October 14, 2009

Dear Participants in the TEMS lab on "Albrecht Durer's Melancholy Mathematics,"

What I will present is extremely new and as yet un-ripened work centered on interpreting the mathematical imagery in Albrecht Durer's famous engraving *Melencolia I* (1514). I have included an image of the engraving here for you to look at.

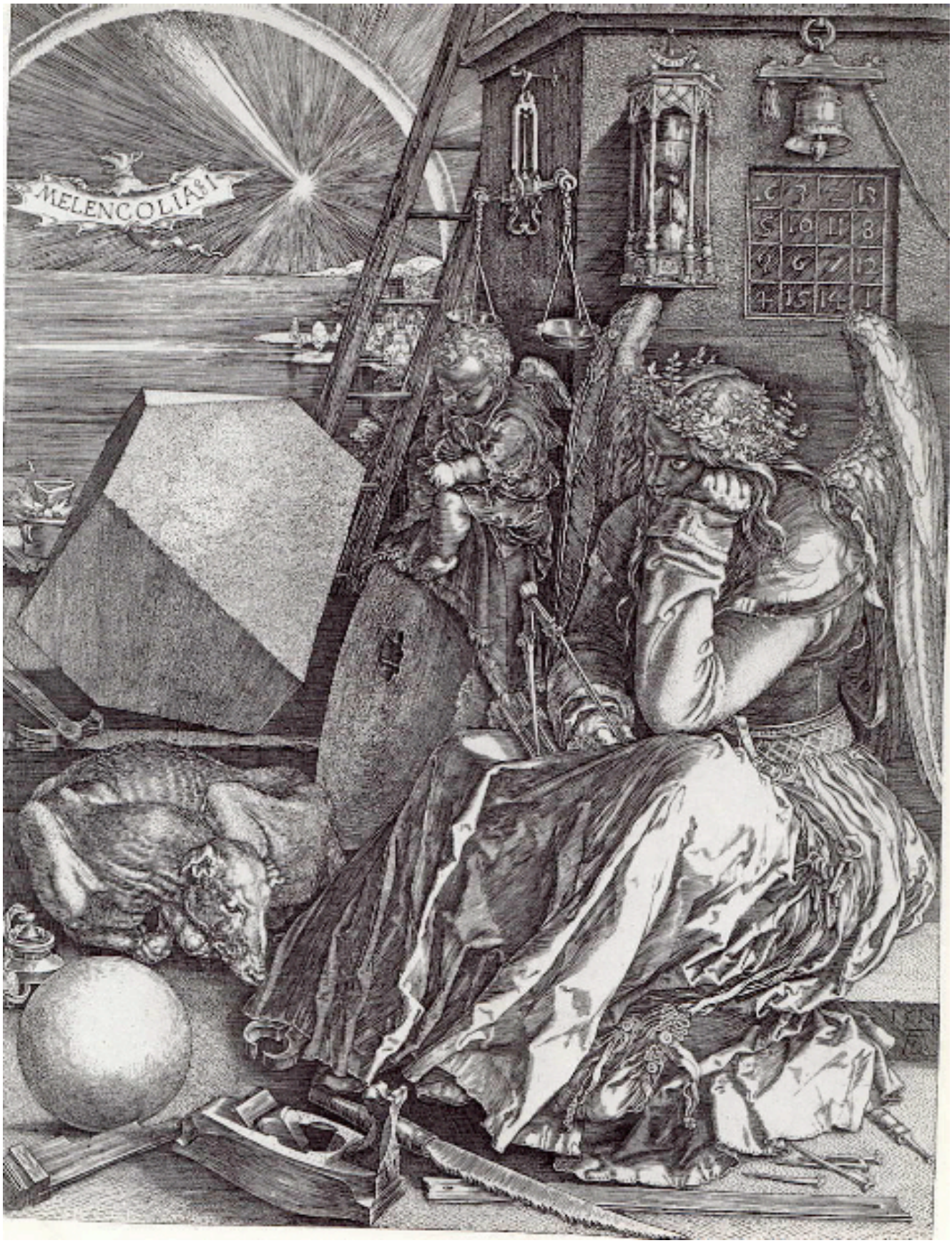
As many of you know, this engraving is one of the most famous in the history of Western art, and as a result scholarship on it is voluminous. Yet the engraving has also been given a powerful interpretation, one that remains canonical even if it is about to reach its ninetieth birthday. The interpretation, associated most famously with the name of Erwin Panofsky but actually the result of a collaboration between Panofsky and Raymond Klibansky and Fritz Saxl, is also a pioneering example of the "iconological" approach to art historical analysis that Panofsky in particular made famous. This method too has become canonical within the discipline of art history, and it makes this particular interpretation of *Melencolia I* all the more important in the history of art.

My work engages with both the precise interpretation of *Melencolia I* given by Panofsky et. al. and the founding iconological method that their reading of this image both illustrated and made authoritative. To understand what I have to say, it will therefore be helpful, I think, if you have an understanding of what Panofsky did with this image and how his interpretation is developed. Accordingly I have included here a photocopy of the relevant sections from the Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl book, *Dürer's Melencolia I. Eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung,* originally published in 1923 as part of the *Studien der Bibliothek Warburg* series, and then expanded and translated into English as *Saturn and Melancholy. Studies in the history of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (New York: Basic Books, 1964).

In an ideal world, you would all read all of these pages before the lab session, but since I know the realities of the world we actually live in, I would love it if those with less time could at least read the second chapter, called "The New Meaning of Melencolia I," pp. 317-73. Those with even less time could still be very helpful in reading only pp. 310-33. If you cannot read at all, please come anyway as I will try to summarize my thoughts in ways that do not assume any prior reading.

Thanks in advance for your help with this and I look forward to our discussion on 10/22. All best,

J.B.


MELENCOLIA I

Manufactured in Great Britain
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 64-15193

Saturn and Melancholy

Studies in the
History of Natural Philosophy,
Religion, and Art

by

Raymond Klibansky,
Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl

Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, New York

Preface

From the remote times when events in the world of man were first held to be linked with the stars, Saturn was thought to retard any undertaking connected with him. No doubt the ancients would have found ample evidence of his sluggish influence in the fate of this book.

In 1923, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl published *Dürers 'Melencolia. I'. Eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig). When this study was out of print, it was decided to prepare a new, revised and enlarged edition in which the development of the doctrine of the temperaments would be described in detail and the history of "Saturn, Lord of Melancholy" traced to the threshold of modern times. In due course, the broadened scope of the work made it necessary to abandon the framework of the monograph on Dürer's engraving. The plan of a new book on Saturn and Melancholy emerged, to be undertaken by the three authors whose names now appear on the title-page.

At every stage, the preparation of the book was beset by delay and adversity. After a lengthy interruption due to the political upheaval in Germany during the 'Thirties and to the authors' emigration from that country, work was resumed in Britain. In the summer of 1939, the final proofs were returned to the printers in Glückstadt near Hamburg; shortly after the Armistice, in 1945, it was learned that the standing type had been destroyed during the war. To resurrect the now defunct German book seemed out of the question. Instead, the authors agreed to publish an English translation, to be made from a surviving copy of the German proofs. Owing to the untimely death of Fritz Saxl in March 1948, the execution of this project suffered a long delay.

When eventually the work was taken in hand again, some rearrangements and several modifications were found necessary; however, the contents of the book were left substantially unaltered. During the last two decades much has been written concerning the various fields touched upon in this book; in particular, almost every year presents us with new interpretations of Dürer's engraving, a few of which are mentioned in E. Panofsky's *Albrecht Dürer* (4th edition, Princeton 1955). Any attempt to take account of all this literature would have swelled the present volume to an unmanageable size. Some further details might have been filled in, some controversial points more fully discussed; yet the authors feel confident that the argument as a whole would not have been affected.

At the same time, they are aware of some gaps in the treatment of their vast subject. There are many related themes which might have been followed up. To name only a few: The legend of Democritus, the melancholy philosopher, whom "the world's vanity, full of ridiculous contrariety," moves to laughter, could have been traced from its Hellenistic origins to its memorable appearance in the preface by 'Democritus Junior' to the *Anatomy of*

Melancholy. Much might have been added concerning the part played by melancholy in French literature of the later Middle Ages, e.g. in the poetry of Charles d'Orléans. In treating of astrology, the authors confined themselves to investigating the historical origins and the development of the belief in Saturn's influence; there remain the wider tasks of understanding the significance of any such belief in the power of the stars and of elucidating the reasons for which human beings have invested the planets with the very forces that rule their own microcosm.

The limits set to this book excluded any endeavour to do justice to the complex and enthralling topic of Elizabethan and Jacobean melancholy. Tempting as it was to delve into the riches of Burton, the authors had to content themselves with paying homage to the great 'melancholizer' by prefixing his effigy to the present volume.

Our warm thanks are due to Miss Frances Lobb who carried out the arduous task of preparing the first draft of the translation from the German. With particular gratitude we record the aid received from the staff of the Warburg Institute, University of London, above all in procuring the photographs for the illustrations and in rendering valuable assistance throughout the long period of preparation and in the earlier stages of the proofs. We are especially beholden to the late Hans Meier who first drew our attention to the original version of Agrippa's *De occulta philosophia*, discovered by him in a manuscript of the University Library of Würzburg.

We wish also to express our appreciation to the many institutes and libraries whose collections we were able to use: in particular, to the Johns Hopkins Institute of the History of Medicine, Baltimore, and to the Institut für Geschichte der Medizin, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt (Main); to the Courtauld Institute, University of London; to the British Museum, London; to the Bodleian Library, Oxford; to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; last, not least, to the librarians and the staff of the Redpath Library and the Osler Library of McGill University, Montreal.

We are obliged to the many scholars and collectors who answered our enquiries; and to Miss Désirée Park, M.A. (McGill), for sharing the burden of reading the proofs.

We are most grateful to all those who collaborated with us in revising the translation: Dr Gertrud Bing, London, Miss Rosemary Woolf, Fellow of Somerville College, Oxford and above all Dr Lotte Labowsky, Lady Carlisle Research Fellow of Somerville College, who by her valuable observations also helped in establishing the Greek text of the famous Problem XXX, 1, attributed to Aristotle.

Finally, we are indebted to the publishers, Thomas Nelson & Sons, for their patience and assistance in seeing the book through the press.

R. K.
E. P.

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Chapter II

THE ENGRAVING "MELENCOLIA I"

If, despite these negative conclusions, we can still assert that Dürer's elaborately prepared engraving[1] owes a debt to the notion of melancholy propagated by Ficino, and would, in fact, have been quite impossible but for this influence, the proof of this assertion can be based only on internal evidence from the engraving itself.

I. THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF "MELENCOLIA I"

(*a*) Traditional Motifs

(i) *The Purse and the Keys*

All that Dürer tells us of his engraving is an inscription on a sketch of the "putto" (Plate 8) giving the meaning of the purse and bundle of keys which hang from Melancholy's belt: "The key signifies power, the purse riches."[2] This phrase, brief though it is, has some importance in that it establishes one point of what would in any case have been a likely suspicion: namely, that Dürer's engraving was somehow connected with the astrological and humoral tradition of the Middle Ages. It at once reveals two essential traits of the traditional character, which, for Dürer as for all his contemporaries, was typical both of the melancholic man and of the Saturnine.[3]

Among the medieval descriptions of the melancholic there was none in which he did not appear as avaricious and miserly, and hence, implicitly, as rich; according to Nicholas of Cusa, the melancholic's ability to attain "great riches" even by dishonest means was actually a symptom of "avaritiosa melancholia".[4] If,

[1] The preliminary sketches have been discussed by H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke A. Dürers*, vol. ii, 1, Basle 1937, Nos. 582–587; cf. also E. Panofsky, *Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton 1943, vol. ii, p. 26.

[2] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 394, 5; cf. also Giehlow (1904), p. 76.

[3] This is obvious, even without the remarks quoted above, text p. 281 (with which cf. Giehlow (1904), p. 67).

[4] See above, p. 120 (text).

in these descriptions of the melancholic, "power"—naturally associated with property, and here symbolised by the keys which we may take to open the treasure-chest—was a mere adjunct to "riches", both characteristics were expressly united in the traditional descriptions of Saturn and his children. For, just as the mythological Kronos–Saturn, who combined with all his other characteristics the attributes of a distributor and guardian of wealth, was in antiquity not only the guardian of the treasury and the inventor of coin-minting, but also the ruler of the Golden Age, so, too, Saturn was worshipped as ruler and as king; and accordingly, not only did he fill the role of treasurer, and author of prosperity, in the planetary hierarchy, but also, as in Babylon, he was feared and honoured as the "mightiest"; and then, as always happens in astrology, all these properties were transmitted to those who came under his dominion. In an antithesis worthy of Saturn himself, astrological sources inform us that together with the poor and humble, the slaves, the grave-robbers, Saturn governs not only the wealthy and the avaricious ("Saturnus est significator divitum", says Abû Ma'šar in his *Flores astrologiae*) but also "those who rule and subdue others to their sway"; and we read in the Cassel manuscript that the child of Saturn is a "villain and traitor" but is also "beloved of noble people, and counts the mightiest among his friends".[5]

It is not surprising, therefore, that in turning from the texts to the pictures we find the combination of the two symbols interpreted by Dürer as signs of "power" and "riches" less commonly in pictures of melancholics than in pictures of Saturn. In one early fifteenth-century manuscript (Plate 28), Saturn not only carries a purse at his waist, but is holding two enormous keys, which obviously belong to the chests, some open, some still closed, on the ground beside his feet.[6] But Dürer's purse appears frequently in pictures of melancholics, for as an age-long symbol of riches and avarice it had become a constant feature of these pictures by the fifteenth century. One of the two corner

[5] See above, p. 192, note 204.

[6] Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Urb. lat. 1398, fol. 11r. Saturn reckoning and counting his gold in Cod. Pal. lat. 1369, fol. 144v (Plate 43) belongs to this realm of ideas (though this time without the key), and so does the remarkable figure in the top left-hand corner of the portrait of Saturn in Tübingen MS Md. 2 (Plate 40), a seated king counting gold pieces on top of a large treasure chest with his right hand, but raising a goblet with his left (derived from a combination of the carousing King Janus with the reckoning Saturn, who rules January no less than December).

figures in the picture of Saturn in the Erfurt manuscript (PLATE 42) is reminiscent of the Saturn in manuscripts at Tübingen and the Vatican (PLATES 40 and 43), being placed in front of a coffer covered with large coins; and in the Tübingen manuscript (PLATE 73) the melancholic's similarity to his planetary patron goes so far that he is leaning on his spade in an attitude characteristic of the god of agriculture, about to bury his treasure-chest.[7] But in the second melancholic in the Erfurt manuscript, riches and avarice are symbolised no longer by a treasure-chest, but by a purse, and from now on this attribute becomes so typical that fifteenth-century examples of it are innumerable (PLATES 77, 78, 80 and 81),[8] while Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, which was still used in the period of the Baroque, would never have pictured the melancholic without his purse (PLATE 68).[9] This is the motif which induced the worthy Appelius to consider the apostle Judas a melancholic: "Melancholics, whose most noticeable feature is avarice, are well adapted to household matters and management of money. Judas carried the purse."[10]

(ii) *The Motif of the Drooping Head*

A considerable proportion of the above-mentioned portraits of melancholics[11] have a further motif in common with Dürer's *Melencolia*, which, to the modern observer, seems too obvious to require a study of its historical derivation; but Dürer's own preliminary design for the engraving, which deviates in this very particular,[12] shows that it does not simply owe its origin to the observation of the melancholic's attitude but emerges from a pictorial tradition, in this case dating back thousands of years. This is the motif of the cheek resting on one hand. The primary significance of this age-old gesture, which appeared even in the mourners in reliefs on Egyptian sarcophagi, is grief, but it may

[7] The caption explains the point of this comparison: "I trust no-one". In K. W. RAMLER's *Kurzgefasste Mythologie* (p. 456 in the 4th edn., Berlin 1820) the melancholic is still equipped with a treasure-chest as well as a dagger, rope and hat (see below, text p. 323).

[8] In one case the purse motif is even combined with the treasure-chest motif.

[9] CESARE RIPA, *Iconologia* (1st edn., Rome 1593), s.v. "Complessioni". The woodcut first appeared in the 1603 edition.

[10] See above, pp. 121 sqq. (text).

[11] J. LIGOZZI's *Allegory of Avarice* (H. VOS, *Die Malerei der Spätrenaissance in Rom und Florenz*, Berlin, 1920, VOL. II, plate 165) with its purse, treasure-chest and hand on chin could equally well stand for "Melancholy" were it not for the remaining motifs.

[12] F. HAACK (in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, VOL. LX (1926–27), supplement, p. 121) has again shown that it really was a preliminary study.

also mean fatigue or creative thought. To mention medieval types alone, it represents not only St John's grief at the Cross, and the sorrow of the "anima tristis" of the psalmist (PLATE 62),[13] but also the heavy sleep of the apostles on the Mount of Olives, or the dreaming monk in the illustrations to the *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*; the concentrated thought of a statesman,[14] the prophetic contemplation of poets, philosophers, evangelists, and Church Fathers (PLATES 61 and 63)[15]; or even the meditative rest of God the Father on the seventh day.[16] No wonder, then, that such a gesture should spring to the artist's mind when it was a question of representing a configuration which combined in an almost unique fashion the triad grief, fatigue, and meditation; that is to say, when representing Saturn and the melancholy under his dominion. In fact, the veiled head of the classical Kronos[17] (PLATE 13) rests as sadly and as thoughtfully on his hand as does the head of the melancholy Hercules on his in some ancient representations.[18] In medieval portraits of Saturn and melancholy, which had almost lost any direct links with ancient pictorial tradition,[19] this motif frequently receded into the background, but even then it was never quite forgotten[20]; see, for instance, the description of Saturn in King Alfonso's *Book of Chess* as a sad old man, "la mano ala mexiella como omne cuyerdadoso".[21] It was therefore the easier for it to regain its typical significance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and

[13] According to ERNEST T. DE WALD, *The Stuttgart Psalter*, Princeton 1930, fol. 55 (for Psalm 42, 7: "Quare tristis es, anima mea"). Similar types occur in the same work, fol. 58v (for Psalm 45) and fol. 141r (for Psalm 118).

[14] See the examples mentioned above, p. 224, note 27.

[15] The prototype of this extremely widespread design of the "contemplative" person is, of course, the ancient portrait of philosopher or poet, the adoption of which for medieval portraits of the evangelists has been studied in detail by A. M. FRIEND (in *Art Studies*, VOL. V (1927), pp. 115 sqq., plate XVI being particularly instructive).

[16] Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, MS 19, fol. 3v.

[17] See above, pp. 197 sqq. (text).

[18] Reproduced in W. H. ROSCHER, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig 1884, VOL. I, col. 2160.

[19] For pictures of Saturn, see above, text pp. 200 sqq.; of melancholics, below, pp. 290 sqq. (text).

[20] Cf. e.g. Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Cod. 697; for this MS and the Guariento frescoes in the Eremitani Chapel, Padua, cf. A. VENTURI, in *Arte*, VOL. XVII (1914), pp. 49 sqq., though the connexion between them is not quite correctly stated.

[21] F. SAXL, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, VOL. XLIII (1922), p. 233.

to undergo a renaissance[22] which sprang, indeed, from very different impulses in the north and in the south. In the north, an ever-growing interest in the life-like portraying of certain psychologically distinctive types of men revived this gesture of the drooping head in pictures of melancholics, though it was omitted for the time being from portraits of Saturn. In fifteenth-century Italy, where portraits of the four temperaments were practically unknown (the only example known to us is a copy of a northern cycle, of the type shown in PLATES 77 and 78, but slightly modified in accordance with the classical tradition),[23] it was a desire to characterise distinctive individuals rather than types, and, in particular, a desire to revive the ideal world of classical mythology, that led to the restitution of this classical gesture of Saturn. The melancholic resting his head on his hand, as he appears in German manuscripts and prints, is matched in Italy on the one hand by the figure of Heraclitus in Raphael's *School of Athens*, and on the other by the Saturn in the engraving B4 by Campagnola (PLATE 54)—the majestic embodiment of a god's contemplation, which only later influenced portraits of human contemplation in general.[24]

Whether he was influenced by the northern portraits of Melancholy, or by Italian models such as Campagnola's engraving,[25]

[22] How greatly the propped-up head was later considered a specific attitude of the melancholic can be seen, for instance, from the fact that Dürer's drawing L144 (in itself a harmless study for a portrait) appeared in an old inventory as the "Prustpild" of an old melancholy woman (cf. G. GLÜCK, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VOL. XXVIII (1909–1910), p. 4). The paper by URSULA HOFF quoted below (p. 392, note 54) contains an interesting collection of "melancholy" portraits with this gesture of the head-on-hand.

[23] The miniatures are illustrations to the above-quoted verses (p. 116, note 148) by LIONARDO DATI in Rome, Bibl. Vat., Cod. Chis. M. VII, 148, fols. 11ᵛ sqq. (about 1460–70). Only the choleric is much altered; he has been transformed from a medieval warrior into a Roman one. The sanguinic is carrying a laurel-wreath instead of a hawk's hood.

[24] For Campagnola's engraving of Saturn, cf. HARTLAUB, *Geheimnis*, esp. p. 53 and plate 23; and the same author in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, VOL. XLVIII (1927), pp. 233 sqq. For its relation to a river god on the triumphal arch at Benevento, as well as its interesting transformations into (1) a peasant Saturn in a picture by Girolamo da Santa Croce (PLATE 56) and (2) into a St Jerome in a portrait by Lorenzo Costa (published in *Arte*, VOL. V (1902), p. 296) see above, text p. 212. Campagnola himself some years later transformed the philosophical type of Saturn into a purely human, and, so to speak, anonymous type (engraving P12, reproduced in HARTLAUB, *Geheimnis*, p. 24). In the north, the type of Saturn resuscitated by Campagnola was not generally adopted until the late sixteenth century, and even then, significantly enough, not under his mythological name but as a melancholic (PLATE 126, for which cf. text, p. 379).

[25] Hartlaub may be right in stating that pictures such as the engraving B4 may have been directly familiar to Dürer (for a possible connexion between Dürer and Campagnola, see also below, p. 324, note 135), but the supposed dependence of Campagnola's engraving P12 on Giorgione seems to us as little susceptible of proof as the assumption that the engraving B19

Dürer was in any case obeying pictorial tradition when he replaced the lethargically hanging hands which characterise the seated woman in the preliminary study—a typical symptom of melancholy illness, according to medical authorities[26]—by the thoughtful gesture of the hand supporting the cheek in the final engraving.

(iii) *The Clenched Fist and the Black Face*

In one respect, it is true, Dürer's portrait differs fundamentally from those previously mentioned. The hand, which generally lies softly and loosely against the cheek, is here a clenched fist. But even this motif, apparently quite original, was not so much invented by Dürer as given artistic expression by him, for the clenched fist had always been considered a sign of the typical avarice of the melancholy temperament,[27] as well as a specific medical symptom of certain melancholy delusions.[28] In this sense, in fact, it had not been completely foreign to medieval portraits of the melancholic (PLATE 72).[29] But comparison with such a type of medical illustration merely emphasises the fact that similarity of motif and similarity of meaning are two very different things; what Dürer intended to (and did) express by this clenched fist has little more in common with what it meant in the cauterisation charts than the rather elusive nuance of rendering a spasmodic tension. This, however, is not the place to describe what Dürer made of the tradition, but merely to list the elements which he found in it and judged fit to incorporate in his work.[30]

by the "master of 1515" represents a figure of Melancholy. The figure inspiring the astrologer is more likely to be the Muse Urania, or, more probably still, a personification of Astrology—of whom, for instance, Ripa expressly states that she is to have wings "per dimostrar che ella sta sempre con il pensiero levata in alto per sapere et intendere le cose celesti."

[26] It is difficult to prove that the drawing L79 was a study of Dürer's wife; but even if it were, the artist could have observed her in a genuinely depressed state.

[27] In DANTE's *Inferno*, for instance (Canto VII, 56), we read of the avaricious man that "Questi resurgeranno del sepulcro, Col pugno chiuso, e questi coi crin mozzi"; according to CAELIUS CALCAGNINUS (*Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VOL. XXXII (1915), p. 169), "manus dextra expansa [denotes] liberalitatem, manus sinistra compressa tenacitatem." The originator of this conceit, which still persisted in Sandrart's *Iconology*, seems to have been DIODORUS SICULUS: ἡ δ' εὐώνυμος συνηγμένη τήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν χρημάτων (III, 4, 3 ed. F. Vogel, Leipzig 1888, p. 272).

[28] For quotations, see above, p. 55 (text).

[29] Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Cod. Amplon. Q. 185, fol. 247ᵛ (cf. K. SUDHOFF, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter*, VOL. I, Leipzig 1914, plate XXX).

[30] For the change by Dürer in the expressive value of these traditional motifs, see below, pp. 317 sqq. (text).

One last motif, perhaps of still greater importance for the emotional meaning of the engraving, should be mentioned, in view not of its quite untraditional significance, but of its traditional origin. This is the motif of the shadowed countenance, from which Melencolia gazes forth in an almost ghostly stare. We may remember that this "black face" was a far more frequently cited trait in tradition than was the clenched fist. Both the child of Saturn and the melancholic—whether melancholy through illness or by temperament—were by the ancients reckoned swarthy and black of countenance[31]; and this notion was as common in medieval medical literature as in astrological writings on the planets and in popular treatises on the four complexions. "Facies nigra propter melancholiam",[32] "nigri",[33] "mud-coloured",[34] "corpus niger sicut lutum",[35] "luteique coloris",[36] these are all phrases that Dürer may have read in the traditional texts, as many before him might have done; but, as also in the case of the clenched fist, he was the first to realise that what was there described as a temperamental characteristic, or even as a pathological symptom, could, by an artist, be turned to good account in expressing an emotion or in communicating a mood.

(*b*) Traditional Images in the Composition of the Engraving

Written in his own hand, Dürer's explanation of the symbolism of the purse and keys called our attention to various single motifs. We should now ask ourselves whether the picture as a whole also has its roots in the tradition of pictorial types.

(i) *Illustrations of Disease*

Medical illustrations proper, that is, representations of the melancholic as an insane person, had, as far as we know, neither

[31] For quotations, see above, pp. 59 sqq. (text).

[32] Thus Ibn Esra.

[33] Thus Albertus Magnus, quoted on p. 71, note 12.

[34] Thus e.g. the translation of the Salernitan verses in the work *De conservanda bona valetudine*, ed. Johannes Curio, Frankfurt 1559, fol. 237v: "Ir farb fast schwartz vnd erdfarb ist" ("their colour is almost black and earthy"). In view of the contradictory nature of this type of literature, and the contrasts inherent in the notion of melancholy itself, it is not surprising to find the melancholic occasionally described as "pale" in other writings on the complexions, e.g. in the verses on PLATE 81.

[35] Thus Johann von Neuhaus, quoted on p. 115 sq. (text).

[36] Thus the Salernitan verses, quoted on p. 115 (text).

evolved nor attempted to evolve a characteristic melancholy type When there was an illustration at all, it was more a question o showing certain therapeutic or even surgical measures than o working out a general conception of the psycho-physical state.

The most common illustrations of this kind were the so-calle "cauterisation charts", of which one (PLATE 72) has alread been mentioned. They were to show how and where the variou insane persons were to be cauterised, or trepanned. In th melancholic's case, the grisly operation was to be carried ou "in medio vertice". He is shown, therefore, with a round hol in the top of his head, frequently as a single standing figure sometimes sitting on the operating chair, occasionally, eve stretched out on a kind of rack[37]; but only very seldom is som better than average illustrator ambitious enough to characteris the patient psychologically, that is to say, to distinguish him b specifically melancholy gestures.

As well as these cauterisation diagrams, there are also picture of cures by means of flogging or by music (PLATES 67, 70 and 71)[38] but even these (some of them quite attractive miniatures) coul not be the starting point for a more general line of development since they created no new types, but endeavoured to treat thei theme by adopting forms of composition that were already full developed (Saul and David, the scourging of Christ, the floggin of martyrs, and so on).

(ii) *Picture Cycles of the Four Temperaments. I: Descriptiv Single Figures (the Four Temperaments and the Four Age of Man)—II: Dramatic Groups: Temperaments and Vice*

On the other hand, an attempt at precise characterisatio seems to have been made in portraits of the melancholic in th context of the four temperaments. It is true that here, too, n completely new types were coined; nor was this to be expected since the problem of illustrating the complexions arose comparatively late. But, through the deliberate use of analogies a relevant points, these pictures grew at length into solid an striking portraits of character types.

[37] Cf. K. SUDHOFF, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chirurgie im Mittelalter*, VOL. I, plate XXXVI in some cases the physician operating is also shown, e.g. Rome, Cod. Casanat. 1382 (SUDHOFF op. cit., plate XXV) and above, pp. 55, 94.

[38] With PLATES 67, 70 cf. e.g. the pictures of Saul and David; with PLATE 71 cf. a miniatur like Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hamilton 390, fol. 19r: "Iste verberat uxorem suam" (for this codex, see below, text p. 298).

Some late representations of the temperaments simply adopt the characteristics of the corresponding planet or children of a planet—a striking instance of this is the picture in the Tübingen manuscript of a miser burying his treasure (PLATE 73).[39] In certain isolated cases the melancholic follows the pose—familiar enough in a different context—of a writing evangelist or a scholar, with the mere addition of a treasure-chest[40]; a case in point is a sequence of miniatures dating from about 1480. If we leave these two exceptions aside, the pictures representing the four temperaments in a set or sequence can be divided into two main groups: those showing each temperament as a single figure, more or less inactive and distinguished mainly by age, physique, expression, costume, and attributes; and those in which several figures, preferably a man and a woman, meet in order to enact a scene typical of their particular temperament. Sets of the first group are very numerous; those of the second are fewer in number but more momentous in view of later developments.

The first example of a set of single figures—linked, as it were, with the old schema of the four winds in Dürer's woodcut illustrating Celtes's work—occurs in a crude outline drawing belonging to an eleventh- or twelfth-century treatise on the *Tetrad*, preserved in Cambridge (PLATE 75).[41] The quadrants of a circle contain four seated figures which, according to the caption, represent the "four ages of human life",[42] and are therefore all female. In addition to the caption, however, there are marginal notes which inform us that these figures represent also the four

[39] Also the two men with wooden legs, in a woodcut series of the vices (which will be dealt with later, text pp. 300 sqq.) from the Curio edition (quoted above, note 34), fol. 239°, our PLATE 74. For the Swiss drawing on PLATE 139, and the De Gheyn engraving on PLATE 143, where the assimilation of the melancholic to the Saturnine type takes place on a new, humanistic basis, see below, pp. 393, 398 (text).

[40] Berlin, Cod. germ. fol. 1191, fol. 63°, now in Marburg; cf. *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Miniatur-Handschriften der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek*, VOL. V, ed. H. Wegener, Berlin 1928, pp. 72 sqq. Here the sanguinics are playing the lute, the cholerics wrestling, and the phlegmatic is seated in a depressed attitude generally characteristic of the melancholic; on this, see below, p. 319, note 117.

