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SEYMOUR HOWARD

## On Iconology, Intention, Imagos, and Myths of Meaning

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*In memory of Jan Biatostocki*

*The work of art [in Panofsky's view of iconology] should be interpreted first of all as a specific set of forms carrying some meaning, then as a composition of "stories," symbols, and allegories, and finally as a symptom of a situation in the history of culture and of ideas; in each case the interpretation should be based upon knowledge of the historical development... the history of tradition.*

*Needless to say, in practice iconology may stress one or the other idea [of conscious or unconscious symbolism]. But in its ideal, postulated form it is both the most unified and the most general and all-embracing method for the historical interpretation of art; it aims at as complete an understanding as possible of the artistic achievement of mankind.*

*Jan Biatostocki<sup>1</sup>*

### **Iconology**

An ancient wisdom reads, *As above, so below, as within, so without*. The truth of these correspondences resounds in the words of Jan Biatostocki's classic appraisal of Iconology. His study reflects the genial learning and generosity of a gifted humanist and the tradition of comprehensiveness and moderation that he championed

and practiced, enriching the profession of art history. In effect, his view unites ideals of expression and objectivity developed over centuries of scientific and humanistic enquiry.<sup>2</sup>

The word "iconology" indicates its comprehensiveness: "icon" (Gk. image, re-presentation) and "logos" (Gk. word, speech, reason)—in short, the lore and language of visualization.

This embracing sense of the term, inherited from Warburg, Saxl, Panofsky, Dvorak, Schlosser, Hoogewerff, Gombrich, Wind, Meiss, Stechow, Held, et al., as including all the meanings—explicit and implied, denotative and connotative—in images, has, of course, a long history in studies of explanation and interpretation. Hermeneutics, philological exegesis, explication of texts (and of acts), and, ultimately, legendary divination based upon dreams, plants, animals, gestures, and the very landscape and heavens—all prefigure iconology as ways to discover meaning.

In the arts, forerunners of iconology reach back from the studies of conscious symbolism by the archaeologists Bernoulli, Clarac, Visconti, Cavaceppi, Winckelmann, and Caylus to the works of Ripa and other Christian or Greco-Roman iconographers who transformed pagan mysteries and illusionism into a schematic dictionary of signs. Their iconography (a subspecies) has often been confused with iconology, which deals as well with more wide-ranging and deeper concerns.

The search for meaning not in narration or illusion but in the motor or visceral traces of making, which record preconscious feeling, as argued by Pacht and recognized by Bialostocki, is another realm of Iconology.<sup>3</sup> However, as is now increasingly recognized in the West, in molecular as well as humanistic biology and medicine, the mind-body is a continuum; we no longer need to polarize cerebral understanding and the senses, such as vision and touch, which link brain and memory to the connective-tissue sources of feeling and sensation.<sup>4</sup>

### Intention

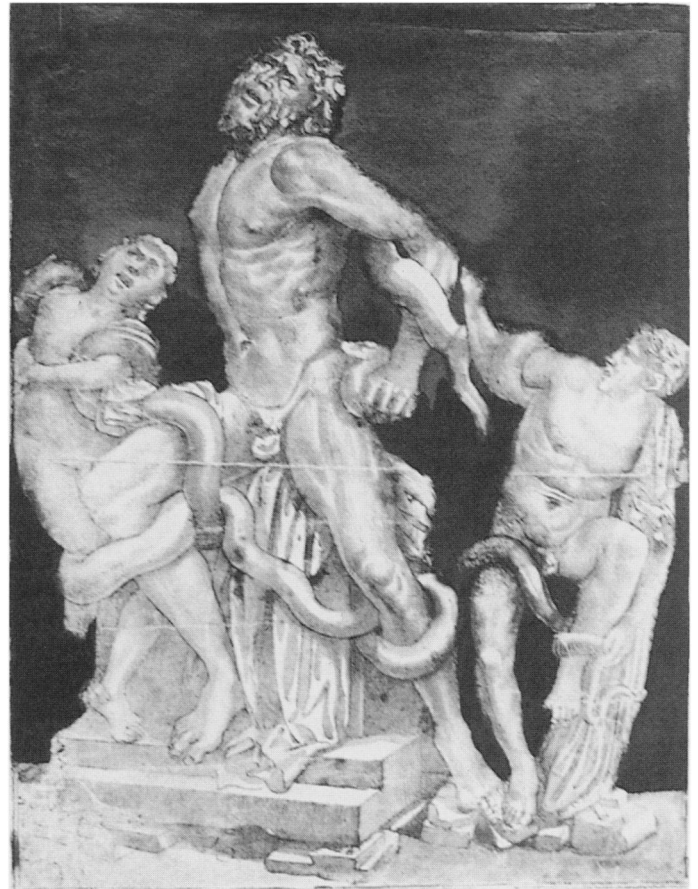
Even psychoanalysts, privy to both rational and unconscious fears and desires, concede that motivation is ultimately inaccessible to explanation. As Annibale Carracci mordantly demonstrated, the artist's work is its own best explanation; Socrates similarly characterized the teacher as his own lesson.<sup>5</sup> The maker, like the anthropologist's informant, creates a history post hoc, formulating what is implicit in shared myths, all of which confounds (and enriches) the study of intention.

Jasper Johns gives a laconic description of the process, which we can affirm from experience:

*Sometimes I see it and then paint it. Other times I paint it and then see it. Both are impure situations and I prefer neither.*<sup>6</sup>

Because meanings are affected by the perceiver, viewing and understanding are re-creative acts, akin to readings of Rorschach blots or Thematic Apperception Test illustrations. Infinite meanings dwell in all things (words included), like latent seeds waiting to flourish. Long before Einstein, Bohr, Heisenberg, and Gombrich discussed the viewer's share in distorting or making evidence, pre-modern writers, echoing older insight, knew that *What Paul says of Peter says more of Paul than of Peter.*<sup>7</sup>

In describing the creative act "as a mere artist," Duchamp, a dedicant of the life of intellectual contradiction (and instinct), rightly stated the case when he argued that, whatever the artist may say in explaining the intent of a work or its importance, viewers complete it, realize its meanings, and create the fame of the maker, whose production, in any case, can never fulfill the original aspirations for it.<sup>8</sup> The work of art—that is, any product of will—only begins its overt life of meaning when performed. And even that performance is the product of a shifting, reflecting self, whose intent and execution vary. We all change through time, and express infinite possibilities. Each act, even breath, responds to an ambience and has consequences. As metaphysicians repeatedly discover, West and East, intention is ambiguous, evanescent—full and empty at its core. The observer, then, largely recreates the painting and its cosmos, just as we all must perforce continually remake the world, as it were. This situation



**1) By or near Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, Laocöon, c. 1507, pen and wash drawing. Düsseldorf Museum. Sketch of ancient fragments by Hagesandros, Polydoros, and Athenodoros of Rhodes (Pliny Nat. Hist. 36.37), temporarily resurrected and prophetically reconstructed with sundry shims shortly after discovery in the grotto of the Golden House of Nero.**

is part of the tacitly shared human condition and a traditional, inherited arena of communications—as with words themselves.

