THE BATTLE OF CHANGING TIMES: PICARESQUE PARODIES FROM BRUEGEL TO GROSZ

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition. It is based, on the one hand, on visual rhetoric, visual parody, and the poetics of epideictic rhetoric; and, on the other, on the interaction between epideictic rhetoric's salient features and the Bruegelian themes of carnivalisation, the satirising of human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* as organising principles. The relationships between the above themes are chronologically traced in various disguises in pictures by representative picaresque artists from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries: i.e., in Bruegel, Steen, Hogarth, Daumier, and Grosz. Each of these picaresque artists battled with their own times, parodying the paradigmatic targets of the high mode, in both social and genre hierarchy, and in doing so revealed the complexities of the above themes at work within an ever changing context-bound rhetoricity.

KEY TERMS:

Ancient and modern debate; Bruegel (Pieter the Elder); Carnivalisation; Daumier (Honoré); Didactic pedagogics (moral instruction); Eighteenth century; Emblematics; Epideictic rhetoric; Folly; Genre hierarchy; Grosz (George); Grotesque; *Heteroglossia*; Hogarth (William); Interpretation of pictures; Irony; Laughter; Litotes; Meiosis; Modes (low mode and high mode); New Rhetoric; Nineteenth century; Paradox, Parody (visual parody); Parodic trope structure; Perchronics; Picaresque world view; Picaresque battle; Perception; Play; Pun; Rhetoricity; Satire; *Satura*; Scatology; Seventeenth century; Sixteenth century; Social hierarchy; Steen (Jan); Twentieth century; Visual rhetoric; Wit; World Upside Down *topos*.

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Preface

The examination of visual parody from the early modern- to the modernist world is an enormous field of inquiry, and a complex one, which demands selectivity, exclusions, and a specific focus. After many false starts, including writing a lengthy textbook which became more and more cumbersome and muddied in the eyes of my promoters, the area of research eventually decided upon was Bruegel's parodic legacy undertaken by representative artists working with visual parody in the picaresque tradition from the sixteenth- to the twentieth century: i.e., in pictures by Bruegel, Steen, Hogarth, Daumier, and Grosz. Further, it was decided to frame and interpret their pictures chronologically as a series of picaresque battles in changing times in which the salient features of epideictics and the organizing principles of carnivalisation, human folly, and the World Upside Down *topos* could be traced in an historical context.

In order to accommodate the identification of the emblematic saws in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (1559) (fig. 3) Appendix 1 is included for easy referencing in the text.

I am indebted to my promoters, Prof. EA Maré of UNISA and Prof. DJ van den Berg of UOFS, for their continued guidance, support, encouragement, and constructive critical input during the writing of my thesis. I would also like to thank Prof. Gerhart de Klerk and his wife Marna for helping me with seventeenth-century Dutch. I am further indebted to Marika Tucker, the subject librarian at the UNISA library, for her help in locating source material – even to the extent of while on holiday in London to look for slides and information on Jan Steen and William Hogarth. Her untiring assistance towards the end when things went wrong, and her checking and verifying of certain empirical and bibliographic details, is gratefully acknowledged and appreciated. I would also like to thank the UNISA library staff dealing with periodicals, especially the ILL staff for tracing various sources that were not available at the UNISA library. The ILL staff, I know, did their best to keep up with my demands and many requests, and for their wonderful efforts I thank them. A further word of thanks must go to the curator of the Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, California, who granted me copyright permission to reproduce Steen's *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* (1676) (fig. 46).

List of illustrations

Certain incomplete information is due to the source material being inadequate.

List of abbreviations

Analysis	*Analysis of Beauty*
D	Delteil
De triomf des Isabella.	*De triomf des Isabella. De omineganck*
Icarus' val	*Landschap, met Icarus' val*
IO	*Institutio oratoria*
Nu	*Nu descendant un escalier n° 2*
Widmung an Oskar Panizza	*Widmung an Oskar Panizza. Leichenbegängnis des Dichters Panizza*

Introduction

This study is an extension of my MA dissertation on sixteenth-century visual parody in the pictures (paintings and prints) of Pieter Bruegel the Elder.[1] In the previous text Bruegel's pictures were regarded as part and parcel of the trope structure of visual parody in a rhetorical reading of the artist's picaresque world view of his troubled *milieu*. His utilisation of the *paradoxia epidemica* trope as a means of exploring the paradoxical nature of human folly was examined in relation to his ambivalent stance toward the ideological conflicts which characterised the socio-politico-religious turbulence of northern Europe during the mid-sixteenth century.

The parameters of the previous study were limited in its monographic scope on Bruegel which allowed no opportunity to further explore the complex ramifications of visual parody after Bruegel's death. The current study widens the panorama of visual parody from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries by drawing other artists into the fray of this rather neglected field of research[2] based upon Bruegel's parodic legacy.

Lacuna

Within an open system of recent scholarship the so-called New Art History at the close of the twentieth century has allowed a mushrooming of diverse approaches to Art History to become mainstream, including "Neo-Marxism, feminism, multiculturalism, gay and lesbian theory, deep ecology, semiotics, structuralism, deconstruction, post-colonial studies, social constructionism, viewer response or reception theory, visual studies, new historicism, Lacanian Freudianism and others."[3] Significantly, none of the approaches listed – the "other" is not specified – as far as I am aware, have been very useful to the study of visual parody in Art History. The previous studies on parody by Hutcheon (1985) and Rose (1979), for example, have attempted to cover the topic of parody in the comparative arts from a post-structuralist semiotic reading of formal parody of the twentieth century. Their efforts have not been wholly successful as they leap-frogged from literature to visual art to music without forming a coherent argument for each arts discipline; and they have tended, by and large, to ignore other centuries or other possible approaches to parody, particularly non-formal

parody. Even Rose's (1993) later theory of parody tends to be heavy on theory, and being literary based, does not offer much to the visual arts or to visual parody, a topic which is not even considered in her book.

Without detracting from the importance, or lack thereof, as the case may be, of the above diverse approaches of the New Art History, or to the previous studies on parody, they have not been all that conducive to the study of visual parody. I shall therefore turn away from them for the time being and choose to approach the topic of visual parody as visual rhetoric – notwithstanding the rhetoric of the diverse approaches of the New Art History and literary parodic theory. I choose to follow rhetoric – specifically epideictic rhetoric – because a rhetorical perspective is a more fruitful way of approaching visual parody historically as it allows the art historian the opportunity to frame parodic pictures from differing centuries of Western art as examples of visual rhetoric. By treating visual parody as a visual manifestation of epideictic rhetoric, I shall not be presenting anything new – Old Rhetoric and epideictics are as old as the hills – but I will be revisioning epideictic rhetoric in order to make an original contribution to visual parody and to Bruegel's parodic legacy. I will also remind those readers suffering from historical amnesia that parody and rhetoric have a longer history and tradition than some of the current interests and theories of the New Art History, and that together parody and rhetoric may be better positioned to deal with the topic of visual parody in Bruegel and his successors – factors which have not been considered in past attempts at discussing visual parody by those interested in the topics of the New Art History previously listed.

Intention and trajectory

Having identified a lacuna in the literature of visual parody in art historical scholarship and identified the topics of visual rhetoric and epideictics as being more fruitful approaches to this study, the next important step is to make explicit my intention. I intend to frame my rhetorical approach to visual parody with the topics of visual parody, visual rhetoric, and epideictic rhetoric, and to apply this frame to interpretations of Bruegel and his parodic legacy by tracing the Bruegelian themes of the World Upside Down *topos*, the satirising of human folly, and carnivalisation, as organising principles when contextualising pictures as visual parodies by representative picaresque artists from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries – i.e., when representing my account of Bruegel, Steen, Hogarth, Daumier and Grosz in terms of the rhetoricity of their picaresque battles in changing times.

The above intention, seemingly straightforward, is deceptively simple. The interaction between epideictic rhetoric, visual rhetoric, and visual parody is complex, requiring elaboration, as do the other topics mentioned above. Since I cannot begin my investigation by assuming that my readers will all be familiar with these topics, or how I have chosen to deal with them in this study, an outline of proceedings is in order. The discussion of the complex theoretical underpinnings[4] at the start of this investigation will extend over the first three chapters in order to cover the ground of the above topics.

I shall begin my inquiry in Chapter 1 with a look at the broad picture of the area known as the New Rhetoric. From this broad field of a renewed interest in rhetoric my focus will increasingly narrow as the relevant topics framing my account are brought into clearer focus. Within the diverse scope of the New Rhetoric the field of visual rhetoric will be identified as the one most interesting for art historians. Here I shall explain how the joint perceptual and interpretative processes involved in seeing and interpreting the exegetical nature of pictures constitutes a rhetorical situation worthy of audience participation and hermeneutic interpretation.

Having established the foundations upon which visual rhetoric interacts with perceptual and interpretative processes, the focus then narrows further when considering visual parody as a form of visual rhetoric. One of the salient features of epideictic rhetoric, the topics of praise and blame, is shared with parody and its parodic trope structure. However, this instrumental understanding or formalist view of rhetoric represents only one facet of the rhetoric of parody. Another aspect, which can be regarded as far more important, involves what is sometimes in deconstruction writings referred to as "rhetoricity" – i.e., a domain or posture which could perhaps be viewed as a "deep-structure" of rhetoric present in the various historical guises of rhetoric. Representing the rhetoricity in each of the picaresque battles "fought" from Chapter 2 onwards, leads my account to consider parody in the picaresque perchrony as distinguished from other non-picaresque parodies. After introducing the reader to the perchronic hypothesis and explaining differing world views, like the contrasting world views seen in Martin van Heemskerck's engraving *Democritus en Heraclitus* (1557) (fig. 1), the salient features of epideictics again becomes important when describing the interactions between epideictics and the interests of perchronic world views upon which the rhetoricity of rhetorical conflicts are engaged: in this study, picaresque battles in changing times as forms of visual parody.

Understanding these complicated dynamics brings my account even closer to Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition as the Bruegelian themes of carnivalisation, the satirising of human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* can then be identified as the themes and organising principles which are to be traced in later picaresque artists' pictures from the seventeenth century onwards.

As the reader may not be familiar with these Bruegelian themes as the organising principles of this study, the thematic foci of carnivalisation and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* – with human folly woven into both topics – these topics will be discussed respectively in chapters 2 and 3 in relation to Bruegel as the foundation upon which his picaresque heirs were to build. Chapter 2 will deal with the notion of carnivalisation in Bruegel, beginning *in medias res* with the visual example of Bruegel's sixteenth-century battle shown in his *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (1559) (fig. 2). By following this method the immediacy of a dominant focus will be established, including centres of visual attraction, which will be strong enough to capture and hold the reader's interest throughout the discursivity of the explanation to follow. The *imago* power of this example, with its rhetorical *enargeia* presence, will not only allow heuristic answers to be drawn directly from the visual material as a demonstration of rhetorical proofs in action, but will also help to draw out the salient features of the *communitas* of carnivalisation as a thematic focus which can be used as a basis for explaining, on the one hand, the intertextuality between pictures by Bruegel and other artists, while on the other hand, serving as an entry point for visually demonstrating the theoretical tenor of Chapter 1.

Chapter 3 will extend the above account by drawing the battle lines from Bruegel's *oeuvre* as the cornerstone for later picaresque artist's battles to take place as visual parody. The second thematic focus, that of the rhetorical *locus inversus* manifested in the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* will be described in conjunction with a discussion of the high and low modes in order to show how the carnivalisation of *communitas* affects the social hierarchical structures and the attending hierarchy of genres when parodied. These two themes become the major paradigmatic target foci of picaresque visual parody and battle, not only in Bruegel's *oeuvre*, but also in the pictures of subsequent picaresque artists presented in chapters 4 to 7 – Steen, Hogarth, Daumier, and Grosz – where these thematic foci recur in different guises and representations, with diverging purposes, changed meanings and rhetoricity, according to each artist's parodic intent within the rhetoricity of a particular historical context, drawn along the battle lines of changing times and along the theoretical frame mentioned in Chapter 1, and further pursued more specifically, in the Bruegelian themes elaborated upon in chapters 2 and 3.

While the above outline and terminology may still sound unfamiliar to some readers I wish to reassure the reader that all the points made in the above trajectory will be explained in due course. Throughout this explanation I shall be using visual examples from Bruegel, his picaresque heirs, and elsewhere, as rhetorical proofs of the topics mentioned. This account is a modification of existing theories and hypothesis which have been adapted for my own unique purposes; and I will often follow a circuitous approach when

discussing them, like the peripatetic wanderings of a picaresque narrator moving discursively through Carnival.

As a means of dealing with Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition, then, I have chosen a combined chronological and thematic approach to the scope of the present study. The reasons for adopting this perspective, while not without drawbacks, provides the opportunity to view each successive parodic battle unfolding within a specific context, while at the same time allowing for an interaction between a picaresque slant to epideictic rhetoric and the threads of Bruegelian themes to shuttle the account along so that these thematic footprints of his legacy can be traced alongside rhetoricity as the basis of changing historical systems of rhetoric.

All of the picaresque artists to be discussed were involved in a different picaresque battle with their own times. Each represented battle, synonymous with visual parody, forms the kernel of each artist's battle with his own time, which can be regarded as the core which both epideictically shaped and motivated that artist's engagement with their particular time and rhetoricity.

Restricted to these picaresque artists, and to the above mentioned Bruegelian themes interacting with epideictic rhetoric and rhetoricity as a demarcated and focused area of research, this study aims to do no more than investigate this portion of Bruegel's parodic legacy and the nature of visual parody. Occasionally, non-picaresque parodies by other artists will be briefly introduced for contrasting and comparative purposes.

Throughout this planned trajectory, emphasis will be placed on answering heuristic questions, as well as on exegesis and interpretation. Pictures, as examples of visual parody, will be described and analysed in context; and the interaction of themes in various guises will be highlighted. In later chapters (4-7), where Bruegel's picaresque heirs are introduced, however, the focus of my account will shift from examining theoretical foundations to the tracing of them in a particular historical context – i.e., a specific picaresque battle in which the aforementioned topics recur in different guises and with differing rhetoricity, intentions, and meanings. In each case, the approach to a specific contextualised historical account will differ from the others, due to the fact that different picaresque battles are being fought, yet the unification of Bruegelian picaresque themes – organising principles, visual parody, and epideictics – still forms the cohesion which binds these picaresque battles to Bruegel's parodic legacy within their own context and rhetoricity.

End notes

[1] Cornew (1995a).

[2] The artists themselves have been continuously studied but rarely as visual parodists.

[3] Maré (1998b: 2); see also Heller (1997: 102-105), Carter (1992: 310).

[4] The theoretical underpinnings of rhetoric can be regarded as important for the following reason:

> Theories argue for a particular way of seeing reality. In organizing a subject matter, they render it intelligible by representing the structure of phenomena with which they deal. Theories function as instruments of understanding because they are structural representations of a domain; or rather, theories are postulations that the structure of a domain is represented by a given pattern or configuration (Weimer 1977: 5).

Chapter 1. Framing the rhetoric of visual parody, epideictic rhetoric, and perchronic world views

A renewed interest in rhetoric during the course of the twentieth century, the so-called New Rhetoric, has developed along the lines of alterations, adaptations and alternatives to the Western tradition of Classical rhetoric. The alterations have been in response to new social conditions and ideas regarding rhetoric. The adaptations for rhetoric, originally the art of public speaking, or oratory, have come about as a result of rhetoric being applied to many different cultural and scientific fields of inquiry including education, computers, linguistics, advertising, politics, religion, and the sister arts. Such adaptations have resulted in the emergence of alternative rhetorical discourses that have challenged, and continue to challenge, the ancient Greco-Roman tradition of rhetoric. As a result of the variety of alterations, adaptations and alternatives the New Rhetoric[1] cannot be described as a single school or movement. When looking at the field in which the New Rhetoric operates[2] one is struck – as in the case of the New Art History – by an open-minded approach within an open system of many discourses. Of the manifold approaches to rhetoric, each with a revived but distinct interest in rhetoric, many late twentieth-century rhetoricians have been motivated by a pragmatic interest in instrumental reason and technical control which may be described as new forms of sophism. For them, rhetoric signifies only a somewhat reduced and weakened reincarnation of rationalism wherein rhetoric replaces the old category of practical reason.

Be this as it may, I cannot say that my interest in rhetoric is the same as those of pragmatic and sophistic rhetoricians. Fortunately, the openness of the New Rhetoric to many different types of discourses, each with its own field-specific methods, allows me to develop my own alterations, adaptations and alternative to other rhetorical inquiries. The New Rhetoric permits "any line of inquiry, any field of interest, any subject matter, ... [to] be taken as a rhetoric or as a set of rhetorics";[3] its flexibility "allows rhetoric, like Alice, to grow as small or as large as you wish, depending on what kind of pill you would"[4] like to swallow. The New Rhetoric grants epideictic rhetoric an opportunity to engage in numerous "rhetorics of inquiry",[5] to inhabit "new lands",[6] to stand on new prospects and to find new resources, or to revision old ones like visual rhetoric.

In choosing the field of visual rhetoric as a topic conducive to the study of visual parody in Art History one needs to ask appropriate heuristic questions which relate to the primary function of rhetoric by "observing in any given case the available means of persuasion".[7] What does visual rhetoric entail? What are its available means of

persuasion? And how can the notion of visual rhetoric aid the study of visual parody? In what follows I shall propose answers to these questions.

Let us begin by looking at pictures and the perceptual process involved in looking. Pictures are made to be looked at[8] with all the immediacy, directness and instantaneousness of showing off their rhetorical *enargeia*[9] from the position of a perpetual now. Not only are pictures made to be seen – barring possible parodic exceptions to this rule – but they can also be interpreted within their contextual frame in which they are represented according to the viewer's perspectival view that also frames,[10] mediates,[11] and represents[12] the undertaking. The processes of perceiving and interpretation occur concurrently as an integral "perceptionalist"[13] activity:

> Seeing is not sensation with interpretation added. All seeing is dominated by aspect, that is to say, by the viewer's interests and the presentational context in which visual encounters take place. No eye is innocent. What we see depends on how and why we are looking, and we do not ever simply reflect the contents of the visual field. Seeing is not a mechanical act. It is a complexly determined relationship in which habitual expectations[14] and ideas play a major role.[15]

The complicated and enormously varied ways of attending perceiving and interpretation may differ from viewer to viewer and from one generation of viewers to the next so that it is not possible to stipulate any particular method of perception[16] which could be applied by all viewers in all ages.[17]

For example, the problematic hermeneutic and exegetic ways of interpreting Bruegel's pictures – their resistance to a definitive approach – can in itself be perceived as a form of pictorial insurrection. Bruegel seems to deliberately resist a specific political or religious stance toward the bloody conflicts that characterised the complex nature of the tumultuous sixteenth century. This is not to suggest that Bruegel's pictures are not without their slanted picaresque bias – they are; he delights in satirising human folly – but rather, his world view eschews an overt commitment to a definite ideological inclination, whether of a political, cultural, or religious nature.

The problem of interpreting the paradoxical nature of Bruegel's pictures, however, is not unique to Bruegel: the probing of semantic and interpretation theories in the latter half of the twentieth century has reached a similar conclusion regarding differing interpretations of a particular picture; none of which can be regarded as definitive in any way, either of a particular picture, or of its interpretation. Within the open system of viewing and interpreting pictures now widely practised in Art History, including variable and unstable formulations, it would be extreme folly for any practitioner to suppose that their efforts were in any way a privileged mode of seeing, writing,[18] or interpretation. On the point of parodic interpretation alone there may be several readings of a parodic picture which could draw different conclusions from the same source material simply because each

interpretative discourse has been framed, or coloured, by a different set of field-specific methods, or because they have been approached from another point of view.[19] This does not mean that one approach is right and another is wrong. All valid contextual interpretations, framed by differing perspectives, can contribute towards an understanding of a particular picture depending on the strength or weakness of the argument involved, or the rhetorical ability of the interpreter to convince an audience of readers to whom his/her text is addressed.

The precariousness of an interpreter's interpretation, however, is compounded by the fact that other readers may wish to disagree with a particular interpretation on several points. Such critics may even be hostile, or avert, to an allegiance to a particular point of view or interpretation; and the same kind of hostility or aversion could also extend to an artist's own world view. Although entitled to agree to disagree – a situation which would seem to be all part of the course – the value of diverging views and interpretations ought to remain mutually respected, and, far from being regarded in a negative light ought to enrich our understanding[20] of a particular artist's *oeuvre* and the manner in which it could be framed, viewed, and interpreted. For only in this manner, I suggest, can new ground be broken, and greater insight be gleaned from a diverse number of views and interpretations.

While disagreements persist among individual viewers and interpreters, among collective theoretical groupings, and with the historical change in the culture, tradition, language, vocabulary, terminology, aesthetics, philosophy, and the theory of interpretation, the aim of perception and interpretation processes nevertheless remains hermeneutical and exegetical,[21] as two of the primary goals of interpretation which can generally speaking be defined as the discovery, recovery, and revisioning of the meaning of a picture in context, as it can be represented in a written text. Throughout this process of revisioning and representation there is an awareness of rhetoricity or rhetorical intentionality as a constant interaction between "contextual" or "situational" exigencies and "textual" or "constructive" constraints, between ideological conditions and the persuasive presentation of ideological convictions, both at the level of making and the reception of pictures as representations within an historical context.

The adoption of such framed viewings, interpretations, and representations implies, among other things, a contractual responsibility of the exegete as a "voice"[22] speaking on behalf of a picture towards, not only the artist and his/her picture, but also towards other critical readers of his/her representational text about an artist's represented picture as the viewer-turned-writer[23] proceeds to persuade others, by means of rhetoric, of what they themselves have seen in a picture. The various relationships just described between the viewer of an artist's

picture and that of a viewer-turned-writer of a text written for other critical readers constitutes a rhetorical relationship between the various parties involved in the process of textual persuasion and rhetoricity. This is so because a rhetorical "discourse community"[24] is involved: an artist's picture represents both a persuasive appeal to its audience of viewers – whether an immediate audience of first addressees or a mediated audience of subsequent generations of perceivers – as well as an artist's rhetorical disposition when engaged in the making and representing of rhetorical intentionality and the persuasive presentation of ideological convictions; while viewers contribute the "beholder's share"[25] by being required to participate and interact with pictures from their own representative positions. The viewer, as an informed interpreter, writing for other readers, engages in being a present exegete representing a historical account by completing the rhetorical basis of the hermeneutic and exegetic enterprise: explaining an artist's intention and a slice of the possible meaning of a picture, depending on their perspective, i.e., what the viewer-turned-writer has chosen to represent in a historical account from the framed point of view of an interpreter.

The semantic charge given to viewers as perceivers and interpreters, framed by a perspectival view, functions on each of the various levels of framed readings of a picture. The first level of perceptual reading, the descriptive, involves the viewer-turned-writer describing in words – "placing the perceived into a language"[26] – what he/she sees in a picture.[27] Description[28] is an important part of the process of interpretation and representation for at least four reasons relating to perception and to visual rhetoric: (1) descriptions make it possible for the viewer to not only identify the various objects represented in a picture, but (2) descriptions can also help the viewer to structure perception when seeking an understanding of the way in which individual objects in a picture are related to other objects and to the compositional structure of a picture as a whole.[29] (3) More importantly, perhaps, descriptions of what can be perceived reveal the nature of the viewer's ability not only to see a picture, but also to express in words and interpret what can be seen, for descriptions can be seen as the first step in a close analysis of a picture in context according to a viewer-turned-writer's representation of a historical context. (4) Description can therefore be regarded as a method of speaking about things that can be observed. The diction which the viewer uses to describe what he/she perceives, interprets, and represents, also reveals the viewer's framing view as well as his/her particular rhetorical canon, as their choice of words and description of visual details represents the viewer's selective focus of attention while interpreting a picture. Just as pictorial representation cannot reproduce the totality of nature for an artist, no viewing can represent the totality of what can be seen or described in a picture.[30] What is said in a writer's description is perhaps as important as what remains unsaid for later textual

criticism to criticise; and language, though unable to substitute itself for an image – a picture being worth a thousand words – nevertheless remains indispensable in the act of perceiving and interpretation, for words are able to speak on an image's behalf, to represent it, to mediate between the viewer and the picture, and between the viewer-as-interpreter representing a historical account and other readers, albeit in a discourse framed by a perspectival view using only selective details and certain contextualised information.

The four reasons mentioned above reveal the importance of rhetorical description in any interpretation of a picture. For this reason description will be regarded as an important component of this study whenever pictures are described in later chapters. Descriptions, however, cannot be seen in isolation from the rest of the perceptual and interpretative processes. Building on the importance of rhetorical description for viewing and interpretation, a case for other levels of reading pictures can be made. Included among the articulate number of relations between the picture and the viewer, pictures can, at a semantic level become the reading of a pictorial text, where the configuration of meaning in a pictorial text is given to be mentally interpreted. The semantics of a pictorial text may, in turn – in the case of sixteenth- to early eighteenth-century pictures – be read emblematically on a further thematic level. These levels of reading can be taken further to a social level, including the levels of rhetoricity and context. Each level of reading represents a narrower or wider frame of reading inclusive of rhetorical intentionality and visual representation.

To summarise the above position, a rhetoric of viewing shows how pictures can be regarded as a representative visual form of epideictic rhetoric[31] because, like other forms of rhetoric, pictures, as vehicles of visual communication, persuade their audience of their particular rhetorical exegesis and point of view, so that their audience can, in turn, discover their underlying hermeneutical and exegetical semantics[32] – despite Mitchell's (1996: 82) recent claim to the contrary that "What pictures want in the last instance, then, is simply to be asked what they want, with the understanding that the answer may well be, nothing at all."

One may regard the invention of pictures by artists and the perceptual and interpretative processes by viewers-turned-writers, as well as the readers of such texts, as the rhetors and audiences involved in the creation of a rhetorical situation from which different rhetorical discourses involving exegesis and hermeneutics may arise. For this reason one may regard the processes of the perception of pictures and their interpretation as the rhetorical domain of visual rhetoric. The above explanation, I think, answers the first heuristic question asked at the beginning of the chapter. We now need to ask: how can the notion of visual rhetoric aid the study of visual

parody? Before an answer can be given to this question we first need to understand something more about epideictic rhetoric.

Pictures can, not only be seen as a part of visual rhetoric, but they also conform to the poetic form of rhetoric, epideictics,[33] along the lines set out by Aristotle (1991b: 104-110) in his *Rhetoric*, 4.1.9, 1366a-1368a. Epideictic rhetoric, according to the Aristotelian view, is the art of *display* and its audience are public spectators – pictures are *exhibited* in order to be seen in the public domain, and, by analogy, pictures *show* their viewers what can be seen according to what and how they represent an artist's world view. Extending the idea of a rhetoric of display further, epideictic rhetoric, as a poetic visual rhetoric, persuades its viewers of its arguments and *efficacité* by displaying the visual evidence of their *enargeia*[34] to the eye of the beholder. The visual clues of a pictorial offer, and its vividness or *enargeia* to the eye of the beholder, constitute rhetorical "proofs"[35] of a picture's pictorial persuasiveness which can be verified whenever the details in a composition, or its structure as a whole, are seen during the exegetical processes of perceiving and interpreting a picture as visual rhetoric.

While these salient features of epideictic rhetoric can be used to describe the poetic traits of visual rhetoric, they can also be used to account for visual parody. However, in the case of visual parody another salient feature of epideictics – that of the topic of praise and blame – also links the two fields to each other. Being able to recognise this overlap between the poetics of epideictic rhetoric as visual rhetoric and the theory of parodic rhetoric, in turn, provides the necessary rhetorical turn framing a theoretical view – "theory laden seeing"[36] – whereby a poetics of parodic visual rhetoric can, not only be recognised and explained in terms of its structure and ontogeny, but also be shown to function and operate whenever a viewer chooses this framed perspective for perceiving and interpreting a picture as visual parody. The reciprocal, of course, also applies to artists who choose to make pictures as visual parodies.

The common link between epideictic rhetoric and the rhetoric of parody, then, can be explained as follows: epideictic rhetoric, from the framing views of both the representations of the artist-as-maker and the viewer-as-interpreter, deals with the topics of praise and blame and can be regarded as a poetic rhetoric which views, reviews, and in the case of the genre of parody, represents the poetic terrain of epideictic rhetoric in all its showing, displaying and exhibiting of topics which both celebrate and laud on the one hand *and* ridicule and accuse on the other.

Parody, however, is both a genre *and* a tropism. The tropism of parody has a paradoxical nature, consisting of two contradictory meanings. On the one hand, the trope expresses such ideas as 'beside,' 'alongside,' 'from the side of,' 'closeness,' 'nearness,' 'consonance' and 'derivation.' On the other, it implies the contrary ideas of 'transgression,' 'counter,' 'opposition,' 'difference' and 'against'.[37] This quilleted meaning, due to its double root, suggests both an accord or intimacy, as well as a contrasting discord or estrangement. Its mixed motives are an epideictic blend of praise and blame, admiration and criticism, affirmation and negation, apparent empathy with and distance from, its paradigmatic target. A parody's modified perspective of incongruity is to play[38] the game[39] of revealing the extent to which its paradigmatic targets can be used in a way unlike their original intent and hence to show the laughter associated with epideictic ridicule, humour and mockery for, *and* against, a paradigmatic target, a topic to be discussed further in Chapter 3. Parody's reflexive discourse thus implies a dependent and an independent relationship to its object: epideictically, it pays homage while at the same time paying it a "backhanded compliment".[40]

Parody, however, is not a singular trope, but always occurs as a complex set of figural thinking involving other tropisms in what is known as a trope structure. The viewer of a parodic picture, in participating in the complex rhetorical web framing and representing the rhetoric of parody, is encouraged to think tropically and to apply "the subtle game of tropes"[41] which jointly form a parodic trope structure, to the rhetorical situation of parodic interpretation. The interplay between parody and other tropes form a network of associations in an infinite number of interactive relations with a parodic pictorial text. Any trope within the parodic trope structure, singularly, or in combination with others, can act during a parodic interpretation as a catalyst which can cause a chain reaction bringing the other tropes into the arena of interpreting, if applicable.

In saying that tropic thinking can be regarded as an essential part of the rhetoric of a parodic interpretation, and that it can also be regarded as essential for viewing parody as a form of epideictic rhetoric, I might be accused of confusing tropism and rhetoric, and of trivialising rhetoric's scholarly potential for rhetoricity by even mentioning the word tropology, by making a formalist reduction of rhetoric to rhetorical tropes.[42] Least I be so accused, let me reassure my readers that this is *not* the case, and let me make my position *very clear*: tropisms, as figures of thought, *are* a part of rhetoric, and *not* vice versa. The two topics, although often interactive, must not to be confused. By identifying the rhetorical trope structure of visual parody *in no way* implies a formalist reduction of rhetoric to rhetorical tropes; it merely points out to the interpreter who seeks to place a visual parody

in a representative contextual exigency which tropisms may likely be operative within the textual and rhetorical constraints of a given parody. This sole purpose is the reason for mentioning tropisms at all – so that when the reader encounters their names in subsequent chapters of this study they will already be informed about their nature, purpose, and tropic connection to the parodic trope structure of parody as applied in context and to rhetoricity.

The interaction between a parodic trope structure and a specific context and its rhetoricity will assist in interpreting a picture's meaning. Moreover, each picture's meaning will not be the same as another due to the fact that each rhetorical situation is different – including matters of themes, topics, style, representation, intention, context and rhetoricity – and the uses of a parodic trope structure will also differ accordingly depending on a parodist's application of the above topics which are chosen to best suit his/her strategy and purpose. Keeping these factors in mind, the description of parody and its trope structure can hardly be seen as formally reducing rhetoric to mere tropism, or that a parody's trope structure dictates how tropes will be utilised in all cases of visual parody.

Having digressed to make the point about parody's trope structure very clear to the reader, we may circuitously return to an account of a parodic trope structure. Some of the more important individual tropes involved in the parodic trope structure used in this study follow. They are by no means exhaustive; and they serve not only as complements to the tropic turn of parody itself within a parodic trope structure, but also as tropic aids assisting the semantic level of interpreting the representation of the contextual rhetoricity of the persuasive presentation of ideological convictions in visual rhetoric and visual parody in a given picture as a part of a larger historical context.

The first tropism to be mentioned is that of paradox, which informs parody's own paradoxical and contradictory nature. The nature of the paradox trope can be described as follows: a paradox could be said to be a deliberate fallacious tropic argument, deceptive of its form and belying in appearances. It is an apparent self-contradictory or even absurd argument, which, on closer inspection, contains a truism that not only reconciles conflicting opposites, but ultimately makes good sense as well. Paradoxes are therefore arguments contrary to received opinion[43] – having the same double root as the word parody – wherein an evidently self-contradictory argument could nonetheless be expressive of a logical absurdity, a behavioural riddle, or any other paradoxical situation,

action, idea, or puzzle, which is inexplicably inconsistent or unresolved. Such paradoxical arguments run counter

to an audience's expectations:

> In any paradoxical argument there is a central pivot of equivocation upon which two arguments (logically
> unconnected) meet and turn. And a paradoxical argument proceeds, not by deduction, but by a series of such
> pivots. ... A logical argument is deduced or drawn out from its first principles because it is implicitly contained in
> its first principles; it can be drawn out to great length in exposition, but in a conclusion it can, (with equal validity)
> be telescoped. But there are no first principles in a paradoxical argument. Instead, there are a number of
> equivocations which are connected in a circuit. And a circuit cannot be telescoped; it cannot even be shortened
> without becoming something other than what it was before. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the
> paradoxist does not attempt a final summary of what he has said.[44]

In a sense, paradoxes can be seen as rhetorical arguments that either have no answer or else have an ambiguous

answer. Hence, paradoxes are never an isolated trope, but are synecdochically a part of a trope structure and can

be related to other tropes such as antithesis, ambiguity, antinomy, the oxymoron, litotes, irony, and parody.

Paradoxes have, metaphorically speaking, a kinship with parodies. Both tease themselves through playing: where

parody plays in order to transgress the fabric of tradition, there paradoxes are also at play. The play of epideictic

rhetoric's praise and blame, as part of its critical performative nature, includes paradox with parody. As a dish

that "is a feast of strange opinion",[45] paradoxes contain dilemmas as diverse as the number of paradigmatic targets

which could be parodied. The complete classification of the number of possible paradox-types is therefore as

impossible to compile as are the number of paradigmatic targets which could be parodied – see further chapters 2

and 3. As in the case of parody, where the interpretative demand for the relation between alluder to what was

alluded to forms an important communicative path between the parodier, parody, and a parodic interpretation, so

too with witty paradoxes, such as Bruegel's use of the *paradoxia epidemica* in the sixteenth-century, where a

similar link between the paradoxist, the paradox, and the interpreter's tropic appreciation of a paradox's irony

becomes an integral part of rhetorical intentionality.

Irony, the second tropism to be described, may be regarded as a major rhetorical strategy developed by the genre

of parody as the effect of irony, like parody itself, is not only an inversion of, but also is dependant on, the

features of its context and rhetoricity – there being a close connection between parody and irony. Like parody, an

ironic statement has an ambiguous character: showing one face (its surface meaning) while hiding another (its

deeper meaning). Whenever irony is used its pretence and deception risk, at one extreme, its intentions being

misunderstood or misinterpreted. And at the other extreme, the audience may even miss the irony altogether.[46]

This gamble also applies to a parodic interpretation where the viewer of a visual parody is at once a participant

and an interpreter. At once deceived by the parodier's ironic surface meaning, another part of the implied

audience of a parody "catches the hidden sense and laughs with the deceiver at the expense of the deceived."[47] In order to avoid being deceived and to appreciate the irony of pretence and deception, the implied audience of a parody needs to adjust his/her recovery skills to the peculiar and particular *région du sens de signifié* wherein the visual partnership between the parodist, the textual parody, and the viewer, can, not only meet but can also be interpreted, understood and enjoyed as a parody.

The effectiveness of rhetorical tropes such as irony and parody thus "always depends on the audience's ability to perceive the difference between the substitute and the substituted way of expression."[48] As with other rhetorical figures of thought, wherein the recipient is brought to the knowledge of the sender's intentions, it is important to note that a parodic or ironic interpretation of a picture is linked to a learned epistemological understanding: knowing, knower, and known, shape one another within a rhetorical situation. This learned epistemological process is also applicable to other tropes in the parodic trope structure and to the manifestations of wit attending the rhetorical frame of parody. The viewer, as addressee, should know the contextual circumstances underlying the joke or irony, otherwise the wit, no matter how sparklingly and cunning, will go unnoticed.

Irony, of course, hardly ever dissembles openly or honestly. Its initial concealment, rather than initial disclosure, is all part of irony's pretence and deception, made all the more tricky and cunning by the manifold ways in which irony can be represented. Abrams (1981: 89-92), for example, points out several types of irony, including structural irony (a sustained irony), stable/unstable irony (from a fixed/unfixed position), invective (denunciation by the use of derogatory remarks), sarcasm, Socratic irony (under the pose of ignorance, wisdom seems "foolish" and unknowable), dramatic irony (in a given situation) and "cosmic irony" (or the "irony of fate"). These types of irony, although mentioned by a literary critic, can nevertheless also be found among the other sister arts as figures of thought; but the list is probably incomplete. As a set of irony-types they are a part of the trope structure of parody and can become recognised while analysing the rhetoricity of a parodic interpretation of a picture in context.

Litotes, as a type of irony, holds a special place among the tropes found in a parodic trope structure. As a figure of thought which uses understatement, usually as a negative assertion for ironic emphasis, litotes paradoxically persuades by dissuading: for example, the expression "not bad" could actually mean "very good". The litotic trope pretends to deny, or negate, doing what it then proceeds not to do, hence its ironic stance.

Meiosis, another kind of irony, is a Greek term meaning "lessening". It is a trope which contains an understatement for emphasis, often used either sarcastically or euphemistically for "describing something very spectacular or impressive as 'rather good', or words to that effect",[49] hence its irony. Parodies capitalise on the irony of meiosis because they can deliberately turn their target paradigms into understatements by undermining the form, the represented content, the rhetoricity, or the meaning of a target paradigm. Knowledge of the workings of irony, litotes, and meiosis can heighten an understanding of a contextualised interpretation of a parodist's rhetorical intentionality.

Related to meiotic irony is the playfulness of the pun[50] trope that also reinvents its target paradigms. Puns are usually thought of as word play – however, visual puns also exist as image-play. As a play on words, or a play on images, puns are ambiguous orthographic systems which can be regarded as semantically syllepsistic because they require "the simultaneous perception of two different meanings within the same word [or a comparison between two different images with the same form], contextual and intertextual."[51] Puns are often playful, ironic, humorous, paradoxical and ambiguous, and may contain the tropic or schematic elements of homonyms, homophones, homographs, or paronyms.

Puns admonish – epideictically blame – while playing: their nature resembles the nature of parody which also epideictically admonishes and plays with its paradigmatic targets. The pun can therefore be seen to fit in with a parodic trope structure because of their similar natures and functions. Puns play, subvert, overturn, revision, reinvent and transform conventions, as do parodies. Puns are thus adroit rhetorical turns which can be thought of as the "picaresque heroes" of words and images, an impish Robin Goodfellow with many fingers in several pies by which to epideictically riddle and ridicule an audience's expectations and, perhaps, unexpectedly, even to throw a few pies!

Beside parody's tropisms of puns and paradox is the oxymoron trope. A verbal oxymoron usually zegumates two terms together which ordinarily would be contradictory. As a visual counterpart, a visual oxymoron would yoke together two ideas, subjects, or images, which ordinarily would be contradictory, leading to parody and paradox.

What the above rhetorical tropisms of a parodic trope structure demonstrate is the parodist's wit or intellectual play. Wit is as old as parody. It involves understanding, intelligence, and good taste, keenness of perception and "the ability to perceive and express in an ingeniously humorous manner the relationship or similarity between two seemingly incongruous or disparate things."[52] Wit therefore is an essential part of a parodic trope structure

because it is by means of wit that the skilful demonstration of the other tropes mentioned above are epideictically displayed.

During its heyday in the sixteenth century wit was recognised among Renaissance intellectuals as a commonplace faculty of the mind. The epideictic display of wit revealed the dexterity of a wit as an adroit genius whose *capriccio* of teasing wit and inventions was particularly enjoyed by the sixteenth-century Mannerists who regarded wit as serious thinking often expressed in a playful way (*serio-ludere*). Such wit was intended to produce laughter, essential also for parody. But its most extensive use was to be found in the *dilemma* of the *paradoxia epidemica* which contained macronic wit, the kind of wit demonstrated in puns, derihews, conundrums, calembours, and other parodic trope structures. Often the wit of the *paradoxia epidemica* was designed to incite its audience's wonder; the paradox dazzled "by its mental gymnastics, by its manipulation, even prestidigitation, of ideas, true or false."[53]

Unravelling the wit of the *paradoxia epidemica* trope in Bruegel, for example, requires a perspicacious interpretation of his pictures along with an awareness that although his vivid images are strikingly visual their possible meanings are deliberately not all that perspicuous to interpretations. A parodic interpretation of Bruegel's pictures and his use of the *paradoxia epidemica*, reveals the convolutions of his learnedness and intellectual wit,[54] which, being multifaceted in approach, and represented in diverse ways, makes a parodic interpretation of his works endlessly fascinating and interesting, particularly in the current light of an open system of interpretation. Bruegel's themes are interactively dense: playful among themselves and between pictures across the spectrum of his *oeuvre*, as well as between himself and other artists and authors, traditions, emblematics, visual rhetoric, and the complex set of conflicting sixteenth-century ideas, including those of ancient, medieval, vernacular, Italian and northern humanist, reformational, and Mannerist. At the same time, Bruegel's themes are fluid enough to warrant more than one reading: possibilities lead to other possibilities of exploration in Bruegel, while the central semantic core of his pictures, because of his parodic use of the Renaissance trope of the *paradoxia epidemica*, remains as elusive as ever, almost resisting definitive readings and interpretations. This will become apparent to readers of the previous study and clearer to readers of chapters 2 and 3.

Although the era of Renaissance wit has passed, wit still remains a tropism of the parodic trope structure, for Bruegel's parodic legacy is strewn with visual wits with a talent to match the master. Wit, then, personifies a

wit's cunning: for example, a picaresque wit is someone who keeps his/her wits about him/her, while satirising by means of wit, the half-wits and "wit nits" of human folly. For wit, as a "kind of intellectual play"[55] and conceit, both entertains an intelligent audience and invites them to become accomplished accomplices in the very games of wit and tropic thought involved in the representation of the rhetoric of visual parody in context.

Having described the rhetorical trope structure of parody it can be said that this trope structure can be found in various nuances in most visual parodies. However, it again needs to be stressed that knowing the tropisms involved in a parodic trope structure in no way reduces rhetoric to rhetorical tropes. Tropic knowledge and figural thinking merely enhances an understanding of the rhetorical intentionality of the persuasive presentation of ideological convictions within the framework of a parody's representational contextual exigency and textual constraints, examples of which will be identified in later chapters. The recognition of the trope structure of parody in general, and its engagement with specific instances of representational rhetorical intentionality in the presentation of ideological convictions discussed in a historical context, not only strengthens the case for a rhetoric of visual parody but also naturally leads to the next heuristic question to be asked and answered: how does the visual parody found in Bruegel and his heirs distinguish itself from examples of other kinds of visual parody?

To answer this heuristic question we need to remind ourselves that pictures not only represent "a real or fictional object, being, situation or event by showing, describing or signifying it", but that, at the same time, the "visual aspects of an object's appearance and its representation in a representational [picture] are congruent."[56] What this means is that what is represented in a picture's composition is inclusive of its presentation, not merely for its formal elements and its reductive or amplificative relationships, but also its creative context and rhetorical canon – including the topics of style, rhetorical inventiveness and the representation of a rhetorical situation – as well as ideological convictions – including rhetoricity, the rhetorical persuasiveness of figures of thought and intentionality – and the rhetorical perspective of the artist as well: "all thought is representation in that it is grounded"[57] in stylistic presentation and representation. Taken collectively, then, the play of representation, presentation, composition, style, communication, intention, and thought – topics inclusive to all pictures and to visual rhetoric and visual parodies – including tropic thinking – can also be interpreted as a pictorial order expressing the viewpoint of the artist and the manner in which such visual presentations represent what can rhetorically be "perceived, experienced, expressed, understood, interpreted and valued in the culture of its

origin."[58] Keeping these factors in mind, the answer to the heuristic question asked at the end of the previous paragraph can be found when one looks at perchronic world views as a set of ideological convictions, values and beliefs which distinguish Bruegel's position, the picaresque world view, from other non-picaresque world-views.

Perchronic world views

> may be defined as global constellations of committed and communally held positions about fundamental life-and-death issues such as ontic order, human nature, societal systems and historical meaning. World view positions constrain rhetorical situations in this global sense, framing and thematically focalizing the separate encounters between artists/spectators and the persuasive power of images. In the case of painting one can describe this pictorial power as the imaginary potentialisation of the art of iconic augmentation – the rhetorical *enargeia* of pictures in vividly interpreting schematic world-views and, in this pictorial manner, shaping reality into the projected contours.[59]

Van den Berg (1984-1997)[60] has adapted Seerveld's (1980a-1993)[61] "cartographic methodology" for mapping "typiconic" traditions in the visual arts.[62] The following three "cartographic co-ordinates as *échafaudage* (scaffolding)"[63] underpin the perchronic hypothesis:

> Under changing diachronic conditions, the rudimentary ideological positions implicit in a limited number of typical world views recur in various historical periods. At any juncture in the "diachrony"[64] of art history a variety of specific interactions transpires between the "perchrony"[65] of traditional world view types (including intermeshing dialogues between these recurrent positions) and the "synchrony"[66] of alternative life-styles operative in the historical period.[67]

Distinct from the cultural dynamics in the synchrony of alternate historical periods and the diachrony of significant historical changes, "perchronic neighbourhoods" refer to typical environments of recurrent world views and their historical trajectories as continuous or perennial traditions in specific cultural areas – "for example, 'typiconic' formats in the case of visual art, and typical collective actions, dispositional stances or ontological patterns in the case of politics, ethics or philosophy."[68] The term "typiconic format", approximating Bakhtin's chronotopic category,[69]

> refers to how the artist frames his or her artistic production to be imaginatively received. ... [T]he typiconic format gives artwork [pictures] focus, like specially filtered eye glasses, to configure the playing field on which and in which things happen, are depicted, heard, habituated, followed, and then presented by the artist. ... [It] is an imaginative *a priori* which gives a specific cast a typical cast, to an artist's work.[70]

What the various perchronic world views show is that each tradition espouses an historically enduring world view which can be regarded as the point of view from which each tradition champions a whole framework of particular beliefs and ideological convictions concerning the key normative issues in the terrain of ontic order, human nature, societal system, and the meaning of history in a way which reveals diverse reactions to the world and how it may be represented. Martin van Heemskerck's engraving *Democritus en Heraclitus* (1557) (fig. 1) is a good visual example of demonstrating two distinct reactions to the world. The print shows Herakleitos' tragic tears

and Democritus' comic laughter as opposing, respectively, heroic and materialist reactions to the sorry state of the world.[71] The Heraclitian view (the heroic perchrony) and the Democritian view (the picaresque perchrony) are but two ways of responding to, and viewing, the world. They may, however, be used to illustrate, as it were, the co-existence of two perchronic world views jointly existing in the world at the same time.

What, then, are the various perchronic world views? Seerveld (1993: 61-62) briefly sketches[72] the perchronic typiconic formats[73] as follows:

a *"mystical*" typiconic format whose preoccupied slant moves to transcend the visible, tending to hover tremulously beyond our ken, prone to theosophic and anthroposophic eurythmic incandescence [El Greco, Fuseli, Brancusi, Kandinsky, Chagal, De Branding];

an *"heroic*" type focuses on titanic struggle against attractive evil, a daemonic superhumanity monumentally in tension with the ravishing erotic, where excess is respected [Michelangelo, Rubens, Delacroix, Beckmann, Pollock];

a *"picaresque"* format ... where the vitality of what is naturally lusty and rough-hewn is celebrated, where the wry, the incongruous, the bawdy comic, is real and appreciated [Hogarth, Daumier, Miró, Lichenstein];

a *"scenic"* type quietly spreads out the horizontal world with meticulous wonder and simplicity, and joys in the panoramic stretch of land [Canaletto, Guardi, Diebenkorn];[74]

an *"idyllic"* typiconic format values some unspoiled perfection next to or within a carefully observed natural landscape, foil to the innocence [Leonardo, Giogione, Claude Lorraine, Watteau, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Constable, Thomas Cole, a format practically canonized in the happy-ending twist by the Hollywood studios for films from 1933-1945];

a *"paradigmatic"* ["schematicist"][75] *"typus"* holds out for compositional restraint, a world of utterly still completion, unchanging paradigms of order [Raphael, Vermeer, Chardin, Cézanne, Braque, Chirico, Senggih];

the *"hedonic"* ["erotic"] type revels in sensuous richness, lush curves of pleasure; the glorious erotic overpowers human task [Correggio, Titian, Boucher, Ingres, Bougereau, Renoir, Klimt];

a typiconic format called *"troubled cosmic"* ["broken cosmic"], where awareness of unresolved evil needing reconciliation sets the parameters; an unidealized normality is disturbingly deep, and misery as a surd is touched by glimpses of joy [Rembrandt, late Goya, Manet, Van Gogh, Barlach, Rouault] ... .

Admittedly, Seerveld's sketch is somewhat rough and roughshod; it attempts to describe a perchronic tradition in a sentence or two, not always successfully. His mention of the "theosophic" in his description of the "mystical" tradition, for instance, may be an insult to El Greco, if not some of the other "mystical" artists mentioned. Despite its shortcomings, however, Seerveld's sketch nevertheless attempts to describe how each perchronic world view differs from neighbouring traditions. Perhaps, a better way to distinguish between neighbouring perchronic world views is in the following table:

	'mystic'	'heroic'	'picaresque'[76]	'scenic'	'schematic'	'idyllic'	'erotic'	'troubled cosmic'
Renaissance/ Mannerism		Michelangelo	Bruegel		Arcimboldo Aersten Raphael	Leonardo	Titian	
Baroque		Rubens Le Brun	Steen	D. van Alsloot				Rembrandt
Rococo			Hogarth					
Neoclassical		David			Ingres	Reynolds		
Romantic	Blake	Delacroix						
Realism/ Impressionism		Courbet	Philipon Daumier					Manet
Post-Impressionism					Cézanne			Van Gogh
Symbolism							Ensor	
Cubism		Picasso		Gleizes Léger				
Futurism		Boccioni Marinetti		Carra				
Pittura Metafisica				De Chirico				
Dadaism	Huelsenbeck		Grosz Dix		Duchamp		Picabia	

Table 1. Perchronic world views of some artists mentioned in this study, with the picaresque world view shaded.

Examining Bruegel's parodic legacy in terms of Table 1 requires being able to focus on the picaresque world view (shaded) and, at times, to engage in an interaction between the various other typiconic formats, and being able to look at perchronic traditions through the eyes/spectacles of neighbouring traditions, each governed by its own peculiar commitments, in order that the parodies of picaresque and non-picaresque perchronies can be compared and contrasted.

Such rhetorical acts of describing and proscribing are already inclined towards a particular perchronic world view being value-laden, ideologically conditioned, and possessing the potential for conflict and rhetoricity. Although accompanied by certain prejudices and bias, value-laden world view frames both represent and enframe all rhetorical discourses and lie at the core of both the critical enterprise and effective rhetoric. As viewers "progressively become more involved in the rhetorical effects of particular [pictures], the operations of the power of *imago* (whether subtle and indirect, or affirming and challenging) will eventually confront them with their own ultimate commitments to the normative images they have of themselves, of others, of society, of history, and of their gods."[77] Hence, as far as my own parodic interpretations are concerned, I shall declare at the outset of this study my allegiance to the picaresque world view, as this perchronic tradition is not only that of Bruegel and his heirs, but also is the true home of visual parody – although visual parody is definitely not confined to this perchronic world view only.[78]

What is crucial to a rhetorical typology, then, is the willingness of perchronic personae projected for artists and viewers to share their representative insights and rhetorical experiences of the imaginary worlds[79] of pictures and the way they are represented. Viewers, as exegetic interpreters, are participants in the imaginary world of pictures which are "situated in real but dated worlds where the persuasive power of [a picture] is to be assessed and appropriated"[80] by means of a framed world view and by the application of a perspective which requires an appropriate response[81] to a picture, and an evaluation of its persuasive power represented in words.

The persuasive power of a typiconic format can result in deliberate reactions or rhetorical "moves"[82] by artists or viewers alike, including "critical assessments and [eliciting] committed responses from assenting or dissenting audiences."[83] Assertion can take the represented forms of appreciation, appropriation, motivation, direction, reworking, revisioning, and sensitivity; while dissension can take the opposite forms of insensitivity, blind-spots,[84] incomprehension, a partial or biased view, and even animosity towards neighbouring[85] perchronic world views. Like the "war of currents and countercurrents and eddies of forces busy interacting, and confronting one another" in a given historical period and involving rhetoricity, the "war" between "dissenting" perchronic world views and differing ideological convictions can equally be "bloody because human allegiances are at stake."[86] The war of neighbouring world views can be seen as a battle of wills, or a clash of values and beliefs. Such a battle could exist between individuals holding antagonistic views over a particular issue, or between an individual and opposing socio-cultural values where a battle between styles or ways of representation are involved. Parody could do battle with many different paradigmatic targets, and the rhetorical situation of each battle of wills will most definitely take on a different colouring in each perchronic world view. Like the concept of revolution,[87] sometimes battle's alley, Seerveld and his colleagues have shown that a tentative distinctiveness of "revolutions" involving perchronic world views can be worked out which could include a militaristic "permanent revolution" for the "heroic" world view, a counter-revolutionary restoration one for the "schematic" world view, an elective/reprobative promissory revolution for the "idyllic" world view, a benign "armchair" revolution for the "mystic" world view, an anarchist position for the "hedonist/erotic" world view, and an insurrectionist revolution for the "picaresque" world view. There is no reason why the same cannot be said of the term "battle", which is by no means confined to the "heroic" world view of bravery, courage, and heroism. A picaresque world view of a battle, included in the title of this study, might embrace cowardliness or the mock-heroic, both parodies of heroism; it could show the picaresque insurgent rising to an occasion in active revolt with satire as a comic weapon,[88] or entering into the fray of a socio-cultural or a political or a-religious brawl as a rebel rushing in in

open resistance to an established authority, or using parody as a tactical weapon, with tropic bows and arrows set against a particular paradigmatic target, as described in Chapter 3. Incipient rebellion on the part of a picaresque artist, like the Wild Man mentioned in Chapter 2, could use the picaresque battle tone of a malicious spitfire as a battle strategy in confronting a perceived enemy, or use the cunning and wit of a picaresque rogue[89] to trick, deflate, or deceive, the "superiority" of an antagonist's position. The energy drawn from lowly origins and earthy values can be seen as the strength from which the picaresque world view draws in its confrontations, brawlings, carousing, rebel rousing, fighting, quarrellings, skirmishes, satires, and parodies, with opposing world views and their religious, cultural, ideological, or socio-political constructs as paradigmatic targets of picaresque parody.

Bruegel's picaresque battle in the sixteenth century, outlined in chapters 2 and 3, his comic wit[90] in using visual parody and the *paradoxia epidemica* trope, sparked his picaresque battle with his troubled time. The Bruegelian battle lines upon which each successive picaresque battle would take place in the form of a visual parody will be outlined in the next two chapters where examples from Bruegel's *oeuvre* will be used to illustrate this battle plan.

In anticipation of what will follow, another heuristic question begs an answer: if visual parody can be found in each perchronic world view, what is the rhetorical basis for parodic differentiation among the neighbouring perchronic world views? The answer, I propose, lies precisely in the salient features of epideictic rhetoric, whose ramifications for Bruegel's picaresque world view I will explore at greater length in chapters 2 and 3 – and for other picaresque artists in later chapters.

Epideictic rhetoric, that catchall term for all non-political, non-judicial rhetoric has been much despised historically as an inferior genre of rhetoric because its non-pragmatic nature has been perceived of lacking extrinsic value. The historical contempt for epideictic rhetoric, itself bound to the prejudice of certain perchronic world views, may simply exist because its intrinsic value, rather than its extrinsic value, has not been better understood until some of the investigations of the New Rhetoric. As a "wastebasket term that embraces all non-deliberative, non-forensic [rhetoric]"[91] epideictic rhetoric is in a commanding position over the other two branches of rhetoric because its salient features are flexible enough to embrace a wide range of socio-cultural rhetorics having intrinsic value. Epideictic rhetoric, translates as "to shine or show forth."[92] Pictures, as noted earlier, display their visual rhetoric. Their vividly represented *enargeia* is readily present for viewers to see, while at the same time "shining forth" – illuminating – their creator's ideas, representations and ideological convictions based on a perchronic world view. At the root of epideictic rhetoric's displaying abilities lies an

unfolding, a spreading out, a revealing, not merely in the exegetical sense of the unfolding and revealing of meanings during the processes of perception and interpretation, but in a wider socio-cultural sense as well. For epideictic rhetoric is a performative rhetoric which enters the public arena "as much [as] an instrument of social upheaval as [for] social concord";[93] it is a rhetorical genre which helps to "build cultures by establishing and maintaining beliefs, values, and ways of seeing that serve as a form of life for everyday activities",[94] including the displaying and the representation of the values, beliefs, and ideological convictions of perchronic world views. Epideictic rhetoric's intrinsic value can therefore be regarded as a "rhetoric of orthodoxies"[95] for the unfolding and revealing of socio-cultural beliefs, values and ideological convictions as well as for the beliefs and values of an artist working in, and representing, a particular socio-cultural context and perchronic tradition.

Epideictic rhetoric, however, is "not a content area" but rather "a discipline" which studies the "practice of shaping content."[96] Its rhetoricity investigates "the situational content of a discourse"[97] by exploring situated and concrete domains in which form and representation, content and historical account, are inseparable from the ordering of socio-cultural values and beliefs, including perchronic world views, which jointly play their part in bringing the audience into an imaginative participation in that contextualised world of a particular rhetorical situation. This is the case with the viewer of a picture. Both epideictic rhetoric and the poetics of visual rhetoric are audience-orientated, requiring spectators to participate in the rhetorical actions seen in pictures through exegetical acts of interpretation and observation in the representation of a historical account.

The above is also true in other socio-cultural situations involving audience participation. Epideictic rhetoric meets its social obligations in these areas by maintaining and representing society's value systems such as the reinforcement of traditional values or their revisioning. Thus epideictic rhetoric has also been described as a rhetoric of display during occasions of ceremony and ritual. Epideictic rhetoric has been thought to have grown directly out of ancient rites, and has been held to be, among other things, a "ceremonial discourse ... [that] encompasses regular or cyclical events such as holidays, as well as special events such as funerals or special commendations."[98] In this capacity epideictic rhetoric articulates community values and encourages adherence to those values.

All intrinsic kinds of rhetorical situations involve epideictics one way or another and usually take place in the "present" – including viewers who see pictures "now", or who represent historical accounts in their writing as a "flowing together" of the past and the present[99] in the present tense[100] – making epideictic rhetoric a rhetorical

genre which works in the "here and now" so to speak.[101] Artists, too, living in a particular historical chronotope, or time-space, also experience and represent their socio-cultural context and ideological convictions in the present, and they create pictures in the "here and now" of epideictic rhetoric. Their "here and now" experiences of their socio-cultural context and their rhetorical intentionality or rhetoricity, however, either serves to bolster up their pride and faith in the ideals of the "present system" using epideictic praise, or else the "present system" is viewed by them in a less positive way as epideictic blame – depending on the artist's perchronic point of view or their ideological conviction of the present which they choose to represent.

The evaluation of the "here and now" context in which an artist finds himself/herself – or in which a viewer-turned-writer does – is linked to another salient feature of epideictic rhetoric and parody: that of praise and blame. When the "present system" is positively experienced an artist is likely to praise their socio-cultural circumstance – and when the viewer-turned-writer remains optimistic about a picture, or the representation of an historical account, the viewer-turned-writer is likely to praise a picture's rhetorical intentionality. If, however, an artist negatively experiences the "present system", epideictic blame is likely to follow, and this condemnation is likely to be found in viewers-turned-writers hostile to certain pictures and their representational rhetoricity. Put another way, those values believed to be desirable, good, or worth-while, will be appraised and endorsed as admirable and praiseworthy in the present, while these same values deemed to be bad, undesirable, or unworthy will more than likely meet with disapproval and be censured and condemned as reprehensible and blameworthy in the present. The latter stance, taken up by satirists who often point out the wantonness of human folly, or who view their enemies as the objects of their derision and contempt, or who reproach immoral behaviour, is the position of the picaresque world view applying this colouring of epideictic rhetoric to a current rhetorical situation or to a present historical account.

The perceived virtues of the "present system", then, are likely to be praised and celebrated; and its perceived vices are likely to be blamed and denounced. The praising of noble things and the blaming of disgraceful things – a topic that can also include beauty and ugliness – thus dominates epideictic rhetoric. The epideictic topics of what is noble and base, beautiful and ugly or grotesque – will be taken up again in chapters 2 and 3.

In sum, epideictic rhetoric takes sides in the ideological formation and framing of socio-cultural issues and values while subsuming the following salient features:

its association with [rhetorical] display, with [poetics – literature, music and visual rhetoric], with ceremony, with a certain "presentness", with praise and blame, and with the reinforcement [or rejection] of traditional values. As a principle it does not isolate any single feature of a subject, form, function, or context, but rather denotes a particular way in which these features converge in a rhetorical situation.[102]

Taking these salient features into account, a case could be made for an epideictic rhetoric befitting, yet differing, in each perchronic world view. The interactivity between the salient features of epideictic rhetoric and perchronic world views would show how these features differ from world view to world view and these differences would highlight each perchronic neighbourhood's position towards the various traits of epideictic rhetoric as they are presently manifested or represented in an historical context, tradition, ideological conviction, or rhetoricity, thus allowing the observer "to see the available means of persuasion in each case."[103] At the same time these "available means" could also show which representative criteria of epideictic rhetoric would play a role germane to a particular rhetorical performance discourse based upon a particular perchronic world view and rhetorical situation.

Of equal importance, the interaction of epideictic rhetoric's salient features and perchronic world views could also be useful in relation to the establishment of the rhetorical transactions between artists-as-visual rhetors and viewers-turned-writers whenever they come to some shared belief, or understanding, as a knowledge of epideictic colourings would illuminate the interpretative process. Heightened awareness of "taking sides" in epideictic matters, and in instances of praise, or of shifting blame, could also be enhanced as a result; as could the motivational understanding of rhetorical representations of conventions, patterns, and modes of reasoning. Since an interactive engagement between perchronic world views, along with ideological convictions, rhetoricity, and representation, and a colour-tinted epideictic rhetoric based upon its salient features would be involved, the discovery of such "fitness"[104] would also be more accessible and understood by an audience of epideictic rhetoric. Even matters of style, as the representational "incarnation of thought",[105] and figures of thought like a parodic trope structure, might also benefit from this interaction between epideictic rhetoric's salient features and perchronic world views. The benefits of this interaction for the picaresque world view and for Bruegelian themes as organising principles will become part of the topics of chapters 2 and 3. And the benefits for Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition, in turn, are further traced in chapters 4-7.

End notes

[1] Some of the main exponents of the New Rhetoric, according to Foss, Foss & Trapp (1991: 1-430), are I.A. Richards, Richard M. Weaver, Stephen Toulman, Chaim Perelman, Ernesto Grassi, Kenneth Burke, Michel Foucault, and Jürgen Habermas. Fulkerson (1993: 228) agrees with the names on this list but excludes Richards, Grassi and Habermas, and adds M.M. Bakhtin (1982, 1984, 1986, 1988; Bakhtin & Medvedv 1985).

[2] The New Rhetoric is characterized by its noncanonicity, its plurality, its unassimilated "multiple modes of inquiry" (Lauer 1993: 44) where each stance competes with another, its flexibility and fluidity, its instability, excesses, and un-unified incoherence, and its incompleteness. The New Rhetoric, as a postmodern field of inquiry, "is fragmented, unstable, indeterminate, discontinuous" (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 76). Rhetorical concepts, according to Toulmin, vary from "field to field because of a lack of standards" (Foss, Foss & Trapp 1991: 318). Each rhetorical field has its own use, perception and understanding of rhetoric. In short, "whatever else we might say of [the New] rhetoric, it isn't over, fixed, finally situated" (Corder 1993: 105). For in the field of the New Rhetoric

> Little agreement exists among scholars as to what the New Rhetorics are and do, other than suggest that they encompass many things and that those many things suggest a usage beyond the practices promoted in speech and composition textbooks (Enos & Brown 1993: viii; see also Phelps 1993: 61-62).

The sophistry of the New Rhetoric, then, has opened up the rhetorical field of inquiry and interpretation beyond composition textbooks and speech in recognition (barring historical amnesia and the legacy of confinements placed on all disciplines by the Enlightenment, nineteenth-century Postivism and the Neopostivist, Formalist and Structuralist strains of twentieth-century Modernist thinking) that rhetoric is not confined to these topics of research only. Rhetoric exists in areas other than oratory, toastmasters, language, linguistics, and writing skills. Recent rhetoricians of the New Rhetoric, for example, have recognized "the epideictic rhetoric of science" (Sullivan 1991: 229-245) and "a lot of epideictic rhetoric among animals" and plants (see Kennedy 1995: 108, 112) – topics which are not composition textbooks or oral speeches.

[3] Corder (1993: 95).

[4] Bazerman (1993: 3).

[5] Lyne (1985: 65-73).

[6] Some of these "new lands", like that of visual rhetoric, are today being included in the scope of rhetoric; but visual rhetoric is by no means a "new resource" – Vitruvius's (1914) *Ten books of architecture* amounts to a rhetoric of architecture (Minor 1994: 37-43); Alberti's *De pictura* (1435, 1976) already proposed a pictorial rhetoric for the visual arts during the Renaissance – what is perhaps "new" is, alongside revisioning visual rhetoric, the renewed interest in examining manifestations of visual rhetoric like a recent case that has been made for the visual rhetoric of the Parthenon in Athens (Maré 1998a: 205-221).

[7] Kent (1989: 493). See Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 11: 1355b.

[8] Seeing is "eventful" (Kittay 1981a: iii) in the sense that it is a "continuum" of "retention and protention" (Kittay 1981b: 230), of ravelling and unravelling, of "looking for and finding" (Owen 1981: 254). Seeing is a "mode of exposition ... which consists in speaking to the eyes through visual representation or illustration of phenomena" and as such, seeing is a form of knowledge (Buisine 1981: 265) as well as an "epistemological power of the act of viewing" (Kittay 1981a: iii).

[9] *Enargeia*, meaning "clarity, distinctness, vividness" (Ginzburg 1988: 6), refers to "the rhetoric of visual presence" (Cave 1976: 16). The term illustrates the power of an image's presence (Debray 1995: 545) in a picture's "vivid representation" (Maynard 1972: 248) as "a feast for the eyes" (Cave 1976: 11). For further discussion on *enargeia* see Van den Berg ([s.a]: 6), Van den Berg (1993a: 57-75), Van den Berg (1996: 1, 8), Van den Berg (1997: 86), Sharratt (1995: 260-261), Mack (1992: 171), and Koopmans, Meadow, Meerhoff & Spies (1995: 5).

[10] See Duro (1996: 5), Kemp (1996: 14), West (1996: 76), Frow (1982: 25-29).

[11] Ricoeur (1971: 545, 557-558); see also Debray (1995: 529-530).

[12] Ankersmit (1994: 97-124).

[13] The "perceptionalist" conviction, expressed in "picture theories of perception" views "pictorial art and visual perception ... [as] a constant structural neuxus in the history of painting" (Van den Berg 1993a: 51).

[14] Gregg (1981: 134) points out that "the initial reception of sensory data by the human organism is itself a structured act guided by value and intention."

[15] Goldin (1970: 63).

[16] "A gaze roams as it wishes" (Hamon 1981: 10).

[17] Maynard (1972: 244); see also Squires (1969: 198). Even the history of rhetoric shows "the ways in which the definition and purposes of rhetoric have changed through the ages" according to epistemological, political (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 8), philosophical and aesthetic shifts.

[18] Snyder (1980: 503). This view is in sharp contrast with the view of older art historians like Gombrich (1960: 239) who made the claim that when "the context [of a picture was] clear enough" it would "allow of only one answer."

[19] "Different frames prompt different decisions about boundary markers" (Young & Goggin 1993: 31).

[20] Porter (1990: 201) describes our enrichment of understanding as follows: "We argue among ourselves about our role and about the nature and significance of our research. Such squabbling is surely a sign of mental health. The dialectic enriches us."

[21] Miller (1984: 156-157) states that "because human action is based on and guided by meaning ... at the center of action is a process of interpretation" which includes "exigence ... located in the social world ... [as] ... a form of social knowledge ... which provides the rhetor with a sense of rhetorical purpose ... ." For elaboration on rhetorical hermeneutics see Mailloux (1985: 620-647).

[22] Stierle (1994: 863-864).

[23] Godfrey (1982: 91) uses the term "reader-spectators".

[24] Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 12-13); see also Lyne (1985: 67).

[25] Gombrich coined this term. See Alpers (1972-1973: 44); Cornew (1996: 53).

[26] Šuvakovic (1996: 209).

[27] *Ekphrasis* belongs to a group of rhetorical terms for the representation of reality "through the lattices of language" (*verba, res*) including *mimesis, hypotyposis, graphica, enargeia, evidentia, illustratio, descriptio,* and *demonstratio* (Cave 1976: 5; Sharratt 1995: 261). In Old Rhetoric these rhetorical ways of describing were "part principally of the epideictic genre that requires systematic description" (Hamon 1981: 3) as they were regarded as persuasive ways to "represent, delineate, relate, recount, narrate, express, explain, depict, portray" (Beaujour 1981: 27).

[28] For information on a resent interest in the theory of description see Buisine (1981: 271-275); Owen (1981: 244-247); Casey (1981: 185-196); Kittay (1981b: 231-237); Bennett (1974: 255); Hamon (1981: 6-11); Donnellan (1966: 302); Beaujour (1981: 33-52).

[29] Bhattacharya (1984: 220). The viewer's description of details in a composition (a narrower microscopic view) can be perceived of as a reduction of the whole picture to its constituent components; while a view which takes in a composition as a whole (a wider macroscopic view) can be perceived of as an amplification in which details are embedded in relation to each other and to the entirety of a picture's compositional structure. Amplification and reduction describing in a wider sense a picture's compositional structure and in a narrower sense its details, enable the viewer to home in on specific areas in a picture or to scan and pan the layout of a composition with the mastery and freedom to "see it all" (Kittay 1981b: 231). Further, the viewer's ability to see the whole composition, or alternatively, detailed sections – focalizing on specifics – relates rhetorical reduction and amplification to the perceiver's ability to "zoom in" and "zoom out", and to the scanning of a composition's layout (Bryson 1981: 20, 22-23). Alberti's *inventio* likened the "building up" of a composition from lines to bodies to compositions as akin to letters "building up" into words, then sentences, paragraphs, chapters, books, volumes and eventually libraries. Such explosion (rhetorical amplification) and implosion (rhetorical reduction) of "building up" parts (details) to a whole (a composition), or vice versa "breaking down" compositions into its various parts, parallels visual synecdoche and visual metonymy of invention.

[30] Railsback (1983: 357) points out that "language can never hold a *complete* description of anything."

[31] Burgess (1902: 91). This argument was put forward by Alberti, whose *De pictura* (1435) argued in favour of pictures as visual rhetoric (Tatarkiewicz 1970-1974, 3: 40-60, 79-98; see also Van den Berg 1993a: 51-53) – transforming ancient oratory in early modern Europe (Van den Berg [s.a.]: 1, 4; see also Van den Berg 1993a: 50, 53) into an *enargeia* of vividly represented visual communication between the picture and the viewer as an interpreter and exegete. Alberti's treatise can go a long way to explaining the creative inventiveness of a Renaissance artist – in so far as rhetorical *inventio* and *disegno* are concerned, including the visual *actio* of deictic utterances involving "the expressive qualities of bodily forms ... especially the pathognomy of posture (*habitus*), gesture (*gestus*), facial expression (*vultus*) and voice (*vox*)" (Van den Berg 1993a: 57).

[32] "The semantics of reading" can include "for example, rhetorical recognition [involving] acts of discovery and remembering, *prolepsis* and *analepsis*, revelation and entrapment, masking and unveiling, deception and illumination" (Van den Berg 1993a: 70).

[33] Horace (1978), too, in his *Ars poetica* treated "writing and painting as similar arts" (Mack 1992: 169).

[34] Quintilian stressed "the importance of *rerum imagines* (vivid conceptions) to effective rhetoric" (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 59), echoing Aristotle's emphasis on rhetorical tropisms to set a persuasive appeal before the eyes of an audience, clearly and vividly (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 89-90).

[35] According to Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 73), rhetorical "*pisteis* are proofs, or resources for rhetorical persuasion."

[36] Van den Berg (1988: 17).

[37] Lelièvre (1954: 66); see also Hutcheon (1985: 32); Rose (1979: 33); Rose (1993: 48); Kiremidjian (1970: 232); Brower (1974: 4); Priestman (1980: 9).

[38] "Besides being a visual image, technical artifact and aesthetic object, [pictures] can also function as game, symbol, expression, concept, clue, demonstration, puzzle, communication, commodity, display, protest, idol, fetish, relic offering, testimony, celebration or credo (Arnheim 1987). Especially significant is the realization that interactions between these diverse functions, frequently consist of intensive oppositions, dissonant fractures, and absences" (Van den Berg 1990: 43).

[39] The elements of game and play are important to parody. The words *ludus, jeu, spiel,* game, and play all belong to the same family of words which can be traced to the dramatic *dran* ("to act; to do") of theatre (Aristotle, *Poetics* 1448a; see Dane 1988: 19). The aesthetics of play, however, are not only mimetic in terms of acting or pretending, but cover a wider field including child's play, creativity, and sport (see Huizinga 1949).

[40] Rose (1979: 28); see also Hutcheon (1985: 15, 52); Dowley (1984: xi); Stone ([s.a.]: 12).

[41] Dufrenne (1970: 192).

[42] Ankersmit (1994: 67) criticizes Haydn White's tropology where "historical debate is condemned to follow the circle of the four tropes of metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche and irony" respectively, one begetting the next. See also Ankersmit (1994: 6-11). My argument concerning a parodic trope structure is not based on White's tropology, nor do I suggest that history should be read according to four major tropes.

[43] *Para-*, near/against; *doxa,* opinion (Onions, Friedrichsen & Burchfield 1985: 649).

[44] Malloch (1956: 194-195).

[45] Sackton (1949: 87).

[46] Vlastos (1991: 22). Quintilian (1922, 3: 414-415; *IO,* 9.2.65) mentions "(in the case of) irony ... a hidden meaning ... is left to the hearer to discover" (*ut in είρωνεία sed aliud latens et auditori quasi inveniendum*).

[47] Hodgart (1969: 130); see also Parkin ([s.a.]: 81).

[48] Ehses (1989: 191).

[49] Cuddon (1980: 386).

[50] The word "pun", according to Abrams (1981: 149), has two origins: the Latin *adnominatio* and the Greek *paranomasia,* (*para-* meaning "beside" and *onomasia* meaning "naming"). For a discussion of the pun see Sim (1987: 326-334).

[51] Riffaterre (1981: 122-123).

[52] Elkins (1992a: 204-205).

[53] Colie (1976: 22)

[54] According to Wied (1980: 34), "Bruegel's intellectual independence must have been enormous, comparable to that of Michel de Montaigne, Rabelais or Shakespeare." Bruegel's contemporary, Abraham Ortelius, admitted during the artist's lifetime that in all his works "more is always implied than what is actually painted" (Sullivan 1994a: 69; see also Sullivan 1994a: 128-129; Rocquet 1987: 128; Claessens & Rousseau [s.a.]: 187) and Van Mander said that Bruegel's works were "strange and full of meaning (*ontallicke sinnekens*)" (Sullivan 1994b: 147).

[55] The relationship between intellect, knowledge and perception can be seen when examining the etymology of the term wit. The English term "wit" has a dual etymological origin relating to epistemology, perception and the "five inward wits: common sense, imagination, fantasy, judgement [or estimation (*estimacioun*)] and memory" (Bundy 1930: 540-541; see also Thundy 1990: 433). "Wit" has remained closely associated with its Old English origin *witan* or *wita,* "one who knows," which was akin to the Old High German *wizzan,* "to know," or *witz,* "reason," "intelligence," or "wisdom." The German *Scharfsinnigkeit,* used to signify wit, and the English *wit,* both had their origin in the Latin *ingenium* (Johnson 1983-1984: 40) as derived from the Greek *eidenai,* "to know" and *idein,* "to see" (Mirabelli 1989: 322).

This recalls the second etymology of wit, namely, the Latin *uidere* or *videre*, "to see" (Copley 1964: 164). Thus, long before it had "acquired the connotation of amusement, wit was connected with knowledge, understanding, perception." Wit was "a direct and open expression of perceptions, taking for granted a position of strength and insight" (Walker 1981: 6). Witticisms (*freddura*) thus emphasized "the game of *ingegno* or wit" (Scaglione 1971: 135) as they referred to the mind or understanding, and later to the cleverness of the spectator (Hodgart 1969: 111):

> Wit, meaning originally "knowledge," came in the late Middle Ages to signify "intellect," "the seat of consciousness," the "inner" senses as contrasted with the five "outer" senses. In Renaissance times, though used in various senses, wit usually meant "wisdom" or "mental activity." ... [To] the metaphysical poets, [wit] meant "fancy," in the sense of inspiration, originality, or creative imagination. *Wit* [was] primarily intellectual, the perception of similarities in seemingly dissimilar things – the "swift play and flash of the mind" – and [was] expressed in skillful phraseology, plays on words [puns], surprising contrasts, paradoxes, epigrams, comparisons, etc. (Kiley & Shuttleworth 1971: 480).

[56] Šuvakovic (1996: 203).

[57] Ross (1984: 131).

[58] Šuvakovic (1996: 206-207).

[59] Van den Berg (1996: 17).

[60] Their research is ongoing. The dates refer to their published articles listed in the bibliography.

[61] Seerveld's "cartographic methodology" is based on the "philosophical historiography" developed by Vollenhoven (Seerveld 1973: 127-143). See also Seerveld (1993: 62); Van den Berg ([s.a.]: 4); Van den Berg (1996: 12-13).

[62] Seerveld's "cartographic methodology" can be extended to include the literary and performing arts as well as to philosophers, aestheticians and other social, political, religious, and scientific thinkers. The compilation of such tables has not yet been undertaken.

[63] Seerveld (1993: 63).

[64] In Table 1 "diachrony" (historical development; historical continuity; ongoing changes; epoch) is indicated by the left-hand column. For further discussion of diachrony see Seerveld (1980: 148); Van den Berg (1977: 92); Van den Berg (1990: 45).

[65] In Table 1 "perchrony" (enduring through time; world views; perennial types; tradition) is indicated by the eight columns following the left-hand column.

[66] In Table 1 "synchrony" (happening together at roughly the same time; historical discontinuity; periods; restless cultural dynamics – the historical site of unremitting "style wars" or "cultural wars" – conflicts between ideological hegemonies and among rival cultural minorities) is indicated by each horizontal row. For further information on synchrony see Van den Berg (1996: 5-6); Seerveld (1980: 145-149); Van den Berg (1990: 46-47); Seerveld (1993: 55, 57-58).

[67] Van den Berg (1993c: 195).

[68] Van den Berg (1993b: 16).

[69] Van den Berg (1997: 89). Bakhtin's chronotope, literally "space-time", was formulated in terms of a typology of narrative genres:

> A unit of analysis for studying texts according to the ratio and nature of the temporal and spatial categories represented ... [where] neither category is privileged; they are utterly interdependent. The chronotope is an optic for reading texts as x-rays of the forces at work in the culture system from which they spring (Bakhtin 1988: 425-426).

See also Bakhtin (1988: 165), and Morson & Emerson (1990: 375, 367, 404).

[70] Seerveld (1993: 60); see also Van den Berg (1993b: 16).

[71] For further discussion of Heraclitus and Democritus in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (1559) (fig. 3) see Cornew (1995a: 84-86).

[72] For a lengthier explanation see Van den Berg (1984: 48-51).

[73] Seerveld (1993: 62) makes the valid point

> that these typiconic formats I presume to have discerned as loading the artistic dice of many gifted persons over the years are not *universally,* are not logical pigeonholes for classificatory purposes – the taxonomy is also

probably incomplete – and the fact that various artists' oeuvres lean into the same typiconic format does *not* necessarily entail actual *historical* connection.

[74] For further discussion of the scenic tradition see Van den Berg (1997: 86-111).

[75] "Schematicist philosophers ... tend to view changes as discrete items whose sum will fill out the structural possibilities and typical patterns of what is a blueprinted order – a master meta-narrative or schema impervious itself to change – there is nothing really new under the sun" (Seerveld 1993: 34).

[76] The picaresque novel (in German *Schelmenroman*) originated in sixteenth-century Spain. The earliest example, the anonymous *La vida de Lazarillo de Tormes y de sus fortunas y adversidades* (1553; published in Venice in 1622 by Barezzo Barezzi as *Il picariglio Castigliano*; translated into English in 1586), was followed by Mateo Alemán's *Primera parte del picaro Guzmán de Alfarache* (1599) and *segunda parte de Guzmán de Alfarache, atalaya de la vida humana* (1604; translated into English as *The rogue* in 1622), Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605-1615) and Francisco Quevedo y Villegas's *La vida del Buscón llamado don Pablos* (1626; translated into English in 1615). All four books were widely read in Europe.

Although critics dispute the inclusion of *Don Quixote* as a picaresque novel, they recognize Cervantes' *Rinconete y Cortadillo* and *Coloquio de los perros* as picaresque works (Donnelly 1984: 727). This quibble is part of a larger debate over whether earlier or later works exhibit "picaresque" traits, as the picaresque perchrony suggests. Ulrich Wicks proposed a solution to this problem by distinguishing between the "picaresque genre" (in a narrow sense) and the "picaresque mode" (in a wider sense) (Meszaros 1979: 232-233). The "picaresque genre" would include characteristics like "(1) first-person narration, (2) strict realism, (3) social satire, (4) a protagonist of low station (e.g. a beggar, a delinquent, a servant to many masters, or an orphan), and (5) a struggle for existence in a hostile and chaotic world" (Mancing 1979: 182). Wicks' "picaresque mode" is closer to the picaresque perchronic world view as it embraces picaresque narratives written before or after the "golden age" of the picaresque novel (1554-1646). A list of "picaresque mode" authors is given below.

Among the earlier "picaresque" writers are: the philosopher Socrates, who wrote nothing; Aristophanes; Menader; Lucian's *True history* (1974); Juvenal's *Satires* (1992); Apuleius's *The transformations of Lucius otherwise known as the golden ass* (1950); Petronius's *Satyricon* (1972); Chaucer (1986); the medieval capers of Reynard the fox – "that tricky ancestor of the picaro" (Wicks 1975: 43); the author of *Kurtzweilig Lesen von Dyl Ulenspiegel* (*Till Eulenspiegel*) (c. 1515, 1995); Sebastian Brant's *Das Narrenschiff* (1494, 1962, 1971); Erasmus's *Moriae encomium* or *In praise of folly* (Latin, 1509, 1971); and Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532-1551, 1946, 1955).

