

SYMBOLIC HISTORY
Through Sight and Sound

15. 1500: Explosive Balance

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- 1) *Leonardo da Vinci, 1483 ff., Bombard with shrapnel, Ambrosiana, Milan*

Music: Isaac, c. 1485(?), Alla Battaglia, Decca DL 79424

1500 goes off like one of Leonardo's shrapnel shells, hurled from the foul bombard, shedding small shot, "causing," he writes, "great terror to the enemy, with great loss and confusion."

The martial music of Isaac,

- 2) *Rubens, 1615, copy of Leonardo, 1503, Battle of Anghiari, Louvre, Paris*

the unfinished frescoes of battle, in which Leonardo and Michelangelo vied on the walls of the Florentine Palazzo Vecchio, set the type of force for centuries — as Rubens made this copy, from a copy of the lost Leonardo.

(fade Isaac)

- Va3) *Leonardo, 1503-5, Mona Lisa, whole, Louvre, Paris*

- 3) *Same, Mona Lisa, detail*

Music: Mantuanus, c. 1495, Frottole, Un Sonar, NY Pro Musica, Decca 79435

How does Renaissance, a point of balance between old and new, cultivating in all arts the myth of calm — Leonardo;

- 4) *Giorgione, 1505-10, Sleeping Venus, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden*

Giorgione; this Mantuan frottole of winds and waters, "Lirum, bililirim"; Sannazaro's Arcadian dream, "Alma beata e bella," "Blest and beautiful soul, who freed from bonds" — how does that promise admit of so fierce a cleavage?

(fade

Frottole)

5) *Pisanello, c. 1415(?), Luxuria, drawing, Albertina, Vienna*

Was it the turbulence of shooting in a hundred years the narrows of such a transformation as from Pisanello's 1415 Luxuria, lean Gothic lust burning its sinful allure? — Scotch Dunbar of 1500 still working in that vein:

Sum kissis me; sum clappis me, sum kyndnes me proferis ...
And a stif standand thing staiffis in my neiff...

And Marlowe's Lechery flaunting it to the century's end:

I am one that loves an inch of raw mutton better than an ell of fride
stock-fish...

2nd 4) *Giorgione, Sleeping Venus, detail; video, first a closer detail*

Was Renaissance everywhere islanded in a brimstone which syphilis would fire from the New World; so that Machiavelli's Mandragola-seduction might curl the fingers of Giorgione's acceptance:

What your cunning, my husband's folly, a mother's venality and the
wickedness of a confessor, has won me to for a night ... I wish to have
forever.

2nd 5) *Again, Pisanello, Luxuria, detail*

Not to mention the dialogues of Aretino, where of whores, nuns and wives, only whores ply an honest trade.

6) *Riemenschneider, 1495, Eve from the Marienskapelle, half-length, Museum, Würzburg*

6a) *French MS, 1450(?), Vapor Bath, MS Franc. 289 Fol 414, Bibl, Nat., Paris*

6b) *Again, Riemenschneider, Eve (head and bust)*

Music: Glogauer Liederbuch, c. 1477-88, Ich bin erfreut, Archive 3033

On the other side, the purity of flesh lured the North too, as in the famous public
baths and love-mystic heresy of Adamites. In the

Germany where Luther was growing up, Riemenschneider and the Glogauer Songbook wreath the voluptuous Garden: "not under the law but under grace" — "nicht unter dem Gesetz, sondern unter der Gnade."

7) *H. Bosch, 1503-4, Garden of Delights, from center, Prado, Madrid*

7a) *Same, a closer detail (1996 video revision)*

(fade Glogauer)

While in the art of Bosch, counterpole to the Italian, equally sought after in Spain, the landscape of venery is composed to such a Garden of Delights, that what stands in the triptych between eating forbidden fruit and choiring in musical hell, has been thought one of those Adamitic celebrations of Eros.

As the upstaging of sex implies, the bombard of 1500

a8) *Verrocchio, 1479-88, The Colleoni, seen from the south, on its pedestal; Venice (CGB '48)*

8) *Same, front view, nearer, from below; + V detail, V8a*

Music: Isaac, Alla Battaglia, as above, conclusion

is not merely the intensification of war, of those Italian and European battles from which Machiavelli learned lessons as shrewdly real as the Colleoni by Leonardo's master, Verrocchio:

Men must either be caressed or else annihilated ... War is not to be avoided, and can be deferred only to the advantage of the other side ...

A prince should therefore have no other aim or thought but war ... the end justifies the means ...

9) *Double: [A] Mantegna, 1449-54, Soldier from Martyrdom of Christopher, Eremitani, Padua; and [B] Leonardo, 1503, Study for the Battle of Anghiari, Budapest (slide show first takes these singly, then the double)*

9a) *Leonardo, C. 1488-90, Study for the Sforza Monument, silverpoint, etc., Royal Library, Windsor Castle (video then repeats the double, 9)*

It may be said of men in general that they are ungrateful, voluble, dissemblers, anxious to avoid danger and covetous of gain ...

So-called virtues may lead to ruin, so-called vices to security; Caesar Borgia's cruelty united the Romagna.

It is not merely that such satanic realism, passed down in the faith-world, as from Mantegna's soldiers to Leonardo's Anghiari sketches, marks the deepening war, until the French sack of Milan destroys Leonardo's Equestrian Sforza, and Boiardo in Florence breaks off the make-believe of his Orlando:

Yet even as I sing, O saving God,
I see all Italy in flame and fire
From these bold Gauls, come down again rough-shod
Across our country, wasting everywhere... (CGB)

(end Isaac Battle)

- 10) *Double: [A] Honnecourt, 1225-50, Diagrammatic figures, Sketchbook XXXV, Bibl. Nat., Paris; and [B] Leonardo, c. 1492, Vitruvian Man, Accademia, Venice; + singles [slide show takes A before the double, B after; video presents double, detail of A, repeat of double, then B]*

Less crucial the literal war than the symbolic, that reason, long dutiful to creed, even in Roger Bacon, empiricist:

We perceive by the first proposition of Euclid that if the Person of God the Father be granted, a Trinity of equal persons presents itself —

as unchecked by brute fact as Honnecourt's 13th-century geometries (left) — reason now seated in the earth-fabric, takes the lead from revealed archetypes: Leonardo, as in the Proportions of Vitruvian man, making that natural bondage the object of our love.

So the battle to be joined is not of Florence against Pisa, or of Milan against France; it is the battle of values.

11) *Roman (Etruscan), 2nd cent. B.C., Scipio Africanus(?), Louvre, Paris*

"In ancient times," Machiavelli writes in the Discourses, "men were stronger ... which I believe founded upon the difference of their religion and ours ... The Pagan religion deified only men who had achieved great glory, such as commanders of armies and chiefs of republics ... placing the supreme good in grandeur of soul, strength of body, and all such qualities as render men formidable." (Though this 2nd-century B.C. bust called Scipio Africanus is not as strong as Michelangelo would have made it.)

