THE RIGHT MOMENT

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Of Monsters and Men

Pieter Bruegel's 'Fall of the Rebel Angels' and the Christian Condemnation of Nature

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Philosophers writing about paintings are sometimes dispraised, on the one hand, by historians who rightly claim that images are not capable of revealing the complexity of historical *res gestae*; on the other, they happen to earn substantial critique by art historians due to the claimed philosophers' disregard of the historical objecthood and the functional context of images. The reason for this scepticism is the justified conviction that one must not detach those aspects from the compelling issue of whether, what, and how images visually represent.

To be examined for the cause of historical adequacy of paintings was, among others, the fate of Michel Foucault's iconic marking of the origins of social distinction between madness and reason. By introducing late medieval paintings into the philosophical genealogy of the language and the practice of social exclusion already in the first edition of his *Folie et déraison* of 1961, he distinguished the instructive features of moralistic literature from the intrinsic values of painting which can show both the inexplicable deep grounds and the ambivalent edges of madness among others by appealing visual means of inversion, drollery, or grotesque, and, in effect, by evoking tragic laughter. Quoting the elaborated visions of Sebastian Brant's literary *Ship of Fools* of 1497 as depicted and transformed by Hieronymus Bosch[1] and by Pieter Breugel in his *Dulle Griet* of 1562,[2] Foucault at the same time projected its heterotopic symbolism onto the late medieval reality of expulsion of the insane *extra muros* and identified those ships as actual vehicles of pilgrimage: drifting unwelcomed between the cities,

migrating from hospital to hospital, from one church to another, driven by the hope for the recuperation of reason.[3] The assumed maritime 'wandering existence' of medieval fools which, according to Foucault's controversial thesis, preceded their later isolation in repurposed *leprosoria* and – in the 'age of reason' – in closed mental institutions, became a matter of historical polemic. The broad and complex debate initiated with the neglection of the historical existence of real *stultifera navis* and centred still in the 1990s around Foucault's ambiguous sentence: *Les fous alors avaient une existence facilement errante*[4] involved both discussions on the historical status of medieval allegory and notes on the ambivalent nature of philosophical language as well as remarks on the misleading features of the English translations of Foucault's French text. Eventually, what was at stake, was the book's literary quality located in the 'proliferation of meaning' through emblematic, antithetic and anachronistic reversals.[5]

However, whether such ships were cruising over European waters or not, their iconic formation at the end of the fifteenth century would have already revealed the then possibilities of the definition of madness as shaped within the specific visual articulation of exteriorized and estranged alterity.[6] Therefore, in a large gap between the meanwhile outdated, sharp counter-arguments against Foucault which once aimed at falsification of the very historical, factual reality of the *Ship of Fools* in the Middle Ages, there is a dialectic space for the iconic mode of tracing the historical conditionings of discursive sustainabilities. These may be visible, after all, in the intensity of the issue of how what had once been declared exclusively true and the only acceptable is persistently still reflected in the present modalities of historical, art historical, or philosophical examination.

Bearing this in mind, in this essay we shall take the uneasy challenge of a deliberately anachronistic analysis of a particular pre-modern discourse of exclusion, starting with Pieter Bruegel's *Fall of the Rebel Angels* of 1562, one of the most sophisticated and elaborated paintings in the present collection of the Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium in Brussels.[7] The goal of this vague project is to situate this painting within a long history of a discursive formation of Christian teleology of history and, at the same time, to reappraise the extraordinary role of images like that by Bruegel in the cultural process of designing ontological and socio-political liminalities. As agents of imagination which operate beyond the laws of grammatical syntax and transcend the poetics of the speakable, images introduce and consolidate their own intrinsic notions of

veracity. As statements claiming the imagined 'truth', they at the same penetrate the subsequent layers of discourse due to their easily memorable and readily quotable fabrication of apparent 'evidence' of thought. An analysis of the Bruegel's painting which shows the epitome of the very first act of fundamental exclusion – the gesture of expulsion of the angels by the Christian god due to their disobedience – brings in this way several crucial aspects of this visual discourse of history to the point. At the same time, being one of the most elaborate figurations of this fabricated antagonism between true and false, Bruegel's panel incorporates its very fundamentality. It demonstrates its both implicit and explicit persistence especially when put in the 'archaeological' context of the discourse formation across centuries. The depiction of the original expulsion as a singular act of godly justice upon the disobedient heavenly assistants thus summarizes and at the same time saturates the pre-modern discourse on power, legitimacy, and alterity in which the world's ontological disposition is measured according to the idea of pre-manufactured unity and mandated obedience.

In order to analyse the historical persistence of this singular iconic act of expulsion as a teleologically fixed paradigm which allowed to justify diverse historical narratives of exclusion and acculturation, this analysis will span three 'piers' in the discursive flow: (1) The elaborated artistic manifestation of the Fall as the first and universally original 'turning point' narrativized in the Christian history of salvation, (2) The origins of the pre-modern scientific and philosophical approach to the definition of nature, and (3) The teleology of history written by the first anthropologists, naturalists, and missionary ethnologists under auspices of monotheistic supremacy. Accordingly, the investigation of the broad location of Bruegel's *Fall* naturally assumes an anachronistic *modus operandi*; it shows its iconic disposition in the middle of the sixteenth century as deeply embedded in the argumentative eloquence once developed by the high medieval scholastic theory of nature, matter, and cosmological evidence and subsumed in the so-called 'School of Chartres' of the twelfth century. Subsequently, the persistence of the teleological association of nature appears in diverse 'theories of degeneration' formulated by Christian scholars in the course of their encounters with diverse religious cultures outside of Europe between the late sixteenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century. For the sake of the critical attention given to the "least body of the condemned" (*le moindre corps du condamné*),[8] art historical investigation, when confronted with such

fundamental distinctions, has to be able to act descriptively in terms of historical "microphysics,"[9] to go across or even beyond iconographical codes of historical synchronicity, and, accordingly, to settle between times or pre-defined epochs. As such, it can critically examine the long-lasting dialectic role of images within the soteriologically positioned universal alternative between salvation and damnation. In this way, the historical importance of Bruegel's masterpiece results not from its direct 'reconstruction' through iconographical adequacy, but, to the contrary, from its intermediary positioning as a strong iconic statement which demonstrates a long-term discursive pre-formation as well as a comprehensive reverberation of an idea.

1. *Original Charge. Iconic Gloss to the Fall*

The picture is astoundingly tremendous. All the grotesque beings, so well-known from Bruegel's oeuvre, coagulate here and evoke almost a pattern of the constant process of mutation (fig. 1). Coming out of the central part of the circular layered halo visible at the distant top, the rebels, persecuted by god's armed loyal angels, become monsters during their fall and end up down in the abyss of mutation as hybrid composite forms. In the very centre of the composition, the seven-headed Apocalyptic Beast distinctly appears in-between the tumult – the subtle link to the pre-existence of the end of time at the very beginning of penal compulsion to timeliness –, directly behind fully armed Archangel Michael who is right about to slay the hybrids with his sword. Bruegel painted this scenario as a battlefield and iconized the timely aspect of damnation as an overthrow into the temporal realm of metamorphosis and death. The event of the Fall itself is not bound, however, to any chronographically defined moment and serves instead as a general and applicable category of punishment for original disobedience. As such, it builds a typological counterpart to the Fall of Man and turns into a universal mirror of his sinful decay. The compulsion to metamorphosis thus occurs in terms of a conviction to time, an expulsion from *aevum* into the abyss of the morbid Hell *in statu nascendi* which will be followed by Man's relegation directly into *aetas*.[10]

As a result of the overwhelming perspective from below, the beholder is situated frontally to this overall panorama of ontological struggle and, at the same time, beneath the depicted action. He or she thus assumes a position of

Fig. 1. Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1526-1569), *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, 1562. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium

inescapably embedded observer confronted with the impact of the stream of expulsed bodies at its very bottom. The beholder's point of observation in this way implies simultaneous seeing the incoming stream and being part of the stream's downwards directed front which itself already transcends the picture plane.[11] One sees already the first sparks of Hell's outbursting flames. Those two aesthetical aspects of the painting – the demonstration of the Fall as an ongoing process of mutation and the inscription of the beholder directly into its unfolding panorama – proves the status of Bruegel's work as an appealing picture. It is not only an innovative, differentiated illustration of the apocryphal 'event', but, moreover, an indication to the original status of the expulsion of the disobedient as a topical matter.

Among others, these features of the painting convinced Tine Luk Meganck, the author of the recent, most comprehensive and superbly illustrated mono-

graphic study on Bruegel's *Fall*, to see in it a possible political manifestation of Catholic unity against the political and confessional disobedience at the dawn of the Dutch revolution in the 1560s.[12] In her meticulous iconographical analysis and reconstruction of nearly all the particular motifs of the painting, Meganck at the same time situates Bruegel's work in the intersection between, on the one hand, the *aemulatio* as the impulse for artistic practice of the painter who aimed in Brussels at a status of a 'new Bosch', and, on the other, the ways how the alterity of visual objects was comprehended in the process of the early modern accumulation of knowledge. Drawing upon the scholarly systematization of curiosity, she interestingly points to the relevance of the then *Kunstkammer* and cabinet collections of the imperial court of Charles V in Brussels, as well as to the circulation of artistic sketchbooks on natural phenomena between the Netherlands and Italy, inspired by diverse noblemen's collections.[13] These shall also have animated Bruegel's pictorial elaboration on formal hybridity, the most distinctive feature of the depicted falling angels turning into monsters. Taking into account Meganck's pivotal argument that the painting was inspired by the *naturalia* brought to Europe from the American continent during the early expansion – like, for instance, the armadillo –, or, the fauna specimens from the Pacific and Indian Oceans, like the remarkable blowfish of the order of *Tetra-odontiformes*,[14] the present study follows this path. It concentrates on the issue of how far Bruegel's *Fall* reflects and at the same time actively reshapes the medieval discourse of nature and to what extent its iconic statement proliferates the antagonistic definition of natural primitivity and alterity which will still be profoundly legible in the Age of Enlightenment. In this way, Meganck's inspiring thesis which demonstrates the very moment of historical synchronicity will be approached here anachronistically, both from ahead and backwards, thus showing the permanency of particular fundamental though variably reverberant dispositives of the Christian discourse of nature over centuries. The question is, therefore, more general and reads as follows: Is there any dynamic historical reciprocity between the iconic narrativization of natural hybrids in soteriological context and the erudite reception of real natural specimens from overseas as taxonomized objects of strangeness? Moreover, this dialectical issue unfolds explicitly as a question of the early modern definition of idolatry which in the age of transoceanic expansion was genealogically scrutinized as profoundly embedded in distant 'primitive' nature cults. These were, again, subsumed by

Christian writers as a veneration of demons. They contrasted particular objects of idolatry with domestic, means European iconic agents of progressive monotheistic 'civilization' of history. In a decent allusion to Foucault's visual icon of the expelled ship of the insane as figurated thought in all its chronotopic possibility – in its historical field of articulation –, this essay investigates, therefore, the discursive 'reality' of the rebel angels' iconic fall between the Middle Ages and the end of the early modern period.

It can be described as a common though shortcut consent within the iconographical studies devoted to the motif of the Fall of the Rebel Angels that their condemnation resulted from their disobedience, as they started to claim the status of their divine maker for themselves – the very first moment of pride in the Christian history of the world.[15] This is how their expulsion typologically mirrors the Fall of Man in its fundamental dimension as the punishment for claiming the right to cognition at the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil (Gen 3:1-24). Depending on sources, however, the reason for the Fall of the Rebel Angels reveals its cultural complexity. According to the apocryphal tradition, for example, their disobedience occurred as they questioned god's command to adore the newly created Adam as *imago Dei*, his own manufactured likeness, and thus aspired to the status of the creative maker instead of venerating the product.[16] Especially in the light of this narrative, it is striking how intensively Bruegel's falling angels are engaged in performing the task of transformation as default production of irregular shapes. As soon as the angels are deprived of their original status as a privileged part of divine manufacture, they are sentenced to alienated sovereignty and instantly embedded in the course of downgrading deformation and misaligned repetition. Eggshells buzzing or torn apart, containing dry blackened tree branches, larvae and nymphs of all kind, slashed bird-frog's abdomen showing the inside of its body's with miniature eggs like in a pomegranate (fig. 2), a butterfly-basilisk with a pomegranate foot entangled in its fall with an animal skeleton and protecting its spinous, fishy offspring against the white-robbed angelic slayer (fig. 3) – all these appearances defy the pre-fabricated stability in the way they hopelessly try to multiply and evolve one from another.[17] The falling angels are thus condemned to take part in the self-evoked mortality, means: to transcend the realm of manufactured eternal form, and to be subject to change.[18] Both depicted processes of mutation and hybridization are, therefore, inherent practical elements of the visibly executed

Fig. 2. Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1526-1569), *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, detail, 1562. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium

sentence to metamorphosis. This rebellion may have even begun with hybridity since according to a different version of the story, the original guilt of disobedience lies exactly in angels' sexual involvement with humans. Described as 'Sons of God', they shall have committed their sin already after the Fall of Man, as they got tempted by the feminine beauty and united with Naamah, wife of Noah, the same man whose exclusive role in the procreation of the mankind as well as of all 'creatures' can hardly be overestimated.[19] Subsequently, the angelic rebels were condemned to the perpetual execution of the very reason of their guilt: They turn into descending mutated hybrids.[20] One of the dimensions of their fall as freshly born zoomorphic demons is, therefore, their disparate autoseminality. It is about a special kind of morbid self-sufficiency of form-bearing form as a result of detachment from the eternity of the divine realm. In Bruegel's *Fall* we see respectively only one exemplar of each monster, there is no visible procreative duality of sexes, despite the morbid eggs, and there is individual self-reflection, singular mutation, and, illegitimate self-repetition in

Fig. 3. Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1526-1569), *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, detail, 1562. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium

metamorphosis in lieu thereof. All this is depicted as a sharp antithesis to the functional competencies, discipline and loyalty of the sexless angels as active agents of condemnation. The painting situates this rebellious deficiency in terms of 'false fertility', visibly embodied, among others, by the abovementioned

Fig. 4. Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1526-1569), *The Fall of the Rebel Angels*, detail, 1562. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium

pomegranate foot, and presents it as a structural error of form in the program of nature which drifts while changing beyond creator's original commandment.

