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THE WORK OF 7:84 (ENGLAND)

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ON FEMINISM AND THE VOICE

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IN THE SOLIDARITY YEAR

DISPUTING THE
AMERICAN CANON

BERNARD-MARIE KOLTES
CHECKLIST AND ANALYSIS

EMMA LYONS, ARCHEOLOGY
AND THE ATTITUDE

PRAGMATISM AND POLITICS IN

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Volker Schachenmayr

Emma Lyon, the Attitude, and Goethean Performance Theory

The origins of the *tableau vivant* can be traced back at least to the *pantomimus* of ancient Rome, but the form achieved its peak of modern popularity in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when *poses plastiques* sometimes struck an ambiguous balance between art and pornography. In the following article, Volker Schachenmayr calls for a re-evaluation of the form, investigating how far and in what ways a static pose, or *attitude*, can be a theatrical performance. His article focuses on the *attitudes* of Emma Lyon, later and more familiarly known as wife to Sir William Hamilton and mistress to Nelson. Drawing on connections with Sir William's archaeological pursuits, and with the performance theory of Goethe, an admirer of Emma's attitudes, he suggests a vocabulary to make the *tableau* accessible to performance critics, using Goethe's *Italienische Reise* and Poussin's *Inspiration of the Epic Poet* to shape the discussion. Volker Schachenmayr received his PhD in Drama from Stanford University, and this article is part of a larger research project on Winckelmann, the Grand Tour, and stage performance in the age of Goethe.

IN THE YEARS between 1786 and 1791, Emma Lyon, as consort to Sir William Hamilton and a prominent figure among the expatriate community in Naples, developed a style of mute, largely immobile dramatic performance called the *attitude*. Lyon's work enjoyed widespread popularity in the expatriate community in Naples, among the *grand tourists* who saw her, and in the broader European context.

Her *attitudes* resemble the *tableaux vivants* that would sweep Europe in the nineteenth century. As for her own historical moment, Lyon's *attitudes* gained the admiration of the prominent stage theorist and practitioner, Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Goethe believed that Emma Lyon's work was an exciting experiment in the fusion of stage performance and visual art. This article will serve as an introduction to Emma Lyon's work. It provides a brief overview of her artistic activities and then lays the groundwork for a performance theory of the *attitude* by analyzing Goethe's critical response to her performances.

Before Naples, Lyon had been a painter's model and a child prostitute, yet in Naples she performed poses from the most august and refined of classical statuary. As we

study her work, we shall see that her idiosyncratic personal history informs her performance appeal: she portrays classical statuary as both idealized, erotic, and inanimate material. Furthermore, since her husband, Sir William Hamilton, was a renowned archeologist, Emma's *attitudes* were in some ways an extension of his work: he had married one of his statues, or so went popular rumour. We will examine how the performer may attain a state of marble presence, how the classical ideal may be an erotic artifact, and how we may apply these insights to the performance theory of Goethe's Weimar classicism.

The *attitude* style of performance flourished in the last decades of the eighteenth century (see Langen and Holmström), spawning companion movements, such as the monodrama or the *tableau vivant*, which still exist in some form today. In the 1780s through the early 1800s there were several artists performing in this genre: Henriette Hendel-Schütz, Gustav von Seckendorff (pseudonym, Patrick Peale), Ida Brun, and Sophie Schröder all built careers based on static, non-speaking performances (Langen). Emma Lyon's own *attitudes* were essentially static: she would move from one pose to the

next, hold it, and after a given period move on to the next. Sometimes she incorporated a narrative or musical component, but such words and sounds always came from a secondary source. Either a narrator would speak or a musician play, but these performers were not visually significant.

These performances still resonate in our day. The *tableau vivant* remains an active performance genre, particularly evident in Cindy Sherman's work. Furthermore, Emma Lyon still enjoys name recognition today, and has appeared as the subject of recent popular biographies. Even Hollywood has told her story: in 1941, Alexander Korda made his Hollywood film debut with a blockbuster called *That Hamilton Woman*, which starred Vivien Leigh as Emma and Laurence Olivier in the male lead. It was not the only film treatment she received: *That Hamilton Woman* had been preceded by *The Divine Lady* (1929) and was to be followed by *The Nelson Affair* (1973).

Youthful Transgressions

Emma Lyon would eventually become Emma, Lady Hamilton, but she was born Emily Lyon in London in April, 1765.¹ She spent her childhood in poverty, most likely earning money as a child prostitute. Her first extended relationship with an aristocrat came in 1781, when Sir Harry Featherstonhaugh brought her to his country estate for the summer. She left Featherstonhaugh's house after he had discovered that she was pregnant.

Around 1780, she found some success as a professional model for portrait artists and other painters. She posed extensively for George Romney (Holmström, p. 129) and his friends; among this group of young men she also made the acquaintance of Charles Greville. Greville was a well-connected but penniless man, who counted Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy in Naples, among his prominent relations, Hamilton being his uncle. Emily then moved in with Greville, who christened her with the more cosmopolitan name of Emma (Fothergill, p. 197); here she set about educating herself

while also fulfilling her role as Greville's companion. Her involvement with Greville would eventually lead to a series of astonishing transgressions over class boundaries that culminated in her marriage to Sir William Hamilton.

Greville introduced Lyon to his uncle when Hamilton came to London on a visit in 1783. The young woman would subsequently become a bargaining chip in friendly negotiations between Sir William, a kindly and wealthy uncle, and Greville, a rakish nephew strapped for cash. Hamilton thus arranged to purchase one of George Romney's paintings of Lyon as a bacchante before he left London: this was to be shipped to Naples, but soon Greville had arranged to send Emma herself – for a price.