[41] Cambridge, Caius College, MS 428, fol. 27°, cf. M. R. JAMES, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, Cambridge 1908, p. 500. Pictures like those discussed here can easily be accounted for as a synthesis of the abstract tetradic systems occurring from the ninth century onwards, first in Isidore MSS and then in illustrations to cosmological treatises (cf. E. WICKERSHEIMER in *Janus*, VOL. XIX (1914), pp. 157 sqq., and C. SINGER, *From Magic to Science*, London 1928, pp. 211 sqq. and plate XIV), with cognate figure representations from Graeco-Roman times, like the Chebba mosaics, etc.

"Quatuor aetates velut hic patet atque videtur.
Humanae vitae spatium conplere iubentur."

complexions, or, more precisely, that they personify the humours preponderating in them. "Childhood" represents also the phlegm, sharing in the elemental qualities cold and damp; warm and moist "Youth" represents the blood; warm and dry "Manhood" represents the yellow bile; and finally, cold and dry, "Decline" represents the black bile.[43] In later centuries there will be sets of pictures representing, primarily, the four temperaments, and only secondarily the four seasons, the four ages of man, and the four points of the compass; but these figures in the Cambridge miniature are meant primarily as portraits of the four ages of man, and in them the representation of the four humours is only of secondary interest.[44]

This is not surprising, at a time when the terms "phlegmaticus" and so on had not yet been coined for the notion of men governed by the phlegm and the various humours.[45] Nevertheless, with this reservation, the Cambridge cycle of four may be considered the earliest known picture of the temperaments; and so the question arises, from which source did the draftsman take the types which he embodies in his design? The answer is that these humorally characterised pictures of the four temperaments evolved from classical representations of the seasons and occupations.[46] But while a connexion made in antiquity was adopted, it was at the same time revised in the sense of its original—in this

[43] The series in this list is based (a) on the rule applying almost throughout to all systems, whether they begin with "sanguis", or, as here, with "phlegma"—namely, that the "cholera rubra" precedes the "cholera nigra", and (b) on the verbal usage whereby "decrepitas" denotes a greater age than "senectus". This, however, is contradicted by the pictorial sequence (while, e.g., the cycle of cardinal points shown on fol. 21r of the same MS should be read clockwise starting from the top, the sequence here is irregular), and by the fact that "Decrepitas" is still spinning while "Senectus" is already winding the wool. The ancient tradition following the less customary system beginning with the "phlegma" (see above, text p. 10) was obviously largely eclipsed; fol. 22° shows a circular schema analogous to the two just mentioned, in which the sequence, though normal, begins from the bottom and runs anticlockwise (top, "cholera rubra" = warm and dry; right, "sanguis" = warm and moist; below, "aqua" = cold and moist; left, "terra" = cold and dry). It is also highly unusual to describe the warm and dry "choleric" age as "senectus", and to call the west "cold and dry" as compared with the "warm and moist" east. In the examples collected by Wickersheimer the cycle always runs in the usual sequence: "sanguis", "cholera rubra", "cholera nigra", "phlegma".

[44] Especially in these tetradic cycles it is not uncommon to find a double or even treble significance for each figure. Cf. the examples cited on p. 292, note 41, and the Rivers of Paradise on the Rostock baptismal font of 1291 (which, according to the inscription, also represent the four elements).

[45] See above, p. 103 sq. (text).

[46] Medieval portrayals of the four ages of man seem in fact to have evolved indirectly from representations of the four seasons, these being linked with antiquity by a continuous pictorial tradition.

case, abstract—form. For at first the seasons in classical pictures were distinguished only by attributes; in the mosaics of Lambaesis and Chebba[47] they had become girls and women differentiated according to their ages—and thereby individualized. The Cambridge artist reverts once more from the differentiation by natural, biological, signs of age to the differentiation by conventional attributes. Youth (blood), who in accordance with her youthful age is the only standing figure, is exactly like the well-known figure of the garland-laden Spring; which, in turn, is identical with Maius (May) in the cycles of the months.[48] In contrast with carefree youth, Decline (black bile) has to work, and (in accordance with her advanced age, and the cold season) she is holding a distaff[49]; while Old Age (red bile) is winding the spun wool. Only Childhood (phlegm) has to make do without attributes: she is characterised merely by legs crossed in a typical attitude of rest, which is probably meant to indicate the physical and mental indifference of both the phlegmatic temperament and the age of childhood: εἰς ἠθοποιίαν ἄχρηστος.

This attempt to illustrate the notion of the complexions, hitherto transmitted only in literature, by interpreting certain forms of pictures of seasons and occupations as pictures of the four ages of man, and then including in these the notion of the four humours, set a precedent for the future. By the fifteenth century (unfortunately we have no example of the intermediate period), when what we may call the orthodox pictures of the complexions had been evolved, the combination of the ages of man with his various occupations—a combination unskilfully drafted in the Cambridge miniature—had only to be further modernised in order to produce, as it were, automatically a series of those "single-figure" pictures of the temperaments which form, as we have said, the first and larger group.

[47] F. Boll, "Die Lebensalter", in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, vol. xvi (1913), p. 103, plate I, 2.

[48] For this type of representation of Spring we need only refer to the above-mentioned Chebba mosaic or the *Chronicon Zwifaltense* mentioned above, p. 279, note 9. The corresponding representations of May are innumerable; the earliest example is the well-known Salzburg calendar of 818 (our Plate 97). That "May" and "Spring" could be used synonymously in literature as well can be seen from the caption to the portrait of the sanguinic in Plate 78: "das wirket mey und Jupiter".

[49] In the fully developed allegory of the ages of man, the distaff denotes the fifth stage in the cycle of seven, and the seventh decade in the hundred-year cycle (W. Molsdorf, *Christliche Symbolik der mittelalterlichen Kunst*, Leipzig 1926, Nos. 1142 and 1143). Apart from this, spinning is the characteristic form of female activity, and the Cambridge miniature is concerned only with feminine occupations.

Since this further development aimed at a transformation of the abstract scientific diagram into the picture of a concrete character, the singularities both of the different ages and of the corresponding temperaments were now depicted with modern realism. Physique, dress and occupation were painted in livelier colours, sometimes almost in the style of a genre picture. The sanguine man generally appears as a fashionably-dressed youth going falconing; the choleric as an armed warrior; the melancholic as a sedate middle-aged gentleman; the phlegmatic as a long-bearded old man, sometimes leaning on a crutch. The psychological attitude is shown partly by the addition of distinguishing attributes but mainly by mimetic means, such as the morose expression and the head-on-hand attitude of the melancholic, or the grimace of rage on the face of the choleric, who draws his sword or even hurls chairs about.[50] If the Cambridge drawing had already represented the four humours in the guise of the four ages of man, it must have been even easier in the fifteenth century for the two sets of illustrations to be more closely associated; for by that time the four ages had preceded the temperaments in the realistic development of single types. A French cycle of about 1300 (Plate 76)[51] is content to differentiate the various ages by reference rather to physiological than to psychological or occupational characteristics: but in the French miniature (Plate 58) of the *Wheel of Life* a hundred years later youth is shown as a young falconer, and the penultimate age of man as a thinker with his head on his hand[52]; and in two closely connected German designs, the older dated 1461 (Plate 79), the representatives of the middle four of the seven ages are identical with the current types of the four temperaments—a falconer, a knight in armour, an older man counting money or holding a purse, and a frail old man. The only points in which the fifteenth century pictures of the four complexions—in so far as they belong to the descriptive, single-figure type—differ from the contemporary series of pictures representing the four ages, are the inclusion of

[50] Broadsheet, Zürich, Zentralbibliothek (Schreiber 1922 m.); P. Heitz, *Einblattdrucke d 15. Jahrhunderts*, vol. iv, No. 4.

[51] London, Brit. Mus., Sloane MS 2435, fol. 31r.

[52] F. Boll, "Die Lebensalter", in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, vol. x (1913), plate II, 3 and 4. It is obviously an error when, on p. 129, Boll says that the falcon is holding "a dove, the creature sacred to Venus."

the four elements (the sanguine man stands on clouds, the choleric in flames, the melancholic on the earth); and, in certain representations (for example, in PLATE 82), the addition of a symbolic beast, an ape for the sanguine, a lion for the choleric, a boar for the melancholic, and a sheep for the phlegmatic.[53]

Moreover, the form of these pictures shows little variation throughout the fifteenth century; the various types became so well established that, once defined, they intruded upon the illustrations of the "children" of the planets in astrological manuscripts[54]; and could even be included in illustrations to Aristotle's *Problems* (PLATE 77), the fourteenth chapter of which had nothing to do with the late medieval doctrine of the temperaments, but which is headed ὅσα περὶ κράσεις, or, in the French translation, "Qui ont regart a la complexion".[55] Even where the representatives of the four temperaments appear on horseback (PLATE 81), by analogy with a certain planetary type first occurring in the well-known Kyeser manuscripts they remain falconers,

[53] For animal symbolism as applied to the four temperaments, see above, text p. 102 sq. The works here in question (*The Shepherds' Calendar* in French and English, the latter edited by O. H. Sommer, 1892, and the printed Books of Hours by Simon Vostre and Thomas Kherver) form a special regional group derived from a single prototype, and distinguished by the fact that the phlegmatic, who occupies the third place, is characterised by a purse, while the melancholic, relegated to fourth place, has a crutch—perhaps because of a mistake which, once made, became traditional. The melancholic is also given fourth place in a few other cycles, though the relevant texts expressly correlate autumn with him (see also above, text p. 280).

[54] Cf. the corner-figures in the picture of Saturn in the Erfurt MS, our PLATE 42; in the picture of the sun in the same MS (A. HAUBER, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg 1916, plate XXIV) the "sanguine" falconer occupies the corresponding position.

[55] Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS nouv. acq. fr. 3371. A special instance, apparently, without analogy, but of some interest because of its early date, appears in a MS dated 1408 by JOHANNES DE FOXTON, *Liber cosmographiae* (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 943, fols. 12ᵛ sqq.). Here the four temperaments appear as naked men, described as "prima ymago" etc., with the Salernitan couplets as superscriptions, and in the odd sequence sanguinic, phlegmatic, melancholic, choleric, though the phlegmatic is clearly the oldest. The choice of attributes, too, is somewhat singular. The choleric, as usual, is girded with a sword, but this stands out in odd contrast to his nakedness; the sanguinic, too, is brandishing a sword in his right hand, and holding a goblet in his left. The melancholic is holding a raven in his right hand (this, according to the *Fiore di Virtù*, is the companion of "tristizia") while with his left hand—as in portraits of "Ira" or "Desperatio"—he plunges a dagger into his breast (probably a reference to his suicidal leanings); and the phlegmatic, rather drastically shown as 'sputamine plenus", is standing with a book, his head on his hand. Moreover, the sanguinic is further distinguished by a plant across his chest, and a dove sitting on his right arm, and the choleric by a flower emerging from his mouth. No definite interpretation of these details has yet been arrived at—some of them were no doubt taken over from the pictorial types of the deadly sins; nor are the physiognomical descriptions, in each case appearing in the left-hand margin, comprehensible as they stand.

men in armour and so on[56]; and even the series of single figures representing the complexions in the middle and late Renaissance, with which we shall deal later, preserves in many respects a recollection of the fifteenth-century types.

The second group (that in which the different temperaments are represented by means of a scene in which several figures take part) has a very different character. The series so far discussed evolved from, and in combination with, illustrations of the four ages of man, which in their turn could be traced back to classical representations of seasons and occupations. It is therefore understandable that they should emphasise differences of age and occupation, while psychological traits such as the melancholic's avarice and depression, or the choleric's rage, only gradually appear, and then seem to be based as much on the respective ages to which they are allotted as on the respective types of temperament.

In the dramatic representations of the temperaments, on the other hand, difference in age fades as much into the background as difference in occupation or situation. Here, from the beginning, interest is centred so entirely on the humorally-given traits of character that the scene is limited to actions and situations revealing these traits: everything else is neglected; and only the introduction of the four elements (also lacking occasionally) distinguishes works of this type from morality paintings or illustrations to novels.

This difference in artistic intention corresponds to the difference in historical origin. The historical study of pictorial types—which is just as necessary and just as possible for the dramatic compositions as for the static single descriptive figures—takes us, not into the world of "speculum naturale", but into that of "speculum morale", not into the realm of the pictures of the four ages but into that of the illustrations of virtues—or rather, vices; for this realm was almost the only one in which (though under the menacing aspect of ecclesiastical moral theology) the

[56] Clm. 4394. PLATE 81, after a broadsheet in the Gotha Museum (Schreiber 1922 o; P. HEITZ, *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts*, VOL. LXIV, No. 8). For representations of planets on horseback (probably based on a convention in jousting and tournaments), cf. SAXL, *Verzeichnis*, VOL. I, p. 114. A curious connection between these riders and the Shepherds' Calendars and Books of Hours can be seen in the *Horae B. V. Mariae* printed by Marcus Reinhart, Kirchheim about 1490 (Schreiber 4573, Proctor 3209), fol 1ᵛ. Here the choleric appears as the Wild Huntsman, the sanguinics as a pair of lovers, also on horseback—the phlegmatic, however, as a simple standing figure with a sheep, and the melancholic (in the fourth place) as a standing figure with a pig.

undesirable, and therefore psychologically significant, characteristics of men were shown in brief, sharply defined scenes.

A curiously early example of the dramatic type—which, however, apparently remained quite isolated—may be seen in a famous Hamilton Codex in Berlin, compiled before 1300 in North Italy, which includes also the sayings of Dionysius Cato, the misogynistic outpourings of the "proverbia quae dicuntur super naturam feminarum", a moralised bestiary, and other writings of a similar trend, and endeavours to enliven all of these by innumerable small border miniatures, partly moral, partly didactic. The Salernitan verses on the complexions—with many mistakes in the text—are illustrated in the same style and with the same intention (PLATE 84).[57] The miniaturist introduces auxiliary figures for the purpose of coupling them with the representative of each temperament in a joint action which is designed to reveal the main characteristics listed in each couplet, and in general resembles closely the other illustrations in the manuscript. The sanguine is, above all, the *generous* man ("largus"), and his generosity is shown by his handing a purse to a minor figure kneeling before him.[58] The choleric—*angry* ("irascens")—is giving his partner a blow on the head with a club, which is exactly what the married man on another page, exasperated by contradiction, is doing to his wife.[59] The *sleepy man* ("somnolentus") of the phlegmatic's verses is illustrated by a sleeper being rudely awakened by a second man. Finally, the melancholic—*envious and sad* ("invidus et tristis")—is turning away with a gesture of contempt from a loving couple, and this figure too has its model (and its explanation) in an illustration at the very beginning of the codex, entitled "He shuns love-making" ("Iste fugit meretricem").[60]

These little miniatures are too idiosyncratic and the circumstances which gave them birth too exceptional, for them to have had any influence. In Italy, as already mentioned, no special interest was taken anyhow in pictures of the temperaments and, as far as we know, this was changed only under the influence of

[57] Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hamilton 390, fol. 83v.

[58] For this group, cf. e.g. the illustration on fol. 20r to Cato's epigram "Dilige denarium sed parce".

[59] Fol. 148v: "Hisque repugnando maior et ira furit".

[60] Fol. 4r. The composition of the pair of lovers reappears in a similar form on fols 104v and 139v. The round object which the loving couple are holding up is difficult to interpret. By analogy with fol. 113r, one might think it some sort of ornament.

mannerism, with its northern connotations. North of the Alps—apart from the fact that the Hamilton Codex could hardly have been known there—the conditions for the development and diffusion of scenic and dramatic pictures of the four complexions were not available until the birth of an artistic style which was to be realistic in expression and psychological in intent. The designs in the Hamilton manuscript, therefore, remained an interesting exception. The standard type did not arise until the middle of the fifteenth century, and then apparently in Germany.

The original sequence, which was to become almost canonical, arose in illustrated manuscripts,[61] imposed itself on the majority of almanac illustrations (PLATES 85, 87, 89A, 89B),[62] and underwent its first superficial modernisation as late as about 1500 (PLATES 90A–D).[63] It consisted of the following scenes: "sanguineus"—a pair of lovers embracing; "colericus"—a man beating his wife; "melencolicus"—a woman fallen asleep over her distaff,[64] and a man (in the background) also asleep, generally at a table but occasionally in bed; and "phlegmaticus"—a couple making music. The proverbial indifference of the phlegmatic was made the harder to illustrate by the fact that the motif of exhausted slumber had to be reserved for the melancholics, so that illustrators were forced to be content with a neutral group of musicians.[65] Hence as soon as in the sixteenth century the sleepy melancholic had been replaced by one doing intellectual work the now unemployed slumber-motif naturally reverted to

[61] Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Cod. C 54/719, fols. 34v–36r.

[62] The first German Calendar, Augsburg, about 1480. The same woodcuts reappear in later ones, e.g. Augsburg, Schönsperger 1490 (published in facsimile by K. Pfister, Munich 1922), 1495, etc.

[63] Strasbourg Calendar about 1500; Rostock Calendar for 1523. As one can see, the sanguine lovers are generally on horseback and going hawking; the representation is derived from a model like the pseudo-Dürer drawing in the Berlin Print Room (*Inv.* 2595, reproduced in H. TIETZE and E. TIETZE-CONRAT, *Der junge Dürer*, Augsburg 1928, p. 229, and elsewhere), while the portrait of the phlegmatics seems based on an engraving by E. S. (Lehrs 203; this observation was made by M. I. Friedländer). The scene of the choleric's cudgelling is now enriched by a horrified female onlooker; and a long-bearded monk, a figure which the average mind would probably still associate with the "vita contemplativa", enters the room of the two melancholics.

[64] Thus the Zürich MS, fol. 35r. Here, as in a few other cases, a weakening of the original idea has resulted in the spinstress, so far from sleeping, being actually engaged in work.

[65] The choice of this motif, which in itself would suit the sanguine temperament far better (cf. PLATES 119 and 124, as well as the usual characteristics of "Voluptas" in the pictures of Hercules at the Crossroads), may have been based on the view that the phlegmatic dullness might be a little animated by "citharae sono" (cf. Melanchthon's account, quoted above, text p. 89 sq.).

the phlegmatic.[66] Apart from the phlegmatics, however, we may say that these scenes are nothing but pictures of vices which, having been taken out of their theological context, have been applied to the profane illustration of the temperaments; and some of these pictures of vices were directly related to the noble tradition of classical Gothic cathedral decoration. In order to see the connexion we need only compare the scene of the sanguine lovers (PLATE 85) with the relief of "Luxuria" in the western porch of Amiens Cathedral (PLATE 86), or the married discord of the choleric with the relief of "Discordia" in the same series (PLATES 87 and 88), or even, because of the knee-motif, with the relief of "Dureté" in the western façade of Notre Dame.[67]

But where is the prototype of the melancholic, who interests us most? (cf. PLATE 89B.) We have several times remarked that the Middle Ages equated melancholy with the sin of "acedia"[68]; but this particular sin was not represented in the great cathedrals. This leads us to a closer examination of the illustrated tracts dealing with the theme of the virtues and vices, of which the best-known example was the *Somme le Roi* of 1279, which was translated into almost every language and gained an extraordinarily wide dissemination.[69] And we do in fact discover "Accide, cest a dire peresce et anui de bien faire," illustrated

[66] I.e., in the work *De conservanda bona valetudine* disseminated in many Frankfurt editions, as editors signing, first, Eobanus Hesse and then Curio and Crellius. The complexion-sequence (1551: fols. 118 sqq.; 1553: fols. 116 sqq.; 1554: fols. 152 sqq.) is something of a patchwork. The portraits of the sanguinic and the choleric are taken from older cycles; the melancholic and the phlegmatic, however, are new, and very rough, the former a geometrician at a writing desk (see text figure 2, cf. text p. 395 sq.), the latter a pot-bellied man asleep in an armchair. A similar instance occurs in the Berlin Cod. germ. fol. 1191, now in Marburg, where the melancholic is shown as a scholar reading (though also, as a miser) while the phlegmatic appears as "homo acediosus". One can see that whenever the portrait of sloth or dullness is not used for the melancholic, it falls to the phlegmatic, as in the Hamilton Codex, PLATE 84, and, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Cambridge Foxton MS.

[67] The Amiens cycle of virtues and vices and the similar ones in Chartres (southern transept) and Paris (base of the western façade and the rose) form, of course, a group of their own. Moreover the complexion-sequences are by no means the only profane cycles derived from the types of vices; the "Luxuria" group, for instance, became a constant part of the astrological picture of Venus, just as, vice versa, the originally courtly picture of the couple hunting on horseback, which occasionally replaces the simple couple embracing, can appear in a moralising connexion (e.g. in a representation of the devotees of "Voluptas" in the Berlin Cassone picture of Hercules at the Crossroads, reproduced in E. PANOFSKY, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VOL. XVIII), Leipzig 1930.

[68] See above, p. 78 (text) and p. 223, note 26.

[69] Cf. D. C. TINBERGEN, *Des Coninx Summe*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde, Groningen 1900–03, with bibliography; also H. MARTIN in *Les trésors des bibliothèques de France*, VOL. I, Paris 1926, pp. 43 sqq.

in a manner which proves almost beyond doubt the derivation of our picture of the melancholic from this series. Among the many sins included in the notion of "accidie", it was a question of choosing the one most suited to illustration, and this was the neglect of one's duty to work and to pray. The illustrations to the *Somme le Roi*, therefore, show a ploughman asleep with his head on his hand, having left his plough in the middle of the field, or letting his team graze unwatched in the field; while in contrast to him there is an eager sower—the image of "work" (PLATE 91).[70] And such a human being, "sleeping the sleep of the unjust", (modified in many ways, according to estate and occupation—or rather lack of occupation) became the typical representative of sinful sloth. A pictorial sequence of virtues and vices in the Antwerp Museum, dating from 1480 or 1490 and wrongly attributed to Bosch, represents sloth by a sleeping citizen who, instead of praying before his crucifix, has fallen asleep on his soft pillow ("Ledicheyt is des duivels oorkussen", says a Dutch proverb), and therefore comes under the sway of the devil (PLATE 93, closely similar in type to a tapestry showing "acedia" in person, PLATE 66).[71] The woodcut illustrating the chapter on "Sloth and Idleness" in the 1494 edition of Brant's *Ship of Fools*, retains the diligent sower of the *Somme le Roi* as a virtuous contrast, but for the sleeping ploughman it substitutes the familiar spinning-woman,[72] a figure already used on a broadsheet (probably from Nuremberg) which, thanks to its full text, presents itself, as it were, as a *Somme le Roi* for the plain man (PLATE 92).[73] The figure is here expressly called "Acedia" and can be explained primarily by the wish for a female personification. In the Latin edition of the *Ship of Fools* of 1572 we even find the now traditional spinstress combined in one picture with the sleeping ploughman of the *Somme le Roi* as a double example of the sin of sloth, differing from our pictures of melancholics merely by the circumstance that emphasis is laid on morality rather than on

[70] Cf. MARTIN, op. cit., p. 54 and plate XI; later manuscripts, e.g. Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 2291 (Van den Gheyn), fol. 88v (dated 1415), repeat this type faithfully. Our reproduction is from Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 2294 (Van den Gheyn), fol. 51r.

[71] See above, p. 223, note 26.

[72] Ch. 97, fol. T. iii. The rather inappropriate wood fire amidst the natural landscape is justified by the text:

"Vnd ist so träg, das jm verbrennt
Syn schyenbeyn, ee er sich verwennt."

[73] P. HEITZ, *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrh.*, VOL. XI, Strasb. 1908, plate 17 (about 1490).

characterisation.[74] It has been stated elsewhere that Dürer's engraving B76, the so-called *Doctor's Dream* (PLATE 96), is nothing but an allegory of sloth, original in conception but as a type clearly derivable from illustrations such as the Antwerp sequence of virtues and vices and the woodcut to the *Ship of Fools* of 1494, and to be interpreted, if one likes, as a moralising and satirical predecessor of *Melencolia I*.[75]

If, therefore, the sanguine pair in the dramatic series of the complexions appeared to be modelled on the "typus Luxuriae" and the choleric pair on the "typus Discordiae" or "Duritiae", the melancholics were nothing but the "Acediosi", whose outward appearance, as was natural, closely resembled that of certain children of Saturn. It may well be no coincidence that the rhymes attached to the pictures of melancholics in the almanacs, in which the type here in question was mainly represented, were also related to the morality tracts and, above all, to the Low German version of the *Somme le Roi*.

> Vnser complexion ist von erden reych,
> Darumb seyn wir schwaermuetigkeyt gleich.

or:

> Dat vierde [i.e. the sin of sloth] is swaerheit, dat een mensce also swaermoedich is, dat hem gheens dinghes en lust, dan te legghen rusten of slapen . . . .[76]

This, then, was the way in which the two main types of illustration of the four temperaments arose. Portraits of characters were created in which either the personifications of certain ages of man, or the representatives of certain sins forbidden by the

[74] *Stultifera navis*, Basle (Henricpetri) 1572, p. 194.

[75] Cf. E. PANOFSKY, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, new series, VOL. VIII (1931), pp. 1 sqq. See also ANDRÉ CHASTEL, "La Tentation de St Antoine, ou le songe du mélancholique", in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, VOL. LXXVII (1936), pp. 218 sqq. We may mention that on the title engraving of the *Bericht von der Melancholia Hypochondria*, by Dr JOHANNES FREYTAG (Frankfurt 1644), the "hypochondriac melancholy" successfully overcome by the gallant physician is still shown as a sleeping woman with head propped on hand, into whose brain a bat-winged demon is blowing delusions by means of bellows, the delusions being symbolised by swarming insects.

[76] D. C. TINBERGEN, *Des Coninx Summe*, Bibliotheek van Middelnederlandsche Letterkunde, Groningen 1900–03, p. 253. This passage confirms—if confirmation is needed—the fact that in the Calendar verses the expression "Schwermütigkeit" does not mean the purely mental mood of depression, as it does in modern usage, but a very material heaviness of mind and body which might today be best described as indolence. The choice of the word, too confirms, on the linguistic level, the deeply-rooted connexion between the scenic representations of the temperaments and the portrayals of the vices (as does the term "high-stomached" applied to the sanguinic).

Church, were so far given concrete shape and individuality that they came to represent "real life" and, although still seen in a speculative framework, they tended to become self-sufficient. In the case of the illustrations of the ages of man, this process involved merely a transition from a schematic to a naturalistic type of picture, and an emphasis on the humoral aspect at the expense of the purely biological. In the case of the illustrations of the vices, however—and these of course were the illustrations which produced the infinitely more striking types—it also involved a transition from a moral and theological realm to a profane one. The sculptured or painted sermon against sin became a description of character which not only cancelled the former moral estimate but replaced it in part by another, almost an amoral one—for luxury is at least as immoral as sloth, but the "sanguine" figure which represents the luxurious type has "the noblest complexion". Out of the variety of human sins described in such detail merely as a warning, there emerged a variety of human characteristics worthy of interest purely as such. In this sense the development of the dramatic series acquires an almost symptomatic significance; many other examples could be cited to show how many astonishing achievements of modern realism can be put down to the very fact that medieval morality became secularised. It has, for instance, been suggested that Chaucer's penetrating and subtle characterisation, no less than the modest little illustrations of the complexions, evolved mainly from the descriptions of virtues and vices in sermons of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[77]

If from all these pictures depicting temperaments we turn to *Melencolia I*, we receive the strong impression—an impression that is justified, moreover, by the form of wording in the legends—that Dürer's engraving signifies a fundamentally different level of allegory, and one, moreover, fundamentally new to the north. The figure of Decline in the Cambridge miniature, mainly characterised by a distaff, is a personification of the "black bile"; the figures of Weariness and Sloth in the fifteenth-century pictures

[77] H. R. PATCH in *Modern Languages Notes*, VOL. XL (1925), pp. 1 sqq. The medieval representations of virtues and vices served as a basis for representations of the "Five Senses", so popular in the later sixteenth and, especially, the seventeenth century, as Hans Kauffmann emphasises in his informative review of W. R. Valentiner's book on Pieter de Hooch (*Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1930, pp. 801 sqq.). The birth of this type of the "Five Senses" denotes as it were, a second phase in secularisation: the originally moralistic representations, first transformed into objective and cosmological representations of the temperaments, were now drawn into the sphere of the subjective, sensual perception.

are examples of the "melancholic man"; but Dürer's woman, whose wings alone distinguish her from all other representations, is a symbolic realisation of "Melancholia".

To speak more precisely: the Cambridge miniature *embodies* an abstract and impersonal notion in a human figure[78]; the pictures of the complexion-series *exemplify* an abstract and impersonal notion by means of human figures: but Dürer's engraving *is the image of* an abstract and impersonal notion symbolised in a human figure. In the first case, the basic notion fully retains its universal validity; it cannot, however, be identified with the actual picture but can only be equated with it by means of an intellectual process—hence only the legend, or our familiarity with iconographic convention, informs us that the figure in question is meant to represent the "black bile". In the second case, the representation is directly and visibly linked with the basic notion (for any one can see that the choleric is angry, or the melancholic idle or sad), but by this the notion loses its universality, for it is shown in a special example which is only one of many, and can hence be recognised forthwith as the picture of an angry or a sad man, but not as the representation of the choleric or melancholy temperament. Here, too, a caption is necessary, but it no longer says to us, "imagine that this neutral figure *is* black bile," but "in this slothful couple you have a *typical example* of the melancholy temperament". In the third case, on the other hand, the basic idea is translated in its entirety into pictorial terms, without thereby losing its universality and without leaving any doubt as to the allegorical significance of the figure, which is nevertheless entirely concrete. Here, and here alone, can the visible representation completely answer to the invisible notion; here, and here alone, the legend (which at this stage of development begins to be superfluous) says to us neither "this is meant to represent the black bile," nor "this is a typical example of the melancholy temperament," but "melancholy is like this."[79]

[78] The function of such human figures in "standing for" a notion can of course be assumed by animals, plants or inanimate objects without the conditions governing the method of personification needing to be altered. In certain circumstances the pomegranate representing the notion of "concord" fulfils the same function as a human "Concordia", while in others it may appear simply as one of her attributes.

[79] The classification of allegorical forms of representation here attempted, which naturally leaves out many mixed or borderline cases, takes the term "allegory" in its literal sense ἄλλα ἀγορεύων as a generic notion including the "symbolic" as well as the "substituting" (esp. the "personifying") and the "paradigmatic" form of representation. What is generally called allegory (in its narrower sense) is merely a more complicated form of substitution—

Admittedly it was French fifteenth-century art that created the book illustrations in which, instead of the merely paradigmatic melancholic of the temperament-series, or the merely personified figure of the "black bile" in the Cambridge manuscript, the figure of Dame Mérencolye herself first appeared.[80] These French illustrations seem therefore to have anticipated the symbolic representation of Melancholy in Dürer's engraving (PLATES 60, 61, 64). They do certainly surpass any pre-Dürer designs in so far as they combine, to a certain extent, personification with exemplification; for if they share with the Cambridge manuscript the desire to represent the notion of melancholy in all its universality, yet they also share with the temperament-series the power of making an invisible notion visible. The main difference between them and Dürer's work lies in the fact that this combination did not as yet represent a synthesis, but merely a contact of the other two possibilities—in other words, the significance actually visible in these French figures does not really coincide, as yet, with the general notion of melancholy. What we see there, and what are really presented to us with more or less advanced realism, are lean and badly dressed old women in the context of a more or less dramatic scene, from which, at best, we receive the impression of a certain mournful atmosphere; but that these figures are meant to represent melancholy, or indeed anything except mournful old women, is as little expressed visibly, and can hence as little be suspected without knowledge of the literary texts as, say, the fact that we are expected to recognise a knight as "Burning Desire" and the page riding towards him as a messenger of "Love".