12) *Roman Christian, later 3rd cent., Good Shepherd statue, Cleveland; + V detail (as in slide V12a); digital puts detail first*

"While our religion glorifies more the humble and contemplative than men of action, placing the supreme happiness in humility, lowliness, and a contempt for worldly objects ... These principles seem to have made men feeble."

Yet even Nietzsche, who followed that line, admits a working paradox, by which denial has stretched the bow of spirit.

13) *Norman-French, c. 1320, Dragon and Beast cast into Hell, Apocalypse MS, Cloisters, NY*

Music: G. de Machault, Hocquetus David (from bar 105), OL-3

Like the hocket dissonance of Guillaume de Machault, the dragon and beast of the Cloister Apocalypse inflame their Leviathan depths with a force unparalleled in the ancient world, a vulcanism that flung up towers of church and state.

(end Machault)

- Va14) *Nardo di Cione (with Orcagna?), c. 1355, Hell detail, Lake of Blood; S. Maria Novella, Florence (CGB '59)*
- 14) *Orcagna, 1360, The Damned in Hell, fragment; Santa Croce, Florence*

"Where are all the great Florentines," Dante asks of Ciacco in the mud of the third Circle, and hears: "Deeper, among the darker souls, weighed down by sundry crimes." And we see them, "magnanimous" Farinata, Tegghiaio, Brunetto Latini: "You taught me how man makes himself immortal" — great-souled heroes, in hell. Thus Machiavelli:

Doubtless these means are cruel and destructive... neither Christian nor human ... and to be avoided... The life of a private citizen would be preferable to that of such a king...

- 15) *Florentine, 1492, Death-mask of Lorenzo il Magnifico, Medici Palace, Florence*
- 15a) *Mantegna, c. 1470(?), Engraving: Bacchanalia, with Silenus; + V detail*
- 15b) *Michelangelo, 1535-41, Double: details from the Last Judgment, [A] Death Mask, and [B] a Devil's head in Hell; Sistine Chapel, Vatican (digital: only Death's head)*
- 15c) *Botticelli, c. 1485, Madonna of the Pomegranate, detail, Uffizi, Florence (video: detail of head only from V15c)*
- 15d) *Verrocchio, c. 1480, Lorenzo dei Medici, National Gallery, Washington, D.C. (while video repeats [A] of 15, the Death Mask; not digital)*

Nevertheless, if one wishes to maintain power, it is this that is required.

As much as any work of art, the death-mask of Lorenzo il Magnifico records that value-cloven pride: mind reaching out to Copernicus in Poland and Columbus in America; the carnival passion of Lorenzo's own songs (CGB):

Music: Isaac, c. 1490(?), Donna di dentro, New York Pro Musica, Decca DL-79413

Here we are now, old and young,
Glad and lusty, female, male;
Hail to Bacchus, Venus, hail;
Join in pleasure, dance and song; (music down)

the vanity he faces through it all:

Sola sta ferma e sempre dura Morte —

Nothing holds, nothing endures, but Death;

the alternate words for tunes of delight:

(again up)

How great your beauty and your goodness,
Virgin, merciful and holy —

Lorenzo himself being patron of doom-preaching Savonarolla.

16) *A. Pollaiuolo, c. 1470, Hercules and the Hydra; Uffizi, Florence*

How brief and undercut that keenness Florence and the Medici had fostered: Pollaiuolo's Hercules, like Botticelli's Spring and Leonardo's science — courage, beauty, intelligence — on the whirls of corruption Machiavelli saw and succumbed to, putting Borgia's treacherous henchman, Michelotto, in command of the Florentine militia, for a sellout with hardly a battle. (end Donna di dentro)

a17) *Donatello, 1445-48, Entombment of Christ, stone relief, Sant' Antonio, Padova*

17) *Niccolo dell' Arca, c. 1485(?), Pieta, detail, S. Maria della Vita, Bologna; + V closer detail*

17a) *Prato Master, c. 1430-40, Unbelievers, detail, Cathedral, Prato (video briefly returns to the detail of 17)*

Music: Compere, pub. 1503, Crucifige, de Van, etc., AS-80

Crucifige! Donatello pierced the Renaissance in Padua. Penitence veers back from the North, as Savonarolla is called to San Marco from Ferrara. But in this dell' Arca Pieta and the Passion motets, reform rides humanist liberation. So the trumpet that roused Savonarolla was Virgil's warning from the severed roots:

Heu! Fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum —

Fly, fly the ruthless land, the shore of greed.

(fade Crucifige)

No medieval voice rages in those sermons against pagan Florence and the Church of Rome:

they have not only destroyed the Church of God, but built up another ... of sticks, Christians dry as tinder for the fires of hell ... The only hope that now remains to us, is that the sword of God may soon smite the earth.

As the dying Lorenzo turned his back on that holy arrogance, lightning struck the cathedral dome, a comet flared, the Florentine lions fought and the most beautiful was killed.

18) *Florentine, early 16th cent., Death of Savonarolla (1498), S. Marco, Florence*

"Give the people of Florence their freedom," said Savonarolla — already risking mob-rule, opening private houses to the search for vanities. Well, he would learn at his own trial how much his populace cared for justice and truth. While Machiavelli, observing the fires from the Palazzo Vecchio, would write: "all unarmed prophets fail."

19) *Botticelli, 1500-5, Mystic Crucifixion, Fogg, Cambridge, Massachusetts; + V detail*

Savonarolla:

In my imagination I saw a black cross over the Babylon of Rome, and on it was written *Ira Domini*, and above it rained every weapon and hailstones and stones, with thunder and lightning ... and dark and abysmal weather. And I saw another cross, a golden one, that came from the sky to earth over Jerusalem, and on it was written *Misericordia Dei*, and there the weather was serene, clear, and very bright ... And I saw angels arrive with the red cross ...

Botticelli's break with the Medici past reflects those doomsday sermons.

- 20) *Italian, 1450-55 and 1492-5, Room of the Liberal Arts, Borgia Apartments, Vatican; + V detail (which the slide show replaces with 20a, Pinturicchio, 1492-1503, fresco from the same apartments — also added to video in '96)*
- 206) *Raphael, 1517-18, Portrait of Pope Leo X with Cardinals; Uffizi, Florence; first, video detail*

Music: Tromboncino, c. 1500, Ostinato vo seguire, Nonesuch 71071

Savonarolla's attack was on the Borgia Pope Alexander VI. It is hard, from the restraint of his Vatican apartments, or of the Tromboncino that might have been played there, to picture the Nero of whom we read: he vying with his bastard Caesar for the favors of daughter-sister Lucrezia; of their famous poisonings; or how that Cesare with the bow of Apollo shot prisoners as they dodged in the courtyard, while the golden-haired Lucrezia and the Pope looked on.

Then Pius, and the warring Julius II, Michelangelo's patron, and in 1513 the banqueting Medici, Leo X: "Since we have been given the Papacy by God, for God's sake let us enjoy it." — whom Luther would address in 1520, between rage and naive hope: **(end Tromboncino)**

Leo, most blessed father...I have never thought ill of you personally ...
I have called you a Daniel in Babylon ... but I have truly despised your
see, which neither you nor anyone else can deny is more corrupt than
any Babylon or Sodom ... the most shameless of all brothels, the
kingdom of sin, death and hell.

