P. Sharratt

The Image of the Temple: Bernard Salomon, Rhetoric and the Visual Arts.[1]

Abstract

Salomon's woodcuts often depict temples and palaces. A comparison is made with some earlier writing on the same theme: Colonna's *Dream of Poliphilus*, Beroaldo's commentary on Apuleius, and Lemaire de Belges's Temples of Honour and Virtue, of Venus and of Minerva. A link is sought in the rhetorical term *enargeia*, and the related idea of *ekphrasis*, here applied to buildings.

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The purpose of the present article is to attempt to clarify the relationship between rhetoric and the visual arts in the early French Renaissance by focusing attention on Bernard Salomon, the most celebrated and most prolific illustrator of books at the time.[2] This will be achieved by setting his work side by side with that of some of his literary predecessors in the period of the *Rhétoriqueurs*, and relating them all to certain rhetorical theories.

Although Salomon's active professional life covers the years 1540 to 1560, he grew up, studied and served his apprenticeship as an artist in Lyon, during the years when Jean Lemaire de Belges was working there and immediately afterwards; Salomon is unlikely to have come across him but he frequented the same artistic circles and must have known his work, as well as that of Jean Perréal with whom he is sometimes confused.

In his own day Salomon was known rather as a painter, someone who was employed by the Consulat in Lyon and others to prepare allegorical paintings for royal and princely entries and other civic celebrations: notably in 1548 for the solemn entry into Lyon of Henri II and Catherine de Medici under the supervision of the poet Maurice Scève. He was also much in demand as a painter of frescoes for the houses of the wealthy bourgeois of Lyon. All these paintings have disappeared and the only surviving one attributed to him is a miniature, an initial letter, depicting Saint Anthony.[3]

Today Salomon is known for his elegant woodcut illustrations in the mannerist style of Fontainebleau. The most important of these are, firstly, the

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[1] I would like to thank Mark Meadow for a critical reading of the first draft of this article and for his helpful suggestions.
[2] Rondot 1897; Cartier 1937; Mortimer 1964.
[3] Comptes 1549.

illustrations to the Bible, which appeared in many editions of different format, for example the *Quadrins historiques de la Bible*; and secondly, *La Métamorphose de l'Ovide figuree*, which contained verse paraphrases, in French, Italian, or Dutch. Apart from these Salomon also illustrated emblematic works (such as Alciati and Aesop), other classical works apart from Ovid (Apuleius *De Asino aureo*, the *De Prodigiis* of Julius Obsequens), works of vernacular literature (Petrarch, Scève, Marguerite de Navarre), commemorative entries, scientific works (Vitruvius's *De Architectura*, Focard's *Paraphrase de l'Astrolabe*, Bassantin's *Astronomique discours* and André Thevet's *Cosmographie de Levant*).

I am not here concerned directly with the sources of Salomon's illustrations. Clearly the primary 'source' must be the text he is illustrating, and the secondary 'source', where one exists, the iconographic tradition. More precisely it is often possible to point to a particular book which lay open on his drawing board or next to his fruitwood block as he worked. But this will not tell us very much about the rhetoric of his art.

A common feature of Salomon's work is his interest in architecture and his predilection for images of the temple and of the palace or *palazzo*.[4] I have discussed elsewhere the importance of this motif for Salomon and shown how he draws on existing woodcuts and engravings, on architectural treatises (Vitruvius and Serlio), on his own experience of buildings in France and Italy, and, of course, on his own imagination.[5] It is this last quality, in its relation to illustration, which interests me today. For illustration as a rhetorical term[6] is synonymous with description and I propose to look at the description of the temple or palace, first in Salomon and then in some influential literary texts of the period of the *Rhétoriqueurs*.

Although I believe that Salomon knew these books, and that his interest in the temple may well have been kindled by them, I do not wish to suggest that they are sources; it is rather their quality of graphic description which is my present concern.

For some of his woodcuts the main purpose must be clarity of exposition, and here accuracy is essential. This is the case for the scientific works he illustrated such as Vitruvius and Focard; the illustration says something more clearly than can be achieved in words, and makes technical language plain to all. It may be that there is some attempt at vivid representation present, but the print is much more likely to be minimalist and schematic, since he is not here primarily trying to move or persuade us, but rather to make us understand.

[4] Salomon is not alone in his use of the temple motif: apart from its presence in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century painting , the temple often has a decorative role in Renaissance book-illustration; it is part of the current vocabulary, along with ruined amphitheatres, pyramids, fountains, obelisks and the like. These visual topoi occur in engravings or woodcuts by Raimondi, Lucas van Leyden, Jean Goujon and others, but in Salomon one has the impression that the temple has become the true subject rather than a mere adjunct.
[5] Sharratt 1993.
[6] 'Illustratio' has two meanings since its purpose is both to make ornate and to make clear (Baxandall 1971: 19). For the relation between rhetorical theory and writing in the French Renaissance, reference should be made to Cave 1979 and Meerhoff 1986.
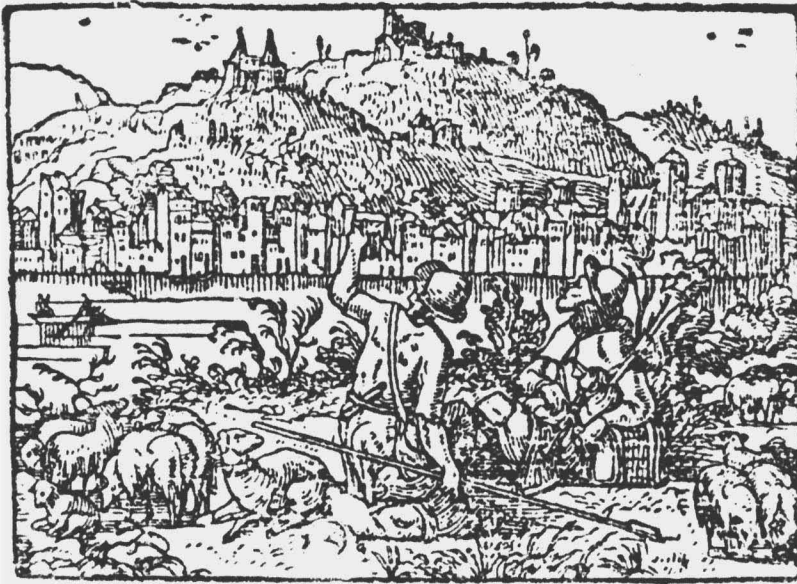
Fig. 1.   Bernard Salomon, woodcut of Lyon from Maurice Scève, *Saulsaye* (Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1547).