The figures in such romance illustrations, therefore, are not in the least degree "symbolic representations", but rather, in the term already used, they are still merely "personifications". In accordance with fifteenth-century style, these personifications are depicted with such a strong sense of reality that they function also as "paradigmata"; but, as yet, the contradiction between paradigm and personification is not resolved by any higher form of allegory. What is actually visible is still a single occurrence:

more complicated, in that several personifications (i.e. living beings or objects denoting ideas) meet in a scene or a spatial relationship illustrating the connexion between various abstract notions. A typical example is Dürer's *Triumph of Maximilian*, or Goltzius's allegory (cited below, p. 343, note 202) of the relationship between "Ars" and "Usus".

[80] For the special problems connected with the poetic personification of melancholy (and its pictorial illustration) see above, pp. 221 sqq. (text).

anything that lies beyond remains "in the text". It is, in fact, quite literally in the text, as the curiously indeterminate character of these illustrations shows. It is actually due to the fact that the texts illustrated had already anticipated pictorial art in its function of allegorical translation. In these romances such general psychological notions as "mistrust", "understanding", "honour", "sweet reward", "long hope" and even "melancholy", had already become, in the poet's own mind, so individualised and so concrete—so much progress along the road from the abstract to the visual had already been made—that the illustrator had only to translate the concrete particular figure or event described in the text into pictorial terms; and that there was, in his pictures, not the slightest reason for the spectator to revert in his turn from the particular to the underlying general concept. Situations which in literary form are already well-sustained allegories, that is to say, which provide dramatic connexions between personifications, are bound to become genre or history pictures if the attempt is made to illustrate them literally in all their details.

(iii) *Portraits of the Liberal Arts*

It is therefore a fact that Dürer was the first artist north of the Alps to raise the portrayal of melancholy to the dignity of a symbol, in which there appears a powerfully compelling concordance between the abstract notion and the concrete image. As may be readily understood from the foregoing, truly symbolic forms of representation were evolved by artists of the Italian Renaissance. For it was their achievement to express the ideal in terms of naturalistic art and the transcendental in terms of a rational world order; and (as for instance in Giovanni Bellini's allegories) to discover—or rather, to rediscover in the art of classical antiquity—the means of sublimation which Dürer also used, wings for the chief figure, the "putti", and so on.[81] If we looked for an earlier work of art in which the principle of symbolic

[81] On a plaque by Bertoldo, which has not as yet been fully explained, we even find a *putto* taking part with a child's earnestness in the adults' occupation (W. Bode, *Bertoldo und Lorenzo dei Medici*, Freiburg, i.B. 1925, p. 82). The putto seems to be modelling something, while the old man on the left is not, as Bode states, busied with measuring instruments, but is carving an elaborate piece of furniture; Mercury is working with plummet and compasses, the female figure with a triangle. Whether the partly illegible letters should really be interpreted as abbreviations of "Mathematica," = "Ars", "Ludus" and "Usus" remains an open question; such an interpretation would be in consonance with contemporary ideas (see also below, text pp. 339 sqq.).

representation was applied to the subject of melancholy, an analog would be found, not in the illustrations to French romances, bu in a lost painting by Mantegna, which Dürer may possibly hav known. Unfortunately we know practically nothing about i but we do know that it bore the title "Malancolia", and that contained sixteen putti dancing and making music.[82]

All this naturally does not exclude the possibility that tl general conception of *Melencolia I*—as soon as we look at it the light of the history of pictorial types rather than in the ligl of a theory of allegorical forms—may also be related to the northe tradition of pictorial allegory; indeed, we may even be led think that a connexion between the two is absolutely essenti to Dürer's engraving. But the first stages are not to be foun in the pictures of Dame Mérencolye. Despite their connexic with scientific and medical notions of melancholy, as far as artist form was concerned, these led, as we have seen, their own lif and they developed according to their own laws. Quite apa from that, they could hardly have become known to Dürer.[83] Tl first stages are to be sought rather in a group of allegorical pictur representing the "Liberal Arts". These pictures have nothing common, as regards content, with the pictures representir diseases and temperaments; however, in design they readily len themselves to Dürer's own particular artistic intentions, tl novelty of which they in fact underline. Among them, we are he concerned particularly with those which illustrate the fifth of tl "Liberal Arts": that is to say, Geometry.

Art in classical Greece had almost completely neglected tl realm of manual labour, and Hellenistic art had dealt with it in tl

[82] "Un quadro su l'ascia di mano del Mantegna con 16 fanciulli, che suonano e balla sopra scrittovi Malancolia, con cornice dorata, alta on. 14, larga on. 20½" (G. Campo *Raccolta di Cataloghi ed Inventarii inediti*, Modena 1870, p. 328; cf. Giehlow (1903), p. 4 Giehlow is no doubt correct in saying that these playing and dancing putti should be int preted as humanistic symbols of the musical and theatrical entertainments recommended antidotes to melancholy. But of course it need not have been Ficino who transmitted t knowledge of this (at the time) obvious remedy to Mantegna. Moreover, one can say ev less about Mantegna's picture, since from Campori's description it is not even certain tl "Melancholy" was there in person. In all essentials we must fall back on Cranach's pict (Plate 130), which seems to reflect Mantegna's composition (see below, text p. 384); recen the Dürer drawing L623 has come to light, which might confirm Dürer's knowledge of t lost picture (cf. H. Tietze and E. Tietze-Conrat, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der Werke A. Dür* vol. I, Augsburg 1928, p. 21).

[83] The one iconographical trait in which the "Melancolia" of *Melencolia I* agrees w "Dame Mérencolye" (and then only in King René's romance) is in her dishevelled (*eschev* hair, and even this sign of a desolate state of mind is too general a motif to justify assumption of a connexion.

way of sentimental genre-painting of the pathetic poor or the hard-working peasants, rather than as a factual and natural portrait of reality.[84] Roman antiquity evolved from it, however, an almost inexhaustible variety of pictorial types.[85] Next to the purely descriptive pictures of trades, which remain firmly wedded to reality in a typically Roman manner and show us peasants and artisans at their daily work, there are the Hellenistic representations which playfully mythologise this concrete reality by making putti do the work; and there are, finally, countless tombstones, on which the occupation of the deceased is depicted by showing not the gestures, but, emblematically, the tools, of the trade in question (PLATE 50).[86] Sometimes these emblems of labour can be reformed into the processes of labour, as is shown by a gilt glass, on which the figure of a ship-owner is surrounded by small scenes from the shipyard.[87] Sometimes, too, though not often, we encounter representations which really "personify" a trade, such as the Etruscan mirror (closely related to the emblematic tombstones) which shows a winged Eros surrounded by joiner's tools—as it were, "the spirit of joinery" (PLATE 51).[88]

Only the first of these types, the descriptive pictures of real workaday scenes, were handed down to the Middle Ages by direct pictorial tradition. In the almanacs and encyclopaedias

[84] The Hellenistic representations of the life of city populace, peasants, or even beasts are distinguished from the specifically Roman ones by an emotional emphasis arising from a keen sensitivity in regard to the unfamiliar. It may reflect a horror of degradation, as in the case of the *Drunken Old Woman*; or a sentimental interest in fellow-creatures or nature, as in the case of the *Black Boy making Music*, or the *Dam suchling her Young*; or, finally, a longing for the idyllic as in the case of the "peasant type" proper. In exactly the same manner Hellenistic portraiture contrasts with Roman by reason of its excitement and sense of triumph or suffering. The "holy sobriety" of the Latin artistic spirit, which, in educated circles, was often concealed under a mask of Hellenism, but revealed itself the more clearly in popular works, or in what we call provincial art, harked back, despite classicism and Hellenism, to the utter objectivity of the ancient Egyptian occupational portraits.

[85] OTTO JAHN, "Darstellungen des Handwerks und Handelsverkehrs auf Vasenbildern", in *Bericht über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*, XIX (1867), p. 75–113. Cf. H. GUMMERUS, "Darstellungen aus dem Handwerk auf röm. Grab- und Votivsteinen in Italien", in *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, XXVIII (1913), p. 63–126). More recently P. BRANDT, *Schaffende Arbeit und Bildende Kunst*, Leipzig 1927–1928 (two volumes with numerous plates).

[86] Occupational emblems could either be added to the figure of the deceased (this was the usual pagan custom, as in our PLATE 50), or replace it altogether (this naturally being a particularly popular form in the Christian catacombs).

[87] R. GARUCCI, *Storia dell' Arte cristiana*, VOL. III, 202, 3 = CABROL-LECLERCQ, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et liturgie*, I, 2, col. 2918 (with more detail).

[88] E. GERHARD, *Etrushische Spiegel*, Berlin 1843–67, Plate 330, 1.

we can see these scenes from Roman monuments adopted almost without alteration[89]; only in the later course of development were they modified and brought up to date. The personification of the Seven Liberal Arts, however, had still to be created—or rather, translated from Martianus Capella's lively and vivid description[90] into pictorially impressive terms—before they could assume the forms in which we so frequently see them in the great cathedrals and in illustrated manuscripts. There, they are often accompanied by a particular historical figure representing them—just as, in the mosaic pavements of late antiquity, the nine Muses are sometimes accompanied by representative practitioners of the nine arts—Calliope by Homer, Urania by Aratus,[91] and so on. Figures also of the Seven Mechanical Arts, represented mostly by paradigm rather than by personification, still had to be evolved.[92] And, without borrowing from antiquity, by a process of spontaneous re-creation, there arose a type of picture in which the skill of a man or of an allegorical being was indicated merely by the inclusion of a distinctive tool of his trade.

Centuries before the conscious reversion to the Roman type of monument for artisans or architects took place during the Renaissance,[93] the background of the archivolt reliefs showing

[89] To illustrate the continuity of this tradition we bring together on PLATES 97–99: (*a*) three pictures of the months from the Salzburg Calendar of 818 (G. SWARZENSKI, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig 1913, pp. 13 sqq. and plate VII; H. J. HERMANN, *Die illuminierten Handschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Wien*, VOL. I, Leipzig 1923, p. 148), namely May holding flowers, June ploughing, and August reaping; (*b*) the three corresponding pictures from the Rabanus Codex in Monte Cassino, copied in 1023 from a Carolingian model (A. M. AMELLI, *Miniature . . . illustranti l'Enciclopedia medioevale di Rabano Mauro*, Monte Cassino 1896, plate LIII); (*c*) a Roman figure in relief of the type on which August was based (Lateran sarcophagus). The pictures in the Rabanus Codex retain the indications of ground formation which have already lapsed in the Carolingian calendars, though the disposition of the figures would demand them here too. Hence it follows that the Rabanus pictures (for which cf. A. GOLDSCHMIDT, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, VOL. III, 1923–1924, pp. 215 sqq.) are independent of the Salzburg Calendar and are based directly on pictorial sources dating from before the ninth century.

[90] *Nuptias Philologiae et Mercurii*, BK II sqq.; cf. E. MÂLE, "Les arts libéraux", in *Revue archéologique*, 1891, pp. 343 sqq.

[91] In these instances, therefore, personifications and paradigmata meet in a dual scene which, a few centuries later, could even be united in a single scene (cf. e.g. the "typus Arithmeticae" in GREGOR REISCH, *Margarita philosophica*, Strasbourg 1504, well reproduced in E. REICKE, *Der Gelehrte in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Monographien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, VOL. VII), Leipzig 1900, plate 45.

[92] Cf. E. MÂLE, "Les arts libéraux", in *Revue archéologique*, 1891, pp. 343 sqq., and J. VON SCHLOSSER, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VOL. XVII (1896), pp. 13 sqq.

[93] Cf. e.g. ANDREA BREGNO's epitaph in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (H. EGGER, in *Festschrift für Julius von Schlosser*, Zürich 1927, plate 57) and the corresponding German examples,

the historical representatives of the seven arts had been furnished with a ruler on a nail and a board with pen, sponge and so on (PLATE 100); and architects' monuments show the profession of the dead master by compasses and set-square.[94] One typical example of this is the monument of the great Hugues de Libergier, which, incidentally, is also a wonderful witness to the veneration which in Late Gothic times (in some ways, at least emotionally, very much like the Renaissance) could be accorded to a brilliant architect. But there can be no doubt that the writing implements in the Chartres archivolts are meant to be realistic, while the tools on the tombstone of the Master of St Nicaise have the same purely emblematic significance as in the Roman monuments.

These were the two roots of the new iconography. It arose when fourteenth-century art—charged with contradiction as always—developed a highly abstract symbolism which was ideographic rather than representational, while at the same time it laid the foundations of naturalistic perspective. Thus, there could develop, on the one hand, those workshop-interiors of the reliefs on the Campanile in Florence which almost look like scenes from ordinary life; on the other, such abstract representations as the miniature of 1376 in which the Aristotelian τέχνη appears surrounded by the tools of the various mechanical arts, with small figures of a farmer and a shepherd at her feet (PLATE 101),[95] or the strange pictures of the "Observance of the Sabbath", in which

obviously later in date, discussed in P. BRANDT, *Schaffende Arbeit und Bildende Kunst*, Leipzig 1927–1928, VOL. II, pp. 137 sqq. The type of "Eros Carpenter", too, underwent a revival in the period of humanism, though with an intellectual and satirical refinement of meaning; cf. the putto surrounded by occupational symbols and striving to fly heavenwards, but hindered by terrestrial needs, which often appears in editions by Rivius, but is already influenced by Dürer's *Melencolia I*. That it was so influenced is shown by a comparison with its model in Alciato's *Emblemata*, which is still without any occupational symbols (cf. L. VOLKMANN, *Bilderschriften der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1923, p. 44). Of the use of implements to denote an occupation there are, of course, countless examples in emblem-books; they can replace long narratives or biographies. As a good example, cf. the reverse of the medallion for Tomasso Ruggieri, reproduced in G. HABICH, *Die Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*, Stuttgart 1922, plate LXX, 4.

[94] Cf. E. MOREAU-NÉLATON, *La Cathédrale de Reims*, Paris n.d., p. 33.

[95] The Hague, Mus. Meermanno-Westreenianum, MS 10 D 1 (the "small" Aristotle-Oresme MS of Charles V), fol. 110r (cf. A. BYVANCK, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale et du Musée Meermanno-Westreenianum à la Haye*, Paris 1924, p. 114; replicas in J. MEURGEY, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly*, Publications de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, VOL. XIII–XIV, Paris 1930, plate LII and pp. 46 sqq., with bibliography). On the left, next to "Art", is "Science", reading; on the right is the three-headed "Prudence" (for the motif of the three heads, cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VOL. XVIII), Leipzig 1930, pp. 1 sqq.; it is remarkable, however, that here the three are

the "arma Christi" of the contemporary representations of the Man of Sorrow are replaced by implements of various crafts.[96]

Thanks to the progress of naturalistic perspective in the course of the fifteenth century, the distinctions observed in portraits of the arts between "personification", "paradigm" and "emblem" became less and less sharp. On the one hand, there were certain historical figures, such as Cicero, Euclid or Pythagoras, who had originally been added to the personifications of the various arts as their "paradigmatic" representatives. These portraits now became so independent, and were at the same time elaborated into pictures of professional activities which seemed so completely realistic, that the personified figure of the art could be dropped, and the individual portrait of a Pythagoras, a Euclid, or a Cicero, could illustrate at one and the same time both an actual activity and the general notion of the art in question. On the other hand, abstract personifications (on the lines of, for example, the Hague miniature) could now become so realistic that they, too, bear the appearance of genre pictures of an occupational activity. In either case the minor figures, and implements that in earlier pictures had been purely emblematic, could be turned into illustrative elements and unite themselves in the three-dimensional space of the picture—both with "Pythagoras" or "Cicero" (now raised to the level of general significance), and with "Rhetoric" or "Music" (now particularised to the extent of resembling a concrete genre scene).

Thus, to give an example of the first possibility, a German manuscript of the third quarter of the fifteenth century[97] illustrates the notion "Geometry" by means of a figure of Euclid sitting, accompanied by an assistant, at a table laden with measuring instruments, and holding a pair of compasses and a set-square, while in a special strip along the bottom another assistant is taking soundings (PLATE 102). In this subsidiary scene we have a sort of half-way house between the purely emblematic use of minor figures, as in the Hague miniature, and their inclusion in a common space with the main figure (as in PLATE 104).

death's-heads); below are "Entendement" in a pensive attitude, and "Sapience", illumined by the direct vision of God the Father and his angels. Dr B. Martens kindly brought this miniature to our notice. "Ars" as a smith appears in the Brussels Aristotle-Oresme MS 9505, fol. 115v, which is related to this both in time and manner.

[96] Cf. E. BREITENBACH and T. HILLMANN, *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, VOL. XXXIX (1937), pp. 23 sqq.

[97] London, Brit. Mus., Add. MS 15692 (*De septem artibus liberalibus*), fol. 29v.

On the other hand, in a group of somewhat later French manuscripts real personifications appear, representing notions such as "Déduccion loable".[98] These personifications, incidentally, are metaphorical as well as allegorical, since actual working tools could only be attributed to such a sub-division of rhetoric because the text credited it with so strengthening the logical edifice of thought "que rient n'y reste trou ne fente."[99] Armed with a set-square, "Déduccion loable" sits in a room, overlooking two unfinished houses and filled with joists, beams, and carpenter's tools that are entirely realistic. Here we can either interpret the various instruments as emblems around which a room has been built, or regard the whole as a workshop and dwelling-room in which the emblems are distributed (PLATE 103).

After these examples we are in a position to understand a certain portrait of "Geometry" which is of the greatest importance for our subject, namely, a woodcut from Gregor Reisch's *Margarita philosophica*, Strasbourg, 1504 (PLATE 104).[100] "Geometria", once again a real personification, sits at a table full of planimetric and stereometric figures, her hands busied with compasses and a

[98] Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. gall. 15. On this, cf. COMTE DE ROSANBO, "Notice sur Les Douze Dames de Rhétorique" (from MS fr. 1174 of the Bibliothèque Nationale), in *Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, VOL. XIII (1929). In the history of types these ladies (and also, for instance "Dame Eloquence") come very near to Dürer's "Melencolia".

[99] A similar "metaphorical" or "double" allegory also occurs in the "Artes" series probably from Alsace (SCHREIBER, *Manuel*, No. 1874, reproduced in P. HEITZ, *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts*, VOL. LXIV, No. 6, and in E. REICKE, *Der Gelehrte in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1900, figs. 27–29). These portraits, despite their abstract titles such as *Arismetica*, etc. are, regarded as types, fully realistic occupational representations—so much so, indeed, that with one exception they show us not the paradigmatic representatives of the various sciences, but simple peasants and artisans, whose activity refers to the liberal arts either by way of metaphor (as in the case of *Déduccion loable*), or else by alluding to their practical application. Arithmetic alone is represented by a man actually counting; Grammar, Rhetoric and Logic, on the other hand, are represented by a sower, a miller and a baker (for Aristotle made bread out of the seed which Priscian had sown and Cicero ground), and Astronomy by a painter, a figure known from the pictures of the children of Mercury or of Luke's Madonna, except that here he is painting stars in the sky. Geometry, however, is represented not by a geometrician but by an "appareilleur" who is measuring a stone on a site, and the accompanying couplet runs

"Ich kan pawen vnd wol messen,
Darumb will ich Eclides (*sic*) nit vergessen."

The difference, in comparison with *Déduccion loable*, is, as in other cases, that there a lady easily recognisable as a personification is sitting in a carpenter's shop, whereas here ordinary peasants and workmen are really sowing, milling and baking.

[100] Reproduced in O. LAUFFER, *Deutsche Altertümer im Rahmen deutscher Sitte*, Leipzig 1918, plate 5.

sphere.[101] She is surrounded by scenes of activity, of which th smaller scale contrasts sharply both with the perspective of th picture as a whole, and with the size of the main figure. The are subordinated to it as dependent notions rather than co ordinated with it as objects in a coherent space; that is to say the relation of the tools to the main figure is something like tha of the small occupational scenes in the Hague miniature to th figure of "Art", or those on the gilt glass already mentioned t the figure of the deceased ship-owner. Like these, they may b regarded as dramatised trade emblems. In an organisationa sense, the toil of the ship-builders sawing and planing is "governed" by the ship-owner; and in an intellectual sense the activities show here are "subordinated" to "Geometria"; for all the work tha is going on is merely a practical application of her theoretica discoveries. On the ground floor of the house under constructio (a huge block of stone is still suspended from a crane) the ceilin is being vaulted; hammer, ruler and moulding plane are lyin on the ground; a kneeling man is drawing a plan with the hel of a set-square; another is dividing a very naturalistic map int "iugera"; and with the help of a sextant and astrolabe two youn astronomers are studying the night sky, in which, despite heav cloud, the moon and stars are brightly shining.[102]

No one whose historical sense can bridge the gulf between didactic picture and a great work of art can deny that this "typu Geometriae"[103] is extraordinarily akin to *Melencolia I*. We mus

[101] Cf. MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *Nuptiae Philologiae et Mercurii*, VI, 575 sqq., esp. 580–((pp. 286 sqq. in A. Dick's edition, Leipzig 1925). Geometry's serving women are here carryi a "mensula" covered with a greenish dust, "depingendis designandisque opportuna formis" the author describes the lady herself as "feminam luculentam, radium dextera, altera sphaera solidam gestitantem."

[102] The groundwork for all this had already been laid by Martianus Capella's descriptio Geometry is wearing a "peplum", "in quo siderum magnitudines et meatus, circuloru mensurae conexionesque vel formae, umbra etiam telluris in caelum quoque perveniens v lunae orbes ac solis auratos caliganti murice decolorans inter sidera videbatur"; and "" usum germanae ipsius Astronomiae crebrius commodatum, reliqua vero versis illitu diversitatibus numerorum, gnomonum stilis, interstitiorum, ponderum mensurarumq formis diversitate colorum variegata renidebat" (A. Dick (ed.), p. 289). Such a garme could naturally be dispensed with by our artist, as astral phenomena could be direct represented, though the peacock's feather in Geometria's cap is not without allegoric significance; the peacock according to Ripa, under the heading *Notte, seconda parte* (quoti Pierio Valeriano), signifies "la notte chiara, e stellata, vedendosi nella sua coda tanti occl come tante stelle nel Cielo".

[103] Already in the 1512 edition of GREGOR REISCH's *Margarita philosophica* (fol. o 1r) t portrait is simplified along these lines; Geometria is holding the sextant herself, and measuring a barrel with a pair of compasses (a remarkable anticipation of Kepler's *Stereometr doliorum*), while a rule lies on the ground, and a ship is sailing in the distance.

not forget that, as has been frequently pointed out, trade tools and trade scenes are constantly interchanged, and, in certain instances, even combined. We are therefore justified in imagining that the illustrator of Gregor Reisch's book might have represented the tools as emblems instead of showing their application in the minor scenes[104]; and we have then only to add to them the implements that are in fact seen scattered about on the table and on the ground in the woodcut in order to be aware of an astonishing measure of agreement in the inventory of both designs. Dürer, too, still in accordance with Martianus Capella, shows a figure with a sphere and a pair of compasses engaged in construction; here, as in the woodcut, there are hammer, moulding plane and set-square on the ground. In the woodcut, Geometria has writing materials beside her on the table; in Dürer's engraving, also, there are writing materials on the ground near the sphere[105];

[104] Thus in the miniature, PLATE 103.

[105] There is no reason to doubt that this object is in reality nothing but a portable writing compendium, consisting of a lockable inkwell with a pen-case attached to it by a leather strap but unfortunately truncated by the left-hand margin of the picture. And yet after I. A. ENDRES (*Die christliche Kunst*, VOL. IX (1913), several instalments), had interpreted it as a spinning top, and F. A. NAGEL (*Der Kristall auf Dürer's Melancholie*, Nuremberg 1922) as a plummet, W. BÜHLER in (*Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1925, pp. 44 sqq.) called it a paint-jar with a stick and with a thread wound round it in spirals to facilitate the drawing of a straight line (whereas these spiral effects are nothing but plaited leather, such as occurs not only on other pen-cases but even on knife-sheaths, cf. e.g. Breughel's drawing, Tolnai No. 77); while according to P. BRANDT (in *Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik*, VOL. XXXII (1928), pp. 276 sqq.) it was even meant to be a cone-shaped plummet, with a case for the line standing on a saucer! To set all doubt at rest we may mention the analogous cases in Dürer's own works already pointed out by Giehlow and also by F. HONECKER (in *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst*, VOL. XXVI (1913), col. 323)—the woodcut B60 and the prayer book of Maximilian I, plate 14, both representing St John on Patmos, and the woodcut B113 of St Jerome—and add a few others which might easily be multiplied: (1) the vision of St John by the brothers Limburg in Chantilly (*Les très riches heures de Jean de France*, ed. P. Durrieu, Paris 1904, fol. 17r, plate 14); (2) the vision of St John in the Coburg Bible; (3) Dürer's woodcut B70; (4) the Ruggieri medal already mentioned above, p. 310, note 93; (5) a portrait of St Augustine, dating from *c.* 1450, in a MS at Utrecht of his Confessions (reproduced by A. W. BYVANCK and G. J. HOOGEWERFF, *La miniature hollandaise et les manuscrits illustrés du 14e au 16e siècles aux Pays-Bas septentrionaux*, VOL. II, The Hague, 1923, plate 187); (6) a satirical woodcut in GEILER VON KEISERSPERG's *Sünden des Munds*, Strasbourg 1518 (reproduced in E. REICKE, *Der Gelehrte*, fig. 99); (7) Ghirlandaio's St Jerome in Ognissanti; (8) Hans Döring's woodcut (see below, text p. 335 sq. and PLATE 107) which is all the more important since he took the whole of his instrumentarium directly from Dürer's engraving. Giehlow's explanation (GIEHLOW (1904), p. 76) of the inkwell as a hieroglyph symbolising the sacred writings of the Egyptians does not seem to us tenable because the hieroglyph for the "sacrae litterae Aegyptiorum" (cf. *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VOL. XXXII (1915), p. 195) is not composed merely of the pen or of the inkwell alone, but of inkwell, stilograph and sieve, the accompanying text laying at least as much emphasis on the last component as on the other two: "Aegypciacas ostendentes litteras sacrasve aut finem, atramentum et cribrum calamum quoque effigiant. Litteras equidem, quoniam apud Aegypcios omnia scripta cum his perficiantur. Calamo etenim ac nulla alia re scribunt. Cribrum vero, quoniam cribrum principale vas conficiendi panis ex calamis fieri soleat. Ostendunt itaque, quemadmodum omnis, cui victus suppeditat, litteras discere potest, qui vero illo caret, alia arte utatur necesse est. Quam ob rem apud ipsos disciplina 'sbo' vocatur, quod interpretari potest victus abundancia. Sacras vero litteras, quoniam cribrum vitam ac mortem discernit." It is highly improbable that anyone who intended making a hieroglyphic translation of certain notions should so arbitrarily have modified the symbols handed down by Horapollo. (From Vienna, Nationalbibl., MS 3255, fol. 47r.)

while the relatively simple stereometric objects with which Geometria is busied find their more complicated counterpart in Dürer's much-discussed rhomboid.[106] When one adds that the clouds, the moon and the stars that are shown in the woodcut have their counterpart in Dürer's engraving, and that the putto scribbling on his slate was originally, in the preparatory sketch (PLATE 8), to have been working with a sextant like the boy (!) on the left of Geometria, one is bound to consider the connexion as more than probable. We may even consider as a possibility that the ladder should be interpreted as the implement of a building under construction. The *Margarita philosophica* was one of the most widely known encyclopaedias of the time; it even appeared in an Italian translation as late as 1600: and the connexion with Dürer's engraving is not invalidated by the fact that the latter also took over characteristics from non-allegorical representations of occupations—the less so as they belong to the iconography of portraits of scholars, who were at the same time the liberal arts personified. Thus, regarded historically, the sleeping dog is simply a descendant of the poodle or Pomeranian so often seen in the scholars' studies[107]; the wreath is a constant attribute of the "homo literatus", and Dürer himself (for we think that it was he) had crowned the young Terence with it,[108] while it distinguishes both Jacob Locher the poet,[109] and Marsilio Ficino the philosopher.[110]

[106] Appendix I, pp. 400 sqq.

[107] Cf. Dürer's own engraving of St Jerome, the Darmstadt miniature of Petrarch reproduced in J. SCHLOSSER, *Oberitalienische Trecentisten*, Leipzig 1921, plate II), the woodcut in B. Corio's *Chronicle of Milan* of 1503 (reproduced in E. REICKE, *Der Gelehrte in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1900, fig. 55) or the illustration of medical study in H. BRAUNSCHWEIG's *Liber de arte distillandi*, Strasbourg 1512 (reproduced in REICKE, op. cit., fig. 46).

[108] Cf. E. RÖMER, in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, VOL. XLVII (1926), plate I, p. 136.

[109] Woodcut in JACOB LOCHER, *Panegyrici ad regem* . . . , Strasbourg 1497 (reissued in H. BRAUNSCHWEIG's *Medicinarius*, 1505, fol. cxxxi*), reproduced in E. REICKE, *Der Gelehrte in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1900, plate 66.

[110] H. BRAUNSCHWEIG, *Medicinarius*, 1505, fol. cxxxii*.

With regard to composition, an astronomical picture such as the woodcut on the title page of Johannes Angelus's *Astrolabium planum* may also have had some influence; it was published just at the time of Dürer's first visit to Venice, and in more than one direction it seems generally to prepare the ground for the spatial scheme of the engraving (PLATE 94).[111] However that may be, it cannot possibly be a coincidence that so many of Dürer's occupational symbols correspond with those in the "typus Geometriae", and that, as we shall shortly show, even those details that are lacking in the balder woodcut can be subsumed, almost completely, under the notion of geometry.

Is Dürer's "Melencolia" then really a "Geometria"? Yes and no. For if she shares the circumstances of her occupation with the lady with the peacock's feather in the woodcut, she shares the manner of her occupation, or, rather of her lack of occupation, with the portraits of melancholics in the German almanacs. While in the Strasbourg illustration all is energetic and joyous activity—the little figures drawing and measuring, observing and experimenting, and the patroness eagerly encompassing her sphere—the essential characteristic of Dürer's "Melencolia" is that she is doing nothing with any of these tools for mind or hand, and that the things on which her eye might rest simply do not exist for her. The saw lies idly at her feet; the grindstone with its chipped edge[112] leans uselessly against the wall; the book lies in her lap with closed clasps; the rhomboid and the astral phenomena are ignored; the sphere has rolled to the ground; and the compasses are "spoiling for want of occupation".[113] There is no doubt that in spite of everything this failure to employ things that are there to be used, this disregard of what is there to be seen, do link *Melencolia I* with the slothful melancholy represented by the spinstress asleep or lost in idle depression. The "Acedia" in the broadsheet (PLATE 92) with her head resting on her left hand, and her spindle lying idle in her lap, is the dull-

[111] JOHANNES ANGELUS, *Astrolabium planum*, Venice 1494 (lacking in the 1st edition of 1488). Cf., in a contrary sense, esp. the relationship of the figure to the plane of the picture and the diagonal composition of the whole as conditioned by this; even the attitude of the head, with one eye cut into by the outline of the profile, seems familiar. The same scheme, though with the figure given heightened activity and emotional expression, in typical Renaissance fashion, appears in the woodcut to CECCO D'ASCOLI's *Acerba*, Venice 1524 (reproduced in HARTLAUB, *Geheimnis*, p. 38).

