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The Medici Lions:
Culture and Cinema from Rome to Alupka and Beyond

Abstract
This article presents the first study of the history and reception of the Medici Lions in connection with the cinema. The two Renaissance sculptures were carved from ancient Roman marble and inspired numerous variations in size and material. Since the 1840s, a marble pair and four additional lions, matching in appearance but with varying postures, have decorated the Vorontsov Palace at Alupka on the southern coast of the Crimea. Their history can be connected with the lion sculptures by Antonio Canova for the tomb of Pope Clement XIII in St. Peter's. Three of the Alupka lions appeared at a climactic moment in Sergei Eisenstein's film *Battleship Potemkin* (1925). The very arrangement of the lions at Alupka was intended to suggest a sequential movement. That movement became explicit in Eisenstein's film: shots of the lions are edited together in such a way that one lion appears to come alive. This is the most famous instance of Eisenstein's principle of *montage*. Since Eisenstein considered the ancient Greeks to be among the "ancestors" of the cinema, his lion is best understood from a classical perspective. Accordingly, this paper interprets the lion montage in *Battleship Potemkin* through classical rhetoric. Finally, the article surveys the wide variety of Medici-type lions on the screen.

Throughout history, the lion has surpassed all other animals as symbol of royalty, majesty, power, and authority. In ancient Egypt the lion was a manifestation of the sun god Ra, while Horus as god of the morning sun could assume a lion's head. The Sumerian god Ningirsu was associated with a lion-headed eagle, a combination of the king of the animals with that of the birds.[1] The Lions' Gate at Mycenae from the thirteenth century B.C. is a well-known example of lion symbolism in Bronze-Age Greece. The terrace of no fewer than sixteen stylized lion statues on the Sacred Way on Delos is another well-known example of the lion's importance in cults of Greco-Roman gods. "In Greek and Latin, the lion is considered king because he is taken to be the first among all animals," Isidore of

[1] LURKER 1991 summarizes the extent of lion symbolism and provides basic references. — I am indebted to several colleagues and friends for help: Leonid Chekin, Julie Christensen, Sabrina Ferri, Elisabetta Gagetti, James Levine, Kristina Olson. The editors of the present journal kindly granted me the space to develop my topic in detail. I am grateful to the Sociedade Brasileira de Retórica for the opportunity to present a preliminary version at its meeting in 2018. My illustrations are either in the public domain or screen captures from home-video releases of films. All conform to principles of fair use. Following the example of Phaedrus' lion in *Fables* 1.5, I reserve to myself the lion's share: this time of responsibility for any errors of fact or judgment.

Seville wrote in the early seventh century A.D.[2] His statement parallels the opening of the *Physiologus*, a medieval bestiary derived from Hellenistic Greece that incorporates biblical passages into its Christian legends and allegories: "We begin first of all by speaking of the Lion, the king of all the beasts."[3] The *Physiologus* demonstrates, in an exemplary manner, that an icon of pagan antiquity could easily be incorporated into a later, and often anti-pagan, religion, ensuring cultural continuity across centuries. St. Jerome's lion is a comparable example of this animal's connections with Christianity.

Since lions were naturally associated with royal and heroic deaths, their sculptures on tombs and war memorials attest to the same tradition: sleeping or dying lions symbolize fallen heroes' greatness and dedication to their cause; rearing lions point to their bravery and defiance. A recumbent lion decorated the cenotaph of Menecrates on Corfu (ca. 600 B.C.). Numerous lions adorned the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (ca. 350 B.C.).[4] The statue of a rearing lion at Chaeroneia commemorates the fighting spirit of the Greeks who died here in the battle against Philip of Macedon in 338 B.C.[5] The one at Amphipolis is even larger, measuring about five and a half meters in height.[6] The recumbent lion of Knidos (probably second century B.C.) originally topped a funerary monument. Well-known modern examples of sleeping or expiring lions include the dying lion in Lucerne, designed by Danish sculptor Bertil Thorvaldsen (1819, carved 1820-21), below the inscription HELVETIORUM FIDEI AC VIRTUTI ("To the Steadfastness and Virtue of the Swiss"). This lion commemorates the Swiss Guards killed in 1792 during the French Revolution and is an example of the "rediscovery" of classical Greece in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[7] The monument inspired, in turn, the 1894 marble Lion of the

[2] Isid. *Etym.* 12.2.3: *Leo autem Graece, Latine rex interpretatur, eo quod princeps sit omnium bestiarum*. Famous examples in classical fables of the lion as king or ruler are Babrius 98 (cf. *Aesopica* 140) and 102 (*Aesopica* 334), Phaedrus 1.5 (expanded from *Aesopica* 339 and Babrius 67) and 4.14 (*Aesopica* 514). TOYNBEE (1973, 61-66) surveys lions in Roman culture.

[3] Quoted from CURLEY (2009, 3). The book provides an extensive introduction on the textual history of the *Philologus* and its translations since antiquity and a detailed bibliography. On its Greek text see KAIMAKIS 1974, with pages 6-9 on the lion. ZUCKER 2004 is a more recent annotated edition, with translation and commentary, of the Greek text. MORRISON 2019 provides a first orientation concerning animal symbolism in the Middle Ages, including the *Physiologus*, in text and image. Lions appear throughout, especially in Old Testament contexts. There is, of course, much more.

[4] On these lions see the descriptions, with photographs, in WAYWELL (1978, 27-34 and 180-209 [= cat. nos. 401-649] and plates 37-42).

[5] So reported by Paus. 9.40.10. On the monument see especially MA 2008, with extensive references.

[6] Archaeologist Oscar Broneer, who reassembled the fragments and wrote the first monograph on this lion, adduced the Chaeroneia lion and a comparable Greek lion statue from Piraeus (now in Venice) and even provided photographs of a living circus lion in the same position for comparison (BRONEER 1941; images between pages 40 and 41).

[7] HAUTUMM 1983 is a useful introduction to this topic.

Confederacy in the Oakland Cemetery of Atlanta, Georgia. Cemeteries show comparable lions in personal or private contexts as well. The rhetorical question addressed to a lion in the tomb inscription by the Hellenistic poet Antipater of Sidon is an elegant verbal summary:

> Tell, lion, which dead man's tomb do you stand guard over,
> devourer of oxen? Who was worthy of your excellent valor?[8]

The great range of lion symbols expresses an archetypal affinity with humans, both as they are and as they wish to be perceived. But lions can also represent negative concepts: violence, destructiveness, pitiless slaughter. In Christian contexts the lion can equally symbolize the Devil and Jesus Christ.[9] The lion similes in Homer's *Iliad* already demonstrated the extent of possible associations.[10]

1. *The Medici Lions: Their Origin and Influence*

One particular type of lion sculpture is immediately recognizable by one striking feature: one of the lion's front paws rests on a sphere or globe. This posture is most effective when such lions appear in pairs. The original two are the more than life-size marble sculptures generally called Medici Lions.[11] Both are in a standing position, with their heads turned slightly sideways either to the left or to the right. The lion looking right rests his right front paw on his globe; the lion looking left does the same with his left paw. The lion turning to the right resembles the Type I lions (heads to right but without globes) at the Mausoleum.[12]

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[8] *AP* 7.426.1-2. The next four lines give the lion's answer; he compares the fallen hero to a lion himself. BRONEER (1941, 1) quotes the first and last couplet. Here and throughout, translations without attribution are my own.

[9] The Devil: *1 Peter* 5.8; cf. *Psalms* 22.21 (the lion's maw as seat of the power of evil); Christ (as Lion of Judah): *Revelation* 5.5.

[10] The details assembled and interpreted by SCHNAPP-GOURBEILLON 1981 and LONSDALE 1990 are illuminating. For further details see, e.g., CLARKE 1995, KONSTANTINOU 2012. On an exemplary case of transformation from antiquity – the myth of Pyramus and Thisbe in Ov. *Met.* 4.55-166 – to Christianity, including that of Ovid's lioness into a lion, see GLÜCKLICH 2019, especially 14-16 (section titled "Löwen").

[11] Fundamental on the popularity of the Medici Lions is HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 247-50). The Medici type occasionally shows a striking difference: the lion looking away from his globe. An example is at the Villa Albani in Rome; a photograph can be seen in BECK–BOL (1982, fig. 32 on plate 25).

[12] A revealing photograph is in WAYWELL (1978, plate 37 [cat. no. 401]). Cf. further Type II (head turned left) at WAYWELL (1978, plate 40 [cat. no. 415]). The position of the former lion's legs differs from those of the Medici Lions (description in WAYWELL [1978, 180-181]), while the latter has his "right foreleg advanced,

This Medici Lion is ancient (Ill. 1). Italian sculptor Flaminio Vacca reports in his *Memorie* that Giovanni Sciarano, a little-known sculptor from Fiesole, had carved a high-relief sculpture of a Roman lion into a freestanding lion several years or decades earlier.[13] The lion relief had been discovered on the Via Tiburtina outside the Porta San Lorenzo. The original Roman relief has been dated to the second century A.D. and may have been intended for a funerary monument, accompanied by a corresponding second relief, now lost.[14] Vacca also states that he had himself carved a companion lion out of a large Roman column.[15] The marble for Vacca's lion appears to have come from a capital of the temple of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, the heart of the Roman Empire, when it had been restored after the fire of 80 A.D.[16] Vacca signed his lion in Latin: OPVS FLAMINII VACCAE ROMANI (Ill. 2).