The letters between nephew and uncle read as though they were financial negotiations. Emma's passage was arranged in the context of Greville's debt, Lyon's charms, the amount of financial support she would need, and debates as to whether she would cuckold Sir William with *grand tourists* visiting Naples (Fothergill, p. 206-16). In one letter, Greville writes to his uncle, 'At your age a clean and comfortable woman is not superfluous, but I should rather purchase it than acquire it' (p. 209).

Hamilton, although 53 and widowed, agreed to take Emma Lyon. He consented to pay her a stipend of fifty pounds sterling per year (p. 211), and she duly arrived at the Palazzo Sessa, Hamilton's Neapolitan home, on 26 April 1786. Though it had not been Sir William's original intention, the two were married on 6 September 1791.

Lyon's performance activity in this five-year period between 1786 and 1791 is the subject of what follows. Two historical incidents bracket these years and provide the starting point for developing a theoretical dimension to Lyon's work. The first is the correspondence between Greville and Hamilton that led up to Lyon's arrival in Naples. This series of letters actually began with negotiations about an entirely different object, namely George Romney's portrait of Lyon (p. 206). Sending the picture to Naples was a necessary first step in the negotiations

that would eventually lead to sending the woman herself. Hamilton's relationship with Lyon would persist in its emphasis on the pictorial. Her function in Sir William's household was consistently to alternate between her physical presence and her easy transition into a static, pictorial space.²

The second historical item comes at the end of the five-year period in question. Responding to the news that Hamilton had wed Emma Lyon, Horace Walpole commented in 1791: 'Sir William Hamilton has actually married his Gallery of Statues' (Fothergill, p. 251) – a comment which introduces the topic of William Hamilton's career beyond his ambassadorial duties, namely his role as excavator, collector, and author of books on classical art. Emma Lyon's performances between 1786 and 1791 were intimately linked with her companion's activity as an archeologist. One could argue that she brought about William's marriage proposal by virtue of her efficacy as a performer of *attitudes*, since, while she was in Naples, Emma Lyon focused her poses on a very specific subject matter: she posed as the most treasured artifacts in Hamilton's collection of classical statuary.

Using her example, we will bring together several ideas concerning the classical body in performance: how archeological activity influences theatrical activity, how the human performer may attain statuary presence, and how the plastic and narrative arts overlap in performance.

Performing the Classical Body

Before she established herself with a group of aristocratic bachelors in the early 1780s, Emma Lyon found employment in London at one point with James Graham (1745-94). Though he had studied medicine briefly and used the title of Doctor, Graham was a quack. He ran a 'Temple of Health' in the Adelphi, an institution which blurred the boundaries between alternative medicine and prostitution. Graham's 'Temple' also offered popular entertainment in the form of lectures and performances. His speeches touched on the healing powers of prayer, meditation,



An idealized drawing of one of Emma Hamilton's attitudes. The urn reinforces the connection between the performance and Sir William's art collection.

and oils that he had on sale. Those who wished to cure impotence were invited to experience Graham's 'celestial bed'.

Emma Lyon's first exposure to the genre of the *attitude* came as a result of her employment with Dr. Graham, who, during his presentations, surrounded himself with classical statues and young women who posed in classical *tableaux* (Fothergill, p. 198). Lyon posed as the Goddess of Health during these presentations, which were held in the most exclusive of Graham's rooms, the 'Great Apollo Apartment', which one of his fliers advertised as 'A magnificent temple,

sacred to health, and dedicated to Apollo' (Laughton, p. 149). These performances introduced Emma Lyon to the art of performing *attitudes* of classical statuary. Lightly clad and side-by-side with plaster reproductions of well-known statues, Emma Lyon learned the rudiments of a technique she would later polish at Naples.

We have no visual documentation of Emma's performances at Dr. Graham's, but the details of his quack healing philosophies make a connection with the spirit of classicism later to be invoked by Goethe. Graham lectured on vegetarianism, good sleeping habits, and the health-giving benefits of less constrictive clothing (Laughton, p. 149), significantly associating these qualities with the image of the classical body – much as Goethe, some years later, invoked antiquity as the model of health.

In his manifesto for neoclassicism, the essay of 1805, 'Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert', Goethe describes the healing powers available to the ancient physique. He claims that 'Unglück zu ertragen, waren jene Naturen höchlich geschickt: denn wie die gesunde Faser dem übel widersteht, und bei jedem krankhaften Anfall sich eilig wieder herstellt; so vermag der jenen eigene gesunde Sinn sich gegen innern und äußern Unfall geschwind und leicht wieder herzustellen' (Goethe, 1, 46, p. 23). The very fibre (*Faser*) of the classical body possesses restorative powers to which the eighteenth-century body should aspire.

Emma Lyon's experiences here may not have been aesthetically sophisticated implementations of the classical body such as she would develop later: however, her early work and Goethe's essay share a significant, if simple, point in common: by performing the classical body, one can bring an effective gravity, a 'celestial' aspect to the event. By imitating the fibre of antiquity's statues, the performer is able to elevate her work and evoke awe and wonder from her audience.

As its name announces, Dr. Graham's Temple of Health relied on a vague alternative spirituality combined with classical aesthetics in order to attract ticket sales. When Emma Lyon worked there, her per-

formances would have taken place in a context calculated to elicit inspiration, visual pleasure, and erotic appeal at once. Graham used classical aesthetics in his Great Apollo Apartment in order to support his project through the legitimacy of ancient culture, to suggest a spiritual dimension – and then, finally, to display attractive young women to reinforce the idea that classical health and/or a cure for impotence was attainable. Before the visitor reached the Apollo Apartment, he would pass through an entrance hall decorated with crutches purportedly abandoned by patients who had been healed within.

