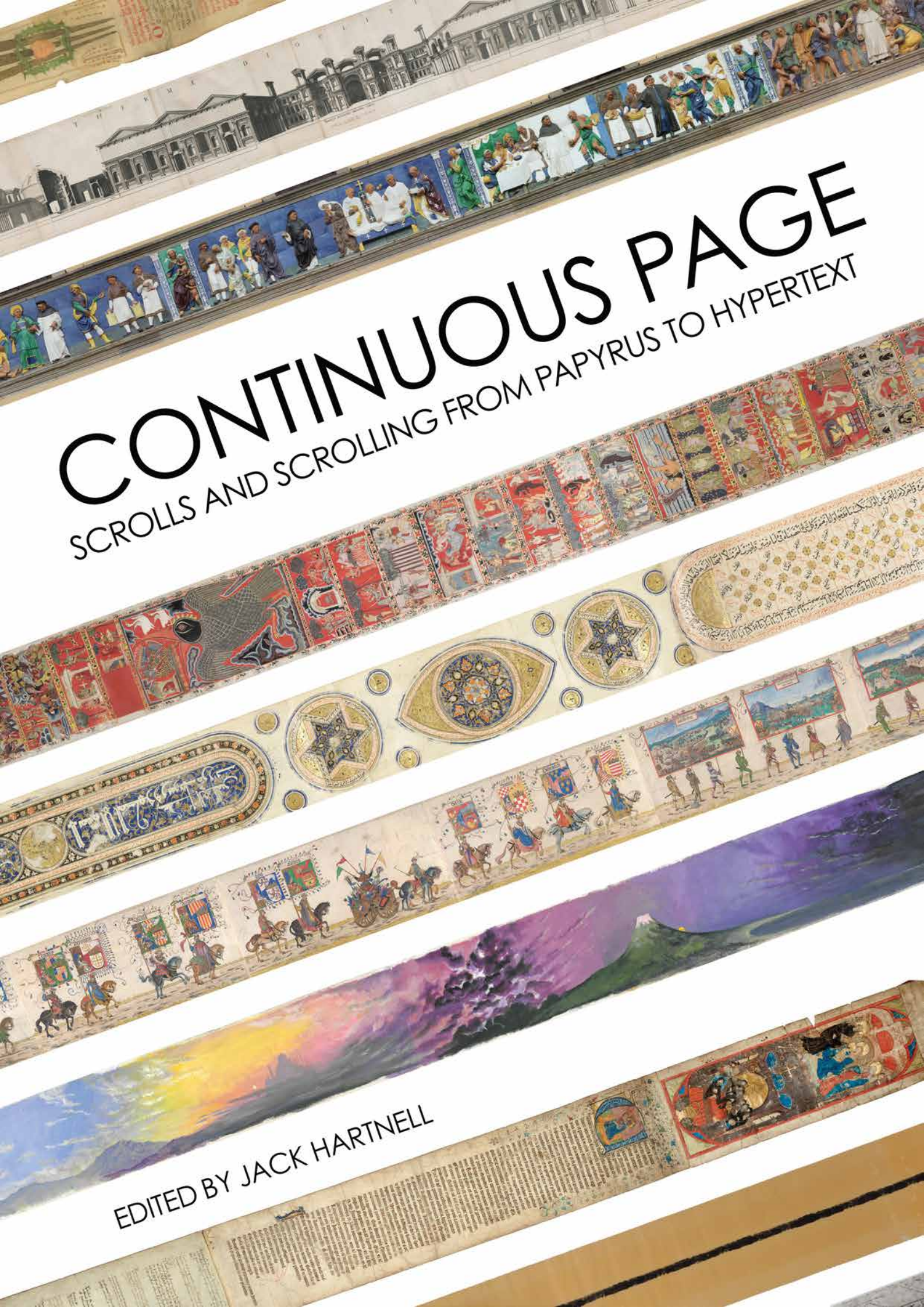

CONTINUOUS PAGE

SCROLLS AND SCROLLING FROM PAPYRUS TO HYPERTEXT

EDITED BY JACK HARTNELL

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FROM PAPYRUS TO HYPERTEXT

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COURTAULD BOOKS ONLINE

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Continuous Page: Scrolls and Scrolling from Papyrus to Hypertext

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The Continuous Page

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The concept of the continuous page straddles at once some of the oldest and some of the most contemporary ideas about images and image-making from across the globe.

On the one hand, the phrase evokes historical artefacts of a diverse ancient world: scrolls and rolls of papyrus, parchment, and paper. In older Mediterranean and European cultures, especially those of ancient Greece and Rome, continuous forms were prominent features of the material sphere, to such an extent that their cylindrical shapes have since been formed into a symbolic shorthand for the entire abstracted classical tradition (fig. 0.1). Likewise, the long-standing presence of scrolls and rolls in the visual cultures of the Middle East and Asia affirm their powerful status within Eastern aesthetic traditions stretching back for several millennia (fig. 0.2). The continuous page stirs these distant pasts in our imagination.

Yet on the other hand, the act of scrolling has also grown into the most common form of interaction between people today and their future-facing media. More than typing on a keyboard or clicking a mouse, we now routinely swipe across touchscreens and trackpads to scroll through reams of infinite hypertext. Digital information from global news and money markets to personal messages and calendars forever unfurl on-screen at our fingertips, and the tactile technologies which allow us to do so—once described by Apple's Steve Jobs as a groundbreaking kind of machine-driven 'magic'—now feel a routine, even requisite part of our day-to-day engagement with contemporary media.

The space between these two chronological extremes is likewise packed with scrollable ancestors and precursors, a profusion of different makers and users who have repeatedly returned to the physical and conceptual elasticity of the scrolling format: medieval legal rolls, early modern printed city panoramas, reams of handmade wallpaper, photographic film, mass-produced cloth, ticker tape. How might we begin to tie down this cross-chronological, pan-geographical plethora of extendable, contractible, manipulable, scrollable things?

The most common response to this question by historians of objects, literature, music, and performance alike, has been to hone in exclusively on the peculiarities of context, elaborating

Fig. 0.1
Fragment of a hand holding a scroll, perhaps Italy (first or second century). Marble. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number: 21.88.10. Photo: © The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Rogers Fund, 1921.

the aesthetic details of individual scroll and roll traditions alongside the specific practical and conceptual concerns of their moment.[1] What was it, they ask, about a certain period or place or practice that prompted the construction of continuous pages, with their answers ranging from matters of material constraint to functional convenience and overarching concept. In this book, our approach to the continuous page is similarly grounded in context: across fourteen chapters, we add to a growing awareness of continuous forms through focused, individual explorations ranging from medieval Japan, Egypt, and England to modern and contemporary India, Europe, and America, via Renaissance Italy and the early modern Netherlands. However, in bringing these discrete instances together in a single space, the chapters that follow also aim at something far bigger than isolated historical vignettes: they offer a unique opportunity to build conceptual bridges back and forth across a typology of object. In particular, this book tries to facilitate such cross-readings through the arrangement of its contents. Its chapters do not appear simply in chronological order. Given the global scope of its contributions, the bunching together of objects and ideas from vastly different geographies under rigid (often Western) period definitions felt at best contrived and at worst flattening. Instead, to simultaneously forge links whilst recognising difference, our chapters are grouped along four broad themes: 'History', 'Performance', 'Bodies' , and 'Technology'. Each of these ideas represent a particularly potent aspect of the continuous page around which even radically different objects might begin to gather and cohere.

Fig. 0.2 Buddhist prayer wheel, Tibet (seventeenth century). Silver, ivory, ebony, paper. Science Museum, London, object number: A32346. Photo: © Science Museum, London.

The chapters in 'History' acknowledge that continuous forms—whether drawn, painted, printed, or sculpted in three-dimensional or architectural settings—inevitably bring with them significant historical baggage. In a Mediterranean context, we might trace this notion all the way back to late antiquity and a subtle yet fundamental shift in the formatting of written documents that seems to have taken place at some point over the third and fourth centuries CE. To judge from surviving objects, it was at this moment that the codex book began to slowly supplant the scroll and roll of antiquity, prompted by both the collapse of a consistent, international Roman Imperial bureaucracy and the growing popularity of Christianity across the region, a religion distinctly of the codex.[2] Significant debate remains over precisely why and how such a transition was made, but this moment at least marked a shift in mindset that was to have ongoing repercussions for these two types of object and their representation in the West. From medieval evocations of the prophetic, pre-Christian past to Neoclassical forms of the early modern period, the scroll and roll present themselves as easy routes into the visual language of the antique, acting as a signpost of religious or historical accuracy and, through this, a carrier of classical authenticity and authority.

The connection of continuous pages to the past, however, is more than a mere iconographic contrivance. Whilst scrolls and rolls might have been overtaken by codices in many religious and

Fig. 0.3
Parchment legal rolls stretching back to the 1490s. Acts Room, Parliamentary Archives, Westminster. Photo: © The Author.

secular realms across late antiquity, the format continued to flourish in the medieval and early modern archive, where they predominated in the keeping of financial, legal, and administrative records. We need only bring to mind the roughly nine-kilometres-worth of rolled laws stretching back to the 1490s that are still preserved today in London's Parliamentary Archives (fig. 0.3). This fashion in document-making likely had a practical rather than conceptual foundation: a roll consisting of glued membranes of unbroken parchment could be much more easily expanded to contain new information than the hermetically stitched and bound quires of a codex, allowing for the ready growth or contraction of working documents and records. Still, this sustained association of scrolls and rolls with the preservation of a precise historical record further bolstered a growing link between the continuous page and the weighted jurisdiction of the past.

This trope was equally powerful across the medieval and early modern Middle East and Indo-China. Rather than gradually supplanting codices, here it was the sustained historical importance of scrolls and rolls which saw them enshrined with a powerful authority, particularly the continued ritual values of unfurling Buddhist, Hindu, and Jewish holy texts, and the ongoing political valencies of scrolls in Japanese and Chinese Imperial courts. Proof of this tradition's potency can be found in the more recent work of contemporary artists who present themselves as the latest inheritors of this long, rolling, scrolling lineage. Consider the tightly wound works of Hadieh Shafie, whose colourful arrangements of bundled handscrolls draw simultaneously on historic Islamic document-forms and the more modern, post-Revolutionary rhetoric of censorship and concealment in her native Iran (fig. 0.4).[3] Xu Bing's canonical installation *Book from the Sky* (1987–91) likewise draws on ancient forms to craft an evocative, all-encompassing space for the viewer to inhabit beneath enormous draped scrolls of Chinese pseudo-characters, their continuous forms carrying powerful meaning even when their nonsensical text carries none.[4] The first three chapters of this book, considering Hebrew rotuli, Northern renaissance classicising prints, and the historically freighted feminism of Nancy Spero, all similarly follow the continuous page backwards into the past.

Chapters in our the second section, 'Performance', turn from notions of history and time to

the more immediately immersive capacities of the continuous page. Perhaps more than any other type of reading, scrolls and rolls have a tendency to push their makers and users into motion. Many roll- and scroll-objects from various times and places have hinged quite fundamentally on the temporal ability of their continuous pages to unfurl and thus to perform. This might be a performance enacted for the benefit of only one individual at a time, as appears to have been the case with a surprising tranche of eminent modern European and American fiction. Works by the Marquis de Sade, Edgar Allen Poe, Jack Kerouac, and Kurt Vonnegut all survive in roll form, crafted either through the exigencies of their making—de Sade, for instance, was imprisoned in the Bastille without writing materials—or more deliberately through the continuous page's ability to reenact the immediacy in free-flowing verse. Alternatively, scroll performances might be undertaken to benefit a whole assembly of viewers. Medieval Exultet rolls, parchment reams of prayer and song, were designed to be unrolled by officiants from high up on the pulpit during particular ritual moments of Easter celebrations, their images and texts flowing downwards in a continuous stream for the congregation below.[5]

Given this heightened possibility for subtly elaborative presentation, the continuous page has often been championed as a consummate medium for capturing performances themselves, the extendable lengths and breadths of scrolls and rolls seen as ideal for translating certain phenomenological experiences of time and space continuously in two dimensions. It might be whole events that so unfurl—explorative journeys, historic battles, stately processions (fig. 0.5)—or it could be singular, capacious vistas whose long scroll-forms granted time for the eye to lazily wander their hills or streets back and forth. Examples of the latter range from enormous, individual undertakings—for instance Melchior Lorck's *Prospect of Constantinople* (1559)—through to cheaper, printed panoramas (fig. 0.6) and, later, photographic strip-visions of unfolding urban space (fig. 0.7).[6] The three chapters in 'Performance' grapple with this remarkable ability of continuous pages to perform a rolling view of the world, from medieval Netherlandish monasteries and Imperial triumphs of the Northern Renaissance, to the storytelling of traditional Bengali *patuas*.

The chapters collected together in our book's third section, 'Bodies', continues this performative concern but focuses it through a more corporeal lens. After all, if continuous pages with all their

Fig. 0.4
Hadieh Shafie, *22,500* (2011). Ink on paper. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, museum number: ME.1-2012. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Purchased with support from the Director's Circle.

Fig. 0.6 [Detail] Claes Jansz. Visscher, *View of London from South Bank* (1616), published by Jodocus Hondius II. Ink on paper. British Museum, London, museum number: 1880,1113.1124.1-4. Photo: © British Museum, London.

Fig. 0.7 [Detail] Anonymous photographic panorama of Venice (c.1870). Photographic print mounted on card. Private Collection. Photo: © Wikimedia Commons.

unrolling and unwrapping can be thought of as inherently performative—the pinning back of springing parchment, the regathering of rolled ends—then this performance is an insistently bodily one. Perhaps the best-known of modern artworks to elaborate this idea is Carolee Schneemann's provocative *Interior Scroll* (1975), a performance in which the artist disrobed and then pulled a small paper scroll from her vagina, reading the piece as it unfurled.[7] The continuous capacity of the scroll format afforded Schneemann an unbroken umbilical connection between body, object, and voice, an idea that chimes—consciously or not—with far older performance practices that also united scrolls with bodies. The apotropaic potential of rolled amulets, for instance, has been a popular feature of medical and ritual practice in a number of cultures worldwide.[8] These paper or parchment scrolls might contain either scribbled charms, the names of saints and deities, or potent words and numbers written in acrostic and palindromic form, all of which would originally have been kept close to the body. The smallest of such scrolls are tiny, fragments only a few centimetres wide, and were likely worn at the chest around the neck, tucked into clothing, or attached to the belt in small leather cases. Longer pieces exist, however, which direct their users to dramatically unravel their substantial reams and wrap them in their entirety around the wearer's body, conferring the

Fig. 0.8 [Detail] Talismanic scroll, Mamluk (Egypt or Syria) (fourteenth century). Ink on paper. Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait, MS LNS 25. Image: By kind permission of the Al-Sabah Collection, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, Kuwait.

power of their apotropaic texts in a ribbon-like cloak. Some, like the intricate fourteenth-century Mamluk roll currently housed in the Al-Sabah Collection of the Dar Al-Athar Al-Islamiyyah in Kuwait, extends well over ten metres long (fig. 0.8).[9] Peppered with illustrated numerical grids, plaques, and even miniature weapons, the scroll's imagery accompanies a talismanic Qur'anic text written in Arabic, the words of which give a good sense of the dramatic range of fears and anxieties potentially felt by the owners of such objects. Initial sections address notions of kingship, perhaps to be read aloud as a supplication before entering the court of a ruler or king; other elements seek protection from more supernatural powers, including prayers to annul magic and prevent the evil eye; subsequent passages relate more directly to health and wellbeing, offering cure from headache, eye pain, and fever; and yet more parts of the scroll claim to ensure victory in military campaigns, goodwill for a journeying horseman and his horse, and untroubled passage when voyaging by sea. The chapters grouped together in 'Bodies' acknowledge just these sorts of diverse bodily capacity, considering an English parchment birth girdle, an Italian hospital frieze, and an Imperial Japanese scroll, all of which entangle the human form with both issues of health and more philosophical evocations of bodily presence.

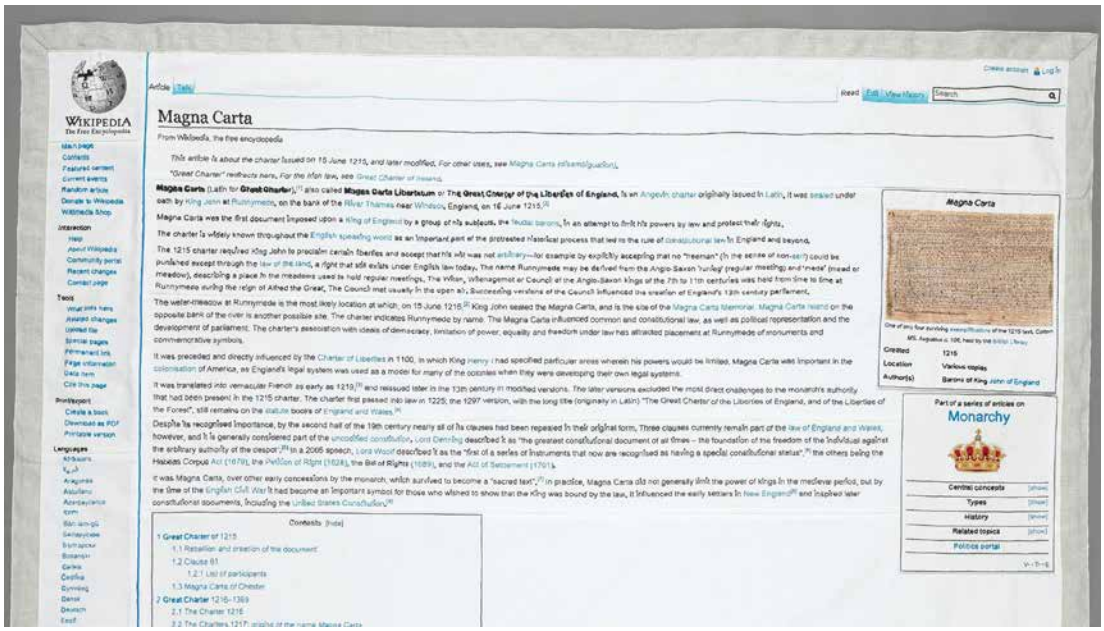


Fig. 0.9
Cornelia Parker, *Magna Carta (An Embroidery)* (2015) [detail], hand-stitched by Parker and 200 volunteers. Originally displayed the British Library, London. Photo: © British Library, London.

Our book's final grouping of chapters cluster around the theme of 'Technology', projecting ideas of the scroll and roll forward through a set of continuous pages made possible, at least in part, by modern technological advances. In this sense, they recognise that scrolls and rolls of all types have always been intricately bound up with matters of technical progress and futurity. Continuous objects have been closely linked to many of the busy mechanical leaps of the machine age across the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Under this umbrella we might pool a rich range of automatic, scrollable objects and processes, everything from cylinder printing and cinematic film reels to blurry microfiches, children's toys, and even the punched rolls of self-playing pianos. More recently, though, the advent of digital spaces in the Internet Age regularly produces uncanny parallels between our contemporary moment and historic continuous precedents. Contemporary artists again have been quick to utilise the forward-looking backwardness of the digital era as a site for particularly engaging interventions. In 2015, for instance, Cornelia Parker coordinated the sewing of a piece entitled *Magna Carta (An Embroidery)*, which recreated in exquisite, stitched detail the entirety of the Wikipedia entry for the thirteenth-century treaty on its 800th anniversary (figs 0.9–0.11). Stretching to an impressive thirteen metres in length, the laborious, steampunk quality of the embroidery piece unites the twin extendable forms of traditional needlecraft and hypertextual space into one continuous ream.[10]

The technological short-circuit presented in a work like Parker's serves to highlight an obvious historiographical issue which for some has time dogged the analysis of the long, open-ended artworks of the continuous page and with which this book has also had to grapple. By their very nature, scrolls and rolls—whether painted, printed, or sculpted—are excessive things that are extremely difficult to display in their totality within museum settings, and likewise impossible to satisfyingly reproduce within the bounds of the codex-form academic book. Until recently, scholars and publishers had only two options. They could preserve a scroll or roll's conceptual continuity by reproducing it in its entirety, perhaps across a double-page spread, but in so doing compress what might be a ten-metre-long object into a thin strip inevitably too small to examine in detail. Or, alternatively, they could showcase a scroll or roll's images and text as a series of individual details printed at a reasonable size, but in so doing dismember the continuous flow of the object, slicing it up across multiple framed plates through the physical restraints of a book's bound folios.

Happily, digital developments in online publishing have allowed this book to side-step such problems. Alongside almost all of our chapters, we include a number of fully digitised scrolls for the reader to browse, interlacing scholarship with a far more direct experience of these historical

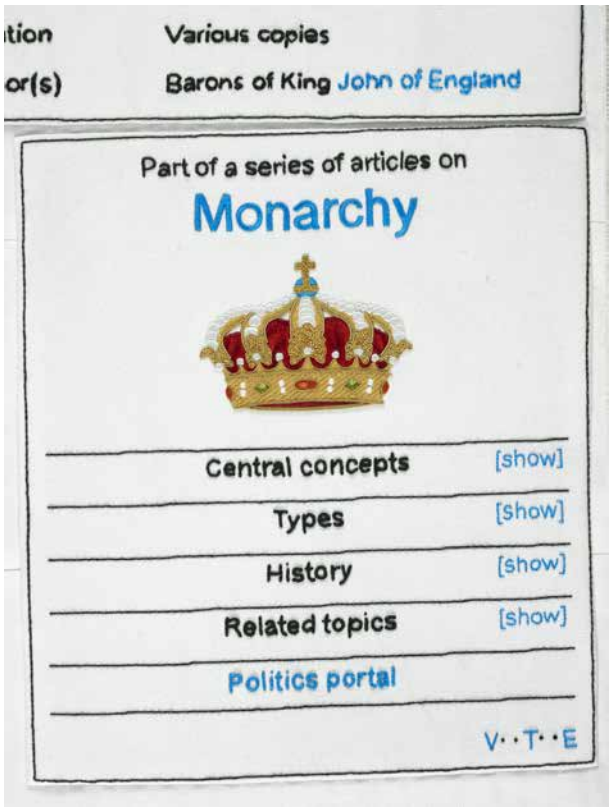


Fig. 0.10
Detail of *Magna Carta (An Embroidery)*: 'Part of a series of articles on Monarchy', stitched by Kate Barlow, Angela Bishop, Rachel Doyle, Belinda Egginton, Amanda Ewing, Susan Kay-Williams and Annalee Levin, Royal School of Needlework. Photo: © British Library, London.

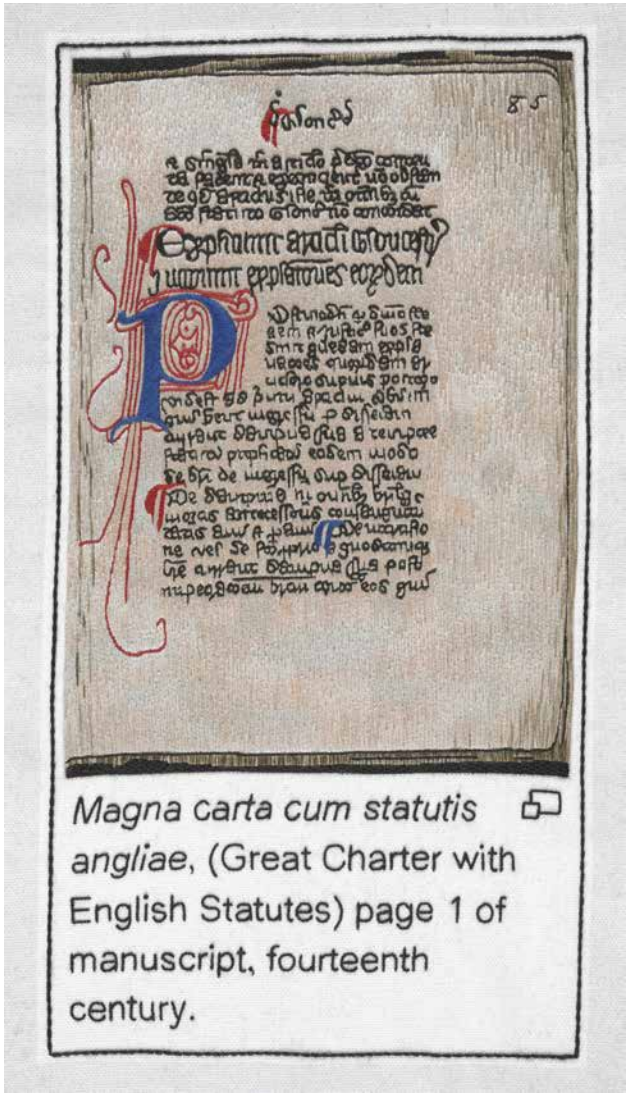


Fig. 0.11
Detail of *Magna Carta (An Embroidery)*: 'Page from a 14th century manuscript', stitched by Jane Drummond, Embroiderers' Guild (East Midlands Region). Photo: © British Library, London.

objects by recreating, in so far as is currently possible, the unfurling qualities of original works through large-scale, scrollable images. It is three technological journeys of this nature that the final chapters of our book also examine, considering sketches for novel film special effects, mechanical scrolls of the avant-garde art world, and the continuous typescripts of Beat writing.

This book could have been written many, many times over, including an entirely different set of contributions which shed careful light on an entirely different set of objects from yet more historical periods and cultures. The danger of crafting scholarship within the infinite, scrolling space of a digital document, however, is that of falling into a continuous typescript, a never-ending stream of writing. At some point, the ever-expanding bounds of this book simply had to stop and take stock. Nonetheless, what we hope to have presented is a starting point for tackling the multiple challenges of the continuous page, addressed not only as individual historical units but as a connected community of scrollers and unrollers.

Jack Hartnell is Lecturer in Art History at the University of East Anglia, where his research and teaching focus on the visual culture of late medieval and early modern medicine, cartography, and mathematics.

1. To take a broad, general sample, see: Melissa McCormick, *Tosa Mitsunobu and the Small Scroll in Medieval Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009); Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 2004); Shane McCausland (ed.), *Gu Kaizhi and the Admonitions Scroll* (London: British Museum Press, 2003); Odile Nouvel, *French Scenic Wallpaper*, 1790–1865 (Paris: Flammarion, 2000); Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Jacques Mercer, *Ethiopian Magic Scrolls* (New York: Braziller, 1979).
2. Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984); Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton: University Press, 1970).
3. For more on Shafie see Linda Komaroff, *Islamic Art Now: Contemporary Art of the Middle East* (Los Angeles: LACMA, 2015).
4. On Xu Bing, see Hsingyuan Tsao and Roger T. Ames (eds), *Xu Bing and Contemporary Chinese Art: Cultural and Philosophical Reflections* (Albany NY: SUNY Press, 2011).
5. On Exultet rolls see Kelly, *The Exultet*.
6. On Lorck, see Nigel Westbrook, Kenneth Rainsbury Dark, Rene van Meeuwen, 'Constructing Melchior Lorichs's Panorama of Constantinople', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69:1 (2010): pp. 62–87. On printed panoramas, see Erkki Huhtamo, *Illusions in Motion: Media Archaeology of the Moving Panorama* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2013); Ralph Hyde, 'Myrioramas, Endless Landscapes: The Story of a Craze', *Print Quarterly* 21:4 (2004): pp. 403–421.
7. For more on Schneemann, see the thoughts collected in *Imaging Her Erotics: Essays, Interviews, Projects* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 2003).
8. For more on such amulets see Donald C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2006); Peter Murray Jones, 'Amulets and Charms', in Miri Rubin (ed.), *Medieval Christianity in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), pp. 194-99.
9. My thanks to Yasmine Al-Saleh for her contributions to this volume and for sharing her thoughts on the Al-Sabah scroll. For more on this genre of images in an Arabic context, see Yasmine Al-Saleh, '"Licit Magic": The Touch And Sight Of Islamic Talismanic Scrolls' (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2014).
10. In a strange, digital mise-en-abîme, *Magna Carta (An Embroidery)* now has its own Wikipedia entry (accessed 20 April 2019). The complete embroidery is available in large scale there, including a note on permissions from the British Library: 'The embroidery, and photographs of it, are available for reuse on the same terms as Wikipedia content'.

“This Fragile Thing – With Bite”. Nancy Spero’s Feminist Scrolls

RACHEL WARRINER
THE COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART

In 1971, after having completed a series of works on paper that used the words of French dramaturg and playwright Antonin Artaud as their subject, American feminist artist Nancy Spero began work on her thirty-seven-panel piece, *Codex Artaud*. Moving away from the relatively modest dimensions of her earlier *Artaud Paintings* (1969–70), Spero began pasting sheets of Japanese Sekishu paper together to form long, thin collages that she described as 'scroll works'.[1] *Codex Artaud* (1971–2) established the wrought aesthetic and abstract world that dominates her scrolls throughout the 1970s. Affixed are small, drawn images of distorted bodies, disembodied heads, and extracts of Artaud's tortured prose, cut out and collaged on. The extended paper support is largely white and crumpled, punctuated with sheets of coloured and tracing paper that contain typewritten extracts of Artaud's texts. As this chapter will expound, this strange and anxious scroll stands as an early representation of Spero's emerging feminism; developed as part of her increased involvement in feminist art world activism and an attention to the political potentials of artworks. Thinking about why the scroll and its historical resonances seemed politically potent to the artist in the 1970s, I will examine how, for Spero, the scroll format was essential in creating a feminist mode of viewing, becoming in this work, an activist and anti-patriarchal form.[2]

The period during which the scroll emerged in Spero's oeuvre was one where the artist—as one of the early members of the feminist art movement—was dedicating herself to activism. Interrogating the conditions of women's experience under patriarchy, the women's movement in the arts developed existing aesthetic strategies in order to mount a critique of a system that oppressed women as part of its functioning. The focus of these works ranged from an examination of the mechanics of oppression, such as in Mierle Laderman Ukeles' Maintenance Art in which she proposed to exhibit maintenance activities associated with work in the home as her artistic practice, to an attention on the constructed nature of gender, for example as demonstrated in Eleanor Antin's *Representational Painting* (1971), a film that shows Antin layering her face with make-up over the course of its nearly forty minutes. Similarly to these and other practitioners, feminist activism accompanied aesthetic response for Spero. Involved in the establishment of feminist groups emerging from the anti-war and artists' rights activism of the Art Workers Coalition—Women Artists in Revolution in New York in 1969, joining the Ad Hoc Women Artists' Committee in 1970, and co-founding the A.I.R. Gallery in 1972—Spero worked with others to actively challenge the blind spots of the art world, to fight for equal representation of women in the arts and to agitate for the end to the maintenance of misogyny through culture.[3]

In her practice, she investigated new material forms that would stand as alternatives to what she saw as the patriarchal art object, summing up this move with the pithy phrase: 'There, you guys can splat on your big canvases, but I'm over here doing this fragile thing – with bite'.[4] She

Fig. 1.1
Nancy Spero, *Codex Artaud I* (1971). Cut-and-pasted typed text and painted paper on paper, 58.4 x 226.1 cm. Centre Pompidou – Museé national d'art modern, Paris. Photo: © The Nancy Spero and Leon Golub Foundation for the Arts/DACS, London/VAGA, New York 2017

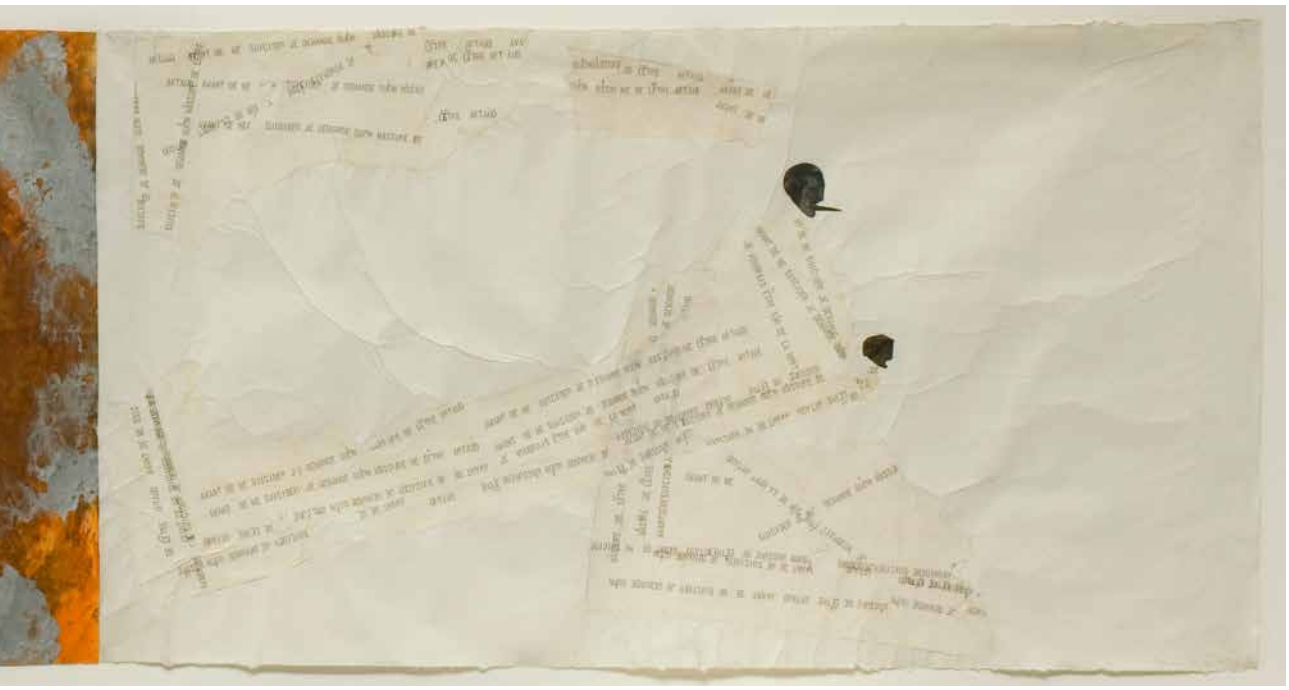
had first changed her aesthetic approach to suit political making as part of her involvement in activism against the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s. Abandoning the technique that dominated her paintings of the 1950s and early 1960s, such as *Lovers* (1962), in which thick layers of oil on canvas were built up over months, she created works on paper with brightly coloured gouache and ink, conceiving them as 'manifestos' against US governmental aggression in her *War Series* (1966-70). Nearing 150 works in total, the *War Series* represented outrage through its sexual, scatological, and aggressive iconography, enhanced by the speed of their making, which left an indexical record of quick brushstrokes and violent rubbing on the paper's surface. Spero's turn to the scroll in the early 1970s stemmed from her recent ideological engagement with feminism, standing as a mode of making that could encourage feminist viewing, rejecting the machismo and bombast epitomised for the artist in the then ageing abstract expressionist canvas, and instead create an active, reciprocal engagement between viewer and artwork.

The *Codex Artaud* is interesting for the ways in which the emerging scroll form manifests both Spero's feminist ambition and the anger of the *War Series*. Her later works—a key example of which is *Notes in Time on Women* (1976–9)—make women the protagonist, considering a plurality of female identities and experiences.[5] In the *Codex Artaud*, the visceral outrage and aggression of the *War Series* drives the work, simmering in the iconographic and textual elements and creating a visual rendering of the effects of patriarchy on women. Fragmented bodies, decapitated heads, and extended tongues are pictured alongside phantasmal beasts, insect-like creatures, and ripped, stuttering transcriptions of Artaud's texts. The subject is treated violently, both in representation and in the manipulation of Artaud's writing. Spero had chosen Artaud because of the extreme nature of his pronouncements, 'forcing a "collaboration"' on him in order to use his vast and complex texts on alienation to represent her own experience, selecting quotations that contributed to her message.[6] Using a visual and textual language of antagonistic disaffection, Spero builds a picture of a turbulent world that evokes the psychic experience of isolation and exclusion. The disorder that the work images is complemented by the elongated paper panel, the effect of its texture and white space acting to amplify its terse political proposition. *Codex Artaud* was Spero's first sustained exploration of the scroll; its feminism was articulated through exploring alienation in relation to questions of gender, with Artaud's hysterical voice and a focus on the body creating a complex consideration of the feminine.[7] In the long paper supports of the *Codex Artaud*, an anguished and fragmented thesis is built that obliquely explores the suffering of women living under patriarchy. The scroll form facilitates this feminist message, most notably in its complex reference to historical practice, but also in its use of paper as a devalued material, and the way in which the viewer's experience is influenced by the scale of the work.

Fig. 1.2
Nancy Spero, *Codex Artaud V* (1971). Cut-and-pasted typed text and painted paper on paper, 53.3 x 365.8 cm. Fundació Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona. Photo: © The Nancy Spero and Leon Golub Foundation for the Arts/DACS, London/VAGA, New York 2017

From its first appearance in her oeuvre, the scroll stood for Spero as a synecdoche of the ancient. As other chapters in this publication show, the form itself is not by nature historical, with many examples in contemporary art that look to the processes of modernisation and mechanisation in their rolled supports.[8] For Spero, however, the scroll signified a pre-modern mode of aesthetic production. 'History' held a dual significance for the work. Primarily, allusion to historical practice stood in confrontation with formalism, particularly a Greenbergian progressive modernism, and its associated machismo. Speaking to Marjorie Welish in 1994, Spero describes her antipathy towards progress: 'You know I don't believe in progress in art. Prehistoric art can't be beat! Sophistication isn't progress'.[9] Referring to historical forms provided an alternative formal language that was at once innovative, introducing new modes of making in order to develop alternative political and artistic practices, and also referred to something with weight and authority: a longstanding, respected, and to some extent mysterious tradition with which her work could connect. Scaffolding this is the implication of a lost matriarchy, an alternative historical tradition that has been aggressively erased. It is the enigmatic quality of an allusion to history that creates the second level of significance for the *Codex*. As Benjamin Buchloh has written, the Codex and its repeated reference to historical forms speaks to 'painting's lost resources in myth' and, by extension, 'myth and its "natural" association with the forces of the unconscious'.[10] The sense of deep historical time, created by both an iconography inspired by ancient artefacts and in the formal turn to the scroll, develops the turbulence figured in the object by referring obliquely to a psychic space. The use of the scroll form acts as a visual shorthand for both a partially recovered history and a desublimated psychological experience.

Spero's interest in imaging a lost past can be read in relation to contemporaneous feminist interpretations of history, which sought to expose how history was written to exclude women and establish a narrative of male exceptionalism.[11] For feminism in the 1970s, the official recording of history through art had become associated with patriarchy, creating narratives of male achievements and losses, geniuses and leaders.[12] A number of feminist practitioners acted to correct this bias. Works by artists such as Mary Beth Edelson, Judy Chicago, and Betsy Damon, focused on fictional ancient alternatives, representing lost goddesses and matriarchies recovered through their historical allusions.[13] In Damon's *7000 Year Old Woman* (1977), for example, the artist performed dressed in white with her skin and hair painted to match, her lips black to stylise her appearance. Attached to her were four hundred bags of coloured flour, referring to the breasts of the Greek Ephesian Artemis. Performing in the street, Damon slowly walked around, cutting off the bags of flour in



order to enact a pseudo-ritual.[14] Whilst this work alluded to mythology and history, it did not refer to any specific historical practice. Instead, the evocation of the ancient suggested a suppressed order, one which was intimately connected with the female and fertility. Spero's treatment of history echoes this gesture. The sense of the ancient and its framing in relation to feminist concerns proposes another order to be recovered, one which has been suppressed because of its connection to female experience. Where Damon enacts a ritual of fertility and celebration, Spero's *Codex* manifests the nightmarish underworld of patriarchy, representing the chaos and disorder that mark her experience of it. The sense that something is being uncovered is important to Spero; the dominant modes of post-war abstraction were to her mind, 'a cover-up for what was really going on'.[15] By standing in as a formal allusion to the historical, the scroll lays the ground for this recovered history.

Spero's iconographic and formal reference to history was based on a keen interest in ancient cultural production. Inspired by her visits as a student in Chicago to the ancient artefacts in the Field Museum's collections, Spero had long been invested in an aesthetic language that referred to ancient cultures.[16] The range of sources that she drew on was wide, encompassing Etruscan, Egyptian, Babylonian, and medieval European practices. Explicit references are made in titles of works or in texts that accompany them to specific historical objects, such as canopic jars, figures—such as the Egyptian Goddess Nut or the medieval nun Ende—or narratives, such as the story of Helen of Troy or the Mesopotamian Goddess Tiamat. In the *Codex Artaud* there is a repeated reference to ancient Egyptian culture, particularly *The Book of the Dead*, which served as an inspiration for the work.[17] However, in spite of this citation of ancient objects and forms, Spero interpreted rather than imitated works according to her own interests, describing her collaged images in the *Codex Artaud* as 'symbols ransacked from various cultures'.[18] Ransack is accurate: Spero approximated symbols for their rough implications, suggesting something emerging from underneath the weight of scholarly readings, historical interpretation, and masculinist accounts of the past. Appropriating the visual and formal language of these different sources, Spero deliberately affected an aged-aesthetic for the *Codex Artaud* in order to invoke history-in-inverted-commas, conjuring an approximate and sometimes inaccurate idea of the ancient signalled through the scroll form.[19] Her scrolls are not copies of objects that have gone before—as she explains, 'when a work is completed I realize some of its sources'—nor are the symbols she uses appropriated for their original meanings.[20] Instead, they are taken on the basis of

their aesthetic and conceptual associations, re-imagined by the artist as part of a feminist attack on *his*tory.

This approximation of historical modes of making, both iconographic and formal, is illustrated by *Codex Artaud V* (fig. 1.1). A scene at the centre of the panel in which three silver-grey figures stand, epitomises the way in which history is conjured by the artist. The clearest allusions to a historical exemplar appear in a large, totemic figure to the left of the group and a smaller, composite character on the right. The large figure stares out at the viewer with arms crossed, cutting its body in half. Dominating the panel, it exceeds the boundaries of the support, and unlike the other characters, confronts the viewer directly. With this totemic pose the figure evokes Egyptian iconography; the collar that stretches up either side of its head resembles the pharaonic headdresses like the Khat or Afnet which, combined with its two-dimensional frontality, recalls the tomb statues held in collection in the Field Museum or the coffins in which the museum's mummies are encased. The composite figure, who is pictured with head and legs in profile and torso in full view, faces off the picture plane to the right, its arms raised so as to echo an Egyptian gesture of adoration. The third and central figure, which also stands face-on with arms crossed, is shown looking down at the worshipper. The introduction of roughly sketched perspective in the depiction of this figure's face, departs from the tentative reference to the specific historical language of ancient Egypt.

Although there are clues as to what this scene might represent, its meaning is obscured. We could, for example, read the largest figure as a God, drawing on Egyptian stylistic tradition to consider its scale as evidence for this conclusion. However, asserting this narrative requires that we ignore other iconographic clues: the fact that the other characters face away from the larger one; Artaud's text, which captions the vignette, describing his choice of darkness and pain over radiance; and the effect of collage, which emphasises the distance between elements attached to the resonant paper support. Although the figures suggest a narrative that is being imparted, their arrangement and their evocative expressions creating the impression of a story that waits to be deciphered, it is as though the code to read them is lost and the viewer is left to make connections from a sense of significance, trying to interpret the deliberately obscure. The artist's description of her works as 'hieroglyphs', in which 'figures themselves stand for language, just as in the symbols from ancient calligraphy or Egyptian art' is suggestive in this regard.[21] Spero treats symbols as though they were linguistic, and meaningful in that sense, however the viewer is deliberately left without tools for translation; an implication of meaning and loose association is all we can rely on in order to understand the message.

Throughout the work, Spero appropriates historical forms as approximated signs more for a sense of meaning than for their accurate reference to historical practice. Titling the work *Codex* is a good example of this. As suggested by the critic Lawrence Alloway, the naming of the scroll work as a codex—which more correctly describes a bound collection of papers, not a scroll—alludes to historical forms, rather than accurately representing Spero's objects. Certain precedents cited by the artist for her use of the scroll, such as the Bayeux Tapestry and the Beatus Apocalypse of Gerona, the dimensions and stylised figures of which provide inspiration for Spero's aesthetic, further demonstrate an approximation of the qualities of objects.[22] Neither the tapestry nor the Apocalypses are themselves scrolls—just like the anachronistic *'Codex' Artaud*—but instead they are invoked as palpably historical, pointing to aspects of the scroll that appeal to Spero's engagement with it: the unfurling pictorial narrative and heavily illustrated manuscript. As her work is permanently unrolled and pinned to the wall, the dynamic of revealing and concealing associated with historical rolls and scrolls that derives from the viewer's tactile manipulation of them is hindered.[23] Not appropriating the living engagement with the scroll, therefore, the panels of the *Codex* are instead more like found objects, presented on museum walls. Creating works that appear historical, that imply a lost practice to be deciphered, Spero's interest in adopting the form is more about the way in which it suggests itself as an artefact; something that is kept distant, its use and significance not entirely recoverable.

Also contributing to Spero's opposition to modernist tradition is the use of paper as a material,

which asserts the artwork as an ephemeral and fragile artefact. Taking on the artistic and critical claims for what Lucy Lippard terms the 'dematerializ[ed] art object' and developing them through her own focus on women's practice, Spero saw paper as a disposable and devalued material, one which rejected the veneration of art works and instead encouraged quick, free, and feminist making.[24] Casting aside the oil and canvas of her early practice, which according to this new understanding of materials associated it with a masculinist history of painting, Spero turned to paper. She explains: 'I started to think: I don't want my stuff to be so permanent, so important'.[25] The sexualised, grotesque, and phantasmal picturings of the horrors of the Vietnam War in the *War Series* were facilitated by paper's fragility and impermanence, representing both the violence of the conflict and the vulnerability of the human body. Spero attacked the support, washing it with gouache in colours abject and bodily, spitting on her brushes and scrubbing at the paper's surface, so much at times that it ripped and tore during the construction. In the *Codex Artaud*, Spero similarly used the delicate nature of her materials to contribute to meaning through its tactile and textural presence. The delicacy and friability of the paper supports became an important layer of signification; the rips, tears, and buckles in the ground of the image contribute to the turbulence represented in the images of fragmented figures and the anxious fragments of text.

Codex Artaud I stands as an example (fig. 1.2). The materiality of the four paper panels pasted together greatly contributes to its meaning. At some points thick, crumpled, and marked, at others so thin as to be nearly entirely transparent, the paper creates a resonant and connotative ground. Artaud's appropriated words are typed on separate sheets of paper glued to the surface, so as to pucker the scroll and pull the paper into vein-like lines that run across the support. Multiple transcriptions of Artaud's anguished plea—which translates to 'before committing suicide I ask that I be given some assurance of being'—are affixed to a section of paper marked with deep creases that form a web across the picture plane, subtly extending the pain of the words into the material itself. Creases act as echoes of trauma, allegorising the suffering described by Artaud, and creating an unstable basis for this anxious world. Spero's affective meaning-making is developed in the layered scraps of paper containing Artaud's words that are pasted on top of one another. At points, they meld into a single piece that erases and destroys the legibility of the words, echoing the text's anxiety about being and annihilation. Semi-circular rips in these extracts are made

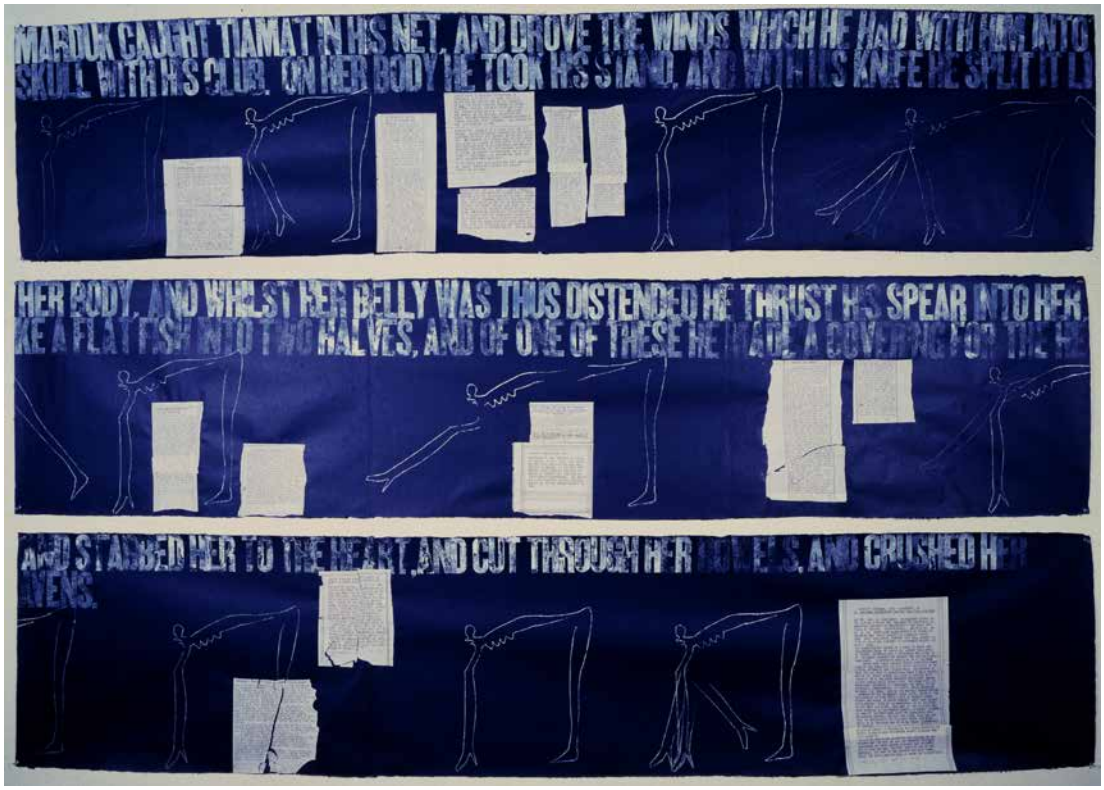


Fig. 1.3
Nancy Spero, *Marduk* (1986). Cut-and-pasted typed text and hand-printing on paper, 3 panels, 61 x 914.4 cm overall. Private collection, Munich. Photo: © The Nancy Spero and Leon Golub Foundation for the Arts/DACS, London/VAGA, New York 2017

more visible through contact with the paper beneath; their thin, yellowing edges mark them out against the handmade paper of the support. Spero plays with texture in ways that accentuate the delicacy of her medium, emphasising the volatile and precarious world that is built of deformed bodies and anguished texts. Fragility here seems to act as a metaphor for psychic turbulence. The disintegration of material elements forms an important part of the work: the edges of the tracing paper that carries a longer section of Artaud's text are ripped unevenly; in the centre of the bottom of the fragment a tear runs through the piece, splitting the surface. Further up, the text is obscured by a hard crease that extends through the centre of this section, meaning that, although we can discern the words that are typed, they are truncated, partially erased, and interrupted by the frailty of the medium.

The rough edges of the paper panels, where the fibrous quality of the support are made visible, add to the sense of a disorderly and turbulent world. As paper, each page consists of multiple individual fibres compressed so as to form a whole, creating a chaotic material composition. Unlike canvas, in which the material is constructed from ordered lines of cotton or linen, paper is made up of uneven fibres that are shaken to become entwined.[26] Therefore, there is a discontinuity even on a material level that allows constitutive elements to be divided across different sheets; not an ordered makeup, but instead an anarchic spread which creates a material that is at once connected to and separated from itself. The space of the paper is one that suggests a space bracketed off, there to be looked at as much as the collaged elements, an equal constituent in the process of making meaning. In their construction from paper, the scrolls assert a physical and affective presence that rejects the 'valuable' artwork, and by extension the system that values it. Paper, with its fragility that records trauma to its surface, is an essential contributor to this attack on the masculine art object, rejecting the ordered smooth facade of oil on canvas and instead presenting a traumatised object in which harm is integral to its aesthetic.

A final but important part of this attack by Spero's scrolls on masculine modes of production was an attempt to rethink the relationship between artwork and viewer. Spero sought to end the contemplative role of the spectator, rejecting a mode wherein they would stand and receive the artist's message, instead using the elongated ground of the image to force the viewer to engage with the work as an active participant. Although tactile manipulation is refused by their display on the wall, looking at Spero's scrolls, like any scroll, requires a physical relationship with the object; these demand that the viewer move and respond to the contrast between small elements pasted onto the support and the scale of the whole. In inviting an active and bodily form of viewing, the artist played with the dimensions of her fragments in relation to the size of the support, using small and delicate extracts of typed texts as a means to draw the viewer into an intimate relationship with the work, while large images and an extensive span lead them to seek distance. Moving along the totality of the work, seeking detail in small sections and coherence in the whole, the scrolls engage the body of the viewer, creating meaning through action. This relational practice creates a unique engagement for each viewer, allowing for a more reciprocal relationship—understood by the artist to be feminist—to develop between object and audience.

This mode of viewing is visible in *Codex Artaud V* and *Codex Artaud I*: the viewer is required to stand back to take in their span, but must also come close to the panel in order to see the detail of their small collaged heads and to read texts that are almost indiscernible from a distance. However, the effect is best illustrated in Spero's later works, ones in which panels are less autonomous, and instead multiple scrolls are grouped together to explore particular themes. The 1986 work *Marduk* (fig. 1.3) provides a good example. Describing the ancient Mesopotamian creation myth of Marduk and Tiamat, the three dark blue paper panels are printed with white ink and have attached to them accounts regarding the contemporaneous oppression of women across the world. These accounts are transcribed in English, including headings from newspaper extracts and human rights reports such as 'REAGAN'S SILENCE ON ABORTION TERROR', 'USSR HOLDS WOMAN IN MENTAL HOSPITAL', and 'PARAGUAY: THIRTY YEARS OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSE'. By 1986, Spero's focus was on foregrounding women, in this case their mistreatment under patriarchy, with evidentiary texts affixed to the support, pointing to

the continuing violence that women endured across the world. These texts are headlined by a transcription of the tale of Marduk's violent defeat of the goddess Tiamat in order to take control of the earth and assert order over a chaotic realm. It reads:

> Marduk caught Tiamat in his net, and drove the winds
> which he had with him into her body, and whilst her belly
> was thus distended he thrust his spear into her, and stabbed
> her to the heart and cut through her bowels, and crushed her
> skull with his club. On her body he took his stand, and with
> his knife he split it like a flat fish into two halves, and of one
> of these he made a covering for the heavens.

Creating a historical continuity between the violence inscribed in mythology and that described in the texts, this relationship is built by the discrepancies in scale that are central to Spero's active scrolls. In order to read this tale, which spans nine meters across the three panels, the viewer needs to be at a remove to take in the whole account, moving along the paper panels in order to read it in full, then moving back to the far left of the first panel halfway through in order to take in the second row of woodblock printed text. That this is to be read in a continuous flow is made clear by the arrangement of lettering: the word heavens, for example, is split in two, with the letters 'HE' on the middle panel and 'AVENS' on the right. In order to take in the entirety of the story of the eponymous character, it is necessary not only to be distant from the panel, but also to move along it. In order to get the detail of the work—the information about the real experience of women—it is necessary to be close to it and to dedicate time and concentration to a small section. The viewer is brought into a physical and intellectual relationship with the panels; not only do they absorb a message, but they actively create meaning through their approach to the work, developing their own unique engagement through the way in which they choose to explore its elements. Tapping into the scroll's mobility as a form, Spero considers this physical relationship—as opposed to the conventional role of the viewer of the artwork—with its expectation of stillness and contemplation. Instead, the experience is described as cinematic, the way in which a picture is built involving long-shots and close-ups, vignettes that are loaded with meaning put into context of the whole, building an understanding of the work that sees the time spent examining and engaging with the piece as part of its significance. Describing this in 1972, Spero states:

> To view Codex Artaud one has to change position, to move
> close or further away according to the size of the images … to
> move along as in reading a manuscript, or to move further away
> to view it in its entirety. My ideas on using collage technique are
> related to the fleeting gesture, moments (indelible impression)
> caught in motion. The rhythm of the whole, seemingly discordant,
> incomplete, or inchoate relates to fractured time – as well as the
> immediate external realities that impose themselves on my
> consciousness.[27]

Claiming a political aspect to this type of spectatorship, seeing its active engagement as collaborative, non-hierarchical, and feminist, the scroll form enabled a change in the way in which an artwork claims authority over the viewer. In inviting a response to the object that was based on movement, allowing the spectator to create meaning with their journey through the work, the scroll was essential to the development of a feminist object. The progress of her practice evidences Spero's investment in this mode of viewing, which moved from scroll works to interpretations of the heraldic banner in *A Cycle in Time* (1995), and to large-scale murals that intervened in institutional spaces in ways that exposed their ideological biases. However, her understanding of the scrolls' promise is evident through her consistent engagement with it throughout her

career, establishing itself in the early 1970s and culminating in the 2002 work *Azur*, which was approximately eighty-five meters in length and included a range of images of women from contemporary and ancient sources. Working with the form for over thirty years, the scroll was a major part of Spero's aesthetic proposition.

The scroll form, in Spero's feminist reimagining, was appropriated and dispatched as part of a challenge to the aesthetic status quo, seen by the artist as complicit in the oppression of women and the perpetuation of patriarchy. With its allusion to history, its devalued support, and its extended scale that demands an unconventional and active mode of viewing, the form was essential to Spero's activist practice. The scroll worked both to signify and to delineate a space of signification, its traumatised paper supports both the ground for her fragmented images and texts, resonant and meaningful in their own right. Contributing to the contemporaneous feminist attention to the past that sought to use its language as a way to counter history's ideological message, Spero's angry artefacts mimicked the ancient in order to intervene in the contemporary moment. In this way, for Spero, her interpretation of the scroll form and her manipulation of its resonances were essential to her feminist practice, a potent and active mode of making.

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1. Nancy Spero and Stephan Götz, 'About Creation: Interview with Stephan Götz', in Craigen W. Bowen and Katherine Oliver (eds), *American Artists in Their New York Studios. Conversations About the Creation of Contemporary Art* (Cambridge, Massachussetts; Stuttgart: Center for Conservation and Technical Studies, Harvard University Art Museums; Daco-Verlag Günter Bläse, 1992), p. 149.
2. It should be noted that Spero is not the only feminist to adopt the scroll as part of her feminist practice. The most notable other example is Carolee Schneemann's *Interior Scroll* pulled from her vagina at her performance at the *Women Here and Now Festival* in East Hampton in 1975 and the Telluride Film Festival in Colorado in 1977, which contained text from her book *Cezanne, She was a Great Painter*. Exploring vulvic space, Schneemann used the scroll to make visible the interior spaces of the body, asserting meaning and a challenge to masculine production through her performance.
3. For more on feminist art and its histories see Helena Rickett and Peggy Phelan, *Art and Feminism* (London and New York: Phaidon Press, 2012).
4. Nancy Spero, Nicole Jolicoeur and Nell Tenhaaf, 'Defying the Death Machine', *Parachute* 39 (1985): pp. 50–55; reprinted in Roel Arkesteijn (ed.), *Codex Spero: Nancy Spero — Selected Writings and Interviews 1950–2008* (Amsterdam: Roma Publications, 2008), p. 15.
5. See Nancy Spero and Jeanne Siegel, 'Nancy Spero: Woman as Protagonist', *Arts Magazine* 62 (1987): pp. 10–13.
6. Nancy Spero and Barbara Flynn, *Nancy Spero. 43 Works on Paper. Excerpts from the Writings of Antonin Artaud* (Cologne: Galerie Rudolf Zwirner, 1986), p.1.
7. Although Spero asserted that Codex Artaud was not feminist, instead claiming it as a pre-feminist practice in that it did not explicitly foreground women and their experience, it undoubtedly shows an attention to feminism's intellectual concerns; the focus on the body as the site and signifier of existential pain suggests an interest in embodiment and a dedicated attention to emotion as a serious subject for intellectual enquiry. See Spero and Tamar Garb, 'Nancy Spero interviewed by Tamar Garb', *Artscribe International* (1987): p. 59. Mignon Nixon describes how the *Codex Artaud* explores a hysterical subjectivity that develops a consideration of both sexuality and gender. See Nixon, 'Book of Tongues', in *Dissidances* (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2008), pp. 21–53.
8. For example, artists like Robert Rauschenberg's *Automobile Tire Print* (1953) and Jean Tinguely's *Métamatic* n17 (1959) produced indexical prints on rolls of paper, parodying the process and results of mass production.
9. Nancy Spero and Marjorie Welish, 'Word into Image. An Interview with Marjorie Welish', *BOMB 47* (1994): pp. 42–44; reprinted in Arkesteijn, *Codex Spero*, p. 155.
10. Benjamin Buchloh, 'Spero's Other Traditions' in Catherine de Zegher (ed.), *Inside the Visible* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), p. 243.
11. Talking to Tamar Garb in 1987, she states: 'I think of history painting as a monument to a moment or a meeting in which there is usually a male action', Spero and Garb, 'Interview', p. 62.
12. Texts such as Linda Nochlin's foundational 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists', published in 1971 opened discussion, considering the terms by which this exclusion was perpetuated. For example, the lack of educational opportunities for women, the expectations of established gender roles, and the emphasis on the artist genius understood to be male. See Nochlin, 'Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists', *ARTnews* (1971): p. 22.
13. Mary Beth Edelson's 1973 photograph, *Woman Rising* for example, involves manipulations applied to the artist's image in order to imply a primordial and spiritual connection to the earth, alluding to a lost matriarchy connected to nature.
14. Jayne Wark examines Damon's performance in more detail in her *Radical Gestures: Feminism and Performance Art in North America* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2006), pp. 63–64.
15. Nancy Spero and Robert Enright, 'Picturing the Autobiographical War. An Interview with Robert Enright', *Border Crossings 23*, no. 1 (2004): pp. 50–61; reprinted in Arkesteijn, *Codex Spero*, p. 35.
16. Spero articulates the influence of the museum's vast collections of ancient artifacts which were, according to the artist, 'literally dumped out of the cases'. See Nancy Spero, Kate Horsfield and Lyn Blumenthal, 'On Art and Artists: Nancy Spero', *Profile* 3:1 (1983): p. 2.
17. Spero states: 'When I started pasting the paper together for the "Codex" I was looking at Egyptian hieroglyphics – their methods of composition on walls and papyrus, to give me some ideas, and along the way I collected many images and references'. See Spero quoted in Jon Bird, 'Part II, "Codex Artaud" – the phallic tongue', in *Nancy Spero* (London: Institute of Contemporary Art, 1987), p. 25.
18. 'Statement for *Magiciens de la Terre*' (1989), Box 5, Folder 11, Nancy Spero Papers 1940s–2009, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
19. For example, in her process of making the scrolls, she describes her use of Higgin's vegetable glue for the way it puckered and yellowed the paper, telling Stephan Götz in 1992

that: 'I wanted the work to look old'. Spero and Götz, 'About Creation', p. 117.
20. Spero, 'Narrative Aspects of the Work', in Arkesteijn, *Codex Spero*, p. 83.
21. Spero and Welish, 'Word into Image', p. 155.
22. Spero discusses the influence of the Bayeux Tapestry in her interview with Judith Olch Richards. See, Oral history interview with Nancy Spero, (February 6–July 24 2008), Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution. Spero's interest in the Beatus Apocalypse of Gerona is most clearly articulated in her text 'Ende', which considers the work of the nun Ende who is credited with illustrating this text. See, 'Ende', *Women's Studies* 6 (1978): pp. 3–11.
23. Whilst originally pinned to the walls, Spero's works are now framed behind glass, pointing to their fixed status as objects that are unrolled and designed for display.
24. See Lucy Lippard, Six Years: *The Dematerialization of the Art Object from 1966 to 1972* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973). For Spero, paper also acted as a metaphor for the denigrated status of women artists' work. She states: 'If women's work is considered less valuable monetarily, then work on paper is considered even less'. See Spero, Jolicoeur and Tenhaaf, 'Defying the Death Machine', p. 15.
25. Spero, Jolicoeur and Tenhaaf, 'Defying the Death Machine', p. 15.
26. 'Production Process', Sekishu Washi, accessed 29 July 2015.
27. Nancy Spero 'Viewpoint' (November 1972), Box 5, Folder 9, Nancy Spero Papers 1940s–2009, Archives of American Art.

2

Reading in the Provinces: A Midrash on Rotulus from Damira, Its Materiality, Scribe, and Date

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'A battlefield of books': this is how Solomon Schechter described the mass of tangled and damaged manuscript debris when he entered the Genizah chamber of the Ben Ezra synagogue in Fustat (Old Cairo) in 1896 (fig. 2.1). This windowless room, together with similar caches in other synagogues and in the cemetery Basatin in Cairo, yielded over 350,000 fragments of manuscripts, kept today in more than seventy collections worldwide.[1] Most of the fragments date from the Fatimid and Ayyubid periods: more than ninety-five percent come from books while the rest are fragments of legal documents, letters, and other pragmatic writings. They were preserved thanks to the long-standing Jewish tradition of disposing of old writings with particular respect, founded on the belief that Hebrew texts containing the name of God are sacred: rather than being destroyed or thrown away, worn out books and documents—both holy and trivial—were instead placed in dedicated space, a Genizah, to decay naturally without human intervention. This massive necropolis of discarded writings offers us unprecedented knowledge of Jewish life in medieval Egypt in general and of Jewish book history in particular. Thousands of fragments are witnesses to the centrality of Hebrew books in liturgy, in professional activities, and in private life, as well as offering a mine of information about how these books were made and read: their materials, forms, and formats.

Particularly interesting, in this respect, are recent discoveries at the Genizah that attest to the unexpected importance of vertical scrolls, or rotuli, in the book culture of Oriental Jews. Indeed, as a result of a systematic search in various Cairo Genizah collections—a collaboration between Gideon Bohak of the University of Tel Aviv and myself—nearly 500 fragments of books written in rotulus form have been found.[2] Judging from their palaeographical features, they were written in Egypt between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.[3] It is likely that most of the rotuli were produced in Fustat and discarded in the local Genizah. However, as we shall see, some of the rotuli were produced in smaller Egyptian towns. It is unclear why the writings from the provinces were discarded in the Fustat Genizah, but their conservation is an important source for the study of reading and book-making practices outside of the Egyptian capital. In this chapter, I will focus on one fragment of a literary rotulus—now Cambridge University Library Taylor-Schechter (henceforth TS) C 1.67 (figs 2.2–2.3)—which was discovered in the Cairo Genizah and brought to Cambridge by Solomon Schechter, Rabbi and reader in Rabbinics at Cambridge University. A detailed palaeographical analysis traced its origin to the small Delta town of Damira. After a brief presentation of the corpus of rotuli in Hebrew script from the Cairo Genizah, I will turn to focus in some detail on the physical description, palaeography, and dating of this rotulus.

The Geniza Rotuli

The rotulus form has been used in traditions of Jewish book making since antiquity. Although no ancient rotuli have been preserved, the Mishnah and the Talmud both mention *takhrikh* (דירכת), a 'roll' or 'wrapper'. This term usually refers to the practice of attaching together vertically three or more legal documents to facilitate their archiving.[4] However, there is some evidence that the vertical scroll form was also used to copy literary or liturgical texts; the Talmud Yerushalmi mentions a *takhrikh berakhot* (תוכרב דירכת), 'a roll of blessings'.[5] Yet despite these references, Hebrew books in rotuli form have been largely disregarded by book historians and codicologists, who instead tend to focus their attention on more traditional horizontal Bible scrolls and codices.[6] Few would have suspected that preserved rotuli fragments would number so many: until now most known rotuli have systematically been dated before the year 1000, conceived of simply as a transitional hinge between the scroll and codex.[7] Yet the recent discovery of hundreds of rotuli in the Cairo Genizah shows not only that this 'third form' of the Hebrew book was much more common in Oriental Jewish communities than previously believed, but also that use of the format extended well into the thirteenth century and even later.

The survival of this ancient book form in the community at Fustat is less surprising when we consider that this form was in fact relatively common in medieval Egyptian society; also among Christians, Muslims, and Samaritans. Indeed, Greek and Samaritan prayers on rotulus are preserved, as are rotuli with excerpts from the Koran in Arabic, probably used for magical and apotropaic purposes.[8] Particular to the Jewish rotuli from the Cairo Genizah, however, is their specific function and proficient, professional readership. An analysis of their materiality quickly

Fig. 2.1
Solomon Schechter at work in the Old University Library, Cambridge. Photo: © Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

shows that the overwhelming majority of these Jewish books on rotuli were low-cost copies, often user-produced and destined for a personal devotion, individual study, or as a professional vademecum. It is likely that personal notebooks, *megillot setarim* (מגילות סתרים), literally 'personal or concealed rolls', mentioned in the Geonic literature were such rotuli, although the term *megillah* usually refers to horizontal scrolls.[9] Various factors suggest the economic concerns of the readers: including the use of lesser-quality, often reused writing materials; a lack of decorative features; a high density of the text formed from the small size of its characters; minimal left-hand margins; and reduced interlinear spaces.[10]

Their extremely varied contents, too, shed light on the potentially broad appeal of the fragments. More than 55% of their identified texts contain liturgy. Only a few include standard prayers (for instance TS H 10.310, TS 20.57, TS 6H 8. 3, and TS 13 H 1. 4), while the majority contain liturgical poems or *piyyutim* (פיוטים) (TS H 8. 43). Very few fragments contain passages directly drawn from the Bible: a few fragments of the Psalms exist (TS AS 43. 23), part of a prayer anthology rather than a Biblical manuscript as such, as well as various passages of haftarah (Bodl. MS Heb. b 18. 23; JTS, ENA 3974. 3). A few known rotuli with passages from the Pentateuch (e.g. TS AS 7.2), seem to have either been used as a copying exercise or were a copy of a short portion of the text, rather than that of the entire Biblical book. Secular poetry is attested, for instance, in fragments of work by Judah ha-Levi (TS 13 J 24. 13).[11] A small corpus concerns science and *materia medica* (TS 20. 150, TS NS 90. 47), while the Genizah also preserves the earliest attested manuscript of the Sefer Yeṣirah (Book of Creation) (TS 32. 5, TS K 21. 56, TS K 12. 813[12]), the version used by the tenth-century exegete Saʿadyah Gaon for his much-renowned commentary. Magic and astrology also feature in the rotuli fragments (Bodl. MS Heb. a 3. 31)[13], as do passages of Hekhalot literature, a mystical body of writings detailing chariot-bound ascents to heaven (e.g. Bodl. MS Heb. a 3. 25a).

Another relatively large group of the fragments contains scholars' books. They include Biblical translations and commentaries, for instance Saʿadyah Gaon's Arabic paraphrasis of the Bible, the *Tafsīr* (TS Ar 1a. 140); lists of Biblical variants and textual difficulties known as the *Masora* (Bodl. MS Heb. a 3. 30); and lexicographical works, such as Saʿadyah's list of seventy words attested only once in the entire Bible (*hapax legomena*) (TS Ar. 53. 9). Likewise, the rotulus seems to have been a favoured book form for students of Jewish legal tradition. Several of the Genizah rotuli contain tractates of the Babylonian Talmud (Bodl. MS Heb. e 52 (R))[14], the Mishna (TS F 2(1) 167), legal compendia such as *Halakhot Gedolot* (TS F 5. 151, TS NS 329. 1020), *Sheiltot* of Rabbi Aha de Shabha,[15] and commentaries or glossaries used to facilitate the study of the Babylonian Talmud (Bodl. MS Heb. b 12. 33, TS G 2. 20).[16]

Lastly, the Cairo rotuli contain several copies of the so-called 'late midrashim', which seem to be anthologies of earlier Rabbinic texts and quotations, such as *Pirqa de-Rabbenu ha-Qadosh* (MS

Fig. 2.2 (left) A midrash on rotulus (front), Damira, Egypt (thirteenth century). Pen on paper. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter C 1.67. Photo: © Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Fig. 2.3 (right) A midrash on rotulus (dorse) Damira, Egypt (thirteenth century). Pen on paper. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter C 1.67. Photo: © Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Bodl. Heb. a 2 fol. 24; TS H 7. 21; TS K 21. 85; TS K 21. 94; LG Talm. II. 95)[17] or a composition similar to the work published under the title *The Pearl of Rav Meir (Margenita de Rav Meir) or The Pearl of the House of Rav (Margenita de-bei Rav)* (TS C 1. 67).[18] In addition to this rotulus, I was able to identify yet another fragment in the Cairo Genizah containing passages of the *Pearl*, a fragment on a horizontal scroll dated c.1000.[19] The *Pearl* is a short, homily-like ethical essay whose main subject is the punishment for bad actions and the failure to follow God's commandments in this world and in the world to come. The Genizah fragments are the earliest witnesses to the heritage of this text.

The Damira Fragment

In the following sections, I will focus on the physical characteristics and palaeographical dating of the Genizah rotulus TS C 1. 67. A detailed study of its text is beyond the scope of this materially-oriented essay, however it is important to stress that, like most medieval midrashic and homiletic

compilations, *The Pearl* is an example of a non-authoritative and 'open' text whose versions vary a great deal from one manuscript to another. Individual manuscripts present important differences of wording and intertwine passages found in other identifiable works within their unique texts. The rotulus TS C 1. 67, for example, contains a passage (lines 1–4) that appears somewhat closer in content to a collection of midrashic homilies printed under the title of *Pesiqta ḥadta* (the passage concerning Yom Kippurim) than it does to the corresponding passage of the printed version of the *Pearl*.[20] However, despite such differences, the core of the rotulus text and its order in the context of TS C 1.67 does correspond to the later printed edition of the *Pearl*.

TS C 1. 67 is written with black-fading-to-grey carbon ink, on inferior quality, grey, thick Egyptian paper with clearly visible rag fibres. The fragment contains forty-two lines and the text is written in one continuous block on the recto. Paper is the writing material of some sixty percent of the rotuli from the Cairo Genizah studied thus far, and the preserved fragment measures 32.5 x 11.5 cm. It was composed of at least three sheets of paper (*kollemata*) glued together vertically before the text was written, as evidenced by the written line overlapping two of these sheets in line 3 of the fragment. Only a small part of the upper sheet is preserved but the full width of the rotulus is generally complete, with the end of the line preserved in most cases. As for its length, the rotulus is damaged, torn off at the beginning and at the end. When compared with the printed edition, the preserved portion corresponds to about one third of the text. It is therefore likely that the complete rotulus was originally about one metre long.

It seems that this was an optimal size of a paper rotulus. We know only three Genizah rotuli on paper whose length has been fully preserved: a section of the *Sheiltot* of Rabbi Aha de Shabha reconstructed from seven fragments joined together, measuring 120 cm; a copy of liturgical poems on the verso of a reused letter in Arabic by a Muslim official, CUL Add. 3336, measuring 150.5 cm; and a Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Beiṣah, Bodl. MS Heb. e 52 (R), measuring 158.5 cm (six paper sheets). Indeed, the Beiṣah roll appears to represent a maximum length for a paper rotulus. This version was in fact copied across three rotuli which together formed the same codicological unit, effectively presenting the text in three 'tomes'.[21] Fragments of the other two rolls of this same codicological unit have been found too, suggesting that the division of the tractate into three portions, copied on three separate rotuli, was judged the largest practicable solution for accommodating this long text. We must remember that unlike rotuli made of parchment, some of which reached up to three metres, paper was far less resilient: too long a rotulus would be easy to damage and tear. Still, a relatively short rotulus like TS C1. 67—about one metre long and also very narrow—could be easily rolled and unrolled when held in the hand. This was a perfect format for a small, inexpensive, light, and portable book intended for personal reading.

The verso of the rotulus in its present state is blank except for a note in Arabic and Hebrew, containing a magical formula for protection of the book against worms:

كبج كج ملعون عبرانى من كتاب לא דיסח
kabij kaj mal'ūn 'ibrānī min kitāb al-ḥasid[22]
[litt. Kabij kaj is cursed, in Hebrew, from the Book of the Pious]

There are, however, some traces of Hebrew letters at the top of the fragment corresponding to the end of the upper sheet, just above the place where the two parts were glued together. They may suggest that the upper part of the verso, now lost, originally contained the end of the text. As is usually the case with the Genizah rotuli, the scribe did not make rulings to guide the lines of their text; the rotuli are, after all, informal books. This is why the fragments' lines are not always regularly spaced, their writing often sinking in the middle of the rotulus and lifting again towards the end. However, here the scribe has taken particular care to justify the fragment's long block of writing. The right-hand margin is narrow, only around 1 cm, but straight nonetheless. The margin on the left, though, is not even: most frequently, rotuli scribes tend to run lines of text right up to the paper's edge, but sometimes when the writing is either too short or too long for the line, care is taken to reduce calligraphic interference. Here, to avoid large blank spaces, the scribe has created fillers either by extending the upper horizontal strokes of the lines' final letters (for instance lines 19, 22, 24, 28, 31) by elongating the letter's basis (see the *nun* at the end of line 32), or by using a horizontal line, sometimes a mark of an abbreviation, as a space filler (for instance in lines 18, 21,

25, 41, 42). To accommodate the ends of lines that are too long, the scribe chose to write the last word in slightly smaller characters, above the line, with a slant up to the right (lines 17, 26, 37, 38, 39). Besides this textual consideration at a linear lever, there are no other graphic indications of separate sections of paragraphs of the midrash in the fragment, nor any punctuation marks for that matter. The text runs as a regular block of uninterrupted short lines. However, the fact that the lines are short and relatively generously spaced, and given their low density and careful, clear handwriting, the scroll is not uncomfortable to read.

The script is Oriental of the Egyptian sub-type and belongs to the non-square register, similar to that used in legal documents and other less formal books.[23] It also contains several cursive features, with characters measuring around 3 x 3 mm. The pertinent features of the script are consistent with Egyptian manuscripts of the first half of the thirteenth century (see Appendix), and both this date and location can be confirmed and further specified by the identification of the scribe of our rotulus as the scribe of a legal document in Arabic in Hebrew script, TS NS J 2 (figs 2.4–2.5). A systematic handwriting analysis leaves no doubt that the scribe of this text is the same as our rotulus, TS C 1. 67. His name in the related legal document is slightly damaged but can be read as Moshe ben Mevorakh. The document, published in 1971 by Shlomo Dov Goitein, records donations to the community chest (*heqdesh*) by several members of a family in exchange for the honour of their youngest member, Ibrahim (Abraham), to be chosen to read in the synagogue, intoning the scroll of Esther during the celebration of the festival of Purim in front of the assembled congregation.[24] The father of Ibrahim, Abū al-Fakhr ben Abū al-Faraj, also offers in return to relinquish a reimbursement claim for the cost of transport by beasts, perhaps horses, which the community had hired from him for the trip of a prominent visitor. This was a member of an aristocratic family of Mosul, the *Nasi* (or 'Prince' of Davidic descent) Joshiah, son of Jesse

Fig. 2.4 (left) A legal document in Arabic in Hebrew script on rotulus by Moshe ben Mevorakh (front), Damira, Egypt (thirteenth century). Pen on paper. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter NS J 2. Photo: © Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

Fig. 2.5 (right) A legal document in Arabic in Hebrew script on rotulus by Moshe ben Mevorakh (dorse), Damira, Egypt (thirteenth century). Pen on paper. Cambridge University Library, Taylor-Schechter NS J 2. Photo: © Syndics of Cambridge University Library.

ben Solomon, who had travelled to Ashmūn and al-Maḥalla al-Kubra in Lower Egypt.[25] Most importantly for our rotulus, this legal record of the donation and settlement contains a precise date and place of writing: 'in the second third of the month of Adar of the year 1555' of the Seleucid era, that is in February 1243, in a town of Small Damira (*Damira ha-qetanah*). The town of Damira, situated on the al-Maḥalla canal rather than on the Nile proper as stated in the document, is mentioned in a number of Genizah documents, and according to the twelfth-century traveler Benjamin of Tudela it had a large Jewish community of some 700 individuals.[26] As pointed out by Goitein, like other provincial towns in Egypt, Damira was also home of scholars and teachers.[27]

TS C 1. 67 is thus provided with a context of production. But, equally importantly, the precise dating of this rotulus proves that the roll format was still in use for small, portable copies of literary texts in the thirteenth century, both in Fustat and across various Jewish settlements in Egypt. The contents of the Cairo Genizah now rest deep in library vaults, a corpus of minute fragments scattered across multiple institutions worldwide. But cases like this show there are still many codicological puzzles held within them, able to shed light both on the small, personal world of Jewish Egypt and the ongoing presence of the continuous page.

Palaeographical Appendix

The handwriting's specific features include: particularly rounded bases of the letters *lamed*, final *mem*, *kaph*, *nun*, and *pe*; concave upper horizontal lines of *beth*, *daleth*, and final *mem*; the reduction of strokes and a rounded execution as one movement of the upper part and the right-hand downstroke of the letters *he*, *ḥeth*, *kaph*, final *mem*, *pe*, final *pe*, *resh* and *tav*; and relatively long ascender of the *lamed* and descenders of *nun*, final *pe* and *qoph*. There is some slight shading or difference between horizontal strokes written with the full width of the calamus' nib, and thin vertical and oblique strokes. The shapes of the pairs of letters, which can be similar in some script-types or handwritings, are different in this manuscript: *beth* versus *kaph*, *gimel* versus *nun*, *daleth* versus *resh*, *he* versus *ḥeth*, final *mem* versus *samekh*. The only confusion concerns one of the allographs of the letter *aleph* and a ligature of *nun* followed by a *vav*, both adopting an N-shape.

line 25: וניאש

The most salient morphological features include:

Gimel traced with two straight lines that cross at the level of the baseline; with the right-hand downstroke straight and almost perpendicular to the baseline, going below the meeting point. The downstroke points sharply upwards and does not contain an additional 'roof'. The left-hand stroke is long and parallel to the baseline.

Zayin is wedge-shaped and its head is placed to the right of the downstroke

Final *nun*, with a wavy descender and a head placed to its right.

Shin whose 'middle' short stroke is attached to the extremity of the left arm. This left-hand part is sometimes detached from the right-hand stroke, which forms the letter's basis.

The features particularly emphasised in the handwriting of the scribe of our rotulus include a tendency to allography of *aleph* and *lamed*:

a/  b/ 

Two allographs of *aleph*: one, kappa-shaped, with a characteristically long upper stroke of the right-hand part of the letter; and an N-shaped *aleph*, whose right-hand stroke also goes frequently above the line of writing.

a/  b/  c/  d/  וילע

Several allographs of *lamed*: ranging from two strokes superimposed vertically (a), through the forms with the body of the letter forming a rounded base (b, c); to a rounded form written as one continuous movement forming a closed oval (d, here, the following *yod* is written decoratively inside the loop of the *lamed*).

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1. For the discovery and history of research, see especially Mark R. Cohen and Yedida K. Stillman, 'The Cairo Genizah and the Custom of Genizah Among Oriental Jewry – An Historical and Ethnographic Study' (in Hebrew), *Pe'amim* 24 (1985): pp. 3–35; Stefan C. Reif, *A Jewish Archive from Old Cairo: The History of Cambridge University's Collection* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000); Rebecca J. W. Jefferson, 'A Genizah Secret: The Count d'Hulst and Letters Revealing the Race to Recover the Lost Leaves of the Original Ecclesiasticus', *Journal of the History of Collections* 21:1 (2009): pp. 125–142; Haggai Ben-Shammai, 'Is "The Cairo Genizah" a Proper Name or a Generic Noun? On the Relationship between the Genizot of the Ben Ezra and the Dār Simḥa Synagogues', in Ben M. Outhwaite and Siam Bhayro (eds.), *'From a Sacred Source'. Genizah Studies in Honour of Professor Stefan Reif*, Cambridge Genizah Studies Series 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), pp. 43–52; Rebecca J. W. Jefferson, 'The Cairo Genizah Unearthed: The Excavations Conducted by the Count d'Hulst on Behalf of the Bodleian Library and their Significance for Genizah History', in Outhwaite and Bhayro, *'From a Sacred Source'*, pp. 171–200; Adina Hoffman and Peter Cole, *Sacred Trash. The Lost and Found World of the Cairo Genizah* (New York: Schocken, 2011).

2. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Third Form of the Hebrew book: Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah', *Report of the Oxford Centre for Hebrew and Jewish Studies* (2010–2011), pp. 90–91. More fragments of rotuli still await identification. It is not always easy to see immediately that a small fragment belonged to a rotulus as only two rotuli in the corpus are complete with all their sheets still attached (Bodl. MS Heb. e 52 (R): BT, one third of the tractate Beiṣah, and CUL Add. 3336, a literary text), and it is not always easy to identify a fragment of a book as belonging to a rotulus. Such a claim can be made when the fragment in question is composed of two or more pieces of writing material still attached together; when it contains traces of stitching; when the fragment displays proportions which are incompatible with a codex; or when it contains a blank verso or a verso covered with the writing by the same hand, but laid upside down in respect to the recto. However, in the case of very small fragments, their identification as a part of a rotulus is only possible when other parts of the same codicological unit have been previously identified as such.

3. A large proportion of the Genizah rotuli fragments are kept in the Taylor-Schechter collection in the Cambridge University Library, but smaller corpora have been located in the Bodleian Genizah Collection, the British Library, the John Rylands Library in Manchester, the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, the Kaufman Collection in Budapest, and the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris.

4. See Mishna, Baba Meṣia 1:8; BT Baba Meṣia 20b: *takhrikh shel shetarot*.

5. See Shabbat 79b.

6. For probably the earliest mention of the codex among the Jews, see Arieh Leib Schlossberg (ed.), *Sefer Halakhot Pesukot o Halakhot Re'u, attributed to Rav Yehudai Gaon* (in Hebrew) (Versailles: Defus Serf, 1886), p. 11: בדא ויא חחצמב הבותכ הלגמו רפס וניא חחצמו רפסב בתכנו בתכש ותבוח ידי הב אצוי, (concerning the ritual reading of the scroll of Esther): 'If man reads from a codex (*maṣḥaf*), he does not fulfill his religious obligation, because it is written "from the scroll (*sefer*)", and the codex is not a scroll'. See Nahum M. Sarna, *The Pentateuch: Early Spanish Manuscripts (Codex Hilleli) from the Collection of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem: Makor Publishing, 1974), Introduction, n. 20; Mordechai Glatzer, 'The Aleppo Codex: Codicological and Palaeographical Aspects' (in Hebrew), *Sefunot* 4 (1989): pp. 260–261; Irven M. Resnick, 'The Codex in Early Jewish and Christian Communities', *Journal of Religious History* 17:1 (1992): pp. 1–17.

7. For instance, Richard C. Steiner, *A Biblical Translation in the Making: The Evolution and Impact of Saadia Gaon's Tafsir* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2011), p. 46, 85, 93.

8. BL Or 5036.1, a rotulus on parchment in Samaritan. See Abraham Tal, *Samaritan Targum of the Pentateuch* (in Hebrew), vol. 2 (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1981), pp. 105–109; TS 16.321, a Greek rotulus in Greek minuscule script. On medieval Arabic rotuli, see Solange Ory, 'Un Nouveau Type de Mushaf : Inventaire des Corans en Rouleaux de Provenance Damascaine, Conservés à Istanbul', *Revue des Études Islamiques* 33 (1965): pp. 87–149.