Think only of the archetypal image of *Laocöon* [Fig. 1], whose attributed meanings, exalted or caricatured [Fig. 2], form an ever-growing anthology of perceptions in modern times. Indeed, the sub-history of responses to it or to any of our acclaimed masterpieces is as important as the objects themselves, inasmuch as these



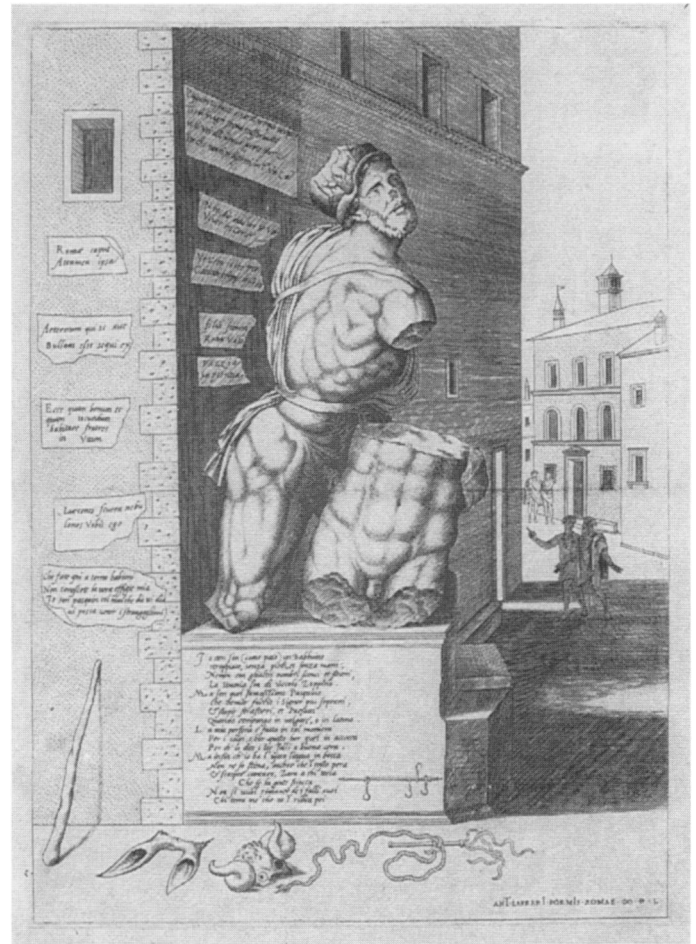
**2) Titian, Monkey Laocoon, c. 1545, woodcut by Niccolò Boldrini. A wry, playful, and possibly esoteric improvisation by the Venetian colorist, made shortly after visiting Rome for the first time and caricaturing a prime norm of its sculptresque antiquarianism and Grand Style. Titian already owned a cast of Laocoon, whose poses and pathos appear in his Brescia altarpiece of 1520-22.**

responses reflect states and changes not only of reputation but of understanding.<sup>9</sup> Their stories grow but can never be complete. The *Laocoon* itself had a complex ancient history, now only partly preserved. The subject, probably originating in oral traditions that dealt with themes of heroic sacrifice and hubris, was refashioned by Homer, Sophocles, and Virgil, its presently assumed model. In addition, the figures apparently refer to earlier sculpture groups, most notably in the Telephos and Gigantomachy friezes at Pergamon, themselves images freighted with an ancestry that contributed to *Laocoon's* functions in the baroque Imperial court of Nero [Fig. 3].<sup>10</sup>

My own research in the history of restoration illustrates how ancient fragments, such as *Laocoon*, become vehicles for projection, liberating what the beholder wants to express.<sup>11</sup> Like the suggestive hexagrams of the *I Ching*, oracular pronouncements, and astrological predictions (or indeed like placebos and holidays), the restoration of antiquities serves as a medium for fancy and execution that mirrors the maker's taste, will, and creativity. The incompleteness or "open space" of the fragment offers us access to our dormant imagination, our generative capacities. Like other divinations, restorations give pattern to a chaos of possibilities, echoing



**3) Telephos Threatening to Sacrifice Orestes at the Altar of Agamemnon, Telephos frieze, Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, c. 160 B.C., Berlin, Pergamon Museum. Royal epic-dynastic cult relief from the Great Altar court interior, with components analogous to Laocoon, as are the Giants defeated by Zeus and Athena in the more mythic-hieratic Great Altar Gigantomachy frieze.**



**4) Nicolaus Beatrizet attr., Pasquino, c. 1550 (from A. Lafréri, *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*, Rome, 1550), engraving after a copy of the Pergamene baroque Menelaos and Patroclus. Contemporary illustration of the popular unrestored fragment on a corner of the Palazzo Braschi facing the Piazza Navona, accompanied by topical pasquinades.**

the primordial artist-maker in Genesis. Each age, generation, person recreates Antiquity—or, indeed, Raphael, Manet, *Apollo Belvedere*, or *Mona Lisa*—partly or largely in his or its own image, and necessarily so, given the reflexive nature of thinking and perception.<sup>12</sup>

Take the bellwether fortunes of the *Pasquino* [Fig. 4] during the sixteenth century. Annually, this “found object” was restored in stucco and painted for the festival of St. Mark in the Piazza Navona, with a subject alluding to matters currently on everyone’s mind in Rome, and it was customarily accompanied by spirited *pasquinades*, didactic or critical epithets and commentaries adding word to image.<sup>13</sup> Restorations—often involuntary confessions of taste, manifested by virtue of their fusions and juxtapositions of old and new—made the norms of Antiquity meaningful, beautiful, life-enhancing to the maker and his recreating ally, the patron or viewer.