- a21) *Signorelli, 1499-1500, The Damned, Cathedral, Orvieto; plus V lower detail*
- 21) *Same, vertical near center (from these and a closer slide, V21a, the video draws two details, one above and one below)*

Music: Josquin des Prez, c. 1500(?) (pub. 1519), from Miserere, AS-107/8

It is not that Gothic energies, from Savonarolla to Counter-Reformation, cease or slack off, but that they clothe themselves in carnal fabrics. Sodomite Signorelli flexes the Medicean arts in a foreshadowing of Michelangelo's darker Judgment.

At a time as complex as any in world history, Europe becomes a voltaic pile, stretched over electric fields of north-south, Gothic-classic, Christian-humanist, medieval-modern — blending hues in every heart and work; while power explodes to the New World and implodes in Protestantism — how is such a folded convolution to be exhibited at all?

The amplest ingathering is in the music of Josquin des Prez.

22) *Dürer, 1498, Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, Woodcut, Berlin*

22a) *Same, detail [video takes its detail from 22]*

His Miserere-forging of angular rythm and massive chord, impels Dürer's Four Horsemen, that Gothic apocalypse — the Angers tapestries lashed to physical storm — down over the Italy of Signorelli and of Michelangelo, where Dürer made art pilgrimages, and Josquin passed most of his productive life. (end Miserere)

a23) *Dürer, 1514, Melancholy, engraving, detail, National Gallery, Washington, D.C.*

23) *Same, whole engraving*

Music: Josquin des Pres, c. 1498(?), from Dulces exuviae, DL 9410

But there is another Josquin and another Dürer: this laurel-crowned Melancholy heaped round with attributes of thought, idleness, suicide; Josquin's handling of Dido's last love lament, "Dulces exuviae" — as if, in classical renewal, Lucretius' ennui must deepen (under the rays of light over ocean) to the brooding flaw of Hamlet.

(fade Dulces Exuviae)

- a24) *Bramante, 1502, Tempietto di S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome*
 24) *Bramante, 1480-90, S. Maria presso S. Satiro, interior, Milan*
 24a) *Same, another view*

It is most of all in architecture that 1500 Europe is cloven by the Alps. The classical orders, coffered vault and dome dominate Bramante's Italy. But if we seek in music, where no classical orders survived, a comparable cleavage, what is most Italian — those chordal lauds and frottole that point to operatic song — were written not only by Tromboncino and the rest, but by Flemish Josquin.

Music: Josquin des Prez, c. 1490(?), In Te Domine Speravi, (opening phrase), Angel S-36926 (fade)

- a25) *French Flamboyant, 1500 ff., N Transept of Beauvais, central portion, color*
 25) *French Flamboyant, 1500 ff., N. Transept of Beauvais, night-lighted; + V detail*
 25a) *French, 15th cent., Flamboyant Rose Window, Sainte Chapelle, Paris (CGB '59)*

While in the North, Gothic spills over 1500 in a lacy network of stone, often (as here at Beauvais) completing 13th-century structures. While late Gothic verse ties knots of rhyme: (Henryson) "Superne/ Lucerne,/ Guberne this pestilens;/ Preserve/ and serve/ That we not sterve thairin;" (or Dunbar) "Haile yhyng, benyng, fresche flurising!/ Haile Alphais habitakle!/ Thy dyng ofspring maid us to syng/ Before his tabernakle."

For a musical parallel, it is again Josquin who twines the contrapuntal as well as anyone. Thus the six-voice canonic close of the motet *Benedicta*:

Music: Josquin des Prez, c. 1510(?), *Benedicta es caelorum regina*, close ARC-2533 110

- a26) *Late Gothic, 1387 ff., Milan Cathedral, section of Façade and South side (CGB '80)*
 26) *Italian Gothic, 1386-1887, Pinnacles over the crossing, Cathedral, Milan*
 (end *Benedicta*)

Even in architecture, the geographical divide is deceptive. Through the whole Renaissance and into the centuries after, Milan Cathedral was sprouting minarets over a city given to the smooth accords of Bramante and Leonardo.

27) *Tudor Ceiling, 1478 ff., on Norman 1141-80, Christ Church Choir, Oxford (CGB '86)*

27a) *Same, another view (while video and digital detail slide 27)*

While the tendrilled fans applied now to churches of the North, build a ceremonious earthly bower within the inherited sternness of the Medieval. So the plainsong floreations of Wolsey's choirmaster, Taverner, enwreathed the Tudor transformation of Christ Church Norman Choir.

Music: Taverner, c. 1525(?), "Aromata" from Dum transisset sabbatum, Argo RG-316

28) *Jörg Syrlin the Elder, 1469-74, Pythagoras in the Church of Ulm; + V detail (cf. V28)*

V28a) *Same, double: [A] Cimmerian Sibyl and [B] slide 28, Syrlin's Pythagoras*

28b) *Same, Cimmerian Sibyl from the Ulm Choir stalls*

In the stained glass soaring of Ulm, Syrlin's minstrel Pythagoras sings as with personal passion. (So many songs caught up in sacred masses):

Western wind, when wilt thou blow,
That small rain down can rain?
Christ, if my love were in my arms
And I in my bed again!

Like the German, "Es ist ein Schnee gefallen":

A deep snow has fallen
Before the snows are due,
Boys pelt me with snowballs,
My path is lost in snow.

My house yawns at the gable,
Our years have made it old,
The doorbolts are broken,
My little room is cold.

Sweet love, in loving pity,
 Shield me from my woe;
 Fold me to your body,
 And let the winter go. (CGB)

Ach Lieb, lass dich's erbarmen,
 Daß ich so elend bin,
 Und schliess mich in dein Arme!
 So fährt der Winter hin.

- 29) *Double: [A] Hugo v. d. Goes, 1476-8, Portinari Altar, detail, Uffizi, Florence; and [B] Ghirlandaio, 1485, Adoration of the Shepherds, detail, Santa Trinita, Florence*
- 29a) *Detail similar to A of 29, from Hugo v.d. Goes Altar (CGB '59)*
- 29b) *Again, 29, Double*
- 29c) *A closer detail from the Ghirlandaio Adoration (cf. B of 29)*

About 1478, the Portinari Altar by Hugo van der Goes of Bruges was set up in Florence. The realism which delighted the town climaxed in the shepherds (left), pressing in, as from carols and mystery plays:

When Wat to Bedlem cum was,
 He swet, he had gone faster than a pace;
 He found Jesu in a simpell place,
 Betwen an ox and an asse.
 (He was a gud herdès boy)
 Ut hoy!
 For in his pipe he made so much joy.