Among later "picaresque" writers are Swift, Pope, Fielding (see Chapter 5), and Bakhtin (1988; see Chapter 2). Later picaresque novels include Thomas Nashe's *The unfortunate traveller* (1594); Henry Chettle's *Piers plainnes seaven yeres prentiship* (1595); Francisco López de Ubeda's *Libro de entretenimiento de la picara Justina* (1605, *Book of entertainment about the picara Justina*; one of the earliest picaresque novels with a female protagonist, a parody of *Guzmán de Alfarache*); Jerónimo de Salas Barbadillo's *La hija de Celestina* (1612); Vicente Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón* (1618); Luis Vélez de Guevara's *El diablo cojuelo* (1641); the German author of *Simplicius Simplicissimus* (c. 1669); Hans Jacob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen's *Der abenteurliche Simplicissimus Teutsch* (1668, Part 1), *Das wunderbarliche Vogelnest* (1675, Part 2) and *Die Landstörtzerin Courasche* (1670); *Don Tomazo, or the juvenile rambles of Thomas Dangerfield* (1680); *The Dutch rogue, or Guzman of Amsterdam* (1683) and *Teague O'Divelly or The Irish rogue* (1690); Francisco Santos' *Periguillo el de las gallineras* (1688); Alain LeSage's *The adventures of Gil Blas* (1715-1735); Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722, 1986) and *Roxana* (1724, 1946); John Gay's *Beggar's opera* (1728, 1986); Henry Fielding's *Jonathan Wild* (1743, 1982), *Joseph Andrews* (1742, 1982) and *Tom Jones* (1749, 1950); Tobias Smollett's *The adventures of Roderick Random* (1748, 1962), *Peregrine Pickle* (1751, 1983), *The adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753, 1990) and *The expedition of Humphrey Clinker* (1771, 1980); John Clelan's *Fanny Hill, or the memoirs of a woman of pleasure* (1749, 1987); Voltaire's *Candide* (1759, [s.a.]); Laurence Sterne's *The life and opinions of Tristram Shandy, gentleman* (1759-1768, 1967); Rudolph Erich Raspe's *Baron Münchhausen's narrative of his marvelous travels and campaigns in Russia* (1785); Lord Byron's *Don Juan* (1819, 1911); *Der Deutsche Gil Blas* (1822) introduced by Goethe; Vassily's Narezhny's *Russian Gil Blas*; James Justinian Morier's *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Isphan* (1824); José Joaquin Fernández de Lizardi's *Vida y hechos de Periquillo Sarnieto* (1816, 1830); Charles Dickens's *The posthumous papers of the Pickwick Club* (1837, [s.a.]); William Makepeace Thackeray's *Catherine: a shabby genteel story* (1840-1841, [s.a.]), *The memoirs of Barry Lyndon* (1844, 1974) and *Vanity Fair* (1847-1848, 1980); Mark Twain's *The adventures of Huckelberry Finn* (1884, 1993); Brecht's *Dreigroschenoper*; Evelyn Waugh's *Decline and fall* (1928), *Vile bodies* (1930), and *Black mischief*; Céline's *Journey to the end of the night* (1932) and *Death on the installment plan* (1936); Ruben Romero's *La vida inútil de Pito Pérez* (1938); Juan Antonio de Zunzunegui's *El chiplichandle* (1940, *The ship chandler*) and *La vida como es* (1954, *Life as it is*); Cela's *Nuevas anadanzas y desventuras de Lazarillo de Tormes* (1944, *New adventures and misfortunes of Lazarillo de Tormes*); Dario Fernández-Flórez's *Lola, espejo osuro* (1950, *Lola, through a glass darkly*); Ralph Ellison's *Invsible man* (1952); John Wain's *Hurry on down* (1953); Saul Bellow's *The adventures of Augie March* (1953, 1960); Kingsley Amis' *Lucky Jim* (1954); Iris Murdoch's *Under the net* (1954); Sebastián Juan Arbó's *Martin de Caretas* (1955); J.P. Donleavy's *The ginger man* (1955); Thomas Mann's unfinished *Bekenntnisse des Hochstaplers Felix Krull* (1911-1954; *Confessions of Felix Krull, confidence man*; translated into English in 1955, 1958); Alfred Kern's *Le clown* (1957); Günter Grass' *Dir Blechtrommel* (1959; *The tin drum*,

1989); Jerzy Kosinski's *The painted bird* (1965) and Lindsay Anderson's *O lucky man!* (1973). This list is by no means complete. For a biographic essay on picaresque fiction see Kent & Gaunt (1979: 245).

For further information on the picaresque see (Frohock 1967: 43-52); and for discussions of *Moll Flanders* and *Fanny Hill* (see Taube 1968: 76-80), Smollett (see Beasley 1984: 165-184), and Saul Bellow's *The adventures of Augie March* (see Shaw 1987: 203-219).

[77] Van den Berg (1996: 16-17). "Images ... have the rhetorical power of inducing in spectators a depth awareness of directional or ideological conflict" (Van den Berg [s.a]: 6).

[78] Various forms of parody exist in other perchronic traditions: gnostic misprison and deconstructive disfiguration in the 'mystic' perchrony; mock heroic parody in the 'heroic' perchrony; idyllic bandage in the 'idyllic' perchrony; prudish paradigmatic censure and polemic grandiloquence in the 'schematic' perchrony; erotic dandyism and coquettery in the 'erotic' perchrony; and black, savage humor in the 'troubled cosmic' perchrony. Examples of artists working with parody in each of these perchronic traditions are the following: David, Picasso and de Kooning parody in the 'heroic' perchrony; George Sandby and Escher sometimes parody in the 'scenic' perchrony; Arcimboldo, Aertsen, Duchamp, Magritte, Warhol and Giovannopolis parody in the 'schematic' perchrony; Reynolds parodies in the 'idyllic' perchrony; Ensor, Picabia and Dali parody in the 'erotic' perchrony; and Goya and Manet parody in the 'troubled cosmic' perchrony. Some of these non-picaresque artists, like Goya and Ensor, built upon Bruegel's legacy.

[79] Recent theory of literature has been interested in the topic of focalization and investigating fictional worlds. See Hrushovski (1979: 374), Elkins (1994: 20), Ricoeur (1971: 530), Shen (1985: 681-698), Edmiston (1989: 729-744), Nelles (1990: 365-382), Dolezel (1976b:5-14), Ryan (1985: 717-755), Ronen (1994: 1-239), Ryan (1991b: 1-284), Eco (1978: 5-72), Bronzwaer (1981: 193-201), Pavel (1975: 165-176), Walton (1978: 11-23), Margolin (1990: 843-871), Campbell (1975: 3-20), Martinez-Bonati (1983: 182-195), Plantinga (1976: 139-160), Reinhart (1984: 779-809), Stalnaker (1976: 65-75), Dolezel (1988: 475-496), Ryan (1991a: 553-576), Hrushovski (1984: 227-251), M.R. Levin (1980: 221-228),Walton (1983: 78-88), Stewart (1987: 83-97), Dolezel (1976a: 193-211), Stern-Gillet (1996: 189-191), and Hope (1988: 1-10).

None of these writers have linked perchronic world views to the study of fictional worlds and focalization.

[80] Van den Berg (1996: 21-22).

[81] Van den Berg (1996: 18); see also McNeil (1980: 357); Stierle (1994: 860). In terms of Classical rhetoric, rhetoric persuades (*peithein, persuadere*) by argument (*probare*), informative learnedness (*docere*), teaching (*monere, prodesse*), moving (*movere, concitarre*), entertainment (*conciliare*), and pleasing (*delectare*) its audience (Mack 1992: 173; see also Van den Berg [s.a]: 1; Bätschmann 1989: 15). The audience's attitude is important because the power of the rhetorical message should be realized pragmatically through *ethos* (the rhetorician's character), *logos* (the "logic" of the discourse) and *pathos* (the audience's response), both textually and contextually (Van den Berg 1993a: 53, 71). "*Prosopopoeia* and *apostrophe*, rhetorical figures in the areas of *ethos* and *pathos* respectively, are of particular value as metafunctional features of spectator engagement. They project imaginary roles for the participants, artists and spectators alike, as joint partners in realizing the imaginary worlds of the paintings" (Van den Berg 1996: 18-19). Although an *ethos, logos* and *pathos* have not yet been worked out for each of the perchronic world views, Van den Berg's Tables pave the way (Van den Berg 1996: 18, Table 3; 21, Tables 4 and 5).

[82] Rhetorically speaking, a text's intentionality is to "move" (*movere*) its audience (Wuellner 1991: 178). See also Van den Berg (1993a: 67-73); Ricoeur (1971: 539, 542). Collins (1991) has undertaken interesting work on "the poetics of the mind's eye", but his analysis falls short of a perchronic investigation.

[83] Van den Berg ([s.a.]: 1).

[84] Van den Berg (1996: 9); see also Van den Berg ([s.a]: 2). Van den Berg (1997: 88) adds: "Spiritual blindness – in other words, sighted people able but unwilling to see – emanates from ideological impairment of human vision, disabling the human ability to imagine the fullness of both the glory and the misery of the world."

[85] "Typiconic formats are not in a hierarchy, do not follow a fixed succession, do not determine the quality of the artwork" (Seerveld 1993: 62-63).

[86] Seerveld (1980: 146).

[87] What Seerveld has in mind is not older accounts of revolution like the accounts by Amann (1962: 36-53), Walzer (1963: 59-90), Snow (1962: 167-190), Hatto (1949: 495-517), Eckstein (1965: 133-163), Stone (1966: 159-176), and Davies (1962: 5-19). In these older accounts the term "revolution" is regarded as a reductionistic fix.

[88] Berger (1997: 157) describes satire as "the deliberate use of the comic for purposes of attack."

[89] Picaros and picaras are the rogue heroes and heroines of picaresque narratives (Heilman 1958: 550). They are swindlers (Dooley 1958: 363), charlatans, masqueraders, upstarts, rebels, lawbreakers, thieves, malefactors, vagabonds, wanderers, rolling stones, floaters, drifters, schemers, and tricksters (Babcock-Abrahams 1975: 159; see also Makarius 1970: 45,

Fichtelberg 1988: 436) who live by their wits (Heilman 1958: 548-549). Their tricks on society – "the foolish world wants to be fooled" (*Simplicius Simplicissimus*, 2.8) (Wicks 1979: 171) – "smack of dishonesty" (Klapp 1954: 25) and their "rascality" (Heilman 1958: 553) admits "smirking, public self-ridicule through autobiographical confession" (Close 1986: 228). Picaros and picaras, however, through "sheer force of survival ... outlast every possible disaster" (Seidlin 1951: 197).

[90] Picaras and picaros live by their wits (Zahareas 1984: 437; see also Klapp 1954: 31, Fichtelberg 1988: 435, Heilman 1958: 550). Their "exorbitant craft of mind" (Heilman 1958: 555) in "the battle of life" treat life as "a cat-and-mouse game" where "the only way to deal with it is to outwit it" (Seidlin 1951: 185).

[91] Chase (1961: 293).

[92] Carter (1992: 304).

[93] Beale (1978: 243).

[94] Carter (1992: 307-308).

[95] Sullivan (1991: 232).

[96] Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 4).

[97] Cahn (1989: 141).

[98] Beale (1978: 239).

[99] Ankersmit (1994: 31).

[100] In Todorov's (1976: 160-161) words, "every interpretation of history is made starting from the present moment, just as the interpretation of space is constructed starting from *here* ... ."

[101] For further discussion on epideictics informed by the "present" see Beale (1978: 223-224).

[102] Beale (1978: 224-225).

[103] Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 60).

[104] See Cahn (1989: 129), Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 62).

[105] Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 15, 23, 87).

Chapter 2. Carnivalisation in Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* and elsewhere

Two concurrent topics will be explored in this chapter. The one topic is carnivalisation's salient features – "the semiotic of carnival"[1] – serving *communitas* and human folly. Among other things, I will look "at such features as the participation of the local community, the dissolution of the distinction between players and spectators, and the inversion of the existing pattern of social relationships in the spirit combining [epideictic] celebration with satire".[2] The other topic is Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (1559) (fig. 2) serving as a visual example – but not the only one – representing carnivalisation's thematic focus. Bruegel's pictures will visually show these carnivalesque themes vividly represented in one or more picture.

Taken together as concurrent topics and rhetorical constraints, the themes and visual examples in this chapter may be regarded as mutually co-existent on the one hand, while on the other their interrelationship with the picaresque perchronic world view's colouring of epideictic rhetoric and visual parody outlined in Chapter 1 may also be borne in mind. Since these topics form enough of an Occam's razor by themselves, space does not permit further topics to be introduced. Excess topics shall be handed over to other chapters, keeping the ultimate aim of this study in mind: that the organising principles mentioned here represent thematic foci which can be traced in various disguises in the ongoing, yet changing, picaresque battles in later centuries.

Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* focuses with both a narrow and a wider lens on the seasonal conflation of late medieval and early modern carnival-time and Lent.[3] In the narrow sense, his picture deals with the folly of those participants who are enacting, respectively, the feast and fast roles of Prince Carnival, Lady Lent, and their followers.

> In the center foreground of this lively picture, a pot-bellied Carnival sits astride a barrel mounted on a sled. There is a poultry pie on his head, and he flourishes a roast-spit with a pig's head and several roast birds on it. The sled is being pushed by two oddly-dressed clowns, and there are others in his entourage, wearing strange masks[4] and playing on home-made musical instruments.
>
> Facing him is a scrawny Lent of indeterminate sex, sitting on a church chair mounted on a rolling platform drawn by two characters in religious habit. Her (?) headgear is a beehive, her weapon a flat shovel with two fish on it, and around her feet are mussels, pretzels and assorted Lenten food.[5]

Some interpreters have regarded the two opposing groups of Prince Carnival and Lady Lent and their followers, respectively in the left and right foreground of the composition, as political emblems of the religious disputes that characterised the upheavals of the Reformation.[6]

In a wider sense, Bruegel's picture illustrates the diverse activities of carnival-time, traditionally covering the annual period of Fat Tuesday and Ash Wednesday: on the left, ranging from street theatre groups performing Carnival plays to gambling, begging, dancing, and the *hoofdzonden* of *gula* and *vraatsigtigheijdt* or *onkuysheijdt* taking place at the *herberg* known as the *Blauwe Schuyte*;[7] and the Lenten works of charity, such as giving alms to the poor, on the right. Each of these activities can be seen as both an epideictic ritual – ceremonial and performative – and a *paradoxia epidemica* which exposes their behaviour as either genuineness and praise, or fraudulence and blame, depending on whether the viewer chooses to see them at face value or interprets them as human folly and hypocrisy. Either interpretation has its accompanying irony: for the praising of Carnival in the immoral light of *hoofdzonden* could be regarded as morally reprehensible as could the blaming of those corrupted virtues of Lent, turned into vices, which can equally be regarded as morally reprehensible.

In an even wider frame of interpretation Bruegel's picture can also be seen as an emblematic representation of the various salient features of carnivalisation. Coming to grips with "the vertiginous pattern of Carnival"[8] – its giddiness and dizziness – can be a whirling roller coaster ride on the roundabout, where participants could easily loose their balance. Upon entering the fray of carnivalisation, one enters a whirl-pool of thematic topics and interactivities which can sweep the unsuspecting individual off their feet and carry them along with the Carnival mob in its surging and meandering twists and turns. Each salient feature in Carnival's repertory, like the "elusive nature [of the comic], can only be approached both circumspectly and circuitously";[9] and this circuitous approach, circling round and round the Carnival frame and carnivalisation's themes, will be followed here.

An initial topic and theme that we might consider is the sense of *communitas* which the participants of Carnival share with one another throughout the duration of carnival-time.

> The individual feels he[/she] is an indissoluble part of the collectivity, a member of the people's mass body. In this whole the individual body ceases to a certain extent to be itself; it is possible, so to say, to exchange bodies, to be renewed (though changing costume and mask). At the same time the people become aware of their sensual, material, bodily unity and community.[10]

This feeling of supposed solidarity during carnivalisation extends across a wide epideictic range of ritual and performance. Included among this crowded heteroglossic spectrum of *communitas* gatherings are the calendar of Carnival, Church festivals, spectacles, popular pastimes, pageants like D. van Alsloot's *De triomf des Isabella*

De omineganck (1615) (fig. 4), a village *kermis* like the *kermisse* of Bruegel's *De Sint-Joriskermis* (fig. 5) and *De kermesse van Hoboken* (both dated 1559) (fig. 6), games like the children's games seen in Bruegel's *De kinderspelen* (1560) (fig. 7) and public performances of *rederijker* plays like the two plays being performed outdoors in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2): one in front of the *herberg*, at the sign of the *Blauwe Schuyte* in the left foreground called *De vuile bruid*, or *De bruiloft van Mopsus en Nysa*, whose incident is taken from Virgil's Eighth *Eclogue*;[11] and the other, in front of the *herberg* at the sign of *De Draak*, in the left background further away, which enacts the story of *Valentijn en Urson*.[12]

The importance of *communitas* for carnivalisation can be extended even further to embrace the intertextuality been pictures in other co-related thematic foci in Bruegel's *oeuvre*. As far as *communitas* is concerned, it can be related to the gathering of a crowd of people, which can be seen in many of Bruegel's compositions: for example, in his *De kruisdragen* (1564) (fig. 8) where a large mob are gathering to witness the public crucifixion of Christ and two convicted criminals, and in *De preeken van Sint-Johannes de Doper* (1566) (fig. 9) where a motley congregation has gathered in the open air to hear John the Baptist preaching, including in the upper right hand corner, supposedly, Bruegel and his wife (fig. 10).

The *communitas* sense of shared experience, however, is not without the notion that not everybody in the crowd experiences the rhetorical situation in the same way. The views of Prince Carnival and Lady Lent in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), for example, are clearly opposing sides of the picaresque battle about to take place – although no side is shown as the victor. Both sides put forward a view by being physically and emblematically set against the other – while paradoxically enacting their mock-heroic battle from within the carnivalesque atmosphere of carnival-time itself. And in *De kruisdragen* (fig. 8) the *treurende* group of elongated figures in the lower right hand side of the composition remain both physically and spiritually isolated in their grief from the masses further away. As the disciple John bends to support and console the weeping Virgin Mary, they turn their backs on the thronging crowd, even as the ignoble rabble, in turn, swarms about the isolated figure of Christ in the centre of the composition without recognising Him as their saviour. According to Matthew 27: 27-31 and Mark 15: 6-20 Christ had already been epideictically mocked – a victim of parody – by the Roman soldiers who called Him the "king of the Jews" – the saviour of humanity – in a proto-Saturnalian ritual:

> After the Roman governor had disclaimed responsibility for the fate of Jesus and just before the latter was taken out to crucified, the Roman soldiers took him and subjected him to a mock coronation. He was dressed in a scarlet robe, a crown of thorns was placed on his head and a reed in his right hand, and he was hailed as king of

the Jews. Here Jesus is mocked by being treated as if he were a bogus royalty of the Bacchanalia, the predecessor of the medieval feast of fools. Indeed, one might say that, just before his crucifixion, Jesus was crowned as a king of folly.[13]

These differing responses to a given rhetorical situation in Bruegel (figs 2-3, 5-9) show that the extensive scope of *communitas* experiences in Bruegel's pictures can be interpreted as polyphonic in nature, i.e., his busy compositions display a rich and complex weaving of figures and points of view within each rhetorical situation and intertextually between several of Bruegel's pictures. At the same time, the polyphonic nature of Bruegel's *oeuvre* is directed towards a rich tapestry of differing actions and reactions, views and voices, so that a pictorial *heteroglossia*, typical in picaresque literature and visual art, pulls the "cluttered" *Wimmelbeeld* of his scenes in more than one direction, destabilising any particular position. The peripatetic eye of the spectator of Bruegel's pictures is compelled to wander across the pictorial plane in what Hogarth later termed leading the eye "a wanton kind of chace" – the viewer encountering one incidental detail, rhetorical situation, or event, and then another, much like a reader of a picaresque novel who journeys from place to place after the discursive wanderings of the picaro or picara in an episodic narrative.[14]

The terms "polyphonic" and "*heteroglossia*" which inform the picaresque notions of carnivalisation and *communitas* are borrowed from Mikhail Bakhtin's terminology[15] which originally were applied to his analysis of novels, particularly his favourite picaresque author, Rabelais. "Polyphony", for Bakhtin, was "a term having to do with multivoiced authorial technique" while "*heteroglossia*" was "a term having to do with multivoiced ideological forces at work in whole cultural systems."[16] Jointly, polyphony and *heteroglossia* contributed towards Bakhtin's notion of "dialogism" or multiple voices in constant dialogue with each other without beginning or end,[17] which existed between the many characters in Rabelais' novel and between the novel and its first and subsequent readers. This "dialogism", or more accurately, "multilogue",[18] is one that we have already encountered in visual rhetoric between the viewer and the picture in Chapter 1 in an open system framing interpretation.

Bakhtin's terms "polyphonic", "*heteroglossia*", and "dialogism", have greatly influenced the notion of "multimodality"[19] in postmodern thinking and the New Rhetoric, and have been applied to rhetorics outside the novel. This broader application of Bakhtin's terms can also be extended to include the plurality of components, and the interplay of textual elements, and their interrelationship with each other, in Bruegel's pictures and their visual rhetoric. In this study I use Bakhtin's terms in relation to the picaresque view of carnivalisation after the

manner in which Bakhtin uses his terms when discussing Bruegel's picaresque contemporary, Rabelais, particularly Rabelais' phantasmagoric *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532-1551) and Rabelaisian carnivalisation. For Bakhtin,[20] the five books of Rabelais' picaresque/carnivalesque novel use "doubling mechanisms"[21] to overlap textual surfaces and to create a dialogue of several writings with "polyvalent ... multiple significata".[22] These "pluralistic forces" in Rabelais show that the *heteroglossia* of his language(s) are "populated – overpopulated – with the intentions of others"[23] – a factor which viewers also find in Bruegel's heteroglossic pictures of visual *overvloed*.

The openness of Rabelais' novel, due, no doubt, to its multimodal *overvloed*, its polyphony, *heteroglossia*, and dialogism, have confused, amused, confounded, and provoked readers and audiences for over four hundred years. One could say the same thing about the *paradoxia epidemica* in Bruegel's pictures. Barrault (1971: 13), for one, has been attracted to Rabelais because he finds him ever fascinating:

> Every time I sink my teeth into him, my mouth is filled with such a savory juice, my blood is enriched by such a powerful accretion, my spine is strengthened by such a vigorous sap, that I give vent to what he would have called "horrific" cries of enthusiasm.

Rabelais' writings fascinate because they recreate the boundless world of Carnival with their ritual spectacles, comic verbal compositions, and various billingsgate genres. As a result, Rabelais has often been described as "immense, enormous, protean"[24] like the giants Panagruel and Gargantua he created. Appearing as larger than life, the gross hyperbole of the giant's bodily processes – vulgar vitality and scatology – are the creative principle and source of all other exaggerations of the Rabelaisian world – of all that is superabundant and excessive.[25] For Bruegel, scatologically nicknamed "Pier den drol" by Van Mander, visual *kakken* and *pissen* could be regarded as his visual equivalents to Rabelais' excremental writing,[26] as readers of chapters 2 and 3 will soon discover.

Rabelais, ever heteroglossic, like other Renaissance encyclopaedic humanists,[27] invites his readers to readily come and eat, drink, and be merry with him as they sample his "goodly, well-fattened books";[28] for "wine, humor, laughter, and joy are all closely associated in *Gargantua and Pantagruel*. More than once Rabelais connects drinking with writing, his wine with his book, and both with joy and laughter."[29] Bruegel's pictures of Carnival scenes and carnivalisation (figs 2, 5 and 6) could also be seen as the Rabelaisian equivalents of *festivus* in rhetorical picture making.

In all of the above merry matters of picaresque and epideictic celebration, Rabelais succeeded in lauding "the chirographic equivalent of the process of festival" which allowed his readers to "experience the fullest range of

physical and psychological possibilities [in his writings] by assaulting [a reader's] orders and ... senses with a barrage of verbal *things* ... to be experienced."[30] Bruegel's visual *heteroglossia* of activities like those taking place in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) and *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7) also seems to celebrate this carnivalesque's *overvloed* and to bombard the viewer with a barrage of visual rhetorical situations and possible emblematic meanings. Rabelais' fictional world appears "cock-full of human contradictions, which he attempted neither to reconcile nor to apologise for",[31] a factor which seems to lie parallel to the contradictions of the *paradoxia epidemica* in Bruegel's pictures. Rabelais – once described as "Childhood grasping hold of life with both hands"[32] – was portrayed by Anatole France as being someone who played with words "as children do with pebbles; he piles them up into heaps."[33] Bruegel too, heaps emblem upon emblem, possible meaning upon possible meaning, one rhetorical situation upon another in one picture, then another, and he multi-layers the levels upon which his pictures might be interpreted.

Nothing seems to have delighted Rabelais more than the expression of "intoxicated ridicule, of exuberant mockery";[34] his characters involvement in parody;[35] and his dialogical quotations from other sources "merely to tease and send a literal-minded reader hunting up and speculating on his every allusion to his curious learning."[36] And "Nothing contributes more fully [in Rabelais] to the carnivalesque mood than the constant alternation of ... registers, each of which departs in its own way from the everyday."[37] Keeping these Rabelaisian points in mind as the reader progresses through this and the next chapter, the reader may find thematic similarities to Rabelais present in Bruegel's pictures. One may suppose, for example, that Bruegel's learned humanist viewers might have delighted in tracking down his sources for the pictorial saws in *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3; see Appendix 1) or the number of children's games in *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7).

If, from the above, Rabelais seems like a polyglot *"bricoleur"*[38] it is because the picaresque writer, like a picaresque artist like Bruegel, was answering the call to the *satura* of antiquity, revised during the Renaissance as part of the recovery of the classical past known as the *renovatio antiquitatis*. The ancient term *"satura"*, initially an adjective meaning "mixed" or "of various composition"[39] – a plate of mixed fruit – in time came to refer to a fusion of genres, exemplified by the *satura menippea* which were "constructed like a pavement of citations."[40] Satire, in keeping with the word *satura*, could also be construed as a *"monstreux assemblage"*,[41] a grotesque chimera of superabundance and *overvloed* which often lacked consistency of form or structure while directly denouncing the follies of a vicious and foolish world. One could even refer to the medieval wise fools,[42] who

wore motley coloured costumes, as *satura* figures, wearing the many colours of rhetoric. And this *satura* motley would have joined the Carnival festivities like a duck taking to water – see the motley coloured fool with his back to the viewer near the centre of Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2).

I shall return to the topic of *satura* later. But for now, having paused to meet Bakhtin and Rabelais, it is time for the peripatetic wanderer, following the circuitous route of carnivalisation, to return to the path at the spot where they were waylaid. In my nuancing of Bakhtin's terms, polyphony and *heteroglossia* also inform the viewer about the perceptual framework in which Bruegel's picaresque pictures are cast. This perceptual frame can be linked to that of the rhetoric of the perceptual process mentioned in Chapter 1 where the grounds by which pictures might be perceived of as visual rhetoric in a poetic and epideictic rhetoric were described. These observations may guide us back to the *communitas* notions of polyphony and *heteroglossia* in Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) as rhetorical proof (*pistis*), not only of the evidential vivid presence (*enargeia*) of Carnival's *communitas* – each figure or group busying themselves with a variety of activities, rhetorical situations, and with a different view of carnival-time – but also guide the viewer back to the fact that Bruegel's picture *shows* a double form of visible epideictic rhetoric: on the one hand it *exhibits* the picaresque battle between Prince Carnival and Lady Lent, while on the other hand it also *displays* the spectacle of the picaresque battle epideictically in terms of a *ceremonial* ritual, like the numerous Triumphal cars displayed in the ceremonial ritual epideictically represented in Van Alsloot's pictorial pageant *De triomf des Isabella* (fig. 4).

In both pictorial cases, the double form of visual rhetoric informs the viewer of epideictic's action in the public domain, for both carnivalisation as a ritual ceremony, and for the viewer who sees it represented in a picture. Either way, the salient features of epideictic rhetoric demonstrate to viewers that they can consider themselves as spectators at the events they behold, further opening up the possibility of inviting an active viewer participation in the rhetorical reduction and amplification involved in the perceiving of these pictures as examples of visual epideictic rhetoric, while at the same time allowing the viewer of Bruegel's picture to become a participant of the pictorial *communitas* in which individuals, amidst the polyphonic and heteroglossic throng, experience the epideictic rhetoric of carnivalisation as a merging of life, picturing, and theatre.[43]

From the theatrical point of view of staging carnivalisation Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* may be interpreted as a *toneelvoorstelling* in which the pictured setting paradoxically shifts between a village square and a stage. This paradoxical shift can be applied in a wider sense to the picture as a whole, describing the

communitas experience of carnival-time in terms of a theatrical performance,[44] i.e., as a ritual *kermis* in which each participant enacts his or her part within the *toneelvoorstelling* of the world as a stage. At the same time this shift can also be applied in a narrower sense to the two Carnival plays being staged in the picture as epideictic performances representing *rederijker* productions as part of the visual *toneelvoorstelling*.

The presence of two Carnival plays in Bruegel's picture are his tribute[45] to the *rederijkers*[46] and to the close association which existed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries between the performing arts and the art of painting – see also Chapter 4. The humanist tradition, which perceived of a painter as a "poet" who had knowledge of *poesie*, also perceived of rhetorical tropes as *sinnekennis* or a *spel van sinne*, which formed a joint mode of rhetorical communication throughout the sister arts during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The "*sinnekens*" was also used as a term for the emblem's allegorical relation to the *rederijkersspel*. Moreover, the humanist orientation towards literature and pictures in Northern Europe in the 1550s and 1560s also influenced the performance of epideictics of "all aspects of cultural life, including pageantry, drama and public displays, the activities of the rhetorical societies, the literature published and read, and the paintings and prints that were sold".[47] It is likely, therefore, that the *studia humanitatis* and the *rederijker sinnekennis* were often applied to performative epideictics in mixed forms or *satura* by the sixteenth-century Northern humanist "poets" for their audience's entertainment.

Bruegel's depiction of the two Carnival plays, by analogy, may be interpreted as emblems of his own painted panel that can be seen as a pictorial stage. Included in this *diabasis*[48] between picturing, life, and theatre, is the waning medieval *theatrica*[49] merging with the Renaissance[50] *topos* of the *theatrum mundi*.[51] Stemming from this theme of theatre and the world as a stage, *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten*, as a *toneelvoorstelling*, functions on three integrated, yet paradoxical levels: (1) as a *speculum* between *naer het leven* and *theatrum mundi*, (2) as a *parodia theatrum*, and (3) as "painted theatre"[52] in which Bruegel "stage manages" his amplified composition from a panoramic and heteroglossic *Wimmelbeeld* view. Space does not permit further commentary on these three topics which have been discussed elsewhere,[53] save to say that the conflation of these three themes can be regarded as a *paradoxia epidemica* which allows viewers, as onlookers or bystanders, to witness the panorama[54] of his pictorial representation as a theatrical audience might have behaved as spectators in seeing most of the game play.

Bruegel's pictorial game can itself be regarded as heteroglossic in nature: it refers, on the one hand, to the numerous gaming aspects of Carnival in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* such as gambling, play acting and the like, and on the other, to the artist's own "gaming" genius and wit. Such gamesmanship can be found in parallel runs: the former in related subject matter such as the dicing gamblers, the *rederijker* players, and the children's games in the upper left mid-foreground of the composition, elaborated upon in *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7); the latter at a thematic and conceptual level, including Bruegel's rhetorical *inventio* and *ingenium*. The dilogy of the term "gamesmanship" or *spelen*, then, is directed toward two distinct thematic areas of epideictic rhetoric in Bruegel: the deceit of the former's vices points towards human folly and the picaresque *ethos* of epideictic rhetoric explained in Chapter 3, while the witty conceit of the latter involves the artist's pictorial games of parody and *paradoxia epidemica* together with the interactiveness between Bruegel's gnomic wit and that of his learned audience, including heteroglossic views and the various thematic relations in his *oeuvre* and with other pictures, literary texts and cultural sources both ancient, late medieval, early modern humanist and reformational. Examining Bruegel's gnomic wit first, as a theoretical basis upon which his pictures might have been conceived, the question might be asked: which figures of thought inform the witty "gamesmanship" of the rhetorical trope structure of a visual parody in Bruegel's pictures?

To answer this heuristic question, we need to recall the poetics of epideictic rhetoric and the nature of visual parody and its rhetorical trope structure outlined in Chapter 1. Seeking out examples of visual litotes, visual meiosis, visual pun, and visual oxymoron, the viewer might consider the following samples as evidence of each case, their parody, paradox and irony notwithstanding. An example of visual litotes can be found in Bruegel's *Landschap, met Icarus' val* (c. 1558) (fig. 11) where the drowning Icarus, who is supposed to be the most important figure in the painting, is litotically represented as the figure of least importance – see further Chapter 3.[55]

Examples of visual meiosis in Bruegel might perhaps include (1) his parodying of the *deugden* of *barmhartighijdt* and *geloof* among the Lenten group in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2)[56] where the satirised *deugden* may ironically not be as virtuous as they are supposed to be; (2) the mighty splash which Icarus makes in *Landschap, met Icarus' val* (fig. 11) might also be regarded as a visual meiosis as it is little more than a proverbial "drop in the ocean"; and (3) the supposed wisdom of the saws in *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3), which,

although splendidly encyclopaedic and seemingly learned and wise, nevertheless shows up the follies of humanity rather than human wisdom.

One may regard the example of the round fathead of Prince Carnival in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) as a visual pun on the rounded *sottenbol* used by the gathering of fools in Bruegel's *Het feest van de gekken* (1559) (fig. 12) as an indication of foolishness – *sottenbol* being a punning "term for a fathead, fool, jester or buffoon."[57]

And the visual oxymoron? In *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* the picaresque battle between Prince Carnival and Lady Lent could be regarded as a visual oxymoron set within carnival-time. Lady Lent's presence within carnivalisation in particular could be interpreted as a visual oxymoron ironising the presence of Lenten emblems and activities in an otherwise carnivalesque atmosphere.

One may pass from these examples of visual tropism underlining the games of Bruegel's wit to the visual games of carnivalisation, and return, circuitously, to the polyphony and *heteroglossia* in Bruegel's carnivalesque *communitas*, as a *toneelvoorstelling* involving gamesmanship – keeping in mind all that has been said so far about rhetoricity's constant interaction between contextual exigencies and textual constraints on the one hand, and, on the other, the rhetorical frame of visual parody and the trope structure of visual parody, in order to explore further the rich and complex thematic nature of Bruegelian carnivalisation as a *communitas*. Carnivalisation's gamesmanship finds part of its picaresque expression not only in games and gaming like gambling, but also in the epideictic festive occasion (*festivitas*) – celebration – which Carnival and carnival-time offer to its *communitas* participants in abundance, as utopian *overvloed*, as in the example of the fabled *Luyleckerland* (1567) (fig. 13).[58] Like the tarts on the roof in *Luyleckerland* and in *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3, "# 1"), a Flemish saw emblematising plenty,[59] carnivalisation's glutted menu is always supposed to be a picaresque *heteroglossia* of food and drink ready to be consumed by *homo festivus* – unless, of course, the larder has already been cleaned out, as in Bruegel's Cockaignian parody of plenty. Such a visual *satura* – satire or "medley" – would have delighted Bruegel's audience in the sixteenth century as they would have appreciated Bruegel's pun on *lanx satura*, a "full dish" or "medley of ingredients",[60] which picaresquely joined the contemporary demand for satires to be "stuffed full"[61] of people and incidents as visual *heteroglossia* so that the audience could "feast" their eyes on what they could intellectually "feast" their thoughts and wit upon.

For a while, then, during carnival-time, men, women and children could indulge in – or more than likely, overindulge in (*overvloed*) – the excessive offerings of the Carnival spirit, in particular their appetite (*famem*) for the 3 Vs of *feescultuur* (1) *vrijen*, including kissing, love-making, lust, and fucking, (2) *vreten* (gluttony) – exemplified by the *ondeugden* of *gulsighijdt, gierghijdt* and *dronckenschap* – and (3) *vechten* (fighting), as shown in Bruegel's bawdy engraving *De vette keuken* (1563) (fig. 14). *Festivitas* commands of its participants to eat, drink, and be merry excessively (*overvloed*), accompanied by noise like loud bangings, shouting, screaming, singing and music-making – and this is precisely what Prince Carnival and his followers are up to: one can almost hear the "painted sound"[62] in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten*; and Prince Carnival's rotunded body speaks volumes – literally, tropically, and emblematically – about his eating and drinking habits.

Festivitas, however, is not the only salient feature of carnivalisation worth noting. Among other commonplace themes of Carnival to note are those of role reversals: male and female,[63] rich and poor, slave and master, seriousness and fun, playfulness and gluttony followed by forty days of fasting. The latter thematic trait deals with the *festivitas* and anti-*festivitas* polarising of Prince Carnival (male) and Lady Lent (female?) into opposition and into opposing rhetoricities engaged in a picaresque battle with one another. The viewer-as-picaresque accomplice in the participation of epideictic rhetoric and visual parody must absorb all the contradictory and paradoxical rhetorical strains of carnivalisation at one and the same time during carnival-time – as a *locus inversus* – in order to derive the maximum experience of *festivitas* as a *satura* and as visual *heteroglossia*.

Since antiquity Carnival was a time of ambiguity and freedom, and, for Bruegel, it was a time which appositely exemplified the *paradoxia epidemica* and the strange ambivalence which accompanied carnival-time as a time of parody wherein nothing was as it seemed. The ironies of the parodic trope structure, the thematics of the deception of human folly and the interpretation of Carnival's deception was not without the danger of possible misinterpretation, like Lady Lent's dubious gender, due to the paradoxical mode in which Carnival presented itself – as a *paradoxia epidemica* and as a rhetorical *locus inversus*. Traditionally, carnival-time was viewed, like the comic,[64] as an interval temporally suspending everyday life; it was perceived as a time when ordinary life was suspended and a different reality took over. This different reality reminded everyone that novel, extraordinary, and extra-ordinary possibilities were possible, wherein the Carnival world could be re-arranged or overturned in order to comment on the way things were in the ordinary world. The instituted hierarchical structures of the world, which usually demanded forms of etiquette, reverence, and even fear to be present, could be set aside: the

precedence and rank, which preoccupied the everyday world and the rhetoricity of the high and the low modes –

see further Chapter 3 – could happily be foregone while Carnival ruled and "the one-track arrogance of official

systems of signification",[65] as paradigmatic targets which were considered as part of serious and official

discourse, could be relativised and mocked by means of parody.

As a "limnal period, a dangerous in-between time of temporary disorder",[66] carnival-time could be seen as an

intrusive disruption of the ordinary world. Like the comic, Carnival posited "another reality that [was] inserted

like an island into the ocean of everyday experience."[67] Ubiquitously weaving in and out of the seasons of the

annual calendar and everyday life, Carnival presented itself as "a counterworld, an upside-down world"[68] – a

mundus inversus – with a "peculiar logic of the 'inside out,' of the 'turn about,' of the continual shifting from top

to bottom, from front to rear, of numerous parodies ... humiliations,"[69] profanations and scatological themes. In

this carnivalesque World Turned Upside Down *topos*, closely associated with the fool – a key theme in folly

being inversion – "everything was turned upside down in the enactment of folly".[70] This "sudden and rationally

inexplicable shift in the sense of reality",[71] like that of the comic,[72] can be seen as a kind of magic in which the

everyday world was transformed into a carnivalised World Upside Down *topos*. Moreover, Carnival's magic,

when it became satirical of the ordinary world order and the hierarchy of the societal system, invariably used its

magic epideictically to curse and lampoon those paradigmatic targets of the high mode on which satire's anger

and parody were directed.

Since Carnival was a free-for-all time in which all participants and actions were welcomed, the satiric antics of

the World Upside Down's participants could revel in its heteroglossic festivities. Carnival-time erased the barrier

between the spectator and the spectacle, inviting the audience to join in the epideictic festive celebrations as a

communal collaborator, to adopt the role and personae of an accomplice in carnivalesque actions and *communitas*

activities. By blurring the separate areas of everyday life from carnivalisation, carnival-time sought to break

down barriers by epideictically celebrating social inversions, attacking taste by parodying the high genre in

favour of popular genres and insurrectionalising institutional hierarchies which existed outside of carnival-time –

see further Chapter 3. Carnival-time thus represented a form of counter-culture which could be interpreted as

disrupting, or opposing, official cultural formalities by epideictically displaying the rituals of subversion and

picaresque insurrection using parodic "rules" outside the rules and regulations of everyday social norms: for

carnival-time was a chronotope[73] in which play, gamesmanship, and parody were all welcomed and epideictically

celebrated, where the "lower body stratum" could be comically privileged, and where the physicality of popular culture, including low mode scatological matters, could participate: i.e., the crude, the bottom, the rear view, and the low, could freely intrude. Two visual examples can be used to illustrate the droll bodily excretions of the carnivalesque in Bruegel as "Pier den drol": (1) the squatter who shits (*kakken*) against the wall of the church in *De kermesse van Hoboken* (fig. 6) and (2) the fool who defecates in "# 26" of *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) onto the inverted globe as an emblem of the World Upside Down *topos*, "# 27". Such stinky acts of vulgar vitality odiously describe the essential principle of degradation in Bruegel and Rabelais in what Bakhtin called "the lowering of all that is high, spiritual, ideal, abstract; it is a transfer to the material level, to the sphere of earth and body",[74] to grotesque realism and to the picaresque view of the world from the low mode perspective.

Within the context of early modern pre-industrial Europe, the Carnival reversal of roles,[75] including exchanging decency for vulgarity, existed as a commonplace, a cultural *locus communes*, which represented one form of the carnivalesque as a World Upside Down *topos*.[76] I shall discuss the thematic focus of the World Upside Down *topos* as an organising principle in Chapter 3.

Carnival-time was thus a time of misrule and license, of *monde renversé*[77] and *deposuit potentes de ses et exultavit humiles*,[78] in which the powerful, as paradigmatic targets, were parodically put down from their seats and the humble were exalted: i.e., the "high" was brought low, and the "low" "triumphed" on high. Carnival's reversibility of roles and social hierarchy parodied behavioural logic also. By temporarily suspending the norms of society and the existing societal system, the *communitas* of Carnival was released from the social tensions of class and status, which normally existed in everyday life, by carnivalising them, while at the same time regenerating and revisioning them. The Carnival world "was evoked, even acted out, by the supposedly civilised society in order to establish, protect, and define a world governed by strictly rational, orderly behaviour".[79] Thus the "violence within the limits of the festive rite helped to mitigate the threat to the community of the more serious disruption and conflict in everyday operations".[80] The to and fro movement within and without carnival-time, sliding and shifting forwards and backwards from one extreme to the other, regulated and oscillated the ebb and flow of normalcy and carnivalisation, and the rising and falling notions of progression and regression on the circuitous graph of the social calendar. These thematic opponents – social norms and Carnival's suspension of norms – expressed in terms of progression and regression – societal system versus *communitas* – ambiguously revived, renewed and revisioned abundance and increase. Such carnivalesque transformations were never static,

for in their dynamic interaction they also epideictically showed what was most satisfactory as well as what was most dissatisfactory, deplorable, and repressive in the everyday world.

The heightened tension between the thematic opponents of progression and regression during Carnival simmered on the boundaries of mock battles or parodies and insurrection and revolution, but they were generally kept in check prior to the Reformation by Carnival's suspension of norm and the power of Church authority. The realisation of the ambiguity between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, however, was epideictically both a humiliating and a mortifying experience whose uses and abuses remained incomplete. Popular culture, in which Carnival had immersed itself, had long remained an epitome of such incompleteness. The verbal and other abuses of its mockery and moral condemnation toward the status quo epideictically remained ambivalent[81] in the sense that, while its regressive phase remained full of negation and distraction, its progressive thrust remained a positive force.[82] The paradoxical regressive and progressive ambivalence of Carnival stemmed from the paradoxical point of view of its participants: those who were epideictically satisfied that Carnival folly was deplorable and repressive, as opposed to those who remained epideictically dissatisfied with Carnival's inability to either change, or to take vengeance on, contemporary social ills.[83]

The paradoxical view of the epideictics of satisfaction or praise and dissatisfaction or blame during Carnival and with the carnivalesque themes in Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* will ever remain incomplete, an unresolvable *paradoxia epidemica*. And its comic disquiet is precisely what gives Bruegel's picture a two edged sword: for how ought the viewer to interpret the picture if the picture itself thematically represents ambiguity with its rhetoricity disguised? Like Carnival's suspension of everyday life and norms, I shall suspend the answer to this rhetorical question which defies any committed answer, and circuitously take up the next salient feature of carnivalisation instead: that of disguise itself – i.e., the wearing of masks. This characteristic feature of the Carnival tradition, seen on the right and left hand side foreground of *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), was a commonplace part of Carnival: masking and travesty invoking dressing up in unfamiliar clothes, especially those worn by the opposite gender. The Carnival mask was an essential element of disguise, for creating a *persona* and for veiling recognition in this carnivalised *toneelvoorstelling*, like the actors enacting the heteroglossic parts of Prince Carnival – himself a boorish personification parodying the ancient Silenus – or other roles like Death and Lady Lent – is she a lady or does she (he?) parody womanhood? Masking one's appearance provided Carnival's participants with the opportunity to

perform beyond the prescribed conventions of their routine lives within the parameters of the Carnival performance. It afforded them the opportunity to not only to dress up in Carnival costumes and to temporarily explore issues such as transvestism – it is not clear whether Lady Lent is male or female – but it also allowed the actor's emblematic performances – like the allegorical figures in the triumphant floats in Van Alsloot's *De triomf des Isabella* (fig. 4) – to be interpreted as mimetic impersonations of rhetorical *imbroglia* and *prosopopoeia* – tropisms relating to acting, role playing, and pretending.

Important for the transformation of carnivalisation by means of masking and disguises as a theme, is the slippery topic of appearance and reality: where what seems, on the surface, to be natural, 'true' or real, upon deeper investigation and reflection, could turn out to be unnatural, false or unreal.[84] The tropic turn of the rhetorical figures of *imbroglia* and *prosopopoeia* point the viewer in the direction of such a turning, and to overturning, in the case of parody involving the World Upside Down *topos*.

Party to the carnivalesque themes of disguise and overturning were the masks and costumes of grotesque figures. The nature of the grotesque itself was not confined to Carnival alone, but had a much wider application during the sixteenth century. I shall digress for a moment in order discuss the aesthetic background of the grotesque during the sixteenth century before circuitously returning to discussing its role in Carnival, the better to contrast the two approaches towards the grotesque.

Like 'beauty and the beast', the concepts of *grazia* and the grotesque represented two different approaches by which art could follow nature in the sixteenth century. Grace (*grazia*), equated with *maneria* and beauty (*bellezza*), seemed to be the most aristocratic of terms used to describe the artist's new-found status, as well as to encapsulate the "notions of refinement and virtuosity [in pictures], in an appeal to the visual interests of a learned élitè of patrons."[85] Elegance meant both orientation and organisation, embracing, on the one hand, the "fittingness" (*decorum*) of grace – befitting *finesse* and the *bon fine* ("good end") – by "perfecting" nature's "defects", while, on the other hand, the concealed skill (*spezzatura*) and "effortless resolution of ... difficulties"[86] in practising grace demanded not only exquisite rhetorical *elocutio*, but also the virtues and manners derived from good judgement.[87]

Grazia, however, was not an isolated phenomena. One of the demands of *historia* was for the painter "to mingle direct contraries so that they may afford a great contrast to one another, and all the more when they [were] in close proximity; that is, the ugly next to the beautiful, the big next to the small, the old next to the young; the

strong next to the weak; all should be varied as much as possible."[88]   *Varietá* brought *grazia* to the realm of the grotesque, its contrary.   This occurrence was not unique to *maniera*.   Already in the early sixteenth century Leonardo's macaronic drawings combining the most beautiful or the most ugly elements in nature (fig. 15) had rendered *il naturale* as artistic play.   Leonardo's *visi monstruosi*, probably drawn for his own amusement or as entertainment for his friends and patrons, were anonymous caricatures often with pronounced features created by combining physiognomic deformities which were the result of studies from life combined with free and imaginative exercises (fig. 16).

Mannerism's pleasure in nature's freaks and the irrational motifs which made up the grotesque, as a *naturale et artificioso*, designed by the mind advocating *fantasia* and rhetorical *adynata*, as the stringing together of impossibilities, had Classical origins and medieval roots.   Space does not permit a full discussion of this topic here, save to say that the grotesque remained an "aesthetic orphan", a "bewildering image ... wandering from form to form, era to era"[89] taking "on new meanings and connotations with each application."[90]   Hybrids, since antiquity, had been the "vehicles for the grotesque"[91] and in the Middle Ages the norms of beauty and order were reserved for God and the heavenly host while the wicked and the sinful were grotesquely portrayed as ugly, deformed creatures.   While the medieval representation of the grotesque provided the Renaissance with an *ethos* for the grotesque image, the ancient example of the grotesque remained an authoritative touchstone for the existence of the grotesque in Classical art and literature.

The discovery around 1480 of the buried Roman architectural decor, the so-called Domus Aurea of Nero's villa on the Oppian Hill across from the Colosseum, brought about a change for both the repertory and uses of the grotesque form.   First entered through their vaults,

> and slowly excavated all the way to the floor, the early discoverers thought of the place as a set of artificial caves, or grottoes.   Hence the work was called *grottesca*,[92] ... appropriate to ... images [which seemed] to spring (or creep) from the dark places of the mind.[93]

These Roman *grottesche* wall paintings depicted fantastic creatures with impossible anatomies that were characterised throughout by a free mixture of representational forms – *satura* of human, animal, plant and sometimes architectural elements intermingled: "men with legs of animals or terminating in fronded branches, horses adorned with leaves and having hind quarters of serpents, winged *putti*, beast-headed men, monstrosities of all sorts deployed in a complex fecundity of designs."[94]   These composite *figuras compuestas* reflected "a phenomenon in transformation, as yet unfinished metamorphosis, of death and birth, growth and becoming",[95] as

well as creatures which could be seen as fearful and dangerous, even destructive, or as benign creatures of decorative fantasy.

The *renovatio antiquitatis*, having archaeologised the Renaissance's knowledge of the grotesque during antiquity, began to use it as a newly found pictorial *disegno*. Raphael's designs for the Vatican *loggio* (fig. 17), executed by his assistants over several years (c. 1516-1519), did much to bring sixteenth-century grotesque ornate decoration to contemporary consciousness. The Mannerists, for one, developed a vested interest in grotesque decorations: *ghiribizzi* gained strength around the mid-sixteenth century as an eccentric deviation from the Classical style. Like *grazia*, the grotesque was seen as a matter of organisation and orientation. In Trissino's view, for example, the grotesque was not simply physical deformation or hybrid admixtures of disjunctive forms and proportions,[96] but was seen as a philosophical matter as well, for the "ugliness" of the mind included ignorance, credulity and imprudence.[97] Since grace and beauty epideictically signified ennoblement, the grotesque image epideictically represented the baseness of bodily form as well as the basest of mental states such as sin and evil.

The Mannerist view of the grotesque, centring on monstrous hybridity and an ugly visage accompanied by an immoral mind or spirit, as opposed to the grace, charm, virtue, and the beauty of *grazia*, can be seen as a counterpart to the carnivalesque grotesque which developed in the underbelly of medieval folk culture and the Carnival tradition. Whereas *grazia* sought to perfect nature through idealisation, the carnivalesque grotesque sought to parody and caricature it, not merely in formal terms or for aesthetic reasons, but for societal ones as well. The carnivalesque grotesque was regarded as anti-idealised in its deformed and misshapen appearance, and it revelled in the grotesque realism of the body politic by addressing forbidden, obscene, and tabooed subjects such as scatology and corprophilia which *grazia* deliberately avoided or overlooked. By indulging in the physical excesses of the body and bodily excrements – note, for instance, the peasant shitting (*kakken*) against the church wall in *De kermesse van Hoboken* (fig. 6) – including a taste for humorous vulgarity, the common people of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance could freely abandon themselves to the exuberantly obscene experiences of Carnival, like the carnivalesque grotesque, in an essentially joyous Rabelaisian/Bruegelian manner as an epideictic celebration and festive rite temporarily existing outside the restrictions of the *lex domina* of the Church and the societal system in which they lived their everyday lives. As a counter-cultural phenomenon to official church dogma, the carnivalesque grotesque permeated medieval and Renaissance thought "embracing the entire

culture, beginning from the lower, folkloric level and continuing up to the level of official church culture",[98] thereby allowing the co-existence of contraries like Carnival and Lent – oxymorons – in such topics as the sacred and the secular, the sublime and the base, the serious and the playful (*serio ludere*). The former topics – the sacred, the sublime, and the serious – became the paradigmatic targets for the latter's parodying of them during epideictic carnivalesque performances such as the medieval *parodia sacra*[99] and the Feast of Fools, pictured by Bruegel in *Het feest van de gekken* (see fig. 12), wherein the sternness of institutionalised officialdom could be toyed with on such occasions, made fun of, laughed at with "corrosive laughter",[100] mocked, and parodied.

While laughing[101] in authority's face, Carnival's grotesque participants were also laughed[102] at. At *communitas* events like Carnival the grotesque, the ugly and the monstrous were frequently regarded as laughable. As if in agreement with the Aristotelian view that "the humorous [was] to be found in some defect, deformity, or ugliness",[103] sixteenth-century thinkers viewed the grotesque as laughable because its distorted features, base and ugly, were regarded as a species of comedy – see further Chapter 3. Whenever the whimsical imagination and the grim quirks of the grotesque cast a vivid spell over the mind, the intense illusionism of the grotesque image had "a quality of wit about it, however macabre",[104] which was regarded as both "funny", "amusing" and "strange" – like the unearthly realm of carnival-time and the grotesque emerging from dark places like grottoes, caves, or the underbelly of official culture.

Just as satire (*satura*) was regarded as a medley of heterogeneous ingredients, so too, was the grotesque: a *heteroglossia* of nature's defects – hence the Renaissance's misguided belief that the etymology of satire was the grotesque satyr, an impish man-goat, one of nature's hybrid defects. Like satire, the grotesque was also viewed during the Renaissance as comic for this very reason: its compilation of incongruous organic species and proportions was ridiculous (*ridicolosa*) – having roots in the Latin *ridere* (to laugh). *Homo ridiculus*, during the Renaissance, was thought to be ridiculous, and hence to be laughed at, because he/she contained grotesquerie of mixed comic-horror which negated Classical harmony and form. The co-existence of horrific and comic elements broke the rules of Classical beauty by means of parody, by inverting and violating *kalon*, creating an incongruency with idealised nature, which, like the creation of Carnival, inversions and violations might have seemed to have conjured up, as if by magic, the image of "a separate world, different from [the image of] the world of ordinary reality".[105] Such a grotesque *inventio* appeared to be not only incongruent, but ridiculous as well, for it seemed to debunk through satire nature's own *inventio*. The viewer laughed at a grotesque image with

an "ambiguous mixture of hilarity and terror, ... anxiety, ... bewilderment, the merging of mask and face, [and] the shadow of death passing over the sunny world of children at play"[106] because laughter

> was an admission that behind life's most ordinary, commonplace phenomena there [was] invariably revealed something supernatural. Laughter was the emotional acknowledgement of the eternal antagonism of good and evil, sacred and profane [in grotesque realism].[107]

Medieval devils were themselves often seen as humorous and horrifying in their grotesqueness. Leonardo himself, in his *Trattato della pictura*, fragment 35, concurred with this view: when the viewer looked at a hideous image he/she saw "... monstrous things that frighten, or those that are grotesque and laughable ... ."[108] One can imagine, for example, Bruegel's audience laughing at his beautiful, thin, stick-like heavenly Gothic angels battling with the fallen grotesque monster-demons from Hell in *De vallende engeles' val* (1562) (fig. 18) or imagine their laughter at seeing the insane figure of Dulle Griet harrowing at the mouth of a comic Hell in *Dulle Griet* (c. 1562-1563) (fig. 19).[109] These picaresque battles must have seemed to them as comical as the picaresque battle taking place in *Het gevechten tusschen Karnival en Vasten* where the grotesque figure of Prince Carnival and his disguised band of followers battle with Lady Lent and her/his "false" charity workers.

The licence afforded to Carnival's participants to disguise their appearance, to dress up and wear masks, and to engage in the body politic of the carnivalesque grotesque activities such as "carnival laughter",[110] an *overvloed* of gamesmanship ranging from the *festivitas* activities of merrymaking, overeating and drinking in excess leading to scatology,[111] as well as to gambling, dancing, shouting, and acting out a role in public – heteroglossic interactivities all associated with Carnival – were nonetheless appropriate to the epideictic festive occasion of Carnival. One of the reasons why Carnival outlived Lent in Protestant countries after the Reformation was precisely because Carnival still provided the framework in which the above activities could annually take place. From the writings of Sebastian Franck we gain some idea about the "reformed" attitude toward the celebration of Carnival:

> Then comes the Carnival, the Bacchanalia of the Roman church. Many entertainments characterize this feast. Spectacles, such as jousts, tournaments, dances, and Carnival plays. People dress up in costume and run about the city like fools and madmen, playing whatever pranks and games they can think up. Whoever can think of something foolish to do is master. On such occasions one sees outlandish outfits and strange disguises; women wear men's clothing and men adopt women's dresses. As a result shame, good discipline, honor, and piety are rarely found at this Christian festival where (to the contrary) much foolishness takes place.[112]

Carnival-time, then, gave license to its collaborators; it freely allowed the participants of Carnival to do as they pleased within the temporal restrictions of its epideictic frame of reference, keeping in mind the progressive and regressive movements engendered by Carnival. Because carnival-time sanctioned foolish behaviour and

everyone behaved foolishly, as noted by Sebastian Franck, Rabelais, and Bruegel, the follies of humanity were covered by the unwritten agreement of Carnival's license.

It was only when the Carnival license to foolishness crossed the boundaries[113] of carnival-time and ventured into the carnivalisation of the existing societal system itself, when the Boy Bishop no longer held court within Carnival as he tries to do in the lower right hand side of *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten,*[114] but when he or she emblematically held court in the everyday world, either as an individual, or as an authoritative figure whose rule misruled – causing Carnival's Lord of Misrule to misrule in society, culture, religion, or politics – that a picaro/picara's satiric skills could lead to the parody of such a paradigmatic target together with the necessary epideictic ridicule and comic laughter. This is one of the thematic foci which will be explored in later chapters; it is also one of the motivating forces behind picaresque insurrection and a reason for a picaro/picara riding into battle with their times.

The image of the picaro/picara charging off into battle as a comic insurrectionist has a parallel in the image of the Wild Man/Wild Woman. Historically the Wild[115] Man and the Wild Woman have "assumed a bewildering range of disguises"[116] during his/her long career.[117] For convenience sake the term "Wild Man" is used below, but this does not exclude the "Wild Woman". As "the distant barbarian, for others he was an internal threat,[118] within men and within civilisation. He was the ego's shadow and the state's underground."[119] He "stood symbol for fallen nature and was blood brother to Satan and the dark angels"[120] and could "never be absorbed into oblivion or given full citizenship in any government but his own. His story is as varied as his face and form ... portrayed in many incantations – savage, barbarian, giant, monster [see for example figs 20 and 21], hero, nemesis, saviour, shadow, whipping post."[121] This is because the "shape which the myth [of the Wild Man] takes, and therefore the character of the Wild Man himself, depends not so much on the facts and discoveries as upon the psychological needs and attitudes of the civilised white man [Europeans] who creates the myth."[122] When, for example, civilised Europeans faced the savages of newly discovered lands during their voyages of exploration they experienced mixed feelings of attraction and loathing, hatred and longing included curiosity, surprise, and lust, together with fear, disgust, and a sense of superiority:

> Evidence was available for views of the non-European as either barbaric or enlightened, primitive or sophisticated, agelessly wise or childishly simple. Faced with this ambiguity in the Wild Man's personality, and overwhelmed by the strangeness of cultures so different from their own, early French writers would adopt one of two standpoints. Either they would praise the wisdom and uncorrupted virtue of the indigenes, or they would damn them for their cannibalism, idolatry, and other reprehensible practices.[123]

Christian bigotry, the perception of the Wild Man as a zoanthropic[124] creature, and "a nostalgia for a lost Eden, a life free of both ambitions and inhibitions, a mythical past which exists, if only in dreams, as a longed-for escape",[125] could all be cited among the reasons for epideictically regarding the Wild Man in the above light of praise or damnation.

Aside from the reasons for perceiving the Wild Man one way or another, the Wild Man represented "the oppressed, exploited, alienated, and repressed part of humanity"[126] and played a role in education, literature, anthropology, philosophy, politics, and linguistics for many centuries. More importantly for the arts, the Wild Man represented "the anti-Apollo, irrevocably opposed to existing hierarchies and the organising force of intellects both human and divine."[127] This is because

> [t]he notion of "wildness" (or in its Latinate form, "savagery") belongs to a set of culturally self-authenticating devices which includes, among many others, the ideas of "madness" and "heresy" as well. These terms are used not merely to designate a specific condition or state of being but also to confirm the value of their dialectical antithesis: "civilization", "sanity", and "orthodoxy" respectively.[128]

If these three terms accommodated the conventional concepts of the normal and the familiar in civilised society, the term "wildness" described the unconventional, the abnormal and the strange – even the grotesque. Opposing "civilisation", "wildness" focused on topics associated with non-civilised society: the "savage", "barbaric" and the "uncivilised"; for, just as the "wildness" of "madness" and "insanity" opposed "sanity", the "wildness" of "heresy" and "unorthodoxy" opposed "orthodoxy". Parody, for one, opposing established "orthodoxy" might be interpreted as "wild", "unorthodox", or heretical – the celebration of epideictic rhetoric in its satiric forms – rather than as a panegyric or encomium on the orthodoxy of the present societal system.

An artistic hooligan and a Wild Child opposing "civilisation", "sanity" and "orthodoxy", the Wild Man/Wild Woman shared a commonality with the picaro/picara. The picaro/picara

> definitely shares a common ground outside the pale of society with the savage. He[/she] may represent an antisocial force which the author[/artist] is criticizing or supporting, but his[/her] Wild Man[/Wild Woman] traits often lack the freedom associated with a precivilized state. Rather, the picaro[/picara] is at the other end of the social spectrum; he[/she] is the postcivilized savage, the result of society's mismanagement of human potential.[129]

Whenever the picaro/picara takes up arms, ready to do picaresque battle with a perceived enemy – as a parodists battling with a foeful paradigmatic target – he/she may seem like a crazed Wild Man such as Orson in the *rederijker* play being staged in Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2; see also fig. 22) or the Wild Woman[130] "Mad Meg" in his *Dulle Griet* (fig. 19).[131] Livid with rage, incensed by an injustice, or angry beyond words at a miscarriage of justice, or the misrule of rulers, the picaro/picara turns the unruly behaviour by

Carnival's wild revellers and their accompanying insults to his/her own advantage of parodic insurrection, attack, satire, or revenge. For the Carnival crowd can speak the picaro/picara's mind; *communitas* can give a misruler a piece of their mind, even as their paradigmatic target can be turned against them, including the Wild Man or Wild Woman whose follies can be perceived of as outrageously barbaric, unlawful, stupid, or uncalled for. Seen through the noisy smoke and thunder of battle, the Wild Man/Wild Woman can rally to the picaro/picara's aid in order to vanquish the perceived enemy, mock-heroically save the day, engage in carnivalising and insurrectionist actions, or satirically expose the follies of other "wild" mad men and women run wild in society.

Carnival-time, as stated earlier, permits all kinds of heteroglossic foolish things, including the outrages of madness and wildness. Such folly can take on many forms – all foolish – including stupidity (*doffgehijdt*). The foolish antics of Prince Carnival and his followers in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* are an example of such adult folly – a major Bruegelian theme which recurs throughout the artist's *oeuvre*. Those of Lady Lent's followers are another – for Lenten deceit, if so, cannot but also be seen as reprehensible and be epideictically admonished from an ethical point of view.

To illustrate the carnivalisation of adult folly outside of Carnival, the viewer need look no further than the *heteroglossia* of folly depicted in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3). Many of the one hundred and twenty odd emblematic vignettes represented in this picture are saws which have been carefully chosen to represent, in striking visual terms (*enargeia*), the folly and stupidity of humanity in general (see Appendix 1): for example, blind men leading one another ("# 16"),[132] sitting on hot coals ("# 82"), hitting one's head against a brick wall ("# 105"), or attempting to out-gape an oven ("# 101"), to name but four instances of folly. Strictly speaking, however, none of these acts of folly in Bruegel's picture are in themselves tropic inversions in the ancient – both biblical and Classical[133] – or the medieval sense of the World Upside Down *topos* as exemplified in popular World Upside Down broadsheets such as the anonymous woodcut from the late sixteenth century (fig. 23).[134] Although everything in these World Upside Down broadsheets were based upon the medieval theme of the World Upside Down, namely, the principle of hierarchical inversion, Bruegel's topical treatment of the World Upside Down theme in *De verkeerde wereld*, as a *mundus inversus*, or as a parodic *stulticia mundi*, curiously did not strictly follow the World Upside Down *topos* tradition in terms of this kind of inversion. In short, Bruegel chose not to follow the tropic *adynaton* tradition.

Part of the World Upside Down tradition grew out of the Classical *topos* of the "stringing together of *impossiblia*",[135] like inversions, where they remained the "popular portrayal of impossibility"[136] known as tropic *adynaton*. The linking of such incongruous elements aimed at nothing more serious than to astonish and entertain its audience by their absurdity, within the boundaries of the epideictic "play-world"[137] which formed its "enclosure [*folde*]".[138] Bruegel's snip eye ("# 32") in *De verkeerde wereld* watches all the proceedings with a wide eye of astonishment, perhaps even in shocked disbelief at these visual *adynatons*. To the late medieval and Renaissance way of thinking, the *adynaton* of the World Upside Down *topos* represented "'a Socratic mirror' to the world"[139] at large, a *speculum* of sorts: "The world universe is made up of contradictions, and its harmony is made up of disharmonies. ... All worldly things must be turned upside down if you want to see them under their true light."[140] This contradictory statement, which typifies the *adynaton* tropology and the rhetoricity of the World Upside Down *topos*,[141] co-insides with the Renaissance *paradoxia epidemica*.

Bruegel avoids such rhetorical *adynaton*, or *impossiblia*, save in the possible instance of "# 15" where an old woman is being pursued by three skinny dogs as a true World Upside Down motif: where the hunted hunt the hunter. As an alternative option to this kind of inversion, Bruegel favours evoking a World Upside Down *topos* in which human folly – in terms of what was nonsensical, impossible and contrary to expectation – exemplified by illustrated saws, can vividly be presented to the viewer in the form of *paradoxia epidemica* and rhetorical *enargeia*.

His *De verkeerde wereld*, then, may be regarded as a *paradoxia epidemica* relating to the World Upside Down tradition, as the World Upside Down *topos* referred to the 'normal' world turned down, up, and around. Early in the Renaissance the word 'inversion', akin to rhetorical *inversio*, was used to mean "'a turning upside down' and 'a reversal of position, order, sequence, or relation'."[142] The Dutch *verkeerd*, and the German *verkehrt*, meant figuratively "wrong or perverse, as much as (literally) upside-down";[143] while the German *verkehrte Welt* captured more effectively the variations of a topsy-turvy world made "inside-out, inverted or reversed"[144] as it paradoxically and oxymoronically referred to the contrasts of the world in terms of a World Upside Down *topos*.

In evoking the World Upside Down *topos* Bruegel included in his picture an inverted globe, "# 27", which is both a particular saw, a possible name of the *herberg* and an emblem of the theme of the painting in its entirety:

> Over the entrance to the house on the left, as a sort of sign, hangs an orb, the cross of which points downwards instead of upwards, as an allegorical allusion to the perversity of the world.[145]

The sign of the cross erected on the globe had represented in the medieval mind the image of the world as a Christian empire. The coronation orb, as one of the oldest emblems of the medieval Christian empire, signified "the unity for which the medieval world was striving".[146] By the sixteenth century, however, this *ryksappel* or *aardbol* emblem, was inverted and was used to indicate a topsy-turvy world in which the divine order had been upset. The Reformation divisions had unsettled many of the conventions which the Roman Catholic Church had established during the Middle Ages, and the "stunning reversals of natural patterns"[147] and Renaissance conventions found in sixteenth-century pictures betrayed many an artist's natural sense of a loss of direction that often led them to look upon their troubled *milieu* as a World Upside Down *topos*. Indeed, Bruegel exploited the fact that the strong connection between "perspective and Saturnian thoughts were strong throughout the middle and late sixteenth century".[148]

Saturnian thoughts included the ambivalent meanings of melancholy and carnivalisation or Saturnalianism, which from a Bruegelian point of view, evolved into an unique *paradoxia epidemica*, based on tropic *hendiadys*,[149] wherein the Bruegelian perspective becomes a Janus-like pseudo-perspective: on the one hand, contemporary with the Mannerist's manner of disassembling, as a "sheared, and disjointed perspective without abandoning the theatrical perspective box they inherited from the early Renaissance";[150] while on the other hand remaining backward-looking, a lingering throwback to late medievalism and to the archaism of herringbone perspective mentioned further in Chapter 3. Both of these perspective types are blended as a tropic *hendiadys* in Bruegel's *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7) for example. The humanist's use of the tropisms of *hendiadys* and the *paradoxia epidemica* in rhetorical situations were emblems indicative of the changes that were sweeping and transforming early modern Europe. As with any other time of transition, the sixteenth-century *milieu* must have seemed to many to be one of confusion and doubt in which the World Upside Down *topos* was an apt emblem for understanding, and coming to terms with, these upheavals. It was therefore not surprising that Bruegel and his contemporaries should have regarded their *milieu* in terms of the World Upside Down *topos*, and that the World Upside Down *topos*, in turn, should have been chosen as the emblematic motif most fitting to their troubled and embattled circumstance.

Carnival provided a solution to the anxiety experienced during troubled times. People could take a break from daily life; they could come, participate, dress up, disguise themselves, play,[151] and temporarily leave their troubles at home or in the everyday world. The strong component of child's play during Carnival may have helped adults

to recover themselves within the heteroglossic hubbub of Carnival's temporal chaos.[152] Child's play, including games of horseplay and fooling around, while following the "rules of the game" – in Carnival's case, the misrules of carnivalisation, including disguise, enactment of roles, the grotesque, overindulgences, overturnings, role reversals, wildness, and folly – nevertheless was something quite different to reflecting on the folly of the adult world: children were merely child-like, innocent, ignorant, inexperienced, unknowledgeable – existing in a "state of nature",[153] yet "not held accountable to the rules of civilised society".[154] Adults, however, who behaved childishly were immature, foolishly inarticulate and irresponsible. Yet, at the same time, this marked distinction between the adult- and the child's foolish behaviour was mediated by the fool: do not the children lead the fool in the central foreground of Bruegel's *De kermesse van Hoboken* (fig. 6) – or is it paradoxically the other way round?

Whatever the case, it would appear that there was a close kinship between the child and the fool, a carnivalised theme that Bruegel examined further in his *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7). Here the viewer is shown the *paradoxia epidemica* between the overall scene shown "from above" from a panoramic *Wimmelbeeld* perspective and the child's perspective "from below". An encyclopaedia of at least ninety-one children's games has taken over the entire town and the children even use the outlying countryside as their playground. Since there is not an adult in sight, childlikeness is everywhere to be seen: the folly of gaming instead of "growing up" abound, and the entire rhetorical situation, filled with children who have banished adults and elders, has become a marketplace of games and "messing about", a World Upside Down setting – a *locus inversus* – substituting and parodying the real world of adults. The scene, which is appropriately constructed out of a literal inversion of perspective, escapes the viewer's attention at first glance, since the crowd of children and the variety of their games is what initially might appeal to, or have delighted and instructed Bruegel's audience, who may have wished to identify each game being played. It is only once the peripatetic eye has begun to explore *De kinderspelen* in greater detail that the viewer begins to realise that this town where children are at play is a place where perspective is deliberately inverted and where Albertian perspective is parodied and subverted – see further Chapter 3 – and that the entire constructed world of the picture belongs to the World Upside Down *topos*, both literally, figuratively, and emblematically.

Child's play, which is natural to children, had, since Bruegel's day, at least, been regarded as the counterfoil of adult play, which was regarded as "foolish child's play".[155] Such forms of child's play, Proverbs 22:15 reminds

us, is where "folly is bound up in the heart of a child". Bruegel's *De kinderspelen* had treated this theme at length, and so had the engraving of *De ezel op school* (1556-1557) (fig. 24) after Bruegel by Pieter van der Heyden, where the "children" in the classroom are *zinnebeelde*[156] of "irrational and foolish adults".[157] Indeed, the "children" in Bruegel's print *are* quite obviously grown-ups in children's clothes, looking like fantastic dwarfs, like a bewildered and foolish cross-section of humanity, young and old, male and female. The "children's" foolish and irrational behaviour can be seen in the dozens of perverse and not-to-be-helped "schoolchildren" who clutter up (*satura*) the "classroom", which is a barnyard. The "children" study their "A-B-C's" in crazy postures and comic grotesque combinations: two of them are huddled together under a large hat pressed down over their heads, illustrating the Flemish saw "Two fools under a single hood" – rhetorical *hendiadys* – while another bare-bottomed pupil celebrates his new-found learning by foolishly sticking his head into a beehive, unafraid of being stung by the bees, while attempting to read the alphabet printed on a piece of paper through his arse – one is tempted to say: "hy het amper sy gat gesien"!

This ironic and humorous observation becomes a picaresque theme of Bruegel's engraving since it can be extended to include the ass that also attends the barnyard "school". This ass, "looking in learnedly at the left has been 'given all the advantages' – eyeglasses to read with, notes to sing by, a candle to cast light on his studies" – "But when he essays to sing, he'll bray the same old way ... 'Hee-haw!'" This is because an ass at school will never learn to become a horse, even if he is sent to study in Paris[158] – *Al reyst den esele ter scholen om leeren – ist eenen esel hy en sal gheen peert weder keeren* – just like a silk purse cannot be made from a sow's ear, for, as the saying goes, "once an ass, always an ass!"[159] What Bruegel may have meant to imply by this saw is that it could be regarded as a *zinnebeeld* for the other foolish learners in the picture, who also make an "ass" of themselves, even to the extent of punningly wishing to scatologically study through their "ass" or arse.

Bruegel's parody of learning in this picture may be regarded as a *paradoxia epidemica* of carnivalesque role reversal between the child and the adult which may be implied by the fact that his "children" are adults, and by the fact that adult play may be seen as childish play, while children – if they already thought that they have grown up into adults – in studying adult's behaviour, learning to pipe from their peers,[160] will never learn to behave in an adult manner if they stay children and remain childish.

Yet children lead the fool in *De kermesse van Hoboken* (fig. 6); emblematically leading adult folly circuitously back to Carnival, and hence returning foolishness to the carnivalesque fold in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en*

Vasten (fig. 2). Taken together, then, the picture of the *communitas* of Carnival revellers like Wild Men and Wild Women in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* and elsewhere, with their polyphony of heteroglossic views and voices, actions and reactions, can be viewed as a *toneelvoorstelling* in which Carnival's participants may be viewed as the partakers of the epideictic rites of carnival-time. Their epideictic *festivitas* gamesmanship, reflecting Bruegel's own epideictic games of rhetorical parody and wit, collectively make up the salient features of carnivalisation describing the *communitas* of Carnival during carnival-time as seen from the perchronic point of view of picaresque insurrection wherein the Carnival participants are armed and ready for picaresque battle in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten*, each figure made up in masked guise and costume, alongside Bruegel's *paradoxia epidemica* stance towards his troubled *milieu*, as well as towards the nature of his parodic and inverted carnivalising. Bruegel's picaresque view of the carnivalesque, answers some of the heuristic questions concerning the interaction between epideictic rhetoric and the picaresque perchrony posed towards the end of Chapter 1 – other interactions between these two topics will be addressed in Chapter 3. Armed with these satiric "weapons" against the troubled background of the sixteenth century we may turn from the circuitous approach of carnivalisation to see how the battle lines of picaresque parody in Bruegel are further drawn in Chapter 3 as other themes are brought into focus, and upon which, future picaresque battles were to be fought and visually represented.

End notes

[1] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 914, 927).

[2] Prentki (1990: 363).

[3] Cornew (1995a: 119-123).

[4] The Carnival celebration sanctioned play, mime, and the wearing of masks by participants. Carnival time thus remained an appropriate setting for "making oneself unrecognizable" (Kerényi 1962: 51). Here an individual could loose his/her everyday confines and limitations and disguise himself or herself behind a mask (Adrados 1975: 259) and thus pretend to be someone else, or something else – as in gender reversals, or as an animal (Alderman 1977: 161). The comic revelers, alien when masked, under the protection of their masks, had the license to freely disrupt their communities.

[5] Bower (1981: 12-13).

[6] See Cornew (1995a: 138-139); Delevoy (1959: 58); Van Gelder (1959: 22); Kinser (1986: 26); Stridbeck (1956: 98-105ff.).

[7] The many fusbic figures which make up Bruegel's Carnival party, extend all the way to the upper window of the *herberg* known as the *Blauwe Schuyte*, where a lonely drunkard peers out at the viewer. Near him, a bagpipe-player leans out of an upper window and blows on his pipes. Bagpipes in the sixteenth century were an emblem of "false lures for the weak and ungodly" (Zupnick 1966: 224). Thus the viewer may be fairly certain that the bag-piper is not simply making music or "painted sound" (Sullivan 1994a: 74), but may be soliciting the innocent and the ignorant into coming to this "den" of iniquities.

[8] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 924).

[9] Berger (1997: xv).

[10] Holquist (1982-1983: 14).

[11] According to Vandenbroeck (1984: 92-93) the *tableau vivant* of a peasant wedding like *De vuile bruid* was staged during the Carnival festivities in the Netherlands and had the following typology:

> 1. It was a negative, didactic and comic literary exemplum which served to uphold a code of behaviour based on class distinctions and social attitudes from the fourteenth to the eighteenth centuries. 2. It was a spectacle which was particularly popular at Shrovetide festivities, and evidently with the charivari function of those festivities, but from an urban standpoint (origins in the fifteenth century). 3. It was a burlesque, rustic display with a derogatory tone, but without any explicit didactic or moral message, and was stage for an urban public (sixteenth century). 4. It was an aesthetically stylized entertainment or intermezzo, without any explicit moralistic or didactic overtones (late sixteenth century, but particularly popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries).

De Vuile bruid was a farcical subject played at Flemish fairs and Carnivals. The "low life" humor of the play is reflected in the engraving by "the coarse-featured, unkept bride, wearing a colander in lieu of a crown ... . In keeping with custom, she" was "danced to the nuptial couch – the uncovered earth under the rickety tent behind her" (Klein 1963: 123). This "rickety tent" alludes to "the Greek σκηνή, related to σκηνος, tent, and σκια, shade, meant tent or booth, a stage-building as background for plays, stage, or by transference that which is represented on the stage; or metaphorically, stage effect, acting, unreality, theatrical trick; or a tented cover, or entertainment given in tents" (Marshall 1950: 4-5). "Grubbiness" was a stereotypical element in *De vuile bruid* plays (Vandenbroeck 1984: 90), the peasant bride was "characterized as an animal" (Vandenbroeck 1984: 114). Accordingly, the "disheveled bride, her clothes in tatters, is being led forward by the dancing bridegroom, a large sword at his side, feathers sticking through a hole in his hand" (Sullivan 1991: 461; see also Bax 1979: 248, 289-290; Moxey 1989: 64).

The *Eclogues* (*Εκλογή*), written by Virgil in 43-37 BC (Virgil 1967), were *bucolics* (*βουκολικά*) or pastoral poems modeled on the *Idylls* (*εἰδύλλιον*) of Theocritus, the founder of the *genre*. Theocritus's lusty rustics with their coarse behaviour, befits *De vuile bruid*. The *Idylls* are often "urban surroundings ... transferred to the rustics, and the poet even masks himself and his friends ... in a playful *masquerade bucolique*" (Hammond & Scullard 1987: s.v. "Pastrol (or bucolic) poetry, Greek"; s.v. "Pastrol poetry, Latin"; s.v. "Virgil"). The allusion to the *masquerade bucolique* may be what Van Mander had in mind when he suggested that Bruegel and Franckert disguised themselves as peasants.

"The word *mops* in Flemish signified a kind of small pug-nosed bulldog and, by extension, a country oaf or hayseed. Latinized, *mops* becomes *mopsus*. Hence the accidental 'transition' to Arcady" (Klein 1963: 123).

[12] *Urson en Valentijn* was a medieval French romance first printed in Lyons in 1489 (Benét 1973: 1045) and was connected with the Carolingian cycle (Brewer 1987: 1156). The story first appeared in England in c. 1550 in the first English version

History of two Valyannte Brethern, Valentyne and Orson by Henry Watson (Drabble 1989: 1020; see also Klein 1963: 119) and was printed by Wynkyn de Worde and again several times during the sixteenth century. "In 1637 an abbreviated chapbook version ... appeared followed [by] many other shortened versions ... . In the nineteenth century it was occasionally used as the basis of a pantomime" (Carpenter & Prichard 1991: 556).

Various versions of the story exist (Brewer 1988: 924; see also Brewer 1987: 1156; Benét 1973: 1045; Drabble 1989: 1020; Klein 1963: 119; Carpenter & Prichard 1991: 556).

[13] Berger (1997: 189).

[14] With its "cinematic and episodic" (Heilman 1958: 552) scope and its "succession of comic episodes" (Dooley 1958: 367), picaresque novels are known for their "episodic structure" (Wicks 1975: 22; see also Mancing 1979: 182, Beasley 1979: 211). Picaros and picaras live "a peripatetic life" (Fichtelberg 1988: 442), a "life by episodes" (Heilman 1958: 554) in which adventure and "incident is all" (Menhennet 1986: 114-115). Their roaming lives (Seidlin 1951: 188, Freibert 1982: 23-24) are "a sequence of frauds, deceits, and petty crimes" (Seidlin 1951: 192), "a series of adventures which are vehicles for satirizing real life" (Ireland-Kunze 1981: 342).

[15] See Bakhtin (1982, 1984, 1986, 1988) and Bakhtin & Medvedv (1985). For additional commentary on Bakhtin see Carroll (1983: 65-83), Gaughan (1996: 625-626), Hayman (1983: 101-120), Young (1985-1986: 71-92), Greenblatt (1992: 64) and Morson & Emerson (1990).

[16] Holquist (1982-1983: 12).

[17] Kohl (1993: 149); see also Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 914).

[18] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 911).

[19] "Multimodality represents ... a dynamic diversity of modes grounded in different points of view on the world, in diverse forms for conceptualizing the world, each characterized by its own objects, meanings, and values ... interrelated dialogically. Each mode intersects with the others in convergences and divergences in the social space of study" (Lauer 1993: 45; see also Bakhtin 1981: 291-292).

[20] For further discussion of Bakhtin's theory of Carnival see Gurevich (1997: 54-60) and Rose (1993).

[21] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 913).

[22] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 928-929).

[23] Miller (1993: 89); see also Bakhtin (1981: 270-274).

[24] Barrault (1971: 18).

[25] "Picaresque narrative tends towards excess proliferation" (Smith 1987: 88).

[26] Van den Berg (1992: 3) says: "As ware Rabelais van die skilderkuns keer Bruegel in sy skilderye telkens die konvensionele hiërargieë van laer liggaamsfunksies asook hoër en laer stande in die sosiale 'liggaam' van die samelewing om."

[27] Erasmus' *De copia* (1513), for example, also discusses "hundreds of examples of stylistic variation and amplification" (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 60).

[28] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 925).

[29] Eskin (1962: 169).

[30] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 926-927).

[31] Cohen (1955: 17).

[32] Barrault (1971: 13).

[33] Cohen (1955: 17).

[34] Cohen (1955: 19).

[35] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 920); see also Cohen (1955: 17-19).

[36] Cohen (1995: 19).

[37] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 926).

[38] Beaujour (1969).

[39] Kernan (1973-1974, 4: 211).

[40] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 918).

[41] La Bruyère's 1685 description of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (Babcock-Abrahams 1974: 937).

[42] For a discussion of the wisdom of the fool see Kaiser (1973-1974, 4: 515-520). See also Armstrong (1985: 234); Berger (1997: 73-74, 210).

[43] It has been observed that pictures "and the stage share a common spatial structure of accessible foreground and distance background" (Meadow 1995: 188). Like many of Bruegel's pictures representing a *toneelvoorstelling*, Guzmán in picaresque literature also regards his social *milieu* "as a theatre of the world" (Smith 1987: 99-100).

[44] Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 12) observe that "the term *audience* embodies a metaphor from the *theater*. ... [It] can refer exclusively to those who *hear* a speech or performance as suggested by a strict translation of *audire*, to hear ... ."

Berger (1997: 79) comments on the relationship between theater and audience: "The theater, as a physical structure and as a social organization, is the setting for formal comedy. It contains both actors and audience in an ongoing interaction. The audience is an essential part of the event, creating an antiphony of performance and laughing response."

[45] Bruegel often represented his affinity with the *rederijkers*. "Bruegel displays the *rederijker* predilection for puns and proverbs and, in common with other artists of the period, for complex allegorical subjects" (Gibson 1981: 440).