There is another class of prints which are intended to be accurate representations, for example the exotic scenes — landscapes, animals, people, buildings — in *La Cosmographie de Levant*. André Thevet wanted to provide a true account of what he himself had seen at first-hand experience on his voyage to Egypt and Asia Minor ('le plus près de la verité qu'a eté à moy possible'). However, just as the text is full of lengthy borrowings from Pliny, Solinus and contemporary voyages to Jerusalem, so Salomon's woodcuts are partly bookish and partly imaginary. Since, however, Salomon had not been to Egypt, he follows Thevet's text closely, yet the resulting picture is classical, and not authentic, fantastic rather than real, as can be seen from his illustrations of the Mosque at Cairo and the Baths at Tripoli in Lebanon.[7]

Salomon did produce some accurate pictures of places. He was the author of the first realistic representation of the city of Lyon ever published (fig. 1); it appeared as an illustration to the *Saulsaye* of Maurice Scève in 1547 and sets an imaginative pastoral scene against the real townscape.[8] It is significant that he chooses to depict Fourvière with all its historical, literary and mythological resonances, and that even here his imagination enters in. A similar mixture of realism and fantasy can be seen in Pierre Woeriot's contemporary copper engraving in *Pinax Iconicus*.[9]

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[7] Thevet 1985: 5, 143 and 194.
[8] Cartier 1937: 246.
[9] Baudrier 1964: v, 24 bis.

Salomon's other woodcut of Lyon, copied from a copper engraving by
Du Cerceau, appeared in a topographical collection of views of towns (Guillaume
Guéroult's *Epitome de la corographie d'Europe*, Arnoullet, 1553) and is more scientific. The same collection contained a realistic view of Tivoli, attributed to Salomon, with its round peripteral temple. Like the early picture of Lyon this drawing must have been done in the open air, whereas most Renaissance landscapes were done from memory in the studio.[10] Like the two views of Lyon, in spite of the pastoral element of one of them, it provides a vivid representation, a description of a real place from a recognizable point of view, as though the spectator were present. Yet Tivoli too had similar cultural resonances which were well known to Salomon because of his contact with Ippolito d'Este, governor of Tivoli, whose architect Pirro Ligorio was excavating the site, and the illustration is partly symbolic.[11]

The fifteen woodcuts which illustrate the Entry of Henri II and Catherine de Medici into Lyon in 1548[12] represent what actually took place during the civic celebrations, in order to remind people who had been present and to inform those who had not, as well as to provide a record for posterity. As Jean Jacquot has shown, the purpose of the woodcuts in the printed account of any Entry is to make clear the complexities of the *fêtes* (and also no doubt of the text) and to resolve visual and conceptual difficulties.[13] Yet there is also necessarily a simplification: as McAllister Johnson has said, the images are conceptualised, idealised, abstract, and this militates against seeing them as vivid representation[14]. It is worth noting one of the triumphal arches dedicated to Honour and Virtue, which perhaps owes something to Jean Lemaire de Belges (fig. 2); in working on the Entry Salomon must have been aware that he was following in the footsteps of Lemaire and of Jean Perréal.

A large round temple figures prominently in the woodcut which depicts what happened when the royal procession arrived at the Place du Change (fig. 3), where there was, we are told, 'une perspective d'une place de ville' which the French text calls Athens and the Italian text Troy. In the foreground we see a fight between Neptune and Pallas and a mechanical horse emerging from the rocks at Neptune's feet. The bottom of the woodcut thus represents a stage or platform where this was enacted, and it is set against a painted backcloth in *trompe-l'œil* which would have been mounted on scaffolding and hung in the Place du Change. This picture may represent accurately enough what the square looked like during the triumphal entry but Salomon's representation of the real Place du Change itself is fantastic, visionary, a futuristic townscape with a clear political purpose, to attract the support of the young king for the rebuilding of Lyon. Salomon's illustrations give a clear (if schematic) account of Scève's text and no doubt of the Entry with its dramatic events and its tableaux, tapestries and statuary, and we can imagine we were there. Yet in the end their idealised

[10] Clark 1949.
[11] Baudrier 1964: x, 139 and 139 *bis*.
[12] Scève 1927.
[13] Jacquot 1975.
[14] McAllister Johnson 1975.