The Apollo Apartment contained a small classical temple as well as some statuary. Recalling that the entire establishment was called a temple, this second sacred structure would have served as the building's inner core. If we imagine that Dr. Graham stood in front of this inner temple as he lectured, surrounded by a semi-circle of posed young women, his speeches would have appeared to be taking place near the source of healing itself. And Emma Lyon would have served as proof positive that Graham's potions worked: she was a classical statue brought to life, a revitalized antiquity that enshrouded Graham in the eyes of his public.

Lyon's Technique of the Attitude

Dr. Graham's 'Temple' was her first place of regular employment, wherein she was instructed to combine her erotic appeal with classical poses in order to further Graham's business. She then moved into more private domains in order to support herself. First with Featherstonhaugh, then with Greville, she continued her work in paratheatrical forms by taking part in amateur theatricals and posing for portraits. When Hamilton met her in London, he reacted by remarking 'She is finer than anything that is to be found in antique art' (Laughton, p. 149). As part of her commerce with the world, Lyon had learned to cultivate her own appearance in order to effect classical presence.

Emma Lyon performed her *attitudes* in Naples with minimal technical support. Her



Emma Lyon sometimes performed major dramatic roles, albeit silently: above left, her portrayal of Medea, with one of her murdered children. Right: Emma posed as Tamar, David's daughter raped by her brother Amnon.

subject matter ranged from the classical tradition, in which she performed Niobe, Pylades, and Medea, among others, to the Virgin Mary. Yet despite the diversity of her subjects, she needed only a classical robe – a 'drape' – in order to convey the transitions from one subject to the next, each of the poses lasting ten minutes or less (Holmström, p. 116).

We know that some practitioners of the *attitude* accompanied their work with narration and music,³ but the extent to which this occurred in Emma's case is unclear. Sir William would occasionally explain poses as he narrated the performances, and the audience's reaction to a given pose would also indicate that it was complete and recognizable. Since Lyon would not withdraw behind a curtain between poses, and the costume seldom changed, the performances were fluid events and required the audience to make an effort at identifying the classical statue being imitated. There was something of the pantomime in Emma's work.

Technical support for Lyon's performances was limited to the domain of lighting. Sir William was responsible for this effect. He used torchlight to nuance Lyon's expressions and to attain the ominous effects of silhouette. Reports of her performances note a use of light that was rare at the time: if the performance took place by day, the windows were darkened so that the light came exclusively from Sir William's torch (Holmström, p. 117).

Lyon's use of light echoes a popular trend among *grand tourists* in the 1780s, when tourists and artists visited sculpture gardens and studios by night and illuminated the statuary with torches (p. 117). The spectators aimed to make the statuary seem as though it were alive; by the flickering of the torchlight, the contours of the marble would seem to take on the pulse of live flesh and veins.

Goethe and the Attitude

Goethe arrived in Naples during the Spring of 1787, accompanied by his friend the

painter Johann Heinrich Tischbein (1751-1829). When he saw Emma Lyon perform her *attitudes*, he described his experience as follows:

Er hat sie bei sich, eine Engländerin von etwa zwanzig Jahren. Sie ist sehr schön und wohl gebaut. Er hat ihr ein griechisch Gewand machen lassen, das sie trefflich kleidet, dazu löst sie ihre Haare auf, nimmt ein paar Shawls und macht eine Abwechslung von Stellungen, Gebärden, Mienen pp., daß man zuletzt wirklich meint man träume. Man schaut, was so viele tausend Künstler gerne geleistet hätten, hier ganz fertig, in Bewegung und überraschender Abwechslung. Stehend, kniend, sitzend, liegend, ernst, traurig, neckisch, ausschweifend, bußfertig, lockend, drohend, ängstlich pp. eins folgt aufs andere und aus dem andern. Sie weiß zu jedem Ausdruck die Falten des Schleiers zu wählen, zu wechseln, und macht sich hundert Arten von Kopfputz mit denselben Tüchern. Der alte Ritter hält das Licht dazu und hat mit ganzer Seele sich diesem Gegenstand ergeben. Er findet in ihr alle Antiken, alle schöne Profile der Sicilianischen Münzen, ja den Belveder'schen Apoll selbst. Soviel ist gewiß, der Spaß ist einzig! Wir haben ihn schon zwei Abende genossen. Heute früh malt sie Tischbein.

(Goethe, 1, 31, p. 55)

This rich passage from Goethe's *Italienische Reise* opens up several paths of inquiry. Emma Lyon emerges from this description as the practitioner of an appealing art form: Goethe's passage makes a strong link between Hamilton's activity as an excavator and his pleasure in Emma's performances. The description also mentions her use of the drape to bring about character changes very quickly and simply, and confirms that the performances took place at night with Sir William holding the torch.

The passage also indicates the easy rhythm and dream-like characteristics of Lyon's work: she appears to Goethe to exceed the efforts of thousands of painters who tried to represent the human body. He notes that with Lyon, the picture is 'ganz fertig, in Bewegung und überraschender Abwechslung'. In an odd description of Lyon as if she were the product of a painter's efforts, Goethe announces her the finer painting.

The other major passage in Goethe's *Italienische Reise* devoted to Emma Lyon's

performances occurs during his second trip to Naples. After seeing Lyon perform once, Goethe left Naples for Sicily. He returned to Naples again afterwards, staying this time at the Palazzo Sessa, and on this occasion Hamilton showed Goethe the cellars in which his antiquities and various unsorted curiosities were stored. Goethe saw a casket-like box in the cellars which had been used in Lyon's previous performances (Fothergill, p. 233). He describes this container as black on the inside and framed in gold. The piece was large enough for a person: it was explained to Goethe that

Der Kunst- und Mädchenfreund [Hamilton], nicht zufrieden das schöne Gebild als bewegliche Statue zu sehen, wollte sich auch an ihr als an einem bunten, unnachahmbaren Gemälde ergötzen und so hatte sie manchmal innerhalb dieses goldnen Rahmens, auf schwarzem Grund vielfarbig gekleidet, die antiken Gemälde von Pompeji und selbst neuere Meisterwerke nachgeahmt.