Market response, reputation, and influence similarly reveal the latent meaningfulness of compatible or otherwise nourishing imagery that effects revolutionary changes in value. Witness the rise and fall of Rembrandt, or his various “periods,” in art commerce and in scholarship.<sup>14</sup> Their merits notwithstanding, late quartettes of Beethoven, like late prints of Dürer, darlings of an elite set, are neither always for every-





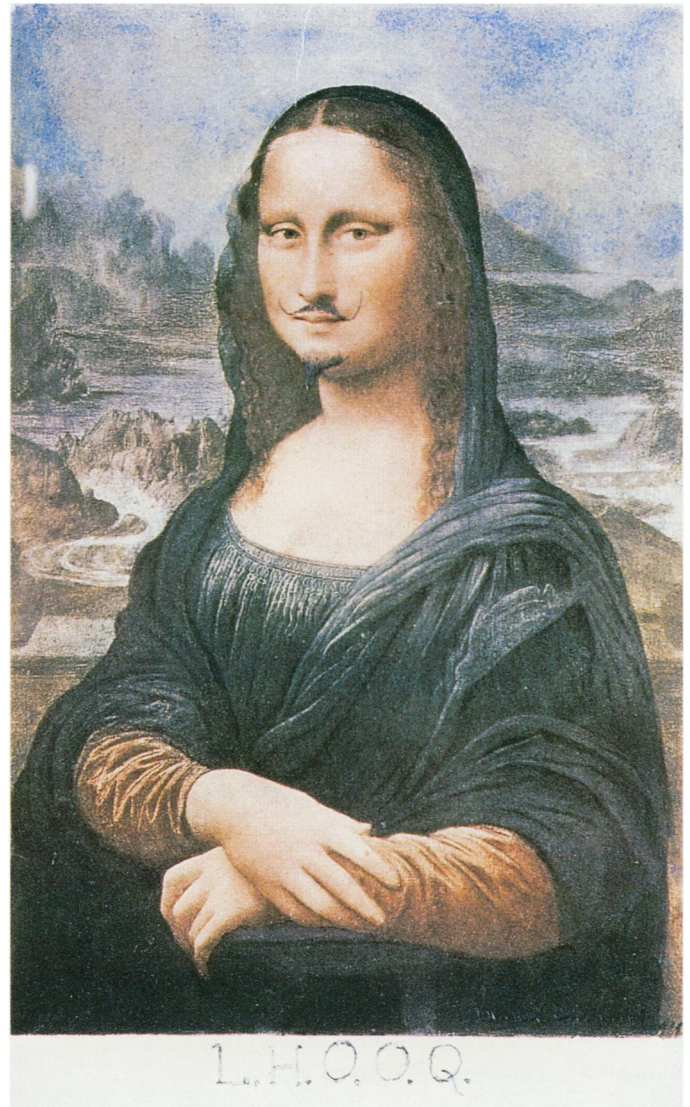
**5) Crowd of admirers in the museum gathering and queueing before Leonardo's encased Mona Lisa (c. 1504 – 1514, oil on panel, c. 30 x 21 in., Paris, Louvre).**

one, nor for anyone all of the time. The notion of the “classic,” a universal that survives all change in time and place, is as much a snare and illusion as is the idea of complete objectivity. Whatever is life-enhancing and gives some promise of immortality to the mystic, magician, or aesthete has value and becomes cultural capital. The ethos that survives and thrives makes history and establishes, temporarily, reputation or value for the community and the self, even though, as the Baptists’ song cautions, *You must cross the lonesome valley by yourself.*

Attempts to divine intention may be vain; nonetheless they are rewarding exercises in discernment for the work-a-day world. Historians, trusted explorer-emissaries into a dimmed past, function as dedicants with our values—now ostensibly including objectivity. By ritual immersion they retrieve for us, with an allied vision, what has meaning for a constituency now, in the only time there is. As successive waves of publications show, each age, like a conqueror-survivor, remakes the past in terms of its own image and interests, as well as inheritance.

In the East, character and destiny are charted in horoscopes drafted at birth, implying that we are then and afterward, as the part to the whole, at one with the universe, which as a continuum projects backward and forward in time.<sup>15</sup> How much in that infinite and expanding cosmos can we retrieve, predict, or change by will? How much is altered by our acts of observation, our absorption, and our attempts at objectivity?

Nothing is more instructive concerning the complex, fragile, and reciprocal nuances of meaning and intention than the life of *Mona*

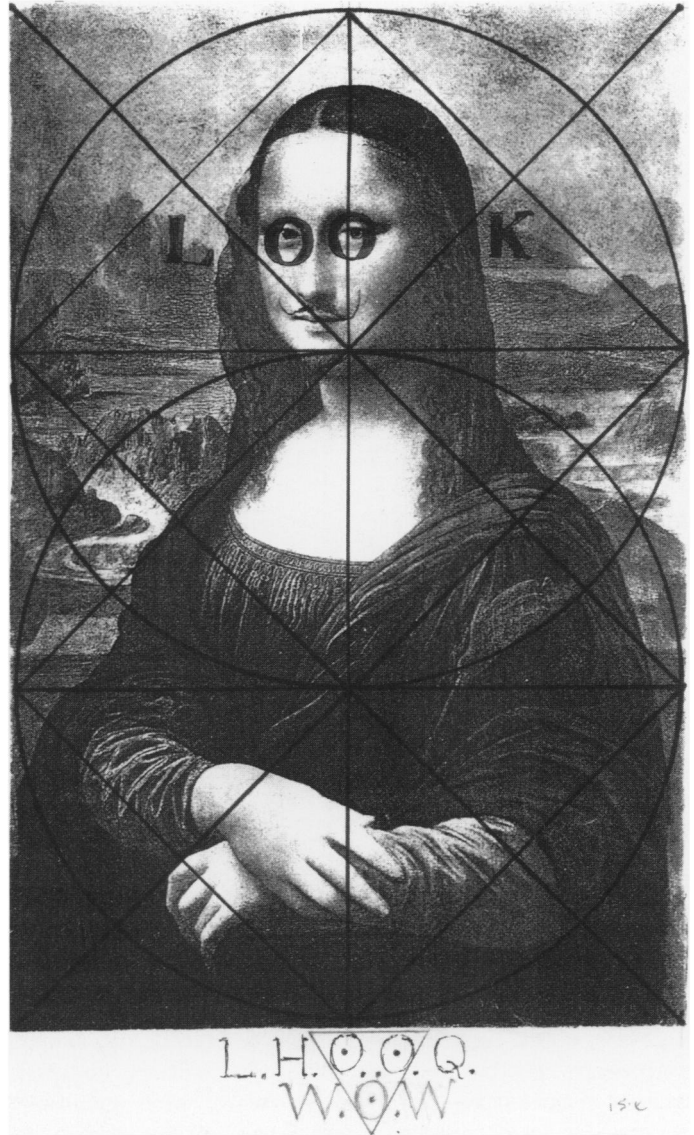


**6) Marcel Duchamp, L.H.O.O.Q., color reproduction of Leonardo's Mona Lisa with graphite additions, 1919, Paris, private collection. Rectified readymade, a transformative desecration revealing popular and esoteric meanings associated with the hitherto sacrosanct image.**

*Lisa*, which Leonardo, its enlightened and insatiable student, continually changed and remade over the years. For contemporaries and



7) Man Ray, *Rose Sélavy*, 1921, photograph. Marcel Duchamp dressed and projected as his libidinous, witty, raunchy, seductive female alterego *Rose Sélavy*; retouched by Duchamp to enhance its feminine aspects.