The globes for both lions are the sculptors' additions; no ancient lion-with-globe statues exist. There exists, however, a pair of under-lifesize marble lions, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, that are tempting to adduce in this context. Their label identifies them as coming from a funerary enclosure for Dionysios, of the deme of Kollytos and cousin of Hypereides.[17] They were found in the Athenian Kerameikos and date to ca. 325-300 B.C. They are now set up on either side of a pathway or entrance so as to face those approaching them, their heads turned toward the inside. Their outer front paws are raised; each rests on what is identified as a bull's head. The bulls' heads are damaged so severely that each resembles a non-descript mass, although not a spherical one. The lions' posture exhibits a remarkable similarity to the Medici Lions. While it is safer not to search for any direct model for the Medici Lions among surviving types of Greek sculpture, at least one observer in the late eighteenth century hinted at just such a connection: "when […] both *Lions* were taken to Florence, Filippo Aurelio Visconti (brother of the famous Ennio Quirino) dismissed Vacca's as being no more than an imitation of the other which was 'of perfect Greek workmanship'."[18]

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left foreleg set back" (WAYWELL [1978, 187]).

[13] VACCA 1594 is imprecise on the dating. WALDMAN (1998, 793-94) identifies Sciarino with the sculptor named in his title. VOSSILLA 2002 accepts this identification on his first page.

[14] So CAPECCHI (1975, 174-75). HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 249) accept her dating. On related monuments see VAIN 1989. CECCHI–GASPARRI (2009, 366 [no. 622]) describe and show an early seventeenth-century relief of a lioness whose right front paw is on an urn and relate it to the Medici Lions.

[15] VACCA (1594, 13-14 [nos. 64 and 75, here adduced in reverse order]). On Sciarino's and Vacca's lions see especially CECCHI – GASPARRI (2009, 124-125 [no. 124]), with photographs and additional references. In view of our animal context it may be amusing to note that *vacca* is Latin and Italian for *cow*.

[16] So, e.g., GASPARRI (1999, 52), without source reference.

[17] Inv. nos. 803-804.

[18] Quoted from HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 248), with source references at 250 n. 19.

Ill. 1. The Medici Lion carved by Giovanni Sciarano.

Ill. 2. The Medici Lion carved by Flaminio Vacca.

Before 1594, Vacca reports, the Roman lion had been bought for the Villa Medici in Rome, where it was joined by Vacca's own lion before 1598.[19] The pair decorated the villa's *loggia*, standing near the top of a short flight of steps leading to the gardens and facing each other.[20] Both were brought to Florence in 1787. In 1789 they were moved to the entrance of the Loggia dei Lanzi in the Piazza della Signoria.[21] They are still there, facing approaching visitors from the top of a short flight of steps.[22]

One partially preserved ancient lion was extensively restored, according to the Medici model, from numerous fragments. This is the Albani Lion, now in the Louvre (Ill. 3). It comes from the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani, nephew of Pope Clement XI and a major collector and patron of the arts. This lion's original parts date to the first to second centuries A.D., the restoration to the sixteenth: part of its head and most of its legs, especially its left front leg and globe. The Albani Lion was carved from Egyptian basanite (basalt); the globe under its left front paw is yellow Numidian marble (*giallo antico*). This lion appears to have been carved for decorative, not funerary, purposes.[23]

[19] BOYER (1929, 263 [nos. 81-82]). See also BUTTERS ET AL. (2010, 536: list of 1778 or earlier, outlining necessary repairs to both lions). MOREL (1991, 186-90) explains the classical-astrological and political-dynastic meanings of lions and globes for the Medicis, especially for Cardinal Ferdinand, who commissioned Vacca's lion, and the Medici pope Leo X. MOREL (1991, 188 [fig. 181]) reproduces a painted lion in the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola, striding right and placing his left front paw on a globe while his left hind leg is raised a little above the ground; Morel connects it to the tradition of Roman grotesque wall paintings. A color photograph in HOCHMANN (1999, 14 [fig. 1]) shows copies of the Medici Lions (1889) in their original place. HOCHMANN (1999, 141-44 [cat. nos. 3, 4, 4a-b, 5a) reproduces sixteenth- and seventeenth-century illustrations of the villa's garden façade, one in color. An impressive color plate is in TOULIER (1989, 21). Cf. TOULIER (1989, 320-21 [no. 425]). There exist numerous pre-photographic images of the villa's garden façade as well.

[20] An engraving shows the lions' placement: DE ROSSI (ca. 1691, plate 9). The engraving is by Gio. Francesco Venturini. HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 25 [fig. 14]) and TOULIER (1989, 125 [ill. 121]) reproduce the image; the latter with description and bibliographical reference (and publication date of 1684) on the preceding page.

[21] VOSSILLA (2002a, 248-49) provides some details about this move.

[22] Several photographs of the lions are in GIUSTI GALARDI (2002, 142 [large black-and-white image of the lions looking at each other], 216-18, 224, 269 [contemporary and historic photos], and plate 8 [in color]). VOSSILLA 1995 gives a history of the Loggia and its works of art.

[23] Inv. no. LL 30 = Ma 1355. Descriptions with further references are in BELLI PASQUA (1995, 110-111 [cat. no. 73; plate LXXVII top]), and, more briefly, in GREGAREK (1999, 268 [cat. no. H28]). Cf. GREGAREK (1999, 268 [H29: lion with left front paw on globe]). On the material see BELLI PASQUA (1995, 17-24 [ancient sources] and 25-63 [origins and history]), and, much more briefly, GNOLI (1988, 112-17; fig. 149 shows the Albani Lion). Müller (1969, 74-78, 79 [ills. 9-10 and plate XXIV]) interprets three specific striding lion sculptures, which he dates to the late-second to early-third century A.D., and links them to the cult of the goddess Cybele, whose chariot was pulled by lions, and to Hellenistic-Roman models. He deduces from the sideways turn of their heads that they most likely served as decorations. They have, of course, no globes.

Ill. 3. The Albani Lion.

The association of lion and globe is not ancient. But globes, like lions, did symbolize divine and earthly majesty and power in classical history and culture.[24] For instance, celestial globes, scientific or pseudo-scientific instruments in astronomy and astrology, came to be associated with Greek gods and philosophers, especially on coins. In Roman contexts, celestial and terrestrial globes prominently symbolized power and victory on coins and elsewhere, beginning in the early first century B.C.[25] For a short period of time beginning in 44 B.C., Roman coins predominantly refer to Julius Caesar (and then Mark Antony) and, on the reverse, show the goddess Venus, Caesar's ancestor: "sometimes accompanied by a star as indication of her divinity or by a globe as a symbol of dominion."[26] An *aureus* of 42 B.C. shows the profile of Mark Antony and, on its reverse, a

[24] On this see the fundamental works by SCHLACHTER 1927 and SCHRAMM (1958, 7-19 on antiquity, especially 12-14 on pre-Christian Rome). BRENDEL 1977 traces the symbol back to archaic Greek thought.
[25] On these see in particular CRAWFORD (1983, 436 and plate L [no. 409.2: *denarius* of 67 B.C., also showing forepart of lion], 475 and plate LIV [no. 464.3a-c: *denarii* of 46 B.C.], 491, and plate LVII [no. 480.21: *denarius* of 44 B.C.]). There are others.
[26] CRAWFORD (1983, 494).

winged male figure — the *genius populi Romani* — who combines aspects of various gods and rests his right foot on a globe.[27] An altar relief in Ravenna dating to the mid-first century A.D. depicts members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Emperor Augustus, the most important figure, is the largest; he has placed his left foot on top of a celestial globe.[28] An ivory diptych of 406 A.D., now in the treasury of Aosta Cathedral, Italy, shows Emperor Honorius holding a globe topped by a statuette of Victory after the Roman Empire had become Christian. The *Reichsapfel* of the Holy Roman Empire, a globe surmounted by a cross (*globus cruciger*), is a related symbol.[29]

Over the centuries, the Medici Lions were frequently imitated in different sizes and materials across Europe, North America, and India.[30] "Vacca's *Lion* continued to hold a very high place in the pantheon of honorary antiques, and it and its companion were certainly better known than any of the others."[31] In 1757 Giovanni Paolo Panini included Vacca's sculpture in the three versions of his painting *Picture Gallery with Views of Modern Rome* (or, simply, *Modern Rome*), which shows an ideal art gallery. He excluded it from all versions of its companion painting, *Ancient Rome*.[32] By contrast, Panini's *Capriccio of Roman Monuments with the Colosseum and Arch of Constantine* (the title varies) shows the same lion in an ancient context but with slightly different posture. Beginning in 1734, Panini painted more than twenty versions of it. Appropriately, the Medici Vase on the other side of the image balances the Medici Lion.

One particular variant of the Medici Lions is noteworthy: that on top of an artificial hill, the Lion's Mound, on the battlefield at Waterloo. This iron lion (1826) is the work of Flemish sculptor Jean-François Van Geel. It is almost 4.5 meters high and 4.5 meters long.

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[27] CRAWFORD (1983, 503 and plate LIX [no. 494.5]; cf. 510 for comments). He relates this coin to a *denarius* of 74 B.C.: CRAWFORD (1983, 409 and plate XLIX [no. 397.1]; right foot on globe). SCHLACHTER (1927, 64-104) presents a still useful overview of the globe as Roman symbol of power in late-Republican and imperial contexts: rulers (69-76), the *genius* (76-77), Victory (81-87), Venus (87), the goddess Roma (88-89), Jupiter (93-96), and others. Some notable images on coins and other works of art are on his plates I and II.