9. On *megillot setarim* in a responsum of Hai Gaon, see Robert Brody, *The Geonim of Babylonia and the Shaping of Medieval Jewish Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 171.

10. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Cheap Books in *Medieval Egypt: Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah*', *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 4 (2016): pp. 82–101.

11. Dalia Wolfson, 'Medieval Chapbooks: Early Collecting of Rabbi Judah ha-Levi's Poetry: T-S 13J24.13 and T-S K25.138', *Fragment of the Month* (February 2015), accessed 20 April 2019.

12. For the most recent edition, see Peter A. Hayman, *Sefer Yeṣira. Edition, Translation and Text-critical Commentary* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), pp. 59–195.

13. See Gideon Bohak, 'The Magical Rotuli from the Cairo Genizah', in Gideon Bohak, Yuval Harari, and Shaul Shaked (eds), *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition*, Jerusalem Studies in Religion and Culture, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 321–340.

14. See Alexander Tal, 'Between Talmud and Abridgment: A Geniza Scroll of BT Betzah' (in Hebrew), *Ginzei Qedem* 7 (2011): pp. 75–144.

15. For a rotulus of Sheiltot reconstructed from seven fragments and copied by Ephraim ben Shemaryah, see Ronni Shweka, Marina Rustow, and Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The She'iltot, Recycling Manuscripts and Efrayim b. Shamarya', *Fragment of the Month* (October 2011), accessed 20 April 2019.

16. The Cambridge fragment has been published by B. M. Lewin, 'Explanation of the Words of the Talmud from an Early Source' (in Hebrew), *Ginze Kedem* (1934): pp. 167–177. See Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Glossary of Difficult Words in the Babylonian Talmud (*Seder Mo'ed*) on a Rotulus', in George. J. Brooke and Renata Smithuis (eds.), *Jewish Education from Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Philip S. Alexander* (Leiden and London: Brill, 2017), pp. 296–323.

17. Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'Un Rotulus du *Midrash Pirqa de-Rabbenu ha-Qadosh* de la Geniza du Caire', *Annuaire de l'EPHE, 2012-2013 (145e année)* (Paris: EPHE, 2014): pp. 26–40; Anna Busa, 'The Rotuli Corpus of the *Medieval Midrash Pirqa de-Rabbenu ha-Qadosh*', *Fragment of the Month* (July 2017), accessed 20 April 2019.

18. The work was edited from early printed editions (alongside two hundred other 'minor' midrashim and ethical works) in two volumes by Judah D. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim* (New York: Bibliotheca Midraschica, 1915), p. 355, and by Adolph Jellinek, *Bet ha-Midrasch, Sammlung kleiner Midraschim und vermischler Abhandlungen aus der ältern jüdischen Literatur*, vol. 2 (Wien: Brüder Winter, 1877), pp. 120–122. The early printed editions were the *Reshit Ḥokhmah* of the Safed kabbalist Elias ben Moses de Vidas (Amsterdam edition, 1737; *editio princeps*, Venice, 1579). This midrash was known and parts of it included into a fourteenth-century Ashkenazi anthology, *Sefer ha-Zikhronot* compiled and copied by Elazar ben Asher ha-Levi (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Heb. D 11), edited by Eli Yassif, *The Book of Memory, that is The Chronicles of Jerahme'el* (in Hebrew) (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University Press, 2001), pp. 93–94. In addition, Moses Gaster, *Chronicles of Jerahmeel or the Hebrew Bible Historiale* (London: The Royal Asiatic society, 1899), p. lxiv, mentions a Geniza manuscript of the 'Pearl' that he had in his possession, n° 289. I have not been able so far to identify this Geniza fragment in either the British Library or John Rylands Geniza Collection in Manchester, both stemming from Gaster's collection.

19. TS 16. 282, see Judith Olszowy-Schlanger, 'The Anatomy of Non-biblical Scrolls from the Cairo Geniza', in Irina Wandrey (ed.), *Jewish Manuscript Cultures: New Perspectives* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017), pp. 49–88, n° IV.

20. Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim*, p. 497.

21. Oxford, Bodlian Library, MS Heb. e 52 (R) was the last in the unit, containing the last third of the text of the tractate and bearing the number three (the Hebrew letter *gimel*) in its upper margin.

22. 'Kabij kaj' derives from a name of a plant, and was used in Arabic books as a formula of protection from worms. I thank Professor Ronny Vollandt for his help with the interpretation of the formula. See Adam Gacek, 'The Use of 'Kabīkaj' in Arabic manuscripts', *Manuscripts of the Middle East 1* (1986): pp. 49–53.

23. This script register or style is often referred to as semi-square or semi-cursive.

24. Shlomo D. Goitein, 'Side Lights on Jewish Education from the Cairo Genizah', *Gratz College Anniversary Volume* 83 (1971), p. 105 ff. See also Moshe Gil, *Documents of the Jewish Pious Foundations from the Cairo Geniza* (Leiden and London: Brill, 1976), p. 26.

25. For this family of nesi'im, see Moshe Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages* (Leiden and London: Brill, 2004), pp. 441–442.

26. See Norman Golb, 'The Topography of the Jews of Medieval Egypt, VI: Places of Settlement of the Jews of Medieval Egypt', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 33 (1974): p. 126.

27. S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society: The Jewish Communities of the World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Genizah*, 6 vols (Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1967–1986), vol. 1, p. 54, 404.

Hieronymus Cock's *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* (1558) and the Diascopic Architectural Print

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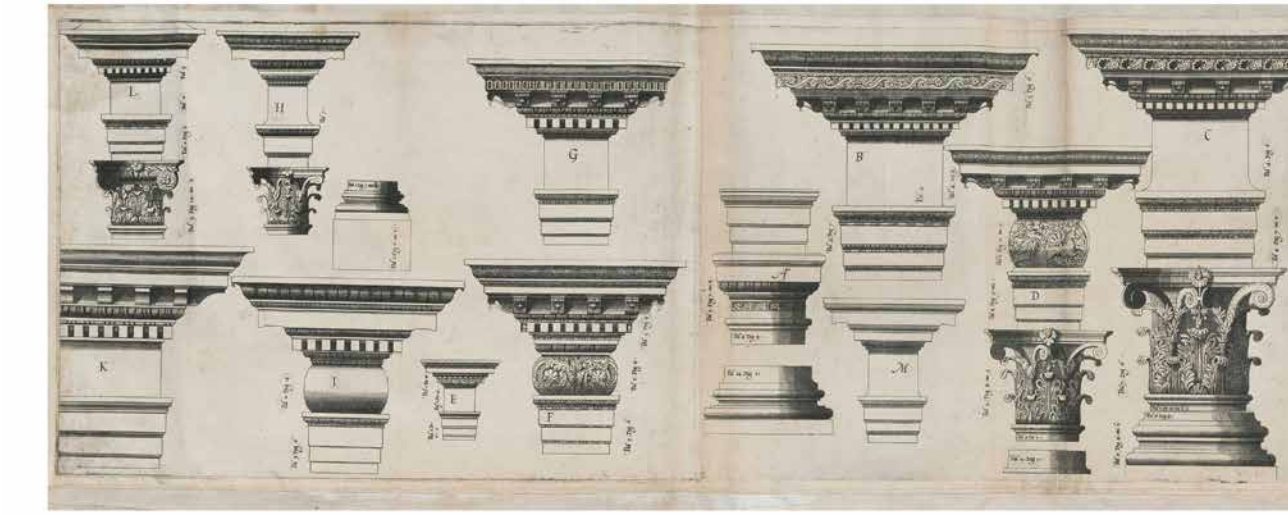
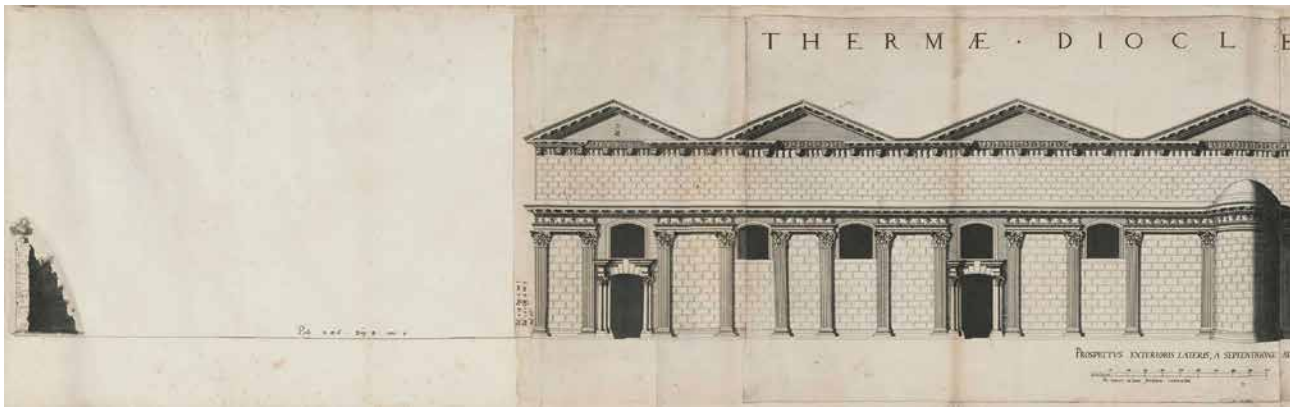
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY





At the Royal Academy in London there is an extraordinary architectural publication of overwhelming dimensions.[1] Composed of twenty-seven large etchings, five smaller cut-out prints, and two letterpress sheets mounted on six pieces of linen, it measures over sixteen metres when placed end to end (figs 3.1–3.6). These individual prints are impossible to take in with a single glance and difficult to comprehend at a distance. Rather, once unrolled, one slowly pans across each composite etching, which are titled in large classical lettering THERMÆ DIOCLETIANÆ, 'The Baths of Diocletian', the largest bathing complex of the ancient world.

Printed in Antwerp in 1558 they together form a complex visual scheme. Take one of the largest prints of the series, measuring over three metres in length (fig. 3.6). The immensity of the structure is immediately striking. Lofty vaulted rooms and vast open areas dwarf small groups of figures. An accompanying scale and measurements in feet (down to the minute) reiterate the imposing size of the building, and attest as well to this representation's veracity. Above the scale, a short label clarifies that the viewer is looking across the middle of the bath complex, longitudinally from east to west. This interior side view reveals a series of spaces that unfold horizontally. As one surveys this continuous architectural progression, its splayed one-point perspective pulls the viewer inward. Heavy shadows additionally give the structure depth, which seems to otherwise float in the abstract space of the page without a background or horizon line. The representation draws the eyes across the expansive structure as well as into its constituent spaces. It even propels the viewer's gaze through the walls of the ancient complex, which have been sliced vertically, straight through its masonry and concrete core. In one etching, which depicts the building laterally, this cut even

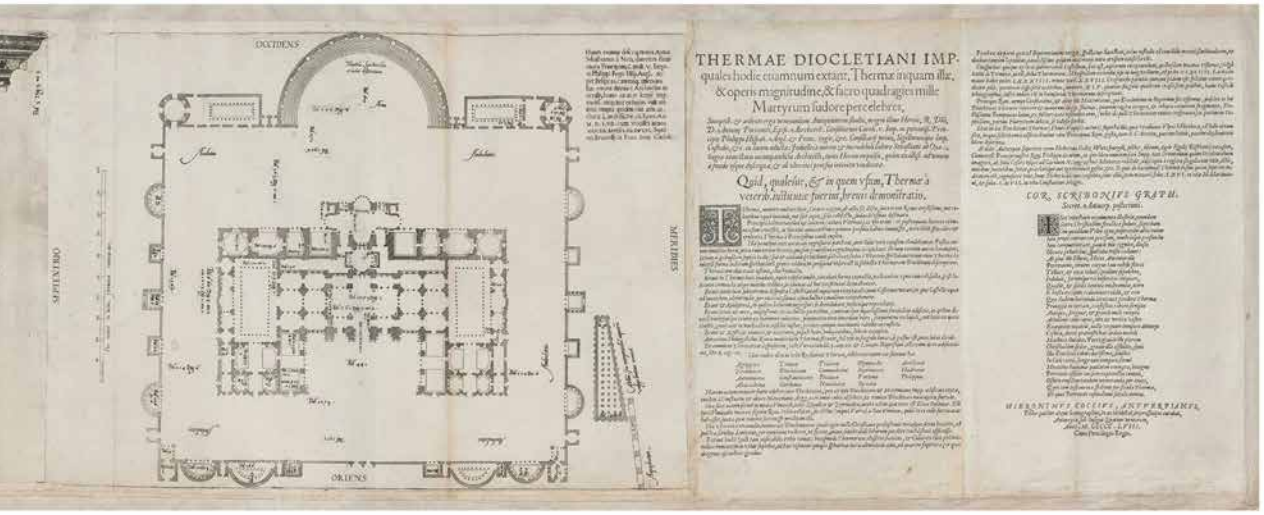


Fig. 3.1
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noyen, *Architectural details and ground plan of the Baths of Diocletian*; Cornelis de Schrijver, *Introduction and dedicatory poem*, from *Thermae Diocletiani* Imp. (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1558). Etching and letterpress, 44 x 209.5 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12-1324. Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

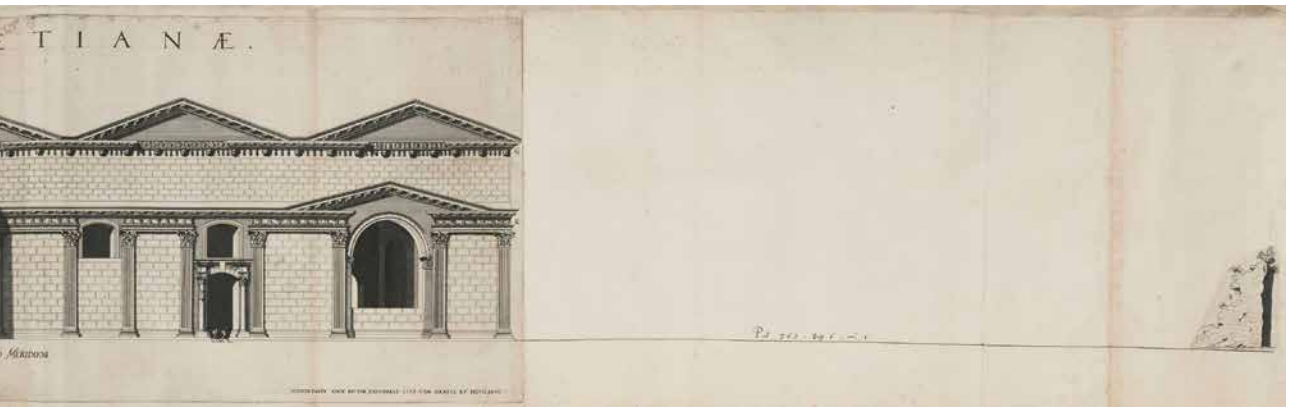


Fig. 3.2
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noyen, *South side of the Baths of Diocletian*, from *Thermae Diocletiani* Imp. (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1558). Etching, 43.8 x 253.5 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12-1325. Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

extends underground to expose a system of water pipes (fig. 3.4). It also continues rearward, peeling away part of the main structure to expose a quadrant of a domed bathing room labelled *balneum*, complete with spiral staircase and octagonal coffering.

More than merely unusual images combining cross-section and perspective, this essay argues that these horizontal views constitute what I am terming a *diascopic* way of depicting architecture. Derived from the Greek prefix *dia-* (through and across) and verb *skopein* (to see, view, look, examine, behold, and consider), the term encompasses both a method of representation and a mode of viewing. As a technique, it emerged from the experimental drawing practices of early modern architectural culture and the study of antiquity. It relied on surveying technology refined by military engineers and cartographers, and it was partially inspired by panoramic city views. At the same time, unlike later circular painted panoramas that proliferated in the nineteenth century, the prints of the Baths of Diocletian do not attempt to represent the totality of a view or to create an immersive environment. They instead force the viewer to pan each of their images, looking across and through the ancient structure at a variety of different points. The building is thus progressively revealed in scroll-like fashion as a series of exceedingly long, vertical planes that stretch the field of vision and expand the realm of the visible. Diascopic representation in this manner acted as a tool of dissection that clarified the complex ancient structure for the observer. It was also an instrument of resurrection, augmenting traditional methods of reconstruction to breathe new life into the heavily ruined edifice. By mobilising this new means of envisioning and experiencing antiquity, the makers of these prints also created an architectural monograph that

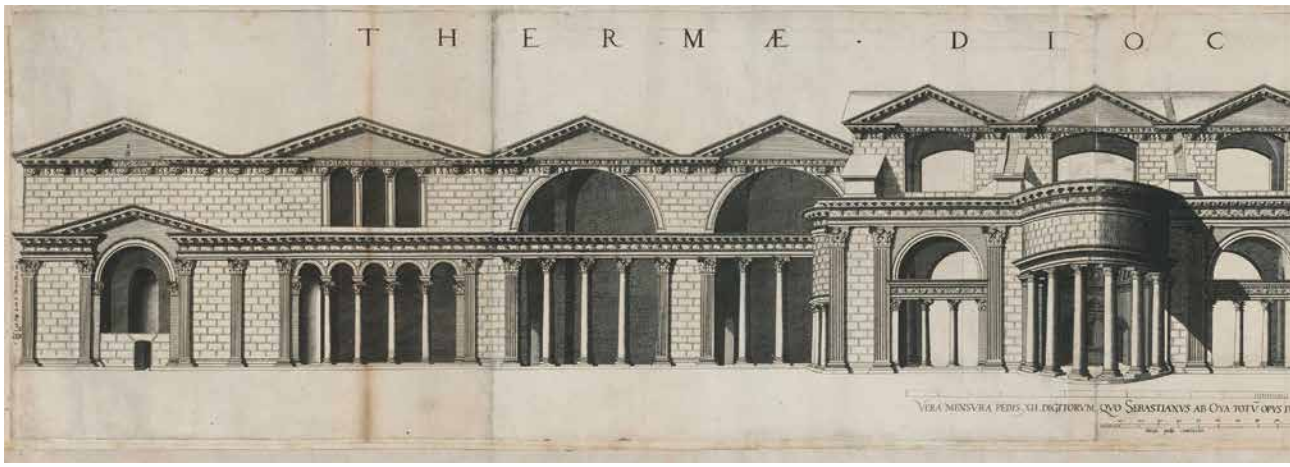


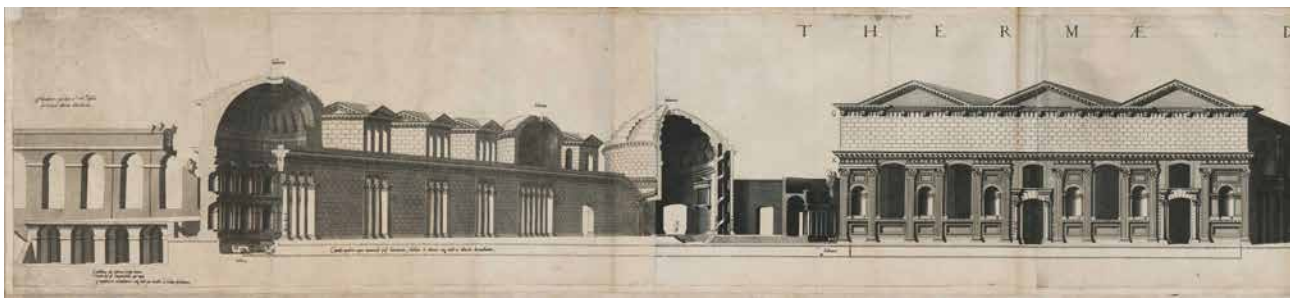
Fig. 3.3
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noyen, *West side of the Baths of Diocletian*, from *Thermae Diocletiani* Imp. (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1558). Etching, 44.3 x 251.5 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12-1326. Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

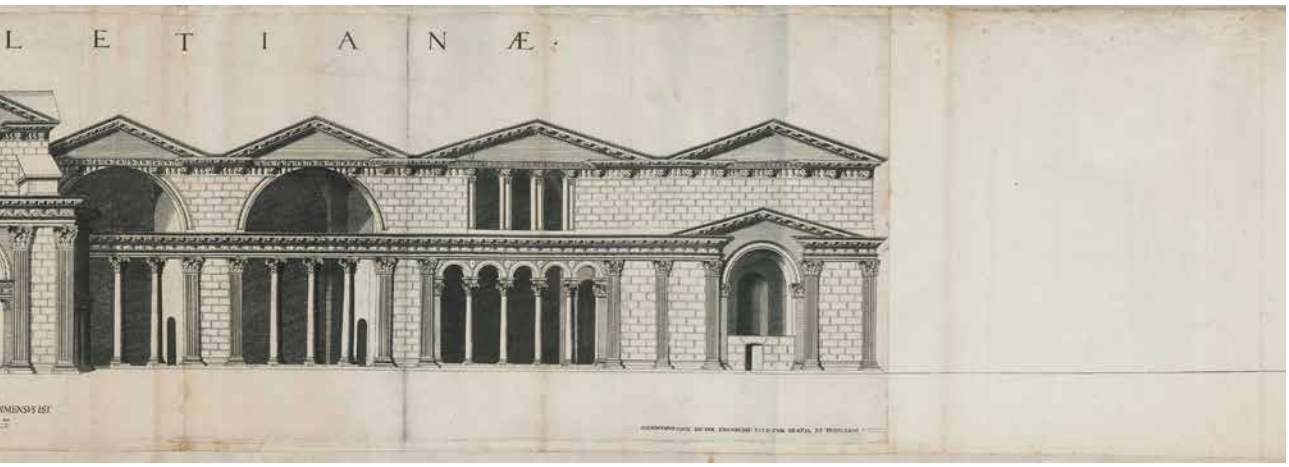
broke with the traditional codex format and explicitly sought to preserve a work of architecture through the modern medium of print. These etchings of the Baths of Diocletian therefore herald the emergence of a new form of architectural publication and mode of visualisation, one which harnessed the potential of the near-continuous page.

Reconstructing the Baths and Enlivening Antiquity

Entitled *Thermae Diocletiani Imp.* ('Baths of Emperor Diocletian'), the publication consists of five views of the baths: a section from south to north through the middle of the structure (fig. 3.5) and another from east to west (fig. 3.6), as well as a southern exterior elevation of the central block (fig. 3.2), one from the western side (fig. 3.3), and a third from the east (fig. 3.4).[2] There is also a plan of the complex and two etchings of architectural elements labelled with letters that key them to details in the other prints (fig. 3.1). In the Royal Academy copy, these sheets are pasted alongside two pages of letterpress text, but in other examples, this bifolium serves as an introduction to the publication. At least twenty-one complete or partial sets survive today.[3] Most of these are folded up and bound into books, often in different arrangements, while a few are preserved as rolled-up scrolls.[4] Some may have originally been mounted on walls, like many other large-scale prints, but little physical evidence of this practice survives today. Only examples at the Royal Academy, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Kungliga Biblioteket, and Kunsthistorisches Museum feature five additional etchings that were cut out, mounted on paper, and connected by a hand-drawn, measured line. This augmentation may have been limited to only deluxe editions, or perhaps, after proving too laborious, it was simply abandoned for the sake of economy.

This monumental publication was a collaborative effort. Printed by Hieronymus Cock, whose *Aux Quatre Vents* ('At the Sign of the Four Winds') press became one of the largest print publishing houses in Europe, it was financially supported by Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, the wealthy Bishop of Arras. Granvelle commissioned the architect Sebastiaan van Noyen to produce drawings of the Baths of Diocletian, which the brothers Johannes and Lucas van Doetecum





transformed into etchings, and Cock enlisted the poet and humanist Cornelis de Schrijver (also known as Cornelius Grapheus and Scribonius) to write a short Latin introduction describing the baths and their history, as well as a laudatory dedication in verse to the bishop. As Edward Wouk has shown, Granvelle played a critical role in Hieronymus Cock's early success as a publisher.[5] He not only helped bring Mantuan engraver Giorgio Ghisi to Antwerp, whose technical skill and knowledge of Italian art Cock quickly exploited, but he also provided funding for the publisher's first major work, a set of etchings printed in 1551 and entitled *Praecipua aliquot Romanae antiquitatis ruinarum monimenta*… ('Some particular monuments among the ancient Roman ruins', also known as the *Large Book of Ruins*).

Sponsorship of such projects was essential. While the market for antiquarian publications in the Low Countries had grown substantially by the mid-sixteenth century, in 1546 Pieter Coecke van Aelst still lamented that because 'lovers of ancient architecture are very limited', it would be difficult for him to recoup the substantial production costs of his Flemish translation of Sebastiano Serlio's book on antiquities.[6] Granvelle was a natural patron for such work. Active in Roman antiquarian circles, he sought out antiquities and amassed a substantial art collection, which he displayed in a classicising gallery added to his Brussels palace. He was also a collector and connoisseur of prints, who used his sizable fortune to assemble a large library including many architectural books.[7] Like other ambitious politicians and prelates, Granvelle's patronage of the arts and promotion of antiquity was at the same time a means of self-aggrandisement. The 1558 *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* indeed proudly proclaims in its introduction that Granvelle had brought the structure 'to light, at his expense, and with passion for the study of venerable antiquity'.[8]

The vision of antiquity that Cock propagated with Granvelle's support was by no means uniform. *The Large Book of Ruins*, for example, contains twenty-four etchings of a variety of deteriorating ancient Roman monuments (fig. 3.7).[9] Inspired by earlier drawings made in Rome by Netherlandish artists such as Maarten van Heemskerck, as well as contemporary landscape paintings—the type Cock likely produced before turning to printmaking—these views depict the ancient city as a decaying corpse, littered with partially collapsed monuments covered with vegetation.[10] Sketchy, acid-etched lines executed by Cock himself amplify the sense of ruin and

Fig. 3.4
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noyen, *East side of the Baths of Diocletian*, from *Thermae Diocletiani* Imp. (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1558). Etching, 44.4 x 353 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12-1327. Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

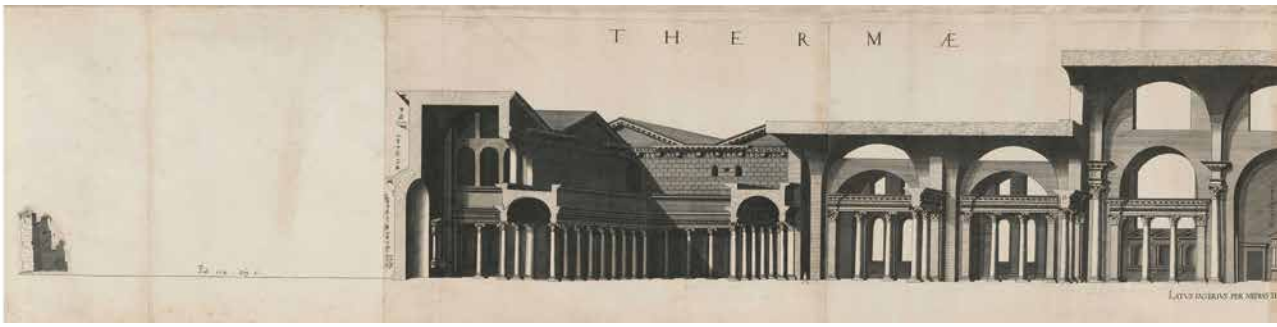


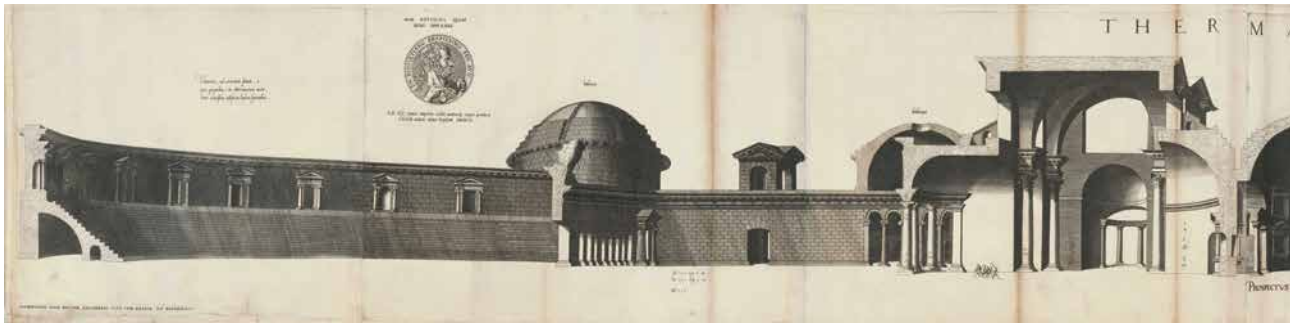
Fig. 3.5
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noyen, *Lateral section of the Baths of Diocletian*, from *Thermae Diocletiani* Imp. (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1558). Etching, 44.2 x 308 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12-1328. Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

evoke the atmospheric effects of decomposition. The result is a series of prints that render once pristine architecture progressively incoherent, transforming it into what others have described as picturesque pure form suited for reuse and formless images that spurred creative engagement.[11] Although the title page of the publication promises verisimilitude, and each print is identified topographically (albeit sometimes erroneously), the prints privilege effect over content.

The Baths of Diocletian (fig. 3.7), for instance, are shown in this earlier series through an impossible splayed perspective which removes still-extant vaulting to expose an empty ruinscape where the caldarium, tepidarium, and frigidarium once stood. This is in stark contrast to the 1558 etching of the same series of spaces (fig. 3.6). Here the individual parts of the ancient structure, down to the architectural sculpture, have instead been restored. The Van Doetecum brothers carefully incised the architecture into the waxy ground of the copper etching plate with compass and rule and finely rendered with horizontal, vertical, and diagonal hatching. Only the interior masonry, exposed by the sectional cut, is articulated with small irregular lines. These methods of delineation and shading, which at times appear almost like engraving with a burin, contrast with those of the earlier print, where no two etched lines are parallel and the crumbing masonry merges with the rugged terrain below.

In the 1551 print, Cock thus exaggerated the ruinous nature of the baths. He also accentuated its darkness, placing two men frantically fleeing another pair wielding swords. Ruins had long been seen as unhealthy, nefarious places that were products of violence and avarice.[12] The Baths of Diocletian was even said to be inhabited by the devil until Filippo Neri expelled him in 1551.[13] In Cock's later publication, the structure is cleansed of this architectural and human disorder. Panning the sequence of spaces, the viewer instead encounters tidy groups of figures: a martial cavalcade, two men walking in conversation, and another pair gazing and gesturing upward (fig. 3.8). These figures mirror the surrounding architectural order, while also encouraging the viewer to mimic their actions and follow their movements to better understand the building around them.

This reconstructive aspect at work within the 1558 prints is in large part the product of Sebastiaan van Noyen, a military engineer and architect who served emperors Charles V and Phillip II before his death at the age of thirty-four in 1557.[14] Originally from Utrecht, he worked alongside established Italian military architects Donato de Boni di Pellizuoli and Giovanni Maria Olgiati, before rising to the rank of architect-general of imperial fortifications. In this role, he



supervised the construction and renovation of fortifications throughout the Low Countries.[15] Krista de Jonge has suggested that Van Noyen likely travelled to Rome around 1550, and upon his return, possibly designed the garden gallery for Granvelle's palace in Brussels (c.1551–54), which took inspiration from the courtyard of the Palazzo Farnese.[16] The introduction to the 1558 publication tells us that Van Noyen, at the instruction of Granvelle, had 'measured and drawn these ruins' and 'precisely recorded [them] from life (*ad vivum*) from the ground upward'.[17] These written assertions of veracity and autoptic study were part of a growing trend in sixteenth-century print culture, one that sought to affirm the objectivity and indexicality of mechanically reproduced images, be they portraits, maps, or botanical illustrations.[18] The etchings of the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* reiterated these claims of accuracy throughout with measurements in palmi, digiti, and minuti. Each also features a scale in pes maior, despite the fact these images cannot yield accurate measurements due to their perspectival rendering.[19] One of the etchings (fig. 3.3) even includes a larger ruler labelled 'the genuine scale in feet (*pedes*) with twelve fingers (*digiti*) that Sebastiaan van Noyen measured the whole work', which does not correspond to others provided.[20] Measuring thirty-two and a half centimetres in length, it is instead exactly the same size as the French Royal foot. This metrical dissonance is perplexing. While the 1:1 scale ruler should enable the user to translate the prints into any unit of measure, making them universally comprehensible, the numerical figures provided in the etching appear to conform instead to the ancient *palmus*, as understood in the Renaissance, while those of the introductory text are equivalent to the Roman *pes*.[21] The architect thus converted his survey into an ancient unit of measure, perhaps to render it historically authentic.

It is also likely Van Noyen relied in part on the work of others. This was not uncommon. Hieronymus Cock, in fact, also published around 1558 an etching of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus that is nearly identical to the reconstruction produced by an artist in the circle of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.[22] Even in Rome itself, artists and architects continually copied drawings of ancient Roman buildings throughout the sixteenth century.[23] Documenting the entirety of the Baths of Diocletian—an immense structure so incomprehensible and difficult to measure in its ruined state that Sebastiano Serlio explicitly chose not to reconstruct its elevation in his book on antiquities—would have been a herculean task requiring a team of workmen.[24] Just such an undertaking was afoot in Rome at the same time Van Noyen visited the city. From the 1540s onward, a group of mostly French-speaking draftsmen produced hundreds of minutely

Fig. 3.6
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, after Sebastiaan van Noyen, *Longitudinal section of the Baths of Diocletian*, from *Thermae Diocletiani* Imp. (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock, 1558). Etching, 44.3 x 310 cm. London, Royal Academy of Arts, 12-1329. Photo: © Royal Academy of Arts, London.

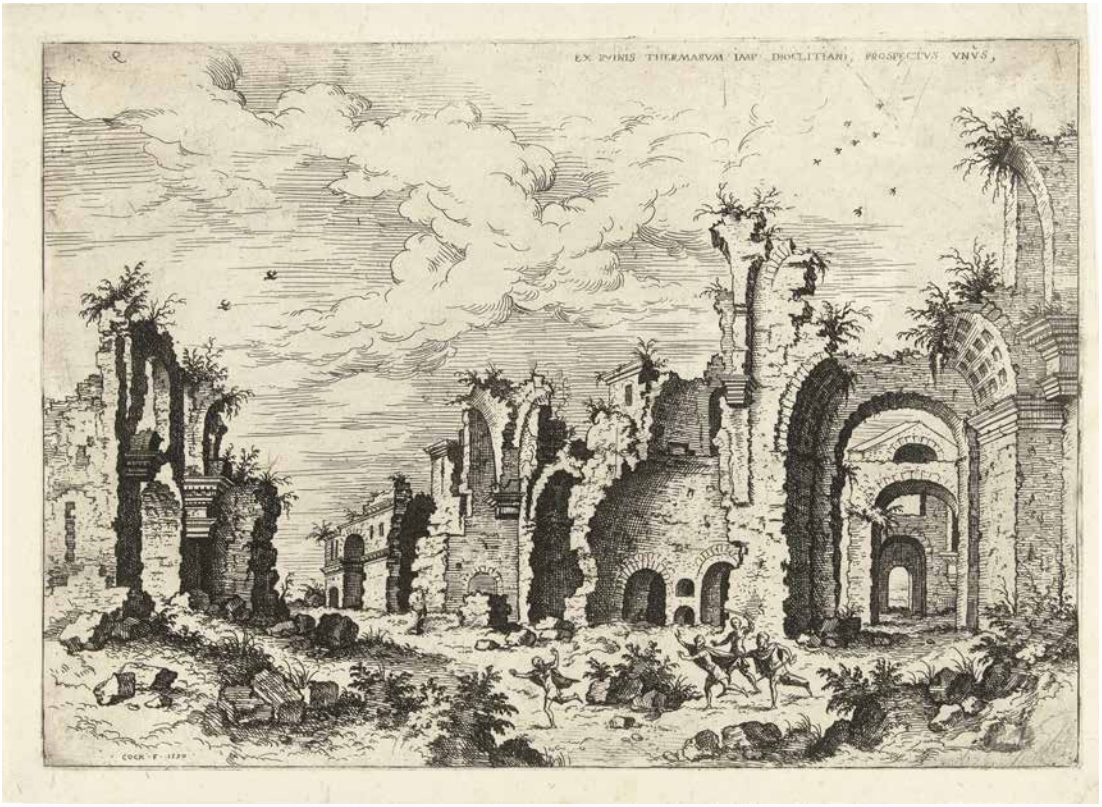


Fig. 3.7
View of the Baths of Diocletian, from Hieronymus Cock, *Praecipua aliquot Romanae antiquitatis ruinarum monimenta…* (Antwerp: 1551). Etching, 23 x 32.8 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-1882-A-6453. Photo: © Rijksmuseum.

detailed surveys of Roman buildings, many preserved today in the so-called 'Codex Destailleur D' and other related albums.[25] These include sketches of the Baths of Diocletian in section and elevation, copiously measured in French feet, keyed with letters to nearby architectural details, and drawn over three attached pieces of paper (fig. 3.9). Executed in pen atop faint black chalk outlines, these drawings closely recall the diascopic images of the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*.[26] In fact, they appear almost like preparatory studies for the later etchings. It is impossible to know if Sebastiaan van Noyen helped created these drawings; he certainly would have had contacts with the French-speaking community in Rome through Granvelle, who since 1540 had been the bishop of the Burgundian town of Arras. Yet Van Noyen did not simply reproduce these precise surveys. He instead transformed this raw material, adding ornament, sculpture, and perspective, while also omitting incongruous architectural details and superfluous measurements. The architect therefore created something distinctly new, which was grounded in archaeological study, but not purely antiquarian. At some point in the 1570s, Andrea Palladio followed a comparable procedure, using drawings he had assembled in Rome three decades earlier to create sectional views of the Baths (fig. 3.10). But in the case of these drawings, which Palladio intended for publication, the architect also looked to Cock's monumental prints for inspiration, copying some of its details exactly. A few of the drawings even attempt to rival the scale of the etchings, stretching over a metre and a half in length.[27]

Despite their similarities, the Destailleur drawings are also significantly different from the reconstructions of Van Noyen in their employment of a rigorously orthogonal method of representation. Scholars have often highlighted the use of orthography—the rendering of a structure's exterior or interior as a two-dimensional vertical plane without perspectival distortion—as indicative of the rise of objectivity in Renaissance architecture.[28] It has also been tied to the writings of Alberti and Raphael, who claimed architects should create orthogonal drawings with parallel and perpendicular lines, rather than painterly perspectives for purposes of clarity and mensuration. But as others have noted, architects rarely treated these modes of representation as oppositional.[29] It is a modern teleology that drawing progressed from pictorial practice to mathematical science. Rather, artists and architects throughout the Renaissance simultaneously

embraced a wide variety of methods of representation for different purposes, such as the rendering of interiors, where orthogonal projection most clearly met its limits.[30]

In the case of the Baths of Diocletian, perspective served as an essential tool for the documentation and reconstruction.[31] Already in the late fifteenth century, an unknown draftsman created a series of perspectival drawings dissecting the spaces of the ancient structure (fig. 3.11).[32] Some of these take the form of horizontal views, somewhat akin to those produced by Van Noyen over a half century later. Others peel away the columns and walls of the baths, leaving a vestigial plan to elucidate the structure's interior. In doing so, these drawings also implicitly reveal the procedure by which the building came into being from abstract plan to material edifice. Later architects elaborated on this process. For example, a member of Raphael's circle (known as Master C of 1519), in an album of drawings now in Vienna, achieved this effect through a process of selective ruination (fig. 3.12).[33] This technique of decortication, which had been pioneered by Giuliano da Sangallo, enabled the draftsman to render the complex spatial qualities of the different bathing halls. Each highly finished interior rendering, moreover, is labelled with a letter corresponding to a location on an accompanying ground plan. These topographic reference points transformed the cut-away views into a sequence of spaces, giving the ichnographic plan material presence and empowering the viewer to move virtually through the ancient structure. Drawings such as these thus anticipated the diascopic reconstructions of van Noyen, which similarly offered the viewer an active perceptual experience.

Like many ancient Roman monuments, the Baths of Diocletian fell into ruin over time.[34] While in the 1440s Poggio Bracciolini still marvelled at its 'numerous columns, many of great size, and various kinds of marbles', by the sixteenth century the marble-clad brick and concrete structure stood mostly denuded and covered with vegetation.[35] The *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*, in contrast, presents an image of antiquity reborn, seemingly brought back to the moment of its dedication in 306 CE, complete with elaborately adorned coffered vaults and a profusion of statuary. This regenerative effect, however, is not as simple as it first appears. As one looks closely across these etchings, the appearance of historical unity and aesthetic homogeneity is, in fact, disturbed. In the two north-south sections of the baths (figs 3.4 and 3.5), figural sculpture only turns up on the right-hand side of the building. The switch is striking. On the *natatio* wall, empty niches and aedicules suddenly are populated with a variety of gigantic protruding statues, evoking a theatrical *scanenae frons*, while in another print an Emperor in a

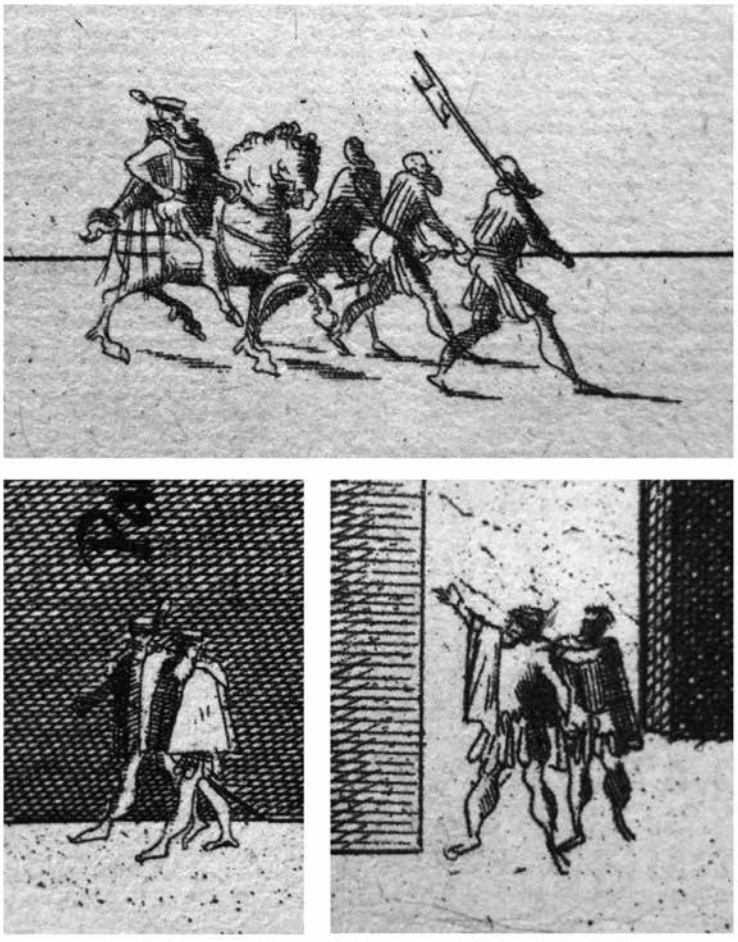


Fig. 3.8
Details from fig. 3.6

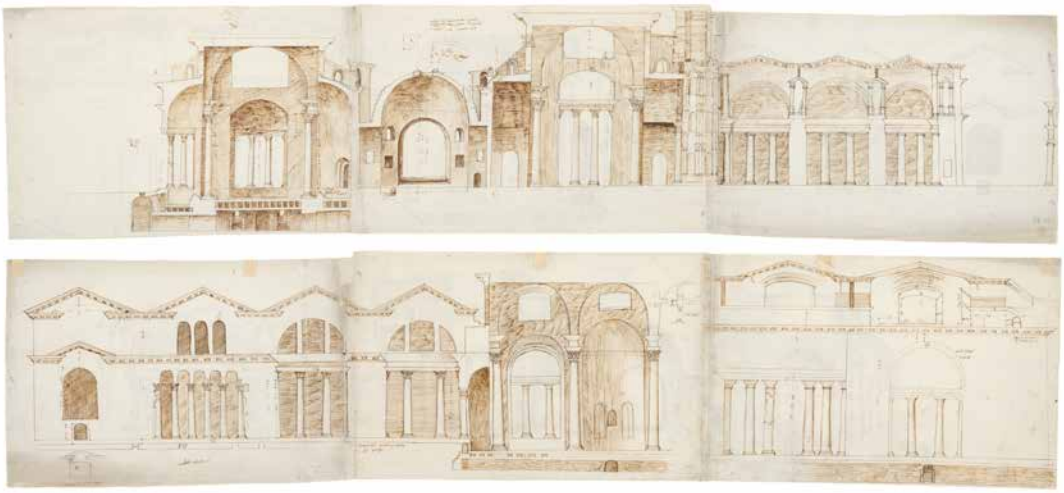


Fig. 3.9
Elevations and sections of the Baths of Diocletian (c.1540–55). Pen and ink on paper, 28 x 127.3 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Hdz 4151 (Codex Destailleur D), fol. 41r–v. Photo: © bpk / Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin / Dietmar Katz.

quadriga participates in a triumphal procession (fig. 3.13). The creators of these etchings may have employed this representational technique to reveal different layers of information, with one side clarifying the architectural form and the other offering the decorative program, albeit one without a clear iconography. It may perhaps also illustrate alternative schemes for reconstruction. Either way, the visual dichotomy calls attention to the artificial nature of the image, exposing it as a work of interpretation.

Looking still closer at the largest etching (fig. 3.4), another possible reading emerges. Examining this image from left to right, one first encounters an aqueduct and cistern below. The accompanying text describes how water is first diverted to this reservoir and then flows through channels to the baths. Following this fresh water, one next comes upon a semicircular bathing hall with large basins emptying into waste water pipes. A schematic representation of the complex ancient hydraulic infrastructure then continues underground, drawing the eye across the entire print—some three metres—to a symmetrical bathing hall at the far end.[36] Yet, whereas the basins of the first space stand empty, like the architectural niches above, here figures suddenly appear. At left, a younger and older woman bathe while engaging in conversation, and to the right, a boy holding a pouch of oil (known as a *guttus*) prepares to scrape the skin of an older man with a strigil as their tub fills with water from animal-head-shaped spouts (fig. 3.14). On the wall behind them, a towel is hung alongside other bathing instruments. As one visually traverses the etching, the reconstruction is thus progressively enlivened: first by simulating the progression through architectural space with the aid of perspective; then through the appearance of moving water and figural sculpture; and finally, with the emergence of human figures inhabiting the structure and caught in the ancient act of bathing. These partially nude men and women, in turn, activate the surrounding over-life-sized statuary, making the pagan likeness appear to come to life. The older woman, for instance, looks up and gestures to one of the statues, who returns her gaze and stretches out his hand. These stone or bronze sculptures in fact seem to move more than their miniature human analogues below. Even the architectural vault above appears to come to life with foliage sprouting from the heads of outstretched eagles.

Antiquity here is not just reconstructed, but reanimated. This process of vivification, moreover, is not just superficial artistic elaboration. The bathers are in fact an antiquarian quotation, modelled on a woodcut published in Fabio Calvo's 1527 *Antiquae urbis Romae* (fig. 3.15), and later reprinted by Guillaume du Choul in his 1554 book on ancient bathing and exercise.[37] The choice to label this structure *balneum*, a Greek term for modest private baths, similarly comes from this print. Cornelis de Schrijver additionally utilised Du Choul's work when crafting his Latin introduction to the *Baths*. He also cites passages from Vitruvius and Alberti as well as Hubertus Goltzius' 1557 book of imperial effigies: one of the prints (fig. 3.6) even contains a medal of Diocletian copied directly from this contemporary publication.[38]

These different forms of erudite visual and textual quotation would have appealed to

educated viewers skilled in intertextual study. For this audience, the text of the publication further emphasised the project of enlivening antiquity. In his dedicatory poem, De Schrijver chronicled how Granvelle, grieved at the fate of the Baths of Diocletian, which stood as a 'collapsed ruin' and 'a sad rotting cadaver', 'partially buried' in a 'squalid tomb', until he 'discovered a remedy' and 'resurrected it from the grave'. These analogies, which draw on the established humanist tropes of building-as-body and Rome-as-corpse, emphasised the corporality of the ancient structure. Granvelle, according to the *laudatio*, 'awakened alive again' what had 'gradually fallen from memory', creating a restored building that would 'remain standing through the ages'. What once had 'fallen to the ground under its massive weight', now again 'equalled vast mountains…rising to the sky in renewed form'. Through this publication, the Baths of Diocletian, 'built from the sacred sweat of Christians', were literally reborn and would endure the ravages of time, never again falling to ruin. For this achievement, the author proclaims, Granvelle's name, like the resurrected building, will resound for centuries.[39]

The patron of this project is thus celebrated as the restorer of antiquity. Claiming it as his own, Granvelle promoted an image of cultural superiority, antiquarian erudition, and piety, perhaps as a means of ingratiating himself with the newly crowned Emperor Philip II with whom he had recently fallen out of favour.[40] This triumphant appropriation of antiquity is reiterated in a pair of monumental inscriptions hovering above the baths (fig. 3.6). Both written in Latin and rendered in Roman square capitals, one commemorates the building's ancient dedication, the other its modern recreation. Treated as equal laudatory acts, the latter inscription specifically celebrates the Bishop of Arras, for having had the Baths of Diocletian 'measured and drawn', 'engraved on copper', and 'published' to 'protect them from inevitable destruction'.[41] Granvelle therefore had not only breathed new life into this ancient edifice, but through mechanical reproduction also preserved it for posterity.

The diascopic etchings, produced by the Van Doetecum brothers after drawings by Van Noyen, ensured the baths would endure forever in reconstructed form. A detailed examination of these printed images, though, calls these celebratory claims into doubt, exposing the tensions of reconstruction and raising the question of whether antiquity had actually been revived. On the surface, the elaborate architecture of the baths appears pristine. The bathing figures, unlike the others depicted (fig. 3.8), are also clearly ancient, signifying that the passage of time itself has been erased. This semblance of a restored, revivified past, however, is not universal. The aqueduct

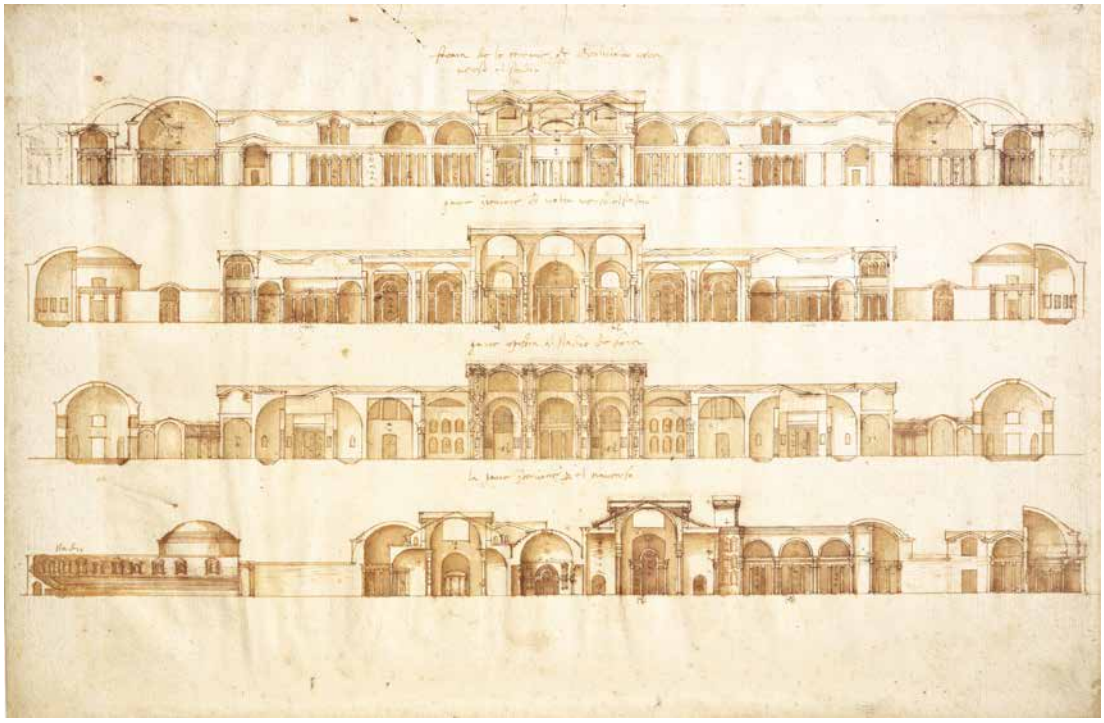


Fig. 3.10
Andrea Palladio, *Sections of the Baths of Diocletian* (c.1570s). Pen and ink on paper, 28.7 x 43.2 cm. London, Royal Institute of British Architects, V/2r. Photo: © RIBA Collections.

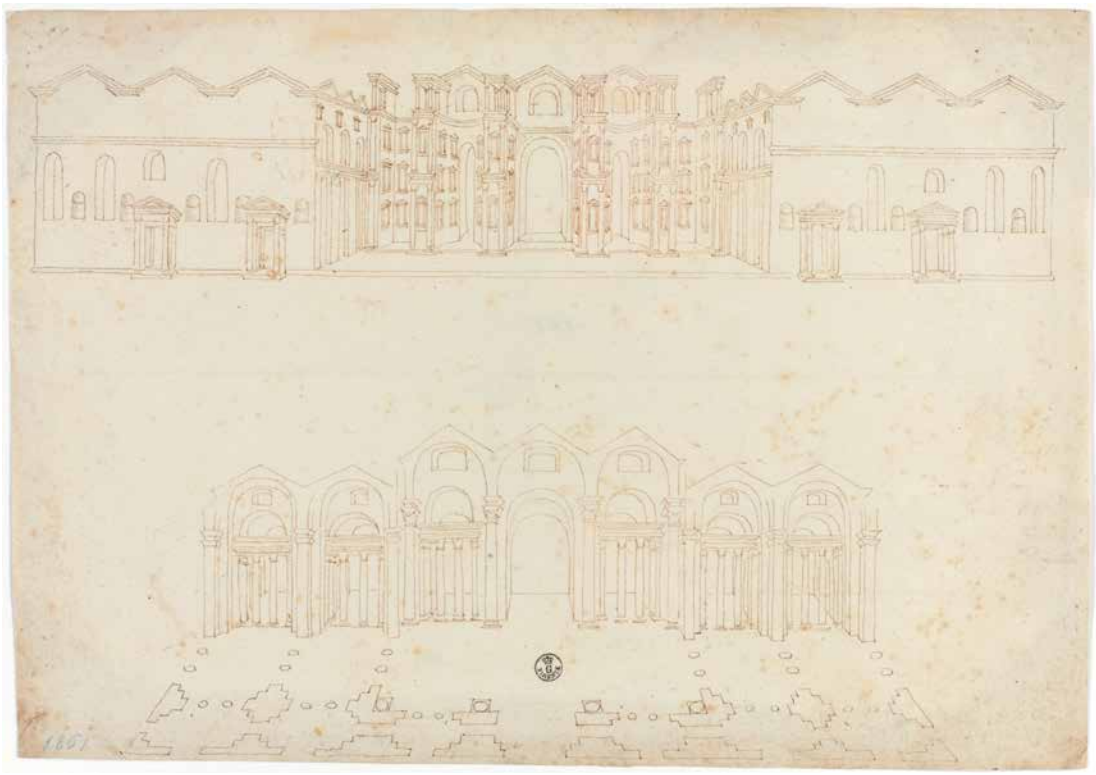


Fig. 3.11
Main building and Central Hall of the Baths of Diocletian (late fifteenth century). Pen and ink on paper, 23.5 x 33.7 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 1861 Ar. Photo: © Gabinetto Fotografico delle Gallerie degli Uffizi.

that brings water to the baths is actually severed and vegetation sprouts from various walls (fig. 3.16). At the edges of three combined prints (figs 3.2, 3.3, and 3.5), small pasted etchings give the impression of an abandoned building falling into ruin. The boundaries here between real and imaginary are blurred. Is this the Baths of Diocletian as it was, as it is, or a dehistoricised hybrid that can only exist on paper? While at times this ruination reveals additional information, like the early Master C drawings (fig. 3.12), in other places it obscures the architecture. Looking across these etchings, the ancient structure seems rather to oscillate from present to past and back again, making visible the implicit process of reconstruction. It also foreshadows future decay, insinuating that underneath this resurrected building lies a derelict structure, the type Cock had already illustrated (fig. 3.7). This visual temporal dissonance seems to highlight Renaissance anxieties of enlivenment. While antiquity may appear reborn, the etchings suggest that Granvelle, even with a team of artists, architects, and humanists, could never fully bring the ancient baths back to life. It was always already a ruin.

Toward a Diascopic Architectural Print

The *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* was unlike any other architectural publication produced in the Renaissance. Its diascopic etchings, nevertheless, were grounded in a variety of intertwined traditions, developments, and viewing practices linked to various types of large-scale drawings and prints. Graphic representations of architecture, for example, had been produced on a grand scale across Europe since the late medieval period.[42] Thirteenth-century drawings for the facade of Strasbourg Cathedral, some of the earliest that survive, already measure around three and a quarter metres.[43] Some later examples, such as those for the north tower of St Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna, stretch to five metres in length.[44] These designs were typically rendered on multiple pieces of parchment assembled into scrolls, a format ideally suited for the depiction of vertiginous towers, belfries, and sacrament tabernacles.[45] In the case of twin-towered Gothic facades, this procedure was simply duplicated. The draftsman of a huge drawing for Cologne Cathedral, made some time after 1290, joined two largely symmetrical drawings, executed on separate rolls, to produce a single elevation made of eleven large pieces of parchment.[46]

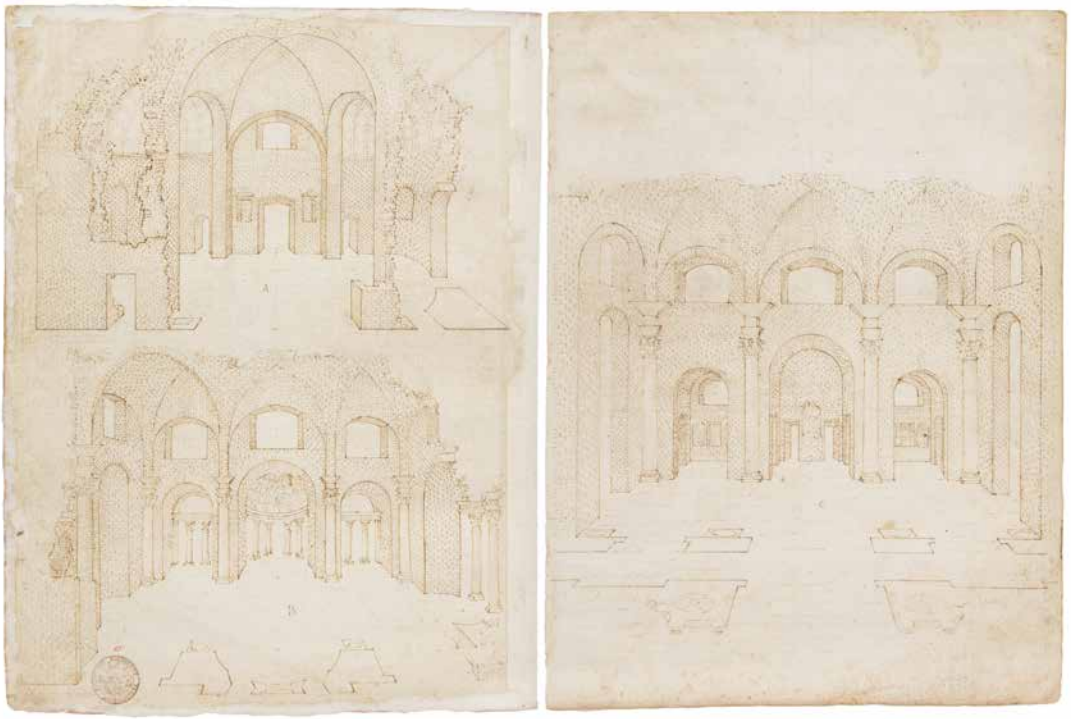


Fig. 3.12
Apodyterium, caldarium, and frigidarium of the Baths of Diocletian (1519). Pen and ink on paper, 21 x 56.6 cm. Vienna, Albertina, AZ Egger 15v–16r. Photo: © Michael J. Waters.

Already in the late fifteenth century, Northern engravers such as Alart Duhameel, Wenzel von Olmütz, and Master W with the Housemark, began to create large prints in the tradition of these drawings. Depicting Gothic towers, tabernacles, baldachins, and micro-architectural monstrances, these engravings, which perhaps served as workshop models, were often printed with multiple plates on multiple pieces of paper (fig. 3.17).[47] Printmakers in Italy, on the other hand, rarely produced similar multi-sheet architectural prints.[48] This is despite the fact that Italian architects, like their Northern counterparts, continued to create enormous presentation drawings throughout the Renaissance.

Beyond the realm of books, the production of discrete composite woodcuts and engravings of other subjects was in fact quite common in the Renaissance. Individual engravings and etchings were limited by the size of copperplates, width of rolling presses, and dimensions of available paper.[49] While single-sheet woodcuts could be larger, even the most extraordinary examples, such those of Jacopo de' Barbari's enormous view of Venice (1500), rarely surpass a metre in length or width.[50] Printmakers transcended these technical constraints through a process of assembly, creating works of immense size from multiple printed sheets typically affixed to cloth.[51] The largest of these, the *Triumphal Arch of Emperor Maximilian* (1515–17), consists of 195 blocks printed on thirty-six pieces of paper, which measure, when all combined, approximately three and a half by three metres.[52] Works of this scale were intended to be mounted on walls and became part of the architectural environment. Some, such as Dürer's contemporary four-piece *Great Column* woodcut (1517), were even designed as a form of wallpaper, which could be painted and gilded (fig. 3.18).[53] Rising to over one and half metres in height and rendered in perspective, this elaborate full-scale fictive column, supported by two putti and decorated with ram's heads, winged female creatures, and a garland holding satyr, transformed print into an architectectonic medium, albeit an exceedingly ephemeral one.[54]

Prints also were easily assembled into horizontal scrolls of seemingly unlimited length. In 1576, for example, Girolamo Muziano published a series of 130 etchings of the Column of Trajan, which when combined form a continuous fifty-six-metre-long frieze that could be bound and folded, rolled up, or even—according to the original copyright application—pasted onto a wooden model of the monument.[55] Biblical, ancient, and contemporary processions and triumphs were

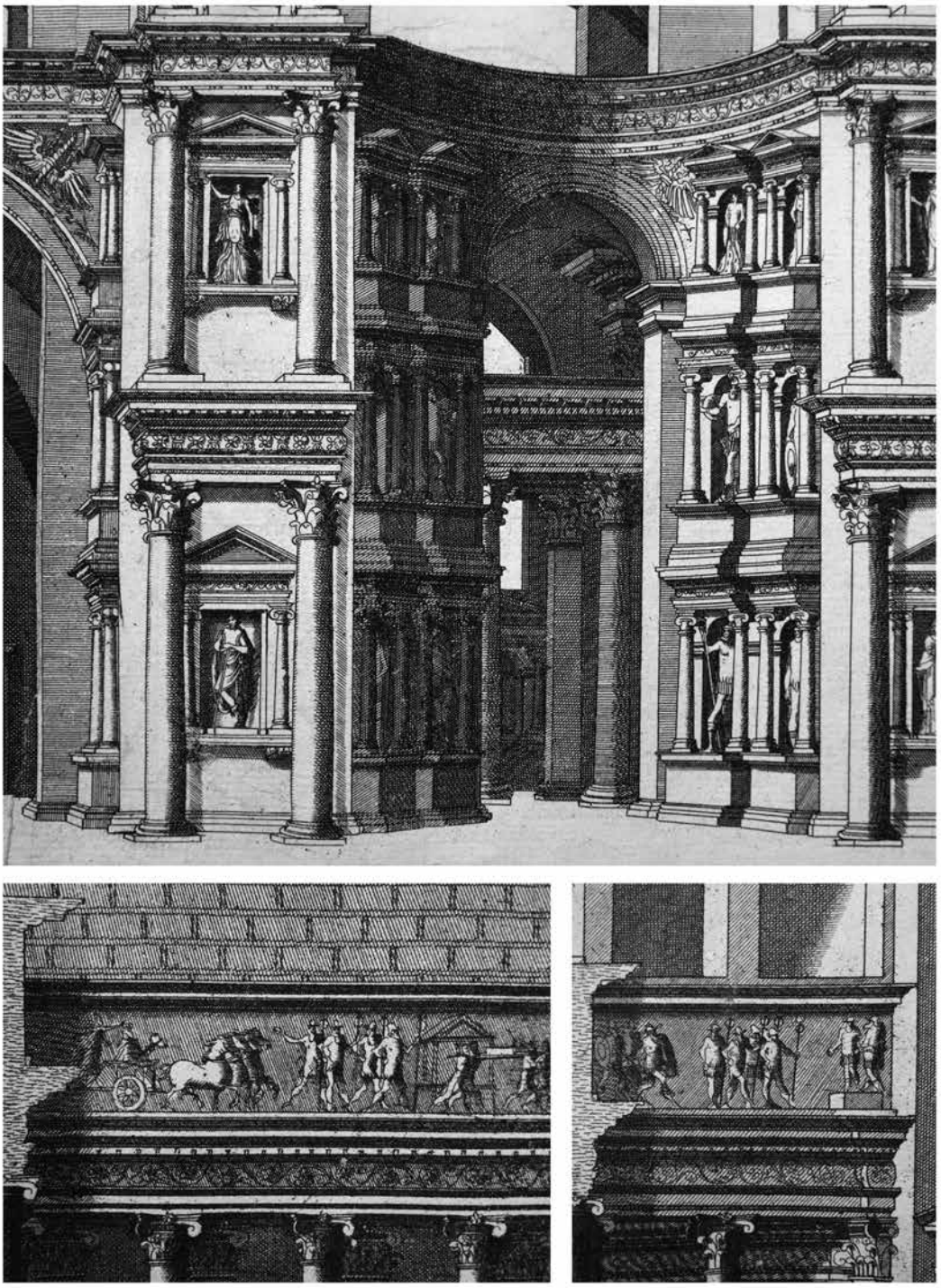


Fig. 3.13
Detail of fig. 3.4 (top); Details of fig. 3.5 (bottom).

ideally suited for this format.[56] Already beginning in 1512, the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian sought to promote his claim to authority by sponsoring the production of a spectacular fifty-four-metre *Triumphal Procession*.[57] Robert Péril and Nicolas Hogenberg commemorated the 1530 Bologna coronation of Emperor Charles V in a set of similar processional woodcuts and etchings, and Jörg Breu the Elder even memorialised the emperor's return to Augsburg the same year in a multipart woodcut frieze.

These prints, despite their lack of architecture, provided a clear template for the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*, one with strong imperial connotations. In fact, the closest analogue to these etchings is a monumental print of the Brussels funeral procession of Charles V (fig. 3.19).[58] Published by Hieronymus Cock with the assistance of Christophe Plantin in 1559, and executed by the Van Doetecum brothers, it is composed of thirty-four etched plates as well as letterpress

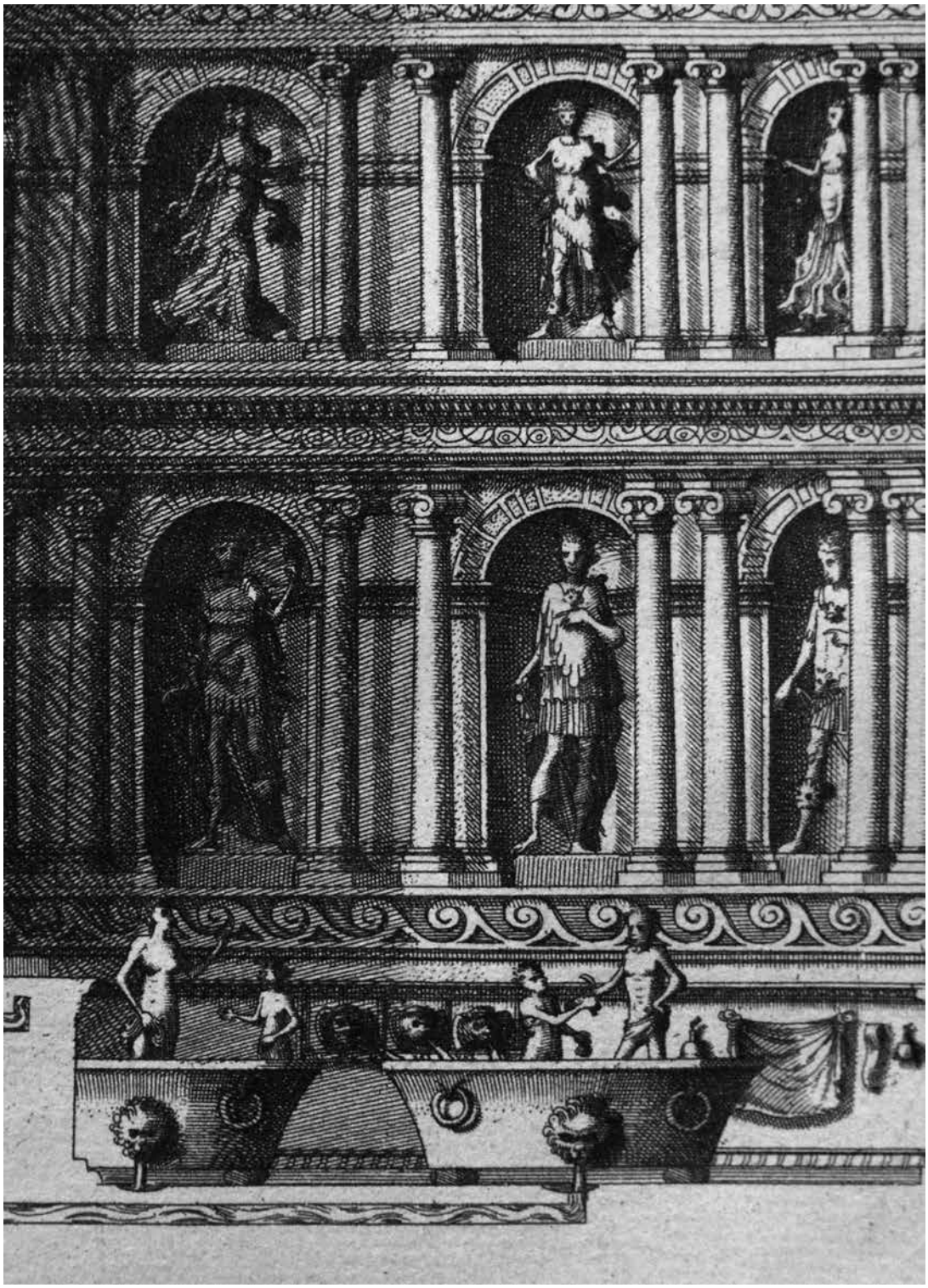


Fig. 3.14
Detail of fig. 3.4.

text issued in six languages. The prints, which extend in total to some eleven and a half metres, depict dignitaries and courtiers solemnly parading towards an elaborate catafalque. These figures are labelled in Italic script and above them is a large Latin epigram rendered in classicising Roman letters, just like in the etchings of the Baths of Diocletian.[59] These commonalities of format and style suggest not only a common artistic origin, but also a shared tradition of representation tied to regal displays of power. Processions were a fundamental means by which rulers demonstrated sovereignty and physically enacted their authority. Panning these prints, the viewer follows the movement of the retinue, virtually enacting the process of procession. This visual locomotion thus activates these images and actualises imperial ritual, much like similar contemporary painting,

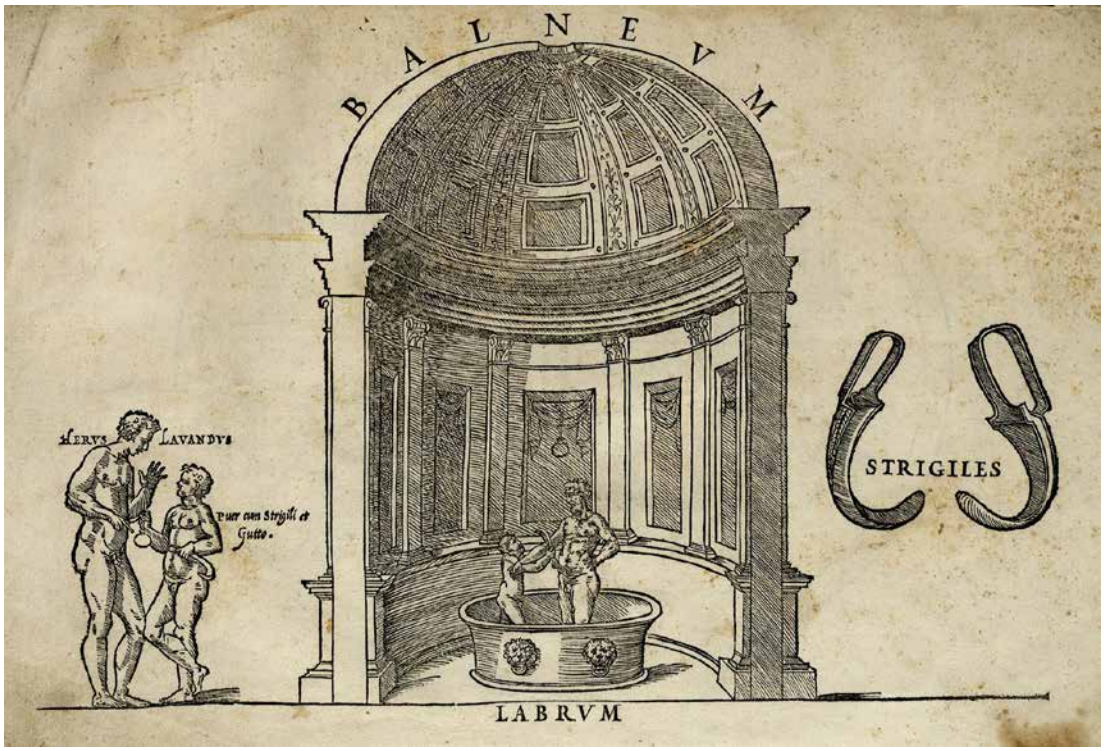


Fig. 3.15 Tolomeo Egnazio da Fossombrone, *Balneum*, from Marco Fabio Calvo, Antiquae urbis *Romae cum regionibus simulachrum* (Rome: Valerio Dorico, 1532), p. F ii. Woodcut. Rome, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, K 91 kl.Fol Rara. Photo: © Deutsches Archäologisches Institut.

fresco, and tapestry cycles, as well as architectural friezes, such as the 150-metre-long Roman triumph executed in sgraffito on the Dresden Stallhof and Langer Gang (1586–1588).

The diascopic prints of the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* engaged these established viewing practices and harnessed the associative meanings embedded in their horizontality. They were part of a network of prints that projected, through the act of scrolling, a triumphal image of imperium. As architectural representations, however, they differ fundamentally from contemporary processional prints due to their lack of narrative. Without a beginning or end, these etchings of the Baths of Diocletian have no clearly defined sequence. This absence of explicit directionality is compounded by their discontinuity. Rather than looking across a single, continuous, sweeping view of the structure, the publication instead provides as series of sequential cuts across the same structure. The viewer does not progress from start to finish, but rather gradually explores each image transversely. The etchings, in this way, look to other parallel traditions, such as panoramic maps.

Artists throughout the Renaissance created large composite topographic prints. Some of these depict contemporary events, most notably battles and sieges, but many others take the form of urban maps.[60] Already in the late-fifteenth century, the engraver Francesco Rosselli produced a series of bird's-eye views of Florence, Pisa, Rome, and Constantinople, the largest of which consisted of twelve sheets and measured over a metre and a half in length.[61] Building on a tradition of painted cityscapes and a practice of measured surveying, these and similar later maps, such as Barbari's *Venice*, created all-encompassing views rendered from an aerial perspective.[62]

An alternative approach also developed in the 1480s. Rather than depicting cities from above, these images, such as Erhard Reuwich's woodcut of Venice (fig. 3.20), present a horizontal panorama. Published along with other smaller city views as part of Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (1486), this long woodcut does not project a single cohesive urban image, one legible from afar. The city, bustling with human activity, instead unfolds gradually as if the viewer, standing atop the mast of a tall ship, sails across the Venetian lagoon. While Reuwich may have relied in part on Italian precedent, it was in Northern Europe that this mode of representation become pervasive.[63] A view of Antwerp dated 1515, for example, depicts the city expanding across the Scheldt, and in 1531, Peter Quentell published a similar nine-block woodcut by Anton Woensam of Cologne spreading out along the banks of the Rhine.[64] Numerous other examples followed, all of which depict jagged cityscapes, dotted with pointy Gothic towers, set

against exceedingly flat terrain.[65] Rather than gazing deeply into urban space, each city becomes a flattened profile seen from a low vantage point. These sweeping horizontal views, as Lucia Nuti has observed, were deeply rooted in a culture of seafaring, one that relied on knowledge of coastlines for purposes of navigation. Sailing from the shore, cities and geographical features alike are reduced to their most basic profiles, overtaken by the all-encompassing marine horizon. Artists even illustrated schematic topographic silhouettes in navigational manuals, known as rutters, such as the guide to Baltic Sea routes first published in 1544 by painter and mapmaker Cornelis Anthonisz (fig. 2.21).[66] In the Low Countries especially, artistic and cartographic activities were integrally linked in the sixteenth century. Along with the omnipresent flatness of land and sea, they helped form a

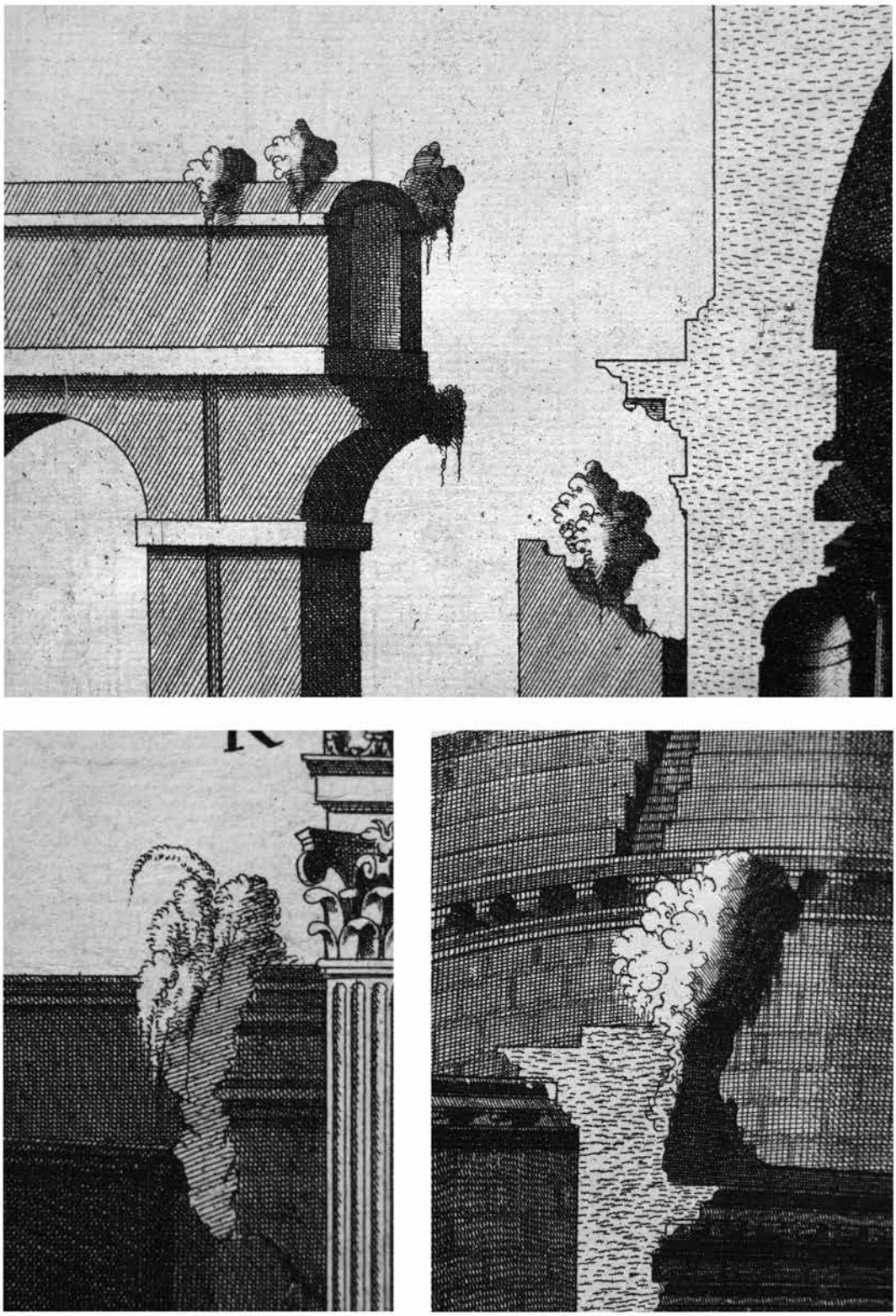


Fig. 3.16
Details of figs 3.4 and 3.6.

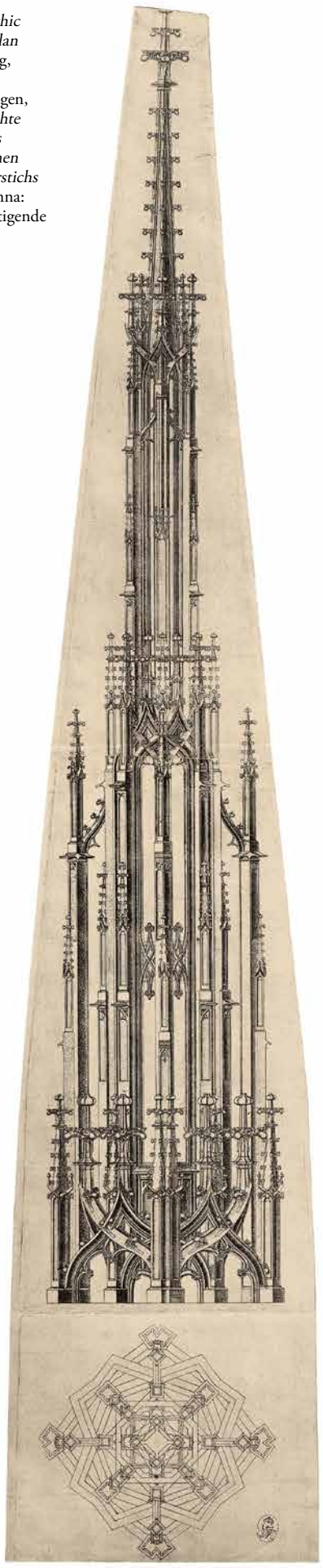


Fig. 3.17
Wenzel von Olmütz, *Gothic tabernacle with ground plan* (c.1475–1500). Engraving, 80.5 x 15.1 cm. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, from Max Lehrs, *Geschichte und kritischer katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im XV. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst, 1908). Photo: © Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg.

distinctive Netherlandish visual culture, one that viewed the world in profile and panoramic vista.[67]

Artists from the Netherlands, such as Maarten van Heemskerck and Herman Posthumus, also brought this way of seeing to Rome, creating sweeping city views already in the 1530s.[68] Expanding onto multiple sheets of paper, these drawings attempted to encompass the whole of the urban landscape from a single elevated vantage point. In Posthumus's view from the Capitoline Hill (fig. 3.22), the two-dimensional projection stretches the visual field almost a full 360 degrees, spanning from the Ponte Santa Maria (now the Ponte Rotto) on the left, to the Arch of Janus Quadrifons on the right. These types of topographic views, for which the Netherlandish artist Anton van den Wyngaerde would become internationally known in the 1560s, also shaped the depiction of architecture.[69] Herman Posthumus, when recording the Baths of Diocletian, for example, stood at the eastern corner of the complex and began to draw what remained of the central block. But rather than stopping there, he continued to pan the structure, turning the sheet of paper over to record the outer perimeter wall (fig. 3.23). Like contemporary printed and drawn city views, the artist broadens the cone of vision in order to capture the ancient structure in its entirety from a single viewpoint.

The images of Sebastiaan van Noyen for the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* are grounded in these traditions. Their elongated horizontal format, like contemporary panoramic city views, splays the architecture along an unending horizon, pushing their views beyond the limits of peripheral vision. The longest etchings are in fact so wide that there is no single, universal vanishing point. The external focal point from which the viewer could take in the entire image, moreover, is too far away to perceive perspectival accuracy. Geometrical construction instead gives way to pictorial description. These prints thus do not function like traditional images constructed with one-point perspective. They do not project an internal spatial unity, comprehensible from a single, fixed viewpoint, nor do they immobilise the eye of the viewer in space. Rather, just as in the panoramic cityscapes, the shallow, outspread perspective promotes horizontal movement across the diascopic image, thereby engaging an embodied gaze that operates in real space.

The *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* etchings also condensed other interlinked architectural and cartographic activities, most notably the spatial practices of surveying that had developed in the Renaissance. Using instruments of navigation, such as the magnetic compass and cross-staff, as well as geometrical systems of triangulation, draftsmen in the sixteenth century created topographic maps and highly detailed architectural surveys.[70] For a

military architect such as Van Noyen, these activities would have been common practice. The design and construction of fortifications typically began with precise topographical surveying. Urban cartography, in fact, was often the result of defensive works.[71] Modern warfare also instrumentalised surveying for the purposes of tactical preparation and cannon bombardment.[72] It may very well have been because of his measuring and surveying skills that Granvelle sent the young architect to document the remains of ancient Rome.

The representation of space was also integral to the creation of a diascopic mode of visualisation. As discussed, the etchings of the baths were part of a tradition of architectural rendering stretching back to the fifteenth century that combined section and perspective. The ancient author Vitruvius, in fact, had described a form of perspective (*scaenographia*) in his brief discussion of methods of architectural representation. Placed alongside plan (*ichnographia*) and elevation (*orthographia*), *scaenographia* consisted of 'the shaded rendering of the front and receding sides, which converge to a point'.[73] Since Vitruvius did not discuss sectional projection, some sixteenth-century writers recast *scaenographia* as *sciographia*, meaning rendered with shadows. Daniele Barbaro in his 1556 Italian edition of Vitruvius, argued that *sciographia*, specifically here the creation of shaded profiles, enabled 'the architect, like the anatomist', to understand 'all exterior and interior parts' and the spatial relationship of 'every member'.[74] While Barbaro sought to promote orthogonal section over perspective in architectural practice, the lexical ambiguity between *scaenographia* and *sciographia* supported the continual conflation of these two modes of representation throughout the Renaissance.

