

*This needs the resonances of Symbolic History for its  
cut through all history. Not for translation.*

## ***SYMBOLIC HISTORY*** ***Through Sight and Sound***

**32. Face and Landscape (Résumé of Man and World)**

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- a1) *Grünnewald, 1528, detail of St. Paul, Hermit, in a Landscape, Isenheim Altar, Colmar*

The arts should be experienced first in their own right. But they are also the language of symbolic history, the history Novalis recognized in poems and fables:

[Wenn] man in Märchen und Gedichten  
Erkennt die wahren Weltgeschichten.

To trace man's view of himself and his world, two sequences suggest themselves, of face and landscape.

- 2) *Lascaux, c. 20,000 B.C., Cave Painting, detail, Man and Buffalo*  
2a) *Same, detail*

In cave art neither appears. But in Lascaux (as in Trois Freres) there is a related pair: inner and outer, man and beast. It is hard to know what that bird-totem, phallic man, is doing under the disembowelled buffalo.

Music: African (Dattomey), Speech rhythms, Contrepoint MC 20.093

Do the gored, like the hanged, suffer erection; or is this magic, like African speech rhythms? One thing we note, (fade speech rhythms)

Music: Central African Republic, Medicine Man's Chant, UNESCO: BM 30 L 2310

what is outward, the animals, could not be more real; what is human wears the disguise of mask.

- 3) *Congo, Bantu-Balega, Manyema region, recent, Mask, Mus. Royal de l'Afrique, Tervueren*

Mask, voodoo counterpole of the individuation, we are calling Face — the human image usurped by demonic expiations — a primitive ground of unquestioning obedience to inherited tabus.

(fade Chant)

- a4) *Egypt, Dynasty IV, c. 2540 B.C., The Great Sphinx in its pyramid setting (while video shows Sphinx alone)*  
 4) *Same, the Sphinx alone (while video shows the head only)*

Out of ritual surrender, face appears,

Music: From Tibetan Buddhist Ritual for attaining the quality of spiritual adepts, Bärenreiter BM 30 L 2009

looms like Tibetan music (Egyptian music lost), this Cheops of the Sphinx, proudly and joyfully lifted above the impersonal fates. No accident these first Pharaoh statues are records of immortal soul, of Ka, in the eternal serenity of a temporal command. (fade Tibetan Ritual)

- 5) *Egypt, Dynasty XVIII, c. 1370 B.C., Queen Nefertiti, Berlin (3/4 face)*

No sooner is face present than, like any embodied vitality, it is caught in process, the cultural phases we need not repeat. Only, with Nefertiti, to recall that what emerged in the Old Kingdom from the trans-personal cult which gave it strength, has ripened by the Late Empire into a mirror-haunted consciousness of ennui and quest.

- 6) *Double: [A] Attic, c. 540 B.C., Peplos Korê (No.679) head, Athens, Acropolis Museum; and [B] Roman, c. 100 A.D., (Flavian) Coiffured lady, Capitoline Museum, Rome*  
 6a) *Coiffured lady, B of 6*

So too in the sequence of Greece and Rome face emerges from the primitive like a fresh discovery (left), clean of introspective brooding. For all the sensuous delight of painted marble, it is a phe-

nomenon of vital energy, beyond the personal — a wierdly smiling immortal visitant.

Set it against a Roman patrician (right), where the civilized preoccupation has become again the self-caressing search and satisfaction of the private — in this case, no doubt — rather hard and vulgar soul. Roman satires run the gamut of her kind.

So much for the briefest hint at the art-vicissitudes of face over twenty-seven hundred years.

7) *Double: [A] Egypt, Dynasty XVIII, 1580-1314 B.C., Tomb fresco from Thebes, Garden with Fish Pond, Brit.Mus., London; and [B] Paul Klee, 1930, Ad Marginem, Kunstmuseum, Basel, Switzerland; then 7A and 7B follow separately*

The art of landscape unfolds between convergences of beginning and end. This garden of New Kingdom Egypt (left), its trees flattened in ranks around a pool; Paul Klee's 1930 primeval memory, "Ad Marginem" (right) bridge a spatial conquest of more than three thousand years. The Theban fresco heralds a representation not yet available; sophistic Klee dissolves all perspectival claims in the haunted sun-tarn of psychic mystery.

8) *Roman, early 1st cent. A.D., Fantasy landscape from the House of Agrippa Posthumous, Mus. Naz., Naples; + V detail (while slide show goes to 8a, another landscape from the same villa)*

In Greece, we know landscape developed through phases of exploration and mastery.

Music: Greek, 1st cent A.D., from Hymn to Kalliopeia, J.E. Butt, priv. rec.

But the examples that remain are Græco-Roman backdrops for an imperial age of luxury and exotic longing — dream evocations, withdrawing from the spatial conquest in which earlier artists took pride. (end Kalliopeia) Even in the time of Augustus, this illusionistic melting and search for gnosis hints at the abandonment of the earthly kingdom, with its cultivation of Phidian ivories and golden bees.

- 9) *Chinese, 8th-9th cent. (attr. Wang Wei) Waterfall, Priv. Coll., Asia*

It would seem a counsel of despair to turn from the already superfluous challenge of Western history. Yet no treatment of landscape can quite ignore the subtlest tradition of that art. Let this 8th- or 9th-century Chinese waterfall, attributed to Wang Wei, remind us what a Tao of Power was opened there into the deepest forms and moods of nature, at a time when the West had suffered Barbarian overthrow.

- 10) *Carolingian, c. 820, St. Luke, Ebbo Gospel, Epernay*  
 10a) *Same, detail*

In the Europe of those years, in the art of Charlemagne's revival, it is as if a great wind had blown through — Vico's barbaric renewal — reducing landscape refinements to calligraphs of rock, stripping the person also of cultured nostalgias, down to the skeletal energies of ascetic faith —

Music: Gregorian, before 1000, *Adjuvabit* (G. deVan), A.S. 34 side A

impersonal, though within the abstract personality of man-to-God — Luke's upward inner glance determinative. (fade *Adjuvabit*)

This is the Dark Age creed-containment, within which the new temporal forces develop and articulate themselves.