Seven years later Ghirlandaio, to whom Michelangelo was apprenticed, painted his harmonious response. These familiar shepherds enter into a stable thatched over a classical ruin, where the feed-trough is an inscribed sarcophagus. No wonder they have the conscious measure of Poliziano's pastoral vignettes:

To see the rustic as he tends his sheep
Unbar the gate for the passing of his flock.

Or delle pecorelle il rozo mastro
Si vede alla sua torma aprir la sbarra...

30) *M. Schongauer, c. 1485(?), Adoration of Shepherds, Gallery, Berlin-Dahlem*

30a) *Same, detail (video makes two details from slide 30)*

In the homespun ripening of this Schongauer, which Dürer would make Lutheran, we have a German version of what Renaissance Christendom, with Erasmus as its ablest spokesman, everywhere hoped for, a kind of Biblical humanization by quiet reform:

The sun itself is not as common and accessible to all as is Christ's teaching ... I would that even the lowliest women read the Gospels and the Pauline Epistles. And I would that they were translated into all languages ... that the farmer might sing some portion of them at the plow, the weaver hum them to the movement of his shuttle, the traveller lighten the weariness of his journey with such stories as these.

31) *Maitre de Moulins, c. 1498, Madonna in Glory, central panel of triptych, Moulins Cathedral*

That heritage of faith freed and naturalized is a 1500 starting point. Let the three-voice canon from Josquin's *Ave verum corpus*, in its first Dijon recording, with the Maitre de Moulins' Virgin in Glory, express what was shared from Memling to Metsys and from Perugino to Raphael:

Music: Josquin des Prez, late 15th cent., (pub. 1503), 2nd phrase of Ave Verum Corpus, old VM-212 (1)

32) *Same, detail, top left: angel*

32a) *Same, detail, lower right: angels*

33) *Same, detail, center: Madonna and Child (here video returns to the whole panel; not so digital)*

(end Josquin)

The formative genius of the 1500 enrichment was Leonardo,

- 34) *Leonardo da Vinci, 1483-86, Virgin of the Rocks, Louvre, Paris; + V detail*
 34a) *Same, detail, Madonna and angel; + V detail of angel (V34a)*

and he had entered the promised land (Vasari's "terza maniera") twenty years before.

Music: Fr. Bossinensis, c. 1495(?), Lauda, New York Pro Musica, Decca 79437

In music the shift was from the medieval adding of parts to what Leonardo stressed in painting: to render "a proportioned and harmonious view of the whole." Leonardo indeed, who came to the service of Sforza as a musician playing a fantastic skull-shaped lyre, applies (with Aron and Gafori) the same spatial sense to music: "the union of proportional parts sounded simultaneously." In the 1500 Laude, how like the sfumato, which shadows Leonardo's space, is the melting of tonal fullness in complicities of minor. (fade Bossinensis)

Can we draw from Leonardo's Notebooks the heart of that mystery?

- a35) *Same, upper section of the whole*
 35) *Same, detail of rocks*

Shadow partakes of the nature of universal things, which are all more powerful at their beginning and grow weaker toward the end ... And drawn on by my eager desire, having wandered for some distance among the overhanging rocks, I came to the mouth of a huge cavern before which for a time I remained stupefied ... my back bent to an arch, my left hand clutching my knee, while with the right I made a shade for my lowered and contracted eyebrows; and as I leaned one way and then the other to see if I could discern anything ... suddenly I was aware of two contrary states, fear and desire, fear of the threatening dark cavern, desire to see what marvels it might contain ...

Longing for the source ... like that of the moth for the light ...

- a36) *Leonardo 1481-2, Adoration of the Magi, central group, Uffizi, Florence*
 36) *Same, detail of Leonardo self and two heads (cf. also V36a)*
 36a) *Same, closer detail of the two heads*

In the god-like expansion of nature and man, something has replaced the demon adversary of Christian good. What Leonardo saw from his summit of thought was not

only the fury of war ("Della crudelta dell' Omo") but deeper, the smiling enigma of force — as in Carnot's Second Law — that energy quickens by its own decay:

Force I define as an incorporeal agency, an invisible power ... It is born in violence and dies in liberty; and the greater it is the more quickly it is consumed ... It desires to conquer and slay the cause of opposition, and in conquering it destroys itself ... Without force nothing moves.

(Axiomatic, that in the 1500 dream of calm, where Satan slacks off, entropy appears.)

For the strongest contrast of that South and North, against Leonardo, 1452-1519,

a37) H. Bosch, c. 1490, Death of a Miser, Nat. Gal., Washington, DC (CGB '60)
37 Same, Central portion (CGB '60) [video takes this first, then a detail from a37]

set Bosch, c. 1450-1516, deep in transreal Gothic, what spoke at the same time in Everyman, English morality play from the Dutch:

Here shall you se how Felawshyp and Jolyte,
 Bothe Strengthe, Pleasure, and Beaute,

Wyll fade from the as the floure in Maye;
 For ye shall here how our Heven Kynge
 Calleth Everyman to a general rekenynge.
 Give audyence, and here what he doth saye...

[God] Where are thou Deth, thou myghty messengere?
 ... Go thou to Everyman,
 And shewe hym in my name,
 A pylgrimage ...

The structures are medieval. But as in a process of mineralization, every grain has been replaced; in the cast of art and drama Bosch meets with Leonardo.

38) *Dutch(?)*, c. 1440, *Mouth of Hell*, 99 from *Cath. of Cleves Hours*, P. Morgan Library, NY; + V detail

For centuries his forbears had been filling in and individualizing Gothic (this 1440 Hell-gate as mouth and arse), fitting Christian vision to the feel of man and matter. The moral fact boiling from the church close to the square in all those guild towns may be measured by the stage direction in The Castle of Perseveraunce: "Loke that the Devil have gunne-powder brennyng in pypys in his handis and in his eris and in his erse whan he gothe to battayle."

39) *H. Bosch*, 1503-4, *Triptych of Delights*, closed, *Creation*, Prado, Madrid; + V detail; not digital

So the created earth painted on the closed wings of Bosch's Garden of Delights may be medieval in conception — an egg of land and water, cloud and sky, closed in a crystalline shell — but its space reaches into the future, wonderful as the iconography with which Bosch peoples it. Revolution floats in amniotic calm, before the battle of values begins — visionary as Ockeghem's Mass for the Dead.

Music: Ockeghem, c. 1480(?), from Missa pro defunctis, Ubi est Deus tuus, ff., ARC 2533-145

40) *Bosch, same, central panel, plus detail: procession around a pool*

40a) *Same, closer detail (revised into video in 1996)*

(fade Ockeghem)

1500 Dunbar's grosser sins:

Then Idleness at the second call
 Came like a sow from a mud hole;
 He had a sleepy snout.
 Many a swag-bellied sluggish glutton,
 Many a lazy slut and sloven
 Were servants in his rout... (CGB)

41) *Same Bosch, whole triptych open*

41a) *Same, left panel, lower detail*

41b) *Same, central panel, detail*

41c) *Same, right panel, upper half of Hell*

The spread altar reaches from Adam and Eve through the pursuit of happiness, to a hell landscape of Satanic mills. Obrecht's Marian Mass for 3 to 7 voices, and tied by a cabala of number symbols, has that spectral vastness.

