MEANING IN THE VISUAL ARTS:
An Exhibition Suggested by the Writings of Erwin Panofsky

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Princeton University Library
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Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968) was born in Hanover, Germany; he was educated in Berlin, Freiburg and Munich, and had won wide recognition as a scholar before he first came to the United States in 1931. Although art history was the subject that won him world-wide renown and the highest honors of the academic world, he amazed his colleagues, readers, students, and friends with the range and depth of his interest in almost everything. When he made his permanent home in America he mastered the ability to write with clarity, style and wit in a second language.

Dr. Panofsky was a professor at the University of Hamburg when he came to the United States at the invitation of New York University where he taught from 1931 to 1935, at first spending alternate terms in Hamburg and New York. After the Nazis relieved him of his post in 1933 he moved his family to the United States and taught at both New York University and Princeton University. In 1935 he joined the faculty of the Institute for Advanced Study but continued both of his University associations. In 1947-1948 he was at Harvard as Charles Eliot Norton Professor; from the lectures given there emerged his majestic book, Early Netherlandish Painting. In 1962 he became Professor Emeritus at the Institute for Advanced Study and accepted the Samuel F. B. Morse Professorship of Literature of the Arts of Design at New York University, acting periodically as visiting professor at Princeton also. He served as a member of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library and, in 1958, gave the address at the annual meeting of the Friends.

Dr. Panofsky was one of the pioneers and the most important proponent of the iconographic method of art history. It is this aspect of his work that this exhibition attempts to suggest. Professor Panofsky's own words have been used wherever possible throughout the exhibition to describe the materials which he called upon for his studies.
I. THE MYTHOGRAPHICAL TRADITION (selected and described by David R. Coffin, Chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology), based on "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in Meaning in the Visual Arts, a collection of papers in art history (Doubleday & Company, 1955).

II. ARCADIA (selected and described by Craig Harbison, graduate student in the Department of Art and Archaeology), based on "Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegaic Tradition," in Meaning in the Visual Arts.

III. THE ALLEGIORY OF PRUDENCE (assembled and described by Mrs. Barbara Ross, Custodian of Prints and Drawings, Art Museum), based on "Titian's Allegory of Prudence: A Postscript," in Meaning in the Visual Arts.

IV. PANDORA'S BOX (selected and described by Mrs. Sherrill Harbison), based on Pandora's Box: the Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol, written in collaboration with his first wife Dora Mosse Panofsky (Pantheon Books, 1956).

V. FATHER TIME (selected and described by Craig Harbison), based on "Father Time," in Studies in Iconology, Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (Oxford University Press, 1939).

VI. BLIND CUPID (selected and described by Robert A. Koch, Professor in the Department of Art and Archaeology), based on "Blind Cupid," in Studies in Iconology.

VII. MELANCHOLY (selected and described by O. J. Rostrock, Curator of Graphic Arts, and Nicholas Dewey, Assistant Professor of English at the City College of New York), based on Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art, written in collaboration with Raymond Klibansky and Fritz Saxl (Basic Books, 1964).

VII. PUBLICATIONS OF ERWIN PANOFSKY, a selection of studies by Dr. Panofsky demonstrating the diversity of his scholarship.
IX. STYLE AND MEDIUM IN FILM (selected and described by Paul Wagner, Curator of Special Collections), based on the essay, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," which Eric Bentley has termed "perhaps the boldest attempt to define the art of the motion picture," first published in 1934 by the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, revised and frequently reprinted in various publications and anthologies.

The exhibition was organized and assembled by Mrs. Mina R. Bryan, Librarian of the Scheide Library, and Alfred L. Bush, Associate Curator of Manuscripts.

The Princeton University Library acknowledges with deep gratitude the cooperation of Professors David R. Coffin and Robert A. Koch, Mr. and Mrs. Craig Harbison, and Mrs. Barbara Ross, who have given so much of their time in making this exhibition possible.

The Library also wishes to express its appreciation to Mr. Bradley Martin, Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, Mr. William H. Scheide, and Mr. Robert H. Taylor, the Pierpont Morgan Library and Yale University for their generosity in lending books for this exhibition, and especially to Mrs. Gerda Soergel Panofsky for her interest and cooperation.

WILLIAM S. DIX, University Librarian
The Mythographical Tradition

1. THE MYTHOGRAPHICAL TRADITION (selected and described by David R. Coffin, Chairman of the Department of Art and Archaeology), based on "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," in Meaning in the Visual Arts, a collection of papers in art history (Doubleday & Company, 1955).

This paperback, published in 1955, is an anthology of nine earlier essays by Erwin Panofsky. Chapter one, entitled "Iconography and Iconology: An Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art," was the introductory lecture of the six Mary Flexner Lectures offered at Bryn Mawr College in 1937 and published in 1939 as Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance. In this introductory lecture Panofsky outlined the tradition of classical mythology which is so important for the interpretation of mediaeval and Renaissance art and literature.

2. Isidore of Seville, Etymologiae, manuscript, Italian, ca. 1400.

Compiled in the early seventh century A.D., this chronicle of world history began the great series of mediaeval encyclopedias by which classical mythography survived and was in part transmitted to the early Renaissance. Opened to book VIII, chapter xi, entitled "De diis gentium."

Garrett Ms. No. 117. fol.59 verso - 60 recto
4. Fulgentius, Fulgentius Placiades in Mythologiis, Augsburg, 1521.

In the early sixth century A.D. Fulgentius continued the moralizing explanation of classic mythology. So here in book II, chapter i, the choice of Paris symbolizes man's choice among the active, contemplative and amorous lives.

Lent by Yale University.


The Speculum of Vincent of Beauvais of the mid-thirteenth century marks the climax of the mediaeval encyclopedic tradition. Summing up for the High Gothic age all the previous sacred and mythological histories, it parallels and explains the rich decorative programs of the Gothic cathedral.

Lent by William H. Scheide
Maurus Servius Honoratus, *Commentarii in Vergiili opera*, Strasburg, [not after 1471].

"Important among these late-antique writings in which the mythological characters were interpreted in an allegorical way, or 'moralized,' to use the mediæval expression, were... Fulgentius' *Mitologiae*, and above all, Servius' admirable Commentary on *Virgil* which is three or four times as long as the text and was perhaps more widely 'read.'" (E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, p. 45)

The moralizing or allegorical approach of Servius Honoratus, writing in the late fourth century A.D., made the pagan gods more acceptable to the later Christian middle ages.

*Vulg. 2945.923q*

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A poetic allegory of love begun ca. 1235 by Guillaume de Lorris and completed by Jehan de Meung about forty years later, *The Romance of the Rose* represents the High Gothic "moralizing" of classic mythology in which the pagan gods, dressed in contemporary costume, are allegorical figures. In this miniature Pygmalion is carving the statue of Galatea.

*Garrett Ms. No. 126. fol. 146 verso*
8. Thomas Wallensis, Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter... explanata, Paris, 1515.

About 1340, Pierre Borsuère, inspired by the poem Africa of his friend Petrarch, "moralized" the fables of Ovid. This moralized Ovid was long attributed to the Dominican Thomas Waileys, as in this early sixteenth century edition, until its true author was identified in the late nineteenth century.
Ex. 2893.948


Writing in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, Boccaccio created a manual of classical mythology drawn from both the moralizing and encyclopedic mediaeval traditions, as well as from the original classical sources. "His treatise marks the beginning of a critical or scientific attitude towards classical antiquity, and may be called a forerunner of such truly scholarly Renaissance treatises as the De diis gentium... Syntagmata by L. G. Gyraldus" (E. Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, pp. 46-47).
Ex I 3123.329

10. Natale Conti, Mythologiae... libri decem, Frankfort, 1596.

In 1551 Conti published in Venice a mythological handbook which still relied extensively on Boccaccio and the mediaeval mythographers, although Conti makes no acknowledgment of this. In his pose as a philosopher Conti is more concerned with the interpretation of classical fables than the philologist Giraldi.
Goertz 2257

Working at the court of Ferrara like his older contemporary Giraldi, Vincenzo Cartari published in 1556 a handbook which is primarily concerned with describing the ancient gods. Published in the vernacular unlike the other mythographers, Cartari's work became a very useful manual for artists.