[46] The *rederijkers*, or the members of the Chambers of Rhetoric (Hummelen 1989: 45), were approximately the counterparts of the French *chambres de rhétorique, écôles de rhétorique*, and the like (Dodge & Kasch 1964: s.v. "Dutch literature"). The *rederijker kamers* were popular literary societies which drew their members from many social classes, but had a preponderance of craftsmen, artisans, and small shopkeepers" (Gibson 1981: 427). One of their chief aims was "enriching Reason" through knowledge, education, interaction, and the arts: "de rederijkers, die beschowd kunnen worden als de geestelijke middenstand vrij aandij te vertegenwoordijen" (Van Gelder 1959: 23). As the "burgher" circles of late medieval cities strove for greater civilization, the Chambers of Rhetoric were intended to cater for the new urban participants in popular culture (Pleij 1990: 630). Painters, singers, writers and collectors of folk songs were encouraged to have close contact with one another in the sixteenth century. "One can thus understand why the visual arts and *rederijker* literature and pageantry so often treated the same themes or subjects and employed similar allegorical devices" (Gibson 1981: 434).

The *rederijkers* who formed the center of Antwerp's literary and festive life in the sixteenth century were made up chiefly from members of the middle classes. Antwerp possessed three Chambers of Rhetoric of which the *Violenen* (*Gilly flower*) was the oldest and most prestigious. United with the Antwerp Guild of St. Luke in 1481, the *Violenen*'s members included Hieronymous Cock, for whom Bruegel produced numerous designs for engravings, Pieter Baltens, with whom Bruegel collaborated in Malines around 1550, and Martin de Vos, who may have traveled with Bruegel in Italy. All three artists participated in the famous *landjuweel* of 1561 (Moxey 1977: 150). One of the administrators of the *landjuweel* was Frans Floris, who was assisted by his brother, the sculptor and architect Cornelius Floris (Gibson 1977: 21; see also Gibson 1981: 431). Although a master in the Antwerp artist's guild since 1550-1551, there is no record of Bruegel's activities with the *Violenen*.

During the yearly *rederijker* festivals, the *landjuwele*, songs and plays were performed (Alpers 1975-1976: 127). Various rhetorical Chambers competed with one another and prizes were awarded for the best plays, poems, pageants and costumes. These performances in general consisted of *facties* (humorous plays with a satirical or moralizing content), *cluchten* (amusing episodes from village life) and *spelen van sinne* (Gibson 1981: 428). The social importance of the occasion was intended to instruct and edify its audiences and to express the ideals, hopes, and fears of the community. The *rederijker* dramas were an extension of the medieval Carnival, Corpus Christi and mummeries (*Narrenspiel*) (Scribner 1978: 307).

Two known *cluchtspele* of the period deal with the theme of the fight between Carnival and Lent – although the theme was "already old in literature by 1588" (Bower 1981: 13-14): Wouters Verhee's *Een tafelspel van de vasten en de vastenavont* (Stridbeck 1956: 106) and Hans Floz's (c. 1435-1513) *Ein spil von der Fasnacht* (Kinser 1986: 1-3). It is quiet possible that these plays, and the famous "war" between Shrovetide and the sausages in the Fourth Book of Rabelais' *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (Gibson 1977: 79) may have served as the basic inspiration for Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2). It is equally possible that Bruegel's *De vette keuken* (fig. 14) may have been inspired by a similar motif "which appeared in the procession of 1559, where it was part of an allegory celebrating the return to prosperity" (Gibson 1981: 440-441).

[47] Sullivan (1991: 434).

[48] "In Greek, an action of crossing over; a transition." The term has a "double sense of bridging and of an act of passage between interchanging elements." Both "dimensions are preserved without prejudice as complementary phrases of a single new perception of reality" (Cope 1967: 156).

[49] "The concept of a science of entertainment – games, spectacles, public performances," pageants, "and other pastimes" (Tatarkiewicz 1965: 263).

[50] The lay theater had begun to free itself from the medieval mystery and passion plays (Claessens & Rousseau [s.a.]: 107).

[51] Cope (1967: 157). The name *theatrum mundi* was also the title of Ortelius's great atlas, the *Theatrum orbis terrarim* ("The theater of the orb of the earth") (Gibson 1977: 26; see also Teurlinckx 1970: 56).

[52] Marshall (1950: 5).

[53] See Cornew (1995a: 155-158).

[54] In literature the picaresque novel has been called a "panoramic novel" (Menhennet 1986: 112), whose "panoramic structure" (Rodríguez-Luis 1979: 32-33), with a "vast gallery [*heteroglossia*] of human types" (Meszanos 1979: 235), invites a "panoramic reading" (Ricapito 1985: 154).

[55] See Cornew (1995b: 47-73).

[56] See Cornew (1995a: 132-138).

[57] Bax (1979: 98).

[58] See Cornew (1995c: 21-31).

[59] Cornew (1995a: 217).

[60] Rose (1993: 80).

[61] Sullivan (1994a: 152).

[62] Sullivan (1994a: 74).

[63] In his *Praise of Folly* (*Lof der Zotheijdt, Moriae encomium; Môrian egkômion; Stultitiae laus*) Erasmus plays the comic fool by means of role reversal, assuming the *persona* of the goddess Stultitia, "as analogously Mère Folle was a woman played by a man in the *sotties*" (Watson 1979: 339).

[64] According to Berger (1997: 210), "the comic is a finite and temporary game within the serious world ... ."

[65] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 928).

[66] Reckford (1987: 453).

[67] Berger (1997: 206); see also Berger (1997: 3-14).

[68] Berger (1997: 207-208).

[69] Carnivalesque humor had a social function – "to censure the deviant" (Graf 1997: 36).

[70] Berger (1997: 74).

[71] Berger (1997: 117).

[72] The idea of transgression is also central to the comic (Burke 1997: 62).

[73] Carnival, in Bahktin's view, is a "privileged chronotope" (Carroll 1983: 81).

[74] Kohl (1993: 155).

[75] Possibly the best example of suspended norms and the world turned topsy-turvy (World Upside Down *topos*) during Carnival was that of "role opposition" (Nauta 1987: 84-85), particularly the right given to slaves to criticize their masters (Bernstein 1987: 455-456) and to dress up in purple in order to do so (Ainsa 1986: 32-33). This apparently Greek custom (Macrobius 1969: 61-62, 74; *Saturnalia, 1.7.36-37, 1.11.1.ff.*) was allowed during the Saturnalia as the reign of the Roman deity was believed to be "a time of great happiness" when "universal plenty ... prevailed ... because ... there was no division into bound and free – as one may gather from the complete license enjoyed by slaves at the Saturnalia" (Macrobius 1969: 59; *Saturnalia, 1.7.26.*).

[76] The World Upside Down *topos* tested the limits and boundaries of the social structure while remaining ambiguous since it "eluded or slipped through the network of classifications" (Koepping 1985: 193). The Saturnalia and Carnival transformed values by mixing categories and undermining the ground on which ethical judgements were founded (Bernstein 1987: 470; see also Bernstein 1991: 381). This was precisely the function of the carnivalesque. The thorough-going Saturnalian rejection of all hierarchies of value in licensing and limiting the Carnival form was intended to preserve the dominant culture that it subverted. The Saturnalia's confined joy, while trivial, was still an officially sanctioned reversal of conventional hierarchies and a parody as a "genuine instance of liberation" (Bernstein 1987: 453-454). See also Spierenburg (1987: 701, 706).

[77] Part of the *gens hilaris* during Carnival was derived from the reversal of *habiller* (established order or roles): this *hyperbaton, anastrophe* or 'αναστροφή *dicitur, reversio quaedam* (Quintilian 1922, 3: 336-337, *IO, 6.8.65.*), was, tropically speaking, part of the "nexus of imagery" and "motifs ... of the *adynaton* [i.e. an impossible task]", which formed part of the

tradition of the World Upside Down *topos* associated with the *Saturnalia*, the *Roman de Fauvel* and the *familia Herlechini* of the *Canon Espiscopi* (Spierenburg 1987: 697-698, 703; Galinsky 1975: 193) and the *parodia sacra*.

[78] The quotation is from Mary's *Magnificat*.

[79] Pleij (1990: 642).

[80] Carroll (1987: 292).

[81] The inversion practiced during Carnival and the *Saturnalicius princeps* could be interpreted in two ways: either as the image of the absence of civilization deemed intolerable for longer than a fixed festive period, or as an utopian alternative (Nauta 1987: 88). As a parodic performance, both progressive and affirmative aspects existed alongside the regressive and deconstructive aspects (Adrados 1975: 406). On the one hand "the questioning and rebellious stance permissible in a Saturnalian context ... proved particularly fruitful for utopian speculations ... . Satire, Saturnalia, and utopia" were "linked in a clear continuum ... determined ... by the formal possibilities inherent in the convention as by the universal longing ... for a carnivalesque suspension of daily norms" (Bernstein 1987: 456).

This was compensated on the other hand by *ressentiment* – driven social criticism involving epideictic mockery, abject whining, self-irony, carousers, parasites, and sympathy for the voice that claimed to embody anarchy and rebellion. The festive reversal by which commoners dressed up, drank, and pushed their social superiors around provided an imaginative model for a full-scale revolt by the masses. Under such circumstances, Carnival could take on either a radical or anarchic meaning or a conservative one. The status quo could be threatened or supported, and hence, its political significance would remain ambivalent because it lay beyond or behind the politics rather than as part of it (Reckford 1987: 303). Yet the "embittered voices" of Carnival, playing negatively around with the rules of society and language (Koepping 1985: 191-192), remained a cause for concern as the "visionary rage by the banalities and injustices of ... social existence" (Bernstein 1991: 372) was still a force to be reckoned with in terms of "the breaking of boundaries of social taboos ... the destructive forces that became creative ... the question of freedom and chance ... versus preordination and the power of natural laws; the quest of hope for a paradise lost and the threat of the conflagration of the world;" and "the eschatological battle brought about by adherence to laws and oaths" (Koepping 1985: 203).

[82] Spierenburg (1987: 697); see also Bakhtin (1984: 16, 26, 62, 205, 235); Zijderveld (1982: 158).

[83] Kunzle (1977: 198); see also Adrados (1975: 57); Carroll (1987: 289); (Koepping 1985: 197).

[84] For a discussion of this topic see Yolton (1973-1974, 1: 94-99).

[85] Woodfield (1978: 221).

[86] Shearman (1963: 203).

[87] Saccone (1979: 35-36). Placed among the *facere quod in se est* (the best of natural man's capacities) (Langer 1988: 221), grace, as exemplified by Raphael and Apelles' *venustas* (Jacobs 1984: 404; see also Quintilian 1922, 2: 446-447; *IO*, 6.3.18), formed part of the Renaissance artist's *ingenium*: grace "[could] not be learnt; it [was] a gift from heaven" (Saccone 1979: 35) in the service of dignity and merit which earmarked a gentleman.

[88] Summers (1977: 348).

[89] Harpham (1976: 461).

[90] Barasch (1971: 10).

[91] Maiorino (1991: 128). Among the Classical hybrid creatures the following can be mentioned: the Sphinx, the Minotaur, satyrs and maeads, centaurs and harpies, hydra and the Gorgons (Boardman 1987: 82-90; see also Von Blanckenhagen 1987: 85, 87-88, 90). Ovid's (1955) *Metamorphoses* contains many other examples of grotesque transformations.

The *grotesche* style in architectural decoration, although not so called in Classical times, arose in the first century BC where the imaginative inventions by decorators of the time took pleasure in painting the walls of rooms in imitation of theatrical stage decorations in defiance of taste and reason, much to the explicit condemnation by Vitruvius and to the implicit condemnation by Horace (Whitman 1964: 43; see also Gombrich 1953: 354; Barasch 1971: 25-31).

[92] The etymology of the word "grotesque" was thus derived from the Italian *grotte* "caves" whose adjective is *grottesco*; the noun being *la grottesca*. In French *grotesque* was used in c. 1532 for the first time.

[93] Evett (1982: 187); see also Berger (1997: 176); Barasch (1971: 13, 17-18).

[94] Whitman (1964: 42-43); see also Evett (1982: 188); Bensimon (1974: 238).

[95] Maiorino (1991: 160).

[96] Montaigne (1991), in his *Essais* (1572-1588) described grotesques as "pieced together of divers members without definite shape, having no order, sequence, nor proportion except by accident" (Evett 1982: 192).

[97] Herrick (1964: 41). As light was "frequently [used] as a metaphor [or emblem] for insight in the sixteenth century, ... darkness [indicated a] ... lack of insight" (Olszewski 1985: 103-105).

[98] Gurevich (1988: 208).

[99] The *parodia sacra*, as a form of parodic sermonizing and "religious parody" (Ettinghausen 1987: 247), was "the natural reflection of the Church in the mirror of literature and Carnival" (Gilman 1974: 142). It was a mock sermon [*sermon joyeux*] first delivered in medieval churches during the revelries connected with the Feast of Fools (Gilman 1974: 9; see also Watson 1979: 339) and was influenced by "the *sottie* style and the *coq dl'asne*" (a poetic dialogue which leapt from one thing to another) (Davis 1971: 58). The audience had been trained to perceive the conventional truths of the sermon, whose prime consideration for both listener and preacher was the didactic tenor of the genre (Gilman 1974: 35).

The Church, being one of the most highly structured sources during the Middle Ages, was also one of "the most fruitful sources of parody" (Gilman 1974: 4). The religious structure of preaching, in particular, predisposed itself to parody in order to "reveal not only its superficial structure but also its underlying semantic patterns" (Gilman 1974: 10). Given parody's recreative freedom and license, its dual image of epideictic praise and blame was an attempt to grasp the moment of change between what was part of official value and what belonged to the market place value of popular culture (Bakhtin 1984: 166, 431). Far from being a mere "safety-value" deflecting attention from social reality, festive life perpetrated certain community values while criticizing the political order (Davis 1971: 41). The state, as much as the Church, were the original "matter" of "the topsy-turvy parodistic world of the Carnival." Naturally, they saw themselves as being threatened by these metaphoric forms of revolution, and sought to censor them where possible, by regarding them as blasphemy (Rose 1979: 32). The official Church hierarchy continued to castigate the practitioners and condemn the practices of the Festival of Fools: "because of their excesses these festivals caused mounting irritation" to the Church; the history of the Feast of Fools was in part the history of its prohibitions" (Schmidt 1990: 44). The Church leaders in the *Treatise of Gracia of Toledo*, for example, recognized that folly was a cover-up during festival times for the legitimization and continuity of ancient magical paganism" such as the *Roman curia* (Zijderveld 1982: 40, 43, 48, 59, 65; see also Bakhtin 1984: 290). The medieval Church, after all, had to fight temptation, struggle with Reason and the flesh, and claim its victory over heresy (Stridbeck 1956: 98). The primitive *mana* and taboo under the aegis of sin had to be condemned. As far as possible official medieval ideology strove to express the true, good, and meaningful, in overtones of fear, religious awe, and humility, embracing such abstract concepts as intolerance, asceticism, somber providentialism, sin, atonement, suffering, and the character of a feudal regime with its oppression and intimidation (Bakhtin 1984: 73). In this "puritan" setup there was no room for comedy and the irrational: "As opposed to laughter, medieval seriousness was infused with elements of fear, weakness, humility, submission, falsehood, hypocrisy, or on the other hand with violence, intimidation, threats, and prohibitions. As a spokesman of power, seriousness terrorized, demanded and forbade. It therefore inspired people with distrust ... . Seriousness was avaricious, committed to fasts" (Bakhtin 1984: 94). Soon the entire weight of the Church was brought down on the parody of liturgical texts, although not on Carnival itself. The Church Counsels of Basel in 1435 decreed against the "*larvales et theatrales jocos*" of the *festum innocentium* (Gilman 1974: 16-17). The condemnation of the Feast of Fools at Basel was followed by the Council of Trèves, which forbade clerks and students to parody certain parts of the Mass, especially the *Santus* and *Agnus Dei* (Martin 1896: 10). These became prescribed by the Theology faculty of the University of Paris in 1445; hence, the Church became increasingly involved in an attempt to suppress this medieval institution.

The *parodia sacra* which "flourished in the Middle Ages, ... could be valued for the pleasures of laughter and virtuoso display alone" (Kolve 1984: 75) using epideictic rhetoric.

While new battle lines were being drawn, the secularization during the fifteenth century of the declining Feast of Fools tradition, brought about other changes to the medieval *parodia sacra* tradition. Carnival, as a second life of the people, became "separated from power and the state, but still public and perennial" (Davis 1971: 49), then reduced to the home and the holiday. The decay of the parodic sermon "into kitsch, and the lowest common denominator" was an indication of "the decay of the concept of 'Carnival' since the nineteenth century" (Gilman 1974: 167).

[100] Holquist (1982-1983: 17). According to Bakhtin, the "force in which carnival finds its true origin and extra-systematic sanction is folk laughter" (Holquist 1982-1983: 13). Such laughter was festive, not individual, "perceiving the entire world as folly, ambivalent, in that it was both deprecating and triumphant" (Berger 1997: 82). Bakhtin's term describing this idiom was "grotesque realism".

According to Bakhtin, Carnival laughter during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance built its own counterworld "in opposition to the official world" (Holquist 1982-1983: 16; see also Berger 1997: 83). The official world, inherited the classical approach to the comic, viewing it as "a reprehensible diversion from the proper Christian task of weeping over the sins of this world and getting ready for the joys of the next" (Berger 1997: 19-20). These were negative comments on laughter, which was "understood as expressing worldliness, sinful insouciance, and lack of faith. Conversely, weeping over the wretchness of this world is praised as a Christian virtue" (Berger 1997: 198). One can interpret the epideictics of praise and blame in Martin van Heemskerck's engraving of *Democritus en Heraclitus* (fig. 1) in this light.

[101] "Laughter," Le Geoff (1997: 40) informs us, "is a cultural ... [and] social phenomenon. It requires at least two or three persons, real or imagined: one who causes laughter, one who laughs and one who is being laughed at, quite often also the person or persons one is laughing with. It is a social practice with its own codes, rituals, actors and theatre."

"People laugh to get over moments of social awkwardness, to indicate deference, or to give evidence that the situation is amicable" (Berger 1997: 39). Laughter is also "a response when social sentiments are damaged in a particular way, i.e., as a reaction to a socially dysphoric situation" (Milner 1972: 10-11; see also Piddington 1933: 122-124). Comic laughter "has to do with belittling, humiliating, or debunking an individual or an entire group of people" as in "the case of irony and satire" (Berger 1997: 51). Because laughter is directed at the ludicrous, in Piddington's (1933: 40-41) view, it "always implies a system of social values" wherein "the psychological and sociological functions of laughter [are] identical." Humor-based laughter exists as an association and network of relations, never in isolation of its context (Milner 1972: 2). For further reflections on humor and laughter see Driessen (1997: 222-241).

Laughter can be regarded as "a physiological process" (Berger 1997: 45). Its essence "is incongruous, the disconnecting of one idea from another, or the jostling [battle] of one feeling [or view] against another" (Milner 1972: 6). Both the comic and the horrific may induce laughter (Armstrong 1985: 237).

Milner (1972: 3) proposes the neologism "gelotology" "as a technical term for the study of laughter." For further discussions on humor and laughter in Western thought, see Morreall (1989: 243-265), Resnick (1987: 90-100), Davies (1984: 142-157), Zijderveld (1983: 1-100) and Halliwell (1991: 279-296).

[102] Laughter is an important topic in picaresque novels (Zahareas 1984: 436; see also Saffar 1983: 106-107). Like clowns whose professional job it was, "as laughter-maker" (Spadaccini 1976-1977: 60), to make people laugh, the picaro Estebanillo, for example, possessed "*buen humor*, i.e., a disposition and ability to make people laugh" (Spadaccini 1976-1977: 59). Yet the picaro could also become the object of laughter and physical punishment (Spadaccini 1978: 215). An audience also gained "relief through laughter" (Zahareas 1984: 436-437).

[103] O'Neill (1985: 173, 177).

[104] Barolsky (1978: 24).

[105] Berger (1997: x).

[106] Harpham (1976: 466).

[107] Gurevich (1988: 193).

[108] Tatarkiewicz (1970-1974, 3: 138).

[109] See Cornew (1995a: 208-210).

[110] Holquist (1982-1983: 16).

[111] "Scatology (Greek, *skor skatos*, dung) is the study of coprolites and coprohilia is a preoccupation or 'obsession with excrement'" (Boime 1988: 75). Scatological imagery has the "power to arouse laughter and ... [the] capacity to shock, repulse, and alienate" (Ten-Doesschate Chu 1993: 41).

[112] Moxey (1989: 64).

[113] The World Upside Down *topos* tested the limits and boundaries of the social structure while remaining ambiguous since it "eluded or slipped through the network of classifications" (Koepping 1985: 193). The Saturnalia and Carnival transformed values by mixing categories and undermining the ground on which ethical judgements were founded (Bernstein 1987: 470; see also Bernstein 1991: 381). This was precisely the function of the carnivalesque. The thorough-going Saturnalian rejection of all hierarchies of value in licensing and limiting the Carnival form was intended to preserve the dominant culture that it subverted. The Saturnalia's confined joy, while trivial, was still an officially sanctioned reversal of conventional hierarchies and a parody as a "genuine instance of liberation" (Bernstein 1987: 453-454).

[114] See Cornew (1995a: 127-128).

[115] "The Latin word for 'wildness' is *ferus* (which connotes that which grows in the field), but also *silvester* (inhabiting the woods), *indomitus* (untamed), *rudis* (raw), *incultus* (untilled), *ferox* (savage), *immanis* (huge, cruel), *saevus* (ferocious), *insanus* (mad), *lascivus* (playful); and etymologists suggest that *ferus* has the same root as *ferrum* (iron)" (White 1972: 37).

[116] Symcox (1972: 229).

[117] The career of the Wild Man – or rather, his myth – was created in the ancient world and the Middle Ages. He was regarded as a mythic being "reared by bears or wolves, living in isolation, possessed of enormous strength and sexual potency, covered with hair, and often without language" (Dudley & Novak 1972: x). His career from antiquity to the twentieth century can be traced in the following literary sources (the list is by no means complete). In Greek mythology Odysseus's encounter with Polyphemus (Miner 1972: 110) could be cited as an example, as could that of the satyrs, who were thought to be "very brute beasts", "wilde men" of "uncivil behaviour" (Ashcraft 1972: 147).

Outside Greek mythology Aristotle's barbarians (*barbaroi*), too, were considered to be "natural outcasts" (White 1972: 20). Outsiders from other cultures were considered to be Wild Men and were described as such:

Greek and Roman chroniclers, such as Diodorus Siculus and Pliny the Elder, had passed on tales of headless men whose eyes and mouths were located in their breasts; men with one, three, or four eyes; men with such large ears that they slept wrapped in them; men with feet growing from their backs instead of the fronts of their legs; men with feet shaped like those of geese; men with no mouths who survived solely by smell; and men with hairy bodies and dog's faces (Burke 1972: 263; see figs 20 and 21).

This same kind of prejudice against other cultures persisted in the Middle Ages. The medieval scholar Peter of Alvernia, for example, investigating pygmies, asserted that they lacked reason; they were morons "incapable of culture, and ignorant of science and art" (Burke 1972: 263).

In medieval literature the Wild Man provided "a foil for the ideal knight and the values of courtly society" (Bahr 1972: 251-252). In the tale of *Valentine and Orson* (see fig. 22) Orson "had been carried off by a bear which had supplied him with her milk and raised him with her cubs. As a consequence of this nurture, Orson became 'all rough and covered with hair, like a bear, leading the life of a beast.' Possessed with enormous strength, Orson is incapable of speech, but when Valentine invites him to enter 'Humane Society' and wear clothes, he agrees at once" (Novak 1972: 186).

The Middle Ages inherited "two images of wildness – the one as desire, the other as punishment – [derived] from different, and essentially incompatible, cultural traditions. ... [T]he benign imagery of wildness [can be traced] back to classical archetypes and the malignant imagery back to biblical ones [see White (1972: 4, 8-14)]. The two sets of images apparently became fused (and confused) during the High Middle Ages" (White 1972: 31). By the end of the Middle Ages the Wild Man was seen as both good and evil, both envied and feared, both admired and calumniated.

Among the Wild Men types of early modern Europe were "hermits, and the outcasts of society who live in forests, for example, highwaymen, charcoal burners, and gypsies" (Bahr 1972: 249). A number of Shrovetide plays of the sixteenth century center on the Wild Man (Bahr 1972: 249). Caliban in Shakespeare's *The tempest* can be thought of as a Wild Man (Miner 1972: 94-96; see also White 1972: 29; Shakespeare 1983).

Hobbes's *Leviathan* was a seventeenth-century example of a work indebted to the Wild Man (Ashcraft 1972: 150-151; see also Hobbes 1978; Miner 1972: 90).

The cult of the Noble Savage was fully formed by the eighteenth century (Symcox 1972: 229). Mozart's Papageno represents an eighteenth-century Wild Man figure in "the *Hanswurst* tradition" (Bahr 1972: 252-253) as do Don Juan and Calderón's Segismundo in *La vida es sueño* (Dudley 1972: 115). Other eighteenth-century Wild Men include Rousseau's Noble Savage (Symcox 1972: 223-234ff.), Swift's Yahoos from *Gulliver's Travels* (Novak 1972: 212), Goethe's *Satyros* (1773) and Part 2 of *Faust* (Bahr 1972: 249), and contemporary libertines.

The Wild Men of the Romantic age included "pagan Tahitians and Roman Catholic Highlanders, American Indians and Muslim Albanians" (Thorslev 1972: 295). He was "Blake's firey and hairy Orc; ... Frankenstein's monster, or Nietzsche's hermit Zarathustra" (Thorslev 1972: 286). Among the twentieth-century Wild Men he was "Mistah Kurtz" who saw into the heart of darkness (Dudley 1972: 122-123; see also White 1972: 34); Burrow's Tarzan; J.M. Barrie's "lost boys"; Huxley's "Mr Savage" invading a Brave New World; Golding's tribe of boys in *Lord of the Flies*; and some members of rock and heavy metal bands in the 1960s and 1970s. Songs like *Born to be wild* and Duran Duran's *Wild boys* might also be included.

[118] Montaigne in his *Essais* observed: "Everyone terms barbarity, whatever is not of his own customs" (Symcox 1972: 226; see also Ashcraft 1972: 152).

[119] Dudley & Novak (1972: 310).

[120] Thorslev (1972: 286).

[121] Dudley & Novak (1972: 309).

[122] Thorslev (1972: 281); see also White (1972: 5).

[123] Symcox (1972: 226).

[124] "Zoanthropy (animal-man)" (Dudley 1972: 128).

[125] Thorslev (1972: 287).

[126] White (1972: 36).

[127] Dudley & Novak (1972: 309).

[128] White (1972: 4).

[129] Dudley (1972: 116).

[130] For comment on the Wild Woman see White (1972: 21-22).

[131] See Cornew (1995a: 189-223).

[132] Throughout this study these numbers are those given by Dundes & Stibbe (1981: 13-66) as shown in Appendix 1. They provide a convenient way of referring to the various saws in *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) so that the reader/viewer can easily locate them in the painting.

[133] "The *topos* of the world upside-down is an ancient one found in the popular and cultured art and literature of many lands and many ages" (Grant 1973: 104). It existed in the biblical ideal "of a paradisiacal world in which the lion [lay] down with the lamb" (Grant 1973: 109). In another biblical form "the principle of inversion is an intrinsic theme in Christianity. ... The Gospels bound in examples of inversion: the last shall be first and the first last (Matthew 19: 30), he who humbles himself shall be exalted and he who exalts himself shall be humbled" (Scribner 1978: 327).

Inversion is to be found in the Greek phrase *hysteron proteron* ("to put the cart before the horse"). Virgil (1967: 58-59) too, wrote about role reversals (Haavio 1959: 214). In *Ecologue 8: 53-59*, for example, Damon invokes inversion into his monologue:

> nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupus, aurea durae
> mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
> pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae,
> certent et cycnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus,
> ...
> omnia vel medium fiat mare

[Translation: "Now let the wolf undriven fly from the sheep, the hard oak bring forth golden apples, the elm blossom with the narcissus-flower, gouts of amber sweat from the bark of the tamarisks; let screech-owls vie with swans, let Tityrus be Orpheus, ... let all things, if they become mid-ocean" (Rose 1942: 152).]

[134] The following are examples: fishermen with boats on their heads (*Homo arbor inversa*) (Colie 1973: 45); the sun and moon on the ground and cities in the sky; children castigating or instructing their parents; sons beating their fathers; the poor taxing the rich; servants commanding their masters; women wearing trousers (men's clothes); men wearing dresses (woman's clothing); chairs sitting on people; the stag pursuing the hunter; the ox slaughtering the butcher; prey killing their predators; the slow (a snail, a tortoise, a sloth) becoming swift; sheep sweeping kitchen floors while farm-girls bleated away in their pens outside; hens calving in sheep-stalls while sheep laid eggs; steeds living in trees while squirrels pulled the plow; a sheep devouring a wolf; a frog swallowing a stork; geese roasting a cook; a flour-stack carrying an ass to the mill (Haavio 1959: 211, 214-215; see also Becatti, Battisti, & Hofmann 1960: s.v. "Comic art and caricature"); a cow milking a woman (Jones 1989: 202); horses hooving blacksmiths; horses riding men; sheep shearing shepherds; and mice catching cats (Spierenburg 1987: 702).

[135] Babcock (1978: 15-16).

[136] Haavio (1959: 212).

[137] "Role playing is both different from actuality and an entry into actuality: play and actuality (the world of 'work') are dialectically related to one another" (Ong 1975: 20). In the world of Carnival play formed a safety valve for existing social structures and institutions by affording a temporary respite from daily pressures. Within the "dialectic interplay of structure and anti-structure [*communitas*] of hierarchical organization and egalitarian aspirations," the participants of Carnival, *koyemci* of the *pueblos*, acted as the go-between or transitional state-of-being during the time of suspended social norms (Koepping 1985: 199).

The inversion ritual of Carnival invited everyone to "let off steam," so that the social tensions could have an outlet and save the system from an otherwise "imminent explosion" (Nauta 1987: 91-92): the Roman Saturnalia and later the medieval Feast of Misrule "gave relief to the tensions caused by the restraint, internal and external, on which society" depended; their partial violation on these particular occasions was a substitute for lawlessness in real life" (Lucas 1980: 288).

[138] Axton (1973: 33).

[139] Davis (1971: 68).

[140] Scaglione (1971: 142).

[141] The *adynaton* of the World Upside Down *topos* co-insides with the *paradoxia epidemica* as a disputation (*disputatio*) (Barthes 1988: 40).

[142] Babcock (1978: 15).

[143] Kunzle (1977: 197); see also Kunzle (1978: 41).

[144] Scribner (1978: 326).

[145] Glück ([s.a.]: 25); see also Lindsay & Huppé (1956: 376, 381); Van den Berg (1992: 19); Vanbeselaere (1944: 44-45).

[146] Du Bellay (1966: 316).

[147] Maiorino (1991: 5).

[148] Elkins (1994: 120).

[149] The trope of *hendiadys* involves "one through two" (Cuddon 1980: 303; see also Kennedy 1982: 595). For a discussion of *hendiadys* in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* see Cornew (1995a: 85).

[150] Elkins (1994: 154).

[151] See Kunzle (1978: 89); Elias (1973-1974, 1: 99, 103, 106), Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 920-921) and Berger (1997: 13-14).

[152] Reckford (1987: 99-100).

[153] Segal (1970: 68).

[154] Kaiser (1973-1974, 4: 516).

[155] Sullivan (1994a: 57).

[156] Westermann (1997b: 18) describes a *zinnebeeld* as "a meaningful or emblematic image".

[157] Sullivan (1981: 118).

[158] The caption below the engraving in Latin reads: "Parisios stolidvm si qvis transmittat asellvm. Si hic est asinvs non erit illic eqvvs."

[159] Klein (1963: 78).

[160] See further Chapter 4.

Chapter 3. Drawing the battle lines further: the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* and the parody of *genera descendi* in Bruegel, Aertsen and Arcimboldo

In Chapter 2 I described Carnival's salient features in conjunction with Bruegel's carnivalesque themes within and without carnival-time as a part of the framing world view representing Bruegel's picaresque battle with his troubled *milieu* and explained how this rhetoric situation could be viewed as an epideictic form of visual parody. The current chapter draws these battle lines further by taking a closer look at the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* as a conjunct organising principle of Bruegel's picaresque world view and how this topic functions with the parodying of social and genre hierarchies. I begin the field of inquiry by contrasting the notions of perspective and its tropic *inversio*, inverted perspective, in order to frame the World Upside Down *topos* as a parodic topic.

The thematic focus of tropic *inversio* centring on inverted perspective may be seen as an emblem for opening up the World Upside Down *topos* as a whole. On a literal level, inverted perspective entails an inversion of the conventions of Albertian linear perspective – that "philosopher's stone of art"[1] in the fifteenth century, with its ability to conjure up a measurable, precise construction of the world by gathering visual facts and stabilising them in a unified optical/compositional field. On deeper levels, however, inverted perspective could be seen as parodying the conventions of Albertian perspective, which, as a paradigmatic target has set itself up for a fall, for if the convention of Albertian perspective implies the perceiving of a mathematical or geometric construct, then inverted perspective reveals its opposite, i.e., the construction of counter-perspective, or even pseudo-perspective, which deliberately misapplies mathematics or geometry deconstructively.

Albertian perspective theory during the *Quattrocento* was primarily concerned with the construction of linear perspective, and was developed as "a revision in the Euclidean theory of vision"[2] described in Euclid's *Optics*. The Euclidean theory of vision, however, was based on a discussion of visual angles, and was closer in kind to medieval optics which relied on a sphere and measured angles (*perspectiva naturalis*) rather than on linear perspective which demanded a plane of projection and measured distances (*perspectiva artificialis*). The *perspectiva artificialis*, for its part, was not the exclusive discovery of Alberti's *De pictura* written in Florence in 1435 – it was also practised by, among others, Brunelleschi, Donatello, Ghiberti and Masaccio.

Alberti's formulation of the *costruzione legittima* has tended to cloud a historical falsehood that perspective had a unified origin, in both time and place. The foundations of artificial perspective probably remain in as much obscurity as the actual person who discovered it; and for all intents and purposes, the *perspectiva artificialis* deservedly could be called Albertian perspective.

The discovery of the *perspectiva artificialis* enabled Renaissance artists – female artists are included in the quote below – to do three things:

> First of all, it makes it possible for him to re-create reality in a way that is convincing to the eye, as well as to the mind. The relation of solid objects to each other, and to the space which separates and surrounds them, attains a new clarity. It is possible to "portray" space convincingly, not merely to suggest it. In addition to this, it enables the artist to give a new kind of unity to his composition. He can organize its interrelated parts more clearly, and at the same time he can control the spectator's interest and attention more firmly within the boundaries of this new-found unity. Finally, it enables him, if he uses his new tool with care, to achieve a complete harmony, or for that matter a deliberate, dramatic disharmony, between his unified, and consciously organized re-creation of reality, and the plane surface upon which he works.[3]

Useful as the *perspectiva artificialis* was in offering tools for a "truthful" rendition of the perceived world, the predominant Mannerist taste for *grazia* and the grotesque style during the sixteenth century mentioned in Chapter 2 stood opposed to Alberti's perspective wishes laid down in the previous century.

The fantastic, unregulated, and extravagant *Cinquecento* style of grotesque ornamentation would have been no less objectionable to Alberti than "the grotesquely portioned figures and crowded scenes of the Dutch kermis painters."[4] Both non-idealised renderings of nature were anti-classical in composite form and spirit. In the case of Bruegel, his *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) thematised carnivalisation in a *heteroglossia* of polyphonic views, including the parody of organising perspective, since the disorganised revelry of *kermis* and *festivitas* during carnival-time viewed things from an inverted perspective: as a *locus inversus* as seen in Chapter 2.

Extending this carnivalesque perspective, Bruegel pioneered the inclusion of inverted perspective, as a narrative perspective, as part of the ontic order of his view of the World Upside Down *topos*. His *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) thematically deals with the inverted perspective of the World Upside Down by deliberately inverting perspective in a subtle way by allowing the shadows of objects to be projected contrary to the light of the sun. Careful inspection of the lighting conditions in Bruegel's picture show that he created a tropic *adynaton* of lighting, by inverting its conventional properties: the sunlight highlights each saw through Bruegel's parody of 'correct' lighting. As "the eye searches through the boisterous picture," following the "light in the background upon the sun, then moving back," the viewer "discovers that the shadows cast by the figures are reversed in relation to the direction of the sun's light. Sun or shadow is wrong" – although in true *paradoxia epidemica* fashion it is impossible to say which one is wrong – thus

in/correct sunlight emblematises the fact that "the light which illuminates the figures in this topsy-turvy world does not come from the sun, as the direction of the shadows show. They are lighted by a false light, that is [emblematically] the light of error by which men are guided",[5] or misguided, by their own folly as shown in Chapter 2.

Enhancing his *locus inversus* further, the inverted perspective in Bruegel's picture of saws illustrating various kinds of human folly meets with an inverted globe ("# 27"). As an emblem for the World Upside Down *topos*, like the one situated in the bottom row of fig. 23, and possibly also the name of the run-down *herberg* to which it is attached, Bruegel's inverted globe emblem, can, not only be regarded as an emblem which possibly lends itself to one of the possible names of this picture, but additionally suggests that its very presence in the picture reinforces the idea of inverted perspective and the theme of the World Upside Down *topos* by being an appropriate foil for human folly and self-deception as well as the *paradoxia epidemica* of contrary lighting present in the picture which inverts the perspective of light or shadow.

Bruegel's inverted perspective in this picture, then, as a rhetorical *locus inversus*, deliberately parodies Albertian perspective as a paradigmatic target, as much as the violations of the *perspectiva artificialis* by the Italian *maniera* artists also do. These two distinct kinds of mock perspective parody Albertian perspective in different ways, however, and for diverging purposes: the latter plays with perspective as an intellectual game in order to dazzle the viewer through a virtuoso performance; the former parodies its paradigmatic target in order to subsume the *perspectiva artificialis* within the *communitas* of carnivalisation and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*.

Diverse as the manners of applying Albertian perspective and its parodic inversion may be, the meaning of the word "perspective" has diverged from method to metaphor. This is because

> [t]he term "perspective" has several different meanings. It can refer to the various techniques of painting or drawing which give the illusion of a scene in depth. ... It can refer to the geometrical projection of a form on one plane to a form on another plane by a bundle of lines intersecting at one point. ... Or it can refer to a certain way of seeing a natural scene as a patchwork of colours; that is, to "seeing in perspective".[6]

Setting aside the meaning of "perspective" as "a formal, rigorously defined branch of mathematics – or, to be more precise, an offshoot of Euclidean and Cartesian geometry"[7] – what remains is "the metaphorology of perspective"[8] wherein "perspective" is perceived of as a metaphor describing and representing a particular point of view, itself perspectival, which describes how we view the world, how we choose to represent it and how we constitute ourselves as viewing subjects. In this sense "perspective has moved from a method of representing the world to a way of 'envisioning' it"[9] – metaphorical "perspective" has become "inseparable from active thought":[10]

As we try to articulate a thought, to "plot it out", to "map" its contours, we are "drawn" toward perspectival metaphors. Any opinion is a "standpoint", a "point of view"; we "approach" problems; we "draw parallels" or speak of the "convergence of ideas"; we "project", "measure", "survey", and "sketch" continuously. Every thought, to the degree that it is our own possession, contributes to our "perspective".[11]

Metaphorical "perspective", then, directs our eyes and orders our thoughts, it "seems to control not only what I see – it sets the conditions of visibility – but how I see and how I describe the way I see."[12] Just as the artist may be considered to be "a perceiver who pays special attention to the points of view from which the world can be seen [or represented], and one who catches and records for the rest of us the most revealing perspectives on things",[13] so too, viewers can perceive of pictures, not only as spectators, but also as framed metaphorical perspectivists – relative, of course, to the view of other framed metaphorical perspectives.

From this perspective it could be said that the metaphorology of perspective allows for a perspectival frame to frame all interpretations and representations of pictures from a particular perspectival point of view. In short, a metaphorologised perspective can be regarded as "a set of conceptual lenses through which a person views the world."[14] Such a framing view is never neutral, as the perchronic hypothesis mentioned in Chapter 1 indicates, since perspectival frames, within the open system of interpreting, revisioning and representing a particular historical account could, for example, dictate which theory, or field-specific method, was the more suitable one to use when discussing a particular picture, and such a framed view could also colour the way in which a picture might be perceived and interpreted.

The framing view of Bruegel centres on the metaphorologic perspective of the co-related picaresque topics of the *communitas* of carnivalisation, the satirising of human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*. The latter perspectival frame, entailing inverted perspective as a rhetorical *locus inversus*, can be regarded as a perceptual frame that can be related – although not exclusively, but for the intents and purposes of this study – to the rhetoricity and epideictics of visual parody in cases of rhetorical situations seen from a picaresque point of view. How this is so, is a topic explained below, before circuitously returning to answering what the rhetorical implications for carnivalisation and visual parody may be.

The reader of Chapter 1 may recall that epideictic rhetoric, as a poetic rhetoric, shared a common denominator with parody, and hence, shared common ground between visual rhetoric and visual parody. As such, the triad rhetorical relationship between the salient features of epideictic rhetoric, visual rhetoric, and visual parody may be used to account for their overlapping frames of reference. Taking this into account, the rhetoric of visual parody could further be said to single out in a visual parody the topics of the high mode as a paradigmatic target which then become the model chosen by the artist to be parodied. In targeting the topics of the high mode, parody epideictically praises and venerates *and* blames and mocks its chosen paradigmatic

targets; and, in the case of the picaresque, picaresque parody does so for satiric purposes – a factor which may be regarded as central to picaresque rhetoricity and battle.

The manner in which the rhetoric of parody works in conjunction with the praise and blame aspects of epideictic rhetoric in targeting the high mode's paradigmatic targets, as the rhetorical place for parodying, can be taken as a perspectival frame for the practice and representation of visual parody by an artist, as well as for parodic interpretations by viewers of visual parody. Tropically speaking, the usual tropic "turn" in parody turns by overturning the paradigmatic target of the high mode, and this overturning, as a rhetorical *locus inversus*, tropically both describes and represents the perceptual frame of the World Upside Down *topos* in a picaresque parody.

The heuristic question may now be asked: what are the topics of the high mode which form the paradigmatic targets of parody's overturnings? Answering this question is not possible due to the fact that "parody comes in many species":[15] and the high mode's paradigmatic targets must be identified in each case – earlier in this chapter, for example, the paradigmatic target was Albertian perspective – and this identification could add another "species" of parody to the existing corpus which forms the parodic genre. Because virtually anything can be parodied, the paradigmatic targets of the high mode must remain an open category, as must the difficult area of defining the parodic genre as an artistic genre, which has not yet been attempted in the visual arts as far as I am aware.

Since the paradigmatic targets of the high mode must remain an open category, how then, can the question be answered? A more fruitful way around the problem is to look at the high and low modes themselves and to examine the manner in which they function in society and culture.[16] Almost all societies and cultures in history have been shaped around a high and a low mode. The high mode, made up of a ruling elite – for example, a monarch, an aristocracy, a government, the bourgeois, or an upper middle class – or "figures of public authority – the legislators, religious ministers, courts, police and teachers"[17] – hold their status, rank, authority, power, and privilege, together with refined and sophisticated values and cultural tastes, "superior" to the rest of society; while the low mode, consisting in the main of common people, the proletariat, the lower classes, peasants, serfs, or slaves, hold popular and folk culture dear. Low mode values are thought to be coarse and common by high mode standards, and their taste is hence deemed vulgar, crude, unsophisticated, obscene, or "inferior" by comparison. The voice of the dominant culture, the high mode, formed by various ideological strains of perchronic world views and rhetoricity, are as revealing about the social and cultural values of the elite, as are those tastes and values found in the low mode with their own strains of perchronic

world views, tastes and values. From the point of view of the low mode, the tastes and values of the high mode may seem overrated and snobbish, elitist and ivory tower in their "superior" mentality, just as the tastes and values of the low mode may seem to the high mode to be unworthy of a second glance in their commonness and "inferior" mentality. Each mode thus appears biased and prejudicial toward the other, looking at the unknown other with an unshared contempt and loathing, probably based on a fear and superstition similar to the one which accompanied early modern European society's view of the Wild Man and Wild Woman mentioned in Chapter 2.

The very existence of the two opposing forces confronting one another, as Prince Carnival and Lady Lent do in Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), holds a key to picaresque parody. Picaresque parody targets high mode topics from the worm's eye perspective of the low mode looking satirically at things from the bottom up as, for example, in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) and *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7). This satirical bottom-up approach – reversing the usual top-bottom manner of the social hierarchy – establishes a metaphorological inverted perspective and a rhetorical *inversio* deviating from the social norm, and such an overturned perspective is the position of the picaresque perchrony which satirically overturns high mode topics in favour of its own carnivalised World Upside Down perspective where the high mode fools are the butt – the arse-holes – to be epideictically criticised, humiliated, victimised, condemned, and given a kick in the butt. Looking at the high mode askance from a low mode worm's eye perspective, the picaresque perchrony looks, as it were, *di sotto in su* – from underneath looking upward. A visual example in Bruegel is the shepherd in *Landschap, met Icarus' val* (fig. 11), who looks to the heavens from the earth below, from the bottom up, in a vain attempt to see the high flying Icarus as a poetic topic of the high mode of humanist intellectualism and knowledge of antiquity.

The values and tastes of the high mode appear distorted in the picaresque *speculum* due to this bottom-up perspective, and this distortion holds the seeds of the picaresque desire to satirise and overturn the hypocritical and corrupting structures and values of the high mode's perceived "moral"[18] elitism:

> ... it is possible to discern three principles which mark off in a general manner dignified from less dignified groups. ... . It is usually expected that those in authority behave with great decorum and poise; any lapse into what is regarded as undignified demeanor may lead to loss of respect on which the authority may in part be based. In fact, one manner of ridiculing and attacking authority is to declare it obscene ... or insinuate, satirise or in other ways capitalise upon scandal in high places ... .[19]

Such a strong motivational desire, endears the picaresque world view to the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* on the one hand, itself a world of overturned subjects and values, and to parody's tropic inversion (*inversio*) on the other, which holds the same motivational stance towards high mode topics.

An understanding of the high and the low modes, and how the picaresque perchrony views high mode topics from the low mode perspective upwards – while choosing at the same time the satirising of high mode tastes and values, manners and style, and so on, as paradigmatic targets – returns the argument to the characteristic features of epideictic rhetoric outlined in Chapter 1 and mentioned in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* studied by the humanists during the sixteenth century.

As a poetic art, epideictic rhetoric displays moral and ethical concerns towards virtue and vice. The purpose of the epideictic *ethos* can thus be regarded as a didactic pedagogic, teaching the audience a moral lesson. Such an epideictic rhetoric of didactic pedagogics differs in intent in each perchronic world view. As far as the picaresque world view is concerned, the perceived vices of the high mode, i.e., the satirical and comic exposing of vice, human folly, and corruption in high places, as paradigmatic targets, contrasts with the perceived virtues of the low mode – harmony with nature, the dignity of the lives of everyday people separated from the high and mighty. For example, in Bruegel's *Landschap, met Icarus' val* (fig. 11) the virtues of the labouring peasants working in harmony with nature dominate the foreground of the composition. Further out to sea, Icarus drowns because his *hubris*[20] of pride (*superbia*) worked against nature, as both a vice and as unnatural, causing his demise.

The epideictic notions of virtue and vice lead circuitously back to Chapter 1 and to the epideictic notions of the beautiful and the ugly – what the Mannerists would have called *grazia* and the grotesque – not merely as mimetic forms, as in the outward appearance of the beautiful angels and the ugly demons in Bruegel's *De vallende engeles' val* (fig. 18), for example, but also as emblems for the *ethos* of epideictic nobility and baseness – in Bruegel's picaresque world view, noble nature and base human nature as folly.

While the epideictic topics of nobility and baseness differ in intent in each perchronic world view, for the picaresque world view, the nobility of the population at large, as the low mode majority representatives suffering the baseness of a high mode paradigmatic targets like that of the infamous Duke of Alva emblematised as King Herod in Bruegel's *De kindermoord* (c. 1565-1567) (fig. 25), could be used as an illustration of this epideictic form of visual rhetoric. Another example of a different kind, could be the supposed nobility of the saws and gnomic wisdom in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) and the base behaviour of Bruegel's encyclopaedic paremiology of fools enacting saws, including base instances by "Pier den drol" of scatology[21] as in "#s 23, 26, 47, 49, 50, and 80".

From the point of view of picaresque parody, the contrasting notions of epideictic rhetoric's virtue and vice, and nobility and baseness, are treated satirically. The high mode's paradigmatic targets are more often than

not blamed for their perceived vices and baseness, while the low mode's views, base as they may seem when compared to those of the high mode, can be epideictically praised for their perceived virtues and nobility – for such is the nature of picaresque parody in terms of epideictic rhetoric that it should praise and blame, and from a World Upside Down perspective in which the usual top-down hierarchy[22] is reversed. Such epideictic praise and blame, moreover, holds commonplaces that in an Aristotelian view are to be seen as topics of more or less – we would say better or worse – which, in terms of the high and low modes, the high mode is lessened by rhetorical *reductio* – i.e., seen as worse, or of lesser importance – while the low mode is amplified by rhetorical *amplificatio* – i.e., seen as better, or predominantly of greater importance, from a picaresque parodic point of view. Under such circumstances, the salient features of epideictic rhetoric, valid differently in each perchronic world view, slants towards picaresque bias. The low mode is amplified – increased and praised – at the expense of the high mode's paradigmatic targets which are decreased and condemned, and the epideictic topics of comparison – the contrasting topics of virtue and vice, nobility and baseness, more and less, praise and blame – all contribute towards the amplification of the low mode and its celebration, while the examples of particular cases of rhetoricity induce picaresque parody to respond to epideictic rhetoric in this satiric manner of lauding and censure from a perspective of satirising human folly within the ontic perceptual frame of the World Upside Down *topos*.

The epideictic *ethos* of the picaresque world view relating the high and low modes to the rhetoric of visual parody, then, allows certain implications of the World Upside Down perspectival frame to be drawn, which impact on the *communitas* of carnivalisation and visual parody. The first implication which might be considered is that picaresque parody can be rounded out by bringing the organising principles of carnivalisation and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* on board in relation to epideictic rhetoric. By adding up all that has been said so far about the rhetoric of visual parody and carnivalisation, and all that has been said so far about parody and the *locus inversus* of the World Upside Down *topos*, the nature of picaresque parody as a form of epideictic rhetoric becomes clearer.

The following table may be used to illustrate the theory linking epideictic rhetoric, visual rhetoric and the rhetoric of parody to the picaresque organising principles of carnivalisation, the satirising of human folly, and the World Upside Down *topos* found in Bruegel and to be further traced in later chapters:

PRAISE	←	Epideictic rhetoric	→	BLAME
↓		↓		↓
Celebration, laudation	→	Criticism;[23] judgement; assessment	←	Ridicule, condemnation
↑		↓		↑
PRAISE	⇒	HIGH MODE (source of chosen paradigmatic target)	⇐	BLAME
↑		↑↓		↑
⤴⇒	⇒	PARODIC AIM	⇐	↯
		↑↓		
Parodic trope structure: paradox, irony, litotes, pun, oxymoron, meiosis, wit, etc.	⇐	PARODY	⇒	Parody as genre
		↑↓		
LOW MODE (worm's eye perspective)[24] PICARESQUE WORLD VIEW according to the themes of carnivalisation, satirising human folly and the World Upside Down *topos*	⇐	Perchronic world views	⇒	Parodying in NON-PICARESQUE WORLD VIEWS still works on the same principles of parody set out in the above portion of this table

Table 2. The link between epideictic rhetoric, the rhetoric of parody and perchronic world views.

Secondly, the common bond between carnivalisation and the World Upside Down *topos* is both strengthened and illuminated by standing in each other's light, when seen through the framing and perspectival lenses of epideictic rhetoric. In Chapter 2, for example, the thematic focus centred on carnivalisation and role reversals as an age-old manifestation of the World Upside Down *topos*, where social hierarchies during carnival-time where axiologically reversed, resulting in rhetorical *adynata* like the master becoming a slave and the slave a master. Carnival, as an alternative comic world – "counterfactual"[25] to tragedy – with its own inverted laws, was seen as a world of phenomenon in transformation, of change, becoming, and renewal, unfinished and still developing:

> the peculiar logic of the 'inside out' (*à l'envers*) of the 'turnabout,' of a continual shifting from top to bottom, from front to rear, of numerous parodies and travesties, humiliations, profanations, comic crownings and uncrownings. A second life, a second world of folk culture is thus constructed; ... to a certain extent a parody of the extracarnival life, a 'world inside out.'[26]

The "genre memory"[27] contained within "the comic principle of inversion, the switching of roles, the reversals[28] of fortune and status"[29] was regarded as a *communitas* of a shared experience of the paradoxical world view of Carnival, where role reversals implied that everyday things became topsy-turvy in terms of the representational "norms" of physical reality, human relationships, social positions, and institutionalised hierarchical structures in a societal system.

Thirdly, the existence of a high and a low mode in society, and in culture, can be perceived as an indication that both spheres in the everyday world are hierarchically structured. Authoritative figures, representing, for

the picaresque perchrony, the carnivalised Lords of Misrule outside of carnival-time[30] – like the latest folly of the government – may be seen as the more obvious paradigmatic targets of the high mode within a social hierarchy[31] and system, including other interactive contextualised fields of rhetoricity like politics, economics, or religion, and so on. Integrated with the social hierarchy the *genera descendi* in the arts represents both a cultural hierarchy and an institutionalised system for organising and understanding the various artistic genres. For the visual arts, the rise of the *genera descendi* during the early modern period, saw *historia* (history painting) as *the* high mode genre, while the other low genres of still life, *genre*[32] and landscape existed at the bottom end of the genre hierarchic scale.

In a nutshell, if Table 3 could be said to represent the rhetorical *aptum* or *decorum* of the high and low socio-cultural hierarchies from early modern times onwards – although subject to changes and its eventual demise –

High mode	Ruling class – the "high life"	History painting	⎫
Low mode	Underlings – the "low life"	Landscape, *genre*, still life	⎬ *aptum*, or *decorum*
	Social classes	Artistic *genre descendi*	⎭

Table 3. High and low socio-cultural hierarchies.

– then, when picaresque visual parody intruded upon the above socio-cultural hierarchy, using the rhetorical *inversio* of the World Upside Down *topos* to upset and overturn the status quo and its institutionalised conventions, thus "turning society upside down",[33] then *ineptum* tropically overturned *aptum*, and *indecorum* overturned *decorum*, leading to a carnivalising of role reversals and to Carnival's levelling of hierarchies and the creation, or rhetorical invention, of a World Upside Down *topos*:

Low mode	Worm's eye perspective elevated – the "low life"	Landscape, *genre*, still life	⎫
High mode	Paradigmatic target brought low – the "high life"	History painting	⎬ *ineptum*, or *indecorum*
	Social classes	Artistic *genre descendi*	⎭

Table 4. Picaresque parody's *inversio* strategy with high and low socio-cultural hierarchies.

The reversals of socio-cultural hierarchies in Table 4 epideictically reveal how "the most spectacular hierarchies of wealth and power [could be] viewed as both intolerable and vulnerable"[34] when *decorum* – what was regarded as fitting and appropriate – was inverted, overturned, epideictically ridiculed, or upset, by the *indecorum* – inappropriateness – of picaresque parodying. It also goes without saying that in such rhetorical situations the low mode epideictically sang the praises of low life and the lower genres, carnivalesquely and epideictically celebrating their "triumph" as a worthy set of values, while the high

mode's high life and highest genre became the paradigmatic targets to be epideictically blamed and overturned, subverted and satirised, in the process:

> Satire ... operates by exploiting the incongruity of the position of the dignified within the total realm of the undignified: it mocks the upright by exposing their inappropriateness of behaviour amongst those who understand the pretensions of the dignified.[35]

In both the spheres of social and genre hierarchy visual parodies are afoot, battling with their high mode paradigmatic targets – sometimes the two hierarchic spheres could be contextually conflated, as we shall see in later chapters – and such parodic hierarchic wars can wage in any perchronic world view. In picaresque parodies, the carnivalised inversion of hierarchy allows for an investigation of satirising the follies of authoritative social and genre hierarchies in terms of the World Upside Down *topos*.

During the course of the Renaissance a hierarchy of genres (*genera descendi*) developed based on ideas found in antiquity. Among the ancient authors Aristotle's *Poetics* 1448a was one of the most influential sources of the *genera descendi*, augmented with ideas from Plato (*megistra genre*), Horace, Pliny the Elder, Cicero, Quintilian and others. The Aristotelian view of genre was that artists should "represent men either as better than in real life, or as worse, or as they are."[36] In the first case, Aristotle accounts that Polygnotus had depicted men as nobler than they were, as heroic and ideal beings of the high mode, including tragedy, probably after the manner of Zeuxis's anecdote mentioned by Cicero (1949) in his *De inventione* (2.1, 2-3), i.e., after having selected different body parts from various models and combining them into a single portrayal of ideal beauty (*kalon*) which art alone could create, seeing that there was no single case which could be found in nature.

In the second case Aristotle mentions Pauson as depicting men as less noble, or as less respectable, or as demeaning caricatures of themselves, in the degrading manner of the low mode – the Dutch would later call such "scenes of lesser men" *minderemanstonelen*. The worst parts of an individual would be selected in order to debase and uglify their appearance even further, as Leonardo's macronic drawings of the grotesque show (figs 15 and 16). The Aristotelian position of this second mimetic case for representing reality in a specific way – as "ugly", "mistake", "defect", "deformity", "discrepancy", or "grotesque"[37] – became the Renaissance position for the comic mode:

> As for comedy, [Aristotle wrote] it is ... an imitation of men worse than the average; worse, however, not as regards any and every sort of fault, but only as regards one particular kind, the Ridiculous, which is a species of the Ugly. The Ridiculous may be defined as a mistake or deformity not productive of pain or harm to others; the mask, for instance, that excites laughter, is something ugly and distorted without causing pain.[38]

In this comic view, people are portrayed as "the baser sort but not thoroughly wicked, the ridiculous being a painless and harmless slip or blemish."[39] But harmless and painless though the comic view may be from this

Aristotelian perspective, the comic attitude is not always so: while comedy may effect "the catharsis of 'pleasure and laughter'"[40] in an audience, a "catharsis of folly by folly",[41] when comedy is allied with satire, it bites, flays, throws acid, whips, scourges, ridicules, administers purgatives, and admonishes like a bunch of stinging nettles hitting a salted wound – note, for example, Steen's basket of admonishments in Chapter 4 – for satire's "aggressive intent" has been epideictically "welded" out of comic elements "into the shaping of a weapon"[42] attacking its perceived opponents in picaresque battle with disdain and vitriolic enmity. Satire is used here as a vehicle of hatred and anger, as a quality of outrage and fury motivated by hostility towards, and the cursing of, its paradigmatic targets. The epideictic display of satiric blame and aggression, supposedly based on truth, may, of course, be a distortion of reality and may even be an outright lie.[43] Nevertheless, whenever a satirist pokes fun at what is clearly amiss, with the serious aim of discrediting and exposing it, such malice can become a care that weighs heavily upon an audience, for beneath the surface an uncomfortable truism may dwell, including the embedding of a moral standard. For if one were to ask the heuristic question, what is "the anatomy of the comic?" one would have to include in the answer a head for comic wit[44] and cunning, eyes for observing human folly, a mouth for laughing, swearing, cursing, and joking, a tongue for spitting, insulting, sticking tongues out, or keeping tongue in cheek, cheeks for sheer cheek, hands for having a hand in handling fools, an arse for scatological *kakken* and telling arse-holes to "gaan kak", a butt for butting heads or for the butt of jokes, genitals for pissing – raining on the target's parade – legs for pulling, and feet for kicking butt for kicks. Such a comic anatomy is decidedly ugly, base, and ignoble, but it befits Aristotle's second case of mimetic representation as it is well suited to the satirist's task of epideictic mockery and ridicule.

In the third case Aristotle used the example of an artist named Dionysius who drew men as they were, i.e., as true to life – or as the Dutch would later say, *naer het leven* – there being an ancient argument mentioned by Cicero (1955-1958) in *De natura deorum* 2.32, 81 that "[Nature is] possessed of a skill that no hand painter or craftsman can rival or reproduce [by trying to improve upon it]".[45]

After the long interval of the Middle Ages, when the Renaissance humanists in their poetic and philological enthusiasm for the *renovatio antiquitatis* based their *studia humanitatis* on Classical antiquity, Aristotle's threefold imitation of the human form was used as a theoretical foundation, not only for mimetic representation, but also as the means by which dramatic genres like historic, tragic, and comic plays, and artistic genres like history painting, portraiture, landscape, still life, and *genre* could hierarchically be classified in the epideictic poetics of the sister arts. The hierarchical divisions of the *genera descendi* were rhetorically represented by a high, middle, and low style and were recognised as extending rhetorical

distinctions, yet transposed during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the visual arts as part of liberating them from the medieval *artes mechanicae*.

The *officia oratoris* of the *genera descendi* offered a genre system of interpretation to the Renaissance audience enabling men and women to orientate themselves in the sister arts. Top of the range for the fine arts was history painting (*historia*), consisting of biblical and Classical mythological narratives and themes:

> History painting, especially the portrayal of classical antiquity, constituted the highest and most edifying form of art, the sort of work that the connoisseur would be delighted to hang in his cabinet. Portraiture and landscape were further down the aesthetic hierarchy, while *genre*, the depiction of everyday life, [and still life] marked the lowest form of expression to which the artist could descend. Fine art and low life should not mix: the humble, who by definition were not heroic, were an insufficiently exalted subject for the great painter.[46]

Noble ideas were perceived as belonging to the high genre of the high mode while low life went along with the low mode and the lower genres as seen in Table 3. Under *aptum* conditions the low mode genres were regarded as rhopography – humble, simple art – which included rhypographic subject matter, both sordid and despicable. Bruegel's scatological representations of figures relieving themselves – the *kakken* and *pissen* in *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) and in *De kermis van Hoboken* (fig. 6), for example – can be cited as instances of rhypographic motifs in these two examples. Not surprisingly, such scatological pictures were regarded as low and were to be looked down upon by a high minded audience.

Supporting the theory of the *genera descendi* during the sixteenth century was the Renaissance theory of the great chain of being (figs 26 and 27) whereby the microcosmos and macrosmos existed in an ordered hierarchical structure grading man's intellect and virtues, the king, and the angelic hierarchy leading to God, while degrading man's animal nature and vices. *Homo ridens* stood at the intersection of what is most and what is least animal about human beings. Within this fixed hierarchy everyone knew his or her place in the cosmos, where the great chain of being conditioned the reception of the high and low modes decorous to rhetorical communication and to the genres in the sister arts. The *genera descendi*, moreover, conditioned an audience's perception in this way because the subject matter of painting, for example, and to a lesser extent painterly technique, governed the reception of genre hierarchy. The Renaissance even went so far as to stipulate three conventionalised scenic designs for a particular genre play: the satyr genre, for example, should take place in a satyr setting, a wild and wooded area fit for Wild Men and Wild Women and their wild ways, as in the Sebastiano Serlio's illustration of a satyr landscape from his *Libro secondo della prospettira* (47 verso) (fig. 28); while comedy deserved a comic setting, complete with tavern and market square, as illustrated in Book 2 of Serlio's *D'Archittetura* (1540-1541) (fig. 29). Such prescriptions dictated the *topos* for a rhetorical situation in genre settings for each genre type as a view and frame for its reception; and in

pictures such as *De kinderspelen* (fig. 7) Bruegel obliged his audience with an open square in the foreground, and the rural countryside in the upper left hand background of the composition, thus setting the scene and the stage, where children could play out their compendium of games as if childlike "comic satyrs". His *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3), too, was a disjointed World Upside Down setting befitting the disjunction between wisdom and folly;[47] while the comic *locus* for the picaresque battle between Prince Carnival and Lady Lent in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) was a village square, complete with a nearby *herberg* where vices could be toasted and epideictically celebrated.

If the theory of the *genera descendi* was supposed to work along the lines outlined above, it did not always follow that artists practised what theorists stipulated. As far as genre parodists were concerned, they were bound to break the rules (*aptum*) – particularly in so far as the mixing – the *satura* – of genres went. For if the high mode favoured isolating history painting as *the* superior high mode genre, then, as a paradigmatic target, *historia* was a skittle for a parodist's bowling ball. A parodist could not only bowl *historia* over, unseating the genre from its throne of a false sense of "superiority", but, the other lesser genres in picaresque parody could worm their way up from below, from the worm's eye perspective of the World Upside Down *topos* in a game of one-upmanship. Such a picaresque battle of wits between genres was open season for a parodist who could choose to ignore the fixed rules of genre *decorum* prescribed by theorists. The parodist's playfulness could quiet easily upset the apple cart of the *genera descendi* hierarchy by invading the territory of other genres, usurping their domain, and by creating cross-type genres or counter-genres which were mixed, not fixed. In such rhetorical situations, the mingling of, and the meddling with, genres was regarded at the time as an anti-Virtuvian position or a grotesque,[48] wherein a medley – a *satura* – solicited the satirising of conventional rules (*indecorum*), out of which problem pictures emerged whose *paradoxia epidemica* threw *decorum* into receptive uncertainty. For the parodying of genre hierarchy required some kind of mental gymnastics on the part of an audience in order to appreciate the parodist's wit and *ingenium*, as well as the destabilising form which genre parody created.

Three examples of genre parody during the sixteenth century can be used as illustrations. The first example is by Bruegel and shows his picaresque insurrection of genre hierarchy; the other two, by way of contrast, are by contemporary pictorial perchronic schematicists also working with genre parody during the sixteenth century.

Bruegel's *Landschap, met Icarus' val* (fig. 11), an Ovidian parody,[49] parodies history painting as a high mode genre by "drowning" the subject of one of the well known tales in Ovid's (1955) *Metamorphoses* 8.180-259,

which the sixteenth-century humanists regarded as a "bible" for themes and *historia* subject matter. In Bruegel's picture the tragedy of Icarus' drowning at sea ironically goes by unnoticed while the daily labours of a fisherman, shepherd, and ploughman continue their co-existence in harmony with nature. The very title of the picture confirms that the low genre of landscape, coupled with peasant labour, the *genre* genre, is more important than the high genre of *historia* as an Ovidian myth.

Contrasting with Bruegel's picaresque genre parody are the schematicist genre parodies of two sixteenth-century near contemporaries of Bruegel, Arcimboldo and Aertsen. Arcimboldo's Imperial portrait of *Rudolf II as Vertumnus* (c. 1590-1591) (fig. 30) represents portraiture, the middle genre (*genus medium*), by means of a still life (*genus subtile*), thus conflating the two genres; and in his *The cook* (c. 1570) (figs 31 and 32) and *The vegetable gardener* (c. 1590) (figs 33 and 34) Arcimboldo further compounds genre classification by means of visual punning and genre overturnings: his cook and vegetable gardener when seen one way are composite portraits made up of plant and animal metonymies which are substitutes for facial features. When these latter two pictures are turned upside down by means of rhetorical *inversio*, however, they become mere still life arrangements (figs 32 and 34). By this means of visual wit,[50] Arcimboldo's concern with the category of lesser painting (*minoris picturae*) takes on a new twist: the humbler subjects of *anthropographoi* – i.e., lower class human beings like cooks and vegetable gardeners as opposed to Imperial Emperors – and *rhypographoi* – i.e., sordid subjects like still life pictures – become interchangeable enough to parody one another, creating a new visual paradigm.

While Arcimboldo's wit and parody of genres operates in the more narrow range of rhetorical *inversio* between portraiture and still life, Bruegel and Aertsen's *genre descendi* parodies confront the gap between the high mode genre of *historia* and the low mode genres: in Bruegel's *Landschap, met Icarus' val* (fig. 11) where *historia* "fights" a loosing battle with *landschap* and *genre*, and in Aertsen's *Christus in het huis van Martha en Maria* (1553) (fig. 35) where *historia* is overshadowed in the background by *stilleven* and a *genre* scene in the foreground. Bruegel's wit and picaresque parody of genres in his *Landschap, met Icarus' val* focuses on a critique of the high mode of history painting by including it as a flimflam foil for the counterfoil of the landscape genre. Bruegel uses the landscape as a backdrop in which the genre of *genre* can incorporate the everyday lives of peasants and *naer het leven* into the rural setting. Aertsen's wit and schematicist parody of genres in his *Christus in het huis van Martha en Maria*, by contrast, focuses on a visual dialogue between biblical narrative representing the high mode of *historia* and the low mode of still life composition (*stilleven-kompositie*) in what Meadow (1995: 178-179) dubs as "'mannerist inversions' or 'inverted still lives'":

the unequivocal presentation of the still life in the foreground and the minor role of the religious motif in the background presents a reversal of the "high" and the "low" in terms of pictorial significance. This reversal stems from the "fundamental semiotic structure" of Northern Netherlandish art: from its inability to present the transcendental immediately, only through the indirect route of the *vanitas* theme, "through the medium of a fallen world."[51]

Both Aertsen and Bruegel's works focus on "high content" in "low form",[52] thus parodying and overturning the theoretical demands of the *genera descendi* in which it was assumed that "high content" and "high form" were paired together just like "low content" and "low form" were. The rhetorical *inversio* of Bruegel, Aertsen, and Arcimboldo, in parodying playfully with the expectations of the *genera descendi*, created "problem pictures" whose *paradoxia epidemica* of genre certainty is cast into uncertainty, while the hierarchical structure of the *genera descendi*, as a touchstone of genre authority, is questioned, toyed with, made suspect, thrown into doubt, loosened from stable theoretical moorings, set adrift, compounded, conflated, juggled, eschewed, deflated, and the like.

A further difference between the schematicist genre parodies of Arcimboldo and Aertsen and the picaresque genre parody of Bruegel is that the former two artists continued to create works based on their particular typiconic parodic format: Arcimboldo with still life or landscape portraits; Aertsen with still life foregrounds and *historia* backgrounds – creating a new paradigmatic category for schematicist genre parody – while Bruegel's picaresque genre parody followed a different route. In Bruegel's *Landschap, met Icarus' val* a picaresque battle between the high and the low genres takes place in the field of visual rhetoricity: Icarus dies on the "battlefield" by drowning at sea, a victim of parody and satire as well as of his own *hubris* of pride. The dominant lower genres epideictically celebrate the peasant in harmony with nature and the seasonal circle of life, while the high genre of *historia* is marginalised and litotically treated as the least significant motif in the picture. Classical myth thus "drowns" in the sea of the *naer het leven* of the early modern world; it is out of touch with earthy reality as the ordinary country folk like the shepherd neither see its loftiness in the sky nor see its value as a subject for pictures – i.e., Classical myth is drowned out of importance.

One may regard Bruegel's picaresque genre parody as a contest of wills between the high and the low mode genres in which the former falls fowl of the latter. Significantly, Bruegel's picaresque parody is but one example of a picaresque battle in the *heteroglossia* of Bruegel's *oeuvre* – another important distinction between picaresque and schematicist parody. In other pictures by Bruegel, the contest of wills is less well defined: the picaresque battle between Prince Carnival and Lady Lent in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), for example, shows neither party the victor of the pictorial *agon*. On other occasions, however, the masses fall fowl to the high mode's authority as in the example of *De kindermoord* (fig. 25) where the Duke of Alva, as Herod, and his soldiers appear to be winning the contest of wills by impaling

innocent infants in an Edict of Blood re-enactment of the biblical narrative. The *treurende* mothers who plead for their children's lives seem to evoke the sympathy of the audience; but in as much as the Virgin Mary weeps for her own son's crucifixion in *De kruisdragen* (fig. 8), nature seems to be indifferent to the victims of suffering – even for Icarus – and injustice seems to prevail. This is not surprising, however, since Justice is blind in Bruegel's *De seven deugden: Gerechtighijdt* (1559) (fig. 36),[53] having been blinded by the fool (fig. 37),[54] or rather, by human folly.

The blinding of Justice by folly in Bruegel leads to many a *paradoxia epidemica* in his other picaresque battles with religious toleration during the troubled *milieu* of the sixteenth century. The innocent are slaughtered in an Edict of Blood because Philip II of Spain wished to stamp out Protestant heresy in the Spanish Netherlands (fig. 25); emblematically, Christ is sent to His death on the cross because He claimed that He was the way, the truth and the life (John 14.6), and not the Roman rulers of His day (fig. 8). Many people were persecuted and martyred for their religious convictions during the time of the Reformation and the Counter Reformation. But what were Bruegel's own religious convictions? The answer remains a *paradoxia epidemica* – none of his pictures show whether Bruegel followed Catholicism or one of the Protestant faiths: his *De seven deugden: Geloof* (1559-1560) (fig. 38), for example, remains ambiguous on this point;[55] and his possible presence (fig. 10) at the sermon of John the Baptist (fig. 9) tells us nothing about the ideological message being preached by the saint beyond the fact that Bruegel and his family might be in the audience, but stuck up a tree: i.e., as "fence" sitters.

Without further evidence, the *paradoxia epidemica* concerning Bruegel's religious beliefs in his pictures cannot be resolved. Was Bruegel in favour of Prince Carnival or Lady Lent winning their picaresque battle in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2)? Although open to speculation, no one can say for certain. The only certainty which seems to run through many of Bruegel's pictures is uncertainty – his unwillingness to take a stand one way or the other, save beyond satirising folly in a carnivalised World Upside Down *topos*. Bruegel's healthy scepticism, however, may have saved him from the gallows, or from being burnt at the stake. Nevertheless, protest and insurrection against a blind Justice and an indifferent nature, against human follies and stupidity (*doffgehijdt*), and against ancient Greco-Roman myths (*historia*), run as leitmotifs throughout Bruegel's *oeuvre*, like the organising principles of carnivalisation and the rhetorical *inversio* perspective found in the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*. Bruegel seems to have been angered by the themes of injustice and folly: the followers of his personified allegorical female figure of Anger in *De seven hooftsonden: Kwaarthijdt* (1557) (fig. 39), for example, carry a large knife to slice their victims in half, like the angry, mad, blind, Wild Woman Dulle Griet waging comic war in front of

Hell holding her sword of Justice (fig. 19).[56] But Anger herself grips a knife in her teeth in *De seven hooftsonden: Kwaarthijdt* – like the man hitting his head against the brick wall ("# 105") in *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) – and she seems to have comically broken her right arm during her rages as it is in a sling. Perhaps Bruegel's Anger has learnt that only a fool butts his or her head against a brick wall, and that perhaps Fortitude is a better alternative when all about a contest of wills and a sea of battles are going on as in Bruegel's *Vasberadenhijdt* (1560) (fig. 40).

Foundations for future picaresque parody

It goes without saying that in studying Bruegel's legacy is the double recognition of, on the one hand, continuity of thematic topics drawn from the power of tradition, and, on the other a sense of discontinuity due to changing times in which the views and values of Bruegel's heirs would differ and diverge from his own. This is because not all artists working with visual parody after Bruegel were perhaps able to respond to the complexity of their differing *milieux* in the same way as Bruegel was capable of responding, albeit paradoxically, to his complex and troubled *milieu* – exemplified by the unresolved games of the *paradoxia epidemica*.

Overcoming this obstacle, the following integration of topics together form a framing picaresque view and an *inversio* perspective, metaphorologised, which can be regarded as the foundation upon which future picaresque parodies after Bruegel were to be created and interpreted: (1) the picaresque's colouring of the salient features of epideictic rhetoric, (2) the picaresque application of the rhetorical trope structure of a parody, (3) picaresque battles, in the form of visual parody, with the high mode topics of social and genre hierarchies as paradigmatic targets, (4) changing circumstances of contextualised rhetoricity which not only reveal a picaresque artist's rhetorical intentionality, but also reveals a battle of wills taking place in the form of an ideological conflict of values and belief systems between the high and the low modes and between the picaresque and non-picaresque perchronies, and (5) all of the above points interrelated in conjunction with the three organising principles of picaresque parody pioneered by Bruegel in the sixteenth century – i.e., with the themes of satirising of human folly, the salient features of carnivalisation, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*. Based on these topics, future picaresque parodies were to build upon Bruegel's parodic legacy as other picaresque artists in later centuries were to picaresquely battle with their own *milieu*. Interpreting their achievements in terms of an integration of the five areas mentioned above, is the thematic

focus of attention in the remainder of this study; the aim of which is to trace these footprints in whatever guise or form they may appear, change, or fall away, while at the same time paying attention to the difficult task of interpreting the rhetorical demands of hermeneutics and exigency in the process of perceiving visual parodies within each rhetorical situation as well as in interpreting the meaning of each individual picaresque artist's battle with their *milieu* in context.

End notes

[1] Hughes (1993: 16-17).

[2] Veltman (1986: 108); see also Suppes (1977: 407).

[3] White (1951: 42-43).

[4] Barasch (1971: 27-28).

[5] Lindsay & Huppé (1956: 381-382).

[6] Gibson (1960: 216).

[7] Elkins (1994: 6).

[8] Elkins (1994: 16).

[9] Elkins (1994: 17).

[10] Elkins (1994: 29-30).

[11] Elkins (1994: 29).

[12] Elkins (1994: 272).

[13] Gibson (1960: 220).

[14] Foss, Foss & Trapp (1991: 17, 273).

[15] Ryan (1991b: 89).

[16] Poulakos (1988: 161) explains that "epideictic oratory discloses the capacity that participants of a society have to become social agents by articulating their own versions of the social order. It is this opposition [or tension] between actual and possible valuations that frames the question of epideictic's relation to society":

> ... the totality of [texts] that make up the tradition of epideictic [rhetoric] must be understood as a historical register that supplies us with a heritage of conflicting valuations among participants of various societies at various times. In this way, the act of interpretation ceases to serve the ends of recovering the voice of the past or demonstrating the past's animation of the present; rather, it provides an occasion for inquiring into conflicts and struggles over contestations of specific values in specific societies. When cultural artifacts are interpreted as sites of social conflict over the affirmation or challenge of existing structures of social relations, interpretation becomes a political gesture. It designates, that is, a realm hospitable to debates and disputes among the participants of our own society over valuations and beliefs. Making social relations an object of human consciousness, and therefore an object of potential transformation, interpretative experience enhances our understanding of values as things about which we must deliberate.

[17] Segal (1970: 68-69).

[18] Picaresque literature deals with characters who "either embody immoral acts (individual immorality), or represent collective groups (collective moral transgressions)" (Ricapito 1985: 154) and exhibits a "strong didactic or moral intellectual impulse" (Wicks 1978: 40). See also Whitenack (1984: 221-22), Eoff (1953: 107), Smith (1987: 98), Dooley (1958: 365).

[19] Segal (1970: 67-68).

[20] "The Greeks termed *hybris* [*hubris*], something like arrogance toward the divine powers in the universe" (Lambert 1987: 42).

[21] Elements of scatology – shitting, pissing, vomiting – are to be found in picaresque narratives. See Wicks (1975: 28, 25), Smith (1987: 103), Boyce (1976: 337), Heilman (1958: 554-555), Ricapito (1978-1979: 79), Davis (1989: 305-306, 311).

[22] Sternberg (1981: 79) notes: "As conventions, hierarchies are possibly naturalized but never natural frames of coherence. And being always relative to some scheme of values and things, they widely vary – in basis, power, range of applicability – and often clash. ... The clash may arise from one normative priority outweighing another that is codified or equipollent within the same milieu; or between codified and contextual status, ..."

[23] "Any form of criticism would fall under epideictic rhetoric because criticism makes use of praise and blame" (Sullivan 1991: 233).

[24] A "worm's eye view" (Spadaccini 1978: 219) views "society through the eyes of the under-dog" (Mylne 1979: 208-209). See also Eoff (1953: 112).

[25] Berger (1997: 210). See also Berger (1997: 117-118); Kaiser (1973-1974, 4: 520); Ballard (1973-1974, 1: 467); Armstrong (1985: 236).

[26] Watson (1979: 343).

[27] Bernstein (1991: 361).

[28] Like the carnivalesque in which "social value is at once asserted and inverted" (Smith 1987: 104), where "the spectacle of the proud [are] humbled, the high and mighty (often unpopular) [are] deflated" (Klapp 1954: 25), picaresque tales also thrive on reversals (Fichtelberg 1988: 436). Picaresque narratives like Alemán's are "distorted by inversion" (Smith 1987: 98).

[29] Grant (1973: 110). Reversals of fortune (Eoff 1953: 108, 116) – good and bad fortune (Seidlin 1951: 188-189), complete with "sundry humiliations and new misadventures" (Ricapito 1978-1979: 79) – are a common theme in picaresque novels.

[30] The carnivalised Lords of Misrule existing outside of carnivalised-time are well represented in picaresque narratives where picaros like Guzmán oppose social "inequity and hypocrisy" (Eoff 1953: 115). As a "leveler, who reduces those who have arrogated too much power or privilege for themselves" (Klapp 1954: 30), picaros and picaras tend to focus, from their cynical point of view (Spadaccini 1978: 221, Eoff 1953: 107), on "the culpability of society" (Carey 1979: 40) by satirically exposing socio-politico-religious corruption and "human self-conceit" (Boyce 1976: 338). Picaras and picaros see the world as "devious" (Freibert 1982: 27) and society as "cruel" (Eoff 1953: 110); and picaros like Quevedo deliberately paint "a grotesque caricature of the world for us" (Russi 1987: 439) by remarking that, "In this world there are none but hypocrites and liars" (Dooley 1958: 366). Not surprisingly, picaros and picaras assume the role of a rebel and disrupter (Saffar 1983: 107) of the status quo. If "the representatives of the respectable world ... are revoltingly stupid" then these "gullible fools ... almost ask to have the wool pulled over their eyes" (Seidlin 1951: 195). As a "perfect cheat" (Seidlin 1951: 190), picaros and picaros delight in playing "tricks on everything respectable, powerful institutions, noble traditions, [and] established values" (Seidlin 1951: 195). These high mode paradigmatic targets are the topics satirized by a picaro and a picara.

[31] "As conventions, hierarchies are possibly naturalized but never natural frames of coherence" (Sternberg 1981: 79).

[32] To avoid confusion, the term "genre" (not in italics) in this thesis refers to the type of subject (history painting, still-life, portrait, landscape), and "genre" (in italics) refers to the naer het leven of "intimate scenes and subjects from ordinary daily life ... such as ... the shrewd observation of types, costumes, and setting" (Dodge & Kasch 1964: s.v. "Genre painting"; see also Van Groningen 1965: 43; Fleming 1980: 487; Gardner 1980: 892).

[33] Kohl (1993: 159).

[34] Kunzle (1978: 88).

[35] Segal (1970: 71).

[36] Tatarkiewicz (1970-1974, 1: 156).

[37] Grotesque description of "a character's physical appearance" (Boyce 1976: 339) is often found in comic and picaresque literature. See Chapter 2.

[38] Berger (1997: 18).

[39] Armstrong (1985: 237).

[40] Ballard (1973-1974, 1: 467).

[41] Ballard (1973-1974, 1: 470).

[42] Berger (1997: 157).

[43] In picaresque literature picaros and picaras have no qualms about lying. Telling lies is all part of their own "truth", first person narrative, or personal perspective, which, in terms of the inverted perspective of the World Upside Down, distorts reality and falsifies it.

[44] According to Kernan (1973-1974, 4: 214): "Wit, construed not just as humor, but as cleverness, ingenuity, and style, appears most obviously in the persistent efforts of satirists to find a clever strategy, an unusual and surprising angle of attack. Diatribe and denunciation are avoided in favor of such devices as beast fables, letters of obscure men, ships of fools, presentations of fantastic schemes, praise of the ridiculous, attempts to enter Heaven, trips through a looking-glass, auctions of philosophers, and anti-utopias."

See also Berger (1997: 46, 56, 135-136, 150-152).

[45] "[Naturae] sollertiam nulla ars, nulla manus, nemo opifex consequi possit imitando" (Tatarkiewicz 1970-1974, 1: 210).

[46] Brewer (1986: 17).

[47] Cornew (1995a: 76-97).

[48] Writing about the grotesque, Barasch (1971: 10) notes that "'grotesque' denotes the mixing of style and subject categories in medieval literature which neo-classical critics found immoral as well as indecorous." See also Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 913); Berger (1997: xi).

[49] See Cornew (1995a: 189-223) and Cornew (1995b: 47-73).

[50] For a discussion of Arcimboldo's pictorial wit see Olszewski (1983: 326). Burke (1997: 63) suggests that Arcimboldo's faces "made out of fruit, or fish, or books" should "be understood as a kind of practical joke." They are indeed a *satura* – both of mixed fruit and vegetables, and a mild satire of their sitters with no malice or hatred intended.

[51] Falkenburg (1995: 203-204).