[28] Listed by SCHLACHTER (1927, 71 [under c]), with additional listing of comparable Roman coins (Titus, Antoninus Pius, Tetricus I.) in note 4. SCHLACHTER (1927, 95 [f-g]) comments on Zeus and Jupiter-Serapis with foot on globe. See further WEINSTOCK (1971, 40-45, 50-53, and 96), with extensive references. He discusses the Capitoline statue of Julius Caesar, which included a globe, and Roman coins with images of the goddess Victory, the *genius populi Romani*, and Roma, personifications of the Roman people and of Rome, all with a foot on a globe (plates 3.8-10 and 12, 5.7-9, and 6.6). WEINSTOCK (1971, 42) observes that the globe became "a political symbol […] of the mastery of the world […] only at Rome" although it had appeared in Greek art as well. Of course it was not limited to being placed underfoot.

[29] On the wider context see, e.g., the essays collected in DE BLOIS ET AL. 2003.

[30] See, e.g., the brief overview in HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 248-49). Images of numerous imitations can be found online.

[31] HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 249).

[32] Cf. HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 248).

Here again we find a prominent association of the lion with tombs and heroic death. This lion is looking to the left although his right paw is atop his globe.

From now on I will refer to the originals as *Medici Lions* and to copies, imitations, etc. as *Medici lions*. It is not my intention to survey all instances of the latter, even if such were possible. The lions almost always come in pairs, but there are spectacular exceptions. For example, a pride of twelve, all in gilded bronze, adorned the Royal Alcázar of Madrid after it was remodeled as a palace for King Philip IV. These were designed, modeled, and cast by Matteo Bonarelli, assistant to Gian Lorenzo Bernini, in 1651.[33]

2. *The Vorontsov Palace at Alupka*

Another spectacular group consists of two Medici lions and four "relatives." They date to the nineteenth century. Carved from splendid white marble, they decorated the palace of a Russian aristocrat at Alupka on the south coast of the Crimea in the vicinity of Yalta. Regrettably, they are only little known to art historians.[34] Alupka was originally within the borders of the Russian Empire, then in the Soviet Union and, after 1989, in the Ukraine. Since the annexation of the area by the Russian Federation in 2014, palace and lions are again in Russia.

Count Mikhail Semyonovich Vorontsov, born 1782, was one of the richest men in imperial Russia. He had distinguished himself as a war hero against Napoleon and had risen to the rank of Field Marshal. In 1823 he became governor general of New Russia, the empire's southern area, and viceroy of neighboring Bessarabia. In 1844 he was appointed viceroy of the Caucasus and, in reward for his military services, elevated to the rank of Prince. In 1819 he had married Elizaveta Branicka, an aristocratic and rich beauty, who probably included Alexander Pushkin among her lovers during her marriage. His Serene Highness died in Odessa, the government seat of New Russia, in 1856.[35]

As son of the Russian ambassador to the Court of St. James, Count Mikhail grew up in England and was a life-long Anglophile. Upon his appointment to New Russia he commissioned Italian architect Francesco Boffo to design his gubernatorial residence in Odessa. A pair of Medici lions decorated the Vorontsov Palace. Boffo was instrumental in turning virtually the entire city into a neoclassical marvel. Its Opera and Ballet Theater with

[33] HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 33). On these lions see GONZÁLEZ-PALACIOS (2001, 74-76).
[34] Even HASKELL – PENNY 1981 appears to be unfamiliar with them.
[35] RHINELANDER 1990 is the standard source in English. On the countess and her relations with Pushkin see BINYON (2003, 171-73, 183, 186-87, and 263). BINYON (2003, 154-55) provides a brief character portrait of the count. So does BRETT (2005, 17-22). This is the best English-language work on the Vorontsov Palace.

its Italianate baroque façade is a famous example. Boffo also designed the city's best-known landmark: a huge and ingeniously laid-out flight of outdoor steps leading down from Primorsky Boulevard to the harbor. Originally, 200 steps extended over 142 meters. The project was completed in 1841.

Count Mikhail was good for yet another architectural miracle far away. This was "his dream castle," a summer residence at Alupka.[36] It was designed by Britishers Thomas Harrison, Edward Blore, its chief architect, and William John Hunt.[37] For its landscaping the Count engaged German garden master Karl Kebach.[38] The original planning stages for the palace date to the early 1820s; the actual construction began in or around 1830 (accounts vary) and lasted into the following decade:

> The Moorish-Tudor-Gothic edifice [...] would take twenty years to complete [...]. Making his dream come true cost Vorontsov undisclosed millions […]. The edifice, with its surrounding parks and seaside position, was breath-taking. Many today consider it the finest example of nineteenth-century architecture on Russian soil.[39]

Main access to the palace was on its north side. Its southern façade led down to the garden and the sea. Between terrace and garden there are a short flight of nine steps, then a wide landing, and another twenty-three steps. To the left and right of the top of the nine steps there are two Medici lions, not facing each other but turned toward the garden (Ill. 4). As hero of the Napoleonic wars, Count Mikhail is likely to have been familiar with Van Geel's Medici lion at Waterloo. In addition, Medici lions were popular in the early-to-middle nineteenth century among Russian royalty and aristocrats. Prominent examples in St. Petersburg alone include those in bronze at the Lions' Cascade at the Peterhof Palace (1799-1801), those in white marble at the Mikhailovsky Palace, now the State Russian Museum (1819-22), and the bronze lions, painted green, at the Dvortsovaya Pier in front of the Admiralty building (1832). Additional Medici lions can be found all over the city.

At Alupka, four lions without globes join the two Medici lions alongside the twenty-

[36] Quotation from RHINELANDER (1990, 119).

[37] Details concerning the design and building history are in BRETT (2005, 54-114), along with numerous contemporary drawings, historical paintings, and modern color photographs. BRETT (2005, 55-56 and 80-81) reports on Harrison's initial design commission from Count Mikhail and outlines the different stages of Harrison's, Blore's, and Hunt's ground plans. GALICHENKO (2008, 35-88) surveys the history and architecture of Alupka. Other Russian sources include GALICHENKO –TSARIN 1992, with an English summary (222-223) and numerous illustrations; FILATOVA 2009.

[38] BRETT (2005, 56 and 111-14). GALISCHENKO [*sic*] 2007 surveys Kebach's work at the palace. Her name appears as "Galichenko" in the table of contents and in the contributors' biographies (8, 368).

[39] RHINELANDER (1990, 119). The period mentioned appears to include the planning phase. The palace underwent various vicissitudes in its history and is now a museum and tourist attraction.

three steps further down. These, too, are directed toward garden and sea. Below them, an elegant double flight of curved steps leads visitors into the garden. The six lions form an astonishing ensemble and have given an appropriate name to their site: "Lion Terrace" (*l'vinaya terrasa*). They are seen to best effect when approached from the front (Ill. 5).[40] The four lions are set on low marble plinths. Two are on either side of the edge of the landing beside the steps; the two further down are level with the ninth step from the bottom. The distance between these two pairs is closer than that between the higher pair and the Medici pair. The Medici lions are set off from the others in such a way that only their heads are visible from the bottom of the steps.

Majestic flights of steps are best appreciated from below. A unique but wholly imaginative proof of this fact appears as part of the set for ancient Babylon in D. W. Griffith's mammoth epic *Intolerance* (1916). A stepped outdoor terrace is decorated on either side by eight stone statues of recumbent lions, their flanks visible and their heads turned toward those walking up the steps. Griffith's Babylon may well be the urban film set that sports more lion sculptures in various poses than any other.

Ill. 4. The Medici lions at Alupka

[40] BRETT (2005, 74-75 [ill. 35]) shows such an approach (in color). BRETT (2005, 95 [ill. 49]) has a color photograph of the shorter higher steps and the Medici lions. See further BRETT (2005, 105 [ill. 67]) for an unusual bird's-eye-view photograph of the lion staircase dated to around 1885. The photographer's position is virtually identical with the point of view shown in an 1873 engraving: "The Duke of Edinburgh in the Crimea: Alupka, Seat of Prince Woronzoff" (source: Liszt Collection; currently no longer available). A few historical photographs of the palace and the lions are at http://www.evpatori.ru/alupka.html; one of them is dated 1905.

Ill. 5. The "Lion Terrace" at Alupka

The lions added at Alupka continue the Medici pattern by turning their heads inward a little. The two below the Medici lions are rising on their front legs but still resting on their hindquarters. Their front paws are firmly on their plinths (Ill. 6). This pair forms a mirror image of each other. Their posture is reminiscent, at least to a certain degree, of a famous ancient sculpture: the marble boar of the second-to-first century B.C. now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.[41] Like the Medici Lions, it has been copied frequently in stone and bronze. The most popular example of such copies is the *Porcellino* by Baroque Italian sculptor Pietro Tacca (early seventeenth century). The Uffizi boar in turn was probably copied from a Hellenistic Greek bronze.