SAX 2953.241.13


Because of its popular approach and usefulness Cartari's Italian manual was soon issued in numerous editions and translations. Both French and Latin translations appeared at Lyons in 1581. An English version, entitled *The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction*, was published at London in 1599 and a German translation at Frankfort in 1692.

Ex 2953.241.1624 Opened: pp. 664-665


After a life of misfortunes commencing with the disastrous Sack of Rome in 1527, Giraldi, one of the most erudite of the sixteenth-century antiquarians, retired to his native Ferrara where toward the end of his life he wrote the greatest of the sixteenth-century mythographical compilations, published first in 1548 at Basel as *De Deis gentium... Syntagmata*. As a philologist going back directly to the classical sources, Giraldi generally avoids the allegorical "moralizing" of the middle ages and accuses Boccaccio of great "errors."


The discovery in 1419 of a manuscript of the Hieroglyphica of Horapollo aroused the interest of humanists in the interpretation of the mysterious Egyptian hieroglyphs. In 1515 Valeriano wrote an extensive commentary on the hieroglyphs, published much later, which soon inspired the sixteenth century development of emblem books.

N 7640.V.24q (Ex) Opened: pp. 228-229

15. Andrea Alciati, Emblemata liber, Augsburg, 1531.

"It was under the influence of Horapollo's Hieroglyphica that there came into being those countless emblem books, ushered in by Andrea Alciati's Emblemata of 1531, whose very purpose it was to complicate the simple and to obscure the obvious where mediaeval pictorialization had tried to simplify the complex and to clarify the difficult" (E. Panofsky, Meaning in the Visual Arts, p. 159). The emblem was a succinct image conveying a hidden moral lesson which was explained in an accompanying epigram, usually derived from classical sources.

N 7710.A35.1531 (Ex)


The popularity of Alciati's Emblemata is indicated by the numerous Italian editions published in the sixteenth century and the rapidity of its translation into other languages. This is a copy of a French translation published in 1542.

N 7710.A35.1542 (Ex) Opened: pp. 144-145, Emblem LXVII "In Statuam Bacchi."

A native of Faenza, Armenini was trained as a painter in Rome in the mid-sixteenth century but later became a priest and wrote a treatise on the arts in which he urges the artists to consult not only Ovid's *Metamorphoses* but also the mythographical handbooks of Boccaccio and Cartari.


Lomazzo was a Milanese painter, who, becoming blind in 1571, turned to the theory of arts. In his first treatise of 1584, book VII is primarily devoted to the iconography of the classical deities but he concludes the book by recommending that artists consult Cartari's mythological manual for further information.

N61.I81 (SA) Opened: pp.664-665

Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, first published in 1593, is the "summa of iconography which, drawing from classical and mediaeval as well as contemporary sources, has rightly been called 'the key of seventeenth and eighteenth-century allegory' and was exploited by artists and poets as illustrious as Bernini, Poussin, Vermeer, and Milton" (E. Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, p. 163). Drawing upon all the previous mytho-graphical sources--encyclopedic, moralizing, hieroglyphic, emblematic--Ripa created a handbook of allegory for artists and writers. As Panofsky indicated, the most useful edition of Ripa was the one of Siena, 1613, here exhibited, which was the first to have an index of all the symbols depicted and described.

N 76A0.R5 (SA) Opened: pp. 144-145

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Reprinted numerous times and translated into four languages, Ripa's *Iconologia* was still important for eighteenth century artists when this large, five-volume edition was issued at Perugia, Italy in 1764-1767.

N 7640.R5.1764 (EX) 5 vols. Opened: Vol 3, pp. 4-5,
Et in Arcadia Ego

II. ARCADIA (selected and described by Craig Harbison, graduate student in the Department of Art and Archaeology), based on "Et in Arcadia Ego: Poussin and the Elegiac Tradition," in Meaning in the Visual Arts.

"It was... in the imagination of Virgil, and of Virgil alone, that the concept of Arcady, as we know it, was born—that a bleak and chilly district of Greece came to be transfigured into an imaginary realm of perfect bliss... Virgil does not exclude frustrated love and death; but he deprives them, as it were, of their factuality. He projects tragedy either into the future or, preferably, into the past, and he thereby transforms mythical truth into elegiac sentiment."


Graphic Arts Collection.


"In [Virgil's] Fifth Eclogue, Daphnis has retained his identity; but--and this is the novelty--his tragedy is presented to us only through the elegaic reminiscences of his survivors, who are preparing a memorial ceremony and are about to raise a tombstone for him... Here, then, is the first appearance of the 'Tomb in Arcady,' that almost indispensable feature of Arcady in later poetry and art."


Graphic Arts Collection.

"During the Middle Ages... bliss was sought in the beyond and not in any region of the earth, however perfect... In the Renaissance, however, Virgil's... Arcady emerged from the past like an enchanting vision... At the height of the Quattrocento an attempt was made to bridge the gap between the present and the past by means of an allegorical fiction. Lorenzo the Magnificent and Politian metaphorically identified the Medici villa at Fiesole with Arcady and their own circle with the Arcadian shepherds."


EX 3135.25.1553q Opened pp.548-549

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"In Jacopo Sannazaro's Arcadia of 1502 Arcady... is glorified for its own sake; it is revived as an emotional experience sui generis... Sannazaro's Arcady is, like Virgil's, a Utopian realm. But in addition, it is a realm irretrievably lost, seen through a veil of reminiscent melancholy... It was through [Sannazaro] that the elegiac feeling--present but, as it were, peripheral in Virgil's Eclogues--became the central quality of the Arcadian sphere."


Graphic Arts Collection: Opened: p.85

"...Giovanni Francesco Guercino... produced the first pictorial rendering of the Death in Arcady theme; and it is in [this] picture... that we first encounter the phrase Et in Arcadia ego... In this painting two Arcadian shepherds are checked in their wanderings by the sudden sight... of a huge human skull that lies on a moldering piece of masonry. Incised on the masonry are the words Et in Arcadia ego, and it is unquestionably by the skull that they are supposed to be pronounced... Guercino’s picture turns out to be a medieval memento mori in humanistic disguise—a favorite concept of Christian moral theology shifted to the ideal milieu of Classical and classicizing portrayals."


Photograph. See next page

"[In] the earlier of his two *Et in Arcadia ego* compositions... Poussin revised Guercino's composition by adding the Arcadian river god Alpheus and by transforming the decaying masonry into a classical sarcophagus inscribed with the *Et in Arcadia ego*... Poussin's picture... retains to some extent the element of drama and surprise... [and] there is still the actual skull, placed upon the sarcophagus above the word Arcadia... The picture still conveys, though far less obtrusively than Guercino's, a moral or admonitory message."

E. Panofsky, "*Et in Arcadia Ego,*" pp. 311-312.

Photograph

"...In Poussin's Louvre painting... we can observe a radical break with the medieval, moralizing tradition.... The Arcadians are not so much warned of an implacable future as they are immersed in mellow meditation on a beautiful past.... Poussin's Louvre picture no longer shows a dramatic encounter with death but a contemplative absorption in the idea of mortality. We are confronted with a change from thinly veiled moralism to undisguised elegiac sentiment."

E. Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego," p. 312-313.

Photograph. See next page

"[Poussin's] friend and first biographer, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, [gave], in 1672, a perfectly correct and exact interpretation of the inscription...: 'Et in Arcadia ego, cioè, che il sepolcro si trova ancora in Arcadia, e la Morte a luogo in mezzo le felicità' ('Et in Arcadia ego, which means that the grave is to be found even in Arcady and that death occurs in the very midst of delight')."

E. Panofsky, "Et in Arcadia Ego," p. 316.

N 40, B 43 (SAX) Opened: p. 448


"... [In his discussion of the Louvre painting] Poussin's second biographer, André Félibien, also acquainted with him, took the first and decisive step on the road to bad Latinity and good artistic analysis: 'Par cette inscription on a voulu marquer que celui est dans cette sépulture a vécu en Arcadie et que la mort se rencontre parmi les plus grandes félicités' ('This inscription emphasizes the fact that the person buried in this tomb has lived... in Arcady'). Here, then, we have the occupant of the tomb substituted for the tomb itself, and the whole phrase projected into the past: what had been a menace has become a remembrance."