[52] Falkenburg (1989: 49, 51); see also Falkenburg (1995: 215).

[53] Bruegel's *De seven deugden: Gerechtighijdt* (fig. 36) is a *paradoxia epidemica* image of justice. At one and the same time Bruegel's Justice is an image of repression and tortures, seemingly carried out in the name of justice, which doubles up as an image of protest and injustice.

For a discussion of images of Justice see Curtis & Resnik (1987: 1727-1772). Bruegel's *De seven deugden: Gerechtighijdt* is mentioned on page 1757.

[54] "Perhaps the earliest image showing the change is a 1494 wood engraving of a Fool covering the eyes of Justice, illustrating Sebastian Brandt's *Narrenschiff (Ship of Fools)*, ... the blindfold implies that Justice has been robbed of her ability to get things straight, unable to wield her sword effectively or see what is balanced on her scales" (Jay 1996: 66).

[55] Cornew (1995a: 135, 172).

[56] See Milne (1997-1998: 21-29); Cornew (1995a: 192-194).

Chapter 4. Steen's *gevecht* with Calvinism: human nature versus moral values

Steen's picaresque battle ("*gevecht*") between himself, as a practising Catholic among Dutch Protestants, and the civic religion of Calvinism whose values permeated seventeenth-century Dutch *burgelijke* society and culture, forms a kernel around which Steen's parodic pictures launch their comic attack on Calvinist dos and don'ts – his paradigmatic targets. Two areas of parody, corresponding to social and genre hierarchy, will be considered: (1) Steen's parody of the Dutch household in disarray as a World Upside Down *topos* is a reflection of the undesirable inversion of the child/parent relationship in Dutch society and (2) Steen's conflation of the high and low mode genres represents his form of genre parody. Steen's *In weelde siet toe* (1663) (fig. 41) and the picture's thematic relationship with his *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (c. 1661-1663 or c. 1663-1665) (fig. 42),[1] *Driekoningen-avond* (1668) (fig. 43)[2] and *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (c. 1663-1665) (fig. 44) will serve as a visual example covering the area of social parody, with a brief glance at his *Een school voor jongens en meisjes* (c. 1670 or c. 1670-1672 or 1674-1678)[3] (fig. 45); while his 1676 version of *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* (fig. 46)[4] will serve as a visual example covering the area of genre parody. Throughout the interpretation of Steen's pictures, the thematic foci of the organising principles of this study outlined in the previous three chapters will be woven into the account as rhetorical proofs of Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition in seventeenth-century Holland.

Tackling the parodic topic of subverting the social hierarchy of the Dutch home will be the first order of investigation. Before I begin, however, a few prefatory remarks on the seventeenth-century Dutch homestead, as the paradigmatic target of Steen's parody, are in order so that the reader can better frame Steen's pictures as visual parodies. The Dutch people of the seventeenth century seemed to have inherently reserved their perpetual vigilance in the defence of their liberty – having won the Eighty Year's War of independence from Spanish tyranny (1568-1648).[5] The new nation emerged as an aggressive Protestant republic[6] with a proto-"capitalist" hegemonic economy[7] dominated by an oligarchy of rich merchants and a *burgherlijk* civil society[8] whose civic religion was Calvinism. The strictures of Calvinism demanded from the Dutch people a puritanical outlook – a sustaining of a set of regulated religious and moral behaviour while living in the midst of an otherwise uncontrollable fleshy appetite-providing secular-materialist world. For the Dutch, the home represented the

centre of moral virtues, while worldliness, existing outside the home, represented materialism, temptation, sinfulness and immoral vices. The family, although still bound to the larger social order, remained its microcosm and pivot: the sanctity of the home environment being transubstantiated through prudence governing license and God-like cleanliness epideictically triumphing over the "filth" of sinful transgressions and vice which supposedly lay outside the sphere of domesticity. As De Jongh (1996: 46) explains: "The prevailing morality that cherished the family as a 'foundation stone of cities' or the cornerstone of society was based on the Christian doctrine of the virtues, which demanded regulation of the sexual impulse as well as observance of decorum *in sexualibus*."

The Dutch struggle between virtue and vice – "the tug between safety and freedom (home and world)"[9] – was a moral battle constantly being waged. In order that virtue should be seen to conquer vice and that morality should overcome immorality, Calvinist moral values demanded conformity as a price for toleration from the Dutch people. The contrasting pair of engravings by Chrispijn de Passe the Elder (1565-1637) known as *Concordia* (fig. 47) and *Discordia* (fig. 48), both dated 1589, sum up the epideictic polarity between virtue and moral behaviour and vice and immorality in the Dutch home rather succinctly: in the former picture the viewer is presented with "an image of a pious, less ostentatious family, saying grace", while in the latter picture "a disorderly middle-class home, in which a family violently succumbs to luxury"[10] is represented. It went without saying in Dutch seventeenth-century homes that the former represented the Calvinist ideal of epideictic praise and nobility to which virtue and morality should strive towards as it was conducive to the condition of peace (*vrede stichten*), stability, and security in society, while the baseness of the latter course should be avoided at all costs and be condemned – epideictically blamed – as far as possible on account of its potential for the creation of social and spiritual chaos (*onmin/onenigheijdt*), immorality, instability, and vice.

The above Calvinist position on virtue in the home and vice which should not enter it can be regarded as the contextual frame around which Steen's visual parodies of the home were enacted. The virtue of Calvinist *concordia* became Steen's paradigmatic target as his pictures of domestic chaos epideictically parodied this moral ideal by exhibiting its opposite in progress: the comic horror of discovering *discordia* within the home. In the household *discordia* of *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41) the viewer can observe all kinds of naughty heteroglossic incidents taking place. A punning key to unlocking the visual *discordia* of *In weelde siet toe* is a noticeable key (keynote) hanging by a nail on the wall near the mid-left hand side of the composition. This key can serve to introduce the viewer to this key picture in Steen's *oeuvre*, as it can be interpreted as an emblematic key unlocking

the scene as a whole. It hangs strategically on the wall above the sleeping woman with her arms folded and her head bent forward resting on her chin, who may be regarded as the sleeping mistress of this disorderly household. She may have passed into slumber from drinking too much[11] or from sheer vigilant exhaustion. Whatever the case, the key, which may possibly be an emblem for trustworthiness,[12] indicts her for her lack of vigilance over her household, which is now unguarded, and hence open to all and sundry kinds of mischief, mayhem, and misbehaviour. Such *discordia* shows that the sleeping mistress has good reason not to trust the members of her household,[13] for, no sooner have her eyes closed than *discordia* grabs the opportunity for all it is worth, and becomes fully operational as *onmin/onenigheijdt.*

The woman's pose as Morpheus, the ancient god of sleep, is a signal to the household adults and children to get up to their antics straight away before she wakes up and they can all be epideictically scolded. In the background left hand side of the painting two children are to be seen, one of whom is surreptitiously pilfering in the cupboard which she has opened, probably with the key now hanging on its hook again. She turns her head with a quick guilty look, probably to see if anyone has noticed what she is up to, while her right hand already reaches out to help itself to the contents of the cupboard. Proverbially, she emblematises the saw: "opportunity makes a thief".

Standing next to her is a little boy who tries his hand at smoking from a white clay pipe. As an emblematic figure – assuming for a moment that he could be an emblematic figure – the boy represents an ironic and parodic counter-commentary on the sleeping mistress of the household, who, if drunk, emblematises the effects of intemperance, the central themes in Steen's *De gevolgen van onmatigheijdt/buitensporigheijdt* (c. 1663-1665) (fig. 49) and *De wijn is een spotter* (c. 1668-1670 or c. 1671-1674)[14] (fig. 50). Ever since tobacco had been discovered in America, it had induced dangerously stupefied trances parallel to the effects of alcohol. Because of this, clay pipes began in the seventeenth century to be included in the ranks of a culinary utopia as a sign of sexual incontinence, ribaldry and the phallus. Jacob Cats' *toebakblaezer* abjectly confessed to his "kitchen [as] my pipe; my pouch a well-stocked larder; smoking my drink, what need I then of wine?" As a variation of *ijdelheijdt*, the pipe joined the *vanitas* ensemble, together with other *memento mori*, as one of the vain pleasures that wafted away the lethargic passage of dissipated time *(om tytverdtriff)*. The Old Dutch proverb, *"Des menschen leven gaat als een rook voorbij"* ("Man's life passes even as smoke") found biblical support in Psalm 102:3: "my days are consumed like smoke."

Re-enforcing this emblematic meaning, and parodying it, may be a twofold connection between the pipe smoking lad and, on the one hand, a pipe smoking lad in *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44), and on the other, his relationship to a similar clay pipe strewn on the floor surrounding the incident in the centre of the composition of *In weelde siet toe*. In the former case, the antics of the little boy with the white clay pipe who is about to blow smoke at the sleeping *huisvrou* recalls the lad, Steen's younger son Cornelis,[15] in *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* who has been treated to a drag on a similar clay pipe by a laughing man, Steen himself, while another boy, Steen's oldest son Thaddeus, plays on the bagpipes behind them.[16] This visual pun plays on the title of the picture, read by an old woman seated at the table who points to a paper she is holding as she reads the words: "Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen." The title of the picture is a variation of the popular Dutch saw "Soo de ouden songen, so pijpen de jongen," which, roughly translated into English is "As the old sing, so pipe the young," or "As the old birds sing, the young ones peep," which is the equivalent of the English saying "As the old cock crows, the young one learns."[17] Insofar as the lad is encouraged by an adult to learn the art of smoking, by means of imitation, Steen demonstrates the English expression "like father, like son," which can be regarded as a central theme of *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen*. The rhetorical situation thus becomes ironic: while parody deals with imitation, as does *mimesis*, so too do the mannerisms of the young when taking up a bad habit in imitation of their elder's teachings, prompting and encouragement.

Thus the lad smoking the clay pipe in *In weelde siet toe* may ironically have already learnt the bad habit, like the lad in *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* who is busy learning the bad habit from an adult: for the viewer can regard the lad smoking the clay pipe in relation to the one lying on the floor just off-centre, to the right, in the foreground of the composition in *In weelde siet toe*. By virtue of its isolated position, the viewer may assume that the young man seated directly above it has abandoned this discarded clay pipe. The contrast between the child's usage of a clay pipe with that of his peer's disuse of it is striking enough to warrant further comment. In this untidy setting where domestic *discordia* is rife, where the World Upside Down theme has taken charge, inverting the rhetorical situation of a Calvinist ideal home – turning *concordia* topsy-turvy – the child practices the man's pipe smoking, while the man, moving on to other things, has abandoned the practice. There thus exists the possibility that, in time, the lad smoking the clay pipe, having learnt one bad habit, may eventually learn others as well, and perhaps follow the abandonment (*losbandigheijdt*) which the young man now offers to the youngsters as an example of adult (mis)behaviour and *onmin/onenigheijdt*. This bad example, the young man might suggest, should be observed, studied, and subsequently emulated.

The lad's pretence at the blowing of smoke at the sleeping *huisvrou* in *In weelde siet toe* has, at the same time, the potential to follow the lead of the man's actual blowing of smoke at his partner in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (fig. 42) where this act has been interpreted as a sexual insulting jest – an overture to sexual intercourse. The implication in *In weelde siet toe* however, is that the lad smoking his clay pipe may not fully understand the implications of his playful blowing of smoke at the sleeping mistress of the household even though he may have learnt to pipe the art of pipe smoking from an adult; while the abandoned clay pipe on the floor in the foreground of the composition, due to its close proximity to the male cad seated above it, could be taken by the viewer as a sign of euphemised "fleshy conversation" which he is having with the woman seated beside him, in the manner of the suitor and his female companion in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* described at the beginning of this paragraph.

The prominence of the couple engaged in their "fleshy conversation" in the central foreground of the composition is an indication that this incident should also be considered by the viewer to be one of the key themes of *In weelde siet toe*. Even the baby sitting in the high chair in the left foreground of the composition, who holds money and valuables in her hand, and who has chucked her bowl and an important document – to judge by its broken seals – onto the floor, regards the "fleshy conversation" in the centre of the composition as an important motif worthy of the viewer's attention. The baby knowingly points with a spoon, directing the viewer's eye to the centre of the composition, after the recommendation in Alberti's *De pictura* Book II "to place a figure in the position of commentator".[18] With such a rhetorical *gestus* invitation to the viewer offered by one so young in years, who paradoxically and ironically may in all likelihood not know what they know – a commonplace oxymoron for a wise fool living in a World Upside Down *topos* – the viewer is invited to examine the "fleshy conversation" in the central foreground of the composition more closely.

Although the central couple involved in this "fleshy conversation" are fully clothed, Steen leaves no doubt in the viewer's mind as to the indirect erotic suggestiveness implied by the couple's poses and accompanying emblematic attributes. The man's shabby clothes suggest that both he and his partner have abandoned their neat attire for something more "loose" in both senses of the word: in clothing and in moral decorum. A further "abandonment" is the moment we are presented with in their "fleshy conversation", as the strict moral codes of Calvinist behaviour have been abandoned. While the man carelessly looks away from the woman with a wicked smirk on his lips, she stares directly at the viewer in a knowing way and with a telling smile. Her cunning and

worldly stare lures the viewer, drawing him or her deeper into the lewd picture. It is a look that seems to solicit the viewer's participation in the *discordia* of the picture, without any feelings of guilt. The fact that her view carries with it a sense of worldly wisdom, and even a sense of acceptance of the ways of the world, in all its wild disorganised abandonment, *onmin/onenigheijdt* and *discordia*, makes this knowledgeable look of hers all the more dissembling to a viewer who may not share her luring point of view or value its consequences.

However the viewer regards the young woman's knowing stare, among other possibilities, as a witness to, or as an accomplice in the scene depicted, she may still be interpreted as a seducer (*verleiden*) and a deceiver (*bedriegen*). Steen enhances the woman's "wares" by allowing her to hold a hollow-stemmed *roemer* filled with red liquor – as if recently poured by the servant in *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44) – and to present it between the young man's legs, as if offering it and its contents to his hidden *vogel* ("bird" = "male genitals and their owners")[19] beneath his *broeck*. Her other hand also holds an open *flapkan* which, in the seventeenth century suggested avarice and a sexual appetite, since its gaping succubic mouth emblematically advertised the woman's desires as a euphemism for her vagina.

Steen enhances the titillating implications of these hand-held drinking objects, with their erotic overtones, by placing a vat at the extreme left of the picture from which wine pours wastefully onto the floor. As an *oorskuim* of youthfulness, the vat had come to emblematise in the seventeenth century a sense of abandonment and *oorskuim* from which the Dutch fear of *overvloed* derived its seductive tantalisation and ambiguous flirtation between the fading borders of vice and virtue. At the same time, when such an overflow and *oorvloed* combined with *discordia* and *onmin/onenigheijdt*, a lethal dosage of vice (*ondeugd*) emerged, and the carnivalesque evils of misrule bred like wildfire in such an *onsedelijcke huijshouding* (disorderly household) – the precise opposite ethical qualities of the seventeenth-century Calvinist ideal of an orderly household (*concordia*). In such a hyperbolic *discordia* situation vice had epideictically "triumphed" over virtue, creating a parodic World Upside Down *topos* where domestic dystopia, rather than a domestic utopia, reigned supreme. Among these vices, *weelde* (luxury), could perhaps be singled out as "the complex of insatiable desires that included worldliness, avarice, intemperance, gluttony, and lasciviousness, as the cause of domestic decay."[20] *Weelde* appears as an emblem of reckoning and as a warning on the slate in the lower right hand side of the composition – hence the title of the picture, *In weelde siet toe* ("In luxury, watch out") – as well as a summary (*soma op* = "sums up") of

the scene as a whole. By personifying *weelde* emblematically as the central female figure of the "fleshy conversation", Steen may have wished to remind his viewers that *weelde* was traditionally

> associated with effeminacy, the effect of which was to corrupt the virtuous manly life, and was personified by a sexually seductive, opulently adored female. Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662) represented the proverb *Het zijn sterke benen, die de weelde kunnen dragen* (strong legs are needed to carry luxury) [(fig. 51)] as a man struggling under the weight of Luxury, whose slashed sleeves and fancy shoes resemble those of Steen's woman.[21]

Steen's personified Weelde, with her alluring smile and indecorously assertive gaze, wears a sumptuously painted yellow satin[22] gown, the type of clothes worn by prostitutes in the seventeenth century. Her necklace and ring identify her as a loose woman, which is confirmed by the fact that the wine she holds in her left hand is provocatively proffered between the young man's legs.

The young man, for his part, lewdly slings his legs across the lap of his beautiful seductress, in a pose soliciting future advancement. Steen repeats this motif in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (fig. 42) where he "plays the father locking fingers with the maidservant[23] while his real-life wife is [represented as] an inebriated, neglected mother oblivious to the moral breakdown in her home".[24] Here, Steen sits smoking a clay pipe and blowing the smoke at the woman, while he has slung his legs across her lap: both rhetorical *gestus* suggesting sexual solicitation. If the young woman might be regarded as the personification of Weelde in *In weelde siet toe*, then the young man sitting beside her might be regarded as the personification of Sorgheloosheijdt or "carelessness". The wastrel's hat lying on the floor is suggestive of the common expression of carelessness and intemperance: "*hij gooit zijn hoed maar voor de deur*" ("he throws his hat in front of the door"). The idea of the male figure as Sorgheloosheijdt is enhanced by the fact that the young man, in addition to throwing his hat on the floor — ironically he misses throwing his hat in front of the door — abandons his clay pipe on the floor as well, while he carelessly releases some roses in his left hand, which he allows to drop to the floor. A pig, who has wandered into the room with the spigot from the wine keg in it's mouth,[25] is about to eat one of the roses, thus illustrating the saw which appears in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3): "*strooit geen rozen voor de varkens*" ("don't spread roses [pearls] before swine", "# 96"). "Letting loose the pig"[26] in this manner could be considered to be a "proverbial trigger" for the unruly household, since the saw "The pig runs off with (or pulls out) the plug" emblematised not only drunkenness but also financial irresponsibility *(sorgheloosheijdt)*.

Only Sorgheloosheijdt would allow himself to be seduced by a seventeenth-century siren like Weelde. Their unseemly behaviour, when compared to the other forms of carnivalesque misrule in the picture, makes these other forms pale into mere kinds of naughtiness. Weelde and Sorgheloosheijdt may, not only be personified emblems

and real flesh-and-blood participants of a "fleshy conversation" at the same time, they could also be interpreted as the central motif which summarises ("*soma op*") the picture as a whole. For the sleeping mistress of the household is a kind of female *sorgheloosheijdt* – a carnivalesque role reversal of the male emblem of carelessness – as she has allowed *discordia* the luxury (*weelde*) of *oorskuim* to take place while she naps from both genders, children and adults, and even animals.

Besides the "fleshy conversation" of the central couple, then, the viewer notices other forms of *discordia* in the picture. Right under the nose of the sleeping mistress of the household, a dog has climbed onto the table to eat a meat pie.[27] Other animals that have no business being inside the home have also invaded it and taken over. An ape, aping nature, can to be seen in the upper right hand side of the composition, playing with the weights of a clock. This ape who also plays with the weights of a clock above the curtains of the bed in the upper left hand side of *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (fig. 42) emblematises the ape as "the thief of time," who, at the same time, illustrates the saw "in foolishness time is forgotten," which links the ape, respectively, to the child with her hand in the cupboard and the sleeping mistress of the household.

A fourth animal, a duck, punningly sits of the shoulders of a quacker, or quack doctor, who, appears to be oblivious to the household disorder about him and who is reading from a book, while a nun is engaged in an "unfleshy" conversation with him. The hunch-backed man, if a quack doctor, is a fraudulent physician who has entered the pictorial *tableaux* from the *commedia dell'arte* in order to put in a comic appearance within this carnivalesque household. As a quack, however, he is a "dead duck", being unaware of the fraudulent behaviour of the other members of the disorganised household – thus ironising his own profession by being unable to recognise it in others with a similar fraudulent inclination. On the other hand, if a "quacker",[28] in the puritan sense of the word, the hunch-backed man shows no sign that he has any hunches as to what to do about the carnivalesque *discordia* of *sorgheloosheijdt* and *weelde*, as he tries to find the answer in the book he is reading; failing which, he will have to turn his hunched back on humanity, as Bruegel's *De mensenhaten* (1568) (fig. 52)[29] has done, or else turn to listen to the advise of a nun, who shakes her finger at the *sorghelose* wastrel who merely laughs off her epideictic admonishment so that her words fall on deaf ears, and, punningly, come to none – as the saw and her habit linguistically suggest. Yet, given the behaviour of the nun in *Driekoningen-avond* (fig. 43) who encourages a child to drink – just as the man shows the lad how to pipe in *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44)[30] – it is no wonder that no-one – none – would look to nuns again for any sort of moral advise![31]

The predicament of the nun's advice falling on deaf ears, can, of course, also be regarded as an emblem in itself for whatever pedagogic and didactic purposes Steen may have painted *In weelde suite toe*, for the open question remains: would such didactic and pedagogic advice have been heeded by his viewers, or else fall on deaf ears? Naturally, such an open question would depend upon each and every viewer's response to Steen's picture and would therefore seem like an impossible question to attempt to answer. Nevertheless, it is a valid question, which, given the abundance of examples of *discordia* in the picture, and the Dutch seventeenth-century audience's Calvinist position on the moral subjects of *deugden* and *ondeugden*, *vrede stichten* and *onmin/onenigheijdt*, *concordia* and *discordia* a hypothetical answer, placed in a seventeenth-century context, may be tentatively ventured. Both Calvinists and Dutch humanist writers in the seventeenth century had urged householders to exert the utmost vigilance in guarding their homes against the contamination of vice as shown at the beginning of this chapter. In particular, the Dionysiac unfastening of the moral order by the wanton negligence of either parents, would have been considered as tantamount to "domicide," sabotage, and the dereliction of their family duty. Adriaen Poirtres, a Jesuit from the Southern Netherlands, for example, writing in 1646, had warned mothers and fathers not to indulge themselves, for they were responsible for setting good examples for their children to follow or pipe. And the preacher Willem Tellinck in 1627 "argued that parents should instil proper morality in their children from the start, for 'the young shoots can be bent whatever way one wants them to; not so the old, grown-up, stiff trees'."[32]

Such direct appeals to listeners of sermons and readers of ethical tracts had their counter-parts in poetry and other moral treatises where litotes was often employed toward the same didactic ends: writers would expatiate at length on vice and sin, while assuring their readers of their good faith in a preamble. The programmatic title of a 1645 book of emblems known as *Deughden-spoor in de on-deughden des werelts aff-gebeeldt* ("Exhortation to virtue through the portrayal of the world's vices") is, for example, self-explanatory of this genre's indirect ethical means towards moral didacticism via the paradoxical use of litotes.

Of the direct and litotic kinds of ethical didactic writing and sermonising during the seventeenth century one could say that Steen grounded *In weelde siet toe* on the litotic approach:[33] i.e., Steen's parodic concern may be interpreted as based on his showing the viewer the opposite of *deugden* (virtues) as *huijseligkheijdt* or *industria*, the better to show it.[34] Such an ironic litotic trope occurs, when, the harsh light of moral guidance is refracted through the negligence of the domestic *omnium gatherum* of misdemeanours which happen instead, particularly

when they are allowed to "bloom" into full-blown *discordia* so that such vices can be cautioned against. In showing the viewer his *bourse* of household fools engaged in *discordia*, Steen treats them with picaresque light-hearted humour and a palliating manner (*vergoelijkenden*) without the serious historical implications[35] of what the safety of the home *non te quaesiveris extra* potentially was in danger of becoming if vices were really allowed to run amuck in *concordia*'s stead. Steen could thus have represented his "loose company" (*losbandig gezelschap*) litotically in order to picaresquely catalogue their domestic vices of abandoned safekeeping for sensual and worldly self-indulgence, by parodically and carnivalesquely substituting *discordia* for *concordia* in order to not only evoke the rhetorical *inversio* of the World Upside Down *topos* but also to litotically point out to his audience, through an exemplary visual charade of foolish and sinful characters, his didactic warnings of the dangers inherent in such an abandoned enterprise, if ever it should be practised or implemented.

The "abandoned enterprise" in Steen's *In weelde siet toe* has often prompted interpreters of the picture to title it *De verkeerde wereld* for good reason: "this dissolute household turns topsy-turvy the ideal of a well-managed, nuclear family. Steen constituted this inversion by numerous individual reversals or misappropriations of marks of proper familial life."[36] In a similar manner, Steen's *In weelde siet toe* as *De verkeerde wereld* thematically parallels Bruegel's *De blauwe huyck* as *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) in the sense that Steen's seventeenth-century domestic World Upside Down *topos* is a parodic scene of collective, heteroglossic, and individual follies in its own right which pays homage to Bruegel's parodic saw picture as a sixteenth-century emblematic World Upside Down *topos* which is "stuffed full" of the *satura* of the *paradoxia epidemica* of wisdom and human folly occurring side by side.

Steen held a lifelong fascination with Bruegel[37] particularly Bruegel's emblematic use of saws made visual to illustrate wisdom and folly which extended the enargeaic power of the visual image to rhetorically instruct his audience as well as to amuse and entertain them by means of his wit, thus challenging "his viewers to indulge in some light mental gymnastics in order to unravel ideograms composed mostly of everyday commonplaces."[38] Steen, however, was not alone in incorporating the visual *zinnebeeld* (emblem) into his pictures: "Like other Dutch genre painters, Codde, Metsu, Breukelenkam, and Maes [among others], he drew freely on the rich storehouse of emblem books – anthologies of proverbs, aphorisms, and maxims, and rhyming manuals of social behaviour – to litter [*satura*] his pictures with morally charged [emblems]. Some of those [emblems] had their origin in the international repertoire of Renaissance imagery; others, in the more purely native tradition

exemplified by Brueghel's [*sic*] [*De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3)]."[39] Perchronic differences, however, separate

Steen from other artist's use of the *zinnebeeld* during the seventeenth century and draw him closer to Bruegel in

spirit and to the picaresque world view: for Steen, as "the Bruegel of his age",[40] in his picaresqueness,

epideictically parodies the normal standards of an idealised Dutch household of the seventeenth century, and, like

the *impossiblia* of the medieval *mundus inversus*, he reminds his viewers of the parodying of social values as

moral authority and virtuous Calvinist ideals, whose perceived virtues are precisely his parodic paradigmatic

targets.

Steen's Dutch seventeenth-century audience may well have taken for granted the inclusion of the *zinnebeeld*

alongside realism as a part of the rhetorical *enargeia* of pictures. The seventeenth century, we may recall, was a

time in which pictures, the intertextuality between pictures, allegorical figures, and everyday objects – whether

found in nature or man-made – could all have enjoyed an emblematic status and significance as Jan Brueghel's

Allegory of sight (1617) (fig. 53) reminds us. In Cats' *Spiegel*, for example, the author explained to his readers

the reason why he found the *zinnebeeld* so attractive[41] was because

> thanks to a mysterious something, ... while they appear to be one thing, in reality they contain another, of which
> the reader having in due time seized the exact meaning and intention, experiences wondrous pleasure in his soul;
> not unlike one, who, after some search finds a beautiful bunch of grapes under thick leaves. Experience teaches
> us that many things gain by not being completely seen, but somewhat veiled and concealed.[42]

While recent art historians have entered into a heated debate on what "the exact meaning and intention" of a

zinnebeeld may be,[43] they have also questioned the *zinnebeeld*'s complication of Dutch realism,[44] arguing that the

"unknown is not hidden, but rather [that] it occupies the very surface of the image, waiting for our theoretical

assumptions to enable us to see it".[45] Despite this observation, and others amounting to the same effect, it also

remains a truism that what one is unable to see goes by unrecognised, and that Cats' "exact meaning and

intention" of pictorial emblems may not only be impossible to historically recreate, but they may also entirely

miss the point of interpretation, which, if open and playful, as contemporary discourses maintain, should open up

the world of interpretation and hypothesis, rather than close it off to exactness. Such is the gulf that separates the

view of Cats in the seventeenth century from our own positions in the late twentieth century. Given that I share

the point of view of an openness of interpretation, I must side against Cats' opinion of the "exact meaning and

intention" of emblems in pictures, for parody plays with exactness and wit rhetorically displays the full breadth of

its wit rather than with a specific intention. The viewer of Steen's *In weelde siet toe* should, allowing for

openness and play, not only be alert to the artist's wit (*geestigheijdt*), but also be prepared to recognise the fact

that seventeenth-century Dutch realism and *zinnebeelde* can sometimes separate and sometimes blend in the same image, or even become a metonymic figure of thought encompassing the whole of the compositional construct of a picture, based on textual interrelationships.

The female prostitute, as the personification of an emblematic Weelde, and the male cad who woos her as the personification of an emblematic Sorgheloosheijdt, are the two central examples in *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41) where realism and *zinnebeeld* merge for an instance into an "emblematic realism"[46] which may possess the common features of both realms included in its tropic make-up. The idea of "tropic make-up" is an ambiguous concept, for it suggests, on the one hand, that the painterly surface of *In weelde siet toe* is built up – made up – as a visual rhetoric, while on the other hand, the idea also suggests that both the artist's rhetorical inventiveness in recreating realism in the studio, fictionalising it – making it up – as an emblematic realism *and* the audience's later recreation of it via play and interpretation – making-up connections between the various parts of the picture and building these represented relationships and interrelationships into semantic wholes within the restraints of the rhetorical situation and the format of the compositional construct of the picture – are involved.

Moreover, the idea of "tropic make-up" in the case of Steen's *In weelde siet toe* is suggestive of the carnivalesque and the theatre, where a different kind of make-up is used to disguise the features of the participants who have a reversible role to play. Such carnivalesqueness, stemming from the ancient *kermis* itself, broke down the barriers which usually sealed off carnival-time from reality, and which under "normal" circumstances would discreetly compartmentalise experience into these two realms of co-existence. Steen's *In weelde siet toe* conflates these two realms, as expressed by the notion of emblematic realism, as in the case of the personifications of the two central figures of Weelde and Sorgheloosheijdt; but, at the same time, Steen's carnivalisation also conflates the *kermis* and domestic worlds in another way: by being both a saturnalian *inversus loci* where the Lord of Misrule reigns supreme in a World Upside Down *topos*, while at the same time, litotically representing a visual sermon epideictically admonishing such a heteroglossic *overvloed* of licentious havoc and *discordia*. As if these two rhetorical conflations were not complex enough in their own right, Steen, like Bruegel, compounds the rhetorical situation further by adding a third conflation, interrelated to the others: that of imploding life and theatre as a visual *toneelvoorstelling*.

The presence of the quack doctor from the cast of stock characters of the *commedia dell'arte*, for example, serves as a reminder to the viewer that the emblematic realism present in Steen's picture is also highly theatrical and

staged, like a *tableaux vivant* presented by a *Rederijker* Chamber; and that what *In weelde siet toe* shares, among other things, with *kermis* and carnival-time is the thematic emblem of the world as a stage, a *toneelvoorstelling*. This idea of linking visual imagery to theatrical practices was closely linked to the culture of the Bruegel school, and to its roots in antique and medieval traditions as well as to Renaissance and Baroque imagery upon which such theatrical analogies with pictures were based.[47]

This thematic aspect of *toneelvoorstelling* in Steen's pictures was recognised by Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719),[48] an early biographer of Steen during the first quarter of the eighteenth century, whose own *milieu* was still in tune with the concept of the world as a stage. Houbraken's book *De groote schouburgh der Nerderlantsche kunstschilders* (1718)[49] employed the Renaissance trope of "theatre" in order to describe Steen's figures as the "approximated ... comportment of actors on a stage."[50] Houbraken, writing under the aegis of early eighteenth-century Neoclassical theory, likened his biography of "painters and paintresses" to writing "the life-acts of people" (*"levensbedryven van menschen"*). Although he epideictically regarded the "noble" (*edelste, deftige*) depiction of idealised figures of humanity in the image of God as being the noblest purpose of the arts represented in the high mode genre, he nevertheless sanctioned Steen as the unsurpassed master of the low mode and comedy: the "droll" (*koddig*) Steen – perhaps recalling Bruegel's punning nickname given to him by Van Mander "Pieter the droll" (*"Pier den drol"*)[51] – as a painter devoted to farce (*clugt*);[52] his comical performances (*potsige vertooningen*) made spectator's laugh,[53] while the foolish consequences (*sotte naevolginge*) of humanity's folly, vilities, shortcomings and vices were exposed in many of the artist's pictures. In this respect, Steen answered the criteria for *genre* painting in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Dutch art theory, which, by default, was manifested in practice in pictures like his *In weelde siet toe*.

The contemporary reader can hardly blame Houbraken's perception of Steen as a comic and theatrical painter. Ever since antiquity, theatrical comedy had been influenced by the Aristotelian criteria for comedy outlined in his widely read *Poetics* mentioned in Chapter 3. Comedy, linked to the *genre* genre, was, for the Dutch, considered to be a form of *naer het leven*: as (1) the *imitatio vitae* or the imitation of life or the life-like imitation of the common people for the purpose of moral instruction, (2) the *speculum consuetudinis* or the mirror of everyday life and customs, but paradoxically, and litotically, of life as it should not be lived, and (3) the *imago veritatis* or the image of truth. Based on these three criteria, comic theory in the seventeenth century dictated the inclusion of such "low" details as rhopography – the ugly, the grotesque, the undignified, and the physically base. Low-brow

comedy also had to serve as a vehicle for comic wit and demanded from its audiences as a prerequisite to at once join in with the carnivalesque revelling fools while at the same time being made to judge them. This comic strategy of a comic text in literature parallels Steen's own lusty humour in dealing with the low subject of the potential naughtiness of his innocuous cast of characters within the family household in *In weelde siet toe*: the personified Weelde, for one, invites the viewer to participate in the scene; yet her knowing stare also charges the viewer with epideictically passing moral judgement on the scene displayed before them, including herself.

Within the nature of the pictorial comedy in *In weelde siet toe* Steen seems to take the exposition of human folly as a given – as Bruegel had a century earlier – and to have some real fun in dealing with it. The world is a "laughable" place, as Van de Venne also pointed out in his *Belacchende wereld* (*Laughable world*), and the viewer of such a "laughable" world should enjoy laughing at human folly while simultaneously being entertained by it, the way the traditional figure of Democritus laughed at the world (fig. 1); yet at the same time the viewer should learn the "truth" presented on the stage-world *ridendo dicere verum* and learn to judge it – for the "laughable" world is but a child's game[54] in much the same way as it is a *toneelvoorstelling* in which everyone is an actor playing out the game of life itself.

Acting out life's game, requiring "make up", circuitously returns us to a carnivalised notion of emblematic realism which blurs the distinction between real life and the emblem – even as carnival-time blurs the distinctions observed in every day life – or like some of Steen's characters, who, when they address the viewer may erase the border between pictorial and actual worlds. Thus it is possible, in Steen's case, to consider Steen's self-portrayal in his pictures "both as a pictorial device designed to confuse the line between art and life and as a professional stance through which he defined his artistic identity."[55] The conflation of these two kinds of imitative mime (*mimesis*), bundled into the idea of a *toneelvoorstelling*, and akin to the conflation embodied in the idea of emblematic realism, may have been a successful marketing ploy on Steen's part, as a part of his "signature", or it may have been the hallmark of his style.[56]

However, the problem also compounds the difficulty involved in discerning whether the character that Steen portrays should be placed within or outside of morality. Steen includes himself as a *persona*[57] within his own pictures playing a comic role – as a piper blowing smoke at a woman in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (fig. 42); as the teacher of a lad to smoke a clay pipe in *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44); as the host seated at the table in *Driekoningen-avond* (fig. 43); and as an idle fiddle player[58] in the background of both *In weelde siet toe*

and *Een onsedelijc huijshouden*. These heteroglossic roles are too divergent and too paradoxical to provide any clear-cut answer regarding Steen himself. If the question is asked: "Which is the real Steen, the dignified gentleman we see only once in his formal *Zelfportret* in Amsterdam [(c. 1665 or c. 1668-1670 or c. 1670)[59] (fig. 54)] or the rake we see most of the time?" the viewer would have to admit defeat, for there is "no reason to regard [his] ceremonious likeness as [any] less of a mask than those raucous informal ones"[60] in which he plays the supporting part of a picaresque profligate, fool, or rogue. By casting himself as a protagonist in his pictures, and sometimes dragging his whole family in as comic transgressors,[61] or as witnesses to transgressions, Steen seems to reveal himself as being at least as foolish as his other foolish victims, a ploy typical of a seventeenth-century author of comic literature. Steen seems to act out a "conscious self-deception" (*bewusste Selbshäuschung*) as if it were true. As a Dutch Democritus who derides and mocks the foolish inhabitants of a laughable world, Steen seems to laugh at himself as well as at others. Expressing his *joie de vivre*, Steen seems to take obvious delight in being able to play a leading role as a *risqué* within his own pictures as if he were engaging in some kind of practical joke (*potsery*) which nevertheless had a serious side, since the artist often depicted himself as a sinner-protagonist to whom the picture's moralising message was as much directed at himself as it was to the viewer or to other represented figures he portrayed.

Like a latter-day fool Steen delights in playing the fool. As one who plays a rhetorical part as an intermediary or as a commentator between the viewer and the rhetorical situation seen in the picture, Steen may have seen his mediating role of moralising his address to his audience in his pictures in a similar way to that of sixteenth-century *rederijker* plays wherein there is an interrelation between fools and *sinnekens*,[62] i.e., fool-like personifications of the vices, who constituted a comic play's moral voice, commenting on the play's action, rebuking its characters and players, and explaining its message. Like a Greek chorus, the Dutch *sinnekens* in *rederijker* plays guided the audience's response to the action on the main stage, as if they were a moralising prompt, or an aside, who could wink at the spectators in the audience in order to pretend that audience and actors were both witnesses of actual events. The strongest visual example of Steen's *sinnekens* role is probably to be found in *Soo voer gesongen, soon na gepepen* (fig. 44) where Steen teaches his younger son how to smoke a clay pipe while litotically knowing that it might be considered unhealthy, *indecorous* and immoral, particularly since he is well aware that an audience is watching. In *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41), however, Steen plays second fiddle to the central personifications of Weelde and Sorgheloosheijdt where Weelde performs the disturbing role of *sinnekens* as well as the bridging role between the figures in the picture and the audience. Steen nevertheless

manages to secure an oblique *sinnekens* role for himself in *In weelde siet toe*, where he casts himself as the idle fiddler gazing at the young child fiddling in, or thieving from, the cupboard. He also punningly personifies the idle fiddling going on between the central personified figures of Weelde and Sorgheloosheijdt who are directly in front of him. Having hung up his lute on the right hand side wall directly below and to the right of the ape playing with the weights of the clock, Steen parodies himself in *Zelfportret als een luitspeler* (c. 1654-1656 or c. 1663-1665 or c. 1664-1667)[63] (fig. 55) which has, however correctly or erroneously, been interpreted as the *zinnebeeld* of the sanguine temperament based on the lute player represented in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1644, Amsterdam) (fig. 56).[64] Steen directs his sanguinity towards fiddling and idleness; ever hopeful about vice's opportunities. In this subtle way, positioned behind the personified Weelde, Steen, as a pictorial actor personifying idleness, sums up ("*soma op*") the scene before him: not only as "*In weelde siet toe*," the title of the picture, and as a saw of epideictic warning to viewers, but also as a *zinnebeeld* and *sinnekens* conflated by emblematic realism so as to represent an artist-player both within and without the picture, and as a *persona* and a personification of the scene as a whole, which appears to be both a parodic household of *discordia* and a *toneelvoorstelling* mirroring every-day life and the *genre* genre.

Today we can only wonder at how the Calvinist Dutch viewers of the seventeenth century might have felt when seeing the heteroglossic *discordia* presented in Steen's *In weelde siet toe*. Were they horrified or amused at seeing Calvinist morals parodied in this manner? Although we will never know whether the rhetorical *pathos* towards Steen's picture was one of anger or laughter, epideictic praise or blame, we will also never know if his first addressees epideictically admired or condemned his comic wit and his flirting with overturning Calvinist moral ideals as his target paradigms, particularly in the light of the baseness of human nature's natural inclination towards folly, sin, and vice. Nevertheless, there is one thing that we can tell by looking at Steen's picture: he did not merely emphasise carnivalesque *discordia* without providing some sort of epideictic admonishment of it. If his viewers disliked his playful bantering with human follies, in which he included himself, as well they might, they could at least take solace in the tucked away visual emblems that might remedy the rhetorical situation.

On the extreme mid-right of the composition, placed on top of the wooden ledge of a banister, a lemon peel spirals down, "expressing the tortuous, twisting business of life, while beside it is placed a glittering green rummer of white wine. Their emblematic juxtaposition silently signals the cautionary maxim 'From the sweetest wine, the tartest vinegar'",[65] which might be regarded as a *zinnebeeld* which also summarises ("*soma op*") another

of Steen's rhetorical intentions in *In weelde siet toe*: that amidst all the comedy of errors, misbehaviour, and the

discordia of carnivalesque misrule, there lies the lessons of life, which, if they are not heeded, will become

torturous and lead to bitter life experiences. The spiralling peel of a lemon, as a traditional *zinnebeeld* of

transitoriness in seventeenth-century Dutch art aptly describes the bitter comic lessons of Steen's domestic World

Upside Down *topos*. Unlike the prominent position of the key above the sleeping mistress of the unruly

household, the lemon peel's warning – which may also be regarded as an emblematic "key" to understanding the

didactic intent of *In weelde siet toe* – is set aside from the central *discordia* of the composition, for it is

completely disregarded and ignored by everyone; and ironically, it is to their discredit and dishonour that this is

so.

Steen reinforces this theme of discredit and dishonour with another reminder to this *omnium gatherum* household

of *discordia* – which is equally disregarded and ignored by everyone – an ominously placed basket suspended

from the ceiling above their heads. This "sword of Damocles" is like an omnipresent "eye" – like the sun is an

omnipresent "eye" in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) or the unseen Daedelian eye in his *Landschap, met

Icarus' val* (fig. 11) – which serves to remind the viewer of Steen's picture, if not the people in the scene below

it, of the likely consequences and punishments which will be awarded to *discordia* and its disobedient

participants like Weelde and Sorgheloosheijdt: for placed in this basket are the epideictic instruments of

chastisement and retribution: a cripple's crutch, a leper's clapper or rattle, a rapier, a switch, and some scourging

birch rods. Together, they "all literally hang over the commission of sin, together with that most traumatic

admission of shame, soiled linen":[66]

> The basket hanging from the ceiling ... is a didactic device that reminds the viewer – the players in the picture are
> oblivious to it – of the outcome of this high living. It contains cards and a sword, signs that unrestrained appetites
> lead to gambling and fighting, and numerous objects associated with punishment, poverty, and disease, including
> the switch, a beggar's crutch, and a *Lazarusklep*, or leper's clapper, which beggars with contagious diseases
> carried.[67]

The Christian viewer of the seventeenth century, seeing this basket containing the epideictic instruments of

retribution and chastisement suspended in the air might have been reminded of the Scriptures which advised that

children should be disciplined and should be trained in the way that they should go so that when they were older

they would not turn from it (Proverbs 22:6).[68] The rod of discipline should drive out the folly to be found in the

heart of a child (Proverbs 22:15) so that the child would not follow a path of destruction (Proverbs 19:18; 23:13-

14), for the rod "imparts wisdom" (Proverbs 29:15) and promotes a healthy and happy family (Proverbs 29: 17).

Since discipline is rooted in love (Proverbs 3: 11-12), a parent who loves their offspring will not spare them the

rod, but will rather be careful to discipline them with it (Proverbs 13: 24). Such biblical reasoning obviously has not happened yet in Steen's parodic picture; since *discordia* still "rules", or rather, carnivalesquely misrules, and the idea of disciplining folly in this domestic World Upside Down *topos* comically leaves much to be desired.

There is also much to be desired in the comic scene complementing the *discordia* of the "Jan Steen households"[69] of *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41), *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (fig. 42) and *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44) – the *discordia* to be found in "Jan Steen's classroom", *Een school voor jongens en meisjes* (fig. 45). Here Steen's *discordia* parodies the more "orderly" classrooms of, for example, Adriaen van Ostade's *De schoolmeester* (1662) (fig. 57) and Isack van Ostade's *De klasselokaal* (1644) (fig. 58). The pedagogic *loci* of the Van Ostade brothers might have inspired Steen's to invert this *locus* of learning as a paradigmatic target. Indeed, Steen's picture seems to parody the very idea of an "orderly" classroom, and even seems to take the mickey out of Ghirisio Ghisi's print after Raphael's *School of Athens* (1580) (fig. 59), which he might have seen, by recasting Heraclitus (as Michelangelo) as a child fallen asleep after polishing off a large carrot:

> Oblivious to the strenuous learning taking place around him, [the dozing child] echoes and exaggerates the pensive self-containment of Raphael's ponderous Heraclitus, and his pose is a recumbent and rather collapsed version of the philosopher's. It is clear that the charming group of three studious little girls, in the left foreground of Steen's painting, is modeled on that around Pythagoras, in the same general area of Raphael's composition. Less precise, but still discernible, is the relationship between the older boy who gracefully takes notes before his teacher's desk and the elegant, bearded figure standing between Heraclitus and Pythagoras. Further, the laughing boy, who plays the fool on the table in the left background of Steen's school room, stands out above his riotous companions in rather the way that Raphael's sculptured Apollo does in the *School of Athens*, ...[70]

Whereas Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura fresco in the Vatican (1509-1511) (fig. 60), representing philosophy, revealed his artistic knowledge and irreverent attitude towards the past by gathering together the greatest minds of Classical antiquity and co-mingling them with contemporary Italian Renaissance artists, Steen's picture parodies this High Renaissance notion of "high art" and learning by drastically paraphrasing it, and, abandoning the monumental architecture of Raphael's fresco by relocating it as a non-Athenian school of so-called "education" – a "Dutch barn got up to look like a school"[71] – perhaps as a homage to Bruegel's barnyard school seen in *De ezel op school* (fig. 24; see Chapter 2) – where a *discordia* assembly of school children can get up to much mischief or do as they please.

The authority of the teacher is everywhere subverted and parodied in Steen's picture: a young wag, behind the schoolmaster, for instance, makes fun of him by making faces behind his back. In the left background, a pupil has climbed onto a table in order to serenade, while in the foreground, two children – one on the floor mid-centre and the other seated at a table to the right – have both keeled over and dozed off to sleep. In this dimly lit school

for boys and girls, the naughty children are not the only partakers of folly: the classroom is presided over by a myopic schoolmaster, seen seated slightly to the right of the central mid-ground of the composition as he busies himself with the task of trimming his quill pen[72] while an old schoolmistress, in front of him, checks a child's work. So preoccupied are the schoolmaster and schoolmistress with their respective tasks that they are oblivious to the reigning *discordia* taking place in the classroom-barn right under their noses.

In the right mid-middle ground of the composition a child holds out a pair of spectacles to an owl who stands on a perch on the wall beside an unlit lantern. Unknowingly the child illustrates the well-known Dutch saw that questions the good of a candle and glasses if an owl refuses to see by them. Akin to the English saying "There are none so blind as those who will not see", the Dutch *zinnebeeld* cautions that people will never achieve anything if they lack the willingness to do so. Thus the *zinnebeeld* may be reflective, on the one hand, of the schoolmaster since his glasses are the same kind as the ones which the child offers to the owl, suggesting that the schoolmaster has been unwilling to teach his pupils anything; while on the other hand, the *zinnebeeld* might also be reflective of the pupils who are equally not willing to learn anything even if the wherewithal was provided for them to do so.

This sorry state of affairs – an unwillingness to teach or to learn – would seem to be unfortunate, particularly since Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469-1536) had a century earlier written so much on the importance of educating children properly. Quoting Juvenal, Erasmus wrote "that children should be protected from the 'silly and obscene.' ... [C]hildren should not be found 'at games or dances in the streets or marketplace'"; rather, home

> or school was the proper place for the child and the child should be surrounded with worthy models. In the 1553 epitome of Erasmus' proverbs, the Latin proverb "A vicinis exemplum habent" – "they have an example nearby" – is accompanied in the margin by the vernacular saying "So de oude songen so pepe de ionghen"[73] – "as the old sing, so pipe the young" – and in his adage "Doctoring is better first than last," Erasmus draws on Persius's third Satire, as well as Ovid, and says the adage warns that "children must be sheltered from when they are at a tender and tractable age".[74]

In recognition of Erasmus as an educator *par excellence* – and, no doubt, for his important contribution to saw compilations and *zinnebeeld* collections like his *Adages* and its influence on Bruegel and his legacy[75] – Steen included a portrait print of Erasmus which lies abandoned on the floor in the right hand corner of the composition.[76] The fact that Erasmus' portrait lies neglected on the floor gathering dust, may be taken as a parodic indication that Erasmusian ideas on education are ironically neglected in this barnyard school for boys and girls where *discordia* is at work and play. As a result of such advise being ignored in "Jan Steen's classroom", Erasmus' "warnings" gather dust and cobwebs.

Steen parodies the Calvinist obsession with *concordia* by abandoning it in this classroom World Upside Down *topos*. He also parodies the Calvinist's suspicion of theatre[77] in the way in which he structures many of his pictures as a *toneelvoorstelling*. As a Catholic living in a Protestant country, it is perhaps understandable that Steen would have wished to parody Calvinism in order to light-heartedly point out their fanatic moral concerns regarding *concordia* and *vrede stichten*, whether at school or in the home. What "saves" Steen's pictures from a strong ideological and dogmatic point of view against Calvinism is his playful picaresque stance towards human folly and his parodying of Calvinist values, together with his willingness to include himself in the picaresque proceedings. What also "saves" Steen's position is his blurring of the distinctions between life and theatre, and between nature and art, in the form of emblematic realism, the *zinnebeeld*, and the *sinnekens*. Other contributing factors are his epideictic admonishments with comic wit, humour, and irony, and the manner in which he does not dictate to the viewer one way or another but rather allows his audience to make up their own minds by allowing them to engage in his works by invitation, gaze, or gesture, yet with a similar kind of openness and playfulness which Steen affords to himself. For Steen's playful parodies never seem to lose sight of the naughty child, the foolish child, the child learning from an adult's example, a child not learning in the home or in a classroom, the childish and foolish adult, the child and adult at play, or as festive Wild Men, Wild Women, and Wild Children involved in *discordia* – most of whom have been spared the rod and the overhanging basket of emblematic admonishments in *In weelde siet toe*.

The viewer, in turning from the *discordia* of *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41) and *Een school voor jongens en meisjes* (fig. 45) nevertheless does not turn away from *homo festivas* in Steen's *oeuvre*. Turning from these visual examples of the parodying of social hierarchy through the carnivalesque inversion of the adult-child relationship, to the parodying of genre hierarchy, the viewer still finds himself/herself in the midst of Steen's merry company of party animals.

The viewer of Steen's *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* (1676) (fig. 46)[78] enters the festive scene which takes place in an inner colonnaded courtyard. The bride and groom sit behind a table placed on a dais in the right mid-foreground of the composition under a festooned canopy of tree branches and foliated garlands known in the seventeenth century as a *belkroon*, or "bell crown", which has been made in their honour to emblematise the sanctity of their marriage. The construction of the *belkroon* seems to have been made in haste as cuttings of

greenery lie strewn on the tiled floor in untidy *discordia* showing that the servants did not have either the time, or the inclination, to tidy up before the wedding party and invited guests arrived.

Extending in the background, to the left of the dais, a covered colonnade (below) and a balustraded balcony (above it) are to be seen. Under this covered colonnade, the table of the wedding party winds its merry way and many of the seated guests have taken their places on both sides of the long table in order to enjoy themselves. On the balustraded balcony above, musicians and several other lively riffraff have gathered to epideictically serenade this joyous and festive occasion – each in their own way. Discernible in this dim upper corner of the composition are a violin- and a bagpipe player; a singer reading from a songbook; a harpist; a dwarf standing on the balustrade, leaning forward with what looks like a pipe in his hand; and a fair maiden in a cerise coloured dress seated on the balustrade and playing a lute. The lighting, from some hidden source high up on the left hand side of the composition falls on the female lutinist's dress, making her a spot of rose-pink and the highlighted climax of all the other figures mulling around on the balustraded balcony.

The hidden light source also strikes the right mid-foreground of the composition and spotlights the bride and groom and the other guests seated at the table on the dais, thus directing the viewer's gaze to this focal point of the composition. Noticeable in this area of the composition are vivid reds, pinks, whites, yellows, grey blues, and browns, which radiate in muted tones, and change into wine reds, dusty pinks, off-whites, acid yellows, deep cerise, old maroon, indigo, mud browns, and charcoal black, the further the figures and objects are placed from this spotlighted focus, thus uniting the toned and tinted areas of the composition as a harmonious unity.

Also noticeable in the spotlighted focus in the composition, and dispelled to other focal areas, are the wedding guests who are a motley bunch of people: male and female, young and old, beautiful and ugly – wearing a motley cross-section of clothing, ranging from noble seventeenth-century contemporary dress to the servant's working garb, and from the latest fashion statements, to men in turbans who seem to be rather Rembrandtesque, Eastern-looking, and somewhat archaically costumed for this festive occasion. All in all, it would seem that the setting of the wedding feast, as a rhetorical situation for the epideictic celebration of marriage, provided Steen with an opportunity not only for pictorial *heteroglossia* but also for a *satura* of motley dressed wedding guests to parade before the viewer. For this *satura* is indeed a feast for the eyes: Steen's *De huwelijcksfees in Cana*, like Paolo Veronese's *Marriage at Cana* (1562-1563) (fig. 61), seems to call "for a large cast of exotic characters"[79] wherein Christ is treated as a meiosis figure lost in the crowd. In Steen's picture Christ's presence in front of the second

pillar of the colonnade in the left background of the composition is somewhat understated. Clothed in a grey-blue garment with a crimson cloak hanging from His shoulders, with a slight cadmium yellow aura surrounding His head, He becomes almost camouflaged among the other wedding guests, blending in with the shadows and the crowd, the way Christ does in Bruegel's *De kruisdragen* (fig. 8). The viewer has to really scout about the composition in order to find Him. Having found Him, He appears as a rather unassuming individual, as ordinary as any of the other guests, distinguished only by His faint aura. Steen's Christ requires neither fanfare nor drama in order to perform His miracle. His head is tilted to His right and His hands are folded, "more in resignation than in miracle-producing prayer."[80] His demure seems to be rather pensive and contemplative, in contrast with the merriment of the guests and the carnivalesque atmosphere of the wedding feast. Lost in His own thoughts, Christ seems to be enacting, in anticipation of His destiny, His role as the Man of Sorrows (*imago pietatis*) rather than as a member of the merry company about Him. In keeping with this role as the Son of God, He keeps His distance from the ignorant and rowdy crowd.

The ignorant and rowdy crowd, for their part, always make the most noise, as Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* on empty barrels making the most noise pointed out, *holle vaten klinken het hardst*:

> Dese Sinnepop is soo klaer datse weynigh uytlegginghe behoeft: want men siet dat de onverstandighe menschen de aldermeete woorden over haer hebben, op straten, op marckten, op wagens en in schepen; daer de verstandighe wyse lieden met een stil bequaem wesen henen gaen.[81]

Visscher's emblem pointed out that the rabble always filled the air with their words and noise, while wise and sensible people deported themselves in a quiet, capable manner. The presence of a child rolling an empty barrel in the right foreground of the composition may emblematise Visscher's didactic saw, and point out the distinction which separates *homo festivas*'s potential for *gula* and epideictic celebration from Christ's quiet and wise repose.

In Calvinist Holland during the seventeenth century the Dutch were all too painfully aware of the warning to avoid joining "those who drink too much wine[82] or gorge themselves on meat" (Proverbs 23.20). Many sermons were written against gluttony and drunkenness.[83] For their part, gluttony (*gulsigheijdt*) and drunkenness (*dronckenschap*) had long since been identified as part of the deadly sin of *gula*, and had also been related to the growing secularisation of the atheist and materialist movements within a carnivalesque atmosphere ever since the fifteenth-century by writers such as Rabelais, Voultè, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, and Calvin. By the seventeenth-century, however, the idea of *lustiger Gesellschafter* (merry-companies) in taverns and inns had retained the idea that demons, especially Lucifer – the *opperheer* – were at large, as he had turned brewer in order to snare addicts

into inebriated submission. The Calvinist church in this regard saw itself as a Manichaean contester with other minions for the possession of Dutch souls, and it is possible that Steen's two pictures *De gevolgen van onmatigheijdt/buitensporigheijdt* (fig. 49) and *De wÿn is een spoter* (fig. 50)[84] perhaps parodied this Calvinist obsession with drunkenness and *gula*.

Steen's *De huwelijcksfees in Cana*, however, does not dwell on the effects of intemperance and drunkenness. Instead, the theme of *gula* lurks behind this theatrical *toneelvoorstelling*, as do other thematic foci such as human folly. Their parody is litotically suggested, hinted at, skirted about, but never allowed to become Steen's direct didactic intent, or to spill over into a dictatorial pictorial sermon. Like other thematic foci – such as the old crony seated at the richly draped table in the right foreground of the composition who encourages a child to test his/her lips on the wine, even as the nun does to a child in Steen's *Driekoningen-avond* (fig. 43) – Steen lets such events be. He treats this rhetorical incident, and others, as comical, highlighting the distinction between the old crony's better judgement through her lifelong experiences and her complete disregard for any and all the emblematic warnings from the Bible or folk saws regarding the dangers of drinking. In her folly, she continues to coach the child into drinking, to pipe the young into piping too. But such are the bitter twistings of life, as revealed in the spiralling lemon peel nearby, whose use and abuse co-exist – as do solemnity and fun, abstention and inebriation, wisdom and folly.

None of the above thematic foci are new in Steen's *oeuvre* – there being nothing new under the sun according to the writer of Ecclesiastics 1.9. Steen rarely invented new subjects. More often than not he refurbished old ones by pouring, so to speak, old wine into new bottles – like the spiralling lemon peel emblem which he borrowed from *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41). Ever an "inveterate borrower",[85] Steen had a remarkable ability to "synthesise other people's ideas and [to] create something fresh."[86] Accordingly, Steen's *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* is a reworking of the biblical *narratio* which seems to merge history painting with *genre* elements.

Steen, of course, regularly crossed the borders between different Dutch genre[87] specialities, so much so, that some of his history paintings look like *genre* pieces. His pictures become a hodgepodge of discourses, a *satura*: a mixture of *exempla*, "table talk", and a miscellany of minor plot incidents. The resulting disturbance of the *aptum* of the *genera descendi* blurs pictorial genres, and creates "a *discordia concors* of mixed high and low"[88] in which the two modes flow together creating a problem painting which is both comical and ridiculous. On the one hand, the "lofty genus" of history painting is brought down a peg or two if interpreted as being a part of the

festive parody, while the comic and vulgar goings-on epideictically become more "exalted" through their rhetorical amplification. Yet, on the other hand, such a genre concoction allows for their mutual concomitance and enriches the whole, giving "extra life and point to historical and biblical scenes by such blatant breaches of traditional decorum as using unidealized models, adding crowds of unruly extras, and inventing entertaining if gratuitous stage business."[89]

Steen's unconcern, or disregard for genre canons, and his jumbling up of archaic and contemporary costumes anachronistically seems to fit in with the heteroglossic profile of the motley guests represented in *De huwelijcksfees in Cana*. As if in answer to the cultural cross-current of Baroque values through the Netherlands, Steen's picture seems to be as much about the subtle play of light and colour as it is about its playful subject. The painstaking study of *fijnschilder*, and the care with which it is rendered, appears "radical" when applied to the unheroic types which Steen depicts. This misdirection of technique was considered a deplorable practice. Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), for example, in his *Sixth discourse* (1774) found it difficult to come to terms with Steen as a *peintre d'histoire* whose mixing of the high and low modes not only seemed ridiculous, but also disqualified him as a history painter:

> [he] seems to be one of the most diligent and accurate observers of what passed in those scenes which he frequented, and which were to him an academy. I can easily imagine, that had this extraordinary man had the good fortune to have been born in Italy, instead of Holland, had lived in Rome instead of Leyden, and been blessed with Michael Angelo and Raffaelle for his masters, instead of Brouwer and Van Goyen;[90] the same sagacity and penetration which distinguished so accurately the different characters and expression in his vulgar figures, would, when exerted on the selection and imitation of what was great and elevated in nature, have been equally successful; and he now would have ranged with the great pillars and supporters of our Art.[91]

For Reynolds, Steen "had neither the training nor the temperament to paint convincing and moving accounts of biblical subjects":[92] as a painter of *historien* Steen tried, but failed, in Reynold's opinion, to live up to the demands of the highest genre. In fairness to Steen, however, the problem for Reynolds was that he could not reconcile his own Neoclassical ideals for painting with the way in which Steen had expressed himself.[93] If Steen's pictures seemed like travesties of history painting and had failed to follow the correct decorum befitting the high mode, then it was because his picaresque point of view differed in aim and intent from the *genus grande*. The latter genre, when linked to the narrow confinements of classicism, could be extremely limiting and restrictive for an artist. While Reynolds himself was content to work imitatively within such limitations – see Chapter 5 – Steen seems to have been too "stylistically restless" and eclectic[94] in temperament to have followed such orders to the letter. Indeed, he may have deliberately used the technique and subject matter of history painting in order to parody these genre conventions.

The parody of the *aptum* of history painting by Steen could be said to be at least twofold. Firstly, by casting his history paintings "in deliberately retardataire, non-classicist modes" Steen was creating "a comic mode of history that was consistent with his identity as a comic artist."[95] As a "comic artist", as well as a pictorial *cluchtspeler* or "farce actor",[96] Steen once again included himself in the picture as the merry hail-well-met fellow dressed in the yellow costume standing near the foreground centre of *De huwelijcksfees in Cana*. Judging by his dress and prominence in the composition Steen may be regarded as being the host of this epideictic occasion, an idea enhanced by the fact that a servant nearby is offering him the first draft of wine after Christ's first public miracle; but, as eudemonic hosts go, Steen seems to be less interested in tasting the new vintage as in being introduced to one of the seated guests at the wedding feast. By ignoring the servant's offer of the new vintage, and wishing to actively engage in talking to a fellow guest instead, Steen, if the host, indexes himself as a "participant self-portrait"[97] in his own picture, establishing a rhetorical link between the picture and the audience. As such, Steen fulfils Alberti's advice to the painter to include a figure in the picture who addresses the viewer and draws him/her into the represented *historia*. Steen does so by representing himself[98] as a conflated comic artist-actor of his own picture.[99] As a "laughing prompt"[100] Steen solicits his viewers to laugh at himself and at his comic history painting.[101] Reinforcing the idea of a pictorial comedy, Steen misapplies rhetorical posture and gesture – a seductive woman, for example, seen on the right, pours a drink with an elegant gesture.[102] This *ineptum* was, according to the classicist theatre critic Andries Pels (1631-1681), an abhorred violation of decorum; however, when used for comic effect as Steen did, such inappropriateness could raise appreciative laughter from the audience as this kind of parodic inversion of social and genre conventions had been in use as a principle for comic representation from (at least) Bruegel onwards – see Chapter 3.

Secondly, related to the above, is Steen's role as a host who appears to be litotically less interested in the biblical tale of the wedding feast in Cana and its significance, and ironically more interested in sociable conversation and merrymaking. His picaresque attitude within an epideictic festive atmosphere and setting veils the fact that the occasion *is* the wedding feast at Cana where Christ performed His first public miracle. Steen chooses to treat history painting as a *genre* comedy and biblical subject matter as being somewhat *boertig* or farcical instead of as something that was supposed to be didactic and dignified. In doing so Steen puts pay to Berger's (1997: xiv) remark that "it is frivolous to make jokes during a religious ceremony, [or] a proposal of marriage", for instead of banning the comic "from all truly serious occasions", Steen welcomes the comic and shows no shame in enacting the part of a comic actor-artist within this rhetorical situation. The presence of comedy adds spice to Steen's

heteroglossic medley[103] of people, themes, and emblematic saws, contributing to a rich blend of human interaction with the drama of his pictorial *toneelvoorstelling* where comedy and solemnity become each other's keeper, and where the genres of history painting as the high mode genre and *genre* as the low mode genre find a common ground in which to jointly co-exist.

Stepping back from *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* (fig. 46) so that the viewer might see the picture beside *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41) the viewer might ask three interrelated heuristic questions: (1) how can Steen's picaresque world view be summed up ("*soma op*")?, (2) How does his picaresque world view compare to Bruegel? and (3) does Steen's picaresque world view provide a nuancing of trace elements of the organising principles of this study? I shall try to jointly answer these three questions. Steen's heteroglossic scenes are saturated (*satura*) with his representation of the world as a *toneelvoorstelling* in which men, including himself, women, and children are treated as comic actors engaging in acts of human folly and violating the Calvinist ideal of strict moral behaviour.[104] In *In weelde siet toe, discordia* rules – or rather, parodically misrules – in a carnivalised household where a usually vigilant mother sleeps, allowing all other people and animals free reign and licence. In *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* the epideictic setting for the celebration of the wedding feast allows the history painting and *genre* genres to co-exist, with the latter appearing to dominate over the former. One might interpret *In weelde siet toe* as a parodying, a reversal, of social hierarchy where *discordia* is allowed to flourish and create a World Upside Down *topos*; and one may regard *De huwelijcksfees in Cana* as a genre parody in which the low *genre* epideictically celebrates its importance beside the rhetorical *reductio* of the biblical *historia*. In both pictorial examples Steen's wit[105] and his comic themes celebrate their epideictic relationship to the organising principles of this study discussed in chapters 2 and 3.

Like Bruegel,[106] Steen appears to still rely on the emblematic tradition, *zinnebeelde*, and wise saws to counter and expose human folly. But the *paradoxia epidemica* of Bruegel is no longer applicable to Steen's *oeuvre*, for Steen had to picaresquely battle with the ideal of Calvinist moral values rather with a whole set of complicated cross-currents of sixteenth-century political and religious wars. If Bruegel depicted himself only once in *De preeken van Sint-Johannes de Doper* (fig. 10), Steen never seemed able to resist the temptation to depict himself time after time like an actor playing many different comic roles in his *toneelvoorstelling* pictures. In this regard, Steen happily accepted himself as a self-participant in human folly and he did not seem to mind showing himself off to his viewers as a victim of sinfulness and vice, like anyone else struggling (*gevecht*) to live up to the high ideals

and principles set by Calvinism's moral demands on seventeenth-century Dutch society. Steen's picaresque world view, however, is a milder and merrier form of picaresque insurrection than Bruegel's; and it is a festive and rowdy interlude compared to the picaresque parodies which were to wage different battles in the next three centuries.

End notes

[1] There is a dispute among the authors mentioned in the List of Illustrations regarding the dating of this picture.

[2] The very title of Steen's picture *Driekoningen-avond* (Twelfth Night) seems to be a Catholic response to Calvinism. According to Westermann (1997b: 64-65): "Challenged by Calvinist rhetoric as well as official proscription Catholic festivals of a carnivalesque ilk were under considerable pressure throughout the seventeenth century. Like the feast of St. Nicholas, the Twelfth Night celebration seems to have shifted from the street and the neighborhood into the home where, ... distinguished families such as Bugge van Ring's must long have been celebrating it." For a fuller account of the attack on carnivalesque feasts, including Twelfth Night celebrations, see Westermann (1997b: 146). For her account of the "sustained Calvinist wrath" against the feast of St. Nicholas see Westermann (1997b: 155-156).

[3] There is a dispute among the authors mentioned in the List of Illustrations regarding the dating of this picture.

[4] According to Westermann (1997b: 287) the theme of the marriage at Cana "must have been somewhat suspect for Protestants; if preachers referred to it, they interpreted it as evidence for Christ's support of marriage and of modest celebration. The Calvinist emphasis on Christ's words, rather than his wondrous deeds, and this miracle's status as type for the Eucharistal wine also worked against its representation in the Republic. The same circumstances could have made the theme especially attractive for Catholic and comic painter – who may even have known that, according to the liturgy, the Marriage at Cana took place on Twelfth Night ... ."

[5] "The war went on until Philip's government became bankrupt in 1575, bringing a temporary respite. The eleven northern provinces in the Union of Utrecht under William of Orange declared their definitive independence from Spain in 1579 (not recognized until 1648); and the secession of the southern provinces (later Belgium), which remained Spanish until 1714, took place in 1609" (Wied 1980: 13-14).

[6] Representative of *vaderlandse standvastigheid* (patriotic steadfastness) was the map of Zeeland as a lion breasting the waves which came to symbolize the patriotic spirit of the Batavian Republic and its united provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Genderland, Overijssel, Friesland and the city of Groningen, each with its own assembly. In their turn, representatives from each of the seven provinces made up the national assembly of the States-General.

[7] While it is understandable that after eighty years of war that a country should "rest and prosper" (Marius 1906: 24), Dutch humanists seem to have displayed a moral ambiguity towards good fortune: on the one hand the Christian should place his "honor before gold" and not delve in the realm of commerce as cupidious monopoly, yet on the other hand, the *miles christianum* (Christian knight) was required to meet his enemies – cupidity, lust, vanity, and pride – head-on in daily business in order to master them better. Yet at the same time he was in constant danger of them mastering him instead. In a sense, therefore, Erasmus had been dragged into the stock exchange by the Dutch humanists of the seventeenth century to survey the spectacle of man's greed and stupidity and to declare the ways of the world as a fool's *Mallemoolen* (merry-go-round) (Schama 1988: 326, 370).

See Schama (1988: 8, 327, 331-337, 609) for further examples of the Dutch's reaction to money and materialism.

[8] Gerard de Lairesse (1641-1711) in his book *Het groot schilderboek* (1707) observed "that there are three sorts of people, the courtly or high *(de hoffelyke of verhevene)*, the citizen or commonality *(de boergerlyke of gemeene)*: and the mean or poor state *(de geringe of armoedige stand)*" (Chapman 1993: 136).

The Dutch Government at a local level consisted of a municipality of two or more annually elected *burgomasters* and the self-perpetuating body of a town council, elected for life, that was made up of the richest and most distinguished citizens of the town. This social position, based on wealth and money making, allowed the town's politico-economic interests to be represented by a special class recruited from its own ranks. Town councils, with their mayors, aldermen, and counselors made up of these regents, exercised the power of the ruling class, which was usually inherited from father to son (Hauser 1968: 195). Legal and police matters were in the hands of a board of magistrates, presided over by a bailiff appointed by the crown, and a sheriff *(schout)* and his men. All of these officials, including a dike reeve and a water board, gradually developed to form a broad system of government. While the provincial states and States-General carried on as of old, the *Stadholder* remained at the head of the army and navy (Haak 1984: 15, 46) and the elected officers in each ward *(buurten* or *wijken)* saw to it that they protected its households, providing the conditions under which they might best increase and prosper (Schama 1988: 386).

[9] Schama (1988: 491).

[10] Chapman (1996: 168). Westermann (1997b: 225) also identifies her as Luxury, "the medieval conflation of luxury and lechery still represented by Cats and Van de Venne."

[11] "Drunken sleep" was, according to Schama (1988: 208-209), "a standard *topos* in Dutch *genre* painting towards the middle of the seventeenth century."

The sleeping woman in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* (fig. 42) has a similar problem to the sleeping woman in *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41). She, too, in falling asleep has left her household unguarded, and therefore open to all forms of mischief. There is a difference in their respective situations, however: in *In weelde siet toe* there is no evidence that the sleeping woman is drunk as some interpreters have imagined, while in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* the likelihood that the sleeping woman is drunk is stronger by virtue of the items displayed on the table in front of her and by the fact that her pose is iconographically similar to that of the drunken woman in Steen's *De gevolgen van onmatigheijdt/buitensporigheijdt* (fig. 49).

Drunkenness was a problem in Steen's society, witnessed by the many sermons preached against it. Jacobus Sceperus's *Bacchus: Den ouden en huydendaagschen Dronckeman, ontdaeckt uyt de Heydensche Historien onderrigt uyt de Heylige Schriften* (Gouda, 1665) and *Bacchus Wonder Wercken waer in Het Recht Gebruyck en Misbruyck des Wijns/door verscheyden vermaeckelijcke eerlijcke en leerlijcke historien wort afgebeeld* (Amsterdam, 1628), were but two of many typical tracts which dealt with the religious rhetoric on drunkenness and which warned their readers that drink "leads men to whoring, adultery, lewdness, and dishonor" (Chapman 1996: 224). As one of the "causes of the first Flood – associated in Dutch minds with their own potential nemesis" drunkenness was "often related to the sins of gluttony, luxury, lust, and drunkenness" (Schama 1979: 123). See further Tracy (1985: 571).

Both Steen's *De gevolgen van onmatigheijdt/buitensporigheijdt* (fig. 49) and *De wijn is een spoter* (fig. 50) deal with the subject of a drunken (*dronkenschap*) female figure – she may even be an emblematic figure – who has slumped into a tipsy stupor (*beschonkenheijdt*), who can also be related to the iconographical Classical prototype of sloth or *accidie* (Schama 1988: 208-209; see also Schama 1979: 105-107). In Steen's *De wijn is een spoter* the viewer sees

> Before a rustic, vine-covered building, probably an inn, a woman so drunk she has passed out is being loaded into a wheelbarrow by a youth and a man, under the mocking eyes of her gossipy neighbors. The ruddy-faced woman ... is in disarray from head to foot. Her disheveled hair escapes from a head scarf gone askew; her chemise and fancy fur-trimmed pink jacket are undone, exposing her breast; and her magnificent skirt of pink and blue *changeant* satin is hiked up to reveal the edge of her petticoat and a bit of flesh at the top of each stocking. This shocking exposure of flesh, like her bright red stockings, identifies her with loose women or prostitutes ... and her ostentatious attire ... [where] luxury and worldliness were regarded as a sure path to ruin ... (Chapman 1996: 222).

The consequences of drunkenness in *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* are summed up by the basket suspended above the scene which is full of emblems of poverty and ruin (Chapman 1996: 224) which no-one notices or cares to notice.

[12] Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* (Amsterdam, 1614: 192), emblem 66, '*T Vertroude trouwelijck*, equated trustworthiness with a key (Wheelock 1996: 190, 141, 139).

[13] Despite the man's place at the head of the household – patriarchy still being regarded as "the bedrock of society" (Kunzle 1978: 43) – women were responsible for managing the household (Alpers 1993-1994: 165). They were responsible for supervising the servants with the cleaning, the washing, the shopping and the cooking. In general, women controlled the household finances: the "expenditure of household money, and relations with family and neighbors were the domains of women, and men had little to say in such matters" (Dekker 1987: 349). Moreover, women were seen as the vanguard upon which the commonwealth of the nation stood or fell, particularly in the area of untarnished virtue (*Deughdelijcke vrou*) as explained in the many *zeden en gewoonten* (compendia of manners and mores) (Schama 1988: 8). Petrus Baardt, for example, in his *Deugden-spoor* (Leeuwarden, 1645) associated the fruitful vine – with all its biblical and emblematic connotations – with a "virtuous and chaste wife" ("*een deugdelijcke huys-vrouwe van eerbaer Zeden*") (Wheelock 1996: 141).

[14] There is a dispute among the authors mentioned in the List of Illustrations regarding the dating of this picture.

[15] Steen's sons Cornelis (born c. 1655) and Thaddeus (born. 1651) both became painters (Westermann 1997b: 70).

[16] In the sixteenth century bagpipes were regarded as an emblem of "false lures for the weak and ungodly" (Zupnick 1966: 224). See the upper storey window of the *herberg* on the left-hand side of Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2).

[17] Sebastian Brant (1971: 122), in his *Narrenschiff* (1494) Chapter 49, the "Bad example of parents", expressed a similar idea when he wrote (given in translation):

> What you do, that your child will do,
> In evil children copy you,
> Break jars, your children will break them, too.
> (Sullivan 1994a: 95).

[18] Marin (1996: 84).

[19] Westermann (1997b: 240).

[20] Chapman (1996: 166-168).

[21] Chapman (1996: 166-168).

[22] "Satin played a privileged role in ... seductions, in life and art" (Westermann 1997b: 234).

[23] Temptation could lurk anywhere — in a *bordeel*, a *musicos* or in the home itself (Schama 1988: 461-462). In the latter case, maidservants (*maerten*) were commonplace pejorative figures in literature (Falkenburg 1995: 208), notorious for "being both unreliable yet indispensable" (Schama 1988: 455) in a household. Maidservants could easily "fall from grace (either for petty theft or pregnancy or both)" and be "cast out from the house and deprived of her testimonials" (Schama 1988: 459).

[24] Chapman (1990-1991: 192).

[25] This motif can be seen in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) (see "# 89", Appendix 1).

[26] The motif of the pig let loose can be seen in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) (see "# 6", Appendix 1).

[27] The motif of the dog eating its master's meal from a cupboard can be seen in "# 66" in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3; see Appendix 1).

[28] The word "quacker" is a pun on the word "quaker".

[29] For a discussion of Bruegel's *De mensenhaten* (fig. 52) see Sullivan (1994b: 143-162).

[30] For further discussion of *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44) see Westermann (1997b: 163-165).

[31] For further discussion of *Driekoningen-avond* (fig. 43) see Wheelock (1996: 157, 206-208).

[32] Westermann (1997b: 166).

[33] Westermann (1997b: 89) writes that Steen's pictures were intended as warnings to viewers to strengthen "them in their knowledge that the behavior illustrated is to be avoided."

[34] "Dutch images of the household have been read as showing how not to behave" (Alpers 1993-1994: 162).

[35] Paralleling the virtue/vice dialectic in moralizing literature and practice, another dialectic was underway during the course of the seventeenth century to meet the demands of the classical theory of Baroque and Dutch culture (Blankert 1980-1981: 24). Not surprisingly, the *amere mengelmoes* of native and foreign influences created an organic *dèsagrègation* of kinetic *èlasticitè secrète* with Dutch art (Schama 1988: 10, 177). As the mores and manners (*zeden en gewoonten*) of French *decorum* showed the perfect adjustment of form and content, so the Dutch, too, desired to assimilate morality and materialism in their *milieu* (De Jongh 1968-1969: 54, 73). The upper strata of the art market catered for history painting while the lower strata was flooded by genre scenes of daily living. As each became "independent non-essential adjuncts" and "autonomous accessories" to one another, the familiar reality of the empirical world could thus be conquered and discovered (Hauser 1968: 196). In the process of obscuring the high and low boundaries which had previously existed in art, the didactic usefulness of ridiculing high manners in the name of homely virtues became a means of national enhancement for the Dutch (Schama 1988: 464). The common *patria* of "realism over exotic models" (Gudlaugsson 1975: 26) meant that a *dubbelzinnigheidsprincipe* existed between everyday reality and the *verzonken cultuurgoed* which lay beneath the surface of reality. The ambiguity between fact, proverb, and experience, inherited from Bruegel's era, added to the *desbetreffende kunstwerken*'s didacticism, and had long molded "history for genre's sake" (Kirschenbaum 1977: 23, 99; De Jongh 1968-1969: 25, 52; Schama 1988: 10, 68-69, 161, 491), in what has been termed *docere et delectare* (Raupp 1983: 401).

[36] Westermann (1996: 60).

[37] Chapman (1996: 16). The "compilation of wise saws in the tradition of Pieter Bruegel" (De Jongh 1996: 48) was "later continued by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662), an artist whose comic approach was important to Steen" (Chapman 1996: 148).

[38] De Jongh (1996: 41).

[39] Schama (1979: 105-107).

[40] Chapman (1996: 248).

[41] The attraction of the *zinnebeeld* for the pictorial arts of the seventeenth century has had a long and complicated history, dating back to at least the sixteenth century that has been outlined in Chapter 1 of the previous study. See Cornew (1995a: 1-64).

[42] De Girolami Cheney (1987: 146).

[43] See for example Daly & Silcox (1991). Although their book deals with the modern critical reception of the English emblem, their survey has relevance for the modern critical reception of the emblem and the study of emblematics in general.

[44] See, for example, Alpers (1993-1994: 158-160), Chapman (1990-1991: 186), Miedema (1975: 17) and Hecht (1986: 179).

[45] Moxey (1989: 37-38).

[46] In rhetoric, *copia* in the form of *enargeia* overrides the distinction between "true" and "false" representation, i.e., it allows the "real" and the "imaginary" "to slide together and contaminate one another" (Cave 1976: 8). By extending rhetorical *copia* to include emblematic representation, the "real" and the emblematic can also be regarded as sliding together and "contaminating" one another. The term "emblematic realism" allows for this rhetorical *copia* to take place.

[47] Petronius's phrase "totus mundus agit historionem" formed the basis of Vondel's famous couplet of 1637 inscribed above the entrance to the Amsterdam theater: "De weereld is een speeltoneel, / Elck speelt zijn rol en kright zijn deel" ("All the World's a Playing Set / Each Plays His Part, His Share Will Get") (Westermann 1996: 58, 66; see also De Jongh 1996: 43, 51). Shakespeare's famous "All the world's a stage" speech in *As you like it* (c. 1596-1600) (II, 7, 139-166) expresses the same idea.

[48] In answer to eighteenth-century expectations that biography should be both lively and evocative of a subject's character, Arnold Houbraken (1660-1719) and Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677-1747) constructed Steen's life in the image of his paintings, while structuring an account of his life as comic literature (Westermann 1997b: 96). Houbraken wrote that Steen's "paintings are like his way of life, and his way of life like his paintings" (Chapman 1990-1991: 184; see also Westermann 1997a: 134, Roodenburg 1997: 116). As a result, the Dutch proverb, "a Jan Steen household" still refers to a home in disarray, full of rowdy children (Chapman 1996: 11; see also Walsh 1996: 9) despite the fact that there may be little historical evidence to support it. Houbraken's biographic account of Steen's life, consisting as it does of "a string of anecdotes interspersed with proverbs, moralizing comments, and descriptions of paintings ... is indebted to seventeenth-century jest books, the popular compendia of hundreds of jokes, anecdotes, and witticisms known as *apophthegmata*, often told by, and even about, a central narrator" (Westermann 1996: 54). When compared to the biographic information presented by Bok (1996: 25-37), for example, one would be disinclined to believe Houbraken's aprocyphical anecdotes about Steen; in much the same way as one cannot believe everything which Vasari and Van Mander's biographies have to say in their account of artist's lives.

The fact that Steen had been an innkeeper for a time and had leased his father's brewery in Delft between 1654 and 1657 has all added to the now thought to be false legend of the *huisvertrek-keuken-herberg* as the centrum of his family life, moral outlook, and life-style. This false legend was launched by Houbraken and Weyerman and concerned the disorderly *ménages* of Steen's moral intentions in his pictures (see De Vries 1973: 238; Haak 1984: 425; Marius 1906: 24, 34; Kuretsky 1980-1981: 280; Hendy 1971: 227). This hardly fits the picture of Steen as an "unusually accomplished, sharply intelligent, highly self-conscious, and theatrically minded" artist (Chapman 1996: 17). Steen's moral character and social standing must have been sufficiently respected and esteemed by the Leiden Guild of St. Luke for him to have severed three times as their governor (*hooftman*) during the 1670s and in 1674 as the dean (*deken*) (see Walsh 1996: 13, De Vries 1959: 30, Chapman 1990-1991: 184). Steen's obvious interest in the theater productions of the *Rederijkers* and the fact that he had used theatrical devices in the construction of his paintings, may account for his regard for conflating the household and the tavern in a theatrical manner.

[49] Houbraken's book was published in English as *The great theater of the Netherlandish painters and paintresses*.

[50] Steinberg (1990: 145-147).

[51] Van Mander described Bruegel's art and person as "*gheestigh* (witty), *bootsigh* (jocular), *cluchtigh* (farcical), *aerdigh* (subtly amusing), *drolligh* (droll or burlesque [parodic]), and *boer(t)ig* (peasant-like, hence funny)" (Westermann 1997b: 196).

[52] Houbraken thought that Steen inserted himself into his pictures "as a farce" in order to signal to his audience/viewers his awareness of the theatricality of his role-playing in his paintings (Chapman 1990-1991: 186).

[53] Westermann (1997b: 89-90) observes that in seventeenth-century Dutch portraits "self-respecting burgers ... rarely laugh or even smile, but the seventeenth-century discourse of laughter suggests a range of opinions about the proper extent of merriment. At the dour end of the spectrum, the preacher Willem Teellinck in 1627 proscribed all 'improper banter, quarreling, gossiping, hooting, and laughter' inspired by frivolous games, songs, and books. Three decades later, the like-minded Petrus Wittewrongel was still lamenting the senselessness of 'immodest laughter', as he claimed that laughter at obscene farces implied the audience's foolish approval of them. Milder observations treated excessive laughter as an entertaining index of boorish simplicity rather than perverse morality."