(Goethe, 1, 31, p. 251)

This frame indicates that Emma Lyon's performances at Naples began as more static events than they would eventually become. The frame also makes clear that when Goethe compared Lyon's work to the work of thousands of painters, the comparison was grounded in the performances which Hamilton had been orchestrating with Lyon. The pictorial dimension of the performances that Goethe hinted at in his first description was the acknowledged aesthetic foundation on which the performances were built.

Movements as Moments of Focus

First, then, Emma Lyon's performances need to be examined on the border between a static, composed visual art form – which I will call the pictorial – and the narrative mode of storytelling. Several points of comparison with other aesthetic debates make themselves available when we engage Lyon's work at this boundary between artistic genres, and specifically I will be concerned with Goethe's essay 'Über Laokoon' (1798).

Goethe suggests that the *Laocoon* is best viewed by torchlight in order to appreciate

the statue's latent sense of movement. Above, we noted that Lyon and Hamilton made strategic use of torchlight for the *attitudes*. Several other points in Goethe's essay contribute to a theory of the *attitude*. At root, Goethe seeks to develop a theory of performance in which the performer maintains the integrity of a static and idealized human figure. The performance event then engages that figure in a narrative sequence without compromising the performer's elevated classical presence.

We recall that the eighteenth century's fascination with the *Laocoon* centered on the larger *ut pictura poesis* debate between poetry and painting that originated with Virgil. Goethe wrote 'Über Laokoon' to be used as the first essay in the journal *Propyläen*, the organ of Weimar classicism. Hoping to emphasize the constraint and moderation in the *Laocoon* statue, Goethe argues that a plastic artwork is autonomous and self-sufficient, with no need for literary associations. Diverging from Lessing, who believed that the plastic arts were more limited than the narrative arts and argued for drama as the highest of all, Goethe contends that form alone is sufficient as an aesthetic experience (Flax, 1984, p. 8-9).

Although Goethe's position in the *Laocoon* debate is supportive of the pictorial rather than narrative, his essay also contributes to a theory of performance. In particular, there is one passage where he describes the statue as though it represented the most fruitful moment between two others: 'kurz vorher darf kein Teil des Ganzen sich in dieser Lage befunden haben, kurz hernach muß jeder Teil genötigt sein, diese Lage zu verlassen' (Goethe, 1, 47, p. 107). *Laocoon* thus functions as a short moment of focus. During those moments directly preceding and following the focused instant, the bodies in the group were somehow less interesting to behold. Either they were frantic, disorganized, or in some way less balanced than they are in the artifact as we have it.

Goethe supports *Laocoon's* static qualities, but he also admires the statue's ability to communicate movement despite the fact that it is immobile. He writes that if one

were to stand in front of the *Laocoon*, close one's eyes, then reopen them, it would seem as if the figures had actually moved: 'Man wird fürchten, indem man die Augen wieder öffnet, die ganze Gruppe verändert zu finden. Ich möchte sagen, wie sie jetzt dasteht, ist sie ein fixierter Blitz, eine Welle, versteinert im Augenblicke, da sie gegen das Ufer anströmt' (Goethe, 1, 47, p. 107).

The statue as Goethe represents it is always fresh and self-renewing despite its static condition. Its stasis tricks the eye's ability to discern movement by seeming to move in those instants when the eye is closed. Deferring the statue's movement out of the realm of the visible and into a moment of sightlessness, Goethe portrays a compelling statue that performs without moving.

We can sum up Goethe's model of how to view the *Laocoon* with the cinematic concept of a film still. When one film still is isolated from its adjacent stills, the image captures a moment full of motion that has been taken out of a continuum. Yet we know that even when a reel of film plays, there are gaps in the motion portrayed from still to still. If the reel were played slowly enough, these gaps would become perceptible to the human eye. Motion has occurred in these gaps, though imperceptible to the eye: if the film is to be effective it requires a momentary 'blink' as we jump from still to still.

Goethe foretells the cinematic phenomenon by suggesting a much slower equivalent, not with thousands of still images, but with one solid statue. The viewer closes his eyes, and when he reopens them he suspects that the statue has moved, although its physical properties remain unchanged. The *Laocoon* communicates movement – it fairly radiates it, in Goethe's description – but it is fixed.

The 'Über Laokoon' essay is most useful to us here for its term *fixierter Blitz*. This term captures the two-dimensional nature of the classical body's effect on the viewer. Though it is an immobile object, the statuary emanates a force as strong as a flash (*Blitz*). A *fixierter Blitz* extends the paradoxical but rewarding notion that light can flash at an

unceasing rate. The flash itself is a term we think of as quick and finite: it begins, intensifies, and subsides. However, Goethe's adjectival addition, *fixiert*, denotes an incessant flashing that has no dimmer or brighter luminosity, only the constant, intense quality of light we associate with the term *Blitz*.

To appropriate the *fixierter Blitz* to a performance aesthetic, the simple opposition of terms in the *ut pictura poesis* debate is insufficient. Goethe's *fixierter Blitz* is an example of a static formal property whose emanation is kinetic. The term spans the contradictory ideas that a flash, which is blinding but intermittent, can also be a constant. Goethe's sense of the *Laocoon* divides according to the same counterintuitive characteristics of the *fixierter Blitz*. All static, material dimensions of the object fall under the term *fixiert*, while the figure's content emanates from within as though it were a light from antiquity, a *Blitz*.

We acknowledge that what motion there is in the *Laocoon* group is deferred to a secondary level. Goethe's essay makes clear that some form of movement manifests itself to the viewer, but such movement takes place on a secondary level, while the eye is closed. This secondary motion is truly abstract: it does not manifest itself in discrete visual terms. As an abstraction, the statuary captures movement more beautifully than a moving phenomenon itself could. Deferring to a secondary realm of vision, movement occurs on an abstracted and non-referential level of perception only.

