two, according to their shape and their sound. This belief probably derives, apart from the system of cosmic correspondences by which each component of any series must correspond to other components of other series, from the primitive pictograms and ideograms. (Cirlot, 1997: 279)

In this sense, the drawings and letters shape not only what must be done, but also its deepest association with the ascension that according to the faun he is carrying out through these subgoals towards the final goal of returning to be with her father. It is significant that the letters are drawn for her, that is, it is through her, and for her that figures and letters are drawn. It is associated with wisdom, that allows her to access more keys, more insight elements into the hidden, with respect to the metaphysical planes of her existence.

What Cirlot says in relation to the symbolism of the books is the following: "One of the eight common Chinese emblems, a symbol of the power to ward off evil spirits. The book written inside and out is an allegory of the esoteric and exoteric meaning...the book is related to the symbolism of weaving, according to Guénon...The universe is an immense book; The characters of this book are written, in principle, with the same ink and transcribed in the eternal tabal by the divine pen...that is why the essential divine phenomena hidden in the "secrets of secrets" took the name of transcendent letters." . (Cirlot, 1997: 284).

The pan assigns her a series of instructions to verify the purity of her essence: the first is to put three stones on the toad that lives under an ancient tree, which is sucking the life out of it. Ofelia in the primary fictional reality was freshly bathed and dressed in a beautiful dark green dress and patent leather shoes. There was an important dinner at home and she had to be "like a princess" in the words of her mother. Ofelia evades the dinner commitment and has no problem or qualms about entering through a hole in the old tree and going in to find the giant toad to put the three stones in it. "Only in this way will the tree bloom again" the pan had told her. The name Ofelia itself, according to the *Onomatological Dictionary*, means: "she who helps" (Serdoch and Igonda, 1952:78) would give meaning to this action of saving the tree.

The toad also has a special symbology: "It is the inverse and infernal aspect of the frog. Therefore, the same symbolic meaning corresponds to it, but in a negative aspect. Esoteric doctrines express this with their usual terminology saying: "There are also animals whose mission is none other than to break the astral light by an absorption that is peculiar to them. They have something that fascinates in their eyes: the toad and the basilisk." (Cirlot, 1997: 400). It should be noted that, on the contrary, the frog: "represents the transition between the elements earth and water, and conversely...the frog was one of the main beings associated with the idea of creation and resurrection, not only because it is amphibious, but because of its alternating periods of appearance and disappearance... Here it represents the highest degree of evolution; That is why, in legends and folklore tales, the "transformation of the prince into a frog" appears so many times." (Cirlot, 1997: 385)

It is very significant that Ofelia is the one who puts the three stones in the giant toad's mouth, causing his death. Because, according to the symbology explained above, it would be the inverse of the transformation of the prince into a frog. In this film the opposite happens, it is Ofelia who kills the toad, annihilates evil, which breaks the astral light, and in this sense Ofelia's long minutes of contemplation of the toad and vice versa is significant. With her actions, Ofelia deconstructs the myth of the prince who transformed into a frog and then that frog transforms back into a prince. Ofelia kills the toad by placing the three stones in its mouth, and it dissolves into a yellowish gelatinous mass, which has a large key in the middle. Ofelia takes the key, which also has a symbolic content of openness, innovation and passage to another place or other conditions. In the fictional first plane, Ofelia returns to the house all dirty and covered in mud, and her mother gets very angry and leaves her without dinner. She leaves her bathing, the fairy arrives again and leads her back to the labyrinth.

Ofelia asks the faun about the statue present in the labyrinth, in which there are three figures and the pan tells her that it is him with the girl, and she asks him who the baby is. The faun does not answer her, but rather tells her enigmatically: "We will soon pass through the seven courtyards of your palace."

Ofelia sleeps with her mother, but as the mother's pregnancy worsens, she is going to sleep alone. The faun gave her a mandrake for her mother's recovery and tells her that she has to put it in a bowl with milk and give a little to her mother every night. The mandrake is a "Plant to which magical virtues were attributed because its roots resemble a human figure... It is an image of the soul, in its negative and minimized aspect, in the primitive mentality." (Cirlot, 1997: 303). In this sense, the plant causes temporary improvement in Ofelia's mother. But, since Ofelia hid it under her mother's bed, the Captain discovers it, bringing direct consequences for her mother. The mother herself throws the mandrake into the fire, causing in a fantastic parallel her deterioration and subsequent childbirth, which leads to her death.