In the case of the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*, Van Noyen cut the building with seemingly surgical precision along the median plane from front to back (fig. 3.6) and twice transversely (figs 3.4 and 3.5). Once divided, the resulting sections were then given spatial depth through shading and perspective. These visual effects transform the analytical into the experiential, simulating the unfolding of architectural space as the viewer's gaze is slowly pulled inward. Bernardino Amico, who published similar sectional perspectives populated with small-scale figures (fig. 3.24) in his treatise on the Holy Land, first printed in 1610, believed this combination of representational techniques amplified the power of flat images since 'things united have greater force'. He also urged the viewers of his perspectival engravings to look at them with one eye closed from different angles. This, he argued, would make the buildings materialise from the page, actualising these distant sacred sites and enabling virtual pilgrimage.[75]

Fig. 3.18
Albrecht Dürer, *Great Column* (1517), Woodcut, 164.5 × 26 cm. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, 3597.a-d-4. Photo: © National Gallery of Victoria.

Fig. 3.19
Joannes and Lucas van Doetecum, *Funeral procession of Charles V in Brussels* (detail), from *La magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funèbre…* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock and Christopher Plantin, 1559), pl. 7–20. Hand coloured etching, approx. 32 x 575 cm. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Res Oc 1661. Photo: © Bibliothèque nationale de France.

These representations also recall the three-dimensional wooden models of holy monuments that Amico and others produced for the faithful. Like the engravings, the small objects permitted the viewer to understand the structure from multiple angles, and walls could even be removed to reveal interior views. Such physical models were a common feature of Renaissance architectural culture. They aided architects in the process of design and patrons in the act of adjudication. Like the diascopic prints of the *Baths*, they enabled viewers to scrutinise a building's architectural form and envision its spatial qualities. Some models, such as one built of brick in 1367 for the construction of Florence Cathedral, were even large enough to simulate the physical experience of an architectural interior. Antonio di Vicenzo's one-twelfth scale brick and plaster model of San Petronio in Bologna, made in 1390, was itself almost the size of a small building, measuring over fifteen by eleven metres.[76] Some wooden models also approached monumental dimensions: most famously, Antonio Labacco directed from 1539 to 1546, the creation of a gigantic model of new St Peter's in Rome (measuring 7.36 x 6.02 x 4.68 m), after designs by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.[77] Executed at 1:30 scale, the model replicated the entire structure including its decorative scheme. It even simulated building materials with paint and approximated natural lighting effects, much to its detriment according to Michelangelo.[78] This large model could also be split in half, producing an effect akin to the diascopic views of van Noyen but in three dimensions. Like scrolling the prints in real space, the wooden model enabled the viewer, as they physically moved across the interior, to see through the structure, gaining a deeper understanding of the building with each successive step.

Drawings and prints could only ever approximate the spatial and experiential effects of a model. Sectional perspectival views nevertheless came close. Large examples, such as a parchment drawing by Juan Guas for the *capilla mayor* of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo (c.1485–90), measuring almost two metres in height and perhaps created for Queen Isabella I of Castile, gave the viewer the impression of entering into a miniaturised fictive space. In this case, the effect was heightened by the low perspective, detailed sculptural program, and carefully delineated

Fig. 3.20
Erhard Reuwich, Venice, from Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Mainz: Peter Schöffer the Elder: 1486), pp. 13v–14r. Woodcut, 30 x 160 cm. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Arch. B c.25. Photo: © Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.

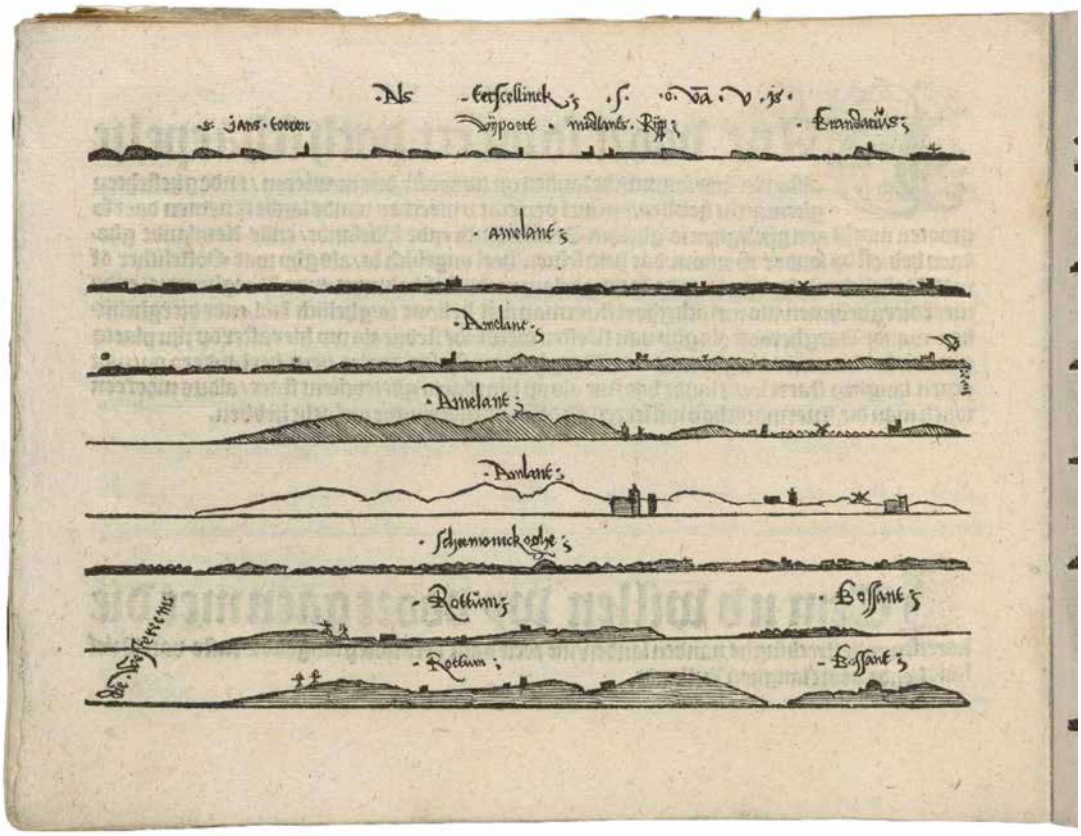
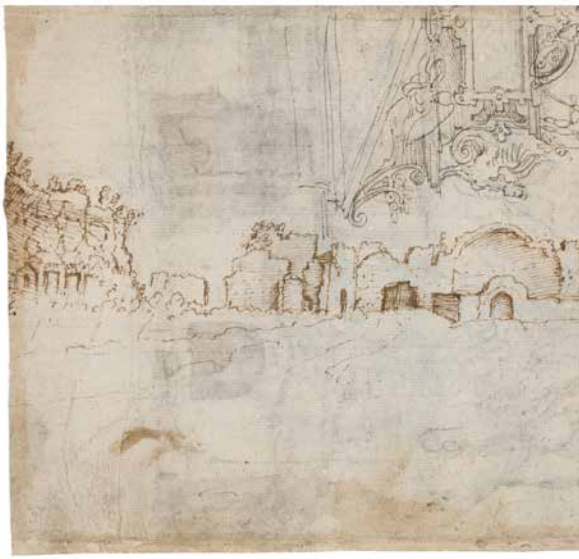


Fig. 3.21
Cornelis Anthonisz., *Onderwijsinge vander zee*, 3rd ed. (Amsterdam: Jan Ewoutsz, 1558), p. F 3v. Woodcut, 16 x 21 cm. Cambridge, Harvard University, Houghton Library, NC5 An866 544oc. Photo: © Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Fig. 3.22
Herman Posthumus (attr.), *View of Rome from the Capitoline Hill* (c.1536). Pen and ink on paper, 17.4 x 103.6 cm. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D 2 a, fol. 91v–92r. Photo: © bpk / Kupferstichkabinett, SMB / Volker-H. Schneider.

stonework.[79] Baldassare Peruzzi, in an even larger drawing for San Petronio in Bologna (1522–23), elaborated on these representational techniques.[80] Depicting his proposed addition to the basilica, this perspectival rendering selectively cuts away exterior walls and interior piers—at different points both vertically and horizontally—to reveal a massive, classicising, domed crossing and attached sacristy. Opened up for the viewer, the colossal interior space evokes the vaulted halls of Imperial Roman architecture that the architect had closely studied.

The vast scale of Peruzzi's proposed structure, like the etchings in the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*, is further emphasised by groups of diminutive figures seen from above. These human elements make the drawing more than just a graphic substitute for a physical model. They create the impression of an actualised building, just like Amico's Holy Sepulchre or Van Noyen's Baths. This is also true of Giovanni Caroto's 1540 reconstruction of the Roman theatre of Verona (fig. 3.25). In this large, fold-out woodcut, the masonry of the imagined structure is peeled away to reveal the ancient monument. At the bottom, water gushing from drain spouts and a small man rowing a boat enliven the image.[81] These examples attempt not just to expose structures through pictorial techniques, but to make them come alive through the insertion of human figures. They share, in this way, a deeper connection with the prints of the *Baths*. They also recall the densely populated urban views discussed earlier, some of which even claim to be *ad vivium*, meaning not just accurately taken 'from life', but made 'lifelike'.[82] All of these cases, as well as the processional prints examined earlier, sought to give the impression of lifelike reality, even while expanding the realm of the visible.



It was from this rich, interconnected network of graphic material that a diascopic mode of representation emerged. The product of contemporary print culture, cartographic activities, and architectural practice, as well as traditions of representation that developed north and south of the Alps, Cock's prodigious publication pioneered a new manner of visualising architecture. It was a method of illustration that emphasised architectural corporality and propelled the embodied gaze of the viewer. Since it could only exist at a large scale, this diascopic method would never become commonplace, especially in the realm of print. The *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* etchings were by their nature exceptional.

The Life of the Baths of Emperor Diocletian

It is unknown how many copies Hieronymus Cock produced of the Baths of Emperor Diocletian, which like many contemporary printed works was protected by a royal privilege. Two states exist: one with and one without the publisher's address at the bottom of the etchings.[83] Volcxken Diericx, Cock's partner and wife, appears to have continued to use the plates after the printer's death in 1570, but by this point in time they were heavily oxidised.[84] When the contents of the *Quatre Vents* press were eventually sold in 1601, the battered copper plates were dispersed and at least one of them became support for a painting.[85]

Unlike Cock's *Large Book of Ruins*, which Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Battista Pittoni, and Vincenzo Scamozzi almost immediately plagiarised, only Sebastiaan van Noyen's plan was copied by another engraver.[86] Other prints of the bath complex, nevertheless, began to circulate

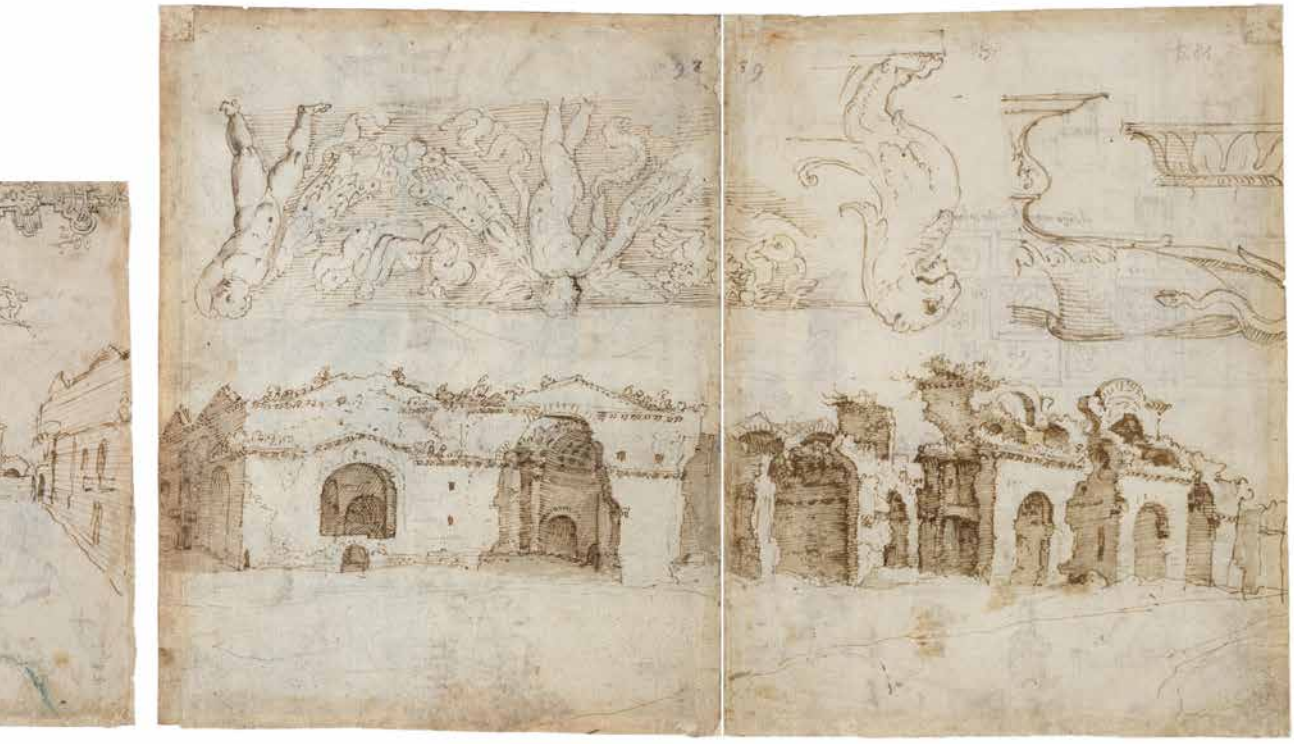


Fig. 3.23
Herman Posthumus (attr.), *Baths of Diocletian* (c.1536). Pen and ink on paper, 19.5 x 15 cm (each sheet). Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D 2 a, fol. 83 r¬, 83v, 81r. Photo: © bpk / Kupferstichkabinett, SMB / Volker-H. Schneider.

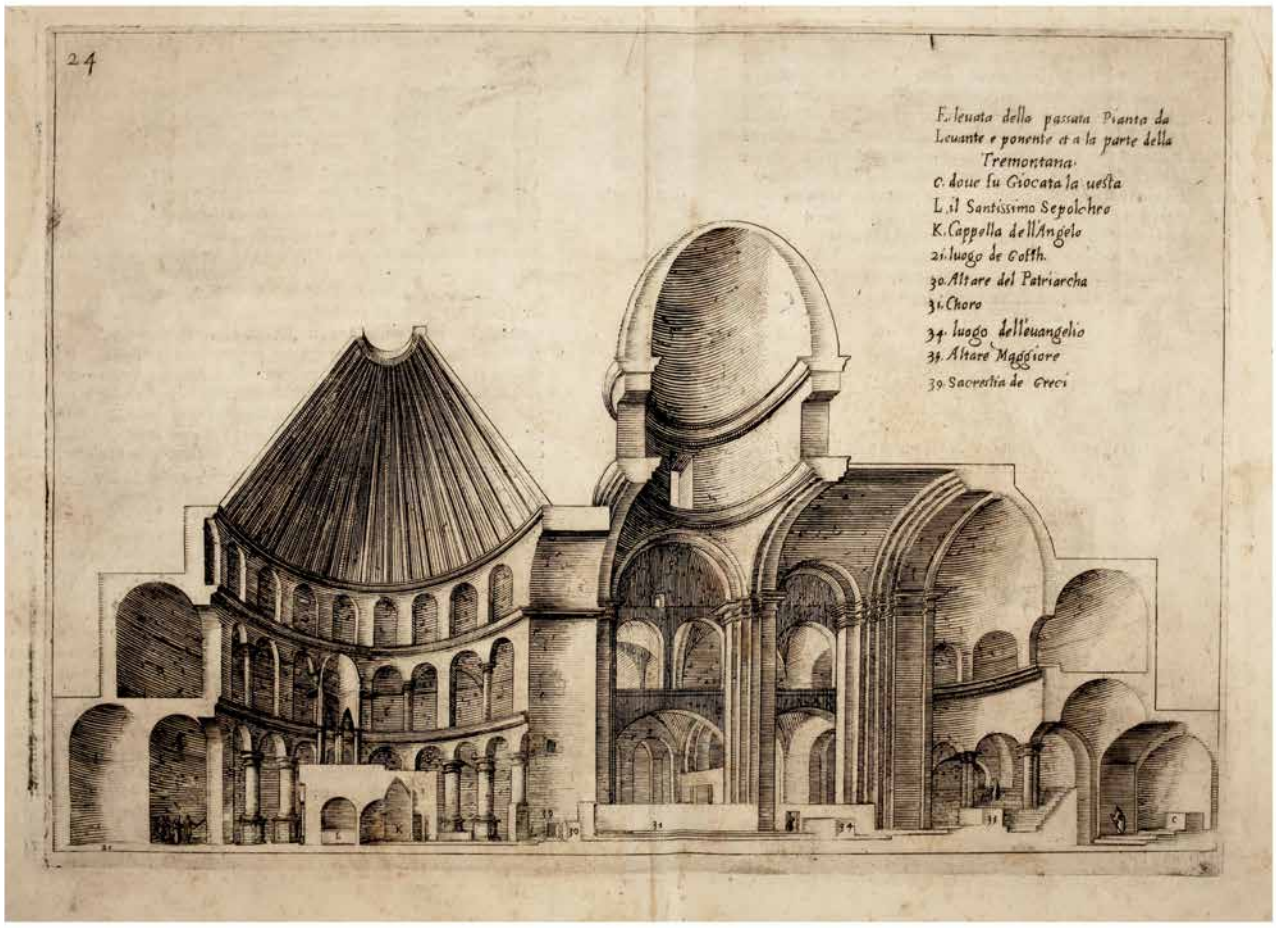


Fig. 3.24
Jacques Callot after Bernardino Amico, *Church of the Holy Sepulchre*, from *Bernardino Amico, Trattato delle piante & immaginj de sacri edifizi di Terra Santa…* (Florence: Pietro Cecconcelli, 1620), pl. 24 and 26. Etching and engraving, 25.6 x 37.5 cm (each sheet). Williamstown, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library, NA1477.2 A55. Photo: © Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute Library.

in the sixteenth century. In fact, in the same year that the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* appeared, Michele Tramezzino issued a print of the very same building (fig. 3.26).[87] Engraved by the Netherlandish artist Jacob Bos after drawings by architect and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio, the print depicts an aerial perspective of the complex with its component parts labelled. The viewer therefore looks upon the reconstructed ancient structure from above, easily comprehending its complicated form in a single schematic image rather than experiencing its diverse spaces through horizontal interior views. Only Vincenzo Scamozzi sought to merge these two approaches (fig. 3.27). Entitled *Chorographia omnium partium thermarum diocletiani* ('Chorography of all parts of the Baths of Diocletian') and engraved by Mario Cataro in 1580, it consists of a birds-eye perspective cut away to reveal a transverse section and a plan seemingly measured with cartographic accuracy.[88] As Scamozzi notes, he combined architectural and optical ways of seeing so the viewer could better visualise the structure's overall design by synthesising the traditional Vitruvian methods of representation: *ichnographia, orthographia and scaenographia*.[89] In this way, he fused Sebastiaan van Noyen's plan and diascopic views (figs 3.1 and 3.6) to create a single chorographic image that could encapsulate the whole of the structure.[90]

Compared to these Italian engravings, the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* was also significantly more expensive. It also cost at least twice as much as contemporary Dutch illustrated books and sets of prints, which typically sold for a florin or less.[91] By the end of the century, perhaps due to the publication's scarcity, the Paduan doctor and bibliophile Gian Vincenzo Pinelli eagerly paid three and a half florins for a set from the cartographer and book trader Abraham Ortelius.[92] In addition to Pinelli's library, which contained around ten-thousand volumes, the *Baths* found its way into the collections of other learned intellectuals such as Joannes Rodenborch, a professor from the University of Wittenberg, and numerous illustrious princely *kunstkammern*, including those of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol; Augustus, Elector of Saxony; Adolf, Count of Tecklenburg; and Albert V, Duke of Bavaria.[93] In Albert's famous Munich collection, the duke

placed the prints, mounted on cloth, alongside numerous architectural books, drawings, prints, and maps, and right next to other *mirabilia* including coral sculptures, animal skulls, and even illustrations of conjoined twins, all of which sought to impart a sense of wonder to the viewer.[94]

Whether these prints also served as architectural models for new construction is a matter of conjecture, but artists and architects certainly copied and collected them.[95] A seventeenth-century draftsman, for example, redrew several of the architectural elements onto a sheet of paper now in the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, and later, another created several finely rendered copies, which came to be collected by Baron Philipp von Stosch in the mid-eighteenth century.[96] Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, the mid-sixteenth century Venetian architect and illustrator of Vitruvius, owned some of the prints, as did Sir Christopher Wren and Nicodemus Tessin the

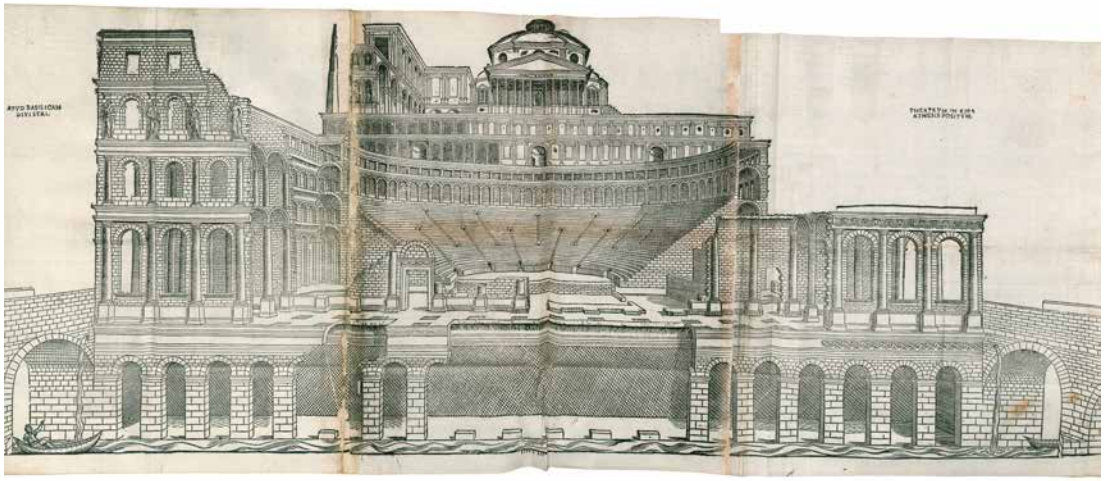


Fig. 3.25
Giovanni Caroto, *Reconstruction of the Roman Theatre of Verona*, from *Torello Saraina, De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona: Antonio Putelleto, 1540), unnumbered plate. Woodcut, 33 x 90.5. Zurich, ETH-Bibliothek, Rar 9230 q. Photo: © ETH-Bibliothek Zürich.

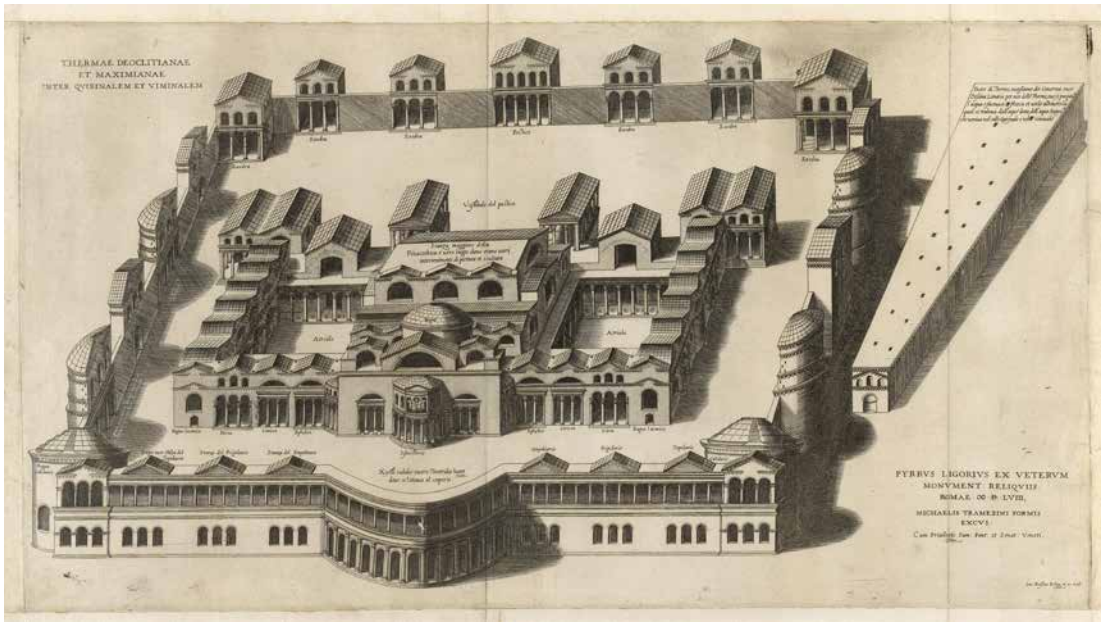
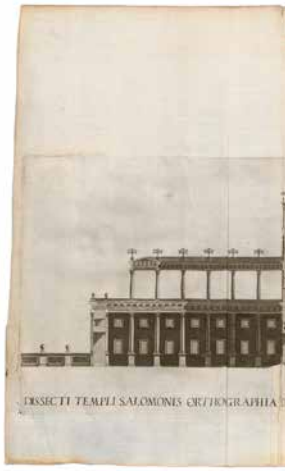
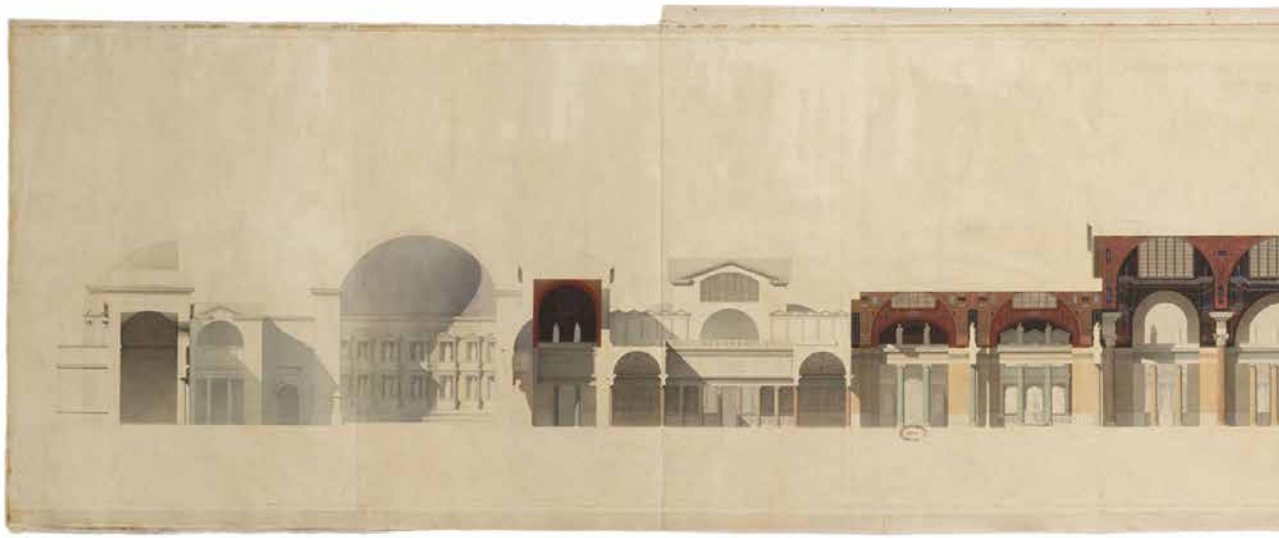


Fig. 3.26
Jacob Bos, after Pirro Ligorio, *Baths of Diocletian* (1558). Engraving, 39.2 x 69.3 cm. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, INVENT/75378. Photo: © Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Younger over a century later, and perhaps even Giorgio Vasari.[97] A posthumous 1597 inventory of Juan de Herrera's collection also records a copy bound with other designs for buildings.[98] It may have indeed been these prints that inspired the Spanish architect to enlist Pedro Perret in 1589 to produce engravings of his vast monastic complex at El Escorial, including four transverse sections and elevations keyed to a pair of plans.[99] Rather than gazing backwards to the past, these prints project to an increasingly global audience a forward-looking image of the recently completed construction that few had seen with their own eyes.



Herrera's prints subsequently served as a model for the images of the Temple of Solomon that his student, the Jesuit priest Juan Bautista Villalpando, produced for the second volume of his monumental *Ezechielem Explanationes* (1604).[100] These visionary, scroll-like images (fig. 3.28) not only provided compelling divine precedent for El Escorial, but also, according to Villalpando, reconstituted the very architectural images that had been drawn by the hand of God in plan, elevation and perspective, given to Solomon, executed by builders, and described in the prophecies of Ezekiel.[101] The foldout engravings, therefore, enabled viewers to see like God in sections, which Villalpando described in optical terms as being 'cut through the cone of vision'. Like the reconstructed views in the *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*, the engravings of the



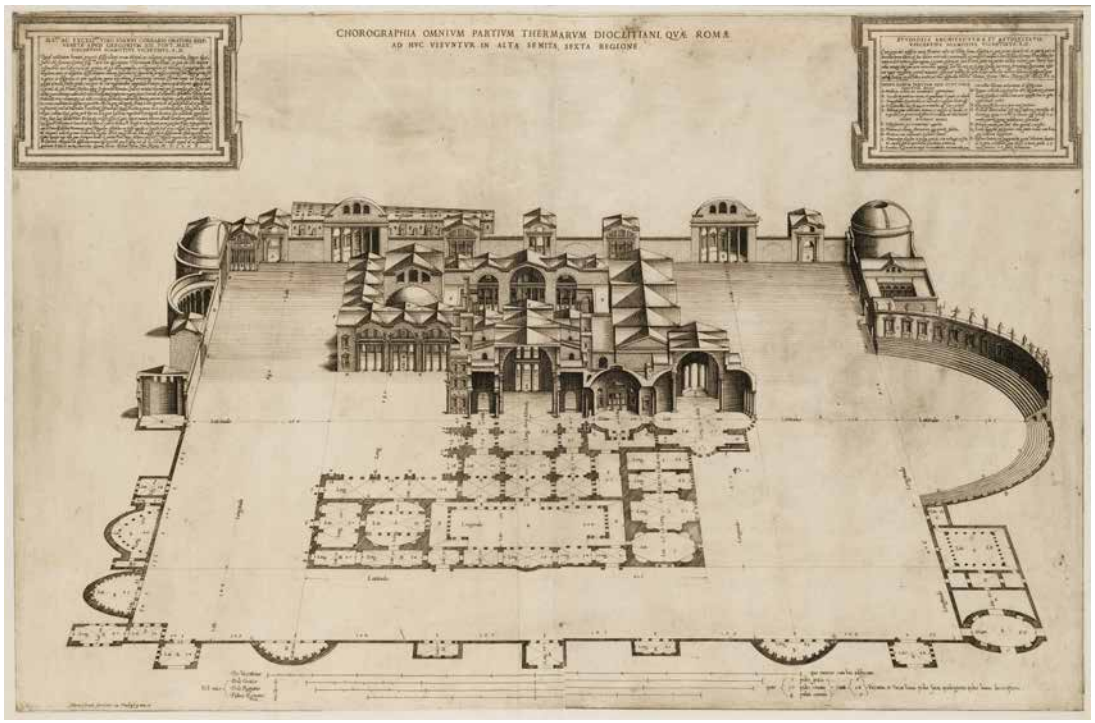


Fig. 3.27
Mario Cartaro, after Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Baths of Diocletian* (1580). Engraving, 45.8 x 70.6 cm. Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 870672. Photo: © Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

Fig. 3.28
Juan Bautista Villalpando, *Lateral section of the Temple of Solomon,* from Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jerónimo de Prado, *In Ezechielem explanationes* (Rome: Luigi Zanetti, Carlo Vullietti, and Alfonso Chacón, 1596–1604), vol. 2, unnumbered plate. Engraving, 39.4 x 139.1 cm. Zurich, ETH-Bibliothek, 861. Photo: © ETH-Bibliothek Zürich.

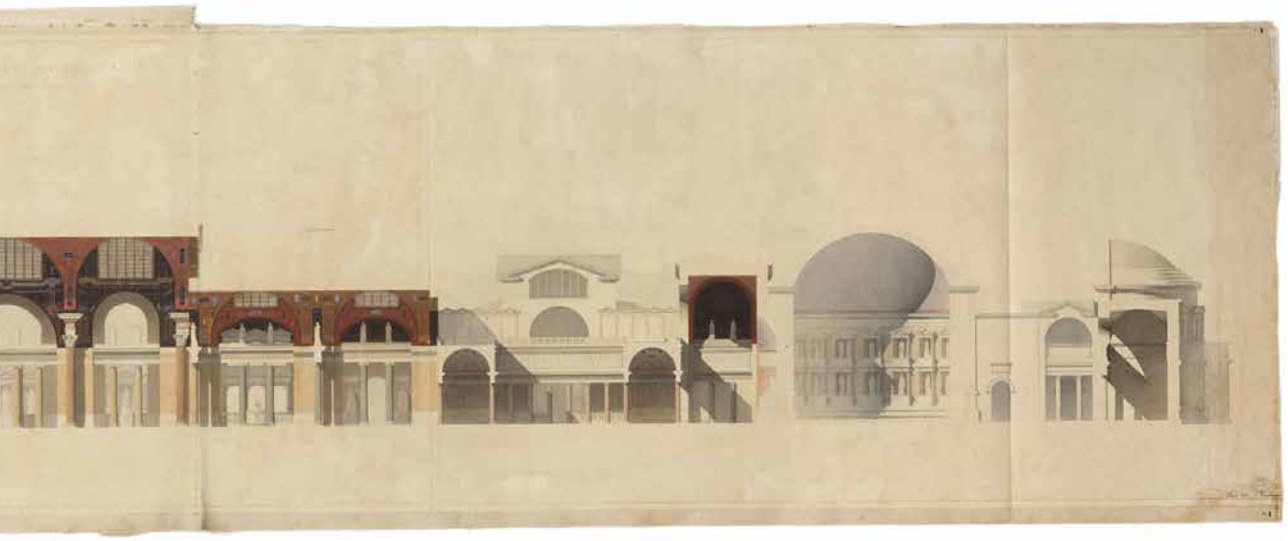


Fig. 3.29
Florimond Boulanger, *Baths of Diocletian* (1842). Chinese ink and watercolour on cloth paper, 62 x 307 cm. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-arts, env. 32-7. Photo: © Ecole nationale supérieure des beaux-arts, Paris / Jean-Michel Lapelerie.

Temple of Solomon revealed through graphic architectural conventions things that the eye cannot see. Print thereby had the power to provide superhuman ways of looking through buildings, making visible the lost architecture of the past, be it for architectural education, antiquarian erudition, or religious contemplation.

Cock's prints of the baths continued to be actively collected well into the eighteenth century, but as Johann Joachim Winkelmann lamented, they became increasingly scare over time.[102] The famous print dealer and collector Pierre-Jean Mariette, in fact, wrote on his copy, now in the Institut de France: 'few books are as rare as this one. I do not hesitate to add that there are few so curious and so interesting'.[103] Mariette so valued this work that he had a specially engraved title page made for it. While Palladio's drawings of the baths became available in the 1730s through a deluxe printed facsimile sponsored by their owner, Richard Boyle, third Earl of Burlington, nothing until the next century came close to approaching the overwhelming scale and effect of Cock's publication. It was in the nineteenth century that French architects, having won the Prix de Rome, created impressive reconstructions of a variety of ancient Roman complexes as *envois* to be sent back to Paris for official review.[104] Similar to the huge drawings for modern structures that they made at the École des Beaux-Arts, these renderings of antiquity—such as those of the Baths of Diocletian by Florimond Boulanger (1842) and Edmond Paulin (1880)—feature expansive elevations and sections, some stretching over three metres (fig. 3.29).[105] They were also accompanied by complimentary documentary illustrations of the still-standing, heavily ruined structure, which along with related plans make explicit the process of reconstruction that had only been obliquely implied in the earlier 1558 etchings. Yet despite this graphic display of archaeological objectivity, just like Sebastiaan van Noyen's reconstructions, these later renderings—all finely executed in coloured wash and complete with meticulously delineated wall decoration and sculpture—pull the viewer in with their detail and illusionistic depth; and then push them across to take in the enormity of the structure and the array of unfolding spaces. This horizontal panning impulse, along with the carefully constructed lighting effects and heightened atmospheric perspective, enlivens even the most rigidly symmetrical of examples.

The *Baths of Emperor Diocletian*—the longest architectural publication produced in early modern Europe, and the only one that was ever mounted on cloth and rolled up as a scroll—represents an important milestone in architectural print culture. Realised through the financial support of a wealthy patron, the technical skill of a prolific publisher, the artistic acumen of his innovative etchers, and the ingenuity of a young architect, this exceptional work—which addressed through text and image a diverse audience of artists, architects, intellectuals, collectors, and rulers—mobilised a new diascopic mode of representation and means of experiencing antiquity. In doing so, it built on over a half-century of antiquarian study, harnessed novel techniques of visualisation, and employed newly developed technologies of documentation. The *Baths of Emperor Diocletian* also exploited the potential of mechanical reproduction as a medium of preservation and agent of enlivenment, and in its artistic brilliance and technical virtuosity, conferred prestige upon printer and patron alike. While only about a dozen complete sets survive today, this extraordinary Netherlandish work of antiquarian erudition and graphic bravura remains a monumental testament to the power of print and its ability to reconstitute and reanimate the architecture of antiquity.

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Variety, Archeology, and Ornament: Renaissance Architectural Prints from Column to Cornice at the University of Virginia Art Museum.

1. On these prints, see Timothy A. Riggs, *Hieronymus Cock: Printmaker and Publisher* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), pp. 353–54, no. 174; Henk Nalis, *The Van Doetecum Family: the New Hollstein Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts 1450–1700*, 4 vols (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Interactive, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 44–63, nos. 54–80; Krista de Jonge, 'Thermae Diocletiani', in Fernando Marías and Felipe Pereda (eds), *Carlos V: Las Armas y las Letras* (Granada: Sociedad Estatal para la Conmemoración de los Centenarios de Felipe II y Carlos V, 2000), pp. 473–475; Christopher Heuer, 'A Copperplate for Hieronymus Cock', *The Burlington Magazine* 149:1247 (2007): pp. 96–99; Peter Fuhring, 'Thermae Diocletiani', in Joris van Grieken (ed.), *Hieronymus Cock: The Renaissance in Print* (Brussels: Mercatorfonds, 2013), pp. 118–123; Emma de Jong, '*Thermae Diocletiani*: Van Noyen's Ambitious Reconstruction of the Baths of Diocletian for Admirers of Architecture and the Antique' (MA diss., Warburg Institute, University of London, 2015).
2. The actual Baths of Diocletian is oriented to intermediate directions, but turned forty-five degrees in the prints (south-west becomes west, etc.). The etchings are labeled 'interior side across the middle of the baths from south to north' (*latus interius per medias thermas, a meridie usque in septentrionem*), 'interior side view across the middle of the baths from east to west' (*prospectus interioris lateris, per medias thermas ab oriente usque ad occidentem*), 'exterior side view from north to south' (*prospectus exterioris lateris, a septentrione ad meridiem*), and 'view of the entrance towards the east' (*prospectus intrantibus orientem versus*). The western exterior elevation does not have an inscription.
3. Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm, Gardie Stadsvyer 25 (only Hollstein 57–80); Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, 105 B 4 b Fol. Roma, Diocletiani Termer (with five cut-out prints); Chatsworth, Duke of Devonshire Collection; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Radcl. a.1 (only Hollstein 54–56, 63–76); London, Royal Academy of Arts, inv. 12/13[24–29] (with five cut-out prints); London, Royal Institute of British Architects, inv. 2326 (only Hollstein A–B, 55, 63–80); London, British Library, Maps 7 Tab. 1, fols. 17, 19–23, 26–27 (only Hollstein A–B, 54, 57–66, 74–80); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, EST 1611, Atlas van Rome, nos. 87–96 (with five cut-out prints); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des imprimés, réserve, J-477 (bis); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des estampes et de la photographie, inv. Gc-36 (A)- fol.; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Fol Z 140 Réserve Hors-rang; Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, inv. 11622 (missing two of the combined etchings); Leiden, Universiteit, inv. PK-P-122.013–039; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Libri impr. rari fol. 262; Weimar, Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, inv. Th R 1 : 13 (with five cut-out prints); Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. B 974,2; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Kunstkammer, inv. 6630 (with five cut-out prints); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. 44.O.1; Rome, Archivo Storico Capitolino, inv. 17208; Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cicognara.XII.3886(49) (only Hollstein 74–76); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Stampe. Cartella.Miscellanee (only Hollstein 74–76).
4. Copies conserved as scrolls include those at the Royal Academy of Arts, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Réserve, J-477 (bis)), and Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. As Peter Fuhring notes, the Paris copy was originally bound, but in the eighteenth century, it was mounted on a single piece of linen and placed in a specially designed leather box, Fuhring, 'Thermae Diocletiani', p. 118.
5. Edward Wouk, 'Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, The Quatre Vents Press, and the Patronage of Prints in Early Modern Europe', *Simiolus* (2015): pp. 31–61.
6. Krista de Jonge, 'Anticse Wercken: Architecture in the Antique Manner 1500–1530', in Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheym (eds), *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530–1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), p. 52.
7. On his library, see Luciana Miotto, 'Les Traités d'Architecture de la Bibliothèque des Granvelle', in Jacqueline Brunet and Gennaro Toscano (eds), *Les Granvelle et l'Italie au XVIe Siècle: Le Mécénat d'une Famille* (Besancon: Cêtre, 1992), pp. 95–108.
8. 'Sumptib. et ardenti erga venerandam Antiquitatem studio…in lucem eductae.'
9. F. W. H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, 72 vols (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1949–2010), vol. 4, pp. 180–183, nos. 22–46.
10. On the sources of Cock's etchings and Netherlandish *vedute* of Rome, see Elise Zadek, 'Der Palatin in den Publikationen Hieronymus Cocks: Ruinen und ihre frühneuzeitliche Darstellung im Bild' (MA diss., Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2005); Arthur DiFuria, 'Remembering the Eternal in 1553: Maerten van Heemskerck's Self-Portrait before the Colosseum', *Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art* 59 (2009): pp. 90–108.
11. Rebecca Zorach, 'The Public Utility of Prints', in Rebecca Zorach (ed.), *The Virtual Tourist in Renaissance Rome: Printing and Collecting the Speculum Romanae magnificentiae* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, 2008), pp. 63–83; Christopher Heuer, 'Hieronymus Cock's Aesthetic of Collapse', *Oxford Art Journal* 32:3 (2009): pp. 387–408.
12. Already in the fourteenth century, Giovanni Boccaccio described the Baths of Diocletian as having been ruined by the avarice and negligence of Rome's own citizens. 'Le stufe di Diocleziano…per avarizia come per negligenzia de' cittadini giá divorate e péste, e quasi mutati i nomi e distrutti quanto alla gloria de' componitori'. Giovanni Boccaccio to Francesco Nelli, 1363, in Aldo Francesco Massera (ed.), *Opere Latine Minori* (Bari: Laterza, 1928), p. 166.
13. Antonio Gallonio, *Vita beati p. Philippi Neri Florentini Congregatione Oratorio fondatoris* (Rome: Luigi Zannetti, 1600), p. 44. Around 1610, Luca Ciamberlano created an engraving of the event, which he dates 1538, as part of set of prints of the saint's life.
14. The architect is commemorated in the publication with the epigram 'Huius eximiæ descriptionis Autor Sebastianus à Noia, duorum summoru Principum, Caroli. V. Impe. & Philippi Regis Hisp. Angl. &c. per Belgicas, cæterasq; inferiores has eorum ditiones Architectus generalis, homo ea in re longè ingeniosiss. migravit exhuius vitæ miseriis, magna quidem eius artis, iactura, Landrisii, Die. III. Iunii. An. MDLVII. cum vixisset annos XXXIIII, menses. III. dies. VI. Sepultus Bruxelle in Fano Dive Gudule'.
15. On his military career, see most recently Pieter Marten, 'Militaire architectuur en vestingoorlog in de Nederlanden tijdens het regentschap van Maria van Hongarije (1531–1555), De ontwikkeling van de gebastioneerde vestingbouw' (PhD diss., Leuven University, 2009).
16. Krista de Jonge, 'Le Palais Granvelle à Bruxelles: Premier Exemple de la Renaissance Romaine dans les Anciens Pays-Bas?', in Krista de Jonge and Gustaaf Janssens (eds), *Les Granvelle et les Anciens Pays-Bas* (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 2000), pp. 341–388; De Jonge, 'Thermae Diocletiani', p. 474; Krista de Jonge, 'Hieronymus Cock's Antiquity', in *Hieronymus Cock*, p. 43.
17. 'Antonius Perrenotus Atrebat. præsul easdem ex insignibus quæ Romæ extant reliquiis a Sebastiano Oiano architecto dimetri deliniarique iussit' 'quàm exactiss. ad vivum à fundo usque descriptae'.
18. See Peter Parshall, 'Imago Contrafacta: Images and Facts in the Northern Renaissance', *Art History* 16:4 (1993): pp. 554–579; Claudia Swan, '*Ad vivum, naer het leven*, from the Life: Considerations on a Mode of Representation', *Word and Image* 11:4 (1995): pp. 353–372; Sachiko Kusukawa, 'Conrad Gessner on an "Ad Vivum" Image', in Pamela H. Smith, H. J. Cook, and Amy R. W. Meyers (eds), *Ways of Making and Knowing: The Material Culture of Empirical Knowledge* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014), pp. 330–356.
19. Renaissance architects equated the ancient *palmus maior* with the contemporary *palmo* (22.3 cm) and the ancient *pes* with the contemporary *piede* (29.7 cm). Mark Wilson Jones, 'Palazzo Massimo and Baldassare Peruzzi's Approach to Architectural Design', *Architectural History* 31 (1988): pp. 64, 78, n. 49. The measurements in the publication are not consistent throughout. The introduction gives distances in *pedes*, which as Emma de Jong has observed corresponds to one and a third *palmi* on the plan. In the views, however, measurements given in *palmi* correspond equally to the scale in *pedes*. De Jong, 'Thermae Diocletiani', pp. 19–21.
20. 'Vera mensura pedis. xii. digitorum quo Sebastianus ad Oya totu opus dimensus est'.
21. The measurements given in Van Noyen's plan (110 *palmi*, 6 *digiti*) and the introductory text (84 *pedes*) of the lower portion of the now lost ancient cistern next to the baths, for example, are both roughly equivalent to those record in French feet by the anonymous Destailleur draftsman (72 *pied*, 2 *onces*, 6 *lignes*), Berlin, Kunstbibliotek, Hdz 4151, fol. 49v.
22. Nalis, *The Van Doetecum Family*, vol. 1, p. 88, no. 38; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 240 Ar. This attribution has been recently proposed by Dario Donetti who also provided generous feedback on this

article. Francisco de Holanda later copied this drawing into his 'Album das Antigualhas' of c.1538–40 (El Escorial, Cod. 28-I-20, fol. 46r).

23. On this practice, see most recently Carolyn Yerkes, *Drawing After Architecture: Renaissance Architectural Drawings and Their Reception* (Venice: Marsilio, 2017).

24. 'circa il diritto del quale io non ho voluto disegnare cosa alcuna per tre cagioni: prima, per le gran ruine, che poco d'integro si comprende. Seconda, per la difficultà del misurarle'. Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro nel qual si figurano, e descriuono le antiquita di Roma…* (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1540), p. 97.

25. On these drawings and related ones in Vienna and elsewhere, see Bernd Kulawik, 'Wer ist der Anonymus Destailleur?', *Scholion* 10 (2016): pp. 229–238; Bernd Kulawik, 'Die Zeichnungen im Codex Destailleur D (Hdz 4151) der Berliner Kunstbibliothek – Preußischer Kulturbesitz zum letzten Projekt Antonio da Sangallos d. J. für den Neubau von St. Peter in Rom' (PhD diss., Technischen Universität Berlin, 2002); See also Yerkes, *Drawing After Architecture*, pp. 11–161.

26. Ian Campbell already suggested a possible connection in his article 'Some Drawings from the 'Paper Museum' of Cassiano dal Pozzo and the Berlin Codex Destailleur D', *Pegasus* 6 (2004): pp. 24–28.

27. These drawings are discussed in Heinz Spielmann, *Palladio und die Antike: Untersuchungen seines zeichnerischen Nachlasses* (Stuttgart: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1959), pp. 66–83, 158–168; Giudo Beltramini, 'The Baths of Diocletian', in Charles Hind and Irena Murray (eds), *Palladio and His Legacy: A Transatlantic Journey* (Venice: Marsilio, 2010), pp. 100–106; On their relation to the Cock prints, see De Jong, 'Thermae Diocletiani', pp. 32–37.

28. Examples include Wolfgang Lotz, 'Das Raumbild in der Architekturzeichnung der italienischen Renaissance', *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 7 (1956): pp. 193–226; Christoph Thoenes, 'Vitruv, Alberti, Sangallo: Zur Theorie der Architekturzeichnung in der Renaissance', in Andreas Beyer, Vittorio Lampugnani, and Gunter Schweikhart (eds), *Hülle und Fülle: Festschrift für Tilmann Buddensieg* (Alfter: VDG, 1993), pp. 565–584; James Ackerman, 'Introduction: The Conventions and Rhetoric of Architectural Drawing', in James S. Ackerman and Wolfgang Jung (eds), *Conventions of Architectural Drawing: Representation and Misrepresentation* (Cambridge: Graduate School of Design, 2000), pp. 9–36.

29. See for example Cammy Brothers, 'Architecture, History, Archaeology: Drawing Ancient Rome in the Letter to Leo X and in Sixteenth-Century Practice', in Lars Jones and Louisa Matthew (eds) *Coming About…: A Festschrift for John Shearman* (Cambridge: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001), pp. 135–140; Ann Huppert, 'Envisioning New St. Peter's: Perspectival Drawings and the Process of Design', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68:2 (June 2009): pp. 159–177. In the context of the Low Countries, see Charles van den Heuvel, '"Tsamenspreeckinghe betreffende de Architecture ende Schilderkonst": Schilders, architecten en wiskundigen over de uitbeelding van architectuur', *Incontri* 9:1 (1994): pp. 69–85.

30. Some Renaissance draftsmen did attempt to use orthography to create flattened renderings of complete interiors. The unknown author of the so-called Vitruvio Ferrarese (c.1520s), for example, represented the interior of the Pantheon in a single, unfurled image, with the dome divided into four sections like a contemporary gore globe map (Ferrara, Biblioteca comunale Ariostea, II.176, fols. 65v–66r). Hermann Vischer the Younger (c.1515–16) similarly transformed the interior of the Pantheon and an octagonal chapel into a completely flat, splayed projection (Paris, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins, 19028, 19030, 19064).

31. On the graphic study of the Baths of Diocletian in the Renaissance, see Maximilian Schich, 'Rezeption und Tradierung als komplexes Netzwerk: Der CENSUS und visuelle Dokumente zu den Thermen in Rom' (PhD diss., Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2009), pp. 102–205.

32. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, 1861 Ar, 1862 Ar, 1863 Ar. These same drawings also appear in the so-called Salzburg Codex created by a Lombard draftsman in the 1470s (Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Ital. M III 40, fols. 26v–30r) and the manuscript treatise produced by Antonio da Faenza around 1520 (Paris, Private Collection). See Arnold Nesselrath, 'Monumenta Antiqua Romana: ein illustrierter Rom-Traktat des Quattrocento', in Richard Harprath and Henning Wrede (eds), *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1989), pp. 21–37. Timo Strauch, 'Antonio da Faenza and the Study of the Baths of Diocletian in the Early Sixteenth Century' (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Renaissance Society of America, Berlin, Germany, 26–28 March 2015).

33. Vienna, Albertina, AZ Egger 13v–16v (Sketchbook C). On these drawings in general, see Hubertus Günther, *Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1988), pp. 203–241; Susanna Valori, *Disegni di antichità dell'Albertina di Vienna* (Rome: De Luca, 1985), pp. 75–132.

34. On the history of the history of Baths before being transformed into the church of S. Maria degli Angeli, see Patrizia Pesci, 'Una fabbrica in abbandono', in Alessandro De Falco (ed.), *Santa Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri: incontro di storie* (Viterbo: BetaGamma, 2005), pp. 23–33; Giulia Tozzi, 'Le Terme di Diocleziano. Dall'abbandono al riuso', in Rosanna Friggeri and Marina Magnani Cianetti (eds), *Le Terme di Diocleziano / La Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli* (Milan: Electa, 2014), pp. 212–229.

35. 'non sine admiratione quadam quid sibi voluerit ad tam vilem usum tanta aedificiorum moles, tot tantarumque columnarum, tam varii generis marmorum apparatus'. Poggio Bracciolini, 'De varietate fortunae', in Roberto Valentini and Giuseppe Zucchetti (eds), *Codice Topografico della Città di Roma*, 4 vols (Rome: Tipografia del Senato, 1940–53), vol. 4, p. 236.

36. On the ancient water system, see Leonardo Lombardi and Elettra Santucci, 'Gli impianti tecnici delle Terme di Diocleziano', in Friggeri and Magnani Cianetti (eds), *Le Terme di Diocleziano*, pp. 77–103.

37. Fabio Calvo, *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum* (Rome: Ludovico degli Arrighi, 1527), p. F ii. On the balneum woodcut, see Philip J. Jacks, 'The Simulachrum of Fabio Calvo: A View of Roman Architecture all'antica in 1527', *The Art Bulletin* 72:3 (1990): pp. 463–474. Guillaume du Choul, *Des Bains et Antiques Exercitations Grecques et Romaines* (Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1554), pp. 8v–9v. This publication, which was reprinted the following year in Italian, is based on a manuscript produced around 1539 (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Français 1314).

38. Hubert Goltzius, *Vivae omnium fere Imperatorum imagines* (Antwerp: Coppens van Diest, 1557), p. 58r. The motto 'nihil dificilius quam bene imperare' ('nothing is more difficult than to rule well'), which also comes from Goltzius, seems to have been taken from the *Historia Augusta* (26.43).

39. 'Ista vetustatis monimenta illustria, quondam / Sacro Christiadûm structa è sudore, superbum / Ceu quoddam Urbis opus, miserandis acta ruinis / Iam propè corruerant prorsum, tenebris'que profundis / Iam computruerant, paucis vix cognita, densis / Obruta pulveribus, spectatu triste cadaver: / At pius ille Heros, Heros Antonius ille / Perrenotus, cernens corpus tam nobile sterni / Tellure, & cœco veluti squallere sepulchro, / Indoluit, sortem'que rei miseratus iniquam, / Quæsiit, & subitò invento medicamine, tetro / E busto excitum redivivum reddit, & ecce / Quæ dudum horrendo iacuerunt pondere Thermæ / Prolapsæ in terram, confestim robore sumpto / Antiquo, surgunt, & grandi mole recepta / Attollunt cœlo caput, alto & vertice vastos / Exæquant monteis, nullo unquam tempore deinceps / Casuræ, donec prævasti hæc ardua mundi / Machina durabit. Porrò gravis ille piorum / Christiadûm sudor, gravis illa afflictio, sævi / Illa Diocletis rabies durissima, sanctos / In Cœli civeis, longo iam tempore fermè / Mentibus humanis paulatim exempta, benigno / Perrenoti officio rursum experrecta revixit, / Officio eiusdem totidem memoranda per annos, / Quot iam instauratæ stabunt per secula Thermæ, / Et quot Perrenoti resonabunt sæcula nomen'.

40. On the political implications of the prints and Granvelle's larger project of appropriating antiquity for personal and professional advantage, see Wouk, 'Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle', pp. 55–61.

41. 'ac pro suo erga veteres artes adfectu formis æreis incidi excudi publicariq coeravit atque ab extremo interitu vindicavit'. See also note 17.

42. On these early drawings, see Hans Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik: Bestandskatalog der weltgrößten Sammlung an gotischen Baurissen (Legat Franz Jäger) im Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der Bildenden Künste Wien* (Salzburg: Pustet, 2005); Hans Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik: Rheinlande* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2013); Hans Josef Böker, *Architektur der Gotik: Ulm und Donauraum* (Salzburg: Müry Salzmann, 2011); Malvina Borgherini, *Disegno e progetto nel cantiere medievale: Esempi toscani del XIV secolo* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001); Lize Braat, *Dessins, Cathédrale de Strasbourg* (Strasbourg: Musées de Strasbourg, 2014); Robert Bork, *The Geometry of Creation: Architectural Drawing and the Dynamics of Gothic Design* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011).

43. Strasbourg, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, inv. 3, 274 × 70 cm (c.1270s); Vienna, Wien Museum Karlsplatz, 105.069, 326.7 × 69.7 cm (c.1300).

44. Vienna, Wien Museum Karlsplatz, 105.067, 478.6 × 86 cm; Vienna, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Kupferstichkabinett, 17.061, 491.5 × 84.6 cm. This drawing is part of a collection of hundreds of architectural drawings on parchment at the Akademie. Later drawings for Strasbourg are almost as large: Strasbourg, Musée de l'Oeuvre Notre-Dame, inv. 5, 410 × 82.5 cm (c.1365); Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum, Inv. 1962, 461 × 81 cm (c.1400–20).

45. In addition to the many Germanic examples cited by Böker, see also Ghent, Belfry, 225 × 24 cm (1313–23) [Ghent, Stadsmuseum, 462]; Florence Cathedral Campanile, 222.5 × 31.5 cm (1334) [Siena, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, inv. 154]; Rouen, Cathedral, Crossing Tower, 340 × 64.5 cm (1516) [Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, 2018.123]; Mechelen, Sint-Romboutskathedraal, 345 × 65 cm (c.1520, or perhaps 1550) [Mons, Archives de l'État, Document précieux 4].

46. [Cologne, Dombauarchivs, Riß F, 406 × 166 cm. Böker, *Architektur der Gotik: Rheinlande*, pp. 348–51, no. 129.

47. *Illustrated Bartsch* (New York: Abaris Books, 1978–), vol. 8, pp. 134–139; vol. 9, pt.1, pp. 182–189, 247–248, pt. 2, 343. On the issue of the function of these prints, see Oliver Kik, 'From Lodge to Studio: Transmissions of Architectural Knowledge in the Low Countries 1480–1530', in Piet Lombaerde (ed.), *Notion of the painter-architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries* (Tournhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 73–88; Allison Stielau, 'Intent and Independence: Late Fifteenth-century Object Engravings', in Jeffrey Chipps Smith (ed.), *Visual Acuity and the Arts of Communication in Early Modern Germany* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 21–42.

48. An early exception, measuring 70.8 × 51.2 cm, is an engraved view of ruined temple produced by Bernardo Prevedari after drawing by Donato Bramante in 1481. Some later examples include Antonio Salamanca, *Vera Antiqui Capitolii Descriptio*, ca.1540 [42 x 88 cm]; Natale Bonifacio da Sebenico after Domenico Fontana and Giovanni Guerra, *Moving the Vatican Obelisk* (1586) [52.9 x 111.6 cm]; Natale Bonifacio da Sebenico after Domenico Fontana Giovanni Guerra, *Raising the Vatican Obelisk* (1586) [49.5 x 113 cm].

49. Few sixteenth-century examples printed from copperplates exceed 80 cm. Ad Stijnman, *Engraving and Etching 1400–2000* (London: Archetype Publications, 2012), pp. 144–145.

50. The largest woodblocks were cut along the grain and printed using either planten presses or simply by applying pressure to the back of the block. Barbari created his map of Venice on six sheets of specially made paper (each measuring about 66 × 99 cm) likely using a custom-made press. Juergen Schulz, 'Jacopo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography before the Year 1500', *The Art Bulletin* 60:3 (1978): pp. 425–474.

51. Major studies of large prints include Horst Appuhn and Christian von Heusinger, *Riesenholzschnitte und Papiertapeten der Renaissance* (Unterschneidheim: Uhl, 1976); Larry Silver and Elizabeth Wyckoff (eds), *Grand Scale: Monumental Prints in the Age of Dürer and Titian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).

52. Thomas Schauerte, 'Die 'Ehrenpforte' Kaiser Maximilians I', in Rainer Schoch, Matthias Mende, Anna Scherbaum (eds), *Albrecht Dürer, das druckgraphische Werk*, 3 vols (Munich: Prestel, 2001), vol. 2, pp. 393–412, no. 238.

53. There is a coloured example in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg and a gilt one at the British Museum. Dagmar Eichberger, 'Die große Säule mit Satyr', in Schoch, Mende, Scherbaum (eds), *Albrecht Dürer*, vol. 2, pp. 440–441, no. 247. Heinrich Vogtherr the Elder produced a modified, reduced-scale copy of this woodcut around 1540.

54. Christian von Heusinger, 'Ornamente und Tapeten von Dürer, Beham, Altdorfer und Jörg Seid', in Appuhn and von Heusinger, *Riesenholzschnitte*, pp. 11–13.

55. Michael Bury, *The Print in Italy: 1550–1620* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), pp. 63–65.

56. Well-known early examples include: Jacob of Strasbourg after Benedetto Bordon, *Triumph of Caesar* (1504); Hans Burgkmair, *King of Cochin* (1508), Lucantonio degli Uberti, *The Triumph of Christ* (c.1516), Andrea Andreani after Titian, *Triumph of Christ* (1517). Larry Silver, 'Triumphs and Travesties: Printed Processions of the Sixteenth Century', in Silver and Wyckoff (eds), *Grand Scale*, pp.14–32.

57. See in this volume Eva Michel 'Scrolling the Emperor's Life and Triumph'.

58. *La magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funèbre faite aus obseques et funérailles du trèsgrand et trèsvictorieus empereur Charles cinquième, célébrées en la ville de Bruxelles le XXIX. jour du mois de décembre M.D.LVIII. par Philippes Roy catholique d'Espaigne son fils* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Cock and Christopher Plantin, 1559). Nalis, *The Van Doetecum family*, vol. 1, pp. 67–93, nos. 84–117; Joris van Grieken, 'La magnifique et sumptuese pompe funèbre…, 1559', in Joris van Grieken (ed.), *Hieronymus Cock*, pp. 324–333.

59. The first etching in the series is labeled 'Amplissimo hoc apparatu et pulchro ordine pompa funebris Bruxellis á palatio ad Divæ Gudulæ templum processit cum rex Hispaniarum Philippvs Carolo V. Rom. Imp. parenti mœstissimus iusta solveret', while the epigram 'Ordo fuit pompæ funebris et iste paratus, cum Rex iusta patri solveret Hesperiæ' is stretched across the whole sequence.

60. Examples of such narrative topographic views include Hans Sebald Beham, *Entry of Emperor Charles V into Munich* (1530) [35.6 × 133.7 cm]; Erhard Schoen, *Siege of Budapest* (1541) [44.5 × 142.9 cm]; Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Siege of Wolfenbüttel* (1542) [74.6 × 108.9 cm]; Master HM, *Battle of Mühlberg* (1547) [29 × 110 cm]; Hans Mielich, *Encampment at Ingolstadt* (1549) [109.5 × 306.6 cm].

61. According to a 1527 inventory, Rosselli produced a view of 'Pisa in five sections' ('Pissa in 5 pezi'), 'Rome in three sections of twelve Royal Folio sheets' ('Roma in tre pezi in 12 fogli reali'), 'Constantinople in six sections' ('Gostantinopoli in 6 pezi'), and 'Florence on six Royal Folio sheets' ('Firenze di sei fogli realii'). Only one sheet of the Florence set survives (Florence, Società Colombaria). Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, 2 vols (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 304–309; David Friedman, '"Fiorenza": Geography and Representation in a Fifteenth-Century City View', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 64:1 (2001): pp. 56–77; Jessica Maier, 'Francesco Rosselli's Lost View of Rome: An Urban Icon and Its Progeny', *The Art Bulletin* 94:3 (2012): pp. 395–411.

62. On this tradition, see Lucia Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century: The Invention of a Representational Language', *The Art Bulletin* 76:1 (1994): pp. 105–128.

63. The earlier Tavola Strozzi (Naples, Museo nazionale di San Martino), given to the Neapolitan king Ferrante by Filippo Strozzi in 1473, for example, employs a somewhat similar sweeping panoramic perspective. On the Reuwich woodcut and its possible sources, see Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs: Die Peregrinatio in terram sanctam (1486) als Propagandainstrument im Mantel der gelehrten Pilgerschrift* (Stuttgart: Hauswedell, 2006), pp. 173–177.

64. *Antverpia mercatorum emporium* (1515) [53 × 220 cm]; Anton Woensam, *Colonia* (1531) [59.2 × 352.6 cm].

65. *Leuven* (c.1540) [53 × 268 cm]; *Braunschweig* (1547) [37.5 × 150 cm]; Elias Diebel, Lubeck (c.1552) [68 × 330.5 cm]; Hanns Lautensack, *Nuremberg* (1552) [29.7 × 152.8 cm].

66. Only the third edition of this work survives, Cornelis Anthonisz., *Onderwijsinge vander zee*, 3rd ed. (Amsterdam: Jan Ewoutsz, 1558). Otto Steppes, 'Cornelis Anthonisz 'Die Onderwijsinge van der zee' (1558)', *Die Bake: Verlag für Küstenforschung Nordseebad Juist 9* (1966): pp. 7–42. See also Günter Schilder and Marco van Egmond, 'Maritime Cartography in the Low Countries During the Renaissance', in David Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography Volume 3: Cartography in the European Renaissance, 2 vols* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), vol. 2, pp. 1385–1389.

67. On this phenomenon more broadly, see especially the chapter 'The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art', in Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 119–168.

68. Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D 2, fols. 16r (Heemserkck, *View from from Monte Mario*), 58v (Heemserkck, *View from St. Peter's*), 18r, 55r (Heemserkck, *View from Aventine*), 72v, 18v (Heemserkck, *View from Janiculum*); Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 79 D 2 a, fols. 91v–92r (Posthumus, *View from Capitoline*), 92v–93r (Posthumus, *View from Aventine*). Nicole Dacos has suggested the finished nature of the drawing from the Capitoline Hill indicates it may have been executed after a preexistent model, 'Hermannus Posthumus: Rome, Mantua, Landshut', *The Burlington Magazine* 127:988 (1985): p. 437. On these drawings in general, see Christian Hülsen and Hermann Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck*, 2 vols (Berlin: J. Bard, 1913–16); Nicole Dacos, 'L'Anonyme A de Berlin: Hermannus Posthumus', in Richard Harprath and Henning Wrede (eds), *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudium in Renaissance und Frühbarock* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1989), pp. 61–80.

69. On Van den Wyngaerde, see Richard L Kagan (ed.), *Spanish cities of the golden age: the views of Anton van den Wyngaerde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).

70. Urban surveying in the sixteenth century also relied heavily on the bussola, which combined the graduated circle of an astrolabe, a compass, and a sighting device to measure angles. On architectural surveying, see recently David Friedman, 'Geometric Survey and Urban Design: A Project for the Rome of Paul IV (1555–1559)', in Anthony Gerbino (ed.), *Geometrical Objects: Architecture and the Mathematical Sciences 1400–1800* (New York: Springer, 2014), pp. 107–134.

71. See Pieter Martens and Dirk van de Vijver, 'Engineers and the Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands', in Sven Dupré, Bert De Munck, Werner Thomas, and Geert Vanpaemel (eds), *Embattled Territory: The Circulation of Knowledge in the Spanish Netherlands* (Ghent: Academia Press, 2015), pp. 73–106; Jessica Maier, *Rome Measured and Imagined: Early Modern Maps of the Eternal City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 78–96.

72. See Kim Veltman, 'Military Surveying and Topography: The Practical Dimension of Renaissance Linear Perspective', *Revista da Universidade de Coimbra 27* (1979): pp. 329–368.

73. 'Item scaenographia est frontis et laterum abscedentium adumbratio ad circinique centrum omnium linearum responsus.' Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture*, Ingrid D. Rowland (trans.) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 24–25 (I.2.2); Maria Teresa Bartoli, 'Orthographia, Ichnographia, Scaenographia', *Studi e documenti di architettura 8* (1978): pp. 197–208.

74. 'La terza idea è il profilo, detto sciografia, dal quale grande utilità si prende, perche per la descrittione del profilo si rende conto delle grossezze de i muri, de gli sporti, delle ritrattioni d'ogni membro, et in questo l'Architetto come Medico dimostra tutte le parti interiori, et esteriori delle opere'. Vitruvius, *I dieci libri dell'architettura*, (ed. and trans.) Daniele Barbaro (Venice: Francesco Marcolini, 1556), pp. 19–20. Robert Tavernor '"Brevity Without Obscurity": Text and Image in the Architectural Treatises of Daniele Barbaro and Andrea Palladio,' in Rodney Palmer and Thomas Frangenberg (eds), *The Rise of the Image: Essays on the History of the Illustrated Art Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 112–118.

75. Bernardino Amico, *Trattato delle piante & immaginj de sacri edifizi di Terra Santa…* (Florence: Pietro Cecconcelli, 1620), pp. 7, 26. Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land Reception from Late Antiquity Through the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 274–277.

76. Andres Lepik, *Das Architekturmodell in Italien 1335–1550* (Worms: Wernersche Verlagsgesellschaft, 1994), pp. 34–42. Northern European architects also produced similar models. In the Low Countries, an extraordinary, still-extant example is the stone model Joos Metsys and Jan Beyaert created between 1525 and 1530 for the upper facade of Sint-Pieterskerk in Leuven [8.27 × 2.3 m]. Merlijn Hurx and Konrad Ottenheym, '"To See Its Form Considerably Better": Architectural Models in the Low Countries, 1500–1700', in Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Les Maquettes d'Architecture* (Paris: Picard, 2015), pp. 225–227.

77. See Sandro Benedetti, *Il grande modello per il San Pietro in Vaticano: Antonio da Sangallo* (Rome: Gangemi, 2009). Other large wooden examples include Giovan Pietro Fugazza's model of Pavia Cathedral (1497–1519) made after the designs of Giovanni Antonio Amadeo and Giacomo Antonio Dolcebuono [5.05 × 3.64 × 3.64 m], and the 1:15 scale model of the dome of new St Peter's (1558–61), created after the designs of Michelangelo [5 × 4 × 2 m]. On wooden models in general, see Henry A. Millon, 'Models in Renaissance Architecture' in Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnano Lampugnani (eds), *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1994), pp. 18–73.

78. Michelangelo, in a famous letter to Bartolomeo Ferratini dated January 1547, stated that anyone who looks at Sangallo's model with unprejudiced eyes can see how his outer ambulatory 'takes away all the light from Bramante's [original] plan…without providing any of his own', creating 'many dark lurking places above and below,' E. H. Ramsden (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Michelangelo*, 2 vols (Stanford University Press, 1963), vol. 2, p. 69.

79. Madrid, Museo del Prado, D005526 [194 × 96 cm]. Francisco Javier Sánchez Cantón, 'El dibujo de Juan Guas. (Arquitecto español del siglo XV)', *Arquitectura* 10, no. 115 (1928): pp. 339–47.

80. Bologna, Museo di San Petronio, inv. 50 [1.72 × 2 m]. Richard J. Tuttle, 'Baldassarre Peruzzi e il suo progetto di completamento della basilica petroniana', in Mario Fanti and Deanna Lenzi (eds), *Una basilica per una città* (Bologna: Istituto per la storia della Chiesa di Bologna, 1994), pp. 243–250; Ann Huppert, *Becoming an Architect in Renaissance Italy: Art, Science and the Career of Baldassarre Peruzzi* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2015), pp. 118–126.

81. Torello Saraina, *De origine et amplitudine civitatis Veronae* (Verona: Antonio Putelleto, 1540), unnumbered plate [90.5 × 33 cm]; Gunter Schweikhart, *Le antichità di Verona di Giovanni Caroto* (Verona: Centro per la Formazione Professionale, 1977), pp. 27–29; Giovanna Tosi, 'Verona Romana: I monumenti romani di Verona nella tradizione letteraria veronese del Cinquecento', in Paola Marini (ed.), *Palladio e Verona* (Verona: Neri Pozza, 1980), pp. 57–58. Enea Vico later produced a large engraving of the amphitheatre of Verona (c.1543–67), dedicated to Duke Cosimo de' Medici, that employs the same representational techniques [52.4 × 88.2 cm].

82. In terms of cartography, see Nuti, 'The Perspective Plan in the Sixteenth Century', pp. 108–109; Jessica Maier, 'A "True Likeness": The Renaissance City Portrait', *Renaissance Quarterly* 65:3 (2012): pp. 726–729; On the meaning of the term before the sixteenth century, see Noa Turell, 'Living Pictures: Rereading "Au Vif", 1350–1550', Gesta 50:2 (2011): pp. 163–182.

83. The only examples without the publisher's address are those in the British Library, Kungliga Biblioteket (Gardie Collection), and Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Fondo Stampe).

84. The copy in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, which has a late sixteenth-century watermark, features black patches that indicate this type of corrosion, Fuhring, 'Thermae Diocletiani', p. 119.

85. This painting, now in the Canadian Centre for Architecture (DR1992:0003), is dated 1602 and depicts the Last Supper after Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Heuer, 'A Copperplate for Hieronymus Cock', pp. 96–99.

86. This engraving, titled 'THERMÆ DIOCLETIANI IXNOGRAPHIA' corrects the location of the cistern and aqueduct, which was printed in reverse in the original publication, but is nearly identical in every other way including the measurements and scale. It is also roughly the same size (36 x 46.5 cm). Antonio Lafreri likely originally published the engraving as it is listed in the inventory of his successor Stefano Duchet in 1581. Valeria Pagani, 'The Dispersal of Lafreri's Inheritance, 1581–89', *Print Quarterly* 25:1 (2008): p. 15. In 1585, Paolo Graziani sold the plate to Pietro de Nobili, who printed it with his address added (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cicognara.XII.3886 (48); Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, N6920 .S84 1544, vol. 1, fol. 32). Another state without his name is conserved at El Escorial (Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, 28-I-15, fol. 61) and London (British Library, Maps 7 Tab. 1, fol. 18). For its mention in the inventory of Pietro de Nobili, see Valeria Pagani, 'The Dispersal of Lafreri's Inheritance, 1581–89—II Pietro de Nobili', *Print Quarterly* 25:4 (2008): p. 375.

87. As Furhing notes, Bolognino Zalteri published a reverse copy of the print, and Claudio Duchetti later printed a smaller version etched by Ambrogio Brambilla in 1582, Fuhring, 'Thermae Diocletiani', p. 119, n.3.

88. Copies include: Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute, 870672; El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, 28-I-15, fol. 62; Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Estampes, Vb 67, fol. 82; Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut de France, Fol Z 140 Réserve Hors-rang. On this print, see Margaret Daly Davis, 'Corografia delle Terme di Diocleziano (1580)', in Franco Barbieri and Guido Beltramini (eds), *Vincenzo Scamozzi* 1548–1616 (Venice: Marsilio, 2003), pp. 190–193. Scamozzi claimed to have created this image from his own measurements, which are indicated throughout, along with four different scales: the ancient Greek and Roman foot and the modern Vicentine *piede* and Roman *palmo*. Nevertheless, the many similarities to Van Noyen's reconstruction suggest these earlier prints served as Scamozzi's principal model.

89. 'Quod utilitatem humani generis, difficultati rerum, ambitioni ac voluptati praeponendam semper duxi; factum est, Joannes Corrari Illustrissime, ut in hac descriptione Thermarum Diocletiani, in qua ita sibi invicem respondent Architectura, et Optice, ut ex ichnographia, ortographia, et mensuris scenographia contemplatur, arte, et diligentia difficultatem omnem superare (et superarim fortasse) conatus sim: saepe enim fit in optice, ut diligentia, et arte neglecta, opera eurythimia simmetriaque careant'.

90. The term chorographia derives from Ptolemy's *Geography* and was typically applied in the Renaissance to artistically rendered view maps of specific places. Lucia Nuti, 'Misura e pittura nella cartografia dei secoli XVI-XVII', *Storia urbana* 62 (1993): pp. 5–34; Thomas Frangenberg, 'Chorographies of Florence: The Use of City Views and City Plans in the Sixteenth Century', *Imago Mundi* 46 (1994): pp. 41–64. On Scamozzi and the idea of chorography, see Ann Marie Borys, *Vincenzo Scamozzi and The Chorography of Early Modern Architecture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).

91. Cock, for instance, supplied two copies to Christoffel Plantin in 1568 for two florins each. Heuer, 'A Copperplate for Hieronymus Cock', p. 97, from A. J. J. van Delen, 'Christoffel Plantin als prenthandelaar', *De Gulden Passer* 10 (1932): p. 6. In 1582, after the publisher's death, his widow agreed to provide the art dealer and painter Bartholomeus de Momper with a set for two and a half florins. Heuer, 'A Copperplate for Hieronymus Cock', p. 98, from Lydia de Pauw-De Veen, 'Archivalische gegevens over Volcxken Diercx', De Gulden Passer 53:2 (1975): p. 229, 246. In both of these transactions, the *Baths* was by far the costliest publication acquired.

92. Charles de l'Écluse to Abraham Ortelius, January 2, 1592, 'Tres illos florenos vestrates cum semisse quos pro Diocletianis thermis debeo, Dresselio tradam proximis vernalibus nundinis Deo volente; rem profecto gratam mihi fecisti quod eas miseris, Pinellus enim, cui gratificari cupio, vehementer eas optabat, et per bibliopolas Venetos hic requisierat jam ante aliquot annos'. John Henry Hessels (ed.), *Abrahami Ortelii et virorum eruditorum ad eundem epistulae* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1887), p. 498, doc. 207.

93. In 1614, Joannes Rodenborch attached a brief introductory poem to his copy, now preserved in Weimar. The copy at the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, purchased by Emperor Rudolf II, originally came from the late sixteenth-century collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol, at Schloss Ambras. Peter Parshall, 'The Print Collection of Ferdinand, Archduke of Tyrol', *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*

78 (1982): p. 167. The example in the Kupferstichkabinett in Dresden was already part of the kunstkammer of the Electors of Saxony in 1587. Frank Aurich and Nadine Kulbe, 'Geordnetes Wissen: Die Bücher in der Kunstkammer am Dresdner Hof', in Dirk Syndram and Martina Minning (eds), *Die kurfürstlich-sächsische Kunstkammer in Dresden Geschichte einer Sammlung: Geschichte einer Sammlung* (Dresden: Sandstein, 2012), pp. 300–301. The volume owned by Count Adolf von Tecklenburg is listed in the 1623/24 inventory of the count's belongings as being bound in parchment with leather straps. 'Thermae Diocletianae Hieronymi Coccii, in groß fol., in pergamen, mitt lederen riemen'. Jürgen Rohrbach, 'Der Buchbestand auf den Burgen Rheda und Tecklenburg 1623/24', *Tradita Westphaliae* (Münster: Landschaftsverb. Westfalen-Lippe, 1987), p. 322. Another copy, described in Fickler's 1598 inventory of the Munich kunstkammer as 'a volume of copperplate engravings applied to cloth, with all kinds of old Roman buildings, by Hieronymus Cock, entitled: Thermae Diocletiani etc. de Anno 1558', ('Ein Volumen auf Tuch gezogen, darauf allerlay Romische alte gebew, in kupffer gestochen Hyeronimi Cocchij, zuvorderist intitulirt: Thermae Diocletiani etc. de Anno 1558'), was previously listed in the inventory of the Munich Hofbibliothek (c.1580–85). Dorothea Diemer, et. al. (eds), *Die Münchner Kunstkammer*, 3 vols (Munich: Beck, 2008), vol. 2, pp. 52–53; vol. 3, p. 256.

94. Diemer, et. al. (eds), *Die Münchner Kunstkammer,* vol. 2, pp. 34–55. On the interpretation of display practices in the kunstkammer, see Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature: 1150–1750* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), pp. 255–301.

95. Dirk Jacob Jansen has suggested that the prints may have inspired some aspects of Schloss Neugebäude, built by Emperor Maximilian II outside of Vienna beginning in 1568, *'Adeste Musae, maximi proles Jovis!* Functions and Sources of Emperor Maximilian II's Lustschloß Neugebäude', in Sylva Dobalová and Ivan Muchka (eds), *Looking for Leisure: Court Residences and their Satellites 1400–1700* (Prague: Palatium e-Publication, 2017), p. 167. Krista de Jonge, more generally, has proposed they could have been used in the North to create classicising architecture, De Jonge, 'Hieronymus Cock's Antiquity', p. 43. Anthony Geraghty notes that Christopher Wren's designs for the royal palace at Whitehall may have also been inspired by Cock's publication, *The Architectural Drawings of Sir Christopher Wren at All Souls College, Oxford: A Complete Catalogue* (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2007), p. 181.

96. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Cronstedt Collection, 2467. It is labeled in a later hand 'Corniche del therme di diocletianne Concetto da Rasine di Cocx pictor 2632'. This drawing is also similar in style to others in the collection after the prints of Giovanni Battista Montano, first published in 1624 (CC 1423, 2303, 2458, 2463, 2465, 2468, 2469, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474). The copies owned by Baron Philipp von Stosch, who died in 1757, are part of an album of drawings of ancient buildings now preserved at the Drawing Matter Collection, Shatwell Farm, Somerset, UK (inv. 2346).

97. The etchings in the inventory of Rusconi's library are listed as 'two long printed pieces of paper of perspectives of the Baths of Emperor Diocletian' ('Doi carte longhe stampate de prospetive delle terme di Dioclesiano imperatore'). Louis Cellauro, 'La biblioteca di un architetto del Rinascimento: la raccolta di libri di Giovanni Antonio Rusconi', *Arte Veneta 58* (2001): p. 235. James Gibbs bequest the copy owned by Christopher Wren to the library of the University of Oxford. It is also bound with a drawing of the plan of the Baths of Caracalla along with related sectional sketches. When the belongings of Wren's son were auctioned in 1748, the *Baths* was one of the most expensive items, selling for one pound and four shillings. David Watkin (ed.), *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons, Vol. 4: Architects* (London: Mansell, Sotheby Parke-Bernet, 1972), pp. 38–39. One of the copies in the Kungliga Biblioteket (105 B 4 b Fol. Roma, Diocletiani Termer), bears the name of Carl Gustaf Tessin, the son of Nicodemus, on the binding. Vasari wrote in his *Lives of the Artists* that 'in architecture and sculpture the most celebrated Flemings are Sebastiaan van Noyen of Utrecht, who served Charles V in some fortifications, and then King Philip' ('Nell'architettura e scultura i più celebrati Fiaminghi sono Sebastiano d'Oia d'Utrech, il quale servì Carlo V in alcune fortificazioni, e poi re Filippo'). This information is almost exactly the same as appears in the *Baths* (see note 14). Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architettori*, (ed.) Gaetano Milanesi, 9 vols (Florence: Sansoni, 1906), vol. 7, p. 588.

98. 'The Baths of the Emperor Diocletian, in Latin, with many other designs of structures' ('Las termas del Diocleçiano, enperador, en latín, con otros muchos diseños de fábricas'). Luis Cervera Vera, *Inventario de los bienes de Juan de Herrera* (Valencia: Albatros Ediciones, 1977), p. 171; Miguel Angel Aramburu-Zabala Higuera and María Celestina Losada Varea, 'Juan de Herrera y la cultura clásica', in Jesús Ángel Solórzano Telechea and Manuel Ramón González Morales (eds), *II Encuentro de Historia de Cantabria,* 2 vols (Santander: Universidad de Cantabria, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 758–760.

99. On these prints, see Brown University Department of Art, *Philip II and the Escorial: Technology and the Representation of Architecture* (Providence: Brown University, 1990).

100. On Villalpando's engravings and his theories of architectural representation, see especially Alberto Perez-Gomez, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando's Divine Model in Architectural Theory', *Chora: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture 3* (1999): pp. 125–156; Tessa Morrison, 'Juan Bautista Villalpando and the Nature and Science of Architectural Drawing', *Nexus Network Journal* 12 (2010): pp. 63–73.

101. 'Sed illud videtur esse cum summa laude coniunctum, quod Dei manu, non descriptiones modo, figurae, ac dispositiones omnes, ichnographiae, orthographiae, & scenographiae graphice depictae fuerint; verum etiam longior quidam commentarius à Deo fuerit descriptus, inquo universa Davidi tradita fuerant, & ab eo Salomoni, per artifices opera complenda'. Juan Bautista Villalpando and Jerónimo de Prado, *In Ezechielem explanationes…*, 3 vols (Rome: Luigi Zanetti, Carlo Vullietti, and Alfonso Chacón, 1596–1604), vol. 2, p. 461.

102. 'Der berühmte Cardinal Anton Perrenot Granvella ließ auf seine Kosten die Diocletianischen Bäder von Sebastian de Oya, königlich spanischem Baumeister in den Niederlanden, zeichnen, und alles genau ausmessen, und diese Zeichnungen sind von Hieronymo Cock, aus Antwerpen in 26 Blättern in Folio mit einer meisterhaften Art und großen Sauberkeit in Kupfer gestochen. Dieses Werk trat nebst einem kurzen Berichte auf zwei Blättern im Jahre 1558 an das Licht, und hat sich überaus selten gemachet'. Johann Joachim Winkelmann, *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten* (Leipzig: Johann Gottfried Dyck, 1762), p. 34. François Mariet, a doctor from Langres, inscribed a copy now at the Archivo Storico Capitolino 'Ex pinacotheca Francisci Mariet medici Lingonensis. 1692. Veritas saluabit'. The early seventeenth-century antiquarian Claude Gros de Boze owned another example now in the Bibliothèque nationale (Département des imprimés, réserve, J-477 (bis)). The two examples in the Vatican Library were bound into albums. One copy, part of a set of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* once owned by Leopoldo Cicognara, was likely assembled in the second half of the eighteenth century. The other from the collection of Thomas Ashby is disbound. The set at the British Library is part of a *Speculum* album assembled by Cassiano del Pozzo and his brother Carlo Antonio in the mid-seventeenth century.

103. 'Peu de livres sont aussi rares que celui-ci. Je ne crains point d'ajouter qu'il en est peu de si curieux ni de si intéressans'. As Mariette notes, he also made several additions to this volume. These include a portrait of Cardinal de Granvelle by Lambert Suavius, the 1580 Scamozzi engraving of the Baths, a manuscript plan of the building, and drawings attributed to Michelangelo related to the creation of S. Maria degli Angeli. The architect Pierre-Adrien Pâris purchased this copy in 1775 for the sizable sum of 525 livres. Louis-François Trouard then gave it to the Académie royale d'architecture in 1780. Pierre Pinon, 'Pierre-Adrien Pâris architecte (1745-1819) ou l'archéologie malgré soi', (PhD diss., Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1997), vol. 2, p. 248.

104. In general, see Massimiliano David (ed.), *Ruins of Ancient Rome: The Drawings of French Architects who won the Prix de Rome* (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1998).

105. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-arts, env. 32 and 70. Paulin later published his drawings as *Thermes de Dioclétien* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1890).

