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Flowers as Representations of Female Virtue in Nineteenth-Century Emblems and Emblematic Works

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Abstract

Compared to the emblem in the Renaissance, the nineteenth-century emblem revival remains largely ignored in the field of Emblem Studies, as does the role of women as creators of emblematic works. This thesis uses the paradigm of activity and passivity as observed by Laura Mulvey to examine the role of women in the nineteenth-century emblematic revival, in particular their role as image. Flowers were an important visual touchstone in the nineteenth century, and they were closely associated with the feminine as both women and flowers were visual objects. The nineteenth century saw a codification of gender roles that was well suited to the emblem as a didactic genre. For women, virtue was of the upmost importance, which in a nineteenth-century context was understood as a twofold concept of chastity and domesticity.

This thesis is principally comprised of two sections. In the first part, I use a close reading of a number of works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection at the University of Glasgow to explore developments in the format and content of the emblem during the nineteenth-century revival. These works fall into three distinct categories; new editions of emblem books published prior to 1800, new emblem books from nineteenth-century authors, and works in the emblematic Language of Flowers genre. Through the use of flowers, the older emblem books create a definition of female virtue that resonates with the nineteenth-century understanding of feminine virtue. The new emblem books of the nineteenth century are beholden to the earlier tradition, especially that of Francis Quarles, though the principal of text/image interdependence is lost in the newer tradition. In its format, the Language of Flowers challenges the gendered silencing in the fields of botany and emblematics, but in content, it maintains the male traditions.

The second section comprises a case study, using the images of the lily and the rose to examine the problematisation of gender in a selection of works by five creators; Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Honoré de Balzac, Charles Baudelaire, Christina Rossetti, and George Eliot. Away from the moral teachings of the emblem, these works utilise floral emblematics to explore the tensions inherent in the role of women as image. The gendered dynamic of activity/passivity as the relationship between gaze and visual object is challenged, as is the projection of the Ideal onto the visual object.

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For my parents, for their unerring support, especially for my brilliant mother, who has read through this entire thesis and put up with a number of panicked phone calls.

For Gwen, for being my rock, my sounding board, for reminding me to eat and that the outdoors exists.

Not for my anxiety, you were no help at all.

Introduction

Compared to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century zenith of the genre, the nineteenth-century emblematic revival remains relatively ignored in the field of Emblem Studies, as does the role of women as creators and consumers of emblems. This study, therefore, aims to analyse the emblematic revival in its nineteenth century context, looking to see how the emblem changed in format and purpose and how emblematics featured in nineteenth-century culture. There will be particular focus on the female role in emblematics and how emblems of the nineteenth-century talked about and to women. I will examine the emblematic tradition of the nineteenth-century in the context of feminist criticism, principally the framework established by Laura Mulvey of the passivity inherent in the role of women as image as it relates to the active male role in the creation of that image.[1]

Considering the potential breadth of such a study, this thesis focuses upon a principal theme and a principal image as lenses through which to view the nineteenth-century emblematic revival and analyse their representation within contemporaneous emblematic works: the flower and female virtue. Both the flower as an image, and female virtue as it was understood throughout the era are intrinsically linked to the nineteenth-century understanding of womanhood.

Furthermore, given the scope of this project, I draw solely upon the Stirling Maxwell Collection for primary emblem sources. The breadth and variety of the Collection lends it well to a detailed analysis of nineteenth-century emblem publication. Sir William Stirling Maxwell formed the Collection throughout the mid- to late- nineteenth century and upon his death in 1878, the number of emblem books exceeded a thousand.[2] In addition to being an avid collector of emblem books, Stirling Maxwell also played an active role in the

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[1] Mulvey, Laura, *Visual and Other Pleasures* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

[2] There are various figures provided with regards to the actual number of emblem books in Stirling Maxwell's collection on the occasion of his death, but there were some 1200 emblem books in the Collection in 1958, when it was bequeathed to the University of Glasgow by Sir William Stirling Maxwell's son. Figure provided by David Weston in 'A brief introduction to the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Emblem Books at the University of Glasgow,' Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department, 2 Sep. 2019 < https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_197709_smxx.pdf>

emblem revival, principally as a scholar – he was the President of the Holbein Society upon its foundation in Manchester in 1868, which was dedicated to Renaissance visual culture.[3] The Holbein Society produced a number of facsimile reprints of emblem books, such as the 1870 and 1871 editions of Alciato, held within the Stirling Maxwell Collection. Given that Stirling Maxwell's collection was 'the most important… of his day,'[4] it is the ideal basis on which to form a study of the nineteenth-century revival. His collection reflects the English aspect of the revival itself, reflecting the themes most of interest to the Victorian emblematist. The Stirling Maxwell Collection includes a number of books from the Language of Flowers genre, and their inclusion in his collection speaks to their value to the field of emblematics, despite their exclusion from previous academic accounts of the nineteenth-century revival.

In order to commence this study, a number of key concepts must be established. The first of these is what is meant by the terms 'emblem' and 'emblematic' as they are defined in Emblem Studies. The second concerns what virtue meant for women in the nineteenth century and the effect the expectation of virtue had upon the role of women in society. Lastly, I shall explore the popularity of the flower as a motif in nineteenth-century culture and why the factors contributing to this popularity lend the flower to the analysis of the nineteenth-century emblematic revival from a feminist perspective.

The Emblem

Outside of the field of Emblem Studies, the emblem as a genre is somewhat obscure, with the word 'emblem' often used synonymously with 'symbol', likewise with 'emblematic' and 'symbolic.' Within Emblem Studies, the emblem has no concrete definition, with the meaning often changing from one generation of scholars to the next. Therefore, a working definition for both 'emblem' and 'emblematic' is necessary for their use in the context of this thesis.

[3] Höltgen, Karl Josef, *Aspects of the Emblem* (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 1986), p156.
[4] Ibid, p158.

In her article 'What is an Emblem?' Elizabeth K Hill uses the etymological roots of the word emblem to help define the genre – coming from the Greek word εμβλημα meaning inlay, the image in an emblem is intrinsic in its interpretation.[5] For Hill, what is distinctive of an emblem is that 'it integrates an actual picture with a poem instead of suggesting one by verbal means.'[6] They are of a tripartite structure; motto, image and poem, and mostly structured so that the image is 'inlaid' between motto and poem.

There is, however, limitation in this somewhat strict definition as Alison Saunders argues – there was no uniformity of practice in the creation of emblem books,[7] especially since they were both pan-European and pan-denominational as a genre. Though she does agree that the tripartite structure usually applies, it is not definite. When giving her 'inlaid' definition, Hill uses the example of Alciato, author of the first emblem book, published in 1531, *Emblemata,* which gave name to the genre. Saunders, however, argues that even in this case, it is possible that Alciato had not intended for the addition of pictures, as *Emblemata* was initially a collection of epigrams and thusly the message can be gleaned without the image being necessary.[8] Furthermore, the early French emblem book *Theatre des bons engins* also fails to abide by the tripartite structure as the emblems contain no mottos and are instead simply numbered. However, the book was placed firmly in the tradition of Alciato's emblems by the author Guillaume de la Perrière himself.[9]

Beyond the structural definition, emblems prove a little easier to define. They are often didactic; with the intended outcome generally being a lesson either moral or spiritual in nature. The images within emblems contain their own set of codified meanings – objects depicted held a variety of allegorical interpretations, many of which were derived from classical antiquity. For example, the image of the ouroboros signified eternity in hieroglyphics – whilst

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[5] Hill, Elizabeth K., 'What Is an Emblem?', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, vol.29 (1970), 261–65 <https://doi.org/10.2307/428607>, p261.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Saunders, Alison, 'Picta Poesis: The Relationship Between Figure and Text in the Sixteenth-Century French Emblem Book', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol.48 (1986), 621–52, p624.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid, p630.

this basic meaning was expanded upon by Alciato to denote immortality through knowledge.[10]

The term emblematic is perhaps yet more difficult to define. As Hill attests, there is a problem in the conflation of emblem as a genre and emblem in a more modern sense as synonym for symbol.[11] This lack of distinction is even trickier with regards to emblematic. In the context of this thesis, emblematic will be used to describe works that behave in a similar way to emblems in their use of the iconographic text/image relationship yet either they derive from a different form of media or deviate from the traditional emblem book. This is the case with works belonging to the Language of Flowers genre, which I have termed emblematic.

Female Virtue in the Nineteenth-Century

Taking into account the didactic nature of emblems, particularly with regards to questions of morality, they prove an ideal medium in the nineteenth century through which to explore the issue of female virtue, which throughout the period had a very particular definition.

Female virtue was considered a matter of utmost importance from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth. In the idealised world of fictional courtships, extreme virtue could compensate for a lack of definite property. This was no more so, perhaps, than in Samuel Richardson's novel *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded*, wherein the eponymous heroine's resistance to her employer, the landowner Mr. B's attempts to seduce/rape her sees her eventually rewarded, as the title suggests, by him eventually choosing to marry her because of her virtuousness.[12]

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[10] In a footnote, Saunders also mentions the ouroboros as a means to illustrate the use of images by emblematists, p631.
[11] Hill, p261 and p265.
[12] Vallone, Lynne, *Disciplines of Virtue: Girls' Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) and Armstrong, Nancy, *Desire and Domestic Fiction: A Political History of the Novel* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) cover eighteenth century fiction in detail, with particular reference to *Pamela*.

At the most basic level, virtue can be used interchangeably with terms such as chastity and virginity.[13] For young women, a chaste reputation was vital, and even excessive flirtation before engagement or, after the fact, public exhibitions of affection towards her betrothed could prove to be damaging.[14] As noted in *Desire and Domestic Fiction* 'by definition respectability required [a woman's] sexual repression;'[15] and further virtue could be found in the charitable practice of rehabilitating the 'fallen women' of society – those that were publicly known to have lost their virginity; particularly prostitutes and unwed mothers.[16] Such sentiments towards chastity are echoed in nineteenth-century French society – of the certain conditions to be viewed as one of 'les femmes vertueuses', virtue is considered 'la première condition et la plus rigoureuse.[17]' For the French, the inequality in standards governing sexual behaviour is best exemplified by the articles regarding divorce in The Napoleonic Civil Code – a man could divorce his adulterous wife and she could then spend up to two years in 'une maison de correction'; whilst a wife could only divorce her adulterous husband 'lorsqu'il aura tenu sa concubine dans la maison commune.'[18] For men, their value in society was comprised of many factors whilst women 'n'étaient responsables de rien dans la vie excepté de leur honneur et de leurs enfants.[19]'

Yet, to characterise virtue as being simply analogous with virginity or chastity is insufficient, especially in our nineteenth-century context, because in both French and English societies, the notion of domesticity had become intrinsic to the concept of virtue. Domestic virtue encompassed the female roles of 'lady, housekeeper, wife, and mother;'[20] and such publications as women's magazines emphasised that one 'need not go beyond their own home to employ

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[13] Dr Johnson described 'the chastity of women' as being the matter on which 'all property depends,' referencing the importance of virtuousness in the consideration of a woman's marriageability – Vallone, p49.

[14] Steinbach, Susie, *Women in England 1760-1914: A Social History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), p112. See also Peterson, M. Jeanne, *Family, Love, and Work in the Lives of Victorian Gentlewomen* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), p75.

[15] Armstrong, p165.

[16] The relationship between charity, virtue and the fallen woman is discussed in more detail in Vallone, p7-20.

[17] Faillie, Marie Henriette, *La Femme et Le Code Civil Dans La Comédie Humaine d'Honoré de Balzac* (Paris: Didier, 1968), p16 and 97.

[18] Ibid, p205-7.

[19] Ibid, p193.

[20] Steinbach, p3.

themselves.'[21] However, there is no coincidence that the 'ideal' women is a member of the bourgeoisie or middle classes[22]– in placing domestic virtue as an important part of female value, virtuousness quickly excludes working class women, who cannot afford to avoid the male sphere of employment beyond the family home.[23]

So, then, female virtue in the nineteenth century is a twofold concept – one of chastity and domesticity – that is largely reserved for the upper echelons of society.

Why Flowers?

The choice to focus upon flowers in an exploration of nineteenth-century imagery is a clear one. Beyond their established link to women, particularly those that fit the nineteenth-century mould of virtue, flowers were quite simply very popular in the period, in their own right in houses and gardens, and also as imagery in various media.

The image of the flower follows on naturally from the nineteenth-century definition of virtue in its association with women. Women were typically allied with the floral on the basis of shared stereotypes – that they are small of stature, fragile and of a great, impermanent beauty.[24] Flowers as a touchstone of femininity more precisely typify the alignment between nature and the virtuous gentlewoman of the country, who exemplifies these ideal feminine traits, unlike the women of the city, who were out of touch with nature and in the domain of men.

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[21] *Englishwoman's Domestic Magaazine* quoted in Beetham, Margaret, *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), p65.

[22] Schor, Naomi, 'Mother's Day: Zola's Women' in Baguley, David (ed.), *Critical Essays on Emile Zola* Critical Essays on World Literature. (Boston, Mass: G.K. Hall, 1986), p136. See also Vallone, p7.

[23] The relationship between virtue and employment is a common theme, but best discussed in Beetham, p22-3, 27-8 and 65.

[24] Seaton, Beverly, *The Language of Flowers: A History* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), p17.

With regards to the popularity of flowers in the nineteenth century, contemporary sources attest to the commonplace nature of the flower garden in both France and Britain. At the turn of the century, the gardens of Malmaison formed a tribute to Josephine's well-documented love of flowers, though such enjoyment was not confined to the upper echelons of society.[25] Lady Sydney Morgan, upon writing of her 1816 visit to France commented that 'the finest flowers in France are now to be found in the peasants' gardens' whilst Thomas Meechan, writing in *The Gardener's Monthly* later in the century, observed the prevalence of flowers in the urban centre of Paris: 'the roofs, the windows, the backyards – wherever it is possible to stow away a flower, a flower is found.'[26] In Britain, most notably England, the garden has a longstanding history. In his history of the Victorian Flower Garden, Geoffrey Taylor claims that 'all England was a garden' prior to the Industrial Revolution and 'almost everyone in Great Britain was a gardener'[27]. The use of 'garden' to describe large geographical areas is a common theme – the moniker 'the Garden of England' has historically been applied to a number of counties; the term causes a debate in *Emma* between the eponymous heroine and Mrs Elton as to whether it applies to solely Surrey or several other counties.[28]

In the English gardening tradition, the passage from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century also marked the transition from the more naturalistic tradition of 'landscape' gardening, which aimed to remove all straight lines from the garden in an attempt to replicate nature; to a more flower-focused tradition[29]. The first half of the century saw the rise of the gardenesque style, which relied on the principles of 'bedding-out' – this swapped the year-round natural-seeming garden for one of elaborate design and flower beds that were kept bare until being planted in late-Spring with plants that flowered on a similar timescale to create richly patterned floral carpets.[30]

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[25] Ibid, p5.
[26] Both quoted ibid.
[27] Taylor, Geoffrey, *The Victorian Flower Garden* (London: Skeffington, 1952), p11.
[28] Austen, Jane, *Emma* (London: Penguin Classics, 2015) p254. In the notes regarding the Chapter Fiona Stafford remarks that the name is most commonly applied to Kent.
[29] Taylor, p27-8.
[30] Ibid, p70-1. See also Seaton p6.

Furthermore, the early nineteenth century saw the foundation of the Royal Horticultural Society (1804) and the Caledonian Horticultural Society (1809), which were succeeded by many more such groups, especially those on a local level, the so-called 'Cottage Garden Societies.'[31] These groups were the driving force behind the rise of flower shows, that similarly ranged in scale – in 1866 the International Horticultural Exhibition was held in London and ticket sales at the door raised over £5,000; whilst a few months later the Woburn Cottage Garden Society's annual show drew a reported crowd of 4000.[32]

Botany and Romanticism

However, flora was not merely confined to gardening; the turn of the nineteenth century marked the zenith of botany. As a scientific pursuit, botany was particularly popular because of its accessibility; plants were readily available to most and the most simple and widely used system for plant classification was that devised by Carl Linnaeus.[33] The Linnaean System brought the asexual plant into the sexualised arena of the gender binary, thusly mirroring the duality of the woman as a chaste yet sexual object. With the nineteenth-century codification of gender roles came the creation of 'male' and 'female' as biologically distinct constructs which enforced their differing places in the societal hierarchy. The Linnaean system further replicated a patriarchal structure by reducing the plant kingdom first down to classes, as categories, which were based upon the number of stamens (assigned male), then down to the orders, as subcategories, which counted the 'female' parts of a flower – the pistils.

The subjugation of the feminine to the masculine features in nineteenth century botany, not just through the Linnaean System, but also through the issues that arose in the field of botanical study itself. The Language of Flowers as a genre was allied with the amateur's pursuit of botany, for though they were symbolic and sentimental rather than scientific in nature, they often cited both

[31] Taylor, p189.
[32] Ibid, p187-9.
[33] Shteir, Ann B., *Cultivating Women, Cultivating Science: Flora's daughters and botany in England 1760-1860* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996) p13.

the common and scientific, Latin names for plants and made reference to Linnaeus; such as the early American example by EW Wirt, *Flora's Dictionary*, which includes the Linnaean system as reference section as an introduction to the dictionary. This form of botany was also termed literary botany and was linked to the feminine practice of botanical research.[34]

However, the accessibility of botanical study led to a movement in the first half of the century to defeminise and professionalise the field, separating scientific botany from the polite botany of amateurs. In his inaugural lecture in 1829, John Lindley, the University of London's first professor of Botany, lamented the tendency 'to undervalue the importance of this science, and to consider it an amusement for ladies rather than an occupation for the serious thoughts of man.'[35] Lindley rejected the sexual and gendered Linnaean system of classification in his lecture, whilst still acknowledging its simplicity and the role it had in 'superficial' botany; instead he favoured the newer continental mode of Antoine Laurent de Jussieu and Augustin Pyramus de Candolle that focused on the structure of plants and comparative physiology.[36] An important aspect of this process for Lindley was to 'reduce the language in which plants are described to a uniform standard'[37]; thus moving away from the inconsistencies that could arise from the more literary botanic writings of the late eighteenth century.

Though it is limited to view Romanticism as a reactionary counterpoint to the Industrial Revolution and its associated scientific progress, such an argument has merit in the case of flowers. As a visual touchstone, particularly with regards to the Language of Flowers, floral imagery provided a level of emotion and interpretation within amateur botany. It was the vague nature of these emotional interpretations that Lindley had succeeded in counteracting within botany's scientific community.[38]

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[34] Englehardt, Molly, 'The Language of Flowers in the Victorian Knowledge Age' *Victoriographies,* vol.3 no.2 (2013) pp136-160, p136.
[35] Shteir, p157.
[36] Ibid p155.
[37] Engelhardt, p141.
[38] Ibid, 141-2 discusses the divide between amateur and scientific botany and the gendered nature of this divide.

Floral emblematics such as the Language of Flowers worked upon the basis that there is 'no word for Word, only displaced metaphors of it,'[39] that is to say that no word can be defined perfectly, as words other than the word itself must be used to define it, bringing a level of inexactitude based on one's own interpretation of the definition. As with words, flowers could vary in meaning and sentiment depending on the interpretation, being natural representations of an effort to understand humanity and the human experience. This was in complete contradiction with the language used by the scientific botanists like Lindley, which was utilitarian – plain and standardised by design to avoid precisely the kind of room for interpretation on which the Language of Flowers and other such genres thrived. George Eliot best described the reasoning for this rejection of the scientific, principally by the creators of literature; 'a language that has no uncertainty, no whims of idiom…might be a perfect medium of expression to science, but will never express life, which is a great deal more than science.'[40] Eliot herself was an avid user of literary botany, including instances of these floral codes in both her novels and her personal correspondence;[41] and thus, she aligned herself clearly with the literary pursuit of botany as a means of understanding the human condition.

Orientalism

Although the emblematic use of flowers had long existed in the West,[42] the nineteenth-century brand of floral symbolism – most clearly exemplified by the Language of Flowers genre – relied upon a range of influences; from the West, but also from the Orient.[43] At the end of the eighteenth century, the Orient was incredibly popular as a topic for both fiction and academic study; indeed, there was an entire field – Orientalism – devoted to the study of 'Eastern' peoples and their traditions. However, in the case of the Language of Flowers, these were

[39] Miller, J. Hillis, 'Nature and the Linguistic Moment.' In U.C Knoepflmacher and G.B Tennyson (eds.), *Nature and the Victorian Imagination* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) pp440-454, p448.
[40] George Eliot, quoted in Engelhardt, p151.
[41] Ibid, p150.
[42] The symbolic use of flowers in the West can be dated back to Classic antiquity, and emerges in the likes of heraldry, religion and Shakespeare. The cultural uses of flowers in the Classical world is discussed in Chapter 2 of Goody, Jack, *The Culture of Flowers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) pp28-72.
[43] Seaton, p 38-9 and p62-4.

largely misinterpreted traditions, altered to fit Western notions of Oriental courtship and symbolism.[44] These traditions were drawn from multiple distinct cultures that were combined into the history of the romantic, generalised 'Orient.' As the Orient was viewed from the West as a geographic singularity, the narrative of the Language of Flowers spoke to the universal nature of floral symbolism and the floral-loving people of the East.[45] The Orient as viewed in the context of Orientalism is allied with the feminine, in comparison to the masculine West and the attitude of subjugation, or 'civilising' the East,[46] that featured in Orientalist works evokes the perceived masculine superiority that dominated nineteenth-century botanical discourse. In associating the Orient with the flower, especially the flower in the context of amateur, literary botany, this gendered difference between East and West is further cemented. This therefore ties the relation between them to the sexual, to the simplified understanding of the world through the gender binary, a principal tenet of Linnaean botany.

The understanding of the origin of Language of Flowers in the nineteenth century speaks to the concept of the Ideal, of the imposition of an idealised masculine, in this case Western, view onto the image of the feminine, one that is at odds with the reality of this feminine aspect. The main origin for the Language of Flowers, as cited in a number of introductions to nineteenth-century floral dictionaries, was the Turkish sélam. The sélam was a parlour-game of sorts, a language of objects that used well-known sayings and represented them with a rhyming object.[47] However, through the accounts of Seigneur Aubry de la Mottraye and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the sélam was presented to the West as a more serious language, a secret language of lovers that could be used for communication between a girl in the harem and her lover outside.[48] Both Montagu and Mottraye use examples of 'Turkish love letters' – a collection of objects wrapped in a handkerchief to convey a message of love.[49]

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[44] Ibid, p65.
[45] The universal love of flowers in the Orient appears in the introductions to a number of Floral Dictionaries, such as EW Wirt.
[46] The sexual component to the East-West relationship is best discussed in Edward Saïd's seminal work *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 2003).
[47] Ibid, p63.
[48] Ibid, p62-3.
[49] Ibid.

Despite misrepresenting the sélam as a more serious form of communication, particularly one of passion, neither make the assertion that the sélam was just a language of flowers; in one of her letters, Montagu does mention flowers as part of the sélam, but not the sole constituent part: 'there is no colour, no flower, no weed, no fruit, herb, pebble or feather that has not a verse belonging to it.'[50] In fact, this connection between the Language of Flowers as it appeared in the nineteenth century and the sélam seems to have arisen from the popular use of exotic flowers and gardens in Oriental romances written for Western audiences,[51] thus aligning the sélam with the Western, romanticised notion of courtship in the Orient.

However, the sélam was not the only Oriental influence upon the Language of Flowers. The aesthetics of China were especially popular in Western Europe throughout the eighteenth century thanks to the fashion of *chinoiserie*. As evidence of the universality of flower symbolism, Victorian commentators also reached to the 'flower-loving' Chinese and their tradition of floral symbolism.[52]

It is in this regard that the imposition of the masculine Ideal is most apparent in the origins of the Language of Flowers in the nineteenth-century Western canon. This floral symbolism was combined into the Western notion of the sélam as a language of love represented by objects, thus giving us the Language of Flowers. Yet, unsurprisingly, the Oriental tradition of floral symbolism, principally centred around China, differs from that of the West, in part because of the geographical factor of which plants are available.[53] Due to the heavy influence of romance and passion on the Western interpretations of Oriental traditions, there is another large difference in how floral symbolism was used – in the West, the symbolic use of flowers relied heavily upon the language of romance and courtship, in part due to the influence of Montagu and Mottraye's writings on the sélam. In China, however, there is very little

[50] Montagu, quoted ibid, p62.
[51] The use of flowers and gardens in Oriental romance is discussed in more detail in Seaton, p64-5.
[52] Ibid, p38.
[53] Ibid, p39.

representation of romance, in fact there is no flower to signify 'love'.[54] The East Asian meanings attached to flowers concern more general aspects of life: fertility, longevity, success, friendship.[55] The incorporation of the Chinese aspects of floral symbolism into the Language of Flowers is based upon an incorrect Western Ideal of the flower in Eastern cultures.

In the case of the Language of Flowers, the Western tendency to over romanticise the East presents itself clearly. This tendency exemplifies the sexual undertones of the relationship between Occident and Orient as told from the Western perspective. The narrative of colonial relationship fed into the gendered roles. The male European tradition was civilising to the subordinate female Orient; just as the nineteenth-century understanding of womanhood was aligned with nature and the country whilst society and the city was the domain of men. Furthermore, the imposition of the Western viewpoint such that it obscures the real nature of flowers in Oriental cultures evokes the Ideal and the male perception of woman overshadowing women's own reality, a theme that emerges most strongly in Honoré de Balzac's novel, *Le lys dans la vallée*.

This thesis will be composed of two principal parts; the first regards the use of floral imagery in the nineteenth-century emblem revival, whilst the second comprises a case study that analyses the use of floral emblematics in cultural works from five different nineteenth-century creators.

The emblem revival can be categorised into three distinct forms of publication; the new editions of earlier emblem books, the new emblems books produced by the nineteenth-century revivalists and emblematic works. With regards to the latter category, this concerns works that deviate from emblems in terms of format or content yet are still closely allied to the emblem tradition; in the context of this thesis, the focus will be upon the works in the Language of Flowers genre.

[54] Ibid, p40.
[55] Ibid, p40-1.

Firstly, I discuss the newer editions of older emblem books, where floral motifs are less pronounced. These works were produced by mainly male creators and so they therefore use the didacticism of the emblem to impose virtue upon women. The lily and the rose are the flowers that feature most prominently and their association with the Virgin Mary ties the floral to the concept of female virtue.

The newer emblems of the nineteenth-century are beholden to the Renaissance emblem tradition and so they try to closely emulate the behaviours of their predecessors, though the understanding of the interdependence of text and image in the emblem is diminished. A newer development is the incorporation of the flower into the emblematics of the garden, following from the shift in horticulture to focus upon the flower garden. This places the flower into the narrative of Eden, imparting on women the need for virtue as repentance for Original Sin.

However, the Language of Flowers was allied with the feminine perspective. The flower is not a passive image onto which the didactic emblematic message is imposed, but rather it is given its own active voice. These books bear many similarities to the emblem genre, and their exclusion from prior studies parallels the trivialisation of other subjects allied with the feminine as being lesser than their masculine counterparts, as is the case with the gendered divide in botany.