8) Seymour Howard, *W.O.W. (P.T.O.)*, 1990. Rectified ready-made reproduction of Duchamp's *L.H.O.O.Q.* overlaid with Pythagorean and Leonardesque codes, masks, injunctions, inversions, and matrixes.

for succeeding ages, this potent image generated formulae that affected developing traditions and renaissances, which in turn contributed to its position as the most famous painting in the world by the end of the last century [Fig. 5].<sup>16</sup> Then, Leonardo was popularly celebrated as a singular model of individualist achievement and genius, an unrivaled master of science and humanistic study—the Renaissance man. After the death of Apollinaire, who had been threatened with prison for publicizing the scandalous theft of the *Mona Lisa* from the Louvre, the poet-critic's friend and fellow-iconoclast Marcel Duchamp (who aspired to be a new Leonardo) dese-

crated a cheap "readymade" color reproduction of the sacred cow with witty and elegant Franco-American graffiti that had recondit



and popular implications: handlebar moustaches, a pudendum-like goatee, and a cryptic, multivalent inscription, “L.H.O.O.Q.” [Fig. 6].<sup>17</sup> Pronounced like a school-boy taunt, “Elle a chaud au cul” (She has a hot ass), it exposes the erotic sources of her power; pronounced “LOOK,” it indicates the means by which her powers are transmitted, through seeing, by viewer and viewed. His punning Freudian defacement, a joke on *La Joconde*, ignited new meanings for the old icon, not originally evident to or initially appreciated by Duchamp, who had in effect transvestized it and equated it with Leonardo and his own nature by visual and psychological inversions.<sup>18</sup> This event immediately prefigured the creation of Duchamp’s own animistic surrogate, the smutty alter-ego Rose Sélavy [Fig. 7], publicized by him as a precise and libertine “oculist” (and implicitly “auculist”-“occultist”).<sup>19</sup> Her uninhibited Dionysian nature complemented his Cartesian intellectualism, rendering the artist an alchemical rebus-androgyne, with access to the life-giving lower chakras—celebrated in his reading of the inscription, “There is fire down below.”<sup>20</sup> His multivalent life force Rose (eros, air rose, art rose, arrose, etc.) specialized in the primordial, Tantric kundalini energy of Leonardo’s “*femme fatale*” and archetypal “mother-lover,” with her unforgettably knowing and enigmatic Archaic smile (a projected childhood memory?). Duchamp’s injunction “LOOK” essentially lays bare our acts of seeing-knowing, in that she, who saw Leonardo, sees you, who sees her, and so on, in an endless round referring reflexively to a realm of meaning that can only be described one or more times removed from the thing-in-itself. Though a practised geometer, Duchamp seems to have made little of its compositional matrixes—overlapping squares in the Leonardo design (note, however, the location of the goatee), and a near Golden-Section Pythagorean rectangle in his own additions—compositions whose fixed and irrational proportions Leonardo explored in routine and esoteric studies of architecture and the human figure [Fig. 8].<sup>21</sup> Duchamp and his circle made many variations upon his readymade variant. Add to these now-famous transforming perceptions the thousands of other images that daily improvise upon and exploit *Mona Lisa*, which make it an instantly recognized sign-symbol, like the Latin cross or *Laocoon*, called up for meanings at once fixed by traditional associations and altered by context. Such proliferating seeds of past flowerings now quickly germinate, flourish, and fade for viewers, who contribute to their fleeting life.

Beside such plural meanings accrued and explored in famous works, there is an ancient and venerable realm of hidden or cryptic meanings latent in grotesque art whose field and figures continually alternate, evoking unconscious as well as obvious images. This genre, now widely cultivated in Surrealist production as well as for subliminal suggestion in advertisement, exploits layers of meaning in images that seduce the willing and unwitting [Fig. 9].<sup>22</sup> Beyond this, as noted, the profound arena of the structure or manner in which the work is made “speaks loudly” for preverbal meaning, intellectual and



**9) Salvador Dalí, *Endless Enigma*, 1938, Dalí collection. Landscape with anamorphisms or shifting gestalts that disclose hidden images of a reclining philosopher, greyhound, recumbent beast, Cyclops head, still life with fruit stand, mandolin, woman mending a sail, head of Gala, etc., which were noted and elsewhere sketched by the painter.**

emotional [Fig. 10]. Here, relation, medium, and execution (rather than narrative content and illusionism) become vehicles of message, as in architecture and other abstract, decorating, or nonfigurative arts.<sup>23</sup>

### Imagos (Psychomorphs)

“Imago,” rooted in archeological and psychological usage, is an apt word to describe the seed- or chrysalis-like nature of art works.<sup>24</sup> “Imago” [the term for Republican ancestor portaits; Fig. 11] signifies the projected embodiment or primordial image of the parent form, idea, or action whose existence brings a thing, thought, or life into being. “Psychomorph”, a neologism, similarly can help to define works as fusions of “psyche” (anima, soul, spirit, mind, and breath) and “morph” (body, form, mass, configuration, and structure). Both imago and psychomorph refer to what visually preserves human understanding and acts of will. Investigating how the imago-psychomorph manifests the awakened mind-body of the maker and recreator reveals the structure and business of iconology in its





10) Jackson Pollock, *The Wooden Horse*, 1948, Lee Krasner collection. A graphic-kinetic Abstract-Expressionist descendant of Surrealist preconscious automatism, made with flung pigments and a found object, recalling archetypal forms and processes used in Western American Indian sand painting.

attempt to discern the comprehensive meanings of a work. In Aristotelian times, the works of man, the poet, were contrasted with nature.<sup>25</sup> Greek imagery, based on *phantasia* (the imagination or enlightenings of *psyche*) and *techne* (the mastery of materials and mimesis) springs from a culture with an incomparably inflected language that had no single word for art (Latin *ars*, making) unless we use, significantly enough, *poesis* (making).<sup>26</sup> Art history, as an integrated study traveling the high road of iconology and epistemology, examines the *phantasia* and *techne* of things in and through time.