[112] For the significance of this, see below, p. 329 (text).

[113] H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, 5th edition, Munich 1926, p. 253.

witted sister of Dürer's "Melencolia"; and we know how familiar Dürer was with this lower type of melancholy, from the fact that he accorded it a place in Maximilian I's prayer book.[114]

From the standpoint, therefore, of the history of types alone, Dürer's engraving is made up in its details of certain traditional Melancholy or Saturn motifs (keys and purse, head on hand, dark face, clenched fist); but, taken as a whole, it can only be understood if it is regarded as a symbolic synthesis of the "typus Acediae" (the popular exemplar of melancholy inactivity) with the "typus Geometriae" (the scholastic personification of one of the "liberal arts").

2. THE NEW MEANING OF "MELENCOLIA I"

(*a*) The new Form of Expression

The idea behind Dürer's engraving, defined in terms of the history of types, might be that of Geometria surrendering to melancholy, or of Melancholy with a taste for geometry. But this pictorial union of two figures, one embodying the allegorised ideal of a creative mental faculty, the other a terrifying image of a destructive state of mind, means far more than a mere fusion of two types; in fact, it establishes a completely new meaning, and one that as far as the two starting points are concerned amounts almost to a twofold inversion of meaning. When Dürer fused the portrait of an "ars geometrica" with that of a "homo melancholicus"—an act equal to the merging of two different worlds of thought and feeling—he endowed the one with a soul, the other with a mind. He was bold enough to bring down the timeless knowledge and method of a liberal art into the sphere of human striving and failure, bold enough, too, to raise the animal heaviness of a "sad, earthy" temperament to the height of a struggle with intellectual problems. Geometria's workshop has changed from a cosmos of clearly ranged and purposefully employed tools into a chaos of unused things; their casual distribution reflects a psychological unconcern.[115] But Melancholia's inactivity has changed from the idler's lethargy and the sleeper's unconsciousness to the compulsive preoccupation

[114] Prayer Book, fol. 48v. For the presence of the figure in the German *Ship of Fools* to the illustrations of which Dürer probably contributed, see above, p. 301 (text).

[115] H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, p. 255.

of the highly-strung. Both are idle, Dürer's wreathed and ennobled "Melencolia", with her mechanically-held compasses, and the dowdy "Melancholica" of the calendar illustrations with her useless spindle; but the latter is doing nothing because she has fallen asleep out of sloth, the former because her mind is preoccupied with interior visions, so that to toil with practical tools seems meaningless to her. The "idleness" in one case is below the level of outward activity; in the other, above it. If Dürer was the first to raise the allegorical figure of Melancholy to the plane of a symbol,[116] this change appears now as the means—or perhaps the result—of a change in significance: the notion of a "Melencolia" in whose nature the intellectual distinction of a liberal art was combined with a human soul's capacity for suffering could only take the form of a winged genius.

The creative power which generated this new conception naturally informs also the traditional details. Set pieces that seem to be entirely conventional play a curious part in producing that impression of casualness so typical of the engraving; the purse, for instance, instead of being attached to the belt by ribbons, has slipped carelessly to the ground, the keys hang crookedly in their twisted ring—very different from the housewifely chatelaine of the *Madonna at the Wall*. And when even these inanimate details become eloquent, when the sleeping dog (which in the usual picture of scholars is enjoying the quiet of the study and the warmth of the stove) has become a half-starved wretch, curled up, dead-tired, and shivering on the cold earth, then how striking and how new those things appear which have always been significant in a specifically human sense. We know now that the motif of the clenched fist was a traditional one, already used here and there before Dürer (PLATE 72). For a medieval illustrator, the clenched fist was the sign of certain delusions, and he conceived it as an inevitable adjunct of the figure in question, as inevitable as the knife which St Bartholomew always carries. But in Dürer's *Melencolia I* the clenched hand also supports the head; it thereby visibly approaches the seat of thought, and, by ceasing to be an isolated attribute, merges with

[116] These stages of development, discussed above from a systematic point of view, can be shown in the example of *Melencolia I* to have been stages in an actual historical process; for the "symbolic" form of the engraving did in fact evolve from the combination of a purely "personifying" representation (i.e. the "typus Geometriae") with a purely "paradigmatic" one (i.e. the portrait of a melancholic as in the calendars).

the thoughtful face into one area of compressed power, containing not only the strongest contrasts of light and shade, but also absorbing all there is, in the otherwise motionless figure, of physical and mental life. Moreover, the clenched left hand is in striking contrast to the lethargically sinking right hand; it is the hand no longer of an unfortunate madman who "thinks", as one text puts it, "that he holds a great treasure, or the whole world, in his hand"; but of a completely reasonable being, intent on creative work—and sharing none the less the same fate as the poor madman in not being able either to grasp or to release an imaginary something. The gesture of the clenched fist, hitherto a mere symptom of disease, now symbolises the fanatical concentration of a mind which has truly grasped a problem, but which at the same moment feels itself incapable either of solving or of dismissing it.

The clenched fist tells the same story as the gaze directed towards an empty distance. How different it is from the downcast eye formerly attributed to the melancholic or child of Saturn![117] Melencolia's eyes stare into the realm of the invisible with the same vain intensity as that with which her hand grasps the impalpable. Her gaze owes its uncanny expressiveness not only to the upward look, the unfocussed eyes typical of hard thinking, but also, above all, to the fact that the whites of her eyes, particularly prominent in such a gaze, shine forth from a dark face, that "dark face" which, as we know, was also a constant trait of the traditional picture of Melancholy, but in Dürer's

[117] Cf. Rufus' καταφής (above, text p. 50), probably to be understood as a psychological term, and numerous later texts, in which certainly the pose is intended as a means of expression: e.g. Raimundus Lullus: "Et naturaliter erga terram respiciunt"; Berlin, Cod. germ. fol. 1191, now in Marburg: "Sin [e.g. the melancholic's] Antlitz czu der Erden gekart"; also the text on Saturn printed in A. HAUBER, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg 1916, p. 23: "Sin [e.g. Saturn's child] angesicht alles geneiget zu der erden." It says something for the power of suggestion of such a tradition that a description of Dürer's engraving (*Pictura Melancholiae*) by Melanchthon—admittedly known to us only at second hand—says in obvious contradiction to the visible fact: "Vultu severo, qui in magna consideratione nusquam aspicit, sed palpebris dejectis humum intuetur." Thus Berlin, MS theol. lat. qu. 97, now in Tübingen, a composite MS which a certain Sebastian Redlich copied from notes by Conrad Cordatus, fol. 290ᵛ (rather poorly edited by H. Wrampelmeyer, *Ungedruckte Schriften Philipp Melanchthons*, Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Kgl. Gymnasiums zu Clausthal, Easter 1911 p. 8, No. 62). This description, an illuminating one in many ways ("Albertus Durerus artificiosissimus pictor, melancholici picturam ita expressit . . .") is a mixture of minute observation and subtle psychological interpretation, and of pure fantasy. At the end, for instance, the author says "Cernere etiam est . . . ad fenestram aranearum tela", although neither a spider's web nor even a window is present. Here Melanchthon was probably thinking of another portrait of melancholy (cf. our PLATE 139 and p. 393 sq.) or of an engraving such as G. Pencz's *Tactus* (B109).

portrait denotes something entirely new. Here too, representing the "dark face" less as dark-skinned than as darkly shadowed,[118] he transformed the physiognomic or pathological fact into an expression, almost an atmosphere. Like the motif of the clenched fist, that of the dark face was taken over from the sphere of medical semeiology; but the discoloration becomes, literally, an over-shadowing, which we understand not as the result of a physical condition, but as the expression of a state of mind. In this picture, dusk (signified by a bat)[119] is magically illumined by the glow of heavenly phenomena, which cause the sea in the background to glow with phosphorescence, while the foreground seems to be lit by a moon standing high in the sky and casting deep shadows.[120] This highly fantastic and literal "twilight" of the whole picture is not so much based on the natural conditions of a certain time of day: it denotes the uncanny twilight of a mind, which can neither cast its thoughts away into the darkness nor "bring them to the light". Thus, Dürer's Melencolia (it is unnecessary to add that the upright figure in the preliminary study has been deliberately changed to a drooping one) sits in front of her unfinished building, surrounded by the instruments of creative work, but sadly brooding with a feeling that she is achieving nothing.[121] With hair hanging down unkempt, and her gaze, thoughtful and sad, fixed on a point in the distance, she keeps watch, withdrawn from the world, under a darkening sky, while the bat begins its circling flight. "A genius with wings

[118] This fact was questioned by W. BÜHLER (in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1925, pp. 44 sqq.) as the globe, the fist and the putto's face appear lighter, though they are in the same light. But these objects of comparison seem lighter only because they are merely partly in shadow, while Melancholy's face, turned much further to the left than the putto's, is fully in shadow, and should therefore be compared only with the shadowed portion of the objects named by Bühler (or perhaps with the right half of the collar round her shoulder).

[119] Ripa expressly describes this as an attribute of the "Crepusculo della Sera". Moreover, we know (see above, p. 11, note 24 and *passim*) that the third quarter of the day, i.e. the time between 3 p.m. and 9 p.m., is proper to melancholy.

[120] It seems hitherto to have been ignored that the sun could not possibly stand so high at the time of day indicated by the sky and the bat, as to cast, for instance, the hour-glass's shadow. The scene, therefore, if indeed such a realistic interpretation is desired, was imagined as by moonlight, once more in significant contrast to the sun-drenched interior in the St Jerome engraving (see below, p. 364, note 276).

[121] In Melanchthon's analysis, just quoted, the ladder motif in particular is interpreted in this sense, i.e. as a symbol of an all-embracing but often ineffectual, if not absurd, mental search: "ut autem indicaret nihil non talibus ab ingeniis comprehendi solere, et quam eadem saepe in absurda deferrentur, ante illam scalas in nubes eduxit, per quarum gradus quadratum saxum veluti ascensionem moliri fecit."

that she will not unfold, with a key that she will not use to unlock, with laurels on her brow, but with no smile of victory."[122]

Dürer defined and enhanced this impression of an essentially human tragedy in two ways by the addition of auxiliary figures. The dozing of the tired and hungry dog (the former owner of the preliminary drawing—see PLATE 4—rightly called it "canis dormitans", making use of the intensive form, rather than "canis dormiens") signifies the dull sadness of a creature entirely given over to its unconscious comfort or discomfort[123]; while the industry of the writing putto signifies the careless equanimity of a being that has only just learnt the contentment of activity, even when unproductive, and does not yet know the torment of thought even when productive; it is not yet capable of sadness, because it has not yet attained human stature. The conscious sorrow of a human being wrestling with problems is enhanced both by the unconscious suffering of the sleeping dog and by the happy unself-consciousness of the busy child.

(*b*) The New Notional Content

The new meaning expressed in Dürer's engraving communicates itself to eye and mind with the same directness as that with which the outward appearance of a man approaching us reveals his character and mood; and it is in fact the distinction of a great work of art, that whether it represents a bunch of asparagus or a subtle allegory it can, on one particular level, be understood by the naïve observer and the scientific analyst alike. Indeed, the impression which we have just attempted to describe will probably be shared, to a certain extent, by almost everybody who looks at the engraving, though in words they may express their feelings differently.

But just as there are works of art whose interpretation is exhausted in the communication of directly experienced impressions, because their intention is satisfied merely by the representation of a "first-order" (in this case purely visual) world of objects,[124] so there are others whose composition embraces

[122] LUDWIG BARTNING, *Worte der Erinnerung an Adolf Bartning*, privately printed, Hamburg 1929.

[123] Thus, too, in Melanchthon's description: "Jacet autem prope hanc ad pedes ipsi contracta corporis parte, parte etiam porrecta, canis, cuiusmodi solet illa bestia in fastidio esse, languida et somniculosa et perturbari in quiete."

[124] Cf. E. PANOFSKY, in *Logos*, VOL. XXI (1932), pp. 103 sqq.

"second-order" body of elements, based on a cultural inheritance, and expressing, therefore, a notional content as well. That *Melencolia I* belongs to the latter group is demonstrated not only by Dürer's note, which attributes a definite allegorical meaning even to the innocent appurtenances of a housewife's wardrobe,[125] but, above all, by the evidence—just adduced—that Dürer's engraving is the result of a synthesis of certain allegorical pictures of melancholy and the arts, whose notional content, no less than their expressive significance, did indeed change, but could hardly be altogether lost. It is hence inherently probable that the characteristic motifs of the engraving should be explained either as symbols of Saturn (or Melancholy), or as symbols of Geometry.

(i) *Symbols of Saturn or Melancholy*

We have discussed first the motifs associated with Saturn (or Melancholy)—the propped-up head, the purse and keys, the clenched fist, the dark face[126]—because they belonged to the personal characteristics of the melancholic, and because, with varying degrees of completeness, they had all been evolved in the pre-Dürer tradition. Besides these motifs there are others which are not so much essential properties as extraneous trappings of the figures represented, and some of them are foreign to the older pictorial tradition.

The first of these auxiliary motifs is the dog, which in itself belonged to the typical portraits of scholars. Its inclusion and the inversion of meaning by which it becomes a fellow-sufferer with Melencolia can, however, be justified by several considerations. Not only is it mentioned in several astrological sources as a typical beast of Saturn,[127] but, in the Horapollo (the introduction to the *Mysteries of the Egyptian Alphabet* which the humanists worshipped almost idolatrously), it is associated with the disposition of melancholics in general, and of scholars and prophets in particular. In 1512, Pirckheimer had finished a translation

[125] See above, pp. 284 sqq. (text). Among Dürer's unallegorical works showing figures with a purse and keys, we may mention the engravings B40, 84 and 90; the woodcuts B3, 80, 84, 88, 92; and, above all, the costume picture L463 with the caption "also gett man in Hewsern Nörmerck." A purse and keys also characterise the old nurse in the pictures of Danae by Titian (Prado) and Rembrandt (Hermitage).

[126] See above, pp. 289 sqq. (text).

[127] E.g. in Ibn Esra the "canes nigri", and, in a Greek MS, dogs in general (*Cat. astr. Gr.*, v, 1, p. 182, 10; quoted by W. Gundel in *Gnomon*, vol. II (1926), p. 299, and BBG, *Sternglaube*, p. 114).

of the Horapollo from the Greek, and Dürer himself had supp it with illustrations; and curiously enough, of this jointly produ codex, there survives the very page (Dürer's drawing 183) on wh it is written that the hieroglyph of a dog signifies among ot things the spleen, prophets, and "sacras literas"—all noti which, since the time of Aristotle, had been closely linked with melancholic—, and that the dog, more gifted and sensitive t other beasts, has a very serious nature and can fall a vic to madness, and like deep thinkers is inclined to be always on hunt, smelling things out, and sticking to them.[128] "The b dog", says a contemporary hieroglyphist, is therefore the "qui faciem magis, ut vulgo aiunt, melancholicam prae se ferat —which could be said with all justice of the dog in Dür engraving.

The bat motif is quite independent of pictures. In fact, invention is due purely to a textual tradition; and even in Raml *Shorter Mythology* it is still cited as the animal symbolic melancholics.[130] It is mentioned, too, in the Horapollo as sign of "homo aegrotans et incontinens".[131] Further, it serv the Renaissance humanists (for better or worse) as an exam of night vigil or nightly work. According to Agrippa of Nettesh its outstanding characteristic is "vigilantia"[132]; according Ficino it is a warning example of the ruinous and destruct effect of night study[133]; and (most remarkable of all, perha

[128] On this cf. Giehlow from whose works we have frequently quoted, and to whom credit belongs for having discovered the whole system of Renaissance hieroglyphics and collecting all the most important material; cf. also L. Volkmann, *Bilderschriften der Ren sance*, Leipzig 1923, *passim*. G. Leidinger (in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akad der Wissenschaften, philol.-hist. Klasse*, 1929) has shown that Dürer knew, and even owned, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*.

[129] Thus Pierio Valeriano, quoted in Giehlow (1904), p. 72.

[130] K. Ramler, *Kurzgefasste Mythologie*, 4th edn., Berlin 1820, p. 456: "Some make flutter about him."

[131] K. Giehlow, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhau* vol. xxxii (1915), p. 167.

[132] Agrippa of Nettesheim, *Occulta philosophia*, in the autograph of 1510 discovered Dr Hans Meier, Würzburg, Univ. Bibl., Cod. Q. 50 (for this, see below, text pp. 351 sq fol. 9r. Hence a bat's heart was a talisman against sleepiness.

[133] Ficino, *De v. tripl.*, I, 7 (*Opera*, vol. I, p. 500): "Spiritus fatigatione diurna, praeser subtilissimi quique denique resolvuntur. Nocte igitur pauci crassique supersunt . . . , non aliter mancis horum fretum alis ingenium volare possit, quam vespertiliones at bubones." Moreover Agrippa of Nettesheim mentions the bat as among Saturn's bea "Saturnalia sunt . . . animalia reptilia segregata, solitaria, nocturna, tristia, contempla vel penitus lenta, avara, timida, melancolica, multi laboris et tardi motus, ut bubo, ta

in ancient times its membranes were actually used for writing, particularly in setting down spells against sleeplessness.[134]

Finally, the seascape with the little ships can also be fitted into the context of Saturn and Melancholy. By classical and Arabian astrologers the god who fled across the sea to Latium was reckoned "lord of the sea and of seafarers", so that his children liked to live near water and to make a living by such trades.[135] Nor is this all. Saturn—and, more particularly, any comet belonging to him—was also held responsible for floods and high tides; and it can safely be said that any comet which figures in a picture of Melancholy must be one of these "Saturnine comets", of which it is expressly stated that they threaten the world with the "dominium melancholiae".[136] It is, then, scarcely a coincidence that a rainbow shines above Dürer's sea, and that the water has so flooded the flat beach that it is lapping round the trees between the two bright peninsulas; for even in Babylonian cuneiform texts it had been considered a definite fact that a

basiliscus, vespertilio" (the Würzburg MS, fol. 17ᵛ; from the printed edition also mentioned by W. GUNDEL, in *Gnomon*, VOL. II (1926), p. 290, and BBG, *Sternglaube*, p. 115). According to this, any incense offered to Saturn should contain bat's blood (the Würzburg MS, fol. 25ᵛ; from the printed edition quoted by GUNDEL, loc. cit.). In addition to these direct mentions there are indirect ones, crediting Saturn with night birds in general (τὰ τῆς νυκτὸς πετεινά, "omnia, quae noctu vagantur"); *Cat. astr. Gr.*, IV, 122 (quoted by GUNDEL, loc. cit.) and RANZOVIUS, *Tractatus astrologicus*, Frankfurt 1609, p. 47. The sixty-second emblem in Alciato's famous collection of emblemata is of particular interest:

"Vespertilio.
Vespere quae tantum volitat, quae lumine lusca est,
Quae cum alas gestet, caetera muris habet;
Ad res diversas trahitur: mala nomina primum
Signat, quae latitant, iudiciumque timent.
Inde et Philosophos, qui dum caelestia quaerunt,
Caligant oculis, falsaque sola vident . . . ."

These lines read like a list of the characteristics of the Saturnine and melancholy mind. The reference to a certain type of philosopher is significant.

[134] T. BIRT, *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst*, Leipzig 1907, pp. 286 sqq. (with references).

[135] See above, pp. 130, 138, 143 sqq. (text). LEONHARD REYNMANN's *Nativitet-Kalender* of 1575, too, states that the children of Saturn "deal with watery things" (fol. D. iiᵛ). Campagnola's engraving of Saturn, mentioned above, pp. 210 ff. (text), may have given Dürer the actual impulse to adopt the sea motif. This engraving, influenced in its turn by earlier Dürer engravings, can hardly have been unknown to the mature artist.

[136] Cf. BARTOLOMEO DA PARMA, ed. E. Narducci, in *Bullettino di Bibliografia e di Storia delle Scienze Matematiche e Fisiche*, XVII (1884), p. 156. Correlating individual comets to individual planets dates back to Nechepso-Petosiris; cf. BBG, *Sternglaube*, pp. 51 and 129, and W. GUNDEL in PAULY-WISSOWA, s.v. "Kometen", and in *Hessische Blätter für Volkskunde*, VII (1908), pp. 109 sqq. (The planet bequeathes its properties to the comet, "tanquam filio"; cf. A. MIZALDUS, *Cometographia*, Paris 1549, p. 91, the same author says (pp. 177 and 180) that Saturn's comet causes "melancholicos morbos" and floods, etc., and is particularly dangerous to the children of Saturn.)

comet with its head towards the earth pointed to high water; and it was the melancholic in particular who was able to foresee such misfortunes.[137]

However, these phenomena, partly sad, partly menacing, are countered by two other motifs[138] signifying palliatives against Saturn and against Melancholy. One is the wreath which the woman has bound round her brow. Although, in the history of types, this wreath is traceable to the adornment of the "homo literatus" and therefore proclaims Melencolia's intellectual powers,[139] nevertheless it must also be reckoned as an antidote to melancholy, because it is made up of the leaves of two plants which are both of a watery nature and therefore counteract the earthy dryness of the melancholy temperament; these plants are water parsley (*Ranunculus aquaticus*)—which Dürer had already associated with the combination of "Auster", "Phlegma" and "Aqua" in his woodcut[140] illustrating the work of Conrad Celtes (PLATE 83)—and the common watercress (*Nasturtium officinale*).[141] The other antidote is the square of the number four, apparently engraved on metal: thanks to Giehlow's pioneer research work there can no longer be any doubt that this is intended not only as a sign of the arithmetical side of the melancholy genius but, above all, as a "magic square" in the original sense of that expression.[142] It is a talisman to attract the healing influence of Jupiter; it is the non-pictorial, mathematical substitute for

[137] Cf. BBG, *Sternglaube*, p. 114 and below, pp. 357 sqq. (text).

[138] For the object which has formerly been interpreted erroneously as a clyster, see below, p. 329, note 151.

[139] See above, p. 315 (text).

[140] B130.

[141] According to Giehlow's unpublished notes, in the sixteenth century the melancholic was expressly advised to place damp (i.e. naturally damp) herbs on his brow, "like a plaster". The identification as water parsley, of the plant appearing in Melencolia's wreath, and in the woodcut B130, is given by W. BÜHLER, in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1925, pp. 44 sqq., and E. BÜCH, in *Die medizinische Welt*, VOL. VII (1933), No. 2, p. 69. Mrs Eleanor Marquand, Princeton, whose help we gratefully acknowledge, points out, however, that Melencolia's wreath consists not of one plant but of two, the second being watercress (cf. e.g. G. BENTHAM, *Handbook of the British Flora*, London 1865). Apart from the fact that it establishes correctly an important detail, the discovery has a methodological significance: if Dürer made up the wreath of two plants having nothing in common save that they are both "watery" plants, this was not mere coincidence or purely aesthetic preference: the choice of these two plants must have been based on a conscious symbolic intention, which justifies our interpreting every detail in the engraving from the point of view of this symbolic intention.

[142] GIEHLOW (1904), pp. 16 sqq. W. AHRENS's counter-arguments (in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N. S. VOL. XXVI (1915), pp. 291 sqq.) were based on the assumption, which has since been decisively disproved, that the astro-magical significance of the planetary squares cannot be found in western sources before 1531 (see below, text p. 326 sq.).

those images of astral deities which were recommended by Ficino, Agrippa and all the other teachers of white magic. Of this "mensula Jovis", which comprised within itself all the beneficent powers of the "temperator Saturni", one fourteenth-century author wrote: "If a man wears it his bad luck will turn into good, good into better luck"[143]; and in Paracelsus we read: "This symbol makes its bearer fortunate in all his dealings and drives away all cares and fears."[144] Dürer was not an arithmetician, but he was thoroughly familiar with the significance of the magic square in iatromathematics, and that is perhaps the only aspect of this curious combination of numbers which could have attracted his attention and engaged his interest. This indeed is clear, not

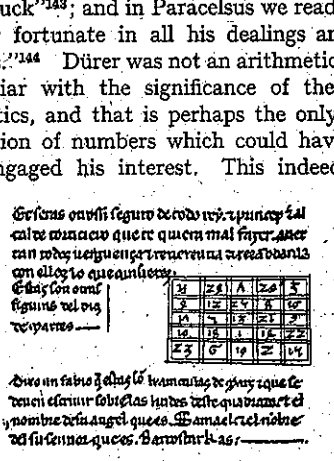

FIGURE 1. The magical square of Mars. From a Spanish manuscript of about 1300. Bibl. Vat., Cod. Reg. lat. 1283.

only because the squares had been recognised as symbols of the various planets at a time when the arithmetical problems involved in them had not been gone into at all,[145] but also because, as it was recently discovered, one man with whom Dürer probably

[143] Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5239, fol. 147v: "Et si quis portauerit eam, qui sit infortunatus fortunabitur, de bono in melius efficiet [*sic*]" quoted in A. WARBURG, *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1932, p. 528).

[144] *Aureoli Philippi Theophrasti Paracelsi Opera omnia*, Geneva 1658, VOL. II, pp. 716. "Sigillum hoc si gestetur, gratiam, amorem et favorem apud universos conciliat . . . gestoremqué suum in omnibus negotiis felicem facit, et abigit curas omnes, metumque." It was this constant depression due to worry and ungovernable anxiety (cf. Constantinus Africanus, "timor de re non timenda", and Ficino, "quod circa mala nimis formidolosus sum") that formed one of the worst and most significant symptoms of melancholy.

[145] The planetary squares were shown by A. WARBURG (*Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1932, pp. 516 sqq.) to be in evidence as early as Cod. Reg. lat. 1283 (about 1300, from which FIG. 1 was taken), also in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5239 (fourteenth century), and Wolfenbüttel, Cod. 17, 8. Aug. 4°. In the East they could no doubt be found considerably earlier.

came into personal contact was familiar with the planetar squares—Luca Pacioli, whom Dürer may easily have met a Bologna, even if he did not go there specially for the sake c meeting him. In 1500, Pacioli had in fact written a short treatis on the symbols of the planets. In it he cites Arabic sources and a version of Jupiter's square is given which has the same– and by no means the only possible[146]—disposition of numbers a that which appears in Dürer's *Melencolia I*.[147]

But all these antidotes are merely a weak makeshift in th face of the real destiny of the melancholy person. Just as Ficin had already realised that selfless and unconditional surrender t the will of Saturn was after all not only the "ultima" but also th "optima ratio" for the intellectual man, so, too, Dürer (as w can see from the dark face and clenched fist) creates a Melencoli whose sad but sublime destiny cannot, and perhaps should not be averted by palliatives, whether natural or magical. If th cosmic conflict between Saturn and Jupiter[148] ever came to final decision, it could for Dürer not end in victory for Jupiter.

(ii) *Geometrical Symbols*

The motifs not yet accounted for are, as we have alread hinted, geometrical symbols.

That applies without reservation to the tools and object shown in the portrait of Geometria in the *Margarita philosophic*

[146] The square with 16 cells and the sum 34 can appear in 1232 different variations, c K. H. DE HAAS, *Frénicle's 880 Basic Magic Squares of 4 × 4 cells* . . . , Rotterdam 1935.

[147] LUCA PACIOLI's remarks on the seven planetary squares, written about 1500 (Bologn Bibl. Univ. Cod. 250, fols. 118–122) were discovered by AMADEO AGOSTINI, who emphasis the likely connexion with Dürer: *Bolletino dell'unione matematica italiana*, II, 2 (1923), p. (cf. W. WIEDEITNER, in *Mitteilungen zur Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschafte* VOL. XXII (1923), p. 125, and VOL. XXV (1926), p. 8). It is remarkable that Pacioli dea with the squares simply as a mathematical "jeu d'esprit", and merely mentions their astr logical and magical significance without going into it: he therefore completely ignores ar talismanic virtues of the various squares: "Le quali figure cosi numerose non senza miste gli l'ano acomodata . . . . Le quali figure in questo nostro compendio ho uoluto inserere ac con epse ale uolte possi formar qualche ligiadro solazo . . . ." Agrippa of Nettesheim works contain the planetary squares only in the printed edition (II, 22); they were lackir in the original version.

[148] Cf. A. WARBURG, *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten*, *Gesammelte Schriften*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1932, p. 529. However, we can associate ourselv with his description only with many reservations, since we cannot imagine the "demoni conflict" between Saturn and Jupiter ending in a victory for the latter; nor can we accord that prime significance for the interpretation of Dürer's engraving, which Warburg attribut to it. The "mensula Jovis", after all, is only one of many motifs, and by no means the mo important. Despite Giehlow's and Warburg's acute arguments, the relevance of ti engraving for Maximilian I cannot be proved; and even if it could, *Melencolia I* would hav been a warning rather than a consolation to him.

(PLATE 104)—that is to say, the stars in heaven, the unfinished building, the block of stone, the sphere, the compasses, the moulding plane and set-square, the hammer, the writing materials; for the pictorial history of all these things shows them to be symbols of an occupation which practises "the art of measuring", either as an end in itself, or as a means to other ends, all more or less practical. The compasses in Melencolia's hand symbolise, as it were, the unifying intellectual purpose which governs the great diversity of tools and objects by which she is surrounded; and if we want to subdivide, we may say that, together with the sphere and the writing materials, the compasses signify pure geometry; that the building under construction, the moulding-plane, the set-square, and the hammer signify geometry applied to handicraft and building; that the astral phenomena imply geometry employed for astronomical or meteorological purposes[149]; and then, lastly, that the polyhedron represents descriptive geometry: for here, as in many other contemporary representations, it is both a problem and a symbol of geometrically defined optics—more particularly, of perspective (PLATE 95).[150]

[149] The reason why Dürer gave the notion of astrology a meteorological turn is explained below, text pp. 353 sqq. (For the combination of rainbow and stars, cf. e.g. *Denkmäler mittelalterlicher Meteorologie* (Neudrucke von Schriften und Karten über Meteorologie und Erdmagnetismus, ed. G. Hellmann, VOL. XV), Berlin 1904, p. 267.) It may be in connexion with this deviation that the sextant originally allotted to the putto (PLATE 8) was not adopted in the final version, for this was a specific symbol of astronomy; cf. our PLATES 94 and 104, as well as the portrait of Ptolemy in the *Margarita philosophica*, reproduced in E. REICKE, *Der Gelehrte in der deutschen Vergangenheit*, Leipzig 1900, plate 44.