It seems logical, therefore, that the painting emanates with an enormous variety of rear sides of the depicted monsters – metabolism being an undeniable part of the rebel angels' new fate.[21] The anus of a monster, including that of the monumental Apocalyptic Beast, is the very proof of its embedding in mortality (fig. 4). As a kind of witty iconic 'seal' of every demon's actual sentence to change, it thus becomes the identifying feature of the hopeless inhabitants of Hell which appears as a dystopia of the eternal experience of dying. The monster's

Fig. 5 a-b. Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1526-1569), *Dulle Griet*, 1562. Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh

anus, by turning into a recognizable 'face' of an ultimately condemned being, visualizes the statement that no higher essence can articulate itself in the permanency of body's default external metamorphosis or internal metabolism. This strictly physiological positioning of the damned reaches its very climax in the witty, paradox two-legged self-feeding anthropoid – a walking upside-down face –, the mouth of which is at the same time its anus, depicted by Bruegel in the very foreground of the infernal scenario of metamorphosis in his *Dulle Griet* from the same year 1562 (fig. 5)[22] almost in the style of medieval cartographic

hybrids from behind the waters.[23] Accordingly, not only due to the image's intended provocative, obscene character, but also regarding this fundamental issue of being engaged in seemingly chaotic, erroneous, and unfruitful self-repetition through self-digestion, the exposed anus of a monster put into the context of ingestion and excretion becomes a leading figure of the then pictorial admonitions against the vice of lust. One of the most prominent examples of the kind can be found in Bruegel's *Luxuria* (fig. 6), an illustration in his *Vices* of 1557, a series with which the painter instantly gained on reputation. Besides the similar self-feeding mouth-anus in the lower centre, one finds here also the unmistakable gesture of anal and genital exposition by the reptile-or-monkey-like monster, derived from Bosch, just above the artist's signature in the lower-left corner which accompanies a shitting human rear figure, a coprophagous bird, other hybrids as well as scenes of consumption, digestion, and coitus between different demonic 'species'.[24] The characterization of lust as earthly desire for bodily pleasures with means of uncontrolled formal hybridization was eventually made explicit in the engraving prepared ca. 1558 by Pieter van der Heyden after Bruegel's drawing of *Luxuria*, in which he added a Latin translation of the latter's original inscription: "LVXVRIA EBERVAT VIRES, EFFOEMINAT ARTVS" ("Luxurye [stinckt, sy is vol onsuverbeden / Sy] breeckt die Crachten, en sy swackt die leden" / "Lust enarvates the strength, weakens the limbs").[25] The bodily deficiency is here associated with the feminine element (*effeminare*): The weakness of man thus expresses itself in his going hybrid through self-womanization seen as equal to yielding to earthly desires.[26]

Hybridization seems to be for the rebel angels an inevitable consequence of leaving the history of Creation, and, as already referred, even an immediate cause of their expulsion. By entering the realm of autonomous metamorphosis, the matter seems to lose control over form, *hylē* escapes *morphē*, and gains on doubtful disjoined sovereignty, thus inverting the work of Creation. Bruegel's vision of this process of degradation recalls, to some extent, the medieval imagination of the primordial unformed matter, the Platonic *hylē* – *informis materia* – as the very first stage of Creation, before time allowed the matter to assume the stable pre-programmed form.[27] In his *Clavis physicae*, Honorius Augustodunensis summarizes John Scotus Eriugena's elaborations on the creative intelligences and particular instances of Nature in *De divisione naturae* written in terms of Augustine's ontology. In a Paris copy of Honorius' treatise

Fig. 6 a-b. Pieter Bruegel the Elder (ca. 1526-1569), *Luxuria*, illustration from *The Cycle of Vices*, 1557. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

from the twelfth century, a full-page miniature brings the very structural taxonomy of Creation to the point, beyond the usual strictly biblical narrative of its daily sequences. The *informis materia*, an uncorporeal, colourless, and invisible bulk of potentiality, is equipped here with four profile faces looking around – the four elements –, with the fifth eye frontally gazing at the beholder in the very middle of this undefined 'body' (fig. 7).[28] It seems to be exactly the overall multidirectional seeing that visually signifies the infinite potential of becoming and the intensity of quality which itself cannot be seen:

> Un monstre tétramorphe flotte dans le médaillon central, cerné par les mots: *materia informis*. C'est la "terra inuisibilis et incomposita" du second verset de la Genèse, le chaos de la Théogonie, la *ὕλη* du Timée, la *silua* de Chalcidius. Dépourvue de toute qualité qui pourrait la définir, elle échappe aux sens, elle est possibilité pure.[29]

Matter, awaiting its legitimate conjunction with form through introduction into quantity, appears in the very middle of the scheme between the upper collegium of *primordiales causae* and the lower register of four elements and all living creatures – *natura creata non creans* – and is flanked horizontally by the allegoric figures of *tempus* and *locus*. Itself defined as *effectus causarum*, the still dynamically hybrid, tetramorph potential of matter marks here the initial turning point within the overall system of the dependence of hylomorphic beings subordinated by the god who in terms of an ontological return pulls the curtain of the world by his own hands in the lowest section, described as *finis*. So, in comparison, the significance of the Fall of the Rebel Angels – depending on various narratives which situate their act of expulsion in the second or rather sixth day of Creation, but, anyway, before the Fall of Man, or, alternatively, shortly before Noah's procreative mission within the Deluge –, consists in bringing matter out of the already stabilized form. Accordingly, however superficially similar they might be to the gazing amorphous matter, the rebellious hybrids – in actual structural contrast to the primordial *materia informis* – await no rational order and realize themselves in individual self-reference within the ultimate collapse of the given form, in a negative mirror of its original potentiality. Their differentiation escapes the pre-planned divine taxonomy: with matter ultimately subjected to change, its potential undergoes a sublating reduction. We can say that falling condemned

Fig. 7 a-b. *The Disposition of Creation*, miniature in *Clavis physicae sive Disputatio Abbatis Theodori cum Johanne Scotto Romanae Ecclesiae Archidiacono*. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, MS lat. 6734, fol. 3v

hybrids have reached in this way the same impotence as the first, discarded Creation: the Behemoth which appears in the medieval imagination as beast encapsulated in its animalistic monstrosity, as falsely born form, abandoned by god and remaining 'different' from the very first moment of its unwanted existence.[30] Needless to say, its visible nature as an abortive element of divine manufacture was the immanent reason why Behemoth automatically became incorporation of satanic power and was, subsequently, topically identified with the very element of chaos seen in the disobedience of anti-monarchic revolution.[31]

The Fall of the Rebel Angels shows, therefore, the Christian invention of delay. With the introduction of change as a punishment for being disobedient, or, in other words, by initiating timely shift as media of ontological and moral differentiation, the 'righteousness' of a moment – the ancient idea of *kairos* as suitable 'occasion' for an indifferent evocation of values – was reframed in terms

of its extensive reduction to the proper moment's exclusive legality. The 'right moment', originally embedded in the history of fatal fulfilments between *logos*, *pathos*, and *ethos*,[32] now paves the way for the dogmatic functionalization of time which is related to the reproductive maintenance perceived as one of the central ontological aspects of humankind. By the occasion of his analysis of the ethical treatise *Paidagogos* by Clement of Alexandria, Foucault – in his latest writing *Les aveux de la chair*, the fourth part of his *Histoire de la sexualité*, edited posthumously in 2018 – stresses the importance of this change in the context of the apologist's view on human procreation.[33] Here, it is the matrimonial framework of reproduction of two sexes that provides a moral codex for taming of one's own sexual attraction.[34] *Kairos* and *coitus*: The 'righteousness' of the fruitful matrimonial intercourse thus realizes itself in direct dependence from the christological *logos* as a sacrificial potential of the promised great return from the realm of time to the realm of eternity; the 'occasion' is consequently subjected to the axiological dimension of time's unworthy origins and motivated by the escapist need for their reversal or repair.[35] The timeliness of the *kairos* is now no more fatal, but eschatologically juridical. The expulsion of the rebel angels into the realm of change and diversity due to their disobedience – which was, let's repeat, either their refusal to adore Adam as male product of godly manufacture, or, their sexual intercourse with human women – both precedes and typologically mirrors the Fall of Man into transience due to the temptation by one of the already expelled rebels at the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. The consequence for humans was the urgency to sexually reproduce over time, till the end of days.[36] The ontological delay realizes itself, thereupon, permanently in the very necessity of the most inner conflict which was implanted by god's commandment (*c'est l'effet d'une providence divine*),[37] since now, humans are capable of a sexual 'excess' of individuality which brings them away from their divine manufacturer. In this light, the desire of the flesh is declared an inherent part of the divine plan of the conjunction of two sexes, any respective surplus, however, turns into a vice of 'debauchery' inasmuch it deviates – solely for one's own individual pleasure – the earthly desire's only purpose: the preprogrammed procreation.[38] In this dichotomy then, which is supposed to be intrinsic to the human beings themselves, there exists already an implanted seed of revolt against the divine providence.[39] Accordingly, it was the *libido* – discursivized as both cause and effect of Man's corporeal embedding in time and

transience – that was eventually unequivocally defined by Augustine as human 'nature'.[40] The conjugal legalization of 'righteousness' towards temptation, which practically turns every Christian's life into a seductive horror, mirrors the *kairos* of a remedy, the idea of the 'right moment' for curing a disease while judging upon its symptoms; an accurate intervention when disease in the convulsive stage of its highest peak reveals its inner nature, the very truth.[41] This natural conditioning of Man, in which even his coitus is marked as diseased in its 'epileptic' convulsions[42] and which makes him continuously drown in at least potential sinfulness, transforms human life in an enduring exercise of procreatively determined abstinence while navigating upon the oceanic depths of desire.

Projected indirectly onto the Fall of Man, the scene depicted in Bruegel's panel represents in these terms a topical prototype of disobedience convicted to be equal with the unfruitful disorder and a catastrophe of form. Metamorphosis as direct, autarkic growth of one form out of another is opposed to the godly order of manufacture which embodies the mimetical criteria of legality with its subordinate realm of continuous reproduction through procreation. The expulsion of the rebel angels implies, basically, a condemnation of self-sustaining diversity as subjected to the limitations of time and doomed to change. An anachronistic investigation of appropriate representative steps in the long process of this iconic fabrication of exclusion will demonstrate tragic consistencies in the historical formation of antagonistic *topoi* which were to expose those who – according to these views – have missed their *kairos*.

2. *Protogenetic Prefield. Examining Nature's Diversity*

On his apostolic mission to the Greeks, Paul already propagated avoiding the traditional veneration of natural phenomena – of the 'elements of this world' – which were, in his opinion, worthless and equivalent to demons. He proclaimed the sacrificial mission of Christ as a liberation of mankind from the slavery of nature which itself shall consist only of properties and attributes.[43] Demons, always in the plural, mostly synonymous with the mythologically conveyed ancient gods, were further identified by the early apologists as the fallen angels of the Genesis, as 'prime fathers' of all ontological crime who broke god's commandment and were thence expelled. Justin Martyr pointed in his *Second Apology* of 150-157 to their 'illegitimate' offspring: "But the angels transgressed

this appointment, and were captivated by love of women, and begot children who are those that are called demons."[44] They thus turned into visible actors of the new Christian cosmology as incorporations of the natural elements: interpreted also as stars – those luminescent bodies which were supposed to have been placed on the *firmamentum* on the fourth day of Creation –, they were subjects condemned to nocturnal obscurity which signalized the morbid nature of cosmic distances. Only Christ's Incarnation perceived as a sacrificial descent from beyond the heavens into the earthly world will thus warrant a liberation from the cosmic dimension of nature.[45] Already Clement of Alexandria warned in the second century in his exhortation *Protrepticus ad Graecos* against the veneration of the Sun and of the world instead of their transcendent divine maker, showing that the Earth is a domain of temptation by demons and their deceptive images.[46] The apologetic considerations by Athanasius of Alexandria are also very informative in this respect: he made clear that the Christian condemnation of the visible heavenly bodies as demons results from the veracity of the idea of one divine power as the highest exclusive superiority which produces an appropriate universal design of subjugation. In his polemical writing *Contra gentes* of ca. 318, Athanasius recapitulated, accordingly, the cyclicity of nature as the evident proof of its genuine subordination by one god, saying that if particular heavenly bodies in their orbital relations were individual gods as the 'heathens' used to call them, they would have to share their power, maintain their collective equality and, consequently, provide a harmony of cosmic power and balance of energy, so that there would be no change, no orbits, no seasons, no night or day. Its visible opposite – the cyclicity of nature – shall thus prove the fact of its universal subjugation by one superior divine authority.[47] Furthermore, Martin of Braga, a monastic writer of the sixth century, mocked in his apologetic treatise *De correctione rusticorum* at those who still denominate the days of the week after ancient gods. In his opinion, they are related to the stars and, as such, they turn into astrological demons who were previously "the worst men and criminals among the Greeks" (*homines pessimi et scelerati in gente Graecorum*).[48] Braga, who paints in his exhortation a comprehensive genealogy of the human 'deterioration' into ancient idolatry identified with the cult of nature, thus delivered solid foundations for the medieval *topos* of the world contempt (*contemptus mundi*) in terms of a genealogical reason behind the prescript order of self-defence against the immanence of the worldly *Dasein*.

These are, of course, only a few representative examples of the anti-natural thread in the early Christian apology, they signify, however, the very field of antagonistic articulation with its potential of agency substantiated by the *a priori* ontological fundamentals of exclusivity. These fundamentals cannot be overestimated especially in the context of the high-medieval challenge of inscribing the empirical observation of natural causalities into the technical framework of the world's divine manufacture. Accordingly, the issue of the penal fall turns in the twelfth century into a central event of philosophical cosmology in the *oeuvre* of the theologians who constituted the so-called 'School of Chartres', whose systematic and sophisticated approach to the phenomena of nature set essential cornerstones for empirical nature sciences.

The constitution of the universe, perceived by Thierry of Chartres as 'unfolding of god' and elimination of chaos understood as an intermediary step of Creation,[49] was subdued to the original notion of unity as preceding time and all forms: "Namely, just as unity preceded plurality, so simplicity, in which God is enfolded in the universe, preceded all diversity and plurality. All plurality necessarily is from unity, all mutability is descended from immutability."[50] Correspondingly, Bernard Silvestris composed his *opus magnum*, the *Cosmographia*, as a rhetorically projected *descensus* of Christ on Earth which enables mankind to elaborate on the perspective of reducing the distance between the evolved diversity and the primordial unity.[51] The Fall of the Rebel Angels, like the Fall of Man, thus turned into a necessary teleological component of the historical concept of nature being an unworthy 'descendant', the *modus essendi* of which is thoroughly dependent on its antagonistic genealogy. This categorical distinction rearmed Bernard Silvestris and also William of Conches, who in their highly complex cosmologies further describe nature as *dissolubile natura* subdued to the order of god, or, as *anima mundi*, the spiritual status of which, however, was declared controversial due to its necessary detachment from the invisible and immaterial godly realm.[52] Accordingly, even if nature maintains its relevance as a force which implements the work of Creation – the *lubrica machina fortunae* –,[53] it remains with its recognizable *proprietates* a normatively programmed secondary instance subdued to god who remains the inaccessible *principium agens*.