The second task that Ofelia has to do is to draw a door on the wall of the room with chalk. Magically, that door opens and takes her through a passage to another strange room, where she finds a monster even more terrifying than the faun: it is a kind of thin white being, without eyes, who is asleep and sitting at the head of the faun. a long table that offers a banquet of food and various fruits. Ofelia is told not to be able to eat anything from that table, "because her life is going away," quoting the faun's words.

Ofelia is accompanied by a small wooden box with three fairies and goes behind the monster, who remains asleep. She wisely inserts the key into the correct door (which she has chosen from three), which is the one to the left of the viewer, who is struck by all the symbolic elements contemplated in the film.

She manages to open the small door and take out a sword from inside, which was the order dictated by the book of crossroads. She heads towards the exit, but is tempted by some grapes from the long banquet table, and that causes the eyeless monster to wake up. This monster places the eyes that were on his plate in his hands, and places those hands with eyes at the level where the eyes should be. The eyes on a symbolic level are associated with the sun, intelligence and understanding:

> "Plotinus' expression: that the eye could not see the sun if it were not in some way a sun, exposes the background and essence of the question. Since the sun is the focus of light and is a symbol of intelligence and spirit, the act of seeing expresses a correspondence to spiritual action and consequently symbolizes understanding." (Cirlot, 1997: 345,346)

Main Aspects of the Analysis Dialogical Model

This author divides the order of the pragmatic into two: the order of the syntagmatic and the order of the paradigmatic:

A)The order of the syntagmatic divides it into:
First: Syntactic operators Scene-dialogue:

> "Effects of the real in the conditions of production tending to inscribe traces of the representation process inside what is represented, which come into tension with the norms that govern the ideologies that characterize the mental dimension of the society."

Characteristics of objects, time, dialogue as an element of action and expression. The voice-over and the internal monologue. The type of dialogues, the noises, the music as a leitmotif.

Second: Technical-expressive formal operators: "These operators contribute to highlighting the syntagmatics of the film and ensure the material existence of the aesthetic audiovisual setting. They constitute traces of the production of a

cinematographic author. Shots and their classification, camera movements: panoramic, etc. The angles"
B)The order of the paradigmatic: semantic operators: "these operators highlight the intertwining between the signs and codes that are generated in the relationship of the syntagmatic and the paradigmatic to approach the suggested meaning of the film author. The symbolic system that contains icons and indexes is required and which provides us with both natural objects, human beings, plants, animals, things, as well as instruments, attitudes and behaviors that slide between the spheres of the natural and the social to reach the construction of social discourse and messages".

> "The exchange isomorphism that allows the message to be captured with the help of the identification of messages and isotopies and also the vertical one that allows the border sliding of the isotopy to the interpretant. Narrative semiosis that triggers actors in relationships of space, time and modal values that could manifest social discourses. We could relate the act of watching a film to the knowledge and opinions involved in the thematization process under the epistemic categories provided by the Greimasian verdictory scheme." (p. 92 to 94)

Technical-expressive formal operators: The music linked to mystery and the ominous accompanies this and other scenes, especially those related to death, and contributes to creating a strange, lonely atmosphere, and in this case the frozen environment emphasizes that idea, when the monster eats two of the three fairies from an aesthetic point of view, the fusion of the melody with the action is essential to emphasize it, giving it greater depth, since it implies the perception of the scene not only visually, but also with the sense of audition.

The end of the film, the impossible of the fantastic, transgresses and cancels the parameters of the first fictional level, arriving at a fantastic reality.

The strange monster is terrifying and chases Ofelia, who had run out of time and the door had closed on her. She quickly manages to draw another door in the roof of the place and escape from that monster that seems to enhance the sense of temptation she had when eating the grapes, which would mean an association with the lack of temperance or restraint in relation to food and had the tragic consequence of the death of two of the fairies. The pan became very angry for this reason and said that she was no longer the chosen one, however, later, he tells her that he will give her another chance.

The third test is associated with her brother, and when her mother dies, she must flee the place. It is noteworthy that at one point, when the baby was still in the mother's womb, Ofelia speaks to her brother, and promises to take him to her kingdom and that she will make him a prince. However, when she ultimately has to give up the "blood of an innocent," in the faun's words; Ofelia does not give up her brother.