ND 34.F33 (SA) Vol. 1. Title Page

"The final touch [on the interpretation of Poussin's Louvre painting], it seems, was put by the great Diderot, who, in 1758, rendered [the inscription]: 'Je vivais aussi dans la délicieuse Arcadie' ('I, too, lived in delightful Arcady'). His translation must thus be considered as the literary source of all the later variations now in use... [including] Goethe's..."


"In Goethe's use of the phrase Et in Arcadia Ego... the idea of death has been entirely eliminated. He uses it, in an abbreviated version ("Auch ich in Arkadion") as a motto for his famous account of his blissful journey to Italy, so that it merely means: 'I, too, was in the land of joy and beauty.'"


Lent by Yale University Library.

"... The humanistic tradition had so much decayed in the nineteenth century that Gustave Flaubert, the great contemporary of the early Impressionists, no longer understood the famous phrase at all. In his beautiful description of the Bois de la Garenne... he mentions... 'sur une pierre taillée en forme de tombe, In Arcadia ego, non-sens dont je n'ai pu découvrir l'intention' ('on a stone cut in the shape of a tomb one reads In Arcadia ego, a piece of nonsense the meaning of which I have been unable to discover')."


Lent by H. Bradley Martin

Aubrey Beardsley, *Et in Arcadia Ego*, pen and ink drawing, ca. 1896. Princeton University Library, the Gallatin Beardsley Collection (no. 53).

"In a late pen drawing by Aubrey Beardsley... the tomb in Arcady is a prismatic pillar surmounted by an urn which to the irreverent mind may suggest a classicizing soup tureen; and it is approached by an elderly dandy.... Carrying a diminutive cane and glove in his left hand, he has stopped before the tomb in a kind of pirotte position. Yet he seems to be immersed in melancholy thoughts induced by the ET IN ARCADIA EGO incised on the monument.... The drawing ridicules the very sentiment of which the phrase ET IN ARCADIA EGO had become the accepted expression in all romantic art and literature. And the very fact that it is impossible to decide whether the aged 'Arcadian' is the perpetrator or victim of the joke endows Beardsley's composition with the fictitious brilliance of a Wildean paradox."

Prudence

III. THE ALLEGORY OF PRUDENCE (assembled and described by Mrs. Barbara Ross, Custodian of Prints and Drawings, Art Museum), based on "Titian's Allegory of Prudence: A Postscript," in Meaning in the Visual Arts.
In 1925 Erwin Panofsky received a letter accompanied by photographs (dated here) of two unrelated sixteenth century works of art having in common as their central motif a strange, tricepsal monster of unknown significance. Here is an abbreviated exposition of Panofsky's discoveries presented ultimately in his "Titian's Allegory of Prudence: a Postscript," Chapter 4 of his Meaning in the Visual Arts, Garden City, N. Y., 1955. This study affords us both an excellent review of the literary and iconographic sources used by the Renaissance artist and writer, and an insight into the completeness, clarity, and breadth of Erwin Panofsky's research.


Photograph

We find the rhymed formula in this popular late-mediaeval encyclopaedia: "Prudence...consists of the memory of the past, the ordering of the present, the contemplation of the future."

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 149
Titian Vecelli, Allegory of Prudence. Painting, ca. 1560-70.
National Gallery, London (formerly in the Collection of Francis Howard).

Inscribed, EX PRAETERITO/ PRAESENS PRVDENTER AGIT/
NI FVTVR A ACTIONE DETVRPET ("From [the experience of] the
past, the present acts prudently, lest it spoil future action.")

Photograph - See next page

"The 'anthropomorphic' portion of Titian's picture can be derived
from the texts and images transmitted to the sixteenth century by a
continuous and purely Western tradition."

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 151

The three faces, in addition to typifying three stages of human
life are meant to symbolize the three modes or forms of time in
general: past, present, and future [which] we are further asked
to connect with the three psychological faculties [of which prudence]
consists: memory, which remembers, and learns from, the past;
intelligence, which judges of, and acts in, the present; and fore-
sight, which anticipates, and provides for or against, the future.

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 149
"To understand the three animal heads, however, we must go back to the sphere of the pseudo-Egyptian mystery religions which became the object of passionate interest after the discovery of Horapollo's Hieroglyphica in 1419. One of the greatest gods of Hellenistic Egypt was Serapis [whose] companion [was] a tricephalous monster, encircled by a serpent, which bore on its shoulders the heads of a dog, a wolf, and a lion. We do not know what Serapis' extraordinary pet meant to the Hellenistic East."


Macrobius, [Opere Hoc volvmine continentvr. Macrobi... Saturnaliorum...]
Florence, 1515. (opened to his Saturnalia)

"They [the Egyptians] added to the statue [of Serapis] the image of a three-headed animal the central, and largest, head of which bears the likeness of a lion; on the right there rises the head of a dog trying to please with a friendly expression, while the left part of the neck terminates in the head of a rapacious wolf; and a serpent connects these animal forms with its coils. The lion's head thus denotes the present, the condition of which, between the past and the future, is strong and fervent by virtue of present action; the past is designated by the wolf's head because the memory of things that belong to the past is devoured and carried away; and the image of the dog, trying to please, signifies the outcome of the future, of which hope, though uncertain, always gives us a pleasing picture."


Thus Macrobius (high Roman official from 399 to 422 A.D.) interprets for the Hellenistic West the three-headed zoomorphic companion of Serapis as a symbol of time (that is, equivalent to the Western anthropomorphic triad).

"Next to the god a huge, strange monster sits, Its triple-throated face turned up to him In friendly manner. On the right it looks A dog and on the left, a grasping wolf; Midway a lion. And a curling snake Conjoins these heads: they mean the fleeting times."

"In the Africa (composed in 1333) of Petrarch -- the man who more than any other may be held responsible for what we call the Renaissance -- the three-headed animal re-enters Western literature as an attribute of Apollo."

E. Panofsky, " Allegory of Prudence," p. 155-56

Ex 3134.1501q


"In... reptilian form... our monster appears wherever fifteenth-century artists were called upon to produce an image of Apollo meeting the general standards of the period yet satisfactory to an intellectual upper class."

E. Panofsky, " Allegory of Prudence," p. 157

Lent by the Pierpont Morgan Library.
41. Vincenzo Cartari, Imagines deorum qvi ab antiqvis calebantvr... Lyons, 1581.

First edition in Italian, Padua 1571. "So far as I know... the only [place]... that the monster... occurs as an adjunct of Serapis in Renaissance art."


Ex 2953.241 copy 2. Opened p.55

"The discovery of Horapollo's Hieroglyphica... not only gave an enormous enthusiasm for everything Egyptian... but also produced... that 'emblematic' spirit which is so characteristic of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries... ushered in by Andrea Alciati's Emblemata of 1531... In all other [i.e. except for Cartari] representations produced from the end of the fifteenth century up to the end of the seventeenth it appears as an ideograph or hieroglyph in its own right."

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 159

"In Holbein's metal cut [see above]... a giant hand holds [the tricephalous monster] aloft above a beautiful landscape so as to convey the idea that past, present, and future are, quite literally, in the hand of God."

Francesco Colonna, Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Venice, 1499.

The tricephalous monster "serves as a banner or standard so as to lend a rather gratuitous 'Egyptian' touch to the Triumph of Cupid... The text says only that a nymph participating in the Triumph of Cupid carried... the gilded effigy of Serapis worshiped by the Egyptians' and describes the animal heads and snake without any further explanation."


2 copies: (1) Grenville Kane Collection; (2) Lent by William H. Scheide.

"In emblematic and 'iconological' literature, finally, it became... an erudite symbol of Prudence."


Pierio Valeriano, Hieroglyphica... Lyons, 1626.

First published in 1556. Based on Horapollo. "Mentions Serapis monster twice: under the heading 'Sol' where the Macrobius passage is quoted and the sun god is depicted... bearing the three animal heads upon the shoulders of his own nude body; and under the heading 'Prudentia' where Pierio explains that prudence 'not only investigates the present but also reflects about the past and the future... and these three modes or forms of time... are hieroglyphic expressed by a 'triplehead' combining the head of a dog with those of a wolf and a lion."