We should say some more words in this context about Alan of Lille's *Liber de planctu naturae* (*The Complaint of Nature*) of 1168/1176, a masterpiece of philosophical poetics, a scholarly poem which discusses the issue of sensuality

as related to rhetorical metaphors of language and to the seducing aesthetic of poetry. The author declares Nature *Dei auctoris vicaria*, a subordinated executer and warrant of the permanency of the manufactured *machina mundi* – as such, she is subsequently imagined as a mediatrix of the world's disposition, equipped with the calliper, an instrument of creative order (fig. 8).[54] The human conflict between reason and sensuality is to Alan like that of universal dimension, where the planets resist the motion of the heavens and go in a different direction.[55] As Willemien Otten summarizes, by these conditions the Nature's task is "to maintain the stability of creation's natural order by supervising procreation."[56] The matter of personified Nature's complaint in the poem is, on the one hand, more than obvious. It is the one-directional, unavoidable transience which builds the Nature's inner pre-disposition, the ontological deficiency illustrated elsewhere by Alan in his short poem *De miseria mundi* where he describes it in terms of punishment and guilt ("Mourn your punishment, lament your guilt" / *Luge poenam, culpam plange*).[57] On the other hand, he finds in *De planctu* subordinated procreation of two sexes the Nature's only purpose, and this is how the lament as a genre turns louder since it becomes evident that Nature is not able to perform her singular task correctly. There are, after all, cultivated forms of sensuality which do not comply with the pre-stabilized unity of the procreative order. With the very first verse of his poem, therefore, Alan unambiguously pictures those negative icons of guilt:

> I change laughter to tears, joy to sorrow, applause to lament, mirth to grief, when I behold the decrees of Nature in abeyance; when society is ruined and destroyed by the monster of sensual love; when Venus, fighting against Venus, makes men women; when with her magic art she unmans men.[58]

Homoeroticism is thus perceived as a rebellious individual abandonment of the realm of prescribed reproduction of the divine Creation and as an aversion to the human task of its *conservatio* through natural *procreatio*.[59] This kind of inherent formalism in the elaboration on the teleological positioning of sensual matters of nature, matched with metaphors like that unequivocal one of male phallic hammer causing an imprint in the feminine vaginal matrix of an anvil,[60] made Alan perceive throughout his poem irregularity and diversion as a fertile ground for the uncontrolled growth of monstrosity:

Fig. 8. *Nature as vicaria Dei*, miniature in Evrart de Conty, *Livre des échecs amoureux moralisés*, 1496-1498. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, MS fr. 143, fol. 12v

For the human race, derogate from its high birth, commits monstrous acts in its union of genders, and perverts the rules of love by a practice of extreme and abnormal irregularity. Thus, too, man, become the tyro of a distorted passion, turns the predicate into direct contraposition, against all rules.[61]

Such a great body of foul men roam and riot along the breadth of the whole earth by whose seducing contact chastity herself is poisoned. Of such of these men as profess the grammar of love, some embrace only the masculine gender, some the feminine, others the common or indiscriminate. Some, as of heteroclite gender, are declined irregularly, through the winter in the feminine, through the summer in the masculine.[62]

For if the masculine gender by some violent and reasonless reasoning should demand a like gender, the relation of that connection could not justify its vice by any beauty of figure, but would be disgraced as an inexcusable and monstrous solecism.[63]

In the multilayered narrative plot of *De planctu*, it is Venus who is appointed by Nature to provide operational circumstances for procreation – the necessary field of attraction.[64] However, she fails inasmuch those who were granted the gift of desire explore it for its own sake and divert from their obligation to procreate. Thus, Nature's garment is tattered, Venus "turns into a monster,"[65] and the 'guilty' – in parallel to the angels expelled for the refusal of adoring Adam as fabricated *imago Dei*, or, for having sex with humans – put the original teleological consistency of reproductive Creation into question by introducing their diverging sexual practice.[66] The disobedient become heteroclite 'monsters' of nature, because they are thus perceived as equal to animals: Through the cultivation of their 'vice', they are charged of following their instinct instead of their *intellectus*, and – like Alan's *Natura* who is walking "around the earth like a brute beast" – declared self-regarding and self-reflexive.[67]

Alan of Lille's poem deals with the ambiguity of rhetorical and metaphorical traps in poetry: by using the metaphor of 'self-centred' homoeroticism, the realm of temptation was consequently localized directly in the self-reflexivity of language. He claimed that the earthly desire which tattered Lady Nature's garment is her own inherent deficiency ever since she started to cooperate with Venus and is not able to speak in proper terms, but only in seductive phrases: A beautiful poem can thus become a covering of a lie, just as *De planctu* itself reveals the enjoyment of describing the appealing reason of plaint and condemnation.[68] With its inherent 'false writing of the world', Nature is thus itself exposed by Alan as "blatantly deceptive fiction,"[69] reduced to a figurative character embodied only by words. These deliver both superficial, literal lies and deeper figures which can be false or true, depending on reader's readiness to dislocate meanings. However, all of them are, anyway, closely interrelated with each other and provided by the monstrous, though appealing, *ars poetica*. The latter contains no truth and is able to veil even obvious contradictions, as it realizes itself solely in language, in the seductive, self-referential 'grammar of Venus' which leads to excess.[70]

While used to visualize those complex ambiguities of grammar and different modalities of a poetic lie, homoeroticism has been thus sustainably designated an exemplary metaphor of transgressive opposition to the work of divine providence. Substantiated as such and equated with non-productive, untrue self-referentiality, it simultaneously became a visible measure for exclusion from the

soteriological perspective. At that time when homosexual relations were juridically prosecuted together with the (back then comparingly less condemned) zoophilic intercourse under the collective term of sodomy,[71] both punished with the stake and seen as ultimately filling the Hell's most bottomless abyss, Alan's metaphorology, directed at the demonstration of the grammatical means of poetical allurement, matches and at the same time constitutes the then-contemporary gradations of condemnation.[72] Accused in this way in *De planctu* directly of original narcissism,[73] homosexual men were thus supposed to corrode and waste the work of Creation. One cannot but recall in this context how Foucault in his late analysis of the apologetic thought points out how Clement of Alexandria saw in every ejaculation of semen an act accompanied by god's 'collaboration' and paralleled with birth, and how the apologist located in this fact the reason why it should necessarily be as procreative as the extraction of Eve out of Adam's rib, the only absolutely male, self-sufficient act of procreation, ascribed exclusively to Christian god.[74]

As this homophobic issue was apparently fabricated within the ontological space of articulation, it also had – even though, or, maybe, the very opposite: *especially* as a metaphor – a significant polemical value for the discourse of images, since in this conflict homosexuality equals heteroiconicity in the way it transcends the edge of the legitimized image of Creation.[75] It seems logical, therefore, that this kind of deliberate diversion of primordial divine order was compared to the subjection to idolatry. A passage in *De planctu* clearly shows that idolatry means in this context for Alan of Lille not solely a cult of images, but expresses itself generally in finding pleasure in material things, appealing words, and seductive bodies, instead of cultivating the *anagoge*:

> (…) as it has been told how the whole world is endangered by the almost universal fire of impure love, there now remains to be shown how it is ship-wrecked on the most universal flood of intemperance. Seeing that intemperance is a sort of preface to the performance and excitement of love, and antecedent to the amorous consequent, note that certain daughters of the old Idololatria, who was in time past completely crushed, make the attempt to renew the power of their mother in the immediate present, and, by certain magic songs, to revive her from the dead. In their meretricious employment they brighten their appearance with the countenance of deceiving delight, and fraudulently lure on their lovers.

> Also with sad joy, with friendly cruelty, with hostile friendship, like sirens they sweetly bear on their lips the melody of pleasure, even into destruction itself, leading on their lovers through to the shipwreck of idolatry.[76]

In the very next passage, Alan gives an illustration of the idolatrous attitude by drawing a caricatural image of the Bacchic culture of drinking wine, Bacchus being together with the 'first pederast' Orpheus and with Narcissus the main 'pagan' exponent of vice in the poem.[77] Here, the author does not spare the reader the parable of a venerated god who can be incorporated and then excreted, since he is embedded in natural materiality which leads to excess:

> Therefore the man Bacchilatra very frequently prefers that Bacchus – like relics of his own shrine – should not be separated from him by interval in space, and does not allow his god to delay too long in the walls of alien vessels; but that the divinity of the god may assist him the more intimately, he shuts him up in the jar of his own belly. But because most often the vessel of the stomach can not bear the divinity of so great a guest, the same god disgracefully goes off in liquid either through the arctic pole of the eastern door, or through the antarctic pole of the western region.[78]

Besides this repeating metabolic, physiological reference, it can also be noted that the very special dimension of this iconic figure – idolatry being itself described a shipwreck (*idololatriae naufragium*) – attains at that time its negative intensity in relation to the commonality of contemporary nautic metaphors of the life of a Christian imagined as a process of desperate cruising on a ship across the sea or ocean of demons. Every Christian is thus constantly exposed to challenges of temptation, and – starting already with the *navicula Petri* – has to navigate through the storm.[79] Still in his *Liber poenitentialis*, a penitential manual of 1180-1200, Alan of Lille will compare sin to a spiritual shipwreck (*spirituale naufragium*) of the *debacchantes* who go through the storms and for whom the only rescue lies in the prototype of Peter's ship which leads onto the way of penitence described as spiritual medicine for all diversions from the proper maritime route (*ad portum dirigit naufragantem, viae restituit devi-antem, aegro praeparat medicinam*).[80] At the end of *De planctu*, Alan himself 'wakes up' from his visionary journey and declares his view of Nature a mirror-like ecstatic dream.[81]

By and large, these were the circumstances in which the fundamental condemnation of nature as a domain of vice introduced a sustainable discursive tension which over pre-modern centuries provided antagonistic framings for both intercultural iconoclasm and iconotrophic acculturation. Now, taking all these discursive pre-formations into account, let us recall the abovementioned crucial argument by Tine Luk Meganck who demonstrated how the alterity of the oversea specimens of the American, Pacific, and Indian fauna available, among others, at the Brussels *Kunstkammer* inspired Bruegel to conceive monsters in his *Fall of the Rebel Angels* in 1562.[82] This argument turns out now to be a switch point in our analysis of the discursive formation of exclusion. Significantly enough, the issue of animalistic hybridity and sovereign metamorphosis of natural forms as 'illegitimate' features of images will be explicitly evoked in the early modern synthetical outlines for the historical genealogy of cultural diversity which were written out of the experience of encounters with elaborated image cultures outside of European continent and which at the same time polemically systematized the element of curiosity.[83]

3. *Genealogical Reverberation. Anachronistic Encounters with the Hybrid*

The history of Christian reaction to the very reality of images embedded in indigenous religious practices of non-European cultures across the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries is a far too extensive subject to be systematically explored here, as it provides already a substantial branch of global studies on image cultures systematically conducted under critical, post-colonial premises.[84] Therefore, by rhetorical readdressing of the link between Bruegel's *Fall of the Rebel Angels* and the American or Indian *naturalia* in the form of a short argumentative conclusion, this part of the essay intends to touch merely upon the problem of teleological interpretations of iconic hybridity overseas through its archaeological genealogization. It concentrates, consequently, on the early modern so-called 'theories of degeneration' which associated the non-European sacred images with the elements of nature as a realm of uncontrolled irregularity, chance, and deterioration. In these terms, the early modern 'reverberation' of the issue of polemically fabricated monstrosity as demonstrated before will now be shown in the context of intercultural projections of the Christian archaeology at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Image cultures in Asia and in the Americas were confronted by the European missionary narrative with the transcendentally oriented historiographical teleology. With their indigenous traditions, the then inhabitants of the American 'India Occidentalis', described already by Theodore de Bry in 1594 as idolatrous 'devil worshippers' (fig. 9),[85] as well as the Hindus in India, in Christian relations already from 1503 upwards said to venerate, among others, the "devil of Calicut"[86] (fig. 10), advanced, moreover, in the light of their Catholic 'discoverers' to actors of an 'extended history'. The old patterns of rituals and sacrificial practices of state religions extracted from 'pagan' Antiquity were projected onto the new geographical subjects of alterity, which were from the Catholic viewpoint inevitably also subject to conversion. In this context, it seems more than remarkable that the origins of worldwide idolatry were in the eighteenth century still localized in Egypt which was in this context characterized by an incomparably ancient patina and preserved its 'vicious' face of decay with astonishing consistency. The non-European image practices thus embodied for Christian writers a historical reverberation of 'heathen' cult images which actually were declared to have already fallen into pieces during Christ's Flight into Egypt.[87] This very first Christian iconoclasm performed by Christ himself pathed the way for the imitative quality of legal image destruction in the name of the exclusive transcendence and its historically singular Incarnation. This evangelical *topos*, of central polemical value for the arts of medieval and early modern Europe,[88] found its echo in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with diverse 'theories of degeneration'. These asserted that 'heathen' image cults in non-European cultures resulted from the ongoing decrease of the original reverence for the supreme monotheistic idea of a transcendent god-creator, a historical process which led subsequently to the contemporary multiplicity of hybrid nature-bound deities.[89] Iconic representatives of cultures from outside of Europe, including also the 'other Antiquity' like that of India, all of them embedded in their multiple structural kinds of duration and complex cultural backgrounds, were thus anachronistically discursivized with means of their projected 'Egyptian' genealogy and, consequently, declared 'illegitimate' remnants and remote monstrous mutations of the already subjugated ancient idolatry. The fabrication of their historical negativity was thus directly supported by knowledge which delivered measurable coordinates for the distant tracing of the grades of genetic 'anomaly' to the state of cultural progress. Such a migration of

Fig. 9. Theodor de Bry, *Americae pars quarta, sive, Insignis & admiranda historia de reperta primùm Occidentalis India à Christophoro Columbo anno M. CCCCXCII*, Frontispiece

Fig. 10. Jörg Breu the Elder (ca. 1475-1537), *The Idol of Calicut*, in Ludovico de Varthema, *Die Ritterlich und lobwürdig Reisz*, Strassburg, 1516

ideas shows, therefore, how the increased global element of scientific cognition, derived from the systematization of curiosity, supported cultural asymmetry with means of remote archaeological projections.