[150] Cf. also the title woodcut to PETRUS APIANUS's *Instrumentbuch*, Ingolstadt 1533, and his *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae Vetustatis*, Ingolstadt 1534, initial fol. A. 1r. PLATE 95 shows Flötner's title woodcut to VITELLIO's Περὶ ὀπτικῆς, Nuremberg 1535 (used again in RIVIUS, *Vitruvius Teutsch*, Nuremberg 1548, fol. cxcviii v). It is well known that the construction of absolutely regular or half-regular polyhedrons formed almost the main problem of practical geometry during the Renaissance. The finest example next to Dürer's own *Unterweisung der Messung* is probably WENZEL JAMNITZER's *Perspectiva corporum regularium*, Nuremberg 1548 and 1568, where the five Platonic bodies are brought into perspective in all possible permutations. Even Jan Boeckhorst's *Geometria* is seated on a polyhedron like Dürer's, which is the more remarkable since for the rest the figure is modelled rather on the woodcut of Doni's *I Marmi*, Venice 1552 (PLATE 131) or its engraved replica (see below); the painting is in the Bonn Landesmuseum, No. 14, our PLATE 132.

The stereometric form of the polyhedron, which Niemann described as a truncated rhomboid (cf. Appendix I, p. 400), and which is certainly not a truncated cube (thus F. A. NAGEL, *Der Kristall auf Dürers Melancholie*, Nuremberg 1922) gave rise, some time ago, to bitter controversy among Dutch scholars (H. A. NABAR and K. H. DE HAAS, in *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, Avondblad, 26 April, 29 April and 5 July 1932). While Nabar confirms Niemann's reconstruction and merely adds that the rhomboids are distinguished by a remarkable regularity (angles 60° and 120°), de Haas considers the surfaces of the polyhedron slightly irregular. This we do not believe, as the perspectival phenomena on which de Haas bases his remarks contradict one another; but we may well leave this question, which for us is of secondary

But all the other objects, too, can be easily associated with the "typus Geometriae" as shown in the Strasbourg woodcut; Plane and saw, nails and pincers, and perhaps the almost hidden object, which is generally called a clyster,[151] but is more likely to be a pair of bellows—all these objects serve simply to swell the inventory of builders, joiners, and carpenters, who use also the grindstone, rounded and smoothed by the stone-mason.[152] Some have even wished to attribute to them the crucible with the little tongs,[153] but we prefer to attribute these to the more delicate art of the goldsmith,[154] or to alchemy, the black art connected, not with geometry, but with Saturnine melancholy.[155] The book

importance, to the mathematicians. K. H. DE HAAS's attempt (*Albrecht Dürer's meetkundige bouw van Reuter en Melencolia I*, Rotterdam 1932) to trace the composition of both these engravings back to a detailed system of planimetric surface division is completely outside our sphere of interest. However, it is in any case wrong to say that the rhomboid is a "block still to be chiselled into regularity", and therefore, like the free-masons' "rough block," represents didactically "the human task of moral improvement" (thus HARTLAUB, *Geheimnis*, p. 78). Dürer's polyhedron, whatever its stereometric nature, is as carefully chiselled as possible, with its very exact surfaces, while the "rough block", like Michelangelo's *Pietra alpestra e viva*, must be imagined as a still amorphous mass yet to be shaped (cf. also E. PANOFSKY, *Idea* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VOL. V), Leipzig 1924, pp. 64 and 119).

[151] This interpretation, according to which the instrument in question is to be counted among the antidotes to melancholy ("purgatio ulvi" was to some extent the alpha and omega of anti-melancholy dietetics) has lately been challenged by Bühler, though without very good reason, for the disc- or bulb-like termination also appears in H. S. Beham's well-known woodcut, the *Fountain of Youth* (Pauli 1120; M. GEISBERG, *Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt*, VOL. XXII, 14) where a clyster is certainly intended. Moreover, though all the attempts at interpretation made so far must be rejected, for the colour spray which Nagel (op. cit.) sees in it occurs nowhere else, and a nail remover such as Bühler (op. cit.) suggests does not occur until the nineteenth century, we too now think that the mysterious object is more likely to belong to the class of occupational tools than to that of antidotes to melancholy. It may be either a glass-blower's pipe (such as is illustrated in G. AGRICOLA's famous work *De re metallica*, Basle 1556, new German edn. 1928, p. 507—this suggestion comes from Dr Schimangk, Hamburg), or, more probably, a pair of bellows: for this latter interpretation could bring to its support a contemporary pictorial statement, namely Hans Döring's woodcut (of which we shall speak in more detail later), which borrows its whole *instrumentarium* from *Melencolia I* and includes, in fact, a pair of bellows (cf. PLATE 107, and our text pp. 335 sqq.).

[152] On former occasions we left the question open as to whether it was a millstone or a knife-grinder's stone, though in view of the Salone frescoes (see above, text p. 204) we inclined to the latter interpretation. We are glad to find that P. BRANDT (in *Die Umschau in Wissenschaft und Technik*, VOL. XXXII (1928), pp. 276 sqq.) and, quite independently of any technical literature, W. BLUMENFELD (in *Idealistische Philologie*, VOL. III (1927–28), pp. 154 sqq.) now accept this.

[153] According to Bühler it served to melt the lead with which the joints were soldered.

[154] Cf. Schongauer's engraving, B91, or JOST AMMAN's *Eygentliche Beschreibung aller Stände auff Erden*, Frankfurt 1568—new edition Munich 1896—fol. H2.

[155] The main argument (originally Giehlow's) in favour of connecting it with alchemical operations is still based on the fact that later masters, such as Beham (PLATE 115), the Master "F. B." (PLATE 116) and M. de Vos (PLATE 140) endowed Melancholy with unmistakably alchemistic attributes, and that later on, the personification of "Alcymia"

expands the symbolism of compasses, sphere, and writing materials, in the sense that it emphasises the theory, rather than the application, of geometry; and it is obvious that, as instruments for measuring time and weight, the scales and the hourglass (with its attendant bell)[156] also belong to the general picture of "Geometria". Macrobius had already defined time as a "certa dimensio, quae ex caeli conversione colligitur" (thus showing its connexion with astronomy)[157]; and with regard to weighing, in a period which had not yet developed the notion of experimental physics, that was so positively accounted as one of geometry's functions that a famous mnemonic for the seven liberal arts quoted "ponderare" as Geometry's main task:

> Gram loquitur, Dia vera docet, Rhe verba colorat,
> Mus canit, Ar numerat, Geo ponderat, As colit astra.[158]

We know, too, from his own lips, that Dürer himself considered the purely manual activity of the minor crafts to be applied geometry, in exactly the same way as did the tradition represented

occasionally held a pair of coal-tongs (e.g. the title woodcut to C. GESNER's *Newe Jewell of Health*, London 1576). The fact that Hermes Trismegistus in De Vries's series of alchemists (reproduced in HARTLAUB, *Geheimnis*, p. 46, text pp. 41 and 81) has a pair of compasses is proof neither for nor against, as he is holding the compasses not in his particular capacity as alchemist but in his general capacity as Hermes Trismegistus, who is also a cosmologer and astrologer, his second attribute being therefore an astrolabe.

[156] Thus GIEHLOW (1904), p. 65. In addition the bell, taken in the sense of the hermit's bell with which St Anthony is always endowed, might point to the Saturnine melancholic's leaning towards solitude; in F. PICINELLI's *Mundus symbolicus*, Cologne 1687, XIV, 4, 23, a bell still denotes solitude, and therefore, in remarkable concordance with the usual characteristics of the melancholic, "anima a rebus materialibus, terrenis et diabolicis remota". On the other hand, the belief that the pealing of bells could avert natural disasters (cf. W. GUNDEL, in *Gnomon*, VOL. II (1926), p. 292) implies large church bells.

[157] MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia*, I, 8, 7 (for this cf. the passage from Martianus Capella quoted above, p. 313, note 102). A drawing by Lucas van Leyden (Lille, Mus. Wicar) also characterises geometry by an hourglass.

[158] Printed e.g. in F. OVERBECK, *Vorgeschichte und Jugend der mittelalterlichen Scholastik*, ed. C. A. Bernoulli, Basle 1917, p. 29. In the face of such evidence and of the fact that the scales are not pictorially differentiated in any way from the other instruments (for after all, Dürer was no longer at the stage of the Tübingen MS brought in for comparison by SIGRID STRAUSS-KLOEBE, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, new series, II (1925), p. 58, which mixed heavenly and earthly matters with a deliberately humorous intention), it is difficult to interpret the scales astronomically, i.e. as the zodiacal sign of the exaltation of Saturn (thus also W. GUNDEL, in *Gnomon*, VOL. II (1925), p. 293). If one nevertheless wishes to maintain the astrological interpretation, one may quote not only the passage from *Semifora* mentioned by Gundel, but also Melanchthon's view, brought to light by A. WARBURG, *Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1932, p. 529, according to which "multo generosior est melancholia, si coniunctione Saturni et Iovis in libra temperetur" (thus also S. Strauss-Kloebe).

in the woodcuts just studied.[159] In the foreword to his *Instructions on Measuring*, on which he was at that time engaged,[160] he wrote:

> Accordingly I hope no reasonable person will blame me for my enterprise, for it is done with a good intention and for the sake of all lovers of art; and it may be useful not only for painters but for goldsmiths, sculptors, stonemasons and joiners and all who need measurements.[161]

Perhaps, too, it was not mere chance that in a draft of this same introduction Dürer coupled together "planing and turning", in the same way as the plane and the turned sphere lie together in the engraving.[162]

(iii) *Symbols of Saturn or of Melancholy Combined with Geometrical Symbols: in Relation to Mythology and Astrology—in Relation to Epistemology and Psychology*

So far, in accordance with the corresponding duality in the development of types, we have sought the notional content of *Melencolia I* along two completely separate paths. But it would be surprising, and it would make Dürer's achievement appear as something accidental, or at least arbitrary, if a duality which seems to have been so completely resolved in point of form, should not also be found to possess unity with regard to meaning; or if the bold undertaking to characterise Melancholy as Geometry,

[159] We must also mention a highly interesting page out of a Dance of Death dating from about 1430, where the usual groups are at the same time arranged according to the Seven Liberal Arts (Clm. 3941, fol. 17v). The judge is also subordinated to geometry, and is accompanied by figures with compasses, hammer, shears, etc. The accompanying texts say:

> "Gewicht vn mass ler ich dich
> des tzyrkels kunst die kenn ich",

and "Rerum mensuras et earum signo figuras",

and "Evclides der meyster an geometrey lert
Der handwerck kunst, zal, wag, hoh, tyeff, leng vn preyt".

[160] Cf. the sketch, dated 1514, for one of the instruments for perspective drawing in book IV, in the Dresden Sketchbook, ed. R. Bruck, Strasb. 1905, plate 135.

[161] LF, *Nachlass*, pp. 181, 30 sqq.

[162] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 268, 12: "Will dorneben anzeigen, waraus die Zierd des Hobels oder Drehwerks, das ist durch die gereden oder runden gemacht werd." Against Bühler's denial that a turned wooden sphere is meant, we may point out that Cranach, who looked at the engraving with the eye of a contemporary, painted the spheres (on PLATES 128 and 129) quite distinctly as brown wooden spheres. We do not wish to insist on this point, but Bühler's statement that Dürer's sphere, which had been to some extent the symbol of geometry ever since Martianus Capella, represents the ball of a church steeple or even the apex of the Temple of the Holy Grail, of which the rhomboid was the base, is simply fantastic. If one insists on such an interpretation, it would have to be shown how such an object was to be fastened.

or Geometry as Melancholy, should not ultimately have revealed an inner affinity between the two themes. And such an affinity does in fact seem to exist.

The earliest (and, at the same time, most complete) western example of the previously mentioned series of pictures representing the "children of the planets"[163] was, as we may remember, the picture cycle in the Salone at Padua. Retaining the scientifically tabulated form of the Islamic manuscripts, but essentially western in style, it shows the occupations and characteristics of all the people whose birth and destiny are governed by a certain planet. Among those ruled by Saturn—who himself is represented as a "silent" king[164]—there are a man plagued with sickness and melancholy, and lame in one leg, with his head resting on his hand; then a scholar, seated, but with his arm in the same typical posture, its double significance—sorrow and reflexion—thus being divided between the two; and further, a tanner, a carpenter, a miser burying treasure, a stonemason, a peasant, a knife-grinder, a gardener, and numerous hermits (PLATES 32–33).

Thus we can see that most of those occupational symbols whose presence in Dürer's engraving of Melencolia has hitherto seemed explicable only in terms of the "art of measurement" find a place also in the world of Saturn; for in so far as they are practical and manual, the trades represented in Dürer's engraving belong not only to that group which we have seen illustrated in the woodcut of "Geometria" in the *Margarita philosophica*, but also to that which the writings on the planets label the "artificia Saturni": namely, the trades of the "carpentarius", the "lapicida", the "cementarius", the "edificator edificiorum"—all trades that are cited by Abû Ma'šar, Alcabitius, Ibn Esra and the rest as typically Saturnine,[165] since they more than others are concerned with wood and stone. Since it is the Salone series that shows not only stonemasons' and woodworkers' tools in action but also the grindstone (elsewhere very rare), it is conceivable that these frescoes exercised a direct influence on the programme of the engraving, especially as we know that Willibald Pirckheimer

[163] See above, pp. 204 sqq. (text).

[164] He appears for the second time as an old man with a pick-axe and a mirror, but this figure goes back to a restoration. The original probably occupied the panel now filled by a huge angel.

[165] References quoted above, pp. 130 sqq., 190 sqq. (text, with relevant footnotes).

spent over three years studying in Padua; and Dürer himself also apparently visited the town.[166]

However, it is not only (so to speak) a substantial relationship of materials, based on a preoccupation with stone and wood which links the Salone's Saturnine trades with the corresponding trades in the non-astrological pictures of different types of work. The intellectual principle, too, the theoretical foundation underlying this practical activity—in other words, geometry itself—has been reckoned part of Saturn's protectorate; and the more scientific instruments and objects, no less than the more ordinary tools in Dürer's engraving, thereby acquire the strange ambivalence which sanctions—as it were—the link between geometry and melancholy.

When the seven liberal arts, which Martianus Capella had still considered the "ministrae" of Mercury, began to be apportioned among the seven planets, Saturn was first given astronomy because, as Dante expressed it, this was the "highest" and "surest" of the liberal arts.[167] This system, almost universally recognised in the Middle Ages, was later modified, so that instead of astronomy, Saturn acquired geometry, which had formerly had other planets for its patrons—Mars, Jupiter, and, especially, Mercury. When and where this occurred, and whether or not certain speculations in scholastic psychology[168] had any influence on it, are questions that cannot be definitely answered; but even without such influence the alteration would be understandable for the old earth god with whom the measurement of the field had originally been associated, the god in whose Roman temple the scales hung,[169] the god who, as "auctor temporum" governed the measurement of time[170] no less than of space—this old earth god could the more easily be credited with the patronage

[166] Cf. G. FIOCCO, in *L'Arte*, VOL. XVIII (1915), pp. 147 sqq. (also G. GRONAU, in *Pantheon*, VOL. II (1928), p. 533), who points out a portrait of Dürer in Campagnola's frescoes painted between 1505 and 1510 in the Scuola del Carmine, Padua. Recently, however, the frescoes have been given a later date, cf. H. TIETZE, *Tizian*, Vienna 1936, pp. 68 sqq. Of course Campagnola may also have drawn Dürer in Venice. Further, cf. H. RUPPRICH, *Willibald Pirckheimer und die erste Reise Dürers nach Italien*, Vienna 1930, *passim*, whose conclusions however, are much too sweeping in some cases (cf. the note by ALICE WOLF, in *Die graphischen Künste*, new series, I (1936), p. 238).

[167] DANTE, *Convivio*, II, 14, 230. Cf. also J. VON SCHLOSSER, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XVII (1896), esp. pp. 45 sqq.

[168] See below, pp. 348 sqq. (text).

[169] VARRO, *De lingua latina*, V, 183, quoted above p. 135, note 33.

[170] MACROBIUS, *Saturnalia*, I, 22, 8, quoted above, p. 155, note 96.

geometry in its wider sense, since the translations of Abû Ma'šar available in the West had given to the Arabic author's fairly vague statement, "he signifies the evaluation (or determination) of things", a much more precise meaning by translating it on one occasion, "significat . . . quantitates sive mensuras rerum", and at another time even "eius est . . . rerum dimensio et pondus".

In order to arrive at the point of equating Saturn with Geometry it was only necessary to apply such attributes consciously to the system of the seven liberal arts; and the odd thing is that not long before Dürer this equation had become generally familiar in word and picture, particularly so in Germany. Thus the picture of Saturn in the Tübingen manuscript (PLATE 40)—quite a normal portrait of "Saturn's children", characterising men born under Saturn in the usual way as poor peasants, bakers, cripples and criminals—actually attributes to the god, over and above his shovel and pick, a pair of admittedly somewhat ill-drawn compasses.[171] The same manuscript, in the pictures illustrating the relationship of the seven liberal arts to the planets, credits Saturn with governing geometry[172]; a somewhat later Wolfenbüttel codex actually includes among his followers a begging friar who is unmistakably equipped with a gigantic pair of compasses (PLATE 41).[173] An explanation of this figure is given in the heading. It reads as follows: "the planet Saturn sends us the spirit which teaches us geometry, humility and constancy" (the begging friar represents these three gifts); and an almanac printed in Nuremberg just a year after Dürer's engraving says of Saturn: "Of the arts he signifies geometry."[174]

[171] A. HAUBER, *Planetenkinderbilder und Sternbilder*, Strasbourg 1916, plate XIII. Hauber's attempt (p. 93) to interpret the compasses as an ill-drawn snake scarcely needs refuting, as the steel-blue points are in clear contrast to the brown wood.

[172] HAUBER, op. cit., plate VII.

[173] HAUBER, op. cit., plate XVI.

[174] LEONHARD REYNMANN, *Natiuitet-Kalender*, Nuremberg 1515, fol. D ii v. "Saturnus der höchst oberst planet ist mannisch, bös, kalt vnd trucken, ain veind des lebens vnnd der natur. Ain bedeuter der münich, ainsiedel, claussner, der ser alten leut. Melancolici, hafner, ziegler, ledergerber, Schwartzferber, permenter, der ackerleut, klayber, badreyber, Schlot-vnd winckelfeger, vnd alles schnöden volcks, die mit stinnckenden wasserigen vnsaubern dingen vmbgeen. Er bezaichet aus den künsten die Geometrei; die alten köstlichen Vesten ding vnd werck der State vesst vnd hewser . . . ." Here too the survival of post-classical notions is remarkable, ranging from the attribution to him of monks—σχῆμα μοναχικόν—and the characteristic of hostility to life—Saturn, god of Death!—to the contradiction that he is dry by nature yet signifies people who deal with watery things. This passage is also marked in the notes left by Giehlow.

Thus from an astrological standpoint, too, Dürer (or h adviser) was justified in regarding everything included in tl notion of geometry as Saturn's domain; and when he merged tl traditional "typus Acediae" with the equally traditional "typ Geometriae" in a new unity, all these symbols of work coul within this unity, be regarded as symbols both of geometry ar of melancholy, since it was Saturn who governed them both i their entirety.

Of course there is a vast difference between the occasion appearance of a melancholic or a geometrician among peasant cripples and criminals in one of the pictures of Saturn's childre and the fusion, by Dürer, of the triad Saturn, Melancholy, ar Geometry, in a unified symbolic figure. But once establishe this synthesis influenced further development to an extraordinari high degree, and even retained its force when, formally regarde it was once more split up. Apart from the direct imitations ar elaborations of which we shall speak later,[175] and apart, too, fro the effect which an engraving, born of a fusion between portrai of the liberal arts and portraits of the four temperaments, was its turn to exert on pictures of the arts,[176] the fact remains th even where we cannot prove Dürer's direct influence, we can tra the development of his thought: for instance, in the poor woo cuts to a compendium of the Salernitan rules of health—entire unoriginal both in its wording and in its illustrations—whic show the melancholic at a geometrician's drawing-board (Fig. p. 395).[177] But Dürer's fusion of the notions Melancholy, Satu and "Artes Geometricae"[178] is endorsed and illustrated in a remar able way by a large woodcut designed by the Hessian painter Ha Döring and published in 1535 (PLATE 107).[179] This woodc formed the title page of a book on defence works, and was therefo

[176] See also below, pp. 374 sqq. (text).

[176] Cf. Virgil Solis's *Seven Liberal Arts*, B123–129, or H. S. Beham's, B121–127. etching by Christoff Murer (cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Studien der Biblioth Warburg, VOL. XVIII), Leipzig 1930, plate 46, p. 101) shows how even the "virtus" of Hercules at the Crossroads could be influenced by Dürer's Melancholy.

[177] *De conservanda bona valetudine* (quoted above, p. 300, note 66) fol. 120 v. in the 1551 ed fol. 121 r in the 1553 edn.; fol. 137 r in the 1554 edn.

[178] For Jacob I de Gheyn's and Martin van Heemskerck's sequences of temperaments, which this fusion is also clearly apparent, see below, text pp. 397 sqq.: PLATES 142–144.

[179] Cf. E. EHLERS, *Hans Döring, ein hessischer Maler des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Darmstadt 19 pp. 14 sqq., with plates and a reference to the connection with *Melencolia I* as well as Beham's woodcut of Saturn; for the attribution of this work (Pauli 904) to G. Pencz, cf. RÖTTINGER, *Die Holzschnitte des Georg Pencz*, Leipzig 1914, pp. 14 sqq.

intended to glorify the art of "castra moliri" and "loca tuta circumfodere". In order to accomplish his task, however, the artist could think of no better way than to reduce the content of Dürer's *Melencolia I* to a universally comprehensible formula, which involved both compressing and enlarging. His picture, which is expressly described as *Melankolya* on page 4 of the text, collects the tools in Dürer's engraving (omitting the grindstone, the block, the ladder, the magic square, the scales and the hour-glass, but adding a mallet and a soldering lamp)[180] on top of a moulded plinth, which probably represents the "loca tuta"; and on a sphere placed in the centre there sits a small winged figure who, on closer inspection, proves to be a synthesis of Melencolia and her putto—the position and childish air from the latter, the thoughtful gesture, the book and the compasses from the former. The sphere, however, bears the sign of Saturn, and above it all, copied exactly from George Pencz's set of planetary pictures of 1531 (formerly attributed to Hans Sebald Beham), the old child-devourer himself drives furiously past in his dragon chariot. Beneath is a board with an inscription which is intended still further to emphasise the picture's relationship to Saturn:

> Grandaeuus ego sum tardus ceu primus in Orbe
> omnia consternens quae jam mihi fata dedere
> falce mea, ne nunc in me Mavortius heros
> bella ciet: loca tuta meis haec artibus usus
> circumfossa iacent, sed tu qui castra moliris
> valle sub angusta circundare. Respice, quaeso,
> ordine quo posset fieri; puer ille docebit:
> hoc beo quos genui ingenio, hac uirtute ualebunt.

Martin Luther once said: "Medicine makes men ill, mathematics sad, theology wicked".[181] So far, at least, as mathematics is concerned, this epigram contains a germ of serious and well-authenticated psychology, for whereas Luther's jest against the other two sciences is limited to affirming that they attain the exact opposite of what they intend, he does not say, as one might expect of the schema, that mathematics makes men foolish or confuses them, but that it makes them sad. This striking

[180] We have not succeeded in detecting either the borax jar mentioned by Ehlers, or the symbol for lead in the smoke rising from the crucible.

[181] Quoted in W. Ahrens, "Das magische Quadrat", in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.S., vol. xxvi (1915), p. 301. Vasari, too (see below, text p. 386) says that the instruments shown in Dürer's engraving of Melancholy "riducono l'uomo e chiunque gli adopera, a essere malinconico."

declaration can be explained by the existence of a theory linking mathematics with melancholy—not a myth clothed in astrology, but a psychological theory founded on epistemology. The chief upholders of this thesis were the two great scholastics Raimundus Lullus and Henricus de Gandavo.

Raimundus Lullus, in his *Tractatus novus de astronomia* (1297),[182] drew his information from Arabic compendiums, so that Saturn—both earthy and watery in nature—is therefore essentially malevolent, and endows his children with melancholy through their heavy dispositions. On the other hand, he also gives them a good memory, firm adherence to their principles, deep knowledge, and readiness to undertake great works of construction—in short, everything that Abû Ma'šar and the other kindred astrologers had ascribed to Saturn. Raimundus, however, was familiar with Aristotle, and was not content with quoting these astrological predicates—the truth of which he did not for an instant doubt—but undertook to prove them scientifically down to the last detail. Thus, he attributed the Saturnine man's leaning towards "species fantasticas et matematicas"—as well as his good memory—partly to the fact that water was an impression able substance, and earth a solid one which long retained all impressions received[183]; and partly to the quite special correspondence ("concordia") between melancholy and the imagination

> They [the children of Saturn] receive strong impressions from their imagination, which is more closely related to melancholy than to any other complexion. And the reason why melancholy has a closer correspondence and relation to imagination than has any other complexion, is that imagination relies on measure, line, form and colour,[184] which are better preserved in water and earth, because those elements possess a denser substance than fire and air.[185]

[182] Clm. 10544; the chapter on Saturn, fols. 291ᵛ sqq. With this cf. *Histoire littéraire de la France*, vol. xxix, Paris 1885, p. 309; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, vol. ii, London 1923, p. 868, and *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, vol. ix, 1926–27, col. 1107. There is a Catalan translation in a fragment in Brit. Mus. Add. MS 16434, fol. sqq.

[183] "Et habent bonam memoriam, quia aqua est restrictiva, avara, et impressiva, et speci fantasticas diligunt et matematicas. Et terra est subiectum spissum, in quo durat et pres specierum, que memorate fuerant"; with this cf. the above-quoted passage from Albert Magnus, and the other passage from Lullus, quoted above, p. 69, note 6.

[184] Cf. the statements from Abû Ma'šar and Alcabitius, quoted above, p. 130 sq.

[185] "Et a longo accipiunt per ymaginacionem, que cum melancolia maiorem habet co cordiam quam cum alia compleccione. Et ratio quare melancolia maiorem habet pr porcionem et concordiam cum ymaginacione quam alia compleccio, est quia ymagina considerat mensuras, lineas et figuras et colores, que melius cum aqua et terra imprimi possu quoniam habent materiam magis spissam quam ignis et aer."

One of the greatest thinkers in the thirteenth century, Henricus de Gandavo, was inspired by very different and far deeper reflexions. He too sets out from the assumption (dating back originally to the *Nicomachean Ethics*) that there is a substantial relationship between melancholy and imagination.[186] But whereas Lullus, thinking in astrological terms and interpreting melancholy according to the doctrine of the complexions, enquires as to the influence of a certain humoral disposition on an intellectual faculty, Henricus de Gandavo, arguing from purely philosophical premises and conceiving melancholy as a darkening of the intellect, enquires as to the influence of a certain state of the intellectual faculties on emotional life. The former asks why melancholics (in the humoral sense) are particularly imaginative and therefore designed for mathematics. The latter asks why particularly imaginative, and therefore mathematically inclined, men are melancholy; and he finds the answer to this question in the circumstance that a preponderantly imaginative disposition does in fact lead to a marked capacity for mathematics, but at the same time renders the mind incapable of metaphysical speculation. This intellectual limitation and the resultant feeling of imprisonment within enclosing walls, makes people hampered in this way melancholics. According to Henricus de Gandavo, there are two sorts of men, differing in the nature and limitations of their intellectual faculties. There are those endowed with the ability for metaphysical reasoning; their thoughts are not dominated by their imagination. And there are those who can conceive a notion only when it is such that the imagination can keep company with it, when it can be visualised in spatial terms. They are incapable of grasping that there is no space and time beyond the world, nor can they believe that there are incorporeal beings in the world, beings that are neither in space nor in time:

> Their intellect cannot free itself from the dictates of their imagination . . . whatever they think of must have extension or, as the geometrical point, occupy a position in space. For this reason such people are melancholy, and are the best mathematicians, but the worst metaphysicians; for they cannot raise their minds above the spatial notions on which mathematics is based.[187]

[186] *Eth. Nic.*, 1150 b 25; and esp. *Problem.*, XI, 38; both quoted above, p. 34 (text).

[187] HENRICUS DE GANDAVO, *Quodlibeta*, Paris 1518, fol. xxxiv^{r} (*Quodl.* II, Quaest. 9): "Qui ergo non possunt angelum intelligere secundum rationem substantiae suae, . . . sunt illi, de quibus dicit Commentator super secundum Metaphysicae: in quibus virtus imaginativa dominatur super virtutem cognitivam. Et ideo, ut dicit, videmus istos non credere demonstrationibus, nisi imaginatio concomitet eas. Non enim possunt credere plenum non esse aut vacuum aut tempus extra mundum. Neque possunt credere hic esse entia non corporea, neque in loco neque in tempore. Primum non possunt credere, quod imaginatio eorum non stat in quantitate finita; et ideo mathematicae imaginationes et quod est extra coelum videntur eis infinita. Secundum non possunt credere, quia intellectus eorum non potest transcendere imaginationem . . . et non stat nisi super magnitudinem aut habens situm et positionem in magnitudine. Propter quod, sicut non possunt credere nec concipere extra naturam universi, hoc est extra mundum, nihil esse (neque locum neque tempus, neque plenum neque vacuum) . . . sic non possunt credere neque concipere hic (hoc est inter res et de numero rerum universi, quae sunt in universo) esse aliqua incorporea, quae in sua natura et essentia carerent omni ratione magnitudinis et situs sive positionis in magnitudine. Sed quicquid cogitant, quantum est aut situm habens in quanto (ut punctus). Unde tales melancholici sunt, et optimi fiunt mathematici, sed pessimi metaphysici, quia non possunt intelligentiam suam extendere ultra situm et magnitudinem, in quibus fundantur mathematicalia." The *Commentator super secundum Metaphysicae* (VOL. II, A ἐλάττων, ch. III) is, of course, Averroes, who does in fact literally speak of those "in quibus virtus imaginativa dominatur super virtutem cogitativam, et ideo videmus istos non credere demonstrationibus, nisi imaginatio concomitet eas, non enim possunt credere" etc., down to "incorporea" (VOL. VIII, fol. 17^{r} of the edition of Aristotle with commentary, Venice 1552). But in Averroes this statement does not refer to mathematicians, but to the more poetic variety of the imaginative type, namely those who "quaerunt testimonium Versificatoris" before they believe anything; and there is no mention of melancholy (except for the statement that some become sad over a "sermo perscrutatus" because they cannot retain and digest it). The essential notion in this passage, therefore, must be regarded as belonging to Henricus de Gandavo.

(iv) *Art and Practice*

Geometry was the science *par excellence* for Dürer, as for his age.[188] Just as one of his friends, probably Pirckheimer, had said that God himself regarded measure so highly that he created all things according to number, weight and measure,[189] so Dürer, consciously echoing the same—platonising—words from Scripture (*Wisdom of Solomon* XI. 21),[190] wrote of himself the proud sentence:

[188] It is significant that now the artist, too, likes to portray himself with compasses in his hand; cf. A. ALTDORFER, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, LIII, I (1911), p. 113.

[189] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 285, 9.