- 11) *German, 1250-60, face of Uta, Cathedral of Naumburg*  
 11a) *Same, detail*

And first, to hint, in three faces, at the whole Western systole and diastole: 1250, Uta of Naumburg, from the century of the German romances, Tristan and Isolt. The later unfolding of self and love is nascent in the Medieval ground, a longing heightened by timeless suspension — Uta at once a legendary queen on a cathedral façade and a Cressid of secret love as sensuous as the fold of the robe on the cheek. As with Dante's Paolo and Francesca, all that would inform

the romantic novel is prefigured, the more hauntingly for the enigma of its loyalties.

Music: Neidhart von Reuenthal, c. 1220, Mayenzeit, EMS 201 (fade)

From Minnesong

a12) *Rubens, c. 1629(?), Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, detail; Gardner Mus., Boston*

12) *Same, whole*

to Frescobaldi:

Music: Frescobaldi, c. 1620(?), Canzona 7 "La Superba", Decca DL 79425

a jump of almost 400 years, and the personal and individual claims which vivified the Middle Ages under the paradox of denial, have stepped from the Thomistic frame, to issue their culminant proclamation of secular command — Rubens' Earl of Arundel, in the confidence of late Renaissance and Baroque, the will to power magnifying self and world. (fade & skip, closing Canzona)

a13) *Gauguin, 1889, Self-Portrait, detail; National Gallery, Washington D.C.*

13) *Same, whole*

Music: Brahms, 1891, from slow mov., Clarinet Quintet, D. Gram. LPM-18278

Another 250 years ends in world-weariness and withdrawal. The self has looked into the self, and behold, *vacua et inana sedes*; or as Rimbaud wrote, "I took Beauty on my knees — and I found her bitter." (fade Brahms)

Here is Gauguin as the old Adam toying with the vine-snake; but by the halo he is New Adam too, and how ambiguous a martyr ("my head, grown slightly bald, brought in upon a platter") — Stavrogin, the horned saviour. Thus post-romantic ego Baudelaires its ennui, prepares to go under; to clear the world stage for whatever is to follow.

- 14) *Franco-German, early 13th cent., Carmina Burana MS, Summer, scenes above and below; Staatsbibliothek, Munich*  
 14a) *Same, upper scene only*

In its similar course of emergence, conquest and withdrawal, landscape suggests the phases of natural science. This 13th-century Carmina Burana scene of summer represents a sort of alchemical phase, where the powers of material nature are to be apprehended immaterially, by allegorical rites and signs, as if things themselves were symbols through and through.

- 15) *Amb. Lorenzetti, 1337-9, Good Government in the Country, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena; right side of fresco*  
 15a) *Same, central detail*

By the 14th century the landscape opens out, with a transitional creak of hinges, to the panoramic expanse of Lorenzetti. As in Petrarch's ascent of Mont Ventoux, we hang between prophetic space and spaceless symbol:

Today I climbed the highest mountain in this region, Ventoso ... There is a summit higher than all the others... I looked around me: clouds were gathering below my feet... the Rhone river was directly under our eyes...

But he dissolves the vastness in allegory, opening his Augustine to read the countertext:

And men go to admire high mountains... ocean, stars —  
 and lose their own souls.

It is the residual non-dimensionality of Gothic.

- 16) *Leonardo da Vinci, 1499, Storm over an Alpine Valley, Windsor Castle*  
 16a) *Same, upper detail (video having begun with a central detail)*

As we approach 1500, in the notebooks and drawings of Leonardo, scientific thought and the landscape are simultaneously

transformed. The new mode of apprehension is spatial and causal. With an exploratory rush of delight, thought enters the world fabric, participating in its rational order as tested and confirmed by the senses: "although nature begins with the cause and ends with the experience, we must follow the opposite course ... begin with the experience, and by means of it investigate the cause" Universal law is reached for, though not yet captured in equations.

17) *Bernini, c. 1650(?)*, *Sunrise over the Sea, drawing, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin*

That conquest is the achievement of high Baroque. In science, causality is pursued to the Newtonian synthesis of the world. In this Bernini sketch, what for Blake would become the mere ratio of the senses, the sea of time and space and bondage of nature, is celebrated exactly for its formulable nobility, the spatial recess triumphant with the rayed determinism of light.

18) *C.D. Friedrich, 1834-35, Rest after Harvest, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden*

18a) *Same, center (while video looks to the horizon and sky)*

With Friedrich after 1810, the same methodic space, still glorious, has become the phenomenal veil, to be penetrated (as in Faust's rapture of following the sinking sun) by infinite longing: the world, says Coleridge, "of such hues/ As veil the Almighty Spirit, when yet he makes/ Spirits perceive his presence." Since the hunger for the infinite is also a death wish, the pictures become hymns to death, as in Hölderlin's "Abendphantasie": "And there in light and air, let grief and love flow from me" — "und möge droben/ In Licht und Luft zer-rinnen mir Lieb und Leid!" Though no one had observed it yet, the turning point to the "mysterious universe" had occurred also in electro-physics.

19) *Cezanne, 1904-06, Gardens, Les Lauves, Phillips Col., Washington D.C. (to which slide show adds 19a, a central detail)*

No scientist sought the paradoxes that lurk already under Faraday and Maxwell; the artists did not say they were going to stop



representing nature. With the Impressionists it was to represent it more precisely: the reflection of light at such a place and such a time; with Cezanne (as in these gardens from his last years) to exhibit the geometries that underlie the visible — "to treat nature," he said "by the sphere, cone and cylinder." Yet the net result (as in the increasingly refined abstractions of electric field, probability, wave theory, relativity and quantum mechanics) was the dissolution of the spatial and causal scene.

20) *Double of 20A and 20B, ff.*

20A) *German, c. 1000, Golden Madonna, head, Essen; video, detail only*

20B) *S. French (Landes), c. 1050, Beatus of Liebanus on the Apocalypse, Flood, Bibl. Nat., Paris; video, detail only*

The sequence now again in more detail: portrait-like face and represented nature. We begin, about the year 1000, with the virtual negation of what we seek.