Fig. 2. Bernard Salomon, 'The Triumphal Arch of the Temple of Honour and Virtue', from *La Magnifica et triumphale entrata del christianiss. Re di Francia*, (Lyon, G. Roville, 1549); by kind permission of the Librarian, Glasgow University Library.

and fictional quality dominates. In Lyon today, a few yards away from the Place du Change there is a mural which may help to understand Salomon's illustrations for the Entry. It represents the erection of a huge canvas in the Cour des Loges, now an hotel, for which it is an advertisement. The illusion is double since the scaffolders themselves are in *trompe-l'œil*, another sort of vivid representation. In the same way Salomon had represented an imaginary Place du Change in the real Place du Change. During the festivities the tableaux and automata were intended to create an illusion of reality and lifelikeness, but his drawings in the Entry have a different purpose — conceptualisation and a programmatic creation of a new classicism in architecture.[15]

[15] Sharratt 1993: 36-39.

Fig. 3. Bernard Salomon, 'Perspective of the Place du Change', from *La Magnifica et triumphale entrata del christianiss. Re di Francia*, (Lyon, G. Roville, 1549), by kind permission of the Librarian, Glasgow University Library.

In his illustrations to Julius Obsequens, to Ovid and the Bible there is an abundance of fine buildings, rectangular temples and round ones (either vast *rotonde*, or small elegant shrines), neo-classical *palazzi* and other civic buildings, usually in an idealised urban setting. Representation, or rather evocation, of the text he is illustrating, hovers between architectural accuracy and wishful thinking, and there is often a strong decorative element.

It is in the Bible, rather than the classical texts, that we find most of his temples. Some attempt is made to account for different civilisations. The Egyptian temple in Genesis 37, in the scene where Joseph is sold to Potiphar, is a Ziggurat not unlike the Colosseum, a form often used to represent the Tower of Babel (as may be seen in the two paintings by Bruegel and in Salomon's own picture (fig. 4)) but generally his biblical temples present a mixture of classicism

Fig. 4. Bernard Salomon, the Tower of Babel, illustration to Genesis 11.

Fig. 5. Bernard Salomon, Philistine Temple, illustration to Genesis 20.

Fig. 6.   Bernard Salomon, Philistine Temple, illustration to Genesis 26.

Fig. 7.   Bernard Salomon, the death of Atalia, illustration to 2 Paralipomenon 23.

and fantasy, for example the Philistine Temple in Genesis 20 (fig. 5) and and the improbably buttressed building in chapter 26 (fig. 6). Salomon has very few illustrations in the Old Testament of the Temple of Solomon or the rebuilt temple of Zerubbabel; an excellent example however is to be found in 2 Paralipomenon 23 when Athalia is taken from the temple and slain (fig. 7). The building is purely classical with a free-standing colonnade and a triangular pediment over the doorway.

In the New Testament, the Temple of Herod is depicted in much the same way, for example, in Luke chapter 1 (fig. 8), where the angel appears to Zacharias, a very classical building with a triangular pediment, Corinthian pilasters and carved frieze and cornice. Now Salomon knew perfectly well that the Temple of Jerusalem in any of its three manifestations was not round but rectangular. Proof of this is to be found firstly in his early imitation of the illustrations in Robert Estienne's Latin Bible of 1540, which were based on the researches of the Hebrew scholar François Vatable, and secondly his picture of a shekel found in the river Saône. He has thus deliberately chosen a fairly pure classical form (with perhaps some hidden reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and its romanesque rotonda?).

I shall return to Salomon in order draw some conclusions from this brief survey of some of his work, but before doing so I propose to look at three writers, Francesco Colonna, Filippo Beroaldo and Jean Lemaire de Belges in order to examine their use of description, taking again the example of the temple or palace.

The first book I wish to look at was certainly known to Salomon, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Colonna, published by Aldus in 1499 and in Paris

Fig. 8.   Bernard Salomon, the Temple in Jerusalem, illustration to Luke 1.

in 1546, when Salomon was doing his first work for Jean de Tournes. The book is an allegory in the form of a dream in which Poliphilus is lead on a pilgrimage through the ruins of ancient civilisation to a mystical understanding of the universe under the guidance of Polia or wisdom.[16]

She takes him to the temple of Venus Physizoé, built of marble in the Corinthian style and in the new Italian manner. The description is ambivalent. On the one hand there is vivid representation: there is movement through space as he approaches and enters the temple there is much sensual detail and luminosity in the splendour of the precious stones which decorate it, and he describes statues and paintings and notably a golden mosaic of the Zodiac, the purpose of which was pleasurable contemplation:

> Car la fiction estoit ingenieuse, les figures excellentes, la distribution et ordre propre, la peinture riche, la proportion egale, les umbrages au naturel, et le tout exprimé par une representation tant viue, qu'elle donnoit contentement non seulement aux yeux, mais reuiuifiot les espritz: car (a la verité) c'estoit un ouvrage autant digne d'estre veu, qu'aucun autre qui onques ait esté[17]

Here we find rhetorical terms applied firmly to a work of art and a deliberate reference to vivid representation. Yet since this is all in a dream, the temple appears unreal, and in any case is imaginary (although Lamberto Donati has suggested it depicts Santa Costanza in Rome[18]). On the other hand, the first presentation of the temple is highly technical, showing how the architect planned and constructed it, and even when it is described visually, it is in detailed mathematical terms, which, as Arnoldo Bruschi has said, is an attempt to make what is fantastic *appear* real. The buildings are outside space and time yet manage to retain a vivid presence 'la loro evidenza'.[19] The description and the woodcuts are idealised, neo-platonic. For this book is a key source for the round building as a symbol of architectural and metaphysical perfection, an idea propounded especially by Vitruvius, Alberti, Francesco di Giorgio and Bramante, whose Tempietto profoundly influenced so many Renaissance theorists and practising architects.[20] This is not, however, the place to talk about architectural description by architects, whether of already existing classical Renaissance buildings or of those projected, although the use of rhetoric is evident here too.