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 161

"The Serapis monster... becomes a modern, 'hieroglyphic' substitute for all the earlier portrayals of 'tripartite Prudence."

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 164
45. Giordano Bruno, *De gl' heroiici fvrarii*. Paris [i.e., London], 1585.

Describes "the Egyptian figure where 'upon one bust [!] they placed three heads, one of a wolf looking backward, the second of a lion seen in front view, and the third of a dog looking forward,' which tends to show that the past afflicts the mind by memories, that the present tortures it, even more severely, in actuality and that the future promises, but does not bring, improvement."


First published 1593. "Ripa includes Pierio Valeriano's 'triple-head' among the many attributes of Buono Consiglio (Good Counsel)."

"In his left hand he carries 'three heads... all attached to one neck...signifying the principal forms of time, past, present, and future'; it is, therefore, 'according to Pierio Valeriano' a Simbolo della Prudenza; and prudence is not only 'according to Aristotle', the basis of a wise and happy life; 'good counsel requires, in addition to wisdom as represented by the owl upon the book, prudence as represented by the aforementioned three heads.'"


First edition published Amsterdam 1614.

Ex 5948.70 Opened: p.52


First edition published Antwerp 1564.

N 7710,819 (Ex) Opened: p.227
El perro, y el león, y la raposa,
Lo que fue, lo que es, y lo futuro
Declaran, con pintura artificiosa,
qual muestra el pedestal, firme, y seguro:
Simbolo sacro a la Phronisia Dios,
Del prudente varon retrato puro,
Que aduierte lo presente, y lo passado,
Con que preuiene, lo que aun no ha llegado.

   "In the eighteenth century the Serapis monster is finally filed away as a curious though occasionally misunderstood archeological specimen."

E. Panofsky, "Allegory of Prudence," p. 159

NK 3850.B5q (SA) Opened: plate 7

"The antecedents of Titian's Allegory are [now] fairly clear... he would seem to have owed his acquaintance with the Egyptian tricipitum to Pierio Valeriano... to whose rational and moralistic interpretation of the symbol he adhered... The Howard picture is no more than the old-fashioned image of Prudence in the guise of three human heads of different ages... superimposed upon the modern image of Prudence in the guise of the 'Serapis monster en buste.'"

Pandora's Box

IV. PANDORA'S BOX (selected and described by Mrs. Sherrill Harbison), based on Pandora's Box: the Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol, written in collaboration with his first wife Dora Mosse Panofsky (Pantheon Books, 1956).

In 1955 Dora and Erwin Panofsky collaborated on a book entitled Pandora’s Box: The Changing Aspects of a Mythical Symbol. Its subject, Pandora, could be described as a relatively unimportant figure in the history of Western art; but this work, conceived as an outrageous on the authors' names, was properly received nonetheless with a great deal of considered and scholarly attention. The book, masterfully having a mountain of erudition around a molehill of significant material, sounds with such undisguised whimsy as a scholarly refutation of a designation made in the Leeds Art Calendar, a comparison of Pandora and Mae West, and a footnote reference to the Manhattan Telephone Directory. Pandora's Box is a tour de force, the penultimate application of Panofsky's Iconographic method in a work making light of that very method—and thus of Panofsky himself. Its sophisticated humor, erudition, and essential humanity define, perhaps as well as anything else, the rare character of Erwin Panofsky.
51. Hesiod, "Works and Days" in ... Opera, [Venice, 1537].

"[The primary classical source is] Hesiod's famous account of the Pandora story in his Works and Days... [in which Pandora] brought upon the world illness and vice by opening a fateful vessel the contents of which, with the exception of Hope, immediately flew away... This vessel is invariably designated as a [pithos],... a huge earthenware storage jar."

Ex 2675.1537 Opened to Title Page

52. Erasmus of Rotterdam, Adagiorum Chiliades Tres... , Venice, Aldus Manutius, 1508 (1st edition).

"The person really responsible for 'Pandora's box'... is none other than Erasmus of Rotterdam, and the pulpit from which he preached his heresy was his Adagiorum chiliades tres... one of the world's most popular and influential books. Here... the pithos is transformed into a pyxis that is supposed to have been brought to earth by Pandora."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box, p. 15.
Lent by William H. Scheide. Opened to Title Page

53. Erasmus of Rotterdam, Adagiorum chiliades tres, (Basel, 1520).

"This maiden, ... showered with all the gifts of beauty, grooming, intelligence, and eloquence, was sent to Prometheus with a box, it, too, most beautiful in shape but concealing within it every kind of calamity."

Ex 2949.32.6q Opened :: Page 98

"How, then, did the real Pandora... make her appearance in Renaissance art? Significantly, not in Italy, but in the North; and more significantly, in two different ways. Where art was subservient to erudition, the development began with the exploitation of Pandora's authentic attribute, the pithos... detached from her person; where art... retained its independence, the development began with a revival of Pandora's person designated by her nonauthentic attribute, the pyxis. ... The first of these two processes took place in the woodcut illustrations of Andrea Alciati's Emblemata."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box, pp. 27-28.

N 7710.A35.1536 (Ex) Opened: pp. 84-85

5. Master ZBM, Pandora—Ignorantia, etching, 1557.

"[The Master ZBM in this engraving] vividly illustrates the close connection that, in the milieu of Francis I and Henry II [of France], was felt to exist between the Pandora motif and the ignorance theme. But she differs from all or most other Pandoras in three important respects. ... [First, ] she releases from the receptacle... not only symbols of evil... but also symbols of learning and wisdom.... [Second, ] the figure is blind... from which we must infer that the woman has acted 'unseeingl}'.... [Third, ] unbeknownst to herself, she has set in motion the powers of light that drive away the creatures of darkness."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box, pp. 145-46.

Photograph. See next page
Pandora Opening the Box, printer’s mark of Gilles Gourbin
(printed at Paris, 1555-1580).

"The Parisian publisher Gilles Gourbin... adopted the central
figure [from a drawing of Pandora by Rosso Fiorentino]... for three
different versions of his printer’s mark.... operating in a house
named À l'Espérance,... he hailed Rosso’s Pandora as a humanistic
symbol of Hope and selected as a motto half a line from... Hesiod:
'Spes sola remansit intus."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora’s Box, pp. 38-39.
Photographs. See next page
"... the French--and soon after, the English and the Netherlandish--
sets and humanists remembered... what even the Middle Ages had not
forgotten; that Pandora is the 'all-gifted' or the 'gift of all'... In contrast
her interpretation as the beau mal, there came to the surface the
equivocally positive idea of the 'perfect blend of all things.' ... [In
is spirit, Jacques] Callot produced the etching called 'La Création de
andore'... [which] is divided into two zones.... The heroine appears
vice, before and after her descent to earth."

ora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box, pp. 68-71.

"The French looked by and large upon the Greek classics with even greater reverence than upon the Latin... Cousin produced a famous and enigmatical picture, now in the Louvre, [exhibiting] a tablet [which] bears this inscription: *Eva Prima Pandora*... In doing so he lent visual expression to that patriotic comparison which... had fallen into oblivion during the Middle Ages."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, pp. 55-64.

Photograph. See next page
Carel van Mander, Het Schilder-Boeck, Haarlem and Alkmaar, 1604.

"The popularity [that the parallel between Pandora and Eve]... had gained during the sixteenth century can be gauged by the fact that Carel van Mander, writing before 1603, thought it was necessary explicitly to disassociate himself from what he considered an improper fusion of the sacred and the profane."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box, p. 64.

ND 34.M31 (SA) Opened: Title Page

Carel van Mander, Het Schilder-Boeck, (Haarlem and Alkmaar, 1604), fol. 3:

"Whether the wise and learned Greeks intended the story of Pandora to indicate that the first woman was the cause of all human misery, this I leave to everyone’s discretion. I have no wish or intention to mix sacred, pure Scripture with vulgar, heathen tales. Some, to be sure, do interpret it [viz., the story] as referring to Eve; but I say that the creation of Pandora by Vulcan means only that heat and the just temper of air make for a fruitful and opulent year."