Music: 850-900, Parallel Organum, Musica Enchyridion, Sit gloria, MHS-OR 349-II (end)

In the Golden Madonna of Essen, person bows to the transreal hagiography of cult and faith. Hammered gold on the stiff wooden form, encrusting jewels and great agate eyes gleaming in Romanesque dark — these are not of the human, but revealed signs of beatitude: *Ev αρχη εν ο Λογος*.

From fifty years later, a flood destruction from the Saint Severs Apocalypse: the flattened formal landscape, the figures of arbitrary sizes and projections, all pressed to a symbolic dread. The earth of which even Dark Age chronicles tell us is not the Europe we travel to see, but a ghostly battleground of demonic and angelic powers. As Paul had said: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world."

21) *French Gothic, c. 1210, Melchisidek, N. Portal, Cathedral, Chartres*

21a) *Same, detail*

A hundred and fifty years: who could have foreseen the vigor to which the Christ-paradox of incarnation and earth-denial would lead — how much body the heaven-vector would entrain, lifting over burgeoning towns three-hundred foot towers of stone? Under the vaulting porches of Chartres the great prophets loom into time. Yet all that human force assumes the eternal severities of the sacred frame, canonical, hierarchical; it is the Gothic incorporation of the mortal into the City of God. Perotin:

Music: Perotin, c. 1210, close of *Vidêrunt quadruplum*, Ducretet, Thomson 320 C 107

- 22) *S. Tyrol, early 13th cent., Abraham & Isaac, S. Jacobo, Grissiano*  
 22a) *Same, detail*

What would become the Renaissance garden grows in that church close. The artist here is of South Tyrol, early 13th century. Where the text of Abraham and Isaac requires mountains, he fills the background with snow-capped ice-cream cones of Dolomites, archaically stylized, half spaceless; yet a shrewd thrust toward natural observation.

- 23) *Strasbourg, 1290-1300, Young King from West Portal, Cathedral*  
 23a) *Same, detail*

1300. The Kings of the Cathedral of Strasbourg have put off the sacred severity of Chartres.

Music: . From Fauvel, 1316, *Je voi douleur*—Fauvel nous, etc. AS 91

We are already on the late-Gothic road to Chaucer's Squire: "A lover and a lusty bachelor." In the loosening faith-world of this "Fauvel," Occam and Meister Eckhardt, the individual and secular surge with vitality. Though strength has still the lean bare-fifth enigma of floating in the mystery it serves.

- 24) *Swiss-German, c. 1320, Manessa MS, Minnesinger Von Sünegge, University Library, Heidelberg*  
 (end Fauvel)

The hierarchic proportions — the boy small, though near, the heraldic devices hung spacelessly — these are of the past. But the Minnesinger's leap up the mountain is real; and in so small a touch as the projection of the horse's tail and hoof over the border, the drive has been set up which in the Baroque would spill fallen angels over the ceiling frame of Il Gesù.

- 25) *Giotto, c. 1303, Joachim returns to his flock, Arena Chapel, Padua*  
 25a) *Same, detail of figures*

But that late-Gothic turn in the North remains thin and impersonal against the sudden expansion of space and consciousness in Florentine Dante and Giotto. True, these celery trees are still half-Byzantine, and the background hills of stripped rock remind us of Cennini's advice late in the century: "if you want to paint a mountain, set up a rock in the studio and paint it large; for what is a mountain but a big rock?" But that alchemy of the nominal swells with delivery. The great robed figures seem to shoulder out a space of their own, as the Florentine heroes stretch the theology of Dante's Hell, or chromatic inflection strains the modes in da Cascia.

Music: Giovanni da Cascia, c. 1320(?), *Io son un pellegrin*, AS-I

- 26) *Orcagna, 1359, Self, from Death of Mary, Or San Michele, Florence*

The landscape here would be the Lorenzetti panorama, which we have already seen. While Orcagna's self-portrait in his 1359 Death of Mary speaks the rise of secular person in the time of Boccaccio — the kind of person no doubt who at the end of his life will repent and make his Retractions, with Petrarch and Boccaccio and Chaucer; yet so life-oriented that it is only the lingering quaint enigma of faith-suspension which distinguishes this late-Medieval from early-Renaissance.

(fade da Cascia)

- 27) *Lotsel and Privé, 1397, Connétable du Guesclin, St. Denis; + V detail*

Having mentioned Chaucer, we should follow late-Gothic north, to St. Denis, 1397, time of The Canterbury Tales.

Music: French, late 14th cent., Contre le Temps, Seraphim SIC-6052

The aesthetic refinement of Italy livens to realistic vigor. But the suspension we have spoken of, that all temporal and secular values are emergent, gives this character the cleanly observed force and moral ambiguity of Chaucer's warty-nosed Miller, wanton Friar, or hunting Monk with his eyes rolling in his head — a gusto which would hardly survive post-Renaissance responsibility.

(fade Contre le Temps)

28) *Pol de Limbourg, 1413-16, Tres Riches Heures, June, Mus. Condé, Chantilly*

28a) *Same, detail (video having shown first a wider detail)*

Music: Ciconia, c. 1405-10, O Rosa Bella, RCA V-LM 6016

By the 15th century the way of seeing has quietly changed from the symbolic to the representational — gracious as the first chordal space of Ciconia. A page of the Tres Riches Heures is a window into a lovingly delineated spatial scene. Strange that so revolutionary a work could be so unobtrusively and thinly naive. There is none of Lorenzetti's vastness of assault on the world; it is as if from that great spread, details had been trimmed and perfected in the early-Renaissance mode. Where the sign of the 14th century was a residual bare ambivalence, here it is the last innocence of Gothic, which makes no proclamation of the ultimate value of the new way.

(fade Ciconia)

29) *Sluter, 1395-99, Moses Fountain, detail of Moses, Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon; + V closer detail*

Though just before 1400 some such humanist proclamation — in religious terms, paralleling the preaching of Gerson in France and of Huss in Bohemia — had been made by Claus Sluter, a Fleming active in Burgundy: this Moses, in the spirit of Chaucer's last invocation to the soul: "Forth, pilgrim, forth! Forth, beast out of thy stall!" While faux-bourdon filled the triad.