The Bolognese humanist Beroaldo is also worth considering in the present context. He is well-known as an orator, rhetorician and commentator on classical texts: Cicero, Virgil and Apuleius; and he, too, was fascinated by architecture. In his edition of the *Golden Ass* (*Commentarii a P.Beroaldo conditi in*

[16] Colonna 1963 and 1964. There is an extensive literature on this book. For two very different approaches to the subject see Kretzulesco-Quaranta 1976, and Bruschi 1978. Colonna's text, written originally in a strangely alembicated and bastard Italian, in 1467, already translated into French before it was even published in Italian, possibly by Lefèvre d'Etaples (though Beroaldo's name has also been mentioned), and then published in a modified Italian form in 1499, shows a precise and bookish knowledge of the new Renaissance architecture and decoration, yet there remain many Gothic elements in the buildings described and illustrated (Bruschi: 1978, 156-7).
[17] Colonna 1963: 70v.
[18] Kretzulesco-Quaranta 1976: 174, 396.
[19] Bruschi 1978: 160-165.
[20] Wittkower 1967; Bruschi 1978: 163-164.

Asinum Aureum, Bologna, 1500), when he comes to comment on the passage where Cupid receives Psyche in his palace he forgets Apuleius and sets off on a lengthy digression which contains a vivid description of a renaissance villa at Ponticulanum near Bologna, belonging to his friend and patron Roscius Minus. This is not a technical description, in spite of his knowledge, but a mixture of realism and rhetorical embellishment. Visual words abound (*admiratione, conspicui*), some of them, such as *luculentum* suggesting brightness or luminosity. There is movement through space, as in Colonna's description, (which it clearly recalls), and there is much physical detail, as we visit the house and grounds. Beroaldo shows the happy marriage of art and nature: the library, the sculpture, and an ingenious staircase in the house, the waterfalls, fountains and a canal driving a cornmill and a sawmill in the grounds, all point to his friend's accomplishments and generous hospitality. 'It would not be absurd', he says, 'to call it the house of pleasure and the palace of love' (*non absurde domicilium uoluptatis atque hospitium psyches uideri potest*), which brings him back to Apuleius. His digression has made him realise that Apuleius is describing an imaginary building not a real one, he is writing from a fertile imagination, not historical truth.

Jean Lemaire de Belges has a central place in the present discussion, because of the range of his rhetorical interests, his love of painting and sculpture and his practical knowledge of architecture, and, most directly, because of the three imaginary temples he describes, 'Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertu' and the Temples of Venus and Minerva in *La Concorde des deux langages*.

In the *Temple d'Honneur et de Vertu* we read:

> se monstroit de front ung ediffice sumptueux à merveilles, à manière d'ung temple anticque en ouvraige mais riche oultremesure en sa façon, lequel donnoit de prime face esbahyssement à l'oeil, tant pour l'excellence de sa beauté que pour la reflamboyance de l'or et des pierres precieuses dont il estoit garny.

Words of visual perception are present in all three descriptions: 'se monstroit', 'spectable', 'delectable à veoir'; and there is even a deep sense of splendour or luminosity: 'reflamboyance' (THV), 'de fin or luisant' (TV), and especially the overriding awareness of brightness in Le temple de Minerve:

> Ainçois ung luisant jour eternel y adjourne,
> Du quel la grand clarté sans fin dedens sejourne (vv.93-4)

There is a wealth of physical, sensual detail, for example in the lists of precious stones, recalling Colonna's *Dream*. Yet little of this is in any way realistic: two of the temples (THV and TM) are set in earthly paradises, with the sweet air, the song of the birds, and aromatic trees and flowers, the former appearing in a dream or 'vision merveilleuse' and the latter in an inscription of 108 lines, which emphasises its fictionality. The Temple of Venus appears at first to be realistic:

> Ce temple n'est à Cambray n'à Douay.
> Si me falut le chercher où il est (vv.25-6)

It is, of course, on Mont Fourvière in Lyon, 'Aux confluenz d'Arar et Rhodanus', following the erroneous contemporary derivation of Fourvière from Forum Veneris instead of from Forum Vetus. But it did not really exist; as Robert Griffin says, the architecture of the *Temple de Venus* is '"realistic" only through its deceptions'.[21]

Lemaire's Temple of Venus is imaginary, idealised like the Temple of Honour and Virtue, eternal because founded by the gods. The façade is often compared to that of the Charterhouse of Pavia, and the interior is compared to that of the chapel at Brou; the Temple of Minerva has been seen as an Italian Renaissance villa with library, fountains and gardens.[22] But are we right to assume that the lines

> L'ordre du comble, ordonné en croissant,
> Fait enlasser les beaux piliers ensemble [154-5]

indicate a gothic 'croisée d'ogives'? The contemporary Carpentras manuscript suggests something different. Although the architecture is improbable, it recalls nothing so much as a Renaissance Presentation in the Temple. The illustration of the Temple of Minerva is more medieval in conception, but its crenellated *donjon* does have a *lanterne* surmounted by a globe exactly like Colonna's Temple of Venus.[23] In any case, whether the style is Gothic or Renaissance, the buildings are utopian and recall more than anything else the *Dream of Poliphilus* or look forward to Rabelais's Abbaye de Thélème.