The case study focuses upon the lily and the rose as they featured in the floral emblematics of the era. This thesis covers works from five principal creators, encompassing both masculine and feminine perspectives. These five creators represent a selection of nineteenth-century culture, as there are numerous possibilities for works that utilise floral emblematics. Broadly speaking, these works use the image of the flower in treating the idea of the woman as image; therefore exploring the idea of looking at that image and the male gaze, and the Ideal the male gaze then imposes upon the image of the feminine.

The gaze is explored in a number of paintings by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and in the 1862 poem *Goblin Market,* written by his sister Christina. These works play with the concept of looking as a masculine action and disturb the passivity of the feminine visual object. Dante Gabriel Rossetti utilises the direction of the gaze of his female portrait to communicate a variety of gendered narratives, whilst Christina Rossetti invokes the concept of looking back, whilst challenging the gendered nature of the gaze itself.

The theme of the Ideal features strongly in *Le lys dans la vallée,* wherein Balzac problematises the Ideal, as represented by the image of the lily, and the effect the imposition of the Ideal has upon the real woman beneath the image. In *Les Fleurs du Mal*, Charles Baudelaire uses flowers and floral imagery to challenge the concept of the Ideal itself, transforming it into something of disgust. In *Middlemarch*, George Eliot also builds upon the Ideal, allying it with the masculine, scientific worldview in the character of Lydgate. This therefore exposes the Ideal to her criticism of the language of scientific botany especially, as being an insufficient representation of reality and the human experience.

A number of themes arise with regards to flowers and women in the nineteenth century. In allying the floral with the feminine, it too becomes subject to the male order. The gendered dynamic of subjugation applies to a variety of concepts that are tied to the feminine, such as the organisation of the Linnaean System and the division between the male-allied scientific botany and its feminine counterpart, amateur and literary botany. This dynamic also emerges in Orientalism, in Western attitudes to the East, where the masculine order also projects an Ideal onto an image of the feminine. In the nineteenth-century, the Ideal is principally one of virtue, and it is projected not only onto women, but also onto things that were associated with the feminine, such as flowers.

Part 1 – Image and Voice: Women, Flowers and Floral Motifs in the Nineteenth-Century Emblem

As discussed in the introduction, the flower was an extremely important motif in the nineteenth century. This section will examine the flower as a representation of feminine virtues within the emblems of the nineteenth century. Considering the kinship between women and flowers in imagery, the floral motifs in these emblem books demonstrate the historic passivity of the role of women as image though the ways they talk about women, as they discuss women without necessarily addressing them as an audience. This therefore creates a tension between the female creators and emblematic didacticism.

The emblem as a genre had dwindled in production throughout the eighteenth century, with an uptick in emblem publication and engagement becoming visible towards the end of the first decade of the new century. Karl Josef Höltgen describes this increase in terms of 'a stream' when compared to the 'steady trickle' of the eighteenth century,[56] a claim that is evident even in the immediate comparison of sizes of bibliographies of English emblem books published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[57] As Michael Bath argues, the number of new emblem titles published after 1700 – 'around twenty'- is comparable to the 'thirty or so' individual titles that encompass the English emblem tradition prior to the eighteenth century.[58]

This renaissance was strongest in England, where the emblem itself had been less established during its 16th and 17th century zenith, though there was also the development of the emblem genre across the Atlantic, in the newly established United States.[59] This is likely due to the increased religiosity in both

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[56] Höltgen, p141-2.

[57] Bibliographies of English-language emblem books for 1700-1799 and 1800-1899, as appendices by Peter M Daly, 'What happened to the English Emblems During the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries?' in Bagley, Ayers L, Edward M Griffin and Austin J McLean (eds.), *The Telling Image: Explorations in the Emblem* (New York: AMS, 1996) pp227-272, Appendix A p252-257, Appendix B p258-272.

[58] Bath, Michael, *Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture* (London and New York: Longman, 1994), p255.

[59] This is demonstrated through the number of American emblem books held in the Stirling Maxwell Collection. See Appendix, 'Chronological Bibliography of French- and English-Language Emblematic Books Published from 1800-1899 and held in the Stirling Maxwell Collection, Glasgow University Library.'

countries; by 1850, more than half of British and American churchgoers belonged to evangelical denominations.[60] Evangelical Protestantism was able to reconcile itself with the values brought by the Englightenment, creating a 'moral modernity.'[61] This morality was tied to capitalism, raising hard work as a moral virtue.[62] Gender roles were also codified by this morality and so for women hard work was confined to the domestic sphere.[63] Yet Protestantism was concerned with the secularising influence of the Enlightenment and therefore the middle classes underwent efforts to evangelise the labouring poor through Bible teachings and instruction on virtuous living.[64] These behaviours paired well with the didacticism of the emblem. The surge in emblem production reached its height in the middle of the century and began to peter off again towards the end of the century, with very few emblem books being published in after 1880.[65]

The nineteenth century in emblem production is best characterised by three distinct categories of emblematic works; reproductions of emblem books published prior to 1800, new nineteenth-century emblem books, and a number of emblematic books that behave similarly to the emblem book but deviate from the emblem in style.

Of these categories of emblem books, the first category is by far and away the largest – the new editions of old emblem books. Given that England was an important centre for the emblem renaissance, there were a number of translations into English of European works, but the majority of reprints was of English emblem books, produced principally in the 17th century. Without question the most reproduced of these books was *Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes* by Francis Quarles, of which at least twenty new editions were published in the

[60] Getz, Trevor R., *The Long Nineteenth Century 1750-1914: Crucible of Modernity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018) p46.
[61] Ibid, p50.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid, p48.
[65] See Appendix.

nineteenth century[66] – the Stirling Maxwell Collection holds twelve nineteenth-century editions of Quarles.[67]

Amongst these new emblem book editions, I am including the facsimile editions such as the 1870 edition of Alciato[68] - these editions were printed in small numbers and intended for academic pursuits and study by the emblem scholar. There were other, less formal editions that reproduced their originals less faithfully – in some cases, new accompanying images were created, whilst in others the image portion of the emblem was cut from the books.

Following on from this is the second category of nineteenth-century emblem books – those that were newly published during the period. A number of these books placed themselves in the tradition of the English emblem book and often specifically aligned themselves with the work of Quarles.[69] Though these books were more or less faithful to the tripartite structure of the emblem, their images were far more illustrative in general, failing to replicate the interdependence between the text and image that were more characteristic of the genre as a whole. As Höltgen notes, this loss in understanding of emblematic principles is also evident in several of those editions given new illustrations, namely the 1861 edition of Quarles.[70] With this in mind, it is perhaps understandable why Rosemary Freeman did not see fit to continue her bibliography after 1700.[71] Though, and as Daly acknowledges, Freeman was operating 'on the basis of a narrow conception of the emblem as a genre,'[72] this change in the role of the image, from integral to merely illustrative represents a fundamental change in the emblem of the nineteenth century. However, it is reductive of Freeman to dismiss the books of the nineteenth-century revival on

[66] Höltgen, Karl Josef, 'Francis Quarles's *Emblemes aand Hieroglyphikes:* Some Historical and Critical Perspectives' in Bagley, pp1-28, p2.
[67] See Appendix. As Höltgen notes in *The Telling Image*, Quarles's emblems were also published under the title *Emblems Divine and Moral,* though this was unauthorised and did not appear until c.1718.
[68] See Appendix.
[69] The best example of this is *Divine Emblems* by Jonathan Birch, who cites Quarles upon the title page.
[70] Bagley, p2.
[71] Freeman, quoted in Bagley, p227.
[72] Bagley, p228.

the basis of this change, as their format and content still places these works within the emblem tradition.

The third and final category is potentially the most controversial, given my choice to include it here in my analysis of emblem books as opposed to in the later chapter on emblematic cultural works. These are the symbolic dictionaries, a particular Victorian innovation, which arose out of the knowledge culture of the era and the need to classify and categorise applied to the emblematic tradition.[73] These works are not entirely without precursor in the emblematic tradition itself, as they are similar in nature to the iconographic repertoires such as *Heiroglyphica* by Piero Valeriano, *Speculum Imaginum Veritatis Occultae* by Jacob Masen and *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa.[74]

Despite this precedent, these symbolic dictionaries have been overlooked in any analysis of the nineteenth century emblem revival but given the nature of the Victorians' attitude to knowledge and study in particular, it would be remiss to exclude anything so emblematic in nature as these books. The symbolic dictionaries are one form of a number of emblematic genres, such as nineteenth-century children's pop-up books and the Dance of Death.[75] These symbolic dictionaries cover a wide range of thematic categories but can also be more general in nature. In this thesis, I will be exclusively discussing floral emblem dictionaries, which ascribe certain meaning to flowers. In *Aspects of the Emblem*, Höltgen argues that though there is no 'clear continuity with Renaissance emblem books,' the emblematic nature of the Language of Flowers and the format of the books themselves would allow for one to 'make a good case' for their inclusion in the emblem tradition.[76] Unlike with emblems proper, these works are intended more for reference than instruction.

The tendency to dismiss these emblematic works as lesser – as evidenced by their exclusion from previous approaches to the study of nineteenth-century emblem books - ties into the nineteenth-century cementation of the gender

[73] Englehardt, p137.
[74] Ripa's *Iconologia* would in fact be revisited in the nineteenth century, as disussed in Chapters 1 and 2.
[75] For examples of the former, see entries by Stacey Grimaldi in Appendix.
[76] Höltgen, p188-190.

binary and the passive role of women within this. The production of emblem books was far more male-weighted than that of 'merely emblematic' works;[77] where there was a much more equitable distribution in creation, and in fact in the Language of Flowers genre itself, women come to dominate.[78]

The dismissal of female-orientated works as 'lesser' than those produced by men mirrors the aforementioned division in the study of botany between the 'true' and scientific botany of men and the literary and interpretive botany of women. The characterisation of feminised forms of scholarship as less than those of men is emblematic of the passive role of women in nineteenth-century societies. The correlation of activity-passivity with the gender binary builds on themes discussed by Laura Mulvey in *Visual and Other Pleasures*, that the women's role is that of the image, not the audience – she is 'bearer, not maker, of meaning.'[79]

Since 'emblems in general are ingenious pictures, representing one thing to the eye and another to the understanding,'[80] the exclusion of women from creation in the emblem tradition might be just that they themselves are emblems.[81] Since the male body is treated as the default, it does not represent anything else until it is given other characteristics, whereas the female body, just by existing, is already imbued with meaning.[82] According to Mulvey, and in the tradition of Freud, women represent a duality – one of voyeurism and sexuality and conversely of castration anxiety.

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[77] Daly describes the Language of Flower books thusly in Bagley, p239.
[78] See Appendix.
[79] Mulvey, p15.
[80] Phillips, Henry, *Floral Emblems* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1825) p20.
[81] Few women produced emblem books, even at the height of their popularity in the Early Modern period, as Martine van Elk acknowledges in 'Courtliness, Piety and Politics: Emblem Books by Georgette de Montenay, Anna Roemers Visscher and Esther Inglis,' in Julie D Campbell and Anne R Larsen (eds.), *Early Modern Women and Transnational Communities of Letters* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009). Further to this, the influence of women upon the emblematic tradition has been historically neglected in the field of Emblem Studies, however in addition to van Elk's paper, there has been another by Mara R Wade that also discusses how women engaged with emblems and emblematic creation in the Early Modern period. Wade, MR, 'Women's Networks of Knowledge: The Emblem Book as *Stammbuch*,' *Daphnis* vol.45 (2017) pp492-509.
[82] Mulvey, p14-15.

In the Victorian era, the increased religiosity, when combined with the codification of gender binaries, made women into an emblem of the original sin. The increased pressure on women to live an existence that was virtuous (that is to say, chaste and godly and domestic) – and to never stray from this path or to risk becoming fallen made it so that a woman's virtuous behaviour was repentance for the sin they assumed at birth – the Original Sin. Men are exempt from this – a man who comes to sin does not 'fall', as long as he repents and returns to the church.[83] Though not entirely exempt from Original Sin, men are the secondary perpetrators, and this, alongside their position in society, excludes men from the social repercussions of the fallen state. The marked difference is that men can repent if they have strayed, whilst women, the first perpetrators of Original Sin, are already repenting, for a sin that is essentially just being born. In the nineteenth-century, this narrative of Eden was closely linked to the floral motifs of the era. In emblematics, the garden was a common image used to discuss the Fall of Adam and in this era, the understanding of garden had shifted to principally encompass the flower garden.

[83] *The representation of the heart of man*, an 1837 American emblem book provides an excellent demonstration of this, depicting the heart of a man who falls to sin multiple times, yet each time he repents and is thus welcomed back to God. Myers, Peter (New York, 1837).

Chapter 1: Furnished with Flowers, Furnished with Virtue: Floral Motifs in English- and French-Language Emblem Books Reprinted in the Nineteenth Century

This chapter will explore the revival through the lens of the emblem books held within the Stirling Maxwell Collection that were republished in the nineteenth century, encompassing authors such as Quarles, Georgette de Montenay and Jacob Cats.

Broadly speaking, these reproductions were largely in English, and printed for a British audience, although there are some notable exceptions. There are several volumes produced in India, which was under British control at the time and one of the few nineteenth-century volumes in French in the Stirling Maxwell Collection was printed in Moscow, with a concurrent Russian translation.[84] Considering that all of these reproductions were initially published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is unsurprising therefore that both authorship and intended readership skew male.

With regards to these reprinted emblem books, flowers do not feature with any great frequency and when they do, they may not be represented in such a way as to render them identifiable as a specific flower or plant. In general, flowers seem to represent a broader concept of virtue as something akin to all-around godliness as opposed to the more specific meaning the word comes to inhabit in the nineteenth century. Where specific flowers are used, it is usually one such as the lily or the rose, which have a long-standing and established tradition in Christian imagery.

Francis Quarles

As it was by far the emblem book that enjoyed the most editions in the nineteenth-century, I shall begin with Quarles' emblems – indeed, as Höltgen notes, the book would have an important and influential role in the production

[84] See Appendix.

of both new emblem books and works that utilised the emblematic mode of symbolism.[85]

Of the twelve nineteenth-century editions of Quarles held within the Stirling Maxwell Collection, the format remains largely similar throughout, being editions that use the original illustrations – despite the publication of Quarles spanning eighty years.[86] The major exception to this is the 1861 edition, notably similar in quality to the 1860 edition of Jacob Cats that was described by Höltgen as a real 'livre de luxe.'[87] This 1861 edition of Quarles was produced with a new set of illustrations by W. Harry Rogers. This new edition was much more decorative in style, with the images becoming more directly illustrative of the textual part of the emblem, thus partly losing the interdependence of text and image. The extent of the changes to Quarles' emblems in this edition is such that Bath terms it as radical enough 'as to constitute an original work.'[88]

An example of this would be in Book I, Emblem III, which depicts *Anima* (an emblematic representation for humanity) searching for honey in a globe-shaped wasps' nest (see figure. 1). The moral here is that one should not seek out earthly pleasures over spiritual growth. Though the 1861 edition maintains these same basic elements, there is a sleeping cat added to the foreground, whilst the figure of *Amor divinis* is relegated to the background (see figure. 2). This edition also notably adds a hugely stylised border that illustrates other elements in the textual part of the emblem, such as the scorpion and the tulip. In this emblem, the mention of the tulip likely represents the elements of greed and coveting of earthly pleasures. The decade in which Quarles was published, the 1630s, saw the explosion in the price of tulip bulbs, a phenomenon known as Tulipmania, that was subsequently followed by what is considered the earliest example of a speculative market collapse.[89]

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[85] Bagley, p2.
[86] The first- and last-published of the nineteenth-century editions in the Stirling Maxwell Collection date from 1808 and 1888, respectively.
[87] Höltgen, p160.
[88] Bath, p274.
[89] Garber, Peter M., *Famous First Bubbles: The Fundamentals of Early Manias* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2001) p25-32.

3.

Ut potiar, patior, Patieris, non potieris.

PROV. XIV. 13.

Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness.

Alas! fond child,
How are thy thoughts beguil'd
To hope for honey from a nest of wasps?
'Thou may'st as well
Go seek for ease in hell,
Or sprightly nectar from the mouths of asps.

Figure 1: Emblem III, Book I, from Quarles, Francis, *Emblems divine and moral*, 1812, p25. *Stirling Maxwell Collection*, photo by Author.

Figure 2: Emblem III, Book I, from Quarles, Francis, *Quarles' Emblems Illustrated,* 1861, p14. *Stirling Maxwell Collection,* photo by Author.

Within Quarles, there is one emblem – Emblem II of Book V – that features flowers heavily.[90] Though the message of this emblem could be treated more broadly in terms of gender, considering the fact that the emblem's image features three women and that the text reads as lament on the bittersweet nature of love, this emblem therefore seems to target its lesson to a female audience.

The flowers, referred to in both general terms and as specific types, are emblematic of faith and the consolations of God's love. The religious nature of the flowers is made clear with the mention of 'Jesse' sov'reign flow'r,' a reference to Jesus, who was of Jesse's line. A footnote in the 1888 edition of Quarles elucidates that this flower is jasmine,[91] though the image to which the mention of Jesse relates – that of the Tree of Jesse is based upon a line in the Latin Vulgate Bible – '*et egredietur virga de radice Iesse et flos de radice eius ascendet.*[92]*' Flos* does not indicate any specific flower and the flowering branch of the Tree of Jesse is most often depicted as being held by the Virgin Mary, so the flowers are often depicted as roses.[93]

Individually, and given the godly nature of flowers in the general sense, the remaining flowers of this emblem that are mentioned by name come to represent individual virtues that can sustain the reader and bring them closer to God. Since there a number of possible historical and classical sources through which these plants can be interpreted, it is best to draw from a principal source. As the most influential writer in the Western canon, and as a contemporary of Quarles, Shakespeare proves a valuable source as his works established a lot of symbolic meanings of flowers and codified a number of others.[94] Of the flowers that Quarles mentions, most imply a more feminised reading of the emblem, whilst the others can be interpreted as emblems of virtues not just prized in women.

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[90] Quarles, Francis, *Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes* (Bristol: Joseph Lansdown and John Mills, 1808) p183.

[91] Quarles, Francis, *Emblems divine and moral* (Edinburgh: Paterson, 1888) p215.

[92] Isaiah 11:1.

[93] Rock, P.M.J. "Golden Rose." The Catholic Encyclopedia. Vol. 6. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909. 18 Jul. 2019 <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06629a.htm>

[94] Thomas, Vivian and Nicki Faircloth, *Shakespeare's Plants and Gardens: A Dictionary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) p1-6.

The flowers mentioned by Quarles are as follows: violet, lily, pansy, columbine, thyme, daffodil, pink, eglantine and rose. A number of these were noted as being particularly fragrant; a sweet or pleasant scent was emblematic of virtue or a closeness to God. This association of scent with godliness also appears in *Gotthold's Emblems*, where a sweet scent is symbolic of virtue, and as the scent is sweeter closer to the flower, so are the virtuous closer to God.[95]

Scriver makes particular use of the violet, a strongly fragranced flower, but one that was also emblematic of modesty, due to its bowed head, hence the term shrinking violet. Alongside the violet, the pink, when considered with Quarles' chosen epithet for the flower – 'lowly' – also indicates modesty. The flower pink, also known as the maiden pink, is yet another noted for its scent.[96] Though it may just refer to the flower's small size, the 'lowly pink,' is contrasted in the same line with the 'lofty eglantine,' lending a further sense of modesty and humility to the flower. The use of the name eglantine is particularly evocative of the loftiness Quarles attributes to the flower. The flower *Rosa rubiginosa* is more commonly called the sweet briar, named for its scent and the poetic name of eglantine has led to the association of the plant with poets.[97] Further still, the eglantine had been adopted by Queen Elizabeth as her personal emblem, lending the flower contemporaneous symbolic associations with royalty and virginity.[98]

A number of Quarles' flowers extolled virtue in an especially religious sense. These express the message that God's love and the virtue it bestows are restorative to those suffering from romantic woes. Romance itself was considered a topic solely in the domain of women and so these virtues can be seen as 'consolations of gender.'[99]

As an herb, thyme was regarded particularly for its fragrance. However, in the seventeenth century it also held a number of medicinal applications. As in

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[95] Scriver, Christian and Menzies, Robert (trans.), *Gotthold's emblems: or Invisible things understood* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1857) p43.
[96] Thomas, p264.
[97] ibid, p118-9.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Langbauer, Laurie, *Women and Romance: The Consolations of Gender in the English Novel* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990) p1-3.

the motto the maiden declares herself to be 'sick of love,' here the fragrant thyme is an emblem of the restorative nature of God's love. Thyme is not the sole medicinal plant mentioned in Quarles' emblem; there is also the pansy. In the seventeenth century, *Viola tricolor* was known by several names and there were different symbolical associations for each of these names.[100] The name pansy derives from the French *pensée,* thus associating the flower with thoughts. Given the lovesickness used within the emblem, Quarles is likely alluding to the flower's use as a treatment for heart problems which gave it the name heartsease.[101] Though it was a medicinal treatment for physical symptoms, the pansy was also symbolically linked to the heart and therefore was a soothing balm for the pains of love.

As with the pansy, the daffodil was also imbued with meanings that varied based upon whether it was referred to thusly, or as a narcissus.[102] The daffodil was the emblematic harbinger of spring, so Quarles' use of the flower by this name evokes the season; as spring follows the bleakness of winter, it is the season of hope, thus tying the daffodil to one of the principal theological virtues. Spring in emblematics was closely tied to the image of the virginal, yet fertile, young maid, as I shall discuss with regards to the emblem book *Iconologie*.

Hope is also heavily associated with the columbine. An overtly religious flower, the columbine is named for the Latin *columba*, due to the flower's resemblance to a dove. As such, the columbine is emblem of hope, of peace and moreover, of the Holy Spirit.[103]

The lily and the rose, the two remaining flowers from this emblem, also have religious connotations. Quarles uses them with the epithets 'pale-fac'd' and 'blushing' respectively, tying in to the associations both flowers have with virginity. 'Pale-fac'd' emphasises the colour of the lily, whose whiteness makes

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[100] In the present day, pansy tends to refer to the cultivated form, *Viola x wittrockiana,* whilst *V.tricolor* is known as the wild pansy. Ibid, p255.
[101] Ibid.
[102] This name evokes the Greek myth and as such, the narcissus is an emblem of vanity and pride. Ibid, p238.
[103] Ibid, p84-5.

the flower an emblem for purity and virginity.[104] The rose, meanwhile, is tied through myth to Venus and thus is an emblem for beauty, most especially beautiful women. Quarles' use of 'blushing,' links the rose to the fresh complexion of a young maiden and plays into the use of the rose as an emblem for one who is a paragon of virtue.[105] As both flowers are emblems of virtue, especially that of virginity, there is a longstanding tradition in Christian teaching and imagery the associates both the lily and the rose with the Virgin Mary.[106]

Christopher Harvey's *The School of the Heart* was often misattributed to Quarles throughout the nineteenth century.[107] There are a number of similarities between the works, as shown with regards to how these emblem books use flowers. As with Quarles, there is only one emblem in *The School of the Heart* to feature flowers prominently and when considered alongside one another, there is a great likeness between Book V, Emblem II and 'The Flowers of the Heart.' As with the flowers in Quarles, the flowers in this emblem are symbolic of virtue in general, with a number that are invoked by name as different virtues that are to be dedicated to Christ, whom the ode addresses. Of the flowers, it says;

> I shall
> Quickly be furnished with them all,
> If once I do but know
> That thou wilt have it so.[108]

Harvey makes use of similar flowers to Quarles; the lily, the rose, the violet, and the pink, and he also utilises identical imagery for the lily and the rose. His lily is 'pure' and of a 'white so perfect,'[109] whilst his rose is described as one 'whose Maiden blushes' and is 'the perfect picture' of modesty, thus emphasising the virtuous and virginial aspects of the flowers.[110]

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[104] Ibid, p209.
[105] Ibid, p292-3.
[106] Ibid, p209 and 293.
[107] Of the five editions of Harvey held within the Stirling Maxwell Collection, all of them are mistattributed to Quarles and printed in editions alongside his works. See Appendix A.
[108] Harvey, Christopher, *The School of the heart* (Bristol: Joseph Lansdown and John Mills, 1808) p97.
[109] Ibid, p96.
[110] Ibid, p97.

The devotional aspect of the emblem is brought forth in the usage of two particular flowers; the marigold and the orpin. The 'sun-observing marigold' refers to the fact that the flower responds to the path of the sun in its opening and closing, so the marigold is an emblem of fidelity to and love for God, which always turns to him as the flower does to the sun.[111] Furthermore, the etymology of 'marigold' comes directly from the Virgin Mary.[112]

Harvey's use of 'never waxing old' to describe the orpin alludes to a number of other names for the plant; livelong, life-everlasting, and live-forever, that come from the Greek name for the flower.[113] Together, the marigold and the orpin are an emblem of a devout and everlasting devotion to Christ.

Iconologie

Of all the Stirling Maxwell Collection emblem books reprinted after 1800, the one to feature flowers most extensively is *Iconologie* by Jean Baptiste Boudard. This was a translation of the 1593 Italian emblem book *Iconologia* by Cesare Ripa. Through the eighteenth century there were several adaptations of Ripa, and these editions underwent a shift in format away from the traditional emblem book. Instead, in editions such as *Iconologie*, the images are grouped together whilst the textual components explain the imagery within their emblematic images as opposed to working with the image to communicate a moral lesson. This shift to a more referential style is a precursor to the emblem dictionaries that appeared in the nineteenth century, such as works in the Language of Flowers. This 1803 edition is particularly interesting as it was published in Moscow and has a Russian translation that runs concurrently to French and German translations. This is remarkable in that a Russian emblem book is much rarer, due to late arrival of the emblematic mode of thought in Russia, as a cause of its relative cultural isolation from Western Europe.[114]

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[111] Thomas, p222-3.
[112] Ibid.
[113] MacKenzie, David S., *Perennial Ground Covers* (Portland: Timber Press, 2002) p290.
[114] Saubert, Johann, 'Book of the Month, November 2006,' Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department, 19 Jul. 2019 <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/nov2006.html>

The emblems in this edition feature mainly human figures, thus associating the subjects of these emblems with one of the binary genders. *Iconologie* makes use of flowers in a general sense, especially when they are worn by the figures as either crowns or garlands. In emblems I and III, *L'année* and *L'abondance*, a virginal young woman is bedecked in a crown of flowers as an emblem for spring; the season is associated with life and birth, which is symbolically represented in the youth and fertility inherent in the female form (see figure. 3). Emblem LXXXI, *L'adolescence féminin,* also uses flowers as an emblem for the happiness of youth, whilst evoking the intransient and delicate nature of female beauty.

The Lily

The flower to which *Iconologie* refers most frequently is the lily, and it is emblem of two principal female virtues: virginity and beauty. In valuing beauty as a virtue, works such as *Iconologie* demonstrate that women were especially praised for their physical appearance, that their role as a visual object was prized just as highly by men as their virginity. In emblem LXIX, *La pureté*, the female figure holds both a lily and a dove, their whiteness emblematic of her virginity. This is echoed in CCXIV, entitled *La pudeur*, wherein a veiled woman holds a lily. Here, the virtue of modesty is two-fold; her veil and indoor setting indicates her reticence, whilst the flower demonstrates her virginity. When aligned, modesty and virginity represent the outward manifestation of an inward fact; that is to say, that an unmarried woman who behaves modestly is considered both pure and in possession of her virginity.