Music: Apt MS, c. 1390, Jesu, nostra redemptio, a phrase, SAWT 9505-A  
(fade)

- a30) *Donatello, 1423-36, Jeremiah, detail of head, Cathedral Museum, Florence*  
30) *Same, another and wider detail (video having panned its 30a from this 30)*

By 1425 the cutting edge of Renaissance was being honed in many parts of Europe. Against the reform humanity of the North, the philosophic humanism of Florence centers in the recovery of Roman antiquity by an act of the will. Yet the dynamic which cleaves Donatello's Jeremiah from the Classical is also Gothic born. So Dante's landless Ulysses, against the home-seeking old Odysseus. As for music, the star of that Florence was Flemish Dufay.

Music: Dufay, c. 1425, from *Le jour s'endort* (at "de quelque mai") AS-3

- a31) *Masaccio, c. 1426, The Tribute Money, whole fresco, Brancacci Chapel, Florence*  
31) *Same, landscape detail (video shows only this 31)*

(end "Le Jour s'endort")

The vastness of the Lorenzetti panorama reappears in Masaccio, 1426. Granted the precise landscape refinements of the Limbourg brothers are lacking here. This Trasimene expanse of the folded Apennines, lake and blasted trees, has the inherited bareness of Giotto; but there is a theoretical consciousness of space itself — of laws by which to command it.

- a32) *Hubert and Jan Van Eyck, c. 1425-32, Adoration of the Lamb, Ghent*  
32) *Same, upper right (slide show goes from a32 to 32; video begins and ends with 32, interposing a closer detail)*

The background of the Van Eyck Adoration of the Lamb, from the same years, is the Northern complement: Florentine reason trails this Flemish miracle of eye and hand. Its heavenly Jerusalem is bright with every technique of foliage, light and air which High Renaissance would require. No wonder it was said in Italy that Van Eyck panels were worth their weight in gold. While Dufay and the other Italiante Flemings work in either style:

Music: Dufay, c. 1450(?), close of Kyrie, Mass "Se la face ay pale", AS-25  
(end)

33) *French, c. 1465, Livre du Cœur d'Amours Espris, Cœur wakes, Vienna*

The boldest explorations of 15th century retain the sharp focus of insularity. Here a French chivalric miniature of about 1465. Representational naïveté and daring meet in the gold-leaf sun, casting long shadows toward us from the trees. We approach the humanist perfection of what is still the middle-earth, transitional, Cusanus' privative infinity of space and time.

34) *Botticelli, c. 1478, Giuliano de' Medici, Nat. Gal., Washington D.C.*

34a) *Bergamo variant of same, detail of head (while video details 34)*

So there is a 200-year sequence from Dante to Machiavelli, the proud emergence of heroes in hell.

Music: Ockeghem, c. 1475(?), Puzzle Canon: Prenez sur moi, Mus. Guild, MS-134

With the Medici (here Giuliano, painted by Botticelli about 1478) we stand on the verge of the battle of values — to throw down or dynamically transform the old. The assertion could not be more forceful, but with the hard ambiguity of being still a deadly sin. If you want to rule, says Machiavelli, this is the method; to follow it is not Christian or even human, and of course one should be a Christian; but this is what power requires. Against such lean grandeur the Baroque would claim philosophic sufficiency. (end Ockeghem)

35) *Leonardo, c. 1512, Self, chalk drawing, Turin, Royal Library*

35a) *Same, detail*

Music: Josquin des Pres, 1506, Requiescat close of Absolve, SAWT 9561-B

With Leonardo (1510-12), as with Josquin after Ockeghem's Puzzle Canon, we seem to have arrived at that god-like condition. (end Josquin) Yet the battle of the 16th century has not quite been

joined. The humanist island has grown to a continent, where man expatiates in universal potentiality, for the last time in the tacit grace of the old dispensation, rich in the illusion that the new world can flourish in the lap of the old. Beyond that high-Renaissance noble calm, humanization has no direct road. What lies ahead is a whirl of transformation under trial.

36) *Dürer, c. 1494, View Toward Trent, watercolor, stolen from Bremen Gal.*

Landscape too, in Dürer's watercolor of Trent, from the glowing years before 1500 (the youthful genius on his way to Venice), reached a point beyond which realism — as the harmonious filling in of Gothic perception — could go no further. Here, too, what the future held was struggle, space buckling into vortices, through a century of religious wars, persecutions and incursions of tragic darkness.

37) *H. Bosch, c. 1510-16, Temptation of St. Anthony, landscape detail; Lisbon*

And already the new mastery was enforcing the eschatology of Judgment. That is the dialectic of Reformation and Counter-reformation — individuality and reason in Luther stirring the eddy of pentecostal identification. Strange that the strongest reality of 1500 should be the flaming recesses of Hieronymus Bosch's hell-pockets.

38) *Dürer, 1526, Portrait of H. Holtzschuher, Berlin-Dahlem*

38a) *Same, detail*

Now the liberation of the human and secular musters militant powers under the great seal of righteousness. Gone forever the olive-eyed Gothic distance. From the Catholic Humanist Dürer of 1500 to this Protestant Dürer of 1526, there is a buildup of assertive volume — as if (as in the polyphonies of Stoltzer) whole new registers had been added to consciousness.

Music: Stoltzer, c. 1525(?), Octo Tonorum Melodiae, #1 close, Nonesuch H 71111

- 39) *Altdorfer, 1529, The Battle of Alexander, Alte Pinakothek, Munich (slide show adds first a39, a detail to the right)*  
 39a) *Same, a background detail* (end Stoltzer)

No less, in Altdorfer's 1529 Battle of Alexander: the Magellanic rondure of the curved earth, wheeling under the sun and moon, as the empire of Persia falls. Even the sign, against the heraldry of the Minnesinger MS, hangs with fluttering drapes in real space from the picture frame. In fact, Copernicus had already revolutionized that astronomical space, and been encouraged by two popes, in the clarion decades of discovery, before the Counter Reformation put the jinx on his delayed Revolutions.