Music: Obrecht, c. 1500(?), Marian Mass, from 2nd Agnus, ARC 198-406
 (fade)

42) *Same, top of Hell*

42a) *Detail of same, blood-red stream (here video takes two details from 42)*

But it is the older Ockeghem who rides the hell-energy cresting under halcyon calm: "save the soul from fiends and from the lake of hell" — "de manu inferni et de profundo lacu."

Music: Ockeghem, again Requiem Mass, "de manu inferni", etc.
 (fade)

A window into the soul of Europe on the verge of colonial conquest and Protestant war. And with Bosch — as if sprouted from the *aspri sterpi* of Dante's wood of suicides — compare Gawain Douglas, 1501:

My ravished spirit in that desert wasteful
 Drew to the margin of a river hateful,

That like Cocytus, the ugly stream infernal,
 With its vile water made a hideous trouble,
 Spilling overhead, blood red, and impossible
 It should have been a river natural ...

43) *Bosch, 1505-6, St. Anthony Triptych, center detail, Lisbon, Portugal*

This loathly flood like rumbling thunder routed,
 Wherein the demon fish so elvish shouted
 Their wild yelps deafened and benumbed my hearing;
 At those grim monsters my weak spirit doubted.
 None through the soil but spunky trees there sprouted,
 Combust, barren, bloomless, no leaf bearing,
 Old rotten runts wherein no sap was working,
 The most part waste, with withered branches moulded;
 It was a den well fit for murderers' lurking.

44) *Bosch, 1510 ff., detail (lower right), Temptation of Anthony, Prado, Madrid*

44a) *Again, Bosch, Triptych of Delights, from central panel, Lovers in a bubble*

Wherefore I was myself right sore aghast ...
 The whistling wind blew many a bitter blast;
 The bare limbs rattled; I could scarcely stand.
 Out through the wood I crept on foot and hand.
 The river stank, the trees they clattered fast.
 That soil was nought but marsh and slime and sand.

(CGB)

Small wonder if earthly joy, stemming such a demonism as would haunt
 succeeding centuries, should be ensphered by Bosch in vegetable bubbles.

45) *Leonardo da Vinci, c. 1506-7, Youth in masquerade dress, Windsor Castle*

45a) *Giorgione, c. 1504, Madonna enthroned, with St. Liberale and St. Francis, Castelfranco, Veneto*

Was not the humanist hope of Leonardo and his time so islanded? — the 1507
 symposium Castiglione celebrates in The Courtier, a discourse opened by della Rovere,
 who would kill his sister's lover next year, a cardinal then for smiling at him, and
 connive, it was said, at the sack of Rome; while Bembo, poet-climber and libertine,
 afterwards Papal secretary and Cardinal, closes it with a paeon to Platonic love:

let us climbe up the staires, which at the lowermost steppe have the shadow of sensuall beautie, to the high mansion place where the heavenly, amiable and right beautie dwelleth, which lyeth hidden in the innermost secretes of God ...

a46) *Same, detail of Madonna and landscape*

46) *Same, detail of landscape only*

Meanwhile the dawn has come, nature espousing the flight of the soul:

When the windowes then were opened on the side of the Pallaice that hath his prospect towarde the high top of Mount Catri, they saw already in the East a faire morning like unto the colour of roses, and all starres voyded, saving only the sweete Governesse of heaven, Venus, which keepeth the boundes of the night and day ...

Though the gleaming nature of this Giorgione background was dawning everywhere — even in English poetry:

Tyll at the laste I came to a dale
Beholdyng Phebus declynyng lowe and pale,
With my greyhoundes in the fayre twy lyght
I sate me downe for to rest me all nyght.

47) *Flemish, end 15th cent., Romance of the Rose, Garden entrance, MS Harley 4425 f. 126, Brit. Mus., London; + V detail (V47), '96 revision*

47a) *Giorgione, c. 1504, detail of St. Liberale from Castelfranco Madonna, Veneto*

That is from Hawes' Pastime of Pleasure, Graunde Amoure's quest for love and virtue — still, like this Flemish miniature (also of 1500), cultivating the Garden of The Romance of the Rose: (Hawes)

Amyddes the garden ... there was resplendysshaut
A dulcet sprynge and mervaylous fountayne ...
Besyde whiche fountayne the most fayre lady
La bell pucell was gayly syttyng...

In the interfusion of Gothic and Rebirth, the airy transparency of the miniature ripens, as the myth of chivalry swells toward Ariosto.

- a48) *Dürer, 1489-90, St. John's Cemetery, Nuremberg, stolen from Bremen Kunsthalle*
 48) *Dürer, 1494(?), The Wire-drawing Mill, Berlin-Dahlem*

From 1490 on Dürer had applied those skills to a landscape liberation of the forest-cleared and fruitful Germany, before the outbreak of religious wars — against Hell Bosch, a faith as natural as Cornish would voice in Tudor English:

Pleasure it is
 To hear, iwis,
 The birdès sing,
 The deer in the dale,
 The sheep in the vale,
 The corn springing;
 God's purveyance
 For sustenance
 It is for man.
 Then we always
 To give him praise,
 And thank him than,
 And thank him than.

- 49) *Leonardo da Vinci, 1494-7, Last Supper, S. Maria d. Grazie, Milan*
 49a) *Same, center section (video draws this detail from 49)*

The easy polarities of century and geography blur; 1495 finds both Bosch and Dürer in the North, in Italy the Piagnoni beside Leonardo. Though what was uppermost was humanist — the Christian myth composed to classical drama. In Josquin's deep Lament for Ockeghem, nymphs of the woods and streams join in the Requiem Aeternam:

Music: Josquin des Prez, 1495, Deploration sur la mort d'Ockeghem, pt. 1,
 ARC 2533 145

- a50) *Same, group on Christ's right*
 50) *Same, group on Christ's left*
 50a) *Same, the figure of Christ*
 51) *Leonardo, c. 1495, Study for Head of Christ, Brera, Milan*
 52) *French, c. 1500, Entombment, L'Epines, near Rheims (CGB '59)*
 53) *Same, detail (CGB '59)*

(end Part I, Deploration)

a2nd 52) Again, Leonardo, Last Supper, Christ detail (while video holds to 53, Entombment detail)

2nd 52) Again, L'Epines Entombment

With Josquin's lament, written in Italy to a French poem, for a Flemish master, we have ranged Leonardo's Last Supper, most famous picture in the world, with this anonymous Entombment carved in a pilgrimage church near Rheims. How Christian Platonism has quieted Gothic pain. Erasmus:

He is the true theologian who teaches ... that all good men should be loved and cherished equally as members of the same body, that evil men should be tolerated if they cannot be corrected ... that those who mourn are blessed and should not be deplored, and that death should even be desired by the devout, since it is nothing other than a passage to immortality ...