ND 34. M31.(Ex). Opened: Page A11


"The responsibility for Pandora’s disastrous action is [sometimes] significantly shifted to the offenses of 'wicked men,' so that she becomes an instrument of divine retribution rather than an evil force per se.... A similarly forgiving attitude can be detected in Milton’s world-renowned description of the First Marriage."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora’s Box, p. 71.

Lent by William H. Scheide. Opened: Title Page

61.B First edition of Paradise Lost, 1667.
Ex 3859.369.111 Opened: Book 4, Line 708.

"To find [an effort] to break the spell of the Erasmian tradition—... to restore Pandora's 'box' to its rightful size and to at least a semblance of its rightful shape—we must go down to the end of the 18th century.... It is to Flaxman's genius that we owe the earliest and most complete interpretation of the Pandora myth as a detailed, cyclical narrative. [In his rendering, the pithos is]... a rather dumpy vessel that in archaeological terms can be described, at best, as a cross between a Greek lebes and a prehistoric Italian ash urn.... [It] manages, however, to look convincing as an implement both 'Hellenic' and 'primitive.'"

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora’s Box, pp. 85, 93, 100.
Ex. 2681.672 f’. Opened: Plate 8, E94, "Pandora".

Isaac de Benserade, Metamorphoses d’Ovide en rondeaux, Paris, 1674.

"It might be expected that the dramatic climax of the Pandora story, the actual opening of the vessel, would become a favorite subject of Renaissance and Baroque art; but such is not the case. And of... three 18th and 17th century representations... that have come to our attention, none adheres to the orthodox, Hesiodian version of the myth.... Sebastien Le Clerc’s amusing engraving... follows [a] variant... according to which the fatal vessel was not opened by a naughty Pandora but by a 'stupidly curious' Epimetheus."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora’s Box, pp. 79-80.
Ex 2893.357.176q. Opened: pp.10-11

"Nathaniel Hawthorne, representing the opposite aspect of Anglo-Saxon Victorianism [from Rossetti], rewrote the Hesiodian myth in a spirit of childlike innocence that strikes the modern reader as no less brittle than Rossetti's pseudo-Baudelairean... pre-occupation with sin... [In it] little Hope, described as a kind of fairy, wants to be let out [of the box]--a new and rather shrewd correction of Hesiod's illogical conclusion--and this is done by both children [Pandora and Epimethous] in conjunction. So 'the troubles and Hope are both loose in the world.'"

Cora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, pp. 110-111.

NE 910.U5B4.1852 (SAP) Opened: Plate between pp. 98-99
Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Pandora. water color, ca. 1870. The Art Museum, Princeton University, Presented in 1841 by Prof. F. J. Mather, Jr.

"In spite of attempts at historical accuracy, however, idiom [for the most part] triumphed over archaeology. And... 'Pandora's box' came to be imagined and represented as a form entirely exceptional before, ... as a receptacle... rectangular rather than rounded in shape.... Dante Gabriel Rossetti [portrayed Pandora in] three or four different drawings and two oil paintings. ... Voluptuously sentimental and sentimentally voluptuous... she transfixes the beholder with a deep look from shadowed eyes while spasmodically holding down the lid of a precious little box from which the evil spirits escape in a smoky cloud."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, Pandora's Box, pp. 105-109.


Rossetti also devoted a sonnet to his pictorial version of Pandora. Ex 3913.3.1904 V.1 Opened: p.134, "Pandora for a picture"
A SATYR AGAINST SNUFF

LONDON:
Printed and Sold by J. Bettenham at the Crown in Pater-Nofer-Row. 1718.

[Price 6 d.]
Paul Klee, Pandora's Box as a still life ('Die Büchse der Pandora als Stilleben'), drawing, 1920. Private collection.

"Paul Klee, ironically inscribing his little drawing... 'Die Büchse der Pandora als Stilleben' [Pandora's Box as a still-life]... reviving two rather timeworn traditions at the same time, represented the ominous receptacle as a kind of goblet rather than a box and converted it into a psychoanalytical symbol: it is rendered as a... vase containing some flowers but emitting evil vapors from an opening clearly suggestive of the female genitals. [Here]... the representational evolution has run full cycle. Beginning with the emblem books, where... Pandora's cask, and only her cask, appears as an attribute of Hope, it ends with... renderings in which Pandora's box, and only her box, appears as a symbol of misery and destruction."

Dora and Erwin Panofsky, *Pandora's Box*, pp. lll, 113.

Photograph
V. FATHER TIME (selected and described by Craig Harbison), based on "Father Time," in Studies in Iconology, Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (Oxford University Press, 1939).
Plutarch, "De Iside et Osiride,"... Omnia opera, vi, Tubingen, 1791.

"Now, then, did [the] specific attributes of Father Time [such as the hourglass, scythe, crutches and any signs of advanced age] come to be introduced? The answer lies in the fact that the Greek expression for time, Chronos, was very similar to the name of Kronos (the Roman Saturn).... When religious worship gradually disintegrated and was finally supplanted by philosophical speculation, the fortuitous similarity between the words Chronos and Kronos was adduced as proof of the actual identity of the two concepts.... Plutarch... happens to be the earliest author to state this identity in writing."

E. Panofsky, "Father Time," p. 73.


Hyginus, mythographer, Poeticon Astronomicon..., [Venice, Erhard Ratdolt, 1482]

"It is in the iconography of Kronos-Saturn rather than in that of Time proper that [one must] look for supplementary evidence [about the modern image of Father Time].... In classical art Kronos or Saturn is a perfectly dignified though somewhat gloomy figure, characterized by a sickle [symbolizing his patronage of agriculture].... During the Middle ages... [such classical representations] were supplanted by thorough non-classical types. Owing to the fact that Saturn, like Jupiter, Venus, etc., had been identified with a planet these new images turn up in the illustrations of astrological texts. In the capacity of planetarian ruler, Saturn was held to be a peculiarly sinister character.... In fact, Death, like Saturn, was represented with a scythe or sickle from very early times.... Astrological imagery... never ceased to emphasize these unfavorable implications."

E. Panofsky, "Father Time," pp. 75-77.

EXT 2866.1482
"Petrarch’s Time was not an abstract philosophical principle but a concrete alarming power. Small wonder that the illustrators decided to fuse the harmless personification of ‘Temps’ with the sinister image of Saturia. From the former they took over the wings, from the latter the grim, decade in appearance, the crutches, and, finally, such strictly Saturnian features as the scythe and the devouring mouth. That this new image personified Time was frequently emphasized by an hourglass, which seems to make its first appearance in this new cycle of illustrations, and sometimes by the Zodiac, or the dragon biting its tail.... This, then, is the origin of the figure of Father Time as we know it."


   Lent by Lessing J. Rosenwald.
   Opened to Woodcut. p. 111.

73. Francesco Petrarca, Los seys Triunfos, Logrono, de Brocar, 1512.
   Lent by Lessing J. Rosenwald.
   Opened to woodcut, fol. cxlii Verso. "Triunfo del Tiempo".
"In the Rape of Lucrece Shakespeare writes of time as a universal and inexorable power which through a cycle of procreation and destruction causes what may be called a cosmic continuity: 'thou nurseth all and murder'st all that are.'... [Shakespeare also] depicts the twofold function of Time the Revealer: 'to unmask falsehood and bring truth to light.'"

E. Panofsky, "Father Time," pp. 82 and 91.

3925-3595

The Rape of Lucrece

Time gloriously and contently Kings,
To vanquish fall and bring to light,
To stamp the kindling of their wings,
To wake the morrow, Calm the night.
To wrong the wretched and fruitful night,
To ruinate proud buildings, make howres,
And shew the right our glistening towers.

To fill with works these sandy monuments,
To feede oblivion with dusty buildings,
To blot out old beeue and alter new components,
To picture down the translating mans wings,
To drie the old, and dripe the new springs:
To gibe Amor, and gibe of canvass Steele,
And turne the vessel ruine and hollow wheel.