- 40) *Michelangelo, c. 1543, Brutus, head, Bargello, Florence; + V detail (while slide show begins with a40, another close-up, and closes with 40a, whole bust in color)*

Stretched in the field of titanic humanism and penitential reform, the Renaissance rises to its first great tensile infolding; and as always the mightiest spirit most kindles to the fervor, makes it most his own. In the radiance that Florence spread over Italy and to Rome, no spirit was as firecelly strung to resonance as Michelangelo. It is he who most deepens human possibility. In the face of his Brutus (1543) Shakespearean tragedy first becomes conceivable — the infinite pathos and transcendence of the flawed will.

Music: G. Gabrielli, pub. 1597, Sonata pian' e forte, AS 25 [through slide 45]

- 41) *P. Breughel, c. 1568-69, Seascape, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna*  
 41a) *Same, detail*

Past the midpoint of a century of tragic storm, artist after artist runs the course from early works harmoniously auspicious, to deeper immersion in the enshafed flood. Here Breughel's last picture, on the proverb of the barrel and the hell-mouth whale: a desperately weathered sea-sorrow, to become a prevalent theme in Shakespeare.



- 42) *Tintoretto, 1550, Procurator Jac. Soranzo, Accademia, Venice (CGB '59); first, V detail*

In Italy after 1550, there is a shift from the tensile, as in Michelangelo, to the kinetic — its musical crest in Giovanni Gabrielli. With this early Tintoretto, the always increasing pride of person exhibits itself as an opulence of electric fire flashing in the also increasing and pervading world-dark.

- 43) *Tintoretto, 1591-92, Christ on the Sea of Galilee, National Gallery, Washington D.C.*

Tintoretto's later works, from the time of Giordano Bruno's infinite universe, push toward its climax the explosive vision, which by 1610 would stretch the frame and logos of every art almost to breaking — nature a discharge of phosphorescence, the wind-heaped water under a sky of rage.

- 44) *El Greco, c. 1600-10, View of Toledo, Metropolitan Museum, NYC; + V detail; while slide show substitutes another, 44a (CGB '74)*

It is in El Greco that the doomsday seizure of the magnified Renaissance earth reaches a crux of visionary inturning. In the Toledo Landscape, as in King Lear (1605-6), you cannot thrust a bodkin point between the real and symbolic universe:

You cataracts and hurricanoes, spout  
Till you have drench'd our steeples, drown'd the cocks!

- 45) *El Greco, 1613-14, head of priest from Marriage of the Virgin, Rumania; + V detail*

At the same time form and face undergo a tragic dissolution, as if all human glory and nothingness had met. In the face of the priest in El Greco's "Marriage of the Virgin", Lear's pride — "Of all these bounds even from this line to this ... we make thee lady" — and crushed humility — "Pray you now, forget and forgive. I am old and

foolish" — merge in a stateliness pieced out of shreds and tatters, a brushwork like straw tossed on a cyclonic wind. (end Gabrielli)

- 46) *Caravaggio, 1602-04, Head of Mary, Entombment of Christ, Vatican; first, V closer detail*

Music: Sweelinck, 1610-20(?), Chromatic Fantasy, opening, SVBX-5316

Yet the kinetic spirals of Mannerism were exactly the crucible in which the tactile and volitional formulations of Baroque were being explored. No sooner is 1600 past than from Italy northward (here Caravaggio) the expanding whirl (as in the chromatics of Sweelinck) coagulates into the rhetoric and histrionics of reasoned command — though a reason (like Galileo's) schooled by brute fact and tenebrist pain.

- 47) *Rubens, c. 1624, Het Onwaer (The Storm), Franz Konig Collection, Haarlem; + V detail*

So too in Rubens, 1625, when the limitless storm spills over, it is into a century of Cartesian Method. A critical point has been passed, like that between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson: in the dynamism of release the energies, rational or emotional, have precipitated: from the realized Apocalypse to the Apocalyptic real.

(fade Sweelinck)

- 48) *Rembrandt, 1629, Self-portrait, Isabella S. Gardner Museum, Boston; + V detail*

From the equivocal might and exploratory transhumanity which make Lear unfathomable, person, by early Rembrandt (1629), gathers itself into a philosophically validated, space-investing will,

Music: Pachelbel, c. 1690(?), from Canon in D Major, MHS 1060 [to slide 52]

a power like Spinoza's divinity: "Extension is an attribute of God, or God is an extended thing." And it is by the formulable soul of light that this Miltonic introspection presents itself, in the glory of spatial

bondage, a reasoned justification of the ways of God to men — destinate as Pachelbel's Canon-passacaglia.

49) *Rembrandt, c. 1638, Landscape with bridge and boatmen, Amsterdam (CGB'59)*

49a) *Same, detail*

So too with the Rembrandt landscape of chiaroscuro realism. By the heroics of sun through cloud, nature is subsumed under a divine syntax, as tensely fought for as the somber affirmations of Milton; while the realism affirms of all that ordering light: it is here and now, these fields, that bridge with the boatman passing under. As Spinoza says: "Particular things are nothing else than modifications of attributes of God"; and "Reality and Perfection I understand to be one and the same."

50) *Velasquez, 1656, Self-portrait from Las Meninas, Prado, Madrid*

The most impassioned Baroque assertion has an aspect of reasoned mastery (even in Pascal, where Cartesian reason undercuts itself). But in the great souls of the mid-century, here Velasquez, it is just some Pascalian affinity which saves the art-assertion from flagrant pride — a continuing antinomy of the poignance of space and the pathos of reason.

51) *Claude Lorraine, 1657, Galatea Landscape, Dresden*

The classical landscape peaks in Claude: here Acis and Galatea of 1657, with Polyphemus on the promontory beyond the bay. Yet that heroic world, like Prospero's "cloud-capped towers" is visibly melting into light: "Hail holy Light, offspring of heaven firstborn."