### Myths of Meaning

*What does not teach? From whom can you not learn? What is without meaning?*

Since antiquity, Eastern and Western sages have recognized that everything can have meaning in the eye of the beholder—consider the eloquence of paleolithic found objects and industrial ready-mades. Brahmins still bow to all things and beings.

To Philistines, myths are the fantasies of “others.” But poetically these parables and histories give form and meaning to all that is. Since the time of Thucydides, the historian, as such, has given a “modern” secular-philosophical pattern and meaning to events of moment for his people. That work preserves oral (and visual) traditions of religious storytellers, who described the trials and rites of passage in everyday life with instructive myth. Myths, like fables, are lyric metaphors for understanding, and all are true in this light. They reflect a lust for knowing linked to survival, ruled by the brain and now virtually innate patterns of casual thought, which eventually prompts isolation, concomitant guilt, and, ultimately, a complementary letting go. However, the seeming chaos of “random” events,



11) Togatus with Imagos, c. 30 B.C., Rome, Capitoline Museum. Late Republican patrician carrying wax (?) ancestor portraits from the alae chapels of the Roman Domus in a sacro-secular procession celebrating the origins and legitimacy of the citizen-legislator.

mathematicians would now argue, may conceal unexpected patterns of organic contingency. Starting from square one, an embryonic and expandible nowness, without the memory of a cultivated style, generates the most fruitful production, whose truths reward the artist's and viewer's attention and empathy.<sup>27</sup>

Recording events, judging their importance, and discussing their meaning have become moral enterprises undertaken by three professionals with overlapping interests: The Chronicler, an impersonal recorder of selected data or denotive facts—the ideal journalist. The Critic, an advocate, assessing things with the informed prejudice of a valued sensibility—the editorialist. The Historian, ideally an absorbed yet objective spokesman of middle-class or middle-way humanistic traditions, working on behalf of hard-won reason (as well as the constant of emotion) and the promise of prediction, as in scientific enquiry—a narrator walking the razor's edge, a keeper of light in the heart of darkness. He essentially mediates syntonically, like the autonomous self, between the extremes of critical instinct and chronicling anonymity.<sup>28</sup> To be sure, denotation, explicit reference, the hard evidence of chronicling and the iconography of images and documentation using objects and writings brought to light by historical investigation, remains vital, even when meanings formulated through inference, inspiration, and interpretation fade. Tellingly, Polykleitos, the paradigmatic artist's artist, stated that the perfection—and, by extension, the beauty—he achieved arose through minute calculations involving many details, a desideratum akin to the descriptive-analytic and *factual* detailing praised and practiced by Freud, Panofsky, and others in a tradition pursuing ideals of truth, beauty, and justice—the good—promoted in ancient aesthetics.<sup>29</sup>

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As problem solvers, we develop preferred theories and mount them as a hobby-horses of explanation. In art historical enquiry, the wide-ranging overview of iconology often gives way piece-meal to fashionable concerns reflecting special interests and their myths: social, political, historical, religious, biological, economic, biographic, psychological, technical, and literary aspects of the study of art, each with its special (sometimes tyrannical) vocabulary and pathway of explanation—often a case of new bottles for old wine. Think of the spectrum of new absolutes, cosmic and particular, in Freudian, Jungian, Lacanian, Marxist, Darwinian, Gestalt, semiotic, deconstructionist, and gender studies, critical theory, and What Next?, in an accelerating array of explanations, each with spokesmen-heroes and a coterie of zealots possessing *the* truth-revealing apparatus.<sup>30</sup> In a venerable Hellenic scheme, each generation (say now, rather, “interest group”) of self-separating, parent-displacing heirs, in the name of “progress,” frames a new myth of salvation and explanation by which to understand and explain away matters of moment. Despite all the fertilizing power of fresh contexts afforded by other

disciplines, few of them deal with the special means of preverbal imagery in art objects. Each sharpens but also burdens enquiry by defining, hence limiting, the infinitive possibilities of meaning: Even the most satisfying gestalt is a short-lived closure.

By definition, Iconology remains the single best integrating study of the visual arts, since it embraces all subdiscipline cults, as noted in its comprehensive characterization and implementation by Jan Bialostocki.

<sup>1</sup> J. Bialostocki, *Iconography and Iconology*, in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, New York, 1963, VII, 770-786 (historical review and assessments), 777, 781 (quotes). E. Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology*, New York, 1939, and, more succinctly, idem, *Iconography and Iconology: an Introduction to the Study of Renaissance Art*, in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* Garden City, N.Y., 1953, 26-54. For more recent reviews of iconology, see nn 23, 30.

N.B. This study, prepared in 1989 for *Porta Mortis*, a Festschrift in memory of Jan Bialostocki (never published), has appeared in shortened form in *Source: Notes in the History of Art* (XV/3, 1996, 1-13), which will be reprinted in my anthology *Art and Imago: Essays on Art as a Species of Autobiography* (London, 1997, in press).

<sup>2</sup> Methodology: J. Bialostocki, *Stil und Ikonographie: Studien zur Kunstwissenschaft*, Dresden, 1966; idem, *The Message of Images: Studies in the History of Art*, Vienna, 1987.

Macrocosm-microcosm, alchemical-Cabalistic quotations: Hermes Trismagistus *Tabula Smaragdina* 1; Z. ben Shimon Halevi, *Kabbalah: Tradition of Hidden Knowledge*, London, 1979, 25.

<sup>3</sup> O. Pächt, *Panofsky's Early Netherlandish Painting*, review, *Burlington Magazine*, 98, 1956, 110-116, cited in Bialostocki n1, 781, who also cites other problems in traditional iconological studies as concerns the origins, transmission, transformation, and contamination of images, an indifference to quality by commentators, their idiosyncratic readings, overinterpretation, etc.—clearly the tool is only as good as the practitioner.

<sup>4</sup> Mind-body and biosphere: A. Szent-Gyorgi, *Drive of Living Matter to Perfect Itself*, *Psychosynthesis*, 22, 1966, 153ff.; J. E. Lovelock, *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, Oxford, 1979; J. Eccles, *Animal Consciousness and Human Self-Consciousness*, *Experientia*, 38, 1982, 1384-1391; M. G. Coles, *Modern Mind-Brain Reading: Psychophysiology, Physiology, and Cognition*, *Psychophysiology*, 26, 1989, 251-269; J. Polidora, *Mind-Body Wellness: Annotated Resource Guide*, Healdsburg, California, 1996 (bibliography).