To shew the belte, the uppermost of her daughter,
To make the childe, the childers childe,
To slay the tyger, and kill thy daughter,
To tame the Vulture, and Lion wild,
To mocke the folk in themselfe, and guild,
To charge the woman with increase ful crops,
And watch the seas with little water drops.

Why
François Perrier, Segmentation signorum et statuarum quae temporese dentem fluidum sustulerunt, Rome, [1683].

"The concept of the 'tooth of Time,' in a strange application to archeology, is rendered very literally and therefore amusingly in the frontispiece of a Seventeenth-Century publication of One Hundred Roman Statues spared by the Envious Tooth of Time; in it we see Father Time, with scythe and half-biting snake amidst fragments of architecture and statuary, gnawing away at the Torso Belvedere..."

E. Panofsky, "Father Time," p. 83.


"A grandiose conception fusing the image of Time developed by the illustrators of Petrarch with the visions of the Apocalypse is found in Stephen Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure: he appears as an aged, bearded man, winged, and his strong body covered with feathers. In his left hand he holds a clock, and in his right a fire to 'brenne the tyme'; he is girt with a sword; in his right wing is the Sun, in his left wing is Mercury, and on his body are seen the other five planets.... Conscious of his universal power, he refutes the claims of Fame and says:

'Do not I tyme/ cause nature to augment
Do not I tyme/ cause nature to decay
Do not I tyme/ cause man to be present
Do not I tyme/ take his lyse away
Do not I tyme/ cause dothe take his say
Do not I tyme/ passe his youth and age
Do not I tyme/ every thynge aswage'

...."


Lent by Robert H. Taylor

"[Otto van Veen] has charmingly illustrated an epigram on Time surmounting the wings of Cupid..."

E. Panofsky, "Father Time," p. 83.


"In [Poussin's] 'Ballo della Vita Humana'--a kind of humanized Wheel of Fortune--the forces which form the inescapable cycle of man's social destiny--Poverty joining hands with Labour, Labour with Wealth, Wealth with Luxury, and Luxury with Poverty again--dance to the lyre of Time while an infant plays with Time's hour-glass and another blows soap-bubbles connecting transition and eternity... [Poussin] does not suppress the destructive powers of Time in favour of his creativeness, but merges the contrasting functions into a unity. Even with him, the image of Time remains a fusion of the classical Aion with the medieval Saturn."

E. Panofsky, "Father Time," p. 93.

Photograph. See next page
BLIND CUPID (selected and described by Robert A. Koch, Professor in the Department of Art and Archaeology), based on "Blind Cupid," in Studies in Iconology.
"To the modern beholder the bandage over Cupid's eyes means, if anything, a playful allusion to the irrational and often somewhat puzzling character of numerous sensations and selections. According to the standards of traditional iconography, however, the blindness of Cupid puts him definitely on the wrong side of the moral world. Whether the expression casus is interpreted as 'unable to see' (blind in the narrower sense, physically or mentally) or as 'preventing the eye or mind from seeing' (dark, lightness, black); blindness 'conveys to us only something negative and nothing positive, and by the blind man we generally understand the sinner,' to speak in the words of a mediaeval moralist. Blindness is therefore always associated with evil, excepting the blindness of Homer, which served supposedly to keep his mind unvitiated by sensual appetites, and the blindness of Justice which was meant to assure her impartiality. Both these interpretations however are foreign to classical as well as to mediaeval thought; the figure of blindfold Justice in particular is a humanistic concoction of very recent origin."


"In 14th c. the blindness of Cupid had so precise a significance that his image could be changed from a personification of Divine Love to a personification of illicit Sensuality, and vice versa, by simply adding, or removing, the bandage. Second, that the familiar Renaissance type of Cupid, the nude 'blind bow-boy', came into being as a little monster, created for admonitory purposes."

"The original distinction between the Blind and the Seeing Cupid was by no means forgotten. The literati and the more cultivated artists remained conscious of the original meaning of both types. In fact the discussion of Cupid’s blindness or non-blindness kept very much alive in Renaissance literature, with this difference, however, that it was transferred to a definitely humanistic level and thus tended either to degenerate into a mere jeu d’esprit or to become associated with the Neoplatonic theories of love...." 

The poem accompanying this fifteenth century German woodcut is ascribed to Sinea Silvio Piccolomini. (Facsimile in Heitz, Einblattdrucke des XV. Jahrhunderts, Strasbourg, 44, 1818, no. 13).


"The Counter-Reformation transferred this antithesis between ‘pure’ and ‘sensual’ Love to a devotional plane and often interpreted it in a spirit of sweetish pietism. Remarkable among the many pretty pictures which came to be invented for this purpose is a little engraving which harks back to the early Christian idea of the Fisher of Men, but at the same time adopts the Hellenistic type of two putti engaged in an angling competition. The result is: a blindfold Cupid (L’Amour mordain) fishing for human hearts in rivalry with a clear-eyed, nimbed, but equally childlike Saint Amour, the caption reading: ‘Mittam vobis piscatores multos’ (Jerem., XVI, 13)."


N 7710.E53 (Ex) Opened: No. 6 "Pesche d’Amour"

"In the fourteenth-century derivatives of the Roman de la Rose an interesting phenomenon may be observed. While in the original the blindness of Love is taken for granted, some of the later poets go out of their way to insist on this fact, and make it very clear that, in their opinion, Cupid is not blind.... Chaucer says:

"And al be men seyn that blind is he,
   Al-gaye me thoughte he mighte wel y-see."

Opened: Fol. cc.xviii verso

Lent by Robert H. Taylor

82. Otto van Veen, Amorum Emblemata, Antwerp, 1608.

"Alciati himself remarks on the logical absurdity of the traditional bandage:

'If he were blind, what use would be the band
Hiding the blind boy's eyes? Would he see less?"

Other writers, particularly the emblematisists, try to invest the motif of the bandage with a novel and more pointed meaning, as is the case with an amusing engraving by Otto van Veen: it shows Blind Fortune blindfolding Cupid and putting him on her sphere, in order to illustrate the experience that affection changes with luck."


N 7710.V53 (EX) Opened: pp. 156-157

"Blindfold Death appears somewhat later: possibly the earliest and
certainly the most impressive representations are found in the inter-
related Apocalyptic cycles on the west façades of Notre Dame de Paris,
Lyon and Reims... But the bandage motif frequently persisted even
when Death had come to be represented as a mere skeleton. Shakespeare's
John of Gaunt still revels in the emotional possibilities of the idea of
Blindfold Death when he bewails the banishment of his son:


    My old-dried lamp and time-bewasted light
    Shall be extinct with age and endless night.
    My inch of taper will be burnt and done,
    And blindfolded Death not let me see my son.'

Blind Cupid started his career in rather terrifying company:
he belonged to Night, Synagogue, Infidelity, Death and Fortune..."


"A picture of his (Lucas Cranach the Elder), preserved in the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, shows a little Cupid removing the bandage from his eyes with his own hand and thus transforming himself into a personification of 'seeing' love. To do this he bases himself most literally on Plato, for he stands on an imposing volume inscribed Platonis opera from which he seems to be 'taking off' for more elevated spheres."


Photograph
Venus and Amor, painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553),
 recent acquisition of the Art Museum, Princeton (Gift of Mr. and
 Mrs. George Craig, Jr.)

This picture by Cranach, unpublished and presumably not known
to Panofsky, also shows Cupid with eyes that see through a transparent
blindfold, which he is about to remove. Thanks to Panofsky, we are
able to understand the motif as Cupid "transforming himself into a
personification of 'seeing' love," of Amor Platonicus.

Photograph.
Andrea Alciati, Emblemata, ed. Wechel, Paris, 1534, Emblem CX.

"The bandage of blindfold Cupid, despite its indiscriminate use in Renaissance art, tends to retain its specific significance wherever a lower, purely sensual and profane form of love was deliberately contrasted with a higher, more spiritual and sacred one, whether marital, or 'Platonic', or Christian. What in the Middle Ages had been an alternative between 'poetic Love' and 'mythographical Cupid' now came to be a rivalry between 'Amor sacro' and 'Amor profano'.... The rivalry between Eros and Anteros in the Renaissance was often misinterpreted as a struggle between Sensual Love and Virtue.... Frequently Anteros is rendered as a handsome, bright-eyed youth tying the defeated Eros (Cupid) to a tree and burning his weapons; and unless the illustrator belonged to the careless kind, Cupid is blindfold."