However, to see ancient Egyptian zookephalic gods as just directly 're-embodied' in Christian eyes of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by hybrid and composite images of divinities in Asia and the Americas would be a definitely simplifying approach. The very reason for the Christian condemnation of polytheistic hybridity lies beyond such prosaic iconic continuation or repetition and is, instead, deeply embedded in the narrative systematization of exclusion as an intrinsic part of the early modern vision of history. Taking this into account, the last part of this essay will not aim, however, at any 'verification' of obvious falsity of Christian condemnation by drawing a comparison to actual historical indigenous image practices. The philosophical, or, respectively, ritualistic complexity of Indian and American Indian visual cultures which included essential issues of form-bearing multiplicity and primordial divine androgyny, as well as differentiated aspects of gods' appearance in the context of perpetual rebirth into

the world perceived as an illusion, would instantly invalidate such a sweeping and shortening procedure.[90] Instead, in order to continuously trace the implicit historical consistency of spaces of polemical articulation, only two representative Christian exponents of fabricated genealogy of history from the eighteenth century shall be briefly given a voice here. In this way, the essay will just shortly demonstrate how the antagonistic pre-condition of 'degenerated', 'monstrous' and 'devilish' hybridity of nature, located primarily in the so-called 'New World' perceived as a realm of missionary challenge, evoked a programmatic discursive scarcity of non-European iconic concepts under the sweeping notion of natural idolatry. One of the visual figures of such derogatory attitude can be located in the Jesuit mineralogical allegory of the missionary unity and perseverance shown as a hard, unbreakable diamond – *adamant*, the 'untamable' – which the wild and hybrid 'monsters' of nature together with the hostile 'heathens' try in vain to forge with their hammers on the anvil (fig. 11).[91]

The French Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau crowned his research on the culture of the Canadian Iroquois in 1724 with an extensive study *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains* in which he formulated a so-called 'theory of degeneration' of America's cults.[92] In his opinion, they were merely a falsification of an original monotheistic religion, which subsequently evolved over centuries. The cosmologically based veneration of the Sun within the cult practices of the Iroquois resulted, according to Lafitau, from the primitive reverence of the American indigenous peoples for the supreme idea of the world's exclusive creator. Accordingly, the 'heathen' idols should have emerged from the primitive, even rudimentary forms of nature which over time turned out of control and produced demons instead of divine representations. For Lafitau, all idolatries were preceded by the same sacred aniconicity that further developed into pyramids and obelisks in Egypt and into simple herms in Greece, and subsequently mutated to the realm of fabricated hybrid deformations of natural beings (fig. 12).[93] In this view, the inhabitants of the 'New World' shall have lost their faith in the same time as the Ancients of the 'Old World', in whose cults the relation to nature, expressed among others by their *bacchanalia*, generated the burden of idolatry as the Egyptian epitome of guilt:

> Non seulement les Peuples qu'on appelle Barbares, ont une Religion; mais cette Religion a des rapports d'une si grande conformité avec celle des premiers temps, avec ce qu'on appelloit dans l'Antiquité les Orgyes de Bacchus & de la Mere des

Fig. 11. Melchior Küsell (1626-1684) after Karl Škreta (1610-1674), *The Jesuit Mission in the Americas as an Unbreakable Diamond*, illustration to the chapter *Societas americana*, in Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu Usque Ad Sanguinis Et Vitæ Profusionem Militans…*, Pragae, 1675

> Dieux, les mysteres d'Isis & d'Osiris, qu'on sent, d'abord à cette ressemblance que ce sont par-tout & les mêmes principes & le même fonds.[94]

In these terms, Lafitau even genealogizes the Iroquois as descendants of the Spartans and the Minor Asian Lycians[95] and describes their cults as adulterations of a monotheistic prehistoric or ancient religion of divine transcendence which shall have originated in Asia, and as gynaeocratic reverberations of a 'deteriorated Judaism'.[96] The cult images of the Iroquois were, correspondingly, defined through their formal hybridity and accused of being rooted in ancient statues, mediated through Asian sculptures as historical interagents, and eventually mingling with animal and vegetative forms of nature (fig. 13).

Comparingly, in the early modern studies on Asian cultures, the very notion of Antiquity in terms of its topicality was at stake. The first European research on Indian cults, for instance, like the philosophical investigations by Roberto Nobili (1613), and the deistic approaches, like those by Herbert of Cherbury (1664),[97] were followed by comprehensive elaborations written by missionaries, ethnologists, and historians. Maturin Veyssière de La Croze, a French Benedictine monk from Saint-Germain-des-Prés in Paris who converted to the Reformed Church and, as Huguenote, worked at the Berlin court, wrote in his monumental *Histoire du christianisme des Indes* of 1724 a genealogy of Indian culture. This author granted the original Brahmin religion in India a primacy before the Ancient Greeks and Romans and condemned the already image-oriented cults of Brahma, Shiva and Vishnu. The latter, due to their idolatrous genesis located by Croze in the cultural mediation by Pythagoras and the Persians, were accused of having corrupted the original monotheistic purity of the Brahminic cult – a religion of the 'first children of Noah' – with the stain of primordial Egyptian idolatry:

> Cependant, l'Origine des Superstitions des Indes ne peut être attribuée qu'à celles des Egyptiens avec lesquels elles conservent encore aujourd'hui une conformité surprenante (…).[98]

Accordingly, he derived the Shivaitic worship of the *linga* from the Bacchic forms of phallic cults of Egyptian origin. Similarly, the brahminic perception of the soul which implies honouring animals and entails a vegetarian way of living

Fig. 12. *The Natural Development of Idolatry*, in Joseph-François Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, Paris, 1724

Fig. 13. *Ancient and Asian Statues as Precursors of Iroquois Cult Images*, in Joseph-François Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, Paris, 1724

were interpreted by Croze as originating in the ancient Greek *metempsychosis* which he interpreted as a historical relic of Egyptian 'paganism':

> Outre cela ils adoroient les Animaux, même les plus vils, aussi bien que quelques-unes des Plantes & des Legumes, qui croissoient dans leur païs. Cette superstition étoit principalement fondée sur la Metempsychose, ou transmigration des ames; opinion, qui se repandit en Europe, après que Pythagore l'eût apprise en Egypte, & don't il est étrange que quelques-uns des Juifs anciens & modernes aient ôsé souiller leur Religion primitive.[99]

Such providential genealogy of historical 'deformations' conveyed teleological 'proofs' *a priori* for Christian hostility and iconoclasm directed against non-European sacred images, a procedure seen as a necessary act of universal 'repair':

> L'Egypte est la Mere & l'Origine des Superstitions anciennes, & de toute forte d'Erreurs & d'Idolatries.[100]

In disregard to the deep cultural valence of their positioning between human, animalistic, and vegetative forms as well as their all-pervasive, creative transgression of sexes and species, all of them bound to the cyclical flow of natural elements between emergence and destruction, the non-European sacred images were thus sweepingly transformed in Christian eyes into degenerate monsters and demons categorized by anatomical deformation and being thus a 'proof' of the coincident collapse of history. As such, they were declared renegade appearances of uncontrolled, self-consistent, and aggressively mutating nature, filled with the demonic agency, containing a false 'soul', and leading to spoilage and decay.[101] In this formalistic approach, they also constituted a new impetus for the definition of idolatry as related to the natural 'horror', as they seemed to have been provoked by the cultural 'failures' of the Ancients which further evolved randomly beyond Creator's godly commandments.[102] The hybridity of the 'new' images of American and Asian divinities obviously surpassed the alterity of the 'old', already historically and iconically taxonomized zookephalic figures of the Egyptian or the Middle Eastern cults of Antiquity as well as the meanwhile already domesticated anthropomorphic deities of the Romans which used to just expose their weapons like the paradigmatically stereotypical figures of armoured Mars, or, to seduce the believers' souls with their appealing feminine nudity like statues derived from the archetype of *Venus pudica*.[103] The composite features of those distant images overseas, interpreted as an effect of an obscure metamorphic 'degeneration' of form, were perceived as the new quintessence of iconic seduction and, consequently, as a practical challenge for the missionary culture. After all, they substantiated for Christians the core of blasphemous imputation, as their hybridity seemingly demonstrated mutual interactions of gods with nature and exposed their procreative, cyclical background, not free of divine supersexuality – a 'misalliance' in which the male Christian god would have never got engaged, as it was exactly the same kind of disobedience for which he actually had expelled and condemned the rebel angels as the first lovers of human women.

The tragic development of this unilaterally and asymmetrically systematized conflict of intentions, however, relied not only on the question of form. Furthermore, the Christian idea of 'degeneration' became inherent to the judgment

upon the nature of historical processes themselves: *Natura* as being the reason behind cultural miscreations and behind the fatal malefic delay. The question of idolatry as involving nature and its souvereign cyclicity turned out to be a question of the multiplicity of time. Egypt, historiographically profiled as an original realm of deformation, has become a constant relation parameter, a readily available and applicable synonym of 'paganism' which shall have reverberated over corroding generations on distant continents. This negative reference inescapably pointed to a forgotten though distinctly and collaterally present element of the disloyalty of time which inevitably collided with the Christian vision of teleological fulfilment of history and which seemingly 'belated' the totality of its deployment through the introduced element of advancing difference. The first practices of primitive monotheism declared to be the primordial source of human civilization were thus supposed to be deformed beyond recognition, forgotten, lost in a different temporality of 'historical mistakes'. Moreover, unlike the distant timely remoteness of the ruins of the long eroded Egyptian, or, Græco-Roman Antiquity, the cultural difference of the indigenous cults proved their very intense, striking topicality. The confrontation with different 'fibrous bundles of time' – an ingenious term from the *Shape of Time* by George Kubler who had intensively worked beforehand on 'deep times' in indigenous American cultures –[104] animated in this way the Christian sensation of cultural 'revenants' and automatically evoked the appropriate theories of historical delay. As such, the 'other' images were classified as objects predestined in their visible 'belatedness' to the iconoclastic operation of structural 'repair' of history, defined as negative social exponents of the inevitable completion of conversion, a process which should bring religion from nature as a domain of 'illegal' hybrid monsters and demons back to the controlled level of divine unity within the global soteriological project.

* * *

In recognition of the poetical value of medieval *Ships of Fools – la plus simple de ces figures, la plus symbolique aussi*[105] – for the historical examination of ontological and social exclusion, this essay started analogously with Bruegel's version of the primordial *Fall of the Rebel Angels* as a highly elaborated vision of condemnation. Its iconic intensity, thematized in terms of a category of historical

and teleological articulation, proved useful in the threefold study on the intertextual modalities of exclusion and showed its implicit antagonistic thread as substantially coherent within the very becoming of pre-modern concepts of cultural progress and sacred-political unity. For Michel Foucault, the use of the iconic formula of the *Ship of Fools* was in the 1960s an impetus to treat historical elaboration in terms of the critical 'experience' that might rather lead to a change in thinking on one's own inscription into history than provide a documentative or synthetic 'statement' of any revealed historical truth.[106] Accordingly, he declared the academic writing on history a kind of critical fiction which lies beyond the realm of precise verification and deliberately works with pregnant metaphors, among others in order to deconstruct the sacrosanctity of their origins. Such a self-unveiling conscience of studies on the past which thus involve the very topicality of historical experience has already for a long time been substantial for art history as a discipline which is highly engaged in the symptomatic interpretation of its objects and sources of study. Furthermore, however, this kind of topicality may even be a necessary element in historical essays devoted precisely to the shifts in discursive coordinates of truthfulness and falseness throughout different epochs.

This is where the very intersection of history, philosophy, and art history as poetical disciplines of description and interpretation becomes visible. In the analysis of discursive formations in history with means of such wandering pictorial notions, there consequently appears a difference between 'telling the truth' and 'speaking truly' which instantly points to the question of the valence of historical imagination.[107] This distinction shows how productive is the critical relocation of the issue of veracity onto the grammatical act of articulation itself, and how necessary is the strong indication to the very etymology of the notion of 'fact'. For Foucault, this issue reverberated still in his late interest in *parrēsia*. This Greek term denotes an act of saying everything, of speaking freely, directly, beyond rhetorical constraints, and involves the condition of benevolent mutuality between the speaker and the addressed individual under the precept of 'knowing yourself' (*gnṓthi seauton)*:

> Why does *parrēsia* need this form, which is not that of rhetoric, or that of philosophical argument, or that of the diatribe? The point of attachment which *parrēsia* needs if it is to act on souls is essentially the *kairos*, that is to say, the

> occasion. It is not a matter of an act of memory by which the subject finds again what he was, what he once could contemplate; nor is it a question of constraining him by the logical force of an argument. What is involved is grasping the *kairos*, the opportunity, when it arises in order to tell him what he has to be told.[108]
> To that extent, *parrēsia* appears as an art of the *kairos* and so an art akin to that of medicine. [Think of] all the metaphors of *parrēsia* as assuring the *therapeuein* of the soul; it is an art similar to the art of medicine, to the art of piloting, and similar also to the art of government and political action. Spiritual direction, piloting, medicine, the art of politics, the art of the *kairos*.[109]

May cruising with images throughout history be a kind of approximation to an act of *parrēsia*? Is Foucault's interest in the latter a distant though persistent echo of his first iconic probe in the *History of Madness*? The relation between 'truth-telling' and *parrēsia* turned his attention, anyway, already during his studies on psychiatry and judicial context.[110] Images, as they reverberate through time and show resonances and dissonances, are always marked by their distance to the definition of now: they are agents of its changing memory. It seems like such iconic positioning of discourse contributed to Foucault's eventual elaboration on the view of philosophy as a *theatrum* of short scenes and gestures, or, their misleading collages.[111] In this early iconic probe of 1961 one can already see a kind of first critical match of the nomadic anarchy of 'difference' with Friedrich Nietzsche's central idea of 'Eternal Recurrence' (*die Ewige Wiederkunft*), a concept of which Nietzsche as the 'untimely meditating' philosopher himself was once even supposed by the critics to have been able to evolve only due to his re-occurring *déjà-vu* as part of his progressing mental disorder:[112]

> Phantasms do not extend organisms into the imaginary; they topologize the materiality of the body. They should consequently be freed from the restrictions we impose upon them, freed from the dilemmas of truth and falsehood and of being and nonbeing (the essential difference between simulacrum and copy carried to its logical conclusion); they must be allowed to conduct their dance, to act out their mime, as 'extrabeings'.[113]

To let metaphors speak this way through their reflections means to orientate and 'navigate' within the realm of repetition and reverberation. There appears, therefore, a further question to what extent such an iconic formula for doing

philosophy of history practically becomes an applicable incorporation of a Nietzschean hammer with which the idols (*Götzen*) of the history of ideas, standing for 'mummified', 'Egypticizing' statements and theories in philosophy, shall be not destroyed, but 'sounded out' (*ausgehorcht*) as though with a tuning fork (*Stimmgabel*).[114] At the same time, let's underline: Nietzsche is fully aware of the historical scarcity of 'theories of degeneration' as fatal conceptual cornerstones of modernity:

> In the history of the religious conceptions, much false evolution and graduality has been invented in the case of things which in truth grew up, no out of and after one another, but side by side and separately; the simple, especially, is still much too much reputed to be the oldest and primary. Not a little that is human originates through subtraction and division, not through duplication, addition, growing together. – One still believes, for example in a gradual evolution of *representations of gods* from clumsy stones and blocks of wood up to complete humanization: and yet the fact of the matter is that, *so long as* the divinity was introduced into trees, pieces of wood, stones, animals, and felt to reside there, one shrank from a humanization of their form as from an act of godlessness.[115]

To revise a metaphor means, therefore, to initiate a historical survey with it, in order to excavate its becomings, agents of naturalization, and social reflexions. To follow in this way historical metaphors of estrangement and condemnation, to apply precisely those particular metaphors as tools of critique – to let them speak fully, as hyperbolic as they are –, consequently means to use them as such distinct historical hammers of sublation in the course of the exteriorization of one's object of study. After all, what one hears is precisely the evoked tune of the 'tuning fork' – of the metaphor itself – and not that of the examined historical 'hollow body'. In his commentary to the difference between describing the distant Ancients and dealing with one's contemporary modernity, Foucault admitted in the case of the latter the need of such alienation of one's own cultural canon of the history of ideas in terms of tracing their anachronistic, recursive tonality upon Nietzsche's recommendation:

> (…) the problem is to free oneself from it, one has to dig out a whole mass of discourse that has accumulated under one's feet. One may uncover with gentle movements the latent configurations of earlier periods; but when it is a matter

> of determining the system of discourse on which we are still living, when we have to question the words that are still echoing in our ears, which become confused with those we are trying to formulate, the archaeologist, like the Nietzschean philosopher, is forced to take a hammer to it.[116]

In this way, images work anachronistically with resonances, dissonances, and reverberations throughout history and demonstrate its persistently re-occurring aspects throughout the singular present times.[117] The 'tuning fork' thus becomes what might be called a heavy 'mineralogist's hammer' which works against a hard, solid rock: Personifications, metaphors, parables, and, eventually, historically migrating images reveal their medical function as diagnostic instruments of auscultation, as reflex hammers which evoke the percussion sound of organs and thus, with an evident experiential delay, allow one to judge upon acoustic symptoms and give by themselves insights into the state of sanity within the discursive solid bodies.[118] The iconic procedure of fundamental condemnation as formulated in Bruegel's painting – the matter of the present essay – speaks in this way of the historical subjects' possibilities to speak instead of portraying, of course, any details of the real practice of condemnation. This momentum of discursive auto-revelation, however, creates an occasion for self-estrangement within a critical historical study: To allow images to speak in this way through (and not only of) history means, accordingly, to acknowledge and exteriorize their efficient sovereignty as imaginative agents of mind and thought. With his practice, the condemner thus inevitably portrays himself.[119] This is how antagonistic genealogies reveal their consonance with strictly pictorial thinking: The discursive conjunction of the views on nature, sin, and globality evoked respective moralistic, condemnatory, and eliminationist imaginaries as well as naturalized heterogeneous, but clearly polemically charged pictorial metaphors already in the mid-sixteenth century, in the time of origin of Bruegel's *Fall* (fig. 14).