2nd 51) Leonardo, Study for the Head of Christ

From the same essay:

What else is the philosophy of Christ, which he himself calls a rebirth, than the restoration of human nature originally well-formed.

In the Christ study, as in most of his works, Leonardo proclaims that restoration.

V3rd 52) Again, L'Epines Entombment, whole (while slide show goes directly to 3rd 53, below)

The new tomb grows shadowed and calm — as in Stephen Hawes:

After the day there cometh the derke nyght,
For though the day be never so longe
At last the belles ryngeth to euensonge ...

3rd 53) Again, L'Epines Entombment, detail (slide show uses 3rd 53 here and for the preceding entry)

The transforming death poem had been written in Italy in the 1480's by the imprisoned politician and humanist Collenuccio. Though the close turns to Christ, who in dying made death sweet and beautiful ("Dolce e bella morendo fe' la Morte"), the body of the ode invokes Platonic release

54) Tullio Lombardo, after 1501, head, Guidarello Guidarelli Tomb, Accademia, Ravenna; plus digital detail

as "sacra", "splendida", "generosa", "inclita," the comfort of the soul come pure from heaven, weary of a world of tumultuous and elemental war. This hymn to death — for every shipwrecked soul the port of healing:

O porto salutar, che sol conforte
D'ogni naufragio il mal, splendida Morte

swells with the personal pity and anodyne which caused the statue of Guidorello, warrior, who died in 1501, to be kissed and prayed to as to a romantic saint.

a55) Raphael, 1509-10, Leonardo as Plato, School of Athens, Vatican, Rome

55) Leonardo da Vinci, c. 1512, Self Portrait (red chalk), Royal Library, Turin

In the general amplification, not only Pico della Mirandola acclaimed man as unlimited self-maker:

Thou, restrained by no narrow bounds, according to thy own free will,
in whose power I have placed thee, shalt define thy nature for thyself ...

Ficino had extended the Platonic flight to a temporal progress toward Godhead:

the soul desires, endeavours and begins to become God, and makes
progress every day...Hence our soul will sometime be able to become
in a sense all things; and even to become a god.

How could Machiavelli, facing the 1512 Leonardo, think Christianity had sapped will and drive; where the inner dynamic, against the Classical, was so recklessly advanced?

56) *Peter Vischer, 1509-19, St. Paul from the Sebaldus Tomb, Nürnberg*

Whatever wrought the change was active also in the northern towns. Peter Vischer cast this St. Paul in Nuremberg about the time Leonardo sketched his own image and Raphael chose it for Plato's in The School of Athens — conscious nobility seeding itself over Europe.

Yet in that augmentation a deeper cleavage, as between reason and heart, was to rack the century. It is the separation of enlightened conforming humanism

1st 57) *Dürer, c. 1510(?), Self as Christ at the Column, drawing, Schloss, Weimar*

from militant conscience as categorical guide. "I laid a hen's egg," said Erasmus; "Luther hatched a bird of another kind." Dürer's possession by the nude self as the Man of Sorrows, recalls Luther's insistence as he tore up the Bull: "so hilf' mir Gott, ich kann nicht anders."

For 2nd 56) *Again, Vischer, from the Sebaldus Tomb, St. James the Younger*

suppose [Erasmus had answered Luther on Free Will] that in a certain sense it is true ... that God works both good and evil in us, and rewards His own works in us and punishes His evil ones. What a door to impiety this pronouncement would open ... if spread abroad in the world.

a2nd 57) Dürer, 1522, Self as the Man of Sorrows, drawing, Kunsthalle, Bremen
2nd 57) Again, Dürer Self as Christ at the Column, detail

Against that dialectic prudence, Luther flames in Christ-seizure:

God foresees, purposes, and does all things according to his immutable, eternal and infallible will. By this thunderbolt free will is utterly dashed to pieces ... Peace and tranquility of flesh are, with you, of greater consideration than the Word of God ... Let me tell you this ... I am seeking an object so great it ought to be maintained and defended through death itself, even if the whole world should be hurled into chaos and reduced to nothing.

And yet Erasmus, in his strangest work, *In Praise of Folly*, reaches, like Dürer's Christ-man, toward the revelation of comic paradox — Lear's fool, Cervantes' mocked knight as saving clown.

58) Bosch, 1515-16, Christ Bearing the Cross, Beaux Arts, Ghent; + V detail (from 659)

Since in praising folly "in a way not wholly foolish," Erasmus juxtaposes three masks: the laughable (as of "old women in heat") which opens to the life-giving illusion of Sisyphus: "all things are presented by shadows, yet this play is put on no other way"; the mask of depravity, which he castigates; and third, in the last reversing chamber of the Silenus, the noble *follies* of Platonic thought and Christian charity, where a taste of future happiness drowns our knowledge of the world.

Bosch's 1515 Bearing of the Cross has no weirder transition.

Va59) Same, close detail of Bad Thief and Mockers
659) Same, wider central detail
59) Same, close detail of St. Veronica and a mocker

In taking up the weight of the new century and of Leonardo's grotesques, late Bosch prepares for the Protestant agony: earth and soul so fallen that man is mere *stercus*, a pile of dung, which only the snow of Christ can cover, so that God looking down may see the purity of his own salvation. Luther:

The human will is a beast between. If God sit thereon, it wills and goes where God will ... If Satan sit thereon, it wills and goes as Satan will.

Yet how satanically ambiguous God's Lutheran sitting: "When I fart in Wittenberg, they smell it in Rome."

a60) *Altdorfer, 1520-25, The Nativity, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; + V detail*

60) *Altdorfer, 1510, Rest on the Flight, Staatl. Mus., Berlin-Dahlem; + V detail*

From 1500 to 1520, before the North became a battleground, the life that would polarize and harden, swirls in the temporal wake of art-loving and indulgence-peddling Rome. Is there a richer delight than in the fairy-tale Christianity Altdorfer shares with folk song:

Es ist ein' Ros' entsprungen
Aus einer Wurzel zart ...

Luther too joins that dance in his Gabriel hymn:

Vom Himmel hoch da kom ich her,
Ich bring euch gute neue mehr ...

Not to mention the Rose of Sharon wonder of his Bible: "Ich bin eine Blume zu Saron und eine Rose im Thal." Luther's favorite musician was Senfl, whose most fetching piece is a Christmas Bell Song. This Catholic joy smiles the immediacy of Protestant birth.

Music: Senfl, c. 1525(?), Bell Song (Das Glaut zu Speyer), AS 51

- 61) *Altdorfer c. 1525, Madonna in Glory, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (CGB '59); + V details [V61a, a detail, Madonna and Child (CGB '59) not yet used*
 - a62) *Same, detail of Angel musicians to the left, revised into video '96, (CGB '59)*
 - 62) *Same, detail of Angel musicians to the right (CGB '59); video: smaller details only, above and below*
 - a63) *Grünewald, 1511-15, Isenheim Altar, center, detail of Angel Concert, Colmar*
 - 63) *Same, whole center panel, Angel concert and Madonna and Child*
 - V63a) *Same, another Angel musician*
 - 63b) *Same panel, detail of Madonna under the Baldachin*
- (end Senfl)

In Grünewald, joy sharpens with the prick of pain. So the great Faust-cry of Hutten: "The spirits awake, there is love and joy in living" — "Die Geister erwachen; es ist eine Lust zu leben" — sounds from the breaking wave.