[54] In the *Een onsedelijc huijshouden* scene (fig. 42), a group of children are seen picking the pocket of the sleeping inebriated *huijsvrou*. The presence of these habits of the child place them in the *voortrekkennige sermonumilis* position of the *vita sensualis* tradition dating back to Bruegel's *De kinderspeelen* (fig. 7). Although the antics of Steen's children are worldly wise and awake, while their adult counterparts are either fleeced, doped, or slumped in unconsciousness, clearly they belong in part to the medieval World Upside Down *topos* in that the normal levity within the household has led to a gravity, *ex nugis seria* once they have swopped places with their peers and taken command of the larder, the pocket, and adult habits such as

smoking and drinking. Jacob Cat's *Kinderspel* for some of his editions of *Silenus Alcibiadis* repeated the medieval belief that in the World Upside Down *topos* our world and its whole construction is but a child's game.

[55] Chapman (1996: 17).

[56] The practice of including oneself in a larger picture as a mark of authorship, rooted in antiquity, took hold of artists during the Renaissance. Raphael (1483-1520), for example, included himself along with Michelangelo (as Heraclitus), Bramante (as Euclid or Archimedes) and Leonardo da Vinci (as Plato), among others, in his *School of Athens* (1509) (fig. 60); and Rembrandt (1606-1669) often portrayed himself in various guises, not always flatteringly either, as in Etching B.174 of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, where Rembrandt depicts himself as a seated tramp (Halewood 1993: 292; with regard to Rembrandt, see also Steinberg 1990: 149, Westermann 1997b: 89 and Chapman 1993: 142). In the case of Rembrandt, he sometimes included Saskia and Henderickje with him in his pictures; while Steen sometimes included his whole family. The inclusion of the artist's presence in a the picture, like that of the inclusion of patrons under other circumstances, had the effect of shifting "the event from the distant past to the immediate present, thereby proclaiming its veracity for all times" (Chapman 1996: 17).

Horace (see Aristotle, Horace & Longinus 1965), that Classical authority on *ut pictura poesis* who was often quoted by theorists of the sister arts during the Renaissance, the Baroque, and the eighteenth century, cannot be disregarded from the consideration of the painter as a "stage-poet", for he recommended in *Ars poetica*, 99-104, that artists should transform themselves into actors: "The same benefit can be derived from depicting your own passions, at best in front of a mirror, where you are simultaneously the performer and the beholder" (Chapman 1993: 138). The painter and writer Samuel van Hoogstraeten (1627-1678), picked up on Horace's recommendations, and in his *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilderkonst* (1678) he prescribed to artists that they should depict "the passions" in order to make emotions visible through physiognomy. He advised the painter to practice the depiction of the passions "before the mirror, thus becoming 'both performer and beholder'" (De Jongh 1996: 42; see also Chapman 1993: 138).

No doubt, Rembrandt and Steen followed Horace's advice during the course of their careers, by including themselves in their pictures. The above Horatian idea, and the idea of mimetic conflations, goes some way to explaining Steen's continual presence in his paintings. As a painter and a "stage-poet", Steen's self-portrayal can be regarded as a form of personalized emblematic realism, which, like the emblematic realism which can sometimes be attached to certain other figures in his paintings – in *In weelde siet toe* one need only think of the personifications of Weelde and Sorgheloosheijdt.

[57] It is perhaps interesting to note that the word *persona* (mask) has its etymological origins in the Greek word *prosopon* (face), although the relatively recent word "mask" can be traced from the Latin words *masca, mascha, mascus*, and the Arabic *maskharah* to the Italian word *maschera*, the German *maske* and the French *masque* (Chrispolti, Eliade & Kuret 1960: 520). The masks of the *comedia dell'arte* were developed between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Venice; but only in the seventeenth century were they used to indicate the duplicity of fictitious and true reality to superimpose deception on the observer wearing the mask (Chrispolti, Eliade & Kuret 1960: 538) – a far cry from the primitive function of the mask to evoke awe, cure disease or evil, impersonate or identify with the supernatural or gods, or to criticize and control or alleviate the social wrongs by terrorizing wrongdoers. See also Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 52).

[58] Adolescents in the home were suspect by nature, for the association of fiddles with idleness and lust.

[59] There is a dispute among the authors mentioned in the List of Illustrations regarding the dating of this picture.

[60] Steinberg (1990: 123).

[61] Westermann (1997b: 97) interprets *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44) as autobiographical: "the old, singing woman is transformed into Steen's mother reading a newspaper to his second wife, while a servant pours wine for his first wife and the painter teaches his son to smoke."

[62] The *sinnekens* was related in *rederijker* theater in the Netherlands to the *spel van sinne* – literally a "play of meaning" or "allegorical play" (Westermann 1997b: 138) – which, in its heyday, was the most important rhetorical drama. "The *spel van sinne* is a development of an earlier form of morality play, which it closely resembles. Several characteristics typify the *spel van sinne*, including the use of *togen* or tableaux, a strong emphasis of the allegorical, the use of the play to resolve a problem or answer a question of religious or social import, and the common, albeit not necessary presence of characters known as *sinnekens*, whose name encompasses the terrains of both sensuality and signification, and who are normally comparable to the Vices of English morality plays" (Meadow 1995: 186-187).

[63] There is a dispute among the authors mentioned in the List of Illustrations regarding the dating of this picture.

[64] Steen's *Zelfportret als een luitspeler* (fig. 55) was first identified as a self-portrait in a mezzotint by Jacob Gole (d. 1738). This print was published in Amsterdam before Gole's death with the inscription *Jan Steen ad se ipsum* (Chapman 1996: 180). The *Zelfportret als een luitspeler* has often been regarded as capturing the essence of Steen's character, as his most condensed statement about his role as a comic self (Westermann 1995: 301). Steinberg (1990: 149), Westermann (1997b: 122) and Chapman (1996: 182) interpret, respectively, his *Zelfportret als een luitspeler* as akin to "Ripa's personification of the sanguine, or jovial, temperament, who 'is clever at all the arts'" (fig. 56):

Steen's image corresponds remarkably to the personification of the sanguine or jovial temperament described by Cesare Ripa. In the 1644 Dutch edition of Ripa's *Iconologia*, a widely used compendium of personifications that would have been familiar to Steen and his audience, the *Sanguigno of Blygeestige Complexie* (Sanguine or High-spirited Complexion) is characterized as

> A jovial laughing young man, with a wreath of various flowers on his head, plump of body, and above that blond hair, with red and white colour mixed in his face, playing on a lute: and by the heavenward turn of his eyes he makes it known that he delights in celebration and song. To one side stands a goat with a bunch of grapes in his mouth, and to the other an open music book ... the sanguine temperament is pictured this way because from among those ruled by temperate and perfect blood come the liveliest, sharpest wits of the day, from whom laughter and merriment come forth ... [and who] are entertaining and jocular and love acting and singing.

The way Steen looks upward, laughing or singing merrily to the tune of his lute, suggests that the relation between his image and this description is more than just fortuitous. His tankard takes the place of the grapes, the attribute of Bacchus; his oversized lute makes the missing goat, signifying Venus, redundant.

The redundancy of Venus may precisely be the point. As a sanguine lutinist, Steen may be parodying Ripa, even as he parodies himself in his own image, as the creator of his own image.

Alternatively, of course, Steen's *Zelfportret als een luitspeler* may also be interpreted, like his *Zelfportret* (fig. 54), as a picture showing off his social standing in the community (see an earlier endnote which discusses this): for lutes and violins functioned as "status symbols" in the seventeenth century, according to Steinberg (1990: 120), as "signs of an aristocratic life-style."

[65] Schama (1979: 121).

[66] Schama (1979: 107).

[67] Chapman (1996: 168).

[68] Writing in 1732, Alexander Pope, in his *Epistles to several persons. Epistle I. To Lord Cobham* I.102 wrote, "'Tis Education forms the common mind, / Just as the Twig is bent, the Tree's inclined" (Simpson 1991: 232-233).

[69] The phrase "Jan Steen household" has become "synonymous with an ill-managed home" (Westermann 1997b: 29).

[70] Smith (1981: 160). For a lengthier and somewhat different description of Steen's barnyard "school" parodying of Raphael's *School of Athens* (fig. 60), see Westermann (1997b: 206-210).

[71] Kloek (1996: 231). See also Chapman (1996: 16) and Wheelock (1996: 240).

[72] For a discussion of pen cutting and its emblematic meaning see Emmens (1969: 39).

[73] In the light of Steen's *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen* (fig. 44) this quotation is not without its accompanying irony and parody.

[74] Sullivan (1994a: 95).

[75] "The year 1500 saw the publication of Erasmus of Rotterdam's *Adagium Collectanea*, a collection of 800 proverbs, and of the *Proverbia communia* in Delft, followed in 1550 by the *Gemeene: Duytsche spreekworden* in Campen. ... In 1541 Sebastian Franck published his *Proverbs, clever witticisms, etc.*" (Wied 1980: 91).

[76] Steen "doubtless became acquainted with Erasmus' work when he attended the Latin School in Leiden" (Kloek 1996: 233). It is possible that he learnt from Erasmus the manner in which Folly addresses an audience in first-person narration, and later adapted it when including himself in his paintings as a self-portrait-cum-first person narrator (Chapman 1990-1991: 193).

[77] "Calvinist contemporaries agreed that the fair and the theater shared a characteristic interest in deceit, born of their common origins in pagan as well as idolatrous Catholic practices" (Westermann 1997b: 143).

[78] The subject of Steen's *De huwelijckfees in Cana* where Christ's first public miracle was performed, is reported in John 2.1-11. The Bible recounts that when Christ arrived at the wedding feast in the village of Cana His mother informed him that the guests had exhausted the supply of wine. In order to overcome this minor social embarrassment, Christ promptly asked the servants to fill six stone jars "each holding from twenty to thirty gallons" with water that He then miraculously converted into wine. This new wine, "the master of the banquet" pronounced, was superior to the first vintage which had been exhausted, marveling that the bridegroom had saved the best wine for last (Wheelock 1996: 238).

Steen represented the subject of the wedding feast at Cana six times during the course of his career (Wheelock 1996: 238).

[100] Chapman (1996: 115); see also Westermann (1997b: 113).

[101] Steen's comic representations in his pictures, it seems, parallels seventeenth-century comic texts – "farces, classically structured comedies, witty epigrams, occasional songs, jest-books, and parodies of serious literature such as mock encomia and travesties of domestic conduct books" (Westermann 1997a: 139; see also Westermann 1997b: 99). The use of comic texts, like "comic paintings orient [the] public with markers of [the comic] genre" (Westermann 1997a: 155-156).

[102] "De Lairese would have found Steen's misapplication risible indeed, for he scolded modern painters who turned their 'ill-mannered maidservant into a fancy salon lady', and he claimed that inappropriate or exaggerated gesture only made viewers laugh" (Westermann 1997b: 115).

[103] Classical theory had dictated that the comic genre should be a rich medley of people, and farcical incidents. In this regard, the rich medley found in the works of Bruegel and Steen testifies to the fact that their pictures conform to Classical theory, including the Aristotelian view that comedy ought to show people of low character and social standing later to develop into the *genre* genre. See Westermann (1997a: 139).

[104] Classicist theatre critics and Calvinist theologians were in agreement "that seeing naughty comedy was riskier than reading it" (Westermann 1997a: 154; see also Westermann 1997b: 111). Seventeenth-century writers like Pels, Vanden Plasse, and others "defended the bodily realism of comedy against Calvinist charges of immorality, arguing that the lifelike representation of comic scenes was essential to their function, which was to edify an audience by holding up a mirror improper behaviour" (Westermann 1997a: 141).

[105] Houbraken credits Steen as an artist "witty of thoughts" (Westermann 1997b: 19) whose "witty painting" (Westermann 1997b: 124) are marked by laughter and wit (Westermann 1997b: 12, 23, 100, 107).

[106] For a further comparison of Bruegel and Steen, see Westermann (1997b: 199-200).

Chapter 5. Hogarth's *The battle of the pictures*: the invention of "modern moral subjects" versus old master history paintings

The first half of the eighteenth century can be viewed as a time of transition between early modern Europe and the gradual rise of modernity beginning with the first phase of the Industrial Revolution from 1750 onwards. It was a period of continuity and change which witnessed the eventual demise of Old Rhetoric and the emblematic tradition when Enlightenment writers, who regarded rhetoric as mere poetic *ornatus*,[1] epideictically blamed and condemned both subjects in their writings and gave them the axe. The age in England was one of satire in which perceived contemporary social manners and human follies, both individual or collective, were epideictically ridiculed for their vices, while the flagging Classical past, which had once enthused the Renaissance humanist's pursuit of *renovatio antiquitatis*, was parodied by the Augustans.

Given these circumstances, social and genre parodies often went hand in hand in the sister arts, particularly among English writers like Pope, Swift, and Fielding[2] – and their visual counterpart: Hogarth. Hogarth's motivated interest in picaresque parody lay in his cultural proto-"nationalist" desire to create an English artistic tradition without the interference of foreign tastes and styles. His promotion of his own rhetorically invented "modern moral subjects"[3] was proposed by himself as a new tragicomic genre in which epideictic social moralising and didactic pedagogics were woven into the very visual fabric of his narrative pictures.[4] Yet because Hogarth's position stood contrary to existing conventions, the fixity of the *genera descendi*, and the prevailing aristocratic tastes of the time, it was inevitable that Hogarth would have to get up and fight for his beliefs – i.e., enter the fray of a picaresque battle with opposing views. His engraving *The battle of the pictures* (February 1744-1745) (fig. 62) exemplifies Hogarth's insurrectional stance against the distasteful taste of his enemies who embraced "bad" taste and mass-produced copies of old masters. Hogarth's picture serves as a starting point for exploring his picaresque battle with the high mode of his era. His battle against aristocratic taste and his dialogism with the past using strategies like the intertextual possibilities between pictures and the quoting of poses from conventional iconographic stock for tragicomic emphasis in a new-found visual context, are but some of the parodic battle strategies which often infuse social and genre parody in Hogarth's pictures and these themes will form the central *topoi* of this chapter. Their intersection relating

to the organising principles of carnivalisation, human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*, as well as epideictics, will also be traced where applicable.

Hogarth's *The battle of the pictures* may be interpreted as a picaresque battle between Ancient and Modern tastes in pictures or "art" – "art" being emblematised by the presence in the lower right hand corner of the composition by a palette and a bundle of paint brushes – between those who liked foreign imports and those who preferred "home-grown" English patented pictures like Hogarth's own rhetorically invented pictorial narratives. His engraving may also be seen as an extension of the Ancient and Modern debate, which already began in the Late Middle Ages with the *antichi* and the *moderni* and which in the ensuing centuries had opened its doors to both sides of the debate, pro and con. Bruegel and Steen's genre parodies previously looked at in chapters 2-4 can be interpreted as their own individual responses to this polemic debate, no less than Hogarth's *The battle of the pictures* in eighteenth-century battle dress.[5]

The idea of a picaresque battle of the Ancients and Moderns might have had its origins, for Hogarth, in English literary satire, including Swift's *Tale of a tub: written for the universal improvement of mankind* (fifth edition, 1710) and *A full and true account of the battle of the books fought last Friday between the Ancient and Modern books in St. James's Library* (1696-1698 and included in the fifth edition of *Tale of a tub*, 1710), Addison's *Spectator No. 63* (12 May 1711),[6] and Pope's *Battle of the authors* (s.a.) and *The dunciad* (1728). All of these literary works were completed, or published, during the early eighteenth century, and were preoccupied with the farcical nature of a mock-heroic "battle," *reductio ad absurdum*, which was epideictically aimed, for or against, the Ancient/Modern debate in literature.

So as not to be outdone by his literary counterparts Hogarth probably took great delight in parodying and satirising his artistic rivals like hack artists, while continuing his picaresque view of the debate between the Ancients and the Moderns. In *The battle of the pictures* Hogarth presents his viewers with several of his more important pictures to date shown in "mortal combat" with the stereotyped and infinitely reproducible "old masters" of the past. On the left hand side of the composition can be seen Christopher Cock's auction house, presided over by Mr Puff the picture dealer – whose name is spelt out in the weathervane "PVFS" which epideictically puns on the idea of "puffs"[7] or "inflated praise,"[8] recalled by the vane – the vain buyers of old master copies – while on the right hand side of the composition Hogarth's studio can be identified "because on the easel is depicted the second scene of his recently completed series of *Marriage à la mode*"[9] (fig. 63). To the right, and in front of the auction house, stand three long rows of copied old master pictures, which together form an immense number of facsimiles assembled in a squadron. Those copies in the rear are

labelled "Dto" or "Do", both shorthand eighteenth-century forms of the word "Ditto", meaning "the same again", or rhetorical *repetitio*. This "Ditto" squad recede *ad infinitium* into the background and raise an auctioneer's flag in their midst as if it were their victory sign over any artistic rivals. In the advance of the "Ditto" squad the pictures of *Apollo flaying Marsyas* and *Jupiter raping Europa* are to be seen, typical Grand Style themes of foreign mythological subjects in the "high mode" of history painting, even if they are technically bad copies or fakes. As bad copies, Mr. Puff's production line of "Ditto" pictorial replications do not seem, by all accounts, to be of

> eminent works (no Raphael here), but rather the aggressors trying to destroy [Hogarth's] own modern histories. They are also, by implication, only repetitions of old themes and old pictures, copies of copies, and the chief advocate for their side is not an old master but Mr. Puff the picture dealer. If on the one hand Hogarth was explaining what modern history painting meant, he was also attacking the man he took to be the real culprit for the downgrading of modern art, and so drawing attention to the purpose of his auction: to circumvent the dealer as his independent subscriptions had circumvented the print sellers.[10]

Like the publication of news items for mass readership, the unremitting industry for classical taste seems to have laboured in the eighteenth century beyond its own calculation, according to *The battle of the pictures*, acquiring a production line for its aristocratic clientele. Yet, in another sense, the mass produced "Ditto" copies appear to be on a par with prints made by graphic technique: Hogarth's method of trying to make his own prints reach a wider viewing public by selling them cheaper and at a greater profit than his paintings – a method once practised by Bruegel in turning his drawings into a number of prints. In Hogarth's case, there were two important distinctions between himself and bad copyists, however: (1) Hogarth's own rhetorically invented "modern moral subjects" were original in narrative, design, and execution, and were current and topical, whereas the company of "Ditto" pictures were neither, and (2) as "modern moral subjects", Hogarth's pictures epideictically educated and entertained, as visual rhetoric strove to do – in the terminology of the still lingering Old Rhetoric, *prodesse et deletare* – thereby granting to England the slim possibility of becoming united in viewing Hogarth's desired aim of creating an authentic English national culture rooted in current and topical events.[11]

Between Mr. Puff's auction room and Hogarth's studio, then, in the foreground of the picture plane, the viewer is shown how Hogarth's pictures deal in picaresque battle and kind with a never-ending army of "Ditto" copies of the old masters. The battle begins on the left flank where a copy of *St. Francis at his meditations* (marked "100£") can be seen, as it has prudely and unpropitiously driven itself through Hogarth's *Morning* engraving from the *Four times of the day* series, as if in parody of the age old ascetic manner of a saint at morning prayer attacking the prude lady of *Morning* as she sallies forth at dawn on her daily business. Above these two duelling pictures, a "Ditto" picture of *Mary Magdalene*, as an idealised

whore, has her "knife in for" Moll Hackabout as a contemporary, albeit fictional, unidealized whore from Hogarth's *Harlot progress*, Scene 3 (April, 1732) (fig. 64). An intertextual complement, by means of a counter-attack, is returned higher up, in a back-handed *tête a tête* by Hogarth's *Marriage à la mode*, Scene 2 (1743) (fig. 63) which "wounds" a "Ditto" copy of the *Aldobrandini marriage*. Above these pictures, the aerial "assault" continues – the battle is in the air – in which the riotous Rose-Tavern scene from Hogarth's *Rake's progress*, Scene 3, "stabs" an iconoclastic hole into a "Ditto" representation of Titian's *Feast on Olympus*, while a "Ditto" copy of a Bacchanalian scene by Rubens suffers a similar blow from Hogarth's *Midnight modern conversation*.

Even while small copies of *Apollo flaying Marsyas* and the *Rape of Europa* enter the battle to reinforce the Ancients, Hogarth, like Bruegel in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) (see Chapter 2), does not show either the Ancient bad copies or his Modern originals winning the battle or gaining the upper hand. As many of his own pictures, as well as those "Ditto" copies of the past, receive their wounds and intertextual iconoclasm is shown at the expense of opposing pictures. Hogarth seems to have deliberately paired off an Ancient "Ditto" copy and a Modern picture invented by himself, matching a whore for a whore, a bacchanal for a bacchanal, and a marriage for a marriage, in an attempt to show his viewers that while there could be some thematic correlation between the past and the present subject matter in pictures, there certainly could not be any further correlation between a "Ditto" bad copy of an old master, which was tantamount to forgery, art quackery, pictorial hacking, pirating, or fakery, and Hogarth's original rhetorically inventive pictures, which were neither of these things.

If Mr. Puff's auction house intended to continue to churn out "Ditto" bad copies of old master history paintings for profit, in opposition to, or in hostile battle with, Hogarth's original rhetorical inventiveness, then Hogarth was more than ready to meet the challenge. Even although his studio stands in the shadows of Mr. Puff's auction house, Hogarth indicates, by means of a visual pun – he (Hogarth) is on the right side, i.e., he perceives himself to be in the right – that all may not be on the sunny side for Mr. Puff. His auction house has a conspicuous crack down its wall, stemming from the roof of the building, and this crack – which may hint at ethical decay of artistic integrity and at the fact that "Ditto" bad copies are based on the premise of ruining the art market as well as the art created by the old masters of the past, or else may hint at an historical schism between Ancient, bad, or outdated pictures and Modern, good, or updated pictures – this crack can be interpreted as a visual pun of some ambiguity and irony: Mr. Puff's "Ditto" products are seemingly not what they are "cracked up" to be; neither can they avoid Hogarth's picaresque ira and "crack down" on their

deceiving fraudulence and pretence as "high art" worthy of rhetorical inventiveness and integrity, when they are precisely the opposite.

If, however, contemporary viewers were still not convinced about Hogarth's convictions from a mere admission ticket[12] for persons wishing to attend an auction at which he would sell nineteen of his pictures, including the complete sets of *A harlot's progress* (1732), *A rake's progress* (1735), *The four times of the day* (May 1738), and *The company of strolling actresses in a barn* (May 1738),[13] on 28 February 1745, Hogarth devised other rhetorical ways of persuading them. The verse (*subscriptio*) accompanying the emblematically structured *The battle of the pictures* reads:

> In curious paintings I'm exceeding[ly] nice,
> And know their several beauties by their price:
> Auctions and sales I constantly attend,
> But choose my pictures by a skillful friend.
> Originals and copies, much the same;
> The picture's value is the painter's name.

Reading between the lines of this doggerel stanza, the reader can deduce at least three topics which seem to have been at stake: first, that "beauty" is known by its "price" tag, which could refer to the fact that the standardised ideal "beauty" of the high mode, when churned out into a copy of the original several times, like today's "factory art" from the East, would sell rather profitably on the open market, while a picture which displayed "low" rhopographical subject matter, or an "ugly" image, would probably not sell as well. Implicit in this observation is that Hogarth was all too painfully aware of the fact that the high mode's "beauty", executed in the Grand Style, however stereotyped and middlingly executed, accounted for the "bad" current aristocratic taste, style, trend, and value, which high brow buyers were willing to pay for, and acquire, while pictures which did not conform to this norm would be left out in the cold, ignored, or else fetched a lower price than they might otherwise have deserved.

Secondly, the doggerel stanza of Hogarth's admission ticket mentions the choosing of "pictures by a skillful friend". Implied in this line of the *subscriptio* is an ambiguous insinuation that patrons of the arts either support their "friends" – those artists who cater for the right taste – or that the wise auction-attending author of the emblematic verse would only buy a "skillful" picture, i.e., one of technical excellence rather than one of inferior technique, or, put another way, an original picture skilfully invented by an artist like Hogarth, rather than a copy or a fake. In either case, Hogarth may have been subtly advertising his own self-aggrandisement, making others believe that his pictures were far more "skillful" in technique and rhetorical invention than the ordinary run-of-the-mill ones produced by copiers or by contemporary mediocre artists of history painting alike, and that those who supported him could be counted among his "friends".

Thirdly, the emblematic verse accompanying *The battle of the pictures* mentions that while a copy may be regarded as a good enough substitute for an original picture, any picture's true value lies in "the painter's name". An original picture signed by Hogarth, or Titian for that matter, was more worthy of authenticity than a copy of a picture after Titian signed by a copyist who may have tried to pass the picture off as their own.

From the doggerel stanza emblematically set below *The battle of the pictures* the viewer can already gain some insight into the nature and intent of Hogarth's *pictura* pictured above it: *The battle of the pictures*, in both verse and image, satirically emblematises the artist's artistic fight with the dominant culture of his generation – the aristocratic taste for foreigners, copyists, and hacks of the Grand Style – which, from Hogarth's point of view, was a life-long picaresque battle for survival in which he felt obliged to fight back using every rhetorical skill and satirical weapon at his disposal.

Several other instances in Hogarth's *oeuvre* can be cited as examples which support his point of view in his picaresque battle against the "bad taste" of the aristocracy and their admiration for the mediocre copies of the Grand Style as well as their acceptance of pirated versions of an original painting by art hacks.[14] The viewer, seeking out a visual example by Hogarth in support of his point of view, need look no further than the opening scene of his *Marriage à la mode*[15] series (1743)[16] (fig. 65) where Hogarth makes picaresque use of the intertextuality between pictures. Hogarth's use of pictures-within-the-picture[17] aims at satirising artistic "high life" defined by "its fashionable foreign portraits, its old masters, its family trees, its 'connoisseurship', and its fashionable diversions."[18] True to this aristocratic definition of "high life" in early eighteenth-century England, the stout, gout-ridden Right Honourable Lord Viscount Squanderfield sits under his grand canopy, pointing proudly to his family tree. Lord Squanderfield's genealogy indicates that his family is entirely aristocratic, having descended from "William Duke of Normandy", and that, save for a single family member who married out of his class – a prophetic irony in the light of what follows – his family has flourished as an aristocratic family ever since, down to the present generation of Squanderfields.[19]

Proud of his ancestral lineage, his *antica nobiltà*, and of the fact that he is the current patriarch of his aristocratic mythologising of Squanderfielddom,[20] the Earl has imagined himself pictured as Zeus, or Jupiter *furens*, and had commissioned an artist to portray him in this mythological guise. The large portrait of the Earl – it is the largest picture in the room, and hangs on the wall above the usurer's head near the central background of the composition – grotesquely depicts the Earl as the father of the gods "with a thunderbolt in his hand, a comet flashing above him, a cherub blowing his wig in a different direction from his voluminous

clothing and a canon (placed near his groin) exploding."[21] While the Earl must have approved of, and even epideictically admired, this ridiculous – and hence laughable – portrayal of himself executed in the sublime manner of history painting, the picture itself is nevertheless a parodic portrait of the Grand Style, an absurd genre *inversio*, in which the artist has taken liberties with the artistic genres of history painting and portraiture, thus breaching the traditional decorum imposed upon the *genre descendi* hierarchy. Hogarth, no doubt, delighted in the opportunity to parody history painting as an intertextual detail within his own picture; and the discerning viewer can notice a grinning lion on the elaborate frame surrounding the Earl's portrait, who also partakes of this visual joke with golden-moulded mirth. For the perceptive viewer cannot miss the irony and paradox of the Earl's portrait: that, while Hogarth invented and painted it, in terms of the fictional narrative of *Marriage à la mode* as a whole, the picture was fictionally painted, like the other pictures in the room, by another fictional, yet "bad" artist, *not* Hogarth – one who had no qualms about mixing genres with absurd grotesque results simply because the Earl's commission demanded it; and this fictional painter would probably have been well paid for his efforts[22] at encomastically flattering the Earl's image of himself and his bad artistic "taste".

The Earl's egotistical portrait, then, ironically, reflects his "bad taste" in "bad" art. This "bad taste" also extends to the Earl's "bad" taste in architecture and his self-conscious display of *pubblica magnificenzia* ("public magnificence") as far as erecting public monuments to himself is concerned. Through the open window behind and above Lord Squanderfield's head – it is literally and figuratively above and beyond him – the haughty Earl's new Palladian house is visible. Work on the project has ceased due to the lack of money, and, before this half-finished building – reminiscent of the half-finished parodic architectural construction in Bruegel's *De toring van Babel* (1563) (fig. 66) – loiter the curious onlookers and the Earl's idle servants. Standing in front of the open window – perhaps in parody of Alberti's *fenestra aperta* – an architect, anticipating the resumption of work on the Earl's new Palladian house, studies "A Plan of the New Building of the Right Honble [*sic*]".

The "violence" of the inappropriate architectural styles thrown together for the building of this new Palladian house according to the Earl's whims, an anti-Vitruvian position, are matched by the "violence" of the Earl's "High Life" taste in the Grand Style, seen in the other copied pictures which he owns. Hung on the walls like an eighteenth-century art exhibition (fig. 67) are an excessive number of Grand Style history paintings. With the exception of a copy of Caravaggio's *Head of Medusa* (c. 1597) (fig. 68) – which seems to gaze at the scene in utter horror, and who frowns more heavily and who gazes downwards rather than sideways in parody of Caravaggio's picture (cf. the detail in fig. 65 with fig. 68) – most of the Earl's other pictures –

apart from the Earl's portrait – reflect his fashionable taste for foreign art of questionable worth. They are comprised of "ditto" copies after old masters: "The massacre of the innocents", "The martyrdom of St. Sebastian", "The martyrdom of St. Lawrence", "The liver of Prometheus torn out by an eagle", "Cain killing Abel", "David decapitating Goliath" and "Judith executing Holofernes". On the ceiling is a depiction of "The drowning of Pharaoh and his armies in the Red Sea". Apart from the vacuity of their classicising style, all of these "bad" history paintings are scenes of disaster in the form of torture, drowning, decapitation, and murder; their common themes being violence and death. These themes of death and violence, however, are not limited to the intertextuality of these pictures alone. Violence serves a threefold purpose in Scene 1 of *Marriage à la mode*: (1) the notion of "cultural violence" reflected in the excessive number of pictures collected by the Earl mirrors the Earl's "cultural violence" in architecture as well; (2) the "violence" and gross inappropriateness (*ineptum*) of mixing religious and classical mythological genre themes together as licentious and unnatural history painting subjects; and, more importantly, (3) the suggestion that the "cult of violence" represented by these pictures cannot be conducive to the inculcation of rhetorical didacticism and morality in an aristocratic, or any other, family context – unless perversely and ironically perceived. Instead, such "immoral violence" bides thematically as an ill omen for the calamitous marriage of convenience taking place in the room, and, like an ironic turn of Fortune's wheel, the Earl's pictures thematically predict a violent outcome of *Marriage à la mode* in the triplet form of murder, hanging, and suicide, for the "immoral" lives and destinies of the principle protagonists seated on the left hand side of the picture.

We need not dwell further on this well known "modern moral subject" and its tragic outcome, save to note that when the time comes for the plebeian Countess to circumvent her marriage vows in Scene 4 (fig. 69) she seems to have, perhaps unconsciously, followed her diseased father-in-law's accretion of copied pictures after old masters reflecting, not violent themes, but erotic ones.[23] Her pictures – save for the portrait of Silvertongue in the upper left hand corner of the composition – are representative of scenes of unnatural history painting – mythological incidents of sexual couplings:

> Correggio's *Jupiter and Io* [(c. 1532) (fig. 70)] which should probably be called "The rape of the nymph Io by Jupiter in the form of a cloud", is recognizable in the center. The painting next to it is "The seduction of Lot by his daughters", in other words, a scene of incest, and, beneath Silvertongue's portrait, Correggio's *Rape of Ganymede*, or Jupiter, this time in the shape of an eagle, sodomising a young boy. Once again, the content of the paintings seems to overflow their frames and spill into the human activity in the room: these paintings, the horns of the Actaeon figurine pointed out gleefully by the child servant on the floor, and other details, leave no doubt that the intrigue between the Countess and Silvertongue will end in adultery.[24]

The grotesque figurine of Actaeon, a hybrid human and animal creature from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 3.138-255, while importing in an emblematic manner to the conversation between the Countess and Silvertongue,[25] is nevertheless also a part of a group of tasteless art objects purchased by the Countess at an auction,[26] as

indicated by the book beside them which reads "A Catalogue of the Entire Colection [*sic*] of the Late Sr Timy. Babyhouse to be Sold by Auction" – perhaps at Mr. Puff's auction house? The lot includes a tray inscribed with an erotic version of Leda and the swan – Zeus in disguise – by an artist called "Julio Romano".

If the themes of violence and death in history painting preoccupied her late father-in-law's aristocratic taste in "High Life", then it would appear that the Countess's "taste" in history painting is overtly confined to intertextually erotic themes of sex, seduction, and incest – much like her own life-style has become: entangled with Silvertongue's Jovian advances. Neither of the lovers, Countess or lawyer, however, appear to show any sign of regret or remorse; and, with the prospect of a masquerade before them, this social diversion appears to be uppermost on their minds.

Masquerades – akin in the eighteenth century to the carnivalesque[27] – along with operas – had earlier been perceived by Hogarth as "bad taste". In *Masquerades and operas, or the bad taste of the town* (1724) (fig. 71), for example, Hogarth focused his attention on the audience's taste in the performing arts. Using the same, but inverted, composition as his *South Sea scheme* (1721) (fig. 72), Hogarth replaced the Guildhall on the left with the Opera House, the Monument on the right with the Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre, the merry-go-round in the background with Burlington Gate, and the chaotic mob of spectators with groups of theatre-goers crowding to enter the respective buildings:

> On the left side of the print a crowd is being marshaled to see a conjuring display and a masquerade produced by a foreign impresario. On the signboard above this crowd are represented certain English aristocrats offering in a speech bubble the princely sum of 8 000 pounds to an Italian soprano. On the other side of the plate a second crowd is collecting for the debased dramatic form of a burlesque made up in this instance in the combination of the stories of Harlequin and Dr Faustus. In sorry contrast to the popularity of these ephemera, the works of Shakespeare, Dryden, Otway, Congreve and Ben Jonson are shown in the center being wheeled away as waste paper. In the center in the background is represented Burlington Gate, the entrance to the Piccadilly mansion of the Earl of Burlington who was the principal exponent of the classical style of architecture in England in his day. On top of the gate the figures of Raphael and Michelangelo, whom Hogarth always acknowledged to be the supreme masters of art, appear to adore Burlington's favorite artist, the Italianate but feeble William Kent. The moral of the print, obviously, is that contemporary taste, particularly as shaped by the aristocracy, preferred foreign trivia above the substantial value of native English culture.[28]

Implied in the various parts of this composition is the perceived notion that the English nobility of the early eighteenth century were attracted to carnivalesque occasions like operas, palladianisms, pantomimes and masquerades. They preferred foreign fads to native talent, and put out of business the representatives of true taste, Congreve and Shakespeare at Drury Lane.

What the aristocracy did to English literature, they also did to English art and architecture and to English music as well. Hogarth must have enjoyed the opportunity in 1741 to settle the score as far as tastes in musical scores was concerned. In *The enraged musician* (fig. 73) he depicted "a violinist-composer in

despair as the cacophony of an informal street orchestra [passed by] his window" – thus contrasting for the viewer the vital reality of urban life in the form of an enthusiastic outdoor crowd in robust health, sociability, informality, and merriment, with "the [indoor] isolation and affectation of the formal musician."[29] The musical "battle" depicted in *The enraged musician* was one between foreign musical styles and the English vernacular of the crowd, between the musical traditions of the past (the Ancients) and the present music being created in the street (the Moderns), and between the enclosed indoor space of the aristocracy and 'high' taste, and the open air, out of doors, 'democratic' space of the masses, including their 'low' taste in music.

In the eighteenth century music belonged to the sister arts, which included literature and the fine arts. An aesthetic parallelism could be drawn between the three sister arts in which a "battle" was being waged between the various Ancient and Modern art forms and their respective audiences, including fashion. In *Taste à la mode* or *Taste in high life* (1746) (fig. 74), for example, commissioned by the eccentric wealthy heiress Mary Edwards of Kensington for 60 guineas, Hogarth pilloried the transience of French-inspired fashion, hoop skirts, corsets, trinkets, and all: the picture concerns itself primarily with matters of dress, deportment, and manners. The individual is imposed upon by fashion; dress-wise is twisted out of shape by its malign dictates, and otherwise called upon to collect worthless artefacts deemed worthy of possessing by the pressure from the tastes of other well-bred members of society – recall the Countess's trinkets from an auction sale in Scene 4 of *Marriage à la mode* (fig. 69). Hogarth hints in *Taste à la mode* at "an analogous tastelessness in matters of art ... in the representation in the [picture] in the background of the classical sculpture of the *Medici Venus*, that was commonly acknowledged to epitomise grace in the human figure, [satirically] 'improved' by the addition of high heel shoes and a cut-away hoop skirt."[30]

Taken as a group, scenes 1 and 4 of *Marriage à la mode* (figs 65 and 69), *Taste à la mode* (fig. 74), *Masquerades and operas, or the bad taste of the town* (fig. 71), and *The enraged musician* (fig. 73) all show Hogarth's concern for the aristocracy's display of "bad taste" in the arts – respectively with pictures, architecture, fashion, theatre, and music – and the early eighteenth-century aristocracy's distaste for things current and English. The reader, wondering why the aristocracy were so content to pursue all of the above trends in "bad taste", need look no further than the reigning monarchy for an answer. Ever since the Restoration of 1660 Charles II (1630-1685; reigned 1660-1685) had scorned middle class culture and had indiscriminately imported certain aspects of continental courtly life into England as the embodiment of aristocratic values. His Hanovian successors, George I (1660-1727; reigned 1714-1727) and George II (1727-1760; reigned 1727-1760) were native Germans who were foreign to English culture, and during their reigns royal patronage of the arts steadily declined. The examples of Charles II, George I – who never learnt

to speak English – and George II, set the tone for the English aristocracy (the traditional patron class of the arts) to follow; and, generally speaking, as a result of decades of entrenched conditioning, the English aristocracy of the first half of the eighteenth century preferred foreign pictures, and on the whole, seemed reluctant to commission history painting from a contemporary English artist.

Late in life Hogarth continued to satirically comment on, and to epideictically blame, the "bad" taste of the English aristocracy:

> When asked by the newly founded Society of Artists to illustrate its exhibition catalogue in 1761, Hogarth took the opportunity to vent his prejudice against foreign art with [his *Tailpiece to the catalogue* (fig. 75). This engraving parodied] an art connoisseur: a richly dressed monkey enthusiastically watering three dead plants labeled "Exoticks". The [scornful image] indicated Hogarth's contempt for the wealthy collector who, blind to the merits of talented native English painters, worshipped traditional imported art solely for its antiquity or exotic qualities.[31]

Compounding matters, the genre of history painting which offered the antique and exotic flavours of foreign pictures, remained part of the special domain of the English aristocracy. They clung to the idea that the Grand Style of history painting should reign supreme,[32] like the monarchy, and they supported this idea financially by purchasing pictures of continental old masters – or the next best thing if the original was unobtainable – a "bad" copy, like the ones sold at Mr. Puff's auction house.

While Hogarth's proto-"nationalist" vision of promoting English art picaresquely battled against the hostile tide of aristocratic foreign tastes, Hogarth also battled against the emerging Neoclassical style promoted by the English Academy founded in Rome in May 1752,[33] and against the remarks made by Sir Joshua Reynolds, one of its founding members. Reynolds had spent three and a half years in Italy, beginning in 1749, and that country had provided him with the key to his own aesthetic frame of reference which allowed him to assimilate Italianite culture among the English aristocracy upon his return to England, transforming the "rather dumpy and (as the Italian sculptors complained) horse-faced Englishmen and women into the graceful shapes of gods and heroes."[34] This idealising achievement could only be performed when following traditional conventions, as Reynolds explained to his students in his First Discourse (2 January 1769): "those models, which have passed through the approbation of ages, should be considered by them as perfect and infallible guides; as subjects for their imitation, not their criticism."[35]

Accordingly, Reynolds used the reversed pose of the Apollo of Belverdere (c. 350-320 B.C.) (fig. 76) as the model for his portrait of *Augustus, Viscount Keppel* (1753-1754) (fig. 77), creating a formal parody of the original rhetorical *gestus* in an effort to reaffirm his idyllic belief that the "road to the ideal imitation of nature [is] ... shortened by the study of antique statues and the great Italian paintings."[36] Reynold's formal

and idyllic parodying of ancient models and the old masters[37] was not intended to devaluate their achievements, but rather to preserve the lofty position held by the high mode of the Grand Style tradition.[38]

Hogarth, however, did not share Reynold's idyllic world view. From an early age he had rebelled against the methods used by teachers like his father in proclaiming a classical education. Instead of the rote copying of classical sculptures (fig. 78) or the imitating of an old master – a practice which Hogarth argued was "like pouring wine out of one vessel into another" so that there was "no increase of quantity" and the flavour of the vintage was liable to evaporate – Hogarth sought to discourage young artists from studying in Italy on the grounds that such studies would corrupt their taste.[39] He went even further, visually demonstrating in his own pictures how the formal route Reynolds took could only lead to visual parody, a sense of the ridiculous and laughter. Perhaps Hogarth's best example illustrating this point is to be seen in Plate 1 of his *Analysis of Beauty* (December 1753) (fig. 79) where the viewer is introduced to a *heteroglossia* of comic imitations – all parodies – of the Ancients.

The setting for Plate 1 is "believed to have been inspired by Socrates' discussion of beauty stimulated by the art objects in the yard of his friend Clito",[40] but in fact was Henry Cheere's statuary yard at Hyde Park Corner.[41] The viewer is introduced to the statuary yard containing

> the dignified classical sculptures known to the age with a miscellaneous and often comic assortment of modern art objects. In the center stands the Medicean Venus. To the right are statues of Julius Caesar hanging from a pulley and Apollo Belverdere. A short, overdressed Brutus stands on one side of Apollo over the falling Caesar; on the other side another overdressed figure clad as a judge sits with his foot on the head of a cherub. A second putto with a gallows in its hand cries at the judge's feet.[42]

Paulson (1971b: 178) interprets the statues of the judge and the putto with the gallows as emblems of disguised cruelty and stupidity in artistic matters and aesthetic judgement, representing a "world of brutality, murder, and hash judgement from the popular prints" – a throw-back to Hogarth's earlier subscription ticket of *The battle of the pictures* (fig. 62) in which Hogarth's "modern moral subjects" were engaged in picaresque battle with the copyists of old masters from Mr. Puff's auction house. While it may be that Hogarth's judge and putto with the gallows in Plate 1 of the *Analysis* do emblematise the hack copyists of old masters, they also emblematise Hogarth's own picaresque Augustan attitude towards antiquity, which has been judged and sentenced to be hung on the gallows of modern times. Such a picaresque "hanging" – as if to say, "to hang with antiquity" or "antiquity can go and get hanged" – is emblematised by the statue of Caesar who "tilts over as if falling", but who in fact is tilted by a rope around his neck in the form of a hangman's noose. Caesar's lynching is aided by a "Roman general dressed by a modern tailor and peruke-maker" who "lifts his hand (clutching a roll of parchment) in a gesture that in its contiguity to Caesar appears

to be a death blow" while Reynold's beloved *Apollo of Belvedere* (fig. 76) nearby "seems to be avenging

Caesar's [execution] by knocking his assassin on the head."[43]

This comic incident on the right hand side of the composition is offset, or upstaged rather, by further comic

incidents on the left. Slightly off-centre, in the background of the composition, in front of the iron grated

fence, yet behind the statue of the Medicean Venus, stands a comic copy of the famous Laocoön group; and

> on either side of the Venus lie a graceful sphinx and the satyr Silenus reclining on a wineskin. In the
> foreground rests "Michelangelo's torso" by "Appollonius, son of Nestor". Beneath the Farnese Hercules a
> dancing master attempts to correct the posture of Antinous. Under two statuettes of Isis is another Hercules.
> The boot and the anatomical sketches of the three legs are balanced by the highly symmetrical figures (by
> Albrecht Dürer and G.P. Lomazzo) on the right.[44]

The Farnese Hercules has turned his back on the scene. In emblematic terms, antiquity has turned its back on

modern times or vice versa. In turning his back to the viewer, the Farnese Hercules comically exposes his

behind, or bum, which has been left behind, as a scatological reminder to the viewer of a punning paradox

which ironically works against itself: either antiquity is "bum" from a modern point of view (an anterior

view), or modern times are "bum" compared to the standards of antiquity (from the same anterior view).

Whatever the case, the Farnese Hercules is in shade, eclipsed, by the enlightened ideas of modern times. A

posturing dancing master proudly stands bolt upright below the Farnese Hercules, emblematising another

punning paradox that can be put forward as a rhetorical question: is the dancing master below the dignity of

the Farnese Hercules, or is the Farnese Hercules way above him? The viewer remains wittily teased by this

unanswered rhetorical question; but from the point of view of the dancing master, he, as a lively human

being, clearly considers himself "superior" to ancient marble statues, for he is comically involved in

correcting *Antinous*'s stance who appears far more natural than he. The contrast between the artificial

rendering of nature and the natural rendering of art would seem to be of particular interest to the viewers of

the dancing master and the statue of *Antinous* for their contrasting differences become obvious when seen so

closely together.

The viewer may suppose that the juxtapositioning of the statue *Antonius* and the lively human dancing master

was a deliberate rhetorical "move" on Hogarth's part to visually reveal the contrasting differences between

them. Whereas Reynolds superimposed the *Apollo of Belverdere* onto his portrait of *Augustus, Viscount*

Keppel creating a reversed mirror image of the old "reflected" in the new, activating the viewer's *memoria* of

Classical antiquity (figs 76 and 77), Hogarth, in Plate 1 of his *Analysis of Beauty* separates the dancing

master and the statue of *Antonius* so that the viewer may delight in playing the witty game of comparing the

two poses and discovering their contrasting similarities and differences.

However, on another occasion Hogarth resorted to the superimposition strategy used by Reynolds – using it ten years before Reynolds – but subordinating it, along with the intertextuality between pictures, to the rhetorical situation of his own "modern moral subjects". In Scene 5 of *Marriage à la mode* (fig. 80), for example, Hogarth deliberately seems to overlay his own visual narrative event with topical and historical prototypes woven into his composition, while alluding at the same time to the intertextuality between pictures and themes taken from the tradition of popular and Grand Style genres. By doing so, Hogarth invites his viewers to actively participate in the parodic experience of the pictured scene.

Biblical allusions and Christian iconography subtly dominate Scene 5. The most overt of these references is that of the curiously awkward pose of the dying Earl who "who slips to the floor in a grotesque parody of 'Descent from the cross' compositions":[45]

> Hogarth must have taken the [Earl's] pose straight from [a "Descent from the cross"] painting, probably Flemish, seen in France on his 1743 tour, not even adjusting [it] for the absence of the man supporting Christ's body under the arms.[46]

The dying Earl is no martyred saint or Christ, however – despite the fact that his head is framed by the golden frame of a mirror hanging on the wall behind him, creating the appearance of a false halo. The young Earl dies after a violent duel – having viewed the intertextuality between pictures of Grand Style violence and death in his late father's house (fig. 65). In dying, the young Earl ironically becomes like one of the martyred saints seen in Scene 1, with three important differences: (1) he is no saint, (2) his martyrdom was unnecessary – for a fight that was not really his fight – and (3) the history paintings in Scene 1 were of martyred saints while his own represented martyrdom is neither a Grand Style history painting nor one of saintliness. Neither is he Christ, who was without sin (1 Peter 2.22) – the Earl is not without his fair share of sins like pride, self-love, vanity, adultery, fornication, and aristocratic lust during an extra-marital affair. The false halo created by the golden frame of the mirror behind the dying Earl's head thus strips away any delusion which the Earl might have had in fighting for his own aristocratic honour or for saving his wife's virtue from Silvertongue's advances. If anything, the dying Earl, in turning away[47] from the mirror can no longer admire his own image reflected in it as he once did in Scene 1. He can no longer look into a mirror for any reason; not even to see the reality of his world reflected in it, let alone his own image – literally and figuratively, he does not have any eyes at the back of his head, i.e., he has no insight into himself; he does not know himself – and soon he will not be able to see in front either, i.e., ironically he will die blind. If all these observations about the dying Earl are true, the viewer may wonder why Hogarth chose to represent him in the ironic and parodic guise of a mock-martyred saint or as a mock-crucified Christ-like figure? In choosing the "Descent from the cross" pose for the dying Earl, Godby (1991: 50) suggests that Hogarth's "particular

purpose here would seem to be to correct the Grand Style presentation of death as a noble prelude to a splendid after life, such as is expressed in religious martyrdoms and the deaths of classical heroes, and to assert rather that death in reality is actually painful and final."

The realisation of having married into a family of death seems to have struck a cord in the consciousness of the plebeian Countess who kneels beside her dying husband like a latter-day Mary Magdalene, as she probably realises what she stands to lose once the Earl is dead. True to "Crucifixion" and "Descent from the cross" scenes, the plebeian Countess, as a contemporary version of Mary Magdalene – although she is no Moll Hackabout (fig. 64) – "stands near" her dying lord – kneels actually – wringing her hands in grief and despair. Apart from any iconographic appropriateness for casting the plebeian Countess as Mary Magdalene, there would also seem to be some degree of thematic decorum as well: the plebeian Countess could be regarded as a "prostitute" of sorts, just as her biblical counterpart was, only she now mourns the death of her lord – a pun on the Lord – who died for her sins (Mark 28.1-10, Luke 24.1-12).[48]

As if the *tableau* poses of the dying Earl and his repentant wife were not in themselves sufficient to stress the parodic parallelisms between their own positions and that of Christ's death upon the cross for all the sins of humanity, including their own, Hogarth also emphasised this most important event of the New Testament by including, on the right hand side of the composition, a shadowy outline of a cross on the door, thrown by the night watchman's lantern. Like men who might, under other circumstances, have come to arrest the Lord,[49] the night watchman and the landlord have stumbled into the scene, not merely as men curious to find out what the commotion in the room is all about, or to bare witness to the Earl's death and Silvertongue's flight, but, as inversions of the false men who might have arrested Christ for being innocent of sin, the landlord and night watchman become true men who will help to identify Silvertongue as the murderer, a man guilty of sin, and aid the police in his arrest and conviction. As witnesses to a murder, the night watchman and the landlord are Silvertongue's Achilles heel – he punningly shows his right heel at the window as he attempts flight – and he will rightly have to heel to the law, not as a lawyer, but as a murderer.

The night watchman and the landlord burst upon the scene like men springing surprise from the belly of a Torjan horse – the shadow cast on the wall to the right of the dying Earl is in the shape of a Trojan horse – or perhaps one of the four horses of the Apocalypse?[50] – and their sprung surprise onto the scene may be interpreted as parodic avenging angels of the Lord who will see to it that murder will out, that retribution will follow the breaking of one of the Ten Commandments – murder (Exodus 20: 13; Deuteronomy 5: 17) – that crime shall be punished on that Day of Judgement.[51]

The writing of such a verdict, however, is already on the background wall of Scene 5 where a tapestry representing "The judgement of Solomon" can be discerned. The biblical story of Solomon's judgement, found in 1 Kings 4, recounted "the story of two harlots who claimed the same baby. Solomon's judgement ... was to cut the baby in two and give each 'mother' half, at which the true mother proved herself by giving way to the other."[52] In its present rhetorical setting, Solomon's judgement might perversely allude, on the one hand, to the choice that the plebeian Countess has just made between her husband and her lover, or, if an emblematic anti-type of the above, then the theme of the biblical story could be translated into contemporary anagogical terms: to that of the judgement of the English law courts once Silvertongue has been tried and convicted for the murder of the Earl.

No less shocked and appalled by the Earl's murder than the landlord, the night watchman, and possibly even the soon to be widowed plebeian Countess, is the painting of St. Luke, with his medieval bull-attribute still at his side, who looks down upon the scene from the high vantage point above the open doorway in the upper right hand side of the composition. St. Luke, who, according to medieval tradition and such authorities as Theodorus Lector's *Ecclesiastical history*, was noted for having painted the Virgin, who descended from heaven to sit for him, litotically can now see no Virgin to paint. Neither the dying Earl, nor the plebeian Countess, nor Silvertongue for that matter, could be described as "virgins" – their sins and adultery have contributed to their downfall and the current tragic state of affairs. And, as far as the anti-virgin – a contemporary Mary Magdalene – plebeian Countess and her lover are concerned, their infidelity, in particular, is particularly marked: having ironically chosen the costumes of a monk and a nun to attend the masquerade earlier, they have shown no moral respect for these two religious callings. Instead, their costumed attire and masks from their carnivalesque entertainment lie emblematically discarded on the floor in the left foreground of the composition, much as they did earlier in Scene 4 (fig. 69) where they resembled "live severed heads ... as both comic disguises for a masquerade and eerie death masks."[53] Now, in their present state, they still serve the same function: "The eerie lighting from the fire, the shadows from the tongs and the sword, the scattered undergarments and the grinning masks (prophetic death masks) give a grotesque atmosphere to the scene."[54]

The binary themes of death and violence, eroticism and betrayal, despair and horror, tragedy and comedy, and appearance and reality, are presented as a satiric mixture, an eighteenth-century *satura* of themes weaving in and out of the tragicomic "modern moral narrative" of Hogarth's *Marriage à la mode*. If the stereotypical response at the time to comedy was supposed to be uproarious laughter by country folk and the stereotypical response to tragedy was supposed to be a bewailing of tears by urban aristocrats – bringing a

catharsis of pity and fear – a throwback to the Renaissance theoretical dictates of the *genera descendi* for the literary and performance genres (see Chapter 3; and figs 28 and 29, for example) – as caricatured by Rowlandson's *Comedy in the country, tragedy in London* (1807) (fig. 81) – then Hogarth's audience would have been expected to both laugh and cry as rhetorical *pathos* responses to his tragicomic "modern moral subject". Perhaps, stereotypically, one could amusingly suggest, that his "high life" audience cried and his "low life" audience laughed. Such stereotypical responses would, no doubt, reveal that the aristocracy had much to cry about while the "low life" audience would find much in a "high life" tragedy to laugh about. Whatever the case – we will never know – what is certain, however, is that the rhetorical *pathos* lent to the picaresque artist who depicted himself painting the comic muse, Thaleia (March 1758) (fig. 82), was of a highly different epideictic order – showing both laughter and tears – to the *pathos* given to Reynold's idyllic portrait of *Augustus, Viscount Keppel* (fig. 77) where ancient paradigms are epideictically praised and venerated even as they are formally parodied in reverse.

From the above, it could be concluded that Hogarth's mocking tone with the paradigms of the past was his parodic way of rejecting or denouncing them – by epideictically degrading them, making fun of them, and ironically subordinating them to his own rhetorically invented visual narrative. As a viable alternative to Reynold's idyllic assertion "that an artist's skill is measured by his ability to borrow [from the past]",[55] as well as his suggestion that students should slavishly copy the old masters, Hogarth opined that copying from the past was "like pouring wine out of one vessel into another" and that he would rather "gather the fruit, press the grapes, and pour out the wine for himself."[56] In other words, Hogarth wanted the artistic liberty to practise a form of "modernised Grand Style history painting, one that had been adapted to the needs of his own day",[57] based on his own rhetorical inventiveness. Only in this way, Hogarth believed, could history painting be renewed, revitalised in England, and given contemporary relevance – in his own words, to the new English circumstances of "a trading nation."[58]

This new venture for history painting might, of course, stem the tide of the English aristocracy who preferred to purchase the continental history paintings of old masters, even if these were bad copies made of originals. This point, as we have seen, most vexed Hogarth. It was bad enough to receive an art education following classical examples: copying plaster busts (fig. 78) and old master pictures as an apprentice learning one's trade; it was quite another to make an art career of it, particularly if the quality of the copy was bad. In this regard Hogarth "was opposed to bad history painting and he would complain bitterly of the stupidity of connoisseurs[59] who in their purchase of fakes, copies and worthless dark smudges not only served themselves ill but also depressed the possibilities for art in England in the process."[60] Throughout his artistic career,

then, Hogarth had expressed his displeasure with the aristocracy's imposition of foreign masters[61] and the alien artistic paradigms imported into his country's art and culture. He foresaw, as a result, a generation of subservient painters who made extremely bad and mediocre pictures, and complained that the world was already glutted with these "Ditto" commodities which did not perish fast enough to warrant such an oversupply of hackwork.[62] In response to his perceived condition of Late Baroque and Rococo art during the first four decades of the eighteenth century, Hogarth wished to rhetorically invent his own "modern moral subjects" which could be described as authentically English.

Hogarth's commitment to his "modern moral subjects" gained a certain kind of popularity, bad and good, during his life time. On the bad side, the success of his first "modern moral subject" series proved so popular that the six engravings of his *A harlot's progress* were widely pirated[63] following their appearance in bookseller stalls in 1732. Hogarth, along with certain other artists, was forced to petition Parliament in order to have the existing Copyright Act extended to include Hogarth's Act which prohibited artistic inventions from being unlawfully copied. This legal step was a necessary one for protecting his own artistic independence and for the promotion of the commodity status of his pictures, while discouraging pirateers from cashing in on the deal.

On the positive side, Hogarth had a growing audience of admirers. The poet Joseph Mitchell was one such admirer. In February 1731, a decade before the appearance of *Marriage à la mode*, he published his *Three Poetical Epistles: to Mr. Hogarth, Mr. Dandridge, and Mr. Lambert, Masters of the Art of Painting*. The first poem, dated 12 June 1730, was dedicated to "Mr. Hogarth, An Eminent History and Conversation Painter", and contained the following encomic lines of epideictic praise which acknowledged Hogarth as an innovative history painter of modern histories:

Dutch and *Italian*, wide Extreams,
Unite, in You, their diff'rent Names!
Still be esteem'd the First and Last,
Orig'nal in your Way and Taste; ... .[64]

Mitchell's poem implies that Hogarth, as the "Shakespeare in Painting", ought to be honoured for his originally inventive visual narratives, and that his "modern moral subjects" are deserving of the name of history painting. Implicit in Mitchell's verse is the notion that Hogarth's tragicomic pictures are not only social satires with a rhetorical aim and an epideictic didactic moral purpose, but they are also rhetorically inventive contemporary visual narratives which strive to reconcile the perceived artistic differences between the "wide Extremes" of two distinct schools of artistic genres – the Italian – high mode, history painting – and the Dutch – low mode, *genre* pictures — seen in *Marriage à la mode* in the class distinctions and the

accompanying artistic "taste" which separates the two father's cultures and their values: the Count's "bad" copies of Italian (or French?) history paintings in Scene 1 (fig. 65) and the plebeian Alderman's low *genre* Dutch paintings in Scene 6 (fig. 83).[65]

If Joseph Mitchell saw Hogarth's *Progresses* – and one may include *Marriage à la mode* among them – as history paintings, i.e., as an innovative visual narrative of contemporary significance – his foresight and radical definition of the Grand Style, was still not deemed as history painting by many of the poet's contemporaries. Grand Style history paintings, after all, had to follow tradition; it had to deal with Classical and biblical texts, and the history painter's temperament had to follow the rhetorical *aptum* of the high mode representations of the sublime, the mystical, the erotic, or the heroic traditions, for example – or otherwise be deemed an unsuccessful history painting: like Hogarth's failed *historia* mural for London's St. Bartholomew's Hospital, *The pool of Bethesda* (1734) (fig. 84). That Hogarth's picaresque temperament was ill matched to the demands of becoming a proper history painter of the Grand Style hardly seems to matter today; but in Hogarth's time it mattered to him a great deal since his artistic career and ambition was somewhat bent on following his father-in-law Sir James Thornhill's Grand Style manner – failing which, Hogarth could only admire the high genre at a distance. It may seem odd to late twentieth-century admirers of Hogarth that he still respected the traditional *genre descendi*[66] even although he had gone to great lengths to criticise Mr. Puff's army of "Ditto" hacks who mass produced bad foreign history paintings, while his own efforts to promote his own rhetorically innovative "modern moral subjects" seemed set in opposition to the high mode. Yet Hogarth was willing enough, in some small measure, to give the devil his due: well executed pictures in terms of technique, innovation of subject matter, and well constructed compositions, remained outstanding achievements regardless of whether it represented the highest or the lowest genre, while mediocrity in such matters was "bad" whichever way it was looked at, and whatever genre class it was classified as.

Thus, for example, when Addison in *The Spectator* No. 83, 5 June 1711[67] said that the Ancients excelled over the Moderns in both painting and poetry, Hogarth took issue with Addison's statements in his *Analysis of Beauty*. Time alone was the Destroyer of art, he maintained, not the Moderns or rhetorically innovative "modern moral subjects." To prove his point Hogarth produced his etching-and-engraving *Time smoking a picture* (March 1761) (fig. 85) which he distributed as a subscription ticket for the projected engraving of *Sigismunda*. In this late satiric print, the notion that old pictures are improved with "the mellow tints of age and varnish"[68] are parodied. Old Father Time, an elderly winged being, using a broken statue as a stool – an ancient crock – sits before a darkly varnished landscape picture, puffing away, and blowing the smoke at the

surface of this smouldering picture placed before him. Father Time's scythe, held in his left hand, has wounded this darkly varnished painting – like the wounds given to the various pictures in the *Battle of the pictures* (fig. 62) – the implication here being that Time is not kind to pictures, especially to those that collect dust, and to those that are cracked and darkened under many layers of varnish.

> At the foot of the easel is a jar of varnish[69] ready, it would seem, to disfigure the painting yet further. The figure of Time is shown to be sitting on various worthless pieces of sculpture. ... At bottom right is the legend 'As statues moulder into worth'; and on the top part of the frame is both a laconic reference to an article in the *Spectator* magazine in which Joseph Addison claimed that Time mellowed paintings, and a quotation from the Greek comic dramatist Crates, into which a negative has been inserted, to make it read, in translation, "For Time is *not* a great artist but weakens all he touches!"[70]

Time has proved Hogarth's observations all too true: when the pictures of Hogarth and Reynolds are compared with regard to their present condition, for example, the results are glaringly apparent. Hogarth never attempted to glaze his pictures in the same systematic way in which Reynolds did. Instead, he applied relatively transparent colours over a monochrome underpainting, later completing the effect with highlights and occasionally impasto. In this technical sense, Hogarth did not need to fear Time's intervention on his pictures. His pictures are presently in better condition than those of Reynolds. There is an historical irony here – the carmine in Reynolds's "great" history paintings already began to fade within the artist's own lifetime. Reynolds's sitters are today mere ghosts of their former selves, their bitumen cracked, and their shadows now resemble peeling blisters and running sores, like the cracks on the walls of Mr. Puff's auction house. These cracks "mar" Reynolds's striving towards creating well preserved pictures of the ideal, with their unashamed borrowed forms and idyllic parodies from antiquity or other artists. The care in painting properly, which Hogarth described in his *Analysis of Beauty* as the problem of making colouring in the art of painting – and taken from a tag by Horace which runs: "we have to show a different [hidden, *abdita*] subject in new or modern terms; licence is allowed if used with respect or care [*pudenter*]"[71] – seems to have paid off for Hogarth in the long run.

Perhaps only in a technical sense, though. If the heuristic question had to be asked concerning the epideictic success of his picaresque battle with his times in terms of *The battle of the pictures* the answer would have to be as uneven as a *satura*. Surveying the heteroglossic sweep of Hogarth's various pictures carnivalesquely parading by the audience, as if intertextual participants in an epideictic celebration of Hogarth's artistic career, the viewer could note the low- and highlights, the strengths and weaknesses, the moments of joy and bitterness, of tragicomedy, of laughter and tears. These oscillating rhetorical movements of *pathos* reveal that Hogarth was all too human an artist, like the humanness of the people who crowded in and out of his pictures.

What emerges from what has been said so far is that Hogarth's visual battle with aristocratic bad taste in pictures, and in other areas of bad taste like architecture, fashion, music, and theatre, and with the hack artists who continued to copy from the old masters, or who superimposed the past by means of formal parody in the case of Reynolds' idyllic reversals, was a picaresque battle which Hogarth felt he needed to fight. The issues at stake did not merely revolve around dialogisms between social class – the aristocracy versus the middle class of Hogarth – or taste – good and bad – but also revolved around dialogisms between nations – English versus Italian and French art, or home grown art versus foreign imports – and between past and present history – the Ancient and Modern debate – as well as between styles and genres – the Grand Style of history painting versus Hogarth's rhetorically invented "modern moral subjects" – and integrity – originality versus copying by hacks. These dialogisms, taken together as a rhetoricity of opposing views on the issues involved, highlighted Hogarth's need to fight a picaresque battle with his time.

Various off shoots stemming from the complicated integration of the above dialogisms also entered into the fray of Hogarth's picaresque battle, some involving the picaresque with the salient features of epideictics. For example, the perceived immoral teachings of the Grand Style – violence, death, and lustful eroticism – could be epideictically blamed as influencing human conduct and its follies in *Marriage à la mode*, while the litotic effect of the progresses of his "modern moral subjects" could epideictically lead the viewer to the virtues of good and moral behaviour. Such didactic pedagogics imply that Hogarth's rhetorically inventive visual narratives followed the picaresque tradition of Bruegel- and Steen's pictures in attempting to win the audience back to moral ground without the ornate excesses of the high mode's rhetorical means of persuasion by means of relying on the past's achievements or trying to revise ancient paradigmatic targets.

Such paradigmatic targets were fair game for picaresque parody, for, in Hogarth's view, the early eighteenth century as wrong headed – a World Upside Down *topos* – in which the aristocracy clung to the "bad" taste of history painting copies; while Hogarth saw his artistic mission in life not only to epideictically point out the folly of such bad judgement, but also to try to set the matter aright, particularly for England and for the contemporary issues which society faced.

Casting aside the literary texts to which history painting had traditionally drawn its subject matter from, Hogarth chose to present his own "modern moral subjects" as highly theatrically staged visual narratives.[72] As he explained in his *Autobiographical notes*: "Subjects I consider'd as writers do; my Picture was my Stage and men and women my actors who were, by Means of certain Actions and Expressions, to Exhibit a dumb shew."[73] In theatricalising *Marriage à la mode*, for example, Hogarth continued the pictorial

toneelvoorstelling tradition of the visual narratives practised by Bruegel and Steen, but he enlivened the tradition through his own rhetorical inventiveness. Hogarth went to great lengths in treating his "fictional actors" as characters rather than as caricatures (fig. 86)[74] – even to the extent of researching their manners in contemporary etiquette manuals. In Scene 1 of *Marriage à la mode* (fig. 65), for example, the young groom-to-be, an effete beau, sits in the exemplary fashion prescribed by de Lairesse (1641-1711):[75] with his hand elegantly placed, his knees apart, and his feet pointing outward.[76] Such attention to detail,[77] alongside the attention to a *satura* of emblematic details and conventional allusions, sometimes used as intertextuality between pictures as formal parody – all heteroglossically contributed to the viewer's delight in reading Hogarth's visual narratives as they would read a novel, journalistic prose, or poetry.

The viewer's delight in reading Hogarth's heteroglossic pictures in order to discover his wit and multi-layered meanings in which human folly is exposed, in which the carnivalesque crowd of "fictional actors" gathers, in which the world is picaresquely perceived as wrongheaded as a contemporary World Upside Down *topos* with the need to be set it aright – with immorally and vices admonished and epideictically blamed, and morals and virtues epideictically praised – endure Hogarth's pictures and his "modern moral subjects" to the organising principles of this study in four ways: (1) as a thematic link to the past – to the picaresque tradition of Bruegel and Steen; to the Augustan parodying of the Classical past – either paradigmatically through formal parody, or as intertextuality between pictures in a new-found context, or mockingly as redundant to present societal and rhetorical situations; (2) as a thematic link to the present, to other pictures in Hogarth's *oeuvre* not discussed in this chapter; (3) in a double linkage to the future: as ongoing research into interpreting Hogarth's pictures provide new insights and fresh perspectives, and (4) as a thematic link to Hogarth's heirs. In the latter case, I have in mind the English caricaturists of the late eighteenth century – Townsend, Gillray, and their ilk – as well as looking ahead to Daumier and Philipon in nineteenth-century France. In the latter two artist's pictures, the topic of the next chapter, the gulf which once separated Hogarth's rhetorically inventive "modern moral subjects" from the early eighteenth-century aristocratic "bad" taste for the Grand Style of the old masters, became, in Daumier, an even more heightened picaresque battle of styles attached to politics and art politics which would eventually lead to the showdown between the French Academy represented by Idealism and Neoclassicism on the one hand, and, on the other, by modernity represented by anti-Neoclassicism – Romanticism and Realism.

End notes

[1] The demise of Old Rhetoric as a mere "ornament" of discourse (Weinberg 1973-1974, 4: 172; see also Sayce 1973-1974, 4: 332) and as a formal study at universities set in during the eighteenth century. The function of the rhetoric lecturer passed over into that of correcting written texts. Old Rhetoric fell into neglect, while the practice of rhetoric was encouraged in schools by public exercises (Dodge & Kasch (eds). 1964 s.v. "Rhetoric").

[2] Hogarth and Fielding had much in common:

> Each came from a [middle class] family of conservative outlook. Neither had any patience with the wasteful expenditures of the nobility, debauched by their imitation of foreign customs. Each was appalled by the excesses of the poor through their over-indulgence in hard liquor. Each was thoroughly anti-papist, identifying the Roman church with all the intrigues hostile to the political welfare of their country. Both heartily despised the quack doctors who thrived upon the gullibility of their over-credulous patients. Yet in spite of the fact that Fielding's aim was almost always social satire whether the medium was play, novel, or essay, and although he could portray the unheroic or seamy side of human nature, he never became so bitter and so sharp as Hogarth or Swift (Baum 1934: 30).

It could also be said that both Fielding and Hogarth shared the view that epideictic rhetoric, whether literal or visual, should help humanity "to laugh mankind out of their favorite follies and vices" (Ballard 1973-1974, 1: 469). None of these commonalties is surprising, since both Hogarth and Fielding held picaresque points of view.

[3] Hogarth seems to have preferred this term for describing his rhetorically invented genre rather than Fielding's term "comic history painting". Paulson (1971a: 470) points out the distinction between Hogarth and Fielding's terms as follows:

> By calling Hogarth's productions "comic history painting", and his own "comic epic in prose", Fielding is trying, as Hogarth had done, to secure a place in the classical (and contemporary) hierarchy of genres higher than satire, the grotesque, or the comic world command. Hogarth never seems to have used the term "comic history painting" himself. Putting his thoughts on paper in the 1760s, he frequently called attention to the uniqueness of the form he had invented ("this uncommon way of Painting", "a Field unbroken up in any Country or any age"), which often echoed Fielding's similar claims for his form; referring to its combination of comic and moral qualities and its use in contemporaneity, he called his works instead "modern moral subjects". His closest approach to Fielding's term was in references to his new genre as occupying an area between the accepted categories of sublime and grotesque. He commented sadly that painters and writers "never mention, in the historical way of any intermediate species of subjects for painting between the sublime and the grotesque," whereas he believes that the "subject[s] of most consequence are those that most entertain and Improve the mind and are of public utility", and that "true comedy" is a more economical and difficult genre, closer to reality, than high-flown tragedy, which he tended to associate with sublime history painting.

[4] In Hogarth's new genre "modern moral subjects" "are scripted with prodigious elaboration. The observer/reader/ audience is addressed by a painter/narrator/pamphleteer/dramatist" (Lawson 1998: 269).

[5] Daumier's picaresque battle – "style war" – during the nineteenth century is a continuation of the Ancient and Modern debate – see Chapter 6.

[6] Addison & Steele (et al.) (1945: 194-198).

[7] "Puff" in the Italian buffare ("to puff") is "cognate with" a "fool" ("buffoon"). The word "fool" derives "from the Latin follis, literally 'bellows', but also used in the sense of 'windbag'" (Handelman 1981: 328).

[8] Shesgreen (1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 50]).

[9] Godby (1991: 41).

[10] Paulson (1971a: 493).

[11] Hogarth seems to have had a great love for the people and the city of London. Despite all his criticism, satire, and moral lessons, he never gave up the hope for his nation to be unified (Leonard 1984: 9). When academics refused to depict ordinary men as heroes this must have increased Hogarth's incentive against history painting as the only genre of higher value. Like Manet, a century or more later – although in a different historical context – Hogarth wrote in his Analysis of Beauty of students going to Rome to complete their studies: they took "the infectious turn for the connoisseur, instead of the painter" and, "bad proficients in their own arts" they became "the very worst of painters [that sat] as the most profound judges ... on account of their disinterestedness" (Hogarth 1813: 128-130).

Hogarth often enough tried to show through his conversation pieces that a new kind of history painting could be established which would consider current events as history-in-the-making of history painting. In doing so, such history paintings would remain a unique product of England and its people, and would become not only a part of the nation's heritage, but also a part of an English tradition as opposed to foreign artistic interference.

As an interesting aside in this regard, an explanation can be found for Hogarth's peculiar bent in the emblematic, reportorial and droll forms in his pictures (Paulson 1974: 24). Hogarth's father-in-law, Sir James Thornhill (1676-1734), is described by Paulson (1974: 38) as an "Italianized Englishman," as most eighteenth-century Englishmen interested in the Classics were. This paradoxical, eclectic, and to Hogarth, ridiculous position, was complemented in Thornhill by his private love for drollies when not working on commissions. Hogarth, liking the drollie, as much as his country, may have decided to make it an integral part of his "official occupation" as an artist, in opposition to the idealized world of Italian culture and history painting (Wind 1938-1939a: 122; see also Wind 1986: 94).

[12] It was Hogarth's custom to provide admission tickets for all his engraved series as proof that his subscribers had paid their dues. For his *Harlot's progress* (1732) he provided the *Boy's peeping into Nature* (1730-31); for the *Rake's progress* (1735) he made the *Laughing audience* (1733); and *Characters and caricatures* (April 1743) (fig. 86) was produced for *Marriage à la mode* (1745) (Cowley 1983: 17).

[13] The auction took place at noon. The total proceeds were nearly £ 500. Horace Walpole, who had just returned to England from his Grand Tour of Italy, purchased Hogarth's small portrait of Sarah Malcolm for 5 guineas. Grimsthorpe, bought a *Danaë* for 60 guineas and the paintings of *Noon* and *Evening* from *The four times of the day*; while *Morning* and *Night* from *The four times of the day* went to the banker Sir William Heathcote. *The four times of the day* altogether earned Hogarth £ 127 1s. Wood bought *The company of strolling actresses in a barn* for 26 guineas after a certain Francis (William?) Beckford had decided against taking it. Beckford successfully bidded for the *Rake's progress* (£ 184 16s) and the *Harlot's progress* (£ 88 4s; total £ 273). Beckford seems to have shown no further interest in Hogarth after the auction. He appears in no further subscription lists and did not notify the artist that the *Rake's progress* had survived the Fonthill fire in 1755 that destroyed the *Harlot's progress* (Paulson 1971a: 490-496; see also Godby 1991: 40).

[14] Hogarth condemned the literal copying of nature or of other works of art. He considered this "an unworthy occupation, not part of the true artist's business" (Kitson 1966-1968: 47).

[15] The paintings of *Marriage à la mode* were probably completed around 1743. The professional French engravers G. Scotin, S.F. Ravenet and B. Baron reproduced the etching-and-engravings by June 1745. Hogarth claimed that he engraved the heads himself. The set was sold by subscription for one guinea (Shesgreen 1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 51]).

[16] The title of Hogarth's *Marriage à la mode* may have come from Dryden's comedy of the same name (1672) and Tonson's reprinting of the play in 1735 might have brought it to the artist's attention (Paulson 1971a: 479). Hogarth may also have been indebted to Garrick's *Lethe* (1740) in which Lord Chalkstone's marriage of convenience is described as one in which the husband married "for a fortune" while the wife did so "for a title". The *Spectator* too, argued long and loud that marriages could only be based on love (No. 268), that disaster would follow upon marriages arranged by parents (Nos 220, 533), and that marriages between a man of money without class and a lady of quality without money would end in unhappiness (No. 299) (Paulson 1971a: 483).

[17] The idea of introducing paintings-within-a-painting, parallels Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in Act 3 where there is a play-within-the-play. The use of intertextuality between pictures as commentary on the action of their new-found context was not new to the early eighteenth century – it had already been practiced in both Roman and Venetian pictures (Elkins 1994: 153) and by Steen, for example, in *Het bezoek van de dokter* (c. 1661-1662) (fig. 87) where Hals' *Peeckelhaering* (c. 1628-1630) (fig. 88) – owned by Steen at the time (Wheelock 1996: 153) – can be seen in the top right hand corner of Steen's picture. By quoting Hals' comic character, Steen enhanced the comic nature of his own pictorial farce wherein a young quack doctor has come to diagnose the *morbus virgineus* (De Jongh 1996: 40) or *minnekoorts* (De Jongh 1996: 40) of the love-sick maiden. For further commentary on the theme of the doctor's visit and the above picture by Steen see Westermann (1997b: 102-105).

Hogarth's resortion to intertextuality between pictures in *Marriage à la mode* has been studied as a part of this tradition and as parodic commentary on the action of his "modern moral subjects". For a thorough examination of the series in this regard see Cowley (1983).

[18] Paulson (1971a: 485).

[19] This genealogical "fact" becomes ironic during the course of the visual narrative. The Earl's son also marries out of his class; and as a result of the tragic consequences, the Squanderfield line dies out forever.

[20] Lord Squanderfield's house is a showpiece "designed to arouse the envy and admiration of visitors" (West 1996: 77). His portrait offered one of the prime signifiers of his aristocratic status and privilege, as did the other items of luxury such as the building of the new palladian house, as a document of family invincibility, the family estate, "and as a valuable weapon of ideological hegemony" (Duro 1996: 4).

[21] Shesgreen 1973: ([unpaginated, opposite Plate 51]).

[22] Hogarth, despising commercial portrait painting as hack-work, observed that "a man of very middling Talents may easily succeed in it; more of artifices and the address of a mercer is required than of their genious [sic]" (Kitson 1966-1968: 67).

[23] Already in the sixteenth century texts by Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) like *Adversus pseudo-dialecticos* (1520) and *Censura de Aristotelis operibus* (1538) warned students of rhetoric to "take care not to imitate corrupt classical poets such as Catullus, Martial, Ovid and Homer, whom [he] associated with violence and eroticism" (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 92-93).

[24] Godby (1991: 46).

[25] In Ovid's (1955: 77-80) account Actaeon's "hounds gorged themselves on their master's blood" after Diana had metamorphosed him into a stag for seeing her bathing with her nymphs naked in a forest stream. Metamorphosing the Classical myth, Hogarth puns on the stag Actaeon, linking him to the "stag" Silvertongue, by implying that once the lawyer has seen the Countess naked, just prior to Scene 5, he will have sealed his own fate. Fleeing the hounds of justice after the murder of the Countess's husband, Silvertongue would be "gorged" by his own profession – the law – and would pay for his own infidelity and crimes by being hung.

[26] The acquisition of property was seen as part of the greed and pride that dominated eighteenth-century English society" (West 1996: 73).

[27] Castle (1984: 903-916).

[28] Godby (1991: 42).

[29] Godby (1991: 44).

[30] Godby (1991: 42-44).

[31] Leonard (1984: 98).

[32] In the eighteenth-century art theory of genre hierarchy, which had already been in place in the centuries of Bruegel and Steen, the foundation framework had been laid in which artistic genres could be understood and valued. In laying down this foundation framework for artistic genres, the genre tradition guided viewers in their appreciation of high mode art: "history painting, or Grand Style art as it was also known, stood at the summit of the hierarchy of [artistic] genres" (Godby 1991: 41). It alone was regarded as having the moral worth as it stood higher on the scale of artistic value showing humanity behaving at its most heroic. The *genera descendi* also tried to regulate artistic representations so that whenever the low mode worked its way upward, reinforced by the authority of the World Upside Down *topos*, it inevitably produced conflict (a battle) with the high mode, creating problem pictures and visual parodies. Bruegel and Steen had readily demonstrated genre parody within their own picaresque points of view and separate contexts; and in the first half of the eighteenth century it became Hogarth's turn to make his contribution towards this tradition of genre parody.

[33] Reynolds's journey to Italy followed the pre-established pattern that many English artists had followed in the past, as well as artists from other parts of Europe. Already in the seventeenth century "French artists went to Rome as to a finishing school, while the few Italian painters who came to France did so either to obtain patronage, like Rossi and Primaticcio, or were feted as the greatest practitioners of their craft, like Bernini" (Duro 1996: 49).

[34] Paulson (1971b: 209).

[35] Shesgreen (1973: xv); see also Clough (1944: 47).

[36] Gilbert & Kuhn (1972: 265).

[37] For further commentary on borrowings by Reynolds and Hogarth see Wind (1938-1939b: 182-185).

[38] In his *Sixth discourse* Reynolds "developed in detail his doctrine of imitation and borrowing: imitating the antique and modern masters to 'form the taste', and borrowing thoughts from all schools to enrich one's own inventions, 'If we consult experience, we shall find, it is by being conversant with the inventions of others that we learn to invent; as by reading the thoughts of others we learn to think'" (Mitchell 1942: 35; see also Reynolds 1959).

[39] "[G]oing to study abroad is an errant farce," Hogarth wrote, "and [is] more likely to confound a true genious [*sic*] than to improve him" (Kitson 1966-1968: 66).

[40] Shesgreen (1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 84]). Dr. Morell, Hogarth's friend, translated Xenophon's *Memorabilia* dialogue in which this incident is mentioned. Among

> Hogarth's papers, now in the British Museum, there is a translation, in his friend Morell's hand, ... sections of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, including sections on the relation of beauty and use, and Chapter X in which Socrates persuades Panhasius that it is not impossible to represent in painting the character of mind – "the magnificent, the liberal, the clownish, the modest ... is to be seen in the countenance as well as the actions of men". British Library, Additional MSS. 27992 (Podro 1981: 55).

In Xenophon's account Socrates wandered about discussing beauty and illustrating his argument with Clito's statues (Paulson 1971b: 170).

[41] Paulson (1971b: 168).

[42] Shesgreen (1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 84]).

[43] Paulson (1971b: 170).

[44] Shesgreen (1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 84]).

[45] Godby (1991: 50).

[46] Paulson (1971a: 486).

[47] It would appear that there are many examples of "turning away" in horror or disgust throughout *Marriage à la mode*. In Scene 1 (fig. 65), the bride- and groom-to-be "turn away" from one another, and the parodic copy of Caravaggio's *Head of Medusa* (fig. 68) looks down in horror at the marriage contract being drawn up for the loveless couple. Medusa looks at the liaison between the wife-to-be and Silvertongue, and at all the other violent history paintings hanging on the walls as didactic warnings for the chief protagonists in the room below.

Paulson (1971a: 489) observes: "In [Scene] 2 [(fig. 63)] the steward turns away, and his disdainful face is repeated in the Roman bust on the mantle, even to the broken nose of the one and the pug nose of the other. One is turning away from the scene with pious horror, the other is regarding it. ... In [Scene] 3 the skeleton whispers to a stuffed man that is its companion, in [Scene] 4 [(fig. 69)] Silvertongue himself looks helplessly down from his canvas on the way events are developing ... . [In Scene 5 (fig. 80), Silvertongue is about to turn his head away from the crime he has just committed, and the startled portrait of St. Luke, like Caravaggio's *Head of Medusa*, also gazes at the scene with horror.] Only in [Scene] 6 [(fig. 83)], when it is all over, are pictures unconcerned [with the action] – the Dutchman turns his back on the scene to relieve himself as the doctor walks away, having given up the case."

[48] According to Paulson (1971a: 486), "The traditional story of the Magdalene was actually rather close to that of the Countess: she was born of a good family, but after her marriage her husband deserted her and she turned to a life of sin and was possessed by seven devils. But Hogarth probably remembered too, as a student of English portraiture, how Charles II's mistress, the Duchess of Cleveland, had been painted in the pose of an erotically-stimulating but dubiously repentant Magdalene in a wilderness – etched and transmitted to the general public by Faithorne – as well as in the pose of St. Catherine, St. Barbara, Minerva, and others. Horace Walpole tells how one of these representations, this time with the Duchess as a Madonna holding one of her royal bastards, was sent by her to another of her children who was in a French convent, and was hung over the altar until its true subject was discovered. With the Countess, the Magdalene pose follows from her pictures of Io and Lot's daughters on the walls of her boudoir."