The lily also appears in emblem CXXX, *La beauté,* where, as the title suggests, it is an emblem for female beauty and its impermanent nature. The figure in this emblem is a nude woman, and the sexualised exposure of the female form lends to the vulnerability and fragility of the woman, further emphasised by the use of the delicate flower and the Petrarch quote '*cosa bella mortal passa e non dura.*'

Figure 3: L'année (left) and L'abondance (right), from Boudard, Jean Baptiste, *Iconologie*, 1803, facing p1. *Stirling Maxwell Collection*, photo by Author.

The lily as an expression of virtue also appears in Georgette de Montenay. *Emblemes ou devises chestiennes* was reprinted in 1854, and the edition omits the images entirely, thus rendering them incomplete and preventing these emblems from being interpreted entirely. As with *Iconologie,* this edition is also a reprint of a French emblem book that hails from a different country, in this case, the Netherlands. Considered among her Renaissance peers, Georgette de Montenay's gender and her religion – Calvinism - mark her as both remarkable and unusual in the emblem tradition.[115] Indeed, her work is the only emblem book I will discuss in this thesis to have a known female author.[116]

The emblem 39 - *Sic amica mea inter*, describes a lily surrounded by thorns. As with Quarles and Harvey, the colour of the flower in used to further emphasise the lily as an emblem for virtue. The emblem calls for the virtuous to remain steadfast in the face of sin and vice, here represented by the thorns.

Thorns appear alone in de Montenay in the emblem 100 - *Patiencia vincit omnia,* in which they surround a bed. As an emblem of vice, here the thorns represent premarital sex, with de Montenay urging the reader to wait until marriage, when intercourse is no longer sinful.

The Rose

The emblem of the thorn appears most frequently in conjunction with the rose, where the delicate nature of the flower is contrasted with the painful sharpness of the thorns as a representation of the duality of virtue and vice. Emblem 66 - *Ex malo bonum* in de Montenay uses the rose and the thorns to express a message of faith. It is faith in God's love, which just as the sun draws out the rose, brings forth the good in humanity from the vice.

A similar usage arises in the emblem The Rosebush from John Bunyan's *Divine Emblems*; Bunyan explicitly states that the rosebush is 'an emblem of

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[115] 'Georgette de Montenay's *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes*, Lyons, Jean Marcorelle, 1567/1571,' French Emblems at Glasgow, 4 Sep. 19 <https://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOa>

[116] One book; *Flower Emblems or the Seasons of Life* is by an unknown author, whilst the other female authored works fall under the category of Emblematic.

Adam's Race' and the rose itself is Christ, born of man.[117] The emblem narrates the struggle to pick the rose without being pricked by the thorns, which is a representation of the struggle against vice whilst striving for godliness and virtue.

The rose and thorns also appear in *Iconologie*, in the emblem LVIII *L'inclination.* The emblem depicts a young woman, holding both a bouquet of roses and a bunch of thorns and the text remarks that she appears '*indécise dans la choix.'* The emblem represents the potential for humanity to be both virtuous and sinful. The usage of a female figure marks this duality as a more feminine trait, as opposed to one humanity in general is capable of, and this likely references women as the cause of Original Sin.

The rose is also utilised in Jacob Cats' *Moral Emblems*. As with the 1861 edition of Quarles, this is a luxurious volume, richly furnished with new illustrations, and the emblems are also expanded with the addition of further mottos as page borders and passages by a number of other authors, including the emblems of Robert Farlie. As Höltgen acknowledges, this is a bizarre choice, as Farlie was an obscure Scottish author, all but forgotten by the nineteenth-century, whilst the work of Cats had remained popular in his native Netherlands.[118]

In the introduction, Cats is noted as having been 'the poetic champion of the worth and virtues of the fairer sex' and as such, a number of these emblems are explicitly addressed to women.[119]

The emblem 'Every Flower Loses its Perfume at Last' immediately addresses itself to a maiden. Cats' emblem makes reference to the violet as an emblem for the naiveté and modesty of the young women, and the rose as an image of beauty is subverted, as the rose is one that has begun to wilt and thus is an 'emblem of decay.'[120] The fading flowers are an emblem of the

[117] Bunyan, John, *Divine Emblems* (Coventry: N. Merridew, 1806) p60.
[118] Höltgen, p160.
[119] Cats, Jacob, *Moral Emblems* (London: Longman, 1860) p xi.
[120] Ibid, p65.

impermanent nature of female beauty, though Cats does assure the reader that there is a permanent, fadeless beauty – 'that which Virtue doth beget.'[121] The rose is further invoked in the mottos that border the emblem's pages and echo much of the sentiments therein (see figure. 4): 'Roses and maidens soon lose their bloom,' and 'beauty without virtue is like a rose without scent.'[122]

With regards to the new editions of emblem books published in the nineteenth century, they are principally targeted at a male audience, as evidenced by the introduction to Cats, which makes specific mention of this book's relevance to a female audience. However, there are a number of emblems that themselves provide a lesson for the female reader and it is interesting that the emblems that feature flowers most prominently, such as Emblem II, Book V of Quarles, are those that deliver a message to women. These floral emblems feature virtue heavily as a theme, wherein virtue is expressed in flowers in both a general sense - such as likening scent to godliness – and in a more specified sense, aligning individual flowers with specific virtues. Considering the didactic nature of the emblem, the emphasis on virtue is unsurprising. The virtue that is featured in these earlier emblems is one that resonates with the nineteenth-century perception of virtue. In these emblems, virtue is focused upon the elements of chastity and godliness. Another trait that emerges as a virtuous one in relation to women is beauty. That this is viewed as a feminine virtue speaks to the role of the woman as a visual object, there for the viewing pleasure of men.

[121] Ibid, p67.
[122] Ibid, p65.

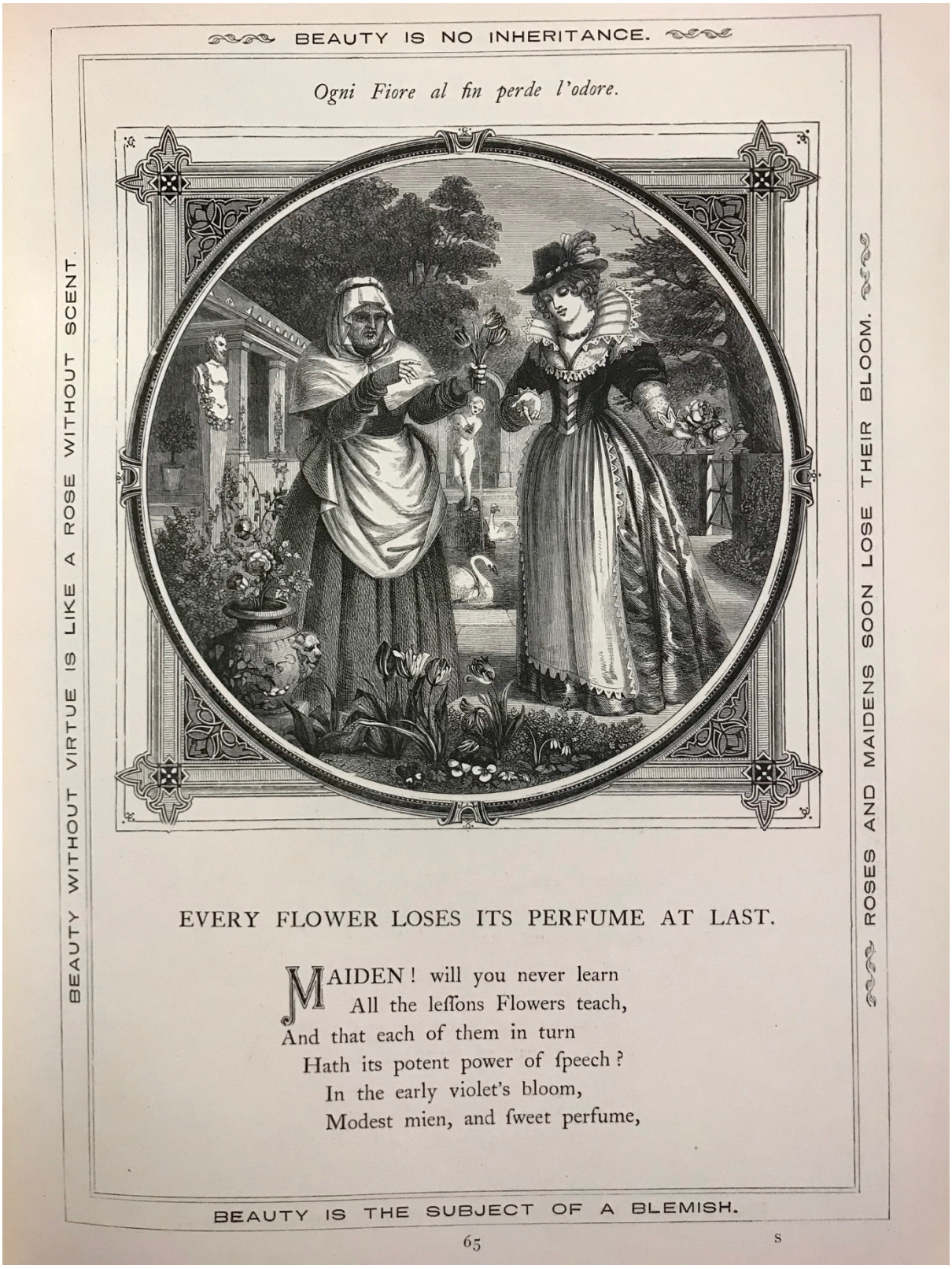

Figure 4: Every Flower Loses its Perfume at Last, from Cats, Jacob, *Moral Emblems*, 1860, p65. *Stirling Maxwell Collection*, photo by Author.

Chapter 2: Virtue Blooms in the Garden: The Nineteenth-Century Revivalists and the Emblem Tradition

Alongside the increase in the publication of new editions of old books, the nineteenth-century emblem renaissance is marked by revivalists; that is to say those that produced new emblem books, thus 'reviving' the genre.[123] These new emblem books were of a distinct character, influenced by a series of factors characteristic of the era. The emblem as a genre accorded well with the new Oxford Movement, a theological movement that placed increased emphasis on religious symbolism, a move possible with the relative distance between the Victorian era and the Reformation.[124] This was also intermingled with the renewed interest in medieval typology that searched for prefigurations or 'types' of Christ within the Old Testament.[125] As Höltgen argues, these modes of thought; emblematic and typological, helped provide a sense of or order through their symbolic and ideal view to a 'chaotic industrial reality.'[126]

Höltgen claims that the fundamental interdependence of word and picture is lost in the new emblem works of the nineteenth century, citing the 1861 edition of Quarles as his example, though this is not entirely the case.[127] The illustrator for this edition of Quarles is W. Harry Rogers, who produced his own emblem book, *Spiritual Conceits*, published in 1862, a work Daly describes as having understood this interdependence, only a year later.[128] The extent to which the nineteenth-century revivalists understood this interdependence is most certainly lessened, as the allegorical and verbal modes had been displaced by the new systems of mathematics and natural science.[129]

When Rosemary Freeman argued that the English Emblem failed to exist after 1700, except for Quarles, she was working from a very strict and narrow conception of the emblem as a genre.[130] However, when this argument is

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[123] Höltgen, p141.
[124] Bagley, p2.
[125] Höltgen, p142.
[126] Ibid, p143.
[127]Bagley, p2.
[128] Ibid, p241.
[129] Ibid, p228.
[130] Ibid, p227-8.

considered in the terms of a broader definition of the emblem, it has some merit with regards to the fact that Quarles played an enormous role in the emblem renaissance. Indeed, many of these new emblem books can be placed not just in the tradition of the emblem genre, but more specifically in the tradition of Francis Quarles. In addition to the example of Rogers, there is the work of Jonathan Birch, who explicitly states upon the title page that his *Divine Emblems* are 'after the fashion of Master Francis Quarles,' and whose editor remarks that the same 'grotesqueness in drawing,' is a deliberate choice, so as to be as faithful as possible to Quarles' style.[131] Furthermore, the Stirling Maxwell Collection holds three nineteenth-century examples of *peregrinato*, or the Pilgrimage of Life; these are works that break down Man's life into what was most usually seven stages. Höltgen describes Quarles *Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* as 'the most important English rendering' of this theme.

As a result of their close relationship with the emblems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the new emblem books of the revival echoed much of the imagery that had been used by their predecessors and this especially applies to the usage of flowers in emblems.

In *Spiritual Conceits,* there are three emblems that make principal use of floral imagery; Evil Passions, Christ's Triumph and Daffodils. The first of these, Evil Passions, returns to thorns as an emblem for vice. Described as 'weeds,' these thorns are accompanied by the barbed thistle and they ensnare the heart, causing it spiritual ill. The role of these thorns as vice is further emphasised by the use of symbols of individual vices that form the branches and flowers of several of these plants (see figure. 5); the peacock, for vanity and pride, a bag of coins, for greed and the snake, for Original Sin.[132] In Christ's Triumph, violets and primroses are utilised as emblems of faith, their sweet fragrance transformed into butterfly-like wings that bear them skywards; floral scent is used once again as an emblem for virtue and it is this virtue that bears you to heaven.[133] The emblem Daffodils use the flower as a symbol for beauty, evoking the beauty of the months of spring. The emblem laments that the flower must

[131] Birch, Jonathan, *Divine Emblems* (London: Ward, 1838) p2.
[132] Rogers, W. Harry, *Spiritual Conceits* (London: Griffith and Farran, 1862) p74-5.
[133] Ibid, p148-9.

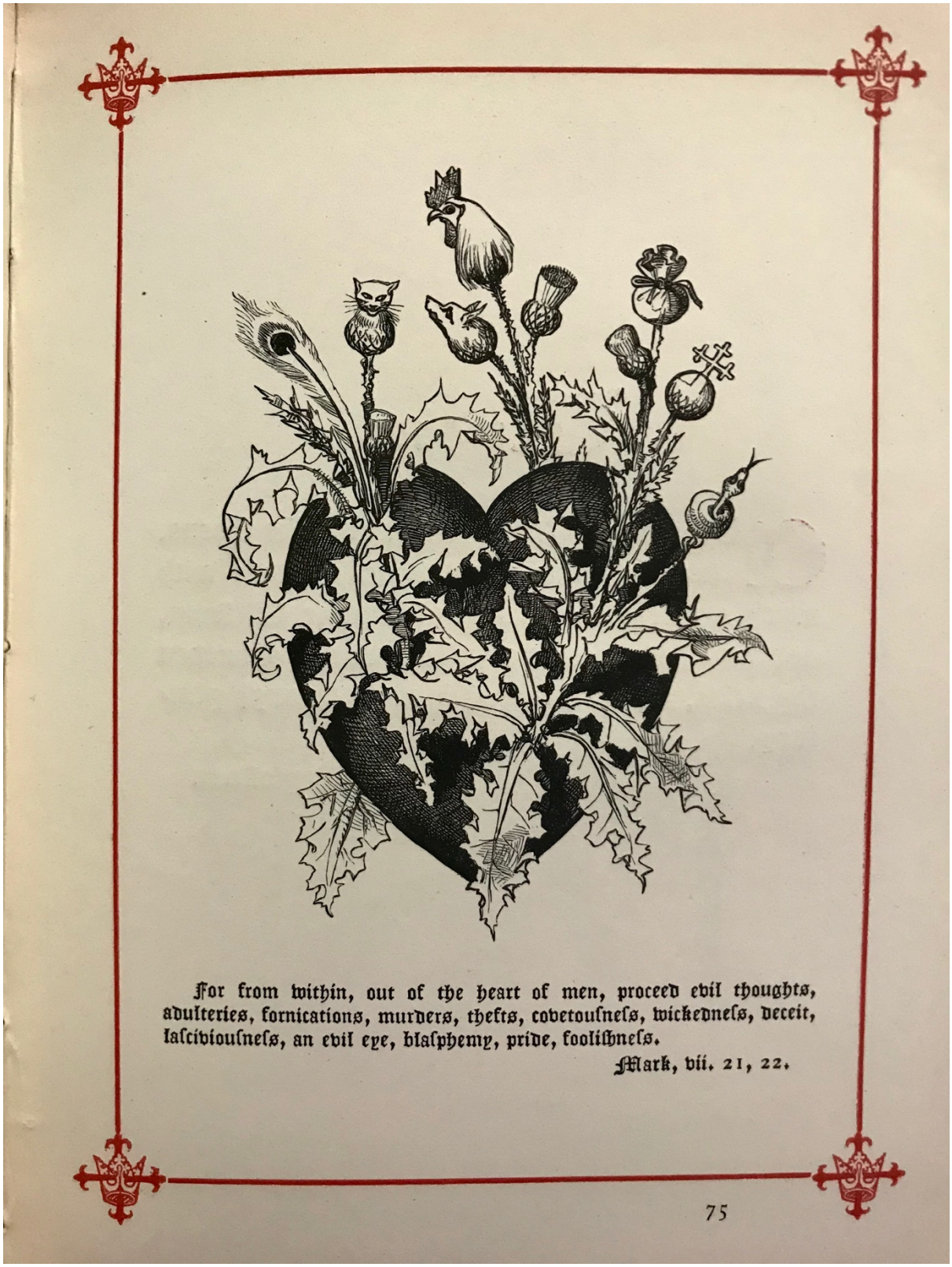

Figure 5: Evil Passions, from Rogers, W. Harry, *Spiritual Conceits,* 1862, p75. *Stirling Maxwell Collection,* photo by Author.

'haste away so soon,' thus returning to the emblem of a fading flower that represents the impermanent nature of beauty.[134]

Though the lily is used but rarely in the books of the nineteenth-century emblem revival, the rose still dominates as a floral emblem.

In a similar tone to Rogers' daffodil and the lily in emblem CXXX of *Iconologie*, and with a strong likeness to its usage in Cats, the rose is used in Samuel Fletcher's *Emblematical Devices with Appropriate Mottos*. This book is not an emblem book per se, but the devices it contains employ the emblematic mode of thought – Fletcher was an engraver and the images within the book are small and circular, so the book is likely intended as a resource for the creation of seals. Each image is accompanied by a small motto. The rose here is surrounded by the motto 'sweet but not lasting – *douce mais de courte durée,'* thus making the flower a symbol of fragile beauty.[135]

Iconology by William Pinnock (reprinted in 1842 under the title *The Golden Treasury*) makes emblematic use of the rose in a variety of ways. Though this work is not a direct adaptation of Ripa in the same was as *Iconologie,* the influence upon Pinnock's work is clear. In format, it bears a strong resemblance to the later editions of Ripa, with the emblematic images group together in fours and the textual aspect being a subsequent explanation of the iconography. Furthermore, thought there are a number of new emblems included in Pinnock, there is also a number of emblems that appear remarkably similar to those in the 1803 edition of *Iconologie*. In *Inclination*, the rose used as an emblem together with thorns is revisited as an emblem for the potential for both virtue and vice that is intrinsic to humanity.[136] The image is almost exactly the same as the emblem of the same name in *Iconologie* (see figures. 6 and 7).

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[134] Ibid, p182-3.
[135] Fletcher, Samuel, *Emblematical devices with appropriate motto's* (London, published by Samuel Fletcher, 1810) Plate 36.
[136] Pinnock, William, *Iconology; or emblematic figures explained* (London: John Harris, 1830) p387.

Figure 6: L'inclination, from Boudard, Jean Baptiste, *Iconologie*, 1803, facing p20. *Stirling Maxwell Collection*, photo by Author.

Figure 7: Inclination (bottom left), from Pinnock, William, *Iconology; or emblematic figures explained,* 1830, facing p375. *Stirling Maxwell Collection,* photo by Author.

In *Affability,* a young woman holds a white rose; here it is an emblem of gracefulness. The female figure is noted as being of 'amiable aspect.'[137] Her countenance, coupled with the delicacy of the rose, is indicative of the idealised womanly traits of 'good manners' and being agreeable.[138] The emblem feminises the virtue of affability, making a vice out of opposing traits, such as rudeness or aggression, though it should be noted that in men these traits are often praised.

In the emblem *Spring*, the season is depicted as a young maiden, surrounded by roses and myrtle. The rose is an emblem of female beauty and the 'young and blooming virgin,'[139] whilst the myrtle, a soft-wooded tree with fragrant white flowers, represents her gentleness. Much like the rose, the myrtle has associations with Venus, in whose honour groves of the tree were planted, thus aligning the plant with delicacy and beauty.[140]

The depiction of spring as a maiden explicitly stated to be virginial, is due to the fact that as a season, it is associated with new life, and thus the reproductive cycle. It places the image of the female figure at the centre of the duality between her virtuous purity and her desirability and sexuality. It also evokes the contrast of the two roles for women; as a virginial maiden and as a mother, which elicits the image of the Virgin Mary and her godliness.

Another flower that had featured somewhat prominently in the emblems of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the violet, used primarily as a symbol of modesty and virtue. It appears in this context in the 1827 book, *Emblêmes pour les enfants*. One of the few new French-language emblem books, this work was nonetheless published in London, the centre of nineteenth-century emblem publication. In Emblem X, *La Violette,* the flower is hidden amongst the foliage, its sweet scent is the virtue of charity, and much like the humble violet, it is a virtue that should be performed without the expectation of recognition.[141]

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[137] Ibid, p232.
[138] Ibid, p230.
[139] ibid, p113.
[140] Thomas, p236.
[141] *Emblêmes pour les enfants tirés de la Saint Ecriture, de la nature, et de l'art* (London: Jacques Nisbet, 1827) p15-6.

Emblem XXII *Les mauvais herbes et les fleurs* builds upon this theme of the humble flowers as the virtuous, contrasting their modest appearance and the simple, yet most useful herbs, with the those that are 'agréables à l'œil,' but also more harmful, or even poisonous. These '*mauvaises herbes'* are behaviours such as vengeance, which, whilst attractive, are those most like to cause harm for both the soul and other people.[142] This contrast between the modest plants and the more showy, colourful plants is reminiscent of emblem XXXIV in *Gotthold's Emblems,* wherein the titular violet, with its modest and simple appearance is presented favourably in comparison to brighter, more gaudy blooms as its fragrance and therefore its virtue are beyond compare.[143]

The Garden

With the proliferation of the flower garden in horticultural design in the nineteenth century, in the emblems of the revival, the flower garden specifically takes on the emblematic use of the garden. There are two particular emblems that make effective use of the image of the flower garden; Emblem V,[144] from *Divine Emblems* and *G – Garden* from *An alphabet of emblems.*[145]

The use of image of the garden in Christian works call to mind the most prominent use of gardens in the Bible – the Garden of Eden. As an earthly paradise, Eden is an analogue to Heaven; this is made clear in Birch, wherein the garden of the emblem is in a state of 'constant May.'[146] Since spring is symbolic of life and happiness, the eternal May in this garden is representative of the eternal life offered in Heaven and the joy this brings.

The flower garden as an emblem of Heaven is made clearer when one considers the flower as an emblem for virtue – the garden is filled with flowers, or the virtuous and both Murray and Birch make explicit mention of the fact neither garden has any thorns. As an emblem of vice and sinners, thorns are

[142] Ibid, p34.
[143] Scriver, p74-5.
[144] Birch, p34-8.
[145] Murray, Thomas Boyles, *An alphabet of emblems* (London: Rivington, 1844) p20-2.
[146] Birch, p35-9.

excluded in these flower gardens; for Birch, his roses are 'thornless,'[147] whilst Murray states that the thorn would 'spoil' God's labour in the garden, just as the sinners are not permitted to enter into Heaven.

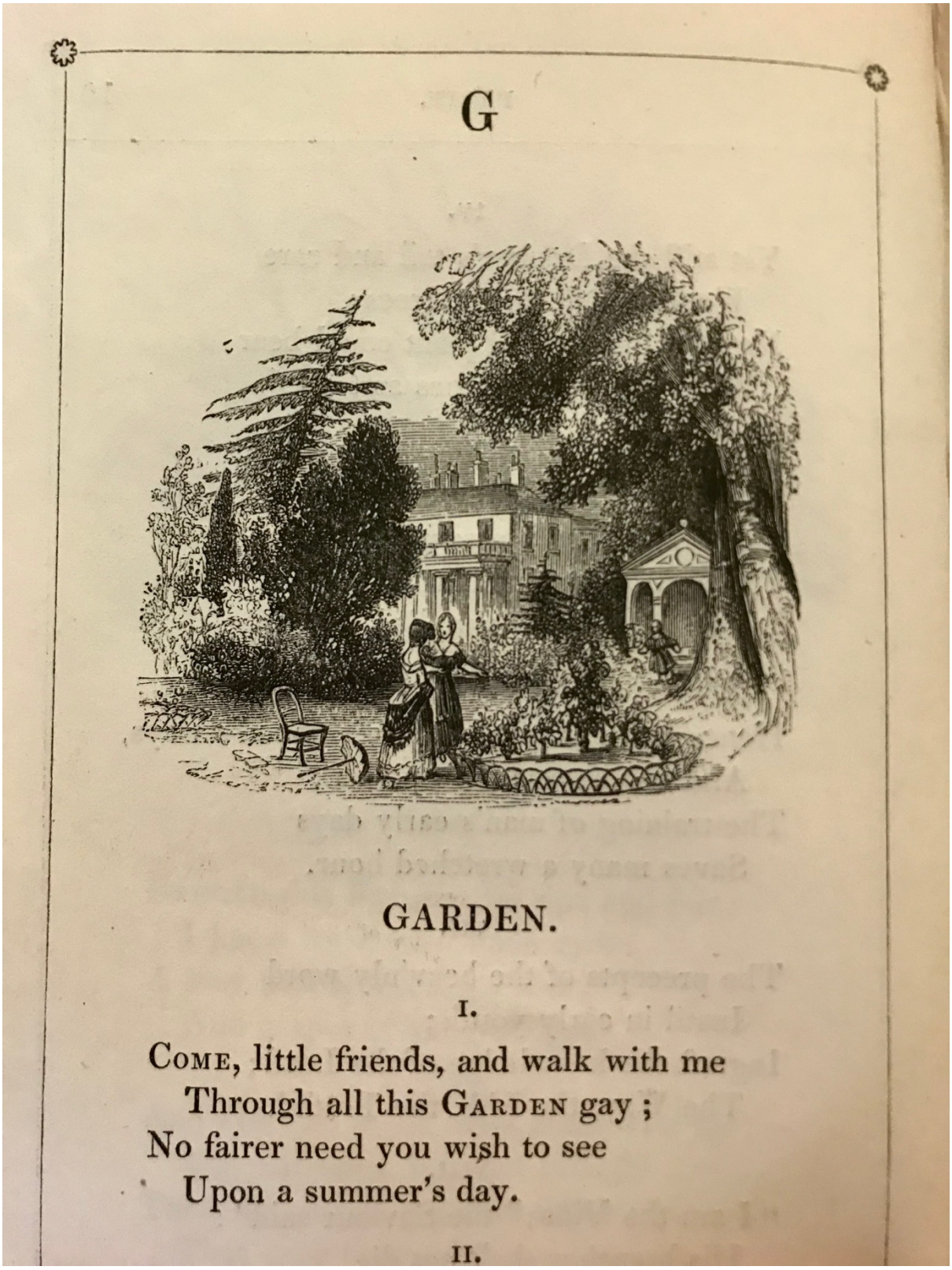
By invoking the image of a heavenly garden, these emblems do not just call Eden to mind, but also the 'disobedience' of Eve, perpetrator of Original Sin, and therefore women in general. Both emblems urge obedience to 'heav'nly order's law'[148] as a means to ascend to this flower garden paradise, and they make their case to women most of all. In Murray, it is two female figures who are depicted walking about a flower garden that brings Heaven to their minds (see figure. 8), whilst Birch utilises the role of Jesus as the Bridegroom, thus implying a female counterpart.