Neil Flax has claimed that Goethe's 'Über Laokoon' essay presents a 'syntactic' order for viewing the statue. He states that, for Goethe, the *Laocoon* 'is a conditional sentence in stone, an occasion to think a grammatical relation and to see it at the same time' (Flax, 1984, p. 10). Flax chooses grammatical terms in order to explain the secondary level on which motion takes place in Goethe's model. The viewer is able to 'think a grammatical relation' because he perceives motion while his eyes are closed. When he opens his eyes, he is looking at a conditional phrase: if it were to be moving, this statue would move as it seemed to move while the eye was closed.

'Fixierter Blitz' and Emma Lyon

While there is no mention in Goethe's 1798 essay of his experience in Lyon's audience in March 1787, there are strong thematic parallels between his journal entry in *Italienische Reise* and the critical essay 'Über Laokoon'. The texts correspond on the issues of motion and stasis. I will make two comparisons.

First there is Goethe's description of Emma Lyon's work, which evokes a hazy, dream-like atmosphere in which facial gestures and body poses alternate in a surreal sequence. When Lyon moves, she 'macht eine Abwechslung von Stellungen, Gebärden, Mienen pp., daß man zuletzt wirklich meint man träume'. When Goethe compares the viewing experience to that of dreaming (*träumen*), he supports the claim that the *Laocoon* is best appreciated on a secondary level, with closed eyes. Literally, then, the viewer's eyes are closed in both the journal entry and the critical essay.

The second point of comparison is the ease with which Emma Lyon takes on different poses. Since she is able to alternate poses and expressions so smoothly, Goethe perceives her performance as a glut of images that need to be focused. He uses no less than twelve descriptive terms to explain her performance, stringing them together in an enthusiastic spurt: 'Stehend, kniend, sitzend, liegend, ernst, traurig, neckisch, ausschweifend, bußfertig, lockend, drohend, ängstlich'. The poses pass over the viewer with great frequency and variation, forcing him to make an effort to focus.

Goethe wrote that he experienced a similar tension between focus and a flow of gestures when he viewed the *Laocoon*. He described the statue as though it represented the most fruitful moment between two others: 'kurz vorher darf kein Teil des Ganzen sich in dieser Lage befunden haben, kurz hernach muß jeder Teil genötigt sein, diese Lage zu verlassen' (Goethe, 1, 47, p. 107). The *Laocoon* focused Goethe's vision on one particular stance, but he believes he perceived the statue in several other stances. The statue's paradoxical quality of latent

movement allows Goethe to see the preceding and following stances; these adjacent stances are then blocked out once he is able to focus on the *Laocoon* as we know it.

Emma Lyon appears in *Italienische Reise* as the manifestation of one pose among many; again, Goethe needs to make an effort at focusing in order to bring her out of the implied haze of a dream. Emma Lyon samples through a series of expressions, and holds certain ones for extended periods. Yet as I stated when I described the details of her performance, it is never patently clear when her pose has actually begun or ended. We cannot be sure if a pose begins once the performer has ceased to move or ends when she resumes movement. Just as the *Laocoon* struck Goethe with the power of latent movement, so Emma Lyon unsettles the viewer's perception by making him question one discrete unit, the pose, among many.

Next, we may compare those passages in Goethe's essay that draw a direct comparison between Lyon's *attitudes* and painting. Goethe describes the performances as a manifestation of a high goal that thousands of painters aspire to, but cannot achieve. His admiration for Emma Lyon's achievement is based on the three criteria of completion, variation, and movement. Comparing her performance to a painter's work, Goethe writes: 'Man schaut, was so viele tausend Künstler gerne geleistet hätten, hier ganz fertig, in Bewegung und überraschender Abwechslung'.

In order to glean as much as possible from Goethe's comparison, we should recall the pictorial aspects of Lyon's performances. She often took the themes of her poses from ancient murals, renaissance paintings, or classical statuary. Furthermore, Emma Lyon had been a professional painter's model before becoming Charles Greville's companion. The subjects of her performances in addition to her own professional background make clear that the performance event was close to a *tableau vivant*. The *tableau* genre is useful to us here because it foregrounds the painterly aspects of performance. Though Lyon's performance was too varied, improvisational, and bare to be

called a *tableau*, the term does explain why Goethe would compare the event he witnessed in Naples to a painter's endeavour.

Goethe uses three criteria to compare Lyon's work to a painter's: completion, variation, and movement. As I discuss these three criteria below, it will soon become apparent that the terms contradict each other. It is important to realize that these three terms exist in tension, because (as with the *Laocoon*) Goethe describes the aesthetic moment as if it existed on the paradoxical threshold of both movement and stasis. After I have examined all three of these criteria, it will become clear that the Lyon experience is paradoxically both static and dynamic – in effect, the performer has the effect of radiating.

First Criterion: Completion

First, Goethe claims that Lyon's performances attain completion. They are *ganz fertig*. This comment implies that most painters are unable to evoke the total presence of a human figure in their work, but that Emma Lyon is able to do so in hers. She is literally able to embody those figures that she represents on stage while a painter attempts to represent the human form on canvas with pigments. The question of embodiment in performance, however, is decidedly more complicated than simply having the actor's body physically present on stage and calling it total embodiment.

Twentieth-century performance studies have been preoccupied with the notion of embodiment since Brecht, and today, with the advent of virtual reality, the debate is even more intense. The eighteenth century also showed some concern for these questions. For instance, Joseph Roach presents two opposing schools of acting in the later part of the century. One camp believed that acting was a mechanical task, so that emotions have no real existence apart from their physiological manifestations (Roach, p. 84). The opposing camp endorsed a vitalist philosophy of acting, arguing that the performer's body contains a 'mine' of emotions within it. To act was to 'spring' this mine

(Roach, p. 96) and free a narrative that was embedded within the body.