The lowest Alupka lions are quite different. The one with his head turned left is sleeping; the one across from him is waking up (Ills. 7-8). The waking lion is clutching, it seems, the edge of his plinth with his front claws for greater stability. The sleeping lion's front paws are dangling a little over the edge. The effect is natural: a big cat taking a

[41] Inv. no. 1914 no. 63. On this HASKELL – PENNY (1981, 161-63).

leisurely nap.[42] The postures of the four lions precludes them having globes. Even so, all six belong together. They resemble each other to such a degree that, were they real, all could have come from the same litter.

One distinguished visitor was completely enchanted by the lion ensemble about a century after the palace was completed:

> Winston Churchill and his entourage stayed here in February, 1945, for the Yalta Conference; they found it in mid-winter cold, draughty, and uncomfortable, but Churchill took a great fancy to Bonanni's marble lions on the terrace, one of which he thought resembled him, and asked Stalin to let him take them home: which request Stalin, not unreasonably, refused.[43]

One question is irresistible but unanswerable: which particular lion did Churchill have in mind, the cuddly sleeping one or one of the more majestic and imperial-looking others? Churchill himself was disappointingly brief on the matter in his memoirs:

> I and the principal members of the British delegation were assigned a very large villa […] which had been built in the early nineteenth century by an English architect for a Russian Prince Vorontzov, one-time Imperial Ambassador to the Court of St. James […]. The setting of our abode was impressive […]. Carved white lions guarded the entrance to the house, and beyond the courtyard lay a fine park with sub-tropical plants and cypresses.[44]

Given the Medici Lions' popularity, their presence at Alupka is not surprising. But how did they come to be joined by those others? The two central lions fit well as intermediaries between the standing Medici lions and the two lions lying down. The latter have a pair of distinguished ancestors, but an account of their origin is rather complicated. To trace their history we must turn to Countess Elizaveta. Not many details are available, and no thorough reconstruction of the Alupka lions' story has ever been undertaken. My own,

[42] A line drawing of the sleeping lion's head resting on its paws is part of the seal-like logo of the Alupka Palace-Park Museum (*Alupinskiy dvortsovo-parkovyi muzey-zapovednik*). It appears on the title page of FILATOVA 2009.

[43] Quoted from BRETT (2005, 133). On Bonanni below.

[44] CHURCHILL (1953, 302-303). Churchill mistakes son (Mikhail) for father (Semyon). The error is repeated in GILBERT (1991, 817). The following statement by DOBBS (2012, 89) is seriously incorrect: "The lions at the bottom of the staircase were sleeping [only one is], those in the middle were in various stages of repose [neither *various* nor *repose*], while the ones at the top were on their paws and fully awake, guarding the gates of the palace" (at its rear?). Bergan (2016, 110) is even less accurate: "several statues of lions, each [!] in a different physical attitude." *Habent sua fata leones.*

advanced here, is necessarily speculative in part. Still, the countess deserves chief credit for the lions' presence and placement: "The guiding influence on the design of the […] hillside park […] was Princess Elisaveta Vorontsova […], who made the decisions on the garden art."[45]

In 1844 Countess Elizaveta traveled to Italy. Here she met with painter Carlo Bossoli, her protégé. Bossoli's father Pietro, a stonemason, had moved his family to Odessa in 1820. In 1828 young Carlo worked as a stage designer at the Odessa Theater. He also began to paint and draw. Count Mikhail commissioned several pictures of Odessa from him. In 1839 the countess arranged for his studies in Italy. Bossoli returned to Alupka in 1840. Several of his paintings from this period are of the Vorontsov Palace and the neighboring countryside, villages, and landmarks. In 1843 Bossoli moved to Milan, where the countess is likely to have seen him the following year. Bossoli became best known later for his history paintings.[46]

[45] Quoted from GALISCHENKO (2007, 248).

[46] The most detailed and beautifully illustrated resource is PEYROT 1974b. See further ANONYMOUS 1856 and PEYROT 1974a. PEYROT (1974b, I, 1-18 and 39-88) provides a detailed annotated biography and an overview of Bossoli's years and works in the Crimea.

Ill. 6. Alupka: one of the two rising lions.

Ill. 7. Alupka: the sleeping lion.

Ill. 8. Alupka: the waking lion.

3. *Canova's Lions*

It is unlikely for anyone traveling in Italy to neglect visiting Rome and St. Peter's. Here the tomb of Pope Clement XIII will have caught Elizaveta's eye. It is the work of Antonio Canova, the pre-eminent neoclassical sculptor of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Canova finished the pope's tomb in 1792. It contains five marble sculptures. The pope is kneeling and absorbed in prayer on top of his sarcophagus. Below and to its left, a standing allegory of Religion facing right is holding a large cross; on the right but lower, a seated personification of Death, winged and with the face and hair of Apollo, is looking left and up. Below the sarcophagus to either side of a recessed entrance and at the feet of Religion and Death there are two lions, stretched out and facing each other (Ill. 9). The one on the left is awake. His front paws are gripping the edge of his plinth. The other one is sleeping. His left front paw is dangling over the plinth edge. As will be the case with the sleeping lion at Alupka, his right paw is resting on his left paw. These lions of Canova's are a plausible model of two of those at Alupka. The manes of Canova's lions are virtually identical with those of the Medici Lions. As he reports in his travel journals, Canova saw the Medici Lions in their original location on September 30, 1779.[47]

Pope Clement was born Carlo della Torre di Rezzonico in Venice in 1693 and educated in Bologna. The winged Lion of St. Mark's is the emblem of Venice, so the association of a Venetian pope with a lion in a work by a Venetian sculptor is only natural:

> These engaging creatures […] are explicit references to the Republic of St Mark to which Canova, his Rezzonico patrons and the dead Pope all belonged. That the intense naturalism of the lions must have been the result of careful empirical observation was commented upon by more than one visitor to St. Peter's […]. Despite […] the playful appeal these lions still have for modern viewers, their political association with Venice was direct and has been seriously underestimated in modern discussions of the monument.[48]

[47] CANOVA (1959, 44): "il gran Leone di marmo." Canova's use of the singular is not sufficient to cast doubt on which lion or lions he saw.

[48] JOHNS (1998b, 67). Canova's lions were often copied, if not as frequently as the Medici Lions; a particularly noteworthy context, including works by Canova and a memorial to him, is at Chatsworth House in Derbyshire, England. See on this YARRINGTON 2009. Canova's association with lions extends from his childhood – the boy's genius was discovered when he carved a lion from butter (*Leoncino di burro*) – to after his death, with the sleeping winged lion on Canova's own monument in Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice. MEMES (1825, 153-55) recounts the anecdote about the lion in butter; LICHT (1983, 18) rightly calls it "a charming but probably spurious account." (There are comparable tales about other artists: Giotto, Michelangelo.) LICHT (1983, 60-65) describes the Pope's tomb (with photographs). SIMPSON (2007, 3 fig. 2) reproduces a nineteenth-century American advertisement showing young Canova, toque and all, at work on

Ill. 9. Canova's lions at the tomb of Pope Clement XIII.

his dairy lion. See further SIMPSON (2007, 2 n. 6) on a similar anecdote about Horatio Greenough.

Now that the tomb's specific historical and ecclesiastical aspects have receded in most viewers' minds and memory, Canova's lions may be more appealing on an allegorical level. After all, their political associations explain only their presence, not their postures. They are recumbent, as were many if not all lions associated with tombs in antiquity.[49]

Sculptor Antonio D'Este, Canova's friend, was particularly taken by these lions. He regarded them as symbols of the pope's strong-mindedness:

> I leoni sono colossali […]. I leoni, emblema della fortezza dell'animo del pontefice, con ardue fatiche modellati, mediante profondissimi studj sugli animali di quella specie, esaminati con fine attenzione, vennero poi condotti e scolpiti con tale magistero, e per l'espressione e pel tocco dello scalpello, che forse lo scultore in più matura età avrebbe ricusato di trattare il marmo con si laboriosa e scientifica meccanica. Posano essi sul monumento, come dissi, e rimane indeciso qual sia più generoso, se quello che dorme, allorché sarà sveglio, o quello che manda un ruggito.[50]
>
> The lions are huge […]. The lions, symbol of the pontiff's strength of character, modeled with strenuous labor based on the most profound study of this kind of animal and observed with close attention, were then executed and sculpted with such mastery by the chisel's stroke and touch that perhaps the sculptor, at a more mature age, would have refused to treat the marble with such strenuous scientific technique. They are lying on the monument, as mentioned, and it is left undecided which is more noble, the one that is asleep until he awakes or the one that is emitting a roar.

Canova's biographer Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy reports on the lions as follows:

> Le lion, comme on le sait, est le symbole de Venise, et le pape Rezzonico étoit Vénitien. Canova ménagea donc dans sa composition pyramidale, au-dessous des deux statues qu'on vient de décrire, c'est-à-dire d'un côté et de l'autre de la porte qui s'ouvre en ce local, deux massifs servant de piédestaux à deux lions couchés, dont on ne se lasse point d'admirer la vérité imitative, le travail hardi et la variété d'expression. L'un, en effet, semble rugir; et l'autre pleurer, tant son attitude manifeste la sensation

[49] A reclining lion was among those at the Mausoleum: WAYWELL (1978, 34 and 209 [cat. no. 650: fragment of forepaw]). There may have been more than one. What WAYWELL (1978, 34) surmises about the reclining lion or lions at the Mausoleum is noteworthy for the context of Canova's lions: "The likeliest position for one or more reclining lions on the monument is perhaps flanking a doorway, false or real, into the building." No direct influence of the Mausoleum's lions on Renaissance and later lion sculptures should be assumed.