4

Krishna's Life-Story in Bengali Scrolls: Exploring The Invitation to Unroll

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Fig. 4.1. Krishnalila (Play of Krishna) Scroll, Medinipur District (nineteenth-century). Opaque watercolor on paper. Stella Kramrisch Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Accession no: 1994-148-548a,b. Photo: © Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Narrative hand-scrolls (*pata*) have been assembled and painted by the painter-minstrel (*patua*) communities of Bengal to tell stories for at least two hundred years.[1] Such itinerant bards have traditionally employed the picture sequences to sing well-known stories from the lives of deities (fig. 4.1) and saints, the epics, and more recently to address contemporary social issues and political events.[2]

These scrolls have a distinctive vertical format of framed registers assembled from sheets of paper that are aligned and stitched to the required length for a particular rendition of a narrative. The whole is then backed with thin cotton fabric, usually extricated from worn garments such as *saris* and *dhotis* which have the length required to accommodate the images' continuous vertical format. Nineteenth-century scrolls surviving in museum collections vary greatly in length, ranging from eight panels to over fifty and from five to forty feet, perhaps more given the longest ones are incomplete (fig. 4.2).[3] This length is integral, determining the field for designing the pictorial space, providing the physical parameters for a distinctive visual organisation to the narrative, and undergirding the conventions of handling the object in performance. It also corresponds to the rhyming couplets composed to accompany the pictorial sequence during a performance (figs 4.3–4.6).[4]

Older scrolls now in museum collections have, however, become estranged from the multi-sensorial dynamics between performer, audience, and object, all once vital to their original performances. When rolled up in museum storage vaults or displayed in galleries for viewers to traverse their entire length they are ostensibly stable objects (fig. 4.7).[5] I have previously attempted to juxtapose words of songs with visual registers of scrolls, to imagine a range of relationships between verse and visual evoked in performance.[6] This essay builds on that work to attend to the bodily rituals of handling and touch, which must have mediated viewers' and performers' encounters with such objects. Like the aural dimension, these ephemeral practices can only be reconstructed from the variations discernible today. Yet this creative hermeneutic frees us to contemplate the social and performative qualities of objects often in museums, taking into account the lyrics of songs and interaction with the body of the singer, to explore their fundamental performativity and improvisational quality.[7]

The performative skills of each *patua* are, after all, unique (fig. 4.8). Skill in handling their scrolls in concert with the tempo and rhythm of the song necessarily varies from one performer to the next, one

scroll to another, and one session to the next. The coordination of verbal and bodily components with the framed scenes of images can generate distinctive interpretations. A singer may recognise particular visual properties in a sequence of images or consonances between verse and picture, while unfurling the scenes for an audience; bolder or more skilled practitioners may choose to explore these through particular inflections of voice or gesture of hand. Such relationships can turn on the repetition or variation of colour and compositional choices, which may be underscored by the guiding finger, emphasised or subverted by the words sung. Some *patua* are charismatic entertainers with powerful singing voices who fill performance venues and mesmerise audiences, offering interpretive nuance through skillful manipulation of the lyrics, intonation, rhythm, and tempo. Not all, however, are so overtly dramatic. Some turn the bamboo handles of the scrolls with an elegant turn of the wrist, intensifying the inherent malleability of the objects in generating movement and pauses or even stasis, while displaying a sequence of panels. Others choose to display distinctive propensities in painting their imagery, rather than performance. Indeed, various combinations of performance style can be observed, for example, among the living *patua* community active in the village of Noya, in Medinipur district of south West Bengal (figs 4.9 and 4.10). Moreover, the occasion for their displays, including setting and time constraints, and the familiarity and affinity of the audience with the performer's themes, likewise factor in animating the performative features of their scrolls. To complicate matters further, contemporary practice indicates a range of formal and informal collaborations that are not unusual in familial productions in rural communities. Painters borrow (or 'steal', depending on the point of view) songs or lines from other composers, the rendition thus varying in nuance and quality among singers. Singers also borrow and use scrolls originally painted by others in their community, equally opening up creative spaces for interpretation and improvisation upon another painter's visualisation. Each storyteller negotiates the consonance of verbal to visual framework through various bodily strategies. Through such variability in display, a scroll takes on unique incarnations at each unrolling.

The performativity inhering in the act of scrolling is in fact integral to their etymology. The term commonly used to describe these scrolls, *jorano pata*, may be translated as 'rolled scroll'. Although popular and scholarly literature has used the term to distinguish vertical scrolls from square ones (*chauko pata*), the adjective *jorano* also points to the act of rolling and unrolling, which activates the object in the hands of the performer as the story is sung. This is precisely my interest in what follows: the dynamic movement animating the object in the hands of the performer in coordination with the utterance of the words of a song. And this dexterous manipulation generates both movement and chronology, the unfolding of

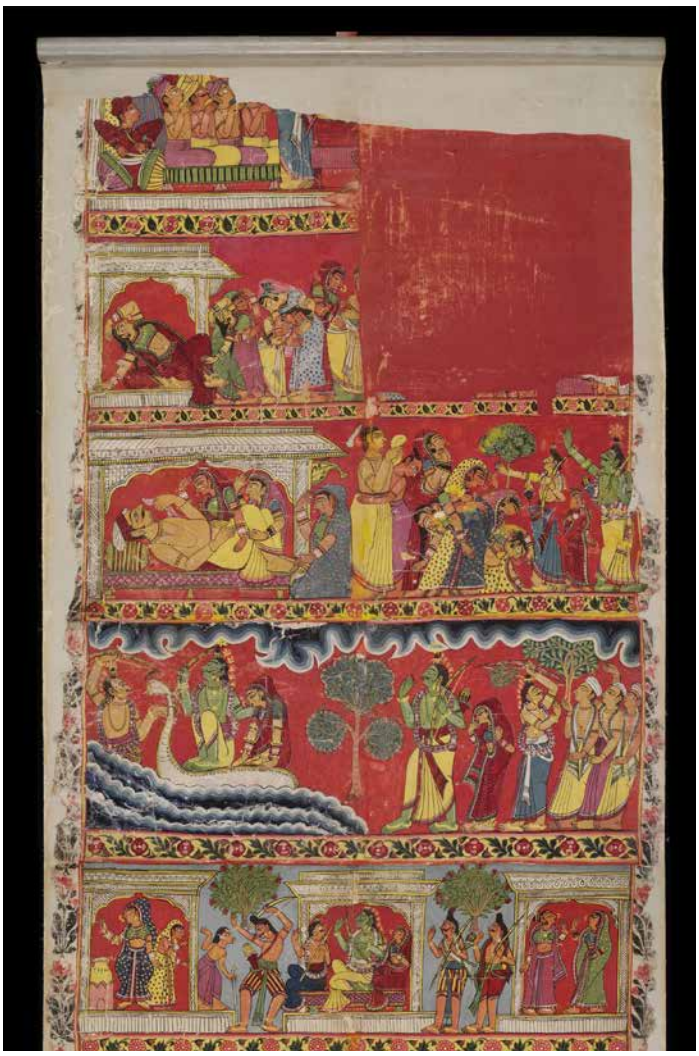

Fig. 4.2 [detail] Ramayana scroll, West Bengal (c.1800). Opaque watercolour on paper, mounted on cloth. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum no. IS.231-1953. Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum.

Fig. 4.3 [left] Rani Chitrakar unrolling a scroll on female infanticide on the terrace of her home in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 4.4 [right] Moyna Chitrakar unrolling a scroll during a performance in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author.

the narrative implicating a play of multiple temporalities. The connections and separations of registers established in the act of unrolling segment after segment, creates corresponding visual associations between the episodes revealed and removed from view, yielding particular nuance to the narrative.[8] The interplay of closure and concealment in the unveiling of the scroll engages beholders, potentially amplifying desire to know what is beyond the visible fragment: both anticipating what comes next and recalling what has been rolled away from view, imagery that can only be revisited through song and memory. This, coupled with certain visual techniques, can stimulate particular attentiveness or curiosity among viewers, for example, the use of a limited set of formal or compositional motifs deployed through variation along the length of a single scroll, or across several scrolls. Familiar stories can thereby be given particular inflection when modulated through such strategies to intensify emotional engagement and generate anticipatory desire.[9]

In an era before cinema and television, such performances were surely experienced in ways that are difficult to imagine, particularly from our screen-filled and screen-dependent perspectives of the twenty-first century. Yet although *patua* scrolls have been collected since the early decades of the twentieth century, embraced by Calcutta's intellectuals and artists, their conditions of display do not seem to have been recorded with much specificity. At this time, the scrolls were incorporated into two interrelated discourses as the interests of the burgeoning field of British ethnology and documentation in the colonies converged with the nationalist quest for an essentially Indian art that was untainted by European influence. Major collections, housed in museums in Calcutta, London, and subsequently Philadelphia, were assembled from this confluence of investments.[10] And something of this colonial taxonomy has spilt over into modern scholarship, which tends to identify these scrolls as performance props rather than works of art in museum displays. Focus has mostly remained on classifying visual narratives, transcribing words of songs, identifying processes of making, and discerning changes in practice against shifting patronage patterns, audience interest, and competition from other media.[11] Or it has followed an anthropological preoccupation with the lifestyles of the living community of makers, their liminal position as craftsmen, and their complex religious and caste affiliations.[12] The increased visibility of women as performers in the past decades, their resourcefulness and success at local competitions and exhibitions, in a few cases leading to international prominence, has also received enthusiastic attention.[13] Yet the engagement of the *patua*'s body in the physical act of manipulating the length of a scroll to the words of a song has not received the quality of attention lavished on the embodied practice of dancers, martial artists, practitioners of yoga and wrestlers in South Asia.[14] What follows seeks to place the *patua*'s

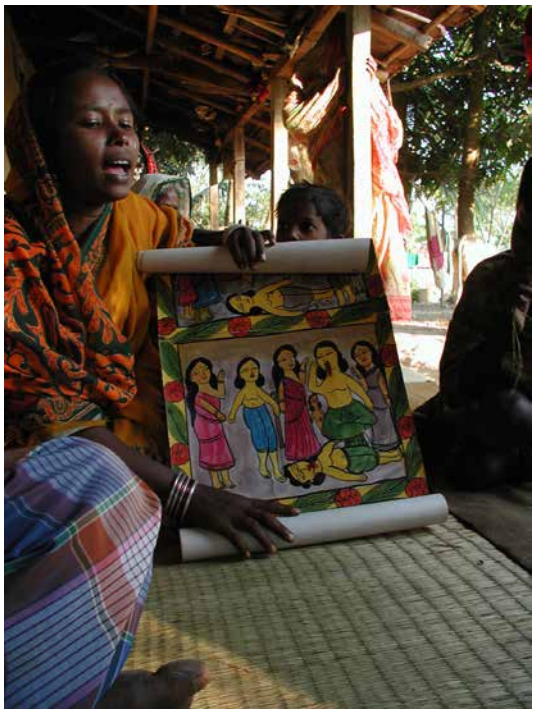

Fig 4.5 [left] Moyna Chitrakar unrolling a scroll during a performance in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author.

Fig 4.6 [right] Moyna Chitrakar unrolling a scroll during a performance in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author.

movements, not merely their lives, back into the picture.

Probing the Ephemeral

The problems inherent in analysing objects as malleable as *patua* scrolls are formidable, not least because words cannot possibly capture the multi-sensorial and richly affective qualities of the experiences today. If the efforts to translate pictures into words have always been susceptible to multiple impediments, to do so for a multi-media performance act is even more problematic, as anthropologists and folklorists of theatre and performance studies have alerted. To speculate on the past in the absence of much documentation is likewise precarious, inevitably constrained by contemporary observations.[15] Yet, convergence of scholarly interest in the intrinsic material properties of objects as constitutive of their presence or power, and in the sensorial dimensions of experience and embodied practices, offers a lucrative opportunity to heed the performativity and the contingent nature of *patua* scrolls in practice. I aim to explore such ideas through a single scroll from Medinipur in south-western Bengal, painted in the late nineteenth or at the turn of the twentieth century, now residing in the collection of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. It survives in two fragments—3.65m and 2.90m respectively—and together its halves narrate the life-events of the Hindu god Krishna (fig. 4.1).[16]

This scroll is particularly useful in such a study for several reasons. Firstly, its narrative: by the time this scroll was painted, Krishna worship had gained prominence in the region,[17] and his biography was visualised in many pre-modern art forms including temple sculpture, song, dance, embroidery, and theatre.[18] Together these parallel traditions offer visual, oral, and performative vocabularies and conventions that are integral in assessing the particular choices made by scroll painters to construct their own versions of Krishna's story. Multiple extant nineteenth-century scrolls on the subject also give us insight into the frequent experimentation undertaken by a particular painter to bring their narratives to life.[19] They allow us to compare the effects with which episodes are visualised or elided—the nature of their juxtapositions either in successive framed registers, in continuous narration within a single frame, or in thematic sequences—as well as how each particular episode is rendered.[20] The Philadelphia scroll, for instance, employs a range of compositional devices for organising the visual narrative along the length of its surface, which could have been manipulated creatively in its display. Most striking is its clustering of episodes

Fig. 4.7
Ramayana scroll on display at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, December 2009. Photo: © Philadelphia Museum of Art.

along the banks of the dramatic downward flow of the Yamuna River, the site of many of Krishna's youthful adventures.[21]

Moreover, along with these multiple visual versions, the *Krishnalila* theme (literally the 'play of Krishna', i.e. his exploits) survives in several songs collected early in the twentieth century. Even though these particular ditties were likely not sung to this particular scroll, they still suggest the flavour of verses that could have accompanied such imagery.[22] And these too survive in multiple versions, allowing us to discern how the stock elements comprising these scenes were reworked in various verbal and visual sequences, to create different moods and evoke a range of responses. Their transcriptions offer general insight into the range of possible engagements between the visual and

Fig. 4.9
Joba and Montu Chitrakar painting at home in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author

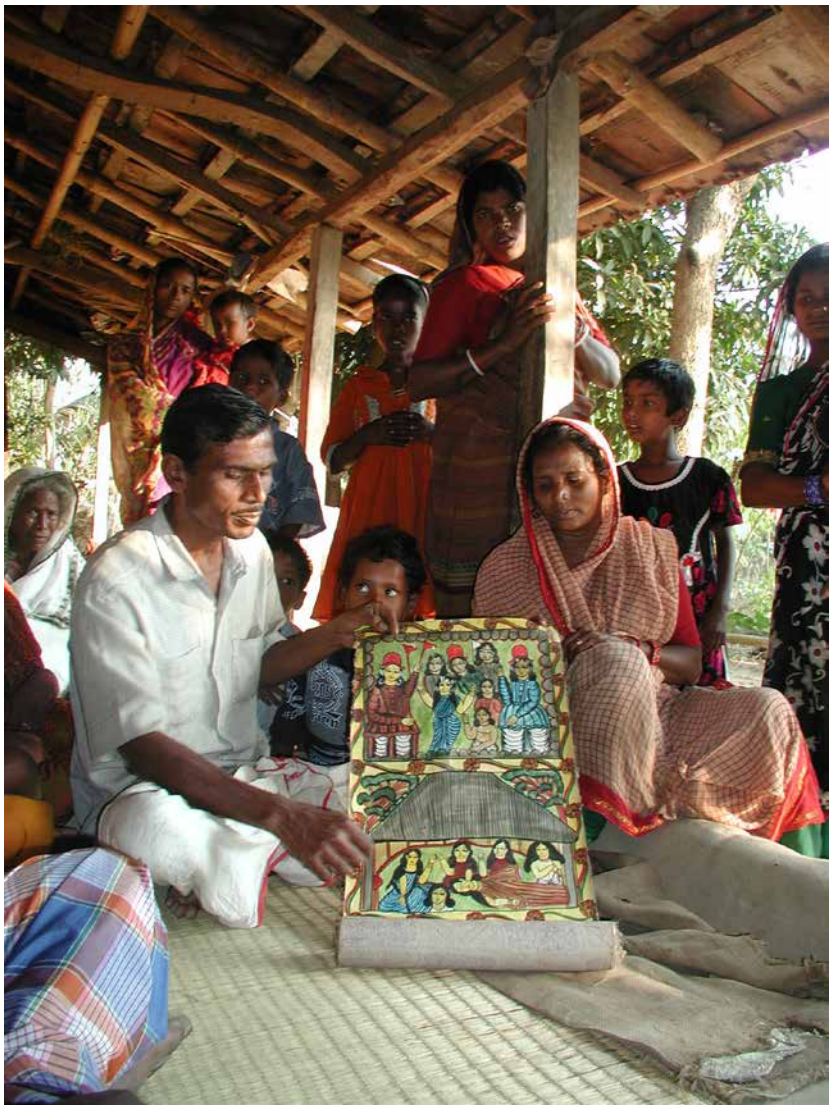

Fig. 4.10 Karuna assisting her husband by handling the scroll while he sings in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author

verbal components, strategies that can only be savoured in performance.

Secondly, the Krishna scroll is also revealed as particularly rich when set in conversation with contemporary *patua* practices, strategies that open up the scroll's visual possibilities through performative handling. Today, when guided by the words and tempo of their song, a larger scene might allow storytellers a fuller verbal account of a dramatic episode, or for repetition of a refrain for emphasis, or to introduce a pause in the narrative flow. Dwelling on the larger iconic scenes can encourage viewers to quickly grasp them as being significant; to linger on details can imaginatively visualise or insert what is only verbalised. On the other hand, quickly skimming over scenes abbreviated or condensed in a series of recognisable motifs to stand in for well-known episodes, can facilitate establishing particular rhythms and resonances among them through verbal or gestural cues. A quick recounting of the stanzas to the individual episodes, narrated continuously along the width of a panel or across successive registers, may function like a list, to enumerate some of a larger known set, or to suggest episodic equivalence. Conversely, a pithy scene may be elaborated or supplemented by the words of a song, such as the feelings of a specific character or those of others not visualised. A detailed image may be accompanied by a refrain, allowing the viewer to revel in its richness and complexity, or to note divergence from earlier iterations that have since been rolled up but are evoked once again through song. Such performances indicate a range of strategies that energise a scroll and stimulate an array of responses during a multi-media entertainment act, often customising choices to the venue and quality of audience participation.

The patterns of wear along its length suggest that the Philadelphia Krishnalila Pata was well used in performances of just this type and that its imagery might hold within it a palimpsest of

the *patua*'s storytelling movements. As part of a practitioner's repertoire, its display could have constituted part of a longer performance together with other stories from the regional versions of the epics: the local goddesses such as Chandi and Manasa; local saints such as Chaitanya, Satya Narayan/Satya Pir, and Ghazi Pir; visions of hell (*Yama Pata*); and many others. From what has been recovered of nineteenth-century practice, based upon oral memory, painter-minstrels traveled with sacks full of scrolls from village to village, where they enticed rural audiences in relatively impromptu performances.[23] Compensation from the audience typically turned on the quality of the entertainment act.[24] Experienced performers likely assessed their audiences and chose their tales and scrolls with an eye toward remuneration.[25] Correspondingly, the verses and refrains may be edited or elaborated as a singer gauges the level of audience engagement.[26] The unrolling of the Krishnalila scroll would thus have been contingent on such conditions as navigated by the individual practitioner, who could potentially have been one of several taking turns in sharing and animating the object over its lifetime.

Unfurling Scenes, Unveiling Miracles

The scroll's wealth of visual cues for narration and performative potential is perhaps best apprehended if we unfurl it scene by scene alongside song, in the manner of contemporary *patua*. Its first scene presents the miraculous birth. At the left end of the first register, elevated upon a pedestal, is the now damaged blue figure of Krishna. He would likely have been seated displaying the four-armed form of Vishnu/Narayan. The mother, Devaki, is presented giving birth, lying on a bed, attended by several women. Their raised hands acknowledge the arrival of the baby. One narration suggests a verse counterpart:

> And Lord Krishna went to the house of Devaki to be born.
> Devaki was lying asleep on the bed
> Sitting at the head of the bed
> The Lord Krishna showed her a dream.
> O mother Devaki Rai sings the patua,
> How much longer are you going to sleep
> While Lord Govinda wants a place in your womb!
> Lying dreaming, the Queen recounts this story:
> In my womb, bapu, there is no place for you!
> I had six sons and Kamsa killed them all
> In grief for my children, I shall weep my life away.
> The Lord can't get a place by any means
> So he stole into the mother's womb in the form of a white fly.
> On the eighth lunar day of Bhadra, Govinda [Krishna] was born.
> Here Devaki is giving birth to Dev Narayan [Krishna/Vishnu].[27]

This song offers a temporal sequence that is not so readily visible in the visualisation of the episode on extant nineteenth-century scrolls. It narrates at least three successive moments. First, the dream vision is communicated in the voice of the narrator. Devaki's response is presented as a retelling to her female attendants gathered around her for the birth. The recounting of a miraculous conception returns again to the voice of the narrator, who may well be relying on common knowledge of the wily ways of Krishna among their audience.[28] If an analogous arrangement of verses was sung in conjunction with this panel, the compacted narrative of the visual register would have been expanded verbally, perhaps with a finger guiding viewers from the figure of Krishna to Devaki and her maids, as agency shifts from the one to the next. Such brevity in visualisation could also likely have been abbreviated in the sung verses, customised for

a particular audience. The horizontal figure of Devaki could very well stand in for at least three moments, beginning with the announcement from the Divine that he sought to inhabit her body and her negotiation with him, which she is communicating to her attendants during labour. The woman closest to her head may be leaning closer to hear her better. The same supine figure, with her full belly, must surely also be understood as giving birth, with the women supporting her. One attendant is depicted reaching between her feet as if assisting her physically. Not visualised here is the intermediary act, the penetration of her body by the miraculous white fly, a familiar trope in the oral narratives of Krishna's biography.[29] Scroll performances suggest that a skillful entertainer could have used the single figure to tell successive episodes, using a pointing finger to focus the viewer's gaze upon the figure for clarification or emphasis.

A second Krishnalila song presents the same basic information, but with variations that could have been significant in performance:

> Anybody who uttered the name of Hari in Kamsa Raja's kingdom
> Received beatings on the hands, on the feet and the chest
> Where were Basu-Daivakini [Vasudev and Devaki], who had taken the name of Hari?
> Taking the form of a white fly Narayan [Krishna/Vishnu] gave a vision:
> 'Give shelter to this seed in your womb'.
> 'Six sons I bore, Kamsa Raja snatched and killed them
> How will another son change my fate?'
> First month, second month, the mother cried,
> Third month, fifth month, the news spread.
> On the tenth day of the tenth month as her pregnancy reached full term
> Basumati [Earth goddess] herself served as the midwife, taking Krishna in her lap.[30]

The direct communication between the human and the divine in this iteration, presents the four-armed deity humbly requesting shelter from the devotee. Although Devaki does not resist, she speaks her mind in no uncertain terms, likely knowing that she is ultimately powerless to the presence and will of the omnipotent deity. The intimacy of such negotiations between human and divine, highlighting their mutual dependence, retains the sensibility shared across multiple genres to undergird Krishna worship in the region.[31] Other components of such a performance—again, now lost in museum settings—could have intensified these sung notions even further through intonation, melodic rendition, gestures and facial expressions. The words may have been uttered as the poignant entreaty or angry retort of a woman who has already lost six of her children and refuses the divine for fear of more grief. The range of nuances a storyteller could have brought to the scroll are rich with possibility.

In the next panel, the baby is separated from his mother, now seated on his father's lap, with the attendants hovering around them. Although the recorded songs do not elaborate on the episode, the painter has presented a wide-eyed Vasudeva prominently at the centre of the panel. His face is rendered in profile, as if turning to look at something beyond.[32] The possibility that yet another divine revelation is being invoked cannot be dismissed. Some viewers may have been familiar with the *Bhagavata* elaboration of the episode: the father's amazement at the radiant sight of his son as the absolute godhead; overwhelmed, he recognises the Supreme Lord (Bhagavan) flooding the birthing chamber with divine light. As he bows to acknowledge the divine presence with folded hands and praises him, Krishna assumes his infant form. However, in this pictorial iteration, the rest, their faces depicted in three-quarter view, do not seem to be aware of the vision presented to the father. Successive moments may thereby have been indicated through the presentation of the seated Vasudeva, visualised with profile face, while his body is frontal, with the baby on his lap. Viewers may also have filled in what is neither visualised nor verbalised: that at this moment the shackles fall, the doors of the prison open, and Vasudeva is invited to remove the baby from

Fig. 4.11 [left] Detail of Krishnalila Scroll, Medinipur (dated nineteenth century). Gurusaday Museum, Kolkata, India, Acc. No: 1779.

Fig. 4.12 [right] [detail] Detail of Krishnalila Scroll), Medinipur (dated nineteenth century). Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Museum no. IS 1955-109.Photo: © Victoria and Albert Museum.

Kamsa's stronghold.

The narrative proceeds to the left. The baby is smuggled away by the father, the snake's hood protecting the vulnerable, naked divine. The two scenes are differentiated by the figures turning in opposite directions rather than any dividing frame. The repeated figure of the blue-skinned baby signals the continuity of the narrative, which proceeds from right to left. Next, Vasudeva carries the baby to the river's edge. The baby slips out of his hands momentarily and floats upon a lotus leaf on the turbulent river. To the right, he brings the boy to his friend Nanda's home in the village of Gokul and exchanges the blue-skinned boy for the girl-child born to his friend's second wife Yashoda. Implicit here is the shared knowledge between the performer and audience that the boy who slipped out of his father's hands returns to the agitated father.

The painter has thereby chosen to vary modes of visual narration from the first to the second panel, and reversed direction thereafter. Indeed, the appreciation of such juxtapositions may well have constituted part of the pleasures of the performance for a discerning audience. If viewers were already familiar with the general storyline, they would have been able to savour and possibly even seek out the distinctive nuance offered in the particular choices made by the singer to interact with the visual imagery.

In juxtaposing the verses that correspond to the visualisation of particular scenes on the scroll, the possibility of various interactions between them emerges. Some episodes condensed in the visual narrative may have been privileged for elaboration in song, elucidating the extraordinary nature of the events described. Others are mentioned only briefly or elided entirely in the song, relying for the most part on audience fore-knowledge. The song elaborates upon the miraculous qualities of the journey that is visualised: the play of the divine and the compassion of a benevolent god who forgives errors and reveals himself to the devoted father:

> Immediately after its birth, Vasudeva took the child in his arms:
> Vasuki the snake from Patal made a canopy!!

Slowly they walked down to the Jamuna.
The waves of Kalindi, the river of illusion,
grew bigger and bigger –
Lord Narayan [Krishna] slipped out of Vasudeva's arms into the river:
Weaving a web of illusion he began to float on a lotus leaf.
Not getting milk from its mother, the child chews its thumb,
While Vasudeva feels about for him with his hands.
'Alas what has happened, because of my cursed fate –
All these troubles at my ages only to splash about!'
Dayal [Kindly] Krishna seeing the weeping of Vasudeva,
Presses two hands on the water and climbs into his arms.

The composition and colour choices in this scroll also emphasise the miraculous nature of the events. The blue-skinned baby floats upon a golden mandorla, itself afloat on a river which meanders downstream, dynamically rupturing the horizontal arrangement of several registers to underscore the verticality of the scroll.[33] Just below, the yellow-skinned female, who is to be exchanged, floats upon the blue waters in a reversal of colours, as if to draw attention to the roles and fates of these two infants. However, current practice suggests that scrolls are hardly ever viewed opened up in their entirety. As a song unfolds, a *patua* unwinds to the appropriate scenes, with the help of the bamboo handles at either end; viewers were likely huddled in groups to see the images turning on the bamboo handles. Thus, while the two images could have been appreciated in comparison at the same time, they may have been revealed sequentially with the progression of the song and the tempo of the unfurling registers. Such choices would suggest different viewing experiences, the latter relying on memory for any such comparison.

Another song indicates a different verbal strategy to enhance the supernatural dimension of the story, emphasising the celestial entourage provided for the divine child:

Vasudev proceeded to Nandalaya [home of Nanda Ghosh] to hide the baby.
Seeing Krishna the Yamuna River spilled over her banks.
Bhagavati [the goddess, Durga] took the shape of a fox to escort them in crossing the river.
'Ten months, ten days having spent in his mother's womb
The Lord bathes in my womb, so fortunate am I'.

It is possible that these extraordinary events were so familiar to audiences that such fresh verbal and visual interpretive twists renewed awe and wonder (*vismaya*).[34]

On the right third of the panel, Krishna is delivered to the family of Nanda for safekeeping, and the next register presents Vasudev returning to his wife with Nanda's baby girl to the left. To the right, Kamsa kills her by hurling her upon a stone on the river's edge. But she escapes, here flying upstream, revealing her true form as the golden-hued goddess. Her message is suggested in the words of the following song:

'What have you gained by killing me, O hero?
He who will kill you will be born in Gokul'.

Following this prophecy, Kamsa, in a moment of remorse, seeks forgiveness from his sister and brother-in-law, which they grant. However, he has a change of heart and decides to seek out the baby who was to destroy him. The ensuing panels are devoted to the well-known exploits of the youthful Krishna, vanquishing the series of demons Kamsa dispatched to the village of Gokul in response to the prediction. They include on the right Putana, the ogress who tries to poison the boy while breastfeeding, followed by the crane (Bakasura), the horse (Keshi), the cart demon (Sakata), and elephant (Pramila) in the next series of registers. These scenes are stock types,

Fig. 4.13. Monimala Chitrakar unrolling a scroll while she uses her fingers to point to a detail in Noya, Medinipur (December 2000). Photo: © The Author.

presenting the episodes in a terse synoptic fashion that features only a single moment in each: that of Krishna accomplishing the annihilation of demonic forms to restore order.[35] A comparison with other extant scrolls indicates that these compositions are used by artists in various sequences along the length of the river to different effect (compare, for instance, with figs 4.11 and 4.12).

The riverbank is also where Krishna spent much of his youth enjoying the camaraderie of the cowherd boys (*sakhas, gopas*), and the attention of the local women (*sakhis, gopis*). The handsome adolescent's dalliances with the cowherd women, and his beloved Radha in particular, are visualised in three scenes.[36] They are part of a larger corpus of episodes introduced earlier in Bengali poetry and temple imagery to imagine his relationship with Radha, the young woman who stole his heart.[37] They may have offered beholders the opportunity to remember and re-experience the emotional intensity that the divine lovers had themselves felt.

In the first episode, posing as tax collector, Krishna waylays the women, demanding payment to cross the river (*danalila*):

> Pay the toll and get on the boat Radhe Vinodini (Radha, Bestower of Pleasure)
> To take all of your companions I will charge an anna each
> To take Radha I will have a golden earring.
> 'Take the gold, take my sari, I can give you everything
> I cannot cross the river on my feet'.
> Hearing this Krishna escorted her across.
> One by one the gopis went to Mathura.[38]

On the opposite bank of the river, an earlier episode in the life of the baby Krishna is presented. He is shown high up in a tree that is splitting apart at the bottom, releasing the twins Jamal and Arjuna from the pair of trees in which they had been imprisoned. Again, not depicted, and possibly not even elaborated in song, are the events leading up to the climactic moment that is privileged for visualisation. Viewers likely knew that the child had been tied to a heavy mortar by his mother by way of punishment for his mischievous misdemeanours, and that Krishna was

determined to release himself by crawling between the two trees, so that the mortar would be left behind as the rope gave way. In the process, the trees collapsed, releasing the sons of Kubera.[39]

The visual arrangement of episodes again departs from a strictly chronological unfolding of his biography, as two scenes of the child milking cows in his father's shed and stealing butter from his mother's churn, follow from the trysts of the lovers. Such flexibility in arrangement of the visual sequence is facilitated by a number of factors. First, the narratives are very popular and the individual episodes have acquired discrete lives in image and text within their synoptic visual iterations. Second, in performance the sung verses can create a continuity through rhyme, rhythm, and repetition, which may appear abrupt or even confusing if the visual were to be experienced in the absence of the verbal component. The songs recorded by Dutt reveal that words of the songs employ various strategies to effect transitions from one episode to the next. Indeed, multiple disjunctive temporalities emerging between visual and verbal sequences, and those anticipated from prior knowledge, could potentially have enhanced audience participation.

The next panel offers another unusual pairing of episodes that may be distinctive to the genre. The words of a song would suggest it could have been navigated from right to left. On the right half of the next panel, Krishna carries Radha's dairy goods to market (*bharakhanda*). When he shows up in the garb of a porter in the woods, she has him carry her dairy goods to the market, now promising her favours in exchange. A patua song outlines the negotiation between them:

> I've never carried loads, I'm Hari, Lord of the Universe,
> The unruly handle burns my shoulder.
> Radha, says to the Lord, You've taken my money, now you're obligated to do so.
> Now why do you say you can't bear the load, Dinanath [Lord of the Poor and Helpless]?
> Removing the load, Vanamali [Krishna] sat.
> Hiding her face, Chandravali [Radha] smiled.[40]

However, she manages to give him the slip after the market, choosing to return home on a different path. The two episodes of toll collection and porter services visualise the power dynamic in the lovers' affair and the complexity of emotions they experience.[41] Exploring intimate exchanges, the verses also remind the audience that the absolute divine had chosen to experience Radha's love alongside performing the more conventional salvific functions of an avatar.[42] She, however, can only see a troublesome young cowherd youth who shamelessly and relentlessly chases her. She seems to have the upper hand, for the moment.[43]

This episode, in which she is in control of the lovesick youth, is placed across from the display of one of Krishna's best-known cosmic feats. If the youthful lover protests at the menial task of carrying dairy goods for his beloved, he certainly takes full responsibility for his community in lifting Mount Govardhana with supreme ease, barely raising one finger to create an umbrella and shelter his village from the onslaught. Challenged by Indra, who showers rain relentlessly, Krishna reveals his true form as the divine savior. Both episodes are immensely popular and the artist may well be relying on that foreknowledge to create a distinctive juxtaposition and interpretation. Encouraged by these visual resonances and dissonances of form and composition, and perhaps alerted by similar balancing of power in the songs of older poets such as Chandidas and Jayadeva, the viewer may have appreciated the *patua*'s inventiveness. If the visual invites comparison of these two episodes of load-bearing, a song offers further nuance:

> 'I can't carry this, Radha, the load is too heavy'.
> 'Why Krishna did you eat the yogurt, your payment?
> You have to take the load to Mathura'.
> Krishna recalled Indra:
> Indra brought rain, Pavan brought wind,
> Crossing the river of illusion, he reached the shore.[44]

The raising of the mountain, a feat of extraordinary force and one that came to take on a ritual life of its own, is referenced only as a recollection in this song.[45] It not only reminds viewers of Krishna's true strength in his cosmic form, but is presented as motivation for a young man whose ego had clearly been hurt at being treated as a lowly porter.[46] The dual dimensions of Krishna as absolute divine and simultaneously utterly mortal are simultaneously drawn out: a besotted youth chafing inwardly as he chases his love, overcoming a humiliating experience through exertion of mental images and exercises.[47] The intimacy of the emotional dimension is valued deeply in this religious tradition as avenues to engage in exploring an intensely personal relationship with the deity. The reward for such dedication is the remembrance of the illusory nature of human existence, one that Krishna here offers as role model and promise to the audience.

Naukavilas (pleasures of the boat), Krishna's boat ride with Radha and her companions across the Yamuna River, follows the toll and porter roles on the right half of the next register. Here Krishna raises his oar at the far end of the peacock-prowed boat (*mayurpankhi*). He balances easily at a rakish slant, leaning over a woman, likely Radha, whom he had sought out. The composition shares many elements with terracotta, embroidery, and print versions, which could have invoked appreciation of the painter's rendition, although the compositional flourish in filling the curve of the river with the shape of the boat is not to be found in embroidered or printed vignettes, which do not offer a series of episodes in vertical succession. A *patua*'s song could have recounted the well-known tale of Krishna, disguised as a boatman at the river's edge, ferrying the women across on condition of Radha's affections as payment, as in this version recorded by Gurusaday Dutt:

> 'Pay the toll and get on the boat Radhe Vinodini (Radha, Bestower of Pleasure)
> To take all of your companions I will charge an anna each
> To take Radha I will have a golden earring'.
> 'Take the gold, take my sari, I can give you everything,
> I cannot cross the river on my feet'.
> Hearing this Krishna escorted her across.
> One by one the gopis went to Mathura.[48]

Many versions of the episode exploring shades of emotional entanglement continue to be sung in temple courtyards and home shrines today. If this *patua* presents a helpless Radha giving in to the rake's mercenary demands, the audience likely knew some of the other interpretations read into the episode through the centuries in various media.[49]

Following the episodes clustered along the banks of the river, a set of three panels is devoted to Krishna's bovine encounters. Cows were not only the mainstay of the rural community of Krishna's childhood, but also relevant to the predominantly agrarian economies of the painter communities and their audiences. At left, Krishna is milking a cow, possibly stealing milk as he does with the butter from his mother's churn on the right, as a verse suggests:

> Dark Krishna happily milks the white cow.
> The milk overflows, so Krishna opens his mouth [to drink directly from the udder][50]

The butter thief episode (*nonichora*), as narrated by *patuas*, likely assumes their viewers' knowledge of one of the best-known miracles performed by the divine boy: the wondrous vision he offers his mother when she scolds him for dipping into her churn, after which she peers into his open mouth and glimpses the entire cosmos, including herself and her home in Braj. Viewers surely knew that such a revelation of ultimate truth, offering an omniscient viewpoint unavailable to human eyes, must have bewildered and overwhelmed her. If the stock image is shared with many other genres, the extant verses also do not seem to elaborate:

> And Shandashur [bull demon] was killed by Damodar in the cowshed.
> Tying the calves in the forest, he milked the cows.

Mother Josoda [Yashoda] of good fortune was churning the milk
The two brothers Krishna and Balaram stole the butter;
The Lord drank the skimmed milk and lay down to sleep…[51]

This song moves from one episode about the cowherd life of Krishna to another, but in reverse order to the scroll. Instead, the following register visualises the defeat of the bull. Krishna is in the act of impaling him by the horns as the bull charges at him. It is presented with another feat, depicting Krishna atop a gigantic demon figure. This may be the defeat of the demon in the form of the ass Dhenukasura, who guarded the palm forest and denied the local population of the delicious fruit or another presentation of the demoness Putana.

The third scene relating to the bovine life of the village and Krishna's interventions chosen by this artist, is the tale of Brahma stealing the cows from the cowherd boys to test Krishna. Again, only the climactic moment of Brahma's realisation that the boy was indeed the absolute divine is depicted, assuming general familiarity with the events leading up to it. Here Brahma returns the cows he had kidnapped on recognising Krishna's omniscience.[52]

A large panel, double the size of the previous ones, displays the popular tale of Krishna stealing the clothes of the women while they bathe in the river. Here he is presented walking along a tree branch, gazing below at women who plead with raised hands. Pink articles of clothing dangle from the spreading branches of the *kadamba* tree, along with its globular blossoms. A song offers some sense of the verbal accompaniment possible:

Stealing all the sakhis' clothes Govinda
Is sitting in the kadam tree, playing on his bamboo flute:
'O moon-faced sakhis, now listen to me
Lift up both your hands and ask for your clothes back!'
Understanding their state of mind, Krishna
Threw back their clothes into one pair of hands after another.[53]

If the image suggests the adolescent's desire, the songs divert attention to the women's state of mind, transforming the tale into one of divine compassion.[54]

After the telling of the scroll's tale is accomplished, the *patua* typically rolls up the scroll to return it to the pile of dormant ones. At this point, if the audience is hooked, they can make specific requests and offer money as they would to street singers. However, if the performance is deemed indifferent, the crowd thins and peters out.

Handling Objects

The relatively small size of all but the final surviving register of the Philadelphia scroll suggests that more than one register was probably revealed at a time. The span of the scroll that an individual can display at a time is also dependent on the length of an arm. Among living practitioners today from the Noya community, it is typical to hold the scroll up with one hand to reveal the scenes from the top of the object, while the other keeps the rolled-up portion at the bottom. In observing Rani Chitrakar, one of the most successful contemporary women singers of Noya, I came to appreciate her dexterity in manipulating the object (fig. 4.3). She is keenly aware of how far she can stretch her arms, and how she can use her entire body to facilitate the display of the scroll. For example, she uses a bent knee to create additional support, from behind, for the display of the expanse of the scroll between her hands. It allows her to control the length of paper, the angle at which she presents the image, and frees up a hand to use as a pointer. She frequently casts a sidelong glance to ensure that the segment exposed is as intended, and that the angle allows for ease of viewing. Her skills in presentation are not unlike of those of a television weather reporter, coordinating between the screen and the viewer, using sideways movements of the hands, head, and eyes, while maintaining a frontality that consistently engages the viewer. It also became apparent during my

fieldwork in Noya that performers demonstrate varying degrees of skill and ease in turning their wrist and using the thumb, for example, to roll up a scene (figs. 4.4–4.6). Such contingencies have several consequences: some slow down the tempo of the song to coordinate the visual to verbal components, while others deploy the refrain strategically to create a pause to roll up a section.

Such bodily engagements with scrolls suggest ways to imagine the Philadelphia scroll fragment opened up in sets of scenes that cohere around particular subthemes, which may be conceptual or visual. For example, the birth and transfer scenes may have been opened up together, while the river scenes—rupturing the strict division of registers, physically directing our gaze downward, much like an arrow—could have been opened up as a set if the hands of the performer were long enough and the skill of using the knee to support the object from the back were employed successfully. It is tempting to imagine a deft *patua* exploiting the painted cues of the scroll's visual organisation, to present a large scene of the theft of the clothes alone in dramatic contrast with the dense clustering along the length of the river, or pairing it with another large scene.

Variations surely emerged in the handling of the scroll from one entertainment act to another. The first three scenes could probably easily have been displayed comfortably between the hands and feet of a singer. Contemporary performances indicate that the bard does not necessarily adhere strictly to the painted frames of scenes. Instead, by leaving part of a previous scene visible as she moves onto the next, or exposing a fraction of the next scene, a particular iteration can momentarily affect a visual continuity that can either become consonant with the verbal transitions of the song, or one that is distinct from both verbal and visual cues. Such partial unveilings could potentially operate like a movie trailer or a preview of the next episode at the end of a television show, encouraging the audience not to switch channels. In this case, it could serve to engage the viewers, deter walking away, thereby operating as a strategy for securing remuneration. Regardless of whether the particular expanse exposed in rolling and unfolding is intended or appreciated, it could potentially have introduced greater complexity.

A host of other contingencies emerged in my observation of contemporary *patuas*. In an impromptu performance Monimala Chitrakar, for example, employed the elevated threshold of a balcony to prop her scroll from behind (fig. 4.13). Likewise, the only time I observed two *patuas* working in tandem, even greater options emerged than is typically assumed for a single singer. Karuna Chitrakar assisted her husband in unrolling to the timing of his song as he is now blind. Such pragmatic and creative combinations in making use of specific skills and tools today encourages us to be aware that many others cannot possibly be recovered.

Attention to medium and its physical properties thus urges us to take into account the quality of presence that a narrative acquires in particular material incarnations, in the triangulation with entertainer and audience occupying distinctive sites, and in shaping cultural domains at specific historical junctures. The ephemerality of patua scrolls in performance, despite the methodological precariousness, allows for greater awareness of how material properties shape perception, as well as bodily engagements. In turn, opening up such possibilities alerts us to the ambiguities inhering in the ever-changing entanglements between the various media through which distinctive regional images assume visible form.

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Her second monograph, *Making Kantha, Making Home* (University of Washington Press, 2020), investigates embroidered textiles to recover women's voices from colonial Bengal. This project builds on research on *kantha* for the 2009 exhibition at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, which situated the fabrics within domestic networks, entangled with memories, perceptions, sensorial resonance and emotional experience. The publication received the College Art Association's Alfred H. Barr Jr. Award for museum scholarship.

1. The earliest surviving scrolls can be dated early to middle of the nineteenth century. However, the documentation provided by European travelling artists and ethnographers such as the Belgian engraver Balthazar Solvyns indicate that versions of the performances were to be observed at the end of the eighteenth century, and the presence of a professional group of painter-minstrels (*patua*). See for example, Balt Solvyns, *A collection of two hundred and fifty colored etchings: descriptive of the manners, customs, character, dress and religious ceremonies of the Hindoos* (Calcutta: Mirror Press, 1799), Pl II.67.
2. The distinction between social and religious subject matter is one that performers emphasise today and it is likely related to the nature of commissions received. Although the extant collections of nineteenth and early twentieth-century scrolls privilege the narratives of gods and goddesses, this may be contingent upon the collecting interests of the early twentieth century and the colonial and early nationalist investment in devotion and spirituality.
3. There is also a wide range in the quality of materials and labour invested in their assembly. Some were created from better quality paper and painted with great care; lavished with exquisite details that indicate awareness of the stylistic, compositional and narrative conventions of painting evinced in the older manuscripts shared across north India. See, for example, the Victoria and Albert Museum's *Ramayana Scroll* (I.S. 105-1-39 1955). I have examined this scroll in 'Scenes from the Rama Epic', in Forrest McGill (ed.), *The Rama Epic: Hero, Heroine, Ally, Foe* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2016), pp. 13–17. Other scrolls are put together more quickly. Swiftly painted broad brushstrokes and far less attention to detail create a markedly difference in style as seen in a second scroll devoted to the epic in the same collection (I.S. 107-1-7 1955). On this scroll, see my study 'A Bengali *Ramayana* Scroll in the Victoria and Albert Museum Collection: A Reappraisal of Content', *South Asian Studies* 19:1 (2003), pp. 157–167. Some scrolls are assembled from repurposed newsprint and other cheap paper extracted from railway timetables, the text sometimes visible through the layers of paint. The Philadelphia Museum of Art collection offers several examples of such recycled paper.
4. Whether the visual skeletal structure is worked out first or the song composed before the images are conceptualised varies among the living practitioners today and is contingent on several factors, among the most significant being their personal skills.
5. I have conducted fieldwork since 1995 both in the *patua* village of Noya in Medinipur district and among performers at various venues in fairs at Shantiniketan and Kolkata, as well as at museums in Delhi, Chennai, London, and Philadelphia.
6. They can range from more contextualising commentary on the depicted image, to an elaboration of details, including physical ones, that have not been delineated visually, and can evoke the affective dimensions of the narrative by raising questions about the moral, ethical or social justice issues in a particular event or state of affairs. I have discussed this elsewhere in: 'Story of a Storyteller's Scroll', *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics 37* (2000): pp. 166–185; 'Unrolling a Narrative Scroll: Artistic Practice and Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century Bengal', Journal of Asian Studies 62:3 (August 2003): pp. 835–871; 'A Bengali *Ramayana* Scroll in the Victoria and Albert Museum Collection: A Reappraisal of Content', *South Asian Studies* 19:1 (2003): pp. 157–167; 'Rasalila Remixed: What Gets to Stay?', in Pallabi Chakravorty and Nilanjana Dasgupta (eds), *Dance Matters Too* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2018), pp. 137–167.
7. I draw upon the proposition offered by a range of influential scholars across several disciplines. Arjun Appadurai, drew attention to the ways in which objects were successfully moved and recontextualised. While Appadurai attended to the dimension of commodification and decommodification, Igor Kopytoff's essay opened up the question of the mutability of artworks, artifacts, and objects. Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction', in Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Igor Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditisation as Process', in Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, pp. 64–91. The heightened attentiveness to the malleability of objects also reopened the question of agency, particularly by Alfred Gell, who called for attention to the latent intentionalities of creators inhering in the very materiality of the works, their concomitant capacity to evoke emotional responses, and hence constitute social spheres. Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: A New Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Alfred Gell, 'The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology', in Jeremy Coote and Anthony Shelton (eds), *Anthropology, Art, and Aesthetics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 40–67. Bruno Latour's exhortation to seek out, through empirical observation, the dynamics in the jostling of objects, plants, theories, texts and people, to uncover the specifics of the relationships rather than a priori assumptions, has been highly influential. Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network theory* (Oxford University Press, 2005). Hans Belting redirected focus to the charge, or animation, in his terms, of the object in the triangulation between image, its material incarnation and the viewer. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), and Hans Belting and Thomas Dunlap, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014).
8. Although the scholarly literature has insisted that scenes are unveiled one after another, I have not observed such precision; in addition, video recordings equally offer evidence to the contrary. The lack of consistency in size of registers relative to one other and the variability in the length of a performer's extended arm and fingers holding and rolling and unrolling the object, inevitably belies such fastidiousness.
9. Roma Chatterji recognises this variability and usefully explores meta-textual relationships concretised in specific narratives, such as the newer Laden Pata (Osama Bin Laden Scrolls or 9/11 Scrolls), which she locates with the established stories of pirs, as part of shared worlds of storytelling familiar to some traditional audiences. Roma Chatterji, *Speaking With Pictures: Folk Art and the Narrative Traditions in India* (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 90.
10. Scrolls were collected by colonial administrative figures such as Gurusaday Datta and J. C. French, connoisseurs like Ajit Ghose, and artists including the Tagores, Nandalal Bose, and Jamini Roy in the early decades of the twentieth century, as well as the art historian Stella Kramrisch. Important historic collections include the Asutosh Museum's material, collected under the supervision of its first director, Deva Prasad Ghosh, and the Gurusaday Museum's collection, acquired by Datta, in Kolkata. Outside India, the Victoria and Albert Museum and the British Museum have some of the most exquisitely rendered scrolls. Stella Kramrisch brought her patas to the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Aside from these better-known collections, patua families have continued to collect casually, occasionally selling their material to museums and connoisseurs. Dutt argued that because the 'folk' arts were authentically Bengali, they provided the answer to the quest for a nationalistic art, 'The Indigenous Paintings of Bengal', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 1(1933): pp. 18–25.
11. Studies on style and establishment of regional stylistic groupings include Kavita Singh, 'The Pictures of Showmen', (Ph.D. Diss., University of Chandigarh, 1995) and T. Richard Blurton, 'The "Murshidabad" Pats of Bengal', in Jyotindra Jain (ed.), *Picture Showmen: Insights into the Narrative Tradition in Indian Art* (Mumbai: Marg, 1998), pp. 42–55. In my own fieldwork among living practitioners, many attributed the decline in the practice to the competition from newer media, especially cinema and television in the second half of the twentieth century. Resourceful patuas have long compensated for the dwindling livelihoods with an astonishing array of innovations. Intervention from local governmental agencies, and urban and cosmopolitan investment in 'folk' art, equally contributed to transformations in the practice. These features have attracted much attention in recent decades, from both urban elites and academics in various countries. In turn, these forces have participated in stimulating a revival and renewal, inevitably bringing with it significant transformations, including the cultural value and status of both objects and practitioners. On recent transformations in painting style, subject matter, materials, venues, and patronage patterns in the living tradition, see T. Richard Blurton, 'Continuity and Change in the tradition of Bengali Pata-painting', in

Anna Libera Dallapiccola (ed.), Christine Walter-Mendy and Stephanie Zingel-Ave Lallemant (collabs.), *Shastric Traditions in Indian Arts*, vol. 1, (Weisbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), pp. 425–451; Kavita Singh, 'Stylistic Differences and Narrative Choices in Bengal Pata Painting', *Journal of Art and Ideas* 27–28 (1995): pp. 91–104; Kavita Singh, 'To Show, To See, To Tell, To Know: Patuas, Bhopas, and their Audiences', in Jain (ed.), *Picture Showmen*, pp. 100–115; Singh, 'What's New in Pata Painting', in Anna Libera Dallapicola (ed.), *Indian Painting: The Lesser-Known Traditions* (New Delhi: Niyogi Books, 2011), pp. 63–79; Alliance Francaise and Crafts Council of West Bengal, *Patua Art: Development of Scroll Paintings of Bengal Commemorating the Bicentenary of the French Revolution* (Calcutta: Peerless, n.d.); Sankar Sengupta, 'The Patas of Bengal in General and Secular Patas in Particular: A Study of Classification and Dating', in Sankar Sengupta (ed.) *The Patas and Patuas of Bengal* (Calcutta: Indian Publications, 1973). Roma Chatterji offers a useful case study on shared and divergent approaches to a particularly popular narrative, 9/11 (*Laden Pata*), by comparing the visual and verbal iterations of several painter-performers from a related community of living practitioners, *Speaking With Pictures*. Such transformation had been evinced in the emergence of new genres in the nineteenth century, such as Kalighat painting, from the adaptation of traditional scroll paintings to the new interest in souvenirs as Bholanath Bhattacharya noted in 'The Evolution of the Kalighat Style and the Occupational Mobility of the Patuas. A Sample Survey', in Sankar Sengupta (ed.), *The Patas and Patuas of Bengal* (Calcutta: Indian Publications, 1973). More recently, Roma Chatterji has attended to the transformations stimulated by intermedial experiments (entextualisation in her terms) including animation and graphic novels, *Speaking With Pictures*. See also Bhaskar Mukhopadhyay, 'Dream Kitsch – Folk Art, Indigenous Media and 9/11: The Work of Pat in the Era of Electronic Transmission', *Journal of Material Culture* 13 (2008): pp. 5–34.

12. Scholars such as Binoy Bhattacharjee have examined the self-presentation of the community in various performance contexts and in their personal lives, responding in a general fashion to the assumption of essentialised Hindu and Muslim identities, since colonial census-taking practices delineated these categories for classifying peoples. See Bhattacharjee, 'The Patuas: A Study on Islamisation', in Sankar Sengupta (ed.), *The Patas and Patuas of Bengal* (Calcutta: Indian Publications, 1973), pp. 95–100; Binoy Bhattacharjee, *Cultural Oscillation: A Study on Patua Culture* (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1980).

13. These include Malini Bhattacharya, *Women Potuas of Medinipur: Exercises in Self-Empowerment* (Calcutta: School of Women's Studies, Jadavpur University, 2004); Akos Ostor and Lina Fruzzetti, *Singing Pictures: The Art and Performance of Naya's Women Painters* (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 2007); Frank J. Korom, *Village of Painters: Narrative Scrolls from West Bengal* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2006); Singh, 'What's New in Pata Painting'.

14. See for example, Phillip B. Zarrilli's work on the martial art forms of the Kerala region including, 'Repositioning the Body, Practice, Power, and Self in an Indian Martial Art', in Carol A. Breckenridge (ed.), *Consuming Modernity: Public Culture in A South Asian World* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); and Pallabi Chakravorty, *Bells of Change* (Calcutta: Seagull Books, 2008). See also Joseph Alter, *Yoga in Modern India: The Body Between Philosophy and Science* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

15. The dilemma of limiting the possibilities, and projecting our perceptions upon the past, however, is one we have come to acknowledge across disciplines. I take the lead offered in the methodological interventions by scholars such as Irene Winter, Stephen Greenblatt and many others to animating the past, with awareness of our own predispositions and proclivities as much as possible. Pithy versions of these methodological forays are available in such essays as Winter, 'Idols of the King: Consecrated Images of the King in Ancient Mesopotamia', *Journal of Ritual Studies* 6:1 (1992): pp. 13–42, and Greenblatt, 'The Circulation of Social Energy', in Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (eds.) *Culture/Power/History: A Reader in Contemporary Social Theory* (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1993), pp. 504–519.

16. The scroll currently exists in two pieces (Accession No. 1994-148-548a, b), acquired by the distinguished historian of Indian art, Stella Kramrisch, while she was working in India from 1922 to 1950. They came with her to Philadelphia, and were bequeathed to the Philadelphia Museum of Art, where she served as curator until her death in 1992.

17. With the development of devotion to Krishna, remembering the stories of Krishna's life became significant in a range of ritual practices as a way to gain access to the divine. The central text developing Krishna's biography, *The Bhagavata Purana*, which came to be regarded as scripture, advocated remembrance of Krishna's life-stories as a path to salvation: 'The stories of Lord Krsna [Krishna] are meritorious, sweet, ever-interesting, delightful and they wipe out the sins of the world. What person who knows the importance of listening to them, will be sated at hearing them'. *Bhagavata Purana* 10.51.20. The version used here is Ganesh Vasudeo Tagare (ed.), *Bhagavata Purana*, translated and annotated in *Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology*, vol. 10 (Reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1994).

18. Oral performance of song and recitation has been described in courtly venues and temple courtyards. The Bengali mystic Chaitanya, for example, sang devotional songs called *padavali kirtan* that describe the better-known episodes, and led his followers in ecstatic dance processions through the streets of his hometown Navadwip; this practice became a distinguishing characteristic of the religious community that cohered around him. Single episodes from Krishna's life were elaborated into dramatic performances. The defeat of Kaliya (*Kaliya Daman*), the tale of the devotee Akrura (*Akrura Sambad*), Radha's grief (*Rai Unmadini*), and Radha's Dream (*Swapna Vilas*) became the subject of *panchali* and *jatra*, plays performed at village gatherings. And vice versa, these episodes were stitched together in different combinations to make various points during storytelling. These expressive genres share a common base of narrative elements with the region's written ones, and also verbal formulae among the oral genres. A storyteller could draw on them to constitute his/her narrative and delineate characters, while injecting his/her personal reflections, and relying on the audience's familiarity with the themes to create particular inflections.

19. [Not surprisingly, episodes from Krishna's biography are clustered to different effect. While some emphasise a range of popular episodes from his birth, childhood to adolescence, others focus primarily on his love affair with Radha. The Victoria and Albert Museum's *Krishnalila Pata* (IS 1955-108), for example, offers useful comparison in its choice of several episodes that are omitted in the Philadelphia scroll, as well as arrangement of scenes that they share.

20. The object in its current state is incomplete, probably the central section of a longer scroll. It may have been preceded by an iconic oversized register invoking the deity, following the practice shared by several nineteenth-century scrolls devoted to this narrative, including the Victoria and Albert Museum scroll (IS 109-1955). This convention continues into the present, for example in Medinipur scrolls devoted to goddesses. Physical examination of the bottom edge also indicates that some scenes are missing. Complete Krishnalila scrolls that incorporate most of the scenes visualised on the Philadelphia scroll, often end with a series of large images of Krishna quelling the snake Kaliya and his dance with the gopis (*rasalila*). Scrolls dedicated to Vishnu/Krishna can also incorporate images of the other incarnations of Vishnu/Krishna, as in the case of the Victoria and Albert Museum scroll (IS 108-1955).

21. The painter takes advantage of the vertical format to enhance the downward movement of the narrative by cascading episodes down the length of the river. The river, viewers surely knew, also demarcated the idyllic pastoral landscape of his childhood with his foster family in Gokul. At least five other Krishnalila *patas*, which may be attributed to the southwestern region of Medinipur, display a similar compositional strategy; pairing episodes of either side of the river, which flows downward. The variations offer useful comparison as the juxtapositions suggest an arena for innovation among painters. These include a scroll in the collection of the Gurusaday Museum (Acc. No. 1779); in the Los Angeles County Museum's collection (M.71.1.32); The Victoria and Albert Museum (IS 109-1955); the Asutosh Museum of Calcutta University; and the private collection of David J. McCutchion. The Victoria and Albert Museum's scroll was acquired by J. C. French, and bears a location of Tamluk, Medinipur Dist., where he likely took possession of the object during his travels.

22. The earliest transcriptions of songs come from Gurusaday Datta, who travelled the region on work and spent his spare time indulging his curiosity about this artistic practice, among others. While we have photographic documentation of his interactions with such storytellers and some revealing intimate discussion, there are no archival records of such encounters. Here I have used Gurusaday Datta, *Patua Sangit* (Calcutta: Calcutta University Press, 1939); and David J. McCutchion and Suhrid Bhowmik, *Patuas and Patua Art in Bengal* (Calcutta: Firma KLM, 1999).

23. Less often, the singers were commissioned to perform in the courtyards of elite residences as part of festival celebrations.

24. The words of songs indicate that this could take the form of material goods such as rice or clothes.

25. Among living practitioners, the resourcefulness in spontaneously customising a performance can include not only the selection of themes, but also choice of scrolls for display. A savvy practitioner astutely assesses the audience's interest level, for example, to decide whether to pull out a longer or shorter version of the same story, or one with more detailed imagery versus a quick rendition; one with 'natural' or bolder colours, or what is often termed a more 'tribal' style. Gurupada Chitrakar

of Noya, for example, explained that a more sophisticated urban elite clientele and foreigners prefer muted colours and an earthy palette (oral communication, Philadelphia, in 1997). They want natural dyes, which some patuas have begun to use instead of the commercial paints with a local resin or gum for binder. Such adaptation can be understood as a return to older practices, but can also amount to an invented tradition.

26. As with most street musicians and entertainers, subsistence on voluntary contributions is precarious and requires ingenuity on the part of patuas; today the painters are quite upfront about discussing such issues with scholars. Beatrix Hauser has elaborated on the provisional nature of a performance in 'From Oral Tradition to "Folk Art": Reevaluating Bengali Scroll Paintings', *Asian Folklore Studies* 61:1 (2002): pp.105–122.

27. McCutchion and Bhowmik, *Patuas and Patua Art*, pp. 61–121.

28. A second *patua* song elaborates on the craftiness of the charming Krishna, playing on word *banka* (not straight), to describe both the sinuous, curvaceous pose of the typical dancing Krishna icon and his crooked ways:

At the base of the *kadamba* tree the urbane (*naagar*) Kanai (Krishna) dallie
Wild flowers gathered into garlands (vanamala) adorn his neck.
Arms crooked, legs twisted, torso twisted,
Twisted from the anklets of his feet to the crown of his topknot.
Loving maidens fix the topknot into wondrous creations
Entrancing the sixteen thousand alluring gopis of Braj. (Datta, Song 5, p. 17, my translation).

29. On the potency attributed to bees in Krishna worship, see Shrivatsa Goswami and Margaret Case, 'The Miraculous: The Birth of a Shrine', in John S. Hawley and Vasudha Narayanan (eds.) *The Life of Hinduism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 53–59; Pika Ghosh, 'Sojourns of a Peripatetic Deity', *RES: Journal of Anthropology and Aesthetics* 41 (2002): pp. 104–126.

30. Song of Triloktarini Chitrakar of Baliya, collected by Gurusaday Datta, pp.1–2. (My translation).

31. Vaishnava belief and practice in Bengal conceptualises five emotional states for experiencing Krishna, graded in a hierarchy of increasing intensity and intimacy: *santa*, the peaceful condition in which the worshipper regards herself or himself as low and insignificant in relation to the supreme, omnipotent deity; *dasya*, the condition of devotion towards one's master, *sakhya*, the state of friendship; *vatsalya*, a bond of caring affection between mother and child, and *madhurya*, the sweetness of love as Radha had offered him.

32. The arresting figure of Vasudeva, with his head turned to the side, shares in a distinctive pictorial tradition associated with the *Santal* tribal community's funerary practices. After a death, the *jadupatua* (magician-painter) delineated the pupil in the large single eye of similar seated figures, identifying the image with the dead person, and activating the spirit's safe journey from the body of the deceased to its destination. Here that wide-eyed stare is employed to a different end; that of divine vision, albeit an equally perilous journey. The juxtaposition of figures in different scale and profile in this scene demonstrates the painter's inventiveness in underscoring Vasudeva's extraordinary experience. The scroll shares many other features with *jadupatua* pictorial style including the rendition of Devaki's bed; the draping of *saris*; and the delineation of Vasudeva's bare chest and diaphragm, and hair. Just how widespread this style, associated with Santhal *pata* subject matter, may have been at the turn of the twentieth century, remains to be studied carefully. On this tradition, see Amitabh Sengupta, *Scroll Paintings of Bengal: Art in the Village* (Bloomingdale, IN: Author House, 2012).

33. The floating baby Krishna shares compositional elements with pictorial representations of Krishna on a leaf as encountered by the sage Markandeya. Examples include the Philadelphia Museum of Art folios, *Markandeya discovers Krishna on the Peepal Leaf and The Vision of Markandeya* (acc. no. 1955-11-1; 1994-148-492).

34. While several scrolls insert this detail to the transporting of the baby, other visual genres such as terracotta imagery from previous centuries, or contemporary embroidered and printed versions of such episodes do not. The implication that this elaboration for dramatic effect is a *patua* interpolation by painters and song composers cannot be ruled out.

35. By the time this scroll was created, these compositions had become easily recognisable, visualised on temples since the earliest temples dedicated to Krishna in the seventeenth century. For comparison, see for example, my discussion in 'At Home in Bengal: Krishna's Lila as Performing a Vernacular *Bhagavata*', *Journal of Hindu Studies* 11.2 Special Issue New Directions in Bhagavata Purana Studies II, edited by Ravi Gupta and Kenneth Valpey. (August 2018): pp. 133–150. For a manuscript illustration, see, for example, the Isarda folio in the San Diego Museum of Art collection (1990.585), discussed most recently by Neeraja Poddar, 'Incarnations of the *Bhagavata*', in Marika Sardar (ed.) *Epic Tales from Ancient India: Paintings from The San Diego Museum of Art* (San Diego: San Diego Museum of Art), pp. 28–38, 40–63.

36. Radha's origins and her relationship to Krishna as revealed in Gaudiya and earlier Vaishnava texts has been discussed at great length by several scholars including Sasibhusan Dasgupta, *Sriradhar Kramabikasa* (Calcutta: E. Mukherji, 1953); Sushil Kumar De, *Early History of the Vaisnava faith and movement in Bengal: from Sanskrit and Bengali sources* (Calcutta: Firma KLM Private Limited; Columbia, MO: Distributed by South Asia Books, 1986); Edward Dimock, *The Place of the Hidden Moon: Erotic Mysticism in the Vaiarlava-Sahajiya cult of Bengal* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Daniel H. Ingalls and Milton Singer (eds), *Krishna: Myths, Rites and Attitudes* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1985); J. A. B. Van Buitenen, 'On the Archaism of the *Bhāgavata Purāna*', in *Krishna: Myths, Rites, and Attitudes*, pp. 3–40; Charlotte Vaudeville, 'Evolution of Love-Symbolism in Bhagavatism', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 82:1 (1962): pp. 31–40; Sumanta Banerjee, *Appropriation of a Folk-Heroine: Radha in Mediaeval Bengali Vaishnavite Culture* (Shimla: Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1993); Norvin Hein, *The Miracle Plays of Mathura* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), pp. 163–271; A. K. Majumdar, 'A Note on the Development of the Radha Cult', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute* 36 (1955): pp. 231–257; Barbara Stoler Miller, *The Gitagovinda of Jayadeva: Love Song of the Dark Lord* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977; First Indian Edition Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984), pp. 26–37.

37. The songs often narrate events that were not part of the *Bhagavata Purana*, but rather episodes elaborated by local poets such as the fourteenth-century luminaries, Chandidas and Vidyapati. Here I cite from the following translations: Baru Chandidas, *Singing the Glory of Lord Krishna: The Srikrsnakirtana*, (trans.) Miriam H. Klaiman (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984); W. G. Archer (ed.), *Love Songs of Vidyāpati* (trans.) Deben Bhattacharya (New York: Grove Press, 1970).

38. Song of Panchanan Chitrakar of Panuari, Datta, *Patua Sangit*, 22 (my translation).

39. This artist has chosen to depart from more common renditions of the crawling baby between the tree trunks. Instead, Krishna is presented here among leafy branches at the top of the tree, much like he is located in another better-known episode of stealing the clothes of bathing women. Recycling motifs with minor variation to dramatic effect is not unusual. The song typically offers clarification. Repetition, moreover, serves to draw attention to similarities and differences. For example, a scroll dedicated to the Chandimangal narrative of the merchant Dhanapati and his son Srimanta (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1969-131-1a, b) uses this strategy to visualise the same voyages undertaken by father and son, but to different outcomes due to their divergent relationships to the goddess. The differentiation of the identical compositions would have been elaborated in song.

40. Song of Panchanan Chitrakar of Panuari, Datta, *Patua Sangit*, 22 (my translation).

41. These songs give further nuance and play with the rich corpus of devotional poetry that continues to be sung among Krishna devotees in Bengal.

42. That duality, at the heart of Vaishnava belief and practice, finds expression in songs that present Krishna asserting his divine stature in protest when she employs him as a porter. For example, in the *Bharakhanda* of Chandidas' *Srikrishnakirtan*, Krishna says:

> I'm in control of the universe, Radha…
> Yet you have singled me out as your porter.
> It's not the load, but the shame, that's oppressive.
> How shall I live in society, Radha?
> Don't say it, Radha, don't say it. What shame
> It would be for Gadadhara, bearing a burden!
> I killed the Cart-Monster, haven't you heard it?
> There were two arjuna trees I uprooted.
> I have descended to massacre Kamsa.
> Now shall I carry your burden of produce?
> Peddling these milk goods has addled your judgment;
> You're not aware I am God in the highest.
> You are extremely audacious, young cowmaid…
> (Chandidas, *Singing the Glory of Lord Krishna*, trans. Klaiman).

43. Frederique Marglin, based on her conversations with temple dancers of Puri, read the first part of the *Gitagovinda* as a sexual union in which the male is the active partner. In the middle section, she finds the symmetry of both partners expressed in their pangs of separation. In the last segment, Radha is the active partner, performing 'inverse sexual union,' in which she is the dominant partner. At Puri, these verses are performed in the day's final ritual of putting Lord Jagannatha, who is believed to be Krishna, to bed after the evening meal. These explicitly erotic verses are sung when Jagannatha is dressed in *shringara vesha* (amorous attire), Marglin, 'Refining the Body:

Transformative Emotion in Ritual Dance', in Owen M. Lynch (ed.), *Divine Passions: The Social Construction of Emotion in India* (Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 225–230.

44. Gurusaday Datta does not give us a name, but only that the song was collected from a *Santhal patua, Patua Sangit*, p. 40.

45. On this episode, see Charlotte Vaudeville, 'The Govardhan Myth in Northern India', *Indo-Iranian Journal* 22:1 (1980): pp. 1–45; John Stratton Hawley, 'Krishna's Cosmic Victories', *Journal of the American Academy of Religions* 47:2 (1979): pp. 201–221. In consonance with the animation of the mountain in ritual, another *patua* song that explicates the episode at greater length also makes no mention of Indra, who was defeated and banished, and his worship stopped:

> There was Giri [Mountain] Govardhan
> Saying kill, kill, the mountain began to crumble and fall
> Twelve cowherd boys held up the mountain by the touch of a finger
> From then the Lord was named Giridhari [lifter of the mountain].
> (Song of Gopal Chitrakar of Ayash, Datta, p. 15).

46. The same song later devotes a verse to describing the raising of Mt. Govardhan, which may further complicate the reading of this pair of images.

47. David L. Haberman discusses such practices in 'Vraja: A Place in the Heart', in *Re-discovering Braj: International Association of the Vrindaban Research Institute Bulletin* 14 (1988), pp. 19–25 and *Acting as a Way of Salvation: A Study of Raganuga Bhakti Sadhana.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

48. Song of Panchanan Chitrakar of Panuari, Datta, *Patua Sangit*, 22 (my translation).

49. The Maithili poet Vidyapati, for example, hints at Radha's complicit participation in the signature line (*bhanita*). See Vidyapati, *Love Songs of Vidyāpati*, 133.

50. Song of Kirti Chitrakar of Dumka, Datta, *Patua Sangit*, 37 (my translation).

51. McCutchion and Bhowmik, *Patuas and Patua Art in Bengal*, 63.

52. Brahma realises that Krishna had not only figured out what he had done, but used his divine power to replicate the cows and cowherd boys, so that when he returned he was bemused to find the cows and cowherd exactly where he had initially encountered them.

53. McCutchion and Bhowmik, *Patuas and Patua Art in Bengal*, 64.

54. The scroll ends abruptly here, but clearly there were additional scenes that followed as the frayed edges indicate. Correspondingly, the complete scrolls, such as those of the Victoria and Albert Museum and Gurusaday Museum, offer possibilities to imaginatively extend the panels to completion. Other typical choices include: the image of Yama, god of death; the tortures in hell; an array of deities present to acknowledge the superiority of the god to whom the scroll is devoted; or another iconic image of the deity.

5

Scrolling the Emperor's Life and Triumph

EVA MICHEL
ALBERTINA, VIENNA

Fig. 5.1
Albrecht Dürer, *Emperor Maximilian I* (1518). Black chalk, pastels, white chalk highlights, 38.1 x 31.9 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 4852. Photo: © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

It is scarcely possible to overestimate the historical significance of Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg. Born in 1459 to Emperor Frederick III and his wife, Eleonore of Portugal, in 1486 Maximilian was elected King of the Romans and seven years later, upon the death of his father, he inherited the vast Holy Roman Empire. Never succeeding in having his emperorship formally confirmed by papal coronation in Rome, he proclaimed himself Emperor in 1508 and oversaw a significant expansion of the Habsburg empire to the Netherlands and to Spain, as well as to Bohemia and Hungary. This was less through war than his own marriage to Mary of Burgundy in 1477, and the skillful arranging of his children's and grandchildren's marriages, later giving rise to the motto: '*Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube*' (Let others wage war, but thou, O happy Austria, marry). Maximilian's grandson, Charles V, would expand the Holy Roman Empire even further to include territories in South America, ruling an empire over which 'the sun never set'. When Maximilian died in 1519, the Habsburgs had become one of the greatest powers in Europe, a dynasty that lasted until the end of First World War in 1918.[1]

Perhaps unsurprisingly for such a dynastically esteemed figure, Maximilian was a master of self-staging; despite his notorious shortage of money, he continuously invested in his eternal

Fig. 5.2 [detail] Albrecht Altdorfer and workshop, *Triumphal Procession* for Emperor Maximilian I, c.1512–1515. Pen drawing with watercolour and gouache, gold heightening, on parchment, 45.8 x 260 cm. Albertina, Vienna.Photo: © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

memory, his *gedechtnus*.[2] A concern for posterity dominated Maximilian's thinking, as expressed in his unfinished autobiographical work *Weisskunig* (White King), conceived around 1514–16.[3] Maximilian writes:

> He who fails to create his *gedechtnus* during his lifetime will have none after his death and will be forgotten with the tolling of the last bell. Therefore the money that I spend on my *gedechtnus* will not be lost.[4]

All investments that served the perpetuation of Maximilian's memory were thus justifiable: he was no purely philanthropic patron of the arts, rather commissioned works that pursued these genealogical, heraldic, and historiographical goals, aimed above all at establishing the remembrance of his person and his family for the future. To this end, he commissioned work from the best artists of his day, led by none other than Albrecht Dürer, whose well-known portrait of Maximilian is preserved today in the Albertina Museum, Vienna (fig. 5.1).

The imaginary *Triumphal Procession*—substantially reproduced in scrollable digital form here for the first time—is also one of the largest and most important of Maximilian's commissions. Two versions of this work were created: one a woodcut, intended for broad distribution, and the other an earlier luxury manuscript edition on parchment, made for Maximilian's personal possession. Both were executed by the German artist Albrecht Altdorfer and his workshop between 1512–15.

The subject of the Triumph draws upon classical Roman models made to mark ceremonial entries of victorious Roman generals, and in the fifteenth century this tradition was popularized via humanist literary descriptions and its adaptation during the Italian Renaissance.[5] Perhaps the best known of these Italian works, and certainly that most often associated with the revival of classical triumphal processions, is the *Triumph of Caesar* by Andrea Mantegna (1484–1495), now in the Royal Collection at Hampton Court Palace. This series of nine monumental paintings on canvas probably served either as wall decorations for a great hall in the city of Mantua or as transportable decorations for celebrations, and they were widely distributed in the form of painted and drawn copies, engravings, and woodcuts. The significance of Mantegna's work as a model for Maximillian's *Triumphal Procession* miniatures must not be overestimated, however. Early commentators on the *Procession* posited that prints after Mantegna's paintings were in the collection of Albrecht Altdorfer, or that Maximilian himself saw the paintings on canvas during a visit to Mantua. But by 1512 the Emperor had assembled enough humanists with sufficient knowledge of classical writings to design their own triumphal scenarios, and it seems more likely that Maximilian's advisor Johannes Stabius came to the concept independently, drawing on the classicising writings of Flavio Biondo or Roberto Valturio.[6] After all, whereas Mantegna

Fig. 5.3
Albrecht Altdorfer and workshop, *The Bavarian War and riding standard bearers, Triumphal Procession* for Emperor Maximilian I (c. 1512–1515). Pen drawing with watercolour and gouache, gold heightening, on parchment, 45 x 92 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 25221. Photo: © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

aimed for the highest possible degree of historical accuracy in his recreation of the classical ritual victory celebration, Altdorfer's miniatures were instead highly original in their reimagining of the classical scene. No procession in the model of Maximilian's *Triumph* ever actually took place: rather it is an idealised vision that offers a fantastical review of the most important persons in Maximilian's life, intended to serve not the classical past but his eternal memory and to promote the House of Habsburg.

Although an imagined scene, Maximilian's painted procession is a substantial physical object. Rendered in gouache on parchment, it once comprised 109 large-format sheets with a total length of more than one hundred metres. The first half of the procession is now lost, only documented by two copies from the early seventeenth century which reveal that the cycle was at least until then accessible and fully preserved.[7] The entire second part of the *Procession* has survived in the Albertina, and was presented as a pictorial frieze of fifty-four metres on the occasion of the exhibition 'Emperor Maximilian and the Age of Dürer' in 2012.

The pageant is headed by a Herald mounted on a griffin, and followed by figures of courtly life: musicians, hunters on decorated carriages, and tournament knights. The lost first part was

dedicated to courtly pastimes, whilst the second is dedicated to Maximilian's wars and important historical events, with battle scenes represented by groups of foot soldiers, contemporary lansquenets, and knights (fig. 5.3). The triumph also includes a detailed depiction of Maximilian's famous artillery, especially contemporary cannon designs (fig. 5.4), and it ends with the picturesque 'baggage section' set within a rolling landscape (fig. 5.5). The emperor himself is shown together with his family in a richly decorated carriage (fig. 5.6), further emphasising his personalised claim to the painting's renewed visual legacy of imperial Rome and its important part in aggrandising and legitimising his own rule.

The impressive original length of the *Triumphal Procession* raises significant questions over its original presentation and storage. Although remaining copies prove that the work must have been preserved in its entirety until at least the early seventeenth century, documentary evidence concerning the function of the original is completely lacking. We may never be able to answer whether the *Triumphal Procession* was ever displayed in public, nor the manner in which it was presented, however it is evident that in its original form the *Triumphal Procession* was meant to be read as a continuous sequence, both spatially (along the scroll's physical length) and temporally (from the procession's start to its finish). One possibility is that it served as mural decoration for a large hall. At least one other imperial commission was intended to function in this way as wall decoration: the *Triumphal Arch*, a gigantic woodcut with 195 printing blocks on thirty-six folio sheets. This richly decorated print, conceived in 1515 but printed only in 1517/18, similarly compiles and reimagines classical originals for the sake of Maximilian's eternal memory, including an illustrious family tree, countless precursors in office since Julius Caesar, coats of arms of the territories that the House of Habsburg owned or claimed, and depictions of Maximilian's heroic deeds and excellent character qualities.[8] Dürer's lost wall painting of the Great *Triumphal Chariot* in Nuremberg Town Hall from 1521 was another aggrandising mural that enjoyed similarly great favour with the Emperor, subsequently reproduced by Dürer himself as a monumental woodcut in 1522 and appearing in seven further editions up until 1600.[9] It does, however, seem unlikely there would have been a room with sufficient wall space to accommodate the one-hundred-metre-long *Triumphal Procession*, even if presented in multiple short rows. Whilst the *Arch* and the *Chariot* present possible parallels in terms of horizontal format, as do architectural details like decorated friezes, the paintings of Maximilian's Triumph do not match them in scale or decoration. The parchment's extensive ornamentation in gold ink and numerous

Fig. 5.4
Albrecht Altdorfer and workshop, Maximilian's famous *artillery, Triumphal Procession* for Emperor Maximilian I (c. 1512–1515). Pen drawing with watercolour and gouache, gold heightening, on parchment, 45.8 x 260 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 25230. Photo: © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 5.5
Albrecht Altdorfer, *The baggage section, Triumphal Procession* for Emperor Maximilian I (c. 1512–1515). Pen drawing with watercolour and gouache on parchment, 45 x 93 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 25261. Photo: © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

Fig. 5.6
Albrecht Altdorfer and workshop, *The Emperor's Carriage, Triumphal Procession* for Emperor Maximilian I (c. 1512–1515). Pen drawing with watercolour and gouache, gold heightening, on parchment, 45 x 94 cm. Albertina, Vienna, Inv. 25246. Photo: © The Albertina Museum, Vienna.

small inscriptions would make little sense viewed in this context. Indeed, why would Maximilian's deeds have been painted onto such an exquisite and comparatively fragile material only then to be displayed on a wall like a tapestry? The parchment itself appears to be well preserved, which seems unlikely if hung for a long period, and does not bear any holes or tears caused by possible fixing to the wall.[10]

Looking closely at the *Triumphal Procession* reveals several other material traces which suggest something of its function. Before its public presentation in 2012, the scroll was carefully conserved and restored by the Albertina's conservation department.[11] During this work, curators noticed all parchment pieces displayed diagonal folds and evidence of rubbing on the surfaces, both of which seem to have been caused by the rolling up of the complete scroll. Was the object rolled to simply facilitate transportation and storage? For an Emperor who was constantly on the move this must surely have been an important criterion, and the practice of rolling large prints for storage was known at the time, for instance in the contemporary collection of Ferdinand Columbus who owned large religious compositions that were pinned to walls as temporary decoration.[12] Or did the rolling and unrolling of the scroll play a more important part in its conceptual presentation? After all, the performative character of the procession is only truly unlocked when the viewer takes in its images in continuous sequence along its surface, either if one moves alongside it to simulate its narrative sequence, an effect not dissimilar to participating in the *Triumphal Procession* itself, or if the work itself moves.[13]

This participatory idea led Franz Winzinger to wonder whether the parchment strip was used rather like a Japanese *emakimono*, viewed manually with one hand unrolling and the other rolling up.[14] By the early sixteenth century the roll format had, as a bearer of text, long-since given way to the handwritten and printed codex, but the scroll as a medium nevertheless lived on in multiple formats.[15] Of particular relevance here is a parchment scroll nearly seven meters long known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, or Peutinger Table, a late medieval copy of an antique Roman road map known to be in the collections of one of Maximilian's humanist consultants, Konrad Peutinger.[16] The scroll was an ideal format for an unfurling map of this sort, just as it was for a frieze-like composition like the *Triumphal Procession*, with its long sequence of scenes. Certainly, as a revival of the ancient *rotulus*, this hand-held presentation would have chimed with the classicising content of the scroll already discussed. As Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann asks, 'what could be a more appropriate than to match the antiquizing content with the antiquizing format of a roll?'.[17] Such a view was clearly shared by Maximilian's great-grandson, Ferdinand II of Tyrol (1529–1595), who followed his example when ordering a similar painted dynastic pageant from the artist Sigmund Elsässer in 1580 on the occasion of the marriage of his nephew, Johann Kolowrat, albeit a scroll of much smaller size at only two metres long.[18]

An obvious problem remains with this theory of use: Maximilian's *Triumphal Procession* is over one hundred metres and would have been extremely large and difficult to handle if rolled. It is possible the scroll might have been divided into several parts, or perhaps set in motion between two standing reels with only a limited pictorial section visible at any one time. Such an idea must remain open to speculation as there is no surviving scroll nor written documentation that attests to such a 'cinematographic' display in the 1510s, although some later sixteenth-century examples do exist, such as the 'Lant's Roll', a ten-meter-long series of engravings published on the occasion of the funeral of the poet Sir Philip Sidney in London in 1587, rolled up onto two reels.[19] A much later example, a shifting back-cloth with painted views of the Danube region made in 1842 by Theodor Jachimovics for Franz Xaver Told's play *The Magic Veil*, now preserved in the Theatre Museum in Vienna, is particularly instructive as to how well such presentation might have worked, with a winding crank handle instantly setting the entire scene into motion. *The Triumphal Procession*, too, could have impressively unfolded in this manner before the Emperor like an early modern 'film', although again we must remember that the excellent condition of the work and the lack of contemporary witness reports indicate that whatever its original presentation, it was not often displayed. The exquisiteness and sensitivity of the material, as well as the miniscule inscriptions, suggest the precious procession—in contrast to the later woodcut version—remained reserved only for the Emperor and a small group of selected viewers.[20]

Regardless of its realisation, the medium of the scroll opens up an array of possibilities for this monumental work. It goes hand in hand, or should that be 'foot by foot', with the moving participants of the *Triumphal Procession*, the scroll itself an active part of Maximillian's pagentry and at once a celebration and mystification of the Emperor's life, contributing to his legend. Out of concern for his eternal memory Maximilian commissioned this impressive and enigmatic work, a triumph over both death and time.