[49] The arrest and trial of Christ in recounted in Matthew 26.47-27.26; Mark 14.43-15.15; Luke 22.47-23.25; and John 18.2-19.16.

[50] See Revelations 6.2,4-6,8.

[51] See Acts 17.31.

[52] Paulson (1971a: 468-488).

[53] Shesgreen (1973: xxii).

[54] Shesgreen (1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 55]).

[55] Carrier (1985: 332).

[56] Paulson (1971a: 96).

[57] Godby (1991: 48).

[58] Godby (1991: 46-48).

[59] "One of the recurring themes of the 'apology for painters', as it had been from time to time in Hogarth's art since the 1720's, is the ignorance and pretentiousness of amateurs, dealers and connoisseurs: 'those who go to France or Italy for their studies ... talk of the antiques in a kind of cant in half or whole Italian to the great surprise of the standers by and bring over wonderful copies of bad originals Ador'd for their names only ...'" (Kitson 1966-1968: 70).

[60] Godby (1991: 42).

[61] The taste for foreign styles and subjects resumed after the founding of the Royal Academy in 1769 (Waterhouse 1981: 18).

[62] William Aglionby's observation that England had never had "as yet any [painter] of Note, that was an English Man, that pretended to History Painting" (Paulson 1974: 31) might have increased Hogarth's keen desire to see his country nationally united with its own British School. This may have been a reason why Hogarth and Thornton were attracted to the short-lived and "off beat" independence which they established at the St. Martin's Lane Academy.

[63] "Hogarth's commercial success brought imitators. Some, such as John Collet, were close to being all-and-out plagiarizers" (Press 1977: 219).

[64] Paulson (1971a: 235-236).

[65] With the masquerade over – literally and figuratively – her husband killed, and her lover hanged for the deed, the Countess, in Scene 6 (fig. 83), having returned to her father's house, commits suicide. Plainly dressed, she expires on a chair in the left foreground of the composition, a bottle of laudanum lying on the floor nearby. Such is the costly consequences and tragic manipulation of the Alderman's daughter's life and his arranged marriage for her, that this second climactic event in *Marriage à la mode* brings the curtain down and draws the tragicomic tale to a close.

The abode of the Alderman – "a dark apartment with bare floors and cobwebbed windows with broken panes ... [is] located near London Bridge" (Shesgreen 1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 56]) – reflects his miserly life-style: three

vulgar Dutch *genre* pictures hang on the walls, including a man urinating, while the room itself is sparsely filled with worn out furnishings, an overturned chair, recalling the one in Scene 2, (fig. 63) – emblematic, perhaps, of the fact that no-one sits in Fortune's chair for long – and meagerfare on the table – a lean pig's head – which an unkept skeleton-dog has to grab hold of while there is an opportunity to do so in order to survive – no food sits on a table when hungry animals are about and Fortune smiles on them, as Steen's animals in *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41) also show. (See also "# 66" in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3; see Appendix 1).)

The Alderman's miserly manner still operates at this late stage of the game: it extends to an idiot servant hired cheaply who does not appear to know what laudanum is – the idiot servant's "open-mouthed credulity indicates both their low social standing and their lack of refinement and intelligence" (Brewer 1986: 21) – and to the Alderman himself who struggles to retrieve his daughter's wedding ring before *rigor mortis* sets in on her corpse. "As her impassive, mercenary father, anticipating her burial, dispassionately tries to remove the ring from her finger, a withered old nurse holds her daughter to her for a dying kiss. The crippled girl has inherited her father's venereal disease and his beauty spot; since the young Earl has no male child, his family line has ended" (Shesgreen 1973: [unpaginated, opposite Plate 56]). And the Squanderfield "curse" of marrying outside of one's class, ends their aristocratic lineage – as prophetically foreshadowed in Scene 1 by Lord Squanderfield himself (fig. 65).

[66] Basically, Hogarth was a keen admirer of Rubens – he "nourished higher ambitions, hoping to play a latter-day Van Dyck to Sir James Thornhill's Rubens" (Wendorf 1987: 200). Hogarth spoke of Rubens and Raphael with "all their perfections and superior talents" (White 1981: 30).

[67] Addison & Steele (*et al.*) (1945: 259-261).

[68] Paulson (1971b: 319).

[69] In Book 3 Chapter 6, of Fielding's parodic novel *Joseph Andrews* (1742), Joseph links Hogarth's name with homophones of Italian Old Masters: "Ammyconni" puns on Jacopo Amigoni (1675-1752), "Paul Varnish" puns on Paolo Veronese (1528-1588), whose paintings the English primarily admired because of their varnishing (Paulson 1971a: 471). "Hannibal Scratchi" is a pun on Annible Carracci (1560-1609). To crown Joseph's string of puns, he Italianates Hogarth's surname to "Hogarthi", a joke which would not have been missed on Hogarth's wit, particularly in the light of Hogarth's agon with Italian high art (see Fielding 1982: 224, 338).

[70] Godby (1991: 42).

[71] Lindsay (1977: 70).

[72] Lawson (1998: 267) states that Hogarth's modern moral subjects "are comparable with novels and plays of the time. Hogarth was, himself, an enthusiast for the theatre. His composition of these narratives owes much to dramatic staging and ... the other principal narrative form, the novel." Dolan (1998: 188) also notes that "Hogarth's 'modern moral subjects' or 'progresses' coincide with Addison's notion of 'spectatoring', of life-as-theater."

[73] Shesgreen (1973: xxii).

[74] The lower section of Hogarth's *Characters and caricatures* (fig. 86) concerns itself with caricature and the Italian tradition of caricature – faces copied from Raphael's tapestry cartoons, Ghezzi, Annibale Carracci and Leonardo da Vinci (see figs 15 and 16). Above, hundreds of profiles devoted to different facial expressions and individual characters are superimposed over each other. This "array of modern faces that are neither heroic nor caricature ... are in Hogarth's view characters ... that have been drawn from life" (Godby 1991: 52-53). Hogarth "took pains to distinguish the delineation of character from character", an idea which Hogarth might have picked up from Fielding (Dolan 1998: 189). For the praise of Hogarth's ability to represent "character" see Piper (1992: 133-138).

[75] Gerard de Lairesse's *Het groot schilderboek, waar in de schilderkonst in al haar deelen grondig werd onderweezen, ook door redeneeringen en prentverbeeldingen verklaard; met voorbeelden uit de beste konststukken der oude en nieuwe piukschilderen bevestigd: en derzelver wel- en misstand aangeweezen* (Amsterdam, 1707; Haarlem, 1740; reissued 1969) was translated by J.F. Fritsch as *The art of painting in all its branches, methodically demonstrated by discourses and plates, and exemplified by remarks on the paintings of the best masters; and their perfections and oversights laid open* (London, 1738).

[76] One of Hogarth's aims was to portray "the customs, manners, fashions, characters and humors of the present age" (Press 1977: 218). Hogarth seems to have followed Lairesse, or other eighteenth-century conduct manuals, in this regard. Lairesse considered "An erect carriage, out-turned feet and elegantly placed hands were ... the natural appurtenances of the genteel and therefore the logical means by which [aristocrats] were identified. Plebs, on the other hand, were, pigeon-toed, stooped and leant forward, never knew where to place their hands and assumed awkward and deformed postures." The aristocratic groom-to-be's future father-in-law, "a city merchant, lacks [his son-in-law's] graces: he sits with his knees together and feet parallel, peering forward. His daughter – admittedly angered by the marriage transaction – also lacks the patrician finesse that is evident in *her* future father-in-law who, despite his gout, sits with an appropriately dignified and erect carriage" (Brewer 1986: 22). See also Brewer (1986: 40) and Smart (1965: 95-97).

⁷⁷ Throughout *Marriage à la mode* Hogarth indicates the "plebian" upbringing of the Countess. In Scene 2 (fig. 63) her "vulgar stretch" contrasts with her aristocratic husband's "neglected slouch", his not bothering to remove his hat or to "conceal his mistress's laced bonnet hanging from his pocket"; then, in Scene 4 (fig. 69) the "plebian" Countess is shown "aspiring" to collect "art objects, singers, and a lawyer for a lover"; while in Scene 5 (fig. 80) "she wrings her hands in as vulgar a gesture as her stretching in [Scene] 2" while her husband "again slouches negligently as he dies an aristocrat's death" (Paulson 1971a: 484-485).

Chapter 6. Daumier's *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme*: style war as socio-political war

Daumier's dictum that "One must be of one's own time"[1] – the time of the Industrial Revolution,[2] of class divisions – a high and a low mode of social distinction, which, in Bertall's wood engraving *Paris, le 1er Janvier, 1845* from *Le diable à Paris* (c. 1845) (fig. 89) shows a World Upside Down *topos* in which the higher classes live lower down in a building (they don't have as many stairs to climb) while the lower classes live higher up in attics where heat and cold are more keenly felt – the time of the oft hated Citizen King of France for eighteen years and his successor Emperor Napoleon III – the two dictators of the high mode whose policies set the seal on nineteenth-century France during most of Daumier's life – and the time of social and political cartooning, caricaturing, and visual parodies in newspapers and journals (fig. 90) – Daumier's dictum expressed the view of many French artists working against the official line of the French Academy – the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture founded in 1648 by Jean Baptiste Colbert as part of King Louis XIV's imperialistic ambitions – with the Academy's centuries old view of history painting as *the* superior high mode genre. Not unexpectedly, the follies of political high mode figures like the Citizen King of France, his ministers and law-makers, together with the social follies of the Parisian bourgeois, formed one set of high mode target paradigms for Daumier to parody and battle against. Another paradigmatic target centred on the high mode genre of history painting which the French Academy still persisted in promoting, despite the emergence of eclecticism and the mounting number of pictures opposing and questioning the official line of the French Academy in matters of artistic practice and public taste, which the French Academy prescribed, and which many in the high mode socio-political class not only accepted, but also politicised and championed as well.

Central to the topic of *genera descendi* in nineteenth-century France was style and the politicalisation of styles. The stylistic battle, which had been simmering for several centuries in Europe,[3] reached a complex showdown in France during the course of the nineteenth century. Daumier's dictum became a battle cry that an artist should be of his/her own time, and not of the Classical past. His dictum can be interpreted as his picaresque insurrectionist slogan encompassing his world view as far as social and stylistic matters were concerned. His lithograph[4] *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme*, published in *Le Charivari* on 24 April 1855 (fig. 91), epigramised, in visual parodic terms, the stylistic wars raging in nineteenth-century France. One could regard Daumier's

lithograph as a visual manifesto in which the titular word *"combat"* can be taken as a picaresque battle cry by Daumier for his fight with the high mode paradigmatic targets.

Daumier combated with, and parodied, the high mode of mid-nineteenth-century France by visualising a heteroglossic number of subjects and series which collectively took up arms against the wrong-headedness – the World Upside Down *topos* – of his time on the battle fields of politics (for example, the Citizen King and his cabinet ministers), society (bourgeois folly), law (injustice), and style war (high and low mode genres). On each of these social and cultural areas, or battle fields, the high mode paradigmatic targets of Daumier's *comédie humaine* were perceived by him as being (1) in ethical violation – promises made but not kept; lies told; an injustice; immorality; censorship of the press – or (2) out of joint with modernity – the Neoclassical style of the French Academy as eschewed, archaic, anachronistic, outdated – and Daumier's greasy crayon, or brush, set about satirising the culprits, victimising them by ridiculing, parodying, satirising and epideictically reprimanding them for their folly.

During his long career in "graphic journalism"[5] in which he "raised caricature to the level of art"[6] Daumier produced approximately four thousand pictures. As it is impossible to deal with such a vast output in a single chapter, the argument which follows will selectively sample Daumier's *oeuvre* in terms of his combat with the high mode paradigmatic targets mentioned above. It will begin by looking at Daumier's *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme* as a key picture which can serve as a starting point for treating some of the other high mode paradigmatic targets which Daumier visually aimed his parody and satiric marksmanship at. While contextually examining a selection of Daumier's picaresque parodies, the organising principles of this study, tailored to suit the rhetoricity of the nineteenth century and Daumier, will be woven into the account.

Daumier's *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme* shows two comically drawn artist-protagonists, representing the Realist and Idealist schools of mid-nineteenth-century French art about to enter into a picaresque battle with one another. The composition, Daumier may have believed, is a formal parody of David's *Intervention of the Sabine women* (1799) (fig. 92) which entered the Louvre in 1819, although the composition itself had many predecessors extending as far back as the sixteenth century.[7] Beside being a formal parody of David's picture, Daumier's lithograph thematically paired "the classic pair [of] the short fat realist and the tall thin idealist"[8] – motifs prefigured in early seventeenth-century picaresque literature in the characters of Don Quixote, thin and idealistic, and Sancho Panza, portly and a realist; and in the sixteenth-century example of

Bruegel's fat Prince Carnival and skinny Lady Lent seen in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2; see Chapter 2).

On the right of Daumier's composition a tall skinny-looking nude figure, representing Idealism, annexed off David's picture, and wearing nothing now but an elongated Greek helmet and a pair of spectacles, stands at the ready, legs akimbo, with a palette-shield in his left hand[9] and a mahl or "maul" stick as a "spear" – to maul – held high in a "high mode" position, and held rather daintily in his right hand. Ready to take up arms – or is it artist's tools? – against this rather comical figure of Idealism, on the left, stands the comic figure of Realism: a short, stocky fellow, who, in his shabby working clothes and top hat, bears the countenance of a sad clown. Daumier's comic figure of Realism holds a much smaller palette as a make-shift shield in his left hand while gripping a painter's brush as a weapon in his right hand, and holding it rather low in a "low mode" position. Realism stands at the ready, fully clothed, wearing Dutch clogs, legs spread apart, brush ready to make his move, or his mark, with his concerned eyes staring out at his naked opponent in a manner in which the biblical David – punningly not the Neoclassical David – might have stared at Goliath. Idealism, for his part, from the little that can be seen of his profile, haughtily looks down upon his comic rival, considering it beneath him – condescending – to descend from the high mode in order to clash with Realism on the attack.

Despite his snobbish attitude of assumed superiority over his oppugnant rival, Idealism seems to have lost all his teeth, historically and symbolically, for he appears to suck his gums while trying to stick his chin forward in imitation of Realism's concave chin, in an effort to appear to be more superior, or threatening, than he in fact is, while proving to all and sundry viewers that, as a toothless sucker, he has grown old, lost his bite, and probably his bark as well. In short, Idealism "is shown sunken with age, his mouth frozen in a pompous sneer that hints at senility."[10] The viewer, however, can only see most of his backside – and Daumier, no doubt, wanted to see only Idealism's backside!

Comic though Daumier's caricaturing of the confrontation between the figures of Realism and Idealism might seem, Daumier's lithographic parody, economic in its execution, nevertheless, is a picture which not only visually parodies and caricatures the high mode style reserved for Idealism and the low mode style reserved for Realism – although, like Bruegel before him, Daumier shows neither of his protagonists to be the victor of his picaresque battle – his lithographic cartoon also pokes some good humoured fun at both contrasting style schools. Idealism's nudity, for example, a Classical ideal, is elongated, i.e., rhetorically hyperbolic, for comic effect – a

beau idéal stretched to the limit – enhanced by the sight of Idealism as an old man, as old as the French Academy and antiquity, who needs spectacles to see straight. Without them, Idealism might perhaps be myopic, or half-blind, like the short-sighted half-blind French Academy out of touch with reality, its own time, and modernity. Idealism's refined manner is as refined as *fini* painting, and such refinement in wielding a mahl stick with a high hand seems even more comic because of his slenderness – punningly, Idealism's stance is very slender indeed! – and embarrassing in his public nudity.

Realism, by way of contrast, is dressed in working clothes, befitting the working class and the social low mode. He wears Dutch clogs, befitting the low mode genre associated with seventeenth-century Dutch *genre* pictures. If Idealism epideictically displays a racked "beauty" of refinement and grace, Daumier's Realism does not seem to have any of these graces, nor is he racked by them: his shabby dress, sloven stance, and well-worn brush as an artistic weapon, are enough to convince the viewer that his stance is decidedly different from his elongated counterpart. Whereas Idealism's subjects were gleaned from the "lofty" domain of the genre of history painting and the Classical tradition, Realism's histories were contemporary based on everyday life, from what tradition would have considered to be the low genre of *genre*,[11] complete with all its imperfect, blemished details – warts and all – and rhypography, which nature had bestowed on most of its unidealized creations.

While epideictically ridiculing the rival French schools, Daumier's lithograph also visually represents, in summary terms, the schismatic crises of the first half of nineteenth-century picture making. With the rise of Neoclassicism and Romanticism in the late eighteenth century, it seemed as if the *disegno* of Neoclassicism and Idealism appeared united on the one hand when pitted against the Romantics on the other, who seem to have favoured *colorito*. In terms of this stylistic siding and splitting off into rival artistic schools, the anonymous nineteenth-century cartoon of the *Duel between the Neoclassicist Ingres and the Romantic Delacroix* (s.a.) (fig. 93) can be said to illustrate the matter rather succinctly. The Neoclassical Ingres is shown on the right, ink quill in hand, about to jostle with the Romantic Delacroix on the left, who keenly counter attacks his opponent with a bucket of paint and a paint brush as artistic weapons. Daumier's lithographic cartoon of the picaresque battle between Realism and Idealism may well have also been inspired by this anonymous joust, as the two rival artists who jostle with one another for artistic supremacy are similarly positioned in both compositions: Idealism or Neoclassicism represented by Ingres being placed on the right of the composition and Realism, or Romanticism represented by Delacroix, placed on the left. The lumping together of the two left hand side stylistic labels, as

well as those on the right, may, from a late twentieth-century point of view, seem like a gross oversimplification; yet, in terms of the nineteenth-century conservative Right wing French Academy, who had been the established "insiders", the agent and cohorts for two hundred odd years, the "outsiders" of the artistic Left, whatever their labelling, naturally had to assume, in art political terms, the role of the opposition, who were, in terms of epideictic rhetoric, to be the objects of their scorn.

Oversimplification of a complicated issue can, however, be very misleading. Realism and Romanticism, after all, may not share as much common ground as Idealism and Neoclassicism might; and, given the right set of circumstances, all four labels could find reason to part company. Yet, in terms of the anonymous cartoon (fig. 93) and Daumier's own picaresque battle of rivalling artistic styles, it would appear that in both cases Ingres or David were seen as the right hand man of the political Right involved in both of these battles – being literally on the right hand side of the composition and representing the conservative, Right wing of art politics – and that the left hand side artist, whether Delacroix representing Romanticism, or possibly Courbet representing Realism – as the radical, Left wing of art politics – were the opponents, wielding their brushes as weapons, and having palettes as make-shift shields.

Ingres, for his part, had been the "target of the [Le] Charivari attack for more than two decades",[12] and it was no secret that Daumier disliked him, as well a picaresque artist might dislike an idyllic minded artist.[13] The cause of the dislike was by no means merely based on temperament or differing perchronic points of view, however; it was also politically motivated, since much of "Ingres's support came from Legitimists, Orleanists, and Clericals, who praised him as a bulwark against change; [and] their espousal of the supposedly eternal values of tradition reflected their own adherence to throne and altar."[14] Such devout support for the old order, akin to sticking by the Ancients and its authority, naturally seemed a disappointment to someone like Daumier who championed the civil liberties as laid down by the 1815 Charter – as freedom of speech, poetic license and artistic freedom to be of his own time were very dear to Daumier's artistic position.

So dear were these liberties to Daumier and his friends that they were prepared to risk imprisonment and heavy fines in their battles with authority, the high mode paradigmatic target, in order to maintain their liberty to free speech in the press. The famous incidents of the early 1830s surrounding Philipon- and Daumier's clashes – picaresque battles – with Louis-Philippe (1773-1850), his police force, and his ridiculous, and hence laughable, laws, are an example which demonstrate both artists' epideictic contempt for the Citizen King of France. In what

follows, Philipon's combat with Louis-Philippe will be mentioned first as a necessary precursor for Daumier's own combat with the July Monarchy.

The circumstances surrounding the instatement of Louis-Philippe on 30 July 1830 as the Citizen King of the French people are so well known that their details need hardly be repeated here.[15] What is far more important is that France's Citizen King began his eighteen-year dictatorial reign with the promise to uphold the Charter as "a fact". This Charter, which had been drawn up in 1815, granted generous civil rights to the citizens of France, including the spread of suffrage, the freedom of the press, and a substantial broadening of the base from which representation in the Assembly could be made. From Louis-Philippe's assurance of the Charter, the people of France expected to have a genuine constitutional monarchy, something they had not seen during the Bourbon Restoration of Louis XVIII (1775-1824, reigned 1815-1824) and Charles X (1757-1836, reigned 1824-1830) whose governments had "tampered with elections, corrupting voters and falsifying returns, and whose favours to the clergy threatened to restore the old theocracy."[16] Indeed, when Paris had learnt in July 1830 that the Charter was to be discarded by a decree of Charles X, that the Chamber was to be dissolved and royalty entrenched in government, and, in particular, that the free press was to be suspended, the outcry that went up in the streets "Long live the Charter!" led to the "three glorious days" of the July Revolution and to Charles X's exile in England. France's new Citizen King, in the eyes of the public, was thus to be a mere symbolic figurehead rather than a practising tyrant, and as such his promise to uphold the Charter was seen as a welcome gesture.

Although Louis-Philippe had promised the people of France that censorship would not be re-established, as time went by Louis-Philippe went his own way. Whatever proposals and promises he had made at the outset of his reign, he had no intention of becoming the puppet of bankers and green grocers who had jostled him to power. Louis-Philippe planned to "encourage and use them" but they would not dictate to him in turn. "They may do as they wish," he quipped, "but they shall not prevent me from driving my own carriage."[17] Louis-Philippe's long-term attitude was not on a par with the expectations of the ordinary citizens of France, nor with what was spelt out in the Charter. In the ensuing months after the July Revolution, the original promise which he had given to the people of France became fuzzier, and those of his royal majesty became more and more clearer and imposing, despite his earlier statements to the contrary.

Inevitably, the Citizen King's promises to the French people – which François Guizot in late 1831 called "boulevard foolishness", *l'illusion d'une badauderie vaniteuse*[18] – would lead to a confrontation, particularly with

the opposition press who disagreed with Louis-Philippe's administration and its misrule in terms of the Charter. At the time of the July Monarchy the media fell politically into three main groups drawn along party lines: the government, the Legitimists or Monarchists, and the Republicans. While these groups fought one another, the Republicans and the Legitimists, ironically found, in their opposition to the government, a common cause. The chief spokesmen for the Republican opposition press were *La Tribune*, edited by Marrast, and *Le National*, edited by Arnabed Carrel. Both newspapers were the authority and weight for the serious leadership in the Republican ranks. Like a "cannon booming the phrases",[19] both newspapers became two of the chief targets of illegal raids by the squads of officers known as the *guisquetaires* who acted under the orders of Guisquet, the Chief of the Paris police, who ordered them to swoop down on newspaper offices and print shops in order to seize issues of material deemed inflammatory in either tone, or intent, against the government. While the raids took place the government would bring a suit out against the offenders, who then needed costly litigation to defend, and which, if lost, entailed that the offenders could be fined or even imprisoned.

Into the fray of this "journalistic orgy"[20] came Charles Philipon's "sniper's rifles". His first periodical, *La Silhouette* (1829-1830), which was "a variety magazine featuring a lithograph in each issue, either as art or as illustration of [a] satiric text",[21] was dropped when he launched *La Caricature* on 4 November 1830[22] and two years later, in December 1832, when he began *Le Charivari*.[23] Both journals were destined to join the two Republican journals as the chief targets of illegal police raids, fines, and trials. When Philipon founded these two journals it was with the express purpose of dedicating his talent, and those who worked for him, to "warfare every day upon the absurdities of every day."[24] As he himself put it on 28 April 1831 in the twenty-sixth issue of his magazine:

> *La Caricature* will not cease to be the faithful mirror of our scoffing age, of political treacheries, of monkey business and of pious [i.e., hypocritical] parades, monarchic or patriotic, of these times when the grocer attends the court ball, when the carbonari make the martial laws, when the sovereign people die of hunger.[25]

From these comments it is clear that Philipon's announced purpose in journalism was to keep the republican idea alive in people's minds by attacking the July Monarchy and all that it did and stood for. Louis-Philippe not only embodied the detested monarchic principle of yore, but he also enacted it by ignoring the Charter and conveniently forgetting his early speeches in which he had promised to uphold it. Accordingly, in the 5 May 1831 issue of *La Caricature* Philipon drew a cartoon entitled *Soap bubbles* in which the bursting bubbles became metaphors for the government's empty promises vanishing into thin air. The provocative cartoon was seized by Guisquet's men who raided Aubert's shop where the lithograph was printed. Philipon retaliated a week later by

printing a defiant letter from "The publisher of 'La Caricature' to M. Persil" who was not amused and who promptly ordered the seizure of this issue and had Philipon brought to court. Fined and freed, Philipon boldly published an account of his trial on 26 May 1831 and included a feature lithograph drawn by "Ch. Philipon, first blazoner of the best of republics" in which a coat of arms appropriate to the Juste Milieu was illustrated. As the punning "blazoner" (heraldic artist) who also "blazoned" (besmirched) "the best of republics", Philipon's picaresque wit made some people laugh while it enraged others.

Yet, when Philipon printed another picture in *La Caricature* on 30 June 1831 entitled *Le Replâtrage* showing Louis-Philippe as a mason plastering over the slogans made popular during *les Trois Glorieuses* scribbled on a wall, thus defacing the signs and promises of July 1830 (fig. 94), the journal issue was again seized and Philipon was brought to trial for crimes against the person of the Citizen King. Philipon, defended by Etienne Blanc, appeared on 14 November 1831 before the Cour d'Assises. In his defence, Philipon stated that he was amazed that the Citizen King, whose person was legally the same as any other citizen, would be offended by being dressed up to resemble the citizen of a mason, unless the Citizen King had become *tout court* a king and not an ordinary citizen. Continuing, Philipon argued that the depiction of the mason was undeniably intended to refer to the Citizen King, but not to describe him, for nowhere in the image, or in the accompanying text, was the mason identified as the Citizen King. The mason simply resembled him:

> ... while the figure in the indicated caricature *looked like* the king, there was no way judicially to determine that it *was* the king. Even if royal majesty is indeed incarnate in "the person of the king," the crime of *lèse-majesté* is unproven until its shown beyond reasonable doubt that the person being made fun of is indeed the king.[26]

Since matters of resemblance were independent of the person to whom they referred, Philipon argued, the picture had not criticised the person of the Citizen King, but rather that which the Citizen King represented – i.e., the misuse of political power by backtracking on statements made earlier: i.e., overturning previous promises resulting in a World Upside Down *topos*.

In order to make his point clearer Philipon explained to the court that a physical resemblance was not a sign of any kind:

> A resemblance, even if perfect, is never an attack; you must not recognize it as such, and you must above all refrain from sanctioning it by a conviction. The injury is precise and proven solely by the name of the king, by titles or insignia coupled with his image, ..., whether there's a resemblance or not, culpable and deserving of punishment.
>
> And is the king designated in our drawings by his name, by his titles, or by his insignia? Not at all! You must therefore believe me when I say it's power I'm representing by a sign, by a resemblance that can as well belong to a mason as to a king; but it's not the king.[27]

Philipon then used visual aids to illustrate what he meant. Having noticed that the Citizen King's head was thick at the base and somewhat pointed at the top, that its pyramidal shape was similar to that of a pear, Philipon presented four sketches to the court which progressively shifted, from top left to bottom right, from a portrait of Louis-Philippe to the drawing of a pear (fig. 95). Using the *enargeia* power of the four sketches as visual proof, Philipon argued that a physical resemblance was such an unreliable guide that courts would "fall into absurdity" if they depended upon it. Although a "fruitful" metamorphosis took place between the first sketch and the last, the last sketch was a pear and not a king. Philipon urged the court to recognise the fact that royal identity was established solely from the arbitrary signs by which convention had associated it: appearance was physical and identity was conventional, and no self-respecting legal system could ignore that distinction.

Nevertheless, Philipon was arraigned in court for his satire – later shown in *La Caricature* by an artist that initialled himself "AB" (fig. 96). Philipon protested, denying that the pear could not be regarded as an insult if it was only a pear. Yet, if the government's line of reasoning were to be followed, then one could offend the person of the Citizen King by simply drawing a pear and, as a result, no harmless pear drawn by anyone would be absolvable from prosecution.

Despite Blanc's defence by precedent and Philipon's own argumentative reasoning, neither was sufficient to win an acquittal. Philipon was found guilty as charged. He was fined two thousand francs and sentenced to six months imprisonment to begin on 13 January 1832.[28] Notwithstanding the jury's verdict – the eleventh out of twenty court proceedings against *La Caricature* – ten days after this, on 24 November 1831, Philipon published his four courtroom drawings as a lithograph in his journal (fig. 97), thus making public the association of the Citizen King with *la poire*. France's assimilation of its Citizen King with a pear, hence, became "instantaneous, complete, and downright delirious. ... Throughout France to draw a pear, to hold a pear, even to say 'pear' became both an act of sedition and a guaranteed laugh-getter. For the rest of Louis-Philippe's reign, the person of the king and the shape of the pear, royal majesty and pyriform succulence, were one and indivisible."[29]

To illustrate just how the shape of a pear and the image of Louis-Philippe had established itself in popular consciousness and how the transformation of the July Monarchy into the July Pyriarchy irresistibly spread, "like a contagion",[30] one need have looked no further than the streets of Paris where the pear was everywhere to be seen and heard. Daumier's contemporary, Charles-Joseph Traviès, for example, described street urchins propagating the insulting caricature of Louis-Philippe as a pear in "the irrepressible crudities of street art"[31] (fig.

98), a fact concurred by Frances Trollope's description of her visit to the Latin Quarter in 1835 where "Pears of every size and form, with scratches signifying eyes, nose, and mouth, were to be seen in all directions; which, being interpreted, denotes the contempt of the juvenile students for the reigning monarch".[32] William Makepeace Thackeray's Mr. Titmarsh in *The Paris sketchbook* (London, 1885) also reported that pears were "chalked upon the walls of the city."[33] Philipon was, of course, delighted, declaring that the pears seen on the walls of Notre Dame would sooner or later be appearing on the ruins of Thebes and at the Egyptian pyramids; "it's not without a legitimate sensation of paternal vanity," he wrote in *La Caricature* 8 November 1832, "that we have been watching this grotesque figure invade the walls of the capital ... . It's by the quality of pears in such and such a place that ministers now judge the extent of local hostility to the government. This circumstance has become one of the indispensable notations in every cabinet report on France's state of mind."[34]

An example of "France's state of mind" on the pear issue can be found in Daumier's print entitled *Voici Messieurs, ce que nous avons l'honneur d'exposer journellement* which was published in *La Caricature* on 6 March 1834 (fig. 99). Here the pear-motif has entered the French Salon where the entire exhibition has been devoted to pear portraits. The enthusiastic art-going public devoted to viewing the endless variety of pear portraits are assembled in front of the pictures. They appear as more than willing participants in pear-gazing portraiture, for they seem to be studying them with some academic seriousness (*au grand sérieux*), while a picaresque jester, dressed like a medieval fool or a Carnival-fellow, stands in the left foreground of the picture and welcomes viewers to the exhibition with a raised hand and a smile which laughs in epideictic jest at so many pictures of pears assembled in one room.

In addition to this visual example, Philipon's pyrification of Louis-Philippe also inspired Sébastien Peytel in November 1832 to write a nineteenth-century *encomium* on the pear. This epideictic and "learned Dissertation on the Pear", written by "Louis Benoît, gardener", alias Peytel, and entitled *Physiologie de la poire* (the *Physiology of the Pear*), sold out within days, and prompted the printing of a second edition.

> The book is a 265-page joke that has no point unless the reader is aware that every reference to pears simultaneously comments on Louis-Philippe. At one point, for instance, Peytel lists the common names for varieties of pears in a Rabelaisian compilation stretching across nineteen pages of text; the only way to get through these nineteen pages is to understand the names politically, to accept the suggestion that the French language had long been demonstrating the identity of pears and monarchs by giving the former names like "King-Louis" and "Good-Christian".[35]

The above visual and literary examples show that Philipon's pear had become, in Heinrich Heine's words, France's "standing national joke". And while France laughed and endlessly recreated the pear motif, one can

imagine how infuriated and incensed Louis-Philippe must have been. He was eventually to introduce the harsh repressive censorship laws known as the September Laws which were passed on 9 September 1835. Besides banning pears outright, zealous officials were ordered to hunt down every object that might look like something that could in the right light remind somebody of a pear. Moreover, a clause in the September Law document makes iconoclastic mention of the power of visual images – the *imago* power of the pear motif – as a means of expressing an opinion and how this was not included as opinion when the 1815 Charter was drawn up:

> Article 7 of the Charter proclaims that Frenchmen have the right to circulate their opinions in published form. But, when opinions are converted into actions by the circulation of drawings, it is a question of speaking to the eyes. That is something more than the expression of an opinion; it is an incitement to action not covered by article 7.[36]

Long after the 1835 September Laws had effectively ended the Citizen King's printed career as a pear, the association remained in the hearts and minds of the French people. Even in 1857 the association was still strong, when Baudelaire described the caricatures of the early July Monarchy as: "... chaos, a grab-bag, a prodigious satanic comedy, sometimes farcical, sometimes bloody ... . This fantastic saga is dominated, is crowned by the pyramidal and Olympian *Pear* of courtroom fame."[37] Despite all his later efforts, it seems that Louis-Philippe will forever be historically linked to the pear motif that parodied his person so effectively. The pear had become his historic monument to posterity whether he liked it or not.

In the same way as Louis-Philippe, although in a different context, Emperor Rudolf II will also forever be historically monumentalised by a *satura* of fruit, vegetables and flowers. What is interesting is that the Hapsburg emperor did not mind being compared to nature's fruits, including a pear for a nose in Arcimboldo's *Rudolf II as Vertumnus* (c. 1591) (fig. 30), while the "Arcimboleque transformation"[38] of Louis-Philippe into a pear caused the Citizen King to mind a great deal. When searching for the reasons behind the two contrary reactions to plant metonymies as substitute portrait parodies, the viewer need look no further than the rhetoricity of Philipon's picaresque pear metonymy of Louis-Philippe and the rhetoricity of Arcimboldo's schematic plant metonymies of Rudolf II. Whereas Arcimboldo's schematic portrait parody of Rudolf II epideictically praised the Hapsburg emperor (see Chapter 3), the plant metonymy of the pear seemed to threaten the person of the Citizen King so dangerously because the pear motif had "turned things upside down"[39] as far as the Citizen King's image and authority was concerned. It overturned Louis-Philippe by means of a complicated litotes: on the one hand, it stopped being itself altogether by signifying that the pear motif was not itself but rather the King of the French; yet, ironically, on the other hand, Philipon had contended in court that Louis-Philippe did not look like a pear,

since a pear was certainly not the Citizen King, even though the case would seem to be the contrary, that, Louis-Philippe, King of the French, became a pear in the same way as the Duc d'Orléans became Louis-Philippe, King of the French. It was all a neat rhetorical trick on Philipon's part and what added salt to the wound was the fact that the word "pear" (*la poire*) was also French slang for "fathead", "fool", or "simpleton";[40] appropriate nicknames by which to publicise the pear as a symbol of the Citizen King as a fool. The reader of Chapter 2 may recall that Bruegel made a similar physiognomic pun in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) when he represented Prince Carnival's round head as a *sottenbol* – i.e., a fool.

Fooling around was one thing; but to punningly connect the pear motif to a fool – thereby implying that Louis-Philippe was a fool through pear word-and-image-play – was quiet a different matter. Philipon's picaresque wit had torn away the carnivalesque mask of the person of the Citizen King of the French people and had both described and visually represented him and his folly to a tee in the imagery of a pear as a fool. The pear motif, in turn, had caught the imagination of the public – from graffiti drawings by street urchins (fig. 98) and art exhibitions devoted exclusively to pear portraits (fig. 99) to parodic literary *encomiums* on the pear. And, in capturing the public's imagination, the public, in turn, appreciating how much the image of the pear fitted the Citizen King to a tee as a paradigmatic target, laughed "tehee" at the fruitful manner in which the royal fat-headed simpleton humorously lived up to his image and his folly. The ridiculousness of the rhetorical situation, made worse by epideictic ridicule, and made even worse by fruitless objections to the pear icon enshrining Louis-Philippe to posterity and his historic monumentalisation as a pear, was not quelled in print until the September Laws, but never in the public mind. The pear inspired cartoons by Traviès and Granville; and even Daumier was caught up for a while in the heteroglossic entertainment that ensured that the pear motif would remain in the public eye for a while.

One of Daumier's most forceful cartoons of the pear motif, *The pear hanged in effigy*, appeared in the 19 July 1832 issue of *La Caricature* (fig. 100, D 47). The lithograph shows a boy assisting two workmen who are struggling to hoist, by means of a rope over a pulley, a huge pear up to the rafters of a barn. *The pear hanged in effigy* was Daumier's last act of impoliteness toward Louis-Philippe prior to the commencement of his jail sentence for a lithograph which appeared roughly six months earlier on 15 December 1831. D 47 not only expressed Daumier's epideictic wish, shared by others, to see the hated Citizen King hanged for his lies and misrule, like the guillotining of the old monarchy during the time of the French Revolution, or the hanging of an

effigy during Carnival. This desire was represented in a most painfully comical manner as the hanging pear not only looked remarkably like Louis-Philippe's head (beheaded), but it also looked like his ballocks which swing obscenely from the rafters – almost as if Daumier was implying that the hanged pear effigy should also be castrated; while at the same time suggesting that those who were displeased with the Citizen King's hollow speeches and empty promises would happily grab him by the balls and squeeze them until they broke his balls.

If Daumier's image reads as rather vulgar and below the belt, it is, and was meant to be. Daumier was not ashamed of signing his name in the lower left hand side "honoré" in order to epideictically "honour" his scatological lithograph with his name. Six months earlier Daumier had also shown his willingness to stoop as low as the low mode in order to lower the status of, and the expensive and over-inflated cost of maintaining, the Citizen King on the throne of France. To this offending lithograph Daumier also unashamedly put his signature – an act for which he was to serve out a six-month prison sentence.[41] The well known print in question, *Gargantua* (15 December 1831) (fig. 101, D 34), depicts a huge thin-shanked, pot-bellied, pear-headed figure of Louis-Philippe – having a similar physique to Bruegel's boorish Prince Carnival (see fig. 2) – who can be seen seated in the picture like a massive idol on an enormous "throne" towering above a plain just outside Paris. The "throne" upon which the bloated person of the Citizen King sits, is in fact a *chaise percé*, a chair with a hole in its seat that was used in the nineteenth century as a toilet. A long ramp can be seen extending from the ground to his wide open mouth, and up this ramp Lilliputian figures are carrying baskets of gold to dump into the Citizen King's great maw in order to fill up the treasury coffers in his paunchy belly. The money-baskets are being supplied by "a pitiful crowd of thin, crippled workers and carried to his gaping mouth by porters dressed as peers."[42] At the base of this toilet-"throne", completing the natural, yet scatological cycle of greedy nourishment and ablution, the tiny figures of the ministers of state scramble among themselves for the spoils from Louis Philippe-as-Gargantua's arse in a manner similar to Bruegel's Folly figure ladling money from his egg-shaped arse onto the tiny women below in *Dulle Griet* (fig. 19),[43] and also to be seen in a late eighteenth-century example where the bloated money-bag figure of Midas, who stands with his legs akimbo like an ancient Colossus straddling over the Bank of England, shitting bank notes onto the population below, in James Gillray's cartoon entitled *Midas transmuting all into paper* (1797) (fig. 102). Unlike the coins being collected by the women outside Bruegel's comic hell and Gillray's Colossus-striding Midas who parodically turns the golden coins he has eaten into paper and not Rumplestilskein gold, Daumier's pear-headed Louis-Philippe-as-Gargantua only shits bills, medals, ribbons, commissions, Legions of Honour, and the like, and his ministers have to pick up the tab for

his gargantuan appetite, or, as Arsène Alexandre described it, the Citizen King gave "back through the inferior orifice of his person an avalanche ..."[44] of what he had already consumed.

To the left, behind the "throne"-toilet upon which the July Monarch sits, the Exchange can be seen, referring to the 18 533 500 franc of a budget paid for the upkeep of the Citizen King. Complementing the Exchange, Versailles appears in the right distance "representing the many appendages so liberally bestowed by the Assembly"[45] upon the head of the government. An additional hint at the expensive upkeep of Louis-Philippe is made in the first basket being carried up the ramp towards Gargantua's wide open mouth, where the tiny numbers "18" and "12" are printed. These two minuscule arabic numerals are important because they respectively refer to the initial amount of eighteen million francs proposed in the budget for the support of the Citizen King and his family in the "civil list", and to the eventual reduced amount of twelve million francs appropriated for the Citizen King's budget by the National Assembly on 14 January 1831, along with the necessary taxes to provide the funding. Such an outrageous sum of money to bolster up the coffers for an already obese looking pear-headed July Monarch while other lower class French citizens remained poor and starving, might have been a reason why Daumier had added the "12" and the "18" to the first basket up the ramp – for the numbers implied that if Gargantua was offered both a "12" and an "18" that he would happily have accepted to swallow all "30" of them. Monetary concerns, after all, may have inspired *Gargantua*;[46] but so too had the necessity to visually expose and admonish the royal pear's economic greed and grossness, including the Gross Domestic Product of France!

Rabelais' creation of Gargantua in the sixteenth century[47] had, by the nineteenth century, already become a legendary giant known for his huge and insatiable appetite and his equally huge excretions and obscenities, both verbal and biological, which scatologically matched that of Panurge's "malodorous concoction of faecal matter which [was] so vile 'that [even] the devil could not endure it'."[48] Naturally, "Mr. Gargantua", as Philipon called him in *La Caricature*, was an appropriate established literary figure in French culture analogous in nature to the greed and grossness attached to Louis-Philippe's excesses, for "Mr. Gargantua" was able, in Philipon's words, to devour "a raw budget" and to digest it "extremely well" while secreting to his court an "excellent odour in crosses, ribbons, commissions, etc."[49] What better way could the themes of greed and subservience to greed, grossness and pettiness, economy and squander, be epideictically displayed than in publicly showing everyone in visual terms Louis-Philippe-as-Gargantua's gargantuan appetite and his government ministers who grovelled at his feet for whatever excrement came their way? Scatology is, after all, the faecal subject matter of the vulgar

vitality of the picaresque's low mode, particularly when it can defecate on authority, or, rather, when it can get authority to do the defecating, because a guts always spills his guts out – and an arse-hole, as we all know, is always full of shit.

Daumier's pear portraits of Louis-Philippe (figs 99-101), with their odious scatological – and sometimes scrotumial – overtones, must have seemed as unseemly and improper subjects to the Idealist artists of the French Academy, and to the upper classes of French society, as the Realist school itself must have seemed to that same high mode. Such odiousness as *indecorum*, in terms of Daumier's *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme* (fig. 91), cast Daumier in the Realist camp as "a great realist and satirist",[50] for not only did his dictum to be of one's own time place him in the camp of the Moderns, the Realists, and the *genre* genre – which had traditionally been associated with realism – but his satirising of the folly of his times by means of parody also showed that he was prepared to confront and combat contemporary evils whose subjects as paradigmatic targets could not have been as further from the traditional subject matter of history painting as the French Academy's pictures and Idealist style were from the comic pictures published in daily newspapers. This marked distinction between Daumier's picture of the lower classes examining prints *Before the print sellers* (c. 1860) (fig. 103) and the bourgeois' attendance of an art exhibition (fig. 104) could not have been more pronounced; nor could the fact that Daumier had chosen "the press rather than the Salon [as] the vehicle by which he reached his public."[51]

When, after Louis-Philippe's harsh September Laws of 1835 imposed censorship of the press, literature, art, and theatre – until his overthrow in 1848 – and, following the pear saga, Daumier still stood defiant against the Citizen King's regime (fig. 105), and, despite the threat of the government's continued authority to descend at will on the workshops of the press – illustrated by Grandville (fig. 106) – Daumier, like the figures in his later *The uprising* (c. 1860) (fig. 107), remained committed to picaresque insurrection using visual journalism as the means to combat the stupidity of the high mode: its behaviour, taste, and laws. Daumier, for instance, drew Louis-Philippe being put through the press in *Ah! Au veux le freller à le presse!!* (fig. 108) – something he would have loved to have done literally – and he shared the view of satirising authority for public viewing in the press as illustrated by Charles-Joseph Traviès' *You have to admit the head of government looks pretty funny* (1831) (fig. 109). But the 1835 September Laws had made combat more difficult, for its legislative restrictions effectively gagged many journalists from directly speaking out against the Citizen King in any way. Daumier's *You are free to speak*, published in *La Caricature* on 14 May 1835 (fig. 110, D 116), parodied this theme as a

judicial satire in which so-called freedom of speech is presented in a court of law. A sadistic judge seated at his bench offers a witness the floor. Nasty-looking lawyers, however, restrain the witness by holding both his arms, while a gag prevents him from speaking freely. The witness' restrictions of movement and voice ironise the judge's granting him permission to speak, for the moment appears to be all the more desperate – the witness should say something – as an executioner stands at the ready nearby with his sleeves rolled up, about to execute a man whose head is already on the block. The scales of justice – one could call it injustice in this World Upside Down courtroom – however, appear to be tilted, imbalanced, in the court's favour, as emblematised within an oval graffiti scrawl seen in the shadows of the judge's bench, for the upper scale has raised itself pointing upwards to the judge and his high mode position, while the lower scale has declined toward the witness standing restrained lower down, in the low mode area.

If a shadow had fallen across the justice system and the judge's bench, the same shadow had fallen across the freedom of speech, violating the 1815 Charter. This did not mean, however, that one should remain mute. If the subject of the Citizen King, as a pear or otherwise, and the "legislative belly" of his ministers (fig. 111, D 131) was taboo, if the curtain had to be lowered on "this farce" (fig. 112, D 86), it could nevertheless rise again on other picaresque plays where other players performed their own farces. For the carnivalesque spirit of Daumier's charivari performers (fig. 113) – a hubbub, a medley, a *satura* of sounds made by a Wild Man or a Wild Woman – could not be that easily silenced or quelled. If his earlier visual satires had proven their visual effectiveness it was because satire, as a form of epideictic blame, "is always a curse"[52] generating considerable uneasiness in its paradigmatic targets: "An attack upon a corrupt lawyer becomes inevitably an attack upon the law itself; an attack upon excessive authority grows into a questioning of the very principle of authority."[53] If the subject of Louis-Philippe was a "no-go" area after the September Laws, the alternative sphere of social satire was an "inexhaustible theme"[54] in which the follies of the *bon bourgeois* could be scrutinised without "the dangers of governmental interference."[55]

Between August 1836 and 1838 there appeared in *Le Charivari* a series of 100 pictures about Robert Macaire, a character of universal knavery originally invented for the popular stage[56] at the Folies Dramatiques in Paris in 1834 by Frédéric Lemaître (fig. 114).[57] When the comic play *Robert Macaire* was prohibited under the September Laws, the *comédie-bouffe* of Macarism and his image, as a symbol of anti-bourgeois anti-Capitalist protest, could not, like the pear motif, be destroyed in the minds of the working- and lower middle classes.

Daumier's lithographic series, taking up the Macaire theme, was accompanied with a text by Louis Huard and

Maurice Aloy. (Philipon may also have written some of the words.) In the series

> Robert Macaire was ... set up by Daumier as a universal type of his time and personified a general brazen knavery
> in all walks of life. He appears in the series as a banker, philanthropist, chairman of a joint-stock company, a
> lawyer, a notary, a journalist, a Member of Parliament, a restaurant proprietor, the owner of a detective bureau, a
> matrimonial agent [marriage broker], a shareholder, a surgeon, a painter, an actor, a hypnotizer, a homeopath, the
> conductor of an orchestra, a manufacturer, an architect, a playwright, a merchant, a speculator on the Stock
> Exchange, and in other roles.[58]

Ever a picaresque rouge[59] – "the epitome of the self-absorbed, self-promoting crook"[60] – Daumier's Macaire was

a master of disguise ranging from a *mendiant distingué* ("genteel beggar") (fig. 115) to a parliamentary candidate.

Ever the social chameleon assuming many different roles, Macaire "ranged up and down through the drawing

rooms and counting houses of the July Monarchy in an Odyssey of opportunism, of fake advertising, the

promotion of non-existent mines and of mythical real estate, marriage for money [reminiscent of Hogarth's

Marriage à la mode (see Chapter 5)], stock-juggling, art patronage and chauvinistic flag-waving"[61] (fig. 116).

Macaire, episodically representing the social ills of the late 1830s in France in a clownish but pointedly cynical

manner. He peripatetically roamed over the whole of French society affected by the financial oligarchy under the

July Monarchy.[62] As an "entrepreneur" and "businessman", Macaire, seeking the acquisition of large sums of

money, used every means possible to line his own pockets. At the same time, this doctor, then dentist, then

druggist, then picaro entering another occupation temporarily, showed viewers what a thorough heteroglossic

rogue he was – a picaresque Jack-of-all-trades-and-a-master-of-none. His attempt at various professions in

society revealed the extent of his meddling in as many social roles as possible in his effort to get-rich-quickly – a

factor which made the absurdity of his picaresque interference in the social strata all the more hilarious were it

not for the seriousness of his fraudulent schemes.

Although the character of Robert Macaire later became the subject of many literary forms, and Daumier would

use him again in 1842 when he illustrated Jacques Rousseau's book on the *Physiologie du Robert Macaire*, once

his series on Macaire ended, Daumier moved on to creating other satirical series. During the late 1830s, for

instance, Daumier parodied the contemporary interest in physiognomy.[63] In the picture *The Cranioscope-

Phrénologistocope* (1836) (fig. 117, D 300), for example, a bourgeois gentleman is shown applying the

phrenological methods of Gall and Spurzheim to his own head in an "attempt to locate the seat of various human

capacities in the brain by examining the protuberances of [his] skull."[64] With his left hand on an ancient bust and

his right hand fumbling about his own forehead as he stands before a mirror gazing upwards in an attempt to see

what he imagines he is feeling, the foolish bourgeois gentleman comments: "yes, that's it. I have the bump of ideality, of causality, of locality. It's a remarkability." That this bourgeois gentleman could be so gullible as to believe in the physiognomist's approach to analysing the "permanent traits of character from mostly fixed forms of appearance"[65] seems ridiculous, and hence laughable, not only because physiognomy, being a pseudo-science, deceived its followers and adherents, but because the bourgeois gentleman in question vainly believes his *tête d'expression*, as a grotesque physiognomic caricature according to its outward anatomical signs, will make him an equal in either beauty or wisdom to an ancient bust whose features he attempts to trace on his own countenance. Given the physical evidence, an honest viewer would be hard pressed to describe the bourgeois gentleman in question as someone having a "bump of ideality" on his forehead. Grotesqueness cannot be described as an "ideality" under the rules of Neoclassicism and Idealism, for physiognomy in the pseudo-science of phrenology parodically works against itself to prove the point.

In visually proving this point Daumier mocks in the same breath bourgeois folly and the physiognomic tradition created by the late seventeenth-century French classicist Charles le Brun (c. 1619-1690). This kind of parodying in the physiognomic tradition ran parallel to the one which extended way back to its ancient and medieval roots[66] in which people were referred to as animals.[67] Daumier's decision to picaresquely parody the folly of the bourgeois and their interest in physiognomy was probably as much motivated by the parodying of the heroic Le Brunian view laid on the classicist tracks of the French Academy as it was by his own picaresque interest in physiognomy laid on the Bregelian tracks for satiric ends as in the example of Bruegel's physiognomic Prince Carnival as a *sottenbol* from his *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2).

Daumier's picaresque delight with the parodic possibilities of physiognomy as a means to satiric ends was explored further in other pictures. In *Intérieur d'un omnibus. Entre un homme ivre et un charcutier* from the *Types parisiens* series (1839) (fig. 118, D 566), for example, a frightened woman sits sandwiched in between two men. While a drunk slumbers in an inebriated stupor on her left, a butcher on her right bears the face of Le Brun's *Les Boeufs* (fig. 119). That Daumier's butcher should resemble an ox, according to Le Brun – and that he looks as dumb as an ox – ironises the man's trade in slaughtering oxen and other animals, for the poor brute has become an animal himself who earns his living by killing other animals. At one and the same time this ox-butcher parodies not only physiognomy, but also puns upon the butcher's stupid mental state – he is an "ox" –

while at the same time Daumier's picture parodies the classicist tradition invented by Le Brun as practised by the Idealist artists at the French Academy.

The paradigmatic target of the French Academy's favouring of the Idealist school, exemplified by Neoclassical artists like David and Ingres, and the high mode genre of history painting was, after all, another paradigmatic target of epideictic scorn and picaresque battle, or "combat", for Daumier. No doubt, Daumier would have been pleased with Marcelin's cartoon *La conleur de Monsieur Ingres* published in *Le Journal pour Rire* on 17 November 1855 (fig. 120) which put down Ingres and the Idealist school. As a visual epigram, Marcelin's picture shows two opposing nineteenth-century political reactions to Ingres' colour. To be seen in Marcelin's picture are a

> gentleman on the left, distinguished by his top hat and goatee, [who, looking at a picture by Ingres] says, "It entrances me", while the man on the right, whose dress and porcine physiognomy are intended to convey his lower-class status, responds, "It leaves me cold."[68]

The "coldness" of Ingres' Idealist colouring punningly leaves Marcelin's Realist viewer cold. Idealist pictures also left Daumier cold: they did not speak to a contemporary audience about its own times. Thus, when the opportunity presented itself Daumier did not hesitate to parody the high mode genre of history painting or the Idealist artists who practised it. Daumier's *Les Horaces de l'Elysee* (fig. 121), for example, is a formal parody of David's *Oath of the Horatii* (1784) (fig. 122).[69] In David's picture Horatius' sons are seen pledging to defeat the enemies of Rome or to die in the attempt. Their pledge was "a story of virtue and readiness to die for liberty".[70] And so too, Daumier's career as a visual journalist was also a pledge to readily "die for liberty", or to risk imprisonment and fines on liberty's behalf – but not for Rome or antiquity. His picture *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme* (fig. 91) showing a scrawny nude Idealism wearing a Greek helmet and spectacles and brandishing a brush against a shabby hooligan Realism, shows Idealism as a hyperbolic ancient figure compared to the stocky figure of Realism. Behind their picaresque brush with one another lay two oppugnant approaches to the Aristotelian cliché, "art imitates nature",[71] which bedevilled nineteenth-century France. For the Idealist school of the French Academy, Aristotle's phrase had become synonymous with the slavish copying of antiquated models and sterile rules; but the same mimetic phrase, for the Realists, was seen as a calling to describe being "true to life" and modernity. If, for Daumier, being "true to life" and being of one's own time, eclipsed Idealism's old goals of pursuing classicism, history painting subjects and ancient paradigms, then, epideictically speaking, the "praise" of Realism and the "blame" of Idealist values as a paradigmatic target for Daumierian parody can be seen as Daumier's stylistic way of expressing his contempt for Idealism, and his

aesthetic allegiance to Realism. Idealism, in terms of his brush with Realism, was to be brushed aside – epideictically rejected – and given the brush off – curtly dismissed and snubbed.

Daumier expressed his contempt for antiquity, Idealism's fount of inspiration, in his *Histoire ancienne* series (D 925-D 975).[72] In the first picture of this series *Ménélas vainquer* – published in *Le Charivari* on 22 December 1841 (fig. 123, D 925) – Homer's fair-haired warlike conqueror from the *Iliad* can be seen haughtily leading his recaptured Helen from a burning Troy to his ship. Instead of treating this history painting subject as heroic, as Homer had described it, Daumier chose to parodically treat the subject mock-heroically: Menelaus, the son of Atreus and king of Lakedaimon,[73] is a "grisly, pot-bellied buffoon"[74] – given haughty airs, with his nose turned to the air, his right leg pointed as a comic ballet dancer, and his short, stubby, pen-like sword, dripping with ink or blood, held limply in his right hand – while Helen, who was described by Homer as being "more beautiful than ever from modesty and love" with "the face which launched a thousand ships", is depicted as a rather portly woman, "an ageing, dumpy *hausfrau*, lagging reluctantly behind him, thumbing her nose indelicately at her pot-bellied husband."[75] They are an odd couple – a far cry from the idealised figures of the handsome athletic hero and the slim and beautiful heroine.

As the picture that launched fifty more parodies of antiquity and history painting in the same vein, Daumier's *Ménélas vainquer* is not merely caricatural of Homer's Menelaus and Helen. The title of the series *Histoire ancienne* ("Ancient history") punningly suggests that ancient history ought to be exactly that – ancient history. Daumier's picture parodies the Classical tradition: the pantheon subjects of Greco-Roman myths and legends, with their gods and heroes, who, in the comic/picaresque tradition of a modern day Scarron and Aristophanes, were absurdly paraded before Daumier's contemporaries – highlighting his double theme of imitation and parody of the ancients – in contrast to the largely stale imitations of antiquity by the French Academy and contemporary Neoclassical and Idealist artists. In so doing, Daumier picaresquely "offered his fellow Parisians a rather more earthy and, to his mind, accurate view of the gods and heroes of antiquity than was afforded by such epiphanies as the Apollo Belvedere [(fig. 76)], Venus de Milo or Belvedere torso – statues which, by the middle of the nineteenth century, had become virtual icons in the cult of Neo-Classicism."[76] Baudelaire, writing in 1857 about Daumier's *Histoire ancienne*, approved of Daumier's rendering of antiquity:

> The *Histoire ancienne* seems to me to be important because it is, so to say, the best paraphrase of the famous line "*Qui nous délivrera des Grecs et des Romains?*" ["Who will deliver us from the Greeks and the Romans?"] Daumier came down brutally on antiquity – on false antiquity, that is, for no one has a better feeling than he for the grandeurs of antiquity. He snapped his fingers at it. The hot-headed Schilles, the cunning Ulysses ... they all of them, in fact, appear before our eyes in a farcical ugliness which is reminiscent of those decrepit old tragic

actors whom one sometimes sees taking a pinch of snuff in the wings. It was a very amusing bit of blasphemy, and one which had its usefulness. I remember a lyric poet of my acquaintance – one of the "pagan school" – being deeply indignant at it. He called it sacrilege, and spoke of the fair Helen as others speak of the Blessed Virgin. But those who have no great respect for Olympus, or for tragedy, were naturally beside themselves with delight.[77]

Such a genre parody of history painting naturally caused supporters of the Idealists of the "pagan school" some feelings of indignation, sacrilege, and blasphemy; but, as Baudelaire pointed out, for those who had no great respect for Mount Olympus and its old gods, they must have naturally been beside themselves with laughter.

Such laughter by contemporaries, reversibly, also occasionally rang out from Mount Olympus itself. Daumier's *Mars et Vénus* (fig. 124) from the same series, shows the Olympian gods laughing. After Venus and Mars had been caught in Vulcan's net – Vulcan was Venus' husband – the other Olympian gods assembled to laugh at their infidelity and embarrassing entrapment. Held fast "in the very act of embracing," Ovid (1955: 99) reports in his *Metamorphoses* 4.170-191, Mars and Venus were "a shameful sight" to behold which "highly amused" the other gods who "laughed aloud, and for long this was the best-known story in the whole of heaven."

Ridiculing antiquity's myths by means of visual parody was Daumier's tonic for the whole of earth – nineteenth-century France. What, for example, could be more laughable than the rhetorical situation in Daumier's *Le baptême d'Achille* (fig. 125)? The infant Achilles, held by his *tendo achillis* by his mother, the sea goddess Thetis, has just been dipped into the river Styx in order that his whole body should be made invulnerable.[78] As he is being pulled out, dripping wet, he emerges screaming from his baptism, because his nose has been pinched by a lobster. For someone who is supposed to have been rendered invulnerable, Achilles' heel has proved to be his nose and not his heel, rendering laughable the inverted infant, who, having entered a World Upside down *topos*, has been led by the nose – overturning the mythological narrative in which he was supposed to have been invulnerablised.

As paradigmatic targets, the genre of history painting, the style of Idealism and Neoclassicism, and the institution of the French Academy were, like Daumier's screaming Achilles, obviously not invulnerable to the changes brought about by modernity. Daumier, and other Realists, had recognised the importance of being of one's own time, and in his combat with the above high mode paradigmatic targets Daumier found the grounds for much laughter, parody, satire, and endless epideictic ridicule. From the social parodies of Louis-Philippe as a pear, the law as unjust, fraudulent Macairism, and bourgeois folly, to the stylistic-and-genre parodies of history painting, Idealism/Neoclassicism, and antiquity – as a packaged deal – Daumier was never at a loss for paradigmatic

targets. Even after the welcome departure of the July Monarchy in 1848, cash box in hand (fig. 126, D 1744), the ministers of his successor, Emperor Louis Napoleon III, continued the practice of spending "more than a million francs a year ... on direct or covert bribes, dispatching writers on distant missions or simply paying them to refrain from publication."[79] The regime of the Second Empire (from 1852-1870) had its own Draconian laws and censorship. Zola, for example, was to complain that "a man can't even do a somersault in public without first having been examined up and down by the authorities."[80]

Such restrictions were not new to Daumier who was quite used to visual parodying and somersaults (fig. 113) in the press under trying circumstances. What was perhaps "new" was the government of the Second Empire's obligation to recognise Thoré and the other champions of eclectic theory. This was because political exigencies demanded that Emperor Louis Napoleon III's government should "present a strong united front to foreign competition [in order] to show that, despite the 1851 coup d'état that had brought it to power, it did in fact represent all factions. Unlike previous regimes, this one was built on popular support. Since Napoleon III could not ignore any of the various power groups that constituted his electorate, he attempted to appease them all."[81] Such an appeasement, in terms of aesthetics, meant embracing the idea of eclecticism and honouring a multitude of styles during the first international art exhibition held during the 1855 Universal Exposition in Paris. Former enemies like Ingres and Delacroix, together with Alexandre Decamps and Horace Vernet – Courbet was approached, but refused the invitation, preferring to set up his own show – were all honoured and given retrospective exhibitions, showing their artistic "development", an idea taken over from industry and science and redefined in aesthetic terms. Eclecticism, the ability to appreciate each style on its own terms, was thus declared to the rest of the world by the new government and by art theorists alike, as the characteristic hallmark of French artistic genius.

This declaration, sanctioned by the government, had of course, "dealt a fatal blow to the classical hierarchy of categories, for it had established the principle that one could become as great an artist by painting monkeys as by painting gods and heroes"[82] (fig. 127). The supporters of the Ancients, still represented by academic Neoclassicism and Idealism, by holding on to their institutional power for so long, and by refusing to acknowledge that their monopoly on art as the undisputed authority in matters of artistic style and the superior genre of history painting, now had to compete with alternative styles and genres and feel the full effect which the democratisation of art under the aegis of the dynamism of artistic liberty, eclecticism, relativism, and modernity,

offered to the public. Daumier documented the amateur Idealists who attended *The public salon* (1852) (fig. 128, D 2295) who seemed more convinced than ever that classicism in art was lost in France. These amateurs gazed with expressions of shock, horror, amazement, surprise, and utter bewilderment, at the pictures currently being exhibited at a public salon.

To the up-and-coming generation of Realist artists who embraced their own time and equated realism with "honesty" and depicted reality without illusion, the recognition of eclecticism must have seemed like a small artistic victory in an otherwise highly politicised style war. Together with the nationalistic spirit which had been forged since the decades of the French Revolution and Romanticism and the Realist cry to be of one's own time by acknowledging the reality of modernity, the Realist school, and later the Impressionists, would gain a foothold in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Manet's early parodic pictures exhibited these three traits – eclecticism, nationalism, and modernity – which seemed to converge in his notorious *Olympia* (1863) (fig. 129). The picture, a formal parody of Titian's *Venus of Urbino* (c. 1538) (fig. 130) which Manet had copied in Florence in 1856 (fig. 131), "remains the pivotal and perhaps most complex statement of the urgency, difficulty, and even despair felt within nineteenth-century French society."[83]

Manet's troubled cosmos parody of Titian – *Olympia* – is far too complicated to detail here and will have to be set aside for another occasion. What can, perhaps, be briefly said about his picture is that when Manet painted it he was under the impression that he was representing modernity as "honestly" as he could. He soon realised, however,

> that such "honesty" would be considered obscenely crude and tried with characteristic urbanity to assuage the public's indignation by posing his relatives, friends and shop-girls in compositional arrangements sanctified by the Old Masters. The public were still not amused or convinced by Manet's not so oblique references to Giorgione, Raphael, Titian, Velázquez and company, so he abandoned the ironic subterfuge and returned to painting the living world of contemporary Paris, sadly resigned to his unwilling role as an outsider compelled, despite an altogether justified desire for worldly success, to shock the bourgeois to the end.

> But the scandal caused by *Olympia* ... remains a triumph for realism, because despite the almost ludicrous artistic respectability so wittily conferred by the Titianesque *mise-en-scène*, no one was really deceived into believing that the thoroughly modern and cheeky Parisienne posing as a contemporary Venus was anything but an Aphrodite of the Montemartre atlas, happy to get off her feet for so much an hour. In redoing Titian from nature, Manet paid tribute both to art and to life as he honestly saw it.[84]

Exactly how Daumier felt about *Olympia* is difficult to tell. He passed commentary on the public's complaint about so many Venuses hung at the Salon each year (fig. 132, D 3440) and even satirised the hypocrisy of a bourgeois gentleman's feigned disgust in front of his wife at seeing so many naked female figures exhibited while he himself vowed under his breath to return later to ogle at them at his leisure (fig. 133, D 3475). But

Daumier's picaresque temperament did not venture deeper into the topic of voyeurism, a topic reserved for other nineteenth-century artists working in other perchronic traditions; nor did he attempt to make a bold hardcore visual statement about nineteenth-century prostitution. These topics he would leave to others. Instead, he preferred to picaresquely parody the paradigmatic targets of the high mode in the manner sampled in this chapter.

A bolder picaresque struggle (*Kampf*) under different social conditions and rhetoricity, and the representation of a thoroughly corrupt society on the brink of collapse and insanity, would be left for his picaresque successor in the early twentieth century to parody: George Grosz.

End notes

[1] Vincent (1968: 107); see also Wechsler (1982: 17).

[2] The nineteenth century was "a time of enormous social change, as a traditional society based on estates gave way to a confusing new world marked by industrialisation, urbanisation and social mobility" (Townsend 1997: 200).

[3] Bruegel- and Steen's *naer het leven* based *genre* parodies can be interpreted as strivings towards being of their own times rather than as being pictures only illustrating history painting narratives (see chapters 2-4). This battle between the Ancients, who favoured biblical and Classical subjects for history painting, and the Moderns wishing to be of one's own time, recurs in Hogarth's visual *querelle The battle of the pictures* (fig. 62) where Hogarth's rhetorically inventive "modern moral subjects" – Modern; of his own time – charge into battle against the stereotypical, foreign, mediocre, "bad" copyists of old masters representing the Ancients and sold at Mr. Puff's auction house (see Chapter 5). One can view these visual examples as thematic precursors of Daumier's own picaresque *combat* or battle with his time, in which the Ancient and Modern positions, in the form of style wars, continued to rage over the artistic battle fields of nineteenth-century France.

[4] The Bavarian actor and playwright Aloys Senefelder discovered lithography – drawing on a lithographic stone slab with greasy crayons and ink – between 1796 and 1798. By 1819 lithography "was as widely used as engraving in Paris" (Wechsler 1982: 193).

[5] Gombrich (1963: 189).

[6] Wechsler (1983: 317).

[7] Apart from David's *Intervention of the Sabine women*, the composition was used in Bergeret's *David's studio* (1805); Gillray's *Sin, Death and the Devil* (1792); Blake's *Satan, sin and death: Satan comes to the gates of Hell* (1806-1807); Fuseli's *Satan and Death with sin intervening* (1799-1800); and Hogarth's *Satan, sin and death* (c. 1735-1740). The composition was used prior to Hogarth: see Hanley (1998: 35-40). This list is probably not complete.

[8] Babcock-Abrahams (1974: 927); see also Beaujour (1969).

[9] The comic weapons used by Daumier's antagonists in *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme* (fig. 91) follow the tradition of comic weaponry in literary picaresque battles: "In Lucian's *True history* monstrous creatures fight with mushrooms for shields and stalks of asparagus for spears, and hurl radishes at each other; and in *Alice through the looking glass* Alice arms Tweedledum and Tweedledee with saucepans for their important battle" (Bower 1981: 13).

[10] Chambers (1980: 156).

[11] "The term *realism*, at mid-century, was very much a battle cry: the seventeenth-century battle of the Ancients and the Moderns updated in a sense, but in a form much more threatening to established institutions and therefore ripe for Daumier's satirical pen" (Faunce 1988: 7). See also Greenwood (1976-1977: 1-5).

[12] Vincent (1968: 107).

[13] In Chapter 5 the idyllic minded Reynolds did not approve of the picaresque minded Hogarth. Reynolds was also displeased with the picaresque minded Steen – see Chapter 4.

[14] Mainardi (1985: 11).

[15] For an account of these circumstances see Vincent (1968: 11-13), Larkin (1967: 9) and Petrey (1991: 61-64).

[16] Larkin (1967: 9).

[17] Vincent (1968: 13).

[18] Petrey (1991: 64).

[19] Vincent (1968: 18).

[20] Vincent (1968: 13).

[21] Vincent (1968: 16).

[22] *La Caricature* kept the same format, including Granville's masterhead, throughout its four-year existence. Published every Thursday, it carried one text page and two full-page lithographs, one of them in colour. Occasionally a two-page print was substituted. The prints were the chief attraction, but the text, especially when written by Philipon, was witty and sprightly, often being a running commentary on the prints of the day. The subscription rate was thirteen francs for three months and

forty-six francs for a year. Granville remained the leading cartoonist for the first two years, yielding later to the talents of Daumier (Vincent 1968: 16).

[23] *Le Charivari* was "a daily paper featuring one lithographic print in each issue with three pages of general satiric commentary" (Vincent 1968: 38).

[24] Larkin (1967: 14).

[25] Vincent (1968: 18).

[26] Petrey (1991: 52).

[27] Petrey (1991: 52).

[28] In the middle of January 1832, Charles Philipon was taken to Sainte-Pélagie prison, to serve the sentence imposed some months earlier. There he was to share some of the benefits of the "benefits of the 'best of republics' with other political prisoners, such as Carrel, Marrast, and Raspail, the great names of Republican leadership. With imprisonment, Philipon became one of the Republican martyrs, a figure almost as important symbolically as those leaders" (Vincent 1968: 23).

[29] Petrey (1991: 54).

[30] Varnedoe & Gopnik (1991: 115).

[31] Varnedoe & Gopnik (1991: 75).

[32] Petrey (1991: 58).

[33] Petrey (1991: 55-56).

[34] Petrey (1991: 55).

[35] Petrey (1991: 54-55).

[36] Larkin (1967: 29).

[37] Petrey (1991: 56-57).

[38] Varnedoe & Gopnik (1991: 115).

[39] Petrey (1991: 67).

[40] See further Weisberg (1993: 36-40).

[41] Less than two months after Philipon had been sentenced, Delaporte, Aubert, and Daumier were arrested on 7 January 1832 for *Gargantua* (dated 15 December 1831). A month after their arrests, on 23 February, Delaporte, Aubert, and Daumier were fined 500 francs and sentenced to six months imprisonment. After a brief stay of execution, annulled six months later for the publication of two more caricatures critical of Louis-Philippe, Daumier was finally arrested on 27 August 1832 by Bouroux, one of Guisquet's men, at his parent's house, 12 Quai de la Grève, for detention at the Prefecture. Four days later, on 30 August 1832 a bailiff named Poupeloz led Daumier, aged 24 (McArthur 1991: 23), along the Rue Gracieuse to the doorway of the Sainte-Pélagie prison on the Rue de la Clef where he was given his grey prison uniform and placed in the East Wing, which was reserved for Parisian political prisoners, in cell 102.

Within the prison walls, political prisoners consisting of a Republican pantheon, including Marrast, the editor of *La National*, were given a considerable amount of freedom. Some were even allowed outside if pressing personal business arose. Imprisoned, Daumier soon found much to amuse himself with like teasing other prisoners and ironically looking out at the caged animals in the zoo, the Jardin des Plantes, which adjoined the prison. In a letter to Jeanron dated 8 October 1832, he described his imprisonment in the "charming resort" of Pélagie as a "slight indisposition" in which he could enjoy himself. "The prison will leave no painful memory", he explained, save that "my inkwell is empty which cramps my style". In his own words, "Everything is lovely" (Vincent 1968: 33; see also Platt 1994: 26). His imprisonment "did little to dampen [his] enthusiasm for political cartooning" (Dolan 1998: 191).

As for Philipon, "In the 12 January 1832 issue of *La Caricature* Philipon published *Les armes du grand poulot*, a caricature which he himself had drawn. For this Philipon was fined 2000 francs and sentenced on 7 March to six months imprisonment. On 26 April Philipon was fined a further 600 francs and sentenced to a further month in prison for publishing a political journal without proper caution money (the government had only just judged *La Caricature* to be political, seventeen months after it began publication). For these offences, Philipon served seven months in prison, first in Sainte-Pélagie, and then in a *maison de santé* on the Rue Pigalle, and then finally in Dr. Pinel's *maison de sainté* in Chaillot. He was released from Dr. Pinel's on February 4, 1833, eight days after Daumier" (Cuno 1985: 103). In total, between November 1831 and April 1832, Philipon was thrice arrested and sentenced to a total of thirteen months in prison and fined 4600 francs. *La Caricature* was seized twenty times by the censors.

[42] Morse (1980: 34).

[43] See Cornew (1995a: 189-223).

[44] Morse (1980: 34).

[45] Vincent (1968: 28).

[46] *Gargantua* was more than likely inspired by Honoré Balzac's short article entitled *Quelques articles de la liste civile* which appeared on 8 December 1831 in issue number 58 of *La Caricature* in which selected items from the government budget for maintaining the Citizen King were singled out for a scathing review. An allowance of 120 000 francs, for example, had been made available for the *pots-de-vine* in the royal wine cellar (see Morse 1980: 34-35).

[47] *Gargantua* was first published in 1532.

[48] Boime (1988: 75).

[49] Vincent (1968: 28); see also Morse (1980: 35-36).

[50] Binkley (1963: 46).

[51] Binkley (1963: 48).

[52] Berger (1997: 159-160).

[53] Kernan (1973-1974, 4: 212).

[54] Klingender (1941: 57).

[55] Spencer (1949: 49).

[56] According to Osiakovski (1958: 388), "Daumier's lithographs on the theatre [testify] to his keen interest in and appreciation of the theatre as a great force in the process of awakening and mobilising the social consciousness of the broad masses of the people."

[57] "Robert Macaire was the main character in a five-act play entitled, *L'Auberge des adrets*, which was first performed in 1823. The play suffered terribly the opening night, but thanks to the ingenuity of the actor Frederick [*sic*] Lemaitre [*sic*] and some major revisions, it soon because quite popular. Frederick [*sic*] Lemaître turned the character into a proud, confident, and devious swindler" (http://www.wfu.edu/Academic-departments/Art/pc-26.html: 2).

[58] Osiakovski (1958: 390).

[59] Daumier's Macaire parallels the picaro in literature who learns to use his extraordinary talents "not for murder but for masquerade; who must take by trick what he could not learn by effort; who must dazzle rather than seek respect; to whom the world is a theatre rather than a school; who by spectacular fakery can get by as a physician or even surgeon, but who would never take a medical degree" (Heilman 1958: 550).

[60] Http://www.wfu.edu/Academic-departments/Art/pc-26.html: 2.

[61] Larkin (1967: 39).

[62] Balzac observed that the "July Monarchy was no more than a joint stock company for the exploitation of French national wealth ... . Louis-Philippe was a Director of this company, the Robert Macaire on the throne" (Osiakovski 1958: 389).

[63] According to Wechsler (1982: 13) nineteenth-century Parisians were preoccupied "visible bodily clues to class, character and circumstances." See also Sennett (1982: 8).

[64] Covino & Jolliffe (1995: 53).

[65] Sennett (1982: 8).

[66] The idea is older than Le Brun. In ancient rhetoric Isocrates presumed "that acts are seen as the manifestation of attitudes" (Enos 1993: 19). Cicero (1942-1944) in *De oratore* wrote that "Nature has assigned to each emotion a particular look and tone of voice and bearing of its own; and the whole of a person's frame and every look on his face and utterance of voice are like the strings of a harp, and sound accordingly as they are struck by each successive emotion" (Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 43).

During medieval times "[t]he interpretation of bodily signs, on the premise that traits of inward character are linked with outward traits of body and feature, [was found in] a treatise on *Physiognomics*, attributed ... to Aristotle, and thought to be a prudential guide for his pupil Alexander. (The text makes extensive use of the analogy from the forms and imputed 'character' of animals: ...)" (Wechsler 1982: 15).

Based on the above tradition, Charles Le Brun gave his lecture in 1688. He intended his lecture "to put the theory of expression on a formal footing. He discussed and categorised a wide range of human emotions caused by different psychological states, which he (and others) thought could be perceived through significant changes in the muscular disposition of the features of the face. He illustrated his lecture with drawings of what he considered to be exemplary cases of

these states and their typical appearances. ... [All the drawings] were done with a view to publication which was, however, only achieved posthumously, in 1696" (Laughton 1987: 136; see also Rogerson 1953: 75). Twenty plates containing 57 heads appeared in this edition published by Le Clerc and titled *Conférence de Monsieur Le Brun sur l'Expression générate et particulière*. E. Picart's 1698 Paris edition of Le Brun's book became the "principle text in nineteenth-century France" (Wechsler 1982: 16).

Also influential in establishing the tradition of physiognomic sign reading was Johann Caspar Lavater's late eighteenth-century *L'Art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie* first published in Paris in 1806-1809. (See also Sennett 1982: 7; Covino & Jolliffe 1995: 6).

[67] Segal (1970: 67). Job told Sopham to ask the beasts, birds, and fishes to teach him (Job 12.7-8). And "in the book of Genesis (49.27) Benjamin is described as a ravenous wolf who devours his prey in the morning and divides the spoils at night" (Voelkle 1987: 102). From ancient times some animals were "naturally associated with qualities that are specific to them, such as the eagle's keen eyesight, or the greyhound's speed" (Russi 1987: 440). Parmenides, Empedocles, Archelaus, and Democritus "attributed intelligence to the animal world" (Dickerman 1911: 129).

[68] Mainardi (1985: 11).

[69] "The story of the Horatti comes from the Roman histories of Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It tells of the three sons of Horatius, who were chosen as champions of Rome to fight the representatives of the neighbouring kingdom of Alba, the Curatii. The two families were related by marriage – one of the Horatii was married to the sister of the Curatii, Sabina, and their only sister, Camilla, was betrothed to one of their opponents. The two sets of brothers nevertheless fought to the death, and only one of them survived, one of the Horatii; thus Rome triumphed. The story has a violent coda: the returning victor, finding his sister mourning for her betrothed, kills her in patriotic rage. The father, however, defends him before the assembled people of Rome, and he is exonerated. There is no mistaking the theme of the story, that patriotism supersedes family ties" (Crow 1978: 427).

[70] Preble & Preble (1985: 314).

[71] "*Technai mimeisthai physei*" (Tatarkiewicz 1970-1974, 1: 157; Aristotle (1936) *Physics*, 194a, 199a).

[72] The series of fifty lithographs continued until January 1843. See Slee (1977: 138-139).

[73] The kingdom of Menelaos in southern Peloponnese.

[74] Maxmin (1984: 38).

[75] Vincent (1968: 102).

[76] Maxmin (1984: 38).

[77] Vincent (1968: 105-106).

[78] For an account of the Achilles myth see Burr (1994: 2-4).

[79] Spencer (1949: 50).

[80] "Un homme de faire la culbute en public, il faut auparavant qu'il ait été examiné tout a long par des hommes autorisés" ("Mon Salon, Le Jury", *L'Événement*, 174; 27 April 1866) (Kinney 1987: 275).

[81] Mainardi (1985: 13).

[82] Mainardi (1985: 14).

[83] Vogel (1976: 385).

[84] Greenwood (1976-1977: 2).

Chapter 7. Grosz's *Kampf* with German bourgeois Capitalism: his hatred of the rulers of misrule

In post-World War I German society Grosz saw his picaresque "battle" as being a struggle (*Kampf*) against the intolerability of human evil in the hands of bourgeois Capitalists and the class struggle within the Weimar Republic. A committed Communist at the time – and Dadaist as well – Grosz viewed German society as wrong-headed, a twentieth-century World Upside Down *topos* in which the German bourgeois ruled in the high mode, or rather misruled, and the German proletariats in the low mode suffered by being exploited. Like Lenin sweeping the world clean of kings, generals, and bankers[1] – the masters of the old society (fig. 134) – Grosz also dreamed about the eventual triumph of the German proletariat over their bourgeois oppressors. Although perhaps sounding a bit naïve and oversimplified – the German bourgeois were the Capitalist pigs to be epideictically blamed, as well as satirised and parodied as target paradigms; while the hard-working, long-suffering proletariats as their socio-economic and political victims were to be epideictically "praised" for their resilience against oppression – Grosz nevertheless singled out the middle class businessman, the banker, the politician with his forehead scalped to reveal a dollop of hot shit scatologically smouldering as brains, the clergy, and the military, as the icons of his hatred in many of his pictures. They can be seen tiered one above the other in *Die Stützen der Gesellschaft* (1926) (fig. 135).[2]

Perhaps the best, complex example of Grosz's hatred, parody and satire, however, is his *Widmung an Oskar Panizza. Leichenbegängnis des Dichters Panizza* (1917-1918) (fig. 136) which will form the main focus of attention in this chapter. Not only is this picture more subtle than his later more stereotypical pictures like *Die Stützen der Gesellschaft*, but it also includes other important themes which, for all intents and purposes, can be regarded as central to an understanding of Grosz's picaresque world view: (1) the use of inverted perspective, evocative of the World Upside Down *topos*; (2) Grosz's inclusion of his "razor sharp" style as a part of the picture's compositional structure and meaning; and (3) the exposure of bourgeois human folly. Each of these themes will be addressed in due course, along with others such as Grosz's heteroglossic *personae*.[3] While examining them, and elaborating on the context in which Grosz's *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* was painted, the Bruegelian themes as the organising principles of this study can also be traced as a pale reflection of what they once were, yet still interacting with the salient features of epideictic rhetoric.

In Grosz's disturbing and nightmarish carnivalesque scene *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* the viewer witnesses a chaotic urbanscape in which a carnival-like funeral procession appears to be following a makeshift "hearse"

heading towards the viewer. A torn German national flag bends forward from a leaning building on the left, while in the street below a masked mass of hysterical people scurry about in all directions like a swarm of ants, higgledy-piggledy, indifferent to the needs of others. The street scene, which looks like a montage[4] from a film dealing with gangsterism, violence, crime, rape, and murder, or Eisensteinian mass hysteria, does not seem to represent civilised society at all, but instead caricatures a civilisation in which latter-day Wild Men[5] and Wild Women tear up the town. In the foreground, astride a black coffin-chair-float, a skeleton on a binge drinks a toast from a half empty bottle, while surrounded by various grotesque mask-like figures who appear to merge from the darkness into the artificial red night-light and then to blend into the shadows of the night, or the crowd, again.

Above the street crowd the tall skyscrapers appear diagonally slanted. Like the tumultuous mob beneath them, the skyscrapers also appear to be in "turmoil". These buildings, with their dark façades and infernal red-glowing interiors – whose bright red aura or russet shadow surround and permeate almost all objects in this hellish environment – rise in vanishing points counter from one another: the Café Heutetanz (literally, "to-day's dance") on the left inclines towards the upper left hand side of the picture, while the four office blocks and the church across the street lean in the opposite direction – inclining toward the upper right hand side of the composition. The building opposite them in the right mid-ground appears to follow a similar inclination towards the upper right hand corner of the composition. However, the bluish buildings in the distance between these two sets of sloping buildings to the right appear to be built on a steep gradient which pulls them upward, but to the left, aided by the dull green-grey glow of a row of round street lamps which also follow this avenue toward the left. The distant left-incline in the upper right hand side of the composition, however, appears steeper than the left-incline of the left hand side building in the foreground, with the result that these two left-inclining buildings do not lead to the same vanishing point somewhere beyond the compositional format of the picture. Neither are they a match for the right-inclining buildings interjecting between them which are orientated in the opposite direction and which seem to converge on the same vanishing point at an extended distance outside the picture frame. The net result is that the viewer soon becomes aware, by following the spatial vectors of the buildings which both define and structure the urban setting, that Grosz has deliberately applied inverted perspective, identified as a Bruegelian theme of the World Upside Down *topos* in Chapter 3, as a built-in component of his own World Upside Down *topos* where the rhetorical situation depicted represents disorder instead of order, as the order of the day – which ironically is no day, being both night and nightmare.