The debate between the mechanical and the vitalist theories of acting gives one context in which to locate Emma Lyon's work. Goethe, for instance, would have been firmly allied with the mechanical school if we take his 'Regeln für Schauspieler' (1803) as indicative of his theatrical practice. There, he dictates the stance the actor must take whenever on stage, and goes so far as to suggest the precise way he should arrange his fingers: 'At Weimar the actor danced to the *regisseur's* tune . . . pressing his body into kinesthetic templates fashioned for him by the director' (Roach, p. 167).

Lyon's work, however, stands slightly outside the mechanical/vitalist debate because her performances were mute. The emotions she represented were purely gestural and the subject matter she chose was not only based on specific historical and mythological characters, but precise moments in those character's lives. Lyon did not have any narrative sequence within which to develop an emotion and then perform it, nor was she working with a contemporary playwright's rendition of a classical event. Her poses were prescribed by iconographic precedent and as a subset of that precedent her emotional gestures were prescribed as well.

Second Criterion: Variation

In order for us to analyze the question of embodiment in Emma Lyon's performances, Goethe's criterion of completion needs to be considered together with a second criterion he mentions in the same sentence, variation. Goethe admires the *überraschende Abwechslung* in Lyon's work, the ease with which she varied her poses. These frequent, accomplished variations place in doubt whether any of her given poses could be said to be complete. Goethe's descriptive term, *ganz fertig*, implies that each pose attains fulfillment and stasis. Further, Goethe's prioritizing of the *attitude* over a painting suggests that, in addition to being complete, the pose was also a moment of total embodiment, usually unavailable to visual artists.

A tension exists in Goethe's description of Lyon's work; he values both the claim to 'complete' embodiment as well as the pleasing variations the performer is able to effect. Holmström's account of the performances states that Lyon held her *attitudes* for ten minutes (p. 116). However, Goethe's description of his two evenings in Naples with Tischbein suggests a more frequent variation between *attitudes*. The exact rate of variation is not worth dwelling on here; instead, this tension between motion and stasis refers us back to Goethe's 'Über Laocoon', in which he aestheticized a similar tension between two states of movement. We recall Goethe's belief that, on viewing the *Laocoon*, the statue moved while his eyes were closed. Though the statue was immobile when he opened his eyes, it seemed to quiver before him, pushing past the boundary of immobility.

Our analysis of Emma Lyon's work also benefits from a tension felt around the boundary of immobility. Though it would be difficult for her body to attain the composure and balance of a composition in stone, her performances still trick the human eye by blurring the distinction between one *attitude* and the next. Since there is no way of locating the precise coordinates of one single and discrete *attitude* among her movements, a latent sense of motion pervades her body even when it comes to rest.

This perspective on Lyon's performances also has a retroactive effect. The boundaries between immobility and variation are most vague when Lyon is placing the final touches on a given *attitude*; the viewer is unsure when the discrete unit of the *attitude* has begun. However, Lyon's transition out of the *attitude* must have been obvious. She would break out of one *attitude* and start the longer process of arranging her costume and body for the next *attitude*. As she emerges out of one *attitude*, Lyon demarcates it as complete since it is now past. However, the viewer may well have been focusing on the fine-tuning and adjusting that Lyon had been engaging before the break. Retroactively, Lyon accomplishes total embodiment, but no one was aware of this achievement until it had passed.

Emma Lyon's poses wavered in and out of the categories of completion and variation. Better to grasp these mutual terms, Goethe's words on the *Laocoon* are useful. In his essay, he wrote that he perceived the statue's motion while his eyes were closed. When he reopened them, he saw a static object before him that seemed to have moved. I am suggesting the inverse of Goethe's *Laocoon* model for Emma Lyon's work. In her case, the viewer knows that she has just completed a pose when she moves out of it.

Just as Goethe never experienced the *Laocoon's* movement, Lyon's spectators never see her attain full completion in a single pose; the human body cannot attain such composure. But since her subjects were very often statues or paintings, and she performed in the context of archeology, her work aspired to immobility. She was able to achieve this in a secondary, implied, and retroactive fashion. Always moving but sometimes appearing static, Lyon shared the characteristics that Goethe so admired in the *Laocoon*: the overlap between categories of movement and stasis. The body that occupies those overlapped states of being radiates.

Third Criterion: Movement

In Goethe's last descriptive criterion, movement (*Bewegung*), Emma Lyon's work seems irreconcilable with painting. Goethe supplements his first claim, that the figure is complete, with the additional praise that it can actually move and maintain its completeness: 'Man schaut, was so viele tausend Künstler gerne geleistet hätten, hier ganz fertig, in Bewegung.' The criterion of movement is the most tangible distinction we have encountered so far between the *attitude* and the painting. The first two of Goethe's standards, completion and variation, were applicable to both the plastic arts and theatrical performances. Movement, however, is not available to painting.

Despite the limitations that painting faces, Goethe's admiration of Emma Lyon's *Bewegung* appears in the puzzling context of painting. Why would Goethe compare Lyon's work to a picture if his comparison is

then going to use criteria that painting cannot implement, such as movement? The answer lies in the fact that Goethe's vision for the neoclassical theatre was profoundly rooted in painterly terms. In 'Regeln für Schauspieler', he writes that, 'Das Theater ist als ein figurenloses Tableau anzusehen, worin der Schauspieler die Staffage macht' (Goethe, 1, 40, p. 428). By thus referring to the actor as the *staffage* of the picture, as the 'accessory' within it, Goethe underemphasizes the fact that the performer has movement at his disposal in order to endorse the human being's function as part of a pictorial composition.