It is then, that the Captain came, saw her talking to the air, towards the void, took her brother out and killed her. The blood of an innocent is thus, that of Ofelia herself, who has completed the three tests correctly, since she did not allow the death of her brother.

In the primary fictional reality, Captain Vidal, upon leaving the labyrinth, with his son in his arms, sees that the rebels are waiting for him, and by handing over his son, they end his life. Mercedes goes to look for Ofelia in the labyrinth, and when she is dying, she hums the song that she had sung to her previously, so that the girl would calm down. In the fictional first level, Mercedes contemplates her death, with blood dripping onto the water mirror where the full moon is reflected. Meanwhile, in the second fictional plane, the girl arrives at her father's Kingdom, and not only finds him, but also her deceased mother. The faun is present and at that moment its positive actantial role is perceived in the global sense of the work, since it gives meaning to the death and ascension of the girl.

The spectator who attends a film chooses to believe in what is being seen, and do not question too much the veracity of what is being perceived, precisely because of the knowledge that it is a fictional world.

Following Todorov, 1974, "We thus arrive at the heart of the fantastic. In a world that is ours, the one we know, without devils, sylphs, or vampires, an event occurs that is impossible to explain by the laws of that same familiar world. The person who perceives the event must choose one of two possible solutions: either it is an illusion of the senses, a product of the imagination, and the laws of the world remain what they are, or the event occurred Actually, it is an integral part of reality and is governed by laws that we do not know...The fantastic occupies the time of this uncertainty. As soon as one of these two answers is chosen, one leaves the realm of the fantastic to enter a neighboring genre: the strange or the wonderful. The fantastic is the hesitation experienced by a being who knows nothing but natural laws, in the face of an apparently supernatural event" (quote from Todorov, 1974:152, Akal Dictionary of Literary Terms)

The impact of that film on each viewer is different, precisely due to the impact of the perception of it on each one. This phenomenon is associated with what the same author points out in the text cited above:

In this case, the construction of the character Ofelia becomes independent of the expected model to constitute her as a heroine of the work, who moves away from a passive feminine paradigm to shape her wisdom around the various actions explained above. In this sense, she rises as a character to the category of being in herself and not for others, her evasion of the real being significant to achieve spaces linked to the profound.

Conclusion

The contribution made by this analysis is an approaching to the perceptual

process within the film and its relationship with the fantastic.The intervention of the fantastic causes the rupture of the real mimesis, where fantasy allows transgressing the limits of the understanding of the real and generates a character with unusual metaphysical projections.

The viewer's perception has been detailed when contemplating the film, which incorporates, through the comprehension of the film, a new exemplary construction of the feminine being. The perception of a girl who has enough courage, courage and wisdom to pass the various initiatory tests, which lead her to become a new model of woman. The wisdom of Ofelia, who since she was a child has been investigative, creative and wise, could constitute a symbol of a new form of cultural construction of the female gender.

The paradigmatic rupture of the constitution of the character Ofelia occurs, proposing a different attitude of the woman with respect to the paradigm. The girl does not act passively and in imitation of the previous model, as a legacy of feminine passivity, but acts in relation to different motives, which link her to a fantastic metaphysical past. The primary fictional reality is of lesser importance for Ofelia, since for her, the secondary fictional reality, where the faun lives, is what gives meaning to her actions. The rupture of the mimesis of the cruel reality that the girl is experiencing, at the same time grants her liberation and generates unusual projections at the film level, linked to the fantastic.

The legitimization of the feminine and its actions in contrast to what is established has occurred. The dirty dress and patent leather shoes when making the first test in relation to the toad, has destabilized the paradigms of the traditional feminine.

The figure of the prince is deconstructed as noted in the development, to transform into the wisdom of the thirteen-year-old girl, who through the actions of the work, achieves an insight into the deep meaning of her being, through the intervention of the fantastic. Ofelia's freedom is also significant as she lives an adventure in the middle of the Civil War, which in a way leads her to escape from the difficult circumstances in which she finds herself. That freedom constitutes and transforms her, since elevates her to that secondary fictional reality and to a reign of many years. The person that watches the film manages the understanding of the symbolic meaning of Ofelia's wisdom.

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