[190] "Omnia in mensura, et numero, et pondere disposuisti." Platonic parallels in *Republic*, 602e, and esp. *Philebus*, 55e: *οἷον παιδιά τινα τεχνῶν ἄν τις ἀριθμητικὴν χωρίζῃ καὶ μετρικὴν καὶ στατικήν, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν φαῦλον τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἑκάστης ἂν γίγνοιτο.* In illustration of the famous passage from the Bible, God the Father is frequently shown in the Middle Ages as architect of the world, holding a pair of compasses. This type is prefigured in a symbolic and abbreviated form in the Eadwi Gospels in Anglo-Saxon style (Hanover, Kestner-Mus.; beg. of eleventh century; our PLATE 105; cf. H. GRAEVEN, in *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins für Niedersachsen*, 1901, p. 294, where, however, the compasses are not identified as such); it appears only a little later, and in a very similar form, in the same artistic milieu, as a full-length cosmological figure (London, Brit. Mus., MS Cotton Tiberius C. VI, fol. 7, our PLATE 106). Other pictures of God the Father with compasses and scales are: (1) an English psalter of about 1200, Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS lat. 8846 (reproduced as Italian by A.-N. DIDRON, *Iconographie chrétienne: histoire de Dieu*, Paris 1843, p. 600; (2) Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Université MS 298, fol. 300 (unpublished; Dr Hanns Swarzenski kindly brought this miniature to our notice); (3) Piero di Puccio's fresco in the Campo Santo, Pisa (reproduced by L. BAILLET, in *Fondation Eugène Piot, Monuments et Mémoires* VOL. XIX (1911), p. 147,

"And I will take measure, number and weight as my aim."[191]

The "aim" here mentioned was Dürer's book on painting, and the sum of what was to be based on measure, number and weight was what Dürer called "art" in its most significant sense, the "recta ratio faciendorum operum", as Philip Melanchthon, paraphrasing St Thomas Aquinas, had defined the notion of art.[192] After he had returned from his second visit to Italy, Dürer devoted himself to teaching German artists this "ratio", that is, the art of measurement, perspective, and the like; for he regarded it as that in which German artists had hitherto been lacking,[193] and which alone could succeed in excluding "falseness" from a work of art. It alone could give artists mastery over nature and over their own work. It alone saved them from the "approximate"; it alone—next to God's grace—gave that uncompromising quality to the artistic faculty which Dürer called "power". "Item, the other part shows how the youth is to be educated in the fear of the Lord and with care, so that winning grace he may grow strong and powerful in rational art."[194] So says Dürer in the first comprehensive scheme for his book on painting, written at a time when he could still have had no notion how in the course of the years this book was to shrink to two treatises in the strictest sense

with a sonnet quoting word for word from the *Wisdom of Solomon*, XI, 21). (4) (here God the Father is replaced by a personification of the cosmos!) the title woodcut to Albertus Magnus's *Philosophia naturalis* in the Brescia and Venice editions of 1493 and 1496 respectively (PRINCE D'ESSLING, *Les livres à figures vénitiens*, VOL. II, PT I, Florence 1908, p. 291). Far more often we encounter God the Father tracing the world with a pair of compasses but without scales, and this is typical of, and probably originated in, the "Bible moralisée": A. DE LABORDE, *Étude sur la Bible moralisée illustrée*, Paris 1911–27, our PLATE 108, after Laborde's plate I; also A. DE LABORDE, *Les manuscrits à peintures de la Cité de Dieu*, Paris 1909, plate VI; H. MARTIN, *La miniature française du 13e au 15e siècle*, Paris 1923, plates 34 and 74; G. RICHERT, *Mittelalterliche Malerei in Spanien*, Berlin 1925, plate 40; London, Royal MS 19. D. III, fol. 3 (dating from 1411–12), reproduced in E. G. MILLAR, *Souvenir de l'exposition de manuscrits français à peintures* . . . , Paris 1933, pl. 43; The Hague, Kgl. Bibl., MS 78 D. 43, fol. 3; Paris, Bibl. Ste-Geneviève, MS 1028, fol. 14, reproduced in *Bulletin de la société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures*, VOL. V (1921), plate XXXVII; Brussels, MS 9004, fol. 1; Paris, Arsenal 647, fol. 77; Paris, Bibl. Nat., MS fr. 247, fol. 1 (P. DURRIEU, *Les antiquités judaïques* . . . , Paris 1907, plate 1); and even in single woodcuts like that in P. HEITZ, *Einblattdrucke des 15. Jahrhunderts*, VOL. XL, No. 24. God or the Hand of God, with scales but without compasses, purely as a symbol of justice, appears e.g. in the Stuttgart Psalter, ed. E. De Wald, Princeton 1930, fol. 9v, 17v, 166v, also, with a cosmological meaning, on an apparently unpublished font in the Musée lapidaire in Bordeaux.

[191] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 316, 24.

[192] For this notion of art, cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Dürers Kunsttheorie*, Berlin 1915, pp. 166 sqq., and the same author in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1926, pp. 190 sqq.

[193] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 181, 1 and esp. pp. 207, 35 sqq.

[194] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 282, 13.

mathematical. He never tired of preaching that this creative "power", which he regarded as the essence of artistic genius, was bound up with the possession of "art"—that is to say, with knowledge based ultimately on mathematics.

> When you have learnt to measure well . . . it is not necessary always to measure everything, for your acquired art will have trained your eye to measure accurately, and your practised hand will obey you. Thus the power of art will drive error from your work and prevent you from making a mistake . . . and thereby your work will seem artistic and pleasing, powerful, free and good, and will be praised by many, for rightness is made part of it.[195]

"Power", therefore, is what Dürer considered the end and essence of artistic capacity; and thereby the apparently casual sentence "keys signify power" acquires a new and deeper meaning. If, as we have seen, the Melancholy of *Melencolia I* is no ordinary Melancholy but a "geometrical" Melancholy, a "Melancholia artificialis", is it perhaps the case that the "power" attributed to her is not the ordinary power of the Saturnine person, but the special power of the artist based on the "recta ratio faciendorum operum"? Is not Melencolia herself the presiding genius of art? We would like to think so, for it is essentially unlikely that Dürer should have wished to endow a being—clearly recognisable as a personification of geometry—with power in the sense of political might or personal influence. And in thinking so we are the more justified in that Dürer was accustomed also to associate riches—symbolised by the purse, the apparently still more "incidental" attribute of the Saturnine melancholic—with the notion of artistic achievement. Just as the possession of "power" is the ideal goal of the outstanding artist, so are "riches" his legitimate and God-given reward—a reward readily granted many hundreds of years ago to the great masters of the past, and one which artists of his own time should expect, and, in case of necessity, demand:

[195] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 230, 17 (cf. also the sentence, quoted above, from p. 228, 25, and preliminary drafts as in pp. 218, 22 and 356, 20). From these and other passages it is clear that the expressions "Gewalt", "gewaltig", and "gewaltsam" (generally translated as "ingenium", "potentia", and "peritus" in J. Camerarius's Latin translation) are not in opposition to the notions "Verstand", "rechter Grund", "Kunst", etc., stressing the rational aspects of artistic achievement, but include them. In the translation in LF, *Nachlass*, p. 221, 8 the term "gewaltsame Künstler" is rendered as "potentes intellectu et manu". The derivative form, "gewaltiglich" (LF, *Nachlass*, p. 180, 16), however, just because it is a derivative form, has something of the second-hand about it and becomes opposed to the notions of "Besonnenheit" and "rechte Kunst"; "Gewaltiglich aber unbedächtlich" is rendered in Latin as "prompte [not "perite"], sed inconsiderate".

For they [mighty kings] made the best artists rich and held them in honour. For they thought that the very wise bore a resemblance to God.[196] . . . Item, that such an excellent artist shall be paid much money for his art, and no money shall be too great, and it is godly and right.[197]

Dürer therefore understood both power and riches in a specifically professional sense, and in a sense inseparably linked with the notion of Art, and therefore with mathematical education; for the true artist—one whose work is based on conscious insight into the theoretical principles of production—power is a goal, and riches a rightful claim.

But art based on measure, weight, and number, as embodied in the figure of Dürer's Melencolia, was for Dürer still only one requisite of artistic achievement, still only one condition of artistic power. However highly he rated "ratio", in true Renaissance fashion, he was no less a man of the Renaissance in affirming that no theoretical perception was useful without mastery of technique, no "good reason" without "freedom of the hand", no "rational art" without "daily practice". "These two must go hand in hand",[198] says Dürer in a preliminary outline of his doctrine of proportion; for although, like all Renaissance thinkers (one has only to remember Leonardo da Vinci's phrase "la scientia è il capitano e la pratica sono i soldati"),[199] Dürer recognised Art as the highest and governing principle of creative endeavour—so that practice without art seemed to him corruption and captivity—yet he had to admit that "without practice"[200] art, as he understood it, "remains hidden", and that theory and practice must go together, "so that the hand can do what the will intends."[201] Now, if the figure of Melencolia signifies Art *generating* power, a question arises whether her non-intellectual counterpart, Practice *revealing* power, has not also, perhaps, received its due in Dürer's engraving?

And so in fact it seems; for if, on the strength of our purely visual impression, we had to interpret the writing putto as a figure contrasted with Melencolia, we may now, so to speak,

[196] LF, *Nachlass*, pp. 295, 9, and 297, 19.

[197] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 283, 4; cf. also p. 285, 5.

[198] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 230, 5; cf. also p. 231, 3.

[199] C. Ravaisson-Mollien, *Les manuscrits de Léonard de Vinci*, Paris 1881, MS J. fol. 130r. Cf. also J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci*, London 1883, § 19.

[200] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 230, 33.

[201] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 230, 1.

name this contrast and suggest that the child signifies "practice". This child sits in almost the same attitude as the woman, and yet—almost to the point of parody—reverses her appearance in its every detail: eyes not aimlessly gazing on high, but fastened eagerly on the slate, hands not idle or clenched, but actively busy. The putto (also winged, but for all that only a little assistant, offering mere manual activity in exchange for the power of the mind) may well be an example of activity without thought, just as Melencolia herself is an example of thought without activity. He takes no share in intellectual creation, but neither does he share the agony bound up with that creation. If Art feels herself faced with impassable limits, blind Practice notices no limitations. Even when, in Saturn's most inauspicious hour, "Ars" and "Usus" have become separated—such is the hour we see in the picture, for the main figure is too much lost in her own thoughts to heed the child's activity[202]—and even when Art herself is overcome with despondency, Practice still can indulge in pointless and unreasoning activity.[203]

That admirable etcher and engraver, Alexander Friedrich, has shown us that this is no mere arbitrary interpretation[204]; for he

[202] *Per contra* Hendrik Goltzius shows a happy and active association between "Ars" and "Usus" in his engraving B111 reproduced in E. Panofsky (*in Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1926, plate 11), where "Ars" appears as teacher and guide to "Usus".

[203] We have now been converted, though for different reasons, to H. Wölfflin's opinion, according to which the putto is not "a thinker in miniature" but "a child scribbling" (*Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, 5th edn., Munich 1926, p. 256). In this respect it is also important that Dürer gave a more specifically childish colouring to the putto's activity by replacing the mathematical instruments with the slate. The motif originally intended, like that in the engraving by the Master "A. C." (Plate 114), would have provided a parallel rather than a contrast. Indeed, there are examples showing that a putto busy with mathematical instruments may mean the very opposite of mere "Usus"; cf. e.g. Hans Döring's woodcut (p. 332 and Plate 107) as well as an engraving in Joachim Sandrart's *Teutsche Akademie* (new edition by A. R. Peltzer, Munich 1925, p. 307), showing a putto with rule and compasses surrounded by other mathematical instruments, with the inscription "Ars", "Numerus", "Pondus", "Mensura". Hans Döring's "puer docens" provides a sort of *Gegenprobe* for our interpretation of Dürer's putto, in that, although developed from Dürer's, he is holding not a slate but the book and compasses of the main figure, and, instead of eagerly scribbling, has adopted the thoughtful pose of the adult. Dürer's putto could only change from a personification of mere "Practice" to a being embodying "Art" by taking over the attributes and attitudes of Melancholy. On the other hand, the interesting variations on the number four by Paul Flindt (*Quatuor monarchias, Partes mundi*, etc., ed. Paul Flindt, Nuremberg 1611, No. 12) show the contrast between "Art" and "Practice" by means of two putti, one of whom, eagerly engaged with a chisel, is described as "phlegmaticus", the other, still reminiscent of Dürer, as "melancholicus" (cf. also below, pp. 349, note 217, and 380, note 16).

[204] Another interpretation of the putto, kindly mentioned to us by Dr G. F. Hartlaub, but in our opinion not altogether convincing, will be discussed later on in connexion with Lucas Cranach's portrait of melancholy (see below, text pp. 382 sqq.).

points out that the writing implement which Dürer's putto is plying so eagerly and thoughtlessly is really the artist's own specific tool, namely, a burin, with its own distinctive handle, and its groove for the insertion of the thin square graving point —here applied in a most unsuitable manner. Moreover, there is the fact that the connexion which we discern in Dürer's engraving of theory and practice with ideal and material success, can also be traced in other symbolic or schematic representations of artistic achievement, as for instance in Hendrick Hondius's engraved title-page to his well-known collection of portraits of Dutch painters, which might almost be taken as a more positive version of Dürer's programme (PLATE 109).[205] It shows two naked allegorical figures, one with palette, brushes, and wand of Mercury, signifying "Pictura", the other, with mathematical instruments, signifying "Optica"; though not sunk in depression like Dürer's Melencolia, the two women seem content merely to regard their own excellence, while above them we see two putti eagerly engaged in practical work, and representing "assiduus labor".[206] The two factors of creative achievement which Dürer conceived in the whole complicated tension of their relationship are here shown in friendly accord; but they are still the same two factors, and they still stand in the same relationship of higher and lower; theoretic Art (here split into two forms), and active, eager Practice. The analogy even goes a step further; for just as Dürer showed us the goal and reward of artistic endeavour in the form of keys and purse (an interpretation here reinforced), so Hondius shows us at the bottom of the picture the "fructus laborum". Admittedly there are two significant differences. What men in early baroque times thought the artist's highest goal, next to the riches signified by gold coins, was no longer the power given by God, but fame won in the world, as illustrated by the palm and laurels, and emphasised by Fame with her trumpet.[207] And whereas, in his optimism, Hondius considered the goal as unquestionably attainable, Dürer, in illustrating the unhappy moment when Practice and Art have become separated, questions—and momentarily even

[205] *Pictorum aliquot celebrium . . . effigies*, first published at the Hague about 1610.

[206] The crane allotted to the right-hand putto was a symbol of wakefulness already in late antiquity; the cock on the left (next to the putto), the care or assiduity closely connected with vigilance (cf. e.g. CESARE RIPA, *Iconologia*, 1st edn., Rome 1593, s.v. "Vigilanza" and "Sollecitudine").

[207] An allegory comparable in content is found on the engraved title to *Varie Figure Accademiche . . . messe in luce da Pietro de Jode*, Antwerp 1639 (PLATE 110). On the left is "Disegno",

denies—the value of attaining success and being rewarded for it. That is the true significance of a pictorial feature which seems at first to be designed merely to communicate a certain mood—his giving, that is, to both the purse and the bunch of keys ("riches" and "power", as Dürer himself said) an air of confusion and neglect, in other words, of being unused or unattainable.

(c) The Significance of "Melencolia I"

There is no doubt that the idea expressed by Henricus de Gandavo brings us very close to the core of Melencolia's true meaning. She is above all an imaginative Melancholy, whose thoughts and actions all take place within the realms of space and visibility, from pure reflexion upon geometry to activity in the lesser crafts; and here if anywhere we receive the impression of a being to whom her allotted realm seems intolerably restricted—of a being whose thoughts "have reached the limit".

And so we come to one last vital question, namely, the basic attitude towards life underlying Dürer's engraving, with its endlessly complicated ancestry, its fusion of older types, its modification—nay, its inversion—of older forms of expression, and its development of an allegorical schema: the question of the fundamental significance[208] of *Melencolia I*.

The foundations out of which Dürer's idea arose were of course laid by Ficino's doctrine. The revolution which had reinstated the "pessima complexio" and "corruptio animi" as the source of all creative achievement, and made the "most evil planet" into the "iuvans pater" of intellectual men, had, as we have seen, been brought about in the Florence of the Medici. Without it, a northern artist, granted all the astrological likenesses between

a handsome youth with a mirror and compasses, on the right, "Labore", a labourer digging; above, "Honore" crowned with the laurel wreath of "Fama", and with "Abondança's" cornucopia. The inscription runs

"Door den arbeyt en door de Teeken-const
Comt menich aen eer en S'princen ionst."

Another equally vivid example of the allegories of Theory and Practice is the engraved title to the *Universa astrosophia naturalis* by A. F. DE BONNATTIS, Padua 1687; above reigns the victorious "Maiestas Reipublicae Venetae", to the left is an embodiment of "Contemplatione et Iudicio" in the person of an idealised youthful figure with astrolabe and compasses, to the right a personification of "Ratione et Experimento", represented as Mercury.

[208] For this notion cf. K. MANNHEIM, "Beiträge zur Theorie der Weltanschauungsinterpretation", in *Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* (formerly *Jahrbuch der k.k. Zentralkommission*), I (1921–22), pp. 236 sqq.; for our purposes it seemed necessary to replace the term "representational meaning" inserted by Mannheim between "expressional meaning" and "documentary meaning" by the term "notional meaning".

Saturn and Geometry, would yet have lacked the necessary impulse to demolish the barriers of revulsion and fear which had hidden "Melancholia generosa" from view for hundreds of years, to replace the picture of the idle spinstress by that of the Saturnine art of measurement, and to transform into expressions of feeling and into symbols of abstract ideas all the traditional signs of the melancholy disease and attributes of the melancholy temperament. But beyond this general connexion—one might almost say the "atmospheric" connexion—the *De vita triplici* can hardly have had any influence on the composition of the engraving, for the very idea which is most essential to Dürer's composition, namely the integral interpenetration of the notions of melancholy and geometry (in the widest sense), was not only foreign to Ficino's system, but actually contradicts it.

Ficino had taken an enthusiastic interest in many aspects both of the world of man and of the universe, and had included them in the structure of his doctrine; but there was one realm into which he did not enter and which in fact he really ignored—the realm of "visibility in space", which was the background both of theoretical discoveries in mathematics and of practical achievements in the manual arts. This Florentine, who lived at such close quarters with the art of the Renaissance, and with its theory of art based on mathematics, seems to have taken no part either emotionally or intellectually in the rebuilding of this sphere of culture. His Platonist doctrine of beauty completely ignored the works of human hands, and it was not until a good century later that the doctrine was transformed from a philosophy of beauty in nature to a philosophy of art.[209] His theory of cognition barely glances at mathematical knowledge, and the dietetics and morphology in his *De vita triplici* are the dietetics and morphology of a literary man of genius. As far as Ficino is concerned, the creative intellects —those whose efforts, in their beginning, are protected by Mercury, and, in their development, are guided by Saturn—are the "literarum studiosi", that is to say, the humanists, the seers and poets, and, above all, of course, "those who devote themselves ceaselessly to the study of philosophy, turning their minds from the body and corporeal things towards the incorporeal"[210]—in

[209] See below, pp. 360 sqq. (text).

[210] FICINO, *De v. tripl.*, I, 4 (*Opera*, p. 497): "Maxime vero literatorum omnium hi atra bile premuntur, qui sedulo philosophiae studio dediti, mentem a corpore rebusque corporeis sevocant, incorporeisque coniungunt."

other words, certainly not mathematicians, and still less practising artists.[211] Accordingly, in his hierarchy of the intellectual faculties, he does not place the "vis imaginativa" (the lowest faculty, directly attached to the body by the "spiritus")[212] under Saturn. As we read in the third book of the *De vita triplici*, the "imaginatio" tends towards Mars or the sun, the "ratio" towards Jupiter, and only the "mens contemplatrix", which knows intuitively and transcends discursive reasoning, tends towards Saturn.[213] The sublime and sinister nimbus which Ficino weaves about the head of the Saturnine melancholic does not, therefore, have anything to do with "imaginative" men; the latter, whose predominant faculty is merely a vessel to receive solar or Martial influences, do not, in his view, belong to the "melancholy" spirits, to those capable of inspiration; into the illustrious company of the Saturnine he does not admit a being whose thoughts move merely within the sphere of visible, mensurable and ponderable forms; and he would have questioned the right of such a being to be called "Melencolia".

The contrary is the case with Henricus de Gandavo. He considers only imaginative natures—in particular those mathematically gifted—as melancholics; and to that extent his view comes substantially closer to Dürer's. It is also by no means impossible that Dürer was affected by Henricus's ideas, for no less a person than Pico della Mirandola had revived these views in his *Apology*,[214] and thereby reminded many other humanists,

[211] In book I, ch. 2 Ficino emphasises explicitly and with considerable pride the fundamental contrast between what he calls the "Musarum sacerdotes" and all other, even artistic professions: ". . . sollers quilibet artifex instrumenta sua diligentissime curat, penicillos pictor, malleos incudesque faber aerarius, miles equos et arma, venator canes et aves, citharam citharoedus, et sua quisque similiter. Soli vero Musarum sacerdotes, soli summi boni veritatisque venatores, tam negligentes (proh nefas) tamque infortunati sunt, ut instrumentum illud, quo mundum universum metiri quodammodo et capere possunt, negligere penitus videantur. Instrumentum eiusmodi spiritus ipse est, qui apud medicos vapor quidam sanguinis purus, subtilis et lucidus definitur."

[212] See above, pp. 264 sqq. (text).

[213] Quotations above, p. 272 (text).

[214] PICO DELLA MIRANDOLA, *Apologia* (*Opera*, Basle 1572, VOL. I, p. 133): "Qui ergo non possunt angelum intelligere secundum rationem substantiae suae, ut unitatem absque ratione puncti, sunt illi de quibus dicit Commentator super secundo Metaphysicae, in quibus virtus imaginativa dominatur super virtutem cogitativam, et ideo, ut dicit, videmus istos non credere demonstrationibus, nisi imaginatio eos comitetur; et quicquid cogitant, quantum est aut situm habens, in quanto ut punctus; unde tales melancholici sunt, et optimi fiunt mathematici, sed sunt naturales inepti. Haec Henricus ad verbum; ex quibus sequitur, quod secundum Henricum iste magister sit male dispositus ad studium philosophiae naturalis, peius ad studium Metaphysicae, pessime ad studium Theologiae, quae etiam est de abstractioribus: relinquitur ergo ei solum aptitudo ad Mathematica . . . ." Cf. also M. PALMIERI,

Germans included, of them.[215] But if Ficino's theory does not accord with the trend in Dürer's engraving because his idea of melancholy bears no relation to the notion of mathematics, Henricus de Gandavo's does not accord with it because his idea of melancholy is related too closely to the notion of mathematics. From Ficino's point of view, the description "Melencolia" would not be justified, because he considered that in principle no mathematician had access to the sphere of (inspired) melancholy. From Henricus's point of view, the numeral "I" would seem pointless because he considered that in principle no non-mathematician descended into the sphere of (non-inspired) melancholy. Ficino, who saw in melancholy the highest rung of intellectual life, thought it began where the imaginative faculty left off, so that only contemplation, no longer fettered by the imagination, deserved the title of melancholy. Henricus de Gandavo, who still conceived melancholy as a "modus deficiens", thought that as soon as the mind rises above the level of imagination, melancholy ceases to affect it, so that contemplation no longer fettered by the imaginative faculty could lay claim to the title "philosophia" or "theologia". If an artist really wished to give expression to the feeling of "having reached a limit" which seems to form the basis of the close relationship between Henricus de Gandavo's notions of melancholy and Dürer's, he might certainly have called his picture *Melencolia*, but not *Melencolia I*.

It is assumed implicitly that what is lacking logically to

Città di Vita, I, 12, 48 (ed. M. Rooke, in Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, VOL. VIII, Northampton, Mass., 1926–27, p. 59), where the buildings appearing in Saturn's world and their architects are described as follows:

"Tutto quello è nel mondo ymaginato
per numeri o linee o lor facture
convien che sia da questa impression dato.
Fanno architetti queste creature,
mathematici sono & fanno in terra
& altri in ciel lor forme & lor figure."

Incidentally, the equation "Saturnus" = "Imaginatio", was also made in one of Bovillus's schemata, *Liber de sapiente*, cap. xi (ed. R. Klibansky, in E. CASSIRER, *Individuum und Kosmos in der Philosophie der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1927, pp. 326 sqq.) but this is too individual a construction to be treated here: it consists of an analogy between the seven planets and the mental faculties so that Sol equals "Ratio" while the six other planets correspond each to one instrument of "materialis cognitio".

[215] We know, for instance, that both Conrad Peutinger of Augsburg and Hartmann Schedel of Nuremberg had a copy of Pico's *Apologia* in their libraries (E. KÖNIG, *Peutingerstudien*, Freiburg i.B. 1914, p. 65).

complete the sequence started by *Melencolia I*[216] is neither a representation of the three other temperaments to make up a set of the "four complexions", nor yet a picture of disease contrasting "melancholia adusta" with "melancholia naturalis". What is lacking is, rather, the representation of an intellectual condition signifying the next highest rung of cognition in the scale of melancholy; a *Melencolia II* in contrast to *Melencolia I*, which should reveal not a state of complete derangement, but, on the contrary, a state of relative liberation. Herein lies the greatness of Dürer's achievement; that he overcame the medical distinctions by an image, uniting in a single whole, full of emotional life, the phenomena which the set notions of temperament and disease had robbed of their vitality; that he conceived the melancholy of intellectual men as an indivisible destiny in which the differences of melancholy temperament, disease and mood fade to nothing, and brooding sorrow no less than creative enthusiasm are but the extremes of one and the same disposition. The depression of *Melencolia I*, revealing both the obscure doom and the obscure source of creative genius, lies beyond any contrast between health and disease; and if we would discover its opposite we must look for it in a sphere where such a contrast is equally lacking—in a sphere, therefore, which admits of different forms and degrees within "melancholia generosa".

How then are we to imagine such a gradation?[217] The

[216] Interpretations such as "Melencholia, I" ("Go away, Melancholy!") or "Melancolia iacet" ("Melancholy lies on the ground", thus *Mitteilungen des Reichsbundes deutscher Technik*, 1919, No. 47, 6 December) are scarcely worth refuting. More recent but equally untenable is E. BÜCH's view (in *Die medizinische Welt*, VOL. VII (1933), No. 2) that Dürer's engraving was inspired by a prophetic vision of an epidemic of the plague (though nothing is known of one in 1514, at least not in Nuremberg), and that the figure I stood for the first stage of the disease.

[217] Like Allihn, Thausing and Giehlow, we, too, formerly assumed that Dürer's engraving was intended to be the first of a temperament-series. The difficulties involved in such an assumption were not unknown to us, for we realised that it would have been highly unusual to begin the series with Melancholy, and that no fully analogous names would have been available for the other temperaments (cf. *Dürer's "Melencolia I"*, pp. 68 and 142; also H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, 5th edn., Munich 1926, p. 253); we noticed further that artists under Dürer's influence, who did a complete temperament-series, returned for the sake of neatness to the description "melancolicus" and gave this "melancolicus" third or even fourth place in the series (PLATES 122 and 126). Gerard de Jode in his temperament-series after M. de Vos (PLATE 113), which is independent of Dürer, follows a new way of bringing the term "melancholia" into line with those denoting the other temperaments by treating it, by analogy with Greek usage, as the description of an actual humour, as an equivalent for "cholera nigra" or "atra bilis", and thus ranging it alongside "sanguis", "cholera", and "phlegma"; but here too, melancholy occupies third place and not first; cf. our PLATE 126. In these circumstances, however, the other view, postulating a plan for a *Melencolia II* as a picture of disease, or rather insanity (H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, 5th edn., Munich 1926,

Neoplatonist Ficino, as we know, held inspired melancholy in such great honour that in the ascending hierarchy of the faculties of the soul, "imaginatio", "ratio" and "mens contemplatrix", he coupled it only with the highest, the contemplative mind. Henricus de Gandavo, on the other hand, rated uninspired melancholy so low that it could be coupled only with the lowest rank, the imagination. Ficino thought it impossible for the imaginative mind to rise to melancholy, Henricus thought it impossible for the melancholy mind to rise above the imagination. But what if someone were bold enough to expand the notion of inspired melancholy so as to include a rational and an imaginative as well as a contemplative form? A view would then emerge recognising an imaginative, a rational and a contemplative stage within melancholy itself, thus interpreting, as it were, the hierarchy of the three faculties of the soul as three equally inspired forms of melancholy. Then Dürer's *Melencolia I*, as portraying a "melancholia imaginativa", would really represent the first stage in an ascent via *Melencolia II* ("melancholia rationalis") to *Melencolia III* ("melancholia mentalis").

We know now that there was such a theory of gradation,[218] and

p. 253, and in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1923, p. 175; also K. BORINSKI, *Die Antike in Poetik und Kunsttheorie*, VOL. I, Leipzig 1914, pp. 165 and 296 sqq.), seem to us still less acceptable and we cannot imagine a representation of "melancholia adusta" such as to constitute a counterpart to Dürer's engraving as it stands. For such a representation, given the generally known doctrine of the "four forms", two possibilities would have lain open. Either all four sub-species of melancholy madness, i.e. melancholy "ex sanguine", "ex cholera", "ex phlegmate" and "ex melancholia naturali", could have been combined in one general picture —which would have resulted in a gruesome collection of madhouse scenes having no point of contact either in content or form with *Melencolia I* (we shall show in appendix II, p. 403, that the much-discussed etching B70 (PLATE 146) may give us an idea of what such a collection of the "quattuor species melancholiae adustae" would have looked like)—or else the one real analogy, i.e. "melancholia ex melancholia naturali", would have had to be chosen from among the four forms of diseases, and in that case it would scarcely have been possible to bring out the intended psychological contrast. Everyone is at least agreed that even the winged woman on the engraving, though she expresses the "melancholia naturalis" of the mentally creative man, has at the moment been overcome by a fit of depression in which the black bile has so far gained the ascendancy that, in Ficino's words, the soul "all too deeply entangled in Saturnine brooding and oppressed by cares" (FICINO, *De v. tripl.*, II, 16, *Opera*, p. 523), "evadit tristis, omnium pertaesa" (*A.P.T. Paracelsi Opera omnia*, Geneva 1658, VOL. II, p. 173); the depression differs from the pathological state of "melancholia ex melancholia naturali adusta" only by its transitory nature (thus, too, H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, 5th edn., Munich 1926, pp. 252 sqq.).