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1. For more on Maximilian's biography, see: Manfred Hollegger, *Maximilian I (1459–1519). Herrscher und Mensch einer Zeitenwende* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2005).
2. See my discussion of this idea in 'For Praise and Eternal Memory: Albrecht Altdorfer's Triumphal Procession for Emperor Maximilian I', in Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath (eds), *Emperor Maximilian and the Age of Dürer*, exhibition catalogue (Munich, London, and New York: Prestel, 2012), pp. 48–65; and the preface of the same catalogue by Eva Michel and Maria Luise Sternath, pp. 16–17.
3. The *Weisskunig* was only published in 1775. See Christine Boßmeyer, *Visuelle Geschichte in den Zeichnungen und Holzschnitten zum "Weißkunig" Kaiser Maximilians I.*, 2 vols. (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2015).
4. 'Wer in seinem Leben kain Gedächtnus macht, der hat nach seinem Tod kain Gedächtnus und desselben Menschen wird mit dem Glockenton vergessen, und darumb so wird das Gelt, so ich auf die Gedechtnus ausgib, nit verloren'. Heinrich Theodor Musper (ed.), *Kaiser Maximilians I. Weißkunig* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1956), vol. 1, chapter 24, pp. 225–226.
5. Literary descriptions in classical prototypes, for example Appian or Plutarch, had already appeared in print, as had contemporary Italian Renaissance visions of related scenes such as Flavio Biondo's *Roma triumphans* (1457/59) or Roberto Valturio's *De re militari* (1460), both printed in 1472.
6. The *Schedelsche Weltchronik* by Hartman Schedel (1493) also mentions a triumph to be prepared after Maximilian's victory over Turks. On pageants in the sixteenth century, see the entry by Veronika Sandbichler in Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Wir sind Helden. Habsburgische Feste der Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, 2005), p. 46.
7. Attempts to establish the work's provenance have revealed considerable gaps. The surviving parchments were acquired from the monastery of St. Florian in Upper Austria in the late nineteenth century, but it is unclear when or how these came into the collection of the monastery.
8. A second edition was realised in 1526 under Maximilian's grandson Archduke Ferdinand. A third edition was issued in 1559.
9. Matthias Mende, *Das alte Nürnberger Rathaus. Baugeschichte und Ausstattung des großen Saales und der Ratsstube* (Nuremberg: Stadtgeschichtliche Museen, 1979). For a reconstruction of the paintings see 'Nürnbergs historischer Rathaussaal', http://kunstnuernberg.de/der-historische-rathaus-saal-nuernberg/, accessed 16 November 2016.
10. Intriguingly, some parts of the scroll were translated into a monumental mural shortly after its completion in a gallery, on top of the arcade surrounding the Ladies' Courtyard of Jakob Fugger's House in Augsburg. This decorated frieze showed various battles and historical scenes from the *Triumphal Procession*. See the reconstruction drawings by Julius Groeschel, 'Die ersten Renaissancebauten in Deutschland', *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaften* 11 (1888): 240–55, figs 1 and 2. Unfortunately the wall-paintings were lost 1761. The owner of the house, Jakob Fugger, financed many of Maximillian's campaigns and must have been familiar with the project of the *Triumphal Procession*.
11. Elisabeth Thobois, 'Conservation Treatment of the Triumphal Procession Miniatures by Albrecht Altdorfer and his Workshop', in Michel and Sternath, *Maximilian*, pp. 66–79. All parchment pieces were cleaned of surface dirt and mounted.
12. See Mark P. McDonald, *Ferdinand Columbus. Renaissance Collector* (1488–1539) (London, British Museum Press, 2005), pp. 29–31, 55.
13. See Hans Rudolf Velten, 'Triumphzug und Ehrenpforte im Werk Kaiser Maximilians I. Intermediale Konstellationen zwischen Aufführung und "gedechtnus"', in Katja Gvozdeva and Hans Rudolf Velten (eds.), *Medialität der Prozession. Performanz ritueller Bewegung in Texten und Bildern der Vormoderne/Médialité de la procession. Performance du mouvement rituel en textes et en images à l'époque pré-moderne* (Heidelberg, Universitätsverlag Winter GmbH, 2011), pp. 247–69 ; Jan-Dirk Müller, *Gedechtnus. Literatur und Hofgesellschaft um Maximilian I.* (Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1982), p. 272.
14. Franz Winzinger, *Die Miniaturen zum Triumphzug Kaiser Maximilians I* (facsimile) (Graz and Vienna, Akademische Druck- u. Verlag-Anstalt, 1972/73), p. 39. For more on emakimono, see Kristopher Kersey
15. See Stacy Boldrick and Katherine Hindley in chapters 6 and 9 of this book.
16. Peutinger acquired it from Conrad Celtis in 1507. See R.W.B. Salway, 'The Nature and Genesis of the Peutinger Map', *Imago Mundi* 57 (2005): pp. 119–135; *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek* (facsimile), comments by Ekkehard Weber (Graz, Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1976).
17. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, 'Hand-Colored Prints and 'Pseudo-manuscripts': the curious case of Codex 7906 of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Wien', in *Codices manuscripti*, 2, 1976, pp. 26–31, p. 30. For more on 'rolled' pageants of the sixteenth century, see Wilfried Seipel (ed.), *Wir sind Helden. Habsburgische Feste der Renaissance*, exhibition catalogue (Vienna, KHM-Museumsverband 2005, p. 46). See also Christopher S. Wood, 'Maximilian I. as Archaeologist', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 58:4 (2005): pp. 1128–1174.
18. Veronika Sandbichler, 'Der Hochzeitskodex Erzherzog Ferdinands II.: eine Bildreportage', in Sabine Haag (ed.), *Die Hochzeit Erzherzog Ferdinands II. Eine Bildreportage des 16. Jahrhunderts*, exhibition catalogue (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, 2010), pp. 31–89, esp. pp. 32–3.
19. Sander Bos, Marianne Lange-Meyers, Jeanine Six, 'Sidney's Funeral portrayed', in Jan van Dorsten, Dominic Baker-Smith, Arthur F. Kinney (eds.), *Sir Philip Sidney 1586 and the Creation of a Legend* (Leiden, E. J. Brill, Leiden University Press, 1986) pp. 38–61.
20. On the connections between the *Triumph* and the obsequies, see Thomas Schauerte, *Die Ehrenpforte für Maximilian I. Dürer und Altdorfer im Dienst des Herrschers*. Kunstwissenschaftliche Studien 95 (Berlin and Munich, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2001), pp. 58–64.

6

Speculations on the Visibility and Display of a Mortuary Roll

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The curator Don Skemer described the separation between the world of books and the world of archives as a deep abyss, with curators of literary texts on the one side and keepers of public records and documents on the other.1 In many ways, Western medieval scrolls and rolls inhabit both of these worlds, although some rolls have more of an affinity with one world than the other. Skemer contended that cataloguing and display practices in museum and library collections distinguish sacred and secular rolls such as Exultet rolls and other liturgical texts, prayer rolls, textual amulets, genealogical chronicles, works of drama, poetry, and music from administrative records such as charters and diplomas, statute rolls, and other practical texts more easily categorised as documents. Yet the particular characteristics of certain types of rolls, especially mortuary rolls, as objects with elements that fluctuate between the personal and the authoritative, the ephemeral and the archival, between original and copy, require that scholars not only cross Skemer's abyss, but that they also draw expertise from other fields in order to address broader questions about the relationship between scroll and codex and the persistence and use of the roll form over the course of the Middle Ages.

In this chapter I consider the facture and display of the mortuary roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (d.1458), Abbess of Forest (Vorst), to speculate on collective viewing practices and contexts for illuminated mortuary rolls in the late Middle Ages (figs 6.1–6.6).[2] Largely unfamiliar to non-specialists and rarely publicly displayed, mortuary rolls have been valued primarily as unique historic documents that identify travel routes, confraternity networks, and other religious institutional relationships; specific instructions for their physical engagement and display after facture are not fully known. As a result, text-based projects and comprehensive surveys and transcriptions of mortuary rolls dominate the field, and the relationship between their visual elements and the forms and stages of physical handling and engagement have attracted less discussion. In order to consider these viewing and engagement practices in greater depth, it is important to expand thinking beyond clearly defined, polarised perspectives about their operational contexts. Dichotomies such as production versus function, makers versus users, spiritual versus material commemorations, practices of display versus engagement and permanent versus transient memorials, are all problematic because they propose distinctions that segregate the mortuary roll's tightly intertwined actions, processes, networks, and material elements. As I will show, mortuary rolls in their very nature transgress such divisions, and require appropriately attuned reflection which is expansive in its approach. Thus, as a way into this subject, this study argues for anachronistic thinking about the illuminated mortuary roll's past material and performative operations in its referencing of medieval—and also present day—display practices and art works.

Fig. 6.1 [detail] Mortuary Roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (1458–1459), Vorst. Vellum, leather, wood, 1295.6 x 18.5 cm. Manchester: University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 114. Photo: © John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

Likewise, approaches from different scholarly fields, including medieval and contemporary art history and material culture studies, are crucial to this analysis. My

close examination of the 'sConincs roll suggests that, like many mortuary rolls, its decorated elements— an illuminated frontispiece and obituary letter—existed separately before their attachment to its textual elements, consisting of hundreds of signatures, to form a single roll. The initial independence of these elements and their later attachment and interdependence inform my reflections on forms of collective engagement with the roll, forms that encompass facture, handling, viewing, prayer, and preservation in a range of display and storage contexts. Recent research on diverse subjects provides methodological and conceptual tools that inform my ideas: research on forms of physical and visual engagement with illuminated prayer rolls, genealogical rolls, and Exultet rolls; commemorative practices in communities of religious women; and ideas of collective authorship that address gender and class.[3] Finally, consideration of the durational and performative dimensions of display in both medieval mortuary rolls and scroll forms appearing in contemporary art makes it possible to assess mortuary rolls as mobile, dynamic, material objects, as well as static carriers of text and image.[4] The chapter begins with a close study of the 'sConincs mortuary roll and the physical, geographical, and durational aspects of its facture and display, and is followed by a brief overview of the conventions, history, and legacy of the roll format and its uses. A comparative study of the scale, content, and forms of handling and engagement of other medieval illuminated rolls, together with reflections on contemporary art and museum display practices, propose a new range of possible contexts for the mortuary roll's use.

Mortuary Rolls and the 'sConincs Roll

A mortuary roll is an unusual object, less familiar than most other Western medieval manuscript roll forms because limited numbers survive, and perhaps also because of its diverse range of purposes as an obituary notice, a record of prayer exchange between religious communities, and as a commemorative object. At most, a mortuary roll can consist of three parts: an image of a recently deceased person on a deathbed or in a funerary scene (known as the frontispiece), an obituary letter (the encyclical), and signed, often dated promises of prayers from different religious communities (called *tituli*), joined together and rolled around a wooden dowel or cylindrical rod (fig. 6.2).[5] Some mortuary rolls begin with richly designed frontispieces, or contain illuminated letters in the encyclical, but others have no ornamentation. Some contain long poems and literary reflections on death, while others contain formulaic statements; some are unfinished or exist only as fragments, the direct or indirect result of their reuse or partial destruction, especially after periods of reform in northern Europe.[6] The most substantial part of the mortuary roll was a collection of *tituli* in the form of a list. A genre in its own right originating in legal and financial contexts, the list or register was also used in literary works such

Fig. 6.2
Folio 1r, the frontispiece. Mortuary Roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (1458–1459), Vorst. Vellum, leather, wood, 1295.6 x 18.5 cm. Manchester: University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 114. Photo: © John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

Fig. 6.3
Folio 1r, the frontispiece. Mortuary Roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (1458–1459), Vorst. Vellum, leather, wood, 1295.6 x 18.5 cm. Manchester: University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 114. Photo: © John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

as Piers *Plowman* to represent a distinctive mode of writing that accounts for labour through enumeration.[7] Thus the signed promises can be understood to represent forms of labour and currency.

The fundamental complexity of the mortuary roll lies in its material quantification of this immaterial labour and currency—of devotional acts and networks—making it both a spiritually binding document and a portable memorial, conveying the news of a death and eulogising the dead, but also consolidating contractual relationships between communities of the dead and the living. A diverse group of individuals from different social classes contributed to the making of a mortuary roll: the Abbot or Abbess, Prior or Prioress, who may have commissioned the roll; the precentor or head of the scriptorium who was responsible for the preparation of the roll; the illuminator; the almoners who supervised the roll bearer during their visit; the roll bearer who collected the signatures; and hundreds of signatories from religious communities, along with members of the communities themselves, who promised and returned prayers.[8] The roll bearer was a consistent agent in its facture, responsible for carrying a mortuary roll from one religious community to another and collecting signatures of promised prayers. Ordinarily male and not a member of a religious order, he left each community with a record of his visit and the promised prayer exchange in the form of a mortuary brief, a small note the size and shape of a bookmark, like a receipt.[9] As the collection of signatures grew, so did the length of the roll. Mortuary rolls recorded spiritual confraternities and the names of individual members of a confraternity, or other individuals to be remembered in prayer, so that when the roll was returned to the abbey or religious house, the names of the dead might conventionally be added to confraternity books and *libri memoriales* (memorial books).[10]

Scholarship on mortuary rolls has focused on transcription, assessments of quantitative and qualitative data, and comparative studies of other rolls or manuscripts. This work has shown that mortuary rolls are useful for identifying individuals and relationships between religious houses; where the signatures are dated, dates and locations can be used to map out travel routes and reflect upon potential modes of travel. The most critical publications on the subject range from Jean Dufour's monumental five-volume survey of documented and existing mortuary rolls in Western Europe, to Lynda Rollason's exemplary consideration of the highly complex Durham Ebchester-Burnby roll (Durham, DCL, MS B.IV.48; mostly after 1464), a roll requesting prayers for William Ebchester (resigned 1456; d. 1462/3) and John Burnby (d.1464), Priors of Durham,

and related material at Durham.[11] Research on the mortuary roll of St Bruno (d.1110), founder of the Carthusian order, explores its long history, from its lost twelfth-century original on parchment to its sixteenth-century dissemination in print.[12] Over time, as institutional and spiritual networks changed, the production and value of mortuary rolls diminished for different reasons. Reused for later mortuary rolls or recycled as a result of iconoclastic practices, many only survive as fragments or as incomplete rolls, as an isolated illuminated frontispiece or an encyclical, or as a partial series of signatures.[13] As the form of the mortuary roll fell out of use, surviving examples became valued as rare collectors' pieces rather than as vehicles for and records of prayer exchange. Thus, although the textual and visual elements of the mortuary roll were in many ways uniform, or at least consistent with established forms and practices, rolls now exist in a variety of material states, which make questions about the stages of their making challenging to resolve.

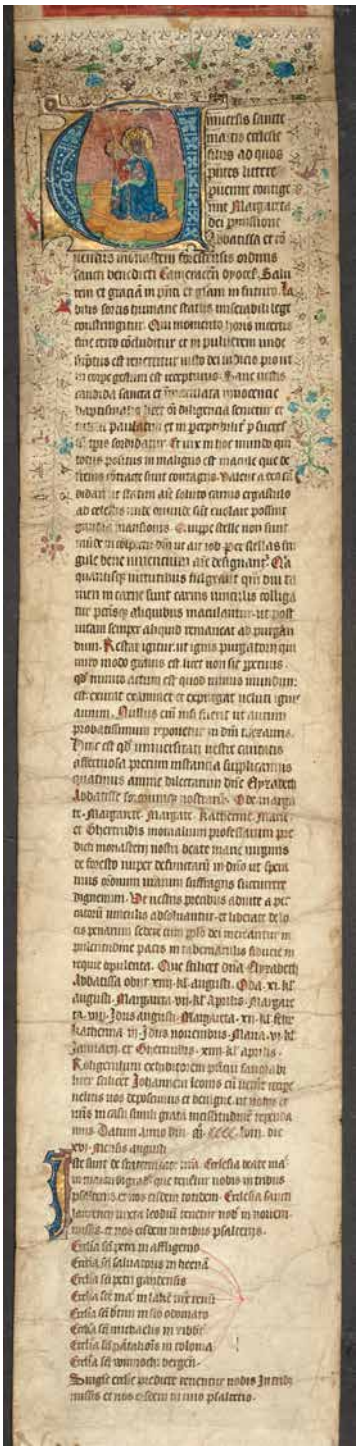

Fig .6.4
Folio 2r, the encyclical. Mortuary Roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (1458–1459), Vorst. Vellum, leather, wood, 1295.6 x 18.5 cm. Manchester: University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 114. Photo: © John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

When each signature is dated and located in chronological order, these rolls are objects that can reveal a great deal about the timing of their assemblage. But in other respects, they are enigmatic. For example, it is routinely difficult to know what purpose they served after they were returned to a religious house and their *tituli* (signatures) had been entered into chapter books. They may have been stored away indefinitely, or elements such as illuminated frontispieces may have been displayed in some way: either momentarily shared between individuals or collectively viewed during an anniversary Mass.[14] Alternatively, as Rollason illustrates with the series of stitch-holes in the bottom edge of the Ebchester-Burnby frontispiece (detached from the encyclical letter and signatures), frontispieces, and in some cases encyclical letters could be reused in later mortuary rolls made for other religious heads, detached from *tituli* that were archived or used as waste parchment and reattached to new encyclicals or new membranes.[15] Close examination of the mortuary roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs raises such questions about fragmentation and completeness in regard to viewing practices.

Rare as an illuminated mortuary roll still attached to its original roll holder, the 'sConincs roll commemorates the death on 19 July 1458 of Elisabeth 'sConincs (or Elizabeth Sconincx), Abbess of Forest Abbey, near Brussels. Measuring on average eighteen and a half centimetres wide and nearly thirteen metres long, it is composed of nineteen pieces of vellum; including the frontispiece, the encyclical letter, and seventeen membranes containing hundreds of *tituli*. Its dates, signatures and membranes have been counted, measured, partially transcribed and listed by M.R. James among others.[16] Radiocarbon dating has linked the roll holder (fig. 5) to the time of the manuscript's assemblage.[17] From 6 September 1458 to 8 July 1459, the roll bearer Johannes Leonis collected for Elisabeth and her dead religious sisters 390 signatures of promised prayers from religious communities, ranging from abbeys and monasteries to hermitages. Over the course of the year, he made four return journeys out from Forest Abbey, travelling as far as Bruges, Bonn, Utrecht, Cologne, and Lille, returning for the last time on 8 July 1459, eleven days before the anniversary of the abbess's death.[18] At each religious community, the mortuary roll was signed with

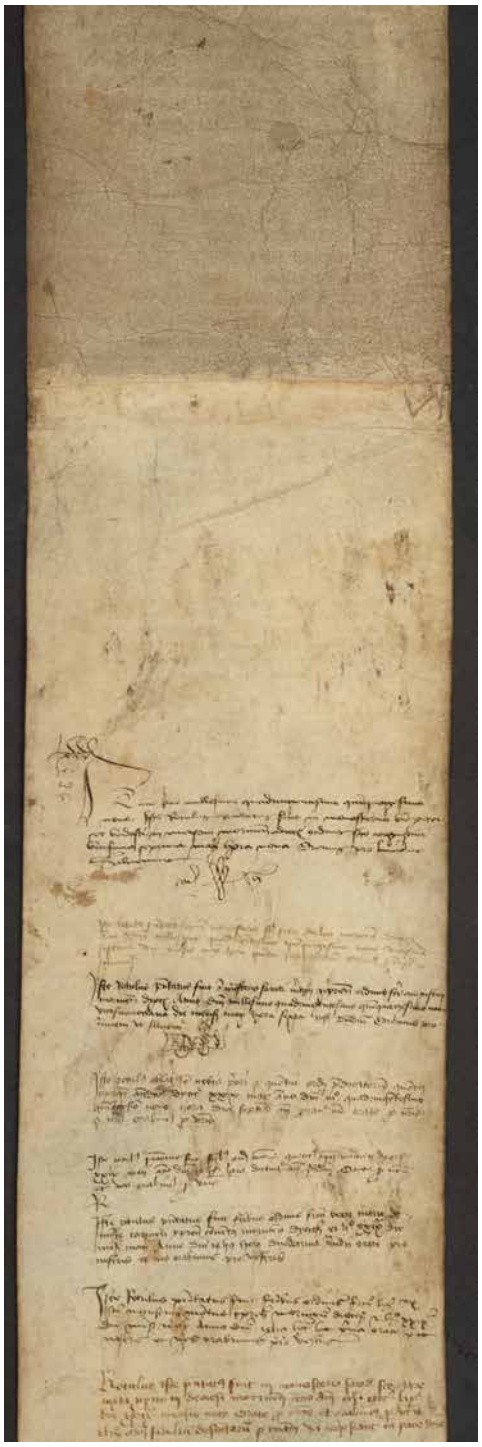

Fig. 6.5
Folio 3v, signatures. Mortuary Roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (1458–1459), Vorst. Vellum, leather, wood, 1295.6 x 18.5 cm. Manchester: University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 114.Photo: © John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

the formulaic promise—*oravimus pro vestris, orate pro nostris*, 'we'll pray for your dead if you pray for ours'—or some variation on these words. In this way, the roll presents the viewer with an offer demanding reciprocity. The signatures occupy both the front and back surfaces of the roll, chronologically running from the third membrane to the last, before continuing onto the back of the third membrane and not the first (the frontispiece), or the second (the encyclical). This supports the idea that the frontispiece and perhaps the encyclical were not attached to the roll until after all of the signatures were collected. If so, like the frontispiece, the decorated encyclical could have been a copy of an obituary letter, and it could also have been made separately to the rest of the roll.[19]

Attached to a leather cover, the first membrane of the 'sConincs roll is a frontispiece consisting of an upper and lower register featuring spiritual figures above earthly ones. The upper register presents named images of the Virgin and Child, to whom the abbey was dedicated, St Benedict on the left, the order to which the nuns belonged, and St Elisabeth on the right, the Abbess' patron saint. The frame's upper edge has been trimmed, cutting into the upper two of four evangelist symbols in the spandrels (fig 6.2). The lower register features an image of a dying abbess and members of her community at Forest, along with two priests who conducted the daily religious rituals in the convent. A group of nuns may represent the living community or the other dead mentioned in the roll; damage to the nuns' faces and to other parts of the frontispiece does not seem intentional or related to its use.[20] Illuminated in gold, specific elements unify the two registers and focus viewing: the staff held behind the head of the Abbess Elisabeth in the lower register echoes St Benedict's gold staff in the upper register; likewise, the religious figures' haloes and attributes are balanced by the gold background below, along with representations of enlarged liturgical instruments (cross, censer, incense-ship, monstrance, holy water bucket), which reference aspects of the Mass and death ritual.[21] The frontispiece aligns heavenly and earthly realms, appropriate for an object used to encourage and embody the exchange of prayers by the living for the dead.[22] An expensive, deluxe image, the 'sConincs frontispiece exhibits what Herbert Kessler and Caroline Walker Bynum refer to as an object's 'overt materiality': the capacity for painted religious sculptures, reliquaries and other objects to draw attention to embellishments with precious materials such as gemstones or gold.[23]

The 'sConincs roll's frontispiece follows the conventions of most later medieval frontispieces: a series of vertically sequential registers, usually at least two, starting with a spiritual figure or set of spiritual figures representing the institution's order and saint, followed by either a deathbed scene (with the head oriented to the left), a funeral, an interment, or all three scenes beneath it. Not all

mortuary rolls have illuminated frontispieces, but the Ebchester-Burnby roll includes elements common to many that do: three vertically ordered architectural registers, which begin with an image of the Heavenly Jerusalem, above scenes of the death of a prior with a soul being carried to heaven, and burial.[24] Collectively, these prefatory images evoke the prayers and Masses considered crucial for expediting the soul's journey through purgatory.[25]

The conventional format for the frontispiece allowed it to be altered and reused, and its separation from the signatures even when stored together is not uncommon.[26] Other remarkable frontispieces demonstrate both the consistency of the register format—featuring institutional and individual patron saints above a deathbed and/or funeral scene—and the range of forms of depiction. The mortuary roll of Lucy de Vere, founder and prioress of the priory of St Cross and St Mary at Castle Hedingham (c.1225-1230), has one of the earliest surviving mortuary roll frontispieces: an image of the crucifixion and the Virgin, followed underneath by an image of Lucy de Vere's soul being carried to heaven by two angels, and below it, a funeral.[27] The mortuary roll from the Abbey of Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (1439-1441) presents an image of the martyrdom of St Bénigne above recumbent abbots Etienne de La Feuillée (1430-1434) and Pierre Brenot (1435-1438).[28] Almost a century later, the extraordinary mortuary roll of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster (c.1532), features an image of Islip among labels naming his virtues, followed by images of his death, funeral, and chantry chapel.[29] Putting aside debates about the Islip roll's status as unfinished or preparatory, its drawings retain these longstanding iconographic elements common to mortuary roll frontispieces. The only part of Islip's encyclical to survive is the decorated letter U (inhabited by a coronation) of *Universis*, and on the right side an image of a monk passing a roll to a layman, perhaps intended to represent a roll bearer, whose role in the object's facture is usually acknowledged in the encyclical text.[30]

Like frontispieces, encyclicals also adhered to a conventional format and formulaic language, often modelled on other obituary letters.[31] The 'sConincs roll's encyclical begins with a decorated letter inhabited by a Virgin and Child, announces the death of the Abbess Elisabeth, and includes the following request: 'We earnestly beseech you that you may favourably and kindly wish to receive the bearer of the present roll, namely Johannes Leonis, when he comes, so that we may reciprocate our gratitude to you and yours in similar circumstances' (fig. 6.3). As servants of the dead, roll bearers may have been caricatured as vultures of death, but communities were expected to accommodate them.[32] The making of the frontispiece, encyclical, and *tituli* at different times represents only some of the participants engaged in the making of the roll. Critically, it is

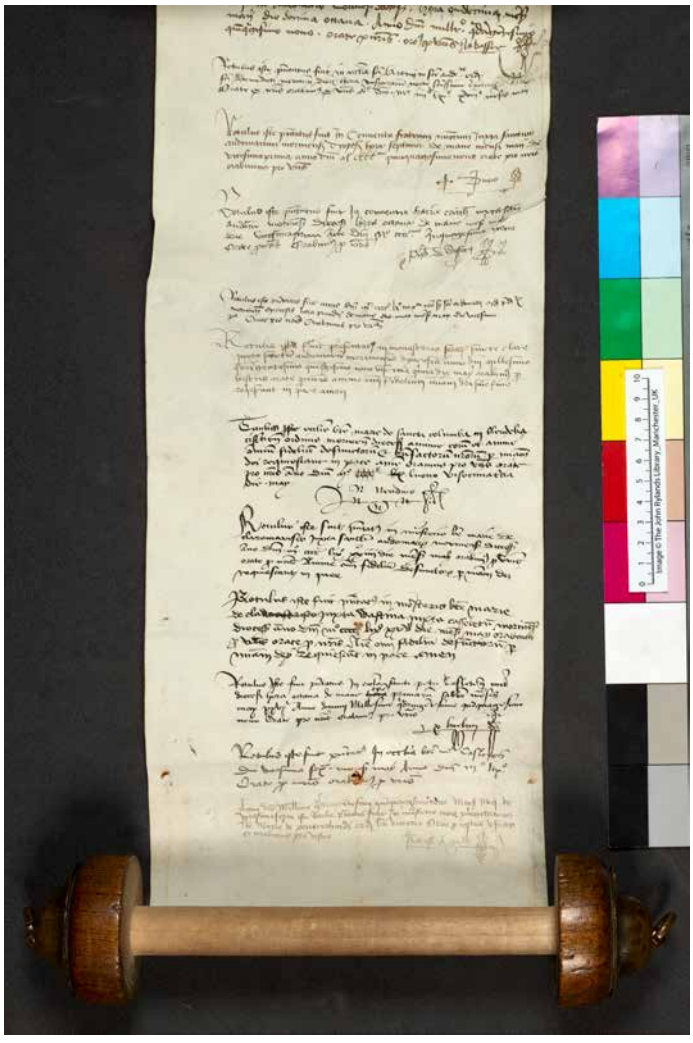

Fig. 6.6
Folio 19r, signatures and roll holder. Mortuary Roll of Elisabeth 'sConincs (1458–1459), Vorst. Vellum, leather, wood, 1295.6 x 18.5 cm. Manchester: University of Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Latin MS 114. Photo: © John Rylands University Library, Manchester.

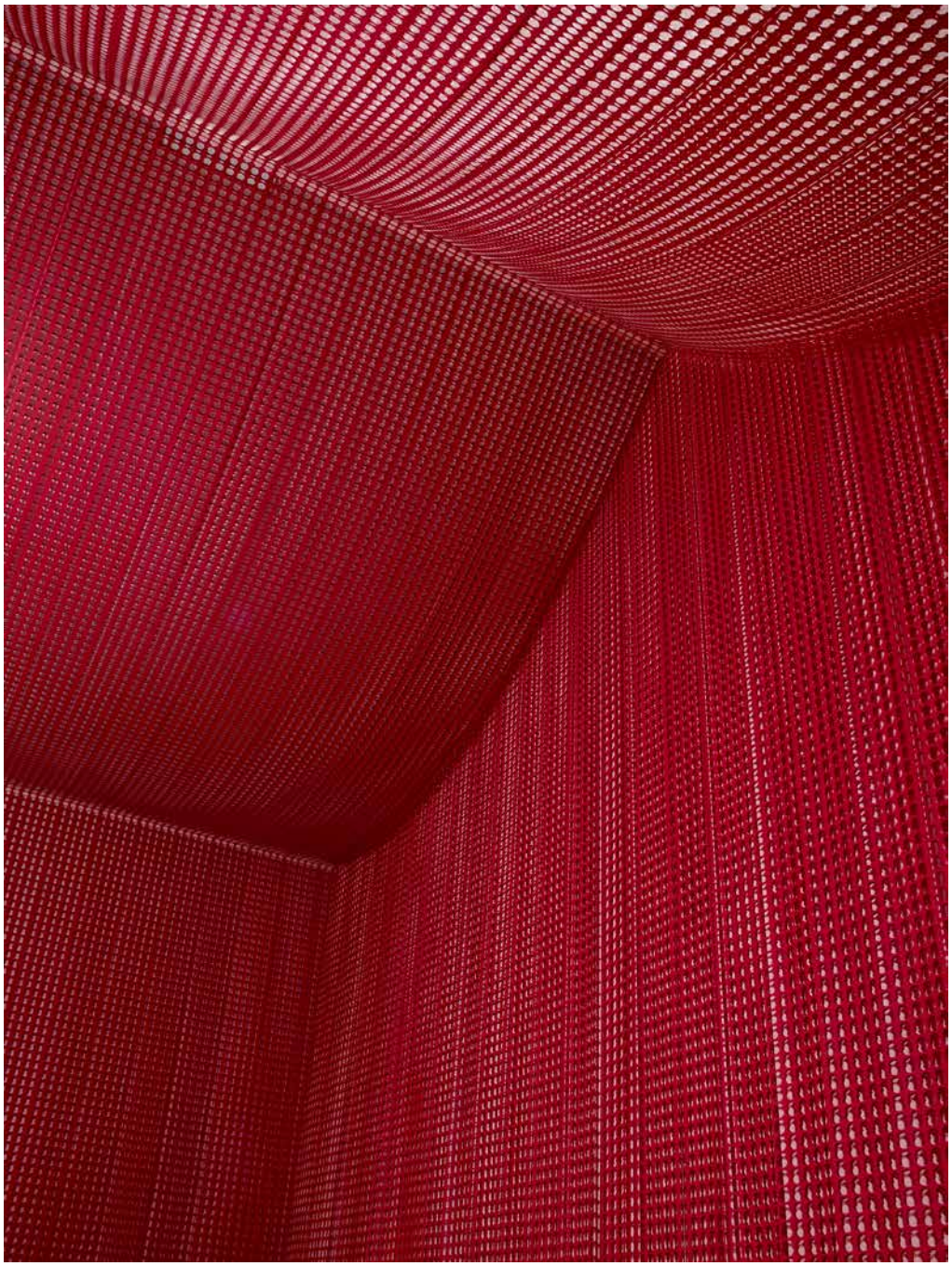

Fig. 6.7
Cornelia Parker, *War Room* (2015). Perforated paper negatives left over from production of remembrance poppies, with thanks to The Poppy Factory, Richmond and The Royal British Legion, dimensions variable. Installation commissioned by The Whitworth, Manchester. Photo: © The Whitworth, Manchester.

important to acknowledge that at different stages in the assemblage of mortuary rolls, religious and lay men and women in elite and lower ranks collectively viewed, made, and handled parts of the roll, or played a part in these activities. They did so through material actions related to commissioning or illuminating the frontispiece and encyclical: collecting signatures, signing the roll, and also after signatures were collected through engaging in prayer.[33] The 'making' of the roll did not end with its return to the abbey a year later, but continued through the celebration of anniversary Masses, the practice of which will be addressed later in this chapter.

Over time, the 'sConincs roll lost its original significance as a binding institutional record and as a constituent element of institutional memory. Forest Abbey was deliberately burned in 1582 and another fire took place in 1764 before the institution was finally suppressed in 1796, so although the mortuary roll survived it is not known precisely when it left the community and when its primary original function changed.[34] By 1899 it was purchased from the sale of Henry Yates Thompson's Ashburnham Appendix manuscripts where it entered the Crawford collection and eventually the Rylands, but there is a significant gap between the abbey's suppression and the

manuscript's sale.[35] It is not known why and how the 'sConincs roll survived unscathed. Questions remain about the roll's visibility within the abbey around the time it was made, the physical contexts for its display, handling and storage in 1459, and its immediate aftermath. As previously suggested, it could have been in permanent storage, possibly periodically consulted, or it could have been unfurled and put on display occasionally for anniversary Mass celebrations dedicated to Abbess Elisabeth. The viewers (including makers and audiences) of mortuary rolls had no reason to record facts about use and display. Our knowledge about the historic visibility and forms of physical display, handling, and engagement of the 'sConincs roll may be limited, but broader conceptual considerations about it as a form can allow us to speculate on these matters.

Scrolls and Mortuary Rolls: Form and Physical Engagement

As a form, the roll has a long history, and its survival relates to the practical purposes that made it so necessary for certain kinds of contents. Most frequently referred to in Latin as a *rotulus* (roll or scroll), rolls preserved writing on a series of pieces of papyrus, parchment, or paper stitched or glued together, often wound around a roll holder (an *umbilicus*); when unrolled, they could be horizontally or vertically read.[36] Ancient Egyptian papyrus rolls preceded Greek and Roman rolls, with parchment rolls increasingly produced from the third century.[37] Important early twentieth-century studies of the roll form describe the gradual transition from the roll of Antiquity to the codex of the Middle Ages, as the 'triumph' of the codex over the roll in the fourth century.[38] In his classic study *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*, Kurt Weitzmann proposed that the codex brought with it the emancipation of the image from the text in the form of the frontispiece.[39] Debates about the reasons behind the transition from roll to codex continued in the work of Colin Roberts, T.C. Skeat, and William Harris, but the tendency to promote the codex over the roll denigrated the roll format as if it were outmoded technology.[40]

More relevant to this chapter is the roll's survival rather than its decline. By the later Middle Ages, the roll became the more established format for specific types of religious and secular texts. Michael Clanchy found 'more history than logic' in the range of document styles in the later Middle Ages, describing the variations as adaptations of materials and formats rather than planned innovations, adaptations that were part of 'bureaucratic routine'.[41] Clanchy also identified the use of parchment in itself as an attempt to preserve words for posterity in the late Middle Ages, noting that 'to write on parchment was to make a lasting memorial … Parchment documents were valued in a way that no modern

Fig 6.8
Fiona Banner, *Scroll Down and Keep Scrolling* (2015). Book covers, tape, dimensions variable. Installation view at Ikon Gallery, Birmingham (10 Oct 2015–17 January 2016). Photo: © The artist and Frith Street Gallery, London.

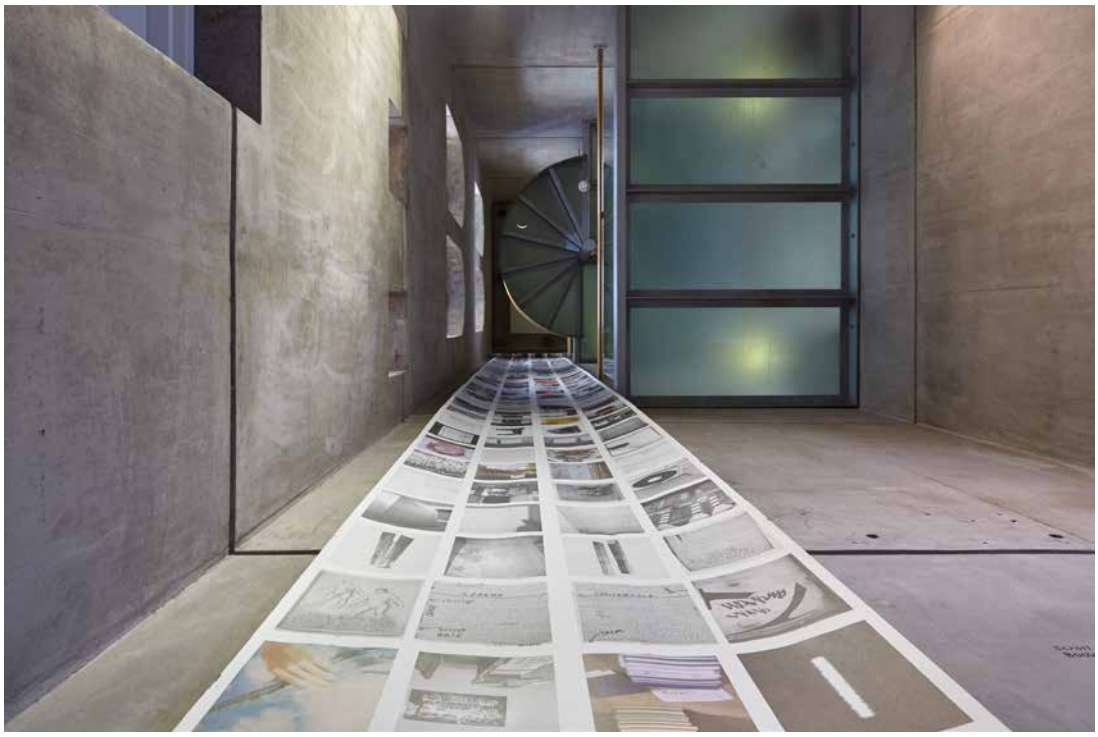

Fig 6.9
Fiona Banner, *Scroll Down and Keep Scrolling* (2015). Book covers, tape, dimensions variable. Installation view at Ikon Gallery, Birmingham (10 Oct 2015–17 January 2016). Photo: © The artist and Frith Street Gallery, London.

literate can appreciate.'[42] He noted that in the twelfth century, the increase in popularity of the Latin term *rotulus* to describe a record in roll format implies that the roll became the more established form for specific types of texts, both religious and secular.[43] In a world dominated by codices, but with other formats produced alongside, scholars have argued that the roll format had an 'archaisising function' and a 'quasi-public authority' linked to its symbolic, functional purposes and official uses: special practical or legal, ceremonial or liturgical functions.[44] More recent understandings assert that the purpose of a specific text dictated the choice of format.[45] Mary Agnes Edsall has called for a rethinking of assumptions about the authoritative associations of the roll form, arguing for its ubiquity in the face of the ephemerality of smaller extra-official or non-official and non-luxury rolls.[46] Debates about private versus public or congregational displays of different types of rolls have tended to settle into an understanding that medieval rolls were used for several distinct purposes and contexts: some legal and others liturgical; some private and intimate, yet others publicly displayed; some were intended to be more portable and ephemeral, yet others portable but permanent.[47] Mortuary rolls test and transgress such neat and clear distinctions.

Conceptual and material affinities between mortuary rolls and other vertical rolls (*transversa charta*) such as official and private statute rolls, genealogical rolls, prayer and amuletic rolls, and Exultet rolls, can inform speculation about the mortuary roll's potential uses and forms of display. Like statute rolls, mortuary rolls were binding documents, records of spiritual networks and promises of prayer exchange; like genealogical rolls, they confirmed spiritual and earthly inheritance and succession (of institutional leadership). They were designed to protect souls, like prayer rolls; in their request for collective prayers; they also possessed a liturgical function, like an Exultet roll. Although prayer rolls and textual amulets can be found in ancient cultures and were geographically widespread—and genealogical rolls also have a long history—the production and survival of some rolls were not so common. Official governmental rolls (Exchequer and Chancery, Pipe Rolls) and private statute rolls were a unique form of legal administration in England. Exultet rolls were produced in Southern Italy from the tenth through the fourteenth centuries, and most mortuary rolls were made in central and northern France and Catalonia from the eighth century, with more widespread production found later in England, Belgium, Germany, and Austria.[48] These four types of rolls were also used in different ways: consulted when needed, read or sung aloud in citing a claim, or deployed in a performative context.[49]

A consideration of the purposes of these four roll types—statute, genealogical, prayer, and Exultet rolls—and their potential forms of handling and engagement, is useful when speculating about possible engagement practices and contexts for the mortuary roll. First, the statute roll (*statuta Angliae*) was a genre of legal literature encompassing the compilation of statutes, royal documents, legal treatises, and other records written in Latin and Anglo-Norman French, produced in codex form, but also in many different physical and textual forms—including roll forms—from the late thirteenth century. Private or non-official statute rolls were produced for ecclesiastical and secular landowners, merchants, and lawyers up to the early fourteenth centuries in the form of stacks of parchment membranes arranged in archival order and stitched together at the head, like other legal rolls such as Exchequer rolls, rather than assembled head to foot in a continuous roll of substantial length, like genealogical, prayer, and Exultet rolls.[50] The purpose of the genealogical roll was largely didactic, but also authoritative and consultative in its vertical tracing of the lineage of Christ, royalty, or nobility, and in the case of royal and aristocratic genealogies, could be linked to claims and rights to power; genealogies concurrently appeared in roll and codex forms throughout the Middle Ages.[51]

Like genealogical rolls, prayer rolls or amuletic rolls were also vertically read. They were protective or apotropaic objects: unrolled, visually examined, and read aloud; very occasionally placed around the abdomen during childbirth; rolled up and stored in containers; and suspended from chains and worn around the neck or in a pocket.[52] Instructions contained in the roll directed forms of physical or tactile engagement.[53] In this way, individuals used prayer rolls like Books of Hours: physical actions linked to devotional experience such as rubbing or marking could alter both books and rolls, but the flexible size and form of the prayer roll made possible a more corporeal, intimate experience in its physical binding to or wrapping around a part of the body. In some cases, drinking the watered-down ink taken from a prayer roll was thought to aid an affliction.[54] The folding or rolling of a textual amulet made them bi-directional, both vertically and horizontally legible.[55]

Unlike the varied forms of physical engagement and handling associated with the types of rolls above, as liturgical texts intended for ceremonial display, Exultet rolls had one form: they were consistently collectively viewed by a congregation and designed for that purpose. Consisting of hymns and prayers, music, and images, Exultet rolls were used in the consecration of the Paschal candle in the Easter liturgy. A critical part of a larger ceremony, the Exultet roll was a performative object: as the deacon sang and unfurled the roll from an elevated pulpit, the images were often—but not always—integrated upside down in the text, so that they appeared right side up before the congregation. Kelly links their survival and continuing manufacture through the nineteenth century to their status as extraordinarily precious and flexible objects, their form sumptuous and able to accommodate new texts or music.[56]

To a greater or lesser extent, performative dimensions underlie all of the above roll forms and perhaps this dimension played a part in their survival. We know that rolls existed alongside books, booklets, and folded pieces of parchment and paper throughout the late Middle Ages and beyond: representations of rolls point to this complementary coexistence. Skemer identifies perhaps the best visual depiction of this in the Workshop of Robert Campin's *Annunciation Triptych* (Merode Altarpiece) (c.1427–32), its partly unfurled prayer roll and Book of Hours occupying the Virgin's table, signifying the popularity of both in private devotional practice.[57] As symbols, when represented with books, rolls often represented the Old Testament or the Judaic foundations of Christianity. Rolls represented the ancient past and ruins in Eumnestes's chamber in Spenser's *Faery Queen* (1590/6), where: 'all was hangd about with rolls,/ And old records from ancient times derivd,/ Some made in books, some in long parchment scrolls,/ That were all worm-eaten and full of canker holes.'[58] By 1600, the scroll remained a critical prop, a dramatic symbolic object, as in Christopher Marlowe's *Faustus* when he hands over to Satan (Mephistopheles) the 'deede of gift of body and of soule', with its list of conditions read out loud: 'I of necessitie, for

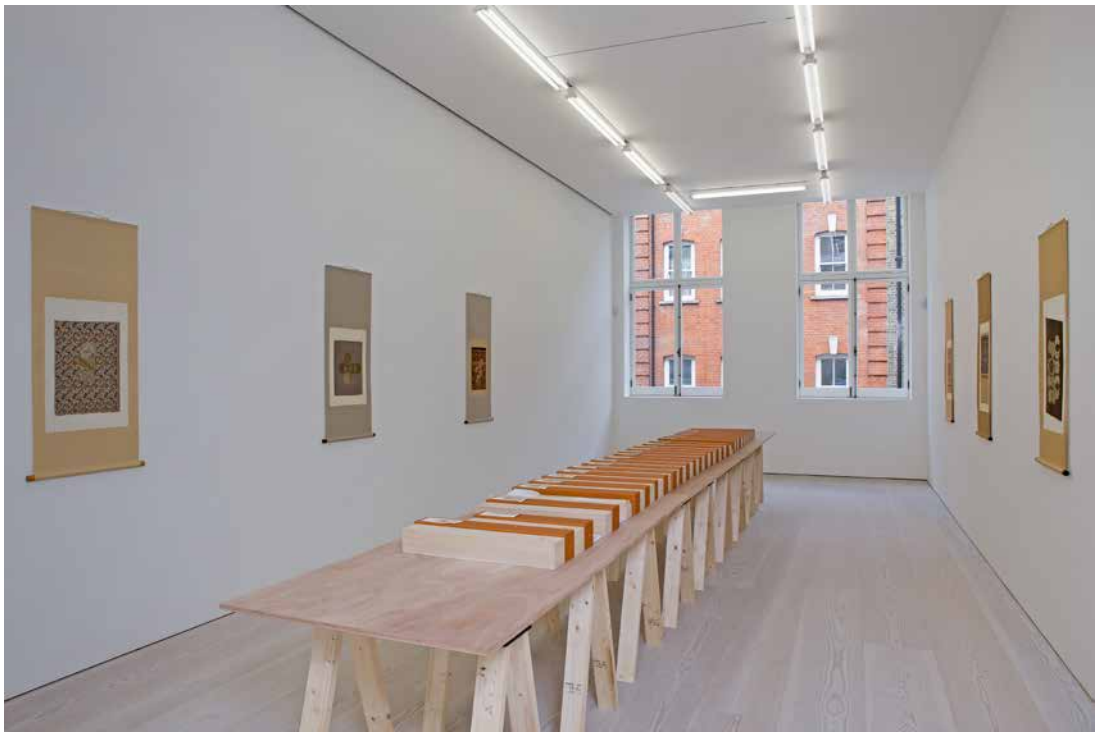

Fig. 6.10 Gabriel Orozco, *Obi Scrolls* (2015). Silk, washi, Japanese wood, dimensions variable. Installation view at Marian Goodman Gallery, London. Photo: © Stephen White.

here's the scrowle, Wherein thou hast giuen thy soule to Lucifer.'[59] These representations reveal the continued relevance of the roll form as temporal markers in late medieval and early modern works of literature and visual art, with the capacity to reference the authority and the legacy of the distant past, acts of everyday personal devotion in the present, authorised institutional or personal claims to ownership, or other forms of relationship to be perpetuated in the future. As charged symbols or as background clutter, as domestic objects regularly handled or as records gathering dust in storage, the roll form possessed a motility and range of applications which contributed to its historic tenacity as an object.

Visibility, Display and Storage

If these late medieval and early modern representations of different kinds of rolls characterised them in a variety of states and conditions that alluded to their handling or storage, it is important to consider their performative contexts and engagement practices as several rather than singular, and as varied and temporal rather than fixed. Similarly, the making and viewing of the 'sConincs roll entailed several contexts and agents, including the illumination of the frontispiece and the writing of the encyclical letter, the collection of signatures over the course of a year, and the practice of prayers after the roll was returned. However, it is a type of object without a continuous historical purpose or references to how it was viewed after signatures were collected.

Lacking the circumscribed liturgical purposes of Exultet rolls and the written instructions found in some prayer rolls, the 'sConincs roll calls for more expansive approaches in order to understand its viewing contexts after its return to Forest Abbey. An anachronistic or comparative historical approach can address the mortuary roll's performative durational dimensions by expanding the range of potential forms of encounter with the roll. But unlike some anachronistic approaches that suggest that medieval and contemporary rolls or their museum display practices and contexts are analogous, I will use this approach, as Hal Foster suggests, 'as a vantage point from which to revise the (distant) past'.[60] The 'vantage point' of the present does not pretend to diminish historical distance, but rather helps us to acknowledge how current display practices restrict viewing encounters to

a single fixed view which focuses on textual and visual elements, rather than presenting them as mutable objects that were handled and encountered in a variety of ways. These fixed views of historic rolls stand in stark contrast to the more relaxed (although still regulated) environmental conditions of contemporary art galleries, which present the roll form as a three-dimensional object with particular material and aesthetic qualities, whether as an autonomous sculptural object or part of a larger installation. Reflection on the different display practices for medieval rolls and rolls in contemporary art helps us to acknowledge the differences between conventional contexts for encountering rolls in the present and in the past. Taking these differences into consideration, along with observations on the scale, purpose, and forms of handling and engagement of other medieval illuminated rolls, we can acknowledge the roll's material, three-dimensional characteristics and its capacity for changing states (and multiple views) through unrolling, making it possible to propose a range of scenarios for collective engagement with the mortuary roll. In this section, therefore, observations on museum display practices for medieval rolls and for roll forms in contemporary art, followed by a discussion of forms of handling and viewing other medieval rolls, will inform my thoughts on potential viewing contexts and storage for the 'sConincs roll.

In their current contexts, most mortuary rolls sit in storage, no longer called upon to expedite souls through purgatory. They are assets valued for their material, historic, cultural, and economic characteristics rather than for their role in prayer exchange. They are physically unwieldy objects and few public institutions are in a position to dedicate enough space to display large sections of them on a long-term basis. Like any medieval manuscript, medieval rolls require stable environmental and material conditions provided by secure cases and galleries with controlled temperature, light, and humidity levels. Most mortuary rolls are displayed flat in standard cases that allow a small part of the roll to be shown, as was the case with the 'sConincs roll in *The Sparkle of Dust: Spotlight on the Rylands Archives* (John Rylands Library, 1997) and the mortuary roll of Amphelisa, Prioress of Lillechurch (c.1225-30), in *All Conquering Death* (St John's College, Cambridge, 2012).[61] Increasingly, other types of rolls with vertically progressing imagery such as genealogical rolls have been vertically displayed or mounted at an angle, as for example in *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (British Library, 2011).[62] Longer-term displays of medieval Western rolls include the vertical display of the *Genealogica Christi* (c.1230) at the Cloisters in New York, and regularly changing views of parts of the Guthlac roll (1175-1215) in a generous table vitrine in *Treasures of the British Library* (Sir John Ritblat Gallery, British Library).[63] More recently, in *COLOUR: The Art and Science of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fitzwilliam Museum, 2016), the suspension and extension of a substantial part of the fifteenth-century Ripley alchemical scroll, supported by a specially designed mount, directed attention to the act of unfurling the roll.[64]

In an exhibition and an online database, the project *Medieval Scrolls at Harvard* (Houghton Library, Harvard University, 2014) explored the scroll/roll form's continued use in the age of the codex.[65] Viewed digitally, rolls are conventionally presented in codex-like sections and fragments, although more projects are underway to replicate scrolling through complete rolls.[66] As part of this publication, for the first time the 'sConincs roll has been rendered into a single, scrollable digital roll, expanding its viewing networks and display contexts. However, all of these forms of display physically distance rolls from the viewer, rendering them static and visible only through glass or a screen. Apart from archivists and academics, few individuals encounter rolls as three-dimensional objects through physically handling them.

Stability and distance from human contact are necessary conditions for the preservation and survival of medieval rolls and for any vulnerable artefact or artwork. Conventionally, art galleries and museums rarely support audience interactions that take the form of moving, handling and manipulating historic objects unless they are part of the work or carefully regulated, or a facsimile is provided. From Adorno to Crimp, longstanding critiques of museums as mausolea—institutions that ossify artefacts through preservation and perpetual conservation in attempts to deny the nature of change and decay—draw attention to the impossibility of recontexualising artefacts

when 'original contexts' are not simply defined or singular.[67] In Amy Knight Powell's research on late medieval sculptures of the Deposition of Christ (crucifixes with moveable arms), with her application of the term 'promiscuous' to describe objects that were regularly relocated and her understanding of them as 'dead', she proposes that we understand their situation in a museum 'less as a regrettable loss of their original context and "life" than as a perfectly appropriate expression of their carefully engineered capacity to be taken down and to be put up again'.[68] Powell's terms are particularly appropriate for a mortuary roll: an itinerant object material in form, but ephemeral and intangible in its purpose of eliciting spiritual actions.

Like Deposition sculptures, the 'sConincs roll encouraged prayers and regularly changed its location and appearance, opening and closing during its period of facture, and now exists solely as a material object divorced from its earliest users. With belief in the quantitative efficacy of prayers no longer a conventional part of contemporary life, mortuary rolls are not only (like all museum artefacts) institutionally and culturally decontextualised, but they are also challenging to interpret in a definitive way. As a repository of prayer exchange, the mortuary roll brought together material and spiritual worlds through the compilation of tangible, signed promises, and the intangible activity of collective prayer. Collective prayer is a form of intangible cultural heritage, a category defined by UNESCO as the practices and knowledges of a culture and a field of study in itself.[69] The preservation and presentation of intangible heritage is challenging for institutions not specifically designed for it; conventional display practices that fix to one place objects designed for movement unwittingly limit views of the material object, separating it from its intangible devotional uses and from any form of mobile handling, so that ultimately characteristics such as motility are lost, and its form is obscured.[70] Thus, a vitrined display of a mortuary roll represents a fractional view of its material form, and nothing of its intangible activities (prayer conducted by prayer networks), rendering it now even more remote as an object with no contemporary presence or familiar purpose.

In contrast to this partial view of a defunct object, roll forms in contemporary art can provide another perspective on the 'sConincs roll's durational and performative characteristics. Although obviously radically different to mortuary rolls, rolls in contemporary art works respond to the problem of the roll form's mutability and performative dimensions because of their capacity to generate more intimate, time-based viewing experiences than are available in most museums displaying medieval manuscripts. Contemporary art galleries regularly facilitate closer encounters with artworks and support the realisation of artworks based on ephemeral and durational activity.[71] Without protective elements such as glass frames, Perspex hoods and barriers, viewers experience greater physical access to paintings, sculptures, and installations. In this environment, roll forms can be more fully encountered as three-dimensional objects or as moveable performative elements. One of the most iconic performances to include a roll is Carolee Schneeman's *Interior Scroll* (1975), in which she slowly extracted a scroll from inside her body and read aloud from it. Another ephemeral artwork to incorporate rolls is Ian Breakwell's performance *Unword* (1969/70), which featured the artist tearing through an installation of large rolls of suspended paper. Both performances were characterised by the temporality of their display, their durational and changing forms, and the capacity for rolls to be understood as extensions of and surrogates for the body.

The roll or scroll as body surrogate also features in work by the artists Fiona Banner, Gabriel Orozco, and Cornelia Parker, artworks that particularly resonate with several characteristics of the mortuary roll. Cornelia Parker's installation *War Room* (2015) represented the bodies of the collective dead through absence, amassing the repetitive elements of identical, mechanical poppy-cuts in scrolls suspended from the ceiling and cascading down the walls (fig. 6.7). The installation commemorated past military deaths on a mass scale, but also collapsed time in its reference to the relentlessness of poppy production and war deaths in the present, past, and future.[72] In Fiona Banner's retrospective exhibition *Scroll Down and Keep Scrolling*, her title piece, a single monumental scroll suspended from an extensive height presented a series of printed images of

artworks, representing a body of work made over two decades and alluding to the body of the artist herself (figs 6.8 and 6.9).[73]

Unlike the large-scale work of Banner and Parker, Orozco's anti-monumental presentation of both scrolls and their containers relates more closely to the body of the individual viewer, referring to the objects' mutability and peripatetic states: rolled up and stored, rolled out and vertically suspended for viewing (fig. 6.10). Displayed on walls accompanied by numbered wooden and cardboard containers on tables in the centre of the gallery, Orozco's abstract collages, made out of circular cuttings from *obi* (kimono sashes), flipped to show both the obverse and reverse side of the weave, imply a narrative of their movement between display and storage. They have been called 'waiting objects', Orozco's term for temporary objects suggestive of a ritual purpose or system of signals, but ultimately enigmatic.[74]

All of these works share a number of characteristics with the 'sConincs roll: their displays were temporary and collectively made for collective viewing; they were commemorative; they were not presented in vitrines, so they could be seen as three-dimensional objects with the capacity for movement; finally, and perhaps most importantly, they registered as body surrogates in different ways. In contrast to conventional presentations of historic manuscripts behind glass, these artworks share space with the viewer, revealing the distance between encounters with historic manuscripts in conventional museum displays and our capacity to imagine encounters with them in the contemporary medieval world. If we understand mortuary rolls as durational objects with performative dimensions, rather than as simple carriers of texts and images, we can come to think of them as body surrogates. Or, in order to recognise concepts of soul-body dualism, as body and soul surrogates, with the roll commemorating the abbess's earthly achievements and marking her soul's status in purgatory.[75]

Medieval Rolls and their Handling

Although other types of medieval rolls did not share the same commemorative purposes, they were also durational objects with performative dimensions. The greatest physical closeness to rolls comes with handling them, and information about the scale and viewing practices of the later medieval rolls mentioned earlier can provide more evidence relevant to speculations about the 'sConincs roll. Variations in the length of each type of roll are considerable, with some mortuary and prayer rolls as a long as twenty metres. However, it is their widths that are more distinct and critical to establishing the scale of the encounter, with prayer rolls and textual amulets the smallest, ranging in width from a little over one centimetre to around twenty centimetres; official and private statute rolls as well as genealogical rolls range in width from twenty to twenty-eight centimetres and wider; while Exultet rolls have an average width of around twenty-eight centimetres (27.85 cm), with lengths extending to over seventy centimetres (70.36 cm).[76] Mortuary rolls vary in size from fifteen to twenty-seven centimeters wide.[77] Individuals rather than large groups tended to consult statute rolls and prayer rolls.[78] Statute rolls could be viewed either in private or in court to make a claim in land ownership disputes, and smaller prayer rolls and textual amulets could be read or worn for apotropaic purposes: either unrolled and read or worn, physically bound to the body, or worn rolled up and encased, suspended from a chain.[79] Significantly larger in scale than most prayer rolls, Exultet rolls presented images to congregations through unrolling, vertical movements. As pedagogical tools intended to educate viewers about historical events, ancestral and familial lineage, and pedigree, genealogical rolls are largely thought to have been viewed on tables or desks by groups as well as by individuals, with an authoritative guide progressing through it in sections as it was unrolled.[80]

With all four of these roll types, the 'sConincs roll shares characteristics: it preserved and stored its claims to promised prayers as if they were a form of currency or property, like a statute roll; its purpose was to evoke spiritual power through prayer, like a prayer roll; it addressed a group

and could have been used once a year, like an Exultet roll. In the frontispiece's upper and lower registers, the 'sConincs roll also has an affinity with the vertical designs of genealogical rolls and prayer rolls, commemorating spiritual and earthly relationships and lineage in the representations of patron saints, nuns and priests.[81] However, it is also different to these rolls: neither monumental nor intimate, neither wholly liturgical nor a bodily accessory, but a commemorative object that collapses time, bringing together past, present and future in its facture and use.

Of all of the 'sConincs roll's differences with other roll types, the contrast between images and text in the frontispiece, encyclical, and its signatures is most pronounced. Its components could be viewed by an individual or a small group, but the size of its frontispiece—smaller than an Exultet roll but similar in scale, and its potential separation from the roll—suggests it could have been displayed in a spatially restricted liturgical setting. The frontispiece's trimmed top edge also suggests its unintentional loss through wear if the top edge was routinely affixed to a wall. When compared to the very worn first two membranes, the frontispiece and the encyclical, the membranes that follow appear less well-handled, which suggests that the *tituli* were not frequently fully examined. Scholars have largely rejected speculations about the fixing to walls of most genealogical and *Arma Christi* rolls, because their images and texts are not large enough to register for viewers beyond an arm's distance, and one might apply this thinking to mortuary rolls.[82] Again, however, it is important to note that mortuary rolls differ in their collective construction and collective commemorative purpose, with initially separate and potentially detachable elements, and associations with anniversary Masses.[83] The spiritual network's collective prayers practised by groups and for groups suggest that the frontispiece may also have been viewed by a group. It is possible that the frontispiece alone could have been temporarily displayed near an altar, attached to a wall, or laid flat on another surface, occupying a role similar to a print nailed to a wall or the sculpted plaques commemorating the foundation of anniversary Masses in the Burgundian Netherlands.[84] Set into walls near altars, such plaques share with mortuary rolls associations with commemoration, ritual and prayer exchange.

However, an image on parchment is not monumentally fixed in the same way as a foundation plaque. The expectation that sumptuous images must primarily have been on public or formal display restricts the range of possible engagement contexts. The modes of display discussed above encompass constricted vertical or horizontal views of scrolls secured under glass or digitally viewed on a screen, as opposed to the original—variably suspended or potentially manipulated—temporary displays of the contemporary scroll and its status as a body/soul surrogate, evoking the simultaneous absence and presence of a body. Such forms of presentation free up viewing practices to include the visual or scopic, the performative and corporeal: ones that involve physical handling; reading alone or singing out loud to a group as performer; or looking at and listening to as viewer. Mortuary rolls therefore elicited several forms of engagement rather than solely one. Yet none of these scenarios includes the equally important idea of storage as display, a legitimate aspect of its history.

Thus my final point about the multiple modes of, and contexts for, physical and visual engagement with the 'sConincs roll considers the significance of its absence from view. It may have been collectively made and included in a Mass celebration, but even if it was displayed more than once a year, it must have been in storage most of the time. Critically, an object out of sight and in storage was not invisible in the Middle Ages. Even in institutions with libraries, late medieval records and manuscripts were often kept together with other liturgical objects; inventories and catalogues put them at the end of a long list often because of their formal differences, but in some cases, because of their special contents.[85] As Pierre-Alain Mariaux's insights into the functions of the treasury suggest, the treasury held objects with simultaneously terrestrial and celestial associations, serving as a threshold between visible and invisible worlds.[86] The medieval treasury, and to a certain extent libraries too, contained a collection of donations and acquisitions that as a whole represented the religious and lay communities, forming a kind of memorial of institutional

history. The 'sConincs roll may have been just such a memorial, representing an abbess important to Forest: this would in theory help account for its survival. Certain objects in treasuries were reused or transformed, and others conserved or preserved. Many of the highly valuable items in the treasury were there, Mariaux argues, because they were signs of something invisible.

The 'sConincs roll certainly encompasses signs of invisible actions. Portable and expandable, the mortuary roll addressed and involved nearly 400 religious communities over the course of its facture. By understanding the list of collective signatures as a register of future actions, all of the communities can be understood to fulfill the performative elements of the mortuary roll through the labour of prayer exchange. The roll therefore operates like a binding register, where prayers become both possessions and debts in the exchange: intangible, highly valuable forms of capital in a spiritual economy made material. The frontispiece represents this invisible activity, with the image of the dead abbess and her community both a witness to the collective signatures and a reference to ongoing, collective prayer once the roll was returned to the abbey.

It is tempting to assume that the 'sConincs roll's frontispiece could only have been made to be displayed in a formal, devotional setting. Returning to its status as an expensive, deluxe image exhibiting characteristics of 'overt materiality', the size and quality of the image, along with its extensive gilding, suggests that it was intended to be shown, with the enlarged liturgical elements emphasising aspects of Mass celebration.[87] In a candlelit devotional setting, it would have had a spectacular presence, its reflective gold elements mirroring the liturgical instruments in the Mass.[88] Its display near an altar during the Abbess Elisabeth's anniversary Mass celebration connected her religious family in prayer to hundreds of other religious communities. However, the idea that the 'sConincs roll had to be displayed in a devotional context in order to register its visibility should not override the potential significance of its invisibility in storage in a treasury or a similar space, inhabiting a threshold between earthly and spiritual worlds. The roll had an intangible function as a collection of promised prayers and exchange, potentially consulted and displayed for anniversary celebrations, and stored again, like Exultet rolls. Winged altarpieces featuring donor portraits, such as those in Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgement* of the Beaune Altarpiece (c.1445–1450), present potential commemorative parallels with the 'sConincs roll and its changing states of visibility in regularly changing display contexts.[89]

As an obit, a commemorative image, and both the official record of and authoritative contract for perpetual networks of prayer, the 'sConincs roll is a rich, problematic object to interpret. Speculation about the mortuary roll's forms of physical engagement and viewing practices, from its announcement of a death and requests for prayer exchange, to its return to the abbey where it could have been displayed to accompany prayer at a particular altar, or stored and protected, or both, suggests that there was no single viewing context.[90] If we can consider the process of its making as part of its performance, then the roll's journey and presentation to hundreds of other communities—the collection of signatures, its return, and ensuing prayer exchange—can all be understood to comprise original engagement contexts. After its return, it may also have been largely invisible, probably stored away for a longer period than it was viewed. By approaching the roll as a three-dimensional durational performative object, reflections on its temporality, portability, its momentary display and storage expand perspectives for viewing the mortuary roll in the present. Like any compelling memorial or commemorative work, the mortuary roll can be understood to represent absence, while at the same time functioning as a surrogate for the body of the Abbess and the collective dead. In short, the 'sConincs roll tests our preconceptions about modes of visibility and display being principally singular, visual, and collective and about the limits we place on the purposes we want images to serve.

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12. H. Beyer, G. Signori and S. Steckel (eds), *Bruno the Carthusian and his Mortuary Roll: Studies, Text, and Translations* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Jean Dufour, 'Le Rouleau des Morts de Saint Bruno', *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 147:1 (2003): pp. 5–26.
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14. On private masses, see A. Angendendt, '*Missa specialis*. Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Entstehung der Privatmessen', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 17 (1983); on anniversary Masses, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 50, 153.
15. [15] Rollason, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls', pp. 193–196. St John Hope, 'The Obituary Roll', pp. 42–43.
16. [16] M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin Manuscripts in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, reprinted with an introduction and additional notes and corrections by F. Taylor (Munich: Kraus Reprint, 1980), pp. 201-10; Boldrick, 'An Encounter between Death and an Abbess'; Dufour, Recueil des Rouleaux 4:354. It is briefly mentioned in Paul Binski, Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation (London: British Museum Press, 1996), p. 31.
17. C. Bronk Ramsey, T. H. F. Higham, D. C. Owen, A. W. G. Pike, and R. E. M. Hedges, 'Radiocarbon dates from the Oxford AMS system: Archaeometry Datelist 31', *Archaeometry* 44:3 (2002): pp. 1–149.
18. The date of death is recorded on the roll as *xiiij kalends Augusti*, or 19 July; later sources mistakenly identify the date as 19 August; see 'Liste des Abbesses de la noble Abbaye de Forest', in *La Vie et les Miracles de Ste. Alene, Vierge et Martyre* (Brussels: J. L. de Boubers, 1783), pp. 75–82. Leonis's four return journeys from Brussels incorporated the following routes: Ghent, Maastricht, Liege; Utrecht, Cologne, Bonn, Aachen, Namur; Lille, Bruges, St-Omer, Ghent; Nivelles, Braine, Brussels.
19. Detached frontispieces are more common than de-

tached encyclicals, which are often accompanied by *tituli* on both sides of the membrane. Although mortuary rolls share the same basic format, as the research of Dufour and Rollason suggests, variations in forms of assemblage and survival, along with the regular reuse or archiving of rolls, make it difficult to confirm the separation of both the 'sConincs roll's frontispiece and/or encyclical letter from its signature membranes based solely on the signatures beginning on the back of the third membrane.

20. The surface damage does not suggest specific targeting of individual faces or areas of the character discussed in Rudy, 'Kissing Images', and Eamon Duffy, *Marking the Hours: English People and Their Prayers, 1240-1570* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011). The figures also do not take the form of donor portraits; Alexa Sand, *Vision, Devotion, and Self-Representation in Late Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

21. Josef Jungmann, *Missarum Sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, 5th edn, 2 vols (Vienna: Herder, 1962). On death ritual, see Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall (eds), *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2000); Binski, *Medieval Death*; on deathbed iconography in mortuary rolls and other manuscripts, see Boldrick, 'An Encounter', pp. 44–47.

22. On the frontispiece as idealised vision, see Hedeman, 'Performing Documents', p. 343.

23. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, p. 19; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York: Zone Books, 2011), pp. 53–82.

24. Rollason, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls', pp. 188–192.

25. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); B. P. McGuire, 'Purgatory, the Communion of Saints and Medieval Change', *Viator* 20 (1989); Patrick J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 77–94.

26. Rollason, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls', p. 188, 193–194, 215. St John Hope, 'The Obituary Roll', pp. 45–51.

27. The roll is now British Library, MS Egerton 2849. See 'Detailed record for Egerton 2849, Mortuary roll of Lucy, foundress and first prioress of the Benedictine nunnery of Castle Hedingham, with *tituli* (responsive prayers) 1–6', *British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*, accessed 7 July 2016, https://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=6342&CollID=28&NStart=2849.

28. The roll is now in Bibliothèque municipale de Troyes, MS 2256. See Lucien Morel-Payen and Emile Dacier (eds), *Les plus beaux manuscrits et les plus belles reliures de la Bibliothèque de Troyes* (Troyes: Paton, 1935), pp. 152–153; Dufour, 'Le rouleau des morts', p. 8; 'Troyes, BM, 2256', *Initiale: Catalogue des manuscrits enluminés*, accessed 13 May 2019, http://initiale.irht.cnrs.fr/codex/4969.

29. Matthew Payne, 'The Islip Roll Reexamined', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 97 (September 2017), accessed 13 October 2017, doi:10.1017/S0003581517000245; John Goodall, 'The Jesus Chapel or Islip's Chantry at Westminster Abbey', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 164:1 (2011): pp. 260–276; Dufour, Recueil des Rouleaux 4: p. 457; W. H. St John Hope, 'The Obituary Roll of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, 1500–1532, with Notes on Other English Obituary Rolls', *Vetusta Monumenta* 7:4 (1906).

30. St John Hope, 'The Obituary Roll', p. 50.

31. Rollason, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls', pp. 195–196. St John Hope, 'The Obituary Roll', p. 40.

32. See O. Bled, 'Les rotuli et les rolligeri de l'abbaye de Saint Bertin à Saint-Omer', *Bulletin philologique et historique de Comité des traveaux historiques* (1900): pp. 401–412 and A. Molinier, *Les obituaries français au moyen âge* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1890), p. 43. Rollason, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls', notes the community's responsibility to accommodate roll bearers; providing shelter and sustenance and in some cases financial support, pp. 197–198.

33. Sheerin, 'Sisters of the Literary', pp. 98 describes the mortuary roll's textual elements as 'performative and of performance' in their explicit public purposes and duties, and related claims to and assertions of confraternal rights and prestige. On prayer exchange and performance, see Golding, '"Desire for the Eternal Country", pp. 256–269. On collective making, see Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art; Martin, Reassessing the Roles.*

34. A. Despy-Meyer, 'Abbaye de Forest', in U. Berlière et al. (eds), *Monasticon Belge* (Liège and Abbaye de Maredsous: Centre National de Recherches à Histoire Religieuse, 1890–1970) vol. iv, pt. 1 (1964): pp. 189–217, p. 205. On the abbey, see Georges Despy, 'Un prieuré dans la banlieu rurale de Bruxelles: les Bénédictines de Forest du début du XIIe au milieu du XIIIe siècle', *Cahiers bruxellois XXXV* (1995-1996): pp. 1–42 and Edgar de Marneffe, *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye d'Afflighem et des Monastères qui en Dépendaient*, 5 vols (Leuven: Peeters, 1894–1901).

35. N. Barker, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1978), p. 342.

36. Pamela Robinson, 'The Format of Books: Books, Booklets and Rolls', in Nigel J. Morgan and Rodney M. Thomson (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 43; Kelly, *The Exultet*, p. 12; Skemer, 'From Archives to the Book Trade', pp. 197-8; Michael Clanchy, F*rom Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 135–144; L. W. Daly, 'Rotuli: Liturgy Rolls and Formal Documents', Greek, *Roman and Byzantine Studies* 14 (1973): pp. 333–338.

37. See Colin H. Roberts, 'The Codex,' *Proceedings of the British Academy* 40 (1954): pp. 169–204; Colin H. Roberts and T. C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987); William V. Harris, 'Why Did the Codex Supplant the Book-Roll?' in John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto (eds), *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice* (New York: Italica, 1991), pp. 71–85; Skemer, 'From Archives to the Book Trade'; Don C. Skemer, 'Amulet Rolls and Female Devotion in the Late Middle Ages', *Scriptorium* 55 (2001): 197–227; Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages* (University Park: Penn State Press, 2006); Kelly, *The Exultet*, p. 12.

38. See Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton: University Press, 1970 [1947]); Roberts, 'The Codex'; Harris, 'Why Did the Codex Supplant'. The term 'triumph' appears in Skemer, 'Amulet Rolls', p. 2 and Jeffrey Hamburger, 'Openings', in Gregory Kratzmann (ed.), *Imagination, Books and Community in Medieval Europe: Papers of a Conference Held at the State Library of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia 29–31 May 2008* (South Yarra, Victoria: Macmillan Art Publishers, 2009), p. 70.

39. Weitzmann, Roll and Codex; John Williams (ed.), *Imaging the Medieval Bible* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 1999), challenges Weitzmann's archetypes on pp. 4–7.

40. Roberts and Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex*; Harris, 'Why Did the Codex Supplant'.

41. Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 144.

42. Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 145. Richard H. Rouse, 'Roll and Codex: The Transmission of the Works of Reinmar von Zweter', in Gabriel Silagi (ed.), *Pälaographie 1981: Colloquium des Comité International de Paléographie, München, 15-18 September 1981*, Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung 32 (Munich: Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1982) emphasises the roll's ephemerality, portability and economy of cost and scale, but William D. Paden, 'Roll versus Codex: The Testimony of Roll Cartularies', *Rivista di Studi Testuali* 6–7 (2004–2005) argues that rolls were also made to be as permanent as books, and could be large, expensive and less portable.

43. Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 135–136. Robinson, 'The Format of Books', pp. 43–45; Ernst C. W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 3rd edn (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1896).

44. Skemer, 'From Archives to the Book Trade', p. 198; Kelly, *The Exultet*, p. 14; Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', p. 198.

45. Robinson, 'The Format of Books', pp. 45.

46. Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 196–197.

47. See Robinson, 'The Format of Books', pp. 44–45; and Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 180–182.

48. Kelly, *The Exultet*, pp. 16–17. Dufour, *Recueil des Rouleaux*, vol. 1, p. VII; Rollason, 'Medieval Mortuary Rolls', p. 211, n. 70 notes that mortuary rolls were not circulated in Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Castile or in Catalonia after the beginning of the twelfth century, although the reason for this is not known.

49. Clanchy, From Memory, pp. 137–144; Kelly, *The Exultet*, pp. 3–11, 20–29, 104–113. Skemer, 'From Archives to the Book Trade', pp. 198–200.

50. Skemer, 'From Archives to the Book Trade', p. 194. Skemer calls private statute rolls 'the best evidence of the open borders between archives and books'.

51. Studies of genealogical rolls concerned with the relationship between design and form include Luxford, 'Intelligent by Design', pp. 1–33; O. de Laborderie, 'The First Manuals of English History: Two Late Thirteenth-Century Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England in the Royal Collection', *Electronic British Library Journal* (2014), article 4, accessed 3 April 2016, http://www.bl.uk/eblj/2014articles/article4.html; W. H. Monroe, 'Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-century Illustrated Genealogical Manuscripts in Roll and Codex: Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium*, Universal Histories and Chronicles of the Kings of England' (Unpublished PhD Diss., University of London, Courtauld Institute of Art, 1990). On the didactic purpose of the genealogical roll see Bovey, *The Chaworth Roll*; Olivier de Laborderie, 'A New Pattern for English History: The First Genealogical Rolls of the Kings of England', in Raluca L. Radulescu and Edward Donald Kennedy (eds), *Broken Lines, Genealogical Literature in Medieval Britain and France* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 45–61; Robert A. Rouse, 'Inscribing Lineage: Writing and Rewriting the Maude Roll', in Stephanie Hollis and Alexandra Barratt (eds), in *Migrations: Medieval Manuscripts in New*

Zealand (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2007), pp. 108–122; Margaret Lamont, '"Genealogical" History and the English Roll', in Henry Kelly (ed.), *Medieval Manuscripts, Their Makers and Users: A Special Issue of Viator in Honor of Richard and Mary Rouse* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), accessed 12 May 2016, doi.org/10.1484/M.STPMSBH-EB.1.100069. On prayer rolls assimilating features of genealogical rolls, see Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', pp. 107–113.

52. See Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words*; Robinson, 'The Format of Books', pp. 44–45 and Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 178–188; Newhauser and Russell, 'Mapping Virtual Pilgrimage', pp. 83–84. On birth girdles see in this volume Katherine Hindley, '"Yf A Woman Travell Wyth Chylde Gyrdes Thys Mesure Abowte Hyr Wombe": Reconsidering the English Birth Girdle Tradition' .

53. Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', pp. 101–102; Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 199–205; Rudy, 'Kissing Images', p. 1; Skemer, *Binding Words*, pp. 259–268; Katherine Rudy, 'Images, Rubrics and Indulgences on the Eve of the Reformation', in C. Brusati, Karl A.E. Enenkel, and Walter S. Melion (eds), *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400-1700* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 443–479. See also Duffy, *Marking the Hours*; Anne Rudolf Stanton, 'Turning the Pages: Marginal Narratives and Devotional Practice in Gothic Prayerbooks' in Sarah Blick and Laura D. Gelfand (eds) *Push Me, Pull You: Imaginative, Emotional, Physical, and Spatial Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 75–121; and Laura D. Gelfand, 'Illusionism and Interactivity: Medieval Installation Art, Architecture and Devotional Response', in Blick et al. (eds), *Push Me*, pp. 85–116.

54. Skemer, *Binding Words*, p. 137.

55. Skemer, *Binding Words*, p. 139.

56. Kelly, *The Exultet*, pp. 6–7.

57. Skemer, *Binding Words*, pp. 272–276.

58. Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 143. Spenser, Book II, canto ix, verse 57.

59. 'scroll, n.' OED Online. Oxford University Press, accessed 28 May 2016, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/173658?rskey=5TLm1J&result=1. The OED references the word's 1593 appearance in Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragicall History of D. Faustus*, 1st edition (London: V. S. for Thomas Bushell, 1604).

60. Hal Foster, 'Preposterous Timing', *London Review of Books* 34:21 (8 November 2012). See Amy Knight Powell, *Depositions*, n. 4, p. 268 and Fred Orton et al. (eds), *Fragments of History: Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), p.67. See Alexander Nagel and Christopher S. Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (New York: Zone Books, 2010) and Alexander Nagel, *Medieval Modern: Art Out of Time* (New York: Zone Books, 2012); Keith Moxey, *Visual Time: The Image in History* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013); Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim, 'Locating the Devil "*Her*" in MS Junius 11', *Gesta* 54:1 (2015): pp. 3–25.

61. [61] The Amphelisa roll is now St John's College, Cambridge, MS 271/N.31. No catalogue or other documentation was produced for The Sparkle of Dust; my thoughts here rely on personal communication with the Rylands' Joint Head of Special Collections, Stella Halkyard. 'The Mortuary Roll of Amphelisa Prioress of Lillechurch', accessed 12 April 2016, http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/manuscripts/medieval_manuscripts/medman/N_31.htm; C. E. Sayle, 'The Mortuary Roll of Amphelisa Prioress of Lillechurch in Kent', Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society 10 (1901–1902): pp. 383–410.

62. Catalogue entries 117 and 118, *Genealogical Chronicle of the English Kings* (British Library, Royal 14 B. v and vi), in Scot McKendrick, John Lowden and Kathleen Doyle (eds), *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: British Library, 2011), pp. 344–347.

63. The Guthlac roll is now British Library, Harley Roll Y 6.

64. This roll is Fitzwilliam Museum MS 276. I am grateful to John Lancaster for information about his design methods. Catalogue entry 25, in Stella Panayotova, Deirdre Jackson, and Paola Ricciardi (eds), *Colour: The Art & Science of Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2016), pp. 115-117; on the mount designed by Lancaster, see note p. 10.

65. Medieval Scrolls Digital Archive, accessed 26 April 2016, http://medievalscrolls.com/scrolls.

66. See the project 'Rolling History', accessed 1 December 2017, http://rollinghistory.bodleian.ox.ac.uk. Other digital projects include the Canterbury Roll Project (Christchurch, University of Canterbury, MS 1), accessed 1 December 2017, http://canterburyroll.canterbury.ac.nz/.

67. Douglas Crimp, *On the Museum's Ruins* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1993), pp. 44–45 and 54–56. Crimp cites Theodor W. Adorno, 'Valéry Proust Museum', *Prisms*, (trans.) Samuel and Sherry Weber (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), pp. 175–185. See also Catherine Lui, 'Art Escapes Criticism, or Adorno's Museum', *Cultural Critique* 60 (Spring 2005): pp. 217–244.

68. Amy Knight Powell, *Depositions*, p. 17.

69. 'Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage', accessed 1 December 2017, https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention. On intangible heritage, see Simon Knell, 'The Intangibility of Things', in Sandra Dudley (ed.), *Museum Objects* (London: Routledge, 2012), 324–335, and Sandra Dudley, 'Introduction', in Sandra Dudley (ed.), *Museum Materialities: Objects, Engagements, Interpretations* (London: Routledge, 2013).

70. Sandra Dudley, 'Introduction to Part I', in Dudley (ed.), *Museum Objects*, pp. 19–21; Chris Dorsett, 'Things and Theories: The Unstable Presence of Exhibited Objects' in Sandra Dudley et al. (eds), *The Thing about Museums: Objects and Experience, Representation and Contestation* (London: Routledge, 2012), pp. 100–116. Note also Andrew Cole, 'Those Obscure Objects of Desire: on the Uses and Abuses of Object-Oriented Ontology and Speculative Realism', *Artforum* (2015): pp. 318–323; Andrew Cole, Kerstin Stakemeier, and Christopher Wood in Emily Apter et al. (eds), 'Questionnaire on Materialisms', *October* 155 (2016): pp. 23–5, 98–100, 105–7.

71. Claire Bishop, 'Performative Exhibitions: The Problem of Open-endedness', in von Bismarck et al. (eds), *Timing*, pp. 222–223, 252–253. Heathfield, 'Durational Aesthetics', pp. 140–143.

72. Linda Pittwood, 'The Big Interview: Cornelia Parker', *The Double Negative* (18/02/15), accessed 23 March 2016, http://www.thedoublenegative.co.uk/2015/02/the-big-interview-cornelia-parker/

73. The artwork also takes the form of a codex in *Fiona Banner: Scroll Down and Keep Scrolling* (London: The Vanity Press in association with Ikon Gallery, Birmingham and Kunsthalle Nuremberg, 2015); the title refers to both a subject (which Banner describes as 'something endless') and to an action ('the act of looking back historically'), rather than to digital scrolling as in Graham Harwood's work *Uncomfortable Proximity* (2000), accessed 14 March 2016, http://www2.tate.org.uk/netart/mongrel/home/default.htm.

74. Briony Fer, 'One Inside the Other Down to Emptiness', *Gabriel Orozco: Rotating Objects* (New York: Marian Goodman Gallery, 2016), pp. 115–128. On Orozco's 'waiting objects', see Margaret Iversen, 'Readymade, Found Object, Photograph', *Art Journal*, 63:2 (2004): pp. 54–57. The scroll form also appears in Orozco's *Dial Tone*, 1992.

75. On the performative aspects of mortuary rolls, see Sheerin, 'Sisters of the Literary', pp. 98–100; Caroline Walker Bynum, 'Material Continuity, Personal Survival and the Resurrection of the Body: A Scholastic Discussion in Its Medieval and Modern Contexts', in *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), pp. 242, 247–297. Heathfield, 'Durational Aesthetics', p. 142, describes the aesthetics of duration as an 'entanglement' and a 'perturbance' which 'question notions and senses of passage, succession and continuity'.

76. Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', p. 100–103; Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 199–205. See Kelly, *The Exultet*, Table 13, p. 175; Exultet rolls range in width from 20 cm to 47.5 cm, but most illuminated rolls from southern Italy are between 27 cm and 33 cm.

77. Kelly, *The Exultet*, pp. 16–17.

78. However, see Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', pp. 113–118, on larger-scale prayer rolls and collective viewing.

79. Dufour, *Les Rouleaux*, p. 135; Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 196–204.

80. Melanie Holcomb, *'The Compendium of History through the Genealogy of Christ* by Peter of Poitiers', in Melanie Holcomb (ed.), *Pen and Parchment: Drawing in the Middle Ages* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2009), cat. 31, p. 116 notes contemporary scholars' departure from the 'classroom wall' display view proposed by J. Lebeuf, *Dissertation sur l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Paris* (Paris: Lambert et Durand, 1741), vol. 2, p. 133 and cited and discussed in Monroe, 'Thirteenth- and Early Fourteenth-century', pp. 39–47; Robinson, 'The Format of Books', p. 44. On the potential display of a prayer roll in pageant celebrations such as an entry ceremony, see Drimmer, 'Beyond Private Matter', pp. 113–118.

81. See for example the double register featuring a Trinity and bishop in membrane 1 of the prayer roll of Henry VIII (British Library, Additional 88929), in McKendrick, *Royal Manuscripts*, catalogue entry 44, pp. 186–187.

82. Holcomb, '*The Compendium*', p. 116. It is accepted that genealogical rolls were publicly displayed, but in other ways.

83. See Robinson, 'The Format of Books', pp. 44–45 and Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls', pp. 180–182.

84. See Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 257. See especially Brine, *Pious Memories*, pp. 132–177.

85. Kelly, *The Exultet*, p. 15 and p. 29; Clanchy, *From*

Memory, pp. 156–157. On objects in treasuries, see also Erik Inglis, 'Expertise, Artifacts, and Time in the 1534 Inventory of the Saint-Denis Treasury', *Art Bulletin* 98 (2016): pp.14–42.

86. P. A. Mariaux, 'Collecting (and Display)', in C. Rudolph (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 222–223; Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Body vs. Book: The Trope of Visibility in Images of Christian-Jewish Polemic', in David Ganz, Thomas Lentes and Georg Henkel (eds), *Ästhetik des Unsichtbaren: Bildtheorie und Bildgebrauch in der Vormoderne, Kultbild: Visualität und Religion in der Vormoderne*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Reimer, 2004), pp. 113–145; Jeffrey Hamburger, 'Speculations on Speculation: Vision and Perception in the Theory and Practice of Mystical Devotion' in Walter Haug and Wolfram Schneider-Lastin (eds), *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2000), pp. 353–408. See also Julian Luxford, 'English Medieval Tombs as Forensic Evidence', *Church Monuments* 24 (2009): pp. 7–25.

87. Kessler, *Seeing Medieval Art*, p. 19; Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 53–62.

88. Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 268-273, notes the increasingly paradoxical 'simultaneous embracing and rejecting of material religiosity' in northern European attitudes toward material devotional objects from 1300 to 1500.

89. Barbara G. Lane, '*Requiem aeternam dona eis*: The Beaune *Last Judgment* and the Mass of the Dead', *Simiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art*, 19:3 (1989); Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 105–112.

90. Madeleine Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries* (Tufts University electronic book, 2001), accessed 15 May 2016, http://dca.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness/; Mittman and Kim, 'Locating', pp. 21-2; Hamburger, 'Body vs. Book'; Paul Binski, *Gothic Wonder: Art Artifice and the Decorated Style 1290-1350* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), pp. 180–181.

7

The Mediation of Death and the Temporality of the Scroll (Japan, c.1200)

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> The image often has more memory and more future than the being who contemplates it.[1]
>
> — Georges Didi-Huberman

From the earliest days of the discipline, art historians have argued that the scroll alone achieves the impossible: the continual pictorial depiction of temporal phenomena.[2] Given that the inability to depict time was commonly held to be the defining limitation of premodern visual art, the assertion is rather bold. The scroll's privileged relationship to the temporal is in many ways a straightforward function of its material parameters. Since the marked surface of a scroll often extends beyond the field of vision, the format allows for the production of a pictorial field that is either longitudinally or laterally unbounded. To behold such a picture requires a tactile, sequential, and definitively linear process of viewing. It is this material, physical continuity that invites the metaphorical extension. Material spans are made to index temporal ones. This is the weak claim, but there is a stronger one as well. For instance, the art historian Kurt Weitzmann, in his formative study on the topic, proclaimed the scroll to be nothing less than the premiere format for giving visual form to all manner of narratives (biography and history included).[3] Only the illustrated scroll, Weitzmann argued, could exceed the 'basic text' by capturing the 'transitory element' of discourse; and it did so, moreover, in a medium that was transportable to other locations and transposable to other media.[4] The primacy Weitzmann accorded the pictorial scroll is all the more striking when one considers the prevailing logocentrism of his disciplinary moment. In its most aggressive form, the claim would be that the medium of the scroll allows pictorial marks to mimic, exceed, and even expropriate the temporal dimension of written and spoken discourse.