Peregrinato

The Stirling Maxwell Collection holds three nineteenth-century *peregrinato,* all of which expand the ages of the life of man beyond the seven, as were traditionally used by the likes of Quarles, to twelve, with two books specifically using the months of the year to narrate man's progression through life, from birth to death. These books are not emblem books exactly, but they work closely with the emblematic modes of thought and are in particular, close to Quarles' *Hieroglyphikes*.

The life of man as symbolised by the months of the year uses floral emblems in a manner most similar its sixteenth and seventeenth century predecessors. It was created by Richard Pigot and John Leighton, the translator and illustrator to the nineteenth-century edition of Jacob Cats.[149] The months are dedicated to the male life stages, whilst women are only discussed in relation to their role within their life of men; in childhood for example, the daughter is seen from the perspective of a father and the duties placed upon

[147] Birch, p35.
[148] Murray, p22.
[149] Interestingly, the 1860 edition of Cats held within the Stirling Maxwell Collection contains a number of sample pages from *The life of man* and a letter to Stirling Maxwell regarding the creation of this volume.



G

GARDEN.

I.

COME, little friends, and walk with me
Through all this GARDEN gay ;
No fairer need you wish to see
Upon a summer's day.

II.

Figure 8: G - Garden, from Murray, Thomas Boyles, *An Alphabet of Emblems,* 1844, p20. *Stirling Maxwell Collection,* photo by Author.

him in ensuring she is both protected and raised to be good and virtuous.[150] Whilst the early-blooming snowdrop is an emblem of the chaste and tentative innocence of childhood, the lily is used to represent the girl of sixteen, just as she is starting to 'bloom' into a woman. The lily is further used as an emblem of the virginal young woman under a section entitled 'Virgin Purity,' where the heat that evaporates dew from the flower's 'spotless bosom,' represents the temptation of lust.[151] The flower of the lily is also turned on its head in 'The Choice of a Wife,' as the lily is described as being 'fair in show but foul in smell,' echoing the sentiments in *Emblêmes pour les enfants,* that it is the scent of a flower and the virtue of the person that should be prized above their looks.[152]

Scent as virtue is another theme that is revisited within this book; in a manner evocative of the emblem in Cats, both using the flower that fades and loses its scent is an emblem for a woman's loss of virtue. Pigot is rather more explicit however; in his own work, it is the 'plucked' flower that fades fastest of all and this is an emblem of the fallen woman, playing upon a similar sounding word to reference her spoiled virtue.[153]

The second volume to use the months as a framing device is *Flower Emblems or the Seasons of Life,* a book that follows a similar format to Pigot, with a number of extracts from various literary sources in order to communicate the expectations and characteristics of each of these life stages. What is notable about this particular volume, however, is that it primarily focused upon the female life journey, as opposed to the male.

Girlhood and *Maidenhood* both use pale flowers as emblems of the unmarried stages of life; the primrose and the lily of the valley. These flowers are 'simple and undefiled,'[154] and their pale colour is symbolic of the purity of

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[150] Pigot, Richard and John Leighton, *The life of man as symbolised by the months of the year* (London: Longman, 1866) p53.
[151] Ibid, p69.
[152] Ibid, p109.
[153] Ibid, p71 and 75.
[154] *Flower Emblems of the Seasons of Life* (London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1871) p26.

the woman at these stages of her life. By contrast, particular emphasis is placed upon the flushed colour of the rose in *Motherhood.*[155] The rose and the woman are 'ruddy,' and in their prime, but their blushed appearance and rich colour is a stark difference in comparison to the white of the lily of the valley, and so the colour of the rose becomes indicative of the virtue of purity, one that is lost as a woman ascends to the role of motherhood. For *The Matron,* the colour of white is returned to, with the jasmine, a flower whose drooping head evokes the sorrow and reticence of old age. The use of a white flower divorces the older woman from her sexuality, echoing the desexualised treatment of older women, once they have aged beyond their capacity for childbirth.[156]

The final nineteenth-century *peregrinato* is *Chorea Sancti Viti* by William Bell Scott. The focus of this book is also upon the male experience and in the emblem *Love,* where women appear in their role as a romantic counterpart, the kinship between women and flowers is used in a most direct way (see figure.9). The woman in the image is named 'Rosa' and she is represented as the embodiment of a rose in that she encompasses the seductive power of beauty.[157] The use of scent as a virtue is inverted, as it becomes something enticing, that draws the young man in; Rosa leaves a trail of flowers in her wake as she looks over her shoulder, waiting for him to follow. Her seductive nature is further underlined as the young man has scored her name into the tree, in turn crossing out the name of his former paramour; the name Agnes, which means 'pure' or 'holy.' The woman here embodies the behaviour of the flower, using her appearance of virtue, or her 'scent' to draw young men in and away from the godly path.

Though the more general nineteenth-century conception of virtue encompassed the trait of domesticity, in the nineteenth-century emblem, this was rather more focused upon female virtue as chastity or virginity. This emphasis shows the close relationship between these emblems and their Renaissance predecessors. These nineteenth-century emblems utilise the more religious understanding of virtue that appears in these earlier emblems,

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[155] Ibid, p40.
[156] Ibid, p52.
[157] Scott, William Bell, *Chorea Sancti Viti* (London: George Bell, 1851) plate VI.

continuing to use flowers to represent a number of similar themes related to virtue, such as scent and fading flowers. Another notable similarity is the continued usage of beauty as a virtue, yet this virtue becomes more complex, as a modest beauty is especially emphasised, through the use of violets, thus complicating the achievement of virtue for women. A woman is considered vain in being aware of her own physical beauty and emphasising it, thus actually diminishing her overall virtue in the pursuit of a singular virtue.

However, the nineteenth-century emblem also makes use of a number of images that are specific to the era; namely, the flower garden as an allegory for either Heaven or Eden, and the notion of 'bloom' as it appears in the *peregrinato*. The 'bloom narrative,' appears in a number of cultural works in the nineteenth century, tying the blooming of a flower to a young woman reaching sexual maturity. This narrative further codifies the relationship between women and flowers as they appear in emblematics.

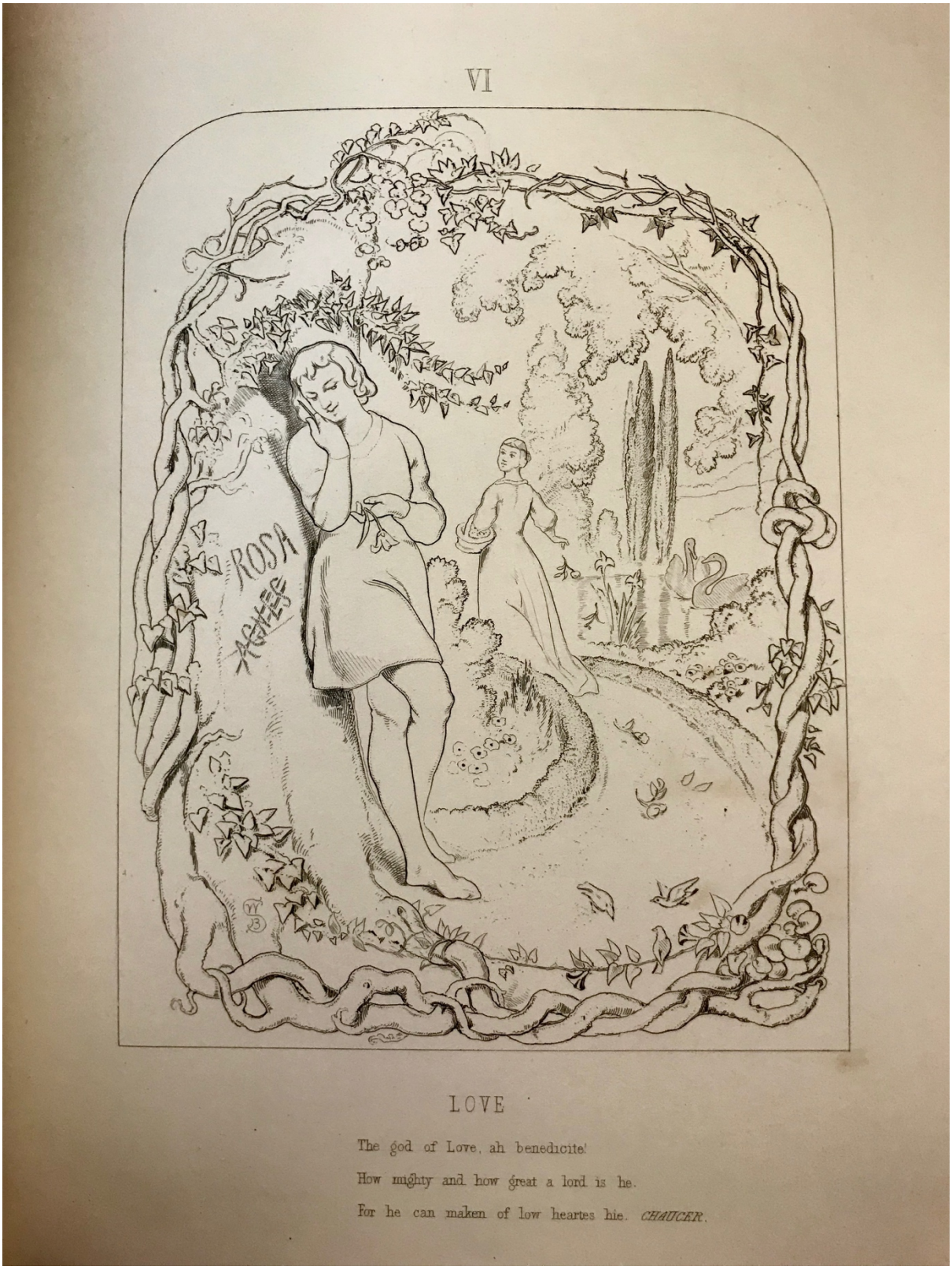

Figure 9: Love, from Scott, William Bell, *Chorea Sancti Viti,* 1851, plate 6. *Stirling Maxwell Collection,* photo by Author.

Chapter 3: Speaking Image:[158] The Emblematic Language of Flowers

Occurring in tandem to the emblem revival was the genre of the Language of Flowers. As discussed previously, this genre was a purely nineteenth-century phenomenon that rose out of the popularity of botany, romanticism and Orientalism. As a contemporaneous interpretation of emblematic thought, the Language of Flowers fed into both these cultural trends and the re-emergence of the emblematic modes of text-image relations. However, these works have been historically excluded from the emblem literary tradition and have not been discussed in any depth with regards to the emblem revival. Thusly, this thesis will make a case for the inclusion of the Language of Flowers in the emblematic tradition, analysing these works alongside their emblem peers.

The Language of Flowers and the Emblem Tradition

In his chapter on the Victorian emblem revival in *Aspects of the Emblem,* Höltgen does acknowledge the merit of what he terms 'floral emblems,' saying of them that there one could 'make a case' for their inclusion,[159] raising the matter of their omission from the relevant bibliographies. One such bibliography is that of Daly, who does make reference to the Language of Flowers as books that 'enjoyed such a vogue,' and he explains their exclusion from his bibliography of post-1700 English Emblem books in dismissing them as 'merely emblematic.'[160]

Initially, based upon the matter of format and style, the exclusion of the Language of Flowers genre as a whole is understandable. Whilst there are a number of floral language books that utilise structures incredibly similar to the traditional tripartite structure of the emblem (and these are likely the floral emblem books to which Höltgen refers), the genre also encompassed a number of floral dictionaries that deviate far from the emblem book in terms of format and also usage. This style of book fed into the knowledge culture of the era and the more scientific mindsets. These floral dictionaries were intended as

[158] Title references Bath.
[159] Höltgen, p190.
[160] Bagley, p239.

reference materials and thus their deviation from emblem genre is also in that they were formatted for the passive consumption of knowledge as opposed to the active engagement of the mind required in the interpretation of emblems proper, despite the fact that these dictionaries still employed the emblematic mode of thought and its symbolic associations of pictorial representations. However, what is interesting is that Daly has included the 1820 work *Descriptive Catalogue of devices and mottos* in his bibliography. The format of this book is almost directly analogous to the floral dictionaries in style; entries consist of the name of an image and then a word or short phrase to express a symbolic interpretation of that image. Much like these floral dictionaries, Tassie's book is clearly intended as a resource for understanding the pictorial language held within emblematic images. Since Daly has included this particular work on the basis of its emblematic value, it raises the question of why the Language of Flowers as a genre has therefore been excluded. Tassie's work is a symbolic dictionary and therefore of the same less-engaged, referential reading style of the floral dictionaries, the Language of Flower books that are furthest from the tradition of the emblem book itself. That these books that are more emblematic than the Tassie volume are neglected from the bibliography leads us to the issue of why the Language of Flowers specifically is excluded.

An immediate and striking difference with regards to the Language of Flowers when compared to the emblem genre as a whole is that the genre skews rather more feminine in both authorship and audience. Of the few of these floral language books in the Stirling Maxwell Collection, three are attributed to women. In terms of readership, these books address themselves to young women above all; the first of these books to be published, *Le langage des fleurs*, opens with reference to '*la jeune fille.'*[161] However, it also addresses itself to *'les amants,'* highlighting the potential held within the Language of Flowers for a woman to express her feeling without having to commit to a precise verbal communication of sentiment, as flowers left room for interpretation.[162] La Tour notes the value in this, as '*l'art de se faire aimer est chez les femmes, l'art de se défendre,'*[163] and there is an inherent freedom in this allegorical language of

[161] La Tour, Charlotte de, *Le langage des fleurs (6ème édition)* (Paris : Garnier, 1845) p v.
[162] Ibid, p x.
[163] Ibid, p ix.

flowers that the modes of verbal and written language did not allow for, thus enabling virtue to still be protected and maintained from claims of indiscretion. Furthermore, the choice of flowers as a basis for this language speaks to an attempt to reclaim the flower from its historical role as an image of delicacy/passivity and the ephemeral nature of female beauty and virtue. By creating a language from flowers, women are taking a symbol of their passivity and their role as something of principally aesthetic value to men and repurposing the flower to something with an active voice. Daly's implication is that 'emblematic,' in the context of the floral language, is lesser than the emblem, as evidenced by his use of the word 'merely.'

The kinship between women and romance, expresses Laurie Langbauer, is a received opinion within literary criticism and thus the genre is 'usually derided accordingly,' as opposed to as a genre through which women can explore the nature of their role within a patriarchal society, since in nineteenth-century terms, romance refers to principally heterosexual relationships.[164] In aligning itself with the arena of romance, the Language of Flowers thus opens itself to this dismissal of female-orientated works as the marginal and the secondary, beholden to the status of women within the male-dominated social order. The side-lining of the Language of Flowers in the emblematic tradition echoes the rejection of the femininised and literary form of botany in nineteenth-century scientific spheres. La Tour's young woman '*ne connait pas de plus douce occupation que l'étude des plantes*,'[165] but the female study of plants is not one of purely scientific interest. The author of *Flower Emblems* laments the need to 'tear' plants and flowers apart for scientific aims,[166] speaking to this study of botany in the female sphere as one that also encompasses literary and aesthetic appreciation, a study viewed as insufficient by the male botanists of the era.[167] This multifaceted appreciation is best represented in the c.1829 work *Flora's Dictionary,* an American floral language book in which the dictionary of floral meanings is preceded by an introduction that details plant biology and includes

[164] Langbauer, p1-3.
[165] La Tour, p v.
[166] *Flower Emblems*, p1.
[167] Englehardt, p140-2.

the Linnaean system of classification as a means to aid the identification of the plants and flowers therein.[168]

The place of the Language of Flowers at the intersection of science and language in botany was uncomfortable to the men of the day and this is best typified by the sole male author of the Stirling Maxwell Collection's floral language books, who took great pains to emphasise his book's purpose as being for 'entertainment' over 'utility,' which implied a level of scientific merit.[169] As Molly Englehardt states, Henry Phillips was a botanist, the author of a number of scientific botanical tracts; even from the title page of *Floral Emblems* he 'stamps patriarchy' onto his book.[170] Phillips himself remarks upon the nature of heraldry as 'a pictorial style of writing the achievements of men,'[171] so his use of a large shield, along with a list of his botanical writings is a deliberate move. Given the martial nature of heraldry, this move speaks of an attempt to conquer and dominate the floral language by the botany he represents; the scientific, utilitarian botany of men. This is clear in his didactic tone and the absolute way he treats the floral language; he establishes a set of precise grammatical rules and chooses his floral meanings based upon their antiquity or how established they were as a move to 'avoid perplexity.'[172] Phillips is evident is his discomfort with the freedom the Language of Flowers allowed in the expression and interpretation of sentiments and the way this jostled with the utilitarian language of science; in fact, he expresses the wish not to be 'condemned' for his work simply because it concerns the realm of sentiment.[173] In his mention of emblems, Phillips emphasises their presence in 'scripture,' to cast them in a virtuous, moral role away from the 'intrigue' he views as inherent to the floral emblems in particular.[174] His work is presented as an absolute authority on floral emblems, as opposed to the female-authored works that Englehardt sees as encouraging future participation rather than closing it down.[175] In attempting to close down further developments, Phillips is also attempting to control this form

[168] Wirt, EW, *Flora's Dictionary* (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas Jr, c.1829) p5-17.
[169] Phillips, p vii.
[170] Englehardt, p143.
[171] Phillips, p11.
[172] Ibid, p24. See also p v.
[173] Ibid, p viii.
[174] Ibid, p ix.
[175] Englehardt, p143.

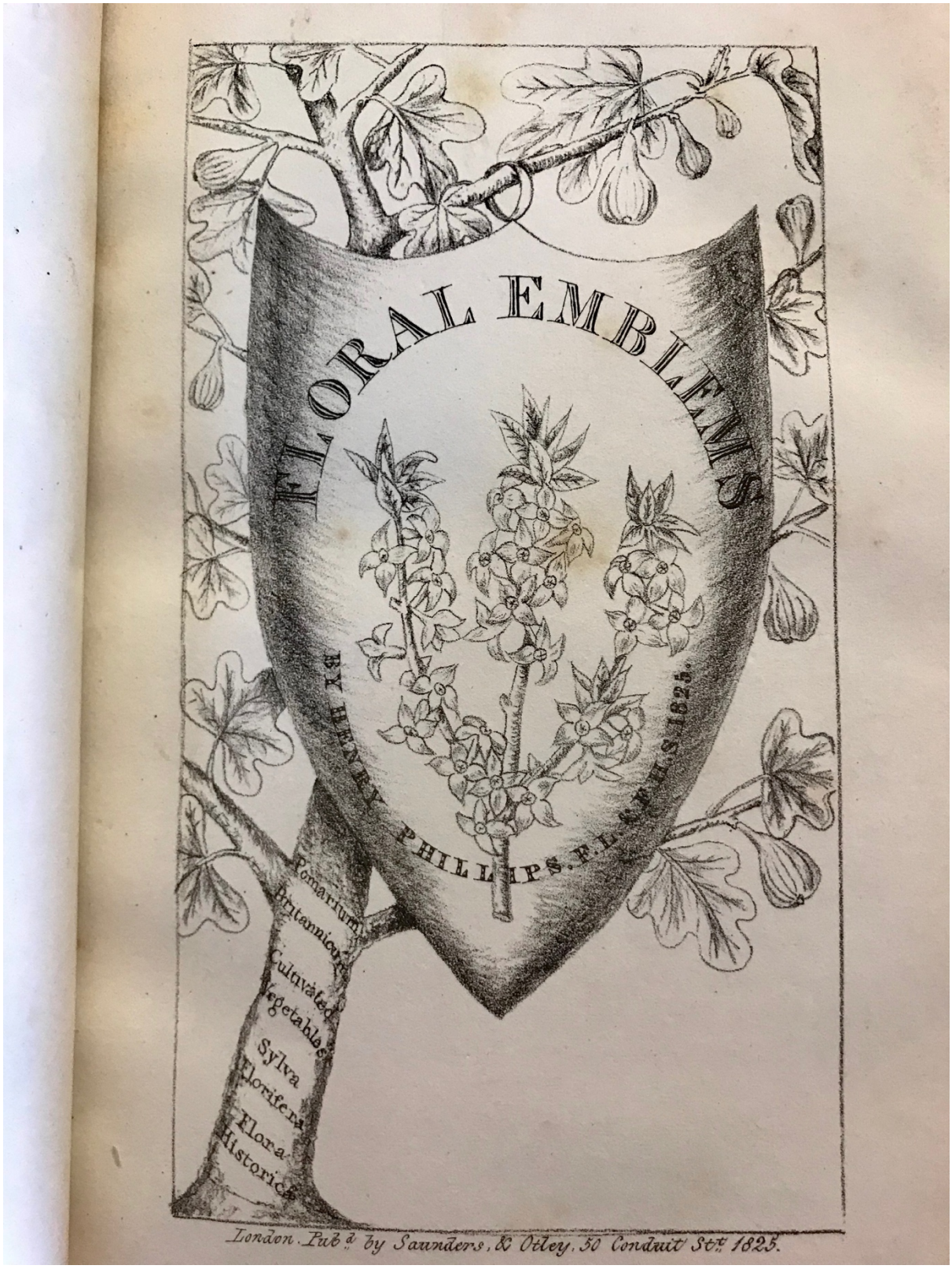

Figure 10: Title page, from Phillips, Henry, *Floral Emblems,* 1825. *Stirling Maxwell Collection*, photo by Author.

of communication, thus policing the language of romance and female virtue; this is especially clear in that he comments upon his exclusion of 'indelicate allusions and *double-entendre*' from his version of the floral language, which he considers 'offensive to modesty.'[176]

The Rose

The greater influence of botany upon the Language of Flowers when compared to emblem books saw the development of the symbolic interpretations of flowers beyond the more simplistic roles created by the name or image of a flower. This is true of the two flowers to appear most in emblem books; the lily and the rose, the latter in particular. Whilst before, the rose had been considered principally as the rose itself, and also in terms of the colours white and red, in the floral language the rose instead amasses an expanded vocabulary based both upon colour and how the flower was presented.

In general, the rose maintains its association with the goddess Venus and thus continues to be an emblem of feminine beauty. This is especially true of roses in the shades of red and pink, colours that evoke the image of the blushing maiden. La Tour compares the rose to Venus, declaring it '*l'image de la jeunesse, de l'innocence et du plaisir,*'[177] yet also refers to its colours as '*les teintes séduisantes,*'[178] thus aligning the flower with women and invoking the contrasting roles of woman as an image of both the virtuous maiden and the seductress. In both *Le véritable langage des fleurs* and *Flora's Dictionary*, this idea of the red-toned roses as blushing maidens is further utilised; for Anaïs de Neuville, the pink rose's pale petals are an emblem of the flushed cheeks of 'la jeunesse.'[179] Meanwhile, for Wirt, it is the deep red rose that symbolises sensitive modesty. She chooses quotes to accompany the flower that invoke this image of the maiden and her blushing innocence – 'the crimson glow of modesty' – that for Wirt indicates the modest and the virtuous, one that is greater the deeper the blush, hence the deep red of the rose.[180]

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[176] Phillips, p vii.
[177] La Tour, p58.
[178] Ibid, p57.
[179] Neuville, Anaïs de, *Le véritable langage des fleurs* (Paris : Bernardin-Béchet, 1863) p207.
[180] Wirt, p107.

The white rose derives much of its meaning from its colour; Neuville regards the flower as an emblem of innocence and 'honneur virginal'.[181] However, the white rose does not feature much as a fresh flower; indeed, it is used as a dried flower in both Neuville and Phillips. In both books it appears attached to a phrase that is almost word-for-word the same in both French and English: '*plutôt mourir que perdre l'innocence*.'[182] Just as the drying of the white rose preserves its colour, death preserves the innocence and virtue of one who might otherwise have her reputation damaged.

The meaning of the rose, however, is inverted when it is yellow. The colour yellow is one that is 'so terrible to lovers,'[183] and whilst the rose maintains its connection to romance, it is the colour that makes the yellow rose an emblem of the vice of infidelity. Yellow had negative connotations in the nineteenth century; La Tour declares it the colour of 'l'inconstance, la jalousie et l'adultère.'[184] She also goes on to explain yellow as the colour of traitors in both France and further afield; in France it was used to mark the doors of traitors, whilst she also cites the antisemitic laws of a number of countries that forced Jewish people to wear yellow 'parce qu'ils avaient trahi le Seigneur.'[185] Thusly, for the three European authors, the yellow rose is an emblem of amorous betrayal – infidelity. Wirt, however, differs in her meaning for the yellow rose – 'the decrease of love on better acquaintance'[186] – though this does still maintain both the romantic nature of the rose itself and the negative connotations it acquired from yellow with regards to love.

The Lily

Similarly to the rose, the lily also sees its interpretations alter with the colour yellow; for Wirt, it is an emblem of falsehood, whilst for La Tour, the yellow lily represents vanity and ostentation.[187]

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[181] Neuville, p202. See also p206.
[182] Ibid, p203. See also 'Death said to be preferable to the loss of innocence' in Phillips, p109.
[183] Phillips, p186.
[184] La Tour, p285.
[185] Ibid.
[186] Wirt, p114.
[187] Ibid, p76. See also La Tour, p273.

In general, however, the lily has two distinct emblematic meanings, with the differences appearing based upon the Francophone-Anglophone divide. For La Tour, the lily is '*le roi des fleurs*,' and it is an emblem of '*majestie.*'[188] These royal connotations stem from the use of the fleur-de-lis in the coat of arms of the French monarchy.[189] For Neuville, the lily is both an emblem of majesty, but also one of purity.[190] She further emphasises the link between the lily and the concept of purity through the emblematic meanings she assigns to other breeds of lily; the Martagon lily, for example, signifies pious virginity, whilst the phrase *'mes intentions sont pures'* is attached to the Siberian lily.[191] Beyond the specifically French associations of the lily with royalty, both Phillips and Wirt continue with the usage of the lily as it appeared in the likes of Quarles, *Iconologie* and Montenay, wherein the flower was an emblem of purity and of virtue. Phillips, in apparent ignorance of La Tour, declares that 'all nations agree on making this flower the symbol of purity and modesty.'[192] Wirt concurs with this, referring on two separate occasions to the lily as an emblem of 'purity and modesty' and 'purity and sweetness.'[193]

The Language of Flowers occupies an uncomfortable place in the fields of both emblematics and botany. Just as it is botanical, yet not scientific enough for the male botanists of the nineteenth-century, it is emblematic, yet not emblematic enough to be properly considered alongside the male emblem tradition. In this regard, it perfectly exemplifies the dismissal of female-allied works as being lesser than the male traditions, most notably when these works also encompass other feminine subject matter, as is the case with romance and the Language of Flowers. However, despite the clash between the Language of Flowers and botany, the genre does not contradict the emblem tradition, and in fact they are allied in terms of content. This closeness to the emblem tradition emerges in the use of the more established flowers in emblems, such as the rose, the lily and the violet. In the Language of Flowers, these flowers maintain the virtuous associations they embodied in emblem books, thus aligning this

[188] La Tour, p89.
[189] Ibid, p90.
[190] Neuville, p177.
[191] Ibid.
[192] Phillips, p254.
[193] Wirt, p40. See also p76.

aspect of floral works with emblematic didacticism. The principal difference with regards to the Language of Flowers genre is that it is produced mainly by women for women, therefore rejecting the dynamic that appears in the emblem; of men outlining the virtues they expect women to possess.