52) *Bernini, 1665, Bust of Louis XIV, Versailles*

That which is overpushed recoils. It is in the French court of Louis XIV that the Baroque assertion swells to a point from which it could only break to the ridiculous. And it was only Rome that could offer in Bernini the virtuoso brilliance to boost the king-image to an

all-time sublime without letting it slip. (cut Pachelbel) Though we measure the risk by the secular arrogation of the old religious ground: "L'etat c'est moi."

a53) Godfrey Kneller, 1700, *Mathew Prior, detail; Trinity College, Cambridge*  
 53) *Same, the whole (which video puts before and after the detail)*

By 1700 that heroic inflation — Dryden's "Aloft in awful state/  
 The God-like hero sate/ On his imperial throne" — is about to yield to Pope's: "Here thou, great Anna! whom three realms obey,/ Dost sometimes counsel take — and sometimes tea."

Music: F. Couperin, 1714-15, Concert Royal No.4, 1st Mov., Nonesuch  
 H 73014

Thus the Baroque yields to Couperin; thus Kneller's Mathew Prior, even in the robes and pose of the vaunt, turns the flourishes of expression and light into Swiftian mockery.

54) Watteau, 1717, *l'Embarquement pour Cythere, Louvre, Paris*  
 54a) *Same, detail (video pans a detail from 54)*

The bubble of *virtu* breaks in a witty play of artifice. The ironies of reason hide a growing sentiment of nature. It is the 18th-century polarity: mocking mind, searching heart. In Watteau's *Island of Love* those landscape depths of the Baroque become a precious filigree, stage-set for the masque of manners, which is at once a courtly game and a sigh for joy. Pope:

But now secure the painted vessel glides,  
 The sun-beams trembling on the floating tides;  
 While melting music steals upon the sky,  
 And softened sounds along the waters die;  
 Smooth flow the waves, the zephyrs gently play,  
 Belinda smiled, and all the world was gay.

a55) Boucher, 1746, *Fishing Landscape, whole; Hermitage, Leningrad*  
 55) *Same, detail*

The artifice of landscape espaliered into park seems fulfilled in Boucher's 1746 fishing scene — an arabesque of trees, clouds and stream. Yet through that china veil, the cult of Rousseau begins to touch everything with dream. (Couperin from 1st mvt to 2nd) So Marie Antoinette played at shepherdess in her village in the Petit Trianon.

56) *Wilson, 1774, Cader Idris, Tate Gallery, London*

56a) *Same, detail (which video can draw from 56)*

The drive to forthright nature spurns that: (cut Couperin) England, Richard Wilson, most of all his revolutionary "Cader Idris" of 1774. But it is not the dimensional world reaffirmed. Light-streaming space is stripped to the stark phenomenal. Man seems dwarfed, an exile. What begins to be verified is the Wordsworthian relation to the "souls of lonely places" — Haydn's muted horns.

Music: Haydn, 1794-5, from Adagio of Symphony 102, Vanguard SRV 211SD [to slide 60]

57) *L. Tocque, c. 1750-60, Pfalzgraf v. Zweibrücken, Birkenfeld (CGB '59)*

The mid-century rift between genteel convention and the natural man of heart is nowhere stronger than in Germany. The foppery of Renaissance *humanitas*, undercut by two centuries of aristocratic appropriation, could hardly show a prissier mask than in the Munich Duke of Zweibrücken.

58) *Anton Raphael Mengs, c. 1750, Self-portrait (silverpoint), Albertina, Vienna*

While the young artist Mengs, sketching himself about 1750, reminds us that Rousseau's intuition held the seeds both of Revolution and Romantic. The Social Contract: "Man is born free, and is everywhere in chains." And the Confessions: "the austere Jean Jacques, serious citizen of Geneva ... became again the love-sick shepherd ... and seeing nothing in existence worthy of my enthusiasm, I sought nourishment for it in an ideal world ..."

59) *P.O. Runge, c. 1803, Self-portrait, Kunsthalle, Hamburg; + V detail*

Like the same person reborn stronger, Runge steps from the 18th-century drawing room onto the Goethean world-stage of 1803: "Gefühl ist alles" — "Feeling is everything." Man's proclamation of grandeur had crested once in the rational hybris of the Baroque. After a century of irony and enlightenment, it rallies under revolutionary command — the Faust-claim in Beethoven, Hegel, Hölderlin, that world-spirit is realizing itself through the shaping passions of the heart and will. It is the final liberation of the Ego as a phenomenon of hope.

60) *Joseph Anton Koch, 1811, Schmadribach Falls, Leipzig Museum*

60a) *Same, upper detail*

The central urge of the Christian West had been to bring the Kingdom of God from the timeless and spaceless to the here and now. The free and transcendental self requires a free and pantheistic nature, untamed, "shoreless as God." Koch tried what romantics would pursue in the mountain fastnesses of the world. While Wordsworth, climbing Snowdon at night, saw, in a sea of mist under the moon:

... a blue chasm; a fracture in the vapour,  
A deep and gloomy breathing-place through which  
Mounted the roar of waters, torrents, streams ...

... in that breach

Through which the homeless voice of waters rose,  
That dark deep thoroughfare had Nature lodg'd  
The Soul, the Imagination of the whole.

(end Haydn)

61) *C.D. Friedrich, 1810, Self-portrait (drawing), National Gallery, Berlin*

61a) *Same, detail (slide only)*

Music: Beethoven, 1824, Quartet #12 in E flat, Opus 127, opening, Col. M 5 S 677 [through slide 63]

Nothing takes us deeper into the night-brooding of early-romantic than the face of Caspar David Friedrich, German landscape mystic of 1810. Thrown back (like Beethoven in the late Quartets) from revolutionary hope, soul turns its introspective retreat into a

triumph of inwardness. As Friedrich wrote under increasing neglect: "And so I spin myself into a cocoon and shall let time decide what will emerge therefrom." So Schelling's process of creation:

the revelation of light in what was originally the principle of darkness ... That principle which rises up from the depths of nature and by which man is divided from God, is the selfhood in him; but by reason of its unity with the ideal, this becomes spirit.