For Grosz, the big city was an apocalyptic place, an inferno, a nightmare *locus*, where human problems were concentrated into a confined space governed by individual and collective lunacy. He described, for example, in a letter to Otto Schmalhausen dated 30 June 1917, his picture – which he deliberately titled in English *The big city* (1916-1917) (fig. 137) – thus:

> I am up to my neck in visions – and this work expresses my sole emotions, spring-heeled elation, the roaring street scene captured on paper! – or whee, the starry sky whirls about the red head, the tram clangs onto the scene, the telephones ring, a woman giving birth cries out, while knuckle-dusters and knives sleep peacefully in the stylish sheaths of pimps. Ah, and the labyrinth of mirrors, their gardens of street magic! where Circe changes people into swine, a comical loden hat and coat, or the rum-tum-tiddle walk at the Patéphon, where listeners are held fast by the ear and gramophone music is the palms and the ships you sail away on – or the songs of the signs, the golden 'ronde' of letters – and the nights red as port, nights that eat away at your kidneys, nights when the moon and contagion and a ratty hackney driver all come together and a victim has been strangled in the dust-choked coal cellar – oh that city feeling![6]

The big city, a *Großstadt*, or metropolis, is related in style, colour – mainly reds and indigo blacks – and subject matter – urban nightmare – to *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*. It is therefore insightful to take note of Grosz's letter to Schmalhausen insofar as it has a bearing on *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* and on Grosz's picaresque description of it:

> At night, down a strange street, a diabolical procession of inhuman figures parade by, their faces eloquent of alcohol, syphilis, plague. One is blowing a trumpet, another yelling hurrah. Death rides among this multitude, on a black coffin, symbolised straightforwardly as a skeleton. This picture went straight back to my medieval masters Bosch and Brueghel [*sic*]. They too were living in the dawn of a new era and gave it expression. The painting was done in protest at a humanity gone insane.[7]

As Grosz describes "that city feeling!" when a "tram clangs onto the scene", the contemporary viewer may have at once have been reminded of the Futurist's embrace of the then latest industrial technology, speed and noise on the one hand, while on the other, the reader of his letter may have been taken in by Grosz's rather poetic and intoxicating language used to conjure up his sense of the urban landscape. Stream of conscious phrases like "gardens of street magic" and the "strange" streets at night "when the moon and contagion and a ratty hackney driver all come together and a victim has been strangled in the dust-choked coal cellar" seem not only to capture something of the nature of city life by means of textual Process Form, but also seem to reflect the catchy depictions of the urban dweller described in the popular media and literature of the day. However, in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*, "the roaring street scene captured on paper!" with its "diabolical procession of inhuman figures" parading by, draws the viewer into "the labyrinth of mirrors", not only seen in most of the window displays in most of the nearby buildings, but also in the metaphor of the labyrinthine "mirrors" themselves, or with the levels of interpreting them – factors which can be said to heteroglossically "mirror" the events which are represented in this nocturnal carnivalesque scene.

As the viewer scans Grosz's urban World Upside Down *topos*, already embedded in the parodic anti-perspectival structure of the buildings, various figures and visual clues appear from, and then merge back

into, the labyrinthine "mirrors" and the complex structure of the composition. Many of the figures which can be recognised seem stylised, jagged by a Cubist rendering of the human form, so that in fragment and in juxtaposition with other figures, or parts of other figures crossing and criss-crossing their path, they look like a shattered mirror whose broken bits and pieces of "glass" conjure up in the viewer's mind the idea of a labyrinthine "mirror" whose pathways cross and criss-cross with other compositional elements, like the visual synecdochies of a maze linking them to a larger compositional whole. Just as it is not easy for the viewer to take in the whole of the scene all at once, so too, the viewer cannot easily absorb and/or describe all of the labyrinthine "mirrors" presented to the viewer by means of juxtaposition and simultaneity. The various textual relations and themes which remain open to interpretation and to more than one reading, may be picked up in any order. This open-ended possibility of "organising" fragmentary carnivalesque chaos in Grosz's picture compels the viewer to syncretise in no particular sequence the synecdochical parts of the composition.

While viewing *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*, however, the viewer is required to take note of Grosz's "razor-sharp" drawing style, which held many of the visual premises upon which Grosz's picaresque world view was based. The "razor-sharp" style, as he named it, foregrounds both the representation of the formal elements seen in the composition and the contextual reasoning behind their use and rhetorical *decorum* – what Wolterstorff termed "fittingness".[8] Grosz's "razor-sharp" drawing style, was his parodic weapon for attacking the formalist tendencies of the early twentieth-century styles of the avant-garde and the Capitalist-bourgeois alike. Grosz epideictically – in blame typical of hostility towards another perchronic world view – claimed that he had "no time for Cézanne", that he "loathed Picasso, despised Kandinsky, denigrated Klee, disliked Expressionism,[9] and considered abstraction to be nothing more than a confidence trick."[10] In what at first sight seems like a cross-over style of Cubist-Futurist *Wirklichkeitsfragmenten* in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* may in fact be Grosz's formal parody of these two early twentieth-century styles.

In this respect it may be illuminating to briefly contrast Grosz's picture with Duchamp's *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* (January 1912) (fig. 138) painted as a critical response to the Cubist and Futurist avant-garde. At the time Duchamp's picture caused a *success de scandal* in both France at the Salon des Independents[11] and later at the American Armoury Show of 1913 in New York.[12] Today one can only guess at why an international audience reacted so strongly to Duchamp's picture. There may be at least four interrelated grounds for their objection – all centring on ambiguity and improbability or rhetorical *adynaton* – which made his incongruent[13] image both funny[14] and absurd: (1) the formal merging of the Cubist and Futurist styles whose manifestos were quite different;[15] (2) the problem of the nude's gender;[16] (3) the

mechanomorphic ambivalence of the nude; and (4) the problematic subject matter which iconographically at the time lay outside the parameters of the traditional *genera descendi*.[17]

The *asyndeton* or rhetorical unconnectedness of these humorous incongruities in *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* effectively parodied the avant-garde while making complete nonsense of traditional iconographic authority as the touchstone for the subject matter of art making – all of which, in Mareyian terms, could go and jump.[18] For all the "storm in the teacup" which his picture caused, Duchamp only smiled. He later described the entire incident as "another turning point in my life. I saw that I would not be very much interested in groups [like the Cubists and the Futurists] after that."[19]

Duchamp's schematicist parodying of Cubism and Futurism, however, was a far cry from Grosz's picaresque parodying of these two 1909-1912 avant-garde styles. Considering the styles of Cubism and Futurism to be little more than *l'art pour l'art* and "simple nonsense",[20] Grosz made them both subordinate stylistic sources and parodic paradigmatic targets to his "razor-sharp" style, which he considered to stem from a mixture of the lapidariness of toilet graffiti, children's drawings, the drawings of the insane, Mikhail Larinov's Rayonisms, avant-garde *simultaniste* poetry,[21] the inspiration from pulp magazines, and even the scenic pictures of the Pittura Metafisica painter Giorgio de Chirico (1888-1978). As appropriate "weapons and tactics of 'Da-Dandy' with his movement towards the 'Agony and the death-giddiness of the times'" (my translation of Hugo Ball),[22] these various sources remained, for Grosz, fugitive exploits of his "razor-sharp" style which, he later wrote, "I placed at the service of the absolute rejection of humanity which then accompanied my observations."[23]

One may briefly examine each of these topical sources in turn, which Grosz claimed were all parts of his "razor-sharp" style. The first source mentioned above, that of the lapidariness of toilet graffiti,[24] was, for Grosz, an expression of the public defacement of property:

> Graffiti as a whole is a composite phenomenon, part childish prank, part adult insult. It is whimsical and political, amused and angry, witty and obscene, often tending toward the palimpsest, and made up of elements of imagery, writing, and simple marking.[25]

As far as Grosz was concerned, the use of toilet graffiti was an appropriate scatological image to "deface" the values and tastes of the German class types that he hated so much.[26] The obscenity of toilet graffiti was, for Grosz, one of the fruits of his survival experience of, and iconoclastic reaction to, the epochal condition and judgement of the Weimar culture and society of his day. If the German bourgeois taste was offended by toilet graffiti as much as it was by a stinking latrine – think for a moment of Duchamp's most scandalous

readymade urinal *Fontaine* (1917) (fig. 139) offending an American audience – then it was fitting that it should be used to offend them.

Children's drawings,[27] with their liberal reign of the page, their lack of inhibitions, their unskilled motor-mechanical control, and their freedom of artistic expression uninhibited by education or the awareness of socio-cultural conventions and artistic stereotypes, were a natural ally in Grosz's epideictic project of picaresquely parodying and offending German bourgeois values, since such child-like scribbles and sprawlings, like toilet graffiti and the drawings of the insane, were hardly the styles of the high mode which could embody traditional admiration for artistic classicism or the expected bourgeois values of 1918. In his own words, Grosz said:

> In order to attain a style which ... would render the blunt and unvarnished harshness and unfeelingness of my objects, I studied the crudest manifestations of the artistic urge. In public urinals, I copied the folkloristic drawings; they seemed to be the most immediate expression and the most succinct translation of strong feeling. Children's drawings, too, stimulated me because of their lack of ambiguity. Thus it was that gradually I came to use this hard-as-nails drawing style which I needed to transfer my observations which, at the time, were dictated by absolute misanthropy.[28]

The "most immediate expression" found in the drawings of the insane was also an appropriate component of Grosz's "razor-sharp" style, not merely because it might formally resemble toilet graffiti and children's drawings, but because it might thematically parallel Grosz's perceived idea that his society either already was, or was becoming, insane. Indeed, Grosz's dedication of the work, as an "allegorisches Menetekel",[29] to the late nineteenth-century post-naturalist playwright Oskar Panizza (1853-1921),[30] whose bizarre views on contemporary German society reflected his desperate predicament as a paranoid with pathological tendencies, can also be taken by the viewer as an indicator, an "allegorical warning" or epideictic admonition, of the link between societal madness – what Tzara called "the collective madness of a sonorous pleasure"[31]– and the satiric criticism of that insane society and the insane citizens within it. By studying the manifestations of degenerative impulses within himself and through his writings, Panizza had sought therapeutic release from uncontrollable fears and an aggressive obsession with social and private pathologies, which, although taboo topics at the time, became the very subjects of his painful scrutiny.

Grosz's homage to the "mad dramatist" who had dared to hold up a mirror to social hypocrisy, can be regarded as his ironic critique of the generation that epideictically condemned Panizza, who not only had rationalised their own involvement in World War I (1914-1918), but who also appeared to have turned out "mad" as a result of their losing the war – their idealism shattered, their utopianism ruined. In this respect, the "most immediate expression" of the drawings of the insane can also be interpreted in Grosz's "razor-sharp" style as a critique of the "immediate expression" of the Expressionists, whose Late Romantic neo-

idealism, utopianism, and brand of Nietzscheanism, Grosz and the Dadaists loathed.[32] For Grosz, as much as for Panizza, Nietzsche, and the Dadaists, it was thus ironic that society should achieve its highest moment at the very moment when it became mentally deranged.

Toilette graffiti, children's drawings, and the art of the insane, were, however, only a part of Grosz's "razor-sharp" style, albeit an "irrational" part best suited to the epideictics of exposing and expressing offence, rejection, insanity, freedom of expression, and social hysteria. Another part of Grosz's "razor-sharp" style and "brain circus"[33] involved borrowings from innovative avant-garde experiments in "new" formalist styles. The Cubist and Futurist device of fragmentation and of dissecting and then recreating an object, for example, had been harnessed earlier in the twentieth century for the purposes of the dislocation and destruction of the bourgeois image of reality. The modernist aesthetic of discontinuity, however, in Grosz's view, became decisive in his understanding of a fractured state of mind – of an individual dissolved in the apparent disorder of the world which itself was insane, chaotic, and fragmentary. As if in parody of Tzara's Dadaistic description of the quality of life "in transparent, effortless, and gyratory transformation,"[34] Grosz's complex tangle of lines, which rendered figures that are merely outlined and transparent, aimed at presenting events taking place simultaneously – murder and violence, rape and lust, drunkenness and vomiting, anarchy and hysteria, accidents, dogs, sadists and victims – the whole gambit of an urban nightmare sprawl found in a big city – which may be likened to that of Dadaist *simultaniste* poetry and to the Simultaneous Stage of German Expressionist theatre, but without the transcendental or transformational overtones raved by the Expressionists. Rather, Grosz may well have agreed with another of Tzara's idiotisms that "Dada works with all its strength for the establishment of idiocy everywhere."[35]

The "establishment of idiocy" proposed by Dada, whether of society's insanity, the madness of each and every individual and ideology, every modernist manifesto, or the high brow pretensions of formalist representations which the avant-garde had founded, formulated, theorised and practised, in Grosz's "razor-sharp" style – the so-called "röntgentekeninge"[36] – became an ally to Larimov's idea of Rayonism, which could be regarded as a visual metaphor to "X-ray" all members of society, class, and value-systems in its "idiocy", ideological stance, or deranged behaviour. Rayonism, trimmed of its metaphysics, theosophistry, and transcendentalism, was able to picaresquely "see", as it were, both the outward appearance and the inner workings of an individual or object simultaneously. It was thus well equipped with an ability to "see through" human folly, to "see into" the heart of humanity, and to penetrate the skeletal core of society's "idiocy" and insanity, without offering a prognosis of the neurosis, since X-rays[37] could only show up the skeletal frame, and even indicate problem areas, but remained indifferent to proposed solutions or cures. At

the same time, as a part of the indication of the fragmentariness of modernist social disintegration, social dynamism, social degeneration, and the irrational, brought on by a modernist lifestyle, existentialism, the acceleration of industrial and urban pressures, Bergsonian "flux", and Cubist and Futurist remnants of objects, Rayonism was able to actively participate in the heteroglossic dynamics of Grosz's "razor-sharp" style, both with its juxtapositioning of figures and events, and in its contribution to the sense of "X-raying" compositional chaos in which Weimar society, amidst the Carnival and "cabaret" of life, thronged through the urban city streets like a somnambulist thronging through a nightmare in hell, who, participating in this carnivalesque environment, enacts his/her insanity in public, in the streets, or in private, in the mind, or behind closed doors.

Rayonism and Cubist-Futurism, interwoven into Grosz's "razor-sharp" style, were thus able to "cut to the bone" as it were, providing a diagnosis of German society and individuals, and to look at the very marrow of their disease as well as at the very heart of social and individual corruption and insanity. Grosz's X-rayed figures, stylised between realism and abstraction, and between traditional caricature and the formalism of avant-garde modernism, were thus doubly exposed to the X-raying abilities of Groszian scrutiny and to the "razor-sharp" observations which dissected individuals and which also placed society on the Rayonist dissection table. In virtually every instance of societal vice and sickness such as human folly, lust, drunkenness, brutality, animal instinct, "idiotic" epideictic celebration, sex, violence, social hysteria, disease, and selfishness – humanity, cast into the "jumble sale" (Hugo Ball)[38] of the crowd, has been judged by Grosz, in his hatred, to have no redeeming qualities whatsoever.

The individual is a "dummy", both literally and punningly "idiotic". Grosz may have borrowed the motif of the dummy from De Chirico and included it as a motif of his "razor-sharp" style since the motif embodied, *par excellence*, the mechanomorphisms of humanity in the rhetorical situation of an urban industrial landscape where it pointed the way to representing people as mannequin dummies (*l'homme machine*),[39] complete in character and personality. Although the mannequin[40] had originated as a symbol of individual creativity early in the twentieth century, it nevertheless came to symbolise the sterile anonymity of modern life. The mannequin, along with its strengths and weaknesses, symbolised, in summary terms, the industrial age and the apotheosis of Adam Smith's factory worker doing the same mundane job day in and day out on the assembly line – so much so that the dummy was customarily assigned to one of two roles, or a combination of them: as either a sub-human being or as a being possessing super-human powers. In either case, the mannequin was remarkable for its pitiless state of being, for its lack of emotion, for its indifference and lack of compassion, and for its adaptability to the numerous cold-blooded social and political crimes of

power and utopianism, envisioned by nineteenth-century positivist philosophers, and hellishly played out in all their horrors and grotesque consequences on the battlefields of the twentieth century.

The mannequin was thus linked in the mind of certain avant-garde thinkers to the early twentieth-century interest in the metaphor of the machine. Grosz's attitude paralleled those of the Futurists before him who welcomed what new technology and machines could offer.[41] His attitude also paralleled the outlook of his fellow Dadaists who had viewed themselves as constructors and "engineers" ready to exploit the machine metaphor in order to expose the outmoded opinions of the Expressionist's Late Romantic outcry against the machine[42] – to position humanity ironically within the totality of his culture with a mechanical neutrality.[43] Grosz himself regarded humanity as reduced to a "small machine in the great clockwork" of society[44] but without Hausmann's belief that scientific theory attested to an engrossment so deep that Dada "Machine Art" could be regarded as a latter-day alchemy,[45] as an attempt to encounter the mysteries transacted between the spirit and matter. The extollment of materialism and the cultivation of the machine metaphor, could not, as far as Grosz was concerned, allow humanity the luxury of experiencing the mystery of existence; rather, the machine metaphor was, for Grosz, a metaphor describing a fundamental picaresque human condition – of industrialised society in which the follies of individuals mechanically operated as if cogs in a collective social machine.

As mechanised robotic cogs in a larger Capitalist machine, and as dummies, the mannequin motif, for Grosz, held a picaresque meaning: it described the bourgeois individual as "stupid" – a pun on "dummy" – not only because his mechanical behaviour was predictable, inflexible, and conservatively philistine, gullibly controlled by the powers that be – the state, the church, and the military industrial complex – and conditioned by nationalist ideology – but because, as dummies, such idiotic behaviour revealed the evils of human folly as well. The dummy was therefore a metonyomic motif for Grosz, which could effectively be used to caricature the mechanical and the idiotic, often brainwashed, behaviour of the German bourgeois individual as a puppet existing in the collective consciousness of Weimar society – and Grosz would later illustrate his idea further by making a picaresque puppet the following year called *Konversativer Herr* (fig. 140) in which a conservative gentleman of the German bourgeois class was portrayed as a bloated swine-snouted male chauvinist pig – recall the German soldier with a pig's head hanging from the ceiling of the First International Dada Exhibition, Berlin, 1920 (fig. 141) – complete with duelling scar across his forehead and a pince-nez which makes him look sightless, perceptively blind, myopic and stupid (see also fig. 135). Such a representation of the German bourgeois male seems to be a fitting image describing their collective control by an industrialised Capitalist patriarchal society, for it seems as though the powers that be, the puppet

masters, must pull the strings and yank a robotic man's chain before he becomes fully animated to do their ideological bidding without a thought of his own. Thus mechanised and mindless, the conservative gentlemen in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* continued to practice their mechanised folly and to show themselves up as dummies with the mind of an idiot – if they still had a mind – like some modernised and mechanised *marotte* or picaresque bauble-puppet.[46]

From this picaresque perspective Grosz's mechanomophism differs from Duchamp's schematicist parody where the modernist machine metaphor is used in pictures like *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* (fig. 138) to reinvent a new parodic paradigm. Grosz's picaresque point of view of the machine also differs from erotic parody where the modernist machine metaphor is used in pictures like Picabia's *La fille né sans mère* (1916-1917) (fig. 142) to represent mechanical *eros* as a sex-machine.[47] Mechanophorphism, for Grosz, showed human beings who had not only become mechanical robots, but, in a Weimar World Upside Down *topos*, machines had made the follies of men and women into an image of itself, individually and collectively: as a dummy, an idiot.

This picaresque view of folly in which mechanomorphised humanity is represented as an idiot *par excellence* was further explored by Grosz after *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*. Extending the dummy motif Grosz used mechanomomophism to comment on the German bourgeois society of the early 1920s in his *Republikanische automaten* (1920) (fig. 143). Here the viewer is introduced to "the 'new' Berlin, with its blank Chicago-style warehouses"[48] and tall skyscrapers. In this "clean line" setting, drawn with the precision of an engineer's hand when making a technical drawing, Grosz's "razor sharp" drawing style clinically delineates the urban landscape and the alienating appearance of the utopian International Style out of whose underlying ideological principles Modernist architecture arose. It is a stark, desolate, existential place where the pastel and raw umber colours of concrete slabs look as drab and forlorn as the icy steel-blue of the sky and the russet – dried blood red – brickwork on some of the buildings; yet these cold and indifferent hues seem to be fitting tones in which to paint the industrialised urban landscape as these cold colours complement the steely Payne's Grey tones of the two mechanomorphic figures which darkly occupy the central foreground space of the composition. These two mechanical figures appear to be war cripples whose amputated limbs recall those of the beggars or war cripples seen in Bruegel's *De bedelaars* (1568) (fig. 144), but whose person appears closer in anatomical appearance to contemporary mechanical figures such as Aleksander Rodchenko's advertisement for Mozer watches at Gum, the state Department Store in Moscow in 1923 (fig. 145), than to Bruegel's sight of maimed human beings.

The left hand side mechanical figure in Grosz's picture, with his peg-leg, wears a stiff collar and a bowler hat on his egg-shaped head and waves a German flag in his spanner-like "hand", while his companion on the right is dressed in a white boiled shirt and a black bow tie and wears an Iron Cross as a sign of his brave participation in World War I. Unlike Bruegel's indigent beggar-cripples, however, Grosz's mechanomorphic war cripples, to judge by their dress, appear to be members of the post-World War I German bourgeois and not some kind of riffraff sprung out of, perhaps, paradoxically feigned, poverty. Their status as crippled German bourgeois gentlemen, nevertheless allows the viewer to sympathise with these tragic robotic men who look more like De Chirico mannequins or tubular Léger clones than human beings, for they could be pitied for their sad human condition.

On the other hand, ironically and paradoxically, the viewer could also regard these men-robots as laughable mechanical caricatures of their former selves following the comic principle of inversion – what Bergson called "a sudden, comic switching of expected roles".[49] What could be more amusing, for instance, than seeing the hated social class of the German bourgeois being reduced to a mechanical type? Imagine bumping into these two mechanomorphic personages in the street and recognising that their anatomy resembles the architectural style of their industrialised environment, right down to the fact that their identities have been reduced to anonymity, and that they themselves are a mere cipher – "12" or "1,2,3" – in the urban industrial complex, like that of a street address, a telephone number, or an identity book number! What, then, could be more funny than meeting such a dummy under whose armpits whirring cogs turn, and whose only thought issuing from his empty egg-cup of a skull is the epideictic celebratory cheer of the black lettered triumphant word "Hurrah!" while his mechanical companion waves a flag in the spirit of silly patriotism for Germany as an industrial power with a ruined economy? After all, isn't a dummy a visual pun referring to, at one and the same time, a sham article, a model of the human figure used to display clothes on, a figurehead who takes no real part in matters, and a stupid person? Are not all these possibilities suggested by Grosz's dummy-like mechanomorphic German bourgeois war cripples in *Republikanische automaten*, and, in recognising these semantic puns linked to the image of these mechanical men, does the viewer not wish to laugh louder and longer at such eggheads?

Laughter – Dada's idiotic laughter at the bourgeois idiot as a target paradigm when parodied – seemed to have had the last laugh at the object of its ridicule: the mechanomorphic dummy, the puppet-slave of the puppeteer who "can force his creatures to express the most outlandish or excoriating emotions under the guise of folly."[50] In depicting in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (fig. 136) dehumanised men as robotic, mechanical picaresque puppets, who throng through the violent streets with the autonomy and "clarity of

engineering drawing" (Grosz's words),[5] Grosz's "razor-sharp" style was able to caricature his crowd of individual swines who had become as "industrialised" as the utilitarian environment they lived in. Instead of having individual personalities, they were mere *maichinos* of the Capitalist system who wore Carnival-like masks in order to hide their true identity. The wearing of the mask, and the safety of the *Maskenfreiheit* which it provided to all Carnival's participants, reflected the universality of the wild abandonment which had traditionally accompanied carnival-time from antiquity to the present. For the carnivalesque participant has always revelled behind a mask (see Chapter 2), and indeed, perhaps would not have even considered such licentious behaviour if it had not been permissible to wear a mask.

The wearing of masks brings the account of Grosz's "razor sharp" style circuitously back to the carnivalesque atmosphere of *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*. The viewer, keeping all of the above points in mind, can now consider the masked figures which populate the interior and exterior spaces of the composition. What should the viewer make of them? As dummies they try hard to mask their idiocy under the guise of Carnival and freedom of expression. But such an ideal of freedom ironically belies the deceiving theme of appearance and reality. The ironic call, for instance, by a man in the crowd for brotherhood (*"Bruder"*) parodies that slogan of the French Revolution. The call is nothing now but a hollow remark for the surrounding masses operate in the manner of a mordant Tinguely machine, already on their way to self-destruction. Selfish and self-centred, the Carnival mob are litotically not interested in the true brotherhood of humanity. The brotherhood of idiocy, with its liberation from all social order and moral restraints, are all that seem to matter, and if this stance is self-serving and sadistic to others, or to their own brand of selfishness or sacrifice, then this merely becomes all part of the meaning of the true idiotic brotherhood of humanity, in an urban environment where carnivalisation, social revolution and human liberation co-exist.

The two French flags on the right, symbols of so-called "liberation" which was supposed to follow in the wake of the French Revolution and the Enlightenment's striving towards the freedom of the autonomous individual, incorporated into English and German Romanticism and later into German Expressionism, is parodied here as these ideas are rendered ironic, flippant, empty, and "idiotic" as ideals by autonomous alienated idiots. For if "liberty" leads a nation to the brink of social collapse, derangement, total chaos, anarchy, apocalypse, selfishness, and unrestricted hedonism exemplified by the libertine philosophy of immoral freedom -- what is worthy of the society these masked dummies live in, or, for that matter, what has become of the Enlightened and the revolutionary ideas of "liberty"?

Grosz's picture seems to hyperbolically suggest that the only thing worth knowing about the individual is that individual liberties, when let loose upon the world, lead but to selfishness, immorality, and sadistic hedonism; and that the multiplication of these heteroglossic vices by individuals breeds a diseased and corrupt society where derangement and idiocy, not liberty, drags a nation through the mud and towards its own chaotic endgame and self-destruction expressed solely by negative epideictic blame. In an age of street fighting, prostitution, and violence, violence had to be mastered as a survival strategy. The Futurists had paved the way for the topic of violence in their first manifesto, the *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo* (1909) (fig. 146), when Marinetti had "launched on the world" his "manifesto of disruptive and incendiary violence."[52] The Futurists also caricatured violence at Futurist evenings (fig. 147) and had represented it in pictures like Umberto Boccioni's *Sketch for a brawl* (1911) (fig. 148) and Carlo Carra's *The funeral of the anarchist Galli* (1911) (fig. 149) — the latter picture's black and red colouring and violent topic anticipating Grosz's *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* by seven years. If the violence of war, rendered on a scale of mass destruction during World War 1, was "the only hygiene of the world" fit for "militarism, patriotism, the destructive gestures of anarchists" and "the great concepts for which men die", according to the Futurist Manifesto, then art, too, according to the reasoning of Marinetti, could also "no longer be anything but violence, cruelty and injustice." Perhaps it was for this very reason that Hausmann, a rebel writer with a revolver in his pocket, spoke of the "plane for the appearance of conflicts", and why Grosz himself experienced the big city as a plane for urban conflict, struggle [*Kampf*], street fighting, anarchy, and violence.[53] Marinetti's "wild sweep of madness" chasing men — Wild Men — "through streets[54] as rugged and deep as torrent-beds" became, for Grosz, "a teeming throng of possessed animals", as he described it in a letter dated December 1917, for "this epoch is sailing down to its destruction."[55]

The themes of madness, idiocy, self-destruction, decadence, anarchy, nihilism, and autonomous "liberty", were, of course, all parts of the ambiguities and paradoxes of society and Dada. In a sense, the manifestation of Dada from 1916 until the early 1920s was meant to mirror in the socio-political sphere what could be paralleled in the artistic sphere. If society was "mad" and idiotic, Dada had to be even more "mad" and idiotic. If society strove towards an ideal of "liberty", then Dada did twofold. And if society was sick, Nietzsche and Panizza recommended that artists should be sicker in order to show how sick society really was.

Thus, by the end of 1918 when Grosz, a man with biting hatreds, became a member of the Berlin Dada group,[56] he readily agreed that Berlin Dada should reject all conventions of order in art and literature. Like Marinetti's description of Futurism's aim "to plumb the deep wells of the Absurd", Dada, too, should show

an interest in the Theatre of the Absurd and in the absurdity of socio-artistic "idiocy". Likewise, the surest way to artistic "liberty" and to complete poetic license for the Dadaists, was for them to insist on the fact that Dada did not wish to be codified; that is to say, the complete creative autonomy of Dada's force lay in its power to provoke different minds to think differently about it, and if there was no agreement or conformity so much the better for Dada! Dada therefore embraced diverse and often-divergent tendencies already present in modernism, resisting any formalist attempts to split it neatly into categories for special scrutiny and study. In order to achieve its heteroglossic aim of diversity, contradiction, paradox, irony, parody, and difference, Dada posed itself in lavish ambiguities, ranging between pro-art, non-art, and anti-art, to deconstructive anarchy and destructive nihilism, and by regarding the "notion of 'play' as revolt".[57] Dada's defiance of all systems and thought-systems and its rejection of all suave or sedentary attitudes of society, its "nice new rattle"[58] to motivate revolt, together with its new freedoms in the arts, its provocative release of anarchic, aggressive drives in the good bourgeois audience, its doubt of everything (Tzara), and its contradictions and multidimensional cries – all made Dada difficult to define and to deal with. As a "state of mind" (*Geistesart*) rather than a movement, Dada could truly regard itself as a socio-cultural "liberator": for Dada could say anything, do anything, think anything, create anything, use any style or method it pleased, as long as it suited the aims of Dada, whose only aim was not to have an aim.

Such an ironic and parodic attitude, being "all and none", anything and nothing, was both constructive and self-destructive. But then so was Nietzsche's slogan adopted by the Dadaists, Futurists, and German Expressionists: "destruction is also creation." It was an antagonistic stance that could match the antagonism of society itself. And the "nice new rattle" of Dada could engage in the ambiguities of serious play, parody and hypercriticism, idiocy and liberty, all in the same breath. As a sign of decadent times, which seemed to be on the verge of an endgame of self-destruction,[59] Dada saw itself as the "orator" for such an apocalyptic event in an era in which the fall of the German Empire and the old Hohenzollern monarchy,[60] and its replacement with the Weimar Republic,[61] lay concurrently with idealistic socialism and the Communist ideas of the Left Wing intellectual elite which sprung up in Germany after the Russian Revolution of October 1917, and the unemployment and soaring inflation brought about by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles – and all these cataclysmic events added to the socio-political and cultural ferment in post-war Germany, and particularly in Berlin, and Berlin Dada.

If Berlin Dada was the most socially aware of all the international Dada groups that had formed after 1916, it was for the very reasons mentioned in the last paragraph. If Berlin Dada flirted with Communism, it was for a similar reason. Dadaism and Communism both wished to reform the modernist bourgeois Capitalist

society in Germany. But there was a vast difference between the political ideology of Communism, Bolshevism and Dadaism's denunciation of all and any ideology. Despite the fact that Right Wing humour magazines imagined a dangerous ideological union between modernist art and Bolshevism, Dada was hardly a "Bolshevist affair" as Huelsenbeck had once called it. It was no more "Dada Bolshevist" to the bourgeois as it was "bourgeois" to the Communists, Theo van Doesburg recalled in 1923;[62] and Dada could only laugh at both sides for thinking that it belonged to the other. For many Berlin Dadaists, Bolshevism was probably only something in the air, which offered a viable and aggressive alternative to the hypocritical mentality of the German ruling industrial middle class. Bolshevism probably appealed to Berlin Dada because it promised to blast and destroy conservative bourgeois tastes then in vogue. This may have been the reason why Dada supported the extreme Left Wing Spartacists in their political ideals. But Dada's later decline in Germany coincided roughly with the first epiphany of totalitarian Communism at the Tenth Congress in 1921 when the differences between Dadaism and Communism had become more distinguished.

It would thus seem as though the post-war period and the rise of the Weimar Republic were ripe seasons for chaos, insanity, and revolutionaries on all sides, in an atmosphere of endgame self-destruction. *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* is a picture which deals with the eschatological matters of an apocalyptic, the inferno of the Last Judgement, which Bosch and Bruegel had also represented in their respective *oeuvres* in response to their own "endgame" times. *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* depicts the horror (*Scheusslichkeit*) of Grosz's "brain circus" (*Gehirnzirkus*)[63] in terms of a Kafkaesque nightmare. As if to re-affirm Bruegel's picaresque view on humanity's manifold follies, Grosz's "metropolitan pessimism" (*Großstadtpessimisus*) is apocalyptically presented to the viewer as a doom-laden environment, painted in "deep red" (*tiefs Rot*) and "blue black" (*schwärzliches Blau*) – colours which together form part of his "self-murdering palette" (*meiner selfstermörderischen Palette*).[64] His "razor-sharp" style was but the means to representing the "labyrinth of mirrors" in which the animal responses of an insane humanity were to be masked and unmasked, while exposing the chaos, fragmentation, deception, alienation, selfishness, and idiocy of a society awaiting its own impending demise by the follies of Wild Men and Wild Women.

But who are these German Wild Men and what are their follies? The viewer, scanning the left foreground of the picture, notices a prominently placed group of figures: the representatives of early twentieth-century German class types, including a moon-faced pastor, a decorated military officer blowing a bugle and brandishing a sword, and a grotesquely deformed middle class businessman maudlingly hugging a bottle of alcohol. Each of these iconic figures, according to Grosz, "eloquently" and symbolically represents the social

diseases of Alcoholism,[65] Pestilence (Plague), and Syphilis, in the "Gin Lane of grotesque dead men and madmen"[66] (Grosz's own words).[67] One may examine each of them in turn.

The moon-faced pastor has raised both arms as if surrendering. He waves his white cross in the air like a flag – perhaps recalling the thousands of white crosses in the poppy-field graveyards in Flanders (fig. 150). His rotund moon-face recalls Bruegel's physiognomy of the round *sottenbol* of Prince Carnival in *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), thus continuing the picaresque body focus describing character, as well as the links between the folly and foolishness of Carnival's participants: the pastor may be a fool because he has lost faith with society or religion, ironically given up the faith he was called to, replacing belief and faith with doubt and despair, like everyone else in the crowd. His very shape parodies the eleventh point of Marinetti's *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo* which promises to "sing the great crowds stirred by work, pleasure or revolt; ... [and] electric moons."[68] For Grosz's crowded composition does indeed "sing the great crowds stirred by ... pleasure or revolt" in all its heteroglossic derangement, hysteria, nihilism, anarchy, idiocy, and irrationality, beneath the "electric moons" of the moon-shaped spotlights of the street lamps – since the moon itself in the upper right hand corner of the composition is ironically extinguished, or eclipsed – and this electric "moonlight" – a false, artificial light – is echoed in the jaundiced glow emanating from the moon-faced pastor. The echo of the "electric moons" of the street lamps merely serves as an ironic reminder to the viewer that this moon-faced pastor is a participant of the crowd aroused – electrified – by revolt or pleasure since he blends into the urban environment so well, even to the extent of formally resembling parts of it. If the moon-faced pastor is a willing participant of the mass hysteria, idiocy, and the irrationality of human behaviour, it may also be that his lunar-like head visually puns on the possible link between the lunar sphere and the terms "lunacy" and "lunatics".

The lunatics running wild in Grosz's insane society add to the overall lunacy of their metropolitan madness and their mass hysteria, enhanced by Grosz's inspiration from the drawings of the insane, befits this theme as an integral part of his "razor sharp" style. Like Rayonism's X-raying of humanity's follies from within and without, Grosz's lunar punning cuts to the quick of social insanity internally and externally – it is "razor sharp" – strengthening Grosz's picaresque pessimism concerning human folly and society gone mad. And the moon-face pastor's own pessimism may be regarded as an extension, or projection of, Grosz's view. For what can a pastor do if he no longer has faith in God, or if the preachings of the church, playing up to nationalist ideology, have betrayed true believers, or if a godless society now believes in the Nietzschean dictum that "God is dead"?[69] What can a clergyman do if the atheistic population at large have chosen the path of hellish epicuricism and madness and have allowed Circe to change them "into swine"? Despair,

pessimism, and disillusioned resignation would seem to be some of the only options remaining. The "swine" in the upper left hand side of Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3, "# 6") have symbolically been let loose on modernism's "fields" – battlefields – the urban streets of a big city – to run amuck, to create havoc and anarchy – wild activities of Wild Men and Wild Women which are in tune with their idiotic natures. Thus Grosz represents the German bourgeois "swines" selfishly behaving as piggish and as "libertine" as possible: the rotund pastor may simply look that way due to gluttony, the *gula* of yore, while the drunkard nearby hugs his bottle in the lower left of the composition as a mother would love her new-born baby, and the bourgeois lusting men, as lecherous male chauvinist pigs, chat up naked prostitutes[70] at café tables in the upper right of the composition, while attracting venereal diseases such as syphilis as a result of their years of sexual craving and lascivious passion.

The sickly looking creature with red glassy eyes in the lower left of the composition, who stands beside the self-possessive alcoholic clutching his beloved bottle, is a sad-looking example of someone who has contracted syphilis. His swollen head seems to melt away before our very eyes. His skin is all puffy with pimples, warts, and puss, and the rather large scarlet sore "tattooed" on his right cheek resembles an erect phallus, perhaps as a reminder to himself, and to the viewer, of his male private part which played its part in his present woes.

The viewer can also imagine how the woes of alcoholism and syphilis might lead to death, as much as that of street violence. The close proximity of the foreground figures, representing Alcoholism and Syphilis, to Death seated on the black coffin nearby, reinforces the interrelationship between these two social diseases and the end of life. In this respect, the moon-faced pastor's risen right hand holding the white cross may be interpreted as an epideictic warning to the Wild Men and Wild Women who overindulge on their own carnal desires while contributing to already existent social diseases – syphilis, insanity, psychopathy, debauchery, violence, carnal lust, gluttony, and alcoholism – for the paths of epicuric immoderation, although exciting at first, may lead but to the grave. It is thus a grave matter to pursue a life devoted to such deadly practices; but it is equally of no consequence to point this out as an insane humanity animated only by revolt and pleasure who cannot see their own follies. All about, autonomous, immoral, and selfish individuals set about their nocturnal business with Death as the last thing on their minds, or the first, even though a ghostly black carriage rides along the street in the upper right hand corner of the picture, with a top-hatted Death riding as the coachman holding the reigns.

Death itself also does not seem to give a damn about humanity's problems. The indifferent Grim Reaper in the foreground of the composition, drinks in epideictic celebration of the death-throws of carnivalised society along with the rest of the brotherhood of humanity, while the progress of social vices and illnesses continues regardless – despite the moon-faced pastor's feeble efforts – stimulating almost everyone into action in all the nooks and crannies of this urban hell. Such is the nature of the Pestilence that plagues humanity. For Grosz, too, epideictically celebrates, along with Death, the Pestilence which plagues humanity – as an expression of his utter hatred and contempt for the corruption, immorality, and detestable nature of the conservative Capitalist bourgeois gentlemen, the old-age aristocracy, the Weimar government, and the other iconic paradigmatic targets like the politician, the businessman, the clergy, the police, and the military.

As for the Pestilence that plagues humanity – this social disease can be discerned in the nauseating glutton, the ill penguin-suited gentleman in the mid-right midground of the composition, who involuntarily vomits the food and beverages he has consumed. But such is the nature of gluttony, epicuricism, and the folly of a brotherhood of self-indulgent humanity, bent on its own selfishness and autonomy in matters of morals and overindulgence – Bruegel and Steen would have called it *overvloed* – that none of the selfish surrounding figures give a damn about the red-sea lava which spews forth and belches onto the French tricoloured flag representing "liberty". It is a pestilence which plagues the folly of all humanity. For such is the nature of "liberty", or rather, epicuric "libertinism", that brotherhood is nothing but a selfish free-for-all. Naked prostitutes, their limbs and heads missing – their breasts and genitals being of greater importance – float in the Cubist-Futurist juxtaposition of Grosz's "razor-sharp" style, overlayered by men in jackets and ties, gangsters brawling in the street, figures trampling on other bodies, and a crowd of military officers with their battle cries and university scars, publicly brandishing their bloody swords and blowing their own trumpets, while crying out for brotherhood, shouting "hooray", or nauseating on the flag of "liberty".

Unnoticed by this anarchistic Plague of social and individual vices, selfishness and self-indulgence, which hovers about the urban environment and the foreground figure of Death – like Steen's unobserved basket of admonishments in *In weelde siet toe* (fig. 41) – the viewer, looking beneath Death's black coffin, may discern in the dim russet shadows cast by the coffin, the red shapes of a scorpion, a moth, a snake or eel, and what looks like a crab. These infernal creatures of the night – as emblems of traditional plague, pestilence and torment, as used in pictures by Bosch and Bruegel – crawl under, or beneath, the social strata, or else they flit about the supports of the coffin, as ambivalent symbols of social illness like Pestilence plaguing humanity, while feeding on the corrupted bodies of the dead, once Death itself has had the final say in the sick lives of this heteroglossic carnivalesque procession.

Social diseases though they might be, Grosz's urban-based "visions", the "spring-heeled elation" of his "hell picture" are, however, ironically also representations of the secret fantasies of his own "brain circus" i.e., the psychological hatred, terrors, and horrors which haunted Grosz's fertile imagination. Ironically, Grosz's parodic revenge (*rächen*) on German bourgeois society ambivalently reveals not only his own social commitment but also his isolation and imprisonment within these same social parameters. To survive this metropolitan nightmare, Grosz would sometimes don a mask, or take on a *persona* in order to protect himself against the government, the police, and military forms of authority. His political commitment to Communism[71] notwithstanding, Grosz epideictically loathed the masses whom he ironically purported to champion. The Platonic and Horatian dictum, *odi profanum vulgus* ("I loathe the vulgar crowd")[72] can also apply to Grosz. Having read Gustave le Bon's *Mass psychology* (1895) Grosz had reached the conclusion that the human masses were a pitiful mob, "an easy influenced herd of cattle that like nothing better than to choose their own butchers" (Grosz's words).[73]

One way to avoid the vulgar crowd and their "butchers" was, of course, to wear a Carnival mask, to always adopt a *persona* and to carnivalesquely disguise one's inner self from the outer scrutiny of others. Such a stance, of course, would ironically prevent Rayonism from X-raying the self, unlike its exposing of other paradigmatic targets to satire and parody. Although what had been good for the goose was not always good for the gander as well, the option to self preservation was nevertheless far more important for Grosz than revealing his own prejudices. After all, does not a picaro constantly lie, particularly in matters pertaining to the self? Perhaps. Yet Grosz did not entirely shy away from confronting his own demons.

Despite the fact that a crowd offers the individual the feeling of safety in numbers, Grosz had been known to have answered his own personal depressions by taking on other roles and masquerading in public as well as in his paintings and drawings.[74] In response to the German Emperor's repeated prayer that God should punish England, Helmut Herzfelde, during World War I, changed his name to John Heartfield. Grosz, too, anglicised his name from Georg Ehrenfried Groß to George Grosz.[75] Ever the picaresque shape-shifter, Grosz continually tried out new roles for himself. He described, in a letter written in late September 1915 to a fellow student Robert Bell his "endless" loneliness with his heteroglossic *Doppelgängers*, "phantomatic figures" in whom he made particular dreams, ideas or penchants, real: "I drag up three distinct personalities from my inner imaginative world," he wrote, "and I myself believe in the roles played by these pseudonyms."[76] In Berlin, the "epicentre of self-indulgent Americanism",[77] Grosz played out his dreams and fantasies in his three personalities: (1) Grosz; (2) Count Ehrenfried, the elegant, but nonchalant aristocrat with manicured fingernails who preoccupied himself with becoming more cultivated; and (3) the American

medical man, Dr. William King Thomas, who, in Grosz's own words, was "more of an American-cum-practical, materialistic, compensatory figure in the Groszian material self" than German.[78]

As early as 1916 "the merchant from Holland" (Grosz),[79] painted three pictures *Der Liebeskranke* (fig. 151), *Der Goldgräber* (fig. 152), and *Der Aberteurer* (fig. 153) in which he had "translated his fantasies" into "imaginative pseudonyms"[80] of a love-sick sailor, a gold digger, and an American cowboy, respectively. In *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (fig. 136) we find Grosz's self-portrait in the lower centre of the picture: an ochre skull, symbolising a "second Death" to carnivalesque Death itself already seated above him on the black coffin. As an extension of the skull-and-cross-bone motif represented in his "kleine-Grosz-Mappe" (1917) (fig. 154), and as a possible parody of Ensor's *Selbstbildnis met Totenschädel* (1889) (fig. 155), Grosz actually wore a *dadaistischer Tod* mask in 1920 (fig. 156) when he paraded through the streets of Berlin wearing a death head and carrying a placard emblazoned with the words: "*Dada über Alles*".[81] The *Tod*-mask which greets us in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* shows Grosz mingling among the living dead. In this place where the "living are now dying / With a little patience",[82] Grosz portrays himself in the role of an ironic counter-parody to the bingeing skeleton on the coffin lid, as he epideictically "admonishes" his secular eschatological "death sentence" on a sick and insane German society practising "to-day's dance" – perhaps an updated Dance of Death.

Grosz, wearing his carnivalesque *Tod*-mask, witnesses a society condemned to death by its own madness – in Grosz's own words, "the painting was done in protest at a humanity gone insane".[83] Pronouncing his "death sentence against a society which had produced war, revolution, injustice, suffering, and death",[84] Grosz visually parodies the grotesque death-masks worn by the carnivalesque populace, including himself, in defiance of the epideictic celebrating skeleton representing Death seated on the coffin. Grosz's image of death recalls the Futurists as "young lions" pursuing "Death with its black belt dotted with crosses, running on under the vast violet sky, alive and pulsing" (Marinetti)[85] and Hugo Ball's journal entry written a week after the first Dada publication, *Cabaret Voltaire*, on 16 June 1916:

> The Dadaist fights against the agony and death-throes of the age .... He knows that the world of the systems has disintegrated, and that the age, pressing for cash payment, has opened a jumble sale of now profanised philosophy. Where terror and a bad conscience begin for vendors, there for the Dadaist begin gales of laughter and a quiet sense of relief.[86]

When the Futurist "young lions" had pursued Death "alive and pulsing" onto the battlefields of World War I they were expressing in their own words the perceived "agony and death-throes of the age". Their desire to destroy the art in the museums,[87] however, was replaced by the destruction of life itself; and all that remained afterwards from the shell-shocked fall-out of such scenes of horrific mass destruction was what Hugo Ball

described as a disintegrated system of values, a "jumble sale" of "profanised philosophy" and Dada's "gales of laughter". One can thus imagine Grosz's drinking skeleton sharing in the Dadaist epideictic celebration of this destructive process, along with the "gales of laughter", when all about was wildness and madness, hysteria and derangement, heteroglossically described as a mixed, latter-day *satura*: a "razor-sharp" style of fragmentary Cubist-Futurist formalism, a hollow cry for "brotherhood" and the hysterical, yet idiotic, yell of "hurrah!" Grosz's figure of Death thus shares Dada's post-World War I apocalyptic vision of an insane and bankrupt German nation by epideictically saluting "liberty", "morality", and culture, in its "death throes" and "profanised philosophy". Death, in this sense, can be interpreted as a symbol for the nihilism, anarchy, alienation, pessimism, and endgame view of the Berlin Dadaists, which in turn, accompanied the complete break-up of the German brotherhood myth of order, virtue, love, and respect for others.

By depicting his own features as a death's head-mask in the lower centre of the picture, however, Grosz ironically includes himself – as Steen did under other circumstances of rhetoricity in Chapter 4 – among the participants of this carnivalised rhetorical situation. Like other satirists, Grosz reveals himself as being at least as wicked and foolish as his victims. Much as he loathed the crowd of idiotic dummies, however, he reluctantly had to admit that he was still a part of that crowd. In as much as an inebriated Death may be interpreted as a reflection of a drunken post-World War I German society in the death-throws of its old order of values and ideology, reflected in their mad "drunken" behaviour – chaotic, anarchistic, idiotic, and irrational – however, Death's inebriation was also, in retrospect, a prophetic reflection on Grosz himself. Alcoholism, in its double representation as Death taking a swig, and as the grotesque businessman hugging a bottle in the lower left, was one of Grosz's peculiar habits in later life when he increasingly became disillusioned with the world. It is thus with some degree of further irony that the skeleton, representing Death, should partake of the bottle while seated on a black coffin, and that Death should epideictically serve as both a warning and a critique of the social illness of alcoholism – represented by the tiny worm on the coffin lid, near the skeleton's left side – since its "author", the artist himself, eventually succumbed to this intoxicating malady of the night,[88] described in his own words as "the nights red as port, nights that eat away at your kidneys."[89]

End notes

1 Karl Marx's determinist view of Capitalism was that it was becoming increasingly destructive "leading to the final breakdown of bourgeois society in a 'super-crisis' from which the old society [could not] recover and during which [time] the working class [would] seize power through the dictatorship of the proletariat" (Masur 1973-1974, 1: 590). The poster of Lenin and his broom (fig. 134) visualizes Marx's idea – it was an idea which Grosz would have delighted in seeing implemented during the teens and 1920s in Germany.

2 Grosz's *Die Stützen der Gesellschaft* (1926) (fig. 135) is described by Ziegler (1996: 80) as follows:

> A press baron, a parliamentarian, a steel-helmeted military officer, and a retired soldier with a swastika tie-pin are savagely portrayed against the background of a burning city. Grosz showed the Weimar Republic as marked with the ghostly traces of the Wilhelmine empire: class privileges, stifling patriotism, control of parliament by German industry.

3 As a cultivated eccentric, as an irate dandy, a cynic, and a disillusioned misanthrope (Eberle 1985: 59; Lewis 1971: 19), Grosz's continual personal struggle (*Kampf*) with the challenges of his aspirations, and with reality's demands, could best be dealt with through *personae* and a parodic confrontation or battles with social circumstances and the exposure of bourgeois corruption, his own weaknesses and disguises, notwithstanding. The mask he wore during the carnival-time of *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (fig. 136) was thus an appropriate occasion on which to adopt a *persona* of Death in order to pronounce his "death sentence" on a world gone mad.

4 Grosz charted "the terrain of montage as well as its allegorical methods" based on "confiscation, superimposition, and fragmentation" (Buchloh 1982: 43).

5 According to White (1972: 35) "there are no Wild Men any more, except in the socio-psychological sense, as when we use the term to characterize street gangs, rioters, or the like. Wildness and barbarism are now used primarily to designate areas of the individual's psychological landscape not whole cultures or species of humanity." Grosz's picture, representing a completely insane society, does not entirely share White's view.

6 Kranzfelder (1994: 23).

7 Kranzfelder (1994: 24).

8 Van den Berg (1988: 239). Van Niekerk (1987: 106) typifies Grosz's style in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza* (fig. 136) as a "figuratief-abstrakte Ekspressionisme" which has formal connections to the characteristics of Cubism, Futurism, Rayonism, Realism, and Verism, but which at the same time is an individualized reworking of these styles according to Grosz's picaresque world view, personality, and personal experience. Her term "figuratief-abstrakte Expressionisme" is problematic because Grosz, like other Dadaists, disliked the Expressionists. He would have cringed at the thought of his style being described as being "Expressionistic", unless it was meant to parody Expressionism.

With regard to her description of Grosz's style as being influenced by Cubism, Futurism, Rayonism, Realism, and Verism, Van Niekerk's observation may be correct, although she fails to mention Dadaism as well. Van den Berg (1988: 243), however, while admitting that he does not have specialized knowledge about the Weimar Republic, disagrees with Van Niekerk, saying that he would undertake an investigation into urban ceremonial conventions and the representative worlds of the cabaret, the bars, early jazz music, strikes, the manifestations of Dada, the circus, the early German film industry and social demonstrations as points of departure for typifying Grosz's style. There is validity in both approaches, which could be very fruitful if jointly investigated as I have tried to do.

9 In his dislike of German Expressionism, Grosz may have been following in the footsteps of Professor Richard Müller, his one time teacher in Dresden between 1909 and 1911. According to Grosz in his autobiography, Müller inveighed against Van Gogh in scatological terms: "That [van] Gogh – what a shit – ... It takes me two years to paint a picture and that [van] Gogh smears his shit in half an hour and sells it for 15 000 marks – that crap." Müller even more vehemently denounced Emil Nolde in scatological terms: "What? What's that? Fellow sticks his finger up his arse and smears it on the paper! ... What a lummax! Sketching like a drunken sow with a dung fork!" (Ten-Doesschate Chu 1993: 44-45).

10 Butts (1994: 27).

11 The jury panel who selected works for the Salon des Independents exhibition of 1912 consisted of Gleizes, Metzinger, La Fauconnier, Delauney, Léger and Archipenko (Karl 1985: 280). According to Robert Lebel, *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* (fig. 138) "caused such a scandal, even before the opening, that Gleizes, a member of the hanging committee, begged Duchamp's brothers to ask him to remove the picture. With some embarrassment Jacques Villon and Raymond Duchamp-Villon paid an official call on their younger brother. They were solemnly dressed for the occasion and one might have thought they had come to challenge him to a duel. Marcel, of course, raised no objections and left at the Salon a drawing which had accompanied the *Nude*, while he took home in a cab his painting" (Reed 1985: 213-214).

12 Duchamp's picture "in particular, and the other European modernist examples, in general, visually assaulted the public" (Sawelson-Gorse 1993: 86). Most contemporary observers of the American Armory Show agreed that Duchamp's *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* was the high point of the show. From the four thousand invited guests who milled among the eighteen octagonal rooms on the day of the opening, to the more than ten thousand who jostled through

these same rooms on the last day of the exhibition (15 March 1913), *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* evoked puzzlement, laughter, quizzical looks, outrage – and above all, rapt attention. From the press and the critics, including ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* drew much verbal abuse; but their volume and shrillness only added to the painting's notoriety (Marquis 1981: 93). Duchamp's painting "entered the American consciousness to such an extent that the popular press printed cartoons of it, as well as vilifying it in the most extreme manner in their reviews" (Reed 1985: 216-217). See also Tomkins (1982: 40-51).

[13] Berger (1997: 208) notes: "... there is widespread agreement that the sense of humor leads above all to a perception of *incongruence*, or *incongruity*. ... In principle, *any* incongruence may be perceived as comical – between what is alive and what is mechanical (as Bergson proposed), between the demands of censorious morality and blind urges of our libidinal nature (the Freudian angle), between the pretensions of political authority and its underlying fallibility (the fodder for much satire), and so on."

[14] In a later interview Duchamp said that at the time *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* "was considered funny" (Sawelson-Gorse 1993: 99).

[15] Inherently while adopting the Cubist style, in part – the picture was painted in "slightly inflected but essentially monochromatic shades of brown, virtually identical with the palette of Analytical Cubism" (Rubin [s.a.]: 24) – Duchamp's *Nu descendant un escalier no. 2* succeeded in parodying the pedantic dogmatism of Gleizes and Metzinger (1964: 1-18) who, in their essay on the nature of Cubism dictatorially claimed that Cubism was "Today the only possible conception of pictorial art ... at present." With Futurism around, among others, it obviously was not. He may have agreed with Matisse that "the word Cubism means nothing at all, it might just as well ... have been pericarpist" (Duchamp 1975: 29). Duchamp's own phrase for Picasso and Braque's "retinal" pictures was "onanistic painting" (Hill 1975: 22). Cubism was naïvely foolish and "retinal" painting was "stupid". This idea stemmed from a late nineteenth-century expression "stupid as a painter" (Sanouillet 1989: 49).

As for the (Italian) Puteaux Futurists and the "crystallization of a moment of dynamic, cosmic flux" (Marquis 1981: 83, 179), Duchamp shared their enthusiasm for movement – the *enargeia* of inertia – but he did not share their idea of it being a part of an artistic movement; nor did he share the Futurists' love of violence. Making Cubism and Futurism lie in bed together insulted both avant-garde movements. See Elkins (1992b: 216) for further commentary.

[16] Duchamp's *Nu*, unlike Manet's *Olympia* (fig. 129) for example, "suffered" from a gender crisis. The sexuality of the *nu* descending the staircase is not clear. Neither male nor female, it looked extraordinary mechanomorphic and ambiguous. Although Marquis (1981: 74) has argued that the "nude" must be "masculine" since Duchamp used the French "*nu*" rather than the feminine "*nue*" to inscribe the title on the painting, this is by no means certain. Neither are the curving series of drops near the center of the painting, and to the right, definitely identifiable as traces of shooting cum, nor are the lozenger shapes nearby, "strongly suggesting a penis" (Rowell 1975: 51), proof positive that they in fact are. Duchamp, in a later interview said that the "*nu*" was "feminine" but that there was no reason why it could not be masculine as well (Sawelson-Gorse 1993: 100).

[17] The Cubists re-enforced traditional genres by continuing to paint portraits, nudes, landscapes, and still-life compositions. By 1912 terms, however, there was no historical precedent in genres for a nude to descend a staircase.

[18] The painterly marks in Duchamp's picture may merely imitate the marks seen in E.-J. Marey's "Jump from a height with stiffened legs" (*Movement*. London, 1895) (fig. 157) (Steefel 1989: 72), also seen in the *Jump* photograph by Marey or one of his followers (fig. 158), which Duchamp claimed was the springboard – the jump – for his painting: they represented, for him, "the convergence in my mind of various interests, among them the cinema, still in its infancy, the separation of static positions in the photochronographs of Marey in France, Eakins and Muybridge in America" (Rowell 1975: 48; see also Rubin 1975: 44).

[19] Marquis (1981: 85).

[20] Lewis (1971: 52).

[21] The *heteroglossia* of "simultaneous poems" in which "three or more speakers recited quite unrelated texts in as many languages, all at the same time", were, according to Tzara, a feature at the Cabaret Voltaire in Zurich by 30 March 1916. These Dada poems were accompanied by "Negro" music improvised on gongs and drums (Hamilton 1978: 366). Hugo Ball's (1974) writings agree: "When Hugo Ball wrote in November 1916, 'All the styles of the last 20 years met together. Huelsenbeck, Tzara, Janco performed *un poème simultané*,' referring to the famous [Dada poem] of 'L'Amiral cherche une maison à louer' (poem written in French, German, and English), he was describing the birth of the polyglot poem, but at the same time the birth of a Dada language. In the Cabaret Voltaire, in November 1916, language became that 'trajectoire d'une parole jetée comme un disque sonore' ['trajectory of a word thrown like a sonorous discus']" (Federman 1972: 21).

[22] "Waffen und Taktik des 'Da-Dandy' mit denen er sich gegen die 'Agonie und den Todestaumel der Zeit'" (Hugo Ball).

[23] Kranzfelder (1994: 15).

[24] See Van Niekerk (1987: 157-158) and Van den Berg (1988: 237).

[25] Varnedoe & Gopnik (1991: 77).

[26] "Grosz's theatre of capitalism was as clear and memorable as the plot of an old morality play. Here was absolute evil, without qualifications ... . In Grosz's Germany, everything and everybody is for sale. All human transactions, except for the class solidarity of workers, are poisoned. The world is owned by four breeds of pig: the capitalist, the officer, the priest, and the hooker, whose other form is the socialite wife. It was no use objecting, as anyone reasonably could, that there were some descent officers, cultivated bankers, and honorable rich women in Weimar Berlin. One might as well have told Daumier that some lawyers were honest" (Hughes 1993: 75-78).

[27] Although the schematic development of children's drawings was already known in the sixteenth century – see, for example, Giovanni Francesco Caroto's *Portrait of a boy with a drawing* (c. 1520) (fig. 159) – children's drawings and their importance for the growth and development of the child was not studied until much later. Children were only methodically observed in 1875 when Charles Darwin began to keep a daily record of the progress of one of his own children (see Dodge, J.V. & Kasch, H.E. (eds) 1964. s.v. "Art education", "Child psychology and development").

[28] Butts (1994: 27).

[29] Von Waldegg (1986: 112).

[30] Born on 12 November 1853 in Bad Kissingen, Franconia, Panizza experienced childhood traumas that determined his paranoiac and vicious attitudes toward church and state. His mother's fanaticism instilled in Panizza a lasting hatred of Catholicism and state institutions as well as a deep love for the Lutheran tradition of rebellion, which he idealized and eventually transformed into iconoclasm. By the time he began his university studies in 1877, Panizza already showed signs that he would not fit into German society. Unable to complete the Gymnasium, he wandered from job to job, and was highly sensitive to any kind of constraint. He became attracted to the Bohemian life, especially in Munich.

After he received his degree as a doctor of medicine in 1880, Panizza's first position was ironically in a Munich clinic for the insane, where he would find himself as a patient many years later. His interest in deviation and insanity led him to concentrate on genetics, mental diseases, and psychology while at university. Though there were no traces yet of a pathological obsession, Panizza was clearly intrigued by abnormality and sought a clinical and moral understanding of degeneration. Almost all his poems in his early volumes *Düstere Lieder* (1886) and *Londoner Lieder* (1887) express a disdain for the philistine life and a morbid interest in Gothic motifs, death, and a warped frame of mind.

Panizza's own mind became the prison house of his world. He became his own analyst in his writings, saying: "I am not an artist, I am a psychopath. Now and then I use artistic form to express myself. When I do this, it is not because I want to play games with shapes and colours, or to amuse or shock the public, but simply to reveal my soul, that whining animal crying out for help." From the vantage-point of the victim as victimizer, Panizza sought to understand German society. He developed an uncanny way of uncovering the sick side of Germany; and throughout his life his sickness made him into a disturbing critic of social conditions.

From 1890 to 1894, when Panizza wrote some of his best critical essays and stories, it appeared that he might develop into one of the more gifted "anti-bourgeois bourgeois" writers gathered around the avant-garde journal *Die Gesellschaft* in Munich. However, in 1894 he published his notorious drama *Das Liebeskonzil, Eine Himmelstragödie in fünf Aufzügen* (*The council of love, a tragedy in Heaven in five acts*). Set in 1495 when the church under the Borgian Pope Alexander VI was scandalously corrupt, Panizza's play recounted how God, a senile, impotent old man, held council with a pretty, yet vain Maria, and an anemic, gullible Jesus, to decide how they should punish the sexual excesses at the papal court. By the end of the drama, Panizza demonstrated that the origins of syphilis on earth could be traced to God and Maria, who gave their holy blessings to the actions of the devil (see Gilman 1993: 199-201).

The play was naturally banned by the censors and confiscated by the police. Panizza was repelled by the church, the army and the state. This was not surprising, since Panizza's critical spirit of *Haberfeldtreiben* was against the state bureaucracy, whom he felt had infringed on the local rights and customs of the population. Accused of blasphemy by the state authorities, Panizza was put on trial. After a court hearing in the Spring of 1895, he was convicted on 93 counts of blasphemy and sentenced to a year of imprisonment by a Munich judge. The prison experience seemed to shatter him, making him more conscious of the way social conditions operated politically on individuals.

Although the trial and sentence caused a great sensation and disbelief among intellectuals, and helped Panizza to become a *cause celebre*, Panizza was placed in a mental hospital in München in 1904 and then in an insane asylum in Franconia. The following year he was declared incapable of discharging his own affairs and was sent to an asylum near Bayreuth where he remained for the next sixteen years of his life. On 28 September 1921 he died from a heart attack.

[31] Welchman (1989: 77).

[32] The chief exponents of the Expressionist movement were the members of Die Brücke and Der Blaue Reiter. Formed in 1905, Die Brücke derived its name from the writings of Friedrich Nietzsche and his theory that man was a bridge leading to an elevated state of humanity. The painters of Die Brücke included Schmidt-Rottluff, Nolde, Kirchner and Heckel. Der Blaue Reiter, which championed abstraction as the means best suited for lifting the human soul to a higher spiritual plane, included Kandinsky and Marc.

Expressionism, as a post-Romantic movement in Germany, was thus well established before and after the First World War. It was seen by the Dadaists as yet another example of officialdom which had to be debunked. "The German Dadaists ... laughed at the inwardness of Expressionism, its habit of describing every event in terms of the tyrannical *Ich*. Despising mysticism as a flight from reality, they also mocked the Expressionists' political compromises and the

movement's emerging claim to be 'official', and thus harmless, culture. And so the 1918 Berlin Dada Manifesto was a sustained attack on Expressionism" (Hughes 1993: 68).

As the latest vehicle of the system-loving middle class *Kulturideologie*, Expressionism had to die on the "carcass of revolution, whose material *Pythia* it wanted to be" (Ivan Goll). For the Dadaists, Expressionism was interpreted as the art of the middle class, with its compromising Left Wing parties, the SPD and the USPD, its teutonism, its moribund "Gemüt" and its Noske policeman.

Thus, at the first official Dada *soirée* in April 1918, Expressionism, Cubism and Futurism were, in Wolfradt's words, "noisily renounced" with the obligatory "fanaticism" expected of new art movements. Expressionism, in particular, was lambasted for its "inner necessity" having sunk into a mere "aesthetic conquering of the world". In Dada circles Expressionism received "a vote of no confidence in any form of art whatever". This was as much a question of style and tone as well as one of the conflicting ideas about the relation of poetry to the social revolution.

Dada's quarrel with Expressionism reached a head for the second time in Berlin during the months of violence after November 1918, with Richard Huelsenbeck as the chief spokesman for the Dadaists. The relevant writings here are Huelsenbeck's *Erste Dada-Rede in Deutschland* (1918) and his complementary pamphlets *En avant Dada* and *Dada seigt* (both 1920) and certain sections of his article *Die dadaistische Bewegung* (1920). Huelsenbeck attacked Expressionism for its evasive and unrealistic attitude in the face of the cultural collapse of the West. His basic argument was that Expressionism was comprised of a set of false attitudes that were out of step with the question of modernism in art and the rhythm of society. As Dada had dispensed with attitudes altogether, it rejected "aesthetic solutions" altogether. It is thus ironic that Huelsenbeck's attack on Expressionism came at a time when Expressionism, as a coherent literary movement, was already a corpse.

Baader and Hausmann, too, both shared an aversion for the emotional and "anthropocentric" excesses of the Expressionist cult of ecstasy. Hausmann claimed in 1919 that the Dadaists had to protect "art from the swindling profiteers of Expressionism."

[33] Von Waldegg (1986: 111).

[34] "Dada est une quantité de vie en transformation transparente et sans effort et giratoire" (Middleton 1962-1963: 427).

[35] Middleton (1962-1963: 426).

[36] See Van Niekerk (1987: 157-158); Van den Berg (1988: 239).

[37] X-rays also fascinated other artists, most notably Picabia and Duchamp (see Henderson 1989: 114-123).

[38] Middleton (1962-1963: 411-12).

[39] Max Ernst, Oskar Schlemmer and George Grosz were among twentieth-century artists influenced by De Chirico's mannequins. On the ninth Dada evening, held on 9 April 1919 in the Kaufleuten guild room in Berlin, Walter Serner, too, made his celebrated address to a tailor's dummy.

[40] Between 1911 and 1915 De Chirico and his brother, Alberto Savinio (Andrea De Chirico), shared an apartment in Paris with their widowed mother. At some point in 1914, probably in May or June, De Chirico began to develop the mannequin motif which was destined to dominate his work for the next fifteen years. It was not until 1915, however, that he began to introduce mechanical mannequins into his paintings, based on several robot-like characters from his brother's play *Les Chants de la mi-mort*.

"After de Chirico used mannequins ... they became widely favored human surrogates. The shop dummy allowed for a human presence that was explicitly dehumanized, and for the appearance of the figure without the bother of anatomy or modeling that usually went with it; and it also had a profitably unstable combination of smooth ideality and impotent passivity that seemed appropriate for diverse kinds of imagery of machine-age humanity, serving pessimists, cynics, idealists, and pranksters alike" (Varnedoe & Gopnik 1991: 269).

[41] The *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo* published in *Le Figaro* 20 February 1909 (fig. 146) is a document on extreme polemical violence which envisaged a complete rejection of the past and an enthusiastic cleaving to the mechanized present.

[42] The Expressionists, of course, had cried out "against materialism, against the unspiritual, against machines" (Herbert Kühn), maintaining that this attitude was consistent with socialism. They were emphatic in their portrayal of the "struggle of the soul with the machine" (Hermann Bahr, 1916), of the fight against a "materialist-technical-scientific conception of the entire culture" (Hans Hildebrandt, 1919), and of resistance to "the reign of the exact machine" (Gustav Hartlaub, 1920).

[43] For Friedländer, willful acts were "automatic, like mechanisms" extended to all culture as the differentiated "objectification" of the suprapersonal and the "undifferentiated" force of "Creative Indifference". For Breton in 1922, it was "complete detachment" (*disponibilité partfaite*).

[44] Benson (1987: 53).

[45] For Hausmann, Dadaism was rooted in a synthesis of mysticism, anarchism, and psychology.

[46] In medieval times the costumed fool used to carry around a *marotte* or bauble-puppet as a jester's emblem. This toy was interpreted as a trifle, a showy trinket, a thing of no worth; and, together with Erasmus's figure of Folly emblematised self-love and self-knowledge (Watson 1979: 335).

[47] In Picabia's *La fille né sans mère* (1916-1917) (fig. 142) the viewer sees a green and white painted machine drawing as a female being produced by man – a "girl (daughter) born without a mother", according to the title of the picture. Drawn and painted on stationary paper of the former Hotel Brevoort on lower Fifth Avenue where Picabia stayed during the 1913 Armory Show, the picture represents a female being presented as an upright apparatus resembling a mechanical drawing of some sort of compressor or pump. Her green and white body parts, some of which are cast in black shadows, are set afloat in an ochre space which seems to enhance her dominating presence as an icon-machine or as a machine goddess whose nature and functions, although not explicit, are nevertheless suggestive of sexual analogies and overtones, implicit in the machine's movement and movable parts: the rotation of the wheel, the up and down motion of the piston from an unseen power supply, and the levers and many nuts and bolts which hold everything together.

Ever since his arrival in America, Picabia had been impressed with "the vast mechanical development in America" (Camfield 1966: 314) and with the realization that, "Almost immediately upon coming to America it flashed on me that the genius of the modern world is in machinery and that through machinery art ought to find a most vivid expression" (Camfield 1966: 309). Picabia was not the only artist to be impressed: the machine and the machine-made products of the modernist world seized many an artist's imagination as an important new subject for art and as a fundamental attitude towards modernist life. The Italian Futurists from 1909 onwards until World War I had glorified the modern machine-dominated world in their manifestos and had striven in their paintings – though ironically rarely including machines – to reveal modernist life as one that was dominated by the simultaneous experience of the power, speed, and noise of the machine age. Picabia, of course, having been to Europe during 1913-1914, could have known the work of the Italian Futurists as well as the Rayonist-Futurist paintings of Larionov and Goncharova. He could also have known about the locomotives in De Chirico's pictures and the avant-garde principle of reducing to an absurd extreme the basic notion of an animated object or an anthropmorphised machine. Picabia could have seen the principle at work in Léger's robot-like figures and metal made men; in the relief constructions of Archipenko; in the Bibendum created by the Michelin brothers; and in the curious machine forms created by his friend Marcel Duchamp, particularly Duchamp's machine-made readymades (fig. 139).

Picabia's associate on the Dada magazine *291*, Paul Haviland, explained Picabia's interest in the machine age as follows:

> We are living in the age of the machine. Man made the machine in his own image. She has limbs which act; lungs which breathe; a heart which beats; a nervous system through which runs electricity. The phonograph is the image of his voice; the camera the image of his eye. The machine is his "daughter born without a mother." That is why he loves her. He has made the machine superior to himself, he endows the superior beings which he conceives in his poetry and in his plastic with the qualities of machines. After making the machine in his own image he has made his human ideal machinomorphic (Camfield 1966: 314).

Unlike other contemporary artists who were merely interested in depicting machines in their pictures as part of the industrial landscape, Picabia's absurd machines, like those Duchamp had created – think, for example, of Duchamp's *Large glass* (1915-1923) – had no function except to mock science and efficiency. Picabia's *La fille né sans mère* challenged and parodied the grand designs of L'Esprit Nouveau, since his "girl born without a mother" was directed at women and sexuality, not at science and technology; his graphic machines could not be properly measured against "real" machines, but as an machinomorphic feminine being.

Apart from anything else, Picabia's *La fille né sans mère*, as a "girl born without a mother", can also be interpreted as Freeman (1989: 28) suggests: that the inscription accompanying Picabia's "machine-girl", *La fille né sans mère*, "may well have been a translation of '*Prolem sine matrem creatam*', verse 553 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, excerpted by Picabia from the French dictionary *Petit Larousse*." Alternatively, Picabia's picture could be interpreted as an inversion of "the myth of the Virgin Birth, in which Christ, the Son, was born without a father" (Hughes 1993: 48-51). She is a machine who parodies the Virgin Birth – like the priest in Jarry's *Ubu Roi* who proposed "to transform all statues of the Virgin and Child into machines" (Berger 1997: 177) – presented in a baldly "anti-artistic" rendering such as those used in engineering and mechanical diagrams, which is close to the "*Ur*-language of commercial graphics that persists in cheap ads and inventory-type catalogues" (Varnedoe & Gopnik 1991: 268). This mechanical style must have been deliberately chosen by Picabia, just like his decision to draw and paint it on stationary paper of the former Hotel Brevoort on lower Fifth Avenue in order to debunk the idea that his *La fille né sans mère* had anything to do with religion, particularly the Virgin's prominent role in Catholicism, or something sacred. She was a humorous machine, ridiculous and absurd, ironic in her sexual relationship to men, insulting to the bourgeois who wanted to see a pretty picture and not a crudely painted Dada joke; and, above all, she was aligned to commercialism and engineering, since these were the spots from which she had originated, and to which her whole existence was indebted. The authority whose values she parodied were both religious (anti-Catholic), social (anti-bourgeois), "artistic" (anti-art), and scientific at once, as she embraced sexuality and mechanization instead and presented herself as an "un-holy" image, one of mechanomorphism from a Dadaist's point of view, full of erotic parody, paradox, humor, wit, and irony.

[48] Hughes (1993: 75).

[49] Donaldson (1970: 5-6); see also Bergson (1956: 118); Babcock (1978: 17).

[50] Knapp (1990: 496-497).

[51] Lewis (1971: 98).

[52] Marinetti (1959: 79).

[53] Grosz's picture anticipates the street violence that took place in the following year. Between 7 and 10 March 1919 a fresh wave of street fighting broke out in Berlin. Noske's troops inflicted heavy casualties on the Spartacist-inspired groups of working men who had risen against the new middle class Socialist regime of Ebert and Scheidemann, which had convened its first Assembly at Weimar in February, one month after soldiers had arrested and shot the Communist leaders Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

[54] In 1919 the Malik Verlag published 7 600 copies of an anti-military Dadaist periodical entitled *Jedermann sein eiger Fussball* (*Every man his own football*). Anticipating the government's confiscation of the issue, the editorial staff marched on 15 February through Berlin neighborhoods accompanied by a frock-coated musical band. The entire issue was sold out in a few hours.

[55] Selz (1989: 67).

[56] The Berlin Dada scene opened in January 1917 when Huelsenbeck arrived in Berlin after having left the "original" Zurich Dada. He brought the word "Dada" with him (Guenther 1987: 423, 425).

By the end of 1918 the group of Berlin Dadaists consisted of Raoul Hausmann, Richard Huelsenbeck, Johannes Baader ("Oberdada und Präsident des Weltalls"), Franz Jung, George Grosz, Gerhard Preisz, Walter Mehring, Wieland Herzfelde, John Heartfield, Carl Einstein, and others.

[57] Rumold (1987: 483).

[58] Middleton (1961: 50).

[59] This thematic endgame condition finds a parallel in satiric literature. Voltaire's Candide, Swift's Gulliver, Waugh's Paul Pennyfeather and Kafka's K all experience the world as "a shared kind of grotesque idiocy, which is busily at work destroying all sense and meaning. The human litter of the satiric world is paired with a litter of inanimate objects, and the satiric world is crammed to the bursting point with dense numbers of unrelated things. If in the midst of this jumble any trace of the good or the ideal remains, it stands upon the edge of obliteration, finds itself utterly helpless and frustrated, or, despairing, allows itself to dissolve into the mob or takes its place in the empty, mechanical movements of life" (Kernan 1973-1974, 4: 215-216).

[60] Grosz was not alone in satirising the decadence and excesses of the decaying German Empire after World War I. Dix, a fellow picaresque artist, also produced pictures in a satiric vein (see the Conclusion). Karl Kraus (1874-1936), a playwright, wrote a number of scenes in his epic play "ridiculing the megalomania and the stupidity of the German emperor, others portraying members of the house of Hapsburg as hopelessly idiotic" (Berger 1997: 170ff.).

[61] The establishment of the Weimar Republic in 1919 raised widespread expectations among the German people that a revolutionary transformation of society, prophesied by many at the beginning of World War 1, might finally be realized. The political and economic turmoil of the postwar period, however, quickly dissipated such hopes. From 1919 to 1923, Germany was besieged by an epidemic of crippling inflation, crime, prostitution, food riots, and rampant unemployment. During these years the value of the Deutsche Mark fell from 4.2 DM to the US Dollar to the incomprehensible level of 4 200 000 000 DM to a single US Dollar. The poverty level of the general population contrasted sharply with the wealth of the war profiteers.

[62] Benson (1987: 50-51).

[63] Von Waldegg (1986: 111).

[64] Von Waldegg (1986: 113).

[65] The supreme irony in the various references to alcoholism in *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*, such as the mouthful of drink which the skeleton is about to gulp down, was that in later life alcoholism was to become Grosz's "peculiar habit" which led to his death (Eberle 1985: 47).

[66] Eberle (1985: 57)

[67] This statement was Grosz's homage to Hogarth, the English satirist whom he greatly admired, along with his "medieval masters Bosch and Brueghel [*sic*]" (Kranzfelder 1994: 24).

[68] Marinetti (1959: 79).

[69] See Van Niekerk's (1987: 146-147) discussion of Grosz's *Völker Europas, wahrt eure heiligsten Güter* (c. 1922) and her discussion of Grosz's *Die Ausschüttung des heiligen Geistes* (1927) (Van Niekerk 1987: 188-190).

[70] According to Eldredge (1981: 66), Grosz viewed street prostitutes "with a mixture of social protest and lascivious fascination."

[71] Grosz became a member of the Communist Party in 1918. His friend, John Heartfield, the photomonteur, also had a Communist party card. Wieland Herzfelde, while not a member of the Communist party, nevertheless had Communist sympathies. Grosz began to produce caricatures and cartoons for Left Wing publications. Earlier he had contributed to the pacifist literary periodical *Neue Jugend* (1916-17) along with the writer Else Lasker-Schüler, the literary critic and

activist Gustav Landauer and others. When Wieland Herzfelde later took over the almost defunct *Neue Jugend* he began to publish Grosz's satirical anti-war portfolios. In 1919, two years after *Neue Jugend* was banned, Grosz made a contribution to the single issue of the Dadaist periodical entitled *Jederman sein eiger Fussball* (*Everyman is his own football*). His cartoons became the backbone of the magazines *Die Pleite* (*Bankruptcy*) and *Der blutige Ernst* (*Bloody serious*). From 1 May 1919 until the following year, Grosz also worked for an illustrated Left Wing weekly known as *Die Freie Welt* (*The free world*), which was published by the Independent Socialist newspaper *Die Freiheit* (*Freedom*) under the editorship of Felix Stossinger. At the end of its first year of publication, the Left Wing weekly claimed to have a circulation of 100 000 copies. It declared that the aims of the publication were to use pictures as weapons against the enemies of the Left and to bring "socialism, revolutionary spirit, proletarian culture, knowledge, education, and entertainment to the widest circles of the working class."

Despite having joined the Communist Party, and having directly attacked the Weimar Republic using his art as a cultural weapon, Grosz's ardent stance was, nevertheless, only tangentially touched by organized political involvement of the KAPD, the independent Communist Left. A gulf existed between Grosz's art-protest and genuine political action.

For further discussion of the transformation of the German humor magazine between 1914-1917 see Simmons (1993: 46-54).

[72] In Plato's *The republic* (Part 7, Book 6, 494a) the same kind of idea is expressed: "... philosophy is impossible among the common people" and "the common people must disapprove of philosophers" like "all individuals who mix with the crowd and want to be popular with it" (Plato 1987: 289). Philosophers should avoid the vulgar crowd and the common people.

[73] Kranzfelder (1994: 7).

[74] Grosz posed as an American gangster in 1918 (fig. 160). In a staged photograph of c. 1917 Grosz posed as a menacing murderer with a knife crouching behind a longitudinal mirror while his wife-to-be in 1920, Eva Peter, stood in front pretending to admire herself in a hand-mirror (fig. 161). During the early 1920s Grosz walked the streets of Berlin wearing a Death mask (fig. 156). Towards the end of his life Grosz produced *Grosz als Clown und Varietégirl* (1958) (fig. 162), one of his last collage works in America, which shows himself as a red-nose clown with a revue dancer's body set against the New York skyline by night.

[75] Grosz had an overwhelming loathing for his own race: "I rejoice over every German who dies a hero's death on the field of honor (how touching!) To be German means invariably to be crude, stupid, ugly, fat and inflexible – it means to be unable to climb a ladder at forty, to be badly dressed – to be a German means to be a reactionary of the worst kind; it means only one amongst a hundred will, occasionally, wash all over" (Marshall Cavendish Partworks (eds) 1995, 92: 2916).

[76] Kranzfelder (1994: 7).

[77] Butts (1994: 3).

[78] Kranzfelder (1994: 7).

[79] Lewis (1971: 15, 28).

[80] Eberle (1985: 60-63).

[81] Rubin ([s.a.]: 84).

[82] T.S. Eliot, *The Wasteland, V. What the thunder said* (1922; lines 329-330). See Allison (*et al.*) (1983: 1009).

[83] Kranzfelder (1994: 24).

[84] Lewis (1971: 122).

[85] Marinetti (1959: 78).

[86] Middleton (1962-1963: 411-12).

[87] In point 8 of the *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo* (fig. 146) the Futurists saw themselves "on the highest promontory of the centuries" with no need to look back on the past, but rather to "trample out" their "ancestral sloth" by setting "fire to the stack rooms of the libraries" and the diverting of canals "to flood out the museums" of art. Marinetti imagined "the joy of seeing all those glorious old canvases floating away on the current, torn and discoloured by the flood." Unlike De Chirico's somnolent piazzas which recalled Italy's past, the iconoclastic acts proposed by the Futurists would liberate Italy from her "innumerable museums that cover the land like uncounted cemeteries."

Later, Herzfelde in his catalogue essay for the *Dada Fair* would carry on the iconoclastic influence of the Futurists by calling for Dada "products" (*Erzeugnisse*) which could destroy the cult of art (*Kunstkult*).

[88] In 1959 Grosz decided to return once and for all to Berlin. Grosz arrived at the end of May; but he was to have no time to relearn the ways of his old home. Five weeks later, in the small hours of 6 July, a woman delivering newspapers discovered him in a crumpled heap in a hallway of his house at 5 Savignyplatz. He had been out drinking and had fallen down the stairs where he suffocated in his own vomit.

[89] Kranzfelder (1994: 22-23).

Conclusion

The sun in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) witnesses human folly from aloft, much like Dame Folly does in Erasmus' *In praise of Folly*.[1] Extending the sun motif as an omniscient observer over the diachronic "*Wimmelbeeld*" of Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition allows this shining emblem to be the onlooker of the manifold and multifaceted manifestations of human folly in a *heterglossia* of carnivalesque foolish actions and guises. Like this sun, a privileged viewer of Bruegel's parodic legacy is also able to view the changing rhetoricity and epideictics of the various picaresque battles that were fought as visual parodies "shining forth" across the centuries.[2] Whether Bruegel's battle was between Carnival and Lent, or whether Steen "battled" (*gevecht*) with seventeenth-century Calvinism, or whether Hogarth's rhetorically invented "modern moral subjects" battled with the eighteenth-century aristocracy's "bad" taste for old master and foreign history paintings or hack copies, or whether Daumier combated from a Realist stance – being of one's own time – the Idealism of the French Academy's Neoclassicist history painting as "Ancient History" in the nineteenth century, or whether Grosz expressed his struggle (*Kampf*) with, and his hatred for, the German bourgeois Capitalists during the Weimar Republic following World War I, using a "razor sharp drawing" style – the paradigmatic targets of the high mode in each case, whether socio-political, or genre orientated, or both, can be epideictically seen as the satiric motifs to be blamed, as well as being the topics of picaresque visual parody and satire. Throughout these changing times and picaresque battles, "epideictic's propensity to shape and be shaped by the social realm"[3] emerges as an important ally of rhetoricity and picaresque parody.