History is powered by tragic excess — Reformation only to be pushed by a temperament capable in its prime of Luther's imperative of Freedom:

I declare that neither pope, nor bishop, nor anyone else, has the right to impose so much as a single syllable of obligation upon a Christian man without his own consent ...

Why were Christ and all the martyrs put to death? ... because, without consulting the preservers of old knowledge, they brought forth a new thing ...

- 64) *Grünewald, c. 1506-8(?), Small Crucifixion, Nat. Gal., Washington, D.C. (CGB '60); + V detail*
- 64a) *Same, right detail (CGB '60)*

and after, of lashing out at the poor who had taken his freedoms to heart:

Against the thieving and murdering Hordes of the Peasants: Who so can, strike, smite, strangle or stab, secretly or publicly ... such wonderful times are these that a prince can better merit Heaven with bloodshed than another with prayer ...

(The poor thereafter to call him not Luther but Lügner — Liar.)

The Grünewald legend has this core of truth, that Mathis Der Maler did go Lutheran, against his church, his patron and his daring art.

Music: Taverner, c. 1525(?), Magnificant (opening), AS 91`

And in England, the fiercest genius of music, Taverner, repented, after 1528, of "Popish Ditties," destroyed what he could, and closed his life breaking church windows and despoiling altars.

(fade Taverner)

a65) *Hans Holbein the Younger, 1519, Portrait of B. Amerbach, Kunstmuseum, Basel*

665) *L. Cranach the Elder, c. 1502, Portrait of Dr. Johannes Cuspinian, detail, Reinhart Collection, Winterthur*

65) *Same, whole picture*

What survives that visionary adventure? — the humanist North roused to Erasmus' (1509) "Age of Gold":

Reason is as great as a king ... a divine counsellor, presiding in its high citadel, remembering its origin, it thinks of nothing sordid, of nothing base ...

Hutten, a precursive Tom Paine, summoning German youth:

Come hither all ye who want to be free. Here the tyrants shall be smitten, here the bondage shall be broken. Where are you, freemen? Where are you nobles? Men of great names, where are you?

Luther:

Every Christian is anointed and sanctified in body and soul with the oil of the Holy Spirit —

an early portrait by Cranach, 1502, fresh with that morning — what remains, when genius is consumed in polemic? As Erasmus (1521) would complain:

And the more I loved the inborn ability of Hutten, the more I grieve that it was snatched away from us by these disorders ... For what did it avail to have Reuchlin, burdened enough thus far, weighed down with heavier ill will? ... Luther could have taught the evangelical philosophy with great profit to the Christian flock ... if he had refrained from those things which could only end in disturbance ...

66) *L. Cranach the Elder, 1550, Self Portrait, Uffizi, Florence; video: first a close detail*

66a) *Same, detail of head and shoulders*

The last portrait of Cranach, half a century later, gives a solemn answer: in the deeper hardening of Europe, of which Erasmus grieves in his last letters:

The Anabaptists, a race of men frenzied and devoted to death, have inundated lower Germany ... Vives writes that John Vergara, together with Brother Tovar and several other learned men, is in prison. You know, I imagine, that the three most learned men in all England are in jail: the bishop of Rochester, the bishop of London, and Thomas More, a dearer friend than any other I have ever had —

man withdraws into a stronghold of consciousness: "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott"; "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu Dir" — "From the depths of need I cry to thee".

67) *Spanish, B.C. to modern, Barcelona, View of Barrio Gotico; video: first details, below and above*

Old Barcelona summarizes 2000 years in the history of Spain. What is visible ranges from Roman at the heavy-walled base, through Gothic and Flamboyant, to a

filigree of rococo at the crown; though buried below are cyclopean walls of the pre-Greek, Greek shards and marble, traces of Carthage; while the city spreads beyond to the Art Nouveau fantasies of Gaudi.

The Spain of Colonial conquest rested on that base, with all the levels of period style.

68) *Spanish Romanesque-Gothic, 1188 ff., Portico de la Gloria, Santiago de Compostello; + V detail*

68a) *Same, closer detail*

Music: Ripoli MS, c. 1200, Credit Frigus, 2-voice Easter Conductus (vocal entrance), MHS-OR-433

At the end of the 12th Century at Compostello, Romanesque is shading into Gothic, as in France, but with an archaic wild excess. And in the contemporary conducti from Ripoli, note-against-note chords dance Isle-de-France rhythms.

(fade Credit Frigus)

69) *Spanish MS, 1415, Rafael Destornes, Judgment page, Barcelona Missal, Cathedral Library, Barcelona (video: upper half only)*

69a) *Same, lower detail, Hell*

69b) *Same, upper detail, Saints (here video shows the whole)*

Music: Barcelona, end of 14th cent., Agnus Dei, close, Candide CE-31068

By 1400, French, Italian, and Flemish have fused as everywhere into an International Gothic, which in Destornes sets up one of many signs on the way to Bosch. In Catalan music also, the Hocket of Machault and the Italians softens toward familiar style.

(close Agnus Dei)

70) *Bartolomé Bermejo, 1490, Pietà of Archdeacon Desplà, Cathedral, Barcelona; + V detail*

During that century the most impassioned realism was absorbed from Avignon, Flanders and the north Italian, to toughen in Bermejo, 1490 — as in the music of de la Torre — to a Cid militance of carnal faith: "Adoramos Te Señor".

Music: Ferdinand de la Torre, c. 1490, Adoramos, Tinayre (refrain), Lumen 32020 (fade)

71) *Alejo Fernandez, c. 1520, Virgin of the Navigators, Alcazar, Seville; first, video detail: ships below*

71a) *Spanish, 15th cent., Castle Valencia de Don Juan, Leon*

Music: Juan del Encina, c. 1515(?), Una Sañosa Porfia, Cape, EMS-219

At this point the daring of a Genoese navigator opened the New World to a crusading energy which had barely consolidated a sub-continent broken by Dark Age invasions, Moors, and chivalry. All the nations of Europe have been mad, and so variously no one could name the maddest, but the Spanish must rank high. What went over the sea in German imperial dress and with all the financing and skill of Flemish bottoms, under the protection of course of the Papal Virgin, had the outward style and softness of high-renaissance Italian; but it bore from the windy uplands where Gothic Moorish castles were still being built and ballad laments of the fall of Granada sung a chivalric mysticism that would lash Conquistadores from Mexico clear to Panama and Colorado.