[50] D'ESTE (1864, 308 and 310, in description of monument). The book's editor, Alessandro D'Este, was the sculptor's son.

de la douleur.[51]

> The lion, as is well known, is the symbol of Venice, and the Rezzonico pope was Venetian. So Canova arranged, in his pyramid-shaped composition, under the two statues that I will describe below, i.e. on either side of the door which opens in this area, two blocks serving as pedestals for two prostrate lions. One never tires of admiring the truthfulness of their likenesses, the boldness of the work, and the variety of expression. The one actually seems to roar and the other to weep, so much does his bearing reveal a feeling of sorrow.

We can readily agree with these appreciations of Canova's artistry, but their attributions of a roar to the lion on the left is excessive, for his maw is not open far enough.[52] At most, he is growling. While Quatremère de Quincy stays closer to the truth about the doleful mien of the sleeping lion, to regard him as weeping goes too far and undermines D'Este's point about the pope's *fortezza dell'animo*.

A preliminary sketch by Canova for his monument to Pope Pius VI was discovered in 1999. Unlike the finished work, it included two lions. Its accompanying text explained that they symbolize the pope's bravery of spirit ("la virtù della Fortezza che ebbe il Papa").[53] But such *fortezza* belongs to lions more than to popes, those called Leo perhaps excepted. So another approach to Canova's sculpted lions is advisable: one that emphasizes their postures. The sleeping lion suggests death; hence its placement at Death's feet. Canova's later cenotaph for Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria in the Church of the Augustines in Vienna includes a sleeping lion in close proximity to Death as well.[54] The papal tomb's waking lion may indicate the pope's awakening at the Second Coming. That the pope's statue is facing left and looking in the direction of Religion, even if not directly at the waking lion, supports such a view.[55] The lion is also an allegory of Christian faith. (At *Revelation* 5.5 Jesus Christ is the Lion of Judah.) All this fits in with the figures of Hope

[51] QUATREMÈRE DE QUINCY (1834, 55). He describes the entire monument at 50-55.

[52] Notwithstanding MEMES (1825, 334), who states that the second lion is "awake, in attitude of guarding inviolate the approach to the sepulchre, and ready with a tremendous roar to spring upon the intruder, — 'Come rugge il Leon'." His quotation is from Torquato Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 13.21.5. MEMES (1825, 334) adduces Dante, *Purgatorio* 6.65-66, to describe the sleeping lion. MEMES (1825, 346) preserves a charming anecdote about a little girl's instinctive reactions to both lions, which he witnessed himself.

[53] On Pius VI. as patron of the arts see especially COLLINS (2004, 69-73). COLLINS (2004, 130-131) provides a photograph (fig. 77) and brief comments on the pope's actual memorial of 1817-22, with additional references at 313 n. 74.

[54] On this see JOHNS (1998a, 131-34), with illustrations.

[55] For just one example of the various possible meanings of lion symbolism in Italian art, in papal contexts and with Medici connections, see PERRY (1977, 680).

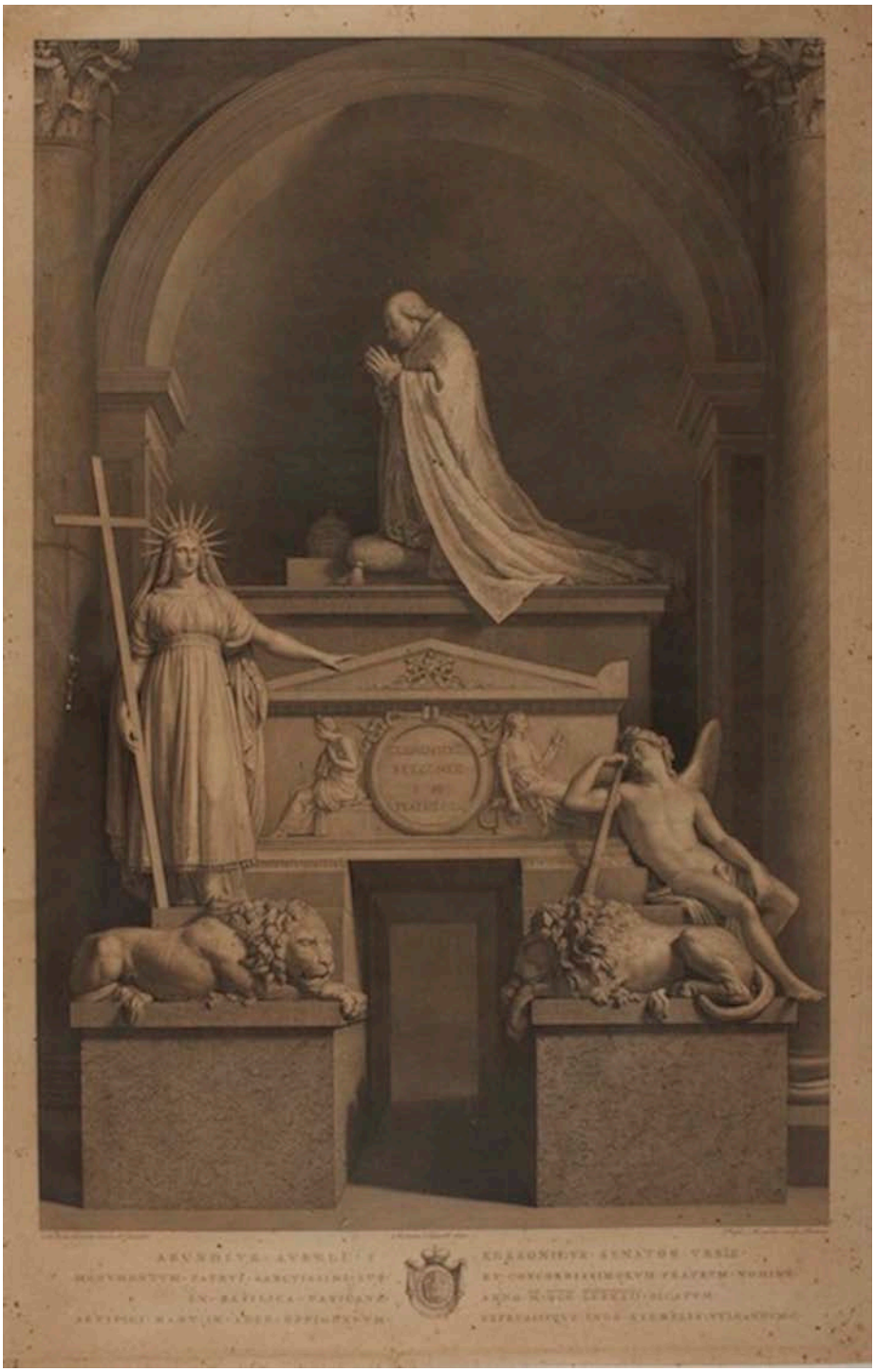
and Charity displayed on the sarcophagus. Together, they illustrate the three cardinal virtues.

For obvious reasons, sleep and death have been closely associated since antiquity. Their personifications, Hypnos and Thanatos, are divine brothers, even twins, in Homer's *Iliad*. In Book 16 they carry the dead body of Sarpedon from the battlefield for burial in his homeland.[56] This is the subject of a famous painting by Euphronios on the obverse of a *kratêr* dated to ca. 515 B.C., now in the Archaeological Museum of Cerveteri. On it, winged Hypnos and Thanatos are virtually identical. Viewers know which is which only because their names are written into the image.

A direct connection between Canova's lions and the lions at Alupka is provable. The Alupka archives contain an engraving of Pope Clement's tomb by Raffaello Morghen (or Sanzio Morghen) of about 1790 (Ill. 10).[57] Its presence there points to the countess's plan for the arrangement of six lions, two of which resemble Canova's papal lions. Between these two and the Medici lions, the rearing pair shows an intermediate stage of body posture.

[56] Hom. *Il.* 11.241 (comparison), 14.231 (brothers), 16.672 (twins), and 16.419-683 (Sarpedon). These are only the earliest attestations of a topos common in classical myth and literature. In general see VERMEULE 1979.

[57] KOVALEVSKAYA 2013 reproduces Morghen's engraving (the source of my illustration). The author was senior scholar at the Alupka Palace Park Museum and Reserve. Her article is not entirely reliable, as when she calls Morghen "angliskij" (i.e. English or British).



Ill. 10. Morghen's engraving of Pope Clement XIII's tomb.

4. *Bonanni's Lions*

Returning from Rome, Countess Elizaveta may have revealed to Bossoli her desire to decorate Alupka with more than just the Medici lions. Either through Bossoli or in some now unknown way she found out about an Italian sculptor called Bonanni and commissioned her lions from him. But who was Bonanni? Several unreliable (because non-scholarly) online pages call him "Giovanni"; elsewhere he is "V." (for *Vincenzo*) or "V. S." without further explanation.[58] The *Dizionario degli Italiani* has no entry for him. The *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, perhaps the most exhaustive resource, is likewise unhelpful.[59] Bonanni may have had a workshop in Bologna or, more probably, Carrara. The Alupka lions are carved from Carrara marble, Italy's finest and most famous. The plinth of the sleeping lion is reported to carry the artist's signature: "No. 6 Leoni eseguiti in Carrara da V. S. Bonanni."[60]

The work must have taken its time to complete. A letter from the countess to her estate manager at Alupka, dated July 14, 1848, specifies her wishes: "Put the pair of antique standing lions on the top of the staircase, the new pair of sitting ones in the middle, and the pair of those lying down at the bottom of the staircase."[61]

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[58] KOVALEVSKAYA 2013 has "Vincenzo" (and its equivalent in Russian) and "V. S." (on which see below) and reports on Bonanni's and his son Carlo's work on the Cathedral of St. Vladimir in Sevastopol in the 1870s.