Goethe states that Emma Lyon is able to achieve a painterly presence, yet she also brings movement to her work. His critical model seeks first to foreground the painterly aspects of the performer's presence on stage and then, once the performer has become pictorialized, Goethe admires her ability to move despite this complete visual embodiment. Movement alone, then, is not a quality that Goethe admires in performances of any genre. Confronted with the spectacle of a *commedia dell'arte* troupe performing improvisations of acrobatic intensity, their agility would not impress Goethe because the performance had not been sufficiently framed within a pictorial context.

Poussin's Style as an Ideal for Performance

In his conception of the theatre, Goethe believed that actors should aspire to a static physical presence on stage, as though they were part of a painterly composition. And such pictorial characteristics extended to all aspects of their lives. For instance, his rules for actors give the following advice on their comportment, even outside the theatre: 'wenn er für sich, oder mit seines gleichen beim essen zu Tische sitzt, soll er immer suchen ein Bild zu formieren, alles mit einer gewissen Grace anfassen, niederstellen pp als wenn es auf der Bühne geschähe, und so immer malerisch darstellen' (Goethe, 1, 40, p. 166).

The movements of the human body should strive to form a picture. By main-

taining this graceful comportment, the actor contributes to the theatrical effect that he prized most: the ability to transform the stage into a painting. In the stage directions to his 1808 drama, *Pandora*, Goethe wrote that the stage should be 'im großen Styl nach Poussinischer Weise gedacht' (Goethe, 1, 50, p. 296). Concerning the drama *Proserpina*, Goethe wrote in 1815 that, again, Poussin should serve as the stage designer's example.

Nicolas Poussin (1594-1665), whose work stands at the point of transition from the baroque to classicism, was central to Goethe's vision of stage design. Poussin's heroic landscapes were a model to which the theatre artist should aspire, 'dieser Künstler ist es, welcher dem Dekorateur [Bühnenbildner] im landschaftlichen und architektonischen Fache die herrlichsten Motive darbietet' (Goethe, 1, 40, p. 116). Goethe's 'Rules' make clear that the actor should envision himself in a painted composition; this larger composition, furthermore, should be specifically based on Poussin's classical discipline.

Goethe compared Emma Lyon's work to a painting using three criteria. With his term 'completion', he claimed that Lyon's performance was able fully to embody the representation of the human form on stage, making it *ganz fertig*. Above, I analyzed Goethe's use of the term *überraschende Abwechslung* (variation). I concluded that when these first two criteria are taken together, Lyon is only able to attain total embodiment retroactively because *Abwechslung* unsettles the viewer's ability to distinguish between movement and stasis. There is no discrete unit of the *attitude* in Emma Lyon's work except for the moment after she has broken out of a pose.

Finally, Goethe uses the term *Bewegung* (movement) in order to compare Lyon's work to painting. This last criterion, seemingly unavailable to painting as an artistic genre in the first place, led us to consider Goethe's view on the mutual relationship between stage performance and painting. Though the above references to critical writings by Goethe make clear that the stage

event should be a composed and classical visual phenomenon, we need to expand the precise role of movement within this static, visual domain.

Goethe's three criteria overlap and also contradict each other at points. Complete embodiment and variation, for instance, do not appear to be compatible terms. However, if we consider these three criteria as a triangular model within which to contain the Lyon *attitudes*, the classical body in performance emerges as a specific type of performance event. Returning now to the notion of the *fixierter Blitz*, we will summarize Goethe's theory of the pose by comparing it to Deleuze's writing on antiquity.

Earlier, I explained the *fixierter Blitz* by comparing it to a film still. We will entertain a cinematic analogy again as we turn to Deleuze, who helps us to arrange Goethe's terms of completion, variation, and movement in a model which we may then apply to performance. Echoing Goethe's notion of completion, he writes that, 'For antiquity, movement refers to intelligible elements, forms or ideas which are themselves eternal and immobile.' Deleuze continues with an observation on what is familiar to us as Goethean movement, which he sees – in a different context – as a

regulated transition from one form to another, that is an order of poses or privileged instants, as in a dance. The forms or ideas are supposed to characterize a period of which they express the quintessence, all the rest of the period being filled by the transition, of no interest in itself, from one form to another. (Deleuze, p. 4-8)

Static Focus as Quintessence

We recognize that although cinema is his ostensible subject, Deleuze's observations are also appropriate for the eighteenth-century *attitude*. His model establishes a hierarchy that ranks completion, what he calls quintessence, over movement. He does not mention variation. Variation has no place in Deleuze's model because he already associates movement with discrete forms: movement does not produce a variation of forms, as in Goethe's model. Form is already



'An idealized group of classical figures set against a landscape' in Nicolas Poussin's painting, *The Inspiration of the Epic Poet*, c. 1630 – 'just such a configuration as Goethe had recommended for the theatre designer to emulate' (Musée du Louvre, Département des Peintures, Paris).

an 'eternal and immobile' element to which movement refers.

Deleuze is most useful to us in separating the 'quintessential' moment from the less significant realm of movement. His model helps us to see that the classical gesture demands one moment of static focus which then 'achieves' the term quintessence. Such a moment of quintessence then radically re-evaluates all the gestural excess preceding and following the quintessential peak.

The peak moment is intense and splendid, and though the performer attains this

peak by movement, she then discards that aspect of her performance because it is useless once the peak is clear. When the viewer makes the resounding realization that the performer has arrived at the quintessential pose, the peak – or *Ganzheit*, as Goethe calls it – all other gesture becomes comparatively insignificant. What was earlier a sea of gestures that overwhelmed the viewer and confused the boundaries between one pose and the next comes sharply into focus.