Some of the shepherds said that the Temple of Honour and Virtue reminded them of the 'grant temple du roy Salomon en Jherusalem ou de celuy de Dyane en Ephese' which gives even greater scope to the imagination. For the temple of Jerusalem was variously illustrated in contemporary art, either as a Gothic cathedral (for example, Fouquet's two paintings based on the cathedral of Tours) or a classical temple (especially for interior scenes) or, as a semi-realistic representation of the Dome of the Rock as in fifteenth-century Flemish manuscripts or in the illustrations for Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in Terram Sanctam* (1486) which Lemaire knew well, or a totally idealised building as Raphael saw it. On one occasion, in his *Traicté de la difference des schismes et des conciles de leglise*, Lemaire quotes John of Bruges's paraphrase of Jeremiah's Lamentation on the desolation of the Temple *Omnes eius portae destructae*, no doubt remembered in its haunting plain chant rhythms. This is of particular relevance in the present threnodic context. Lemaire's concern is sym-

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[21] Griffin 1985: 61; Cooper 1988.
[22] Fenoaltea 1991: 25-26.
[23] *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Carpentras* 1862: I,252-254 — Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, n° 412; Frappier says of it: 'A l'intérieur du manuscrit deux miniatures sont bien du début du xvie siècle et contemporaines de la *Concorde*: la première (f.4) représente le temple de Vénus, la seconde (f.20), où l'influence flamande est nette, le temple de Minerve. L'exécution est gauche; il s'agit d'un travail d'amateur assez peu doué' (Lemaire de Belges 1947: lxv).

bolic and persuasive, and the reference to the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem would not have been lost on his readers.[24]

The unreality of the Temple of Honour and Virtue is heightened by the appearance of the angelic and allegorical Entendement who may remind us of Polia in the *Dream of Poliphilus*. This oneiric quality is emphasised by the account of Aurore's reaction to Entendement's second speech: she does not know whether what she saw or heard 'luy estoient demonstrées reallement ou s'elles se representoient par figure enygmaticque devant sa puissance intellectuelle, ou se d'avanture elle estoit ravye en extase ou autrement'. Her reaction makes evident the link between vivid representation and persuasiveness.

It is now time to turn to rhetoric in order to bring together what I have been saying about illustration and description. Theoretical writing on description is to be found not so much in the early vernacular arts of rhetoric or poetry as in the tradition of classical rhetoric, principally Cicero, the author of *Ad Herennium*, and Quintilian and their Renaissance commentators, notably Erasmus in Book II of *De copia*.[25] There are two overlapping rhetorical terms which will underpin my argument and it is as well to define them here, *ekphrasis* and *enargeia*. *Ekphrasis*, originally a much wider term, is now normally used to refer to a literary description of a painting, real or imaginary; less frequently it is used for the literary description of buildings, real or imaginary, and this is the sense in which I am using it.[26]

The description itself must be literary, which in this context means imaginative; scientific or technical description by an art-historian is not ekphrastic, although one should not draw the lines too rigidly. Baxandall notes that ekphrasis is a device of epideictic, the rhetoric of praise or blame — 'there are no neutral ekphrases'.[27]

The second term *enargeia* is the vivid representation of a scene or an action as though we were present at it. The synonyms of *enargeia* include: descriptio, evidentia, illustratio, repraesentatio, demonstratio and hypotyposis, and even 'mimesis'.[28] In Quintilian's words:

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[24] Lemaire de Belges 1882: III,354.

[25] Cicero, *De oratore* 3,202, *Topica* 97, *De partitione oratoria* 20; *Ad Herennium* IV,xxxix,51 and lv, 68; Quintilian, *Inst.orat.* IV,ii 63, VI ii 29 and 32, VIII iii, 61-71, IX ii, 40-44. Erasmus: 1987, 202-6.

[26] Although it is now usually used restrictively its range is much wider than this as writers from Hermogenes onwards have shown. According to Hermogenes, 'Ekphrasis is an account in detail; it is visible, so to speak, and brings before the eyes that which is to be shown. Ekphrases are of people, actions, times, places, seasons, and many other things...the special virtues of ekphrasis are clarity, and visibility; the style must contrive to bring about seeing through hearing' (Hermogenes 1913: 22-23, in Baxandall 1971: 85).

[27] Baxandall 1971: 87.

[28] Terence Cave has called it 'the rhetoric of visual presence' (Cave 1976:16) and said that it 'may be initially defined as the evocation of a visual scene, in all its details and colours, as if the reader were present as a spectator' (p. 6). (Cf. Cave 1979: 27-34). On a related subject, see Nash 1991, who quotes one use of 'énergie' in Du Bellay, which is contained in 'lumières de poésie', expressing, as in painting, the soul as well as the body.

What the Greeks call 'φαντασίας', we may call 'visio', by means of which the images of absent things are so represented to the mind that we seem to see them with our own eyes and have them before us... Next comes ἐνάργεια which Cicero calls 'illustratio' and 'evidentia', which seems not so much to tell as to show, and our feelings will follow as though we were present at the events themselves.[29]

Erasmus's treatment of it, so influential for Renaissance writing has been studied by Terence Cave.[30] Erasmus includes *enargeia* as one of twelve ways of expanding material:

We use it whenever, for the sake of amplifying, decorating or pleasing, we not only explain the matter simply, but offer it to be seen as though it were expressed in colours in a picture, so that it seems we have painted it not narrated it, and the reader has seen it, not read it.[31]

This Erasmian addition to Quintilian is significant.