So, the erstwhile controversy around Foucault's ships, apparently so exquisitely embedded in the modern history of 'untimely' intellectual examination, eventually shows how images can become 'documents' of history, but, however, how they achieve this status decidedly beyond their traditionally imputed mimetic role as synchronous 'mirrors' of their own or preceding times which they are supposed to assume within iconographical studies. To the contrary, they indeed 'document' history insofar as they are able to iconically retain ideas,

Fig. 14. Maarten Heemskerck (1498-1574), *Man Protected from Nature by the Shield of Faith*, 1559. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

positions, or claims which can be then easily perceived backwards as implicit and explicit 'fictive speakers' of long gone subjects, individual and collective. With this reverse reading, they get subsequently fixed in their role as historical 'events' of articulation, so that they after all inevitably help subsequent historical subjects shape their postulating visions of the past with means of images' readily available, canonized or revolutionary visual features. Images thus turn into repeating, permeating discursive statements which work still in the past through the experience of the present and for which the only 'truth' is their possibility to articulate.[120] A historical discourse – being thus a reading of a reading – becomes in this way itself an iconic formation, which, if exteriorized with the use of 'speaking' historical parables, enables every historian who anachronistically and nomadically 'navigates' with such dialectic instruments through the past to critically judge upon the topical valence of discursive distinctions and dynamic variations throughout history instead of just investing in stabilizing mimetical validation of past synchronous similarities. An art historian, like a philosopher, thus *erkennt, indem er dichtet, und dichtet, indem er erkennt*.[121]

This is why art history is, in fact, a productively anachronistic discipline, as it is forced to work permanently within a suspended delay: Images, preconditioned by their precedents, make in this way the disjunction of times visible, since they are neither fully capable of epitomizing their own time of origin, nor successful in its adequate iconic preservation for the future.[122] What they offer, is, instead, dynamic visual documentation of changing historical conditions in which specific ideas could assume aesthetic forms, were re-formulated, narrativized, and also entangled, veiled, and eventually validated or instrumentalized through times. A realm where images – those by the artists and those in mind – put in the role of media of collective historical memory soon have dictated the rules of how history happens.[123] They did so, because not only the course of time inflicts past ideas, but the way ideas come into being is, accordingly, preconditioned beforehand by the way they are imagined and transformed to much extent iconically, or even 'pre-pictured'.[124] So, the very nature of discursive formations is pre-dependent of the surplus-value of their possible, imaginary, or factual, historically embedded iconic appearance, the *Fall* being in this context one of the most recognizable images in Christian iconography. Accordingly, such a comprehensive acknowledgement of imagination as a rudimentary quality of history makes it all the more desirable to analyse the visual techniques with

which monumental primordialities and continuities like that of ontological condemnation of nature and otherness were produced. It enables, therefore, art history, understood as a 'historical critique of image cultures', to look back through the 'archaeological' dimensions of fabricated permanency which shimmer through its differing iconic symptoms.[125]

Last, but not least – not at all – the asynchronous analysis of the intertextually embedded iconic operatives of condemnation demonstrates how far it was the long-lasting discursive impact of theological sovereignty in image and word that eventually provoked the urgent need for ecological and integrative thinking.

* With this art- and image-historical approach, the present essay also intends to recall the seminal 'Lynn White thesis' of 1967, whose author, himself a historian of mediaeval technology, evoked the whole branch of critical studies on religion and ecology by pointing to Christianity as the primary structural cause behind environmental pollution: cf. Lynn White, *The Historical Roots of Our Ecologic Crisis*, in *Science*, 155, 3767, 1967, p. 1203-1207, here p. 1205:

> What people do about their ecology depends on what they think about themselves in relation to things around them. Human ecology is deeply conditioned by beliefs about our nature and destiny – that is, by religion. To Western eyes this is very evident in, say, India or Ceylon. It is equally true of ourselves and of our medieval ancestors. (…) God planned all of this [the natural world – M. K.] explicitly for man's benefit and rule: no item in the physical creation had any purpose save to serve man's purposes. And, although man's body is made of clay, he is not simply part of nature: he is made in God's image. (…) By destroying pagan animism, Christianity made it possible to exploit nature in a mood of indifference to the feelings of natural objects.

On the systematically growing actuality and also on the critique of White's groundbreaking article after half a century past from its edition, facing the reality of participation in climatic disaster, cf. a.o. Todd LeVasseur & Anna Peterson (eds.), *Religion and Ecological Crisis. The "Lynn White Thesis" at Fifty*, New York – London, 2017 (this book includes a.o. critical commentaries on White's thesis from the Indian and American Indian perspectives). – Some crucial issues of this essay were presented in my paper *Demons in the Making. Indian Deities in the Western Discourse of Monotheism* held at the conference *Visualizing Horror in the History of Indian Iconography* at the School of Arts and Aesthetics of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, in March 2019. The present text, completed in Berlin in isolation during the first peak of the Corona

pandemic, also further elaborates on some of the *topoi* of exclusion examined in my simultaneously appearing book *Die Abwesenheit der Idole. Bildkonflikte und Anachronismen in der Frühen Neuzeit* [*The Absence of the Idols. Image Conflicts and Anachronisms in the Early Modern Period*] by putting them with Bruegel in a different, prolonged but constricted perspective. I would like, therefore, to express my warmest thanks to Barbara Baert for her friendly invitation to this scholarly occasion.

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Notes

1 Michel Foucault, *Folie et déraison. Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*, Paris, 1961, p. 10: *Le tableau de Bosch, bien sûr, appartient à toute cette flotte de rêve*. Foucault provides no further details of any particular painting and only subsequently mentions its title as *Nef des Fous* on p. 18.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*, p. 3-53 (chapter *Stultifera navis*), esp. p. 10-11.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 10.

5 See the critical commentary on this debate: Allan Megill, *Foucault, Ambiguity and the Rhetoric of Historiography*, in *Rewriting the History of Madness. Studies in Foucault's 'Histoire de la folie'*, eds. Arthur Still & Irving Velody, London – New York, 1992, p. 86-92; also Gary Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision. Foucault and Nietzsche on Seeing and Saying*, Chicago, IL – London, 2003, p. 30, p. 36, p. 207-213, cf. p. 213-216; Andrew Scull, *A Failure to Communicate? On the Reception of Foucault's 'Histoire de la folie' by Anglo-American Historians*, in *Rewriting the History of Madness*, eds. Still & Velody, p. 150-163, p. 155-156.

6 Cf., a.o., on the social relevance of the figuration of *stultifera navis* in context of the *Dulle Griet*: Louise Shona Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs in the Imagery of Pieter Brueghel the Elder, c. 1528-1569*, vol. 1, Ann Arbor, MI, 1990, p. 207-245.

7 Oil on panel, 117 × 162 cm, inv. no. 584. See Tine Luk Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 'Fall of the Rebel Angels'. Art, Knowledge and Politics on the Eve of the Dutch Revolt*, (*Les cahiers des Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*, 16), Milan, 2014 (here the comprehensive bibliography of the painting). Cf. the summarized version: Tine Luk Meganck, *Transforming Nature into Art. 'Fall of the Rebel Angels' (1562) by Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, in *Knowledge and Discernment in the Early Modern Arts*, eds. Sven Dupré & Christine Göttler, London, 2017, p. 19-51, as well as Anna Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche. Pieter Bruegels d. Ä. 'Sturz der gefallenen Engel'*,

'Triumph des Todes' und 'Dulle Griet', Berlin, 2011, p. 25-85; Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs*, p. 46-57.

8 Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir. Naissance de la prison*, Paris, 1975, p. 37 (chapter: *Le corps des condamnés*, Part 4) formulated this challenge in the course of his reading of Ernst Kantorowicz's crucial study of the political theology in the Middle Ages which offers a sustainable exegesis of the mutual relation of sovereignty and corporeality in the Western civilization: Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton, NJ, 1957. On this famous quotation cf. a.o. Lucas Burkart, Joachim Kersten, Ulrich Raulff, Hartwig von Bernstorff & Achatz von Müller (eds.), *Mythen, Körper, Bilder. Ernst Kantorowicz zwischen Historismus, Emigration und Erneuerung der Geisteswissenschaften*, Göttingen, 2015, p. 8 (*Introduction*); Bernhard Jussen, *The King's Two Bodies Today*, in *Representations*, 106, 1, 2009, p. 102-117, here: p. 104-105; Jost P. Klenner, *Vom Titel, der nicht stirbt. Ernst Kantorowicz auf eine Formel gebracht*, in *Die Kunst der Geschichte. Historiographie, Ästhetik, Erzählung*, eds. Martin Baumeister, Moritz Föllmer & Philipp Müller, Göttingen, 2009, p. 125-141, here p. 132, and Ulrich Raulff, *Der Souverän des Sichtbaren. Foucault und die Künste – eine Tour d'horizon*, in *Foucault und die Künste*, (*suhrkamp taschenbuch wissenschaft*), ed. Peter Gente, Frankfurt am Main, 2004, p. 9-22, p. 19.

9 Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, p. 37.

10 Cf. Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs*, p. 46-50.

11 Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel*, p. 32; and Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche*, p. 50, also noticed this very feature of the painting.

12 Meganck, *Pieter Bruegel*, p. 132-161 (ch. IV).

13 *Ibid.*, p. 66-91.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 78-88, cf. p. 109-131.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 23-32. Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche*, p. 29-46, summarizes the relevance of the theme of the Fall of the Rebel Angels for art historical writing. It can be noticed by this occasion that Christian god was rather 'content' of the quality of his work than 'proud' as he saw it on the sixth day of Creation and dedicated it to the Man as the source of nourishment: "And God saw every thing that he had made, and, behold, it was very good" (KJV, Gen 1:31).

16 *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, ed. Emil Kautzsch. Vol. 2: *Die Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, Darmstadt, 1962, p. 513. This version gains on special relevance in the light of the 'later' second commandment given on Sinai to the humans: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness [*of any thing*] that [*is*] in heaven above, or that [*is*] in the earth beneath, or that [*is*] in the water under the earth" (KJV, Exod 20:4).

17 Cf. a.o. Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs*, p. 51-52, as well as p. 57-76, extensively on the bodily metamorphosis and hybridity in context of the early modern reception of Pliny and Ovid, and in the light of the contemporary views of animality.

18 Analogically, the Fall of Man as condemnation to transience shall have caused the emergence of two physiologically divided sexes and the compulsion to sexually procreate like animals, with the desirous use of *obscenae partes corporis*: Klaus Schreiner, *'Si homo non pecasset…'. Der Sündenfall Adams und Evas in seiner Bedeutung für die soziale, seelische und körperliche Verfaßtheit des Menschen*, in *Gepeinigt, begehrt, vergessen. Symbolik und Sozialbezug des Körpers im späten Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Schreiner, Munich, 1992, p. 41-85, esp. p. 42, p. 60.

19 "And it came to pass, when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, That the sons of God saw the daughters of men that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose. And the Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he also is flesh: yet his days shall be an hundred and twenty years. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown" (KJV, Gen 6:1-4). Cf. the identification of Naamah as idolatrous woman in *Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis XXIII, 3: "Naamah was Noah's wife; and why was she called Naamah? Because her deeds were pleasing (*ne'imim*). The Rabbis said: Naamah was a woman of different stamp, for the same denotes that she sang (*man'emeth*) to the timbrel in honour of idolatry."

20 Cf. Tatian, *'Oratio ad Graecos' and Fragments* 14, ed. and trans. Molly Whittaker, Oxford, 1982, p. 29 (on demons as 'savage bandits' who cannot die and instead are convicted by god for their seductive practice to the eternal execution of seduction).

21 See Alan E. Bernstein, *Esoteric Theology. William of Auvergne on the Fires of Hell and Purgatory*, in *Speculum*, 57, 1982, p. 509-531, here p. 517-518, on Ambrose claiming Hell's fire be a realm of penal digestion for the guilt of sin. Cf. on *la cuisine du diable*, including infernal anthropophagy as a literal iconic inversion of eucharistic manducation, and about patristic comparisons of sexual practice to hunting, consumption, and digestion: Jean Wirth, *L'image à l'époque gothique (1140-1280)*, Paris, 2008, p. 282-284, and Mark Kauntze, *The Creation Grove in the 'Cosmographia' of Bernard Silvestris*, in *Medium Ævum*, 78, 2009, p. 16-34, p. 22-24, on the Fall of Man as the beginning of physiology. On demonic or diabolic digestion and excretion as 'Anti-Creation' see: Marisa Mandabach, *Holy Shit. Bosch's Bluebird and the Junction of the Scatological and the Eschatological in Late Medieval Art*, in *Marginalia*, 11, 2010, p. 28-49, here: p. 40-49. Cf. note 24.

22 On this painting, see a.o. Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche*, p. 143-184; Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs*, p. 115-245. Cf. Stefan Laube, '*Songes drolatiques' und die Realität der Dinge bei Rabelais und Briegel*, in *Imagination und Repräsentation. Zwei Bildsphären in der Frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Horst Bredekamp, Christiane Kruse & Pablo Schneider, Munich, 2010, p. 265-269 (on Bruegel's legged faces as walking kitchen vessels).

23 Cf. Rudolf Wittkower, *Marvels of the East. A Study in the History of Monsters*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 5, 1942, p. 159-197; and Denis E. Cosgrove, *Geography & Vision. Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World*, London – New York, 2012, p. 104-118; Heidi Thimann, *Marginal Beings. Hybrids as the Other in Late Medieval Manuscripts*, in *Hortulus*, 5, 1, 2009, https://hortulus-journal.com/journal/volume-5-number-1-2009/thimann (accessed May 16, 2021); Rudolf Simek, *Erde und Kosmos im Mittelalter. Das Weltbild vor Kolumbus*, Munich, 1992, p. 105-123.