- 62) *Friedrich, 1819, Two men observing the moon (or annular eclipse of the sun?) Dresden*

Against the landscape of ordered harmony (the 18th-century lord of the manor secure in the Lockean propriety of fruitful ground), Friedrich abandons ownership altogether. Earth and all begin to eclipse, like the moon, into figments. As in Goethe's *Walpurgis Night*, we have gone into the spheres of dream and magic: "In die Traum- und Zaubersphäre/ Sind wir, scheint es, eingegangen."

- 63) *Goya, 1820, "Asmodea" or Fantastic Vision (from the Quinta del Sordo), now in the Prado, Madrid; + V detail*

How variously landscape now veers back to the visionary, abstract, revelational. In Spain, Goya's 1820 *Fantastic Vision* from the *Quinta del Sordo*, launches the older techniques of crisis — 1600, *El Greco*; 1700, *Magnasco* — toward the modern. (fade Beethoven)

- 64) *Samuel Palmer, c. 1826-30, Cornfield by moonlight, Kenneth Clark*

In the England of this Samuel Palmer, Blake was the total revolutionary, for whom the outward universe is the vegetative husk of symbolic reality.

Music: Schubert, 1828, slow opening, C Maj. Quintet, Col MS 6536

But landscape as such was more cultivated by the disciple, in those Shoreham pictures of 1826-30 (time of Schubert), when Palmer's youth was marvellously possessed by Blakean imagination.

65) *Turner, exhibited 1843, Morning after the Deluge; Tate, London*

65a) *Same, a closer center spread*

While Turner, starting in the traditional manner of the Dutch and Claude, threw all his academic skills into a program not unrelated to Blake's (though their techniques were opposite) — an ecstatic transformation of matter into light. Thus one of his last pictures, "Light and Color, Goethe's Theory, the Morning after the Deluge, Moses writing the book of Genesis," exhibited in 1843. (fade Schubert)

a66) *Delacroix, 1826, Study for Baron Schwiter, detail; Springfield, Mass.*

66) *Same, whole*

Music: Berlioz, 1830, Funeral March, opening, *Symphonie Fantastique*, CM-9227

Not that Napoleonic assertion was a thing of the past. The 19th century is dominated by the sort of titanism we have called the liberation of the ego, but shifting from its 1790 Enlightened base ("a phenomenon of hope") to a Berlioz Gallows March ("a phenomenon of despair"). This 1826 Delacroix portrait has absorbed Faust's satanic compact, with Byron's "pageant of the bleeding heart". Rousseau's pain has eroded his natural good. One begins to wonder how far the human boast is suicidal. (fade Berlioz)

67) *Courbet, 1845-46, Man with a Pipe (Self), Museum, Montpellier*

67a) *Same, detail*

Music: Wagner, 1857-59, *Tristan & Isolde*, from *Prelude* (Stokowsky "Synthesis"), V-LM-1174

Twenty years more and we come to a face inescapable in such a survey, the Courbet Self, paired in "Cycles" with Flaubert on world-sickness and a coming Dark Age. But the ennui and spleen of Baudelaire equally apply: "When with eyes closed as in an opium dream" and "I am a burial ground the moon abhors" — "*Je suis un cimetière abhorré de la lune.*" It is the mood Dowson brought to England:



Mr. Tr.

"Desolate and sick of an old passion," and for which Arnold, in his purer way, had written a Fall-of-the-West program:

The Sea of Faith  
Was once, too, at the full ...  
But now I only hear  
Its melancholy, long withdrawing roar,  
Retreating, to the breath  
Of the night wind, down the vast edges drear  
And naked shingles of the world.

68) *Böcklin, 1865, Villa am Meer, 2nd form, Schack Gal., Munich (CGB '59)*

68a) *Same, detail*

Landscape takes up the "Dover Beach" burden. Böcklin suffuses each rock, wave and cypress with Tristan and Isolde lushness of *Sehnsucht* — as in the phrase Eliot culls for The Wasteland: "*oed' und leer das Meer*;" or elsewhere from Nerval: "*J'ai rêvé dans la grotte où nage la sirène*." Here the art problem of the century becomes inescapable. Blake, and even Goya, had challenged the outward order. With bourgeois consolidation, realism also regrouped itself, as if to affirm our place in the dimensional. But its message is the reverse, is Rilke's "that we're not very much at home in the interpreted world." So how long can the techniques caress that world with the oily touch of Baudelaire, Wagner and Böcklin?

69) *Hans von Marees, 1863, Marees and Lenbach, Neue Pinak., Munich (CGB '59); first, video detail*

The soul is almost at cleavage, raised (as Yeats saw Nietzsche) from the romantic gyre toward another, where Rocky Face laughs in tragic joy.

(fade Tristan Prelude)

Music: Wagner, 1857-9, Tristan, climax and interruption of Love Night, London 5938  
(fade)

And in Hans von Marees' portrait of himself and Lenbach, 1863, Nietzschean violence turns to idiot laughter:

To offer up God to the void, that is the last mystery,  
the sacrament of terror reserved for the generation at  
hand. We have already felt it working in ourselves ...

70) *Monet, 1888, Antibes, Durand-Ruel, Paris*

70a) *Same, detail (which video draws from 70)*

From that bituminous immersion, Impressionism, by a shift of attention from the self to the science of light and air, drew Monet and the rest from the visceral wake of Wagner and Zarathustra into the plein-air of Argenteuil and Provence, the rainbow of broken color — like a Fauré scherzo — an art of delight.

Music: Fauré, 1879, Scherzo from 1st Piano Quartet, RCA-V-ARL1-0761

Of which, however, two things must be said: that the strains of yearning distill through the brightness; and that (as we have implied with modern science) reality itself, the landscape, begins to dissolve under the analytical shimmer.

71) *Renoir, 1876, Portrait of M. Chocquet, Winterthur; + V detail*

(fade Fauré)

Thus Renoir's 1876 portrait of Monsieur Chocquet slips quietly beyond Marees' Confidence Man smile. What the palette clothes in wistful gaiety is man's withdrawal from the temporal field. As in Verlaine:

Ils n'ont pas l'air de croire à leur bonheur  
Et leur chanson se mêle au clair de lune ...

they have the air of not believing in their own happiness  
and their song is mingled with the light of the moon.