N 7710.A35.1535 (Ex) p.76
Guido Reni (1575/6-1642), "Eros and Anteros," preparatory drawing for the painting in Pisa, Museo Civico. The Art Museum, Princeton (Gift of F. J. Mather, Jr.)

At the right is Eros blindfolded and chained, while Anteros, as a personification of virtue conquering sensual love, burns the bow and arrows.

E. Panofsky, "Der gefesselte Eros," Oud-Holland, 50, 1933.
"As could be expected, the Renaissance spokesmen of Neoplatonic theories refuted the belief that Love was blind as emphatically as the mediaeval champions of poetic Love, and used the figure of Blind Cupid, if at all, as a contrast to set off their own exalted conception. But it is noteworthy that at times their arguments are founded not only on philosophical but also on antiquarian considerations; 'Greek and Roman antiquity knew nothing of Cupid's blindness,' says Mario Equicola in his famous treatise Di natura d'Amore, 'and their byword was that love originates from sight. Plato, Alexander of Aphrodisias and Propertius, who distinctly describe the image of Cupid do not give him a veil nor do they make him blind.'"


Achilles Bocchius, *Symbolicarum questionum de universo genere*, Bologna: 1574, I, Symbol XX.

"Occasionally the victorious adversary of Blind Cupid is explicitly identified with Platonic Love, as in an engraving where Amor Platonicus drives away his blindfold foe by brandishing two torches."

Melancholy

III: MELANCHOLY (selected and described by O. J. Rothrock, Curator of Graphic Arts, and Nicholas Dewey, Assistant Professor of English at the City College of New York), based on Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art, written in collaboration with Raymond Klibansky and Fritz Saxl (Basic Books, 1964).
Towards the end of the seventeenth century the pathology of melancholy, while retaining much of the traditional medical theory, began to use a new and confused terminology. At least one of these new discriminated "melancholics" would seem in turn to have had some relationship to the development of the poetry of melancholy in the eighteenth century, whose increasingly subjective mood is noted by Erwin Panofsky in Saturn and Melancholy in the chapter entitled "Melancholy as Heightened Self-Awareness."

In the illustration in the 1st edition of The Rape of the Lock, Pope's satire is complemented by both old and new pathological iconography: withdrawn to a gloomy cave and surrounded by uncorked bottles, smoke and vapours rise from the spleen (the seat of melancholy) to distort the imagination with a kind of interiorized Gothicism of unrecognizable fiends and spectres.

Shown here is a sampling of contemporary treatises on vapours, hysteria, hypochondria and spleen - varieties of melancholic pathology that were treated both seriously and, as it were, humorously. Boswell's fugitive essays in The Hypochondriack (1777-1783) were written sympathetically, while Rowlandson's caricature suggest how fashionable, if not silly the notion of hypochondriacal suffering had become.

"...the emergence of the specifically modern type of consciously cultivated humor, an attitude which stands in obvious correlation to melancholy...it can be understood how in modern man 'Humour', with its sense of the limitation of the Self, developed alongside that Melancholy which had become a feeling of an enhanced Self."

Panofsky, Saxl, Klibansky, Saturn and Melancholy, pp. 234-235.


"...the traditional usage [of the word melancholy] tended more and more towards the subjective and transitory meaning... the differentiation [of subjective melancholic mood] was carried out more especially in eighteenth century English literature, with great speed and consistency. The 'Ode to Melancholy', the 'Elegies', and the poetic glorification of the pleasures of melancholy with all its minor forms and varieties like contemplation, solitude, and darkness increased constantly from Gray to Keats... the content of the poems varied according to the greater or smaller importance given to the theme of 'withdrawal' or of 'Death', or to the 'Complaint of Life', though in a work like Gray's... these three themes could very well be combined."

"...in accordance with the new aesthetic theories of 'the Sublime'; Milton's 'smooth shaven Green' and 'Waters murmuring' were gradually ousted by a 'wild and romantic' landscape with dark forests, caves, abysses and deserts. Thus the Gothic Revival with its love for the Middle Ages enriched the poetic scene with so many Gothic ruins, churchyards, night ravens, cypresses, yew trees, charnel houses and ghosts - mostly sad virgins - that a certain group of poets was actually described as the 'Graveyard School.'"

"Just as Shakespeare in his famous sonnet 'My Mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun...' Keats too scorns the familiar inventory [of tradition]. Restless and 'waking', he feeds his melancholy with all his mind and senses, making it embrace all the bright splendour of created things, which he can truly discover and describe in a profusion of rich and varied terms, because the thought of their transitoriness and the feeling of his own pain alone enable him to take possession of their living beauty."

Panofsky, Saxl, Klibansky. Saturn and Melancholy, pp. 236 and passim.

100. Edward Young, The Complaint: or Night-Thoughts, London [1750]. Engraved frontispiece by Remigius Parr. 3 999.7.324.123 Opened: Title Page and frontispiece, engraved by Parr


"A book like Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy which ... does not stand at the beginning but rather at the end of a whole series of English writings on melancholy, could only have been written in England...."

"From [Avicenna] on, therefore, melancholy illness could have a sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, or natural melancholic basis, which last might be described as, so to say, 'melancholy squared.'... The thirteenth century encyclopaedists, the physicians from Gersonius and Guglielmo da Corvi to Giovanni da Concoreggio and Antonio Guainerio, and the humanists from Filino and Melancthon to Burton, all grasped the possibility of tracing the different varieties of 'adjust' melancholy back to the character of the four primary humours."

"...we may add that Burton, too, offers a detailed discussion of Filino's theory of melancholy."

Danofsky, Saxl, and Klibansky, Saturn and Melancholy, pp. 233 n. 43, 38-89 and n. 63, 235 n. 42.
SAMPLINGS FROM THE LITERATURE AND ILLUSTRATION OF MELANCHOLY IN ENGLAND, 1621-1898

In honor of Erwin Panofsky the teacher as well as the scholar, this portion of the exhibit is meant to suggest problems in the still problematic literature and iconography of melancholy in England, which, relatively speaking, was only peripherally explored by Panofsky. In his words, "melancholy in English literature "...is of such size and intricacy...that a full account would far exceed the scope of this book." that is, of Saturn and Melancholy (with Fritz Saxl and Raymond Klibansky), London, 1964 - the culmination of his great study of the theme and of its ancient and medieval origins in continental Renaissance art begun with Saxl in Dürer's "Melencolia I", Leipzig, 1923.

   Ex 3658.86.312.122 Opened: Title page

   Ex 3658.86.312.16

   3658.86.312.1800 2 vols.

   3658.86.363 Opened: p.29
"[Milton] combined all the aspects of the melancholic: the ecstatic and the contemplative, the silent and the satiric, no less than the musical and Apollonian, the gloomy prophet and the idyllic lover of nature, and welded their manifoldness into a unified picture, mild on the whole rather than menacing."

"There is here a line of development in the history of the word 'melancholy' in which it has become a synonym for 'sadness without cause'... a feeling which Burton (while protesting against this extension of the word) calls a 'transitory melancholy disposition' as against the 'melancholy habit' or the 'Melancholy Disease.'"

"The name 'Penseroso' (not 'Melancholio' or 'Afflito') by which her advocate is introduced indicates the positive and, as it were, spiritual value ascribed to Melancholy... Milton's Melancholy is called 'divinest', and celebrated as a 'goddess sage and holy' and as a 'Pensive Nun, devout and pure'... What emerges here is the specifically 'poetic' melancholy mood of the modern... 'the joy in grief', 'the mournful joy', 'the sad luxury of woe', to use the words of Milton's successors."


Style and Medium in Film

IX. STYLE AND MEDIUM IN FILM (selected and described by Paul Wagner, Curator of Special Collections), based on the essay, "Style and Medium in the Motion Pictures," which Eric Bentley has termed "perhaps the boldest attempt to define the art of the motion picture," first published in 1934 by the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University, revised and frequently reprinted in various publications and anthologies.
Style and Medium in Film


"Film art is the only art the development of which men now living have witnessed from the very beginnings; and this development is all the more interesting as it took place under conditions contrary to precedent. It was not an artistic urge that gave rise to the discovery and gradual perfection of a new technique; it was a technical invention that gave rise to the discovery and gradual perfection of a new art."