Quintilian also spoke of one particular kind of *descriptio* which was *topographia* or the description of place: 'The clear and meaningful description of places' (*Locorum quoque dilucida et significans descriptio*, *Institutio oratoria* IX.2.44). Erasmus's analysis of this goes further than Quintilian's. Following a tradition which goes back to Lactantius and Servius, he adds the distinction between *topographia* and *topothesia* which refers to imaginary places.[32]

Erasmus shows that these two kinds of description are present not just in poets but also in historians and orators: 'Examples [...] are whenever the whole aspect of a place is set up as a picture to be looked at: such as a city, a mountain, a region, a river, ports, villas, gardens, amphitheatres, a fountain, a cave, a temple, a grove'. He gives as examples of the description of real places, Virgil's description of Carthage and its port, Pliny's of his villa near Laurentum, Statius's of a villa at Sorrento and Manilius's of one at Tivoli; of fictitious places, Ovid's House of Sleep, his House of Fame and the Palace of the Sun, (all of which Salomon illustrated) and among others, the palace of Cupid in

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[29] Quas φαντασίας Graeci uocant (nos sane uisiones appellemus), per quas imagines rerum absentium ita repraesentantur animo ut eas cernere oculis ac praesentes habere uideamur... Insequitur ἐνάργεια, quae a Cicerone illustratio et euidentia nominatur, quae non tam dicere uidetur quam ostendere, et adfectus non aliter, quam si rebus ipsis intersimus sequentur (VI,2,29 and 32.) (See Cousin 1936: 74 and Leeman 1963: I,39,40,277,300,305).

[30] Cave 1976 and Cave 1979: chapter one.

[31] Quinta locupletandi ratio videtur potissimum ad ἐνάργειαν, quam euidentiam vertunt, pertinere. Ea vtemur quoties vel amplificandi, vel ornandi, vel delectandi gratia rem non simpliciter exponemus, sed ceu coloribus expressam in tabula spectandam proponemus, vt nos dipinxisse, non narrasse, lector spectasse, non legisse, videatur. Id ita praestare poterimus, si prius ipsi totam rei naturam omnesque circumstantias ac veluti faciem animo lustremus; deinde ita verbis ac figuris idoneis effingamus, vt quam maxime fiat euidens perspicuaque lectori. Hac virtute praecellunt quum omnes poetae, tum praecipue Homerus' (Erasmus 1987: 202).

[32] Cf. Lactantius's comment on Statius *Thebais* 32: In huiusmodi descriptione, ubi veri loci facies demonstratur, topographia dicitur; ubi fictum quid venit topothesia; and cf. Servius at *Aeneid* I,163, who makes a similar distinction. (Forcellini, *Totius latinitatis Lexicon*, Prati, 1875). Cf. also *Schemata dianoeas*, in *RLM* 11, which distinguishes 'loci descriptio' and 'loci positio'. Topothesia is a common literary technique ('Est locus'... in Virgil and Ovid, *Aeneis* I.159; VII.563; Ovid *Metamorphoses* VIII.788; XI.592, XII.39, examples given by Jean Cousin in his edition of Quintilian, Paris 1978: t.v, 311, on Quintilian IX.2.44). Cicero, however, had used the word in one of his letters to Atticus to describe a real place (I.16.18 and cf. I.13.5).

Apuleius. The description of real and imaginary places becomes a crucial topos in the sixteenth-century.

Erasmus talks also about works of art such as tapestries, sculptures, and paintings and the shields of Achilles and Aeneas. As Cave comments, 'Here a further potential duplicity or ambiguity emerges: *copia* in the form of *enargeia* overrides the distinction between "true" and false" representation'. In Erasmus's words 'There are also fabulous descriptions of things, which nevertheless allude to true ones'.[33]

Clarity is not, however, enough for vivid representation. As Quintilian states 'Vivid illustration or representation is something more than mere clearness, since the latter merely lets itself be seen whereas the former thrusts itself upon our notice'.[34] And Alain Michel shows the need of *sapheneia*: 'Il ne suffit pas d'être clair; il importe d'être lumineux [...] l'orateur ne se borne pas à être intelligible, il rend évident tout ce qu'il dit. Il introduit des *lumina* dans son discours'.[35]

My choice of literary examples and the way in which I have highlighted them will, I hope, show how the rhetorical terms of *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* may be applied to literature. They all manifest vividness, clarity and even luminosity, as well as the techniques which draw the spectator into the scene: movement through space, illusion and changing perspectives. The presence of other works of art within the work itself is also important, as is the use of great detail. Colonna's work is an *ekphrasis* of the Temple of Venus which describes vividly, using refined visual techniques, and even tells us it is doing so in an explicit reference to *enargeia*. The relationship between the text and the images in this book is very close. The editor of the original Italian version, Leonardo Crasso, stresses in his preface their joint purpose: 'If there are any things which are naturally hard to understand, they are delightfully expressed as though in a pleasure garden sown with all kinds of flowers, beautifully presented and put before the eyes in figures and images'.[36]

Beroaldo's description of his friend's villa is an *ekphrasis* of the work of art constituted by this house and garden, and is in fact modelled on Pliny's *ekphrasis* of his villa near Laurentum. It is worth noting that the description of the palace of Cupid in Apuleius, which was his point of departure, was also given by Erasmus as a good example of *enargeia*. And when Beroaldo calls Apuleius's description *graphica*, he may well be using it in the Erasmian sense,

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[33] Cave 1976: 8. 'Huius generis est, quoties tota loci facies veluti spectanda depingitur: ut vrbis, montis, regionis, fluminis, portus, villae, hortarum, amphitheatri, fontis, specus, templi, luci' (Erasmus 1987: 214); 'Sunt et fabulosae rerum descriptiones, quae tamen ad veras alludunt', *ibid.* 206.

[34] *Institutio oratoria* VIII.3.61ff.

[35] Michel 1960: 330; Cf. Leeman 1963: I 277.