<sup>5</sup> G. P. Bellori, *The Lives of Annibale and Agostino Carracci*, tr. and ed. C. and R. Enggass, London, 1968, 16 (Annibale, responding to his brother Agostino's rhetorical critique of Laocoon with a spontaneous drawing of breathtaking accuracy, countered, *Poets paint with words; painters speak with works.*), 61 (Annibale as a teacher by example and demonstration). The philosopher as model of his teaching: see esp. Socrates, in Plato's *Crito* 53-54.

<sup>6</sup> J. Cage, *Jasper Johns Stories and Ideas*, Stony Point, 1964, reproduced in *Jasper Johns: Paintings, Drawings and Sculpture 1954-1964*, catalogue, London, 1964, 27.

When I recently began to paint again, I was amused and gratified to learn through first-hand interviews at West Coast and Japanese exhibitions how widely responses to the narrowly perceived content in my strongly reductive works differed: and, on the other hand, how much in their thematic meanings could be discerned and freshly revealed by viewers before titles were provided. On layers or resonances of meaning in arts, see, further, W. Empson, *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, London, 1947, and S. Howard, *I.R.I.S.: The Artist's Intent and Proliferation of Meanings*, *Art Criticism*, 9, 1994, 1-8.

<sup>7</sup> Peter and Paul: see Gal. 2 (holier-than-thou Paul assails Peter's conservative values—discussed with Professor Paul Castellfranco). The English 14th-century saying of unknown origin, *rob Peter to pay Paul*, preceded by French and Latin versions (*Tanquam si quis crucifigeret Paulum ut redimeret Petrum: As it were that one would crucify Paul in order to redeem Peter*, cited in C. E. Funk, *A Hog on Ice and Other Curious Expressions*, New York, 1948, 90f.), seems to preserve something of a more ancient insight.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed and not intended, intended and not expressed: *The Creative Act*, in *Salt Seller: The Writings of Marcel Duchamp (Marchand du Sel)*, eds. M. Sanouillet and E. Peterson, New York, 1973, 138-140:

*All in all, the creative act is not performed by the artist alone; the spectator brings the work in contact with the external world by deci-*

phering and interpreting its inner qualifications and thus adds his contribution to the creative act. This becomes even more obvious when posterity gives its final verdict and sometimes rehabilitates forgotten artists (concluding paragraph).

Duchamp names the discrepancy between the artist's aspirations and the appreciated work its *art coefficient*. In a session directed by J. Bialostocki, I introduced the model of generative seed for the creator and recreators of art works (*Covert References in the Dresden Venus and Its Kin: Observations on the Mutation and Retrieval of Types*, in *España Entre el Mediterraneo y el Atlantico: Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte*, Granada, 1973, Granada, 1978, III, 533-551, reissued as *The Dresden Venus and Its Kin: Mutation and Retrieval of Types*, *Art Quarterly*, 2/1, 1979, 90-111). For arenas of intention, see also M. Baxandall, *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*, New Haven, 1985, and Howard n6 (bibliography).

<sup>9</sup> M. Bieber, *Laocoon: The Influence of the Group Since Its Rediscovery* (1942), rev. ed., Detroit, 1967; G. Daltrop, *Die Laokoongruppe im Vatikan: Ein Kapitel aus der römischen Museumsgeschichte und der Antiken-Erkundung*, Konstanz, 1982 (bibl. and historiographic review).

Titian and Laocoon: Bieber, 7; H. W. Janson, *Titian's Laocoon Caricature and the Vesalian-Galenist Controversy*, *Art Bulletin*, 28, 1946, 49-53; (review of possible functions), fig. 1.; E. Panofsky, *Problems in Titian*, *Mostly Iconographic*, New York, 1969, 20, 75 (bibl.).

<sup>10</sup> C. C. Van Essen, *La decouverte du Laocoon*, *Mededeelingen van het Nederl. Historisch Instituut te Rome*, 18/12, 1955, 291-308 (Golden House of Nero as site of discovery); S. Howard, *Laocoon Rerestored*, *American Journal of Archeology*, 93, 1989, 417-422 (royal baroque function, Pergamene prototypes, and flexibilities in composition and in context); idem, *Antiquity Restored*, Vienna, 1990, 50-62, Figs. 74, 75.

<sup>11</sup> Howard, *Antiquity Restored*, 12-27, title essay.

<sup>12</sup> Latent serendipity in oracular sources: See for example, C. G. Jung, *foreword to The I Ching or Book of Changes*, tr. R. Wilhelm, Princeton, 1967, xxi-xxxix (esp. *synchronicity*).

The well-known monographs on artists published by Rizzoli of Milan, *Classici dell'arte*, now routinely include a chronological—historiographic selection of critical responses to each master, of a revealing sort once contemplated by U. Middeldorf for a biography compiled of critical responses to Raphael (cf. his *Raphael's Drawings*, New York, 1945).

<sup>13</sup> Pasquino: D. Gnoli, *La Roma di Leone X* (1890, *Nuova Antologia*), Milan, 1938, 164-184, 300-308; R. Lanciani, *New Tales of Old Rome*, Boston, 1901, 47-50; Howard n10, *Antiquity Restored*, 21-24, fig. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Reputation, collecting, and commerce, general and particular: F. H. Taylor, *The Taste of Angels: A History of Art Collecting from Rameses to Napoleon*, Boston, 1948; F. Haskell, *Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion, and Collecting in England and France*, Ithaca, 1976.

<sup>15</sup> Eastern art and intention: See, e.g., D. T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture*, Princeton, 1969; A. W. Watts, *The Way of Zen*, New York, 1957; C. Trungpa, *Visual Dharma: The Buddhist Art of Tibet*, New York, 1975. Audio tapes by Watts (d. 1973; *Consciousness and Rhythm or Solid Emptiness*) and Trungpa (*Art in Everyday Life*, 1974) dealing with art and illusion in Buddhist, Hindu, and, less so, Taoist doctrine are equally pertinent and valuable.

<sup>16</sup> *Mona Lisa mystique and historiography*: S. Freud, *Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of His Childhood* (1910; 1st English tr. 1916), in *Standard Edition...* Sigmund Freud, XI, 59-137, ch. 4 and passim (written shortly after his 1909 lectures in the United States at Clark University); G. Boas, *The Mona Lisa in the History of Taste*, J. of the History of Ideas, 1940, 207-24; J. J. Spector, *Freud and Duchamp: The Mona Lisa Exposed*, *Artforum*, 6/8, 1968, 54 ff.; R. McMullen, *Mona Lisa: The Picture and the Myth*, Boston, 1975, esp. chs. 14f. (Apolinaire, theft by Vincenzo Perruggia, Duchamp and followers).