24 Nadine M. Orenstein (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Drawings and Prints*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, New Haven, CT – London, 2001, p. 26-28, p. 152-153, as well as Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs*, p. 53; cf. a similar metabolic inversion in the shape of a froggy demon accompanying the 'pagan' scholar Hermogenes in his studio in Bruegel's drawing *Fall of the*

Magician Hermogenes of 1564, *ibid.*, p. 232-234. See also on the origins of the 'scatological humour' at the very threshold of biblical sources, Greco-Roman culture, and the Early Christian rhetoric: István Czachesz, *The Grotesque Body in Early Christian Discourse. Hell, Scatology and Metamorphosis*, London, 2014, p. 97-111 (ch. 6), and, in the early modern context, Alison G. Stewart, *Expelling from Top and Bottom. The Changing Role of Scatology in Images of Peasant Festivals from Albrecht Dürer to Pieter Bruegel*, in *Fecal Matters in Early Modern Literature and Art. Studies in Scatology*, (*Studies in European Cultural Transition*, 21), ed. Jeff Persels, Aldershot, 2004, p. 118-137, on scatological images as pointing to the vice of losing control. Cf. Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche*, p. 66-72.

25 Orenstein (ed.), *Pieter Bruegel the Elder*, p. 152-153 (cat. no. 48, 49).

26 Cf. Walter S. Gibson, *Bruegel, Dulle Griet, and Sexist Politics in the Sixteenth Century*, in *Pieter Bruegel und seine Welt*, eds. Otto von Simson & Matthias Winner, Berlin, 1979, p. 9-15 (on women who are accused in the sixteenth century of assuming male roles and who are doomed to sin if not subjugated to men). Cf. Pawlak, *Trilogie der Gottessuche*, p. 154-156; and critical commentary on the early modern anti-feminism, or, misogyny as expressed in the *Dulle Griet* in Milne, *Dreams and Popular Beliefs*, p. 134-139.

27 Richard C. Dales, *Time and Eternity in the Thirteenth Century*, in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 49, 1, 1988, p. 27-45, p. 27.

28 *Clavis physicae sive Disputatio Abbatis Theodori cum Johanne Scotto Romanae Ecclesiae Archidiacono*, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Manuscrits, MS Lat. 6734. Cf. Honorius Augustodunensis, *Hexæmeron*, (*Patrologia Latina*, 172), Paris, 1854, c. 254: *tetra rerum imago chaos vel informis materia cognominatur*. On the miniature see: Anna Olszewska, *'Symphonia Mundi'. Notatki na temat miniatury z XII-wiecznego rękopisu 'Clavis Physicae' Honoriusza z Autun* [*'Symphonia Mundi'. Notes on a Miniature from the 12th-century Manuscript 'Clavis Physicae' by Honorius of Autun*], in *Artifex doctus. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Gadomskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, vol. 1, Cracow, 2007, p. 73-85, esp. p. 79-80; Johannes Zahlten, *Creatio mundi. Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*, (*Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik*, 13), Stuttgart, 1979, p. 146-148; Marie-Thérèse D'Alverny, *Le cosmos symbolique du XIIe siècle*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 20, 1953, p. 31-81, here p. 57-69.

29 D'Alverny, *Le cosmos symbolique du XIIe siècle*, p. 58-59. Cf. Peter Dronke, *Bernard Silvestris, Natura, and Personification*, in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43, 1980, p. 16-31, here p. 19-20, 25-26 ("*Materia informis* is still disordered, confused, potentialities looking towards formation").

30 See Beate Fricke, *Behemoth and Double Origins in Genesis*, in *Synergies in Visual Culture. Bildkulturen im Dialog. Festschrift für Gerhard Wolf*, eds. Manuela De Giorgi, Annette Hoffman & Nicola Suthor, Munich, 2013, p. 287-299.

31 Horst Bredekamp, *Der Behemoth. Metamorphosen des Anti-Leviathan*, Berlin, 2016, esp. pages 39, 49, 54-55, 59, 60-64, 71-72, 86, 89.

32 Manfred Kerkhoff, *Zum antiken Begriff des Kairos*, in *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung*, 27, 2, 1973, p. 256-274. Cf. Barbara Baert, *Kairos or Occasion as Paradigm in the Visual Medium. 'Nachleben', Iconography, Hermeneutics*, (*Studies in Iconology*, 5), Louvain – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2016, *passim*; eadem, *'Pneuma' and the Visual Medium in the Middle Ages and*

Early Modernity. Essays on Wind, 'Ruach', Incarnation, Odour, Stains, Movement, Kairos, Web and Silence, (*Art & Religion*, 5), Louvain – Paris – Bristol, CT, 2016, p. 149-165.

33 Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité 4. Les aveux de la chair*, (*Bibliothèque des histoires*), ed. Frédéric Gros, Paris, 2018, p. 22-23 (English translation: *The History of Sexuality 4. Confessions of the Flesh*, trans. Robert Hurley, New York, 2021).

34 Cf. Baert, *Kairos or Occasion*, p. 79-90 (on the element of *kairos* in the medieval and Renaissance Annunciation scenes).

35 This restriction of desire defines already Adam's marital obligation against Eve in the *Midrash Rabbah, Genesis* XXIII, 5: "Formerly he had experienced no desire when he did not see her, but now he desired her whether he saw her or not. (…). This is a hint to seafarers to remember their homes [i.e. their wives] and repair thither immediately." Cf. Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité 2. L'usage des plaisirs*, Paris, 1984, p. 155, on Augustine's view on desire as main stigma of the original sin – the marriage thus provides frames for both procreation and abstinence, the latter being a remedy for drowning in libidinous mortality.

36 See note 18.

37 Foucault, *Les aveux de la chair*, p. 228-229, quotes here from Cassian's demonology. Cf. Kauntze, *The Creation Grove*, p. 22-24.

38 Foucault, *Les aveux de la chair*, p. 328-329. Cf. on the ancient Greek 'economics' of marriage: Foucault, *L'usage des plaisirs*, p. 185-239.

39 Foucault, *Les aveux de la chair*, p. 333-334.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 340; cf. p. 343-344, on Augustine's comparison of the sexuality of humans with that of animals.

41 On *kairos* in medicine see Michel Foucault, *Psychiatric Power. Lectures at the Collège de France 1973-1974*, New York, 2006, lecture 6 (12 December 1973), p. 123-142, incl. esp. note 24 and 25, on a kind of 'occasion' related to the recognition of *krisis* (κρίσις), particularly dubious in the domain of psychiatry, what concerns most of all the criteria for a diagnosis of the simulation of madness; cf. John Iliopoulos, *The History of Reason in the Age of Madness. Foucault's Enlightenment and a Radical Critique of Psychiatry*, London – New York, 2017, p. 104-106.

42 Foucault, *Les aveux de la chair*, p. 39-40, in a study of Clement' elaborations on coitus as diseased epileptic spasm, which relied on the tradition of medicine literature, like a.o. Galen, which, again, quoted and reformulated Democritus' description of coitus as a small apoplectic stroke (cited by Foucault after the Greek original as *une petite épilepsie*; cf. Hermann Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker griechisch und deutsch*, Berlin, 1903, Fragm. B.32, p. 416: μικρὰν ἐπιλῃψίαν). Cf. Foucault, *L'usage des plaisirs*, p. 142-146, p. 153-154.

43 Gal 4:1-7. Cf. 1 Cor 10:20. Cf. Philippe Ariès, *Saint Paul et la chair*, in *Sexualités occidentales*, special issue of *Communications*, 35, 1982, p. 34-36, on the consequences for the human body and sexuality.

44 Justin Martyr, *Apologia II*, in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus*, (*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 1), eds. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson & A. Cleveland Coxe, Buffalo, NY, (1885), 2017, cap. 5 (p. 190).

45 Marcel Simon, *La civilisation de l'Antiquité et le Christianisme*, Paris, 1972, p. 164-165.

46 *Clementis Alexandrini Protrepticus ad Graecos* 63, ed. Miroslav Markovich, Leiden, 1995, p. 96; cf. 51, p. 79-80; and 56, p. 88.

47 Athanasius, *'Contra gentes' and 'De incarnatione'* 29, (*Oxford Early Christian*

Texts), ed. and trans. Robert W. Thomson, Oxford, 1971, p. 79-83.

48 *Martin von Bracara's Schrift 'De correctione rusticorum'*, cap. 8, ed. Carl Paul Caspari, Christiania, 1883, p. 11. Cf. *ibid*., cap. 6-7, p. 6-9, a.o. about planets as *diabolus vel ministri ipsius, daemones, qui de caelo deiecti sunt*, cap. 7, p. 7; and 9, p. 11-12. Cf. Athanasius, *'Contra gentes' and 'De incarnatione'* 9, p. 23-27; and 28, p. 77-79.

49 Peter Ellard, *The Sacred Cosmos. Theological, Philosophical, and Scientific Conversations in the Early Twelfth Century School of Chartres*, Scranton, PA – London, 2007, p. 110-112; cf. p. 167-171 (on *chaos*, *hyle* and *silva*), esp. p. 171 (William of Conches on the Earth as chaos which was lighted by the stars first at the moment of their creation on the sixth day). Cf. Roland Halfen, *Chartres. Schöpfungsbau und Ideenwelt im Herzen Europas.* Vol. 4: *Die Kathedralschule und ihr Umkreis*, Stuttgart – Berlin, 2011, p. 302-303, p. 383, p. 409; Dales, *Time and Eternity*, p. 27.

50 Quotation after Ellard, *The Sacred Cosmos*, p. 111. Cf. Halfen, *Chartres*, p. 419.

51 Halfen, *Chartres*, p. 412-413. Cf. Mark Kauntze, *Authority and Imitation. A Study of the 'Cosmographia' of Bernard Silvestris*, Leiden – Boston, MA, 2014, p. 106-119. In Bernard's *De mundi*, it is the matter's shapelessness and the chaos that evoke Nature's complaint, see George D. Economou, *The Goddess Natura in Medieval Literature*, Cambridge, MA, 1972, p. 63. Cf. Dronke, *Bernard Silvestris*, p. 26 (*conversio* and *reditus*), and Theodore Silverstein, *The Fabulous Cosmogony of Bernardus Silvestris*, in *Modern Philology*, 46, 2, 1948, p. 92-116.

52 Ellard, *The Sacred Cosmos*, p. 149-160.

53 Halfen, *Chartres*, p. 403.

54 Cf. images of Christian god as Creator in diverse codices of *Bible moralisée*: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Cod. Vindob. 2554 and Cod. 1179; Morgan Library Museum, New York, MS M.240 and MS M.516. For the literary critique of *De planctu naturae* see a.o.: Beate Kellner, *Naturphilosophie als Vision und integumentale Erzählung. Die Dame Natur in Alanus' ab Insulis 'De planctu naturae'*, in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 54, 1, 2020, p. 257-281; Noah D. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics in the High Middle Ages*, New York – Houndmills, 2007, p. 94-95; Jean Jolivet, *La figure de Natura dans le 'De planctu naturae' d'Alain de Lille. Une mythologie chrétienne*, in *Alain de Lille. Le docteur universel. Philosophie, théologie et littérature au XII^e siècle*, (*Rencontres de philosophie médiévale*, 12), eds. Jean-Luc Solère, Anca Vasiliu & Alain Galonnier, Turnhout, 2005, p. 127-144, esp. p. 131-132; Willemien Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm. A Study of Twelfth-Century Humanism*, (*Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*, 127), Leiden – Boston, MA, 2004, p. 71-77. Cf. Winthrop Wetherbee, *Alan of Lille, 'De planctu naturae'. The Fall of Nature and the Survival of Poetry*, in *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 21, 2011, p. 223-251, a.o. on this work's connection with the Chartres cosmology.

55 "And just as the army of the planets opposes with contrary motion the fixed rolling of the firmament, so in man is found a continual hostility between lust and reason. For the activity of reason, taking its rise from a celestial source, passes through the low levels of earth, and, watchful of heavenly things, turns again to heaven. The activities of lust, on the other band, wandering waywardly and contrary to the firmament of reason, turn and slip down into the decline of things of earth" / *Et sicut contra ratam firmamenti volutionem, motu contradictorio exercitus militat planetarum, sic in homine sensualitatis rationisque continua reperitur hostilitas. Rationis enim motus ab*

ortu coelestium oriens, per occasum transiens terrenorum, coelestia considerando regyrat. Econtrario vero sensualitatis motus planetici erratici, contra rationis firmamentum, in terrestrium occidentem aliquando labuntur (Alan of Lille, *The Complaint of Nature*, (*Yale Studies in English*, 36), trans. Douglas M. Moffat, New York, 1908, prose III, v. 85-94, p. 26); cf. Halfen, *Chartres*, p. 472, p. 477.

56 Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, p. 71-77, here p. 73. Cf. Mark D. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy in Christian Theology*, Chicago, IL – London, 1997, p. 67-91.

57 Alano de Lille, *De miseria mundi*, (*Patrologia Latina*, 210), Paris, 1855, col. 579; edited also in *Ein Jahrtausend Lateinischer Hymnendichtung*, ed. Guido Maria Dreves, rev. Clemens Blume, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1909, p. 288; cf. Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, p. 9.

58 *In lacrymas risus, in fletum gaudia verto: / In planctum plausus, in lacrymosa jocos, / Cum sua naturam video secreta silere, / Cum Veneris monstro naufraga turba perit. / Cum Venus in Venerem pugnans, illos facit illas: / Cumque suos magica devirat arte viros*. *De planctu*, metre I, v. 16, p. 3.

59 M. de Gandillac, *La nature chez Alain de Lille*, in *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Giélée et leur temps*, eds. H. Roussel & F. Suard, Lille, 1980, p. 63. Cf. Giorgio Agamben's elaborations on the political dimension of human *conservatio* as mimetic prolongation of divine *ordinatio*, *dispositio*, and *gubernatio* in the act of Creation: Giorgio Agamben, *The Omnibus 'Homo sacer'*, 2.4, Stanford, CA, 2017, ch. 4.

60 Valerie Allen, *Alan of Lille on the Little Bits That Make a Difference*, in *Sexuality, Sociality, and Cosmology in Medieval Literary Texts*, (*The New Middle Ages*), eds. Jennifer N. Brown & Maria Segol, New York, 2013, p. 33-54, p. 42-43; cf. Kauntze, *Authority and Imitation*, p. 165 (*vacua aula*, *nuda aula* as metaphors of the womb); Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 107-108; de Gandillac, *La nature chez Alain de Lille*, p. 63; Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, p. 84 (on the metaphor of 'disrupted coinage' for same-sex copulation); and Ariès, *Saint Paul et la chair*, p. 52 (on *fornix*-cave, as etymology of *fornicatio* understood generally as sexual intercourse of a man with a woman).

61 *Humanum namque genus a sua generositate degenerans, in conjunctione generum barbarizans, venereas regulas immutando, nimis irregulari utitur metaplasmo: sicque homo a venere tiresiatus anomala, directam praedicationem in contrapositionem inordinate convertit*. – *De planctu*, prose IV, v. 89-95, p. 36.

62 *Talis monstruosorum hominum multitudo, totius orbis amplitudine degrassatur, quorum fascinante contagio, castitas venenatur. Eorum siquidem hominum qui Veneris profitentur grammaticam, alii solummodo masculinum, alii feminum, alii commune, sive promiscuum genus familiariter amplexantur: quidam vero quasi heterocliti genere, per hiemem in feminino, per aestatem in masculino genere irregulariter declinantur*. – *De planctu*, prose IV, v. 127-135, p. 37-38.

63 *Si enim genus masculinum genus consimile quadam irrationabilis rationis deposcat injuria, nulla figurae honestate illa constructionis junctura vitium poterit excusare, sed inexcusabilis soloecismi monstruositate turpabitur*. – *De planctu*, prose V, v. 85-90, p. 51.