[218] Such a possibility was considered by HARTLAUB, *Geheimnis*, pp. 79 sqq. He rightly criticises the interpretation of the *I* as the beginning of a temperament-series, but flies off at a tangent by introducing the freemasonic idea of the grades of apprentice, journeyman and master (the two latter possibly embodied in Dürer's *Knight, Death and the Devil* and *St Jerome*). But what Hartlaub, op. cit., p. 42, says is lacking, i.e. "literary evidence for a regular tripartite division of Saturnine development", appears abundantly in the *Occulta philosophia*, a German source, be it noted, whereas there is no evidence for any connexion with masonic ideas.

that its inventor was none other than Agrippa of Nettesheim, the first German thinker to adopt the teachings of the Florentine Academy in their entirety, and to familiarise his humanistic friends with them. He was, as it were, the predestined mediator between Ficino and Dürer.[219]

Karl Giehlow, in spite of being familiar with all the relevant parts of the printed *Occulta philosophia*,[220] somehow failed to notice what was essentially new in Agrippa's theory, or fully to grasp its special significance for the elucidation of the numeral in *Melencolia I*; in the same way, later interpretations have been equally inadequate by neglecting to follow up the line of research suggested by Giehlow. Admittedly, on Agrippa's own authority, the printed edition of *Occulta philosophia* which appeared in 1531 contained considerably more than the original version completed in 1510,[221] so that it appeared uncertain whether the relevant parts were not later additions: in which case it would be impossible to regard them as sources for Dürer's engraving. But the original version of *Occulta philosophia*, believed lost, did survive, as Hans Meier has proved, in the very manuscript which Agrippa sent to his friend Trithemius in Würzburg in the spring of 1510.[222] We are thus on firm ground; and in this original version the two chapters on the "furor melancholicus" approach the view of life implicit in Dürer's engraving more nearly than any other writing known to us; it was circulated more or less secretly in many manuscript copies[223]; and it was certainly available to Pirckheimer's circle

[219] On him, cf. P. ZAMBELLI, "A proposito del 'De vanitate scientiarum et artium' di Cornelio Agrippa," *Riv. Crit. di Storia della Filos.*, 1960, pp. 167–81.

[220] GIEHLOW (1904), pp. 12 sqq.

[221] "Addidimus autem nonnulla capitula, inseruimus etiam pleraque, quae praetermittere incuriosum videbatur."

[222] The dedication, in a slightly altered form, was used in the introduction to the printed edition, as was Trithemius's answer of 8 April 1510. The MS of the original edition (quoted above, p. 323, note 132) bears a seventeenth-century inscription "Mon. S. Jacobi" on the first page (Trithemius, of course, was the abbot of this monastery), and Trithemius himself wrote on the right-hand margin of the top cover: "Heinricus Cornelius Coloniensis de magia". See J. BIELMANN, "Zu einer Hds. der 'Occulta philosophia' des Agrippa von Nettesheim," *Archiv f. Kulturgesch.*, VOL. 27 (1937), pp. 318–24.

[223] "Contigit autum postea, ut interceptum opus, priusquam illi summam manum imposuissem, corruptis exemplaribus truncum et impolitum circumferretur atque in Italia, in Gallia, in Germania per multorum manus volitaret." The delay in issuing a printed edition was probably due mainly to fear of clerical persecution; Trithemius himself advised politely but firmly against publishing it: "Unum hoc tamen te monemus custodire praeceptum, ut vulgaria vulgaribus, altiora vero et arcana altioribus atque secretis tantum communices amicis."

through Trithemius,[224] and can now lay claim to being the main source of *Melencolia I*.

Agrippa's *Occulta philosophia* is, in the printed edition, a highly comprehensive but unwieldy work, encumbered with countless astrological, geomantic and cabbalistic spells, figures and tables, a real book of necromancy in the medieval sorcerer's style. In its original form, however, it was quite different, being rather a neat, homogeneous treatise, from which the cabbalistic element was entirely lacking, and in which there were not so many prescriptions of practical magic as to blur the clear outline of a logical, scientific and philosophical system.[225] This system was presented in a threefold structure,[226] was manifestly based entirely on Neoplatonic, Neopythagorean, and oriental mysticism, and presupposed complete familiarity with Ficino's writings, both as a whole and in detail.[227] It led from earthly matters to the stellar universe, and from the stellar universe to the realm of religious truth and mystic contemplation. Everywhere it reveals the "colligantia et continuitas naturae" according to which each "higher power, in imparting its rays to all lesser things in a long and unbroken chain, flows down to the lowest, while, vice versa, the lowest rises via the higher up to the highest"[228]; and it makes even the wildest manipulations—with snakes's eyes, magic brews, and invocations of the stars—seem less like spells than the deliberate application of natural forces.

After two introductory chapters which try, like Ficino, to distinguish this white magic from necromancy and exorcism,[229] and inform us that as a link between physics, mathematics, and theology, it is the "totius nobilissimae philosophiae absoluta

[224] That Trithemius and Pirckheimer had some connexion with each other during the years in question (1510–1515), in which occult matters also played a part, can be seen from a number of letters, the knowledge of which we owe to the archivist, Dr E. Reicke: P. to T., 1 July 1507, and T. to P., 18 July 1507 (Johannes Trithemius, *Epistolarum familiarum libri duo*, probably Hagenau, 1536, pp. 279–281 and Clm. 4008, fol. 11). P. to T., 13 June 1515 (concerning a work by Trithemius against magic), pointed out by O. CLEMEN in *Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswesen*, VOL. XXXVIII (1921), pp. 101 sqq.

[225] This difference between the two editions of *Occulta philosophia* is of course a vital symptom of the development which northern humanism had undergone between about 1510 and 1530; Dr H. Meier intended to edit the Würzburg MS, which would have facilitated an historical evaluation of his discovery.

[226] The printed edition covers almost three times as much space as the original version even apart from the apocryphal Book IV.

[227] See below, p. 356, note 253; pp. 358 sqq. (text).

[228] I, 29, fol. 22v.

[229] See above, p. 268 (text).

consummatio", the first book lists the manifest and occult powers of earthly things, and then, by means of the "Platonic" doctrine of the pre-formation of individual objects in the sphere of ideas,[230] interprets them as emanations of divine unity transmitted by the stars. As the effects of the "chain" here represented work upwards as well as downwards, metaphysical justification can be found not only for the whole practice of magic with its potions, burnt offerings,[231] sympathetic amulets, healing salves, and poisons, but also for the whole of the old astrological associations[232]; and even the psychological riddles of hypnotism ("fascinatio"), suggestion ("ligatio") and auto-suggestion can be explained by the fact that the influential part can become saturated with the powers of a certain planet and set them in action against other individuals, or even against itself.[233]

The second book deals with "coelestia", the general principles of astrology,[234] and with the manufacture of specific astrological talismans,[235] as well as with the occult significance of numbers (which, remarkably enough, however, are regarded rather from the point of view of mystical correspondence than of practical magic, somewhat in the same way as in the well-known treatises on the numbers seven or four)[236]; it treats also of the astrological and magical character of the stars,[237] and of the effect of music.[238]

[230] I, 5. A charming illustration of this doctrine of pre-formation occurs in a miniature in Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Phil. graec. 4 (H. J. HERMANN, in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, VOL. XIX (1898), plate VI, text p. 166), where the "ideas" of men and beasts are vividly portrayed linked by rays with their earthly counterparts.

[231] Thus the above-mentioned (p. 323 sq., note 133) burnt-offering to Saturn.

[232] The correlations with the planets (with regard to those referring to Saturn, see the same reference) are given in ch. 16–23 (in ch. 16 add from MS fol. 15v, "conferunt Saturnalia ad tristitiam et melancoliam, Jovialia ad leticiam et dignitatem"). The localities governed by the different planets are listed in ch. 46, fol. 36v in astrological terms, but with a new, Ficinesque meaning, while ch. 45, fol. 35v, contains the mimic and facial characteristics of the children of the planets, whose behaviour both springs from, and evokes, the influence of the star concerned: "Sunt praeterea gestus Saturnum referentes, qui sunt tristes ac moesti, planctus, capitis ictus, item religiosi, ut genuflexio aspectu deorsum fixo, pectoris ictus vultusque consimiles et austeri, et ut scribit satyricus:

'Obstipo capite et figentes lumina terra,
Murmura cum secum et rabiosa silentia rodunt
Atque exporrecto trutinantur verba palato'."

[233] Thus, for instance, a man can calm or sadden others by suggestion, because he is the stronger "in ordine Saturnali" (I, 43, fol. 33v), or by auto-suggestion evoke Saturn's aid against love, or Jupiter's against the fear of death (I, 43, fol. 44r).

[234] II, 1–3. [235] II, 4–16.

[236] II, 17–29. Ch. 30 briefly mentions geometric figures, ascribing their efficacy to numerical relationships; we have already stated (p. 327, note 147) that planetary squares are still lacking.

[237] II, 31. [238] II, 32–33.

Next, it deals in great detail with incantations and invocations, among which those invoking the aid of Saturn are once again distinguished by series of antitheses more numerous than anywhere else[239]; and finally it comes to the casting of spells by means of light and shadows,[240] and the different sorts of "divinatio"—from the flight of birds, astral phenomena, or prodigies, and by sortilege, geomancy, hydromancy, pyromancy, aeromancy, necromancy (much despised), and the interpretation of dreams.[241]

The work reaches its climax in the third book, which, as the introduction says, leads us "to higher things", and teaches us "how to know accurately the laws of religion; how, thanks to divine religion, we must participate in the truth; and how we must properly develop our minds and spirits, by which alone we can grasp the truth".[242] With this third book we leave the lower realm of practical magic and divination by outward aids, and come to that of "vaticinium", direct revelation, in which the soul, inspired by higher powers, "recognises the last fundamentals of things in this world and the next" and miraculously sees "everything that is, has been, or will be in the most distant future".[243] After some introductory remarks on the intellectual and spiritual virtues required to obtain such grace, and a detailed argument designed to prove that this form of mysticism is compatible with Christian dogma, especially with the doctrine of the Trinity,[244] this book enquires into the transmitters of higher inspiration, who are the "daemons", incorporeal intelligences, who "have their light from God" and transmit it to men for purposes of revelation or seduction. They are divided into three orders: the higher or "super-celestial", who circle about the divine unity above the cosmos; the middle or "mundane", who inhabit the heavenly spheres; and the lower or elemental spirits, among whom are also reckoned woodland and domestic gods, the "daemons" of the four quarters of the world, guardian spirits

[239] II, 34–38. The prayer to Saturn (ch. 37, fol. 70ᵛ–71ʳ) runs as follows: "Dominus altus magnus sapiens intelligens ingeniosus revolutor longi spatii, senex magne profunditatis, arcane contemplationis auctor, in cordibus hominum cogitationes magnas deprimens et vel imprimens, vim et potestatem subuertens, omnia destruens et conseruans, secretorum et absconditorum ostensor et inuentor, faciens amittere et inuenire, auctor vite et mortis." In the printed edition (II, 59, p. 205) this polarity, which we found affecting even Alanus ab Insulis (cf. text p. 186), appears equally clearly ("vim et potestatem subvertentem et constituentem, absconditorum custodem et ostensorem").

[240] II, 49.

[241] II, 50–58.

[242] III, 1, fol. 84ʳ.

[243] III, 29, fol. 103ʳ⁻ᵛ.

[244] III, 1–6.

and so on.[245] As these "daemons" fulfil the same function in the universal soul as the different faculties of the soul fulfil in the individual, it is understandable that the human soul, "burning with divine love, raised up by hope and led on by faith", should be able to associate itself directly with them and, as in a mirror of eternity, should be able to experience and achieve all that it could never have experienced and achieved by itself.[246] This makes possible "vaticinium", the power of "perceiving the principles ("causae") of things and foreseeing the future, in that higher inspiration descends on us from the daemons, and spiritual influences are transmitted to us"; this, however, can only happen when the soul is not busied with any other matters but is free ("vacat").[247] Such a "vacatio animae" could take three forms, namely true dreams ("somnia"),[248] elevation of the soul by means of contemplation ("raptus")[249] and illumination of the soul ("furor") by the daemons (in this case acting without mediators)[250]; and we are told, in terms unmistakably reminiscent of Plato's *Phaedrus*, that this "furor" could come from the Muses, or Dionysus, or Apollo, or Venus,[251]—or else from melancholy.[252]

As physical cause of this frenzy [says Agrippa in effect], the philosophers give the "humor melancholicus", not, however, that which is called the black bile, which is something so evil and terrible that its onset, according to the view of scientists and physicians, results not only in madness but in possession by evil spirits as well. By "humor melancholicus" I mean rather that which is called "candida bilis et naturalis". Now this, when it takes fire and glows, generates the frenzy which leads us to wisdom and revelation, especially when it is combined with a heavenly influence, above all with

[245] III, 7–10. The "daemones medii" inhabiting the spheres correspond on the one hand to the nine Muses (cf. MARTIANUS CAPELLA, *Nupliae Philologiae et Mercurii*, I, 27–28, ed. A. Dick, Leipzig 1925, p. 19); on the other, to certain angels; it is typical of the survival of ancient mythology that the spirit of Mercury was identified with Michael, who had taken over so many of the functions of Hermes Psychopompus, while the spirit of the virginal goddess of birth, Luna-Artemis, was identified with Gabriel, angel of the Annunciation. We cannot here enter into Agrippa's demonology or evaluate the cosmology and highly interesting psychology contained in ch. III, 16–29.

[246] III, 29, fol. 103ʳ⁻ᵛ.

[247] III, 30, fol. 104ʳ. "Illapsiones vero eiusmodi . . . non transeunt in animam nostram, quando illa in aliud quiddam attentius inhians est occupata, sed transeunt, quando vacat."

[248] III, 38.

[249] III, 37.

[250] III, 31–36.

[251] III, 33–36.

[252] For the doctrine of "vacatio animae" and the possibility of its being caused by melancholy, see e.g. FICINO, *Theologia Platonica de immortalitate animorum*, BK XIII, 2 (*Opera*, VOL. I, p. 292).

that of Saturn. For, since, like the "humor melancholicus", he is cold and dry, he influences it constantly, increases it and sustains it. And as moreover, he is the lord of secret contemplation, foreign to all public affairs, and the highest among the planets, so he constantly recalls the soul from outward matters towards the innermost, enables it to rise from lower things to the highest, and sends it knowledge and perception of the future. Therefore Aristotle says in the *Problemata* that through melancholy some men have become divine beings, foretelling the future like the Sibyls and the inspired prophets of ancient Greece, while others have become poets like Maracus of Syracuse; and he says further that all men who have been distinguished in any branch of knowledge have generally been melancholics: to which Democritus and Plato, as well as Aristotle, bear witness, for according to their assurance some melancholics were so outstanding by their genius that they seemed gods rather than men. We often see uneducated, foolish, irresponsible melancholics (such as Hesiod, Ion, Tynnichus of Chalcis, Homer, and Lucretius are said to have been) suddenly seized by this frenzy, when they change into great poets and invent marvellous and divine songs which they themselves scarcely understand. . . .[253]

Moreover, this "humor melancholicus" has such power that they say it attracts certain daemons into our bodies, through whose presence and activity men fall into ecstasies and pronounce many wonderful things. The whole of antiquity bears witness that this occurs in three different forms, corresponding to the threefold capacity of our soul, namely the imaginative,

[253] III, 31, fols. 104r sqq. (proper names corrected in the translation): "Furor est illustratio anime a diis vel a demonibus proveniens. Unde Nasonis hoc carmen:

'Est deus in nobis, sunt et commercia celi;
Sedibus ethereis spiritus ille venit.'

Huius itaque furoris causam, que intra humanum corpus est, dicunt philosophi esse humorem melancolicum, non quidem illum, qui atra bilis vocatur, qui adeo prava horribilisque res est, ut impetus eius a phisicis ac medicis ultra maniam quam inducit, eciam malorum demonum obsessiones afferre confirmatur. Humorem igitur dico melancolicum, qui candida bilis vocatur et naturalis. Hic enim quando accenditur atque ardet, furorem concitat ad sapientiam nobis vaticiniumque conducentem, maxime quatenus consentit cum influxu aliquo celesti, precipue Saturni. Hic enim cum ipse sit frigidus atque siccus, qualis est humor melancolicus, ipsum quotidie influit, auget et conservat; preterea cum sit arcane contemplationis auctor ab omni publico negocio alienus ac planetarum altissimus, animam ipsam tum ab externis officiis ad intima semper revocat, tum ab inferioribus ascendere facit, trahendo ad altissima scientiasque ac futurorum presagia largitur. Unde inquit Aristoteles in libro problematum ex melancolia quidam facti sunt sicut diuini predicentes futura ut Sibille et Bachides, quidam facti sunt poete ut Malanchius Siracusanus; ait preterea omnes viros in quauis scientia prestantes ut plurimum extitisse melancolicos, quod etiam Democritus et Plato cum Aristotele testantur confirmantes nonnullos melancolicos in tantum prestare ingenio, ut diuini potius quam humani videantur. Plerunque etiam videmus homines melancolicos rudes, ineptos, insanos, quales legimus extitisse Hesiodum, Jonem, Tymnicum Calcidensem, Homerum et Lucretium, sepe furore subito corripi ac in poetas bonos euadere et miranda quedam diuinaque canere etiam que ipsimet vix intelligant. Unde diuus Plato in Jone, ubi de furore poetico tractat: 'Plerique, inquit, vates, postquam furoris remissus est impetus, que scripserunt non satis intelligunt, cum tamen recte de singulis artibus in furore tractauerunt, quod singuli harum artifices legendo diiudicant'." It is evident throughout that Agrippa follows Ficino.

the rational, and the mental. For when set free by the "humor melancholicus", the soul is fully concentrated in the imagination, and it immediately becomes an habitation for the lower spirits, from whom it often receives wonderful instruction in the manual arts; thus we see a quite unskilled man suddenly become a painter or an architect, or a quite outstanding master in another art of the same kind; but if the spirits of this species reveal the future to us, they show us matters related to natural catastrophes and disasters—for instance, approaching storms, earthquakes, cloudbursts, or threats of plague, famine, devastation, and so on. But when the soul is fully concentrated in the reason, it becomes the home of the middle spirits; thereby it attains knowledge and cognition of natural and human things; thus we see a man suddenly become a [natural] philosopher, a physician or a [political] orator; and of future events they show us what concerns the overthrow of kingdoms and the return of epochs, prophesying in the same way as the Sibyl prophesied to the Romans. . . . But when the soul soars completely to the intellect ("mens"), it becomes the home of the higher spirits, from whom it learns the secrets of divine matters, as, for instance, the law of God, the angelic hierarchy, and that which pertains to the knowledge of eternal things and the soul's salvation; of future events they show us, for instance, approaching prodigies, wonders, a prophet to come, or the emergence of a new religion, just as the Sibyls prophesied Jesus Christ long before he appeared. . . .[254]

This theory of melancholy frenzy occupied a central position in the original version of *Occulta philosophia*, for the "furor

[254] III, 32, fol. 105r: "Tantum preterea est huius humoris imperium ut ferant suo impetu eciam demones quosdam in nostra corpora rapi quorum presentia et instinctu homines debachari et mirabilia multa effari. Omnis testatur antiquitas et hoc sub triplici differentia iuxta triplicem anime apprehensionem, scilicet imaginatiuam, rationalem et mentalem; quando enim anima melancolico humore vacans tota in imaginationem transfertur, subito efficitur inferiorum demonum habitaculum, a quibus manualium artium sepe miras accipit rationes; sic videmus rudissimum aliquem hominem sepe in pictorem vel architectorem vel alterius cuiusque artificii subtilissimum subito euadere magistrum; quando vero eiusmodi demones futura nobis portendunt, ostendunt que ad elementorum turbationes temporumque vicissitudines attinent, ut videlicet futuram tempestatem, terremotum vel pluuiam, item futuram mortalitatem, famem, vel stragem et eiusmodi. Sic legimus apud Aulum Gellium Cornelium sacerdotem castissimum eo tempore quo Cesar et Pompeius in Thessalia confligebant, Pataui furore correptum fuisse, ita quod et tempus et ordinem et exitum pugne viderat. Quando vero anima tota in rationem conuertitur, mediorum demonum efficitur domicilium. Hinc naturalium rerum humanarumque nanciscitur scientiam atque prudentiam. Sic videmus aliquando hominem aliquem subito in philosophum vel medicum vel oratorem egregium euadere; ex futuris autem ostendunt nobis que ad regnorum mutationes et seculorum restitutiones pertinent, quemadmodum Sibilla Romanis vaticinata fuit. Cum vero anima tota assurgit in mentem, sublimium demonum efficitur domicilium, a quibus arcana ediscit divinorum, ut videlicet Dei legem, ordines angelorum et ea que ad eternarum rerum cognitionem animarumque salutem pertinent; ex futuris vero ostendunt nobis, ut futura prodigia, miracula, futurum prophetam vel legis mutationem, quemadmodum Sibille de Jesu Christo longo tempore ante aduentum eius vaticinate sunt, quem quidem Vergilius spiritu consimili iam propinquum intelligendo Sibille Cumane reminiscens cecinit:

'Ultima Cumei venit iam carminis etas;
Magnus ab integro seculorum nascitur ordo;
Iam redit et virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna;
Iam noua progenies celo dimittitur alto'."

melancholicus" was the first and most important form of "vacatio animae", and thereby a specific source of inspired creative achievement. It therefore signified the exact point at which the process whose goal was the "vaticinium" reached its climax[255]; and this theory of melancholy enthusiasm reveals the whole variety of the sources merging in Agrippa's magical system. The 'Aristotelian' theory of melancholy, which had already been given an astrological turn by Ficino, was now also coupled with a theory of "daemons" which a late antique mystic like Iamblichus had considered incompatible with astrology[256]; and when Agrippa converted the hierarchy of the three faculties "imaginatio", "ratio" and "mens" into a hierarchy of melancholy illumination and of the achievements based on it, he also went back partly to Ficino,[257] partly to a very ancient gradation of human careers into mechanical, political and philosophical.[258] Again, in part, he was also indebted to the theory widely known after Averroes, in which various effects of the "humor melancholicus" were distinguished, not only as differing in kind, but also as affecting different qualities of the soul. It is true that this purely psychiatric theory had contemplated merely the destructive effect of melancholy and that in place of the ascending scale "imaginatio"—"ratio"—"mens" it had posited "imaginatio", "ratio", and "memoria" all on a footing of equality.[259] To this extent, Agrippa's view represents a fusion of Ficino's theory with other elements. This

[255] Ch. III, 39–56, following the "somnium" section, sets out and explains what is required of the magician in respect of purity, operational rites, "nomina sacra", etc., while the last chapter (III, 57) attempts to define the distinction between "religio" and unlawful "superstitio"—the latter, logically, being limited to the application of the sacraments to improper objects, e.g. the excommunication of noxious worms or the baptism of statues. Ch. III, 30–38, therefore really forms the core of the whole. How greatly this whole structure was dismembered in the printed edition can be seen from the fact that the two chapters on melancholy have, with minor alterations, been compressed into one section and placed in Book I (60), following ch. 59, on "somnium", which is preceded in turn by a chapter on cases of alleged resurrection from the dead and phenomena of stigmatization as well as by the chapter on geomancy formerly in Book II.

[256] See above, p. 152 (text).

[257] See the parallel passage quoted above, p. 271 sq. (text).

[258] Perhaps the most striking example is in the *Disciplina scholarium*, see above p. 282 sq., ch. V (P. L., VOL. LXIV, col. 1233): "Cum ad magistratus excellentiam bonae indolis adolescens velit ascendere, necessarium est ut tria genera statuum, quae in assignatione probabilitatis innuit Aristoteles, diligenter intelligat. Sunt autem quidam vehementer obtusi, alii mediocres, tertii excellenter acuti. Nullum vero vehementer obtusorum vidimus unquam philosophico nectare vehementer inebriari. Istis autem mechanica gaudet maritari, mediocribus politica."

[259] See above, pp. 92 sqq. (text).

very fusion, however, was what was most fruitful and impressive in Agrippa's achievement; the notion of melancholy and of Saturnine genius was no longer restricted to the "homines literati", but was expanded to include—in three ascending grades—the geniuses of action and of artistic vision, so that no less than the great politician or religious genius, the "subtle" architect or painter was now reckoned among the "vates" and "Saturnines". Agrippa expanded the self-glorification of the exclusive circle of the humanists into a universal doctrine of genius long before the Italian theorists of art did the same; and he varied the theme of the gifts of melancholy by distinguishing their subjective aspects from their objective effects; that is to say, by placing side by side the gift of prophecy and creative power, vision and achievement.

The three grades and the two ways in which, according to Agrippa, Saturnine and melancholy inspiration works is summarised in the following table.

Level	Instruments	Psychological Habitat	Realm of Creative Achievement	Realm of Prophecy
I	Lower Spirits	"Imaginatio"	Mechanical arts, especially architecture, painting, etc.	Natural events, especially cloudbursts, famine, etc.
II	Middle Spirits	"Ratio"	Knowledge of natural and human things, especially natural science, medicine, politics, etc.	Political events, overthrow of rulers, restoration, etc.
III	Higher Spirits	"Mens"	Knowledge of divine secrets, especially cognition of divine law, angelology and theology	Religious events, especially the advent of new prophets or the birth of new religions

Let us now imagine the task of an artist who wishes to undertake a portrait of the first or imaginative form of melancholy talent and "frenzy", in accordance with this theory of Agrippa of Nettesheim. What would he have to represent? A being under a cloud, for his mind is melancholy; a being creative as well as prophetic, for his mind has a share of inspired "furor";

a being whose powers of invention are limited to the realms of visibility in space—that is to say, to the realm of the mechanical arts—and whose prophetic gaze can see only menacing catastrophes of nature, for his mind is wholly conditioned by the faculty of "imaginatio"; a being, finally, who is darkly aware of the inadequacy of his powers of knowledge, for his mind lacks the capacity either to allow the higher faculties to take effect or to receive other than the lower spirits. In other words, what the artist would have to represent would be what Albrecht Dürer did in *Melencolia I*.

There is no work of art which corresponds more nearly to Agrippa's notion of melancholy than Dürer's engraving, and there is no text with which Dürer's engraving accords more nearly than Agrippa's chapters on melancholy.

If we now assume the *Occulta philosophia* to be the ultimate source of Dürer's inspiration, and there is nothing against such an assumption, then we can understand why Dürer's portrait of Melancholy—the melancholy of an imaginative being, as distinct from that of the rational or the speculative, the melancholy of the artist and of the artistic thinker, as distinct from that which is political and scientific, or metaphysical and religious—is called *Melencolia I*[260]; we can also understand why the background contains no sun, moon or stars, but the sea flooding the beach, a comet and a rainbow (for what could better denote the "pluviae, fames et strages" which imaginative melancholy foretells?), and why Melancholy is creative, and, at the same time, sunk in depression; prophetic, and, at the same time, confined within her own limits.

Dürer, more than anyone, could identify himself with Agrippa's conception; contemporary in thought with Agrippa, and opposed to the older Italian art-theorists such as Alberti or Leonardo, he, more than anyone, was convinced that the imaginative achievements of painters and architects were derived from higher and ultimately divine inspiration. While fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italians had waged war for the recognition of pictorial art as a liberal art purely in the name of a "ratio" which should enable the artist to master reality by means of his rational insight into natural laws, and thereby to raise his activity to the rank

[260] In itself the *I* does not necessarily mean that Dürer actually intended to draw the other two forms of melancholy; it is possible that in engraving this one he merely imagined the other two, and expected the educated spectator to imagine them as well.

of an exact science,[261] Dürer, despite his passionate championship of this very "ratio",[262] was aware of the fact that the deepest source of creative power was to be sought elsewhere, in that purely irrational and individual gift or inspiration[263] which Italian belief granted, if at all, only to the "literarum studiosi" and the "Musarum sacerdotes". Alberti's and Leonardo's speculations on the theory of art were totally unaffected by the Florentine Neoplatonists,[264] and laid the foundations of an "exact" science, as defined by Galileo. They assigned to pictorial art that place in culture as a whole which we to-day are accustomed to allocate to "sober science", and none of the classical art-theorists would ever have thought of considering the architect, painter or sculptor as divinely inspired; that did not happen until the birth of that mannerist school which inclined to northern conceptions in all things; which saturated the theory of art (until then wholly objective and rational) with the spirit of mystic individualism[265]; which conferred the adjective "divine" on the artist; and which tried—significantly enough—to imitate *Melencolia I*, which until then had been almost ignored in Italy.[266] But Dürer had known, by instinct, what the Italians learnt only later, and then as a matter of secondary importance: the tension between "ratio" and "non-ratio", between general rules and individual gifts; as early as 1512 or 1513 he had written the famous words in which he

[261] Cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Idea* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg VOL. V), Leipzig 1924, pp. 25 sqq.

[262] See above, pp. 339 sqq. (text).

[263] For Dürer's individualism, cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Hercules am Scheidewege* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VOL. XVIII), Leipzig 1930, pp. 167 sqq.

[264] Cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Idea* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VOL. V), Leipzig 1924, pp. 25 sqq.

[265] For the transformation of Ficino's doctrine of beauty into a metaphysics of mannerist art, cf. E. PANOFSKY, *Idea*, pp. 52 sqq. For the protests against mathematical rules which had been the pride of the classical theory of art, cf. ibid. pp. 42 sqq.

[266] See below, pp. 385 sqq. (text). From this point of view it is understandable that, in spite of the remarks on Raphael quoted above, p. 232, note 44, a fundamental connexion between melancholy and figurative art, such as Agrippa had established at the beginning of the sixteenth century, did not appear in Italy until the mannerist epoch, though it was then used at once as an argument for the nobility of artistic activity. ROMANO ALBERTI's *Trattato della nobiltà della pittura*, Rome 1585, says (p. 17): "Et a confirmazione di ciò [i.e. the statement that painting deserved to be ranked as a liberal art] vediamo che li Pittori divengono malencolici, perchè volendo loro imitare bisogna, che ritenghino li fantasmati fissi nell'Intelletto: a ciò dipoi li esprimeno in quel modo, che prima li havean visti in presentia; Et questo non solo una volta, ma continuamente, essendo questo il loro essercitio: per il che talmente tengono la mente astratta et separata dalla materia, che conseguentemente ne vien la Malencolia; la quale però dice Aristotile, che significa ingegno et prudentia, perchè, come l'istesso dice, quasi tutti gl'ingegnosi et prudenti son stati malencolici."

elevated the "species fantastica" of the imagination to the rank of those "interior images" which are connected with Platonic ideas, and attributed the artist's powers of imagination to those "influences from above" that enable a good painter "always to pour forth something new in his work"[267] and "every day to have fresh figures of men and other creatures to make and pour out which no one has seen or thought of ever before".[268]

Here, in terms of German mysticism, and in phrases which are sometimes direct echoes of Ficino and Seneca,[269] a view is expressed which claims for the creative artist what the German mystics had claimed for the religiously illuminated man, Ficino for the philosophers, and Seneca for God. For this reason it harmonises with Agrippa's new doctrine. It is by no means impossible that it was the *Occulta philosophia* itself which brought the Florentine Neoplatonist doctrine of genius in a specifically German interpretation to Dürer who was not only the creator of *Melencolia I* but also the author of the *Four Books of Human Proportion*,[270] and thereby made it possible for him to formulate, in concepts and in words, the irrational and individualistic elements of his own views on art.

Both in his mind and in words—for there is no doubt that Dürer's words just quoted represent the personal experience of

[267] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 295, 13 (cf. p. 299, 1), and p. 297, 16.