While Fauré yields to Debussy:

Music: Debussy, 1893, from last Mov't, Quartet, Nonesuch H-1007

72) *Van Gogh, 1889, Self, S. Remy, Whitney Museum, NYC*

- 72a) *Van Gogh, 1885, Potato Eaters, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam*  
 72b) *Van Gogh, 1887, Lark over Wheat Field, Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam*  
 72c) *Van Gogh, 1889, Self, detail, Jeu de Paume, Paris (while V details 72)*

Anyone who thought the spiritual hunger solved by picnic outings along the Impressionist Seine, would be troubled by the case of Van Gogh, which is not a private case, though all lives have that dimension. From the den of the "Potato Eaters" he took the release of broken color and went south, risking the manic "Lark from the Corn," to plunge with as bright a plumage into despair. As Hopkins, the same years, shreds the canons of utterance for urgency:

I am gall, I am heartburn. God's most deep decree  
 Bitter would have me taste; my taste was me;  
 Bones built in me, flesh filled, blood brimmed the curse.

- 73) *Van Gogh, 1889, Starry Night, Museum of Modern Art, New York*  
 73a) *Same, detail (slide only)*

Ecstasy and anguish have broken realistic depiction. Again Hopkins: "Our evening is over us; our night whelms, whelms and will end us ... ware of a world ... where selfwrung, selfstrung, sheathe- and shelterless, thoughts against thoughts in groans grind." The Trump of Doom sounds again, in the frenzy of private vision.

(Debussy, cont.)

- 74) *Picasso, 1909, Seated woman, Penrose Collection, London*  
 74a) *Same, detail*

In the first decade of this century, Cezanne's abstraction of the visible world into geometry was carried all the way in Analytical Cubism — partly, as in this Picasso, taught by what was most primitive, the African mask. This demolition and discovery still rides the Nietzschean soothsaying wave. So the Futurists ("and like young lions we go pursuing death"), with Rilke, George, Hesse's Demian, Irish Revolutionaries, and world-socialists too — hailed the superman call to the shrapnel liberation of war.

(fade Debussy)

Music: Schönberg, 1912, from *Pierrot Lunaire*, 8: Nacht, Col. M 2S 679

75) *Franz Marc, 1915-16, Tyrol, Neue Pinak, Munich (CGB '59)*

75a) *Same, detail (cf. glazed CGB '59 in video file)*

Though we are closer to that mood in Franz Marc's Tyrolean landscape from 1915, a year before he was killed in action. Seven centuries had labored at the rationally ordered realm of space, time, and cause. It was a release now, a Yea-saying, to sacrifice it on Pierrot Lunaire's altar of Heraclitean Fire. "Every angel is terrible," wrote Rilke; "yet woe is me, I sing you down, almost death-dealing birds of the soul, knowing what you are" — "Jeder Engel ist schrecklich. Und dennoch, weh mir, ansing ich euch, fast tödliche Vögel der Seele, wissend um euch." (fade Schönberg)

76) *Durand, 1849, Kindred Spirits, New York Public Library*

In these images of face and landscape, the whole pride and catastrophe of Western man beckons. How could democracy in America (1849) have done otherwise than reaffirm with the clarity of everyday enlightenment that landscape meeting ground of visionary and real, the irradiated space of a wild continent, ordained Eden for a new race of reason and heart?

77) *Ryder, 1870-90, Moonlight Marine, Metropolitan Museum, New York*

And how it would strike at those daylight Emersonian hopes, that Ryder, after Melville and the Civil War and the Gilded Age, would shut himself in a New York apartment, painting in solitude a night nature of symbolic menace. El Greco's Toledo and Goethe's Walpurgis Night win back in an American haunted by the sea.

78) *Pollock, 1952, Convergence, Albright-Knox, Buffalo*

78a) *Same, detail*

Ridiculous, in three terminal slides to deal with a global century, as labyrinthine in warring ways as a Pollock "Bateau ivre" soul-scape of drips and muscular movements, jerked off in peristaltic de-

fiance of the old arrogation to order self and world. As if, possessed from between the stars, we were breathing great gulps of Pythagorean void.

Music: Earle Brown, 1964, from *Four systems for 4 amplified cymbals*, Col. MS-7139

If this is the space we operate in, we must search (with Earle Browne in music) for other modes of operation. (fade E. Brown)

In the lunge from willed depiction to a swirl where face and landscape drown,

79) *Käthe Kollwitz, 1934, Self-Portrait, Lithograph, Philadelphia Museum*

was it only the socialists who would uphold the blatancy of the old claim, of man's responsibility for space and time? And even that programmatic hope, in the between-war throes of the liberal West, assumed in Käthe Kollwitz the age-old Roman shadowings of despair. What does it mean for face to choose between this and the abstract void? Are real leaders to be expected where the affirming image is no longer real?

80) *Mark Rothko, 1958, Brown on Plum, Franz Meyer Coll., Zurich (where the video pans in and out on this image, the slide show goes to two other Rothko's: 80a, 1961, untitled, Paca Gallery; and 80b, 1961, Number 118, Düsseldorf)*

Most modern art has taken another aim, to push to the threshold of sense what drove Wallace Stevens to slough off the images of "Sunday Morning" on the Dump:

... to eject, to pull  
The day to pieces and cry stanza my stone?  
Where was it one first heard of the truth? The the.

But what else besides the artist himself, Rothko, must go down in the transcendental reduction of that purple pool?

We do not like to hear what the history of the images makes commonplace: that art, as real, comes at a cost. "When the modes of music change," Plato says in The Republic, "the fundamental laws of the state always change with them." In the Roman empire, when spirit turned from mastered outwardness to the abstract call beyond that wavering veil, those anchorites, St. Anthony and the rest, knew what they aimed at was the end of the world. As Yeats, in a time he considered parallel:

Ah what a sweetness strayed  
Through barren Thebaid  
And by the Mareotic sea  
When that exultant Anthony  
And twice a thousand more  
Starved upon the shore  
And withered to a bag of bones.  
What had the Caesars but their thrones?