Perusing through the picaresque battlefields from the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries – i.e., while perusing through the *heteroglossia* of views by those picaresque artists who individually battled with their own times, creating picaresque parodies of differing struggles – based on changing rhetoricities – the viewer may pause to reflect on the picaresque themes of carnivalisation, the satirising of human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*, as organising principles, and also reflect on their interactions with the salient features of epideictic rhetoric. In briefly reiterating on these themes we may not only reflect on the ground covered in previous chapters, but also assess their contribution made to art historical scholarship.

The *imago* power of the representational presence in the pictures surveyed in previous chapters, like Bruegel's emblematic sun, "shine forth" their visual rhetoric, as an epideictic rhetoric showing, displaying, and exhibiting their vivid representations to the viewer as rhetorical *enargeia* and as persuasive visual proofs of each artist's rhetorical communicative skills set before the eyes of an exegetic viewer looking at a given

rhetorical situation to be interpreted. Moreover, as a special kind of visual rhetoric, visual parody engages in the picaresque rhetorical inventions represented by Bruegel, Steen, Hogarth, Daumier and Grosz by showing in action the dynamic interrelationship between the topics of epideictic rhetoric's salient features and the organising principles of this study recurring as leitmotifs in various forms, disguises, and rhetoricity throughout early modern and modernist history.

Carnival-time, as a chronotopic opportunity for the festive gathering of a *communitas*, strong in Bruegel (figs 2, 5 and 6) and Steen (figs 41-46), lingers on in Grosz's insane wake in the early twentieth century (fig. 136). The presence of carnival-time, representing the performative ritual and pageantry of Carnival's epideictic display in the public domain, can also be seen in Hogarth's Carnival-like crowd performing in the street (fig. 73), as well as in disguise, when carnival-time is masked as a masquerade (fig. 71) and attended by the Countesses as a nun and Silvertongue as a monk between Scene 4 (figs 69) and Scene 5 (80) in *Marriage à la mode*. As staged dramas, the theatrical and Carnival themes of these pictures show the strong links between the play aspect of epideictic performance – performed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by *rederijker* troupes – and the conception of picaresque pictures as highly theatricalised compositions. Bruegel- and Steen's pictures are represented as *toneelvoorstellings*; Hogarth's rhetorically invented "modern moral subjects" resemble stage settings, novel narratives, and visual journalism (figs 63, 65, 69, 80, 83), while the cartooning of Daumier's "journalistic" pictures reveal the charivari (fig. 113) and circus-like aspects of his experiences of France during the 1830s-1860s – revealing that society and politics are a circus (fig. 112). Grosz's Weimar pictures, too, seem to have been influenced by the performing arts: the Expressionist simultaneous stage, film montage, cabaret, music halls, street theatre, and vaudeville. One may detect the Carnival theme in all of the above instances, as well as in Grosz's pictures (figs 136-137) where the performing arts, including the age-old conception of individuals as merely actors on life's stage, show the picaresque *personae* of the self's involvement in these rhetorical situations as, for example, in pictures by Grosz (figs 160-162) and Steen (fig. 41).

Apart from the theatre theme, carnival-time's other salient features highlight differing aspects of the carnivalesque in the picaresque tradition. This includes the topic of the Wild Man and Wild Woman, for instance, Dulle Griet in Bruegel (fig. 19). In Steen wildness is represented by a naughty child at school or in the home (figs 41-45) or the carefree lad, Sorghelooshijdt, enjoying the pleasures and seductions of Weelde (fig. 41). Wildness bangs music in the street in Hogarth (fig. 73); and later in Grosz's insane nightmarish urbanscape wild men and women run wild and terrifying through the nocturnal streets along with everyone else (figs 136-137).

Such wildness includes the fool lead by the child in Bruegel (fig. 6) whose folly is readily laughable in numerous instances of satirising human folly. It also includes the high mode Lords of Misrule working outside of carnival-time: Bruegel's Alva as Herod (fig. 25), Hogarth's Hanovian kings and their aristocratic ilk (fig. 75), Philipon- and Daumier's anathematic Citizen King of the French people and his ministers (figs 95-101, 108, 111-112 and 126) and Grosz's iconic Capitalist bourgeois pigs who often behave as mechanomorphic dummies (figs 135-137, 143) – all of whom somehow manage to make life unpleasant, or miserable, for everyone else.

Carnival-time participants also wear masks, hiding their true identities, causing appearances to deceive the demands of reality – Hogarth's plebeian Countess, for example, is no aristocrat – despite all her efforts to fit into the higher social sphere of the English aristocracy (figs 63, 65, 69, 80, 83). Similarly, Bruegel's boorish fellow enacting the role of Prince Carnival is no Silenus (fig. 2).

Not only this, carnival-time also allows many reversals including reversals of gender roles – is Bruegel's Lady Lent male or female? (fig. 2) – and Carnival's reversibility evokes the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*, for example, in figs. 2-3, 5-7, 11, 19, 23 and 41 where the world can immediately be perceived of as wrong-headed, where the Lords of Misrule rule, where inverted perspective subverts the status quo (figs 2-3 and 136), where parody can play with the paradigmatic targets of the high mode by bringing the high low – i.e., where it can challenge hierarchies: satirising societal authority and class distinctions or inverting artistic genres and problematising the rigidity of genre theory. In this regard, the epideictic traits of praise and blame, also characteristic of parody, work alongside a parodic trope structure and rhetoricity in order to point out the artificial boundaries of the *genera descendi* which can be transgressed in more than one perchronic tradition, but particularly in the picaresque tradition. Recall, for example, (1) the picaresque genre parodies of history painting in Bruegel's fall of Icarus (fig. 11), Steen's marriage feast at Cana (fig. 46) and Daumier's lithographs parodying ancient history (figs 121, 123-125), and (2) the schematicist genre parodies of Arcimboldo (figs 30-34) and Aertsen (fig. 35). Think, too, of (3) the genre parodies involving pictures-within-a-picture in Steen (fig. 87) and Hogarth (figs 63, 65, 69, 80 and 83); of (4) the rise of formal parody in the idyllic- (Reynolds' Viscount Keppel, fig. 77), the troubled cosmic- (Manet's parodying of Titian, fig. 129), and in the picaresque traditions in Steen's parodying of Raphael (compare figs 45 and 60) and Veronese (compare figs 46 and 61), in Hogarth (for example, figs 79-80), and in Daumier's parodying of David (figs 91 and 121); and of (5) stylistic parodies within modernism like the parody of Cubism and Futurism by the picaresque Grosz (figs 136-137, 143, 153) and parodies of these same two styles by the

schematicist Duchamp (fig. 138) who later went even further by challenging the notion of "art" with his readymades (fig. 139).

With regard to the picaresque tradition, the epideictics of praise and blame, common to parody also, hold a satirical bent: in the high mode, its vices and its paradigmatic targets are usually parodied in epideictic tones of mocking, scorn, ridicule, damnation, condemnation, criticism, sarcasm, contempt, cursing, and the like – all epideictic ways of blame – while epideictic praise, when available, is lauded on the virtues of the low mode – Bruegel's industrious peasants or Grosz's down trodden proletariats. This is because the didactic pedagogics of the picaresque – an epideictic *ethos* of moral instruction and correction – looks eschewed at the high mode from the low mode point of view – the World Upside Down *topos*; a worm's eye perspective – deriding the high mode's excesses, and the rhetorical situations which reprimand offenders who are usually seen as unworthy and offensive arse-holes.

Along with the above, carnival-time also allows for public taboos – swearing, scatology, rhypography and rhopagraphy – topics that add low life colour in the form of crudeness and obscenity to the picaresque view of the world viewed from the bottom up. Bruegel- and Steen's figures are not afraid to piss and *kak* in public (figs 3, 6 and 19); nor are scatological figures in pictures by Hogarth (fig. 73), and the theme of scatology recurs in Grosz's toilet graffiti as part of his "razor sharp" drawing style, as well as in his sick figures who vomit in public places (fig. 136). Such sordid scatological acts, as deliberate *ineptum*, might offend, shock, or raise a laugh in the viewer, as might the grotesque appearance of figures exhibiting nature's defects, or the epideictic baseness of low mode characters – for Bruegel and Steen, *minderemanstonelen*; for Hogarth, a plebeian Countess; for Daumier and Grosz, the proletariat. Laughter at paradigmatic targets as ridiculous victims – those to be epideictically ridiculed – is, after all, part of Carnival's merry celebration of *communitas*.

The superabundance of the carnivalesque topics mentioned above – Bruegel and Steen would have called it *overvloed* – shows the polyphonic nature of the epideictic events of carnival-time, which boom, shout, and jostle in society and culture. The *heteroglossia* of views and voices which make up the Carnival crowd display the *satura* or medley nature of the picaresque, linked to satire: its playfulness, its circuitousness, its peripatetic wanderings, its episodic nature, its lack of consistency, its mixing of genres (*indecorum*), its overturnings of hierarchies, its admonishment of the wicked, and the sheer busyness of a picaresque composition leading the eye, in Hogarth's words, a "wanton kind of chace". The viewer of picaresque pictures often has to pay attention to hyperactive scenes in which a host of dialogisms are all taking place at

once – compare, for example, pictures by Bruegel (figs 2-3, 7-9, 18-19, 39-40), Steen (figs 41-46), Hogarth (figs 62-65, 69-74, 79-80, 83) and Grosz (figs 136-137).

Among the group of picaresque artists studied, Daumier's economic lithographs are perhaps an exception to this rule as far as his compositions are concerned. Nevertheless, Daumier's heteroglossic range of subjects – from politics to the law, from the parodying of bourgeois follies to the parodying of ancient histories, from the many fraudulent "jobs" undertaken by Robert Macaire to the caricaturing of physiognomy, and from cartooning Neoclassicism as *the* official style of the French Academy – make up in kind what his compositions lack in busyness.

Daumier's picaresque contempt for the pear-headed Louis-Philippe, too, is no less heartfelt than the other picaresque embattlers with authoritative high mode figures. After all, does the theme of picaresque battle not charge along with Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2), with Hogarth's *The battle of the pictures* (fig. 62) and with Daumier's *Combat des écoles: l'Idealisme et le Réalisme* (fig. 91)? Are not the social paradigmatic targets of the civic religion of Calvinism for Steen, and bourgeois Capitalism for Grosz, not the very motivations for their respective parodies, as were the genre paradigmatic targets of bad taste in history painting for Hogarth, or Academic Neoclassical history painting and Idealist *fini* painting for Daumier? From every century a battle cry is heard, although, curiously, no particular side is shown to be the victor in battle (see figs 2, 62 and 91). Perhaps this is because a picaresque artist is still willing to accommodate their adversaries in scenes of insurrection, the better to mock them epideictically. But not, however, without including themselves as part of the satire: for example, Bruegel and his wife stuck up a tree (fig. 10), Steen, the comic-painter-actor (figs 41-42, 44, 46, 54-55), Hogarth, the painter of the comic muse (fig. 82), and Grosz with his multiple *personae* (figs 136, 151-153, 156 and 160-162).

To sum up – "*soma op*", to use Steen's words (fig. 41) – the picaresque battles in changing contexts and rhetoricity have made ample use, in various guises, of the Bruegelian themes of carnivalisation, the satirising of human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*, together with the salient features of epideictic rhetoric in their parodying of the paradigmatic targets of the high mode, both socially with class and politics, and culturally with genres. Although these battles have passed into history as differing accounts of rhetoricity, the fact that their rhetorical *imago* power is still able to speak to later viewers testifies to their relevance to successive generations of viewers and interpreters of these picaresque parodies.

In being able to survey their changing rhetoricity in which the organising principles of this study were variously used, the viewer of a picaresque visual parody can actively engage in the perceptual and

interpretative processes of each picaresque artist's pictures while at the same time enjoying the ends of rhetoric according to the manner in which the picaresque tradition interacts in context with the salient features of epideictic rhetoric described in Chapter 1. The emerging results of the interaction between the salient features of epideictic rhetoric with the picaresque world view, which takes into account the organising principles of the carnivalesque, the satirising of human folly, and the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*, can be tabled as follows:

Epideictic rhetoric↓	Perchronic world view→	'picaresque': insurrectionist battles
Ceremony or ritual (performance art)		Carnival and the carnivalesque; theatrical settings; pictorial actors (*personae*).
Praise/blame		Parody of paradigmatic targets of the high mode (socio-political or genre hierarchy: the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos*).
Virtue/vice		The virtues of morality (pedagogic didacticism)/the vices of immorality (sin, evil, corruption in high places). Satirising the *heteroglossia* of human folly.
Beauty/ugliness		Beauty of human nature in daily life (earthiness; unidealized nature)/the grotesque (ugliness, deformed, misshapen, mixture, hybridity).
Nobility/baseness		Nobility of the low/rhypography and scatology as baseness; high mode paradigmatic targets as base, to be debased by parody.
Better (greater, amplified)/worse (lesser, reduced)		Low mode (better)/high mode (worse) = a reversal, World Upside Down inversion of the status quo.
Celebration/condemnation		Celebration of the low mode and the lower body stratum, scatology/condemnation of high mode's utopian folly, corruption, lies, empty promises, suppression of freedom, tyranny, etc.

Table 5. The interaction of the salient features of epideictic rhetoric with the picaresque world view.

From the framed perspective of a rhetoric of parody outlined in Table 5, from a picaresque perspective, "praising" and "blaming", epideictically, the paradigmatic targets of the high mode and the overturning their contents and meaning in context by means of rhetoricity and the parodic trope structure of a parody, the viewer and interpreter of a picaresque parodic picture is not only able to trace these themes framing a historic context-bound picaresque battle, but is also invited to become an active participant in picaresque wit and satire by gaily revelling in the *heteroglossia* and *satura* of mischief offered to the eye and to the intellect by a picaresque artist for a viewer engaging in the interpretation of the representation of each rhetorical situation.

By overturning their paradigmatic targets (see Chapter 3, Table 4) the picaresque examples of visual parody presented in this study gad about the carnivalesque streets with puck and insurrectional cunning, armed with a didactic pedagogic purpose and a moral intent bent on exposing perceived evil, vice, and immorality, while at the same time bent on ridiculing the perpetrators of injustice and misrule with epideictic mockery and satire. As they giddy-on with their merry pranks, trick-a-treating their victims and viewers alike with all the wild abandon and teasing attendant of a Wild Man or Wild Woman during a Carnival parade, picaresque parodies sometimes epideictically display the *imago* of the costumed masks worn by an artist's *personae* as

in the cases of Steen and Grosz.[4] More often than not, however, the picaresque mask covers the face of the carnivalised picaro\picara in picaresque battle as the viewer notes the universal human condition of folly, not only during carnival-time, but also in everyday life as well.

For as long as "the world is seen out of whack"[5] and is perceived of as wrong-headed from a worm's eye perspective, a picaresque outlook will be inclined to view the world according to the ontic order of the World Upside Down *topos* and to introduce parody, in the form of an insurrectionist battle, with the rhetorical intention of satirising the Lords of Misrule within a carnivalesque atmosphere of epideictic celebration and condemnation, admonition and victimisation. For every time justice is blindfolded by a fool (fig. 37), every time the human follies and immorality of the high mode are scandalously exposed, every time one is free to speak to authority while gagged (fig. 110), and every time corrupt tyrants try to suppress the masses, picaresque insurrectionist uprisings of protest (fig. 107) will follow – wild, crazy, angry (fig. 39), abusive, mocking, derogatory, satiric, parodic. Such epideictic battle cries and battles by the picaro/picara rage on through changing times and different rhetoricities; for although times may change, the battles of the picaresque fighter are far from over, or won.

Ever since the *sociétés joyeuses* had been founded on the principle that "the whole world was mad, and all men [and women] were fools", the *confréries* had "pledged to more or less continuous representation of the whole of society as a 'great stage of fools'."[6] Changing historical contexts have borne out this picaresque perception of foolish humanity as mad on the world's stage from Bruegel to Grosz, for when will humanity ever learn? A brief glimpse at socio-cultural hierarchy through the ages, together with the high mode's notions of "superiority", elitism, corruption and tyranny, both socially and ideologically, along with the rigidity of the *genera descendi* in its heyday, and with the continual misbehaviour of human vices and immorality, would seem to indicate that humanity, being status conscious, power-hungry, mad, and foolish – a *sottenbol*, a pear, a dummy – will never learn its lesson – will forever be an ass at the school of virtue, morality, and ethical behaviour. If, for example, we complain about the excesses of sex, violence, and strong language found on film and television today, are the topics of sex and violence not the subjects of many of Grosz's Weimar pictures (see Chapter 7) and one of the principle themes of Hogarth's tragicomic *Marriage à la mode* (see Chapter 5)? Is violence not the theme of Marinetti's *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo*? And if, to take another random example, the many bloody battles which have scarred almost the entire face of the twentieth century, and still continue in places like former Yugoslavia in the 1990s and elsewhere in the world, what has humanity learnt about war and about the dictators of the high mode responsible for wars? It seems that the "perpetrator of violence [is] ... a human being ... capable of reducing another human being to

nothing more than injured or dead matter",[7] and that for as long as ideology remains an evil which epideictically finds intolerable other beliefs and convictions, and seeks to either control them by force, or to kill, persecute, intimidate, or imprison such views – the views of satirists, parodists, and opposition critics – wars, battles, and the destruction, suffering, and barbarism that are created as a result, will continue to violate human rights and to create crimes against humanity as Bruegel's ambiguous blind Justice is ironically able to testify (fig. 36). Also, as long as a torturer cannot feel his/her victim's pain, the inhuman treatment of other human beings, or nature, will continue to surfeit in the chronotope of history. Take, for example, Bruegel's *De bedelaars* (1568) (fig. 144) and compare his picture of cripples to the cripples represented in Dix's 1920 pictures *Skatspieler* (fig. 163), *Pragerstraße* (fig. 164), *Die Straße* (fig. 165) and *Kriegskrüppel (met Selbstbildnis)* (fig. 166). A gulf of 352 years separates these pictures; and, while they differ in context, style, and meaning,[8] the picaresque images of Bruegel and Dix, Grosz's picaresque contemporary, are of grotesque men – cripples with amputated limbs. These beggars, as social outcasts, are forced to go a-begging in the streets even in Bruegel's *Het gevecht tusschen Karnival en Vasten* (fig. 2) where the cripples going a-begging are to be seen in the upper mid-foreground on the left hand side of the composition. These beggars and cripples are the victims of picaresque battle and they have the grotesque appearances of Carnival participants to prove it.

That the thematic organising principles of picaresque visual parodies can cut across the centuries testifies to the universality of human folly, the carnivalesque, the World Upside Down *topos*, and visual parody, and it also bares witness to the universality of Bruegel's parodic legacy on the one hand, while, on the other, addressing the usefulness of epideictics and perchronics to this study. Once a rule, as a norm or convention, has been established in the high mode – for example, Albertian perspective in Chapter 3 – these particular topics can become the paradigmatic targets which picaresque visual parody satirises: in this example, as the inverted perspective of the World Upside Down *topos*. Once a hierarchy has been formed in the high mode – whether in society or among artistic genres – their very pretentiousness to being "superior" and "high and mighty" can easily be exposed as ridiculous and laughable and can be overturned and be epideictically "admonished" in a picaresque visual parody – which postmodernists would probably prefer to call deconstruction. For just like there is a sucker born every minute aspiring to the values of the high mode, so too, there will always be an arse-hole full of shit in the high mode to be parodied and satirised. And the emblematic sun in Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (fig. 3) will not only epideictically shine upon such folly, or observe it from on high, but the sun will circuitously sink lower in the sky to rise again the next day, like the cycles of the seasons, or Fortune's wheel, to watch the circuitous good and ill fortunes and follies of

humanity rise and fall again, even as individuals come and go, and history and rhetoricity changes, and the high and the low modes still stand – making their stand – drawing "new" battle lines for future picaresque battles and parody.

For these reasons alone, if for no others, picaresque parody's history and rhetoricity, its *enargeia* representation, its *imago* power, and its carnivalesque participants, are in continuous dialogism with the past, with rhetoric, and with the themes of Bruegel's parodic legacy. They epideictically engage in these rhetorical situations in the present when representing their own historical perspective of rhetoricity and contextualising. Together they form a *heteroglossia* of voices consisting of differing points of view and individual perspectives whose opinions and world view convictions are still being formulated, expressed, and experienced on a daily basis, so that the whole question of picaresque parody, existing alongside other perchronic parodic perspectives – recall *Democritus en Heraclitus* (fig. 1) – are still open to the processes of viewing and interpretation in an open system of discourses and dialogisms. In short, the "farce" isn't over;' one cannot lower the curtain on the *theatrum mundi* for the sun is still shining on fools, the picaresque battles are still raging, and picaresque and other non-picaresque perchronic parodies are still circuitously wandering in the streets, performing tricks, demonstrating wit, watching and waiting – for they may probably still go begging in the future.

The prospects for further research on visual parody

Without detracting from my original contribution to the study of Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition, admittedly it does have several limitations – time and space being but two constraints; the impossibility of an even more thorough comprehensiveness being another. A fourth limitation has been the restrictions imposed by the organising principles outlined in chapters 2 and 3, relating to Bruegel and his parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition and of the tracing of their footprints in later chapters, which have disavowed other possibilities. Fifthly, the adoption of a rhetorical reading of visual parody has excluded the possibility of other kinds of interpretations and theories of parody which might arise from the current trends in New Art History mentioned in Chapter 1 – deconstructivist, semiotic, feminist, psychoanalytical (Lacan), and NeoMarxist readings, and others – the first two fields of inquiry, perhaps, staking the largest theoretical claims for postmodern parody and a postmodern interpretation of parody, particularly formalist parody. Since there are no privileged modes of perceiving, writing, representing, or interpretation, and there can be no single meaning of a picture, I have no quarrel with alternative interpretations[10] of the pictures interpreted

in this study, nor can I object to other insights which could be gained from differently theorising about parody in general, or about visual parody in particular, provided that such approaches are convincingly argued.

My framing picaresque perspective towards visual parody and Bruegel's parodic legacy is a sixth limitation. Although I have tried to show that the picaresque tradition can be regarded as the true home of Bruegel and visual parody, and have briefly indicated how parody works in non-picaresque traditions – in the paradigmatic/schematic tradition of Aersten, Archimoboldo and Duchamp, the idyllic tradition of Reynolds, the troubled cosmic tradition of Manet, and the erotic tradition of Picabia – my inclining bias towards the picaresque view may nevertheless be criticised and complemented by a different approach from a non-picaresque world view perspectival frame, where different insights would probably emerge.

Since these limitations are gaps[11] or lacunae in the present study, they remain to be filled at a later stage, either by myself or by other researches. This original investigation by no means closes the field of study. On the contrary, as the lacunae need to be filled, this study opens up the field of visual parody to a greater exploration. I can suggest at least fourteen different lines of inquiry.[12] (1) The current research on visual parody can be extended, for example, to include monographic studies on each of the dominant picaresque artists mentioned. Such studies could focus on other pictures not dealt with in this study as examples of visual parody by these artists; and being subject specific and contextually focused, could provide even deeper insights into individual perchronic world views within a particular artist's *oeuvre* and context. (2) An undertaking of this nature could perhaps rely on other thematic foci as organising principles and could draw on other contextual frames, perspectives, or historical accounts, in support of those investigations.

(3) By shifting the focus from Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition to that of other artists working with visual parody in non-picaresque traditions, a different thematic focus would need to be found to account for their use of visual parody. (4) Rhetoric, the "art of wondering",[13] could perhaps be used in other ways[14] to account for visual parody's nature and artist's parodic strategies in operation in parodic pictures. (5) Of course, the "abiding dimension of rhetoricity"[15] need not be considered as central to an investigation of visual parody. Other *theoria* for "encoding understanding"[16] could also be adopted, whose frames will yield differing conclusions than my own. (6) These non-rhetorical theoretical perspectival frames could, of course, also be applied in conjunction with rhetorical theory and with the rhetoric of visual parody to produce interesting interdisciplinary and intertextual results.

These six areas for further research could, however, snowball into other directions, including the following: (7) the extension of the number of picaresque and non-picaresque artists, particularly those not discussed in this study; (8) the extension of the historical frame to visual parodies prior to the sixteenth century or to visual parodies after Dada, (9) the expansion of the horizon of visual parody away from pictures could shift to other mediums like sculpture and installation art, for example, or to new technologies such as virtual reality, computer generated art, comic books, mixed media, hologram art, craft, fashion, commercial art and advertising, photography, television and film[17] – including an analysis of Roberto Benigni's picaresque battle in *Life is beautiful* (1999) – or to such visual culture or counter-culture subjects like graffiti art, punk hairdos and tattoos. (10) Visual parody can also be studied in other areas of history and culture, for example, parody in non-Western art, or parody in visual culture and communication studies. (11) Visual parody can also become part of the field of comparative studies where the theory of parody is examined in all branches of the sister arts – literary, performing,[18] and visual – in both historical and contemporary times, yet avoiding the pitfalls of Hutcheon (1985) and Rose (1979). (12) As a part of an interdisciplinary study, visual parody can also be studied in relation to theories of perception, philosophy and aesthetics, or be discussed while focusing in differently designated contextual frames like sociology, anthropology, technology, geography, the environment, education, ideology, politics, or religion, among others. (13) Visual parodic pictures can also be studied in relation to non-parodic pictures.

(14) Snowballing even further,[19] these varieties of approaches to visual parody could, ultimately, lead to an investigation into what could constitute the parodic genre in terms of the visual arts. This would be a tricky undertaking full of many pitfalls, including the fact that, historically speaking, visual parody has not been regarded as a visual art genre in the way that the genres of the *genera descendi* have. Moreover, because the paradigmatic targets of visual parody might be too numerous to categorise, or to list, as explained in Chapter 3, the shaping of a genre for visual parody may itself be in need of constant revision in order to accommodate new evidence, categories, artists, pictures, images, other mediums, methods, contexts, approaches, frames, views, perspectives, theories[20] and strategies, so that it would remain research in progress, a dialogism, without reaching any sort of definitiveness or finality.[21] That such research in progress should remain open-ended within an open system of interpretation should nevertheless encourage an on-going investigation into the nature of visual parody because all new "theories of vision breed new 'facts' concerning what we 'really see'."[22] And visual parody certainly provides an alternative way of seeing the world and revisioning it: the accounts of the past, present and future, the representation of the high- and low modes, and the domain of socio-culture via the sister arts.

A viable case can thus be made for further research into all of the above mentioned areas.[23] The list is by no means exhaustive, and my readers may wish to tag on a few areas of research of their own. Such inclusions should make an optimist sceptical that the last word about parody has been said. If anything, the *imago* power of visual parody which cuts across rhetoricity and the boundaries of diachronic and synchronic chronotopes, including framing perchronic world views, and parodic perspectives – shining, like Bruegel's emblematic sun, on history and culture, society, rhetoricity and ideology, past and present, in all its heteroglossic[24] facets – should alert the reader to the fact that parodic interpretations as exegetic investigations may need to be continued on an on-going basis alongside other scholarly research.

For this reason alone, if for no other, the topic of visual parody, like a picaresque beggar, goes begging: it awaits further inquiry into its *satura* nature, its multi-purposefulness, and its meaning in context. For it is a truism of any rhetoric of inquiry, including visual parody, that "truth cannot be held by one person alone[25] but is in its essence a shared reality. It is entered into through dialogue, and effective dialogue must be ironic and inconclusive."[26] Visual parody will thus always remain a topic for "revisioning",[27] and future research articles will flow from the present study which, in its own right, makes an original contribution towards epideictics, the rhetorical nature of visual parody, and Bruegel's parodic legacy in the picaresque tradition.

End notes

[1] Erasmus (1971: 143); see also Watson (1979: 349).

[2] The reader of Chapter 1 may recall that epideictic rhetoric translates as "to shine or show forth" (Carter 1992: 304).

[3] Poulakos (1988: 149).

[4] In literature, writers like Will Rogers include themselves "in the foibles he depicts" (Berger 1997: 110).

[5] Foss, Foss & Trapp (1991: 319).

[6] Watson (1979: 338).

[7] Segal (1970: 65). One simply needs to look at the battle images of Callot and Goya (see Cornew 1998: 64-88).

[8] For an interpretation of Bruegel's *De bedelaars* see Bovi (1990: 21). For an interpretation of Dix's beggars see Karcher (1992: 55).

[9] In the past "humoristic draftsmen – Pieter Bruegel, Honoré Daumier, Wilhelm Busch, and George Grosz, to name only a few – ... [have] made a living by satisfying the human desire for laughter" (Ten-Doesschate Chu 1993: 41). Comic artists and caricaturists in the present and the future will continue "to make the risible visible" (Dolan 1998: 192).

[10] "Interpretations ... are revisable in part because anyone today seeking to make a contribution to the [existing] literature must say something new, taking issue with [past writers] ... even as [those writers] took issue with their precursors" (Carrier 1985: 331).

[11] Writing about the past always involves "the losses and gains in establishing correlations and causalities on the one hand and articulating discontinuities and gaps on the other" (Lauer 1993: 51).

[12] Through any rhetoric of inquiry a scholar "can expect to encounter fresh implications for theories of rhetoric from current research in many other fields" (Nelson & Megill 1986: 34).

[13] Covino (1988: 1-131).

[14] The "revival of rhetorical theory does not signal the birth of a new method" (Van den Berg 1993a: 59).

[15] Van den Berg (1996: 6).

[16] Kittay (1981b: 242-243). Rhetorically speaking, *theoria* is "the act of contemplation" (Kittay 1981b: 240).

[17] Apart from film adaptations of picaresque novels mentioned in a note in Chapter 1, picaresque films like Dennis Hopper's *Easy rider* (1969) might be discussed in this regard. *Easy rider* is about a "picaresque journey across the U.S., of confrontation between the hippie dropout and the violence in organized, 'respectable' society" (Benton 1970: 202).

[18] For example, Kohl (1993: 147) sees "rock and roll music and its surrounding culture as manifestations of the carnivalesque."

[19] Eventually "all texts enter into a larger text" (Covino & Joliffe 1995: 23).

[20] Scholars and academics, of course, continually like toying with theories. Some hope that "my theory will lick your theory" (Bordwell 1995: 483).

[21] No interpretation can ever be finished (Stierle 1994: 864). The "answers we offer ... are ever tentative" (Carter 1992: 311) – "often heterogeneous, provisional, and ambiguous" (Welchman 1989: 57). In an "unending conversation" (Foss, Foss & Trapp 1991: 315), "everything waits. Everything goes somewhere else ... . Everything is incomplete ... . Everything is in progress ... . Everything is exploratory ..." (Corder 1993: 95-96).

[22] Snyder (1980: 514).

[23] None of these areas of research, however, will guarantee "a correct reading" of a picture (Seerveld 1993: 69).

[24] There is a "*plurvocity* belonging to the meaning of human action" and there is "always more than one way of constructing a text" (Ricoeur 1971: 550-551). Bakhtin's (1988: 505) "*heteroglossia*" (many-voiced), "dialogism", "unfinalizability", and "polyphony" are terms which refer to the multiplicity and openness of discourse.

[25] By the same token, "there is no *one* thing to say about anything" (Ong 1975: 18).

[26] Glen Tinder in Nelson & Megill (1986: 32).

[27] Art historians "make art, as does everybody else who holds a concept of art" (Smith 1975: 97). "Art history ... is an ongoing discussion about works of art" (Seerveld 1993: 69).

Appendix 1. Annotating Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (1559)
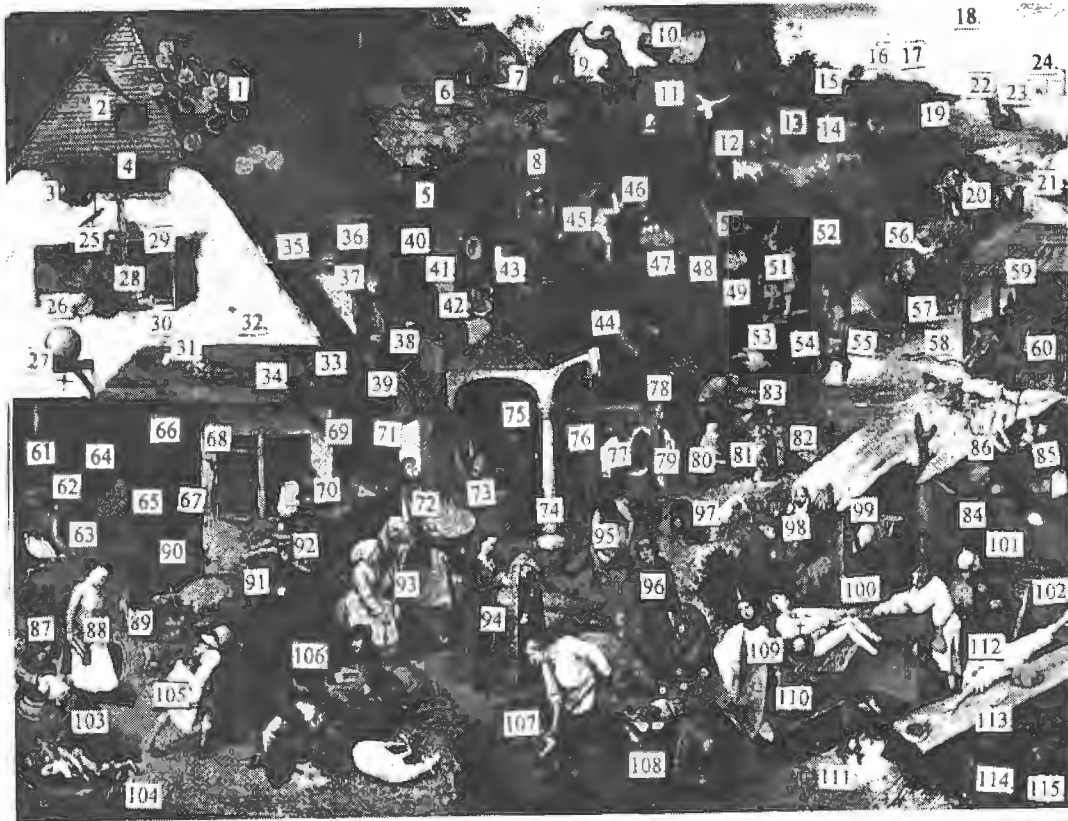
Annotation of Bruegel's *De verkeerde wereld* (1559) (fig. 3) according to Dundes & Stibbe (1981: 13-66). (See also Cornew 1995a: 267-268, Tracing 2).

1.	*Daar zijn de daken met vladen gedekt.* There the roofs are tiled with tarts.	2.	*Daar streekt de bezem uit.* There the broom sticks out.
3.	*Hij zit door de vingers.* He looks through his fingers.	4.	*Te patijnen staan.* To stand with one's clogs on.
5.	*De eene pijl na de andere verschieten.* To send one arrow after another.	6.	*De varkens lopen los in 't koren.* The pigs run loose in the wheat (field).
7.	*Hij loopt of hij het vuur in zijn aars (broek of gat of lijf) had.* He moves along as though his ass (pants or backside or body) were on fire.	8.	*Hij speelt op de kaak.* He plays on the pillory.
9.	*Hij hangt de huik naar de wind.* He lets his cloak go with the wind.	10.	*Hij want pluimen in de wind.* He pours feathers into the wind.
11.	*Zij kijkt naar de ooievaar.* She watches the stork.	12.	*Hij slaat twee vliegen in één klap.* He hits two flies with one blow.
13.	*Als het huis brandt, warmt men zich bij de kolen.* When the house is burning, one can warm himself from the coals.	14.	*Hij sleept he blok.* He drags the block.
15.	*Angst en vreese doen den oude loopen.* Terror and fear make the old run.	16.	*Als de ene blinde de andere leidt, vallen ze beiden in de gracht.* If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into the ditch.
17.	*De reize is nog niet gedaan, al ziet men kerk en toren staan.* The journey is not yet over, although one can see the church and the belfry standing.	18.	*Iemand in 't zonnetje zetten.* Putting someone in the sun.
19.	*Paardenkeutels zijn geen vijgen.* Horse manure is not figs.	20.	*Hij ziet de beeren dansen.* He sees the bears dancing.
21.	*Er zijn om ganzen te hoeden.* He is there to tend the geese.	22.	*Een oogje in 't zeil houden.* Keeping an eye on the sail.
23.	*Hij beschijt de galg.* He shits on the gallows.	24.	*De kraaien moeten op aas loeren.* The crows must await (like vultures) carrion.
25.	*Onder het mes zitten.* Sitting under the knife.	26.	*Hij beschijt de geheele wereld.* He shits on the whole world.

27. *De verkeerde wereld.* The world upside down.	28. *De gek krijgt de kaart.* The fool gets the card.
29. *Zij hebben elkander bij de neus.* They have one another by the nose.	30. *De terlingen zijn gevallen.* The dice have fallen.
31. *'t is naar het vallen van die kaart.* It depends on the fall of the cards.	32. *Een knip oog.* A snip-eye, or a wink.
33. *Een nestei.* A nest egg.	34. *Daar zijn latten aan het dak.* There are laths on the roof.
35. *Hij heeft een gat in zijn dak.* He has a hole in his roof.	36. *Een oud dak heeft veel hermakens van doen.* An old roof needs much repair.
37. *Hij heeft tandpijn achter zijn oren.* He has a toothache behind his ears.	38. *Hij pist tegen de maan.* He pisses at the moon.
39. *Daar hangt de pot uit.* There hangs the pot outside.	40. *Ongelijke schotels maken scheele oogen.* Different size platters make crossed eyes.
41. *Twee zotten onder één kaproen.* Two fools under one hood.	42. *Den gek scheren.* Shaving the fool.
43. *Het groeit het venster uit.* It grows out the window.	44. *Hij vist achter het net.* He fishes behind the net.
45. *Hij springt (of valt) van de os op de ezel.* He jumps (or falls) from the ox onto the ass.	46. *Hij kust het ringetje van de deur.* He kisses the ring on the door.
47. *Hij veegt zijn gal aan de poort.* He wipes his ass on the door.	48. *Iemand het gat van de deur wijzen.* Pointing at or out the hole in the door to someone.
49. *Twee schijten door één gat.* Two shit through one hole.	50. *Dat hangt als een kakhuis over eene gracht.* That hangs (stands out) like a shithouse over a canal.
51. *Hij gooit zijn geld in het water.* He throws his money in the water.	52. *Een gescheurde muur is haast afgebroken.* A broken wall is almost torn down.
53. *Grote vissen eten de kleine.* Big fish eat little fish.	54. *Hij kan het hoofd niet boven water houden.* He can't keep his head above water.
55. *Hij kan de zon niet in het water zien schijnen.* He can't stand to see the sun shining in the water.	56. *Hij smijt zijn kap over de haag.* He throws the cowl over the hedge.
57. *Hij zwemt tegen de stroom op.* He swims against the tide.	58. *Een aal bij de staart hebben.* To have an eel by the tail.
59. *De kruik gaat zo lang te water, tot zij breekt.* The pitcher goes to the water (well) until it breaks.	60. *Het is goed riemen snijden snijden uit een andermans leer.* It is good strap cutting from another man's leather.
61. *Iedere haring moet aan zijn eigen kieuwen hangen.* Every herring must hang by its own gills.	62. *Hij heeft de koek op t' hoofd.* He has the cake on his head.
63. *Zijn haring braadt hier niet.* His herring won't cook here.	64. *Wat kan de rook het hangijzer doen?* What can the smoke do to the pothook?
65. *Tussen twee stoelen in de as zitten (of vallen).* Sitting (or falling) between two chairs in the ashes.	66. *De hond is in der scapraden.* The dog is in the cupboard (finishing off his master's food).
67. *Daar hangt de schaar uit.* The scissors hangs outside.	68. *Lichtekooi.* A light cage.
69. *Altijd op een been knagen.* Always chewing on one bone.	70. *De hennetaster.* The hen toucher.
71. *Met twee monden spreken.* Speaking with two mouths.	72. *Hij draagt de dag met manden uit.* He carries the day (light) out in baskets.
73. *Voor de duivel een kaars aansteken.* Lighting a candle for the devil.	74. *Een geveinsde kerkpilaar.* A feigned church pillar.
75. *Bij de duivel te biecht gaan.* To confess to the devil.	76. *De oorblazer.* The earblower.
77. *De vos en de kraan hebben elkaar te gast.* The fox and the crane have each other as guests.	78. *Hij staat in 't kreit.* It is written in chalk.
79. *Het is zoo ondigt als een schuimspaan.* It holds water like a skimmer.	80. *Het is gezond in 't vuur te pissen.* It is healthy to piss in the fire.
81. *Daar is geen spit mee te wenden.* There is no way to turn a spit with him.	82. *Hij zit op heete kolen.* He sits on hot coals
83. *Hij vangt den eenen visch met den anderen.* He catches one fish with another.	84. *Zij raapt het knippenei, en laat het ganzen ei loopen.* She picks up the chicken eggs, and lets the goose egg walk.
85. *Hij valt door de maand.* He falls through the basket.	86. *Een wit voetje hebben bij iemand.* To have a white foot with someone.
87. *Een pilaarbijter.* A pillar biter.	88. *Zij draagt water in de eene, en vuur in de ander hand.* She carries water in one hand and fire in the other.
89. *Het varken trekt de tap uit.* The pig removes the spigot.	90. *Men zal het hem met een trechter ingieten.* One will pour it into him with a funnel.
91. *De kat de bel aanbinden.* Belling the cat.	92. *Hij is tot op de tanden gewapened.* He is armed to the teeth.
93. *De een rokkent wat de ander spint.* The one provides distaff for what the other spins.	94. *Zij hangt gar man de blauwe huik om.* She hangs the blue cloak on her husband.
95. *Het varken is door de buik gestoken.* The pig is stuck through the belly.	96. *Rozen voor de varkens strooien.* Casting roses before swine.

97. *Twee honden, aan één been, komen zelden overeen.* Two dogs on one bone can hardly ever come to an agreement.	98. *Hij wil onzen Heer een' vlassen baard aandoen.* He wants to put a flaxen beard on our Lord.
99. *Hij zit in zijn eigen licht.* He sits in his own light.	100. *Aan het langste (of kortste) eind trekken.* Pulling for the longest (or shortest) piece.
101. *Hij gaapt tegen de oven.* He tries to outgape the oven.	102. *De paal is door den oven gestoken.* The pole has been struck through the oven.
103. *Zij zou de duivel op het (een) kussen binden.* She would bind the devil himself to a pillow.	104. *Alwaar het spinrok dwingt het zwaard, daar staat het kwalijk met den waard.* Wherever the distaff rules the sword, there it does ill with the manor's lord.
105. *Men kan met het hoofd niet door den muur loopen.* One cannot walk headfirst through a wall.	106. *De een scheert de schapen, de ander de varkens.* The one shears the sheep, the other the pigs.
107. *Als 't kalf verdronken is, dempt men de put.* One fills the well after the calf has drowned.	108. *Men moet zich krommen, wil men door de wereld kommen.* One must bend if one wants to get through the world.
109. *Hij draait de wereld op zijn duim.* He spins the world on his thumb.	110. *Een stok in het wiel steken.* To put a stick in the wheel.
111. *Die zijne pap gestort heeft, kan niet alles weder oprapen.* He who has spilled his porridge cannot pick it all up again.	112. *Hij weet nauwelijks van het eene brood tot het andere te geraken.* He can hardly reach from one bread to the other.
113. *Een harkje zonder steel.* A hoe without a handle.	114. *De brijl ligt alree aan de wortel.* The axe already lies at the roots.
115. *Hij zoek het bijltje.* He looks for the axe.	

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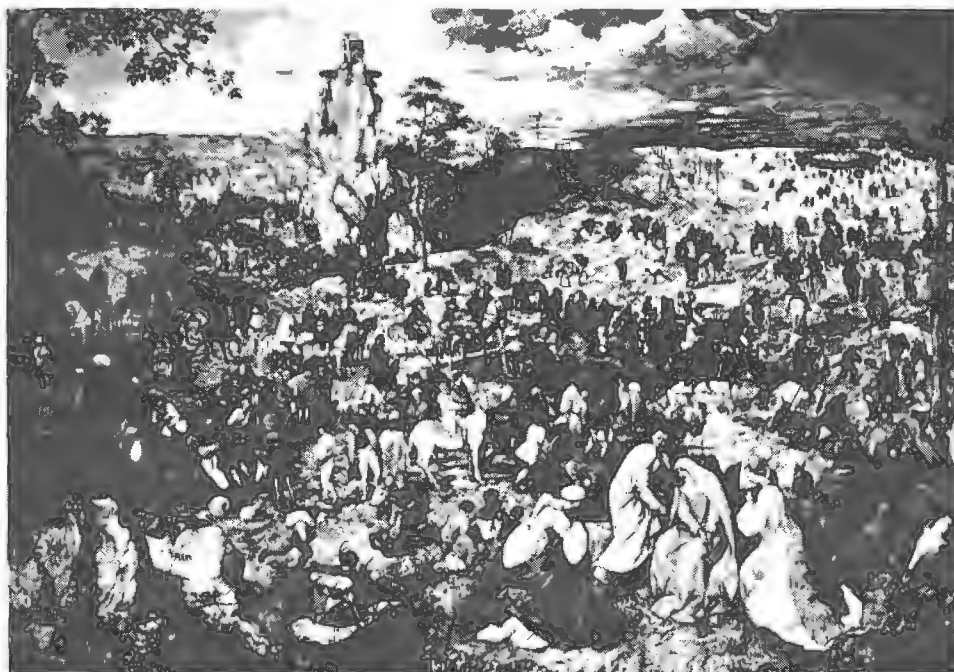
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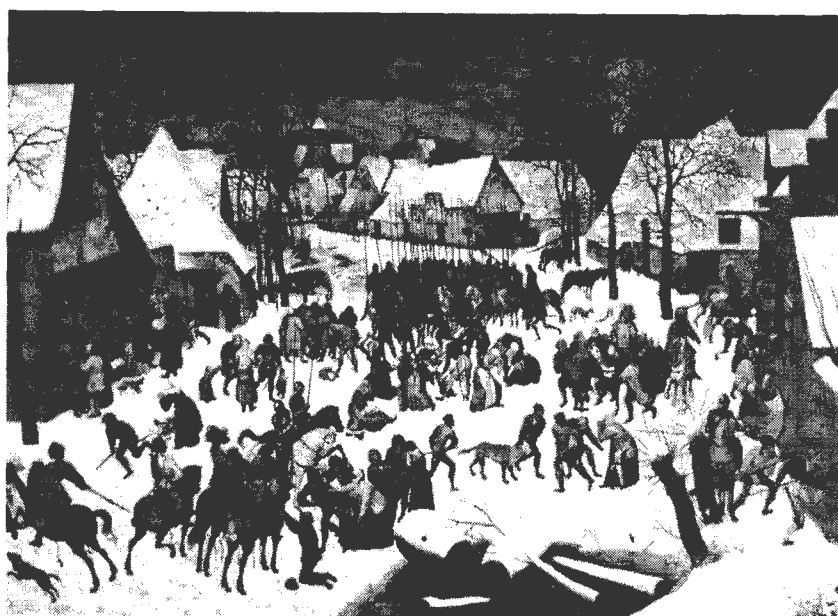
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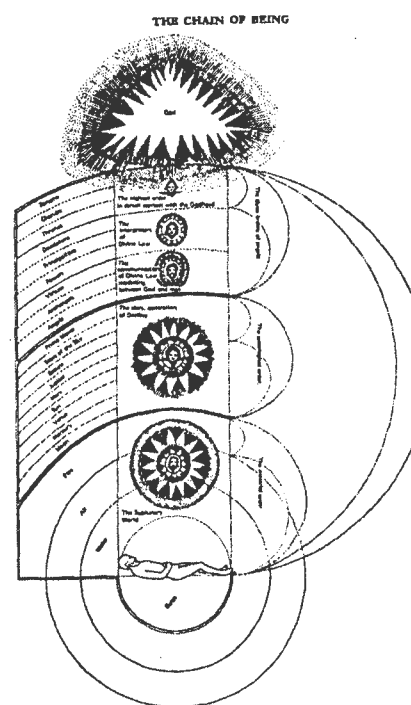
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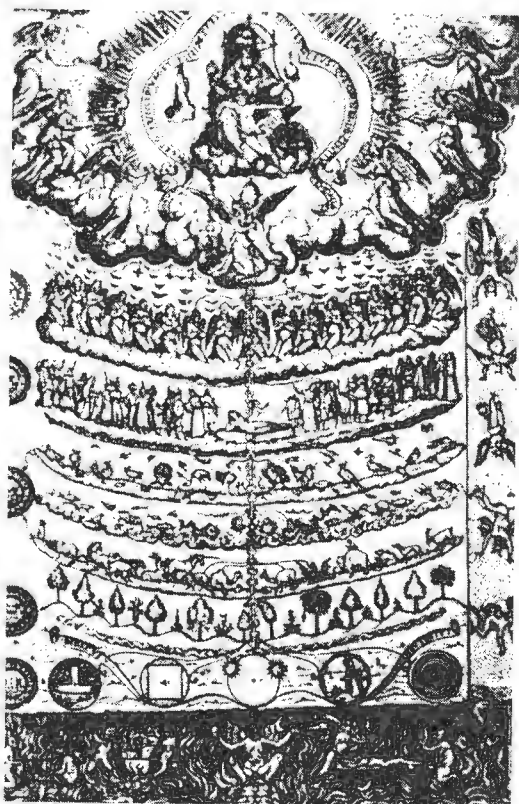
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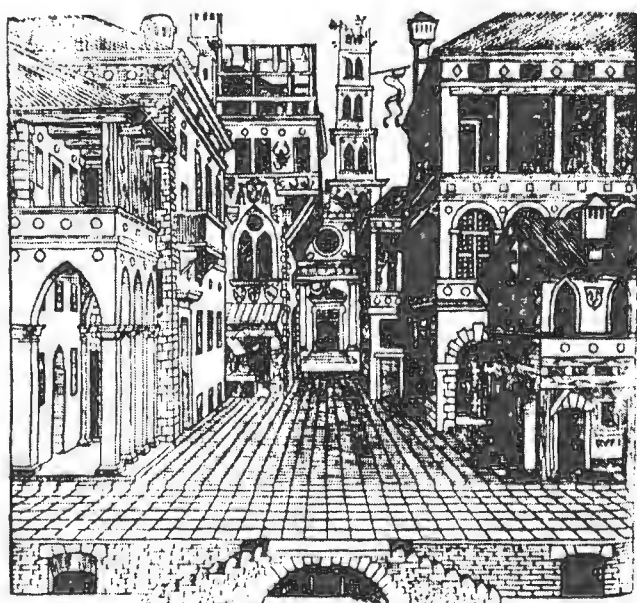
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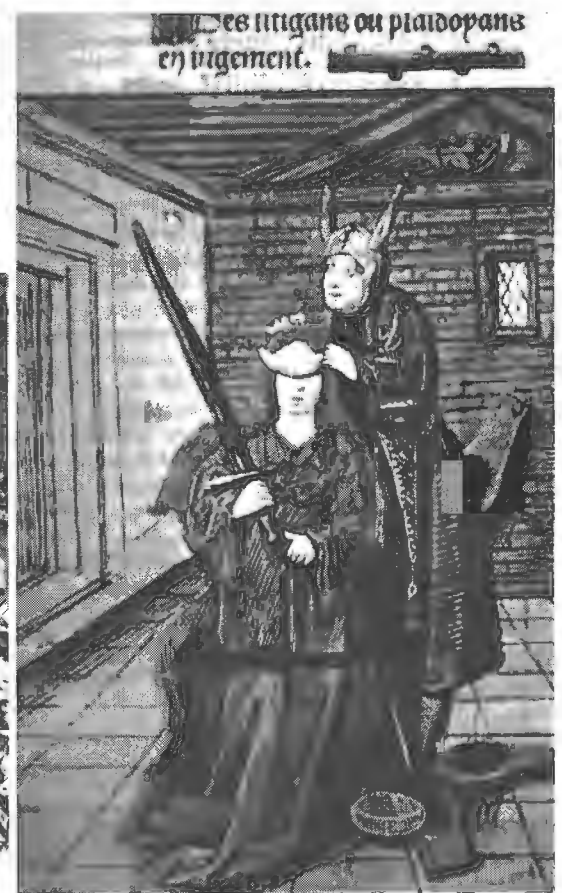
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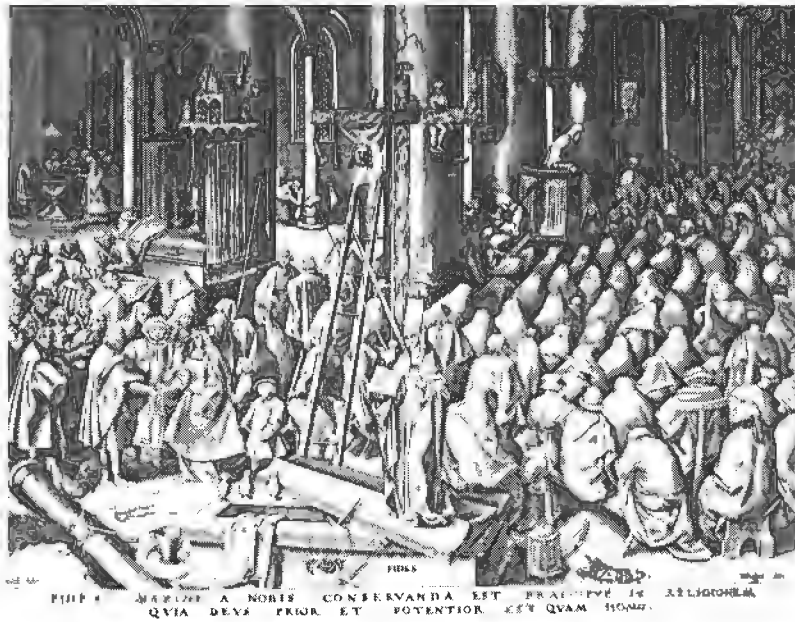
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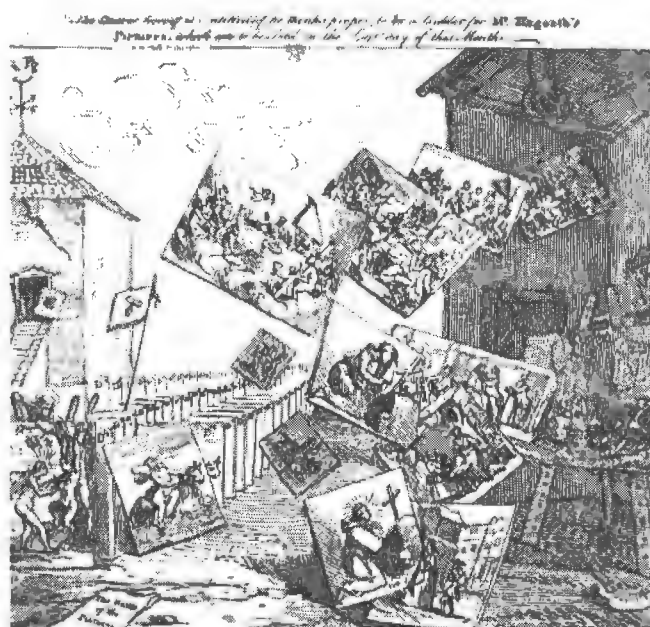
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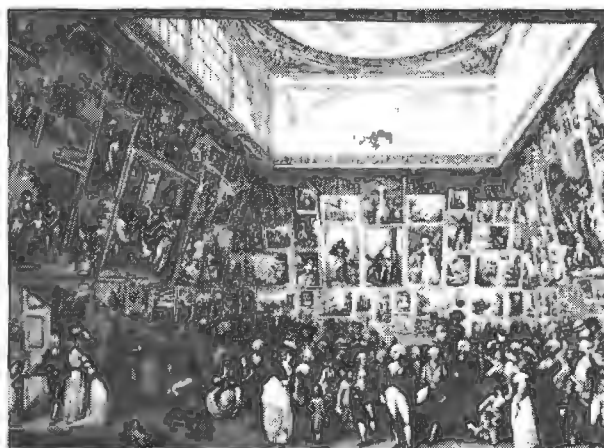
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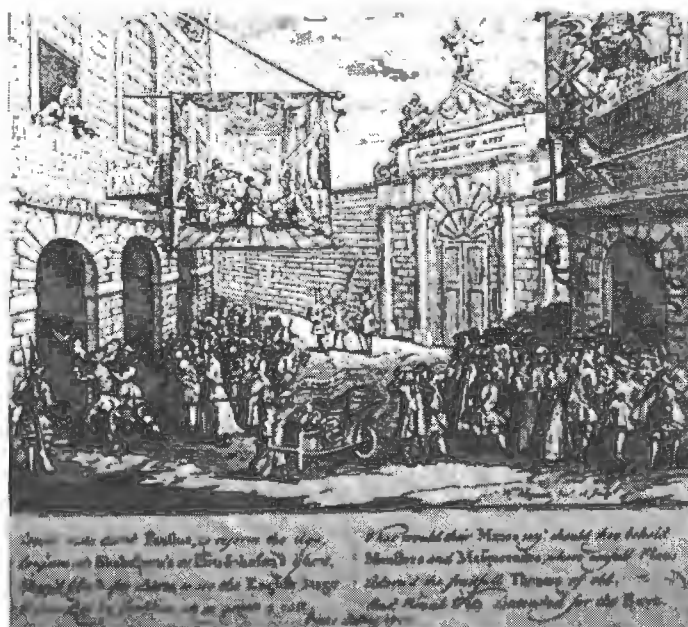
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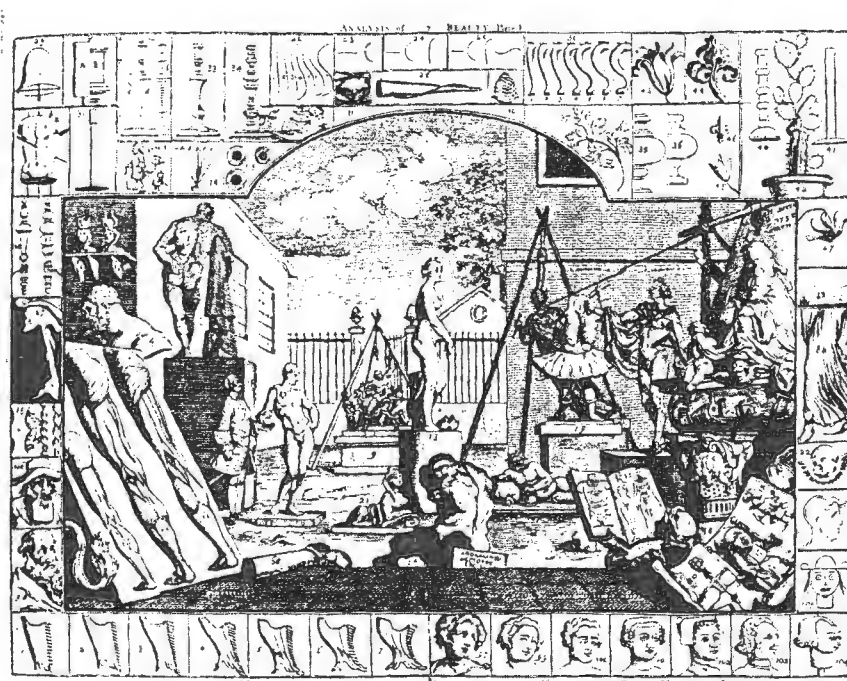
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Fig. 83. William Hogarth. *Marriage à la mode*. Scene 6: "The death of the Countess". (1743).

Fig. 84. William Hogarth. *The pool of Bethesda*. (1734).
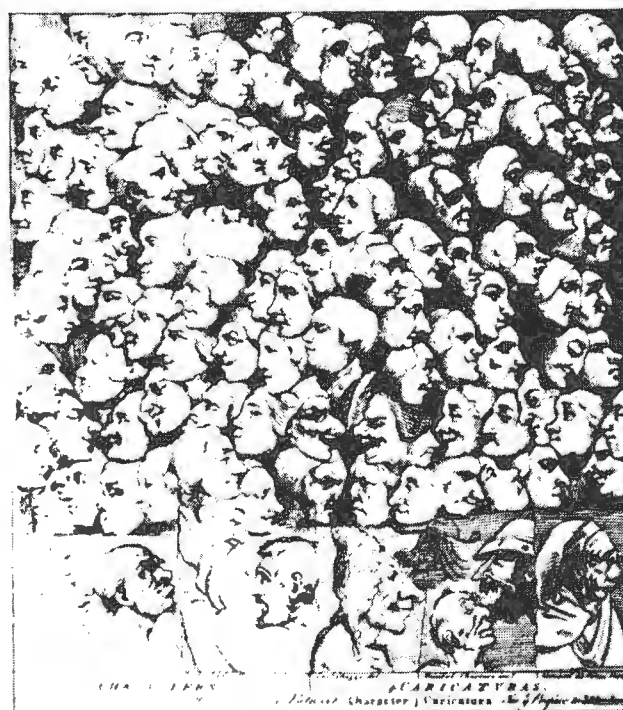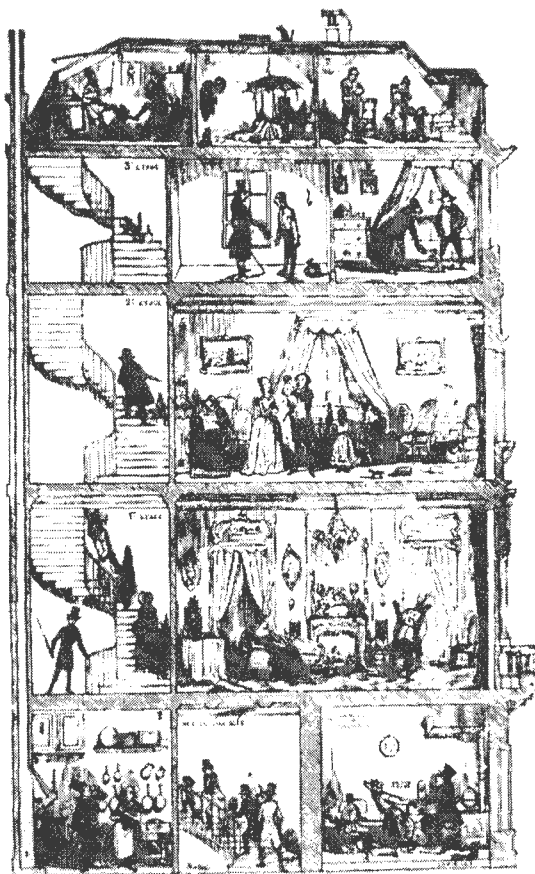
Fig. 89. Bertall. "*Paris, le 1ᵉʳ Janvier, 1845*" from *Le diable à Paris*. (c. 1845).

Fig. 90. Quillenbois. *Le peinture realiste de M. Courbet par Quillenbois*. (Published in *L'Illustration*, 21 July 1855).

Fig. 91. Honoré Daumier. *Combat des écoles: L'Idealisme et le Réalisme*. (Published in *Le Charivari*, 24 April 1855).

Fig. 92. Jacques-Louis David. *The intervention of the Sabine women.* (1799).

Fig. 93. Anonymous. Duel between the Neoclassicist Ingres and the Romantic Delacroix. (s.a.)

Fig. 94. Anonymous. *Le Replâtrage.* (Published in *La Caricature*, 30 June 1831).

Fig. 95. Charles Philipon. *The metamorphosis of a pear*.

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Fig. 97. Charles Philipon. *Les poires*. (Published in *La Caricature*, 24 November 1831).

Fig. 98. Charles-Joseph Traviés. *Poire est devenue populairet*. (Published in *Le Charivari*, 28 April 1833).

Fig. 99. Honoré Daumier. *Voici messieurs, ce que nous avons l'honneur d'exposer journellement.* (Published in *La Caricature*, 6 March 1834).

Fig. 100. Honoré Daumier. *The pear hanged in effigy.* (Published in *La Caricature*, 19 July 1832).
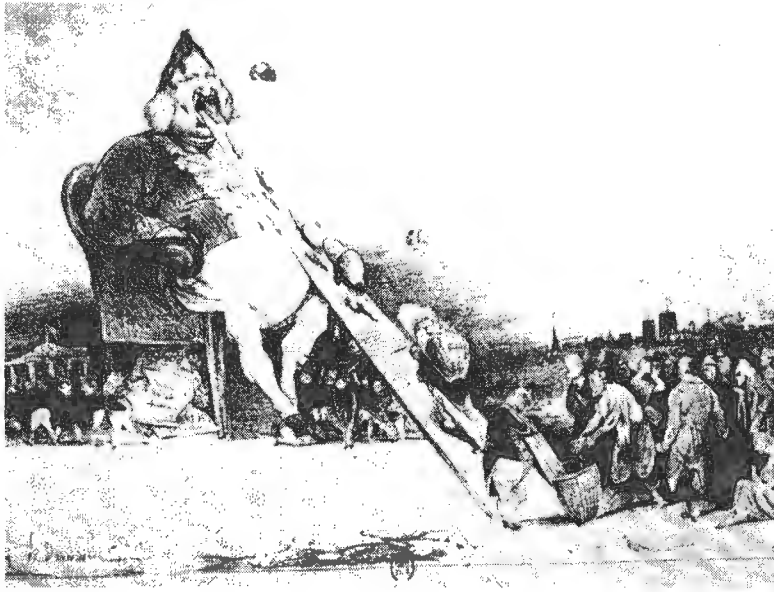
Fig. 101. Honoré Daumier. *Gargantua.* (Published on 16 December 1831).
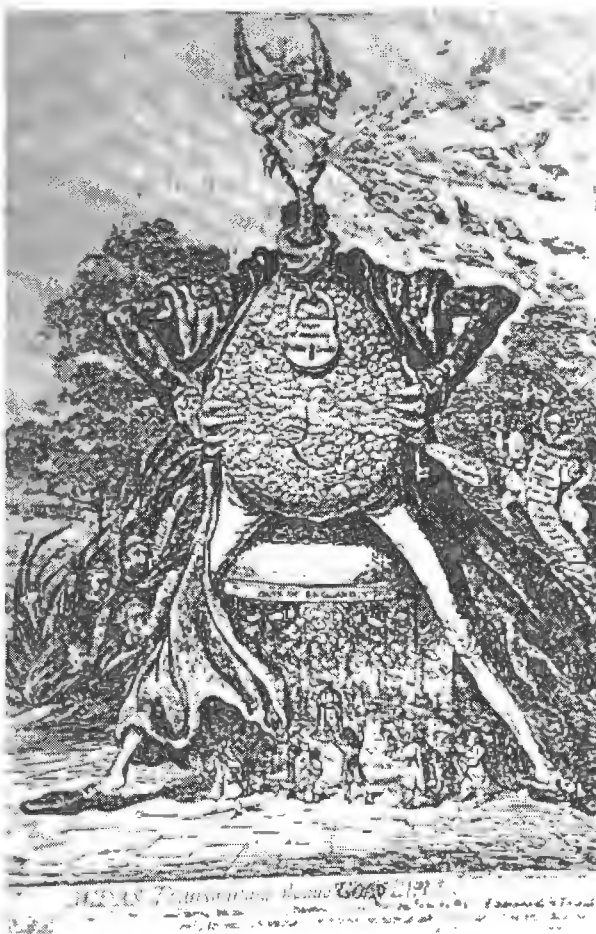
Fig. 102. James Gillray. *Midas transmuting all into paper.* (1797).

Fig. 103. Honoré Daumier. *Before the print sellers.* (c. 1860
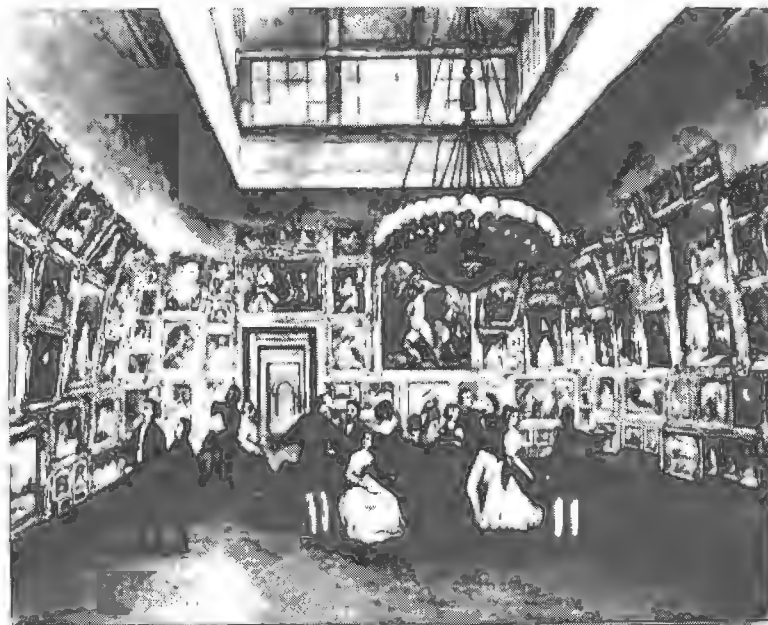
Fig. 104. The bourgeoisie attend an art exhibition.

Fig. 105. Honoré Daumier. *Freedom of the press. Don't meddle with it.* (1834).

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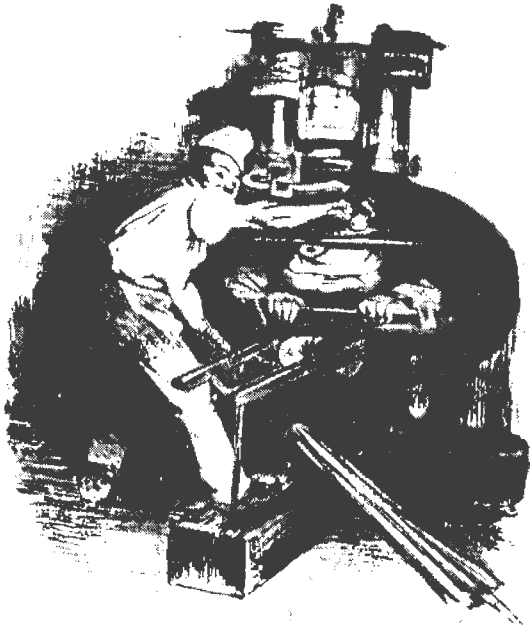
Fig. 108. Honoré Daumier. *Ah! au veux le freller à la presse!!*

Fig. 109. Charles-Joseph Traviés. "You have to admit the head of government looks pretty funny." (1831).

Fig. 110. Honoré Daumier. *You are free to speak.* (Published in *La Caricature*, 14 May 1835).
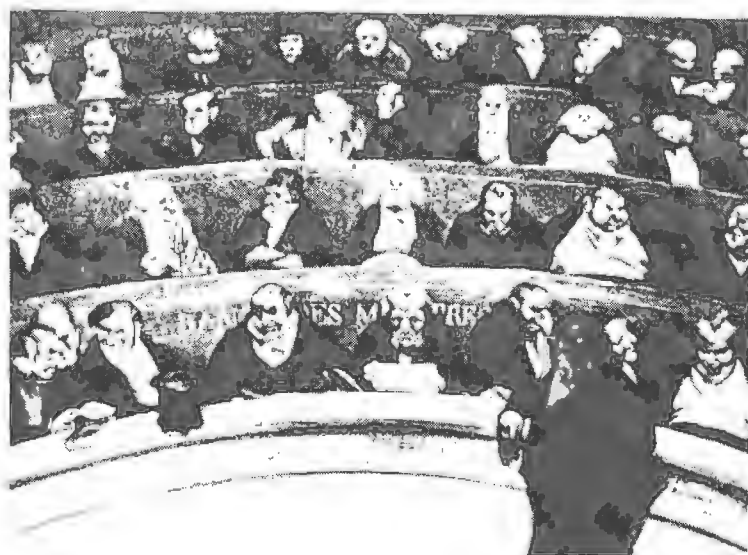
Fig. 111. Honoré Daumier. *Le ventre legislatif.* (1834).

Fig. 112. Honoré Daumier. *Lower the curtain, the farce is over*. (1834).

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Fig. 114. Frédéric Lemaître as Robert Macaire.
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Fig. 115. Honoré Daumier. *Robert Macaire mendiant distingué* from *Robert Macaire* series. (1837).

Fig. 116. Honoré Daumier. *Ladies and gentlemen!* from *Robert Macaire* series.

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Fig. 119. Charles le Brun. *Les boeufs.*

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Fig. 121. Honoré Daumier. *Les Horaces de L'Elysee*. From the series *Histoire ancienne*.

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Fig. 126. Honoré Daumier. *All is lost – save the cash box.* (Published in *Le Charivari*, 7 March 1848).

Fig. 127. Alexandre Decamps. *The experts.* (1837).

Fig. 128. Honoré Daumier. Amateur Idealists more and more convinced that art is lost in France. *The public salon.* (1852).

Fig. 129. Edouard Manet. *Olympia.* (1863).

Fig. 130. Titian (Tiziano Vecellio). *Venus of Urbino.* (1538).

Fig. 131. Edouard Manet. Sketch after Titian's *Venus of Urbino*. (c. 1856).

Fig. 132. Honoré Daumier. "This year again. Venuses ... always Venuses! ... as if there really were women made like that!" From *Croquis pris au Salon*. (Published in *Le Charivari*, 10 May 1865).

Fig. 133. Honoré Daumier. "Let us leave, madame ... these nudes are revolting ... (aside) I will return by myself." From *Croquis pris au Salon*. (Published in *Le Charivari*, 5 May 1865).

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землю от нечисти.

Fig. 134. Poster showing Lenin sweeping the world
clean of kings, generals, and bankers (the masters of
the old society).

Fig. 135. George Grosz. *Die Stützen der Gesellschaft*.
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Fig. 136. George Grosz. *Widmung an Oskar Panizza*. (1917-1918).

Fig. 137. George Grosz. *The big city*. (1916-1917).

Fig. 138. Marcel Duchamp. *Nu descendant un éscalier n° 2.* (1912).

Fig. 139. Marcel Duchamp. *Fontaine.* (Replica of 1964 after lost original readymade, 1917).

Fig. 140. John Heartfield with Grosz's puppet. *Konversative Herr.* (1919).

Fig. 141. Photograph of visitors attending the First International Dada Fair at Dr. Burchard's Gallery, Berlin. (1920).
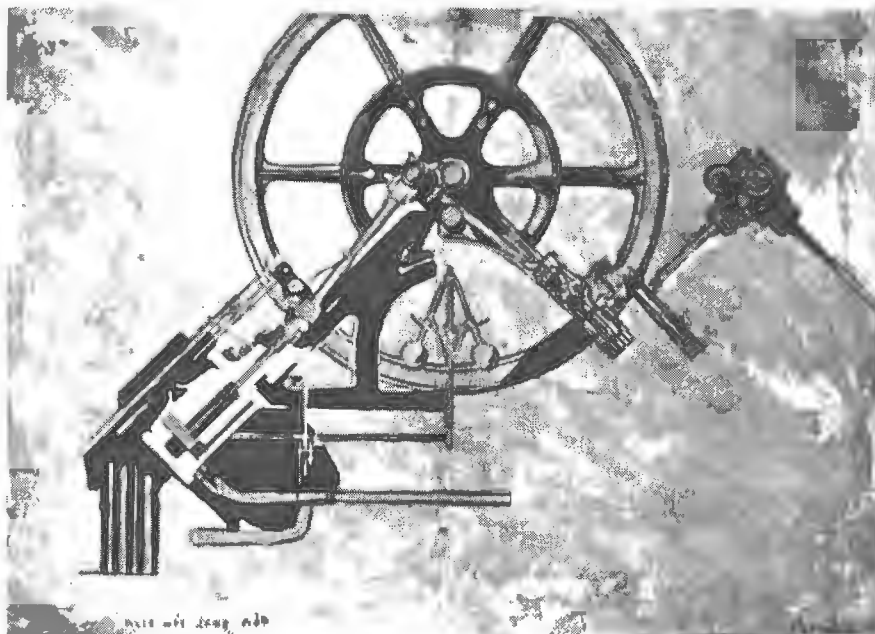
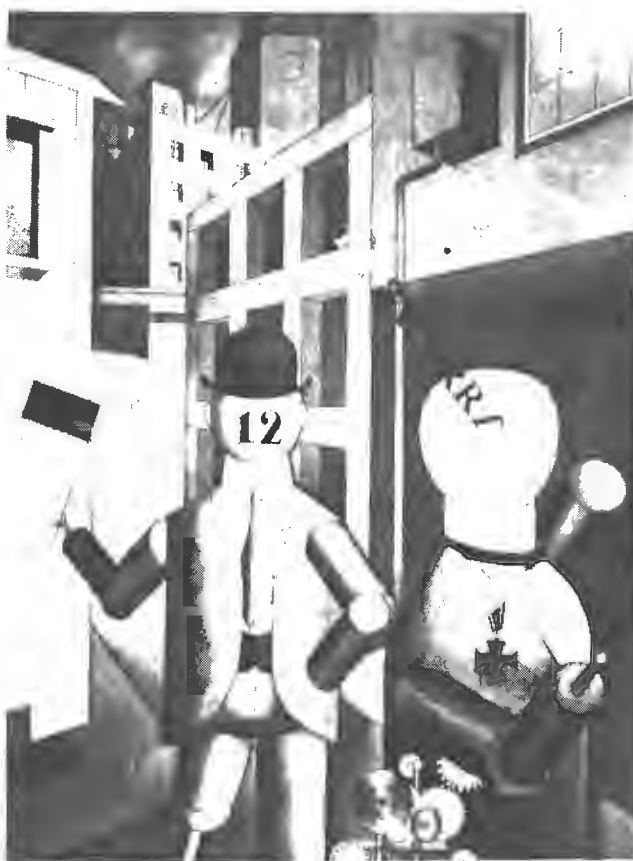Fig. 142. Francis Picabia. *La fille né sans mère.* (1917).

Fig. 143. George Grosz. *Republikanische automaten.* (1920).

Fig. 144. Pieter Bruegel the Elder. *De bedelaars.* (1568).

Fig. 145. Aleksander Rodchenko. Advertisement for Mozer watches at Gum, the State Department Store, Moscow. (1923).
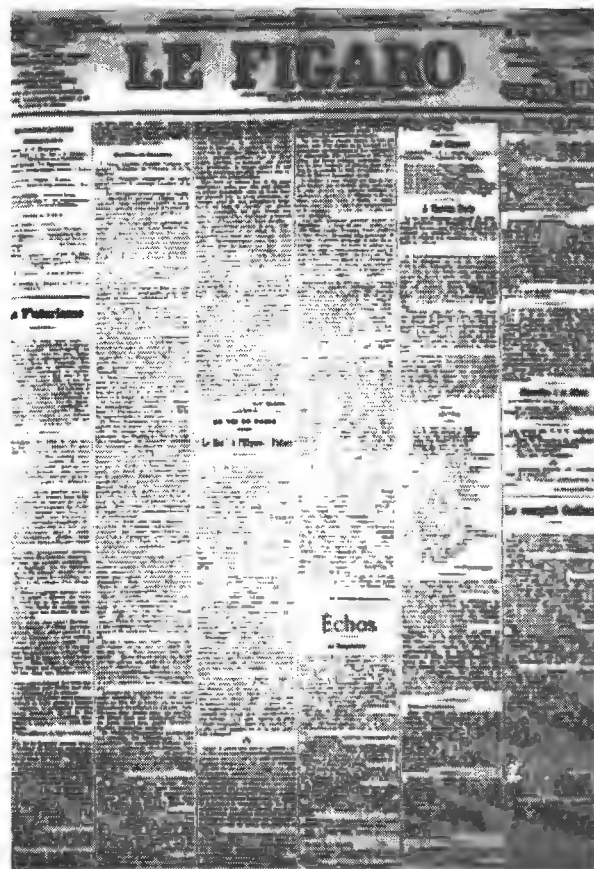

Fig. 146. Front page of *Le Figaro*, 20 February 1909. Flippo Tommaso Marinetti's *Fondazione e manifesto del futurismo* is printed in the first three left columns.

Fig. 147. Umberto Boccioni. *Caricature of a Futurist evening.* (1911).

Fig. 148. Umberto Boccioni. *Sketch for a brawl.* (1911).

Fig. 149. Carlo Carrà. *The funeral of the anarchist Galli.* (1911).

Fig. 150. Film still showing Sir Laurence Olivier as Field Marshal Sir John French standing amid acres of white crosses in the closing scene of Sir Richard Attenborough's *Oh! What a lovely war* (1969). (Detail.)

Fig. 151. George Grosz. *Der Liebenskranke.* (1916).

Fig. 152. George Grosz. *Der Goldgräber*. (1916).

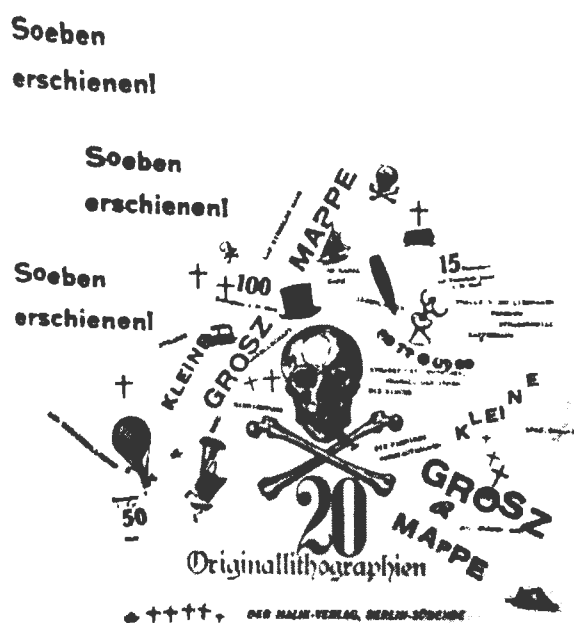Fig. 153. George Grosz. *Der Abenteurer*. (1916).

Fig. 154. George Grosz. *Werbeprospekt für die "Kleine" Grosz-Mappe"*. (1917).

Fig. 155. James Ensor. *Selbstbildnis mit Totenschädel*. (1889).

Fig. 156. Photograph of George Grosz as *Dadaistischer Tod*. (c. 1920).

Fig. 157. E.-J. Marey. "Jump from a height with stiffened legs". From Marey, E.-J. 1895. *Movement*. Translated by Eric Pritchard. London: Heinemann.

Fig. 158. E.-J. Marey or follower. Chronophotograph of a figure during a standing jump.

Fig. 159. Giovanni Francesco Caroto. *Portrait of a boy with a drawing*. (c. 1520).

Fig. 160. Photograph of George Grosz in his studio with hat and revolver. (1918).

Fig. 161. Photograph of Eva Peter and George Grosz posing in a theatrical photograph. (c. 1917),
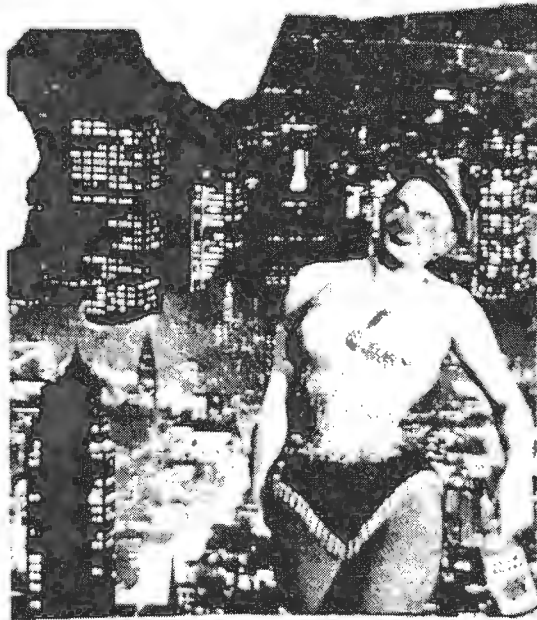

Fig. 162. George Grosz. *Grosz als Clown und Varietégirl.* (1958).

Fig. 163. Otto Dix. *Die Skatspieler.* (1920).

Fig. 164. Otto Dix. *Pragerstraße*. (1920).

Fig. 165. Otto Dix. *Die Straße*. (1920).

Fig. 166. Otto Dix. *Kiegskrüppel (mit Selbstbildnis)*. (1920).