[59] The *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon–Internationale Künstlerdatenbank* (online version) lists several artists called Bonanni. The only ones who *may* be identical with ours are Enrico Bonanni (*AKL* artist ID 42176418) and Pietro Bonanni (born 1810; ID 10133546), both from Carrara. The latter may be identical with Peter Bonani (*sic*; ID 10133535). BRETT (2005, 80 and 102) calls him "Giovanni Bonanni" and "Bonanni of Bologna," while RHINELANDER (1990, 119) simply has "V." Neither provides reason or details. PANZETTA (2003, 98-99) lists only Enrico and Pietro Bonnani and the former's father Vincenzo. This Vincenzo, still active in the early twentieth century, is too late to be our sculptor; so must be his son. No Carlo Bonanni is listed in PANZETTA 2003 or the *AKL*.

[60] So by KOVALEVSKAYA 2013, with misspelling *che seguiti*. No such text is visible in any of the Internet photos of the six lions I have consulted (many). This "signature" seems more like a catalogue entry than an artistic *sphragis*, possibly with haplography of the numeral (for *No. 6 Leoni* read *6 Leoni*). The "V. S. Bonanni" in KOVALEVSKAYA 2013 notwithstanding, a sign in Russian, propped against one of the lions and warning tourists not to touch the statues, informs them: "Sculpture of a lion, marble, workshop of the Italian sculptor D. Bonanni, exhibit of the 1st half of the 19th century." *D* is the initial letter of the Cyrillic transliteration *Dzhovanni* for *Giovanni*. GALICHENKO (2008, 60) writes "Dzh. Bonanni" and calls him a Florentine. That is all she has to say about him. Various Internet sites credit Bonanni with the sleeping lion only and attribute the others to his workshop. BRETT (2005, 80, 94 [caption to ill. 49 on facing page], and 102 [caption to ill. 62]) assigns all lions to Bonanni.

[61] Quoted from KOVALEVSKAYA 2013. KAUFMANN (2019, 183-85) briefly describes the Alupka Palace and, after a mention of 1844, dates the six lions to "a few years later." This corroborates the chronology proposed here.

Now we know how six lions had come to Alupka by the end of 1848. Still, two curious circumstances deserve attention. One involves the Vorontsov House in the Salgirka Park of Simferopol, completed well before the Alupka Palace. The entrance to this manor also shows a sleeping and a waking lion, both in marble. They face to the front and are placed beside the top of a short flight of steps.[62] Did these lions, too, inspire the countess, who must have known about them? They have never been attributed to Bonanni, so whose work are they?

Secondly, the countess traveled to Italy in 1844 and wrote her instruction concerning the arrangement of the Alupka lions in 1848. Some time in between, the Bonanni lions were carved and transported. Bossoli, as noted, had lived and painted at Alupka until 1843. An attractive panoramic view of the palace's south front, painted in 1842, includes the steps, which are not yet sporting their lions.[63] By contrast, a painting by Bossoli dating to the following year shows all six.[64] But their placement is different from what it is now: each pair is set at equal distances, so the top pair is not recessed from the others. And the central and bottom pairs appear closer to each other. All three pairs would be in full view of anyone looking at them from below. Were the lions in place well before 1848? Or is Bossoli's 1843 painting a kind of anticipation, perhaps derived from conversations with the countess (and count?) about her (or their) intentions? This may be more likely, given the countess's directions, which mention only one flight of steps. Today, between the two plinths on either side of the steps now occupied by the four lions, there is, at equal distance from them, an identical third plinth without statue. It is therefore highly probable that the statues were first put up as Bossoli painted them and, in spite of their weight, later moved.[65] If this was the case, the Medici lions were fully integrated into the group of six and not

[62] Color photographs at http://www.krym4you.com/dostoprimechatelnosti/dvorcy/dom-grafa-voroncova/. There the building and the lions are dated to 1834.

[63] This painting, from a private collection, is in BRETT (2005, 64-65). An 1831 watercolor (= cat. no. 32 in PEYROT 1974a) shows the Alupka Palace's south façade and the top of the stairs, naturally without lions. PEYROT (1974a, 30, in text for cat. no. 35) mentions but does not show an 1842 painting of the south façade. PEYROT (1974b, I, 84-85 [no. 81]) describes and reproduces a lithograph of the south façade and the short flight of steps without the Medici lions and without the larger flight of steps leading further down. It is revealing about our state of knowledge concerning Bonanni that Peyrot's caption to this image mentions the later addition of the lion statues but refers to him only by last name: "tre coppie di leoni in marmo bianco dello scultore italiano Bonanni." PEYROT (1974b, I, 77 [no. 61]) prints a watercolor by Bossoli, undated but from 1841, in which several people are ascending the top of the steps toward the palace's south façade. There are no lions.

[64] Regrettably not reproduced in PEYROT (1974b, I). Online reproductions make it nearly impossible to determine whether the top pair of lions is indeed the Medici one.

[65] If so, any rearrangement must have taken place in the nineteenth century. A photograph in GALICHENKO (2008, 52 [top]), dated to the beginning of the twentieth century, shows the lions in today's positions.

recessed.

Three of the Alupka lions were to become world-famous when they appeared in one of the greatest films ever made.

5. *Eisenstein's* Battleship Potemkin

1925 was a momentous year for Soviet director Sergei Eisenstein. His first feature-length film, *Strike*, about a 1903 revolt by Russian factory workers, had been released, and he was commissioned to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the failed revolution of 1905, which was commonly regarded as harbinger of the successful revolution of 1917. The result was Eisenstein's second feature, *Battleship Potemkin*. It made Eisenstein an international celebrity and has regularly been included in film critics' top-ten lists, sometimes in first place.

In 1905, revolutionary uprisings occurred in several places of the Russian Empire. On the Black Sea in June, the crew of the armored cruiser *Potemkin* mutinied and made for the harbor of Odessa. The dramatic climax of Eisenstein's film is the massacre of a crowd of unarmed people who are showing their solidarity with the mutineers. On a large flight of steps, Cossack infantry and cavalry indiscriminately slaughter their victims. These are the steps designed by Boffo and mentioned above. Since 1925 they have commonly been called the Potemkin Steps (or Stairs), an indication of the fame of Eisenstein's film.[66]

The carnage ends only when the mutineers on the *Potemkin* get involved. They fire a cannon shot at the Odessa Theater, the headquarters of the Czarist generals who had ordered the crowd to be dispersed by force:

> A giant cannon slowly rotates towards the camera from the right. A title tells us: 'The brutal military power answered by the guns of the battleship.' […] the muzzles of two giant cannons point towards the camera, the bridge and superstructure visible in the background. The title explains: 'Target! The Odessa Theatre'. A close-up shows us a group of sculptures on the cupola of the theatre – a goddess and chariot surrounded by leopards – silhouetted against the sky. The next title tells us that this is 'The headquarters of the generals!' […] The 'Potemkin' fires its guns. Three shots of the stone cherubs decorating the theatre suggest that they are startled and disturbed. An

[66] On the steps see now STANTON 2013, with useful illustrations and detailed discussion of Eisenstein and his deviations from historical fact, for Eisenstein allowed himself considerable dramatic license. The massacre on June 15, for instance, did not take place during the day. On the historical record see WEINBERG (1993, 132-38), BASCOMB (2007, 115-27, 138-46, 153, and 173-76). The pages cited refer to specific events recreated in Eisenstein's film, including the reaction — rather, non-reaction — of the sailors to the massacre.

> ornamental iron gate is hit by the 'Potemkin's' shell and begins to topple over. Smoke obscures the destruction. Three sculptured marble lions are shown in sequence. The first is asleep, the second has its head raised, and the third is fully alert and standing on its forelegs.[67]

The goddess is Melpomene, the Muse of tragedy. Leopards, or panthers, are drawing her chariot.[68] This sculpture group and a number of Cupids — *amoretti* or *putti*, common classicizing decorations, rather than cherubs — are still on the theater's roof. I return to the Cupids below.

Eisenstein's lions became a worldwide sensation. Soon they were a textbook example of his theory and practice of *montage*: a complex process that creates meaning from the juxtaposition of individual film shots. In *Strike*, for example, Eisenstein had intercut footage of animal slaughter with the violent suppression of the workers. In *Battleship Potemkin* the succession of three static shots of three individual sculptures turns three lions into one apparently moving animal. By sheer serendipity, Eisenstein had found them about six hundred kilometers (via modern highway) from Odessa:

> On a day off from normal shooting Eisenstein went sightseeing to the former governor's palace at Alupka, in the Crimea. As a souvenir of their visit they filmed the three stone lions – asleep, half-awake, and leaping to its feet – that they were later to employ as a symbol of popular revolutionary awakening.[69]

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[67] Quoted from TAYLOR (2000, 50-52). TAYLOR (2000, 52) states that the actual headquarters was the Odessa opera house and not the theater, but the same building was and still is used for opera and other theatrical performances. It is usually called the Opera and Ballet Theater (*vel sim*.); its official name is Odessa National Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet. Initial orientation on the film also in MARSHALL 1978a. — My comments here are based on the home-video release by Kino International of the 2005 restoration of the film by the Deutsche Kinemathek – Filmmuseum, Berlin, with the support of British, Russian, and other German archives. It runs for seventy minutes (at 18 fps).