Note: All photographs used in this portion of the exhibition were lent by the William Seymour Theatre Collection, with the exception of the pictures of Conrad Veidt and that of the Marx Brothers, which were lent by Paul Wagner, who also lent the copies of Buster Keaton and Potemkin. The Synchronizer score is from the Frank D. Valva Collection, William Seymour Theatre Collection.
"At the very beginning of things we find the simple recording of movements: galloping horses, railroad trains, fire engines, sporting events, street scenes. And when it had come to the making of narrative films these were produced by photographers who were anything but 'producers' of 'directors,' performed by people who were anything but actors, and enjoyed by people who would have been much offended had anyone called them 'art lovers.'"

The Running Fight. An early American film, produced, probably in New York, with presently-unidentifiable players.

"For a Saxon peasant of around 800 it was not easy to understand the meaning of a picture showing a man as he pours water over the head of another man. . . . For the public of around 1910 it was no less difficult to understand the meaning of speechless action in a moving picture, and the producers employed means of clarification similar to those we find in mediaeval . . . . printed titles . . . . striking equivalents of the mediaeval heraldry and scrolls . . . ."


"Not until as late as 1905 was a film adaptation of 'Faust' ventured upon (cast still 'unknown,' characteristically enough), and not until [1912] did Sarah Bernhardt lend her prestige to an unbelievably funny film tragedy Queen Elizabeth of England. These films represent the first conscious attempt at transplanting the movies from the folk art level to that of 'real art. . . .'"

Queen Elizabeth, with Sarah Bernhardt and Lou Tellegen, Engadine Amusement Co., 1912.
"Another, less obtrusive method of explanation was the introduction of a fixed iconography which from the outset informed the spectator about the basic facts and characters. . . . A checkered table cloth meant . . . 'poor but honest' . . . ; the first kiss was invariably announced by the lady's gently playing with her partner's necktie. . . ."

RIGHT: Mother Machree, with Belle Bennett, Victor McLaglen, and Phillipe de Lacy; William Fox, 1928.

BELOW: The Vagabond Lover, with Rudy Vallee and Sally Blane, RKO-Radio Pictures, 1929.

"... it was, in my opinion, a fall from grace when Snow-White introduced the human figure and when Fantasia attempted to picturализe The World's Great Music. The very virtue of the animated cartoon is to animate, that is to say, endow lifeless things with life, or living things with a different kind of life. . . . In Fantasia the hippopotamus ballet [to the music of Ponchielli's Dance of the Hours] was wonderful, and the Pastoral Symphony and Ave Maria sequences were deplorable, not because the cartooning in the first case was infinitely better than in the two others, and certainly not because Beethoven and Schubert are too sacred for picturализation, but simply because . . . [i]n cases like these even the best imaginable music and the best imaginable cartoon will impair rather than enhance each other's effectiveness."

Fantasia, Walt Disney Productions--RKO Radio Pictures, 1940. LEFT: Dance of the Hours. ABOVE: Ave Maria.

"... even in normal, 'realistic' films the inanimate object, provided that it is dynamizable, can play the role of a leading character. . . . How the earlier Russian films exploited the possibility of heroizing all sorts of machinery lives in everybody's memory; and it is perhaps more than an accident that the two films which will go down in history as the great comical and the great serious masterpiece of the silent period bear the names and immortalize the personalities of two big ships: Keaton's Navigator (1924) and Eisenstein's Potemkin (1925)."


"All of us, if we are old enough to remember the period prior to 1928, recall the old-time pianist who, with his eyes glued to the screen, would accompany the events with music adapted to their mood and rhythm, and we also recall the weird and spectral feeling overtaking us when this pianist left his post for a few minutes and the film was allowed to run by itself, the darkness haunted by the monotonous rattle of the machinery. Even the silent film, then, was never mute."

M. L. Lake. The Synchronizer: Six Synchronizing Suites for Motion Picture Settings... New York, Carl Fischer, [1923]. The pianist-conductor's parts for Suite II.

"In the theatre, space is static, that is, the space represented on the stage, as well as the spatial relation of the beholder of the spectacle, are unalterably fixed... With the movies the situation is reversed. Here, too, the spectator occupies a fixed seat, but... [a]esthetically, he is in permanent motion as his eye identifies itself with the lens of the camera which permanently shifts in distance and direction...."

Marie Antoinette, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1938.

"In addition, the movies have the power, entirely denied to the theatre, to convey psychological experiences by directly projecting their content to the screen... imaginings and hallucinations... appear as stark realities instead of being described by mere words."

Prince of Adventurers, with Ivan Mosjoukine, Ciné-Alliance, ca. 1925.
"... the great actors of the silent period... did not come from the stage... They came instead from the circus or the variety, as was the case of Chaplin, Keaton, and Will Rogers; from nothing in particular as was the case of... Garbo... The advent of the talkies, reducing if not abolishing this difference between acting and stage acting, thus confronted the actors and actresses of the silent screen with a serious problem...; only Greta Garbo succeeded, in a measure, in transforming her style in principle... Her first talking picture, Anna Christie, where she could ensconce herself, most of the time, in mute or monosyllabic sullenness, was better than her later performances..."

Anna Christie, with Greta Garbo and Marie Dressler, 
Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1930.

122. "It is the movies, and only the movies, that do justice to that materialistic interpretation of the universe which, whether we like it or not, pervades contemporary civilization... I cannot help feeling that the final sequence of the Marx Brothers film Night in Casablanca--where Harpo unaccountably usurps the pilot's seat of a big airplane, causes incalculable havoc by flicking one tiny little control after another, and waxes the more insane with joy the greater the disproportion between the smallness of his effort and the magnitude of the disaster--is a magnificent and terrifying symbol of man's behavior in the 'atomic age.' No doubt the Marx Brothers would vigorously reject this interpretation; but so would Dürer have done had anyone told him that his Apocalypse fore-shadowed the cataclysm of the Reformation."

A Night in Casablanca, with the Marx Brothers: Chico, Groucho, and Harpo, United Artists, 1946.

123. "... it becomes evident that an attempt at subjecting the world to artistic pre-stylization, as in the expressionist settings of The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari (1919), could be no more than an exciting experiment that could exert but little influence upon the general course of events. To pre-stylize reality prior to tackling it amounts to dodging the problem. The problem is to manipulate and shoot unstylized reality in such a way that the result has style. This is a proposition no less legitimate and no less difficult than any proposition in the older arts."

The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari, with Conrad Veidt, Decla-Bioskop, 1919.
"While it is true that commercial art is always in danger of ending up as a prostitute, it is equally true that non-commercial art is always in danger of ending up as an old maid. Non-commercial art has given us Seurat's Grande Jatte and Shakespeare's Sonnets, but also much that is esoteric to the point of incommunicability. It is this requirement of communicability that makes commercial art more vital than non-commercial, and potentially much more effective for better or for worse. As is demonstrated by a number of excellent films that proved to be great box office successes, the public does not refuse to accept good products if it gets them. But even if Aldous Huxley's nightmare could come true and the experiences of taste, smell and touch should be added to those of sight and hearing, even then we may say with the Apostle, as we have said when first confronted with the sound track and the technicolor film: 'We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed; we are perplexed, but not in despair.'"
VII. PUBLICATIONS OF ERWIN PANOFSKY, a selection of studies by Dr. Panofsky demonstrating the diversity of his scholarship.


7. Panofsky, Erwin
Lent by David Coffin.

8. Idea, Contributo alla Storia dell' Estetica,
Florence, La Nuova Italia (Biblioteca di Cultura 40) [1952].
Lent by Craig Harbison.


Lent by David Coffin.

12. The Iconography of Correggio's Camera di Sao Paolo,
Lent by David Coffin.

13. Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, Stockholm,
Amlqvist & Wiksell, 1960.
Lent by David Coffin.