64 Cf. Allen, *Alan of Lille on the Little Bits That Make a Difference*, p. 41; Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 112-113 (on Nature's generic and condemnable 'complicity with Venus'). It is remarkable that Alan recognizes Nature's necessary role in the work of Creation and at the same time locates her inherent transience in the realm of the devil, whose status as

light-bringer/*Lucifer* had been since biblical and early patristic exegeses derived from the appearance of the planet Venus as 'morning star' which 'falls' deep to the horizon: *Verba Alani ad naturam: O Dei proies genitrixque rerum, Vinculum mundi stabilisque nexus, Gemma terrenis, spéculum caducis, Lucifer orbis /* "O offspring of God, mother of all things, bond and firm chain of the universe, jewel of earth, mirror to mortality, light-bringer of the world!". *De planctu*, metre IV, v. 1-3; see Jolivet, *La figure de Natura*, p. 133; Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*, (*Études de philosophie médiévale*, 45), Paris, 1966, p. 30, and Étienne Gilson, *Le Moyen Âge et le Naturalisme Antique*, in *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 7, 1932, p. 5-37, here: p. 23-24. Cf. Kellner, *Naturphilosophie*, p. 272-273.

65 See Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 113, points in this context also to the Nature's transformative moment from feminine to male. Cf. Allen, *Alan of Lille on the Little Bits That Make a Difference*, p. 46, on vicious figures created through the artificiality of reproduction by Venus in *De planctu*. Cf. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, p. 84-85.

66 Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, p. 73-77, cf. p. 256-285. Cf. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 107 ("If, for medieval philosophers, the world itself is the product of a hylemorphic, heterosexual union, any other pairing is not simply unnatural but malignant and moribund"). On the plot of *De planctu* see Halfen, *Chartres*, p. 466-484; Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, p. 69.

67 Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 116. Cf. Kellner, *Naturphilosophie*, p. 271; Allen, *Alan of Lille on the Little Bits That Make a Difference*, p. 41-42; Economou, *The Goddess Natura*, p. 55. Cf. also the criteria of animalization of the insane within the discourse of guilt and immorality in the age of their systematic detention in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: Foucault, *Folie et déraison*, p. 182-198.

68 See extensively on the location of the genealogy of grammar in the Original Sin which, according to medieval poets, was introduced with the *declinatio*, i.e. the first 'fall': John A. Alford, *The Grammatical Metaphor. A Survey of Its Use in the Middle Ages*, in *Speculum*, 57, 1982, p. 728-760, esp. p. 728, p. 750-754 (on Alan's view of relation between grammar and nature, esp. p. 753). Cf. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, p. 74, and Economou, *The Goddess Natura*, p. 87, on 'fruitlessness' of homosexuality in *De planctu*, compared with the 'perversion' of grammar. On the role of *integumentum* in *De planctu*: Kellner, *Naturphilosophie*, esp. p. 266-269, on Nature's tattered garment.

69 Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 119. Cf. Allen, *Alan of Lille on the Little Bits That Make a Difference*, p. 42-43.

70 Otten, *From Paradise to Paradigm*, p. 236 ("In the specific terminology of sexual offense, his poem on Nature signals to us how the prohibition of same-sex copulation is ultimately something which Nature may well lament, but which reflects at the same time a possibility inherent in her very being"); Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, p. 87 ("[…] the *Plaint of Nature* is not only a complaint against sexual sins, it is a complaint against Nature's failure to speak satisfactorily about those sins"); cf. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 134. Cf. Wetherbee, *Alan of Lille, 'De planctu naturae'*, p. 237-238. On *De planctu* as "pleasurable display of erotic control", a poem on the seductive "pleasures of auto-referentiality" embodied in the metaphor of hermaphroditism pointing to the complex, though binary relation between truth and falsehood in representation, and between its deeper and

literal sense, see David Rollo, *Nature's Pharmaceuticals. Sanctioned Desires in Alain de Lille's 'De planctu Naturae'*, in *Exemplaria*, 25, 2, 2013, p. 152-172.

71 Cf. Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, a.o. p. 46-50, p. 163-164. See also Ilene Haering Forsyth, *The Ganymede Capital at Vézelay*, in *Gesta*, 15, 1976, p. 241-246, esp. p. 242-243. On the discursive role of metaphors in determining sexual behaviour in the Middle Ages, cf. in this context: Larry Scanlon, *Unspeakable Pleasures. Alain de Lille, Sexual Regulation and the Priesthood of Genius*, in *Romanic Review*, 86, 1995, p. 213-242.

72 Petrus Damianus, *Liber Gomorrhianus*, (*Patrologia Latina*, 145), Paris, 1853, cap. VI, col. 166-167, argues that whereas zoophily induces only one's own individual sin, the homosexual intercourse also involves temptation and perdition of the others; cf. Forsyth, *The Ganymede Capital*.

73 Narcissus as "filled with dreamy thoughts, and, believing his very self to be another, ran to the danger of passion for himself." *De planctu*, prose IV, v. 122-124, p. 37. Cf. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 118; Jordan, *The Invention of Sodomy*, p. 81-84.

74 Foucault, *Les aveux de la chair*, p. 39-40, cf. p. 260-261, p. 358-359. The male anus is metaphorized in the very beginning of *De planctu* as an anvil that "issues no seeds" (*semina nulla monetat*), cf. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 107. It is remarkable in this context, by the way, that there is no discourse of feminine homosexuality in *De planctu*.

75 By using the linguistic term of *heteroiconicity*, we point in this context especially to how homosexual men were thus supposed to introduce a representational divergence from the prescribed *imago Dei* which led to the claims for their ontological 'dissimilarity'. Cf. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 96-97 (on *De planctu* as "eliminationist text").

76 *Quia ergo jam dictum est, quomodo totus orbis impurae Veneris fere generali periclitatur incendio, nunc restat dicendum qualiter idem generalissimo gulositatis naufragatur diluvio. Quoniam gulositas est quasi quoddam Venereae exsecutionis prooemium, et quasi quoddam antecedens ad venereum consequens. Nota ergo quasdam filias idolatriae veteris medullitus exstirpatae, in praesenti instanti suae matris imperium reparare conari, et eam quibusdam praesagiosis carminibus redivivam a mortuis excitare; quae meretricali officio, vultu phantasticae dilectionis faciem dealbantes, amasios alliciendo, fraudulenter illiciunt: quae sub tristi laetitia, sub amica saevitia, sub hostili amicitia, tanquam Syrenes usque ad exitium dulces, delectationis melodiam facie tenus praeferentes, suos amatores ad idololatriae perducunt naufragium*. – *De planctu*, prose VI, v. 11-29, p. 59-60. Cf. Economou, *The Goddess Natura*, p. 73-74. Justin Martyr perceived homosexual relations in terms of imitating 'pagan' gods: "(…) having become imitators of Zeus and the other gods in homosexual intercourse with males and shameless sexual intercourse with women (…)" (*Justin, Philosopher and Martyr. Apologies* 12.5, eds. and comm. Denis Minns & Paul Parvis, Oxford, 2009, p. 319). Cf. the related passage in *The Apostolic Fathers with Justin Martyr and Irenaeus* (*Jupiter* instead of *Zeus*). This connection of 'pagan' divinity with homoeroticity as its idolatrous imitation clearly echoes in *De planctu*, where, for the sake of explaining poetry as allegorical and self-referential transgression into falseness by means of *tropus*, Jupiter – the figure of identification for the reader – is described after Ovid as seducing and kidnapping a 'Phrygian boy' (Ganymede) and thus saturating his desire for sameness, see *De planctu*, prose IV, v. 183-188; cf. Michael A. Johnson, *Translatio Ganymedis. Reading the Sex Out of Ovid in Alan*

of Lille's 'The Plaint of Nature', in *Florilegium*, 22, 2005, p. 171-190, esp. p. 181ff.

77 Means here: the first homosexual, see: Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 116-117. Dürer, in his famous drawing of 1494 showing the pathos formula in the death of Orpheus, denominates the main protagonist as 'first paederast' (*Orfeuß der Erst puseran*); see Helmut Puff, *"Orfeuß der Erst puseran". Eine Zeichnung Albrecht Dürers*, in *"Die sünde, der sich der tiuvel schamet in der helle". Homosexualität in der Kultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Lev Mordechai Thoma & Sven Limbeck, Ostfildern, 2009, p. 163-184.

78 *Adeo ut homo bacchilatra, Bacchum plerumque locali interstitio a se sejungi non ferens, in alienis vasculorum capsulis suum deum diu perendinare non patiatur, sed ut sibi ejusdem dei familiarius assistat divinitas, illum dolio sui ventris includat. Sed quia plerumque stomachi capsula tanti hospitis divinitatem diu sustinere non potest, idem deus aut per orientalis portae polum arcticum, aut per occiduae regionis antarcticum turpiter evaporat*. – *De planctu*, prose VI, v. 38-50, p. 60-61. One can see here a reverberation of the punishment of the Israelites for their veneration of the Golden Calf at Sinai: before they were exterminated for their 'excess' of disloyalty by Moses and the Levites, they were forced to drink the pulverized object of their cult mixed with water and thus to digest and incorporate the material substance they had adored before, see Mateusz Kapustka, *Die Abwesenheit der Idole. Bildkonflikte und Anachronismen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar, 2020, p. 47-48. Cf. Guynn, *Allegory and Sexual Ethics*, p. 481-482 (on idolatry and digestion).

79 For the biblical origins of this popular metaphor see: Luke 5:1-11; Matt 14:22-33. Cf. Achim Timmermann, *Cathedrals and Castles of the Sea. Ships, Allegory and Technological Change in Pre-Reformation Northern Europe*, in *Baltic Journal of Art History*, 18, 2019, p. 7-74, esp. p. 66-73, on the 'Ship of Penitence'. From the plethora of respective sources across the medieval parenetic literature only a telling passage on the security of 'nautic death' from the treatise *Liber de Mortalitate* by Cyprian of Carthago from the third century shall be quoted here: "If, when you were on a voyage, an angry and raging tempest, by the waves violently aroused, foretold the coming shipwreck, would you not quickly seek the harbour? Lo, the world is changing and passing away, and witnesses to its ruin not now by its age, but by the end of things. And do you not give God thanks, do you not congratulate yourself, that by an earlier departure you are taken away, and delivered from the shipwrecks and disasters that are imminent?" (Cyprian, *On the Mortality*, in *Fathers of the Third Century*, [*Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 5], eds. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson & A. Cleveland Coxe, New York, (1886), 2007, ch. 25 [p. 475]). On Cyprian's joy of dying in terms of the early *contemptus mundi* cf. Edwina Murphy, *Death, Decay and Delight in Cyprian of Carthage*, in *Scrinium*, 15, 2019, p. 79-88.

80 Alain de Lille, *Liber poenitentialis*. Vol. 2: *La Tradition longue. Texte inédit publié et annoté*, Prol. IV, ed. Jean Longère, Louvain – Lille, 1965, p. 17-18. Cf. *Cum Veneris monstro naufraga turba perit*, note 58.

81 "With the mirror of this visionary sight taken away, the previous view of the mystic apparition left me, who had been fired by ecstasy, in sleep" / *Hujus imaginariae visionis subtracto speculo, me ab exstasi excitatum in somno, prior mysticae apparitionis dereliquit aspectus*. – *De planctu*, prose IX, v. 229-232, p. 95.

82 See notes 13-14.

83 At this moment, we shall briefly point to Foucault's preface to his *Les mots et les*

choses of 1966, where an extensive allusion to the fantastic bestiary by Jorge Luis Borges – retrieved from an "old Chinese encyclopædia" – enables him to examine how the normative, differentiating codes of animality and monstrosity coincide *a priori* with the categorical groundwork of scientific taxonomies of resemblance and equivalence under a supposition of a primary order of the *episteme*. He subsequently defines his "archaeology of the medical point of view" – which he declares an 'echo' of his previous *History of Madness* – as "an inquiry whose aim is to rediscover on what basis knowledge and theory became possible; within what space of order knowledge was constituted; on the basis of what historical a priori, and in the element of what positivity, ideas could appear, sciences be established, experience be reflected in philosophies, rationalities be formed, only, perhaps, to dissolve and vanish soon afterwards" (Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things. An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*, trans. Alan Sheridan Smith, New York, 1970, p. XVI-XXVI, here p. XXIII).

84 In our particular context, only the following three chosen studies on the history of reception shall be mentioned among the many: Partha Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters. History of European Reactions to Indian Art*, Oxford, 1977; George Kubler, *Esthetic Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art*, New Haven, CT – London, 1991, here esp. p. 12-108; *Götterbilder und Götzendiener in der frühen Neuzeit. Europas Blick auf fremde Religionen*, exh. cat. Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, (*Schriften der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg*, 12), eds. Maria Effinger, Cornelia Logemann & Ulrich Pfisterer, Heidelberg, 2012.

85 Cf. on the medieval view on the *Canibali* behind the ocean: Simek, *Erde und Kosmos*, p. 105-107. This attitude is mirrored e.g. in the early modern painted visions of Hell with its emperor as wearing a Tipinamba feather crown and directing the practice of infernal cannibalism, as depicted in a Portuguese painting ca. 1510-1520, see Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *Hell in the Andes. The Last Judgment in the Art of Viceregal Peru*, in *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World*, ed. Ilona Katzew, New Haven, CT – London, 2011, p. 177-201, esp. p. 198-199.

86 Jennifer Spinks, *The Southern Indian "Devil in Calicut" in Early Modern Northern Europe. Images, Texts and Objects in Motion*, in *Journal of Early Modern History*, 18, 1-2, 2014, p. 15-48; Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p. 16-28. Cf. Partha Mitter, *Ernst Gombrich and Western Representations of the Sacred Art of India*, in *Journal of Art Historiography*, 7, 2012, p. 1-13, p. 8-10; idem, *European Responses to the Sacred Art of India*, in *Enlightening the British. Knowledge, Discovery and the Museum in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Robert G. W. Anderson, London, 2003, p. 119-126, p. 120-121.

87 *Pseudo-Matthew* 22-23: "And rejoicing and exulting, they came into the regions of Hermopolis, and entered into a certain city of Egypt which is called Sotinen; and because they knew no one there from whom they could ask hospitality, they went into a temple which was called the Capitol of Egypt. And in this temple there had been set up three hundred and fifty-five idols, to each of which on its own day divine honours and sacred rites were paid. For the Egyptians belonging to the same city entered the Capitol, in which the priests told them how many sacrifices were offered each day, according to the honour in which the god was held. / And it came to pass, when the most blessed Mary went into the temple with the little child, that all the idols prostrated themselves on the ground, so that all of

them were lying on their faces shattered and broken to pieces; and thus they plainly showed that they were nothing." Cf. Kapustka, *Die Abwesenheit der Idole*, p. 101-108, esp. p. 106, on how Abraham's original teaching of astronomy and Jahwe's transcendence among the Egyptians did not prevent them from the subsequent two thousand years of idolatry, which within the teleological vision of the history of salvation had to be later eradicated by the fleeing Christ's entry into Egypt.