[68] A chariot, especially one drawn by these animals, is unusual for the Muse, but it may derive, syncretistically, from comparable chariots of Dionysus, during whose festival tragedies were performed in classical Athens. Hor. *Carm.* 4.3 is addressed to Melpomene; a chariot is mentioned (ll. 4-5) as something *not* associated with her.

[69] TAYLOR (2000, 10). Eisenstein was accompanied by three of his closest associates, including cameraman Eduard Tissé. (His last name is often transliterated without accent.) BARNA (1973, 96) speaks of "a chance visit" to Alupka and adds: "The idea of filming them [the lions] in succession occurred then and there." Differently BULGAKOWA (2001, 59): "They shot the stone lions […] as a souvenir. They had no idea how the footage might come in handy." SETON ([1952], 83-84) reports that it was Tissé, not Eisenstein, who was first to realize the potential of the lion statues and insisted on a return visit to shoot them. KLEJMAN (1993, 5-6) quotes and examines Eisenstein's recollections of this visit, with amusing details which do not bear on my topic. For an English version see EISENSTEIN (1995, 168-69, with 813 n. 1). Eisenstein was at that time staying in Sevastopol, about seventy kilometers from Alupka.

6. *Sculpture in Motion: The Alupka Lions and Eisenstein*

The three Alupka lions achieved their apotheosis when Eisenstein's editing transported them to Odessa and turned them into one. Eisenstein regarded his lion shots as an example of *alogical montage*, an aspect of *film syntax*. He explained the latter as follows: "A series of compositional possibilities that develop dialectically from the thesis that the concept of filmic movement (time lapse) derives from the superimposition of – the counterpoint between – two different stills." The result: "*Artificially produced representation of movement*." Logical and alogical montage are two ways to handle such syntax. Alogical montage is

> used for symbolic pictorial expression […]. The marble lion leaps up, surrounded by the thunder of Potemkin's guns firing in protest against the bloodbath on the Odessa Steps […]. Cut together from three immobile marble lions at Alupka Castle (Crimea). One sleeping. One waking. One rising. The effect was achieved because the length of the middle piece was correctly calculated. Superimposition on the first piece produced the first jump. Time for the second position to sink in. Superimposition of the third position on the second – the second jump. Finally the lion is standing.[70]

Not quite: he has only risen onto his forelegs; his hindquarters are still on the ground. (As Eisenstein wrote himself: "One rising.") But the standing position comes next, as the Medici lions show.

Anyone going up the Alupka steps past unmoving bodies that are identical in material, size, and coloration can mentally experience a sequential movement by one body.[71] Looking from left to right and left again is natural for all those who read from left to right. With her clever arrangement of Bonnani's lions, Countess Elizaveta probably intended this effect all along. In this way the first two lions change one posture from complete stillness to incipient action, the third and fourth in tandem continue that action, and the Medici lions complete it. The latter do not fit into the sequence as Eisenstein conceived it, not least

[70] The quotations are from EISENSTEIN (1998b, 172 and 174); emphasis in original (as in all following quotations from Eisenstein). His essay was originally written in German in 1945; background information in EISENSTEIN (1998c, 317-18 n. 51). For a breakdown of the lion shots and those immediately preceding them (to be discussed below) see MAYER (1990, 204-208); the lions are in shots 1022-24 for ten, fourteen, and seventeen frames of film. AUMONT 1987 is an advanced interpretation. Eisenstein was not the only silent-era Soviet filmmaker to use such and related kinds of montage or to theorize about them. Best known in this regard are the works of Vsevolod Pudovkin and Lev Kuleshov, especially the latter with his famous Kuleshov Effect, another textbook example of film editing. A critical introduction, with extensive references to English and translated Russian sources, is in PRINCE–HENSLEY 1992.

[71] The point was previously made, if only briefly and in a different context, by RENNERT (2013-14, 66).

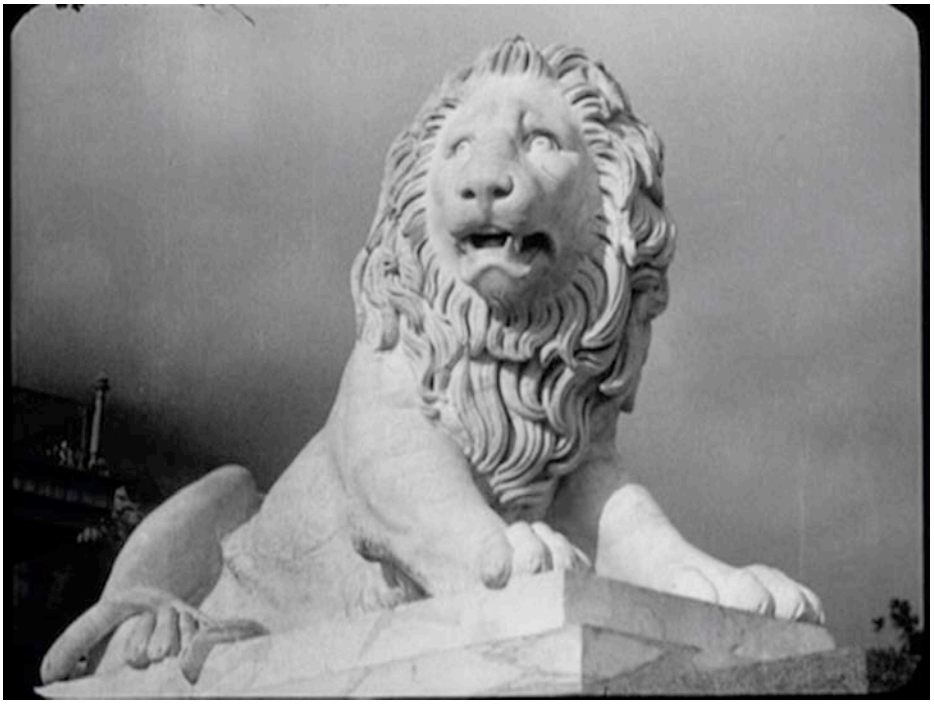
because of their globes, and so were omitted. The film's lions are, sequentially from below, Bonanni's first, second, and fourth. The heads of the second and fourth are turned in the same direction; hence Eisenstein's choice (Ills. 11-13). The static shots are edited together so rapidly and elegantly that one lion appears to have come alive. What was implied in Bonanni's statues as arranged by Countess Elizaveta becomes explicit on Eisenstein's screen: something that cannot move does move. Naum Kleiman, the greatest living Eisenstein scholar, goes even further when he observes that the lion jumped up *by himself*.[72] This may be the greatest vindication of the countess's statuary arrangement.

Ills. 11-13. Three of the Alupka lions become one in *Battleship Potemkin*.

Ill. 11

[72] KLEJMAN (1993, 21): "Die Löwen sprangen von *selbst* auf vor dem Alupkaer Palast." His use of the plural is rather curious and somewhat weakens the power and appeal of his insight.

Ill. 12



Ill. 13

The result on screen is sheer wizardry and goes beyond anything the countess could have imagined. Viewers cannot help attributing one movement to three separate sculptures and mentally fusing them while remaining fully aware that statues never move and three are not one.[73] Thus logical and rational understanding is forced to yield to the emotional power of the images: *alogical montage* indeed. Eisenstein's lion presents us with the stupendous effect of dead matter coming to apparent life while remaining inanimate:

> Eisenstein, in one of Potemkin's [*sic*] most famous tricks, uses statues of lions to point out the relativity of all conceptions of motion and stillness: he introduces us to the hyperlion they conceal. Later Eisenstein would comment that these lions marked the introduction of a new 'dimension of cinema' […] these lions represent the very essence of film magic: stillness leaps into life.[74]

The intricate way in which Eisenstein prepares viewers for his lion's arousal from sleep is just as clever. The impact of the cannon shot fired from the *Potemkin* is followed immediately by the quick editing together of three oblique low-angle shots of stone Cupids. The first is sitting but has his left arm raised above his head; the second is crouching but turning a little as if beginning to move; the third has completely turned as if to fly away and is looking back. The three behave like a bird — better: like *one* bird — reacting to a loud noise. In a silent film we cannot *hear* the roar of the cannon, but we mentally supply it because we *see* it twice: first with the smoke emanating from the barrel and, for reinforcement, when the Cupids *show* it to us.[75] Nearly a decade before *Battleship Potemkin*, psychologist Hugo Münsterberg had explained the kind of effect we experience in *The Photoplay*, one of the earliest books on the cinema: "Whatever in nature or in social life interests the human understanding or human curiosity comes to the mind of the spectator with an incomparable intensity when […] a moving picture brings it to the screen."[76]

After the Cupids, we witness the lions' response to the sound we have seen (but not heard). The three-in-one lion's rise into a majestic pose, shown from an oblique low angle,

[73] Still, there is a related phenomenon in classical and later art. Greek statues or statuettes of the three Graces, and Roman copies of them, show different views of identical-looking bodies in such close proximity that they can easily be regarded as three different aspects (front, side, back) of one and the same body. The effect appears at its clearest in the figures of the three Graces in Botticelli's *Primavera* and in the sculpture of them by Canova. Numerous variants exist as well.