Conclusion

Through the analysis of flowers in emblematics, we can see that the nineteenth-century revival unfolded primarily under the influence of the older emblem tradition. Considering the fact that England was the centre of nineteenth-century publication, it is unsurprising therefore that the influences principally stem from the English emblem books of the seventeenth century that were republished in new editions throughout the nineteenth century, namely Francis Quarles, whose works inspired an number of trends within the nineteenth-century revival, such as the *peregrinato*. There was considerable interplay between the production of newer emblem books and the scholarship that surrounded the later reproductions of emblem books. W. Harry Roger's edition of Francis Quarles was succeeded one year later in 1862 by his own emblem book *Spiritual Conceits*. William Stirling Maxwell was consulted on the book *The life of man as symbolised by the months of the year*, which in turn was authored by Richard Pigot and John Leighton, who had previously collaborated on the 1860 edition of Jacob Cats.[194]

The role of the flower as an image within the emblem books of the nineteenth century mirrored the role of the women within the emblem tradition itself. The revival of the emblem book took place principally in the sphere of men. The female role within the emblematic tradition of the nineteenth-century was principally confined to the periphery of emblematic creation. With regards to the emblematic revival, the works of female creators are confined to the category of 'emblematic,' and thusly dismissed from consideration alongside the male emblem tradition. Similarly, the flower, that appears principally as an emblem of the feminine, is confined to a minority of emblems that are intended, not necessarily for a female audience, but to provide a didactic message on the virtue required of womanhood.

In the emblem itself, women appear principally in their role as image. The alliance between women and flowers is utilised to underline their shared

[194] One of the editions of Cats held in the Stirling Maxwell Collection (call no. SM 1603) holds several annotated sample pages from *The life of man,* and a letter from the author to Stirling Maxwell thanking him for his advice.

roles as visual objects. In a variety of emblems, women appear alongside flowers, represented by flowers, or in the case of *Chorea Sancti Viti,* the woman becomes the flower. Within the realm of emblematics, this heavy focus upon women as image is shaped by the didacticism of the genre. This is evidenced through the virtues of chastity and beauty that characterise the Ideal of the woman as she appears in the emblem. The nature of the female Ideal is complemented by the didactic emblem as the Ideal that is imposed upon the female image is treated as a moral goal to which women should conform.

However, these ideals of female virtue are rooted in contradiction. Beauty is a prized female virtue, yet to pursue it, to develop beauty is to fall to the vice of vanity, as one must almost be modest. The most striking of these opposing virtues is that of chastity or virginity, that through flowers is tied to fertility. This is best exemplified through the depictions of spring as a virginial maid, yet the season is one of reproduction. The flower is further allied to the fertile female form through the notion of 'bloom;' of representing a young woman coming of age through the opening of a flower, a narrative that emerges strongly in the cultural works of the nineteenth century.

Contradictions also characterise the Language of Flowers. In his poem *Élévation,* Charles Baudelaire refers to 'le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes.'[195] A contrast emerges in this line between the ideas of language and of silence, that typify a number of the tensions that arise in the Language of Flowers as a genre. The genre intersects the disciplines of emblematics and botany, forming an arena in which female creators counteract male subjugation from each of these disciplines. In both of these struggles, language or speech forms a central part; in botany, it is focused upon the usage of language and the tension between the scientific and the literary, whilst in the case of emblematics, the Language of Flowers gives a voice to the flower that is utilised as a silent image of women. Yet, though the idea of the Language of Flowers is radical by nineteenth-century standards, the content of the genre itself still falls within the male tradition. In this regard, the flower is still mute; women give it,

[195] Baudelaire, Charles and Antoine Adams (ed.), *Les Fleurs du Mal* (Paris: Garnier, 1994), p12.

and themselves a voice, yet they do not say anything new, only echo many of the sentiments within the male-authored emblems.

Part Two - The Sacred and the Profane: the Lily and the Rose as Emblems in Nineteenth-Century Art and Literature

Beyond the use of flowers within the emblematic publications of the nineteenth century, an emblematic pictorial language featured in the cultural works of the period. Flowers were used in an emblematic manner in a wide range of works. Considering the enormous potential scope of 'flowers' and 'culture' in nineteenth-century cultural works, this thesis will focus upon two particular flowers that were used both independently and as complements to one another: the lily and the rose. Further to this, this thesis will also focus in on five individual authors and artists. The mediums of art and literature are the ideal lens through which to examine to the text/image relationship upon which emblems rely.

Within art and literature of the nineteenth century, the lily and the rose remained steeped in their associations with the Virgin Mary and thus were emblematic of her as the epitome of female virtue. However, the rose especially could also subvert these lofty associations, as the blush of its colour could be used to indicate not only the blush of a maiden, but a flush of shame. It is steeped in the feminine beauty and sexuality of a more earthly sort.

Flowers especially were tied to the voyeurism inherent in the female form; in their kinship with women, they share the same 'to-be-looked-at-ness'[196] and also a similar duality. Flowers in emblematics were tied to the ideal of virtue, but they were also sexualised through the Linnaean system; in the nineteenth century, the image of woman was coloured with the dichotomy of sexualised virtue and vice. Therefore, it is through the use of the flowers that artists and authors can play with and subvert the idea of the male and female gaze. The theme of the Ideal emerges as the beauty of the flower comes to represent the Ideal of woman, possessing either virtue or beauty that reality cannot live up to or usurp.

As the first part of this thesis observed, the lily and the rose played an important role in the emblematic floral imagery of the nineteenth-century. In

[196] Mulvey, p19.

the works covered in this case study, the creators engage with the image of the lily and the rose in different ways and also with the emblematic text/image relationship. Considering that the gaze centres upon gendered concerns, this section begins with three male creators, then shifts to analyse these issues as they are raised in two female-authored works.

I begin with a number of paintings by Dante Gabriel Rossetti; his early works that prominently feature both the lily and the Virgin Mary, and his series of portraits from the 1860s that feature female mythological figures and the motif of the rose. Through these paintings, Rossetti plays with the concept of gaze and the nature of the painting to be looked at and in doing so, Rossetti explores the tensions inherent in the actions of looking and being looked at.

In *Le lys dans la vallée,* Honoré de Balzac's narrator, Félix turns the object of his affection, Henriette de Mortsauf, into the image of the celestial lily. In creating this Ideal image of her, he creates a religious figure that is at odds with the reality of Henriette as a person. Through Félix's world view, Balzac criticises the male gaze and the Ideal; it is women who suffer when the Ideal is imposed upon them.

The final male-authored works are the poems *L'Idéal* and *Un Voyage à Cythère* from *Les Fleurs du Mal*. Through these poems Baudelaire uses flowers as an embodiment of the conventional feminine Ideal and challenges the Ideal itself, creating his own out of violence and the grotesque.

Christina Rossetti provides a feminine point of view on the nature of the male gaze. In *Goblin Market,* flowers are utilised to expose the tensions inherent in the dynamic of activity and passivity that defines the gaze. Her female protagonists are the ones who look, and this inversion challenges this dynamic, demonstrating the danger of desire that stems from the tradition of the male gaze, the dynamic between the male and the female, of looking and being looked at.

The final work to be discussed is *Middlemarch*, by George Eliot. She utilises both floral imagery and her literacy in floral emblematics to further

explore the tension within the male gaze. In the character of Lydgate, two aspects of the male order emerge, and a clash develops between the perceived authority of his own scientific worldview and his failure to recognise his projection of the Ideal onto Rosamond; it is a clash that ultimately leads to his own unhappiness.

Chapter 4: The Sacred Lily and the Profane Rose: Flowers in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's female portraits

In the words of his brother, William Michael, the paintings most associated with Dante Gabriel Rossetti, his female portraits of the 1860s, could collectively be considered as 'beautiful women with floral adjuncts,'[197] thus immediately tying his works to the themes of this thesis. Brian Donnelly defines these works in the context of the Victorian discourse surrounding the placement of women in visual culture, one that is 'controlled ostensibly by a distinctly masculine form of looking.'[198] These paintings, and some of his earlier works explore the tension between the female image and her male viewer, playing with and challenging the idea of the objectifying male gaze. Mulvey establishes the male gaze – the aesthetic pleasure of looking – as the counterpoint to the role of women as image.[199]

Yet this is not the only tension they explore. Perhaps more important to Rossetti's own process is the tension between the verbal and the visual. Rossetti's works were often accompanied by poetry, providing a discourse that ran alongside the painting, so that visual and verbal performed their cultural work together.[200] His paintings, therefore, behave in a remarkably similar way to the emblem. Rossetti himself would likely have been no stranger to the emblematic style of text/image relationship – it is something that features strongly in his sister's work, especially Christina Rossetti's devotional writings,[201] and both siblings had a well-documented influence on each other's works. Further to this, as Höltgen argues, Francis Quarles had a marked influence upon John Ruskin, [202] who in turn was a patron and influential figure to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in the 1850s.

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[197] William Michael Rossetti, quoted in Donnelly, Brian, *Reading Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2015) p5.
[198] Donnelly, p84.
[199] Mulvey, p16-9.
[200] Ibid, p4.
[201] Hönnighausen, Gisela, 'Emblematic Tendencies in the Works of Christina Rossetti,' *Victorian Poetry,* 10:1 (Spring 1972) pp1-15.
[202] Bagley, p2?

The Girlhood of Mary Virgin and *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*

With regards to the emblematic in Rossetti's works, I shall turn first to his earliest oil-painting, *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin.*[203] This piece was completed in 1849 and was displayed accompanied by two sonnets Rossetti himself had penned, which appeared together under the title *Mary's Girlhood.* This painting was succeeded a year later by *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* which showed the Annunciation and was thus the narrative successor to *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, established through a number of repeated visual elements.[204]

The most important of these is the lily, upon which Mary's gaze is fixed in both paintings (see figures. 11 and 12). The idea of gaze is central to Rossetti's work, and it is through the gaze of his female figures in particular that we can explore Rossetti's aims for his work. In both *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* and *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* then, the emphasis upon the lily is a celebration of Mary's purity and Rossetti's belief that she was 'an example of ideal womanhood.'[205] In the second of his two sonnets, Rossetti calls the lily 'Innocence' whilst Mary herself is that 'angel-watered lily;' she is herself the emblem of the truest purity.[206] As Elizabeth Prettejohn argues, the lily becomes an emblem of a twofold meaning in *Ecce Ancilla Domini!,* where the use of the lily, held by the male figure of Gabriel references a 'paradoxical deflowering that excludes the sexual,'[207] however with the lily's pale colour, Mary's purity is still maintained. However, in the figure of Gabriel in *Ecce Ancilla Domini!,* Rossetti 'borrows from the discourse of male dominance,'[208] as Gabriel stands above Mary on the bed, whilst she shrinks back from him, her face and posture indicative of her uneasiness. Gabriel offers Mary the lily, but the flower is not turned to her, instead it is the phallic stem, which contributes to the rape narrative in this depiction of her symbolic deflowering. Gabriel's gaze is fixed upon Mary, which highlights her view in Rossetti's eyes as an object of heavenly desire. Gabriel's

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[203] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin (*London: Tate Britain, 1848-9).
[204] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Ecce Ancilla Domini !* (London: Tate Britain, 1849-50).
[205] Mancoff, Debra N., *Flora Symbolica* (London: Prestel, 2003) p30.
[206] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Mary's Girlhood,* both sonnets printed in full in Donnelly, p22.
[207] Prettejohn, Elizabeth, *The Art of the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: Tate Publishing, 2008) p51.
[208] Donnelly, p31.

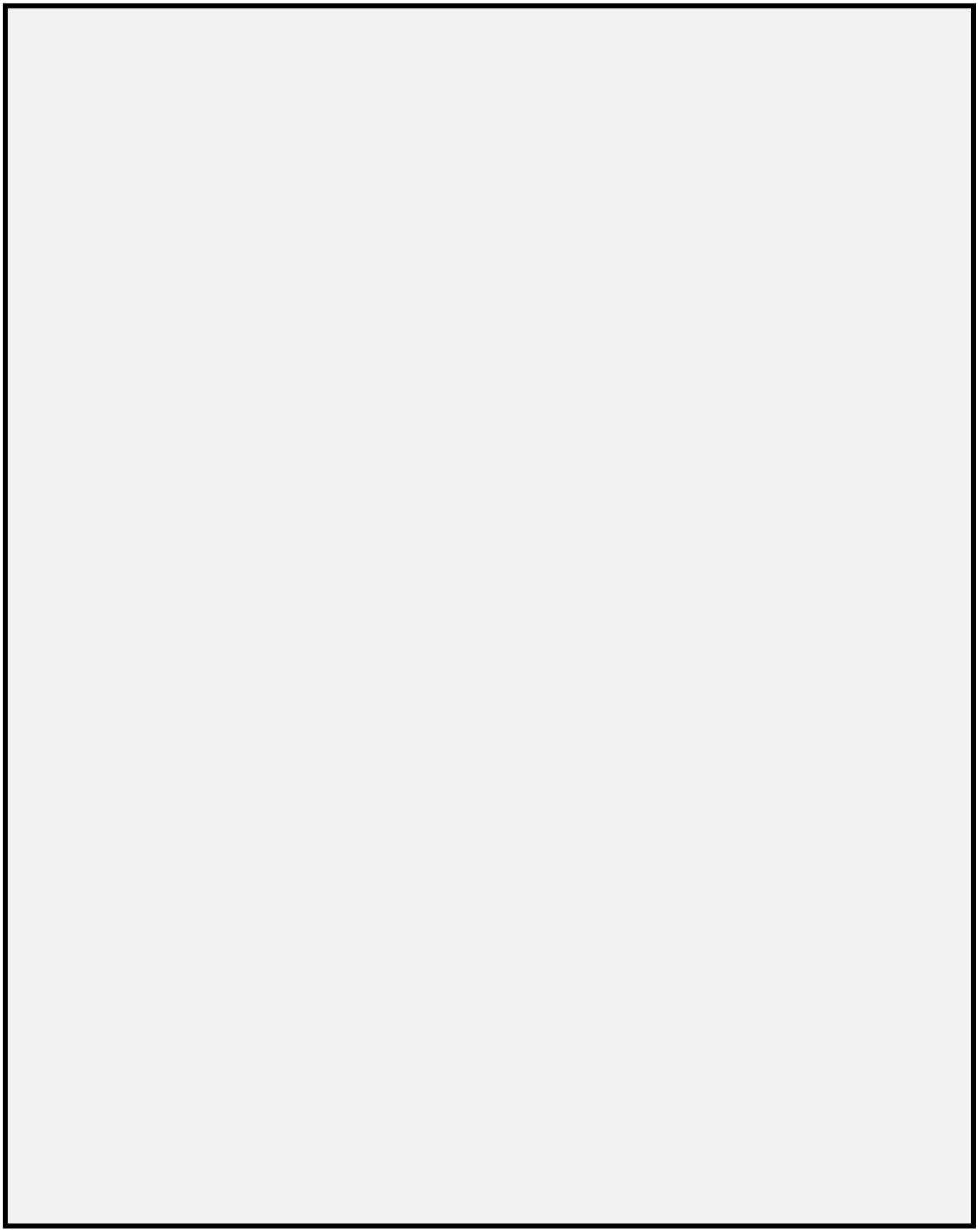

Figure 11: *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, by Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 1848-9. London, *Tate Britain,* photo by Tate Galleries.

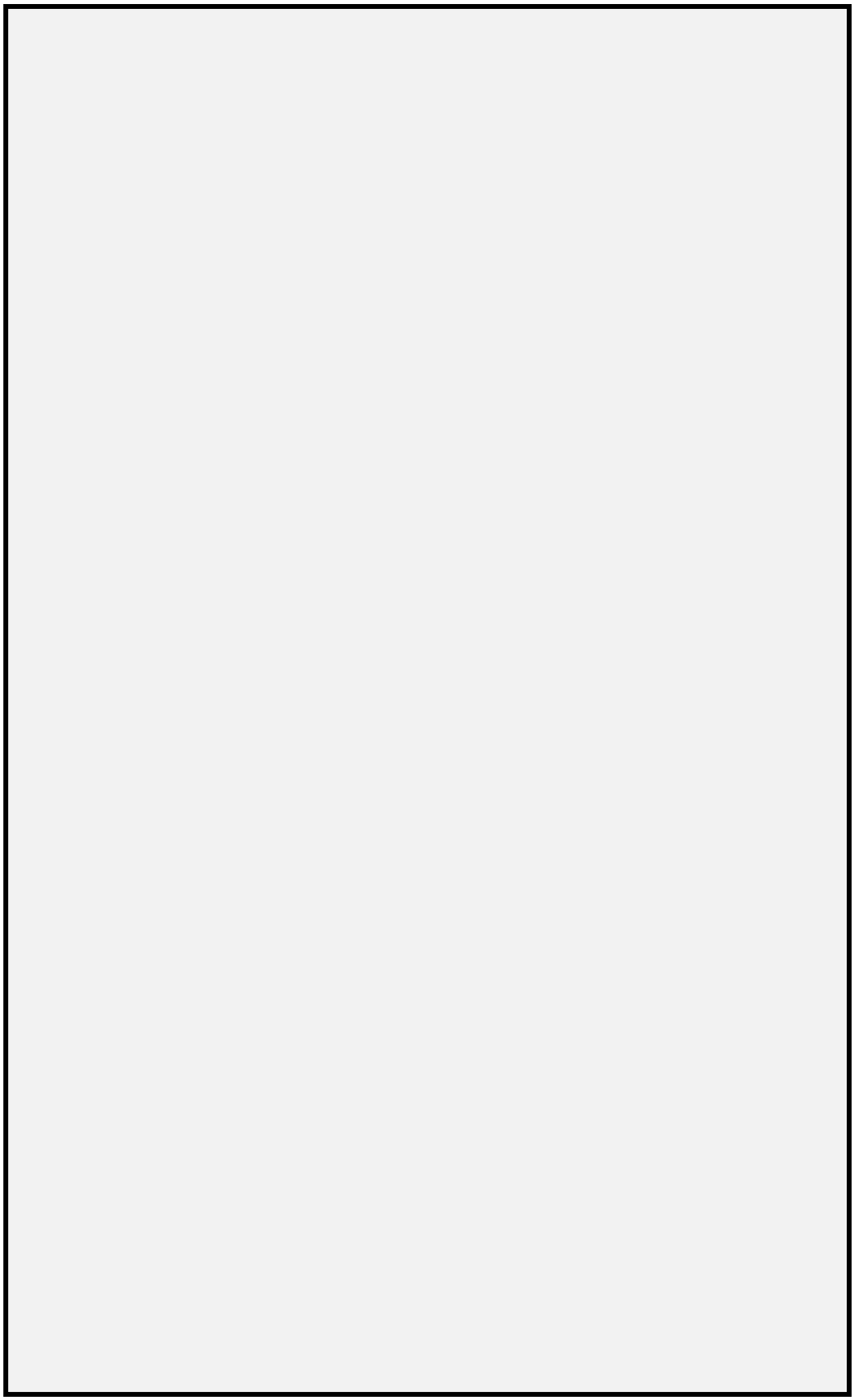

Figure 12: *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*, by Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 1849-50. London, *Tate Britain,* photo by Tate Galleries.

insertion into the painting becomes an analogue for the male gaze, but in this painting it is celestial.

Yet the lily does not appear as the flower alone in either painting, it also features prominently upon the banner that Mary embroiders in *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin,* a banner that, by the time of the Annunciation in *Ecce Ancilla Domini!,* hangs complete in her bedroom. This banner, along with the repeated figure of the angel, that progresses from the figure of a child to that of Gabriel, represents what Rossetti calls the 'fulness of the time,'[209] that by *Ecce Ancilla Domini!,* Mary has reached sexual maturity. Much like the process of reading an emblem, the appreciation of these works of Rossetti's, 'forces the viewer/reader to move back and forward in space and time,'[210] just as the layout of the emblem invited the reader to move back and forth between image and text in their contemplation.

A further aspect of this narrative continuity is the use of the same individual as a model, that of Rossetti's sister, Christina. Considering Rossetti's wish to depict a redheaded Mary, Prettejohn makes note of the fact that Rossetti did not choose Elizabeth Siddal as his model for *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*,[211] given that she was renowned for her vibrant hair. However, in changing his model, Rossetti would have disrupted the continuity that exists between the two paintings. Additionally, in using his sister as a model, Rossetti divorces the figure of Mary from the sexuality that is usually inherent in the sexually mature female form, thus emphasising the purity of the figure of Mary. This separates *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* from Rossetti's sexuality-laden pictures of the 1860s; Rossetti's models for these portraits were women to whom Rossetti himself was sexually attracted, including his wife, Siddal, his mistress Fanny Cornforth, [212] and Alexa Wilding.[213]

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[209] ibid, p22.
[210] Ibid, p24.
[211] Prettejohn, p200.
[212] Ibid, p280 and 284.
[213] Interestingly, Rossetti seemed to consider Wilding the epitome of female beauty, as he was compelled to ask her to be his model the instant he saw her. Though they never pursued a sexual relationship, his persistence in getting permission to paint her is remarkable, as discussed in Toll, Simon, 'Dante Gabriel Rosetti's discovery of Alexa Wilding', *The British Art Journal,* 7.2 (2006), pp87-91.

The Blessed Damozel

By contrast to these two early Rossetti paintings, *The Blessed Damozel,* painting almost three decades later, makes use of the lily in its depiction of different figure, the Blessed Damozel from Rossetti's 1850 poem of the same name.[214] The purity of the Damozel is highlighted through the use of Marian imagery; in her arms she holds three lilies, which directly echoes the three flowers that appear upon the banners of both *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin* and *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* In addition to this, the figure is clothed in the colours of white and blue, which commonly appear in depictions of the Virgin Mary (see figure. 13).

However, whilst the lilies mark the Damozel as a figure of heavenly desire, the Damozel, unlike Mary herself, is also an object of earthly desire. Whereas in *Ecce Ancilla Domini!,* the celestial figure of Gabriel is a substitute for the male gaze, in *The Blessed Damozel,* it is her lover, who is still earthbound and gazes at her from the predella panel. There is a sensuality to the Damozel that Rossetti's Mary deliberately lacks; although she is dead, her lover still imagines her as heated, thinking her body will warm the golden bar upon which she leans.[215] For Rossetti, the rose was an emblem of this earthly beauty and desire,[216] which he highlights through his use of gaze in *The Blessed Damozel;* the gaze of her lover follows a line up to the Damozel's face and this line crosses a rose, thus associating her face with the idea of this earthly beauty.

Rossetti and the Rose

Whilst for Rossetti, the lily is 'sacred,' steeped in the religious imagery of its association with Mary, his roses have lost their sacred nature and have instead become 'profane.' His paintings of the 1860s principally depict mythological figures and are imbued with sensuality and Rossetti's own ideals of feminine beauty. The difficulty these paintings pose for art historians is that they tread

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[214] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *The Blessed Damozel* (Cambridge, Mass.: Fogg Art Museum, 1875-8). An 1879 replica by Rossetti hangs in the Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight; this is not a direct copy, so there are a few small differences between the two.
[215] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *The Blessed Damozel,* quoted in Mancoff, p36.
[216] Mancoff, p36.

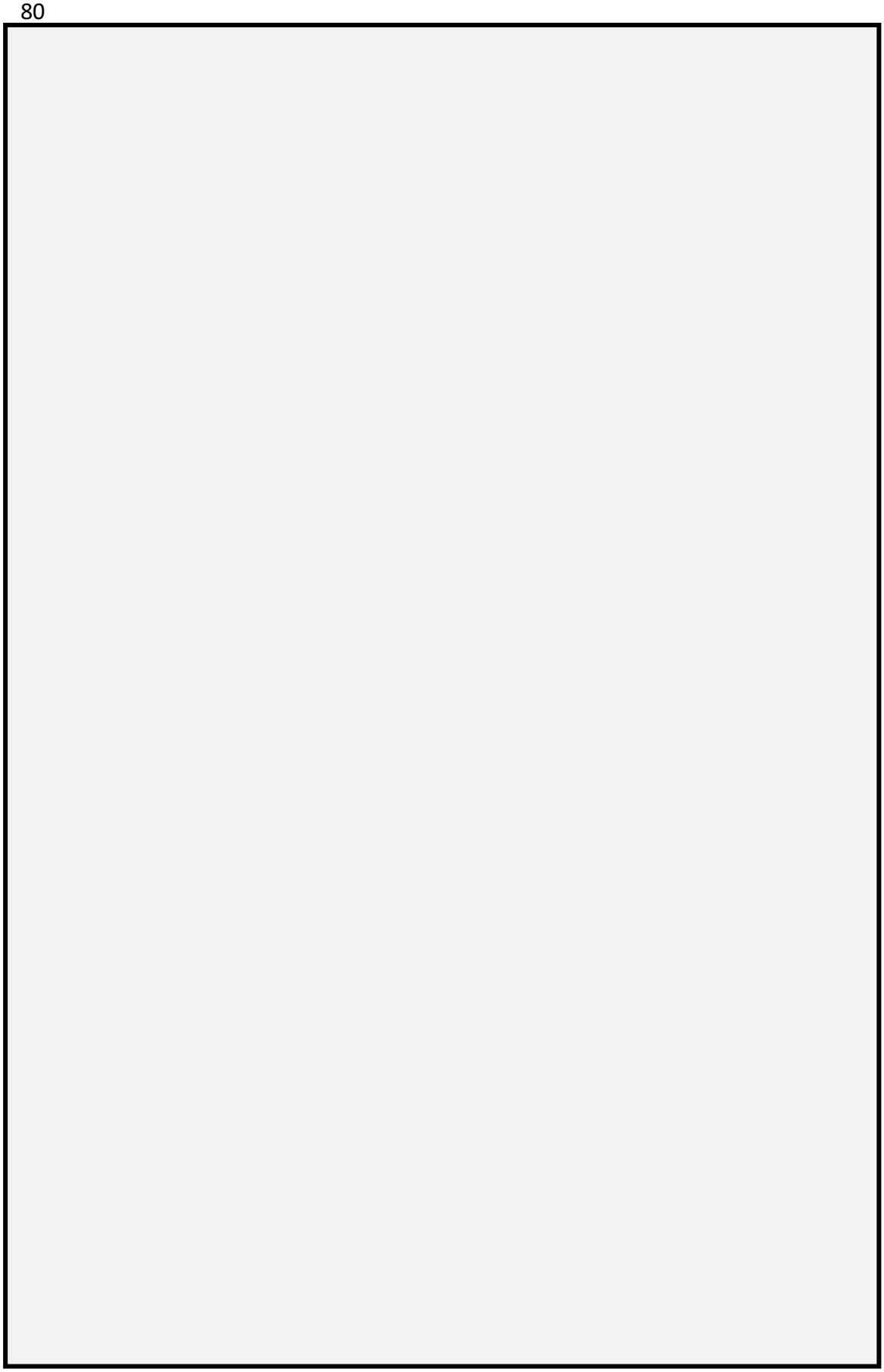

Figure 13: *The Blessed Damozel*, by Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 1875-8. Cambridge, Massachusetts, *Fogg Art Museum*, photo by Harvard Art Museums.

the line between portraiture and mythology and do not fall clearly into either category.[217] His models are all easily identifiable, whilst the conflicted sense of space removes the figures he depicts from their narrative contexts. This has an important effect upon the tension that exists between the viewer and the subject of the painting as the object of their gaze. His choice to use real women as models and depict their features faithfully removes the sense of distance between the (implied male) viewer and the female figure, thus humanising the subject and challenging the idea of voyeurism. Yet, this voyeurism comes to the fore, as the conflicted space and lack of narrative context isolates the female figure, leaving them alone with the viewer, who, as Prettejohn argues, finds their presence 'necessary to complete the picture.'[218] Looking then is central to these paintings, and this is evident through Rossetti's very deliberate use of the dynamic of eye contact in them. The painting itself is a passive object, subject to the gaze of the viewer, which echoes the visual passivity of the female role in culture, yet Rossetti subverts this passivity. Some of his female figures stare directly out of the painting, targeting the viewer with a penetrating gaze and challenging them to return it. In the paintings in which the figure does not directly regard the viewer, they draw the viewer's gaze somewhere else, and do this in a very deliberate manner.