Manuscript scrolls are not the antiquated topic they may seem to be. In fact, in its afterlife, the scroll format continues to structure present visual culture. While cinema (itself, until recently, a projection from a scrolled film) may have superseded both the codex and the scroll as the default reference metaphor for narrative,[5] one need look no further than digital, screen-bound media (such as Courtauld Books Online) to see that scrolling is, once again, the primary means of navigating the 'image-world' that is constitutive of late capitalism.[6] The physical scroll and the metaphor of scrolling both imply a degree of continuity, yet as we will discover, it is possible to work against such continuity: to create disruptions, effect misreadings, and represent complex temporal structures that are much more analogous to lived experience than the simple timeline metaphor would suggest. Accordingly, this chapter will raise both a historical context (that of premodern Japan) and a specific object (a set of memorial handscrolls) in order to scrutinise the ways in which the temporal extensions of the medium might be used to mediate the cognitive dissonance and chronological disarray that death precipitates.[7]

Fig. 7.1
One of the pagodas of the *One Million Pagodas and Dhāraṇī* (*Hyakumantō darani* 百万塔陀羅尼), (c.764–770). Japanese cypress (*hinoki*) and *Cleyera ochnacea* (*sakaki*), 21 cm high. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Photo: © The Harry G. C. Packard Collection of Asian Art, Gift of Harry G. C. Packard, and Purchase, Fletcher, Rogers, Harris Brisbane Dick, and Louis V. Bell Funds, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, and The Annenberg Fund Inc. Gift, 1975, 1975.268.150a.

The goal, however, is not to demonstrate an exotic historical

Fig. 7.2
Printed scroll from inside one of the *One Million Pagodas and Dhāraṇī Sūtra* (*Hyakumantō daranikyō*百万塔陀羅尼), (c.764–770). Japanese Rare Book Collection, Asian Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC. Photo: © Courtesy of the Asian Division, Library of Congress.

exception. For the study of the scroll in Japan is a topic with more global implications than it may at first seem. The reasons are several. Beyond the sheer volume of extant scrolls in Japan is the primacy of place accorded paintings and calligraphies in scroll format—both vertical and horizontal—in the Japanese art historical canon.[8] Japanese visual culture was, and to some extent remains, an image-world highly structured by the scroll. To make this clear, some historical context is in order. Whereas the codex is said to have eclipsed the rotulus in fifth-century Europe, in Japan, inscription, scroll, print, binding, and codex were not necessarily successive technologies. In fact, it was not until the seventh century that instrumental literacy (as opposed to alegible uses of writing) was adopted, meaning both paper—a first-century continental invention—and the scroll were present at the very dawn of domestic writing.[9] The early advent of print further complicates matters, for throughout medieval and early-modern Japanese history, print and manuscript remained dual and not necessarily competing technologies of textual reproduction. One case in point is found among the earliest extant Japanese scrolls: the celebrated *One Million Pagodas of Dhāraṇī* (Hyakumantō darani 百万塔陀羅尼), a series of one million fascicles printed with incantatory texts, each stored within an individual terracotta pagoda (figs 7.1 and 7.2). They were created in 764–770 at the behest of the Japanese empress Shōtoku (718–770) and subsequently distributed, in groups of 100,000, to ten temples charged with the performance of Buddhist ceremonial for the purpose of defending the realm.[10] While these texts were not produced for reading, by the eleventh century print was used to produce texts for that purpose as well.[11] Even following the rise of commercial book publishing in the early seventeenth century, the manuscript scroll did not disappear. It retains currency to this day in certain East Asian religious and artistic contexts. Indeed, given the prospect (or spectre) of a post-print world, it may very well be that the manuscript scroll will outlive its purported successor.

Such larger context aside, the specific manuscripts that concern us here are among the most enigmatic artefacts in the Japanese art-historical canon: a set of palimpsestic scrolls commonly known as the *Eyeless Sūtras* (*Menashikyō* 目無経) (figs 7.3–7.6).[12] Once believed to have spanned some forty metres, only two thirds of the manuscript survives, parcelled into two-dozen fragments and housed in no fewer than seven collections.[13] They once comprised a four-volume transcription of an antiquated translation of several Buddhist scriptures: the *Sūtra of Golden Light* (*Konkōmyōkyō* 金光明経, in Sanskrit *Suvarṇa-prabhāsottama-sūtra*, T 663.18) and a one-volume, condensed version of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (*Rishukyō* 理趣経, in Sanskrit *Adhyardhaśatikā prajñāpāramitā*, T 243.8). Paleographic analysis has led scholars to surmise that the scrolls were produced as 'merit-transfer' *sūtras* (*tsuizenkyō* 追善経) for the repose of Emperor GoShirakawa (1127–1192). The practice is predicated upon the belief that by copying a *sūtra* one generates karmic merit that can then be transferred to the deceased. An increase in merit in

Fig. 7.3
Detail of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

turn helps to enable a propitious rebirth, if not a full escape from the cycle of *saṃsāra* itself. Such manuscripts were often produced communally, and they represent a potent intersection of inscription and soteriology, wherein collective replication played a role in processing both memory and loss.[14] Strikingly, the *sūtras* of the Eyeless were transcribed over phantasmatic and monochromatic line drawings of chiefly domestic scenes of roughly contemporaneous affairs (similar in subject to 'genre painting' in Euro-American art history). Of the more than four hundred figures who appear beneath the *sūtra* texts, a mere nineteen have full physiognomic details, hence the 'eyeless' moniker.

Present understanding of the scrolls rests almost solely upon the interpretation of its two problematic colophons. The first, found at the end of the third fascicle of the *Golden*, states in Sino-Japanese *kanbun*: 'Copied on the first day of the fourth month of the third year of the Kenkyū era [1192]' (建久三年四月一日書寫之)', followed thereafter by an illegible mark believed to be the cipher of the transcriptionist. The second, found at the end of the *Perfection*, is much more detailed. The art historian Akiyama Terukazu interpreted the inscription as follows:

> The Tonsured Emperor GoShirakawa and Nun X's painting, when not yet completed [was interrupted by] the emperor's demise, whereupon the paper was used for copying this *sūtra*. The calligraphy [of the *sūtra* text] is by [former] Major Counselor Master Jōhen [and the] Sanskrit letters are by Master Jōken. In the eighth month of the fourth year of the Kenkyū era, this scroll was respectfully received from the abbot [Shōken] by Shinken.[15]

後白河法皇☒禅尼之御絵未終功之処崩御仍以故紙写此経
熱筆大納言闍梨静遍梵字宰相闍梨成賢云云
建久四年八月　日
以此経奉受僧正御房了
深賢[16]

The inscription raises numerous questions, and the English translation necessitates smoothing

over several ambiguities in the original.[17] First, the 'fourth year of the Kenkyū era' would be 1193, a full year after the inscription found on the *Golden* volume; the disparity calls into question the notion that these were originally produced as a set. The ambiguities of the *kanbun* grammar further support various readings: one is that the drawings themselves were in the possession of the emperor and the anonymous nun, while another reading is that the emperor and nun were the ones who drew the drawings. Physiognomic lack, in addition to the compositional disjointedness and monochromy, has led scholars to presume that the papers were *disjeta membra*, repurposed and assembled in haste upon the Emperor's death.[18] Accordingly, present scholarly consensus holds that pictures of the *Eyeless* are unfinished underdrawings made in preparation for a deluxe manuscript illuminating one of the novelistic tales, such as the *Tale of Genji*, for which this period in Japanese literary history is celebrated.

If the scrolls were indeed created for the repose of Emperor GoShirakawa, perhaps the most famous emperor in premodern Japanese history, then this contributes to the intrigue. GoShirakawa's death marks the end of Japan's halcyon, 'classical' Heian era (794–1192) and the beginning of four centuries of intermittent internecine war and almost seven centuries of military governments. Opinions on his reign vary. Some cast him as a profligate who cost the imperial family political control of the state, while others see him as a skilled strategist who levied soft power to manipulate the fractious military and aristocratic classes.[19] Be that as it may, the Emperor was a zealous patron of the arts and a legendary collector of illuminated handscrolls. Indeed, so intense was his fervour that one post-war art historian retro-diagnosed him as suffering from a pathological, scroll-induced mania.[20] Given this situation, the unorthodox design of the scrolls seems particularly curious. One might imagine that the ultimate manuscript made for perhaps the most handscroll-obsessed emperor would be not only complete, but also astoundingly lavish.

These enigmatic artefacts are rich documents of Heian pictorial culture, yet scholarship on the *Eyeless* has been blinkered by focus upon two issues: the identity of the anonymous nun and the identity of the narrative tale that the images are held to illustrate.[21] For the better part of a century, the primary goal has been to segment, splice, and shuffle the pages—a purportedly reparative enterprise—in order to 'return' the paintings to the order they would have been in had the illustrated narrative manuscript been completed. Rigour notwithstanding, such attempts are undeniably counterfactual, and result from the deep-seated methodological habit of explaining images by way of their textual sources.[22] It is symptomatic, it seems, of an enervated Panofskian iconology perpetually arrested at its secondary stage. And the reconfigured and doctored subject of analysis is a nonexistent, never-realised object that never would have had the opportunity to be seen or to participate in the recursions and replications that constitute visual culture. The *Eyeless* is an excellent example of the way in which an uncritical text-and-image approach can sometimes lead one astray.

Given the context of creation (if the colophons are to be believed) as well as the unbelievable sophistication of manuscript, it seems unlikely that GoShirakawa's memorial scroll was created simply by cobbling together, willy-nilly, recycled images from a bevy of unfinished works. By contrast, for the remainder of this essay, I would like to demonstrate the types of knowledge that might be

Fig. 7.4
Detail of the back of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Itsuō Art Museum, Hankyū Cultural Foundation. Photo: © The Author.

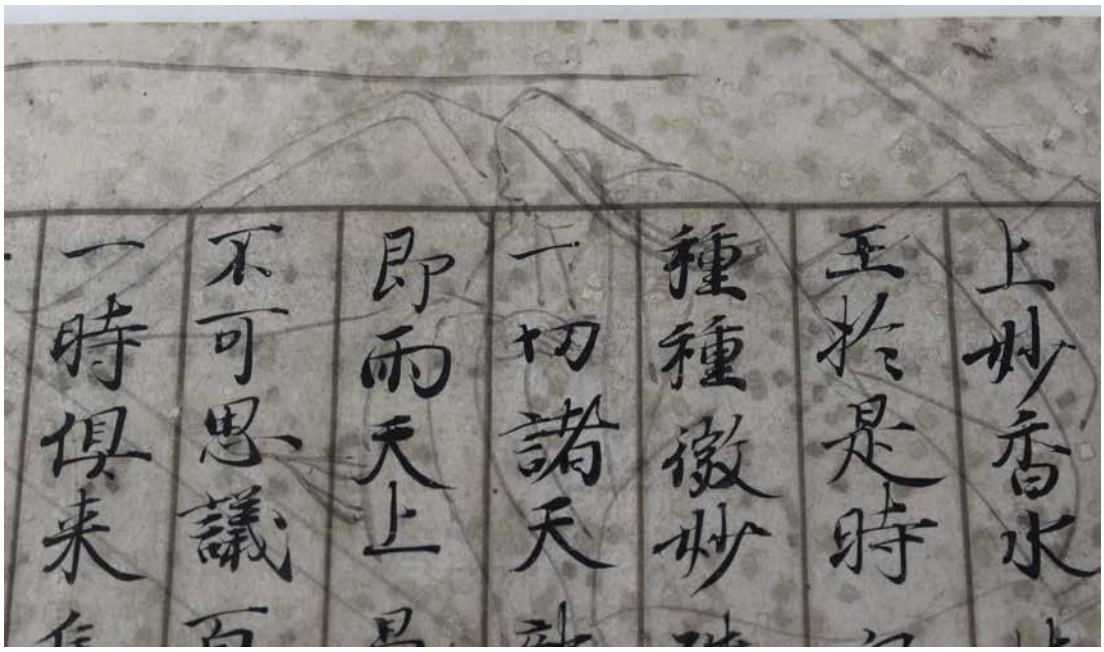

Fig. 7.5
Detail of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

excavated by taking this artefact at face value. The first premise to dispel is the notion that these images are incomplete. One must bear in mind that the ritual identity of these objects as implements within mortuary ceremonial must take precedence over our modern understanding of these fascicles as 'illustrated manuscripts'. From a ritual point of view, they were undeniably complete since it was the *sūtra*-creation process that mattered. Accordingly, the *Eyeless* fascicles represent finished, important, and sophisticated illustrated *sūtras*, and not the sketchy remnants of an abortive illustrated manuscript. Their ritual identity, however, does not necessarily proscribe art historical scopophilia; it is neither ahistorical nor orientalist to scour the surface of these scrolls for moments of visual interest and hermeneutic insight. On the contrary, doing so restores 'historical dignity' to a marked surface long deemed unworthy of such close looking.[23]

Fig. 7.6
Detail of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

Let us begin with the medium itself, especially its claim to be continuous. Most simply, one can conceive of the scroll as a continuous band, a line expanded to sufficient breadth to support other representational lines. Yet at a material level, rarely are such bands continuous. Whether bound into a book or imbricated into a scroll, all paper-based texts are composed of discontinuous base units or sheets. Hence a paper scroll is, literally speaking, 'paginated', or at least segmented. This may seem like a quibble, but it directs attention to the fact that early paper in East Asia was likely seen as a substitute silk.[24] Unlike the paper scroll, continuity does inhere in a bolt of silk, and paper scrolls—as proxy textiles—inherited this aura of continuity. Indeed, the Buddhist scriptural canon, a corpus that played a catalytic role in the spread of the scroll and literacy to Japan, is comprised of *sūtras* (経, in Chinese *jing*, in Japanese *kyō*), a term whose etymology is traceable to the continuous threads of a textile.

Hence what distinguishes the format is not physical continuity so much as contiguity, a syntactic and metaphorical linearity. This aspect of the medium was most famously explored by Franz Wickhoff in his celebrated 1895 analysis of the *Vienna Genesis*, wherein he proposed a tripartite taxonomy of strategies for the depiction of a narrative text: complementary, isolating, and continuous.[25] The lattermost term designated narratives broken into 'a continuous series of related circumstances passing, smoothly and unbroken, one into another, just as during a river voyage the landscape of the banks seems to glide before our eyes'.[26] In critical response, Weitzmann proposed his well-known counter-formulation (admittedly based upon the earlier work of Carl Robert) of simultaneous, monoscenic, and cyclic.[27] While ideas of pictorial narrative have since progressed far beyond this trichotomy, its influence is still often felt.[28] According to Weitzmann, the cyclic involved a 'series of consecutive compositions' arranged in a manner with 'physical relation' suggestive of the continuity and causation meant to link them.[29] Scenes might be arranged in any manner, but scrolls necessitate tight sequencing along a single vector. Accordingly, as with what Meyer Schapiro called the hypo-semiotic valence of a canvas,[30] even a blank scroll presupposes what might be called a 'material-' or 'ground-span', a non-discursive and aniconic sense of continuity and sequence that structures any given arrangement of representational marks it might bear.[31] Since scrolls were both manuscript and pictorial supports, the directionality of the flow of writing determined the temporal valence. It was this bleed from text-space into picture-space that led Weitzmann to note that one *reads* scroll-bound images more than those in other media.[32] Similarly, while by no means universal, it was the right-before-left, top-before-bottom structure of premodern Japanese writing that provided the general semiotic substrate for the ground of Japanese scrolls.

The ground-span should not be conflated, however, with the chronology of the depicted narrative. This distinction was highlighted by the philosopher Nelson Goodman who, without reference to the century of scholarship that preceded him, put forth a somewhat reductive but nevertheless useful account of pictorial narrative based upon the observation that narratives are rarely told in the order in which the events themselves occurred.[33] In Goodman's terms, there is a difference between the chronology of the *telling* and the *told*.[34] A great deal of the pleasure of narrative stems from the rich tension between such disparate chronologies: the uptake, the timespan of the embodied telling or reading, the elastic temporal dynamics of the discourse, and the ultimate way in which one attempts to weave several chronological threads into a comprehensible whole. Not coincidentally, perhaps, Goodman's prime example for demonstrating this fact was Japanese: the Picture Hall of Horyūji Temple, in which five large eleventh-century paintings were used to architecturally construct the biography of Prince Shōtoku (575–622).[35] The events of the prince's life are distributed in three dimensions in a complex manner that is more faithful to cartography than chronology (fig. 7.7). Included too, as Goodman notes, are moments from the Prince's past lives. For according to Buddhist soteriology, all lives (Shōtoku's included) were understood as single links within long chains of karmically motivated rebirths, thus making the visuality of one's life even more polytopic and polychronic, since diverse scenes from diverse lives in diverse geographies

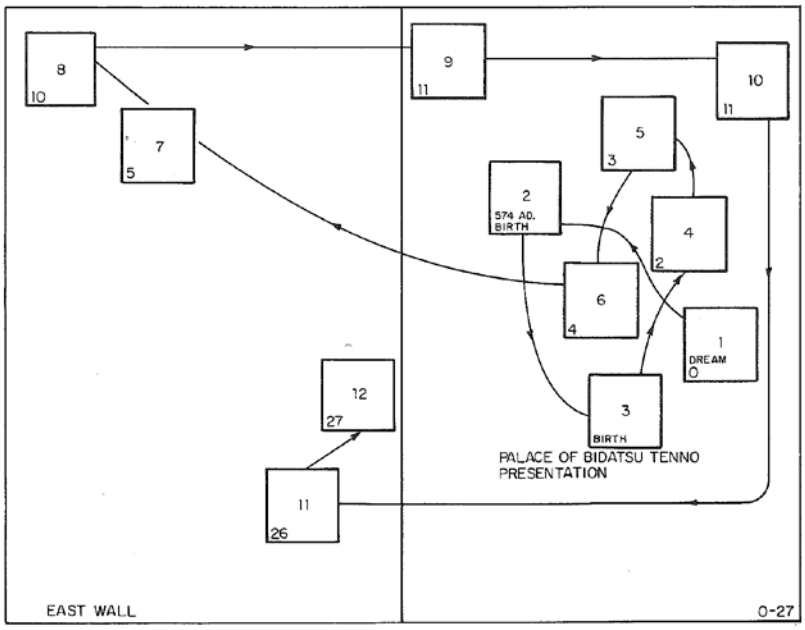

Fig. 7.7 Diagram from Nelson Goodman, *Of Mind and Other Matters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984). Photo: Pending (© Harvard University Press)

Figure 7. Plan of first screen of the series. The number in the lower left corner of each square stands for the prince's age at the time of the incident depicted. The number in the center of each square indicates the chronological position of the incident relative to the others depicted on this same screen.

might feature in the telling of a single 'biography'. In other words, lives are not lived 'in order', and if the 'book of life' metaphor holds at all, it is a highly intertextual one.

In Shōtoku's pictorial biography, the sharp spatial departure from chronology led Goodman to call it 'twisted'. While a given *fabula* will often withstand severe chronological twisting; at a certain point, he tells us, it collapses. It then transforms into something quite different from narrative: a case study, a character study, or simply 'something else'.[36] Doubtless, the *Eyeless*' concatenated montage of pictorial scenes represents a prime example of a narrative twisted out of recognition, so much so that there is no longer a story to reconstruct. The purportedly narrative illustrations, once evacuated of their narrative, enter into this new ontological realm. The pictorial substrate hence represents a long, protracted stasis, twisted to such an extent that it now defies the defining feature of the medium.

Forensic evidence supports the claim that the pictures may never have been for an illustrated narrative at all, or at least that the compilers of the Eyeless were keen to transform these pictures from narrative illustrations into something quite different. Close looking reveals that the compilers attempted to mitigate pictorial discontinuity. According to the *fukinuki-yatai* (literally 'blown-off roof') perspectival system used in the *Eyeless*, we are granted access into architectural interiors through a dollhouse-like perspective that results in strong diagonal architectural lines. The compilers of the *Eyeless* aligned these orthogonals such that they reverse direction at the seams, thereby creating a wild architectural fantasy: a semi-continuous, zig-zagging interior space that exceeded the possibilities of the built environment (figs 7.8–7.10).[37] While alignment is one thing, it also appears that there is extensive in-painting. This can be ascertained from the presence of lines awkwardly laid in a much darker hue than the thin, carefully applied strokes that predominate (figs 7.11–7.13). First-hand observation reveals that some pictorial sheets were even flipped before additional lines were added on the 'back' to flesh out the pictures (figs 7.14–7.15). Some of this in-painting may even have occurred after or during the sūtra transcription. If this is indeed the case, then it seems undeniable that the pictorial stratum of the *Eyeless* is to be interpreted as-is: as the product of intentional construction, and not according to a reparative, salvage paradigm. 'Sketches' does not do justice to their complexity.

In light of the above, the *Eyeless* 'reads' like a montage of courtly scenes similar to those of the departed Emperor's world, but arranged in a manner that disrupts one's ability to read them as a narrative. There is, in a sense, no progression: repeated hypotaxis without paratactic development. We are confronted with an entire story arrested in a perpetual present, just as the deceased often seems suspended in the process of mourning as a collection of anachronistic memories, anecdotes, and images that seem in tension with the unforgiving perdurance of the deceased's absence.[38] Similarly, through a process of defragmentation, the various pictorial scenes of the *Eyeless*, each with its own internal chronology, have been assembled, doctored, and sutured into a continuum in a process not unlike the temporally unstructured activity of recalling the various scenes one remembers from the life of the deceased. In other words, the *Eyeless* represents not his life, perhaps, but its absence.

It was well established in GoShirakawa's time that a scroll could be used to depict biography. The clearest example of this is the genre of pictorial hagiography known as 'illustrated *vitae* of esteemed monks' (*kōsōden-e* 高僧伝絵), in which the lives and deeds of eminent monks were recounted, often with alternating passages of picture and calligraphy. Yet as the *Eyeless* is a historical memorial and not a literary or religious hagiography, its relationship to the Emperor is both more intimate and more oblique. It need not contain mimetic representations of GoShirakawa's life in order to represent him.[39] Instead of showing GoShirakawa situated within his world, the *Eyeless* represents the courtly world in which he lived, only now eerily estranged, populated by faceless, phastasmatic figures who seem like mannequins perpetually going through the motions of courtly life. Freed from any specific narrative they are rendered tokens of the narrative type. In other words, the pictures of the *Eyeless* present the world of the Emperor emptied of subjectivity, divorced from time, and brought into stasis. That the sequence of pictures is a scroll, moreover, is crucial. For if, according to Hans Belting, the European medieval imaginary was populated chiefly by 'an imaginary collection of single pictures', then one cannot help but wonder what role the pictorial scroll played in structuring the way in which GoShirakawa and his contemporaries constructed their own autobiographical imaginaries.[40] This merits pause, since it would mean that montage and moving sequential images were a part of the period understanding of pictorial narrative, features that Belting argues would remain dormant until the advent of cinema.[41]

The elegiac overtones of such an enterprise are difficult to deny. These pictures represent pictorial snippets of his visual imaginary, or at the very least they represent specimens of the types of pictures that would have been used to prime, calibrate, and develop the Emperor's own epistemic ability to make visual sense of his autobiography and his world. Heian courtiers frequently looked to the literary and especially the poetic canon for opportunities to draw

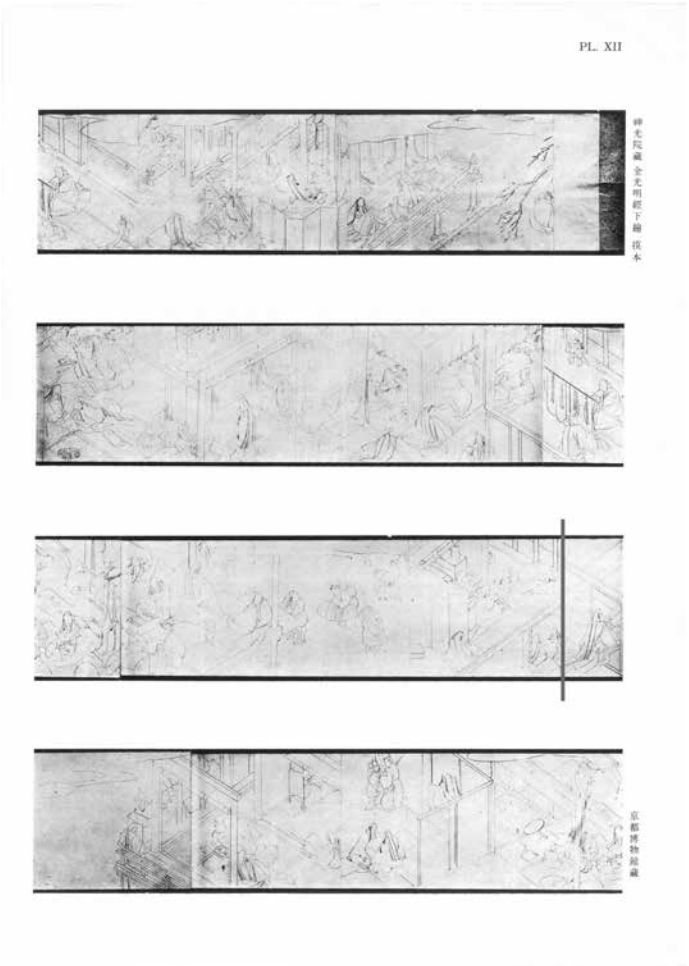

Fig. 7.8
Line drawing of the pictorial layer from Shirahata Yoshi, '*Menashikyō ni tsuite*', *Bijutsu kenkyū* 9 (1940): pp. 264–278. A blue line has been added to mark the relevant seam that appears in figs 9–10. Photo: © Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties

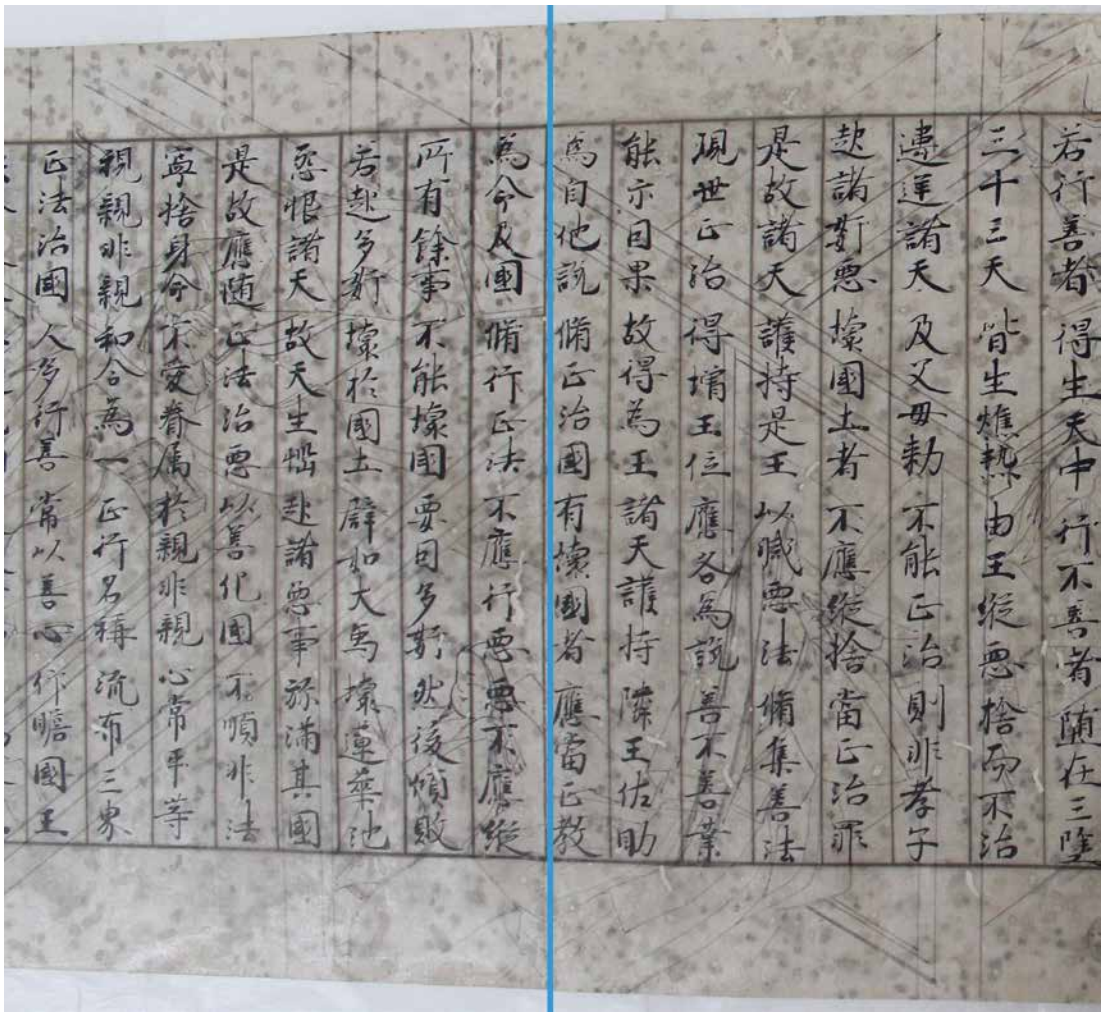

Fig. 7.9
The seam marked in fig. 7.8. Note the effort to align the architectural orthogonal at top and the woman's dress at bottom. Third volume of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

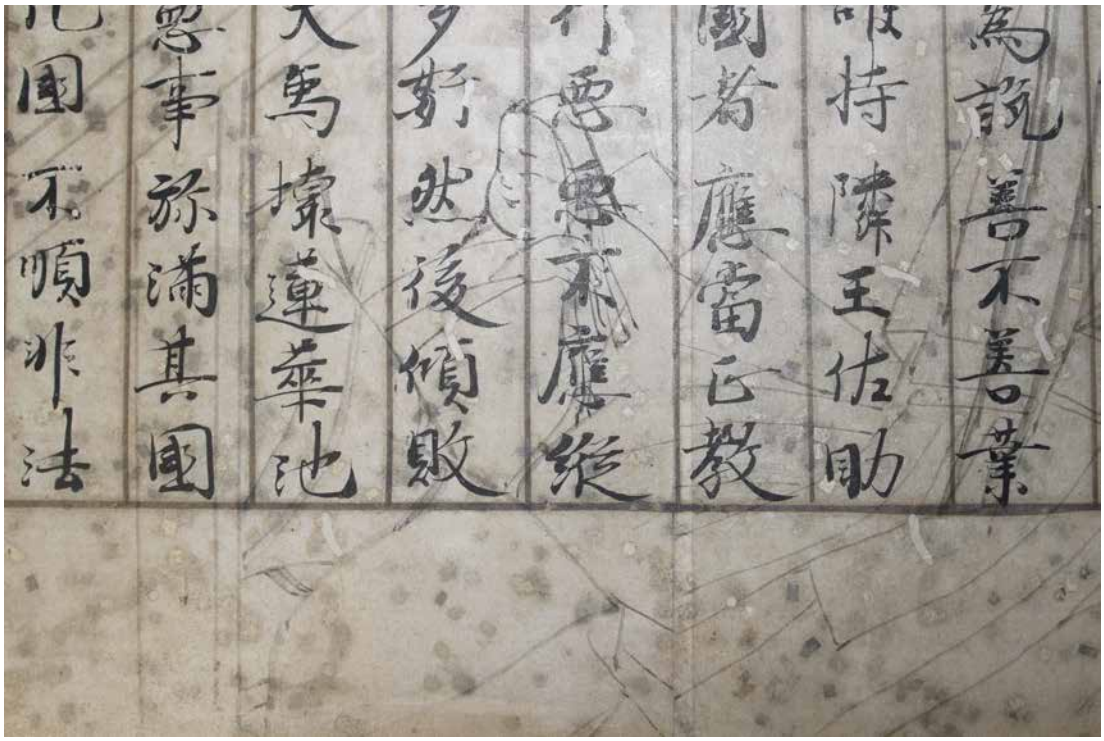

Fig. 7.10
Detail of seam in fig. 7.9. Third volume of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

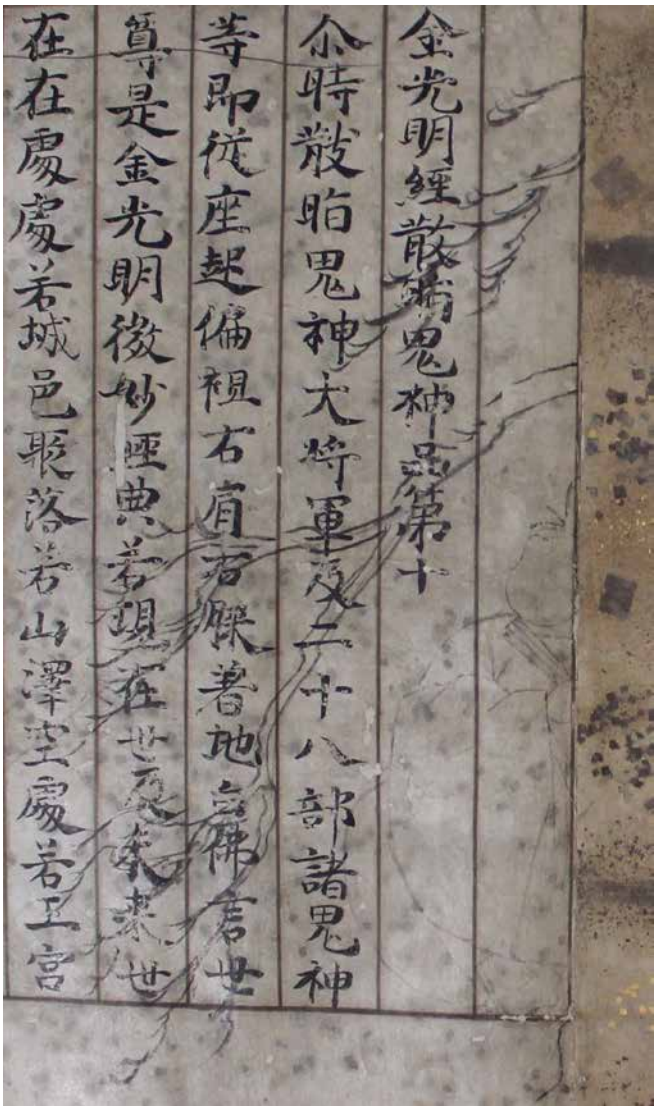

Fig. 7.11 Detail of possible in-painting. Opening of the third volume of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the Eyeless Sūtras, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

autobiographical analogies. Indeed, in this courtly milieu autobiographical analogy could be a politically freighted move, so much so that the scholar Joshua Mostow has argued that it qualifies as a form of cultural appropriation.[42] Pictures played a key role in these dynamics. Suffice it to say, those of the *Eyeless* are likely quite similar to the types of pictorial narratives in which the Emperor might have seen himself during his life.

On a material level, several contemporaneous practices and artefacts further support the notion that the pictorial expanse of the *Eyeless* was meant to represent the Emperor through aniconic or extra-iconic means. The most obvious analogue is a form of pictorial journalling known as *e-nikki* ('image-diary' 絵日記) described in period documents.[43] No exemplar survives, meaning one can only speculate whether or not the drawings within such diaries might have looked similar to the scenes of the *Eyeless*. As memorial *sūtras*, however, if the papers are indeed repurposed then the *Eyeless* begs comparison to a genre known as *hogukyō* (literally 'old-paper *sūtras*' 反故経), whereby various texts taken from various moments in the deceased's life (often letters, but sometimes poetry, mundane inscription, or even books owned by the deceased) were assembled and repurposed—either by washing, writing on the back of the pages, or fully repulping—to form handscrolls that could be used for the creation of a 'merit-transfer' *sūtra*.[44] Hence previous scholars' temptation to interpret the longer *Eyeless* colophon to say the pictures are autographic and thus reflect the very hand of the Emperor. Needless to say, such inscriptive traces were linked directly to specific biographical moments. To arrange them into a span is to place their individual chronologies in tension with the ground-span of the scroll. Moreover, given that epistolary texts were by definition the primary premodern means of circumventing discursive absence, their use in a memorial setting—a situation similarly defined by an absent presence—seems particularly befitting. As with such objects, the *Eyeless* brings multiple moments within a narrative together, 'twists' or disorders them beyond recognition, and arranges them into a band, making the disordered representatives of a lost life into a new ground for scriptural replication. Strictly speaking all memorial transcriptions might be thought of as attempts to form a presence from material absence, for according to the tripartite doctrinal understanding of the Buddha's corporeality, each recension of a *sūtra* does not merely represent Buddhist discourse but is a material instantiation of his bodily presence. Such artefacts thus transformed postmortem inscriptive detritus into the very material ground of sacred immanence.

The Eyeless was not the only object of its era to layer Buddhist *sūtra* text and pictures.

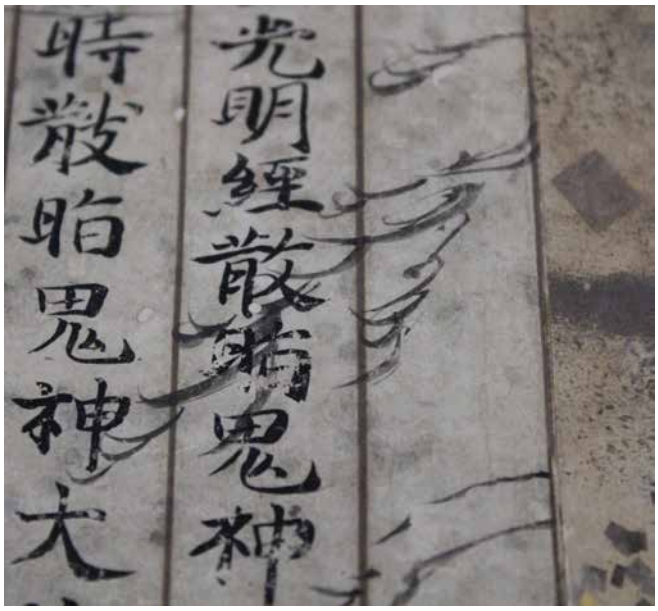

Fig. 7.12
Detail of fig. 7.11. Opening of the third volume of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

In notable contrast are two celebrated manuscripts in codex format: a late-twelfth-century transcription of the *Lotus Sūtra* (*Myōhō renge kyō* 妙法蓮華経, T 262) and a mid-twelfth-century transcription of the *Sūtra of Visualising the Bodhisattva Fugen* (*Kan Fugen bosatsu gyōbō kyō* 観普賢菩薩行法経,T 227). In the former, the *Lotus Sūtra* is transcribed over polychromatic genre scenes not unlike the monochromatic line drawings of the *Eyeless* (fig. 7.16). By contrast, however, the latter manuscript uses its pagination to insert dramatic interludes in the text, with two-page spreads of *sūtra*-over-pictures interrupted by mica-printed luxury papers inscribed with contemporary poems written in the Japanese *kana* script (fig. 7.17). These manuscripts make clear that periodic interjection, overlay, and visual 'noise' were considered desirable in luxury *sūtra* transcriptions.[45] Needless to say, the undisputed completeness of these codices further strengthens the case for considering the *Eyeless* complete.

The argument presented here rests upon a heterochronic undertaking of narrative and biography, one that highlights the ability for the pictorial to depart from the temporal progression implied by the material page.[46] It also treats the present as 'specious', an illusion constructed from temporal retentions and protentions.[47] A recent turn in scholarship spearheaded by Georges Didi-Huberman argues that objects, too, embody and participate in similarly complex temporal extensions. Rather than being limited hermeneutically to their historical moment of 'euchronic consonance', an object's temporal stance is Janus-faced, including both the '*more-than-past* of memory' as well as all future interpretations the object will prefigure.[48] 'We thus

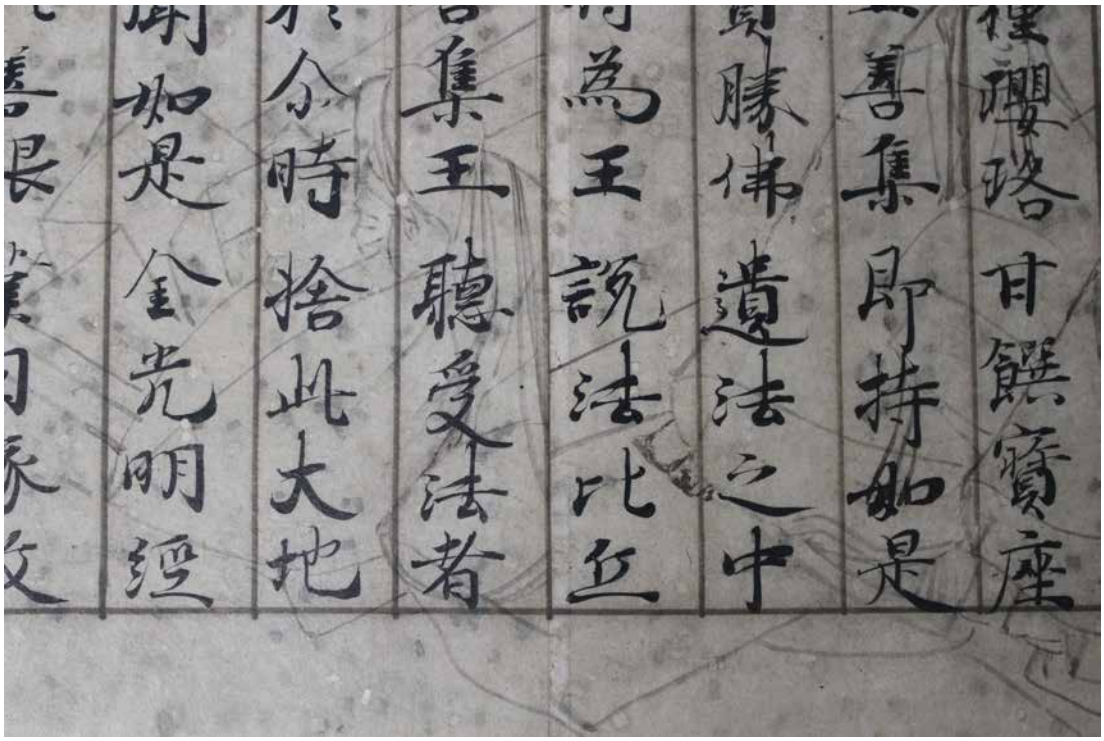

Fig. 7.13
Detail of possible in-painting. Third volume of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, one volume of the *Eyeless Sūtras*, (1192 C.E.). Ink, gold paint, mica, gold and silver leaf on paper. Kyoto National Museum. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 7.14
Detail of possible in-painting in the *Golden Light Sūtra*, photographed in raking LED light. Note the bluish hue of the ink on the back of the page in contrast to the gray hue of the ink on the front. Itsuō Art Museum, Hankyū Cultural Foundation. Photo: © The Author.

find ourselves', writes Didi-Huberman, 'before the painted surface as an object of complex, impure temporality: an *extraordinary montage of heterogeneous times forming anachronisms*'.[49] His theory—and especially this final phrase—seems particularly well suited to the *Eyeless*. If anything, the scroll format complicates Didi-Huberman's anachronicity, since its ground-span contributes an additional chronological substrate to the image it hosts.

Accordingly, the most rigorous historical contextualisation of a marked surface will require departure from its strict historical context. In the case of the *Eyeless*, the horizontal splicing and stratigraphic layering of the inscription further complicates matters, such that any 'reading' of the manuscript must somehow account for its multiplex temporality. To begin, note that there are several narratives here at play: the mythical 'original' tale of the pictures, the life of the Emperor, the process of transcription, and the modern gaze. As adumbrated earlier in this essay, through *allegoresis* one can read the *Eyeless Sūtras* such that the world of the faceless pictures is seen to be evocative of the world of the Emperor. That is one type of anachronism. In addition, through analysing the lay of the calligraphy in relation to the pictures, one can reconstruct the transcribers' careful decisions about

Fig. 7.15
Detail of possible in-painting in the *Golden Light Sūtra*. Note the bluish hue of the ink on the back of the page in contrast to the gray hue of ink on the front. Itsuō Art Museum, Hankyū Cultural Foundation. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 7.16
Two-page spread from the *Lotus Sūtra Codex*, (late twelfth century C.E.). Ink and pigment on paper. Private Collection, Japan.

Fig. 7.17
Two-page spread from the *Visualizing the Boddhisattva Fugen Sūtra Codex*, (mid twelfth century C.E.). Ink and pigment on mica-printed paper, 18.7 x 22.8 cm. Gotoh Museum of Art, Tokyo.

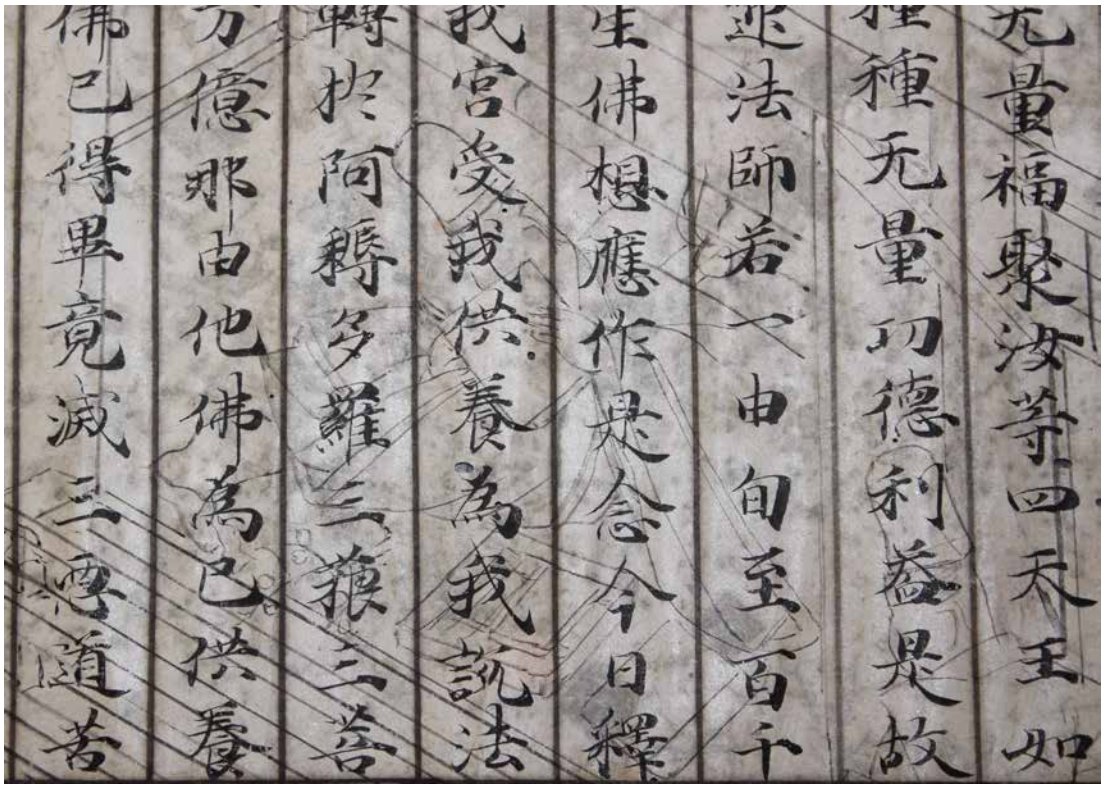

Fig. 7.15
Detail of possible in-painting in the *Golden Light Sūtra*. Note the bluish hue of the ink on the back of the page in contrast to the gray hue of ink on the front. Itsuō Art Museum, Hankyū Cultural Foundation. Photo: © The Author.

where and how to situate the text. Such traces of their intentionality constitute an idiosyncratic 'reading' of both the pictures and the inscribed texts. Indeed, as Reginald Jackson notes in his study of the *Genji Scrolls*, 'mourning operates as a catalyst for gestures resembling reading and as a mode of reading itself'.[50] Hence the second temporal layer. The third type of anachronism, however, is more complex. So far, we have focused solely on the planar dimension of chronology (left-right for the horizontal scrolls) since this is the index of the ground-span. Yet discontinuity and heterochrony also operate along the perpendicular axis (i.e., surface-depth) through the stratigraphy of the image.[51] In other words, to shift our focus to the *sūtra* text, one can break or decontextualise a given text sequence by making it participate in the pictorial stratum that subtends it. For instance, note the appearance in the *Eyeless* of a man, with a brush in hand, apparently at work transcribing a text (fig. 7.18). Just over his body the *sūtra* text reads—completely broken from syntactic context—'I/We made an offering' (我供養). Suddenly there seems to be correspondence between the intended text and the accidental pictures. Idiosyncratic and highly isolated, such 'stratigraphic reading' makes the artefact seem surprisingly self-referential. The textual may materially superscribe the pictorial, but the pictorial hermeneutically supervenes. Time and meaning bleed from one stratum to the other. I have addressed the full complexity of such stratigraphic reading in the *Eyeless* and other Japanese artefacts elsewhere.[52] Suffice it to say, however, when one considers the extent of heterochrony present in both the horizontal expanse and the stratigraphic depths of the *Eyeless*, its relationship to temporal continuity becomes complex indeed.

In closing, if the scroll is a medium defined by its relationship to continuity, and death the biographical moment defined by discontinuity, then the use of a scroll in a memorial context is significant. Hence the need to situate the Eyeless in the liminal context of mourning—its euchronic context, in Didi-Huberman's terms—wherein GoShirakawa's living presence ceased, to be replaced by the disordered images and traces inscribed in the material archive and in the memories of those who survived him. On the occasion of the death of perhaps the most pictorially literate person of his time, the decision was made to weave soteriologically freighted writing into a pictorial continuum made of concatenated, achronological, and ossified pictures

of the very type that had populated the deceased's visual imaginary. Regardless of the motivation, if for no other reason than the presence of in-painting, the prevailing understanding of these pictures as recycled sketches deserves scrutiny. At the very least one cannot deny that the Eyeless was a complete and efficacious ritual object, one seen in its time as befitting the scroll-obsessed Emperor. Whereas some read the colophon to suggest that the pictures evoke the Emperor's presence, either through his hand or possession, I propose that the opposite is equally possible: that the carefully orchestrated montage of phantasmatic, anonymous, and hollow scenes succeeds in representing his absence instead. The hypothesis here is that the compilers of the Eyeless worked against the celebrated temporality of the scroll medium in order to arrest narrative, and they did so as a means of mediating—in both senses of the word—the heterochrony of the absent presence one faces in a funerary context. Moreover, through the stratigraphy of the marked surface the inscribers managed to weave a complex web of temporal and allegorical relationships, hence denaturing the pictures and the texts. They thereby foreclosed neat linearity in the 'reading' of either stratum. In sum, the relationship of the scroll to time is far more complex than continuity implies.

1. Georges Didi-Huberman, 'Before the Image, Before Time: The Sovereignty of Anachronism', in Claire Farago and Robert Zwijnenberg (eds), *Compelling Visuality: The Work of Art In and Out of History*, (trans.) Peter Mason (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), p. 33.
2. Weitzmann credits the origins of this hypothesis to Otto Jahn's 1873 Griechische Bilderchroniken. Kurt Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration* (Princeton: University Press, 1970), p. 5.
3. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 5–6, 40.
4. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 17.
5. This claim is implied but not asserted in Hans Belting, *An Anthropology of Images*, (trans.) Thomas Dunlop (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 28.
6. Lev Grossman, 'The Mechanic Muse: From Scroll to Screen', *The New York Times*, 2 September 2011, accessed 6 July 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/04/books/review/the-mechanic-muse-from-scroll-to-screen.html; T. J. Clark, 'Art History in an Age of Image-Machines', *EurAmerica* 38:1 (2008): p. 9.
7. For an extended exploration of the ways in which fictional deaths in the *Tale of Genji* were performed calligraphically in the *Tale of Genji Scrolls*, see Reginald Jackson, *Textures of Mourning: Calligraphy, Mortality, and The Tale of Genji Scrolls* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2018), as well as his earlier, 'Dying in Two Dimensions: Genji emaki and the Wages of Depth Perception', *Mechademia* 7 (2012): pp. 150–172.
8. 'Japan may very well preserve the largest collection of premodern manuscripts in the world'. Bryan D. Lowe, 'Buddhist Manuscript Cultures in Premodern Japan', *Religion Compass* 8:9 (2014): p. 296, n. 1.
9. David Barnett Lurie, *Realms of Literacy: Early Japan and the History of Writing* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2011), pp. 1–3.
10. "For a recent re-evaluation of the history of this project, see Peter Kornicki, "The Hyakumantō darani and the Origins of Printing in Eighth-century Japan", *International Journal of Asian Studies* 9:1 (2012), pp. 43–70.
11. The first textual record is of a copy of the Lotus Sūtra commissioned in the year 1009 by Fujiwara no Michinaga; the earliest extant printed manuscript for reading is the 1088 Jōyuishikiron housed at the temple Kōfukuji in Nara. Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), pp. 115, 118–19.
12. Scholarship on the Eyeless began with Shirahata Yoshi, '*Menashikyō ni tsuite*', *Bijutsu kenkyū* 9 (1940): pp. 264–78. Following the war, Komatsu Shigemi authored a series of articles concerning the scrolls: '*Menashikyō shita-e no nazo*', *Sumi* 34 (1982): pp. 102–6; '*Menashikyō shita-e to Ariake no wakare monogatari*', *Sansai* 121 (1959): pp. 11–16; '*Menashikyō shita-e to Ariake no wakare monogatari* (Continued)', *Sansai* 122 (1960): pp. 16–23; '*Menashikyō to sono shūhen*', *Museum* 60 (1956): pp. 24–26. The most thorough recent analysis is Murakami Harumi, '"*Menashikyō*" *shita-e no kentō to kōsatsu*', in *Akiyama Terukazu hakushi koki kinen bijutsushi ronbunshū* (Kyoto: Benridō, 1991). The present article draws upon my own previous analysis of the scroll. The plural *sūtras* is preferred here since it seems the notion of a single 'set' is misguided. See Kristopher W. Kersey, 'Stratigraphy and Story in the Eyeless Sūtra', in 'The Aesthetics of the Manuscript in Classical Japan' (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2014), pp. 34–70.
13. The whereabouts of the missing fragments are unknown. All extant fragments remain in Japanese collections: Kyoto National Museum, Tokyo National Museum, Daitōkyū Memorial Library, Itsuō Art Museum, Nezu Museum, a private collection, and a Kyoto gallery.
14. Komatsu was the first to notice the change in hands in the transcription, which suggests elevated persons began the transcriptions and then handed them off to copyists to complete. See Komatsu, '*Menashikyō shita-e to Ariake*', p. 13; Kersey, 'Stratigraphy and Story', pp. 47–52.
15. Akiyama Terukazu, 'Women Painters at the Heian Court', in Marsha Smith Weidner (ed.), *Flowering in the Shadows*, (trans.) Maribeth Graybill (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1990), p. 167.
16. The colophon has appeared in print numerous times with a surprising degree of error and variation. This transcription is taken from Komatsu's last work on the *Eyeless* and it is the most faithful. See Komatsu, *Heian jidai yamatoe no tankyū: Hokekyō sasshi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1986), p. 544.
17. As I have argued elsewhere, there is significant reason to doubt the authority of the colophons, as well as the legitimacy of their various interpretations. Kersey, 'Stratigraphy and Story', pp. 40–45.
18. Weitzmann uses the term '*disiecta membra*' quite differently to describe heterogeneous pictures, i.e., illustrations of other texts that are 'migrated' or 'transplanted' into a new narrative. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 143–53.
19. For the classic study in English of this period in Japanese history, see *Insei: Abdicated Sovereigns in the Politics of Late Heian Japan, 1086–1185* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975). Note the titles of two recent popularly marketed Japanese history books: *Retired Emperor GoShirakawa: The Emperor who Defeated the Warriors by the Power of Illustrated Handscrolls and Retired Emperor GoShirakawa: The Odd 'Silly Sovereign' who Ushered in the Middle Ages. Kobayashi Taizō, Goshirakawa Jōkō: "emakimono" no chikara de bushi ni kata mikado* (Tokyo: PHP Kenkyūjo, 2012); Endō Motoo, *Goshirakawa Jōkō: chūsei wo maneita kimyō na "anshu"* (Tokyo: Yamanaka Shuppansha, 2011).
20. Komatsu Shigemi, *Nihon emaki taisei* (Tokyo: Chūō kōronsha, 1977), p. 1:133. Cited in Yung-Hee Kim, *Songs to Make the Dust Dance: The Ryōjin Hishō of Twelfth-century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 29.
21. For a summation of the debate on her identity, see Akiyama, 'Women Painters', pp. 167–70; Willa Jane Tanabe, *Paintings of the Lotus Sūtra* (New York: Weatherhill, 1988), p. 60.
22. As his title reveals, Weitzmann's analysis is based upon an 'illustration' paradigm. The idea that a picture might not have a 'basic text' is anomalous and only briefly entertained. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 143–53, 151.
23. Didi-Huberman, 'Before the Image', p. 34.
24. Tsuen-Hsuin Tsien, *Written on Bamboo and Silk: The Beginnings of Chinese Books and Inscriptions* (Chicago:

University of Chicago Press, 2004), p. 169.
25. Franz Wickhoff, *Roman Art: Some of Its Principles and Their Application to Early Christian Art*, (trans. and ed.) Mrs. S. Arthur Strong (New York: Macmillan, 1900), pp. 1–21.
26. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 8.
27. Weitzman, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 12–36.
28. For an important intervention, see the appendix in Whitney M. Davis, *Masking the Blow: The Scene of Representation in Late Prehistoric Egyptian Art* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992). For a discussion specifically in the context of Buddhism, see Vidja Dehejia, 'On Modes of Visual Narration in Early Buddhist Art', *The Art Bulletin* 72:3 (1990): pp. 374–92.
29. Weitzmann, in discussing friezes and sarcophagi, calls this simply 'physical relation'. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 29 and 37.
30. Meyer Schapiro, 'On Some Problems in the Semiotics of Visual Art', *Semiolus: Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art 6:1* (1972): p. 10.
31. Cf. the fluidity of other types of supports, such as wall paintings or screens, which might take seasonal quadrants or landscape as the basis for arrangement. Nelson Goodman, *Of Mind and Other Matters* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), pp. 116–19.
32. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 17–18.
33. Wickhoff seems to have been unfairly overshadowed by Weitzmann. The former was keenly aware of what he called the 'variance with experience' in continuous narration. Wickhoff, *Roman Art*, p. 14. Moreover, he curiously argues (p. 16) that the continuous mode came from 'Asiatic art'.
34. These terms roughly align with what scholars of narratology such as Mieke Bal, Gerard Genette, and Meir Sternberg would term the *story* or *sujet* (the 'articulation') versus the *fabula* (the 'chronological-causal sequence'). Meir Sternberg, *Expositional Modes and Temporal Ordering in Fiction* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 8–9.
35. For a study of the Shōtoku paintings, see Kevin Gray Carr, *Plotting the Prince: Shōtoku Cults and the Mapping of Medieval Japanese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2012), esp. pp. 115–69.
36. Goodman, *Mind*, pp. 120–22.
37. As Jackson notes, 'Dying recontours temporal and spatial representation, compromising or enhancing legibility to alter perceptions' texture'. Jackson, *Textures of Mourning*, 93. See also his discussion of mid-Heian aristocratic customs of mourning, 54–56. Shirahata was the first to note this upon analysing her reproductions of the scroll without the text.
38. For a discussion of funerary rituals in various Buddhist contexts across Asia, see Bryan J. Cuevas and Jacqueline I. Stone (eds), *The Buddhist Dead: Practices, Discourses, Representations* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007).
39. Indeed, even Weitzmann admitted that biographical 'cycles' could be assembled from images with heterogenous histories. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, pp. 27–28
40. Belting, *Anthropology*, p. 28.
41. Belting, *Anthropology*, p. 28.
42. Joshua S. Mostow, *Courtly Visions: The Ise Stories and the Politics of Cultural Appropriation* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 5–7.
43. Joshua S. Mostow, '"Picturing" in the Tale of Genji', *The Journal of the Association of Teacher of Japanese 33:1* (1999): p. 11.
44. Tanabe, *Lotus Sutra*, pp. 58–60. Kornicki, *Book in Japan*, p. 88. For a recent analysis of a sūtra transcription on recycled letters, see Halle O'Neal, 'Inscribing Grief and Salvation: Embodiment and Medieval Reuse and Recycling in Buddhist Palimpsests', *Artibus Asiae 79:1* (2019): pp. 5–28
45. I borrow the concept of 'noise' in Heian manuscript culture from Sano Midori.
46. In this regard, it seems revealing that Carl Robert used the term *Chroniken-Stil*. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex*, p. 36.
47. While Edmund Husserl and William James are often credited with articulating the myth of a punctate present, recent research argues their precursors, especially Shadworth Hodgson (1832–1912), deserve more credit. See Holly K. Anderson and Rick Grush, 'A Brief History of Time-Consciousness: Historical Precursors to James and Husserl', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 47:2 (2009): pp. 277–307.
48. Didi-Huberman, 'Before the Image', pp. 40–42. Emphasis original.
49. Didi-Huberman, 'Before the Image', p. 38. Emphasis original.
50. Jackson, *Textures of Mourning*, p. 277
51. 'Vertical' is typically contradicted with 'lateral' but the ground-span adds a new dimension, complicating the binary. For a discussion of this binary in relationship to allegory, see Gregory L. Ulmer, 'The Object of Post-Criticism', in Hal Foster (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Port Townsend: Bay Press, 1983), pp. 95–99.
52. Kersey, 'Stratigraphy and Story', as well as in a forthcoming publication.

8

Narrating Charity at the Ospedale del Ceppo

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Fig. 8.1 The façade of the Ospedale del Ceppo in Gustavo Strafforello's *La Patria, Geografia dell'Italia: Provincia di Firenze* (Turin: Unione Tipografico-Editrice, 1894). Photo: © Wikimedia Commons.

When John Ruskin visited the Italian city of Pistoia in 1845, he found himself simultaneously distressed by and in awe of the colourful glazed terracotta frieze adorning the façade of the Ceppo Hospital (figs 8.1–8.3). In a letter to his father, Ruskin wrote:

> There is a singular thing on the Hospital front, a series of bas-reliefs in *coloured* porcelain … which have of course the most vulgar effect conceivable, looking like the commonest signpost barbarisms. And yet, if you struggle with yourself, and look into them, forgetting the colour, you find them magnificent works of the very highest merit, full of the p[u]rest sculptural <merit> feeling, and abundant in expression, grace of con[cepti]on and anatomical knowledge.[1]

Ruskin's letter conveys a strong sense of his own desire, one seemingly prompted by the frieze, to look past his immediate impressions, beyond the colour, and instead 'into' the sculptural form. While sixteenth-century viewers likely appreciated the polychromy far more than Ruskin, the young critic's extended mode of viewing is a response that appears to be encouraged by the design of the sculptural program itself. The massive frieze, measuring more than forty meters in length, wraps around two sides of the loggia and is populated with dozens of life-size figures: contemporary, sacred, and allegorical. The bright colours of the glazes call attention to the hospital from far away, but it is only by walking around the loggia in relatively close proximity to the façade that a spectator can take in the entirety of the imagery. It is impossible to comprehend the complete picture from a single fixed location. Just as a reader unrolling a scroll would gradually progress through a text from beginning to end, so a viewer here must physically move from one segment to another.

Ruskin's distaste for polychromy was shared by many nineteenth-century historians of Renaissance sculpture, and it is a bias that persists—even if in a much less obvious way—to this day. No monograph has been written on Santi Buglioni (1494–1576), the sculptor responsible for this monumental frieze, since Allan Marquand's pioneering work in 1921.[2] Ruskin misidentified the creator, assigning it to the more famous Luca della Robbia (1400–1482), who invented the colourful glazed terracotta medium for which his family workshop became renowned. A century later, Santi di Michele (called Buglioni after his master, Benedetto Buglioni), was the last Florentine sculptor to specialise in this medium.[3] The Ceppo frieze (1526–1529) is his masterpiece.[4] Although he used a medium that was by the sixteenth century virtually synonymous

with the Della Robbia family, Buglioni's techniques and materials were highly experimental: he deployed a wide palette, with shades ranging from amber and chestnut to aubergine and pistachio, and in some areas layered colours to achieve a variety of tones and textures. Furthermore, Buglioni's decision to leave areas of exposed flesh unglazed facilitated his naturalistic depiction of contemporary Tuscans.

Just as innovative as Buglioni's technique was the sculptor's approach to the theme. The principal subject of the frieze consists of seven corporal works of mercy. The Gospel of Matthew describes six of these deeds as Christ's basis for the salvation of the blessed during the Last Judgment (Mt 25:31–46): feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, sheltering the homeless, clothing the naked, caring for the sick, and visiting the imprisoned. The seventh work, burying the dead, has its origins in the Book of Tobit (1:16–19) and was incorporated into the canonical list of works by the end of the twelfth century.[5]

I. Colour and Contemporaneity

The works of mercy were a natural choice for the decoration of charitable institutions in Renaissance Italy, yet Buglioni's medium and exterior setting allowed him to communicate the subject matter in a newly prominent, visually striking way. Surviving Tuscan precedents that Santi likely knew and referred to include the *Allegory of Divine Mercy* (1341–1342) in the Confraternity of Santa Maria della Misericordia (now the Bigallo) in Florence, the fresco cycle of the Pellegrinaio of Santa Maria della Scala (1440–1445) in Siena, and the lunettes (c.1478–1479) in the Oratory of San Martino dei Buonomini in Florence.[6] Notably, these are painted and decorate enclosed spaces, making them less immediately visible in their urban contexts.[7] The saturated colours of Buglioni's glazed terracotta surfaces instead contrast strongly against the matte stone and painted plaster of the Ceppo's loggia, attracting a viewer's eye as he or she approaches from the south or west. Thanks to the inherent durability of Buglioni's technique, the Ceppo frieze has endured largely intact for nearly five centuries; even rain simply washes away accumulated grime, revealing the brilliant surfaces of the sculpture. Buglioni's programme thus addresses not only the members and guests of a specific institution—in this case, a hospital—but also the entire city. The size and prominence of the frieze, furthermore, signal the centrality of this institution

Fig. 8.2
The façade of the Ospedale del Ceppo (2018). Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.3 [detail] Composite image of Santi Buglioni's frieze at the Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Photo: © The Author.

to Renaissance Pistoia: it was the largest hospital in the city and by the fifteenth century boasted seventy beds for the sick.[8]

Within the frieze, Buglioni indicates his interest in depicting the local relevance of the traditional charitable works of mercy. He does so in a variety of ways. In the second scene, for example, the inclusion of the arms of the Ceppo on the bedsheet locates within this specific hospital the universal Christian duty of sheltering the homeless. Buglioni's use of portraiture, furthermore, draws attention to the contemporaneous quality of his images. This is true above all of the hospital's director and Buglioni's patron, Leonardo Buonafede, whose wrinkles, prominent nose, and Carthusian habit make him easily recognisable across the frieze (fig. 8.4). He appears in six of the seven main panels, absent only in the far-right scene, *Giving Drink to the Thirsty*.[9]

Buonafede is not the only figure with portrait-like characteristics. The second benefactor in *Feeding the Hungry*, for example, appears to be another administrator; he wears a long black cloak over a blue robe and, like Buonafede, a black cap (fig. 8.5). This same figure—recognisable by his wavy hair and fleshy face—reappears next to Buonafede in the second scene, *Sheltering the Homeless* (fig. 8.12). It seems likely that these depictions are portraits of a man who was a well-known member of the hospital's staff.[10] Even the close attention paid to hospital uniforms—the differentiation between the brown robes and white aprons worn by simple attendants on the one hand, and the more elaborate hats and cloaks worn by physicians, on the other—indicates an attempt on Buglioni's part to depict his subjects in garments that communicate their distinct roles (fig. 8.6).

Within the individual scenes, furthermore, Buglioni draws attention to a number of the Ceppo's specific activities in the city. Indeed, the works as represented in the frieze do not follow the order in which they appear in the Gospel of Matthew; instead, the hospital's own charitable priorities may have driven the sculptural arrangement.[11] Central to the hospital's mission was the care of the sick, and this scene, appropriately, receives prominent placement above one of the two main entrances to the building (figs 8.2 and 8.7). A striking white ground—a rare choice in the medium of glazed terracotta, in which blue grounds are standard—further calls attention to this, the third panel. Buglioni's depiction of the ward corresponds to what we know of early modern hospital practice: patients are dressed in what appears to be a standard uniform, while their beds are individually numbered and adorned with herbs, at once serving a medicinal purpose

Fig. 8.4 (left) Santi Buglioni, detail of Leonardo Buonafede in *Clothing the Naked* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.5 (right) Santi Buglioni, detail of hospital administrator in *Feeding the Hungry* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

and freshening the air.[12] To either side of Buonafede, the patients being looked after communicate the range of care the hospital provided: at left, one physician checks a patient's pulse while another caregiver studies his urine; at right, a surgeon examines a second patient's head wound.[13] Other employees hold tablets, perhaps for taking notes. This is no generic hospital interior; rather, it appears to be almost a portrait of the Ceppo's male ward.

Renaissance hospitals provided a wide variety of charitable and social services, and the length and complexity of the frieze reflects the breadth of the Ceppo's mission: not only did it employ physicians and medics to look after the infirm, but it also provided clothes, food, and financial assistance to different groups of disadvantaged citizens.[14] Fittingly, the bodies represented on the frieze are engaged in a similar diversity of charitable activities. For example, in the first section

Fig. 8.6 Santi Buglioni, detail of hospital patient and employees in *Caring for the Sick* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.7
Santi Buglioni, *Caring for the Sick* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

of the frieze, on the loggia's short end, Buonafede stands in the centre, simultaneously engaged in two charitable works (fig. 8.8). With his right hand Buonafede offers a blue garment to a man who is naked but for his loincloth, while with his left he holds out a small bag, seemingly a monetary gift for the kneeling girl in white. The Ceppo's role in helping to provide dowries for women from impoverished families in the local community is thereby paired, and perhaps equated, with one of the canonical works of mercy: clothing the naked.[15]

Similarly, a detail in the fourth large panel appears to refer to another specific activity of the Ceppo, beyond its general provision of the standard works of mercy (fig. 8.9). At left, the presence of a man in chains and two other faces behind bars allows a viewer to understand the scene as a depiction of the traditional work of visiting the imprisoned. To the right, however, a colourfully dressed attendant calls attention to two figures carrying food and drink. These men wear brown caps, brown robes with blue sleeves, and white aprons; this costume recurs across the frieze and appears to be the uniform of the hospital attendants. This vignette, therefore, may refer to the hospital's practice of providing a meal to prisoners around the feast of the Assumption each year.[16]

Feeding the city's poorest inhabitants was an even more regular activity: the hospital offered meals on a number of feast days and gave bread once a week to any needy individuals who came to the hospital.[17] This latter practice is reflected on the right side of the sixth scene, *Feeding the Hungry*, as two attendants (again dressed in the brown robes and caps and white aprons)

Fig. 8.8
Santi Buglioni, *Clothing the Naked* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.9
Santi Buglioni, *Visiting the Imprisoned* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

together with a more elegantly attired hospital administrator emerge from the hospital's door and distribute bread rolls to the poor (fig. 8.10). On the left, Buonafede leads a man in tattered rags towards a table set out with a more elaborate meal, which three other needy men are already enjoying; this portion of the scene may refer to the more substantial meals the hospital provided on feast days. The threshold depicted in the centre of this scene is neatly positioned directly above the second of the two main entrances to the hospital (fig. 8.2), and the pairing was perhaps meant to stress the direct connection between the image and the institution, as well as the notion that the hospital's work for the community occurred both inside and outside of its walls.

II: Christ Among the Pistoians

The repetition of Buonafede across the façade not only underlines the contemporaneous nature of the imagery, but it also makes possible a reading of the frieze as a continuous narrative. Buonafede in particular acts as a familiar visual anchor, his body serving as a means of both dividing and enlivening the long horizontal fields allocated to each work of mercy. The inclusion of Christ and several saints within these seemingly contemporary represented spaces is, therefore, all the more striking, as is the presence of five female bodies dividing the six large scenes on the main façade, easily identifiable by their familiar attributes as cardinal and theological virtues:

Fig. 8.10
Santi Buglioni, *Feeding the Hungry* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.11
Santi Buglioni, *Hope* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

from left to right, *Prudence*, *Faith*, *Charity*, *Hope*, and *Justice*. Although these figures are distinguished by the presence of haloes—only *Charity*, at the centre of the façade, lacks one—their general similarity in appearance to the sixteenth-century Tuscans among whom they appear must be intentional: all are depicted in high relief and with exposed flesh unglazed.

Somewhat more difficult to identify are the four haloed figures who appear within the main sections of the frieze, as part of the works of mercy: two in *Sheltering the Homeless* and two in *Visiting the Imprisoned*. In the first of these scenes, Buonafede kneels between the two haloed figures, washing the feet of one while the other looks on and blesses his charitable work (figs 8.12 and 8.13). The haloed figure at left is usually identified as St James of Compostela, the patron saint of pilgrims and of the city of Pistoia, a reading supported by the fact that he stands before a group of four men who are identifiable as pilgrims by their staffs and badges, most prominently the scallop shell of St James. The haloed figure at right, in turn, appears to be St John the Baptist, patron saint of Florence, identified from his hair shirt.[18] This pairing has been interpreted as a way of referring to the ties between the major hospitals of Florence and Pistoia, as Buonafede was the director of both.[19]

Fig. 8.12
Santi Buglioni, *Sheltering the Homeless* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.13
Santi Buglioni, detail of *Sheltering the Homeless* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

The remarkable physical similarity of these two figures, however, implies a different reading: Instead of St James and St John the Baptist, it is Christ who appears twice, in the guise of two different pilgrims.[20] After all, the face, hair and beard of the two haloed figures are identical. Given Buglioni's evident interest in portraiture and his careful attempts to differentiate between the various hospital employees and recipients of charity, it seems unlikely that the sculptor would not wish to identify two saints as different men by portraying them with unique facial features. Indeed, these same physical characteristics reappear in the scene of *Visiting the Imprisoned* (fig. 8.14). Here, the man in shackles at left with his cruciform nimbus is universally identified as Christ.[21] Surprisingly, however, it has not been noted that this Christ shares the same facial features—shoulder-length curls and a short beard and moustache—as the two haloed figures in *Sheltering the Homeless*. Yet such evident similarities must be intentional.[22]

Fig. 8.14
Santi Buglioni, detail of *Visiting the Imprisoned* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

By repeating Christ three times across the frieze, Buglioni fuses contemporary and sacred history, in this way reflecting the liturgical foundations for the works of mercy. In the Gospel of Matthew, Christ notes that works of charity will form his criteria for salvation. Addressing the blessed, he says: 'I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink, I

was a stranger and you welcomed me, I was naked and you clothed me, I was sick and you visited me, I was in prison and you came to me.' Christ goes on to explain that when his followers perform these works of charity on behalf of their fellow human beings, it is *as if* they are done for Christ himself: 'as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me' (RSV, Mt 25:35–40). The words of the Gospel, of course, stress the importance of understanding the recipients of all of these charitable works—'the least important of these my brethren'—as individual incarnations of Christ. This conflation of Christ with the needy is eloquently expressed by Buglioni by Christ's recurrence in different guises among the pilgrims and the prisoners.

III: Continuity and Completion: The Frieze and its Afterlife

The repetition of Christ's form, like those of Buonafede and the second recognisable hospital administrator noted above, also serves a basic visual strategy: that of encouraging a close and complete reading of the frieze itself. The general subject matter—the seven works of mercy—was familiar to a sixteenth-century viewer, but it is enlivened here not only by the presence and reappearance of these identifiable characters, but also by the elaborate decorative program within which the works appear. The five virtues usefully complement the subject matter, but they also act as convenient pauses for the eye, the female figures and their classicising frames dividing the long frieze into easily comprehensible visual fields.

Taking the place of these virtues at the corners of the loggia are three panels with inscriptions. The first of these is immediately to the right of the first scene, *Clothing the Naked*. Here appear the words '*BEATI MUNDO CORDE, Q[UONIA]M*', or 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for …'(fig. 8.15). This beatitude, from the Gospel of Matthew (5:8), is completed at the far-right end of the frieze, immediately after the scene of Giving Drink to the Thirsty. There, another tablet contains the second half of the beatitude, '*Q[UONIA]M IPSI DEU[M] VIDEBUNT*', or 'for they shall see God' (fig. 8.16).

On the far left of the main façade is another inscription containing the beginning of a second beatitude, '*BEATI MISERICORDE, Q[UONIA]M*', or 'Blessed are the merciful, for …' (fig. 8.15). Following the above pattern, we would expect to find another inscription containing the remainder of the beatitude (Mt 5:7): 'for they shall obtain mercy'. However, no such tablet appears elsewhere on the façade. It is possible that the original sculptural program provided for a fourth inscription, one that would complete this beatitude, on the eastern side of the loggia. In this case, an eighth narrative scene might also be expected. Today, this area remains undecorated, aside from a single roundel with the arms of the Ceppo (fig. 8.17).[23] While the seven works of mercy provide a complete cycle on their own, it would not have been surprising to find another scene of charity incorporated, particularly one of special relevance to the institution or the patron.[24] Alternatively, it is possible, if unlikely, that there was no plan to decorate the east end, since the two sides of the loggia that are adorned with the frieze are those that look onto the city's main streets and were therefore the most prominent in the urban environment of the period.[25]

The division of the beatitudes into incomplete phrases may be a matter of spatial consideration, but it also has the effect of stressing the continuity of the frieze. The fragmentary nature of the inscriptions encourages a viewer to search for their endings, even though in the case of the second beatitude there is none to be found. The inclusion of text within a cycle of images, furthermore, invites a careful reading of the frieze as a whole, and it structures this reading in a Latinate textual direction from left to right, beginning on the western short side of the loggia and ending at the far right of the main façade. Despite this apparent interest in text, however, the seven works of mercy do not follow the order in which they are mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew. It seems plausible that the hospital re-ordered the works in order to emphasise the charitable activities of which it was most proud: this would explain the particularly prominent

Fig. 8.15
Santi Buglioni, glazed terracotta decorations (1526–1529) at the western corner of the façade of the Ospedale del Ceppo. Photo: © The Author.

placement and colour scheme of *Caring for the Sick* and *Feeding the Hungry*, as noted above.

A careful viewer will note that the second half of the first beatitude, at the far eastern end of the loggia, is written in a different hand (fig. 8.16). The script is less carefully controlled, the space between the letters is filled with decorative flourishes, and there is a date of 1585 at the base of the tablet. It is evident that this portion of the frieze was completed by another artist, probably the same person responsible for the seventh scene of mercy adjacent to this tablet, Giving Drink to the Thirsty. Noticeably different in style, particularly in colour, this scene is usually attributed to the Pistoian painter Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini (c.1559–1608), and it was completed almost six decades after Buglioni's work.[26]

It remains uncertain why this last scene is a later work by a different hand, although there is evidence that Buglioni at the very least attempted to complete the cycle himself. In 1934, excavations underneath the Ceppo recovered a large group of fragments of partially-glazed terracotta sculpture: the quality of the glazes and clays, as well as the style of the reliefs, indicates that these were made by Buglioni and his shop.[27] One large fragment depicts a poor man holding out a jug, with another vessel in the background, and for this reason it is likely that the subject matter was the seventh work of mercy, *Giving Drink to the Thirsty*. The fragments were pro-

Fig. 8.16
Santi Buglioni and Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini (attr.), glazed terracotta decorations (1526–1529 and 1585) at the eastern corner of the façade of the Ospedale del Ceppo. Photo: © The Author.

Fig 8.17
View of the loggia of the Ospedale del Ceppo from the east (2018). Photo: © The Author.

bably discarded because of problems that developed during the firing: glaze defects and cracking are visible throughout.

Since Buglioni remained active as a sculptor for another four decades, it is difficult to determine why the frieze does not appear to have been finished by this artist or his collaborators. Paladini's work is a testament to the hospital's desire to bring the frieze to completion. His more muted tones and less reflective glazes, however, are in strong contrast to those used in the rest of the frieze. This artist, working less than a decade after Buglioni's death, could not or did not wish to replicate the technique used by his predecessor: the glazes barely cover the clay body and the colours seem to have deteriorated significantly over the centuries. Paladini's attempt to imitate Buglioni's style is nevertheless apparent, particularly in the cartouche that provides the text for the end of the first beatitude.

Paladini's contribution to the Ceppo also serves as a reminder that individual authorship may not have been particularly important to the sixteenth-century patrons and viewers of this frieze, chiefly Buonafede himself. The hospital's façade in fact includes reliefs by four separate artists working in glazed terracotta: in addition to Santi Buglioni and Paladini, Giovanni della Robbia created the elaborate roundels (1525–1529) immediately underneath the frieze (figs 8.19–8.21), while Santi's master, Benedetto Buglioni, was responsible for the *Coronation* lunette (1510–1512) above the entrance to the men's ward (immediately to the left of the loggia) (fig. 8.22), and the roundel with the hospital's coats of arms (1515) on the eastern side of the loggia (fig. 8.17).[28] Buonafede's patronage both at the Ceppo and elsewhere is marked by a strong interest in the medium of glazed terracotta more than in a specific artist,[29] so it is not terribly surprising that he would commission three separate sculptors to contribute to the hospital's façade.

Fig. 8.18
Attributed to Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini, *Giving Drink to the Thirsty* (c.1585). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.19 (left) Giovanni della Robbia, *The Annunciation* (1525–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.20 (centre) Giovanni della Robbia, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (1525–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.21(right) Giovanni della Robbia, *The Visitation* (1525–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Fig. 8.22 (bottom) Benedetto Buglioni, *The Coronation of the Virgin* (1510–1512). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

It is the medium itself that provides a sense of unity and cohesion to the hospital's exterior decoration. The roundels underneath the works of mercy, for example, invite a viewer to complement a horizontal, narrative reading of the frieze with vertical readings that stress local and institutional identity: the images of the Virgin refer to her role as patron saint of the hospital, while the coats of arms of the city and the hospital indicate the centrality of these charitable works to the life of Pistoians. The wide diversity of bodies represented in the frieze and the civic identity reflected in the roundels, furthermore, underline the importance of community, both with Christ and with one's neighbours, to Christian life.

The physical movement of the viewer, finally, is critical to the comprehension of the full array of images represented, and this may be a subtle means of recalling the fact that action is an essential component of the façade's main subject, the works of mercy. For Catholics, after all, salvation is obtained through the willful, ongoing performance of good works in one's society. The complexity of the sculptural program at the Ceppo, fittingly, encourages both physical and spiritual activity. It is this same profusion of imagery and colour that has made the Ceppo façade simultaneously one of the most compelling contributions to the entire genre of glazed terracotta sculpture and an unmistakable feature of the urban landscape of Pistoia for almost five centuries. Even Ruskin, after all, with his strong distaste for 'vulgar' sculptural polychromy, could not keep himself from judging the frieze 'magnificent'.

8.23
Santi Buglioni, *Burying the Dead* (1526–1529). Glazed terracotta. Ospedale del Ceppo, Pistoia. Photo: © The Author.

Appendix: The Ceppo Frieze

1: The subject of the first section of the frieze, facing west towards modern via delle Pappe, is traditionally identified as *Clothing the Naked*, one of seven corporal works of mercy that are the main subject of the façade's sculptural program. Hospital director Leonardo Buonafede (c.1450–1544) stands in the centre, dividing groups of men and women. The exposed skin of the needy men at left, rendered in unglazed terracotta, contrasts strongly with the colourful, glazed surfaces of the garments Buonafede has given them. The self-assured posture of the newly clothed man who is second from the left communicates the ennobling power of Buonafede's charitable work. Simultaneously, Buonafede offers a different form of charity to a group of women gathered at right: the bag he holds out represents a gift of a dowry.

1A: At the corner between the western side of the loggia and its main façade is a curious female creature with colourful wings, whose body is partially covered by acanthus leaves. This figure, possibly a sphinx, has between her legs a shield with the arms of the hospital: a blooming tree stump ('ceppo' in Italian). To the left of this creature is an inscription with the beginning of a beatitude from the Gospel of Matthew (5:8): '*BEATI MUNDO CORDE, Q[UONIA]M*', or 'Blessed are the pure in heart, for …'. To the creature's right is a second inscription with the beginning of another beatitude: '*BEATI MISERICORDE, Q[UONIA]M*', or 'Blessed are the merciful, for …' (Mt 5:7).

2: Buonafede, easily recognisable in his black and white garments, reappears at the centre of this scene, the first on the main side of the hospital façade, facing south. Here, he kneels to wash the feet of a pilgrim. The bed nearby, made up with sumptuous purple linens and white tasseled pillows, is another sign of the hospitality Buonafede's institution offers to those in need. The subject of this panel, therefore, is a second work of mercy, *Sheltering the Homeless*. The homeless are here depicted as pilgrims, as the group of men at left carry staffs and pilgrim badges, most prominently the scallop shells of St James of Compostela. A well-dressed man at far right gestures to the emblem of the hospital—a flowering tree trunk atop a crutch—painted onto the linens, thereby underlining the identity of the institution providing this charity.

2A: *Prudence*, one of the four cardinal virtues, holds her traditional attributes: a mirror and a snake (now missing its head). The mirror is made of wood and may replace a similar, lost

object in glazed terracotta.

3: A contemporary hospital ward provides the setting for the next work of mercy, *Caring for the Sick*. Buonafede, now wearing a black mantle over his white robes, consults with a male figure, possibly a physician overseeing the ward. To either side, medical practitioners attend to the infirm. The patients are dressed in what appears to be a standard uniform, while their hospital beds are neatly made up and individually numbered.

3A: The theological virtue *Faith* holds her attributes: a chalice and a cross. The cross is made of wood and may replace an earlier version in glazed terracotta.

4: The subject of the fourth main section of the frieze is *Visiting the Imprisoned*. Buonafede is guided by his name saint, Leonard, while looking down at Christ in his shackles. To the right, a young man points to two other male figures, seemingly hospital employees, who carry a bundle and buckets, perhaps filled with refreshments, to the prisoners.

4A: The theological virtue *Charity* is accompanied by two infants. Fittingly for a frieze depicting a variety of charitable works, this virtue appears at the very centre of the loggia.

5: Buonafede oversees the *Burial of the Dead*, as he watches over the performance of a funeral mass. The strong visual presence of the cross in this area of the frieze—it appears on the cloak worn by the priest, on the cloth underneath the corpse, and on the processional cross held by an attendant—reinforces the association between Christ's body (visible in three-dimensional form on the processional cross itself) and that of the deceased. To the left, we observe the process of burial itself, as a second corpse is lowered into the ground.

5A: The third theological virtue, *Hope*, clasps her hands in prayer.