[36] Illud accedit, quod si quae res natura sua difficiles essent, amoenitate quadam, tamquam reserato omnis generis florum viridario, oratione suavi declarantur et proferuntur figurisque et imaginibus oculis subiectae patent et referuntur (Colonna 1964: ix).

as defined in Robert Estienne's *Dictionarium latino-gallicum* of 1538, 'Bien fait. Comme qui l'auroit peint'.[37]

Beroaldo, for his part, prefers to describe a real building, even if he calls his own description *topothesia* which normally refers to an imaginary place. He anticipates Erasmus's *Convivium religiosum* of which Terence Cave has written:

> The house and garden constitute a place where, as the guests walk, perspectives are constantly shifting; there are gateways, courtyards, gardens within gardens, galleries, layer upon layer of moving surfaces endlessly pointing towards new and unexpected significations [...] The problematic nature of the relationship between sight and insight, or surface and significance, is further embodied in the ambivalence of the real and the illusory. Just as in the *enargeia* section of the *De copia*, there are 'true' and 'false' places in this country house[38]

In Beroaldo it is the comparison with Apuleius which underlines this ambivalence.[39]

The detailed visual element in Lemaire de Belges's three descriptions of the temple is very strong as we have seen. Michael Jenkins has discussed the ekphrastic descriptions in these books, relating them to the topic of the *locus amoenus*.[40] Certainly, they are good examples of *ekphrasis* as we have defined it, and the buildings are described with the detail, clarity, and indeed luminosity, of *enargeia*.

From our discussion it emerges once more that *ekphrasis* and *enargeia* are not solely concerned with realism or truthfulness, but also with persuasiveness. In Lemaire, as in Colonna and Beroaldo, the vividness is sometimes evident from the reactions and feelings of the bystanders. Persuasiveness is to be linked with *efficace*.[41]

Lemaire's own views about *enargeia* may be gleaned from a letter he wrote to Thomassin which constitutes the peroration to the *Légende des Vénitiens*; in it he praises Jean Perréal for his realistic painting in terms which make an explicit acknowledgement of *ekphrasis*. Perréal, he says, has painted and represented various subjects with great exactness ('à l'existence tant artificielle comme naturelle'), such as cities, castles, rushing rivers, craggy mountains, chaotic

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[37] Beroaldo had already used the word in his commentary on ch. IV about the Temple of Venus when he wrote, 'Claudianus graphice venusteque describit veneris et cupidinum mansionem omnibus delitiarum amoenitatumque numeris absolutissimam' (L.iii r) and at end of the present passage he says that Apuleius has written 'graphice et luculenter'.
[38] Cave 1976: 15; Erasmus 1972: 221ff.
[39] Beroaldo published elsewhere an account of the wedding between Annibale Bentivoglio and Lucrezia, daughter of Ercolo d'Este: *Philippi Beroaldi Bononiensis nuptiae Bentiuolorum in Philippus Beroaldus Martino Boemo discipulo suo*, Bologna, 1491. This example of vivid representation describes a feast, alive with visual terms, and itself constitutes a kind of *ekphrasis*, in describing the various works of art which contribute to the dramatic unfolding of the celebrations: imitation marble columns, two statues in the form of men guarding a sideboard containing precious gold and silver plate. Beroaldo is well aware of the theatrical nature of what he is describing, with dances, and other performances. This work provides an excellent example of *enargeia* characterised by *festivitas* (for which see Cave 1976: 9 ff.)
[40] Jenkins 1980: 157ff.
[41] Lemaire de Belges 1882: IV, 217; cf. Rigolot 1982: 263-264, and Cornilliat 1989.

battles, bloody corpses, panicking fugitives and so on. Lemaire treats ekphrastically what is in itself a list of *ekphrases*. He goes on:

> Et si les images et peintures sont muettes, il les fera parler ou par la sienne propre langue bien exprimant et suaviloquente. [which Stecher glosses as 'Il les fera parler par sa peinture vivante, ou bien racontera lui-même']. Pourquoy à son prochain retour, nous, en voyant ses belles œuvres ou escoutant sa vive voix, ferons accorder à nous mesme avoir esté presens à tout [...]'[42]

What better explanation could there be of *enargeia* in painting as well as in discourse? Perréal's ability is such that he can make paintings talk, either by his painterly skill or by his verbal explanations of them. And the ideal to be aimed at is vivid representation in the Quintilian sense. Clearly Lemaire thought our rhetorical terms might be applied not just to literature but also to painting.

And this leads me back quite naturally to Salomon. To what extent do his illustrations resemble rhetorical description? Is it meaningful to think of works of art in terms of *enargeia*?

Much work has already been done on the relation between art and rhetoric in Italy, especially by John Spencer in an article of 1957 entitled 'Ut Rhetorica Pictura', and Michael Baxandall in *Giotto and the Orators*, and, most recently, on the subject of rhetoric and architecture, by Mario Carpo.[43] One clear fact emerges: just as Renaissance literary theory, which grew out of the art of second rhetoric, was rhetorically orientated, so artistic or architectural theory owes much to the humanist rhetoric which was the intellectual grounding of its authors.

Attempts have been made to relate the traditional five parts of rhetoric to art theory: invention, which discovers arguments, or subjects, disposition which is the same as composition;[44] elocution which corresponds to expression or style; memory, that of the orator or the artist, and pronunciation, which may be likened to the process of drawing or to the gestures in a picture. I wonder if it might not be argued that Renaissance practice, and theory, suggest a topical aesthetic to match the topical logic and rhetoric of the time. In the matter of style, moreover, there is a clear correspondence in the three different levels: the plain or simple style, which instructs or improves, the middle style which delights or charms, the high style which moves audience or viewers.