Bocca Baciata

The 1859 painting *Bocca Baciata* marked the first of these female portraits of the style most associated with Rossetti and a turning point in his style.[219] The painting itself is imbued with the tensions surrounding the male gaze and nineteenth-century gender dynamics. Rossetti's friend Arthur Hughes remarked upon its sale that the new owner, George Boyce might 'kiss the dear things [*sic*] lips away.'[220] This personifies the image in the painting as a woman; *Bocca Baciata* is not just the image or representation of woman, the painting itself becomes a woman in her purest cultural form – that of image. *Bocca Baciata* is therefore launched into the discourse of consent; as Hughes implies, as a

[217] Prettejohn, p193-5.
[218] Ibid, p218.
[219] Donnelly, p91-2.
[220] ibid, p83.

painting she cannot consent, she is merely the object onto which Boyce can project his fantasies and his advances. The gaze of *Bocca Baciata* also plays into the discomfort of this lack of consent – she glances just down and off to the side of the painting (see figure. 14),[221] forever unable to meet the eye of her beholder and thus demonstrating the gendered dynamic of inequality that exists between object and viewer.

With regards to floral emblems, *Bocca Baciata* prominently features a white rose. As D.M.R Bentley notes, Rossetti was especially concerned with both the narrative of the fallen woman and the question of her redemption.[222] This theme was most prominent in his poems and paintings of the 1850s. This is certainly the case for *Bocca Baciata.* The white rose is a focal point in the painting, a sharp contrast to her loose red hair which it sits upon. The rose emphasises the beauty of the female figure, whilst the white colour implies the purity of the subject, a seemingly curious juxtaposition to the reddened tint of her 'kissed mouth.' The quote that Rossetti chose to accompany *Bocca Baciata* and that that gives the painting its title is *'bocca baciate non perde ventura, anzi rinova come fa la luna,'* from a tale by Boccaccio, where a young girl Alatiel makes love on 'thousands' of occasions to eight different lovers, yet she still goes to her marriage bed a virgin.[223] The use of the white rose in *Bocca Baciata* references this narrative within the painting; the kissed mouth and the open garment imply a level of sexual experience, yet the flower still gives the woman her purity.

Lady Lilith

In a strictly technical sense, *Lady Lilith* is the most profane of Rossetti's paintings.[224] In Jewish mythology, Lilith was the first wife of Adam and a

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[221] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Bocca Baciata* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1859).
[222] Bentley focuses mainly upon the poem 'Jenny' (finished 1858, revised 1869), in which the titular character is a prostitute. Bentley, D.M.R, 'Ah Poor Jenny's Case': Rossetti and the Fallen Woman/Flower, *University of Toronto Quarterly,* vol.50, no.2 (Winter 1980/81) pp177-198.
[223] 'The kissed mouth doesn't lose its freshness, for like the moon it always renews itself.' Original quote and translated extract from Boccaccio in Donnelly, p99.
[224] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Lady Lilith* (Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1864-73).

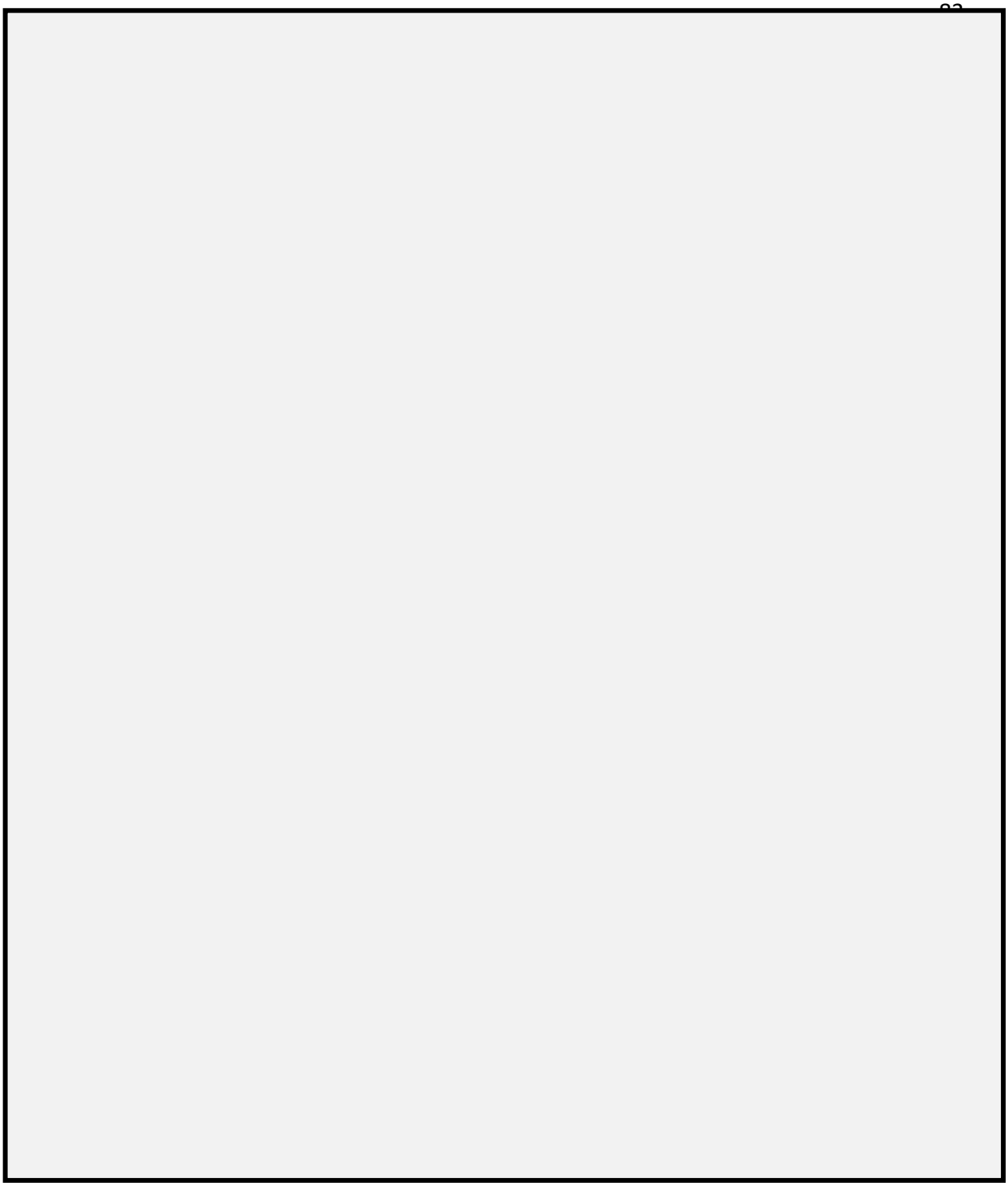

Figure 14: *Bocca Baciata,* by Rossetti, Dante Gabriel,1859. Boston, *Museum of Fine Arts,* photo by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

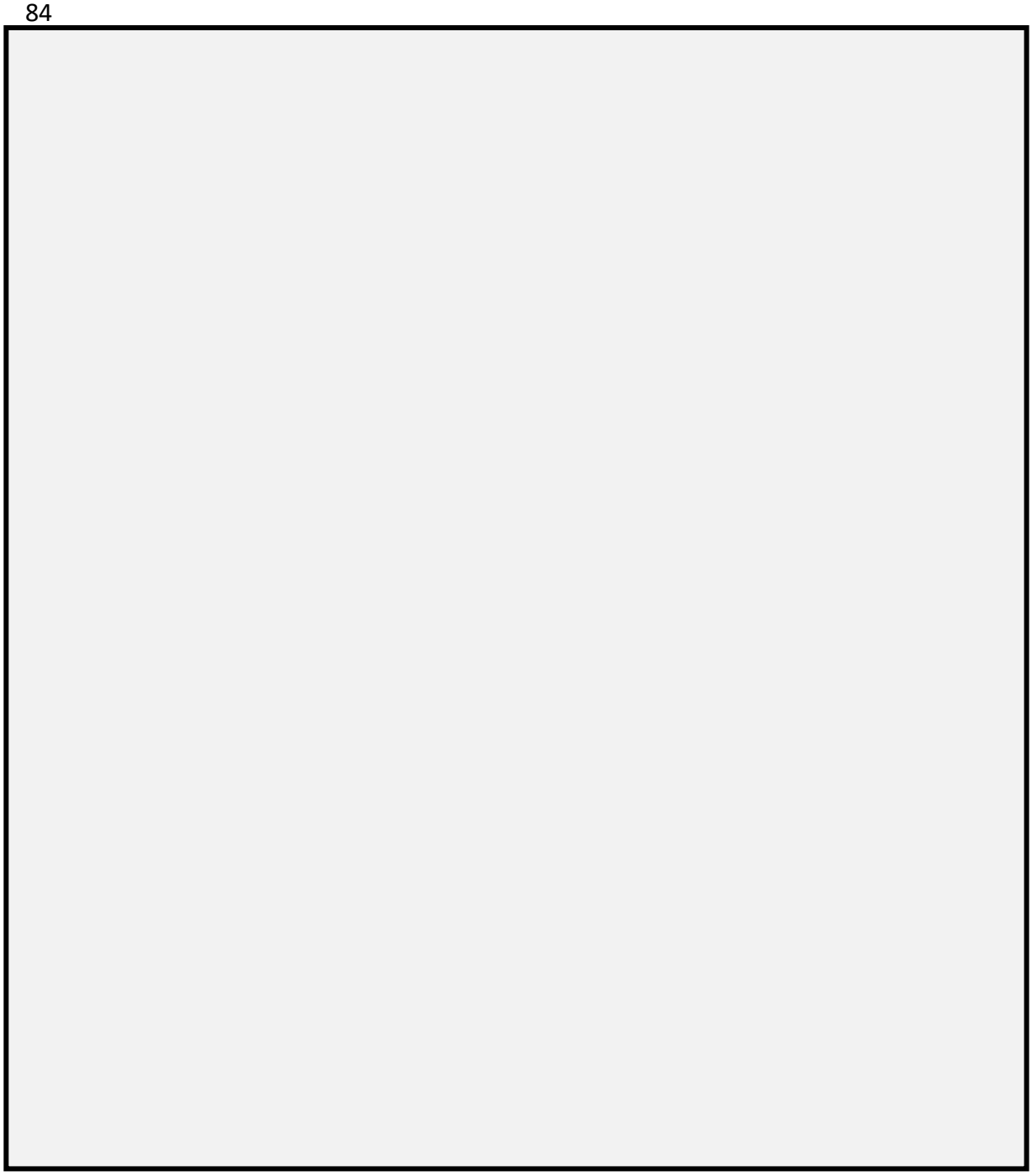

Figure 15: *Lady Lilth*, by Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 1864-73. Wilmington, *Delaware Art Museum,* photo by Delaware Art Museum.

demonic figure of sexual desire.[225] In this context, the white roses that adorn the painting seem almost ironic, especially when accompanied by the poisonous foxgloves that rest upon her dresser (see figure. 15). Indeed, for though Rossetti's Lilith is beautiful, she is not a pure figure, but one of 'carnal loveliness,'[226] with a dangerous edge hinted at by the poisonous flowers, that speak of the folly of the men she entices. In his accompanying poem 'Body's Beauty,' Rossetti describes the figure as one that 'draws men to watch.'[227] Though Lilith looks away, Rossetti has imbued her with a very studied and deliberate air to draw in the viewer as a voyeur. Her pose is very careful as she brushes her hair, drawing the eye to the exposed, pale skin of her décolletage. Through this pose, and her state of undress, Lilith creates a sense of faux-intimacy between herself and her viewer. Since man is the 'race of Adam' and Lilith is his wife, this sense of manufactured familiarity in essence creates a figure that is everyone's wife. This narrative is alluded to in the mirror; its positioning is such that one would expect to see the viewer reflected in it, but instead Rossetti has painted a garden, which, as discussed in Part One, was often emblematic of the Garden of Eden.

Venus Verticordia

In a direct contrast to both *Bocca Baciata* and *Lady Lilith,* the figure of Venus in *Venus Verticordia* stares directly from the painting to meet the gaze of her viewer (see figure. 16).[228] The title refers to the aspect of the goddess to change nature of the heart, which was traditionally used in the moral sense of turning women from desire to virtue.[229] Yet this painting, notable as one of Rossetti's only nudes, is considered by Christopher Newall as a Venus who instead turns the hearts of men away from fidelity.[230] Considering the implied male viewer of

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[225] Donnelly, p111.
[226] Corbett, David Peters, "A Soul of the Age:' Rossetti's words and images, 1848-73,' Giebelhausen, Michaela and Tim Barringer (eds.), *Writing the Pre-Raphaelites* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2009) pp81-100, p92.
[227] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Body's Beauty,* quoted in Corbett, p94.
[228] Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Venus Verticordia* (Bournemouth: Russell-Cotes Galley and Museum, 1864-8).
[229] Mancoff, p52.
[230] Newall, Christopher, *Pre-Raphaelites: Beauty and Rebellion* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, Nation Museums Liverpool, 2016) p53.

Rossetti's other paintings, *Venus Verticordia* certainly seems to hold a similar narrative to this in mind. The flowers depicted in the painting – the rose and the honeysuckle – emphasise the beauty and sexuality of the Venus figure.[231] Yet, Rossetti's Venus seems to speak more of the fickleness of love itself, as she directs the Cupid's arrow she holds at her own heart. The arrow itself contains a tongue-in-cheek reference, as it also points to her bare breast, which, with her challenging gaze, almost dares the male viewer to look. The sense of voyeurism *Venus Verticordia* inspired did not go unnoticed; George Rae requested that his small watercolour version be censored, calling himself 'a respectable old timer.'[232] This anecdote exposes the tension inherent in the piece; this Venus compels men to look, yet her direct gaze discomforts them. It removes the opportunity to be the voyeur from her male viewers, an opportunity that *Lady Lilith* grants as she looks away, drawing in her voyeurs. Venus, however, can see them and she knows that they are looking.

Overall then, for Rossetti, the lily retains its holy associations, and so it is an emblem of purity and the idealised woman and this is a dynamic that is echoed in *Le lys dans la vallée*. His roses, however, are of a more earthly beauty, one that is imbued with sexuality and it is through this portraits that he can more fully explore the voyeuristic male gaze and the tension inherent in the feminine image, a tension of looking and being looked at. This chapter has covered a selection of Rossetti's paintings - there are a number of other works by Rossetti that use flowers in an emblematic manner, including the paintings *Regina Cordium* and *Sibylla Palmifera,* and his poetry, to which this framework of the gendered tensions of the gaze could be applied.

[231] Rossetti wrote a poem entitled *The Honeysuckle,* in which the open form and sweet scent of the flower make it an emblem for sexual desire, as a single bloom draws in the male narrator, discussed in Mancoff, p52.
[232] Newall, p53.

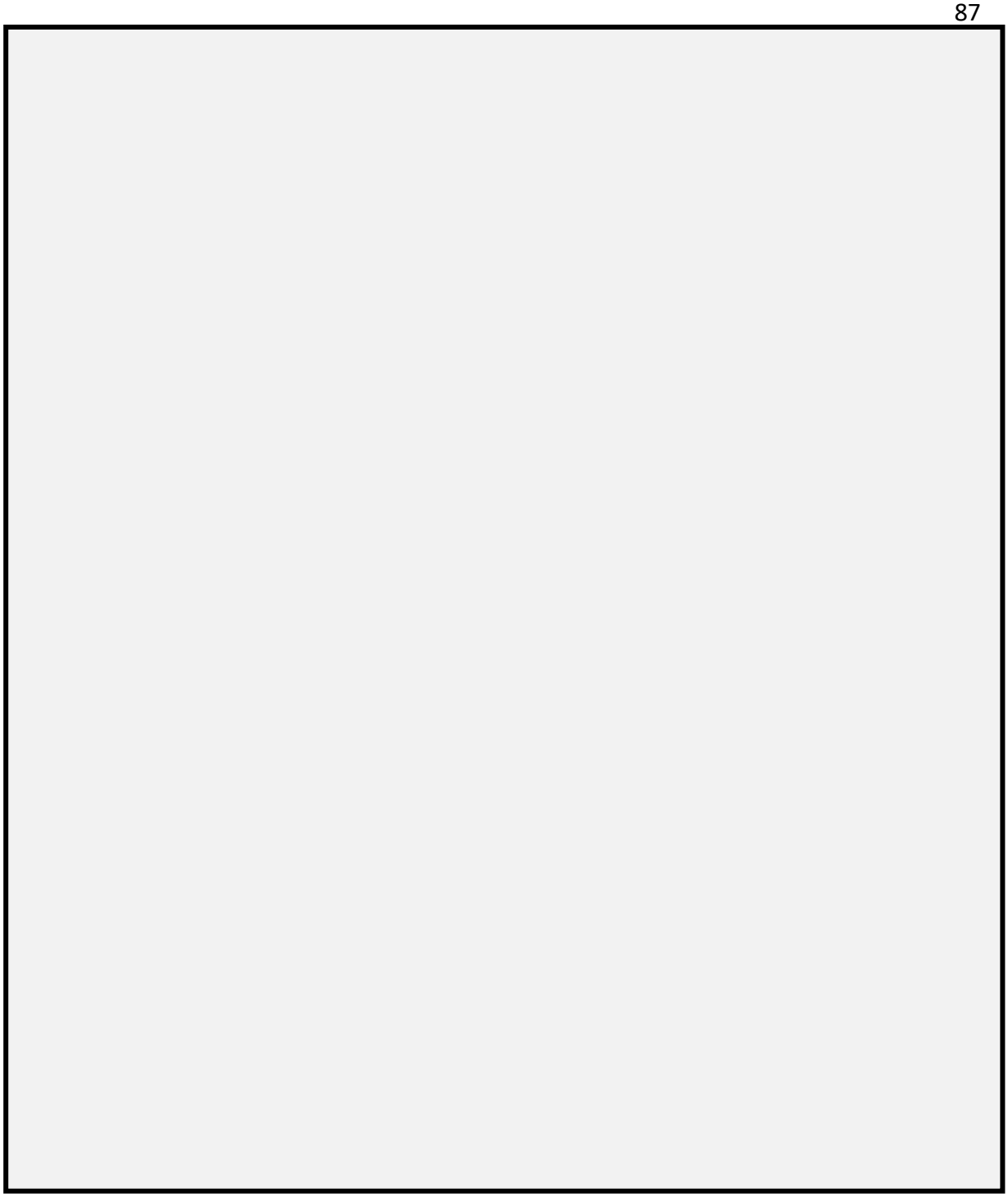

Figure 16: *Venus Verticordia*, by Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, 1864-68. Bournemouth, *Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum*, photo by Russell-Cotes Gallery and Museum.

Chapter 5: The Celestial Lily: The idealisation of Woman in *Le lys dans la vallée*

Le lys dans la vallée is an 1835 novel in Honoré de Balzac's Comédie humaine cycle. Central to *Le lys dans la vallée* is the image of the lily. The titular lily to which Balzac refers is Madame de Mortsauf; more specifically however, it refers to Henriette de Mortsauf as she is seen through the eyes of the novel's principal narrator, Félix. Since we mainly see Henriette through the eyes of Felix, Balzac uses the image of her as a lily to explore the tension between the male gaze, the idealisation of the female figure, and the reality of her existence. In *Le lys dans la vallée*, we do not see Madame de Mortsauf as she is; we see her through the eyes of man, and also, through her letter, we see her own perception of herself, yet this too, is strongly rooted in Félix's conceptions of Henriette. Through the relationship of Henriette and Félix, Balzac explores the challenge posed by the Ideal; women who see themselves through the eyes of men do not see a faithful mirror of themselves, thus creating a conflict between woman and the image of woman.

In his analysis of *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*, another work from La Comédie humaine, Allan H. Pasco uncovers the tripartite structure of the emblem within Balzac's novels, which he terms the 'macro-emblem.'[233] The formula he uses is certainly applicable to the structure of *Le lys dans la vallée*; the *mot* and the image are interlinked and inform one another. In a more literal interpretation of Bath's 'speaking' emblem images,[234] Balzac uses descriptions to paint word pictures. In the case of *Le lys dans la vallée*, it is the titular lily and the concept of the 'fleur sidérale,'[235] which together create the emblem of the pure, celestial flower that is Henriette through Félix's eyes. This image is lent an emblematic didacticism in that Henriette morphs herself to the emblem of the *lys sidérale*, informing her behaviour through what she interprets as its lesson on womanly virtue.

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[233] Pasco, Allan H., "Balzac and the Art of the Macro-Emblem in 'Splendeurs Et Misères Des Courtisanes.'" *L'Esprit Créateur*, vol. 22, no. 3 (1982) pp. 72–81, p72.
[234] Bath.
[235] Balzac, Honoré de, *Le lys dans la vallée* (Paris : Livre Poche, 1984) p72.

In *Le lys dans la vallée,* the lily retains its position as an emblem of the pure and virtuous ideal of womanhood. However, unlike the lilies used by Rossetti, Balzac's are not sacred, but celestial, for in the worldview of Félix, the ideal form of womanhood is not embodied by the religious figure of the Virgin Mary, but by Henriette de Mortsauf. As Jean Gaudon argues, the image of the celestial lily does not divorce Henriette from the Marian tradition, rather Félix's reverent view of her is coloured with a religious fervour that transforms Henriette into his own 'vierge-mère.'[236]

This twofold and contradictory image of the virgin-mother speaks to the conflict between Félix's Ideal and the reality of Henriette. From Félix's point of view, we see Henriette manifest these virtues, especially that of chastity. Henriette's 'virginity' is constantly underlined through his descriptions of her which are 'enrichie simplement d'une profusion d'images florales;'[237] upon first finding Henriette after the ball, Félix calls her 'le lys dans cette vallée,'[238] and the white she wears immediately makes her stand out to him. Yet, as Michael Lastinger argues, 'virtue has no meaning except in relation to the Imaginary desire it at once opposes and signifies.'[239] Only upon reading Henriette's letter do we learn that her virtue is because of her own rejection of her desire for Félix. She writes: 'la femme est morte, la mère seule a survécu.'[240] Her womanhood here is her reality, her desire that she has rejected in order to remain the virtuous lily Félix considers here to be; in reality she is no longer a virgin, so the only virtue that is left for her to embody is motherhood, and so that is the mantle she takes up. This denial of the self, and Henriette's ultimate death instils a sense of martyrdom in her character that Félix recognises, as he views her, in a white dress, 'sereine sur son bûcher de sainte et de martyre.'[241]

Balzac uses the celestial aspect of his lily image to underline Henriette's role as a quasi-religious figure in Félix's life. He plays upon the colour and shape

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[236] Gaudon, Jean, 'Le Rouge et le blanc : notes sur *le Lys dans la vallée,' Balzac and the Nineteenth Century* (Leicester : Leicester University Press, 1972) pp71-78, p74.
[237] Ibid, p73.
[238] Balzac, p39.
[239] Lastinger, Michael, 'Re-writing Woman: Compulsive Textuality in *Le Lys dans la vallée,' The French Review,* vol.63, no.2 (December 1989) pp237-249, p243.
[240] ibid, p336.
[241] ibid, p106.

of the lily to tie the floral image to that of a star; in the aforementioned scene, when he first declares her to be a lily, she is the lily of a valley 'où elle croissait pour le ciel.'[242] Yet, even before this moment, Félix considers her to be 'ma chère étoile,' that he saw fall from the sky, though Félix views her as having maintained 'sa clarté, ses scintillements et sa fraîcheur;' Henriette, though she is a celestial being on earth, in Félix's eyes her narrative is not one of a fallen woman. This narrative instead is given to Lady Dudley, and the affair she and Félix have only emphasises the difference Félix perceives between the two women. For society in England, their affair is 'la chute de son plus bel ange,' but in the same passage Félix calls Lady Dudley a demon.[243] Whilst Henriette is an angel on earth, Lady Dudley is a fallen angel, a woman without virtue, she represents 'l'amour charnel' to Henriette's 'amour divin,'[244] and the inferiority of her position in Félix's eyes is clear as he says 'elle était la maîtresse du corps. Madame de Mortsauf était l'épouse de l'âme.'[245] In Félix's religion, Madame de Mortsauf is the virtue, but Lady Dudley is the vice. As he comforts Henriette about his relationship with Dudley, he uses religious imagery and the terrestrial/celestial dichotomy to assure her of her superiority in his eyes:

> - Chère sainte, repris-je, il faudrait que je fusse moins ému que je ne le suis pour t'expliquer que tu planes victorieusement au-dessus d'elle, qu'elle est une femme de la terre, une fille des races déchues, et que tu es la fille des cieux, l'ange adoré, que tu as tout mon cœur et qu'elle n'a que ma chair [246]

Madame de Mortsauf's sidereal position highlights not only her divinity, but when contrasted with Lady Dudley's sway over Félix's body, it emphasises her untouchable nature, that their relationship will never be consummated. As Henriette makes clear in her letter however, the chastity of their relationship is not due to her own divine virtue, but her suffering in a temptation that makes her a human, earthly and flawed, a humanity that Félix's Idealisation takes from her. In doing this, Henriette echoes Félix's earlier words to place herself amongst the terrestrial, not the celestial; 'j'étais aussi une de ces filles de la race déchue.'[247]

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[242] Ibid, p39.
[243] Ibid, p245.
[244] Ibid, p247.
[245] Ibid, p248.
[246] Ibid, p264.
[247] Ibid, p341.

The novel ends with a reply from Natalie de Manerville, to whom Félix's account is addressed as an *envoi*. She picks apart Félix and the religiosity to his Ideal, the impossibility of reality to live up to the image of 'la Vierge de Clochegourde,[248]' an image Henriette herself considered it impossible to live up to. According to Lastinger, her reply invites a re-read of *Le lys dans la vallée,* for it exposes the unreliability of Félix's view of women.[249] Indeed, it is through these final pages of the novel that Balzac exposes his criticism of the male view of women; that the reality of the woman is sacrificed to the image, to the Ideal, to the lily.

In *Le lys dans la vallée,* the image of the celestial lily is emblematic of the Ideal, of the male view of woman that is tempered with a religious aspect that make the image impossible for the reality, the human woman to live up to. He exposes the tension that exists in the role of woman as image and the danger this poses to woman as this Ideal can never be manifested in reality.