88 Kapustka, *Die Abwesenheit der Idole*, *passim*.

89 See a.o.: Mary Hellen McMurran, *Rethinking Superstition. Pagan Ritual in Lafitau's 'Mœurs des sauvages'*, in *Mind, Body, Motion, Matter. Eighteenth-Century British and French Literary Perspectives*, eds. Mary Hellen McMurran & Alison Conway, Toronto, 2016, p. 110-135; Ian J. McNiven & Lynette Russell, *Appropriated Pasts. Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*, Lanham, MD, 2005, a.o. p. 94.

90 Let's alone point here exemplarily to one of the most known and at the same time most complex issues of the Hindu god Shiva as *Mahadeva Trimurti* (*Three-Headed God of Gods*) in the way he is monumentally represented as a 6-meters high stone bust sculpture showing particular aspects of meditating half-female universality in the Main Cave of Elephanta island from the mid-sixth-century, destroyed subsequently by the Sultanate and in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese, cf., i.a., Charles Dillard Collins, *The Iconography & Ritual of Śiva at Elephanta*, Delhi, 1991, p. 76-81, as well as Mitter, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p. 31-48.

91 Cf. Matthias Tanner, *Societas Jesu usque ad sanguinis et vitæ profusionem militans. In Europa, Africa, Asia, et America, contra gentiles, Mahometanos, Judæos, hæreticos, impios, pro deo, fide, ecclesia, pietate, sive vita, et mors eorum, qui ex Societate Jesu … sublati sunt*, Prague, 1675 (German edition 1683), p. 437: (…) *in quibus Christi pugiles Adamantis instar, neque incudi, neque flammis cedentis, immobiles permanentes* (…) (preface to the part *Societas Americana*). Cf. the etymology of the word 'diamond': lat. *adamas*, from *adamare*, 'to fall in love'. For the context of Tanner's book see a.o.: Kapustka, *Die Abwesenheit der Idole*, p. 316-337.

92 Joseph-François Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps*, Paris, 1724. Cf. McMurran, *Rethinking Superstition*, p. 110-135; Martin Mulsow, *Joseph-François Lafitau und die Entdeckung der Religions- und Kulturvergleiche*, in *Götterbilder und Götzendiener*, eds. Effinger, Logemann & Pfisterer, p. 36-47; Anna-Verena Fries, *Die Zeit verbindet, was die 'Wissenschaft' vergleicht. Das Frontispiz zu Joseph-François Lafitaus 'Mœurs des sauvages amériquains. Comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps'*, in *Wiener ethnohistorische Blätter*, 37, 1992, p. 5-24. For the complex features of Lafitau's frontispiece cf. Michel de Certeau, *Writing vs. Time. History and Anthropology in the Works of Lafitau*, in *Yale French Studies*, 59, 1980 (*Rethinking History. Time, Myth, and Writing*), p. 37-64.

93 Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages*, a.o. vol. 1, p. 7-8, 122-123, 183-185; vol. 2, p. 1-2.

94 *Ibid*., vol. 1, p. 7.

95 *Ibid*., vol. 1, a.o. p. 66-71, p. 188-191.

96 *Ibid*., vol. 2, a.o. p. 120-122.

97 Roberto Nobili, *Informatio de quibusdam moribus nationis indicae*, Madurai, 1613; Herbert of Cherbury, *De religione gentilium, errorumque apud eos causis*, Amsterdam, 1663 (written in 1642/1645). Cf. the comprehensive synthesis: Wilhelm Halbfass, *India and Europe. An Essay in Understanding*, Albany, NY, 1988 (German ed. 1981), chapters I.3. and I.4.

98 Matutin Veyssière de La Croze, *Histoire du christianisme des Indes*, The Hague, 1724, p. 427.
99 *Ibid*., p. 428.
100 *Ibid*., p. 436.
101 Cf. Barbara Uppenkamp, *'Indian' Motifs in Peter Paul Rubens's 'The Martyrdom of Saint Thomas' and 'The Miracles of Saint Francis Xavier'*, in *Netherlandish Art in Global Context*, (*Netherlands Yearbook for History of Art*, 66), eds. Thijs Weststeijn, Eric Jorink & Frits Scholten, Leiden – Boston, MA, 2016, p. 113-141. Cf. Christine Göttler, *Extraordinary Things. "Idols from India" and the Visual Discernment of Space and Time, circa 1600*, in *The Nomadic Object. The Challenge of World for Early Modern Religious Art*, eds. Christine Göttler & Mia M. Mochizuki, Leiden – Boston, MA, 2018, p. 37-73 (on the sweeping categorizations of objects declared 'Indian' and transferred into European collections).
102 See Paula von Wyss-Giacosa, *Beweis durch Augenschein. Zur Ästhetik, Funktion und Zirkulation bildlicher Repräsentationen von 'asiatischer Idolatrie' in europäischen Werken des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in *Götterbilder und Götzendiener*, eds. Effinger, Logemann & Pfisterer, p. 80-91, here p. 88; cf. Pierrette Paule Désy, *A Secret Sentiment (Devils and Gods in 17th Century New France)*, in *The Inconceivable Polytheism. Studies in Religious Historiography*, (*History and Anthropology*, 3), ed. Francis Schmidt, London, 1987, p. 83-121, here p. 88; Karl-Heinz Kohl, *Entzauberter Blick. Das Bild vom Guten Wilden und die Erfahrung der Zivilisation*, Berlin, 1981, p. 77-100.
103 Cornelia Logemann, *Alles muss seine Ordnung haben. Fremde Götter und bekannte Allegorien*, in *Götterbilder und Götzendiener*, eds. Effinger, Logemann & Pfisterer, p. 116-130; Mitter, *European Responses*, p. 122-123; idem, *Much Maligned Monsters*, p. 48-72.
104 George Kubler, *The Shape of Time. Remarks on the History of Things*, New Haven, CT, 1962, p. 121-122. Kubler's style, which includes iconic metaphors or analogies, was criticized as 'too poetical': Hans Christian Hönes, *Anfang und Metapher. George Kubler und das Problem künstlerischer Innovation*, in *Kunstgeschichte*. Open Peer Reviewed Journal, 2014, www.kunstgeschichte-ejournal.net/374/3/Hönes.pdf (last access 10 December 2020).
105 Foucault, *Folie et déraison*, p. 10.
106 Michel Foucault, *Mal faire, dire vrai. Fonction de l'aveu en justice, cours de Louvain, 1981*, eds. Fabienne Brion & Bernard E. Harcourt, Louvain – Chicago, IL, 2012, p. 300 (editors' afterword). The original question to the *Ship of Fools* in Foucault, *Folie et déraison*, p. 16: (…) *Pourquoi voit-on surgir d'un coup cette silhouette de la Nef des Fous et son équipage insensé envahir les paysages les plus familiers? Pourquoi, de la vieille alliance de l'eau et de la folie, est née un jour, et ce jour-là, cette barque?* (…) *C'est qu'elle symbolise toute une inquiétude, montée soudain à l'horizon de la culture européenne, vers la fin du Moyen Age. La folie et le fou deviennent personnages majeurs, dans leur ambiguité: menace et dérision, vertigineuse déraison du monde, et mince ridicule des hommes*.
107 See most of all Robin George Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, New York, 1956, p. 236-237, cf. p. 245. Cf. Georges Didi-Huberman, *L'image survivante. Histoire de l'art et temps des fantomes selon Aby Warburg*, Paris, 2002, p. 377 (Aby Warburg's identification of a historian as a 'seer' (*Seher*) of the entire (means: 'complex') time, cf. *ibid*., p. 39-40); and Paul Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire. Essai d'épistémologie*, Paris, 1971, p. 265-267 (*Lutte contre l'optique des sources*).
108 Michel Foucault, *Parrēsia*, trans. Graham Burchell, in *Critical Inquiry*, 41, 2,

2015, p. 219-253, here p. 239 (transcript of a lecture given at the University of Grenoble in 1982). See also on the role of *parrēsia* as 'courage of speech' between discourse, citizenship, and politics in Michel Foucault, *Le Gouvernement de soi et des autres. Cours au College de France (1982-1983)*, Paris, 2008; cf. a.o. Michel Foucault, *"Discourse and Truth" and "Parresia"*, (*The Chicago Foucault Project*), trans. Nancy Luxon, eds. Henri-Paul Fruchaud & Daniele Lorenzini, Chicago, IL, 2019. This is also where the moment of the *kairos* as enabling to ekphrastic statements – we could say: writing in iconic formulas – comes into being as *speaking with images* in order to find Warburgian interspaces (*Zwischenräume*) between phantasmatic imagination, cultural memory, and historical implementation of ideas, cf. Baert, *Kairos or Occasion*, p. 13-17, p. 71-78.

109 Foucault, *Parrēsia*, p. 240.

110 *Ibid*., p. 220.

111 Michel Foucault, *Ariane s'est pendue*, in *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 229, 1969, p. 36-37.

112 Cf. Josef Hofmiller, *Nietzsche*, in *Süddeutsche Monatshefte*, 29, 2, 1931, p. 131.

113 *Les fantasmes ne prolongent pas les organismes dans l'imaginaire; ils topologisent la matérialité du corps. Il faut donc la libérer du dilemme vrai-faux, être-non-être (qui n'est que la différence simulacre-copie répercutée une fois pour toutes), et les laisser mener leurs danses, jouer les mimes, comme des 'extra-êtres'*. – Michel Foucault, *Theatrum philosophicum*, in idem, *Dits et Écrits*, vol. 2, text no. 80, here p. 79, originally published in *Critique*, 282, 1970, p. 885-908 (cf. in this context Deleuze's commentary on Nietzsche's *Ewige Wiederkunft* as 'the recurrence of difference'). See also: Foucault, *Ariane s'est pendue*, p. 37 (*La pensée au sommet de son intensité sera elle-même différence et répétition; elle fera différer ce que la représentation cherchait à rassembler; elle jouera l'indéfinie répétition dont la métaphysique entêtée cherchait l'origine*), and a commentary on the review of Foucault's idea given by Deleuze: Alessandro Fontana, *Das Paradox des Philosophen*, in *Foucault und die Künste*, ed. Gente, p. 43-57, p. 54-55. Cf. Rüdiger Görner, *Wenn Götzen dämmern. Formen ästhetischen Denkens bei Nietzsche*, Göttingen, 2008, p. 151.

114 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Twilight of the Idols. Or, How to Philosophize with the Hammer*, trans. Richard Polt, Indianapolis, IN – Cambridge, 1997, p. 4 (*Preface*): "This little book is a *great declaration of war*, and as for sounding out idols, this time they are not just idols of the age, but *eternal* idols that are touched here with the hammer as with a tuning fork – there aren't any older idols at all, none more assured, none more inflated (…) And none more hollow (…)"

115 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Human, All Too Human. A Book for Free Spirits*, (*Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy*), trans. R. J. Hollingdale, Cambridge, 1996, p. 266 (*Assorted Opinions and Maxims*, 222). Cf. on Nietzsche's view of religious imaginations as further anthropomorphized by the poets in his *Human, All Too Human*, put into relation with art historical paradigms, mostly with Hans Belting's differentiation between the era of 'cult' and the era of 'art' in his *Likeness and Presence* of 1994 (orig. German edition *Bild und Kult* of 1990): Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision*, p. 30-36, here: esp. p. 30-31.

116 Quotation after: Alan Sheridan, *Michel Foucault. The Will to Truth*, New York, 1980, p. 196.

117 Cf. Sarah Kofman, *Nietzsche et la métaphore*, Paris, 1972, p. 25-31, on Nietzsche's style of diffuse parables in terms of a practice of experiencing philosophy as poetry which strategically reveals metaphors in their direct imaginary expression.

118 Cf. Andreas Urs Sommer, *Der Kommentar zu Nietzsches 'Götzen-Dämmerung'*, in *Les hétérodoxies de Nietzsche. Lectures du Crépuscule des idoles*, (*Langage et pensee*, 3), eds. Céline Denat & Patrick Wotling, Reims, 2014, p. 371-387, here p. 383-384; Andreas Urs Sommer, *Kommentar zu Nietzsches 'Der Fall Wagner – Götzendämmerung'*, (*Historischer und kritischer Kommentar zu Friedrich Nietzsches Werken*, 6/1), Göttingen, 2012, p. 217-218.

119 Foucault, *Mal faire, dire vrai*, p. 300-301 (editors' afterword). Cf. Foucault, *Folie et déraison*, a.o. p. 250-252, on the definition of madness *via* the *a priori* category of reason (p. 251: *La perception du fou n'avait finalement pour contenu que la raison elle-même; l'analyse de la folie parmi les espèces de la maladie n'avait de son côté pour principe que l'ordre de raison d'une sagesse naturelle; si bien que là où on cherchait la plénitude positive de la folie, on ne retrouvait jamais que la raison, la folie devenant ainsi paradoxalement absence de folie et présence universelle de la raison. La folie de la folie est d'être secrètement raison. Et cette non-folie, comme contenu de la folie, est le deuxième point essentiel à marquer à propos de la déraison. La déraison c'est que la vérité de la folie est raison*).

120 Georges Didi-Huberman, *Knowing When to Cut*, in *Foucault against Himself*, ed. François Caillat, trans. David Homel, Paris, 2015, p. 77-109, emphasizes in similar context the role of their anachronic and heterochronic *appearances* in a vortex of discursive currents, see esp. p. 86-87, p. 97.

121 Friedrich Nietzsche, *Nachgelassene Fragmente 1869-1874*, (*Sämtliche Werke*, KSA 7), eds. Giorgio Colli & Mazzino Montinari, Munich, 1988, p. 439. Cf. Rüdiger Görner, *Nietzsches Kunst. Annäherung an einen Denkartisten*, Frankfurt am Main – Leipzig, 2000, p. 209-232; Josef Simon, *Der gewollte Schein. Zu Nietzsches Begriff der Interpretation*, in *Kunst und Wissenschaft bei Nietzsche*, eds. Mihailo Djurić & Josef Simon, Würzburg, 1986, p. 62-74.

122 See Didi-Huberman, *L'image survivante*, *passim*. Cf. Keith Moxey, *Visual Time. The Image in History*, Durham, NC – London, 2013, p. 53-75, p. 139-172, esp. p. 165.

123 See on imaginary prefigurations, mediations, and resonances in *hypertexts* and *hyperimages*: Aleida Assmann, *Bilder im Kopf. Präfiguration, Prämediation, Resonanz*, in *Pendant Plus. Praktiken der Bildkombinatorik*, eds. Gerd Blum, Steffen Bogen, David Ganz & Marius Rimmele, Berlin, 2012, p. 47-61, esp. p. 47-53. Cf. in this context an interesting remark on the role of the Northern Renaissance as a reservoir of pictorial monstrosities for Foucault's vision of madness in contrast to the reason of optical perspective in the South, where such monsters do not occur: Shapiro, *Archaeologies of Vision*, p. 415 (ch. 6, note 10).

124 Among historians it was exactly Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, esp. ch. III, who, in his elaborations on the link between the political theology and the royal effigy, pointed not only to the historical need of corporeal means of representation, but also to the hyperbolic corporeality itself embedded in the abstract concept of christomimetic ruler in the high Middle Ages. Cf. note 8.

125 Kapustka, *Die Abwesenheit der Idole*, p. 25-36 (ch. 1.1).