<sup>17</sup> L.H.O.O.Q.: A. Schwarz, *The Complete Works of Marcel Duchamp*, rev. ed., New York, 1970, no. 261; Marcel Duchamp, catalogue, ed. G. Moure, Madrid, 1984, no. 103 (recent exhibition list and literature).

Duchamp's Leonardo complex: T. Reff, *Duchamp and Leonardo: L.H.O.O.Q.—Alikes*, *Art in America*, 65/1, 1977, 83-94; S. Howard, *Hidden Naos: Duchamp Labyrinths*, *Artibus et Historiae*, no. 29, 1994, 153-180, and idem, *Duchamp, Freud, and Psychoanalysis*, in *Psychoanalysis and the Humanities*, eds. L. Adams and J. Szaluta, New York, 1996.

<sup>18</sup> Intended and unintended meanings of L.H.O.O.Q.: see, e.g., Duchamp interview in H. Crehan, *Dada, Evidence*, 3, 1961, 36-38, thence Schwarz n17, 477:

*I had the idea that a painting cannot, must not be looked at too much. It becomes desecrated by the very act of being seen too much. It reaches a point of exhaustion. In 1919, when Dada was in full blast, and we were demolishing many things, the Mona Lisa became a prime victim. I put a moustache and a goatee on her face simply with the idea of desecrating it... In reference to the Mona Lisa I also added a sentence or initials on the bottom of that reproduction — L.H.O.O.Q. A loose translation of them would be There is fire down below... Freud's point of view was to demonstrate the homosexuality of the personality of Leonardo, meaning not that he was necessarily an active homosexual, but that as far as medical science could determine he displayed the characteristics of one. The curious thing about that moustache and goatee is that when you look at it the Mona Lisa becomes a man. It is not a woman disguised as a man; it is a real man, and that was my discovery, without realizing it at the time.*

P. Cabanne, *Dialogues with Marcel Duchamp* (1967), tr. R. Padgett, New York, 1971, 63:

*Cabanne: Do the Letters L.H.O.O.Q. have a significance other than pure humor? Duchamp: No, the only meaning was to read them phonetically. Cabanne: It was just a phonetic game? Duchamp: Exactly. I really like this kind of game, because I find that you can do a lot of them. By simply reading the letters in French, even in any language, some astonishing things happen. Reading the letters is very amusing. [my emphasis]*

M. Duchamp, *Die Schriften*, ed. S. Stauffer, Zurich, 1981, I, no. 92:

*Stauffer: L.H.O.O.Q.; est-ce une invention de vous ou s'agit-il d'un de ces jeux de mots qui ne doivent pas être peu fréquents chez les écoliers français? Duchamp: Je crois avoir inventé ce jeu de mots; mais est on jamais sur dans ce genre d'exercice?*

<sup>19</sup> Rose Sélavy: Juvenescency prefigured in Duchamp's Apollinère Enamelled (1917) and created soon after the transvested Mona Lisa of L.H.O.O.Q. (1919). Her birth: M. Duchamp, *Notes*, tr. P. Matisse, Paris, 1980, no. 286 (*Rose Sélavy née en 1920 a N.Y./nom. juif? changement de/sexe — Rose étant le nom le/plus 'laid' pour mon gout personnel/et Sélavy le jeu de mots facile/C'est la vie*). Her profession and calling card: ibid, no. 210 (*Oculisme de precision/Rose Sélavy/New York Paris/Poils et coups de pieds en tous/genres/ge*). Her works: ibid, nos. 167-170 (optical works). Duchamp n8, 103-118 (Rose Sélavy & Co. puns), 105 (Duchamp "oculist-auculist" punning identified by editors), 170 (Duchamp punning "occulte").

Man Ray's Rose Sélavy photograph: Schwarz n17, no. 275, and, further, no. 271.

<sup>20</sup> Fire below: n18, Crehan interview; cf. alchemical matrix and inversions in the furnace and leaves (below) and coal bags (above) in Duchamp's gallery design for the International Surrealist Exposition (Schwarz n17, no. 304, Paris, 1938). For erogenous implications, see S. Howard, *Duchamp, Dali, Tzara, and Dadaist Coprophilia*, *Source*, 10, 1990, 26-35, and n17, above.

Duchamp, alchemy, and esotericism: Duchamp n19, 26ff., nos. 47-166, esp. 104, *Large Glass*, and 251-255; Schwarz n17, in sum et passim; M.



Calvesi, Duchamp invisible: la costruzione del simbolo, Rome, 1975; J. F. Moffitt, *Marcel Duchamp: Alchemist of the Avant-Garde*, in *The Spiritual in Art: Abstract Painting 1890-1985*, catalogue, eds. M. Tuchmann and J. Freeman, Los Angeles, 1986, 257-271 (see also 45-57); Howard n17 (Hidden Naos).

<sup>21</sup> Tantric kundalini: See, e.g., P. Rawson, *The Art of Tantra*, London, 1973, 168ff., fig. 75.

Leonardo's and Duchamp's geometry: see, e.g. Pythagoras, Euclid, Pacioli, geometry, proportion, perspective, etc., in J. P. Richter, *The Literary Works of Leonardo Da Vinci*, London, 1939, passim, esp. II, 360f. (memoranda). Cathexis on geometry, evident in Duchamp's Chocolate Grinder (Schwarz n17, no. 197, Neuilly, 1913) and Large Glass (no. 279, New York, 1915-1923), is featured especially in his Unhappy Readymade (no. 260, Buenos Aires, 1919), a geometry book exposed to the elements, a wedding gift to his sister and Doppelgänger Suzanne, another esoteric and onetime Section d'Or painter. See also comparisons in Reff n17, figs. 1-2, 9-10, 15-18, and discussions and diagrams in *Art and Geometry*, ed. S. Howard, esp. 19-22, Leonardo.

<sup>22</sup> Projected and cryptographic imagery: H. Rorschach, *Psychodiagnostics, a Diagnostic Test Based on Perception* (1921), Berne, N. Y., 1942; H. A. Murray, *Thematic Apperception Test Manual*, Cambridge, Mass., 1943; J. Baltrusaitis, *Anamorphic Art* (1955), tr. W. J. Strachan, New York, 1977; E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion; A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation*, New York, 1960 (the normative review), passim, esp. 105ff., 182ff; S. H. Hart and S. W. McDaniel, *Subliminal Stimulation*, in *Marketing Applications in Consumer Behavior: Classical and Contemporary Dimensions*, eds. J. C. McNeal and S. W. McDaniel, Boston, 1982, 65-174 (bibl.; historic sources); S. Howard, *Hidden Images: Antipasti*, Source, 8/2, 1989, 25-31 (bibl.; covert imagery in subliminal advertising, house and automobile façades, grylloi, anamorphoses, Gauguin, Michelangelo, Hogarth, Blake, Friedrich, Runge, et al.).