6: Together with hospital employees, Buonafede performs a sixth work of mercy: *Feeding the Hungry*. Here, for the first time, Buonafede is moved off-centre, his usual space occupied instead by a doorway. This sculptural doorway aligns with a real entrance to the hospital, directly below. Beggars, identifiable as such from the torn garments and shoes they wear, populate the rest of the scene. At right, a second hospital administrator distributes the bread carried out by his assistants. The variety of bodies shown—from young children to the elderly, both male and female—emphasises the diversity of the needy, and by extension, the breadth of the hospital's charity. At left, Buonafede guides a poor elderly man—his rags particularly scanty—towards a table laid out with bread and meat, where three other men are already being served by another hospital employee.

6A: A second cardinal virtue, *Justice*, carries a sword in her right hand. Her left hand must have held her other traditional attribute, the scales, which are now lost.

7: The seventh work of mercy, *Giving Drink to the Thirsty*, is the subject of the final section of the frieze, at the far right of the hospital's main façade. This portion of the frieze is the creation of a different artist working later in the century, probably the Pistoian painter Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini (c.1559–c.1608). The stark difference in technique and style is a testament to a loss in technical skill with the end of the Buglioni and Della Robbia workshops and their specialisation in glazed terracotta sculpture. Buonafede here is replaced by a later hospital administrator, in white robes, who offers liquid refreshment to the impoverished people surrounding him. An elderly man to the left and a boy to the right drink from simple glazed

cups, while others hold a variety of jugs, urns, and mugs ready to be filled.

7A: The first Beatitude in praise of the pure in heart, begun at the edge of the left façade, is here completed with the words '*Q[UONIA]M IPSI DEU[M] VIDEBUNT*': 'for they shall see God'. The inscription is evidently written in a different hand from the two at left, and the panel includes numerous decorative flourishes as well as a date of 1585. These factors, together with the matte surface finish (a contrast particularly apparent beside the bright glazed blue and white pilaster, a remnant of Buglioni's sculptural project), make it evident that this portion of the inscription was completed by Paladini. The winged female creature at the right corner of the façade, however, is similar to that at the left edge of the façade, and therefore is likely Buglioni's work.

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1. John Ruskin, *Ruskin in Italy: Letters to His Parents, 1845* (ed. Harold I. Shapiro) (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 87. For further discussion of Ruskin's commentary, see Charlotte Drew, 'Luca della Robbia: South Kensington and the Victorian revival of a Florentine sculptor', *Sculpture Journal 23:2* (2014): pp. 171–183.
2. Allan Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1921).
3. Giorgio Vasari includes a brief discussion of Santi and Benedetto Buglioni at the end of his Life of Andrea del Verrocchio, in the Giuntina edition of 1568. The Della Robbia workshop's 'secret' methods, Vasari says, were stolen from Andrea della Robbia by Benedetto Buglioni (via a woman who worked in Andrea's house), and by 1568, Benedetto's successor Santi was the only living artist who still knew how to make this type of glazed terracotta sculpture. See Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568* (eds Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi) (Florence: Studio per Edizioni Scelte, 1966–1987), 3: p. 545. Santi was also a distant relative of Benedetto Buglioni: Santi's mother was a cousin of Benedetto's wife. See Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.
4. The frieze was commissioned by Leonardo Buonafede, director of the Ceppo and the major Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova. Documents published by Marquand indicate that Buglioni was paid 413 lire, 9 soldi, by the Ceppo Hospital between 1526 and 1529. See Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, pp. 165–182.
5. For broad studies of the iconography of the works of mercy in Italian art, see Federico Botana, *The Works of Mercy in Italian Medieval Art* (c.1050–c.1400) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Ulrike Ritzerfeld, *Pietas – Caritas – Societas: Bildprogramme karitativer Einrichtungen des Spätmittelalters in Italien* (Bonn: Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn, 2007); William Levin, 'Studies in the Imagery of Mercy in Late Medieval Italian Art' (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1983).
6. As Botana has noted, given the widespread imagery of the works in medieval churches throughout Europe, it is very possible that similar cycles were used to decorate many other early hospitals, but most of these structures have since been rebuilt or redecorated, and as a result little evidence for the original decoration survives. See Botana, *Works of Mercy*, pp. 2 and 7–9. On the Tuscan precedents mentioned here, see William Levin, *The Allegory of Mercy at the Misericordia in Florence: Historiography, Context, Iconography and the Documentation of Fraternal Charity in the Trecento* (Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 2004); Phillip Earenfight, 'The Residence and Loggia della Misericordia: Il Bigallo: Art and Architecture of Confraternal Piety, Charity, and Virtue in Late Medieval Florence' (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers, 1999), pp. 138–191; Earenfight, '"Civitas Florenti[a]e": The New Jerusalem and the Allegory of Divine Misericordia', in Arnold Victor Coonin (ed.), *A Scarlet Renaissance: Essays in Honor of Sarah Blake McHam* (New York: Italica, 2013), 131–160; Beatrice Sordini, *Dentro l'antico Ospedale: Santa Maria della Scala, uomini, cose e spazi di vita nella Siena medievale* (Siena: Protagon, 2010); Maggie Bell, 'On Display: Poverty as Infirmity and its Visual Representation at the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala in Siena', in Peter Howard, Jonathan Nelson, and Fredrika Jacobs (eds.), *Body and the City: Representing Illness* (forthcoming, Routledge, 2020); Ludovica Sebregondi (ed.), *La Congregazione dei Buonomini di San Martino* (Florence: Polistampa, 2018); Giovanni Santambrogio, *I volti della misericordia nell'arte* (Milan: Àncora, 2016), pp. 121–150.
7. Botana, *Works of Mercy*, p. 2. The Misericordia fresco, however, was partially visible from the Piazza San Giovanni, as it decorated an entrance hall that opened onto the square. See Phillip Earenfight, 'Catechism and Confraternitas on the Piazza San Giovanni: How the Misericordia Used Image and Text to Instruct its Members in Christian Theology', *Journal of Religious History 28:1* (2004): pp. 67–69.
8. David Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town, 1200–1430* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 248.
9. This portion of the frieze is a later work by a different hand, a topic to which I will return at the end of this essay. Dated 1585, the scene of *Giving Drink to the Thirsty* is usually attributed to the Pistoian painter Filippo di Lorenzo Paladini (c.1559–c.1608). There are indications that other artisans from nearby Montelupo Fiorentino, an historic centre of ceramics production, worked together with Paladini, presumably on account of their technical expertise. Consistent with the later date of production, Buonafede here is replaced by a later administrator, who has been variously identified as Bartolomeo Montechiari or Filippo Guilliccioni. See Maria Cristina Masdea and Valerio Tesi, 'Vaghe figure di terra cotta, esprimenti l'opere della misericordia,' in Giovanni Capecchi et al., *Avvicinatevi alla bellezza: Il fregio dello Spedale del Ceppo* (Pistoia: Giorgio Tesi, 2015), pp. 31 and 105.
10. Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', pp. 45 and 93.
11. In the Gospel of Matthew, the works are mentioned in the following order: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, sheltering the homeless, clothing the naked, caring for the sick, and visiting the imprisoned (Mt 25:35–36).
12. The prominent representation of these herbs may lend support to John Henderson's proposal that the man holding a green hat, standing next to Buonafede, is one of the hospital's gardeners. See Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 207.

13. For the identification of the central figure examining the head wound (the man wearing a grey tunic and hat), see Henderson, *Renaissance Hospital*, pp. 235–236. Henderson notes that the man's clothes are simpler than those of the physician attending to the other patient, reflecting the relatively lower status of this hospital employee.
14. For a comprehensive study of the Renaissance hospital, see Henderson, *Renaissance Hospital*.
15. On the hospital's charitable activities, see Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia; for dowry contributions*, p. 249.
16. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, p. 248.
17. Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia*, pp. 248–249.
18. Philine Helas, 'Opere benevole—opera bellissima. Il fregio dell'ospedale del Ceppo di Pistoia', in Elena Testaferrata and Giacomo Guazzini (eds.), *Il museo e la città: Vicende artistiche pistoiesi del Cinquecento* (Pistoia: Gli Ori, 2017), p. 71; Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 45; Fiamma Domestici, *I Della Robbia a Pistoia* (Florence: Octavo, 1995), p. 212; Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, p. 169, who reads the figure at left as 'Christ disguised as a pilgrim'.
19. Helas, 'Opere benevole', p. 71; Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 45; Domestici, *I Della Robbia*, p. 212; Alberto Cipriani and Lorenzo Cipriani, *Lo Spedale del Ceppo: Storia, arte, cultura* (Pistoia: Gli Ori, 2013), pp. 182–183; Henderson, *Renaissance Hospital*, p. 79. The Ceppo had come under the control of the Florentine hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in 1501.
20. Francesco Gurrieri and Aurelio Amendola, *Il fregio robbiano dell'Ospedale del Ceppo a Pistoia* (Pistoia: Cassa di Risparmio di Pistoia e Pescia, 1982), p. 25, also noted the similarity between the two figures and raised the possibility that both might be Christ.
21. Helas, 'Opere benevole', p. 75; Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 69; Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, p. 170.
22. The cruciform nimbus Christ wears in *Visiting the Imprisoned* serves to differentiate him from St Leonard, who appears to the right and with distinct physical characteristics. Leonard's presence in this scene is explained by the fact that he is the patron saint of the imprisoned, as well as the name saint of Buonafede, whom he appears to guide. See Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 69.
23. This roundel has been identified as the coat of arms for which Benedetto Buglioni received payment in 1515. Given the incomplete nature of the façade decoration at this date, it seems unlikely that the eastern side of the loggia was its original intended location. See Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 29.
24. *The Allegory of Divine Mercy* painted for the Misericordia in 1341–1342, for example, included eight roundels depicting the seven works of mercy: *Burying the Dead*, a work of particular importance to the society, was divided across two roundels. Ghirlandaio's frescoes for the Oratorio dei Buonomini (c.1478–1479), furthermore, consisted of a cycle of ten lunettes: in addition to the seven traditional works (*Feeding the Hungry and Giving Drink to the Thirsty* are combined into one scene), there are two lunettes depicting the confraternity's patron saint, Martin, as well as two depicting other charitable activities of the Buonomini: providing dowries and drawing up inventories. Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 29, suggest that the initial plan for the decoration of the loggia must have included all three sides.
25. For the opinion that it was intentionally left undecorated, see Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, p. 166.
26. Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 31.
27. Masdea and Tesi, 'Vaghe figure', p. 30. For a catalogue of the fragments, see Rachel E. Boyd, 'Catalogo dei frammenti di terracotta rinvenuti nel 1934. Ricognizione prima del restauro', in Maria Cristina Masdea and Valerio Tesi (eds.), *Il restauro del fregio dello Spedale del Ceppo di Pistoia* (forthcoming).
28. For documents, see Marquand, *Benedetto and Santi Buglioni*, pp. 91–94; Allan Marquand, *Robbia Heraldry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1919), pp. 215–216, 267–269; Allan Marquand, *Giovanni della Robbia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1920), pp. 195–201 and 223–224.
29. For Buonafede's patronage of other glazed terracotta projects, see Cipriani and Cipriani, *Spedale del Ceppo*, pp. 170–174; Giancarlo Gentilini, *I Della Robbia: La scultura invetriata nel Rinascimento* (Florence: Cantini, 1992), 2: pp. 281–284, 324, 326, 395–396, 437–441, 454; David Franklin, 'Ridolfo Ghirlandaio's altar-pieces for Leonardo Buonafé and the Hospital of S. Maria Nuova in Florence', *The Burlington Magazine* 135:1078 (1993): pp. 4–16; Fiamma Domestici, 'Il mecenatismo di Leonardo Buonafede per l'arredo del Santuario delle Grazie in Casentino', *Antichità viva* 27:3–4 (1988): pp. 35–40; Doris Carl, 'L'oratorio della SS. Concezione dei Preti: Documenti e suggerimenti per la storia della chiesa e la sua decorazione artistica', *Rivista d'arte 38* (1986): pp. 120–123.

9

‘Yf A Woman Travell Wyth Chylde Gyrdes Thys Mesure Abowte Hyr Wombe’: Reconsidering the English Birth Girdle Tradition

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Fig. 9.1 (detail) Front of a manuscript birth girdle (England, c.1500). Ink and pigment on parchment, 332 x 10 cm. Wellcome Library, London, MS 632. Photo: © Wellcome Library, London.

In December of 1502 Elizabeth of York, the heavily pregnant wife of King Henry VII, paid six shillings and eight pence to a monk who had just brought her 'our Lady gyrdelle'.[1] This relic, 'which weomen with chield were wont to girde with', was just one of many such belts and girdles, often associated with the Virgin Mary, that were owned by English churches and believed to provide protection during childbirth.[2] As well as actual girdle relics, medieval women could rely on manuscript birth girdles: parchment rolls that mimicked the relics and served the same purpose. These manuscripts, like the girdles they imitated, would be wrapped around the pregnant woman's womb either in the weeks leading up to the delivery or during labour itself.

At least eight English manuscript rolls dating from the late fourteenth century to the early sixteenth century, as well as one printed sheet from 1533, are described as 'birth girdles' in current scholarship (see Appendix).[3] Here, I argue that the term has been too widely applied, creating unfounded assumptions about the gendered nature of the manuscripts in question. While these rolls could have been used for amuletic protection during childbirth, the term 'birth girdle' also implies a specific physical interaction between the manuscript and the expectant mother for which there is little evidence. It emphasises only one of the rolls' possible functions, obscuring their more general protective and devotional role and placing unnecessary emphasis on a single facet of their use.

In making this argument, I do not intend to reject the conceptual category of 'birth girdle'. There is strong evidence for the existence of manuscripts that were used as girdles for the purpose of protection during childbirth. For example, one early thirteenth-century remedy reads:

> Ad difficultate*m* part*us* ista t*ria* no*mi*n*a* pone. i*n* alico cing*u*lo et da mulieri ut p*re*cingat se de hoc cing*u*lo. Vrnum. BvrNVM. BlizaNVM.
> For a difficult birth put these three names on a girdle and give it to the woman to gird herself with that girdle. Vrnum. BvrNVM. BlizaNVM.[4]

There is nothing to suggest, however, that most of the surviving 'birth girdle' manuscripts would have been used as girdles, or that those that were would have been used exclusively in this manner.

Eight of the nine artifacts described as birth girdles contain vernacular and Latin prayers to saints Quiricus and Julitta, which Mary Morse and Scott Gwara have called 'the defining textual features of the English birth girdle tradition.'[5] The presence of these prayers on a manuscript

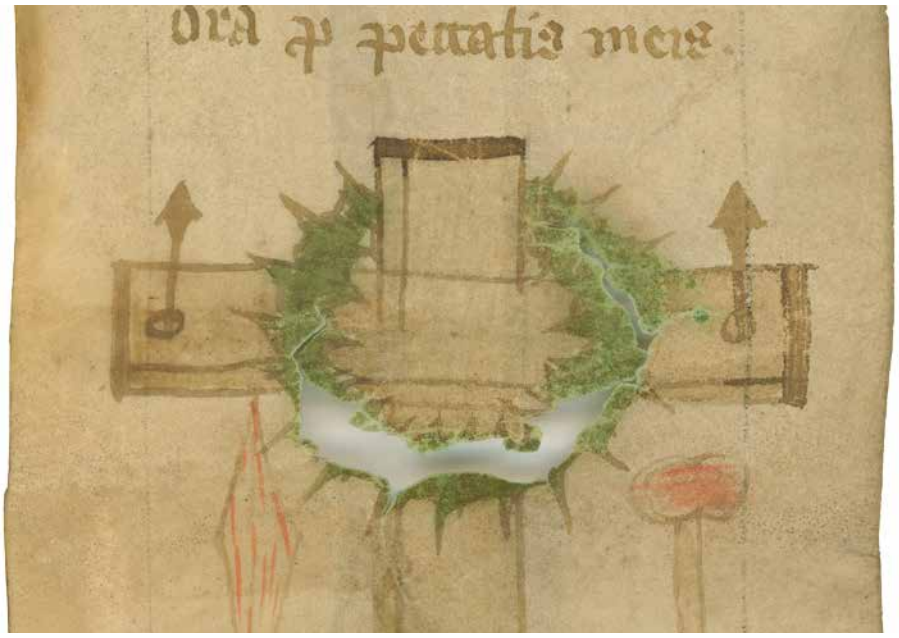

Fig. 9.2 (detail) Front of a manuscript birth girdle (England, c.1435–50). Ink and pigment on parchment, 548.6 x 17.8 cm. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Takamiya MS 56. Photo: © Digital Collections, Western Michigan University.

with a roll or sheet format has been sufficient to identify a 'birth girdle'. According to Jacobus de Voragine's immensely popular *Legenda Aurea*, Julitta and her three-year-old son Quiricus were both martyred in the third century after Julitta refused to sacrifice to the Roman gods (fig. 9.3). Despite his young age Quiricus fought against the governor who ordered Julitta's death, and in some versions of the legend even testified to his own Christian faith.[6] This story was declared to be false and heretical in the fifth century, but the Legenda Aurea and its subsequent vernacular translations popularised the legend across Europe.[7] Nothing in this vita, except perhaps Quiricus's young age, suggests a particular connection with childbirth. Mary Morse has noted that 'no legendary account refers to saints Quiricus and Julitta as protectors of women in childbirth'; nor are they associated with childbirth in any of the surviving records from English churches or monastaries dedicated to them.[8] Despite this, the presence of prayers to Quiricus and Julitta in so many manuscript 'birth girdles' has led her to identify a medieval English childbirth cult associated with these saints.[9]

The Quiricus and Julitta prayers in the 'birth girdles', I argue, are linked not to childbirth, but to the amuletic image of the measured cross with which they appear. The English text referring to Quiricus and Julitta in the 'birth girdles' usually appears wrapped around a tau cross, whose length can be multiplied by fifteen to give the height of Christ (fig. 9.4).[10] The text describes the cross's protective virtues, in language which varies somewhat from one manuscript to another.[11] In Beinecke MS 410, which contains one of the shorter lists of benefits, it guarantees that on the day that someone looks at the measured cross, blesses him or herself with it, or carries it devoutly, he or she will be protected from wicked spirits, enemies, thunder, lightning, wind, bad weather, weapons, and death without confession. It also promises that:

> yf a woman haue this crosse on hyr when she trauelith of chylde [th]e chylde *and* she shall be departyd without peryll of dethe be the grace of god.[12]

The text claims that the Quiricus and Julitta asked God to provide these protective benefits, explaining that:

> Saynt Cyryace and saynt Julite hys modyr desyryd thys petycyon of god and he graunted it them. As it is regystred in Rome at saynt John latynes.[13]

Fig. 9.3
Jeanne de Montbaston, *The Martyrdom of Quiricus and Julitta* (Paris, c.1325–50). Ink and pigment on parchment, 40 x 31 cm. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, MS Français 185, fol. 233v. Source: © gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

All eight 'birth girdles' that include the Quiricus and Julitta prayer similarly state that the saints asked God to grant the virtues attached to the measured cross.

In all of the supposed birth girdles in which it appears, this English text introduces the Latin prayers to Quiricus and Julitta. In most cases, the Latin prayers also refer specifically to the power of the cross and its measure, asking God to grant the speaker the virtue of Christ's glorious measure and venerable cross.[14] Both of the texts shared by the 'birth girdles', therefore, are linked specifically to the many protective qualities of this particular image.[15] This is most evident in Wellcome MS 632 (figs 9.1 and 9.11). In the other examples, the image and the English text appear together. In the Wellcome manuscript, however, the English text that refers to the image appears first, followed by the Latin prayer to Quiricus and Julitta, and finally by the cross itself surrounded by the instruments of the Passion (fig. 9.5). The separation of the English text explaining the virtues of the cross from the image to which it refers implies that the English, the Latin, and the image of the cross could all be seen as part of a single apotropaic unit carrying a wide range of protective benefits. Prayers to Quiricus and Julitta occur elsewhere without reference to the measured cross, but here as well the saints are invoked for general protection rather than protection during childbirth.[16]

The manuscript that most closely links Quiricus and Julitta with childbirth is the Neville of Hornby Hours. This manuscript, owned by Isabel de Neville of Hornby manor in North Lancashire, was probably copied in London around the years 1335 to 1340.[17] On folios 24r–25r there is a prayer to the Virgin, introduced by an Anglo-Norman rubric that instructs the reader to use the prayer if milk leaks from her breasts during pregnancy (figs 9.6 and 9.7).[18] The prayer to Quiricus and Julitta appears shortly afterwards, on folio 26v. Its rubric reads:

> [S]i vous estes en ascun ang*ui*sse ou travaille denfaunt dites cest orisoun e[n]swant ou lanteine *et* le verset . en lonur de dieu *et* de seint marie *et* de sei*n*te cirice *et* iulicte *et* vous serrez [t]ost eyde.
>
> If you are in any distress or in labour, say this prayer following or the antiphon and the versicle in the honour of God and of St Mary

and of St Quiricus and Julitta and you will soon be helped.

Fig. 9.4 Measured cross (England, c.1475–1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, CT, Beinecke MS 410. Photo: © Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University.

While this rubric certainly emphasises childbirth, it also promises aid in any distress. The presence of the earlier specifically pregnancy-related prayer might also suggest that the focus on childbirth here is more a reflection of the interests of the manuscript compiler than of the saints themselves.

In both rolls and codices, therefore, Quiricus and Julitta are primarily invoked for general protection, not as part of a specific childbirth cult. Their prayers and suffrages appear in manuscript 'birth girdles' only in connection with the measured cross and its wide range of protective benefits. The scholarly identification both of the childbirth cult of Quiricus and Julitta and of the 'birth girdles' themselves is, therefore, circular. Quiricus and Julitta have been identified as childbirth saints primarily because they are frequently invoked in 'birth girdle' prayers, while the rolls themselves are identified as birth girdles because they contain prayers invoking Quiricus and Julitta. There appears to be no reason to believe that a childbirth cult of Quiricus and Julitta existed. Consequently, there is no reason that rolls referring to Quiricus and Julitta should necessarily be associated with childbirth. We must look elsewhere for support for the 'birth girdle' identification.

Without the support of the prayers to Quiricus and Julitta just two rolls, Wellcome MS 632 and Takamiya MS 56 (figs 9.2 and 9.12), are persuasive examples of birth girdles. In five of the other supposed 'birth girdles' the text associated with the measured cross is the only reference to childbirth that appears.[19] None of these 'girdles' makes any specific reference to girdling the woman with the roll. Beinecke MS 410 and the printed sheet state only that the woman should have the measured cross on her, while the remaining three manuscripts instruct the reader to lay the cross on the woman's womb or body. The same instructions are given when the image appears in codices. For example, the measured cross in the Bodleian Library's Bodley MS 177 (a codex) instructs the reader that 'yff a woma*n* t*r*aueyle on chylde ley thys a pou*n* hyr'. [20] This demonstrates that the roll format is unrelated to the power of the image.

The two remaining manuscripts, Harley Roll T.11 and the roll held at the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, contain other references to childbirth, but neither gives explicit instruction to use the roll as a girdle. Harley T.11 includes a charm for a quick and painless delivery, which is a combination of two very common charms: the palindrome 'sator arepo tenet opera rotas', used in English childbirth charms since at least the eleventh century, and the *peperit* charm, which lists a series of miraculous Biblical births.[21] Its instructions tell the reader to place the text of the charm in the woman's hand, without suggesting that the roll should be wrapped around her. It also includes a life-size image of the wound in Christ's side, accompanied by a text which promises a series of benefits much like those attached to the measured cross.[22] The measured side wound is common both in rolls and in codices, and most of its benefits could be received by carrying the image (fig. 9.8).[23] For a woman to be protected during labour, however, she need only 'haue sayn*e* [seen] the sayd mesur' on that day. Although Harley T.11 contains three promises of safety in childbirth, none asks for the roll to be used as a girdle. The numerous other texts and images in this manuscript, promising protection against dangers or inconveniences including thunder, insomnia, false witnesses, pestilence, and poverty, demonstrate that it could have been

Fig. 9.5
Measured cross and instruments of the Passion (England, c.1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. Wellcome Library, London, Wellcome MS 632. Source: © Wellcome Library, London.

used in a wide variety of situations.

The Baltimore roll, like Harley T.11, contains more than one reference to protection in childbirth, but no evidence that a woman would have interacted with it in the manner implied by the term 'birth girdle'. Its main text is the Middle English devotional poem 'O Vernicle'.[24] This poem was frequently copied in roll format, and sometimes circulated with an indulgence offering a range of amuletic benefits to those who looked devoutly at its illustrations of the instruments of the Passion. The version of the indulgence which appears in the Baltimore roll, and in another six of the twenty manuscripts of the poem, states that 'to women it is meke *and* mylde / When [th]ai trauailen of her childe'.[25] In the Baltimore roll this indulgence is immediately followed by a version of the measured cross text, including a promise of safety in childbirth. In this version, which differs from the text in the other 'birth girdle' rolls, protection of various kinds is granted 'what day [th]*at* [th]ou blessest [th]e thryes [th]er with in [th]e name of god *and* of his lenght'.[26] There is no mention of girdling the woman with the roll, and both references to childbirth appear as standard elements within longer lists of possible benefits. Although the manuscript may have been made with a female owner in mind—unusually, its Latin uses feminine forms—it seems to have been intended for general protective use.[27] This manuscript, like the other 'birth girdles' already discussed, might be more fruitfully explored in the context of indulgenced images and protective prayers than purely in the context of childbirth.

Ownership evidence also suggests that these rolls were not primarily intended as birth girdles. Four of the manuscripts contain references to medieval owners or makers: all of these were men. Harley 43.A.14, a small roll that contains only the measured cross and related prayers to Quiricus and Julitta, was written for the use of a man named William, whose name is inserted into its prayers.[28] Beinecke MS 410 was written for a man called Thomas, who is named as the beneficiary of the prayer to Quiricus and Julitta, and perhaps depicted in a donor portrait at the head of the roll (fig. 9.9).[29] British Library Additional MS 88929 was owned by the young Henry VIII. His royal badges are included at the head of the roll, and at some point before his accession to the throne he inscribed it to one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber, William Thomas (fig. 9.10).[30] This ownership evidence, particularly where it is included in the body text of the roll, indicates that the rolls were made with particular male users in mind. Despite its promise of safety in childbirth, the image of the measured cross clearly appealed to men as well as women.

The evidence of MS Glazier 39 is slightly more complicated. It was copied by a man named Percival, a canon of the Premonstratensian Abbey of Coverham, though he was not necessarily its owner.[31] The Latin prayer to the Virgin in this roll does use the female forms 'ego misera peccatrix' [I, a miserable (female) sinner] and 'michi indigne famule tue' [to me, your unworthy (female)

Fig. 9.6 (left) Prayer for use in pregnancy (S.E. England, possibly London, c.1325–50). Ink, pigment, and gold on parchment, 17 x 11 cm. British Library, London, Egerton MS 2781, fol. 24r. Photo: © By permission of the British Library.

Fig. 9.7 Prayer for use in pregnancy (S.E. England, possibly London, c.1325–50). Ink, pigment, and gold on parchment, 17 x 11 cm. British Library, London, Egerton MS 2781, fol. 24v. Photo: © By permission of the British Library.

servant]. However, other prayers use plural or masculine forms, leading Don C. Skemer to suggest that the roll 'could have been used devotionally and amuletically for the benefit of family and household.'[32] The prayer to Quiricus and Julitta, which Mary Morse identifies as 'the most telling evidence' for women's usage, uses the masculine form 'tribue michi famulo tuo' [grant me, your (male) servant].[33] This troubles such a gendered attribution.[34]

As Quiricus and Julitta appear to have been invoked for general protection, not for childbirth specifically, these rolls can largely be associated with childbirth only on the basis of a standard set of promises accompanying the image of the measured cross. Their roll format plays no part in the protective power of that image or any others they carry, and their identifiable owners were male. In considering these manuscripts as amuletic rolls rather than 'birth girdles', we undo false assumptions about how they were used and open ourselves to new and broader understandings of their possible functions. Importantly, this is also true for the two persuasive examples of birth girdles, Wellcome MS 632 and Takamiya MS 56.

Wellcome MS 632, which has been described as functioning 'exclusively as a birth girdle', is a heavily worn parchment roll 330 cm long (even with some material missing at the head of the roll) and only 10 cm wide.[35] An inscription on the back of the roll associates the length of the manuscript with the heights of Christ and the Virgin Mary, claiming first that it is 'a mesu[re] of the length off ou[re Lord J]esu', and then reading 'Thus moche more ys oure lady seynt mary lenger' (fig. 9.13). The inscription also confirms that the roll was used, or was intended to be used, as a birth girdle. Running along the length of the roll is a text that guarantees benefits such as safety in battle and protection from devils, fire, wrongful judgment, and pestilence. It ends:

> And yf a woman travell wyth chylde gyrdes thys mesure abowte hyr wombe and she shall be safe delyvyrd wythowte parelle and the chylde shall have crystendome and the mother puryfycatyon.

Fig. 9.8
Side wound (England, c.1450–1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. British Library, London, Harley Roll T.11. Photo: © By permission of the British Library

These instructions specify that the woman should gird herself with the manuscript. Clearly, this physical interaction goes beyond simply reading the texts or observing and touching the images.

Takamiya MS 56 is similarly narrow at just 8 cm wide and 173 cm long, despite now missing at least one membrane.[36] This format is relatively unusual. All of the 'birth girdles' are narrow compared to other English manuscript rolls, but most are either significantly wider than these two, or significantly shorter.[37] The long, narrow shape of these rolls mimics the actual girdle relics held by medieval churches, for instance the Sacra Cintola in Prato. Takamiya MS 56 takes this identification further: the single line of text on the dorse is contained within a brown ink border decorated with white circles, perhaps mimicking the design of a belt, emphasising the manuscript's metaphorical transformation into the girdle relic (fig. 9.14). As in Wellcome MS 632, the inscription on the dorse of Takamiya MS 56 links the length of the roll with the Virgin's height, and offers protection from peril, tribulation, and disease. It states that 'a woma*n* that ys quyck wythe chylde gerde hyr wythe thys mesure and she shall be safe fro all man*er* of pe*r*illes' (fig. 9.15).

The orientation of the dorse text of both rolls also aligns the manuscripts with the relic. While the texts on the front of Wellcome MS 632 and Takamiya MS 56 run down the roll as is typical in the Middle Ages, the texts on the back run lengthways along it. In order to read the instructions explaining how to use the girdle, therefore, the user must change the orientation of the manuscript

Fig. 9.9
Donor portrait (England, c.1475-1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Beinecke MS 410. Photo: © Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University.

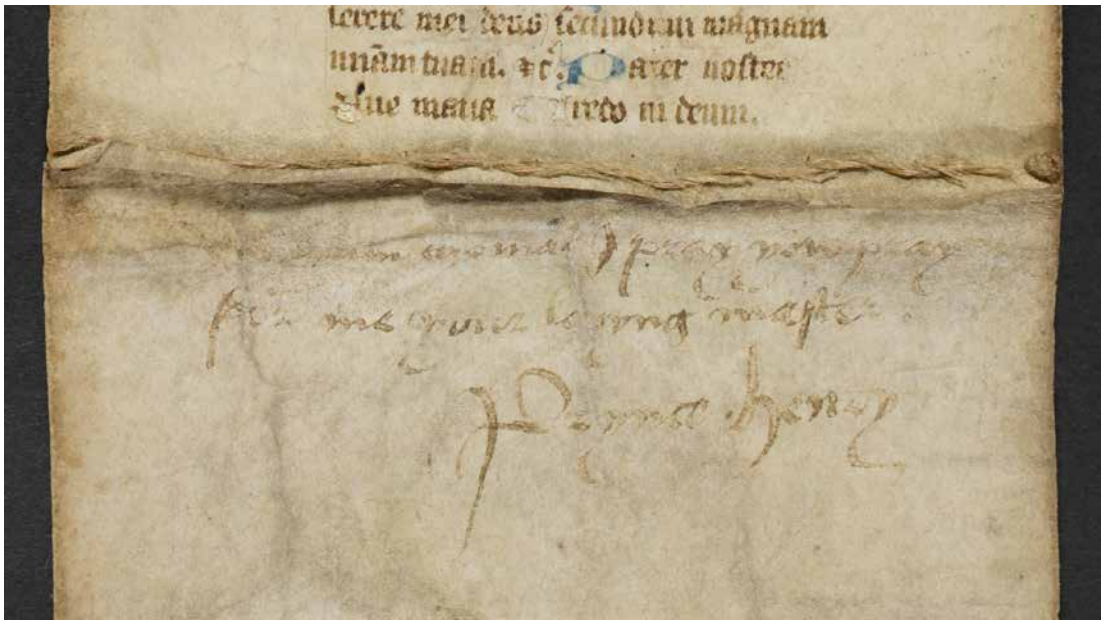

Fig. 9.10
Prince Henry's inscription (England, c.1485–1509). Ink, pigment, and gold on parchment. British Library, London, Additional MS 88929. Photo: © By permission of the British Library.

Fig. 9.11
Detail of dorse of a manuscript birth girdle (England, c.1500). Ink and pigment on parchment, 332 x 10 cm. Wellcome Library, London, MS 632. Photo: © Wellcome Library, London.

so that it is fully unrolled and held horizontally, like a belt or girdle (fig. 9.16). From this position, the manuscript is ready to be wrapped around the woman. As well as aligning the manuscripts with the Virgin conceptually the dorse inscriptions use the reader's interaction with the text to physically align the rolls with the relic they imitate.

Medieval charms make use of similar conceptual strategies of alignment to create healing power. *Historiolae*, short stories which provide a mythological narrative echoing the desired magical result, function in part by collapsing the perceived distance between Biblical figures and the present crisis.[38] Similarly, the combination of the roll format and the visual identification between manuscript and relic serves to collapse the distance between the secular and sacred worlds. In the common '*super Petram*' charm, for example, the *historiola* narrates a meeting between Christ and St Peter in which St Peter tells Christ that he has a toothache, and Christ commands the worm causing the toothache to leave. In Christ's words, however, the name of the medieval patient is substituted for the name of St Peter. The practitioner ventriloquises the words of Christ and, as Edina Bozóky argues, 'the sick person enters the mythic world of the narrative incantation'.[39]

The same effect can be achieved in written, as well as spoken, charms. One blood-stanching charm, used in England at least from the Anglo-Saxon period until the end of the fifteenth century, consists in part of writing the name 'Beronix' (for a man) or 'Beronixa' (for a woman) on the patient's forehead in his or her own blood.[40] Berenice, or Veronica, is the name that medieval Christians associated with the woman healed of bleeding in the Gospels.[41] The charm's text identifies the patient with the Biblical figure, blurring the boundaries between contemporary and Biblical narratives in an effort to cure the patient. In all of these examples, the charms draw power from a shifting of identification: between the practitioner and Christ, between the patient and the Biblical figures, and between the ordinary parchment and the girdle relic. The birth girdles function both because of their physical format and because of their ability to create associations

Fig. 9.12 (detail) Dorse of a manuscript birth girdle (England, c.1435–50). Ink and pigment on parchment, 548.6 x 17.8 cm. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Takamiya MS 56. Photo: © Digital Collections, Western Michigan University.

between Biblical and contemporary time.

Wellcome MS 632 and Takamiya MS 56 share a number of texts and images that do not appear in the other so-called 'birth girdles'. Above the image of the nails in both rolls is a prayer beginning 'Om*nipoten*s sempiterne de*us* qui humanu*m* genus qui*n*q*ue* vulneribus filij tui' [All-powerful, eternal God, who [redeemed] mankind through the five wounds of your son]. Although the text in Wellcome MS 632 is almost illegible, by comparing the two texts it is clear that the prayer is the same. Both contain a prayer beginning 'Ave domina sancta maria' [Hail holy lady Mary] and a rubric, apparently unique to these two manuscripts, connecting it with Tewkesbury (fig. 9.17). As this text has not previously been considered legible in Wellcome MS 632, I transcribe the English rubric here in full:

> Oracio beate marie [W]ho so devoutly say[th] thys prayer here
> folowynge shall [have] xj thousand yerys off pardon and he shall se
> oure blessyd lady as many tymys as he hath used the sayd prayer
> whych was brought to an holy hermyte by saynt mychael
> the arkaungel wryttyn in letters off gold as here folowyth whych the
> fynde for envy bare hyt away ther as yt was in a table by ff[ore]
> oure bl[e]ssyd lady at tewkysbery the vjth yere off the rengne
> of kyng henry the vjth.[42]

Both rolls also contain a diamond-shaped image of the side wound of Christ, with his wounded hands and feet at each corner and the monogram 'IHS' in the centre (fig. 9.18). In Takamiya MS 56 the first lines of the prayer 'Aue uuln*us* lateris n*ost*ri redemptoris' [Hail wound in our redeemer's side] are written around the image of the wound; in Wellcome MS 632 this prayer

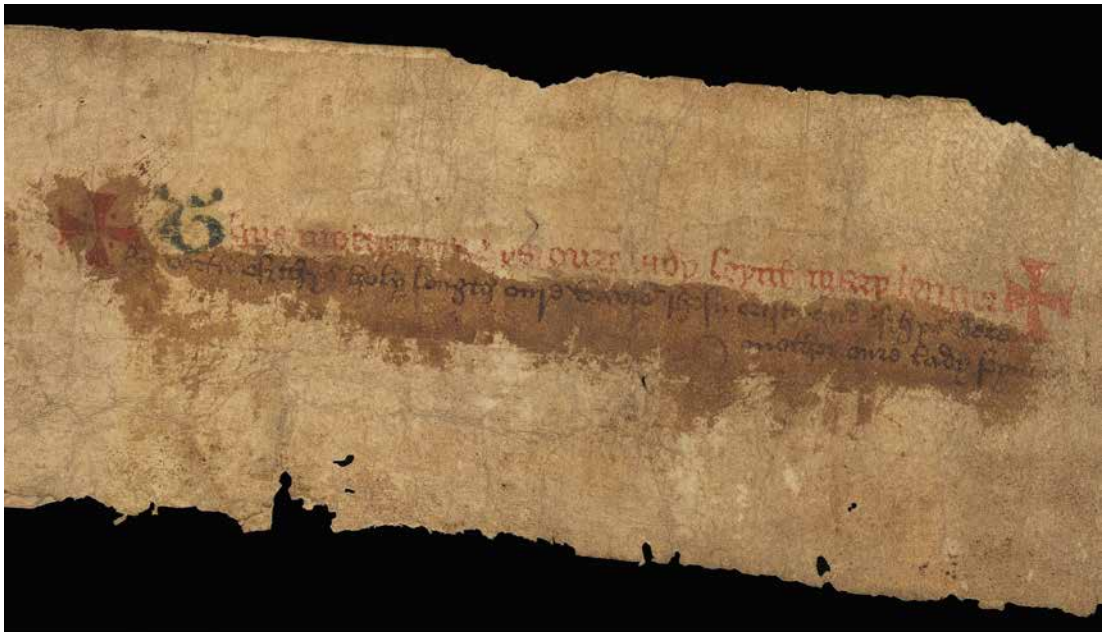

Fig. 9.13 Dorse inscription (England, c.1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. Wellcome Library, London, Wellcome MS 632. Photo: © Wellcome Library, London.

Fig. 9.14
Belt (N. Italy, possibly Genoa, c.1330–50). Silver with traces of gilding and enamel; modern textile support, 166 x 3.3 x 1.4 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc no. 2015.705. Photo: © The Cloisters Collection, 2015.

appears directly below the wound (fig. 9.19). Directly above the wound in Wellcome MS 632 there is a short text on the number of drops of blood shed by Christ, which in Takamiya MS 56 appears directly after the wound image. Finally, both manuscripts include prayers beginning 'Tibi laus vera misericordia' [Praise to you, true mercy] and 'Tibi laus tibi gloria' [Praise to you; glory to you].[43] Although some of these prayers are common in other contexts, this number of shared texts may suggest some relationship between the two manuscripts.

Yet the two are also strikingly different. The recto of Wellcome MS 632 contains numerous amuletic texts and images. It opens with an image of the three nails with which Christ was crucified (fig. 9.20). Although this image carries no specific promises here, it is associated in other manuscripts with numerous protections from physical harm.[44] Given Wellcome MS 632's habit of recording amuletic benefits in red, then prayers in black, followed by the amuletic image itself, the fact that the end of a rubric is visible where the head of the roll has been lost may indicate that promises of protection appeared here too. After the nails come the many practical benefits of the measured cross and their associated image, then a very worn text in red ink which appears to be a version of the heavenly letter. It begins 'This ys the trewe copy of the letter the whyche a[n a]ungell [brou]ght frome hevyn to kyng [Cha]rles in the tyme […] to the batell of ronncevalle' and promises protection to anyone who carries it upon them. Further down the roll, after several illegible texts, is the prayer to the Virgin Mary with the Tewkesbury rubric claiming that whoever uses it will have thousands of years of pardon and will see the Virgin. These texts are comparable with those in the other manuscript rolls: texts and images that promise protection and material or spiritual benefit in a range of situations.

The prayers on the recto of Takamiya MS 56, by contrast, make no promises of physical protection. This manuscript does not include the measured cross or the amuletic texts associated with it. For praying while looking at the image of the nails with contrition and devotion, it promises that the reader 'shall haue grete grace of allmyghty god and for to putt a waye from hym

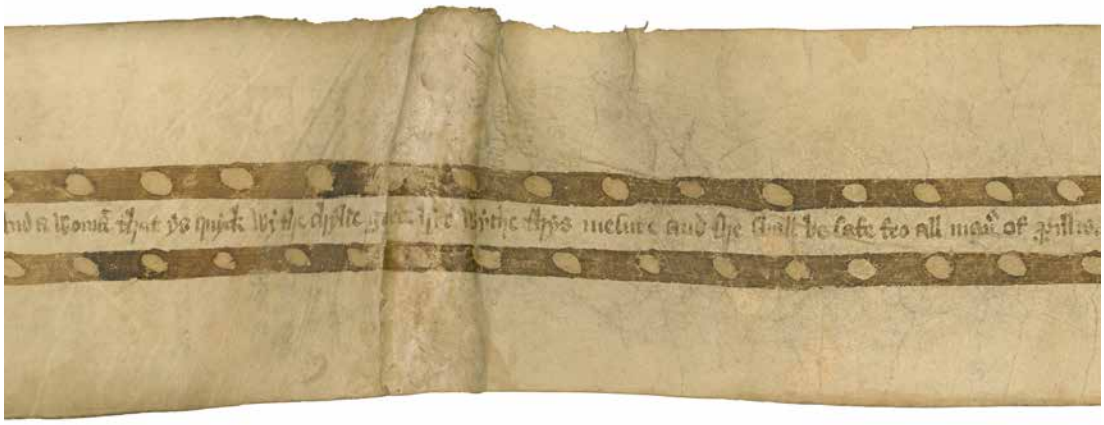

Fig. 9.15
Dorse inscription (England, c.1435–50). Ink and pigment on parchment. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Takamiya MS 56. Photo: © Digital Collections, Western Michigan University.

Fig. 9.16
Belt stamped with the intials 'ihc', a monogram for Jesus Christ (England, c.1450–1500). Leather, 78 x 1.9 cm. Museum of London, London, Object no: BC72[89]<2414>. Photo: © Museum of London.

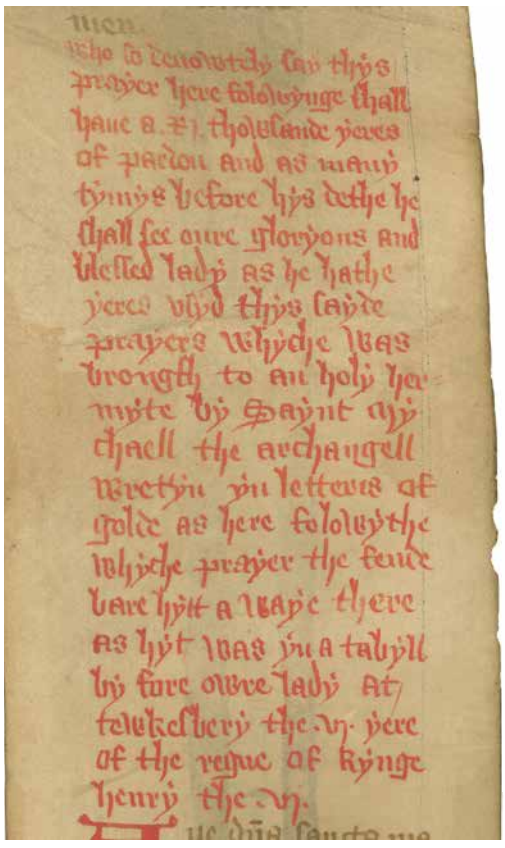

Fig. 9.17 (left)
Indulgence attached to a prayer (England, c.1435–50). Ink and pigment on parchment. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Takamiya MS. Photo: © Digital Collections, Western Michigan University.

Fig. 9.18 (right)
Side wound (England, c.1435–50). Ink and pigment on parchment. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Takamiya MS 56. Photo: © Digital Collections, Western Michigan University

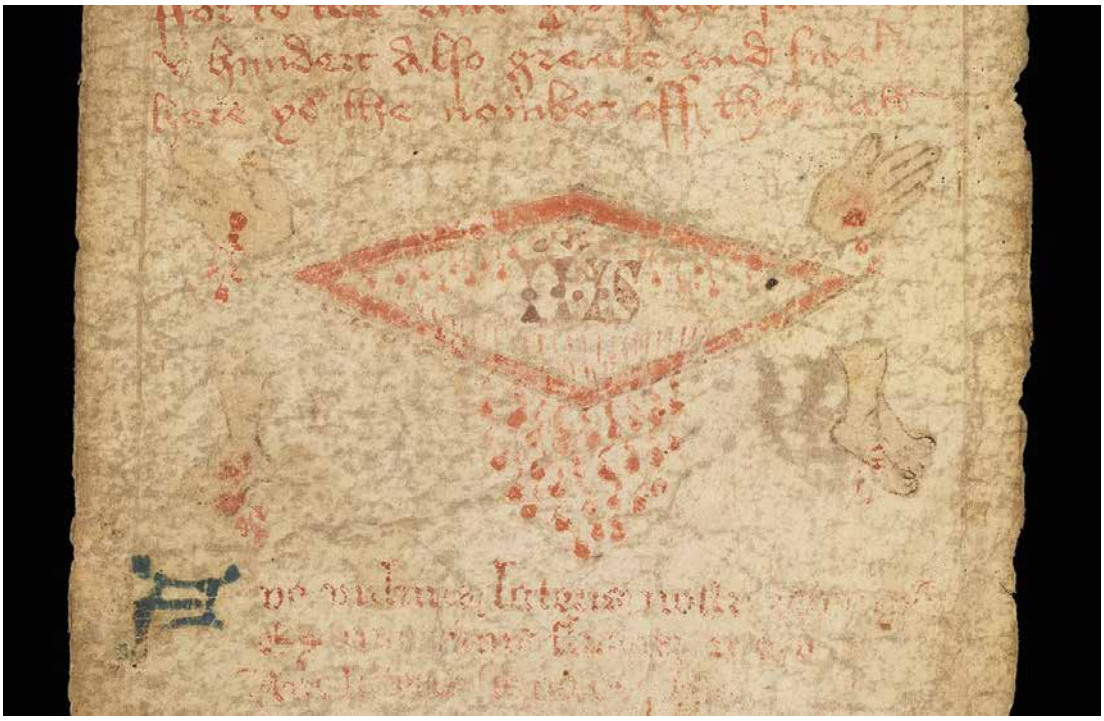

Fig. 9.19
Side wound (England, c.1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. Wellcome Library, London, Wellcome MS 632. Photo: © Wellcome Library, London.

all dedely synnys' (fig. 9.21). This is significantly different from the promises attached to the nails in other manuscripts: in Henry VIII's prayer roll and in Glazier MS 39, for example, the nails are said to provide protection against dangers including sudden death, death by sword, poison, enemies, poverty, fevers, and evil spirits (fig. 9.22).[45] Other prayers in Takamiya MS 56 guarantee thousands of years of pardon and indulgence, and the sight of the Virgin Mary. One rubric says that one of the roll's prayers will increase the virtue of another tenfold. Unlike the prayers in the other manuscripts identified as 'birth girdles', all of these benefits are spiritual, not physical. Furthermore, the contrast between the promises attached to the image of the nails here and elsewhere suggests that the omission of physical benefits was deliberate.

Fig. 9.20
Nails (England, c.1500). Ink and pigment on parchment. Wellcome Library, London, Wellcome MS 632. Photo: © Wellcome Library, London.

Both Wellcome MS 632 and Takamiya MS 56 can justifiably be described as birth girdles based on the text on their dorse. Their physical format, the positioning of their texts, and their user's interactions with them all combine to assimilate them into the girdle relic itself. However, their recto texts suggest that when not being used in childbirth they functioned in quite different ways. Despite the similarity between their texts and their mutual birth girdle function, one of these manuscripts was designed to be used for spiritual benefit, while the other could be used largely for physical protection.

I have argued above that the term 'birth girdle' has been misapplied to many rolls, obscuring their alternative possible uses as devotional objects or amulets for general protection. Since no evidence remains to suggest that the majority of these rolls were used for girdling women during childbirth, we must reconsider them in the light of other devotional and amuletic rolls: any explanation for the use of the roll format must take into account

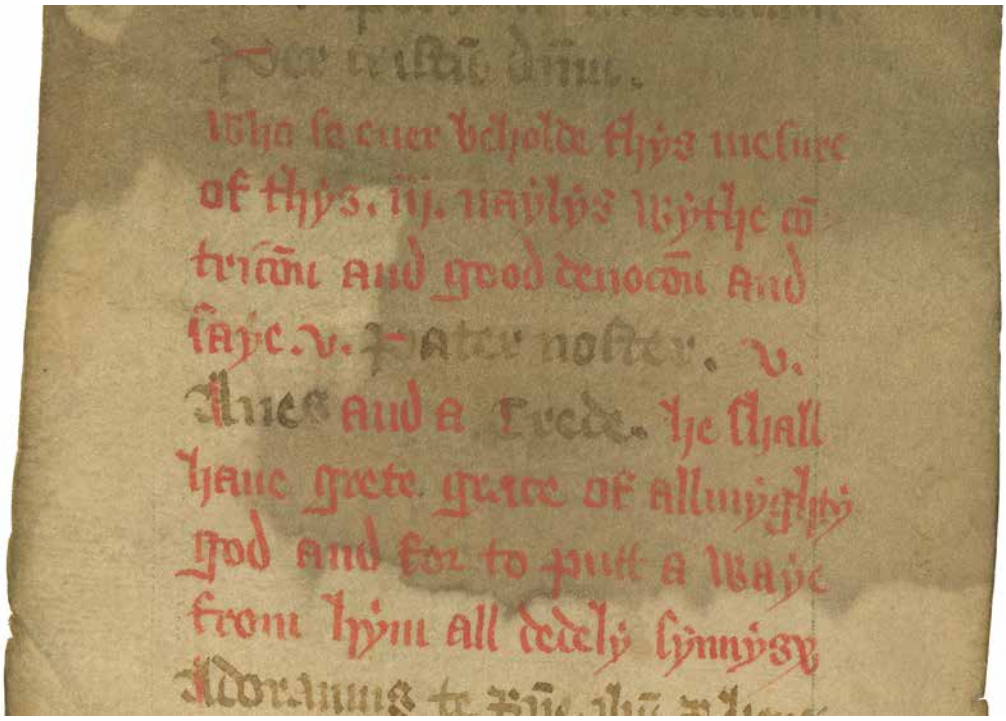

Fig. 9.21 Amuletic promises attached to measured image (England, c.1435–50). Ink and pigment on parchment. Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven CT, Takamiya MS 56. Photo: © Digital Collections, Western Michigan University.

Fig. 9.22 Nails (England, c.1485–1509). Ink, pigment, and gold on parchment. British Library, London, Additional MS 88929. Photo: © The British Library, London.

the existence of rolls containing exclusively non-amuletic prayers.[46] Furthermore, the differences between Takamiya MS 56 and Wellcome MS 632, despite their many shared texts, indicate that even persuasive 'birth girdles' could be used in divergent ways. Even where the 'birth girdle' designation is correct, therefore, it is not complete: in order to understand how rolls were used, we must remain sensitive to their full diversity.

Appendix: Known English 'Birth Girdles'

London, British Library, Additional MS 88929

London, British Library, Harley 5919, items 143 and 144 (STC 14547.5)

London, British Library, Harley Charter 43.A.14

London, British Library, Harley Roll T.11

London, Wellcome Library, Wellcome MS 632

New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 410

New Haven, CT, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Takamiya MS 56

New York, NY, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 39

Philadelphia, PA, Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province (no call number)

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1. Nicholas Harris Nicolas (ed.), *Privy Purse Expenses of Elizabeth of York: Wardrobe Accounts of Edward the Fourth, with a Memoir of Elizabeth of York, and Notes* (London: William Pickering, 1830), p. 78.
2. William Douglas Hamilton (ed.), *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors, from A.D. 1485 to 1559* (Westminster: J. B. Nichols and Sons, for the Camden Society, 1875), p. 31. In Yorkshire alone, the 1535 visitation of Layton and Legh found sixteen belts or girdles specifically used for protection in childbirth, as well as eleven others whose purpose is not specified. The girdles for protection of pregnant women are those of St Francis at Grace Dieu, St Bernard at Melsa and Kirkstall, St Ailred at Rievaulx, St Werburgh at Chester, St Robert at Newminster, St Saviour at Newburgh, Thomas of Lancaster at Pontefract, St Margaret at Tynemouth, the former prior of Holy Trinity in York, Mary Nevill at Coverham, and of the Virgin at Haltemprise, Calder, Conished, Kirkham, and Jarvaux. See Thomas Legh and Richard Layton, 'Compendium Compertorum Per Doctorem Legh Et Doctorem Leyton in Visitatione Regia Provinciæ Eboracensis', in Samuel Pegge (ed.), *Annales Eliæ De Trickingham Monachi Ordinis Benedictini* (London: ex officina Nicholsiana, 1789).
3. These are: the British Library's Additional MS 88929, Harley Roll T.11, and Harley Charter 43.A.14; the Wellcome Library's MS 632; MS Glazier 39 at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York; Beinecke MS 410 and Takamiya MS 56 at the Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library in New Haven; and a manuscript formerly known as the Esopus Roll in the possession of the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, Philadelphia. The printed sheet (*STC* 14547.5) is now cut into two pieces, and is held by the British Library as items 143 and 144 in Harley 5919, a scrapbook of English printing samples collected by the antiquarian John Bagford. See, for example, Peter Murray Jones and Lea T. Olsan, 'Performative Rituals for Conception and Childbirth in England, 900–1500', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine 89:3* (2015): p. 426, n.55; Joseph J. Gwara and Mary Morse, 'A Birth Girdle Printed by Wynkyn De Worde', *The Library 13:1* (2012): 33–62; Mary Morse, 'Alongside St Margaret: The Childbirth Cult of SS Quiricus and Julitta in Late Medieval English Manuscripts', in Emma Cayley and Susan Powell (eds), *Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe 1350–1500: Packaging, Presentation and Consumption* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 187–206. The other rolls mentioned by Jones and Olsan do not appear to be English.
4. London, British Library, Sloane MS 431, fol. 52r.
5. Gwara and Morse, 'Birth Girdle', p. 39. The texts are absent from Takamiya MS 56, although it should be noted that at least one membrane is missing from the head of the manuscript. Takamiya MS 56 does include an image of the cross surrounded by the instruments of the Passion, but does not mention its measurements or attach any specific amuletic properties to it.
6. Jacobus de Voragine, 'Legenda Aurea', in Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (ed.), *Legenda Aurea* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), pp. 532–533.
7. Morse, 'St Margaret', p. 188.
8. Gwara and Morse, 'Birth Girdle', pp. 36–37.
9. Gwara and Morse, 'Birth Girdle', pp. 36–37.
10. The cross is usually depicted as an empty tau cross, sometimes with the instruments of the Passion, although in British Library Additional MS 88929 Christ hangs on the cross. In the roll held by the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province, the cross is replaced with a vertical blue 'lyne' with red zig-zag decoration. The focus on measurement, which is evident in several of the amuletic images in these rolls, was common in the late medieval period. The phenomenon is discussed in, for example, Michael Bury, 'The Measure of the Virgin's Foot', in Debra Higgs Strickland (ed.), *Images of Medieval Sanctity: Essays in Honour of Gary Dickson* (Leiden and Boston, MA: Brill, 2007), pp. 121–134.
11. The English text in Harley 43.A.14 is quite different to those in the other rolls. It is edited, along with the measured cross text from Glazier MS 39, in Curt F. Bühler, 'Prayers and Charms in Certain Middle English Scrolls', *Speculum 39:2* (1964): pp. 274–275.
12. I have replaced manuscript *þ* with *th* throughout.
13. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 410. 'Saynt John latynes' refers to the basilica of St John Lateran in Rome.
14. The Latin prayers to Quiricus and Julitta in the printed sheets are unrelated to those in the manuscript rolls and make no reference to the measured cross or to childbirth. The roll held by the Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province contains a prayer that is closely related to the version in the other manuscript rolls, but it appears to have been damaged and over-written at the relevant point. The standard prayer reads, in part, 'tribue michi Thome famulo tuo humilitatem et virtutem gloriose longitudinis tue ac venerabilis crucis tue': 'grant me, your servant Thomas, humility and the virtue of your

glorious measure and your venerable cross'.
15. In codices, the Latin prayer does occasionally occur without the image of the cross. See, for example, London, British Library, Additional MS 37787, fol. 92r.
16. The printed broadsheet *STC* 14077c.64, held at Harvard's Houghton Library, associates Quiricus and Julitta with a wide range of protections including safety in childbirth, but not with the measured cross. See Gwara and Morse, 'Birth Girdle', pp. 61–62 and fig. 4. London, British Library, Sloane MS 783 B, fol. 215r, invokes the saints for protection against various dangers, with no mention of childbirth. An English prayer to the saints with no mention of childbirth appears on fol. 2v of Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 48. See Morse, 'St Margaret', p. 195.
17. London, British Library, Egerton MS 2781. Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and Their Books of Hours* (London, Toronto and Buffalo: The British Library and University of Toronto Press, 2003), pp. 32, 36, and 315.
18. Smith, *Art, Identity and Devotion*, p. 316. The rubric reads: 'Ceste oresoun ap*res* ceste ruberike uous que estes gros den*fau*n*t* a matyn. qu*a*nt u*us* le uot*re* leyt [culez].'
19. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 410; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 39; London, British Library, Additional MS 88929; London, British Library, Harley Ch. 43.A.14; and the printed sheet preserved as items 143 and 144 in the British Library's Harley 5919.
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 177, fol. 61v, edited in C. T. Onions, 'A Devotion to the Cross Written in the South-West of England', *The Modern Language Review 13:2* (1918): p. 229.
21. The charm as it appears in Harley Roll T.11 is edited in W. Sparrow-Simpson, 'On a Magical Roll Preserved in the British Library', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 48 (1892): p. 51. For more on the peperit charm, see Marianne Elsakkers, '"In Pain Shall You Bear Children" (Gen. 3:16): Medieval Prayers for a Safe Delivery', in Anne-Marie Korte (ed.) *Women and Miracle Stories: A Multidisciplinary Exploration* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 179–207. The earliest surviving examples of the Sator-Arepo formula in an English manuscript is written in the margin of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, p. 329.
22. The image of the side wound has often been described as a childbirth image: see, for example, Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, NY: Zone Books, 2011), p. 202. However, I believe that this description limits the perceived function of the image, much as the description of rolls as 'birth girdles' limits their interpretation. As well as promising safety in childbirth, the side wound in Harley T.11 protects its owner against death by sword, spear, and shot; being overcome in battle; and from both fire and water.
23. For more on the side wound image and on measurement in medieval devotion see, for example, David S. Areford, 'Printing the Side Wound of Christ', Ch. 5 in *The Viewer and the Printed Image in Late Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 228–267.
24. Ann Eljenholm Nichols, 'O Vernicle: A Critical Edition', in Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (eds.), *The Arma Christi in Medieval and Early Modern Material Culture: With a Critical Edition of 'O Vernicle'* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014).
25. These six manuscripts are Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS TYP 193; London, British Library, Royal MS 17 A xxvii; London, British Library, Additional MS 32006; Aberdeen, Sir Duncan Rice Library, Scottish Catholic Archives CB/57/9 (formerly in Edinburgh); San Marino, CA, Huntington Library, MS HM 142; and Marquess of Bath, Longleat MS 30. See Linne R. Mooney et al., *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, no. 5196.
26. Philadelphia, Redemptorist Archives of the Baltimore Province.
27. In the Latin prayer to Quiricus and Julitta on the dorse of the roll, the text reads '[mi]chi famule tue .N.': 'to me, your [female] servant, [name]'.
28. London, British Library, Harley Ch. 43.A.14: 'tribue michi Wille*l*mo famulo tuo': 'grant me, William, your servant'.
29. New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Beinecke MS 410: 'tribue m*ihi* . Thome famulo tuo': 'grant me, Thomas, your servant'. This may be Thomas Barnak of Lincolnshire: see Barbara Shailor, *Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University*, vol. 2 (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1987), pp. 308–311.
30. London, British Library, Additional MS 88929. The inscription, probably in Henry's own hand, reads 'Wylliam thomas I pray yow pray for me your lovyng master Prynce Henry'. The original owner or donor of the roll may have been the unidentified bishop depicted kneeling before the Trinity. Scott McKendrick, John Lowden, and Kathleen Doyle, *Royal Manuscripts: The Genius of Illumination* (London: The British Library, 2011), p. 186.
31. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 39. In a colophon at the end of the roll the scribe writes: 'Chano*u*n in Coue*r*ham w*ith* owten le | In /[th]e\ ordere of Premonstre | [Th]at time [th]is schrowyll I dyd wryte […] In Rudby towne of my moder fre | I was borne wyth owtyn le | Schawyn I was to [th]e ord*e*r clene | the vigill of all halo*e*s evyn | My name it was percevall | Ihesu to [th]e blys he bryng vs all.' See John Block Friedman, *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995), p. 169.
32. Don C. Skemer, *Binding Words: Textual Amulets in the Middle Ages, Magic in History* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 2006), p. 263.
33. Morse, 'St Margaret', p. 202.
34. London, British Library, Harley Roll T.11 also uses these masculine forms in prayers including the one to Quiricus and Julitta.
35. Gwara and Morse, 'Birth Girdle', p. 37.
36. Mary Morse, 'Two Unpublished Elevation Prayers in Takamiya MS56', *Journal of the Early Book Society* 16,(2013): p. 269.
37. Mary Agnes Edsall, '*Arma Christi* Rolls or Textual Amulets? The Narrow Roll Format Manuscripts of "O Vernicle"', *Magic, Ritual & Witchcraft* 9 (2014): pp. 206–209. London, British Library, Harley Ch. 43.A.14, is 7 cm wide but just 46 cm long: too short to realistically serve as a girdle. British Library, Harley Roll T.11 measures 8.5 x 121 cm, while British Library, Additional MS 89929 measures 9.7 x 134.6 cm.
38. Daniel James Waller, 'Echo and the Historiola: Theorizing Narrative Incantation', *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 16:1 (2015): pp. 263–280.
39. Edina Bozóky, 'Mythic Mediation in Healing Incantations', in Bert Hall, Sheila Campbell, and David Klausner (eds), *Health, Disease and Healing in Medieval Culture* (New York: St Martin's Press, 1991), pp. 86–87.
40. One example of this charm, from British Library, Additional MS 33996, fol. 149r, is edited in Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), p. 29.
41. Matthew 9:20–2; Mark 5.25–34; Luke 8.43–8.
42. I am very grateful to Ian Green for the digital processing of manuscript images that made this text, and others in this roll, legible.
43. A prayer beginning 'Tibi laus tibi gloria' also appears in MS Glazier 39 but does not otherwise match the texts in these two rolls.
44. See, for example, MS Glazier 39 and British Library Additional MS 88929.
45. London, British Library, Additional MS 88929; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 39
46. For example, New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Plimpton Add. MS 4 contains the 'Fifteen O's' in English verse.

10

Making the Impossible, Possible: Ivor Beddoes and Superman's Flying Ballet

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Production design for British film has become firmly established as a field of academic study in recent years, with monographs including Laurie N. Ede's *British Film Design: A History*, delving into the 'built worlds, real worlds, fake worlds and other kinds of worlds that have been created by the British film industry over its one hundred and more years of existence'.[1] Such studies have made great inroads into the art of the production designer, looking in depth at the on-screen semiotics of design and its function within the mise-en-scène. Spatial studies of film design, including *Film Architecture and the Transnational Imagination*, have provided connections with the field of architecture, and have delved into the wider socio-political frameworks shaping the industry.[2] Fionnuala Halligan's recent *Movie Storyboards: the Art of Visualizing Screenplays* has done much to uncover the drawn storyboards originating from the art department, and has helped to shed light on lesser-known names working under the great production designers of the past century, while Chris Pallant's *Storyboarding – A Critical History* has taken an in-depth look at the storyboard within the context of production and practical filmmaking and has done much to reevaluate its position within the history of film. Yet within this, comparatively little is known about the specific role of the sketch artist and the vast swathes of paper artwork that they collectively produced, particularly those beyond the narrative-based storyboard.[3] The sensory, material presence of paper often remains conspicuous by its absence. This is perhaps in no small part due to the fact that in relation to the working papers generated for a single production, relatively few survive within an archival context. But those objects that do are able to dialogue with an engaged viewer in the here and now, opening up new pathways into the design matrix surrounding film and the way in which paper is central to the visual fiber of a production.

Within the British Film Institute (BFI) National Archive is object SPD-611288: a twenty-metre-long scroll of paper, assembled from thirteen individual sheets of artist's paper, card and lining paper. Titled *Flying Ballet*, it was created by sketch artist Ivor Beddoes (1909–81) for the film *Superman* (1978) (fig. 10.1).

Beddoes was a British sketch and storyboard artist, matte painter, costume and set designer, painter, dancer, composer, and poet. He is best known for his film work, spanning more than thirty years (fig. 10.2). A versatile creative, Beddoes won a scholarship to art school at the age of fourteen before deciding to train as an actor and dancer. He spent six years at The Windmill Theatre in Piccadilly as a principal dancer and choreographer, and later as a designer and director, before he was conscripted for war duties in 1940 (fig. 10.3). Serving with the Royal Signal Corps in Egypt, Beddoes worked as a draughtsman for the armed forces while also gleaning a knowledge of Islamic costume and culture that would influence his later work. Some of his drawings from this period were published alongside those of Edward Ardizzone in Life (December, 1941).[4] Returning to Britain in 1945, he had his first foray into film design under the tutelage of leading Art Director Alfred Junge, working on Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger's masterful Black Narcissus (1947). The art department's atmospheric renderings of the Himalayas, all achieved via built sets on the stages of Pinewood, won the Academy Award that year for Best Art Direction.[5]

Fig. 10.1 (detail) Ivor Beddoes, *Flying Ballet* (1977). Gouache and poster paint on paper, 380 x 2017 mm. London, BFI National Archive, SPD-611288. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

Beddoes would remain with the company to work on *The Red Shoes* (1948) the following year, under Artistic Director Hein Heckroth. Like Junge, Heckroth was a political emigre with a background in avant-garde cinema and German Expressionism, with an understanding of the power and prowess of the built set. But where Junge brought order and a creative rigor to the British art department, Heckroth's surrealist and painterly approach took Powell and Pressburger's productions, and Beddoes, in a somewhat different direction. Fully integrating costume and production design into a singular process, Beddoes would work closely with Heckroth on *The Red Shoes*, honing his already considerable skills as a draughtsman but also exploring the more expressive possibilities of design for film. He remained with Powell and Pressburger's production company, The Archers, for six years, within a studio system that was unusually intimate and familial. Creatives were drawn from the world of dance, music, and performance to make it the filmic rival to some of the great artistic and repertory companies of the early twentieth century.

Following his stint with The Archers, Beddoes went on to have a prolific and varied career, first taking up a contract with Technicolor before going on to work on a series of major box office successes, including *Star Wars* (1977) and *Superman* (1978). Rather than rising to the rank of Art Director, he chose to remain in the role of sketch artist. When interviewed about this choice, he stated:

> 'A few sketch artists become art directors, but this is a question of temperament. Once you become an Art Director you are involved in meetings, sets, politics, budgets, time, location hunting, which some enjoy. Others of us ask nothing better than to read a script, see it in our mind's eye and bring it to life with our imagination'.[6]

This may be a somewhat romanticised representation of his role. We know from his working papers that Beddoes' opinion was much-respected by those that he worked with, meaning that he inevitably became involved in meetings, politics, and location hunting, while a look at practising Art Directors and Production Designers reveals the level to which many in this role remain very hands-on, creative visionaries. Nevertheless, his comments point out where Beddoes' motivations lay; his primary interest remained the interpretive moment in which word became image.

Like many sketch artists, Beddoes took his skills and with a chameleon-like ability adapted them to each production that he worked on, absorbing the design aesthetic required.[7] This trait of the sketch artist is typical of film design more broadly, and Donatella Barbieri's comments on the practice of design for live performance ring true in this context. The readings of pre-production performances that follow are indebted to her phenomenological study of archival costumes, where she trials new pathways into object-based design research.[8] Read primarily as a pragmatic sign, design is intended to assimilate into the overall performance. However, in order to perform correctly it is often reducible, reproducible, and can ultimately be taken for granted and become unnoticed.[9] Within its success lies its downfall. Design must be woven seamlessly

Fig. 10.2
Photographic portrait of Ivor Beddoes (c.1969). Silver gelatin print, 200 x 250 mm. BFI National Archive, London. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

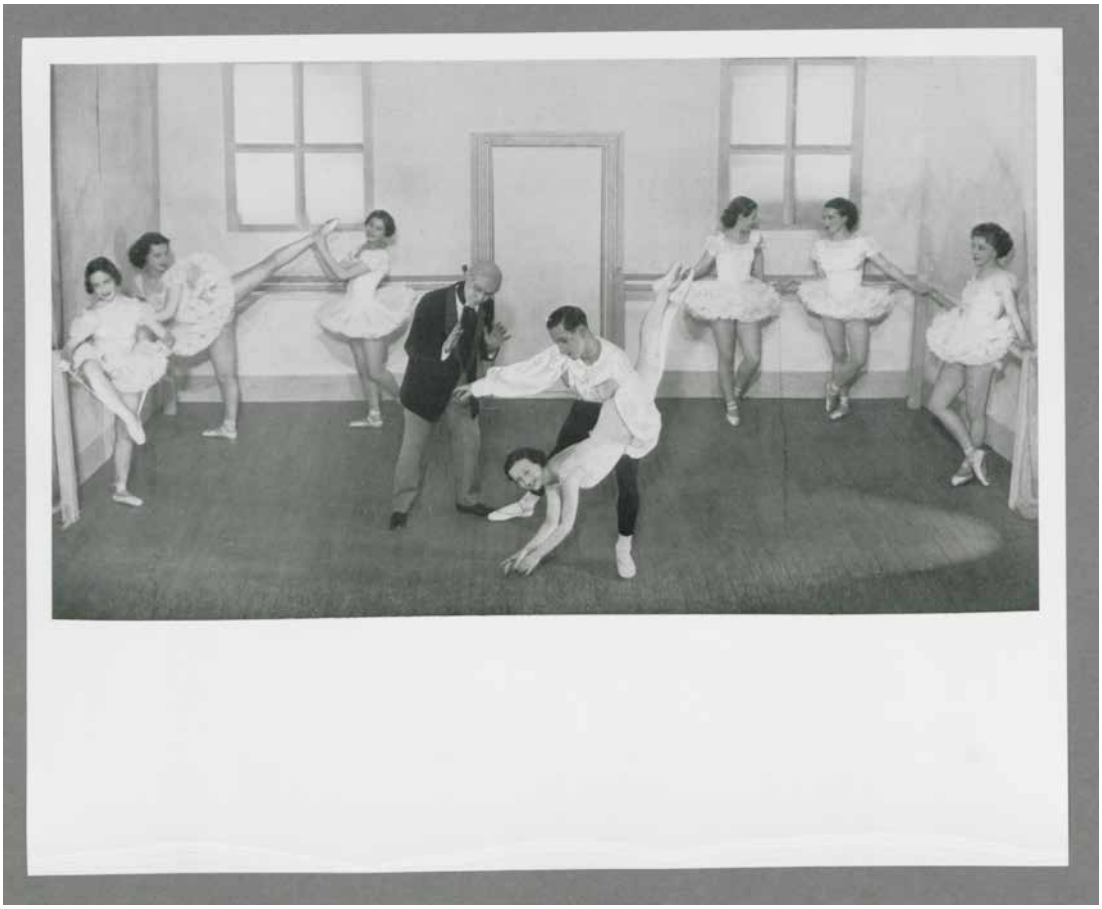

Fig. 10.3
Ivor Beddoes on stage at the Windmill Theatre (c.1933). Silver gelatin print, 200 x 250 mm. BFI National Archive, London. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

into the identity of the production to achieve its aims, but in doing so, the narrative of its creation disappears, too. Yet embedded in each archival object is the ability to recover this complex history of creation and performance, and to interrogate the palimpsestic layers of these generative forces within the final production.

The Ivor Beddoes Collection, now cared for by the BFI National Archive, reveals a little of the nuanced design process for film involving many minds, hands, and eyes, each one often producing objects that are highly creative but necessarily subsumed into a wider idea to produce a coherent outcome. An examination of the diverse body of work produced by the sketch artist offers an opportunity to explore many of these ideas before they are filtered down into the final vision: the first glimmer of a generative visual vocabulary for a narrative that has hitherto only existed as words.

These paratexts unravel our understanding of the film as singular entity, and instead stress the multi-layered, multifaceted semiotics of the filmic process. The film is neither singular nor linear in origin, and once a dialogue is opened up with the pre-production text(s), the assembled reel can instead be seen as a constituent within a much wider landscape of elliptical performances. The Beddoes Collection is unique within the context of the BFI, offering a broad, detailed, and often autobiographical rendering of this process. Bequeathed to the BFI in 1981, the collection comprises over 2000 drawings and spans sixty productions. A holistic view of the collections reveals that the aesthetic of Beddoes' output ebbed and flowed, but it also uncovers the passions and obsessions to which his work as an individual artist remained true. And so, it is perhaps no coincidence that as late as 1977, for a film centred around a caped super hero, Beddoes titled one of his sketches *Flying Ballet*.

The moment in which Richard Donner's *Superman* (1978) emerged is significant. During the 1980s, Tom Gunning's seminal concept of the 'cinema of attractions' entered the academic world to redefine early cinema, examining the earliest years of film exhibition as a period in which cinema delighted in its powerful ability to magnetise the audience with acts of direct visceral appeal.[10] These spectacular interruptions, encounters, and staged moments often delighted in film's ability to celebrate the agitating qualities of its own apparatus, and were rooted in a history shared with music halls, variety theatre, fairgrounds, carnivals, and circus thrills. Gunning's essay notes the recurrence of cinematic attractions in later years, and a prominent return to its key principles during the years in which he was writing, stating: 'recent spectacle cinema has reaffirmed its roots in stimulus and carnival rides, in what might be called the Spielberg–Lucas–Coppola cinema of effects'.[11] Gunning's speculative comments on special effects have since been re-examined in more detail, with Dick Tomasovic furthering that the triumphing of consumption culture in the 1970s and 1980s sparked a visual aggressiveness amongst a new generation of filmmakers, which he designates as 'heirs of a long lineage of American directors extending back to Cecil B. de Mille'.[12] These filmmakers rediscovered the taste for the spectacular, with Tomasovic suggesting that *Jaws* (1975) and *Star Wars* (1977) aspire to visual shocks that unmistakably produce 'grandiloquent images in a story full of new developments and repetitions'.[13] There are obvious differences in *Superman*'s cinematic writing and sensibility to the work of the directors pinpointed by Gunning (although Tomasovic does reference *Superman* in passing), but what is clear from Donner's instructions to Beddoes is that the spectacle of the cinematographic machine—and specifically its ability to render the human form in flight—would provide one of the most powerful attraction values within *Superman*, using special effects to celebrate film's ability to produce a narrative-subsuming spectacle.

Of particular importance to Donner was the scene in which Superman (Christopher Reeve) takes Daily Planet reporter Lois Lane (Margot Kidder) on a moonlit flight over the mythical all-city, Metropolis. The concept behind it, states Donner in interview with the Director's Guild of America, was: 'Just a couple of teenagers going for a ride for the first time. Sweet, honest, and real.'[14] He elaborates:

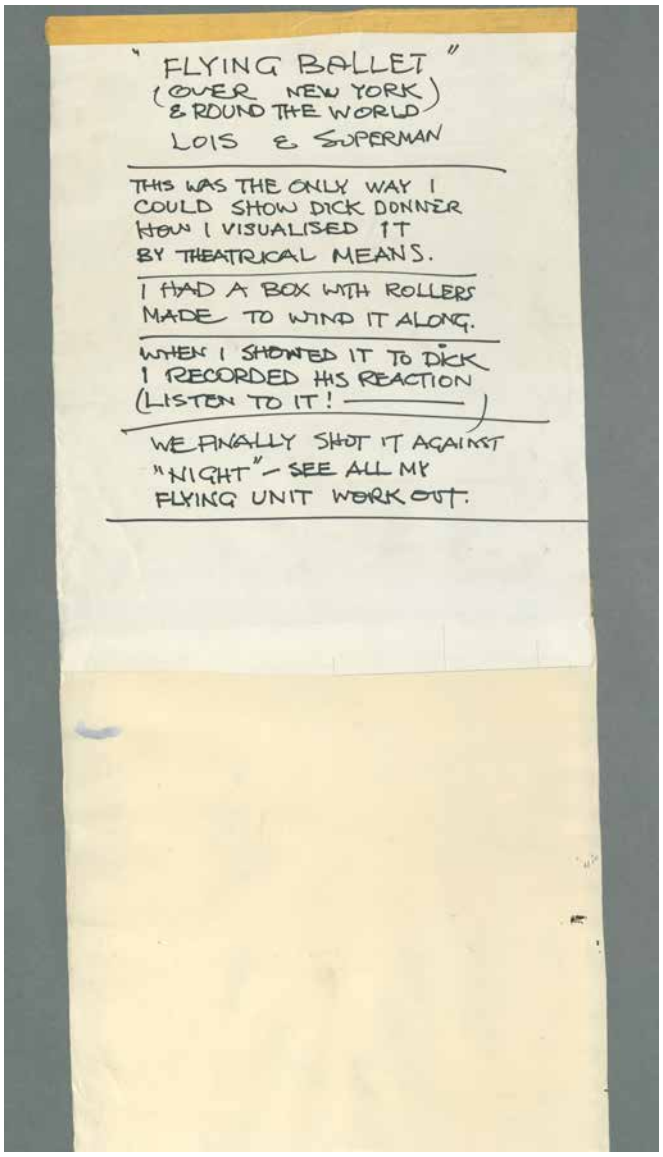

Fig. 10.4
Ivor Beddoes, Inscription for *Flying Ballet* (1977). Marker pen applied to the verso. London, BFI National Archive, SPD-611288. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

> With the idea 'wouldn't it be nice if you could fly', we wanted something subjective for the audience. It forced subjective shots through their emotions, like [Lois Lane's] fear of looking down. It's the reality for her of feeling 'I'm flying, I don't believe this.' It's what we would all go through.[15]

Technical innovations and subjective point-of-view shots would be used to impart a visceral and emotional disbelief akin to some of cinema's earliest experimentations with the tools at its disposal: propelling the audience into the sensory experience of flight.

A dedicated 'Flying Unit' helped to map out and then shoot the sequence over several months. Drawing on a wealth of special effects expertise, the sequence introduced an innovative front projection system to achieve the finished shot. Actors were photographed while suspended in front of a background image, dimly projected from the front onto a purpose-built screen, which reflected light back at many times the original intensity into a combined camera-projector. The result was a clear and intense photographic reproduction of both the actors and the background plate. The illusion of movement was created by zooming in on Reeve while making the front projected image appear to recede. Everything was shot on a built set at Pinewood studios.

The Art Director was John Barry, fresh from his Academy Award-winning work on *Star Wars* (1977). Barry was a highly accomplished designer who worked with a team of those skilled in paper and practice-led design. Having already worked with Barry on previous productions,

Beddoes was responsible for drawn processes both within the pre-production and production stages, contributing a large number of sketches for concept design, storyboarding, continuity, and also painting glass plates and mattes for the film, two of which he kept within his collection.[16] He worked alongside a number of other sketch artists for the scene, including Roy Carnon.

Within the shooting script, the Superman and Lois flight sequence is titled 'Flying Montage', described as: 'A series of aerial POVS INTERCUT with flying reaction shots of SUPERMAN and LOIS as they circle the world, passing through different time zones.' The sequence was intended to take in key international landmarks including the Place D'Etoile, St Peter's Square, the Great Pyramids, the Taj Mahal, and the Great Wall of China, before returning to Metropolis (New York). Following meetings with Donner and Barry, Beddoes was tasked with sketching out some of these details. But whereas the script describes a 'montage' of intercut point-of-view shots, the *Flying Ballet* chooses not to stage a series of individual sketches, but instead presents an extended musing on the subjective spectacle of flight. It contains a retrospectively applied inscription (fig. 10.4):

> FLYING BALLET
> (OVER NEW YORK
> & ROUND THE WORLD)
> LOIS & SUPERMAN
> THIS WAS THE ONLY WAY
> I COULD SHOW DICK DONNER
> HOW I VISUALISED IT BY THEATRICAL MEANS
> WHEN I SHOWED IT TO DICK
> I RECORDED HIS REACTION
> LISTEN TO IT! ——
> WE FINALLY SHOT IT AGAINST
> "NIGHT" – SEE ALL MY
> FLYING UNIT WORK.

Unfortunately, the recording referenced by Beddoes was not archived alongside the *Flying Ballet*. But it is nonetheless still possible to sense in the extant document an urgent sense of necessity, conveying a pivotal idea within a wider set of complex processes.[17] In its collected and conserved state within the Archive, alongside the presence of the inscription and artist's title, it is possible to read Beddoes' scroll as a theatrical, artistic, and cultural construct in its own right.

As the embodiment of just one problem-solving exercise within the complex and multifaceted design process, the *Flying Ballet* helps to articulate the performativity of paper within film, and the crucial relationship it has to the finished design work that we see on-screen. The format and scale of an object such as this grants it a certain amount of agency, as does the way in which its creator has knowingly curated and inscribed it within his collection. When this inscription is sited within the Archive, it draws attention to the complex work done on paper to produce a visual effect. It identifies itself as source and becomes the visual and material embodiment of an idea. It also illustrates details or even whole concepts cut or discarded at an early stage, conveying that which is left out or left behind. While the scroll presents a flight around the world, through seasons and across continents, we know from the inscription and the finished film that the Director ultimately chose to shoot against the nocturnal skyline of Metropolis.

In this sense, it renders on paper a unique here-and-now as experienced by the pre-production audience, in this instance the Director. It shifts our notion of audience and reception, underlining the fact that a filmic production contains within it many more performances and iterations of an idea than those seen within the finished shot. Much more than generative sketches, we know from Beddoes' inscription that the designer anticipates a layered reception, in which the object

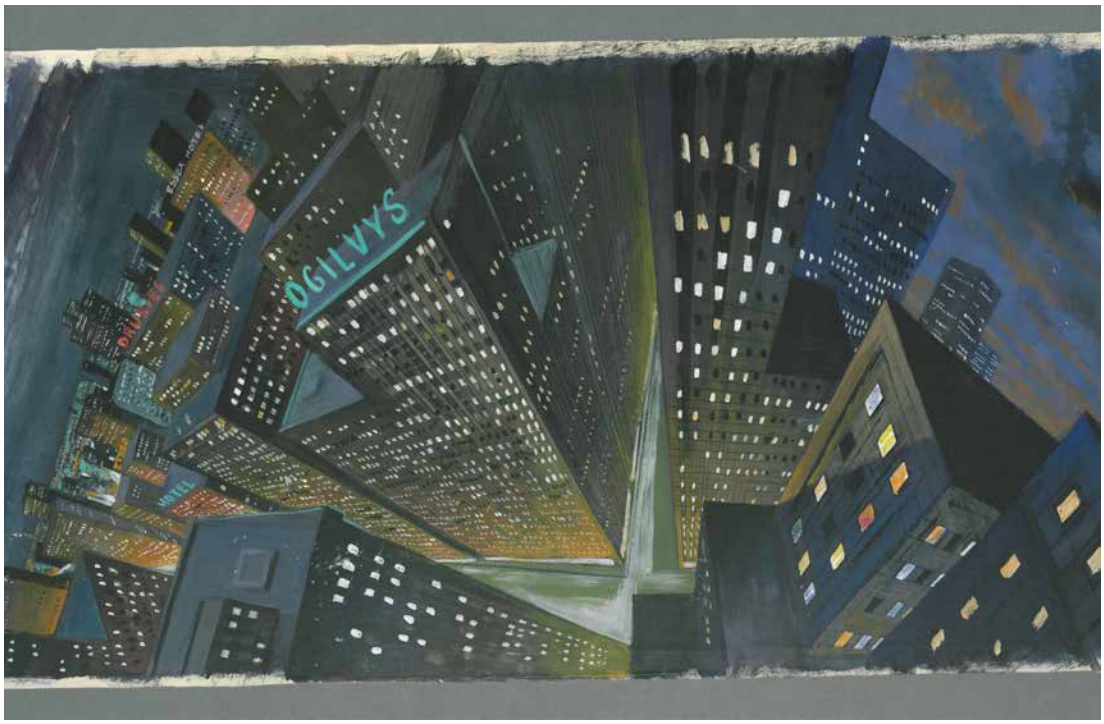

Fig. 10.5
Ivor Beddoes, detail from *Flying Ballet* (1977). Gouache and poster paint on paper. London, © BFI National Archive, SPD-611288. Photo: BFI National Archive, London.

is placed on rollers and scrolled before the director in pre-emptive, theatrical performance.[18] The inscription identifies this moment as a live performance, with the scroll sited firmly at the centre of it. As an object, it was always designed to have agency and to enter into dialogue with its audience. The written inscription ensures the continuation of this dialogue within the Archive. *Flying Ballet* points towards a much wider, near-Deleuzian territory of indeterminacy and excess; a constellation of forces in which scroll, performance(s), reel and screening(s) enact a ballet of influences that we might collectively term, the 'film'.

The layering of live and recorded performances emulates Beddoes' earlier work on The Red Shoes, but in such a way as to align the *Flying Ballet* with a sensory and visceral thrill. Designed to enrapture its audience, the *Flying Ballet* presents a scrolling, shifting, organic rendering that provides a direct line of evolution from paper to celluloid, elliptically taking us from the illusion of a continuous page to that of the continuous reel. Beddoes' intense focus on audience, reception, theatre, and spectacle aligns the pre-production performance with the final effect: a cinematic attraction. But in doing so, it underlines that what we perceive as staged departures from diegetic unity into exhibitionism or spectacle, are more often than not built on skilled and seamless acts that harmoniously unite disparate ideas, shots, and frames into a projectable whole. The scroll, manually turned on rollers and unabashedly paper-based in its performance, draws attention to the mechanics of its creation and use. And as a relatively rare example of a film design scroll of this size within an archival context—the only one currently archived at the BFI, for example—it presents its own visceral thrills to viewers and researchers today.