[268] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 218, 16. The theory of genius held by Ficino and his circle, despite all the emphasis laid on increased self-awareness, is not really an individualistic one, in so far as the "Musarum sacerdotes" or "viri literati" are always conceived of as a class, and men of genius appear, as it were, in flocks. Recognition of an individual as original and unrepeatable ("desgleichen ihm zu seinen Seiten Keiner Gleich erfunden wirdet und etwan lang Keiner vor ihm gwest und nach ihm nit bald Einer kummt," LF, *Nachlass*, p. 221, 16) or of a work as original and unrepeatable ("das man vor nit gesehen noch ein Ander gedacht hätt") occurs in Dürer earlier than in the South. This also accounts for Dürer's deep aversion to self-repetition in his work. The man whose "economical habits" (Wölfflin) disposed him to re-use sketches or studies made many years earlier, did not once repeat himself in any of the works which actually left his studio, i.e. engravings, pictures or woodcuts; the monkey and the man with the gimlet, taken over from the engraving B42 or the woodcut B117 into the Dresden series of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, merely bear witness against the authenticity of the paintings; for the connexion between the St Paul at Munich and the engraving B46, see above, p. 302, note 75, the paper in the *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*.

[269] References in E. PANOFSKY, *Idea* (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg, VOL. V), Leipzig 1924, p. 70. The sentence concerning the "*oberen Eingiessungen*" was already mentioned in this connexion by GIEHLOW (1904).

[270] We have already mentioned (text p. 353) that Agrippa refers also to the Platonic doctrine of Ideas. We may further note in connexion with the specifically northern notion of the inspired artist that it was in late Gothic art in the north that "the Mother of God portrayed by St Luke" was first represented as a visionary image in the clouds; (cf. DOROTHEA KLEIN, *St Lukas als Maler der Maria. Ikonographie der Lukas-Madonna*, dissertation, Hamburg 1933, which, however, leaves unnoticed several important examples).

the creative artist—Dürer himself was a melancholic.[271] It is no coincidence that, clearly understanding his own nature (and anticipating an eighteenth-century custom in portraiture),[272] he painted his own portrait, even in youth, in the attitude of the melancholy thinker and visionary.[273] Just as he had his share of the inspired gifts of imaginative melancholy, so, too, he was familiar with the terrors of the dreams that it could bring; for it was the vision of a flood which so shattered him by its "speed, wind, and roaring" that, as he said, "all my body trembled and I came not to my right senses for a long time."[274] Then, again, an "all too stern judge of himself",[275] he recognised the insuperable

[271] We know this through Melanchthon's expression discovered by A. WARBURG (*Heidnisch-antike Weissagung in Wort und Bild zu Luthers Zeiten*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1932, p. 529) concerning the "melancholia generosissima Dureri". Independently of this discovery, M. J. FRIEDLÄNDER, in the course of a fine and judicious account of *Melencolia I*, had already posed the question whether Dürer himself had not been a melancholic (*Albrecht Dürer*, Leipzig 1921, pp. 146 sqq.), and the question can the more readily be answered in the affirmative as Dürer suffered from an illness which the physicians of his time reckoned definitely among the "morbi melancholici"; the famous Bremen drawing L130, with the superscription "Do der gelb fleck ist vnd mit dem finger drawff dewt, do ist mir wo", indicates an affection of the spleen. This drawing (PLATE 145) is usually associated with Dürer's last illness. But in this connexion we may point out that this view cannot be substantiated. The style of the faintly coloured drawing recalls the studies in proportion of 1512–13 much more than later drawings, while the writing—an important aid to chronology in Dürer's case—is very different from the superb regularity—manifest even in the slightest notes—of the 'twenties, and is only a little more developed than in the letters to Pirckheimer, the closest analogy being once again the theoretical drafts of 1512–13. Moreover, the body is that of a man in his prime, the hair is still fair, and the whole appearance of the head is closest to the self-portrait in the picture of *All Saints*. There is everything to be said for assigning the Bremen drawing to the third lustrum of the sixteenth century, i.e. to the years immediately preceding the composition of *Melencolia I*, and for regarding it as yet further evidence of Dürer's eminently personal interest in the subject. There is the less reason to refer the Bremen drawing to his last illness as he had frequently been ill earlier; in 1519 Pirckheimer wrote "Turer male stat" (E. REICKE in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, VOL. XXVIII (1928), p. 373), and in 1503 Dürer himself wrote on the drawing L231 that he had made it "in his illness". Since noting this, we find that two other scholars are inclined to give a new date to the Bremen drawing—H. A. VAN BAKEL in an essay called "Melancholia generosissima Dureri" in *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*, VOL. XVII, 4 (1928), p. 332; and E. FLECHSIG, in *Albrecht Dürer*, VOL. II, Berlin 1931, pp. 296, sqq., who for some reason wants to date it as far back as 1509.

[272] For this, cf. URSULA HOFF, *Rembrandt und England*, dissertation, Hamburg 1935.

[273] L429.

[274] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 17, 5. It is very typical of Dürer's nature that even in the disturbance attendant on this visionary dream he notices at what distance the waters meet the land and even attempts to infer from the rapidity of the rainfall the height from which it falls ("und sie kamen so hoch herab, dass sie im Gedunken gleich langsam fieln").

[275] Cf. Kant's account of the melancholic, quoted above, p. 123 (text), which was anticipated, to a considerable extent, by Camerarius's fine description of Albrecht Dürer: "Erat autem, si quid omnium in illo viro quod vitii simile videretur, unica infinita diligentia et in se quoque inquisitrix saepe parum aequa." (Introduction to the Latin translation of the *Theory of Proportion*, Nuremberg 1532.)

limits set by destiny to the possessor of the melancholy of *Melencolia I*, the melancholy of a mind conditioned solely by the imagination.

In mathematics, above all, to which he devoted half a lifetime of work, Dürer had to learn that it would never give men the satisfaction they could find in metaphysical and religious revelation,[276] and that not even mathematics—or rather mathematics least of all—could lead men to the discovery of the absolute, that absolute by which, of course, he meant in the first place absolute beauty. At thirty, intoxicated by the sight of the "new kingdom" of art-theory revealed to him by Jacopo de' Barbari, he thought he could define the one universal beauty with compasses and set-square; at forty he had to admit that this hope had deceived him[277]; and it was in the years immediately preceding the engraving of *Melencolia I* that he became fully aware of this new insight, for about 1512 he wrote "but what beauty is, I do not know,"[278] and in the same draft he said "there is no man living on earth who can say or prove what the most beautiful figure of man may be. None but God can judge of beauty."[279] In the face of such an admission, even belief in the power of mathematics was bound to falter. "With regard to geometry," wrote Dürer some ten years later, "one can prove that certain things are true. But certain things one must leave to the opinion and judgement of

[276] Only in this one respect is *Melencolia I* in fact a counterpart to the engraving of *St Jerome*. A. WEIXLGÄRTNER (in *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vervielfältigende Kunst*, 1901, pp. 47 sqq.) shows that the idea of an external, formal *pendant* is here entirely out of place. Still less can one assume, as R. WUSTMANN does (in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, new series, VOL. XXII (1911), p. 116), that the gourd hanging from the ceiling in the *St Jerome* engraving was originally intended to receive the inscription "Melencolia II". Nevertheless, Dürer almost always gave away these two engravings together (LF, *Nachlass*, pp. 120, 16; 121, 6; 125, 12; 127, 13, 17; 128, 17); and they have frequently been inspected and discussed together (cf. the letter to John Cochlaeus of 5 April 1520 printed, with others, by E. REICKE in *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, VOL. XXVIII (1928), p. 375).

[277] For this change in Dürer's view of art, cf. esp. LUDWIG JUSTI, *Konstruierte Figuren und Köpfe unter den Werken Albrecht Dürers*, Leipzig 1902, pp. 21 sqq., and the same author in *Repertorium*, VOL. XXVIII (1905), pp. 368 sqq. Also E. PANOFSKY, *Dürers Kunsttheorie*, pp. 113, 127 sqq., and the same author in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, VOL. III, Leipzig 1926, pp. 136 sqq.

[278] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 288, 27. Dürer's ignorance naturally refers not to the idea of beauty, but to the visible conditions, esp. proportion, determining beauty (thus also H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, 5th edn., Munich 1926, p. 368). So much is clear from what follows: "Idoch will ich hie die Schonheit also für mich nehmen: Was zu den menschlichen Zeiten van dem meinsten Theil schön geachtt würd, des soll wir uns fleissen zu machen." The sentence "was aber die Schönheit sei, das weis ich nit" is equivalent, therefore, to the statements quoted below, LF, *Nachlass*, p. 222, 7, or p. 359, 16.

[279] LF, *Nachlass*, pp. 290, 23 sqq. This is identical almost word for word with a draft dated 1512 (LF, *Nachlass*, p. 300, 9).

men"[280]; and his scepticism had now reached such a pitch that not even an approximation to the highest beauty seemed possible to him any longer.

> For I believe that there is no man living who can contemplate to the very end what is most beautiful even in a small creature, much less in man. . . . It enters not into man's soul. But God knows such things, and if He wishes to reveal it to someone, that person too knows it. . . . But I know not how to show any particular measure that approximates to the greatest beauty.[281]

And so finally, when his affectionate veneration for mathematics once more finds powerful and moving expression, he pays homage to mathematics as confined within, and resigned to, its limits, and the sentence "Whosoever proves his case and reveals the underlying truth of it by geometry, he is to be believed by all the world; for there one is held fast" is preceded by a sentence which might almost serve as a caption to *Melencolia I*: "For there is falsehood in our knowledge, and darkness is so firmly planted in us that even our groping fails."[282]

Thus, having established its connexions with astrology and medicine, with the pictorial representations of the vices or the arts, and with Henricus de Gandavo and Agrippa of Nettesheim, we hold none the less that those, too, are justified in their opinion who wish to consider the engraving *Melencolia I* as something other than a picture of a temperament or a disease, however much ennobled. It is a confession and an expression of Faust's "insuperable ignorance".[283] It is Saturn's face which regards us; but in it we may recognise also the features of Dürer.

[280] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 363, 5.

[281] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 359, 3. The printed edition of the *Theory of Proportion* continues: "Da gib ich nach, dass Einer ein hübschers Bild . . . mach . . . dann der Ander. Aber nit bis zu den Ende, dass es nit noch hübscher möcht sein. Dann Solchs steigt nit in des Menschen Gemüt Aber Gott weiss Solichs allein, wem ers offenbarte, der weast es auch. Die Wahrheit häl allein innen, welch der Menschen schönste Gestalt und Mass kinnte sein und kein andre . . . In solichem Irrtum, den wir jetzt zumal bei uns haben, weis ich nit statthaft zu beschreibe endlich, was Mass sich zu der rechten Hübsche nachnen möcht." (LF, *Nachlass*, p. 221, 30)

[282] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 222, 25 (from the printed *Theory of Proportion*).

[283] It was of course the Romantics who interpreted Dürer's "Melancholy" as a direc portrait of the Faustian character. Dr Hermann Blumenthal kindly pointed out the sourc in KARL GUSTAV CARUS's *Briefe über Goethes Faust*, VOL. I, Leipzig 1835, letter II, pp. 4 sqq. This remarkably fine analysis, which also strikingly emphasises the "contrast of th eagerly writing child with the idly meditating and sadly gazing larger figure", is the mo admirable since the picture of a Dürer torn by Faust's emotions was—as Carus himself clearl felt and several times stated—in complete contradiction to the conception, originated b Wackenroder and at that time generally accepted, of the "otherwise so quiet and pious master. It is especially significant that Carus, fascinated by the analogy with Faust whic he had discovered, speaks of the main figure in the engraving as male.

(*d*) The "Four Apostles"[284]

"Further," says Joachim Sandrart of Dürer's so-called *Four Apostles* (PLATE III), which he had admired in the Electoral Gallery at Munich, "there are the four evangelists in the form of the four complexions, painted in oils in the very best and most masterly fashion."[285] This information, which earlier writers on Dürer had considered absolutely reliable,[286] fell into an ill-founded discredit among later historians. With the sole exception of Karl Neumann (who, however, drew no conclusions from it,[287]) it was spoken of merely as an "old tradition", which was sometimes denied completely, because Dürer "took the apostles far too seriously to use them merely as an opportunity for representing the temperaments"[288]; sometimes it was modified so arbitrarily that the whole point of the theory of the four complexions was lost,[289] and sometimes it was admitted only in so far as Dürer "in the course of his work made use of his view of the four

[284] In connexion with this section, see the essay already cited on p. 302, note 75, in the *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, new series, VOL. VIII (1931), pp. 1 sqq. As both accounts deal with the same subject matter, though from a different viewpoint, it has been difficult to avoid overlapping; some phrases and even whole paragraphs have had to be repeated almost word for word for the sake of clarity and coherence.

[285] JOACHIM SANDRART, *Teutsche Akademie*, ed. A. R. Peltzer, Munich 1925, p. 67.

[286] Cf. e.g. J. HELLER, *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers*, Leipzig 1827, VOL. II, 1, pp. 205 sqq.; F. KUGLER, *Geschichte der Malerei*, 3rd edn., Leipzig 1867, BK IV, § 240 (VOL. II, p. 498); A. VON EYE, *Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürers*, Nördlingen 1860, p. 452; M. THAUSING, *Dürer*, Leipzig 1884, VOL. II, pp. 278 sqq.

[287] "Die vier Apostel von Albrecht Dürer in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Bildung*, IX (1930), pp. 450 sqq., with reproductions of the inscriptions now reunited with the pictures and a detailed account of Dürer's relationship with Neudörffer. H. A. VAN BAKEL ("Melancholia generosissima Dureri", in *Nieuw Theologisch Tijdschrift*, 1928) has also returned to the old, traditional interpretation of these pictures of the Apostles as portrayals of the temperaments, but wrongly regards St John as the melancholic, which makes his conclusions as to the spiritual complexion of *Melencolia I* somewhat questionable.

[288] Thus H. WÖLFFLIN, *Die Kunst Albrecht Dürers*, Munich 1926, p. 348 (and later T. HAMPE in *Festschrift des Vereins für die Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg zur 400 jährigen Gedächtnisfeier Albrecht Dürers*, 1528–1928, Nuremberg 1928, p. 58). A similar note is sounded when a man of the eighteenth century rejects any attempt to classify the historical figures of the Apostles according to the complexions with the remark that he does not like it "when men of God, who are directly inspired by the Holy Ghost, are judged so completely with a philosophical yardstick like ordinary people, and when not only their temperaments but also the degree, usefulness and God knows what else of the smallest parts of them are detailed and precisely determined". (J. W. APPELIUS, *Historisch-moralischer Entwurff der Temperamenten*, Preface to the 2nd edn., 1737, fol. C. 42[v]).

[289] H. KAUFMANN, *Albrecht Dürers rhythmische Kunst*, Leipzig 1924, pp. 60 and 135 sqq. According to Kaufmann the descriptions of the four Apostles as the four types of complexion originally referred not to the difference in their humoral constitution but to the difference in their attitudes and gestures, and it was only from this that "the opinion gradually arose that these four complexions were the four temperaments". Kaufmann apparently did not notice that it was actually the oldest source which expressly described them as "sanguinicus, cholericus, phlegmaticus et melancholicus".

temperaments as well as of his other special artistic experience, as a help in his representation".[290] This "old tradition", however, goes back in fact to such a reliable witness that, had it been a question of authorship rather than an iconographical problem, it would never have been treated so disdainfully. This witness is Johann Neudörffer, who did the lettering of the subscriptions to the picture of the apostles in Dürer's own workshop, and stated, not without pride, that he often had the honour of confidential talks with the master.[291] Now Neudörffer says quite unequivocally that Dürer presented the counsellors of Nuremberg with four life-size "pictures" (that is, figures) "in oils . . . wherein one may recognise a sanguinic, a choleric, a phlegmatic, and a melancholic"[292]; and we cannot simply ignore such evidence.

There can, of course, be no question of Dürer's "using the apostles merely as an opportunity for representing the temperaments"; but that does not exclude the possibility that he may have regarded the temperaments as a basis for his characterisation of the apostles. He did not, of course, consider the nature of the apostles exhaustively expressed by the fact that each of them belonged to one of the four humoral types, but he could, to use Sandrart's admirable expression, have represented them "in the form of the four temperaments". They are sanguine or choleric in precisely the same sense and to precisely the same degree as they are young or old, gentle or violent: in short, inasmuch as they are individual personalities.

Dürer differentiated the most significant variants of religious behaviour according to the most significant variants of human (or, for him, temperamental) character; and far from lowering the apostles to mere examples of complexional types, he gave the complexions a higher meaning, which they were altogether fitted to acquire. Men had always been accustomed to couple the four temperaments with the seasons, the rivers of Paradise, the four winds, the four ages of man, the points of the compass, the elements, and, in short, with everything determined by the "sacred tetrad". In the fifteenth century artists ventured to

[290] E. HEIDRICH, *Dürer und die Reformation*, Leipzig 1909, p. 57.

[291] He says of Daniel Engelhart, the armorial sculptor and sealcutter, that he was so excellent "that Albrecht Dürer told me here in his room, as I was writing at the foot of the aforementioned four pictures and entering various sentences from Holy Writ, that he had not seen a mightier or more skilful armorial sculptor." (JOHANN NEUDÖRFFER, *Nachrichten von Künstlern u. Werkleuten Nürnbergs*, 1547, newly edited by G. W. K. Lochner in *Quellenschriften für Kunstgeschichte*, VOL. X, Vienna 1875, pp. 158 sqq.).

[292] NEUDÖRFFER, op. cit. (ed. Lochner), pp. 132 sqq.

place the Divine Face in the centre between the figures of the four temperaments, thereby showing the four humours as the fourfold reflexion of a single divine ray (PLATE 80).[293] It was the change from this schematic manner of representation to the particularising tendency of Dürer's time which made it possible to fuse the varieties of religious characters with the four temperaments in the persons of the apostles, thus combining veneration for the bearers of the "divine word"[294] with veneration for the variety of God's creatures.[295]

How then are the four temperaments to be apportioned among the four apostles? The order suggested by earlier writers (John melancholy, Peter phlegmatic, Mark sanguine, and Paul choleric)[296] derives from a specifically modern psychology not based on any historical sources, and a sixteenth-century copy which gives each figure its complexion is of no value because it mechanically follows the order given in Neudörffer's account.[297] Fortunately, however, we have numerous texts describing the four complexions according to their physical and mental characteristics, and positively connecting each of them with one of the four ages of man; and these texts enable us to put the order on an historical basis.

Anyone regarding the Munich portraits must be struck by the fact that the four apostles are shown as the most heterogeneous types possible—as compared, for instance, with Giovanni Bellini's four apostles (whose grouping Dürer may perhaps have remembered),[298] or even as compared with Dürer's own series of engravings of the apostles.[299] Each figure is as different as possible from the others, not only in age and in physical and mental disposition,[300] but more especially, in colouring, which played so important a

[293] London, Brit. Mus., Egerton MS 2572, fol. 51 v.

[294] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 382, 2.

[295] LF, *Nachlass*, p. 227, 4.

[296] Thus A. VON EYE, *Leben und Wirken Albrecht Dürers*, Nördlingen 1860; M. THAUSING, *Dürer*, Leipzig 1884; F. KUGLER, *Geschichte der Malerei*, 3rd edn., Leipzig 1867.

[297] According to this St John was the sanguinic, St Peter the choleric, St Mark the phlegmatic (!) and St Paul the melancholic. Prof. Mayer-Bamberg kindly informed us of the whereabouts of the picture mentioned by J. HELLER, *Das Leben und die Werke Albrecht Dürers*, Leipzig 1827 (Sacristy of St James in Bamberg), and obtained a photograph for us.

[298] Triptych of 1488 in the Church of the Frari; cf. KARL VOLL, in *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, VOL. III (1906), pp. 74 sqq., and G. PAULI, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, VOL. I (1921–22), p. 67.

[299] The Apostles in the engravings B48, 49 and 50 are approximately of the same age.

[300] Thus also H. BEEKEN, in *Logos*, VOL. XIX (1930), p. 225, although he denies any connexion with the doctrine of temperaments.

role in the doctrine of temperaments that the word "complexion" is now limited to that sense. The reserved John, a fine example of youthful sobriety, is a nobly-built young man some twenty-five years of age, in whose blooming complexion red and white are mingled. Mark, who is showing his teeth and rolling his eyes, is a man of about forty, whose bloodless hue carries almost greenish overtones. Paul, with his earnest and menacing yet calm regard, is fifty-five or sixty years of age, and the colour of his clear-cut features—he is the leanest of the four—despite a few reddish tinges, can only be described as dark brown. Finally, the somewhat apathetic Peter is an old man of at least seventy, whose weary and relatively fleshy face is yellowish, and in general decidedly pale.[301]

Whether we have recourse to post-classical or early scholastic texts, popular treatises on the complexions, or, above all, to the Salernitan verses,[302] we always find a substantially uniform system of apportioning the various characteristics and attributes, which can be summed up in the following schema:

1. YOUTH = Spring; well-proportioned body, harmoniously balanced nature, ruddy complexion ("rubeique coloris"); sanguine.
2. PRIME = Summer; graceful body, irascible nature, yellow complexion ("croceique coloris," "citrinitas coloris")[303]; choleric.
3. MIDDLE AGE = Autumn; lean body, gloomy nature, dark complexion ("luteique coloris", "facies nigra"); melancholic.
4. OLD AGE = Winter; plump body, lethargic nature, pale complexion ("pinguis facies", "color albus"); phlegmatic.

From this summary it is clear that the complexions can only be apportioned as follows: John is the sanguine, Mark (whose symbol, moreover, is the lion, the beast symbolic of the "cholera rubra") is the choleric, Paul the melancholic, and Peter the phlegmatic.[304]

[301] The authors' remarks on the colouring have been compared with a description made independently by Dr Erwin Rosenthal, to whom we owe our thanks.

[302] See above, pp. 3; 10; 114 sqq. (text).

[303] Thus CONSTANTINUS AFRICANUS, *Theorica Pantegni* (*Opera*, VOL. II, Basle 1539, p. 249).

[304] Incidentally Rubens, so far as comparison with Dürer's figures is possible (for only two of these are evangelists), followed the same sequence of age or, if one likes, of temperaments, in his picture of the four evangelists at Sanssouci (*Klassiker der Kunst*, ed. R. Oldenbourg, Stuttgart 1921, p. 68). St John is represented as a youth (sanguinic), St Mark as a youngish man (choleric), St Luke as an older man (melancholic), and St Matthew as an old man (phlegmatic). Here we may also remark that Steinmann's suggestion of equating Michelangelo's Hours of the Day with the temperaments can only be maintained, if at all, by following the traditional literary correlation of the hours of the day with the four humours (see above, p. 11, note 24). Thus we could not say: Dawn = melancholy, Day = cholera,

If further evidence is needed we have only to recall the woodcut illustrating the book by Conrad Celtes (PLATE 83). Here, it is true, since Celtes had transposed the qualities of two seasons,[305] the phlegmatic has—exceptionally—become the representative of autumn, and therefore is younger than the melancholic; but apart from this modification, which is required by the text, the division of the dispositions and ages corresponds throughout with that in Dürer's picture of the apostles, save that in the latter the biological characteristics have acquired a human or superhuman significance. In the woodcut, too, the "sanguine" person is the handsome youth; the "choleric" is the irascible man in the prime of life; the "phlegmatic" is the well-nourished man with the "pinguis facies"; and the "melancholic" is the bony bald-headed man with the long beard. Indeed, the "melancholic" of 1502 is positively an anticipatory caricature of the St Paul of 1526; or, vice versa, the St Paul of 1526 is the subsequent ennobling of the "melancholic" of 1502.[306] And if we enquire into the artistic means which Dürer employed in order to transform the representative of the "least noble complexion" (for so the melancholic still was in the Celtes woodcut) into one of the noblest figures in European art, we find that they were the means used in *Melencolia I*. Not only does the pure proportion of the features—which, in an artist such as Dürer, is also an expression of inner greatness—link the head of St Paul with that of Melencolia; but the two most essential elements of facial expression are the same

Dusk = phlegma and Night = sanguis, but "Aurora" = sanguis, "Giorno" = cholera, "Crepuscolo" = melancholy (E. Zola in his *L'oeuvre* happens to say "pénétré par la mélancolie du crépuscule") and "Notte" = phlegma. It is not impossible that such notions played a part in the artistic conception even of Michelangelo (particularly since there was no iconographical tradition for the hours of the day); and "Giorno's" ire, which is not intelligible in itself, could quite well be associated with the notion of choler. One must, however, remember that Michelangelo's world as a whole was far too much conditioned by melancholy to have room for a purely phlegmatic, let alone a purely sanguine nature. If one wished to draw a parallel between the temperaments and Michelangelo's Hours of the Day, one would have to consider the latter as a series of melancholy natures superimposed on a sanguine, choleric, natural melancholic and phlegmatic basis.

[305] See above, p. 279 (text).

[306] The melancholic's head of 1502 and St Paul's head of 1526 represent, of course, merely the two extremes of a series, the main intermediate figures of which are the Barberini picture, the Heller altar (esp. L519), the drawing L18, the woodcut B38 and the engraving B50. But when one compares all these, related in principle as they are, the Munich St Paul seems specially close, at least physiognomically, to the head of the melancholic in B132, despite all the differences of "ethos"—closer, at any rate, than to the head of the engraved St Paul on B50 with which F. HAACK wishes to connect it all too closely (*Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg*, VOL. XXVIII (1928), p. 313).

here as there: the "facies nigra" and, standing out in strong contrast to it, the glowing brilliance of the eyes. St Paul as a type is, so to speak, the melancholy type of the Celtes woodcut, but shot through with the colouring of *Melencolia I*. 1502, 1514 and 1526—these are three stages in the development of the notion of melancholy, three stages in the development of Dürer himself.

An attempt has been made elsewhere to prove that his portraits of the four apostles, long suspected of being the wings of an uncompleted altarpiece,[307] were in fact undertaken in 1523 as the wings of a triptych; that each of these panels was originally intended to include only one figure; and that the pair originally envisaged were not Paul and John, but Philip and (probably) James. It was not until 1525, the year of his drawing of John,[308] that Dürer decided to make the side-pieces independent, and worked out the new, final scheme, in the execution of which Philip, already complete, had to be changed into Paul. The left wing seems not to have been far enough advanced for there to be any signs of the original idea remaining.[309]

It was therefore one and the same act of creative transformation that gave birth to the idea of these four particular saints and of the four complexions in Dürer's mind. The ideas "John, Peter, Mark, and Paul", and "sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic", must have formed an inseparable union in his mind, finding expression the moment the plan arose of changing the original two figures into the present four: in particular, the moment Philip became Paul, he became also a melancholic. In other words—not until the former Philip had become a melancholic could he correspond to what Dürer understood by Paul. And from now on we have an answer to the problem of Dürer's later attitude to the problem of melancholy.

The four apostles, as we see them to-day, express a creed, and, as Heidrich's research has established beyond doubt, the polemical side of this creed (which is none the less a creed for having been prompted by a mere historical coincidence) is directed against the fanatics and Anabaptists, in whose minds "Christian

[307] M. THAUSING, *Dürer*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1884, p. 288, and (with the illuminating suggestion that the centrepiece was to have been a "Santa Conversazione" in the style of the drawing L363) G. PAULI, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, VOL. I (1921–22), p. 67.

[308] L368.

[309] For details cf. E. PANOFSKY, in *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, new series, VOL. VIII (1931), pp. 1 sqq.

freedom" seemed to have degenerated into unlimited sectarianism. This rebuttal of fanaticism, however, as Heidrich has clearly proved, is based as a matter of course on an acceptance of the Reformation. Dürer explains that he is against Hans Denck and the "three godless painters"; and for that very reason he need not explain that he is in favour of Luther. Hence he had been certain since 1525 that of the four men bearing witness for him, two must occupy a dominant position: Paul, in whose doctrine of justification by faith the whole structure of Protestant doctrine was based, and John, Christ's beloved disciple, who was also Luther's "beloved evangelist".[310] And in the same way as these two figures, grown to majestic size, occupy the dominant positions in the composition of the picture (and the relegation of Peter to the background signifies something of an illustrative protest against the "primatus Petri" so strongly defended by the Catholics),[311] so, too, they are representative both of the most profound religious experience and of the most excellent temperaments. Compared with John's quiet but unshakable devotion, Peter's weary resignation represents a "too little", to use an Aristotelian term; while, compared with Paul's steely calm, Mark's fanaticism represents a "too much"; and so, compared with the other two complexions, the phlegmatic is inferior in power, the choleric in nobility. The sanguine temperament, which the whole of the Middle Ages had considered the noblest, indeed the only worthy one, and which of course even in Dürer's time was regarded as an enviably healthy and harmonious disposition, had been joined since the days of Ficino and Agrippa of Nettesheim by a disposition admittedly less happy, but spiritually more sublime, the "complexio melancholica", the rehabilitation of which was as much a work of the new humanism as the rediscovery of Pauline Christianity was a work of the Reformation.

Hence it is understandable, from several angles, that Dürer thought the best way of characterising the tutelary genius of Protestantism was to represent him as a melancholic. In making the apostle of the new faith a representative of the new ideal

[310] M. THAUSING, *Dürer*, VOL. II, Leipzig 1884, p. 279.

[311] Cf. JOHANN ECK, *De primatu Petri libri tres*, Paris 1521, and later. St Paul's prominence compared with St Peter may the more readily be interpreted as the result of an anti-papal attitude, as an iconographical tradition, established in early Christian times and never interrupted until the Reformation, required that the two apostolic leaders be placed on an exactly equal footing—a tradition which the Dürer of 1510 had followed as a matter of course on the outer wings of the Heller altar, and in the woodcut B38.

expressed by the notion of "melancholia generosa", he not only emphasised the asceticism so characteristic of the historical Paul, but endowed him with a noble sublimity denied to the other temperaments. In doing so, however, Dürer also affirmed that for his own part melancholy still remained such as it had been revealed to him through contact with the Neoplatonic doctrine of genius, the mark of the true elect, the mark of those illuminated by "higher influences". But the Dürer of 1526 no longer illustrated this inspiration by an allegorical figure of the Spirit of Art whose power flows from the imagination, but by the holy person of a "spiritual man"; he now painted the "furor", not of the artist and thinker, but of a hero of the faith, and thus expressed the fact that his notion of melancholy had, by this time, undergone a profound change. This change might, to use Agrippa of Nettesheim's classification, be described as an advance from the painting of *Melencolia I* to the painting of a *Melencolia III*, and was, in the last resort, a change in Dürer himself. In his youth he had striven after the heroic and erotic enthusiasm of classicising Italian art; in the second decade of the sixteenth century he had found the way to the great symbolical forms of *Melencolia I* and *The Knight, Death and the Devil*; in the last and greatest years of his life he applied his gifts almost entirely to religious subjects. In the years when Cranach, Altdorfer, Aldegrever, Vischer and Beham were drawing strength from the classicism which Dürer had brought to German art, and were never tired of "Judgements of Paris", "Labours of Hercules", and scenes of centaurs and satyrs—in these very years the aged Dürer was employing all the force left to him by his theoretical work and his portrait commissions, on holy subjects, and primarily on the Passion of our Lord. And we can understand that for the late Dürer, who had been deeply stirred by Luther's mission, and who, feeling himself mortally sick, had seen himself as the suffering Christ and had even dared to paint himself as such[312]—we can understand that for the late Dürer even *Melencolia I* no longer seemed an adequate expression of human grandeur.

[312] Cf. the fine Bremen drawing, L131, of the Man of Sorrows.