Dali's Endless Enigma: R. Descharnes, Salvador Dali, tr. E. M. Morse, New York, 1976, 126, pl. 31, figs. 125-130 (Dali lists of hidden images and their ink sketches).

<sup>23</sup> On the iconological alternatives of Warburg and his fellows to the turn-of-the-century (and later) formalism of Wölfflin, Worringer, Bell, Fry, and contemporary avant-garde art., see Bialostocki n1; W. Heckscher, *The Genesis of Iconology*, in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes: Akten des 21. Internationalen Kongresses für Kunstgeschichte in Bonn 1964*, Berlin, 1967, III, 239ff; E. H. Gombrich, *Aby Warburg: An Intellectual Biography*, London, 1970; M. Podro, *The Critical Historians of Art*, New Haven, 1982; M. A. Holly, Panofsky and the Foundations of Art History, Ithaca, 1984; and S. Ferretti, Cassirer, Panofsky, and Warburg: Symbol, Art, and History, tr. R. Pierce, New Haven, 1989. For a polemical extrapolation-critique on the term and on selected discussants in various fields, see W. J. T. Mitchell, *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*, Chicago, 1986.

Pollock's Wooden Horse of 1948: L. Alloway, Jackson Pollock. Paintings, Drawings, and Watercolors from the Collection of Lee Krasner Pollock, catalogue, London, 1961, no. 48 (child's rocking horse head, found in an abandoned house on Long Island; flung paint genre begun in previous year).

<sup>24</sup> Imago: E. Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, New York, 1955, II, 84, III, 233 (Freud's establishment in 1911 of his journal *Imago*, continued in *American Imago*, dealing with applications of psychoanalysis to the arts).

<sup>25</sup> Aristotle *Metaphysics* 7.7-9; *Physics* 2.1.3 (products of *techne*).

<sup>26</sup> *Techne* and *Phantasia* theory: J. J. Pollitt, *The Ancient View of Greek Art: Criticism, History, and Terminology*, New Haven, 1974, 32ff., 53ff., 201ff. (excerpts).

<sup>27</sup> *Mythography*: For interpretations combining the psychological theories of Freud, Jung, Kerényi, and Neumann with traditional anthropology,

and Eastern philosophy, see especially J. Campbell, *The Mythic Image*, Princeton, 1974, and idem, *Historical Atlas of World Mythology*, New York, 1982. For detailed readings of psycho-dynamics in mythic lore, see, e.g., M. L. Von Franz, *Individuation in Fairy Tales*, New York, 1977.

Chaos theory and diagrams of three-dimensional computer-generated graphics by Mandelbrot, Lorenz, et. al., charting the patterns of seemingly random events: J. Gleick, *Chaos: Making a New Science*, New York, 1987.

Square one: See Trungpa n15, tapes, and *First Thought Best Thought*, New York, 1983.

<sup>28</sup> I deal briefly with the historian's role as mediator (ego) between the rule-bound chronicler (superego) and the impulsive critic (id) in *Winckelmann's Daemon: The Scholar as Critic, Chronicler, and Historian*, in *Antiquity Restored*, n10, 162-174, esp. 171f., 282 n 29.

As usual, the Greek roots are informative, Chronos logos: of time, its lore, dated; kritikos: able to argue, discriminate, judge; historia: learning, knowing by inquiry.

The extent of a historian's investment and absorption is revealed by a disarming anecdote told by Prof. Alain Renoir (grandson of and subject for the Impressionist painter): In his first visit to England he spoke of workaday matters, unself-consciously, in book-learned and familiar-to-him Chaucerian English, to the delight of suddenly charmed and trust-filled fellow medievalists.

On evidence and inference: Recall, too, the unlettered and unswayed skeptic's query, Was you there, Charley? and, further, habitually differing views, perspectives, and descriptions of the same phenomena in the film *Rashomon*, and by witnesses generally.

<sup>29</sup> Polykleitos and para mikron: Pollitt n26, 15, 88f. n. 6, citing Philo Mechanicus *Syntaxis* 4.1.49 and Galen *De Placitis Hippocrates et Platonis* 5.425, in discussions of symmetria, commensurability, number, nuance, and articulating the good (Plato *Timaeus* 53), See also Plutarch *Questiones Convivialae* 2.3.2 (Polykleitos on the difficulties of finish); Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 34.53 (Polykleitos judged most praiseworthy in mutual contest by Phidias, Kresilas, et. al.).

On discoveries and truths resulting from minute description and detail, see Freud n16, e.g., XVII, 3ff., introduction to *From the History of an Infantile Neurosis*; further, *The Concordance to the Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, ed. S. A. Guttmann et. al., Boston, 1980, IV, 91-99 (*description*, c. 1600 entries), 109-111 (*detail*, c. 600 entries). See also Panofsky n1, 1953, 33-39 (from pre-iconographic description to iconological saturation in as many historically related documents as can be mastered).

Aesthetic substrata: See esp. Plato and Aristotle on Truth, Beauty, and Justice, in *The Great Ideas: A Syntopicon of Great Books of the Western World*, ed. M. J. Adler, Chicago, 1952, I, 112-125, 850-79, II, 915-93.

<sup>30</sup> For the proliferating examinations of method and consequent disarray in art history and humanistic studies, see, e.g., C. Elam, *Art History or Kunstgeschichte?* Burlington Magazine, 129, 1987, 643-644; L. Treitler, *Music and the Historical Imagination*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989, esp. ch. 1; and E. H. Gombrich, *Topics of Our Time: Comments on Twentieth-Century Issues in Learning and in Art*, Berkeley, 1991. For precursors of the so-called New Art History in literary studies, see, e.g., *MLA International Bibliography of Books and Articles on the Modern Languages and Literatures* (1988), IV, 27-34, nos. 1401-1743 (categories of criticism: archetypal, contextualist, cultural, deconstructionist, feminist, formalist, hermeneutic, historical, linguistic, literary, Marxist, new criticism, new historicism, phenomenological, postmodernist, poststructuralist, psychoanalytic, psychological, reader-response, rhetorical, semiolic, socialist-realist, sociological, structuralist); IV, 34-41, nos. 1744-2140 (18 categories of literary theory).