In the absence of any coherent body of art criticism in the French Renaissance (since Lemaire is one of the few even to talk about art seriously[45]) or

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[42] The immediately preceding passage is rich in ekphrastic techniques: 'car de sa main Mercurialle il ha satisfait par grand industrie à la curiosité de son office et à la recreation des yeux de la treschrestienne maiesté en peignant et representant la propre existence tant artificielle comme naturelle (dont il surpasse aujourd'huy tous les Citramontains) les citez, villes, chasteaux de la conqueste, l'assiette d'iceux, la volubilité des fleuves, l'inequalité des montagnes, la planure du territoire, l'ordre et desordre de la bataille, l'honneur des gisans en occision sanguinolente, la miserableté des mutilez, nageans entre mort et né, l'effroy des fuyans, l'ardeur et impetuosité des vainqueurs et l'exaltation et hilarité des triumphans' (Lemaire de Belges 1882: III, 406).
[43] Spencer 1957; Baxdall 1971; Carpo 1993; cf. also Alpen 1960.
[44] As Baxandall says about Alberti, 'the notion of *compositio* is a very precise metaphor transferring to painting a model of organization derived from rhetoric itself', Baxandall 1971: 30.
[45] Lemaire de Belges 1937; Cornilliat 1989.

other documentary evidence, it must remain a matter of supposition whether French artists, in the practice of their art and their thinking about it, drew on their own humanist education in rhetoric. It is precisely this lack of theoretical underpinning which makes it necessary to juxtapose works of art and literature in order to test the hypothesis that there is indeed a connection.

In what sense then can Salomon's woodcuts be said to be a vivid representation either of the texts he is illustrating or of the real world? Certainly he 'illustrates' and 'describes'; certainly he represents *ad vivum* — only the emblematic works and the Entries are conceptual rather than representational — and he imitates in the way all Renaissance writers and artists did, that is, he follows both nature and art (and *mimesis*, as we have seen, was a synonym of *illustratio* or *descriptio*). He has a good sense of observation, especially for the daily life of the countryside, as his rustic scenes in the Alciati and the Aesop and his landscapes and townscapes throughout his work make plain. His human figures, too, in spite of the mannerist elongation, are life-like in their gestures and expression. At the same time his work is largely imaginative when he illustrates either fictional or mythological writing (Apuleius, Ovid, Marguerite de Navarre), or the miraculous events of the Bible, the symbolic or allegorical parables or even ancient historical scenes. His aim here is surely to persuade, but in the middle style which charms and delights rather than in the grand style which moralises. For example, he usually 'imitates' his literary source accurately and literally in contrast to the moralising tendency of medieval illustration of Ovid.[46]

In the illustrations to the Bible, in spite of his good knowledge of architectural theory he is not concerned with archaelogical or historical accuracy. The purpose again seems to have been the rhetorical one of persuasion, of *efficacité*. Paradin, in his preface to the *Quadrins historiques* in which these illustrations by Salomon appear, talks of the mutual dependence of painting and poetry and their joint emotive force. De Tournes in his preface says that if you have no time or leisure to read the Bible, 'tu puisses pour le moins tapisser les chambres de ta memoire des figures d'icelle', and in the New Testament he stresses that visual images have a greater and more permanent force than auditive images; his own aim is 'recreation à l'œil, ayde à la mémoire et contentement à l'esprit'. J.P. Perry has noted how this fits in with Cicero's and Quintilian's views on the psychology of imagery ('effective, sharply outlined, distinctive images') and related it to the *Ars memorativa* with each frame as a 'locus' for distinctive image and dramatic situation.[47] It is in this quality of effectiveness that the link between vivid representation and persuasiveness is to be discerned. As Quintilian had said 'our feelings will follow as though we were present at the events themselves'.[48]

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[46] Moss 1984.
[47] Perry 1975.
[48] *Institutio oratoria* VI.2.32.

Although the woodcut lends itself less to detailed drawing than does the copper engraving there is a remarkable amount of detail here considering the small scale on which Salomon worked. Magnification often reveals an extraordinarily sensitive touch. Moreover, there is a compensating quality in the woodcut which is the possibility of achieving great simplicity and clarity by the contrast between the black of the wood left in reserve and the white of what has been cut away. Salomon's work is a particularly good example of this, since it is often not just clear and vivid but luminous (for example the sunbursts, and haloes which can give a sense of presence or epiphany — see, for example, the print of the Transfiguration). There is very often too a sense of space and light in his skies, especially over river or sea; as Kenneth Clark says 'a new idea of space and a new perception of light' were characteristic of the Renaissance. The same author says of Hubert van Eyck that he draws the scene as though the spectator were present (*enargeia* again) since his use of perspective leads the viewer into the picture and makes him feel able to proceed from foreground to background.[49] In the same way Salomon makes us feel we are present at the scene, as Quintilian proposed. Salomon, of course, is only one example, but there is much to suggest that it is fruitful to apply to book-illustration the rhetorical term of *enargeia*.

Ekphrasis is rather different. We really need a new term for the painterly counterpart to *ekphrasis*, that is paintings (or drawings) which go beyond mere illustration and 'describe' a piece of writing in a new imaginative way, creating a new work of art.

All of Salomon's images are destined to transpose the text in some way and state graphically (here I mean both 'by the technique of drawing' and 'with clarity') various kinds of truth, scientific, historical, religious, mythological. In the end it is 'efficacité rhétorique' which dominates. In spite of an excellent knowledge of architecture (which he shared with Colonna, Beroaldo and Lemaire) he usually chose, like them, to underline the imaginary quality of his buildings. In the last analysis *enargeia*, whether in poem, painting or woodcut, is often richer where the imagination has freer play.

University of Edinburgh

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[49] Clark 1946: 1, 29, 35ff.

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