(fade Encina)

72) *Classic Teotihuacan, 1st cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D., view of Teotihuacan*

For ships from the engineering West to encounter the stone age was not so remarkable. What must have staggered the moral being was to confront a civilization in some way higher than their own, though evolved in isolation from a primitive base and without even the use of the wheel: cities larger and richer than theirs, an astronomical calendar, libraries of religion and law, and an art that left Dürer speechless when he saw its spoils in Antwerp: a civilization with an already mythic past, Teotihuacan, deserted a thousand years before, its Pyramids of the Sun and Moon and Street of the Dead called by the living Aztecs work of the Gods;

73) *Classic Maya, c. 800, Temple of the Cross, Palenque (Jean Coureau)*

a New World of wonders, spread out in time and space — six-hundred miles south and east the Maya ruins, Upland, Lowland, Peninsula, lost in forest — Palenque, sun-lit, under a leafy sea, a life, music, and poetry fabulous then, irrecoverable now.

- 74) *Classic Maya, c. 800, Sacred Cigar Smoking, Temple of the Cross, Palenque (CGB '78); + V detail; not digital*

Though the carved plinths and stele, as this from the Temple of the Cross at Palenque, some death-god or panther-priest smoking a ritual cigar — cult scenes alive with what Christendom had long since banished into hell — recover one thing for us instantly: the crusading Christian jolt in the presence of a tradition so refined and so idolatrously savage, alien as the Popol-vu sequence this relief suggests, when Hunter and Seven Hunter (and later Hunter and Jaguar Deer), gone to the Underworld House of Darkness where the gods hot-seat them and laugh like a swarm of flies, are given cigars they must smoke all night and return in the morning unconsumed.

- 75) *Aztec, 15th cent., Coatlicue of the Serpent Skirt, Arch. Mus., Mexico; + V detail*

And as if to raise the strain beyond psychic endurance, the antithesis had grown in the Aztec empire to such sublimity and terror as this colossal Goddess of the serpent skirt, found later under the charred ruins of what had been the greatest city in the world, drives home — a more than Moloch, more than Bhagavad Gita divinity of vulture and snake, a monolith of rattle, talon and fang, which all the human sacrifices of Montezuma's rule of art, justice, and wisdom could not appease.

- 76) *French Romanesque, early 12th cent., Knight spears a demon, Tavant, Indre-et-Loire*
 76a) *Gerona Beatus, 975, f 134 v, Christian warrior spears a snake*

What could Christian chivalry do, pledged since Roland to archangelic war — this knight spearing a devil in the 12th cent. frescoes of Tavant — Columbus too having told the Cuban chief (where no Caribs would survive) that "the first cause of his coming was to instruct them in godly knowledge and true religion" (though he was then amassing gold) "and especially to punish the cannibals and such mischievous evildoers" — what could that conquering Inquisition do with a mystery as beyond its ken as the plumed serpent, but melt into bullion its ornaments and idols, and gathering from cities and libraries all codices, pictographs and writings, to the priestly censuring and sprinkling, eradicate, in one giant auto-da-fe, the entire civilized evidence of a world they would occupy — as a virus takes over the genetic mechanism of the host.

While Luther at the same time threw his inkwell at the devil, to exorcise what blasted him within.

77) *Post-classic Maya, 15th cent., Tulum, evening, coast of Yucatan (Enrique Franco)*

By 1518 Juan de Grijalva was exploring westward from the island of Cozumel. His chaplain describes towns on the coast of Yucatan, and to the south a walled city, the ruins now of Tulum:

next day a little before sunset, we perceived far in the distance a town or village so big that the city of Seville could not appear larger or better; and a huge tower was seen in it.

It was the beginning of the thrust that would take Cortez to the throne of Mexico.

- 78) *H. Bosch, 1503-4, Delights Triptych, Hell, detail, Prado, Madrid; + V detail*
 78a) *Bosch, c. 1504, Last Judgment, Hell detail, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*

At the heart of that conquest lies an exploit, weird as the Satanic invention of cannon in Paradise Lost. When the assault hinged on gunpowder, the cavalier Montaña, with four other Spaniards, climbed to the three mile high crater of Popocatepetl, and was lowered in a basket, repeatedly, four hundred feet into a deeper hell-hole of smoke and flame, to scrape off sulphur from the lava walls. That fiery brimstone fed the final massacring charge on Mexico City. Palpable, that the damned eruption Bosch divined in panels fondly acquired by the Spanish crown, powered the reduction of new worlds.

In Irving's Columbus, as signs of land multiply and no land appears, the sailors think them signs of the devil, "delusions beguiling them on to destruction";

- a79) *Leonardo, 1513, Girl pointing in a landscape, Windsor Castle; first, V detail*
 b79) *Double: Leonardo [A] 1513-16, John, Louvre; and [B] 1483-86, Angel from Madonna of the Rocks, Louvre [here video repeats a79, Girl pointing]*

while Columbus praises "the goodness of God in thus conducting them by soft breezes across a tranquil ocean ... with fresh signs guiding them to a promised land." Against jealous temptation, the kindly Rewarder of the temporal quest. And the proof was at hand, the land, though it, too, might seduce with power.

But whatever the backward urge or forward danger, the die was cast; Leonardo's angel and John were smiling, his girl pointing across the stream, his bearded face was wise with futurity.

- 79) *Giorgione, 1504-10, La Tempesta, Accademia, Venice [somewhat cropped in the video]*
 79a) *Same, detail, with both figures (while video shows separate details, woman, then man)*

796) *Same, double: closer details of the man and woman (while video returns, through a lower spread with both figures, to the whole)*

Music: Again, Mantuanus, c. 1495, Lirum bililirum, Decca DL 79435

Giorgione learned it from Leonardo, the accord of nature and man, this Gypsy and Soldier (his own birth illegitimate), like a Rest on the Flight with a nude Mary and profane Joseph. Was that enchantment as merely ideal as the Pastoral Elegy Sannazaro now wreathed in the harmonies Milton would love and pursue? —

Thee shepherd, thee the woods and desert caves,
With wilde thyme and the gadding vine o'regrown,
And all their echoes mourn.

— I fiumi il sanno e le spelunch' e i faggi ...

And like "Lycidas", Sannazaro's lament leads to an Arcadian paradise ("Where, other groves and other streams along,"):

Altri monti, altri piani,
Altri boschetti e rivi
Vedi nel cielo, e più novelli fiori ...

Till all that heaven rejoices
To hear their new and unaccustomed voices ...

If any spirit of love among you dwell,
Oaks of shade and gloom,
Cast here a shadow for this quiet tomb. (CGB)

Se spirto alcun d'amor vive fra voi,
Quercie frondose e folte,
Fate ombra alla quiete ossa sepolte.

80) *Giorgione, "La Tempesta", background, with lightning*

80a) *Same, closer detail of lightning*

What is the gift of art if not to make dream real? But the symbolic dream, of total, ambiguous reality. Giorgione's Gypsy Family, the richest strain of Venetian High-Renaissance, takes its usual title — La Tempesta — from its cloud and lightning sky, a demon flash in the beckoning of calm.

Leonardo:

Force is of brief duration, because it desires perpetually to subdue its cause, and when this is subdued it kills itself ... One ought not to desire the impossible ...

(close Mantuanus)