[248] Ibid, p352.
[249] Lastinger, p248.

Chapter 6: 'Le langage des fleurs du Mal:'[250] Baudelairean subversions of the Ideal in *L'Idéal* and *Un Voyage à Cythère*

In his seminal work *Les Fleurs du Mal,* first published in 1857, Baudelaire takes the positive connotations of the flower as it had existed in French poetry beforehand and transforms it into an emblem of his poetics of the *l'horrible*.[251] Beyond his subversions inherent in his general floral imagery, he turns in particular to the rose, channelling its history as an object of female beauty to turn to disgust. In the two poems I shall discuss in this chapter, *L'Idéal* and *Un Voyage à Cythère,* he uses the rose in his exploration of the problematic nature of the Ideal.

As Daniel Russell discusses, Baudelaire was certainly acquainted with the techniques of emblems, even though their popularity on the Continent had waned by the nineteenth century.[252] The influence of emblems was particularly noticeable upon Baudelaire's close friend Manet, who copied emblem illustrations as a student.[253] Baudelaire himself is depicted in 'Le Squelette laboureur,' leafing through old engravings, whilst later in the poem he uses the word 'emblême.'[254] Emblematics appear most clearly in what Russell terms his concern with 'textual representation…of pictorial creation.' Though Baudelaire does not aim for a 'universally valid moral generalisation,'[255] his poems engage textually with existing visual artwork, that he uses to create emblematic constructions. In the case of 'La chute d'Icare,' the image with which he engages is in fact an emblematic engraving by Goltzius.[256] The poems *L'Idéal* and *Un Voyage à Cythère* employ an emblematic structure themselves, composed of the title and a picture conjured by words, that is then further illuminated by the rest of the poem as a *subsciptio*.

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[250] Knight, Philip, *Flower Poetics in Nineteenth-Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) p119.
[251] Baudelaire's more general imagery of 'flowers' is discussed in Chapter 3 of Knight, pp62-130.
[252] Russell, Daniel, 'Emblems in Nineteenth-Century France: The Examples of Sainte-Beuve, Baudelaire and Pontsevrez,' *Emblematica,* vol. 5, no.2 (1991) pp357-375, p358.
[253] Ibid, p360.
[254] Ibid, p365. See also Baudelaire, 'Le Squelette laboureur,' pp104-5.
[255] Ibid, p367.
[256] Ibid, p365.

With regards to *L'Idéal,* Baudelaire contrasts visual creations from two different creators; the caricatures of Gavarni and the Michelangelo sculpture *Night*. The first of these refers to Gavarni's collective body of work; a caricaturist for whom Baudelaire held a particular distaste.[257] Baudelaire invokes the image of the rose to describe Gavarni's pale, sickly beauties, an embodiment of the *mal du siècle* that for Baudelaire was an unsatisfactory representation of the *Mal*.[258] Instead of being the emblem of incredible female beauty, for Baudelaire, these 'pâles roses' are simplistic and unable to live up to his own conception, 'mon rouge idéal.'[259] In this stanza, Baudelaire contrasts the red in the last line with the 'chloroses' of the first; thus evoking the idea of the red as blood, as this anaemia is kin to the pale roses that are lacking in this red.[260] In drawing an association between his own Ideal and blood, Baudelaire creates a violent image of beauty.

This violence again appears in Baudelaire's desire for 'Lady Macbeth, âme puissante au crime;' a woman whose crime was persuading her husband to murder King Duncan, a death that is extremely violent and bloody. This violence, however, is contrasted with the idea of sleep, as Lady Macbeth is called the 'rêve d'Eschyle éclos;' as a dream, she is an idealised figure, and one of peace, yet the mention of Aeschylus further emphasises her role as a tragic figure. The floral motif persists in the use of 'éclos,' and the image of Lady Macbeth as a woman in bloom further underlines Baudelaire's view of her as the Ideal. The woman in bloom as a sexually desirable figure is utilised in a number of other nineteenth-century works, such as *Middlemarch.*[261]

The paradoxical contrast of peace and violence as embodied in Baudelaire's Ideal is revisited in the second visual artwork to which *l'Idéal* refers: 'Nuit, fille de Michel-Ange.' Baudelaire plays specifically to this sculpture to create his own imagining of the Ideal, one 'qui tors paisiblement.' Here the peace of Night as she sleeps is contrasted directly with her contorted

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[257] Baudelaire, p297.
[258] Knight, p76.
[259] 'L'Idéal,' Baudelaire, p25.
[260] Chlorosis is a term that refers to anaemia, most usually in young women and their sickly complexions, Baudelaire, p297.
[261] The 'bloom narrative' is explored in the context of the English novel in King, Amy M., *Bloom: The Botanical Vernacular in the English Novel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

body, her 'pose étrange,' and it is this that projects her figure into the Baudelairean Ideal, one of contrasts and filled with a sense of discomfort. With Night, the theme of violence is also repeated. A notable aspect of the Michelangelo sculpture, is the distorted shape of the figure's left breast, one that Baudelaire imagines as 'façonnés aux bouches des Titans;' given the peculiarity of its shape, here Baudelaire hints at the idea of biting, of violence that has caused this grotesque yet beautiful figure.

In *Un Voyage à Cythère,* Baudelaire delves deeper into the themes of image and female beauty, and also their alliance to romantic love. The principal visual upon which the poem is based is not from a visual medium, but from the image conjured up in 'quelques lignes,' from a work of the same name by Nerval.[262] The Greek island of Cythera was the site of an ancient temple to the goddess Aphrodite, considered analogous to Venus. Nerval imagines a statue of some female deity, one that upon his approach in fact reveals itself to be the gallows from which a cadaver hangs. Thusly, the image upon which Baudelaire builds *Un Voyage à Cythère* is a narrative, but one founded upon the image of deception and that of foulness and death being the truth of beauty. However, as is the case with the Gavarni caricatures in *l'Idéal*, Baudelaire draws upon another image as the basis for what he considers to be the mainstream Ideal, the Ideal he rejects. Much like *l'Idéal, Un Voyage à Cythère* unfolds as the iconoclasm of this image of the Ideal. Mario Richter identifies Watteau's 1717 painting *L'Embarquement pour l'Île de Cythère* as Baudelaire's inspiration for the 'représentations d'amour stéréotypées' that throughout the poem 'sont transformées en cette scène de violence et de destruction.'[263] Indeed the image of the imaginary Cythera that Baudelaire conjures is closely aligned with the imagery of *l'Embarquement pour l'Île de Cythère,* with lush gardens, statues of Venus and roses in bloom.[264]

The link between Cythera and Venus ties the island to the goddess's roses. As Jack Goody notes, in the nineteenth century, the flower and the

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[262] Baudelaire, p416.
[263] Richter, Mario, *Baudelaire, Les Fleurs du Mal : Lecture Intégrale,* vol.2 (Geneva : Slatkine, 2001), p1397. See also p1408.
[264] Watteau, Jean-Antoine, *L'Embarquement pour l'Île de Cythère,* (Paris : Louvre, 1717).

garden had reached a point of such cliché, that 'for Baudelaire flowers became evil symbols of a world he rejected.'[265] Baudelaire identified the flower, especially the rose, not with the Ideal, but with its counterpoint, *Spleen*. His flowers are 'roses fanées;'[266] they are not in bloom, associated with the Ideal, as is the case with Lady Macbeth. Baudelaire's roses are associated with *Spleen* and so they are fading, decaying. Baudelaire's Cythera is a land of death and decay; the island is fabled as one of 'doux secrets,'[267] but the reality is an 'île triste et noire,' haunted by 'Vénus le superbe fantôme.' Here, the beauty is not real, the rose garden is in fact 'un désert rocailleux.' Philip Knight terms this as 'demythologizing Cythera,' as Baudelaire deconstructs the image, the Ideal and replaces it with the unpleasant, barren truth. This destruction of image and mythos is best exemplified in the figure of the young woman, the 'jeune prêtresse,' a devotee of Venus who is 'amoureuse des fleurs,' which given the role of flowers in *L'Idéal,* places this figure in the cult of the Ideal, of beauty and flowers, that Baudelaire considers insufficient. Yet this figure of the young priestess is just a figment, and what is actually seen is 'un gibet,' from which hangs 'un pendu déjà mûr.' This corpse is the victim of these 'infâmes cultes,' as Baudelaire conjures up the image of his suffering, casting himself into the place of the dead body. The destructive nature of this cult of love and beauty is highlighted as the poem begins with Baudelaire referring to 'mon cœur, comme un oiseau,' but it is 'fèroces oiseaux' that tear the corpse apart. Considering the painting by Watteau, the comparison between the heart and a flying bird evokes the only winged figures in the painting, the Cupids. As a stereotyped romantic image, the Cupids are also subject to the transformation that Richter identifies; they become the ferocious birds that feed on the cadaver, highlighting the parallel Baudelaire draws between death, decay and the standard romantic images of the era.

The language of flowers is also referenced in that the gallows is compared to a cypress tree, which in *Le langage des fleurs* is noted for its connotations of death and melancholy – it is a symbol for mourning.[268] Baudelaire makes

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[265] Goody, p232.
[266] Baudelaire, 'Spleen : J'ai plus de souvenirs que si j'avais mille ans,' p79.
[267] Baudelaire, 'Un Voyage à Cythère,' p136-8.
[268] La Tour, p147.

reference to the Language of Flowers specifically in *Élévation,* it is himself as the poet who 'comprend sans effort/Le langage des fleurs et des choses muettes.'[269] Therefore Baudelaire mourns the corpse, and he also mourns himself as he places his own image upon 'un gibet symbolique,' identifying the fate of the corpse as his own fate.

On the island of Cythera, the image is transient, soon fading away to expose the violent truth of death and decay. Venus, the Ideal embodiment of female beauty is but a ghost, a figment upon whose worship there is only the grotesque to be found. The corpse is a twofold allegory; for the waste that lies in the pursuit of the Ideal, the transient and impossible image of beauty and flowers; but it also represents the death, the unpleasant truth that lies beneath the image of the Ideal. The contrasting ideas of Ideal and *Spleen* are explored through floral imagery, through blossoming and fading respectively, and this imagery emphasises the transience of the flower, love and beauty as aspects of the Ideal. In transforming his own Ideal into a vision of the grotesque, Baudelaire refutes the trope of living and then dying as expressed in botanical terms, of the flower's bloom and death corresponding to that of man – in *Une Charogne* 'la carcasse superbe/comme une fleur s'épanouir.'[270] Decomposition is further tied to floral bloom later in the poem as he tells his lover that she will 'sous l'herbe et les floraisons grasses/Moisir parmi les ossements.'

Taken together, the Ideal that emerges from Baudelaire's *Les Fleurs du Mal* is the truth. His Ideal is the violent and the grotesque, the death that the peaceful sleep of Michelangelo's Night alludes to. The promises of the delicacy and beauty that is inherent in the image of the flowers is what is the *Mal,* the evil. To Baudelaire, the Ideal is insidious, the beauty of its image is a lie, and it is a lie that promises the ruination of those who pursue it.

[269] Baudelaire, p12.
[270] Baudelaire, 'Une Charogne,' p34-6.

Chapter 7: 'We must not look at Goblin Men:' Flowers, virtue and the female gaze in *Goblin Market*

Goblin Market is from Christina Rossetti's first volume of poetry (*Goblin Market and Other Poems)* published in 1862. A striking aspect of *Goblin Market* is that it contains no men other than the titular goblins – though its two heroines become wives at the end of the poem, no mention is made of their husbands.[271] *Goblin Market* is conducted entirely in the arena of the female gaze.
Rossetti was very close to her brother – indeed Dante Gabriel helped secure the publication of *Goblin Market and Other Poems* – and there is evidence of their work influencing one another.[272] In the case of *Goblin Market,* the poem builds upon many of the similar themes and tensions that appeared in the Rossetti paintings surrounding the gendering of gaze.

Rossetti was also strongly influenced by the emblematic trends in the nineteenth-century; she was a devotee of the Oxford Movement which was in turn heavily influenced by Quarles.[273] The didacticism of emblems features prominently in her devotional works, the most emblematic of her writings.[274] However, that does not remove the emblematic from her poetry. In line with the botanical zeitgeist, Rossetti's poetry was furnished with a floral imagery, one that leans heavily upon the emblematic and the language of flowers. However, in her poetry, the flowers were not solely symbolic, but decorative also; thus, allowing for realism alongside this potential for deeper meaning.[275]

Realism was highly important in the establishment of the gaze in nineteenth-century literature, as it was the manner through which language could lay claim to the visual.[276] There was an association between the detail of realism and the feminine aspect of the visual that, in utilising this detail, works established themselves in the canon of gendered gaze. *Goblin Market* begins

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[271] Rossetti, Christina, 'Goblin Market,' *Goblin Market (*London: Penguin Classics, 2015) pp1-20, p20.
[272] Donnelly, p92.
[273] Arseneau, Mary, 'Incarnation and Interpretation: Christina Rossetti, the Oxford Movement, and 'Goblin Market,'' *Victorian Poetry,* vol.31, no.1, (Spring 1993) pp79-93, p80-4.
[274] Hönnighausen, p2-3.
[275] Ibid, p14.
[276] Langbauer, p188.

with an incredibly detailed list recounting the fruits sold at the titular market and this proliferation of detail helps place the text in the realm of the visual, the realm that women inhabit.[277] As Mary Arseneau argues, the abundance of detail in this list renders it almost overwhelming were each object to be interpreted on an individual and symbolic basis.[278] However, the mere act of the fruits being so numerous that they move from the realm of the symbolic to the realm of the visual, is in itself significant. The detail of this kind of realism is symbolic, as it becomes gendered, allied with women through their shared ornamental nature. Yet, as with women, the nature of detail is twofold; ornamental and quotidian.[279] Both of these aspects of detail appear within *Goblin Market*. Despite its fantastical narrative, *Goblin Market* is firmly rooted in the everyday. Far from the mythological figures of her brother's paintings, Rossetti's two heroines in *Goblin Market* are ordinary. The sense of the everyday is evoked in their behaviour; the narrative unfolds amongst their daily tasks such as sweeping. In fact, it is this ordinary domesticity that is vital to the narrative, as Laura's illness prevents her from completing her chores and this loss of her domestic virtue speaks to her loss of other virtues.

In terms of the visual, Rossetti shows a keen awareness of the tension of gaze throughout *Goblin Market*. The poem was originally titled 'A Peep at the Goblins' and thus privileges the female gaze rather than a male gaze.[280] In doing so, she more fully explores the dangers and rewards of looking as Lizzie and Laura are brought into the new role of the active, the realm of looking. Rossetti contrasts the female gaze with the male gaze. In entering this new world, the girls show awareness of the problems of looking, of taking the active role; 'we must not look,' says Laura, whilst 'Lizzie covered up her eyes/covered close lest they should look.'[281] Yet, is not the act of looking that causes women to fall; Laura looks with desire, with a voyeuristic curiosity and that is what tempts her to try the fruits of the market. Lizzie's look is filled with no such desire, and so

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[277] Mulvey, p19. See also Langbauer, p192-5.
[278] *Incarnatation and Interpretation,* p84.
[279] Langbauer, p190.
[280] Maxwell, Catherine, 'Tasting the "Fruit Forbidden": Gender, Intertextuality and Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market'* in Arseneau, Mary, Antony H. Harrison and Lorraine Janzen Kooistra (eds.), *The Culture of Christina Rossetti* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1999) pp75-105, p94.
[281] *Goblin Market,* p2.

she is able to enter the market without loss of virtue. In the case of Laura, her look makes the goblin men her object, whilst when Lizzie goes to the market, the goblin men 'spied her peeping.' In challenging this paradigm of the active and the passive by having the goblins look back, Rossetti exposes the tension of gaze. The object in the role of the passive becomes a symbol of desire, but when both parties look, there is no such projection, no such desire, as the voyeurism is removed.

Within *Goblin Market,* Rossetti explores the concept of virtue through the use of flowers. The flower that appears most prominently in the poem is the lily, in which it is used as an emblem for virtue.

Laura is likened to a lily as she moves towards the market. The flower appears along with a range of other imagery of things that are white or pure; a swan, moonlight and 'a vessel at the launch.' This highlights her purity at this moment, a purity that will be lost as she goes into the market. Though the nature of Laura's loss of virtue is only alluded to, Rossetti makes her situation clear through the use of flowers. Laura's story is the echo of that of another girl, Jeanie, who died after visiting the goblin market and then pining away. Lizzie recounts how she visited her grave and 'planted daises there a year ago/that never blow.'[282] Rossetti uses the floral language here, where the daisy was an emblem of innocence.[283] Laura's illness is evocative of the phrase attached to the dried white rose, 'death is preferable to loss of innocence,' as she slowly wastes away until her sister Lizzie restores her virtue. This restoration of virtue allows Laura to awaken, which is likened to the opening of 'cup-like lilies on the stream.'[284]

By contrast to Laura, who loses her virtue and sees it restored, Lizzie is a 'lily in a flood,' her virtue remains steadfast amongst the inundation of temptation from the goblin men. However, in the case of Lizzie, the lily is not just an image of purity, but one that evokes the sanctity of the flower. As Lizzie goes to the market, she endures violence at the hands of the goblin men, a

[282] Ibid, p12.
[283] Phillips, p188.
[284] *Goblin Market,* p19.

sacrifice that Arseneau considers to be 'Christ-like.'[285] Indeed, her sacrifice in going to the market is what helps redeem her fallen sister and so in describing Lizzie as a lily, Rossetti underlines the religious nature of her sacrifice in saving her sister.

In casting both Lizzie and Laura as lilies, Rossetti ties them to the tradition of women as flowers; as aesthetic objects of delicate beauty that exist to be looked at. Since flowers are so inextricably linked to the role of women as image in the nineteenth century, it makes a visual object of Lizzie and of Laura. This therefore amplifies *Goblin Market'*s rejection of the active/passive paradigm of looking and being looked at. Whilst the goblins look back, refusing to become the object, Lizzie and Laura are the passive flower, the visual object and yet throughout the poem, they are looking and taking an active role in its visual interchange. As a theme, this is similar to the gaze as it is explored in her brother's paintings. However, *Goblin Market* is firmly rooted in the female gaze, not the male, and so Rossetti's floral females take a more active role; the goblin men are akin to the women in Dante Gabriel's rose paintings, they look *back* and react to the gaze, whilst Lizzie and especially Laura take the traditionally male role, as perpetrators of the gaze, those who *look*.

In *Goblin Market,* Rossetti uses flowers and their kinship with women as a means to challenge the passive role of women as image and to play upon the tension of the gaze, the dynamic of looking and being looked at. However, none of the figures in *Goblin Market* are passive recipients of the gaze; they are not just looked at, but they also engage in looking. Further to this, Rossetti uses the detail of realism to establish the poem's narrative as taking place in the realm of the female gaze. The detail in her descriptions of Lizzie, Laura and the goblin men establishes them as visual objects, yet they are not passive figures, as all of them actively participate in the gaze. In her challenging of the dynamic between object and viewer, Rossetti inverts the gender; it is Laura who is active towards the passive goblin men at the poem's beginning, and this exposes the danger Rossetti sees in the visual dynamic of objectification.

[285] *Incarnation and Interpretation,* p89.

Chapter 8: 'A strictly scientific view of woman:' the clash of the Ideal and scientific objectivism in *Middlemarch*

In *Middlemarch* (published in eight volumes 1871-2), George Eliot utilises floral emblematics as a means to explore a variety of themes encompassing gendered issues of virtue, gaze and the Ideal. In a manner characteristic of the nineteenth-century emblem revival in England, Eliot shows an knowledge of Quarles within her works, with such imagery appearing in *Middlemarch*; Gordon S. Haight identifies the phrase 'the world as an udder' as being almost directly lifted from Book I, Emblem XII of Quarles considering the specificity of the image Eliot uses.[286]

Eliot's knowledge of emblematics also encompasses the Language of Flowers; she used floral names in her personal correspondence.[287] Englehardt argues that 'novelists like George Eliot… expected a certain degree of floral literacy from their readers;' though this encompasses the emblematic use of flowers in general, and not just the floral language. A knowledge of floral emblematics illuminates a number of scenes in *Middlemarch*; for example, the lilies outside Stone Court seem to be a decorative detail,[288] but given their association with virtue, they form an ironic precedent to the scene in which Mr Bulstrode blackmails Raffles.[289] The lilies being outside Stone Court also allude to Mr Bulstrode's outward veneer of virtue and that it is just a façade, not an internal truth.

As discussed in the chapter on Christina Rossetti, the dual nature of the detail of realism is one of the ornamental and the everyday; it is rooted in the effeminacy of decadence and the 'prosiness; of the domestic sphere.[290] This detail helps establish the tension of visual gaze within the text of the novel itself; the detail creates a feminine perspective from which the narrative is

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[286] Eliot, George, *Middlemarch*, ed. By Bert G. Hornback (New York: Norton, 1977), ii (2000) p135. See also Haight referenced in Witemeyer, Hugh, *George Eliot and the Visual Arts* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1979) p211.
[287] Englehardt, p150.
[288] Eliot, p327.
[289] Ibid, pp327-330.
[290] Naomi Schor, quoted in Langbauer, p190.

seen, whilst it also makes women into spectacle and highlights their 'to-be-looked-at-ness.'[291]

Eliot's view of realism is based strongly upon the ideas of John Ruskin as he laid out in *Modern Painters*; it was to be a humble and faithful study of nature, showing external and internal truths of the definite and the detailed.[292] As their champion, it is unsurprising that Ruskin's view here echoes the aims of the Pre-Raphaelite as they laid out upon their formation in 1848: '2. To study Nature attentively, so as to know how to express [ideas].'[293] This aligns Eliot's realism and the realism of *Middlemarch* with the tradition of the male gaze, but in the novel, it is treated from a female perspective and so the tensions that Rossetti explored in his female portraits are expressed differently.

Dorothea, Casaubon and Will Ladislaw

The first story introduced in *Middlemarch* is that of Dorothea, her husband Casaubon and his cousin Will Ladislaw. George Eliot utilises the flower and floral imagery to explore the dynamics of the relationship between Dorothea and both men and the unusual trajectory of her romantic arc.

Casaubon views taking Dorothea as a wife as something he should do,[294] and the almost perfunctory nature of their relationship is highlighted through the cliché of romantic floral imagery he uses in courting her: "I have been little disposed to gather flowers that would wither in my hand, but now I shall pluck them with eagerness, to place them in your bosom."[295] Here, George Eliot's realism emerges; though the language of Casaubon's words are based upon the conventions of romantic rhetoric, his sincerity is not called in to question. The language of courtship itself is romantic and, instead of a courtship plot, Dorothea's arc is explored through realism, through the exploration of hers and Casaubon's failed marriage. The failure of this marriage is hinted at in Casuabon's words, in that the flowers he touches withers. Dorothea herself is a

[291] Langbauer, p213. See also Mulvey p19.
[292] Langbauer, p203.
[293] Mancoff, p6.
[294] King, p155.
[295] Eliot, p32.

'budding woman,'[296] and her incompatibility with Casaubon is hinted at throughout their courtship; Casaubon has a 'smile like pale wintry sunshine,'[297] his manner is cold and hostile to Dorothea's development, it prevents her from 'blooming.'

The 'bloom narrative' as it is described by Amy M. King, is one that applies to the marriageability of young female characters in nineteenth-century literature.[298] However, in the case of Dorothea it is one of a 'second blooming;' she blooms after her marriage, as she begins to develop a sexual attraction to Will, and as she becomes aware of this attraction.[299] Yet there is a limitation to King's analysis; it encompasses the bloom narrative and how it relates to floral imagery, but it fails to mention the specifics of the floral imagery, the mentions in *Middlemarch* of flowers such as lilies and roses that speak to the tradition of emblematics.

As Will imagines meeting Dorothea in a place 'where the sunshine fell on tall white lilies,'[300] it demonstrates how much more favourable their relationship is; unlike Casaubon, Will has a sunshine that is conducive to the growth of flowers, to Dorothea's development. That these flowers are lilies is also indicative of her virtue in his eyes, and how despite her marital dissatisfaction, she never strayed, did not pursue any relationship beyond friendship with Will. The awareness of floral emblematics that Will seems to possess here is an aspect of his character that is allied with the feminine, with the literary tradition of botany that the male scientific order attempted to force out. He also demonstrates these aspects of the feminine with regards to the gaze and how it features in his relationship with Dorothea; theirs is one that is founded on 'mutual surveillance.'[301] In a manner akin to *Goblin Market*, both parties are looking, but they are also being looked at, and this is expressed in casting both characters as flowers: 'each looked at the other as if they had been two flowers which had opened then and there.'[302] They are each the other's visual object - a

[296] ibid, p18.
[297] Ibid, p17.
[298] King, pp5-8.
[299] King, p142.
[300] Eliot, p495.
[301] Langbauer, p227.
[302] Eliot, p226.

flower – and this makes them each an object of desire for the other, and this desire is underpinned by the fact that the flowers 'open,' they bloom in each other's presence.

Lydgate and Rosamond

The other failed marriage to feature prominently in *Middlemarch* is that of Lydgate and Rosamond Vincy and through their relationship Eliot explores the failings of the male gaze with regards to the scientific and the Ideal. With regards to realism, Eliot viewed the emblematic, 'the shimmer of many-hued significance' as necessary for the faithful depiction of life.[303] The objectivism of scientific language lacked this depth and so failed to fully represent human existence, despite its own perceived superiority. This was a point of contention particularly in the field of botany, where this division between the literary and the scientific was based upon gendered lines, In *Middlemarch*, Eliot criticises the superiority of the male scientific order through the lens of Lydgate and his relationship with Rosamond.

As a character, Lydgate is symbolic of the male scientific order; he is a scientist, a doctor, someone who 'trades on observation.'[304] The failure of his marriage to Rosamond is due to his failure to recognise her true nature. Lydgate's observation fails him, as in Rosamond he sees his Ideal, 'that distinctive womanhood which must be classed with flowers and music, that sort of beauty which by its very nature was virtuous.'[305] He sees only the Ideal, but he considers this Ideal to be truth as he has a 'strictly scientific view of woman.'[306]

Englehardt observes that, had Lydgate been aware of the literary view of the world, he would have been aware of the clues held within her name; the rose hints to her beauty, but her full name speaks to her 'love of the world,'[307] her ambition and her desire to see the world outside of *Middlemarch* that create

[303] Eliot quoted in Englehardt, p151.
[304] Langbauer, p217.
[305] Eliot, p105.
[306] Ibid, p99.
[307] Englehardt, p152.

tension in their relationship. Much like the botanists whose scientific view of flowers prevent them from seeing their truth, Lydgate fails to recognise his own projection of desire onto Rosamond and fails to see the real complex woman that lies beneath the floral. Eliot exposes the failure of this scientific world view as Lydgate dies relatively young and unfulfilled.