The scroll sits amongst a wider network of drawings by Beddoes that intertextually map out the mise-en-scène. Of particular importance is the city, Metropolis, which Donner selected for production as a direct result of the scrolling performance. Upon completion of *Superman*, Beddoes drafted a letter to Donner, which reflects on why and how he was selected to map out the urban geography:

> I want to go back to when we all crowded on to Superman with a world ahead of us – away back in Shepperton, early in 1977. After I had worked out the [Marlon] Brando sequences, you gave me the end of part 2 to storyboard because it involved building Broadway with its 6 lane traffic,

> its Winston and Coca Cola signs up on the lot. John Barry had set it down, Reg Bream had built a model. Ernie Archer came on the film to take charge and build the Cecil B. de Mille monster that would allow for 'The Destruction of New York' (as we've always called the end of part 2). […] I drew a sample of a hundred or so sketches for you, and Tom Mankiewicz saw, vetted, partly rearranged and made some cuts – and finally agreed to the basis for the whole sequence. The set for the lot was estimated at around a million pounds. Owing to money difficulties Ernie's project was whittled down to the top 4 storys [sic.] of the Planet Building – and a scheme was evolved to spend the 'million pounds' not on a mammoth exterior set but only in part + to build a big, big [author's emphasis] model on the 007 stage where we could float cameras over it for down shots and put cameras down at street level for up shots + f.p. [front projection].[19]

Collectively developing a fictionalised space that had already gone through multiple iterations within the comic book genre, many of the art department's resultant references for Metropolis—and those of the original graphic illustrations—evoke New York City. The script and inscription go so far as to title it 'New York'. As Jason Bainbridge points out, the city plays a crucial role within the comic book genre, working as a generic space adaptable to the demands of the narrative, toying with the familiarly of New York's iconic and towering urbanity, but also as the repository for phantasms of the modern self (figs 10.5–10.6).[20] Beddoes' renderings identify with these past graphic manifestations, but they are also distinctly filmic. The forced perspective and geometric identity recalls Fritz Lang's allegory to modernity, *Metropolis* (1927), and all its implied socio-cultural yearnings, anxieties and limitations.[21] When scrolled, it gives the impression of a city coming into view at night before transitioning into day and disappearing into the distance; a city of change; a city in flux.

In the city's cinematic manifestation, the blockbuster attractions identified by Tomasovic again comes into play. Although Tomasovic analyses the recent *Spiderman* franchise for its spectacular urban exploits, his comments can also be retrospectively applied to *Superman*; particularly

Fig. 10.6
Ivor Beddoes, sketch of Metropolis for Superman (1977). Gouache on paper. BFI National Archive, London. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

when mapped against paper items that outline both what was but also what might have been. Beddoes' drawings for Metropolis concern the gaze ('vertiginous effects, shocks of colours, speed of camera movements and editing, grandiloquence of special effects') and the body in exhibition (the spectacle and prowess of Superman's body in flight repeats throughout the drawings).[22] The detailed renderings of Metropolis's upper layers in all its glimmering and hectic glory is a city composed of New York fragments, both real and imaginary. And the entire scene is predicated on Superman's already considerable 'acrobatic exploits against vertiginous buildings and gigantic billboards, apocalyptic battles scenes in the sky' (on which Beddoes was particularly keen), all rooted in 'the modern experience of urban life, its unpredictable irruption of aggressiveness, and which attractions have to compete with'.[23]

Within this energetic spatial realm, the performer's body is central to the designer's thoughts but often necessarily divorced from its context. *The Flying Ballet* was designed without the body, but in its various manifestations has a performativity intricately related to and mindful of the human form. Throughout the scroll, there are noticeable expanses where the body is conspicuous by its absence: it gestures towards movement even where there is none. It evokes an on-set world, created both by space and form, suggestive of the final scene in which the background performs and is animated through projection, while static actors must give the illusion of embodied movement as they are suspended on wires.

As Beddoes' titling suggests, the relationship is somewhat balletic; an intimate and complex dynamic between stillness and movement that draws attention to the human form through a series of deliberate and formalised gestures; a feat requiring presence and strength in the actors performing it, and where the scenography must work as hard as the body. Alongside the *Flying Ballet*, Beddoes was asked to draft a number of continuity sketches for the scene, carefully outlining the camera set-ups and angles required to achieve each shot (fig. 10.7). Within these, the representation and form taken by the body presents certain dance-like qualities. Rooted in the baroque figurative arts, ballet's elegant lines and strength of form appealed to the performer, costumier, and draughtsman in Beddoes. Indeed, the term 'Flying Ballet' is not unique to Beddoes, and is one that may well have been borrowed from his time in theatre. The term often appears in relation to hybrid dance-

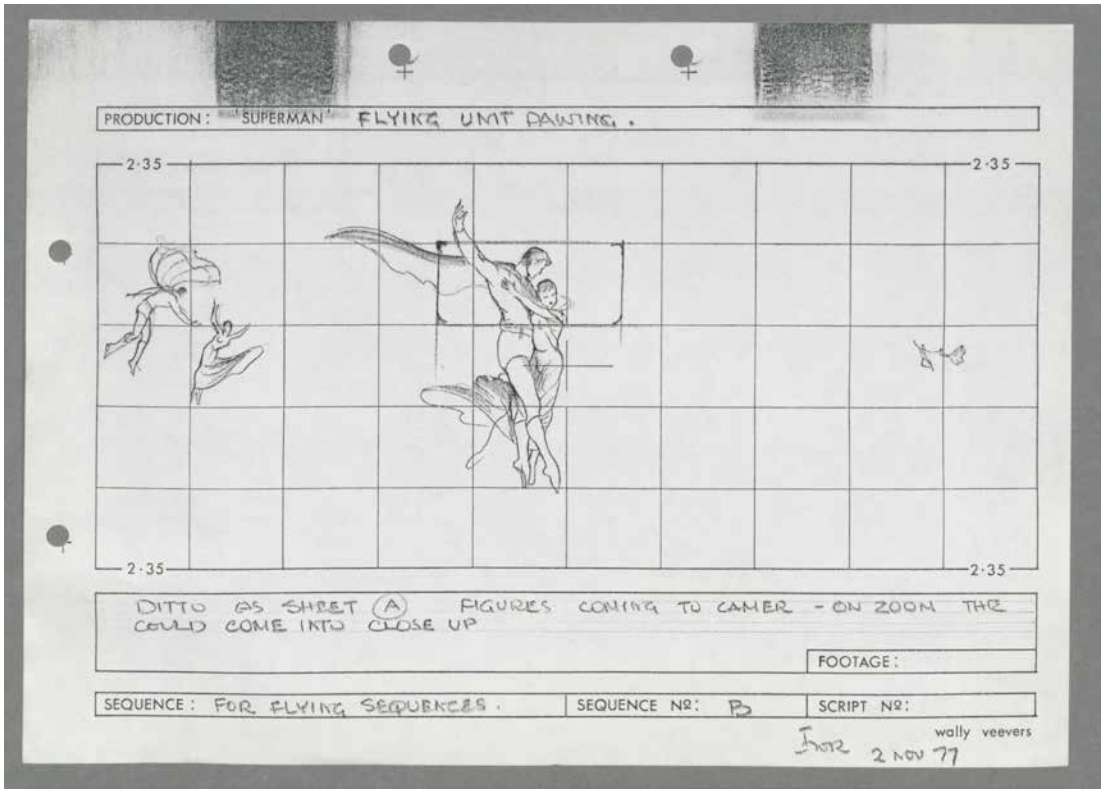

Fig. 10.7
Ivor Beddoes, continuity sketches for Superman (1977). Reprographic copies of pencil drawings on paper. BFI National Archive, London. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

acrobatic performances at the turn of the century, which exploited new developments in lighting, photography, and stagecraft to create ever more beautiful and spectacular performances of the human form in flight. As just one example, in 1896 George Conquest, working for the Britannia Theatre, introduced a 'flying ballet' in which the fairies seemed to float through the air: a special effect with wires, animated scenography and lighting that exploited the same basic, illusory principles later expanded on by *Superman*.[24] These theatrical performances, much like cinema's attractions, reached out to viewers in their seats in order to create audience participation, which could be emotional, sensorial, or intellectual, sometimes even going so far as to employ circus and fairground techniques to suspend performers above the audience, or to introduce pyrotechnical reverberations below the seats of the audience.[25]

As Laurent Guido has furthered, the emergence of cinema more broadly can be related to a context marked by the vast expansion of interest in bodily movement, at the crossroads of aesthetic and scientific preoccupations.[26] Within early film, numerous shots were effectively focused on athletic and acrobatic prowess, as well as traditional or exotic dances. Furthermore, *féeries* in colour, such as those by Georges Méliès or Segundo de Chomón, gave great importance to the procession of young women in tights inspired by ballet or music hall reviews.[27] This, alongside an increased scientific understanding and photography of human mobility, 'created an element that contained not only an aesthetic, but also even a spectacular dimension. Dance, just as sports and gymnastics, imposed itself at the beginning of the twentieth century as a harmonious way of organising body movement. It was considered that the muscular mimicry put into motion by physical performance would position spectators under an irresistible rhythmic spell'.[28]

The result was a powerful and attractive medium for both dance and cinematographic experimentalists in the years in which Beddoes was working as a choreographer, and a set of body-oriented principles to which cinema would return in the 1970s and 1980s.[29] He also trained during a period in which the inspired handling of the dance vocabulary by companies such as the Ballet Russes paved the way for more inventive interpretations of the classical form, understanding the relevance that such a deeply traditional discipline could have in new contexts and settings.[30]

His later renderings of Superman and Lois in the *Flying Ballet* imply both natural and choreographed movement, and the constant transitions between the two that dancers must make. Fixing a formal repertory of poses in ink, his drawings present flight as an act of dance, to be choreographed against the scenic, scrolling backdrop of the night's sky. This is not to suggest that Beddoes was the only influence within this scene. A myriad of other individuals guided and shaped the finished sequence, not least those of the Director and Production Designer, some of whom may also have recognised the relationship between dance and flight and instructed Beddoes accordingly. But isolated from their context and presented in sequence within an individual's collection, the drawings collectively underline the prevailing ideas that drove Beddoes, which may well have impacted the finished shot in both direct and indirect ways. Tracing dance iterations through the collection reveal Beddoes repeating and refining the same composition, much like a dancer practising a time-honoured motion.

Within the finished sequence, the actors were similarly expected to practice and repeat a series of formalised movements to achieve the illusion of easy weightlessness. Required to hold their bodies in agreed, static poses—embodying movement while creating none—they overcame the hurdles presented by wires and harnesses to present a vision of ease and grace (fig. 10.8). In their successful presentation of these qualities, the scene initiates a theatrical dialogue with an imagined spectator, subjectively asked by the camera to occupy the position of Lois Lane, whose fantasy of what it is to remain static in the comfort of both Superman's and the cinema seat's embrace, and yet to witness the thrill of the world moving past at speed comes into play. The act of watching the flying ballet on-screen is an on-going physical adjustment and response to a shifting spatial universe.

The 'work' of the scroll within the pre-production process is therefore vital in the creation

Fig. 10.8
Film still for Superman, Superman (Christopher Reeves) and Lois Lane (Margot Kidder) in flight (1978). Silver gelatin print, 200 x 250 mm. BFI National Archive, London. Photo: © BFI National Archive, London.

and reception of the final performance. While removing the human form from the frame, but nevertheless retaining the sensibilities of performance and dance; once animated on rollers, the scroll elicits a somewhat primitive but embodied and experiential response from its micro-audience to the act of flight, alongside a reading and decoding of visual signs that anticipates the finished shot. The exploitation of shared, embodied and cultural fantasies of flight play a central role. Unrestricted by time or space, the scroll takes us the full circumference of the globe. The site and locations are not about geographical or architectural accuracy, but about embodying the fantasy of moving across continents and time zones, projecting surface, colour, form, and materials as if remembered hazily, spontaneously springing up from memory, rather than copied accurately from life or research resources (specific visual references are not made to all of the landmarks identified in the script, for example).

The painterly renderings are sensory and impressionistic. Given the practical implications of a painting twenty metres in length, the material composition of the scroll, and Beddoes' understanding of theatrical scenography, it is likely that Beddoes created some of the shorter lengths individually—the scene for Metropolis, for example, is on a noticeably shorter length of artist's paper—and moved through other scenes continuously; ebbing and flowing, he concealed the material joins of the paper with a swift and harmonious application of paint. The paint striations move from left to right, while the tonal range of the painting ebbs between darkness and light. Starting and ending in darkness, Beddoes' visual awareness is typically attentive to the elliptical nature of the performance, and the need to present a complete visual sequence to his intended audience, the Director, who necessarily has a co-authoring, responsive presence within the object. To draw again on Barbieri's summary of design for live performance: in crafting it, the creator was required to role-play the Director, anticipating both his and the wider audience's reception at every stage of the process.[31] The form such an object takes is determined by the 'desire to project into the moment of performance' (in this instance, a dialogue with the director), as much as from 'the balancing act of artistic synthesis and practical concerns'.[32] It is inscribed with

the notion of its performance from its inception. Beddoes' work is multi-layered and profoundly visual. The addition of the inscription anticipates an audience beyond that of cinematic reception, instigating a further performance in the Archive before a viewer who he places in a subjective position: 'listen to it!', he writes.

In the majority of cases, these pre-production items are generated for multiple but often invisible performances in frequently private moments that exist as a prelude to shooting. Separated from this context they can often become confusing and their meanings obscured. Beddoes' interpretive strategies mark the object as part of a creative process that mediates between design, performance, and the gaze of both a known and unknown audience. The scroll contains within it clues to several different performances. This object is now consultable in further 'staged' encounters within the Archive, in which curators, archivists, researchers, and other interested parties seek to explore the hidden performances of the pre-production process.

The complex object that is a pre-production sketch—constituted through craft and recontextualised in its archived state—can offer new ways to articulate its performative values. Through its material clues it demonstrates how an image can perform as both part of and also apart from the film reel. The scroll is an object on which multiple filmic performances are predicated: but archived as an object in its own right, it is possible to look outwards to future perspectives that place paper-based performances very much at the centre of the enquiry.

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1. Laurie N. Ede, *British Film Design: A History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2010), p. 1.
2. Tim Bergfelder, Sue Harris, and Sarah Street (eds), *Film Architecture and the Transnational Imagination: Set Design in European 1930s Cinema* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).
3. Fionnuala Halligan, *Movie Storyboards: The Art of Visualizing Screenplays* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 2013). As Halligan points out, much of the art department's work, while vital, is intended to be quick and disposable. It is only recently that some of the art-forms within it, including storyboarding, are gaining in reputation and recognition.
4. Examples of Beddoes' drawings from this period are now held by the Imperial War Museum, London. See http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1973; http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1975; http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/1974. Further information on Beddoes' work with the Ministry of Information can be found in the war artists archives, Imperial War Museum, catalogue no. ART/WA2/01/065.
5. For an overview of Powell and Pressburger's approach to design see Ede, *British Film*, pp. 50–58.
6. Transcript of Ivor Beddoes in conversation, BFI National Archive, London.
7. His sketches under Ken Adam, for example, look remarkably like those of the great designer, particularly Adam's famed designs for the James Bond franchise. For examples of Adam's work see Christopher Frayling, *Ken Adam and the Art of Production Design* (London: Faber & Faber, 2005)
8. Donatella Barbieri, 'Encounters in the Archive: Reflections on Costume', *V&A Online Journal 4* (Summer 2012), accessed 31 May 2016, http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/journals/research-journal/issue-no.-4-summer-2012/encounters-in-the-archive-reflections-on-costume/.
9. Barbieri, 'Encounters in the Archive'.
10. Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attraction: Early Film, its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angle 8*: 3/4 (1986): pp. 63–70.
11. Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attraction'.
12. Dick Tomasovic, 'The Hollywood Cobweb: New Laws of Attraction (The Spectacular Mechanics of Blockbusters)', in Wanda Strauven (ed.), *The Cinema of Attractions Reloaded* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), p. 311. Chris Pallant also gives an account of the Cinema of Effects as it relates to the 'visual texts' of the pre-production process, specifically the storyboard. Although focusing on Gunning's triumvirate of Spielberg-Lucas-Coppola, he does reference Beddoes and discuss another of the productions that he worked on, *Star Wars Episode V: The Empire Strikes Back* (1980). See Chris Pallant, *Storyboarding – A Critical History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p.130.
13. Tomasovic, 'The Hollywood Cobweb', p. 311.
14. Richard Donner in interview with Robert Abele, 'Fly Me to the Moon', Directors' Guild of America website, accessed 31 May 2016, https://www.dga.org/Craft/DGAQ/All-Articles/1302-Spring-2013/Shot-to-Remember-Superman.aspx.
15. Donner and Abele, 'Fly Me to the Moon'.
16. BFI National Archive, BED-146 to BED-149; BED-160.
17. A project to capture, identify, and archive relevant oral history recordings was started by the BFI in collaboration with Beddoes in 1981, but unfortunately was not completed before the time of his death.
18. This technique has a history in scenography and has also been used to a lesser extent in film design, including a year earlier for the famed title sequences of *Star Wars* (a production on which Beddoes also worked). Examples of Beddoes' continuity sketches for *Star Wars* are held by the BFI National Archive, object number PD-18649. Three sketches are also illustrated in Chris Pallant, *Storyboarding: A Critical History* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015) pp.17–18
19. Ivor Beddoes, draft correspondence to Richard Donner (8 January 1979). BFI National Archive, London.
20. Jason Bainbridge, '"I am New York": Spider-Man, New York City, and the Marvel Universe', in Jörn Ahrens and Arno Meteling (eds), *Comics and the City: Urban Space in*

Print, Picture and Sequence (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), p. 164.
21. See Tom Gunning, *Fritz Lang: Allegories of Vision and Modernity* (London: BFI, 2000)
22. Tomasovic, 'The Hollywood Cobweb', p. 311.
23. Tomasovic, 'The Hollywood Cobweb', p. 311.
24. Janice Norwood, 'Visual Culture and the Repertoire of a Popular East-End Theatre', in A. Heinrich, K. Newey, and J Richards (eds), *Ruskin, the Theatre and Victorian Visual Culture* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 135.
25. Norwood, 'A Popular East-End Theatre', p. 135.
26. Laurent Guido, 'Rhythmic Bodies/Movies: Dance as Attraction in Early Film Culture', in Strauven, *Cinema of Attractions*, p. 139.
27. Guido, 'Rhythmic Bodies/Movies', p.143. With roots in the magical colours, mechanical trickery and dance-like movements of the *feerie* plays of the nineteenth century, these films often display their theatrical provenance through the lively choreography of sets, costumes and the human form. See for example *The Frog* (1908), *The Spring Fairy* (1902), *The Kingdom of the Fairies* (1903), *Modern Sculptors* (1908).
28. Guido, 'Rhythmic Bodies/Movies', p.143.
29. Although not possible to discuss in detail within the parameters of this chapter, blockbusters exploiting dance as spectacle enjoyed significant box office success in this decade, from *Fame* (1980) to *Footloose* (1984), *Flashdance* (1983) to *Dirty Dancing* (1987), arguably signaling a return to exhibitionist practices around the choreography of the human form.
30. For an overview of the transformational role of the Ballet Russes see Jane Pritchard, *Diaghilev and the Golden Age of the Ballets Russes 1909–29* (London: V&A, 2011).
31. Barbieri, 'Encounters', n.p.
32. Barbieri, 'Encounters', n.p.

Piero Manzoni's Line: From the Roll to the Infinite Painting

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Fig. 11.1
Piero Manzoni, *Linea (frammento)* (c.1959). Ink on paper, 255 x 20 cm. Milan, Fondazione Piero Manzoni. Photo: © Fondazione Piero Manzoni, Milano / Orazio Bacci, Milano

On 8 February 1963, two days after the Italian artist Piero Manzoni's sudden demise, his friend and fellow artist Lucio Fontana commented in a radio interview that:

> Manzoni's most important discovery, exceptional I would say, was the 'Line', which I believe to be an artistic innovation of international bearing … Manzoni was a man of research and the 'Line' was and is not easy to understand and to accept, however, it is my firm conviction that Manzoni's 'Line' has marked a fundamental point in the history of contemporary art.[1]

Line (fragment) (fig. 11.1), made in c.1959, is the sort of object Fontana would have had in mind as he spoke, a piece typical of the simultaneous conceptual depth and material simplicity that characterises much of Manzoni's work.[2] Painted in black on long strips of white paper, these long lines were rolled up by the artist and enclosed inside special cardboard cylinders before being labelled with the date, a signature, and the total length of the line created (fig. 11.2). Yet for all their physical sparseness, these concealed scrolls had a significant intellectual grounding on which Manzoni had been working for some time.

A central figure in the international neo-avant-garde scene of the 50s, Manzoni was concerned with the conceptual process of freeing paintings' surface from the rules of

Fig. 11.2
Piero Manzoni, *Linea* (1959). Ink on paper, cardboard cylinder, 9,95 m. Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art. Photo: © Fondazione Piero Manzoni, Milano / Orazio Bacci, Milano

representation.[3] In 1957, he began his first 'white paintings', pieces that from 1959 he referred to as *Achromes*. As the artist himself explained, these were the result of his experiments with the use of constantly different techniques and materials, from both the natural and synthetic world, to create a series of white surfaces where observers' energies of thought and image might be released.[4] They were no longer canvas prisoners of painted fiction, forced into a confined space where drawings and colours pretended to be something else. Manzoni felt he had overcome a central artistic problem of what to do with composition and form, creating a new, unrestricted aesthetic model that made tangible contact with ideas of the infinite.[5]

The roll format was integral to developing this process, growing into a substantial series, *Lines*, between 1959 and 1963. After two years' research on the *Achromes*, in the spring of 1959 Manzoni exhibited sheets of white paper with hand-drawn black lines in a café in Milan named Bar La Parete. Soon after, he transitioned from a single sheet to a roll of paper, and that summer presented his first exhibition of *Lines* painted on paper rolls of different lengths. The exhibition ran from 18–24 August in Galleria del Pozzetto Chiuso, an unconventional exhibition venue in the Italian Mediterranean town of Albisola, on the Ligurian coast. Perhaps inevitably, the show caused considerable scandal in the Italian province, and the only *Line* to be exhibited in its entirety there was vandalised when a visitor spat on it.[6] Still, Manzoni's interest in the series grew, as did the size of his creations. In his earliest *Line*-works, the length of the strips became their title: *Line m 6, Line m 8,17, Line m 9,84, Line m 19,11, and Line m 33,63* (all made in 1959). By 1960 he had managed to construct a line painted on a continuous 7.2km-long piece of paper (figs 11.3–11.4).[7] This industrial-level project began when the businessman and patron Aage Damgaard invited Manzoni to Denmark to create experimental works in his shirt factory, Angli, in the town of Herning. It was there that the artist met the editor of the local newspaper, Herning-Avisen, who allowed him to use the press' machines and paper rolls to create the *Line*, which was then dated, signed, and marked with his finger print before—like its smaller precursors—being sealed inside an enormous zinc cylinder (66 x 96cm). This was perhaps the closest Manzoni was to come to actually fulfilling his totalising conceptual goal of an infinite work, an infinite line.

It is interesting to contextualise Manzoni's *Lines* within an international framework of antecedents in the United States, Japan, and Europe, for he was far from the only post-war artist turning to notions of the continuous page to give physical form to their expansive conceptual ambitions.[8] Manzoni's research into notions of 'void' and 'infinity' were closely linked to European and American art movements who were themselves influenced by existentialist philosophy, language reductionism, and new waves of Zen philosophy.[9] The paintings of Barnett Newman, for instance, especially those displayed in his second solo exhibition at The Betty Parsons Gallery in New York in April 1951, were not rolls in themselves but nonetheless drew on a related compositional language of stretched, seemingly never-ending forms. In *The Wild* (1950) the canvas is reduced to a slim section only four centimetres wide, extending vertically for more than two metres. It comes as no surprise that Newman, who said that 'the idea of a "finished" picture is a fiction', called his vertical strips of colour 'zips', 'preferring it to "band", for it connoted an activity rather than a motionless state of being'.[10] The following month, The

Fig. 11.3
Piero Manzoni, making *Line* of m 7.200, Herning (Denmark), 4 July 1960, photographed by Ole Bagger. Photo: © HEART, Herning Museum of Contemporary Art, Herning / Herning Artmuseum / Fondazione Piero Manzoni, Milano.

Betty Parsons Gallery also hosted Robert Rauschenberg's first solo exhibition, and it was here that the artist met John Cage.[11] They soon collaborated on a continuous scroll, Rauschenberg's *Automobile Tire Print* (1953) , a rolled work created with Cage's help. As Rosalind Krauss observes:

> Tire Print from 1953, was made by lining up sheets of paper over more than twenty-two feet of road and then directing John Cage to drive a car over them. It was certainly a way of making a mark. But beyond that it was also a way of finding an operational means of producing extension—of accounting procedurally for the way that one piece of the art space relates to the next'.[12]

This was as much a philosophical movement as an aesthetic or formal one. Throughout the 50s and 60s, the writings of Alan W. Watts—such as *The Way of Zen* (1957) and *Beat Zen*, *Square Zen*, and *Zen* (1959)—had made extremely widespread in the West a number of cultural ideas that had been being taken up by artists in Japan for some time, ideas that injected strategies of infinity and distance into American and subsequently European scenes.[13] Manzoni himself came increasingly into contact with Japanese avant-garde artists from 1959,[14] and was likely aware of a continuous work made three years earlier in 1956 by Akira Kanayama, *Footprints* (*Ashiato*), presented at the Outdoor Gutai Art Exhibition in the pine forest of Ashiya Park in the city of Ashiya (fig. 11.5).[15] The piece comprised a strip of vinyl almost one-hundred metres long, running throughout the entire exhibition in a circuit. On the white surface of this unrolled vinyl, the artist had reproduced footprints at regular intervals, evoking in the viewer a natural path through the park; the path, however, led nowhere, ending at a tree trunk. Kanayama's choice of vinyl instead of paper suggests an increasing interest in new materials from the chemical industry and emergent issues within contemporary consumer society; the work chimes with Manzoni's later 7.2-km *Line* in both its elongated forms and technological engagement: the interest in mechanical seriality in *Footprints* is further confirmed by the footprints themselves, reproduced using a repetitive stencil technique.[16]

The most forceful collision of these twinned American and Japanese concerns with visual

Fig. 11.4 Piero Manzoni, making *Line* of m 7.200, Herning (Denmark), 4 July 1960, photographed by Ole Bagger. Photo: © HEART, Herning Museum of Contemporary Art, Herning / Herning Artmuseum / Fondazione Piero Manzoni, Milano.

and conceptual continuity took place in September 1962, when—in the wake of Rauschenberg, Cage, and Gutai's research, as well as Allan Kaprow's New York 'Happenings'[17]—Eastern and Western avant-gardes came together as part of the first Fluxus Festival in Wiesbaden, Germany.[18] Here, the visual and fantastical quality of continuous rolls was again invoked, this time by the Korean artist Nam June Paik, who created a performance with the revealing title *Zen for Head*. In a total exchange of different artistic disciplines that was typical of Fluxus, Paik accompanied La Monte Young's *Composition 1960 # 10 to Bob Morris* by marking a four-metre-long line on a strip of paper using only his own head covered in ink and tomato juice. Rather than colouring the paper roll with instruments or machines—objects that were to characterise Paik's later expressive and conceptual work in the form of the monitor—the final dynamic, informal line evolved from the interaction of the body with its continuous material support.

These international concerns, to come full circle, combined with Manzoni's ongoing *Lines* to embed linearity and continuity in European practice of the late 50s, where—unlike Paik—the concept of 'line' was to increasingly come under sway of the machine. The roll embodied a metaphor of uncontrolled need and a collectively shared experience of painting. In the first *Industrial Painting* exhibition at Turin's Galleria Notizie in May 1958, Italian artist Giuseppe Pinot Gallizio exhibited a seventy-four-metre-long roll of painted canvas, now housed at Tate Modern, London. Gallizio had set up a makeshift studio in the small town of Alba, Piedmont, where he lived and worked as a pharmacist, chemist, and herbalist. Here, he converted a cellar into a space for the production of rolls of industrial painting, including a rudimentary, hand-driven machine that used brushes to distribute colour onto rolls of canvas. In actual fact, the system not only used paint but resins, solvents, and chemical mixtures that Gallizio had invented and experimented with alongside Asger Jorn, Constant, Guy Debord, and other friends involved in the International Situationist movement, which was officially started in July 1957.[19] Gallizio's aim in this work was to use industrial techniques to create a surplus of paint, simultaneously overturning the laws of the market and liberating artists from the limitations of inspiration and physical dimension; this idea was not unrelated to the concept of *potlatch*, a key theory in the Lettrist International, a co-founding group of the SI.[20] Once it had undergone the mechanical process, the roll was left in the open air where it was contaminated with atmospheric agents.[21] Sold by the metre at an extremely low price, the long canvas could be cut to suit the client's

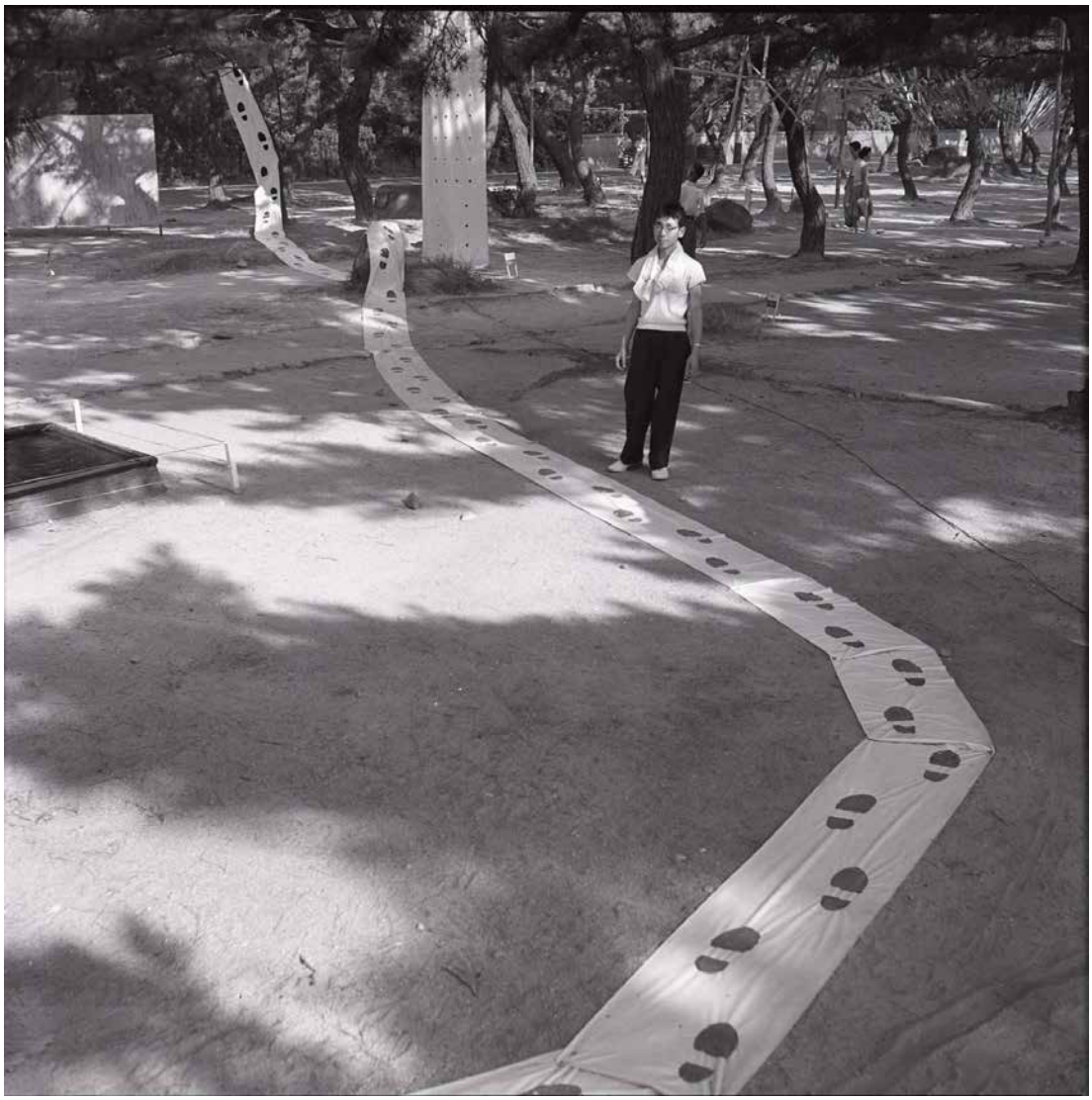

Fig. 11.5 Kanayama Akyra and his *Footprints* (1956), Outdoor Gutay Art Exhibition, Ashiya Park, Hyogo. Osaka City Museum of Modern Art GA08. Photo: © Osaka City Museum of Modern Art.

needs, its inspiration emerging from a coincidental combination of technical and natural elements.

Such mechanical concerns were not Gallizio's alone. In the third edition of the *Situationist International Bulletin* (December 1959), Gallizio republished a text that had already been presented one month earlier in *Notizie-Arti Figurative*.[22] The article began with a quotation from the French journal, *L'Express*, dated 8 October 1959, which reviewed a performance by the Swiss artist Jean Tinguely in the square of the Musée d'Art Moderne, the day before the opening of first Paris Biennale. The work-machine protagonist of Tinguely's performance was named *Méta-Matic* n.17, and is described as follows in the journal:

> Seen from close up, it is made of a series of interwoven pulleys driven by a small, two-stroke engine. It unrolls a long roll of paper that is automatically covered with splashes by convulsively moving ink rollers. A knife cuts the finished product into pieces, with a chaotic, circular and sputtering movement.[23]

Again in 1959, on 12 November, *Méta-Matic* n. 17 was the protagonist of a now-legendary performance at the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, an event originally intended as a conference. Here, the machine was modified so it could be driven via pedals by two racers, who took it in turns to see who was able to unroll the one-and-a-half-kilometre-long roll of paper first. Before cascading into the room, the band of paper was automatically painted by an ink-

roller.[24] The audience, sitting in the stalls, was suddenly overcome by a flow of paper that was thrown at high speed from the machine driven by the first cyclist.[25]

Machine interventions in the continuous page are common features of Rauschenberg's *Automobile Tire Print*, Kanayama's *Footprints*, Gallizio's *Industrial Paintings*, and Tinguely's *Méta-Matic*. Yet, it is important not to see these, nor Manzoni's *Lines*—even his 1960 *Line of 7.200 Meters*, made on the Herning print machine—as a blind triumph of technology. As Fontana implied in his radio eulogy to Manzoni with which I began, the scope of the *Lines* were both their material simplicity *and* their conceptual complexity, characterised by a mesh of intertwined concerns, especially philosophical and social dimensions. Consider the ultimate intended destination of Manzoni's 7.2-km *Line*, which he had intended not to openly parade for its infinite capacity but instead to enclose in zinc and then bury, alongside another monumental examples, in the most important cities in the world; the total sum of the lengths of the individual *Lines* when unrolled would equal the circumference of the earth.[26] Tinguely and Paik co-opted the scroll for performative actions—collective and collaborative—that were governed to some degree by chance and which culminated in paintings of intriguing continuous coincidence. Gallizio's *Industrial Painting*, too, and Rauschenberg's *Automobile Tire Print*, likewise arose from an extraordinary time-based action, carried out in collaboration. For Manzoni, however, neither the making of the *Line* nor the shared performance of its creation was the ultimate objective: it was the reflective properties of the *Line* in itself that was central.[27] The lined roll was closed and hidden, the artwork formed through a combination of the artist's action (in the past) and the viewer's faith (in the present). Capitalising on this playful paradox, in 1960 Manzoni created various wooden tubes containing *Infinite Lines*: as long as they remained closed, the roll maintained the idea of the infinite but once it was opened, the infinite line disappeared.[28]

This is the greatest philosophical contribution of Manzoni's *Lines*. They comprise universal concepts that open up infinite possibilities of thought, uniting artist and viewer in endless imagination. Manzoni did not see these rolled works as portrayals, but rather as an unlimited, time-based surface, where the idea of 'infinite possibilities' could be concretised. As he wrote in his 1960 text, *Libera dimensione* [Free Dimension]:

> Why not empty, instead, this recipient? Why not liberate the surface? Why not attempt to discover the limitless significance of total space? Of pure and absolute light? … The infinitability is rigorously monochrome, or better still of no colour … Artistic criticism which makes use of concepts like composition and form has no value: form, colour and dimensions have no sense in total space … All such problems like composition of form, form in space and spatial profundity are extraneous to us; a line can only be traced without limits of length into infinity and beyond any problem of composition or dimension. Dimension does not exist in total space … This indefinite surface, uniquely alive, even if in the material contingency the work cannot be infinite, is, however, infinitable, infinitely repeatable, without a solution of continuity. And that is even more apparent in the 'lines', for in these there no longer exists the possible ambiguity of the 'painting'. The line develops only in length and extends towards infinity. The only dimension is time. And it hardly needs to be said that a 'line' is not a horizon or a symbol and it has value not as something beautiful but in the degree to which it exists.[29]

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1. Lucio Fontana, quoted in Gaspare Luigi Marcone, 'Piero Manzoni. Achromes: Linea Infinita', trans. Neil Davenport, reproduced in Gaspare Luigi Marcone (ed.), Piero Manzoni. *Achromes: Linea Infinita* (Poggibonsi, Siena: Carlo Cambi Editore; London: Mazzoleni, 2016), p. 9.
2. Regarding materials in Manzoni's works, see Rosalia Pasqualino di Marineo (ed.), *Piero Manzoni. Materials, Zurich: Materials* (Zurich: Hauser & Wirth Publisher, 2019).
3. See Piero Manzoni, 'Per la scoperta di una zona di immagini', in *Documenti d'arte d'oggi mac 1958* (Milano: A Salto Editrice 1958), p. 74, reproduced in Gaspare Luigi Marcone (ed.), *Piero Manzoni. Scritti sull'arte* (Milano: Abscondita, 2013), pp. 25–27. See also the English version of Manzoni's writings, recently published as Piero Manzoni, *Writings on Art*, edited by Gaspare Luigi Marcone, with a foreword by Rosalia Pasqualino di Marineo and essays by Benjamin H. D. Buchloh and Gaspare Luigi Marcone (Zurich: Hauser & Wirth Publisher, 2019).
4. 'My first "achromes" date from '57: canvas soaked in kaolin and glue: from '59 onwards, the raster of the "achromes" was made of machine-made stitches. In '60 I made some out of cotton wool, expanded polystyrene, I experimented with phosphorescents and others soaked in cobalt chloride with colours that would change over time. In '61 I made others of straw and plastic and natural or synthetic fibres. I also made a sculpture using rabbit skin'. Untitled text published by Piero Manzoni in *Evoluzione delle lettere e delle arti* 1:1 (1963): p. 49; Marcone, *Manzoni. Scritti sull'arte*, pp. 50–52. See also Choghakate Kazarian and Camille Lévêque-Claudet (eds), *Piero Manzoni. Achrome, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts,* Lausanne 2016; Gaspare Luigi Marcone (ed.), *Piero Manzoni. Achrome* (Lausanne: Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts, 2016); Marcone, *Manzoni. Achromes*, p. 7. Elio Grazioli, *Manzoni* (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 2007), pp. 61– 79.
5. Piero Manzoni, 'Libera dimensione', in Marcone, *Manzoni. Scritti sull'arte*, pp. 34–38.
6. Manzoni had actually decided to exhibit an unrolled *Line* next to the sealed cylinders with the rolls so that the public could understand what it was all about. The *Line* was 19.93 m long but was then reduced to 18.07m by the artist to eliminate the spat-upon part. See Francesca Pola, *Una visione internazionale. Piero Manzoni e Albisola* (Milan: Electa, 2013; Gualdoni 2013. Electa, 2013).
7. Rosalia Pasqualino di Marineo (ed.), *Piero Manzoni. Lines* (Zurich: Hauser & Wirth Publisher, 2019); Flaminio Gualdoni and Rosalia Pasqualino di Marineo (eds), *Piero Manzoni 1933–1963,* exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Reale, Milan, 26 March–2 June 2014 (Milano: Skira, 2014), p. 159.
8. For an international and comparative analysis of artworks based on the concept of line and repetition, see: Jack McGrath, 'Along Different Lines: Manzoni by Comparison', in Pasqualino di Marineo, *Manzoni. Lines*, pp. 49–56; Briony Fer, *The Infinite Line. Re-Making Art After Modernism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).
9. References regarding Existentialist philosophies, Zen, and Manzoni's work, can be find in: Barbara Satre, 'L'"esistenzialismo" di Piero Manzoni', in Rosalia Pasqualino di Marineo (ed.), *Piero Manzoni. Nuovi studi* (Poggibonsi: Carlo Cambi editore, 2017), pp. 171–183; Fuyumi Namioka, 'Manzoni tra Italia e Giappone: il concetto fra Libera dimensione ed Espansione all'infinito', in Pasqualino di Marineo, *Piero Manzoni. Nuovi studi*, pp. 71–83; Guido Andrea Pautasso, *Piero Manzoni divorare l'arte* (Milano: Electa, 2015), pp. 12–14 and 18–20. By and large, for more about Manzoni and the international network of avant-garde groups in the fifties and sixties see Francesca Pola, 'La costellazione della "Nuova Concezione Artistica" Azimuth epicentro della neoavanguardia europea', in Luca Massimo Barbero (ed.), *Azimut/h. Continuità e nuovo*, exhibition catalogue, Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venice, 20 September 2014–19 January 2015 (Venezia: Marsilio, 2014), pp. 123–143.
10. Foster et al., Art since 1900, pp. 362–363. See also Ellen G. Landau (ed.), *Reading Abstract Expressionism: Context and Critique* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).
11. At this moment the two men had been engaging in parallel artistic experimentation, Rauschenberg in achromatic painting and Cage, who had been teaching at Black Mountain College since 1948, in experimental music. Cage was later to admit that Rauschenberg's *White Paintings* had influenced his silent composition (4'33", 1952). On the encounter between Rauschenberg and Cage and its consequences for the neo-avant-garde movements see Catherine Craft, *Robert Rauschenberg* (London: Phaidon Press, 2013). See also Branden W. Joseph, *Random Order: Robert Rauschenberg and the Neo-Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003).
12. Rosalind Krauss, 'Rauschenberg and the Materialized Image', in Branden W. Joseph (ed.), *Rauschenberg, October* Files 4 (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002), p. 53.
13. See Kay Larson, *Where the Heart Beats: John Cage, Zen Buddhism, and the Inner Life of Artists* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013). About the transnational influence of Zen on post-war art see also Majella Munro, 'Zen as a Transnational Current in Post-War Art: The Case of Mira Schendel', *Tate Papers* 23 (Spring 2015), accessed 23 May 2016, http://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/tate-papers/23/zen-as-a-transnational-current-in-post-war-art-the-case-of-mira-schendel. See also George Mathieu, *De l'Abstrait au Possible. Jalons pour une exégèse de l'Art Occidental* (Zurich: Cercle d'Art Contemporain, 1957). Allan Schwartzman (ed.), *Parallel Views. Italian and Japanese Art from the 1950s, 60s, and 70s* (Dallas: Damiani and Warehouse, 2014).
14. In May 1959, Japanese artist Nobuya Abe visited Manzoni's studio in Milan and wrote an article about the experience for the Japanese magazine *The Geijutsu Shincho*: Nobuya Abe, 'Piero Manzoni', *The Geijutsu Shincho* 3 (1960), Tokyo, pp. 184–185. In the first issue of *Azimuth*, the Italian review of which Manzoni and Enrico Castellani were editors, Japanese art critic Yoshiaki Tono wrote an article entitled 'Spazio vuoto e spazio pieno' [Empty Space and Full Space], *Azimuth* 1 (September 1959). An essay by Manzoni, *Libera dimensione* (1960), was translated into Japanese and published by The *Geijutsu Shincho* 7 (1960). In the following year, 1961, Yusuke Nakahara wrote an essay about Yves Klein, Piero Manzoni, and the monochrome researchers in Europe, in which the author also quoted Manzoni's *Lines*: Yusuke Nakahara, 'Mukei tono kakutoka tachi' [Fighters against the shapeless], *Mizue* 679 (1961): pp. 51–53. See Namioka, 'Manzoni tra Italia e Giappone'. In Italy, a special link to Gutai was created by the fellowship between French art ctitic Michel Tapié and Luciano Pistoi, director of the art gallery Notizie, in Turin, between 1957 and 1960. See Bruno Corà, 'Gutai in Europe starting from Italy', in Marco Franciolli, Fuyumi Namioka and Bettina Della Casa (eds), *Gutai. Painting with time and space*, exhibition catalogue, Museo Cantonale d'Arte, Parco Civico, Lugano, 12 October 2010–20 February 2011 (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2010), pp. 175–187.
15. In 1954, the avant-garde group Gutai (translated as into English as 'embodiment' or 'concrete') was created by Jiro Yoshihara, along with others young fellow artists from Osaka and Kobe. The performances and installations by Gutai artists were provocative, like the Dadaists, but at their core they attempted to revive Japanese artistic and philosophical traditions in the light of American abstract expressionism and 'Informal' European art. See in particular Franciolli *et al., Gutai*. See also Ming Tiampo (ed.), *Under Each Other's Spell: Gutai and New York*, exhibition catalogue, Pollock-Krasner House and Study Center, East Hampton, New York, 30 July–17 October 2009, and Harold B. Lemmerman Gallery, New Jersey City University, Jersey City, New Jersey, 22 October–16 December 2009 (New York: Stony Brook Research Foundation, 2009); Joan Kee, 'Situating a Singular Kind of "Action": Early Gutai Painting, 1954–1957', *Oxford Art Journal* 26:2 (2003): pp. 123–140.

Françoise Bonnefoy, Sarah Clément and Isabelle Sauvage (eds), *Gutai*, exhibition catalogue, Galerie Nationale du Jeu de Paume, Paris, 4 May–27 June 1999 (Paris: Galerie Nationale du Jeu de Paume, 1999). Ming Tiampo and Alexandra Munroe (eds), *Gutai: Splendid Playground*, exhibition catalogue, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 15 February–8 May 2013 (New York: Guggenheim Museum, 2013). Doryun Chong et al. (eds), *From Postwar to Postmodern: Art in Japan 1945–1989: Moma Primary Documents* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2013).

16. For an interpretation of the social, economic and political impact on Italian postwar avant-garde art see Jaleh Mansoor, *Marshall Plan Modernism. Italian Postwar Abstraction and the Beginnings of Autonomia* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016). By the same author, though more related to Piero Manzoni's works, see also 'We Want to Organicize Disintegration', October 95 (2001): pp. 28–53.

17. Allan Kaprow recognised Gutai's actions as a precedent of his own happenings. The connection between the European and American Fluxus groups occurred through some of Cage's students in New York: Goerge Maciunas, the composer Dick Higgins, and the artists Al Hansen and George Brecht. See Osaki Shinikirō, 'Une strategié de l'action: Gutai, Pollock, Kaprow', in Bonnefoy et al., *Gutai*, p. 55.

18. From 10 July–7 August 1962, Manzoni took part in the collective show *Dynamo I*, at the Galerie Boukes in Wiesbaden, along with Pol Bury, Oskar Holweck, Yves Klein, Heinz Mack, Almir Mavignier, Herbert Oehm, Otto Piene, Dieter Rot, Jesús-Rafael Soto, Daniel Spoerri, and Jean Tinguely. See Marcone, *Manzoni. Scritti sull'arte*, p. 136.

19. For an overall survey on Situationist International see Ken Knabb (ed.), *Situationist International Anthology* (Berkeley: Bureau of Public Secrets, 2007). See also: Tom McDonough (ed.), *Guy Debord and the Situationist International: Texts and Documents* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002); Frances Stracey, 'Pinot-Gallizio's "Industrial Painting": Towards a Surplus of Life', *Oxford Art Journal* 28:3 (2005): pp. 393–405.

20. About the practices of *potlach* (a term that comes from the North American Indians), see the fundamental essay by Marcel Mauss, *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950), trans. W. D. Halls as *The Gift. The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London and New York: Routledge, 1990). *Potlach* was also the name of the bulletin of the Letterist International, the Paris based avant-garde movement that in 1952 resulted from a split within Letterism. *Potlach* was published twenty-seven times between 22 June 1954 and 5 November 1957.

21. In 1959, Gallizio's industrial roll-installations were to continue. Assisted by Guy Debord and fellow the Situationists, he mounted an exhibition on 13 May entitled *The Cavern of Antimatter* at Galerie René Drouin, Paris. He covered all the gallery walls and ceiling with 145 metres of industrial paintings and completed the installation with smells and sounds that were diffused throughout the rooms, while a model also wore pieces of the painted canvas. See: Maria Teresa Roberto, with Francesca Comisso and Giorgina Bertolino (eds), *Pinot Gallizio. Catalogo generale delle opere 1953–1964* (Milano: Mazzotta, 2001), p. 100; Nicolas Pezolet, 'The Cavern of Antimatter: Giuseppe "Pinot" Gallizio and the Technological Imaginary of the Early Situationist International', *Grey Room* 38 (2010): pp. 62–89.

22. Giuseppe Pinot Gallizio, 'Per un'arte unitaria applicabile', *Notizie-Arti Figurative* 9 (1959).

23. The review was written by Jean-Francois Chabrun for the magazine *L'Express*, 8 October 1959, quoted by Giuseppe Pinot Gallizio, 'Discorso sulla pittura industriale e su un'arte unitaria applicabile', *Internationale Situationniste* 3 (December 1959), reproduced in Andrea Chersi et al. (trans.), *Internazionale Situazionista 1958–1969* (Torino: Nautilus, 1994), p. 31.

24. The interest of Manzoni in Tinguely's work is testified by the fact that he wanted to organise a show of the Swiss artist at his gallery Azimut in Milan. Between June and July 1959, Manzoni visited Iris Clert's gallery in Paris, where he had the opportunity to see Tinguely's exhibition Méta-Matic. It was Iris Clert, from her gallery in Paris, who gave Manzoni a drawing made by Tinguely through *Méta-Matic* that was to be inserted into the first issue of the magazine *Azimuth* in September 1959. See Francesca Pola, Piero Manzoni e ZERO. Una regione creativa europea (Milano: Electa, 2014), pp. 30–31.

25. Pontus Hulten (ed.), *Tinguely. Una magia più forte della morte*, exhibition catalogue, Palazzo Grassi, Venice, 19 July–18 October 1987 (Milano: Bombiani, 1987), p. 66–67.

26. Piero Manzoni, 'Progetti immediati', in Marcone, Manzoni. *Scritti sull'arte*, pp. 46–47. As with many of Manzoni's ideas, this project has never yet been accomplished. See Flaminio Gualdoni, *Piero Manzoni. Vita d'artista* (Milano: Johan & Levi, 2013). See also the English edition: Flaminio Gualdoni, *Piero Manzoni. An Artist's Life* (New York: Gagosian and Rizzoli International Publications, 2019).

27. Luca Bochicchio, 'The Line Comes First: Sign and Myth in Piero Manzoni's Line', in Pasqualino di Marineo, *Manzoni. Lines*, pp. 16-29.

28. Germano Celant, *Piero Manzoni. Catalogo generale. Tomo secondo* (Milano: Skira 2004), pp. 475–476; Marcone, 'Piero Manzoni. Achromes'. See also Fabio Vander, Essere zero. Ontologia di Piero Manzoni (Milano: Mimesis, 2019).

29. Piero Manzoni, 'Free Dimension', *Azimuth* 2 (1960), reproduced in Barbero, *Azimut/h. Continuità e nuovo*, pp. 104–106.

‘Literally One Damned Thing After Another With No Salvation Or Cease’. Jack Kerouac’s On The Road as Textual Performance

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Fig. 12.1
Jack Kerouac, original typewritten scroll of *On The Road* (1957). Ink, paper, tape. Photo: reproduced with kind permission of the owner

In an era more typically given to the tarring and feathering of its authors, Thomas Parkinson wrote admiringly of the Beat Generation in 1961, couching such work in experimental terms as 'active revery'. This was an incisive reception by an established academic whose critical acuity and outspoken political commitment prevailed, in spite of an attempt on his life the same year by an unhinged ex-student who accused him of communist sympathies (his teaching assistant was tragically killed in the attack). 'Into this revery come past and present', noted Parkinson:

> but the revery is chiefly preoccupied with keeping up with the process unfolding outside and inside the narrator. Hence the long sentences, endlessly attempting to include the endless, the carelessness—even negligence—with the ordinary rules of grammatical function, so that noun, adjective, and verb interchange roles; after all, if the process is endlessly unpredictable and unfixed, grammatical categories are not relevant. It is a syntax of aimlessly continuing pleasure in which all elements are 'like'. Release, liberation from fixed categories, hilarity – it is an ongoing prose that cannot be concerned with its origins. There are no origins and no end, and the solid page of type without discriminations is the image of life solidly continuous without discriminations in value, and yet incomplete because it is literally one damned thing after another with no salvation or cease. Even a poetic catalogue, which is by definition one thing after another, moves in blocks which have weight, and even if each unit weighs the same, the total weight increases with each succeeding integer. Not so in prose, the only limits coming from the size of the page. The ideal book by a writer of beat prose would be written on a single string of paper, printed on a roll, and moving endlessly from right to left, like a typewriter ribbon.[1]

Parkinson, perhaps unwittingly, conjures the unique material culture of the unrevised typewritten scroll of Jack Kerouac's seminal novel, *On The Road* (1957), conferring not only a thematic function but a performative teleology upon the manuscript (fig. 12.1). For this is an enactment rather than representation comprised of an improvised transmission of form, consciousness and exterior world all at once. The 120ft scroll as such stands both as relic and method for registering Kerouac's swirling meditation on memory and the re-circulation of events, gathered through his career in a weave of poetry and prose. As will be discussed, the material nature of this literary object goes some way to mitigate the avowed emphasis on oral recovery that marks the Beat text, asserting instead the visual culture of inscription to critical considerations of its writing.

The Beat Generation had coalesced in New York in the late-1940s as an informal group of young writers dedicated to reinventing the techniques of composition via the recording of extreme body-mind states across the widest range of human experience, including the marginal and taboo. The staging of the 'Six Poets at the Six Gallery' reading in San Francisco in October 1955, brought together East and West Coast Beats to confirm durable transitions in American civilisation, resisting efforts by a consistently hostile mainstream media to emasculate its radicalism into fashionable exotica.

Under Kerouac's hand the term 'Beat' projects an alternative America during the domestic and international eruptions of the Cold War years, part of an ongoing inquiry into the construction of nationhood and a counter to the philistinism and paranoia initiated by McCarthyism. Kerouac forges an empirical American history from the Depression 1930s through a sequence of global military interventions, leading to the surfacing of international youth protest movements and their assimilation into mass culture. Driven by the ecstatic model of Bebop, his writing celebrates the principles of perpetual renewal upon which the Constitution was built, resisting that 'One-Dimensional' America described by Herbert Marcuse, a nation wasteful of resources and possibilities, and a bastion of counterrevolution far beyond its own hemisphere.

The search for conviviality spurs Kerouac's immersion in a range of extreme experiences and the necessary shattering of fixed concepts of personality. The rhetoric of the ensuing narratives is vigorously performative: an act of making that arguably pre-empts the loosening of codes and relations between classes, races, and genders that marked 1960s America. A rewrite of the first version of 1948, *On The Road* belongs to Kerouac's early to mid-period and emerges from a prolonged single performance, bearing out Parkinson's conjecture that Beat authors are 'perfectly happy to place themselves in a tradition of experimental writing', and are 'alert to the existence of writers they can claim as ancestors'.[2] The book thus consolidates the twentieth century's line of speculative fiction, moving into alignment with Molly Bloom's soliloquy at the close of James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1922) and the associational dream logic of *Finnegans Wake* (1939), in defiance of standard conventions. The upshot of this is a new phenomenology, as Kerouac's fellow poet, Allen Ginsberg, explains:

> *On the Road* was written around 1950, in the space of a few weeks, mostly on benny, an extraordinary project, a flash of inspiration on a new approach to prose, an attempt to tell completely, all at once, everything on his mind in relation to the hero Dean Moriarty, spill it all out at once and follow the convolutions of the active mind for direction as to the 'structure of the confession'. And discover the rhythm of the mind at work at high speed in prose. The result was a magnificent single paragraph several blocks long, rolling, like the Road itself, the length of an entire onionskin teletype roll.[3]

The forging of a literary model that 'enacts in its own realm forces (whether psychological

or physiological) that structure the natural world', and 'engages the reader as a collective whole or tribe'[4] by foregrounding oral and muscular stimuli, stands as a vital aesthetic and political intervention in the face of the reactionary push of New Criticism, the mid-century academic orthodoxy that regarded the text as asocial and hermetic.

Kerouac's decision to forsake the expository form used for his first published novel, *The Town and the City* (1950), in itself an attempt to emulate the naturalist style of Thomas Wolfe, is inextricably linked to the letters exchanged with his mentor, Neal Cassady: 'all first person, fast, mad, confessional, completely serious, all detailed'.[5] The switch of medium and mentor from the 'rolling style' of author (Wolfe) to the speed of action-talker (Cassady), and from print to orality, is crucial to the manuscript culture of *On the Road*. Cassady's oral blasts complement his headlong rush across the continent and fascination with the epic insurgence of wild transit. As such he forms a prototype for Kerouac's translation of the mobility of the car driver and Bebop musician into literary style. The terms 'move' and 'mad to live' intersect throughout the narrative as key refrains, actively probing Freud's conservative relegation of free motion into 'repetition compulsion' in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle*,[6] and generating the necessary intensity for the discovery of 'IT', 'the root, the soul'[7] of the book's occult enquiry.

Under the name of Dean Moriarty in the published version, Cassady's raw intellect stands as the narrator's gateway to innumerable rebirths, a shamanic agency of the masculine revealed in 'a kind of holy lightning … flashing from his excitement and his vision'. He is canonised accordingly as the 'Holy GOOF', 'the Saint of the lot' with an 'enormous series of sins', his 'bony mad face covered with sweat and throbbing veins, saying "Yes, yes, yes"', as though 'tremendous revelations were pouring into him all the time now'.[8] Embodying the counter forces of metamorphosis, Cassady is positioned as a true Dionysian, a virtuoso of revolt against imperial America, itself a reversed Dionysus with control manias assimilating exhilaration for its own purposes. Kerouac's motive, more fully realised in the posthumously published metafiction of *Visions of Cody* (1973), is not to contain Cassady, but to understand and register his energies inside a manuscript field that flexes to accommodate his productions of lawlessness, art, and unrestricted sex—which frequently ebbs into grotesque misogyny— and disrupt the Market State's limitation of the human as a product of power. As Ginsberg notes, Kerouac's feral prose is tested in a 'long confessional' epistolary address to his hero and comprises:

> every detail … every tiny eyeball flick of orange neon flashed past in Chicago by the bus station; all the back of the brain imagery. This required sentences that did not necessarily follow exact classic-type syntactical order, but which allowed for interruption with dashes, allowed for the sentences to break in half, take another direction (with parentheses that might go on for paragraphs). It allowed for individual sentences that might not come to their period except after several pages of self-reminiscence, of interruption and the piling on of detail, so that what you arrived at was a sort of stream of consciousness visioned around a specific subject (the tale of the road).[9]

Although patterned around a quest narrative, the genre's basis in Christian authority and its traditional associations of accruing territory or crossing the threshold to manhood are incidental to the book's primary enquiry, which is concerned with the regenerative techniques of euphoria. Throughout the text the word 'IT' signals a flash of ecstasy, a point of discharge at which 'meaning-excitement' finds its pure incarnation through jazz, mobility, male fraternity, or sexual union in a provisional, and typically American, release from history. 'For just a moment', reports the narrator, 'I had reached the point of ecstasy that I always wanted to reach, which was the complete step across chronological time into timeless shadows'.[10] Found at the juncture of erotic excitement and religious fervour embedded in the flux of perception, 'IT' evokes a Romantic gnosis—'"Excess

is the pathway to wisdom" is Goethe's here-applicable axiom'[11]—and is capitalised accordingly, reiterating D. H. Lawrence's application of the term to the retrieval of 'the aboriginal life of the continent' in 'masterless … living, organic, *believing* community'. 'The true liberty will only begin when Americans discover IT, and proceed to fulfil IT', proclaimed Lawrence in his review of William Carlos Williams' *In the American Grain* (1925), 'IT being the deepest *whole* self of man, the self in its wholeness, not idealistic halfness'.[12]

This non-tangible presence signals the arrival of Dionysian energy throughout *On The Road*, a resonance bolstered by allusions to 'Reichianalyzed ecstasy'[13] and the 'vibratory atmospheric atoms of life principle' of Old Bull Lee's orgone accumulator.[14] Writing at the time of Bebop's ascendancy, Kerouac renders 'IT' analogous to a soloist's technique as a means of configuring the relations between language, perception and memory. The altoman in *On The Road*:

> starts the first chorus, then lines up his ideas … All of a sudden somewhere in the middle of the chorus he *gets it* … Time stops. He's filling empty space with the substance of our lives, confessions of his bellybottom strain, remembrance of ideas, rehashes of old blowing. He has to blow across bridges and come back to do it with such infinite feeling soul-exploratory for the tune of the moment that everybody knows it's not the tune that counts but IT.[15]

Having 'set out in 1947' to forge 'a huge study of the face of America itself', Kerouac swiftly determines that the Dionysian 'ruling thought in the American temperament'[16] cannot be transmitted via the conventional apparatus of the bound novel. His prose does not turn on 'epiphany', that single revelation within the ordinary clutter of circumstance that gels a narrative, and the plot mechanics, which Kerouac initially intended to turn within a 'classical picaresque ring',[17] are perforce subverted. The four circular journeys from New York that underscore the book become progressively less detailed in their revelation of mythic purpose. The chain of episodic adventures are not morally incremental, as Kerouac withholds the necessary signs for revelation of final meaning and, unlike the traditional questing hero, neither the narrator, Sal Paradise, nor his mentor accumulate terminal identities by the conclusion. That strangers drift in and out of the text like the inconsequential shadows populating *Le Mort d'Arthur*, regardless of Sal and Dean's desperate attempts to 'read' them semiotically and hail their magical significance, only adds to this.

The traditional mode of story-telling thus gives way. Content and form fuse as structural device. Kerouac's 'horizontal study of travels on the road'[18] is materialised within the unravelling form of the continuous page, which works free from a logic of imitation to yield a model of narrative organisation unavailable in the Western literary past. The unpunctuated experience of accretion sustains Cassady's energies in a series of non-finite, digressive plateaux. The result is a fast current, a field of action that releases not certainties, but a 'permanent ETC', to call on Alfred Korzybski's abbreviation for the inexhaustible character of non-Aristotelian forms.[19] The manuscript outstrips private chronicle to become an invitation to mobility and risk: an exploration of poetic form as vessel for wildness and a visual design emerging from linguistic materials in transformation. Echoing the existential quality of the calligraphic skeins of paint marking the abstract expressionist canvas, Kerouac's writing is immersed in a continuous 'becoming' where, to quote Deleuze and Guattari, the 'vocation of the sign is to produce desire, engineering it in every direction'.[20]

The scroll, however, also plays out the book's theme on another level, as the host of a narrative that is mythically constrained by an American frontier ideology of endless expansion, acceleration and growth: a promise embodied by the westward road, where the American male can self-actualise by sloughing off the baggage of inherited European identity, and a framework for the self-fashioning pioneer masculinity of Jackson Pollock and his fellow Cedar Tavern brawlers. This is, of course, entropic and fallacious. 'IT' might cast the linearity of Dean and Sal's continental

charge into tension with the exceptionalist belief in manifest destiny, namely that 'everything was about to arrive – the moment when you know all and everything is decided forever';[21] but in mass America, the Sublime cannot be realised geographically through the solitary traversal of vast, savage space by speed. The desire for 'ecstasy of mind all the time' cannot ward off the fatalism of the book's generic coding and its location in Cold War ennui. For Dean and Sal the circuits of 'IT' never extend beyond a flash, plummeting almost instantly into the choral refrain, 'everything was collapsing', as if to convey the corrective limitations of extreme psychological states.

These contesting pressures mark the text throughout, the temporal and conceptual boundaries of the nation being an entropic dustbin of outworn conformities that continually reassert themselves and refuse to perish. Living within a conditioned narrative, Sal and Dean perform the frontier's redundancy via an unsuspecting complicity in its commissioning by the Market State within the domestic sphere. As the scroll unravels, so too does its constituent American myth.

* * *

In a 1952 letter, Kerouac asserts that he has begun to:

> discover now … something beyond the novel and beyond the arbitrary confines of the story … revelated prose … *wild form*, man, *wild form*. Wild form's the only form holds what I have to say—my mind is exploding to say something about every image and every memory in—I have now an irrational lust to set down everything I know.[22]

Acutely sensitive to the psycho-physiological process, Kerouac finds in the continuous page a way of dramatising the mind in its incessant self-conceptions. Actions are arranged into a manuscript graph of consciousness, which reflects Kerouac's scholarly interest in suppressed esoteric forms such as Daosim, Tantrism and Mahayana Buddhism, and associated textual traditions such as the Chinese scrolls that pre-date the production of the codex book. As Kerouac later asserts: 'My greatest contribution to modern writing is the idea of spontaneous notation of the mind actual while writing'.[23]

His ensuing text could equally be considered a spatial imaginary of memory—the stated concern of his oeuvre, which he named The Duluoz Legend—via a narrative that maintains the imminence of its own initiation. The agency of the reflexive 'I' is written dynamically into being as the cumulative focus of understanding, a non-teleological set of effects or eternal middle, with propositions begun without knowledge of an ending. 'The mind-system *cannot* stop', Kerouac announces to Ginsberg in 1955, 'the Lankavatara admits it, the habit, the seed-energy of mind cannot end'.[24] The crux of what he calls 'Spontaneous Prose' is the collapsing together of observation, interpretation and the act of recording via the technology of the typewriter. All three intersect in the scroll as a kinetic inscription of writing, a dismantling of automatic orders that schematise perception into habits of elucidation after the event.

With its visible stress on temporal juxtaposition, the material form of the prolonged single paragraph both disrupts and reinforces the novel's legislation of casual sequence. Kerouac's twenty-day composition could, in itself, be regarded as a context-dependent performance marked by temporary and temporal constraints, with the scroll assigned the status of primary made thing *and* secondary document of that performance. The consequence is an uncertain architecture that maps a different order of production and reproduction, with its reading a further re-performance. The latter emulates a mode of dioramic engagement—from the Greek *di* or *dia*, 'through', and *orama*, 'that which is seen, a sight'—which ascribes to an invisible observer the illusion of movement through a single focus transported across a linear sequence of pictures.

The three typed-rolls taped together can be similarly aligned with postwar experiments in the material print culture of the poem associated with Dieter Roth, Bob Cobbing and Fluxus, as well as the American tradition of the broadside, extending back to John Dunlap of Philadelphia's publication of the American Declaration of Independence on 4th July 1776, and forward to poster-poems published by City Lights in San Francisco through the 1960s that actively critiqued US imperial ambitions, and text-image collaborations between Michael McClure and Wallace Berman in the service of the former's 'mammalian poetics'.[25] Having been purchased by Jim Irsay, the owner of the Indianapolis Colts, at auction for $2.43 million in 2001—as a successful footballer in his youth, Kerouac might have approved—*On The Road*'s manuscript now tours the world. A sixty-foot section is habitually unrolled for exhibition in a custom-made glass case as an art object in its own right, surrounded by interpretative display boards that locate its active agency within the Beat mythology. Its corporeality and colossal expanse lie in tension with its aura of frailty and ephemerality. It threatens disintegration under one's gaze.

The representation of the scroll thus assumes a further performative connotation, simultaneously fetishised as a unique commodity valued for its scarcity *and* non-possessable as a cultural transmission. While it was eventually edited and published in standard book form as *On The Road: The Original Scroll* by Viking in 2008, the experience of its reading produces a cognitive dissonance concerning the authority of origins. Interpretation is pitched within an oscillating awareness of the mass-produced cultural object in the hand and the knowledge of its originating circumstance as an entirely different spatial composition that cannot be handled. The discordance is further exacerbated by its inevitable scrutiny against the trace memory of the bowdlerised and regularised 1957 version of the text, which is paradoxically regarded as the original in the minds of its millions of readers. As such the *sui generis* physical culture of the scroll problematises its reproduction via the available technologies of the bound book and its readerly performance through interaction with the bound pages.

The encounter with the scroll uniquely dramatises the transaction between the visual and oral cultures of text, a pressure that Johanna Drucker argues is manifested 'in the phenomenal presence of the *imago*', which at once 'performs the signifying operations of the *logos*'.[26] To Beat writers, jazz had signalled a vital change in the formal use of language, a new dedication of the word to an American voice. Accordingly, Kerouac emphasises orality: a recovery of bodily acoustics in literary production, spurred in part by Cassady's 'irruption of speech, a reinstating of pleasure within reality, and a whole new mechanism of power', to cite Michel Foucault.[27]

As witness to the instantaneous realisation of form on the bandstand, Kerouac reports in a 1951 letter to Cassady that he has begun to 're-write' *On the Road* in 'my-finally-at-last-found style and hope', one that allows him to 'come up with even greater complicated sentences & VISIONS'. The spoken emphasis of his new poetics is attributed to a Bop innovator ('So from now on just call me Lee Konitz') and reinforced via his recommendation that the enclosed 'three now-typed up-revised pages' of the book be read 'on your tape, slowly', adding that he had 'already made a tape of jazz writing at [Jerry] Newman's back room'.[28] As Kerouac tells Alfred Kazin three years later, these embodied written improvisations preclude any need for correction:

> I've invented a new prose, Modern Prose, jazzlike, breathlessly swift spontaneous and unrevised floods … it comes out wild, at least it comes out pure, it comes out and reads like butter.[29]

The pressure on Bop improvisers to turn it on at call, while defeating imitation and repetition, is also echoed within Kerouac's proposals: 'as for my regular English verse, I knocked it off fast like the prose', he indicates to Ted Berrigan, 'just as a … jazz musician has to get out … his statement within a certain number of bars, within one chorus, which spills over into the next, but he has to stop where the chorus page *stops*'.[30] Where *On The Road* is concerned, discursive sense is

disrupted by the given strictures of the type-roll itself, which shapes the ongoing statement. Bop structures translate into 'blowing phrases', the length of breath comprising a measure to link with Charles Olson's stress on 'the HEAD, by way of the EAR, to the SYLLABLE / the HEART, by way of the BREATH, to the LINE' as energy in language.[31] Kerouac is asked about this in the same interview:

> Yes, jazz and bop, in the sense of say, a tenor man drawing
> a breath and blowing a phrase on his saxophone, till he runs out
> of breath, and when he does, his sentence, his statement's been
> made … that's how I therefore separate my sentences, as breath
> separations of the mind … I formulated the theory of breath as
> measure, in prose and verse, never mind what Olson, Charles Olson
> says, I formulated that theory in 1953 at the request of Burroughs
> and Ginsberg. Then there's the raciness and freedom and humor of
> jazz instead of all that dreary analysis.[32]

Lifted from the realm of silent interpretation, the traditional bias of the Western academy, the *mise-en-page* scores the work for both bardic delivery and private reading, renewing previous modernist drives—Mallarmé, Dada, Futurism—and answering Olson's call for liberation from 'the verse that print bred'.[33] The speech-text is piloted as a cell of energy. Sonic and visual components fuse through controls of measure, stressing musicality as much as visual architecture. The use of dashes and recurring syllables assist both the eye and inner ear to accrue images at pace without loss of detail. Whole turbulent paragraphs written in one breath (Kerouac's 'scatological buildup') accelerate the process of deciphering phonetic symbols into sound and breath gestalts in the reader. The recording of Dean's velocity in the opening section of *On The Road* is exemplary:

> The most fantastic parking-lot attendant in the world, he can
> back a car forty miles an hour into a tight squeeze and stop at
> the wall, jump out, race among fenders, leap into another car,
> circle it fifty miles an hour in a narrow space, back swiftly into
> a tight spot, *hump*, snap the car with the emergency so you see
> it bounce as he flies out; then clear to the ticket shack, sprinting
> like a track star, hand a ticket, leap into a newly arrived car before
> the owner's half out, leap literally under him as he steps out, start
> the car with the door flapping, and roar off to the next available spot,
> arc, pop in, brake, out, run; working like that without pause eight hours
> a night, evening rush hours and after-theater rush hours, in greasy wino
> pants with a frayed fur-lined jacket and beat shoes that flap.[34]

The passage draws its impact from the onomatopoeic use of staccato triggers ('back', 'leap', 'stop'), repeated to convey Dean's erratic changes of direction. The pulse of the prose then drives a rapid succession of image-statements as they shoot, collide and amass vertically in the mind. An American diction emerges that is receptive to the flow of indomitable involuntary thoughts, flush with the actual movement of things awaiting release: a performative act of attention to the dynamic 'self-existence' of events without impediment of hierarchy, classification, or comparison.

Such a mode of apprehension is thematically reproduced on a material level by the continuous page of the manuscript, an elastic framework that pursues no realisation of final scheme. Building from what preceded without need for procedural links or superstructure, the text corresponds with the serial movie sequence of pre-war Saturday-afternoon picture shows that fascinated Kerouac as a child and spurred him to act out their 'long serial sagas [to be] "continued next week"'.[35] Such a

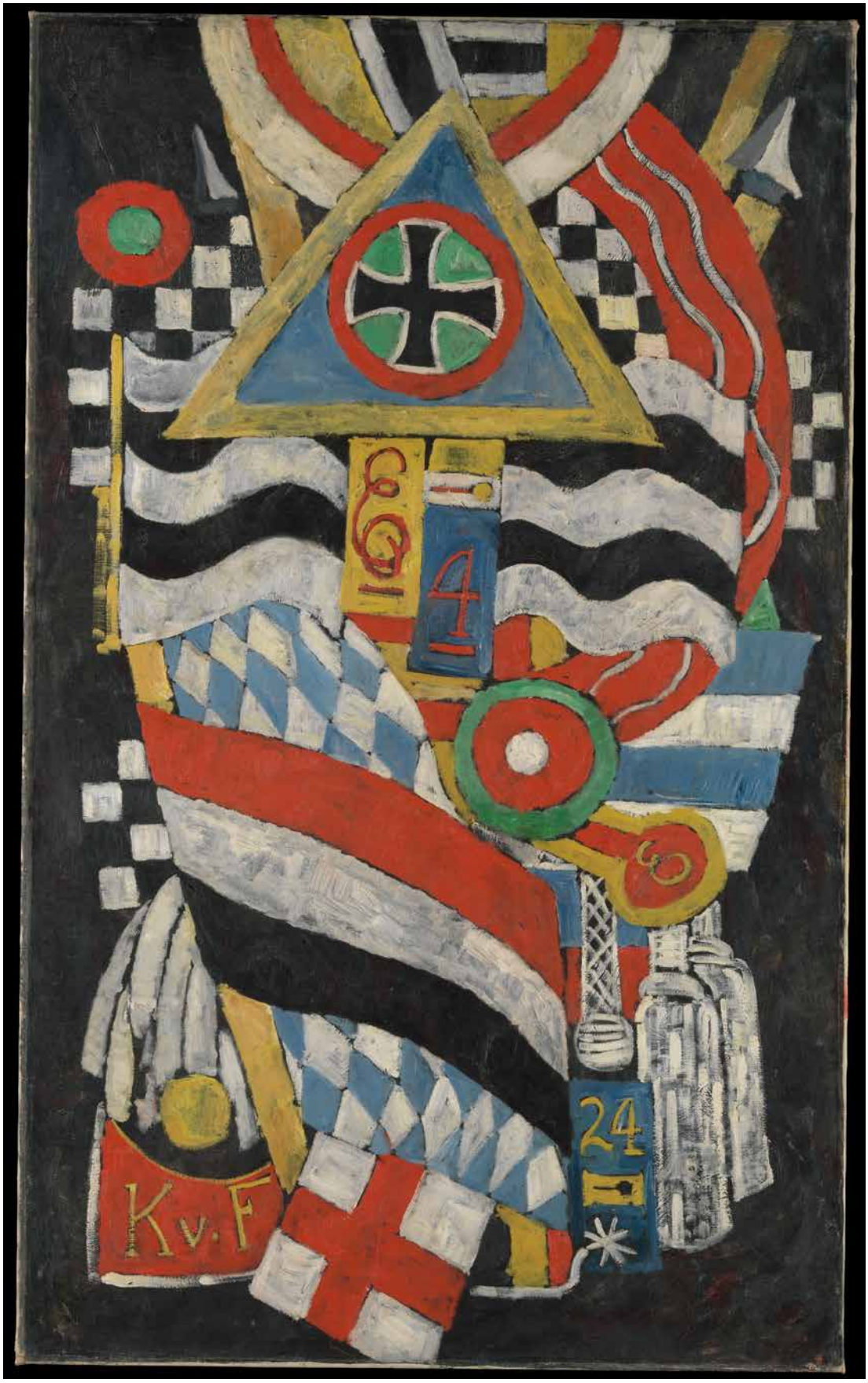

Fig. 12.2
Marsden Hartley, *Portrait of a German Officer* (1914). Oil on canvas, 173.4 x 105.1 cm. Alfred Stieglitz Collection, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1949, 49.70.42. Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

model is reflected in the superstructure of The Duluoz Legend and can, in turn, be located within a multidisciplinary American tradition of the sequence that stems from Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855 onwards), one vitally opposed to the quick instigation and discharge of the later pop paradigm.

This principle enters the US fine arts with Marsden Hartley's four canvases, *Portrait of a German Officer* (1914) (fig. 12.2), and extends via Stuart Davis' *Eight Meter* (1927) into Mark Rothko's environmental groups, Adolph Gottlieb's tiers of discrete symbols, and Louise Nevelson's vertically piled boxes of cast-off objects swathed in monochrome, all of which emerge in the 1950s. These are joined by Jackson Pollock's numbered 'drip' series (1946 onwards), Robert Motherwell's *Elegies to the Spanish Republic* (1948–67), Jasper Johns' numbers, targets, and flags (1954 onwards), Robert Rauschenberg's mixed-media *1/4 or 2-Furlong Piece* (1981–98), and Willem de Kooning's *Women* (1950 onwards). Textually this overlaps with Ezra Pound's *Cantos* (1922–62), John Dos Passos' *USA* triptych (1930–36), William Carlos Williams' *Paterson* (1946–58), Jack Spicer's *Heads of the Town Up to the Aether* (1962), Allen Ginsberg's *Fall of America: Poems of These States, 1965–1971* (1973), and Robert Duncan's *Passages and The Structure of Rime* (c.1960–88); while in jazz it echoes the non-sonata forms of Duke Ellington and Billy Strayhorn's suites (1943–72) and extended performances by ensembles led by Ornette Coleman and John Coltrane through the 1960s. In each instance a definitive version of experience is refused through an inexhaustible reworking of expressive possibility over a given motif, pattern or sign, as attention shifts from finished artefact to inventive activity.

After the Bebop experiments of the 1940s, complementary principles of imprecision, inconclusiveness and multiplicity flourish across the US avant-garde. Crediting Jackson Pollock for having 'broke[n] the ice', Willem de Kooning identified the historical importance of his first 'all-over' webs of poured paint (*Cathedral*, *Full Fathom Five*, and *Lucifer*) from Winter 1946: a celebration of art as performance beyond genre. As the critic, Harold Rosenberg, explained:

> At a certain moment the canvas began to appear to one American painter after another as an arena in which to act – rather than as a space in which to reproduce, re-design, analyze, or 'express' an object, actual or imagined. What was to go on the canvas was not a picture but an event. The painter no longer approached his easel with an image in his mind; he went up to it with material in his hand to do something to that other piece of material in front of him. The image would be the result of this encounter.[36]

The manuscript of *On The Road* follows the transformation of the canvas from a site where information is re-presented to a dramatisation of the mind through which the artist travels via surface alterations. Kerouac no longer chases down the mimetic subject, but seeks to make of writing an action itself that surges existentially forward by accumulated decisions, the knowledge of form and its meaning being contingent upon its appearance. As such the scroll vigorously courts surplus, a further charge within the nation's poetics that stretches back to the collision of discourses and registers producing the textual spaces of Herman Melville's *Moby Dick* (1850). Kerouac's manuscript over-reaches the novel's given spatial parameters as both enactment and metaphor of pleasure in proliferation. The Dionysian overflowing of boundary recalls Pollock's decisional cutting of the canvas after the choreographic record of his encounter with paint. Kerouac's narrative of 'remembrance … written on the run', likewise overtakes any fulfillment of *a priori* intention enforcing completion, suggesting a model of literature that is a process, not a goal; a production, not an illustration; and a study of how memory gathers perceptions of the world.

Pollock's biomorphic vision of the relationship between the painter and the all-over topography of the canvas—'When I am in my painting, I'm not aware of what I'm doing … the painting has a

Fig. 12.3
Closed sleeve of Ornette Coleman's *Free Jazz* (1960), reproducing Jackson Pollock's White Light (1954). Photo: © Jack Hartnell.

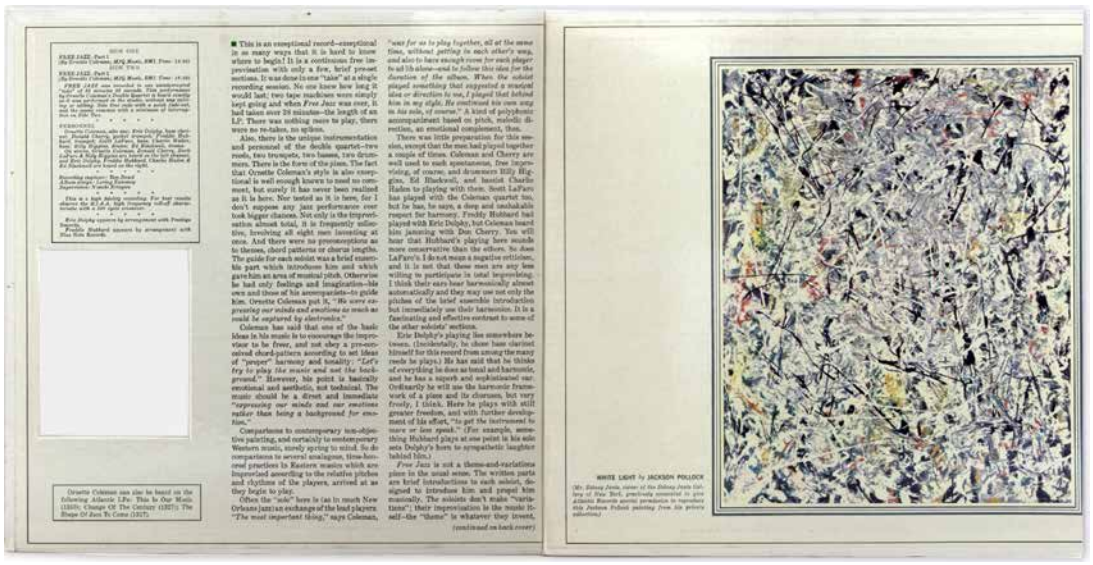

Fig. 12.4
Open sleeve of Ornette Coleman's *Free Jazz* (1960), reproducing Jackson Pollock's White Light (1954). Photo: © Jack Hartnell.

life of its own. I try to let it come through'[37]— is similarly concomitant. The writer now becomes the act of writing, which instantly comprises the page. Ideas and shapes emerge through an act of profusion, discharged at breakneck speed inside the boundless geography of a material field. The changing stages of mental activity must be discovered and inscribed as a single action, unfettered by the taxonomies of what Kerouac calls 'discriminate thinking'. To begin constantly anew is thus to search for an axiom that applies just once: a concretisation of de Crèvecœur's national conceit ('the American is a new man who acts on new principles: he must therefore entertain new ideas and form new opinions').[38] Such a motive was avidly embraced across the San Francisco and Black Mountain scenes. While Lawrence Ferlinghetti spoke of 'a continuous line from the beginning of the poem to the end, like a Pollock painting … what I call "open form" composition, whereas Robert Duncan uses the term "Open Field"',[39] Michael McClure identified a 'gestalt across the arts'[40] that need not extend to homologous substitution or synchronised programme. Applying equally to the orientation of Ornette Coleman's *Free Jazz* (1960), which reproduced Pollock's *White Light* (1954) on its sleeve (figs 12.3—12.4), the structure of such work is, according to Robert Creeley, 'possessed of its own organisation, which in turn derives from the circumstances of its making'.[41]

Echoing, too, Pollock's discovery of new techniques—the sculptor, Harry Jackson, relates 'that he started dripping paint because he became so excited while painting the mural for Peggy Guggenheim, that he lost hope of keeping up with his excitement using a brush'[42]—the outpouring vitality of Kerouac's writing yields its own formal decorum or shaping principle from within. In a 1949 letter to Ed White, Kerouac suggests that 'the truth' exists not in formula, but in the transition 'from moment to moment incomprehensible, ungraspable, but terribly clear': the Latin root of the verb for 'moment' (*moveo*) conveying that swirl of movement within a *satori* of consciousness, shot through with the biographic occasion. Its rush across the brain forces the writer-hustler 'to catch the fresh dream, the fresh thought', in a 'dance on the edges of relative knowledge', for the filter of 'any formula would give a picture of false clearness, like glass reflecting a reflection only', as opposed to 'the fire itself'.[43]

This metafictively feeds into *On The Road*: 'Man, wow, there's so many things to do, so many things to write!' yells the narrator. 'How to *begin* to get it all down and without modified restraints and all hung-up on like literary inhibitions and grammatical fears'.[44] The scroll is crucial to this act of morphology. Kerouac's desire to translate experience into poetic syntax without loss of intensity hurls each given scenario into an inspired improvisation, the catalyst for discovery of reflexive relationships between experience, perception, and writing through which subjectivity is mobilised. With given coordinates of representation rejected, the subsequent appearance of the writing is necessarily unfinished or even ragged with inconsistencies. The ongoing process of construction remains omnipresent with a cross-referencing thematic to the novel, a declaration of the presence and jurisdiction of the creator in the fable. While charging through the mid-West, the manuscript of *On The Road* is evoked from within the text by the roar of the wind, which, in a gesture redolent of the magisterial *One Thousand and One Nights*, 'made the plains unfold like a roll of paper'.[45]

The scroll thus charts a set of aesthetic and cultural practices that inform an entire performance purview: a record of habitation manifested as relic, which hosts the marks of human presence inscribed upon the territory of land, body, and textual surface, alike. Henri Corbin's definition of the Sufi term, *phainomenon*, resonates at this point, as entry into the shifting, folding architecture of the imagination, where the imposition of allegorical schemata on perception, or limit on the poetic text, serves only to mutilate. Far from being merely incidental, the unique material culture of the manuscript stands as a heretical gesture that illuminates the ontology of *On The Road* and intensifies its visionary quality: a constellation, albeit temporary, of the creative imagination in its irresistible emergence.

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