Such ranking occurs in several other writings by Goethe. For instance, he repeats

the idea of the *fixierter Blitz* when he describes a classical relief that represents an ancient dancer: 'Die schöne Beweglichkeit der Übergänge . . . ist hier für einen Moment fixiert, so daß wir das Vergangene, Gegenwärtige und Zukünftige zugleich erblicken und schon dadurch in einen überirdischen Zustand verstezt werden' (Goethe, 1, 48, p. 144). The peak moment is *fixiert* and, as in Deleuze's model, the event gains access to a frozen moment isolated from the space in which the performance began.

The dancer in the relief also refers back to another fundamental precept in neoclassical performance: that the climax disrupts time measurements and exists in a realm beyond the traditional categories of past, present, or future. It follows then that Goethe should approve of the manner in which the viewer may 'das Vergangene, Gegenwärtige und Zukünftige zugleich erblicken', while viewing the relief cited above. By observing the performer's body at the static climax, the viewer enters 'dadurch in einen überirdischen Zustand', a continuum that contains past and future within it.

Instead of regarding this supermundane realm as the site of both past and present, we should think of it as a space in which temporal distinctions do not apply. When Goethe claims to glimpse past, present, and future in the dancer, he is describing the absence of time, not three distinct temporal categories. When the performer succeeds in evoking an unearthly sphere, the climactic moment exists in isolation from its gestural context. The peak dismisses the notions of transition or evolution in favour of one awesome *Augenblick*. Kiefer uses the term *plastische Semiosis* to discuss this moment of isolated splendour; it is a dramatic effect that Goethe endorsed at several points in his career (Kiefer, p. 266-82).

We turn now to a comparison between a painting by Poussin and Emma Lyon's work. To conclude our discussion of the *fixierter Blitz* in Goethe's theoretical writings, let us consider Goethe's description of a Pompeian fresco as his exhortation to the neoclassical stage performer. Just as the painted figures do, so should the performer

aspire 'die augenblicklichen Bewegungen aufzufassen, das Verschwindende festzuhalten, ein Vorhergehendes und Nachfolgendes simultan vorzustellen' (Goethe, 1, 49, p. 176). The classical form captured in a single instant will in turn allow the viewer into an exhilarating, infinite domain.

The Inspiration of the Epic Poet

Poussin's *Inspiration of the Epic Poet* (see previous page) gives us the opportunity to see an idealized group of classical figures set against a landscape. The painting (c. 1630) one of Poussin's major works, is just such a configuration as Goethe had recommended for the theatre designer to emulate.

The painting shows a group of three figures surrounded by *putti*. Calliope, the muse of epic poetry and eloquence, stands at the left of the painting; Apollo is seated in the centre with his right arm resting on a lyre. Both figures look right to the anonymous poet, who holds a quill and paper. The poet's eyes are directed upwards, toward a *putto* bearing laurel wreaths. Three volumes of epic poetry, the *Odyssey*, *Iliad*, and *Aeneid*, appear near the bottom of the painting. Two are strewn at Apollo's feet, and a *putto* holds the third volume in his hand.

We know of Goethe's interest in Poussin; by analyzing one of the artist's paintings, we will be able to extend the terms of Goethe's passage in *Italienische Reise* in which he compares Emma Lyon's work to painting. Both the painting and the performance stand out even in their own disciplines as exceptionally static. Secondly, this static event is in both cases intensely dynamic and vibrant. Despite the lack of motion, both pieces exhilarate a given viewer.

Emma Lyon's *attitudes* recall Poussin's painting if we consider Lyon and Calliope as analogous figures. Since Lyon often posed as one of the muses, the first parallel is in the works' similar subject matter. Also, the painting is remarkably static for a scene of apotheosis. Yet just as is evident from Goethe's description of Emma Lyon's performances, immobility is in both cases an occasion for intense confrontation between

the classical ideal and those who view it. Both performance and painting allow a moment of exhilaration and communion to occur between a classical body and her eager viewer.

Secondly, both painting and performance utilize the classical drape. Both pieces connect the drape with a specific light source that plays off the drapery to calculated effect. Calliope is the figure in closest proximity to what Verdi (p. 176) calls a 'caressing light' in the painting. Emma Lyon also engages a strong light source – sometimes a torch – in her work. Indeed, we may safely assume that the late eighteenth-century practice of viewing statues at night by torchlight sought to reproduce the luminous effect that Poussin was able to achieve with Calliope.

The drape is the determinant factor in the interplay between human body and light source. Given that neither the Poussin painting nor Lyon's performance show a nude body, it is the drape that communicates the contour of the classical body. The radiant phenomenon of the contour can function as a tactile, transportive, and even biologically living surface. When the drape falls against Calliope's and Emma Lyon's pale skin, the fabric mediates the interaction between light and flesh.

Lastly, the drape is clearly an erotic device. Poussin's painting accents the drape's open and breezy function as clothing by leaving Calliope's left breast exposed. Similarly, Emma Lyon's performances owed no small part of their appeal to the fact that one might glimpse her breast, belly, or thighs while she was performing.

Emma Lyon, erstwhile child prostitute, developed her performances at Naples to incorporate Sir William Hamilton's nearby archeological activity, the late eighteenth-

century fascination with antiquity, and – not least – her physical appeal. As such, her *attitudes* were built around a sophisticated balance that incorporated several aesthetic trends of her day. Goethe was drawn to this balance, and he incorporated it in his cutting edge vision for a new style of theatre, a pictorial theatre on the order of a painting by Poussin.

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Notes

1. Until 1791, she used both Hart and Lyon as surnames.
2. An inventory of Hamilton's collection, dated December 1798, reveals fourteen portraits of Emma. For future reference, we should also note that Hamilton owned two paintings by Poussin (Fothergill, p. 298-9).
3. Henriette Hendel-Schütz's work is an example.