Lydgate wishes for his Ideal wife, one who will praise his scientific achievement, thus subjugating the feminine to the male scientific order,[308] and this is representative of the attempts of scientific botany to control the narrative of literary botany. Her botanical name helps make Rosamond a representative of the feminine order of botany, the literary. A description of her eyes is also incredibly evocative of the way the Language of Flowers was perceived to be used: 'deep enough to hold the most exquisite meanings an ingenious beholder could put into them, and deep enough to hide the meanings of the owner if these should happen to be less exquisite.'[309] In subverting Lydgate's expectation of a docile wife that will worship his achievements, Rosamond provides a message of defiance on the part of literary botany.
Her alliance with the Language of Flowers and the literary botanical tradition is further underlined by the wealth of floral imagery that is used to depict Rosamond. She is the 'flower of Middlemarch,'[310] but as a scientist, Lydgate views her as a scientist would view the flower as the part of a plant - as the bearer of sexual organs – and this means he fails to see what lays beyond her femaleness and her surface beauty.

However, the use of floral imagery to describe Rosamond disappears almost entirely after her wedding to Lydgate. In Linnaean botany the term 'marriage' was used to refer to floral reproduction and so the flower could be used to make oblique sexual references.[311] One interpretation, therefore, is that the loss of floral language to describe Rosamond speaks to her deflowering in the eyes of society after her marriage.

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[308] Langbauer, p219.
[309] Eliot, p72.
[310] Ibid, p185.
[311] King, p4.

In the light of Balzac and Baudelaire, however, the loss of floral imagery speaks to the fading view of Rosamond as the Ideal. The moniker 'the flower of Middlemarch'[312] references the local opinion of her as the perfect woman, an opinion Lydgate also holds based upon her outward virtues. The floral imagery is utilised to show her character as a representation of the Ideal. She is the embodiment of female virtue and beauty, as emblematised by the rose, which she bears in her name and also in her countenance; Rosamond is 'sweet to look at as a half-opened blush rose.'[313] That the local men consider her 'an angel' further highlights the Ideal nature of their view,[314] just as Henriette de Mortsauf was a celestial, angelic figure to Félix. The loss of floral language in the description of Rosamond then, refers to the loss of this Ideal from Lydgate's perspective; as he comes to know his wife as a person, he stops projecting his desired Ideal onto her and so his rosy view of her virtues fades away.

Rosamond's role as the Ideal is expressed in *Middlemarch* through her comparison to Mary Garth, her friend and eventual sister-in-law to whom she forms an interesting counterpoint. In a scene in Chapter 12, Rosamond and Mary both have a conversation before a mirror. As they talk, Rosamond shows her vanity – her head turns to address Mary, but her eyes turn to regard her neck from this new angle.[315] Mary reflects upon her own comparative plainness in this scene and in doing so her virtue of honesty is praised, that 'she neither tried to create illusions, nor indulged them for her own behoof.'[316] As the counterpoint to Rosamond in this scene, Mary's refusal to indulge illusions implies that Rosamond does, that she is aware of men's perceptions of her as the Ideal. Even in this private moment, Rosamond looks for angles from which she is best to be looked at; she carefully arranges herself to be the floral Ideal. Being looked at is of great importance to Rosamond as a character; once she is married, her husband loses his own idealised view of her, and as a married woman, she is no longer a figure onto whom men can project their desires in quite the same way as she has been deflowered in their eyes. The floral imagery returns later, as Lydgate reads a letter that tells her Will Ladislaw is returning, a man she

[312] Eliot, p185.
[313] Ibid, p170.
[314] Ibid, p72.
[315] Ibid, p73.
[316] Ibid.

believes admires her, and she once again presents herself as the Ideal, as Lydgate sees that 'her face looked like a reviving flower.'[317]

Mary shows a similar awareness to Rosamond of the male gaze, but for her, it is the absence of the gaze due to her plainness. She comments that men 'speak to me without seeming to see me;'[318] they do not look at her, she is not a visual object. Mary's lack of beauty is what prevents the projection of male desires onto her and this lack of objectification is made clear as Rosamond's mother describes her as having 'a visage quite without lilies or roses.'[319] This once again highlights her role as a counterpoint to Rosamond who is described as both a lily and a rose in *Middlemarch;* Mary is not a flower, not the epitome of female beauty and so she is not the Ideal.

The danger of the Ideal to the formation of healthy relationships is clear through the two stories of the Vincy siblings. Rosamond is incompatible with her husband Lydgate and their marriage is soured by the fact she is not the Ideal wife he thought he had married. Fred Vincy, meanwhile, sees through the 'illusion' of his sister Rosamond, sees through the Ideal to the woman underneath. He marries Mary Garth, knowing the reality of who she is, and theirs is arguably the most successful marriage in *Middlemarch*.

In *Middlemarch*, George Eliot principally uses floral emblematics to explore the failings of the male gaze. The scientific objectivism that men such as Lydgate perceive themselves as having prevents them from realising that they are viewing women through the lens of their own desire and projecting that Ideal onto them. The ultimate failure of his marriage is due to his inability to recognise the limitations of his scientific world view. By the end of *Middlemarch,* the two happiest relationships are ones that are not founded upon the Ideal that arises out of the active/passive dynamic of looking and being looked at; Will and Dorothea both actively look at each other, whilst Fred and Mary have a relationship not based upon preconceptions of virtue as created by the Ideal.

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[317] Ibid, p465.
[318] Ibid, p73.
[319] Ibid, p397.

Conclusion

In the case of the lily and the rose, their emblematic use in cultural works can be defined broadly by the division between the sacred and the profane. Echoing the difference between Henriette and Lady Dudley in the view of Balzac's narrator Félix, the lily maintains its religious associations and so it is a sacred emblem of purity. The rose is to an extent subverted; though it continues to be an emblem of love and beauty, it does not represent these traits as virtue, but rather vice. The female beauty it represents is an earthly one, and the love is turned to the profane, to lust. Though these works employ emblematic modes, they are separated from the religiosity and didacticism of the emblem itself, which allows for a more nuanced discussion of virtue, one that raises the question of redemption for the fallen woman and one that criticises the male worldview.

As a literary and artistic device, the flower is allied with the concerns of gaze and the Ideal. As a visual object, it is used alongside the image of women, but also as their image, thus casting women as subject to the visual. A tension emerges in the verbal modes of representing the visual, wherein the casting the woman as the flower can be achieved in a more direct manner, such as with Lizzie and Laura, that emphasises the role of the female figure as image. The act of casting the woman as a flower subjects the flower to the gaze, and therefore it comes to represent the feminine Ideal, especially the visual Ideal of beauty. The transience of the flower becomes allied with this beauty, thus emphasising the fragility and impermanence of both beauty and the Ideal.

Within these works, there are a number of developments regarding gender. Flowers are utilised alongside botanical imagery such as bloom to problematise issues of gender, especially questions of image, gaze and the Ideal. Women remain firmly in the realm of the visual. It is the paradigm of activity and passivity in the realm of the visual is challenged. The gaze is introduced to the flower as they are used in works such as *Goblin Market* to denote the visual aspect of female figures. The gendered nature of the gaze is explored in the tensions that emerge between the act of looking and the visual object.

These tensions in the gaze manifest as a spectrum of activity and passivity; the looking is active, whilst the being looked at is passive, but the ideas of looking back, and of awareness of the look emerge as complements to these. Looking back is allied with the activity of the look, yet it is a reaction to it, it challenges the gaze. Considering the voyeuristic nature of the gaze, looking back disrupts the desire of the male viewer as the visual object is aware of being looked at. In *Bocca Baciata,* the voyeuristic nature of the gaze also raises the question of consent, as the passivity inherent in the visual object cannot consent to being sexualised by the look. An awareness of the gaze also manifests in the choice not to look back, the pleasure in being looked at as an accompaniment to the scopophilia of the gaze. Figures such as Rosamond and Lilith embrace the performative aspects of their roles as visual objects, considering themselves as subjects of the gaze, and posing themselves accordingly. They turn their own bodies into the image of woman, and it is onto this image that the Ideal can be projected.

The Ideal is tied to the male gaze, as they both turn the woman into an image, a visual object, thus ignoring her personhood or reality. For Balzac, Baudelaire, and Eliot, the Ideal can be characterised as a flower, due to this link between the Ideal and the feminine visual object. As demonstrated by Balzac in *Le lys dans la vallée,* the discrepancy between the Ideal and reality cannot be resolved in the realm of the male gaze. Eliot therefore, uses the detail and everyday aspects of realism to establish her narrative as taking place in the female realm of the visual, and thusly, she is able to critique the Ideal as it emerges in the male gaze. Men such as Lydgate, who consider their view to be one of scientific objectivity, fail to recognise the existence of the Ideal and that their male gaze is not one of objectivity, but of objectification.

The narrative of bloom is also used to explore these issues of gender. This narrative encompasses not just the notion of ‘bloom,’ as a sexualised woman, but further aspects of floral development. Sex can be alluded to, both in terms of ‘deflowering,’ but also the pollination of the flower, that had been sexualised and termed ‘marriage’ under the Linnaean system. The narrative of bloom, as identified in the English novel by King, also emerges in *Goblin Market*. However, the notion of bloom in relation to women does not just apply to the arena of

sexual politics. Kathleen Comfort discusses similar tropes in relation to the health of Henriette in *Le lys dans la vallée*. Bloom can also be expanded to the Ideal as both are linked to a sexualised view of the female figure; women who are especially subject to the Ideal are those who bloom, such as Rosamond and Baudelaire's Lady Macbeth.

The usage of floral emblematics in these works also raises the question of floral literacy. Englehardt's asserted that the reading of works such as *Middlemarch* required a level of floral literacy, however her paper solely discusses the Language of Flowers, thus implying that it is an understanding of the Language of Flowers that can aid in the interpretation of nineteenth-century works. However, as discussed at the beginning of this thesis, there was no one homogenous Language of Flowers, despite claims to the contrary in nineteenth-century floral language books themselves. In fact, the specific meanings attached to flowers varied from book to book, as shown from my analysis of four of these works in Part One. A broader definition of floral literacy, as an understanding of floral emblematics, can be used in an exploration of the imagery in nineteenth-century works, especially those works that engage with other aspects of emblematics, such as English works that engage with Quarles. There are a number of trends in floral emblematics that are either upheld or subverted in artistic or literary works. An understanding of trends in the Language of Flowers and floral emblematics more broadly – such as the lily as an emblem of purity – can provide further insight into the imagery of nineteenth-century works.

Conclusion

In nineteenth-century emblematics, there is a strong association between the flower and women. Flowers possessed many of the virtues that were expected of women; they were prized for their beauty, their delicacy, their purity, and these traits were all the more precious for the transience of the flower. Flowers and women were both considered visual objects, there for the pleasure of the beholder, which therefore aligned the flower with the matter of the male gaze.

The flower appeared not just in emblems, but as an emblematic device in art and literature. There is a wealth of imagery in floral emblematics, with a wide range of flowers that are associated both with virtue in a general sense and a number of flowers that are used to denote specific virtues – such as the violet as an emblem for modesty. Flowers were used both alongside the image of women, such as in *Iconologie* and in the paintings of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and they were also used as the image of women, though this appeared more in a textual format, such as in *Le lys dans la vallée* and *Goblin Market*. In tying a flower to the image of a female figure, the creator therefore emphasises the virtuousness nature of that woman, such as the rose that speaks to the beauty of *Bocca Baciata*.

This thesis has focused upon the principal images of the lily and the rose. Due to their associations with the Virgin Mary, lilies and roses were the ideal representation for virtuous womanhood in emblem books, since they were often religious in nature. This is especially the case for the emblem books that were republished in the nineteenth century, such as those of Quarles, and the newer books that aimed to emulate this tradition. The religious and didactic emblem books that were favoured in the nineteenth century were an ideal resource for the increasingly evangelised Protestant circles, whose teachings emphasised a virtuous behaviour that cemented the gendered roles of men and women in society.

Both the lily and the rose were emblems of virtue throughout the nineteenth century, although the understanding of what virtues they represented was not static. The lily was rarely subverted as an emblem of

virtue; in emblematic books, art, and literature alike, the lily was considered pure and sacred, a trait emphasised by the whiteness of the flower. In the works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti and *Le lys dans la vallée*, the religious associations of the lily as purity are especially maintained, with both utilising Marian imagery alongside the lily for their female figures (Rossetti also depicts Mary herself). The main subversion of the lily comes in *The life of man as symbolised by the months of the year,* wherein the scent of the flower as an emblem for virtue is utilised for the unpleasant scent of the lily to denote a beauty without substance.

By contrast, the rose was far more complex as a signifier of virtue. Alongside its association with the Virgin Mary, the rose was also associated with the goddess Venus, or Aphrodite. This leant an element of the profane to the beauty and the love that the rose represented. In emblem books and the Language of Flowers genre, the rose was still a flower of virtue, however in art and literature, this aspect of virtue is reduced. The rose's blush tones were used to denote a sensual beauty as opposed to a virtuous one. As depicted by the rose as an emblem of earthly beauty, these female figures are not considered to be virtuous in a chaste sense. However, it is not necessarily their actions that causes them to be considered lacking in virtue, rather it is that these female figures are subject to increased sexualisation by the male viewer.

The nineteenth-century emblematic revival unfolded principally in Great Britain. Though there was a number of works that originated from Scotland, the majority of works were produced in England, with the publication of emblem books both old and new being centred on London. In France, the revival was not a revival of the emblem book itself – in fact the three French-language emblem books I have featured in this thesis were not published in France. However, in nineteenth-century France there was a strong tradition of emblematic thought, one that features in the work of both Baudelaire and Balzac. The Language of Flowers is also heavily reliant upon the tradition of emblematic thought and this genre originated in France, with the publication of the first edition of *Le langage des fleurs* in 1816. Therefore, with regards to the nineteenth-century revival as it developed in both France and Great Britain, it can best be characterised as an emblematic revival. The reach of emblematic thought in the nineteenth century

was much more varied and widespread than the number of new emblem books that were produced, as it encompassed art, literature, and the amateur, literary tradition of botany.

In the nineteenth century, the relationship between text and image in the emblem changed, as it became less focused upon an interdependence between the text and the image. The nineteenth-century modes of communication had shifted from the allegorical modes that were prominent in the Renaissance. Instead, a more direct, knowledge-centric style of communication between text and image was favoured. Nineteenth-century emblem books focused more on keeping the superficial aspects of the emblem as they were understood through the more scientific modes of thought; the structural elements and the moral lessons. The shift to a more illustrative style of image is emblematic of the gendered dynamics of these nineteenth-century modes of communication; the text in the emblem takes the active role, whilst the image becomes less like the speaking pictures of the Renaissance, it is silenced.

The interdependent, emblematic relationship between text and image was utilised to a greater extent in the emblematic works of the nineteenth century than in the emblem books themselves. Balzac creates speaking images, for his images are composed of words, whilst Baudelaire forms emblems between his poems and other images. These images are important to the interpretation of these poems, providing a different understanding than could be provided by individual and separate consumption of poem and image. However, beyond straying in format, these emblematic works also do not engage with the moralistic tone of the emblem. This allows for a broader and more nuanced take on topics such as female virtue, that does not need to be explored in absolutes such as ‘plutôt mourir que perdre l’innocence,’ rather, virtue is instead something that can be regained. Additionally, as the character of Henriette de Mortsauf demonstrates, absolute virtue is not possible for real women, as it requires incredible levels of self-denial and even the most virtuous of women are not virtuous in thought.

In the nineteenth century, female virtue was a key component of the Ideal. Regarding the Ideal as it related to women, it was shaped by beauty,

purity and domesticity. As a didactic genre, the emblem pairs well with the Ideal, as it takes the virtue and transforms it into a moral behaviour to which real women should conform. In emblems, women mainly feature as image – they have no active voice in the formation of this virtue, and therefore the nineteenth-century emblem upholds gender roles as a moral requirement and turns the image of woman into the Ideal. However, as *Le lys dans la vallée* demonstrates, in conforming to an image of the Ideal shaped by men, women have to reject their own personhood.

Whilst the emblem teaches conformity to gender roles as a moral behaviour, works that are instead emblematic offer a potential freedom in the problematisation of gender. This stems not just from the lack of didacticism, but also in the greater proportion of female creators. In format, the Language of Flowers genre challenges the silencing of the female image, reclaiming the flower as the image of women and lending it a voice. However, in content, the Language of Flowers largely echoes the virtuous Ideal as presented in the emblem tradition. In saying nothing new, the Language of Flowers manifests as a gendered form of silencing, as women silencing themselves. In cultural works, flowers are utilised to challenge the male role in the formation of the Ideal and the woman as image. Male creators achieve this to a lesser extent than female authors, as they still partake in the gaze. Both Christina Rossetti and George Eliot invert the gender dynamics of the male creators and in doing this, they further challenge the nineteenth-century conceptions of gender. Rossetti makes her heroines the originators of the gaze, whilst in *Middlemarch,* Eliot puts the burden of suffering due to the Ideal onto Lydgate, in direct contrast to Balzac's Madame de Mortsauf.

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of floral emblematics in discussions of gender in both the nineteenth-century emblem and emblematic works. In using feminist criticism to analyse the emblem revival, I have shown the value of the Language of Flowers to Emblem Studies. The application of an emblematic perspective to cultural works allows for a more in-depth and specified study into the use of flowers and botanical imagery in nineteenth-century culture. Though the works I have used have provided a detailed overview into nineteenth-century floral emblematics, this study is not

exhaustive, and therefore provides a number of avenues for further research. As discussed at the outset, I imposed a number of limitations upon this study such as working only with works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection, focusing upon English rather than American English-language emblem books, and using principally the images of the lily and the rose. Therefore, there is the potential to study floral emblematics in works that are not held within the Stirling Maxwell Collections, and also in nineteenth-century emblem books from the US, and non-Anglophone or Francophone cultures, such as the Netherlands. Furthermore, the framework for the understanding of floral emblematics would be valuable to the interpretation of imagery in nineteenth-century culture, beyond the five creators I have selected. Another potential avenue for study would be further exploration of the role of women in emblematics, and of imagery in nineteenth-century emblematics, beyond the flower, that is used to discuss feminine-centric topics such as virtue. Given the popularity of the flower and botany in the nineteenth century, another potential topic for research could be whether the correlation between floral imagery and female virtue exists in other cultural traditions that expect similar virtues of chastity and domesticity in women, such as Nazi Germany and post-war America, or whether the flower as a representation of female virtue is a purely nineteenth-century phenomenon.

Appendix: Chronological Bibliography of French- and English-Language Emblematic Books Published from 1800-1899 and held in the Stirling Maxwell Collection, Glasgow University Library.

(* denotes a work referenced in this thesis)

1803	*****Jean Baptiste Boudard, *L'iconologie expliquée par les figures,* Moscow	SM 997
	Carden, Anthony, *Progress of Female Virtue*, London	SM 1612
1806	*****John Bunyan, *Divine Emblems,* Coventry	SM 244
1808	*****Christopher Harvey, *The school of the heart,* Bristol	SM 887
	*****Francis Quarles, *Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes,* Bristol	SM 887
1809	Joseph Thomas, *Religious Emblems,* London	SM 1853
	Claude François Chazot, *De la gloire de l'aigle, emblême, symbole, enseigne militaire et décoration, chez les peuples anciens et modernes; recherches historiques, critiques, héraldiques et littéraires,* Paris	SM 1295
1810	Comtesse de Genlis, *Arabesques mythologiques, ou les attributs de toutes les divinités de la fable,* Paris	SM 559
	Joseph Thomas, *Religious Emblems,* London	SM 1853.1
	*****Samuel Fletcher, *Emblematical devices with appropriate mottos,* London	SM 1649 SM 1326
1812	John Wynne Huddlestone, *Choice emblems, natural, historical, fabulous, moral, and divine for the improvement and pastime of youth,* London	SM 356b
	*****Francis Quarles, *Emblems divine and moral,* London	SM Add 24
	George Brewer, *The juvenile Lavater; or A familiar explanation of the Passions of Le Brun,* London	SM 224
1814	James Thomson, *The seasons,* London	SM 1848
1815	Mary Ann Rundall, *Symbolic illustrations of the history of England from the Roman invasion to the present time: accompanied with a narrative of the principal events,* London	SM 1803
1816	Christopher Harvey, *The school of the heart*, London	SM 888
	Francis Quarles, *Emblemes and Hieroglyphikes*	SM 888
1820	*****William Tassie, *Descriptive catalogue of devices,* London	SM 1018
	John Bunyan, *Divine Emblems,* London	SM 245
1821	Stacey Grimaldi, *The toilet,* London	SM 1034
	La minerve des dames, Paris	SM Add 168
1824	Stacey Grimaldi, *A suit of armour for youth,* London	SM 1009
	Francis Quarles, *Emblems divine and moral*	SM 889
1825	*****Henry Phillips, *Floral Emblems,* London	SM 1428
	Francis Quarles, *Emblems divine and moral,* London	SM 890
	William Blake, *Illustrations of the Book of Job,* London	SM 1980
1827	******Emblêmes pour les enfants tirés de la Saint Ecriture, de la nature et de l'art. Traduits d'après un ministre anglais,* London	SM Add 141
	Richard Dagley, *Death's Doings,* London	SM 381
1829	*****E W Wirt, *Flora's Dictionary,* Baltimore	SM 1508
1830	*****William Pinnock, *Iconology or emblematic figures explained*	SM 858 SM Add 212
1831	Henry Phillips, *Floral Emblems,* London	SM 1429
	David Scott, *Of man, six monograms,* Edinburgh	SM 2036a
1834	Anna Jameson, *Fantaszen or Fancies: a series of subjects in outline,* London	SM 1788
1837	*****Peter Myers, *Representation of the heart of man,* New York	SM Add 380
1838	*****Jonathan Birch, *Divine emblems,* London	SM 1223
1840	Horapollo and Alexander Turner Cory, *The hieroglyphics of Horapollo Nilous (Heiroglyphica),* London	SM 612
1842	William Pinock, *The golden treasury,* London	SM 859
1844	*****Thomas Boyles Murray, *An alphabet of emblems,* London	SM 784
	Robert Mushet, *The book of symbols,* London	SM Add 138
1845	Christopher Harvey, *Schola Cordis,* London	SM 891
	Francis Quarles, *Emblems divine and moral,* London	SM 891
	*****Charlotte de la Tour, *Le langage des fleurs,* Paris	SM 702

1847	Robert Mushet, *The book of symbols,* London	SM 786
	Ralph Austen, *The spiritual use of an orchard or garden of fruit trees,* London	SM 129
1850	FC Husenbeth, *Emblems of Saints,* London	SM 642
	William Holmes, *Religious Emblems,* New Haven	SM Add 493
1851	*****William Bell Scott, *Chorea Sancti Viti,* London	SM 1823
	Mary Ann Bacon, *Winged Thoughts,* London	SM 1904
	William Holmes, *Religious Emblems,* Cincinnati	SM Add 303
1852	Louisa Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of early and Medieval Christian Art,* London	SM 1860
1854	*****Georgette de Montenay, *Honderd Christelijke zinnebeelden naar Georgette de Montenay,* [Dutch]	SM 776
1855	William Holmes, *Religious Emblems,* Boston	SM Add 495
	Louisa Twining, *Types and Figures of the Bible,* London	SM 1859
1856	William Holmes, *Religious Emblems,* Cincinnati	SM Add 496
1857	Francis Quarles, *Emblems divine and moral,* Halifax	SM Add 239
	Johannes Evangelist Gossner, *Das Herz des Menschen or The Mirror of the Heart,* Mangalore	SM 764
	*****Christian Scriver, *Gottsholds Emblems,* Edinburgh	SM 974a
1859	Christopher Harvey, *The school of the heart,* London	SM 895
	Francis Quarles, *Emblems divine and moral,* London	SM 895
	William Holmes, *Religious Emblems,* London	SM Add 497
1860	*****Jacob Cats, *Moral Emblems,* London	SM 1603 SM Add q60
	William Holmes, *Religious Emblems,* Cincinnati	SM Add 498
	Alphonse Chassant, *Dictionnaire de sigillographie pratique contenant toutes les notions propres à faciliter l'étude et l'interpretation des sceaux du Moyen Age*, Paris	SM 352
1861	*****Francis Quarles, *Quarles' Emblems Illustrated,* London	SM 1436
	John Winter Jones, *Observations on the origin of the division of man's life into stages,* London	SM 1682
1862	*****W. Harry Rogers, *Spiritual Conceits,* London	SM 1456
1863	John Bunyan, *Divine Emblems,* London	SM 245
	*****Anaïs de Neuville, *Le véritable langage des fleurs,* Paris	SM 791
	Jeremias Drexel and Reginald N. Shutte, *The Heliotropium; or, Conformity of the human will to the divine expounded in five books by Jeremy Drexelius,* London	SM Add q31
1865	William James Audsley and George Ashdown Audsley, *Handbook of Christian symbolism,* London	SM 1244
	Emblems of Jesus; or, Illustrations of Emmanuel's character and work, Edinburgh	SM 433
	Christopher Harvey, *The School of the Heart,* London	SM Add 235
	Francis Quarles, *Emblems Divine and Moral,* London	SM Add 235
	Geffrey Whitney and Henry Green, *A Choice of Emblemes* and *On the Emblems of Geffrey Whitney of Nantwich,* Chester	SM 1668
1866	*****Richard Pigot, *The Life of Man Symbolised by the Months of the Year,* London	SM 1763
	Geffrey Whitney, *Whitney's 'Choice of Emblems,'* London	SM 1667.1
1867	Louis-Catherine Silvestre, *Marques typographiques ou recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblèmes, devises, rébus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs qui ont exercé en France, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie, en 1470, jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle* (published in parts 1853-1867), Paris	SM 1549a
1869	Christian Scriver, *Gottsholds Emblems,* Edinburgh	SM 974b SM Add 143
	Hans Holbein, *Holbein's Icones historiarum Veteris Testamenti,* Manchester	SM 1549b
1870	Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber,* Manchester	SM 1345
	Henry Green and James Croston (eds.) *Mirrour of Maiestie or badges of honour conceitedly emblazoned,* Manchester	SM 1340

	Fanny Bury, Palliser, *Historic devices, badges and warcries,* London	SM 1414
1871	Andrea Alciato, *Emblematum liber,* Manchester	SM 1346
	***Flower Emblems or the Seasons of Life*, London	SM 1650
1872	William Stirling Maxwell (copied by), *Emblemata Amoris*	SM 1634 SM 1352a
	Margaret Gatty, *A Book of Emblems,* London	SM Add 263
1873	Elon Foster and J. G. Pilkington, *The dictionary of illustrations adapted to Christian teaching,* London	SM 1303
	James Ferdinand Mallinckrodt, *Biblia sacra nova,* St. Louis	SM 1385
1875	Otto van Veen and James Ford, *"Ut picture poesis," or an attempt to explain, in verse, the Emblemata Horatiana of Otho Vaenius,* London	SM 1876 SM 1876a
1876	Philip Gilbert Hamerton, *The sylvan year. Leaves from the notebook of Raoul Dubois,* London	SM 1339
	Johann Thomas Loth, *The Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite. Illustrations of the emblems of the thirty-three degrees,* Edinburgh	SM 1710
1878	GS Cautley, *A Century of Emblems,* London	SM Add 399
	Francis Quarles, *Emblems Divine and Moral*, London	SM Add 182
1883	Jean Cousin and Ludovic Lalanne, *Le livre de fortune : recueil de deux cents dessins inédits de Jean Cousin,* Paris	SM Add f18
1884	Georges Duplessis, *Les livres à gravures du XVIe siècle,* Paris	SM Add q17
1888	*****Francis Quarles, *Emblems Divine and Moral*, Edinburgh	SM Add 64
1894	Paul de Pontsevrez, *Les Cœurs,* Paris	SM Add q4

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