[74] Quoted from NESBET (2003, 64). Her term "hyperlion" is *le mot juste*.

[75] KLEJMAN (1993, 11 and 21) reports that the shots of the Cupids were taken a week before those of the lions and may have been the latters' inspiration.

[76] His book was first published in 1916 and is here quoted from LANGDALE 2002; quotation at 54.

is thus completely convincing. In our imagination, the alogical montage has turned into something logical, even inevitable. In Münsterberg's terms:

> the richest source of the unique satisfaction in the photoplay is probably that aesthetic feeling which is significant for the new art and which we have understood from its psychological conditions. *The massive outer world has lost its weight, it has been freed from space, time, and causality, and it has been clothed in the forms of our own consciousness. The mind has triumphed over matter* […]. *It is a superb enjoyment which no other art can furnish us*.[77]

It is safe to assume that contemporary viewers who recognized the lions on screen as those from far-away Alupka did not mind or even notice that Eisenstein's lion was nowhere within range of the battleship's cannons. The same will have been true for all knowledgeable spectators ever since.

Eisenstein's editing prompts a depth of viewer involvement that makes superfluous any aural reinforcement, whether a realistic sound or musical score, which customarily accompanies a film's action. In silent cinema, emotional impact wholly depends on, and inheres in, the images, not in any instrumental accompaniment. This is a fundamental proof of cinematic artistry. As Münsterberg had put it: "The music […] must be entirely subordinated, and it is a fact that most people are hardly aware of the special pieces which are played […]. The music does not tell a part of the plot [...] but simply reenforces the emotional setting."[78]

In between the three static shots of the Cupids and the three static shots of the lions come three static shots, taken from increasing distances, of the iron gate being hit. So we have an extremely compact and highly complex series of images, edited together for maximum psychological impact:

> *cannon shot* (smoke)
> *sound effect* (Cupids)
> *hit* (gate)
> *reaction* (lion)

The billowing smoke and the gate collapsing drive home the cannon's destructive power, even if it remains harmless. (No blood is spilled.) Eisenstein's combination of a silent sound effect with eloquent images is exactly what is needed: "the [camera] shots have an

[77] Quoted from LANGDALE (2002, 153-54); emphasis in original.
[78] LANGDALE (2002, 145-46). By now, several scores have been composed for *Battleship Potemkin*.

auditory effect. In whipping a snoozing lion into a roar, the editing synesthetically evokes the tumult of the barrage."[79] We respond emotionally in just the way Eisenstein wants. In his own words: "The 'roaring lions' are the clearest instance of the new psychologism, the apogee of the psycho-effect elicited from the *object*."[80] Charmingly, if hyperbolically, Eisenstein once described the lions at Alupka in these terms:

> such excesses of montage filmmaking as *the combination of unrelated pieces*, which in *their combination* gave the illusion of fused action or movement […]. The first experience […] belongs to *Potemkin* — and to those same roaring lions from the staircase of the Vorontsov Palace in Alupka.[81]

But Eisenstein's lion does *not* roar, even if the mouth of the third statue is slightly open.[82] A roaring lion's sculpture would have been utterly out of place on the Alupka steps. If there *had* been one, Eisenstein would certainly have included it. Again we observe the phenomenon already encountered with Canova's supposedly roaring and weeping lions. The psycho-effect elicited from an object is thus not quite as new as Eisenstein makes it out to be, even though he has made it far more effective than ever before.

Eisenstein's lion has generally been understood as siding with the oppressed, rising in righteous indignation at the massacre perpetrated on the helpless people. But the matter is more complicated, partly because Eisenstein made changes to his original intention that resulted in a lack of clarity.[83] It seems therefore best not to limit the lion's meaning to Czarist oppression, proletarian revolution, or class conflicts (aristocratic-monarchical vs. socialist-democratic). In keeping with the various, even contradictory, qualities that lions can represent (summarized at the beginning), "the passage is polysemous."[84] Gilberto Perez

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[79] BORDWELL (2005, 78). Many others attribute the lion's (or lions') roar to the statuary; so recently PEREZ (2019, 93), as quoted below.

[80] EISENSTEIN (1998a, 68); Eisenstein's emphasis. This essay dates to 1926.

[81] Quoted from EISENSTEIN (1987, 283).

[82] BORDWELL (2005, 78) quotes noteworthy reactions to the lion's imputed roar from Pudovkin and Eisenstein himself.

[83] The matter was first broached by PERKINS (1972, 103-105). See especially MARSHALL 1978b. Marshall adduces important Russian sources, but his argument is not without errors or self-contradictions. Cf. the summary by NESBET (2003, 65): "Eisenstein's original intention was that the lions would be outraged on behalf of the palace and the old world it represents, not by the massacre on the steps […]. The up-rearing marble lion — a cinema trick of which Eisenstein was very proud — was slowly [?] betraying its creator […]. Despite all of Eisenstein's hopes for controlling audience reaction, this was [a] place where the 'content' of his film turned out to be something quite different from what he had intended." She adds that "many saw in those lions something grander than the protest of the Old World and who could blame them?"

[84] BORDWELL (2005, 77); cf. 236: "the open-ended semantic fields associated with *Potemkin*'s leaping lions [*sic*]." See further BORDWELL (2005, 193), with apposite quotation from Eisenstein. KLEJMAN (1993, 21-25)

sensibly comments:

> Eisenstein fell back on the abstraction of a pure metaphor, a self-contained symbol. However, his roaring stone lions [*sic*], intentionally or not, make an ambiguous symbol allowing the implication that czarist reaction actually prevailed.[85]

In particular, the montage shows something noble and timeless, for else Eisenstein's lion could not have become as universally famous as he did. The lion exemplifies the kind of moral awakening that is meaningful regardless of circumstances. He rises for any spectator at any period because Eisenstein has made him eternal, just as he immortalized the mutiny on the battleship. Art transcends history. It does so even more clearly if we connect the preceding observations to classical rhetoric. Just as the cultural ancestry of Eisenstein's lion extends back to antiquity in connection with the Medici Lions, so his approach to visual rhetoric has its root in classical oratory. Eisenstein was fully aware of this circumstance.

7. Visual Rhetoric: Eisenstein and pathos

On numerous occasions in his extensive writings, Eisenstein referred to the ancient Greeks as the *fons et origo* of the art of cinema.[86] Greeks and Romans well knew of the relations between word and image and the different but related ways in which texts and visual arts affect their audiences. That the fundamental principles of classical rhetoric, a verbal art, are entirely applicable to modern visual media, even those that did not exist in antiquity, need not here be argued again.[87] Instead, a brief exposition of specific rhetorical concepts may usefully be juxtaposed with some comments by Eisenstein to demonstrate how both an ancient orator and a pioneering filmmaker evoke their audiences' emotions, causing them to respond in just the way they are meant to. My subsequent quotations are primarily from

examines these complexities in detail and specifically refers to the ambiguities inherent in lion symbolism (22).

[85] PEREZ (2019, 93), after discussion of Bordwell and some historical background. That Eisenstein's lion or even lions roar is a pervasive error in scholarship, as at AUMONT (1987, 206 n. 19): "the roaring lions" — all three? Even KLEJMAN 1993 unquestioningly accepts the lion's roar.

[86] An example appears in WINKLER (2009, 41-42). See also SELDEN 1982, especially 309-12; LEFEBVRE 2000. EISENSTEIN 2019, a text dating to 1934, mentions various Greeks. See further NEWMAN (1986, 402-31 and 439-45 [in chapter titled "The Modern Epic I — Eisenstein and Pudovkin"]) and NEWMAN 2001. MENCH 2001 is, as it were, the reverse angle to Eisenstein's perspective.

[87] Recent work on this, with extensive references, includes KOCH 2015 and SCHMITZ 2015. BRASSAT 2017 includes several contributions on rhetorical aspects of ancient art and artists. On the close affinities between ancient verbal and modern visual narratives see in particular WINKLER (2017, 21-40 [chapter titled "The Classical Sense of Cinema and the Cinema's Sense of Antiquity"]), with additional references.

Nonindifferent Nature, Eisenstein's theoretical *summa cinematographica*, written in 1945-47.[88]

Persuasion (*persuasio*) is the highest achievement of rhetoric and ranks well above instruction (*docere*) and delight (*delectare*): "*movere* brings about an emotional jolt, only momentary but of enduring effect, in the audience, making them take the side of the speaker."[89] This works most effectively by various kinds of *amplificatio*.[90] Revelatory details in turn increase the vividness (*evidentia*; Greek: *enargeia*) of what is being said (or, in our context, shown). As Quintilian put it:

> multum confert adiecta veris credibilis rerum imago quae velut in rem praesentem perducere audientis videtur […].
>
> It makes a great impression if to the actual facts a credible image is added, one that seems to bring the audience into the very presence of what happened […].[91]

Concerning *Battleship Potemkin*, we may conclude, the Odessa Steps sequence is one of the most powerful instances of visual persuasion, with the rising lion its crowning *amplificatio*.

Two emotions in particular result from rhetorical *amplificatio*. They are *indignatio* and *misericordia*.[92] From this perspective it makes good sense that a variety of reasons why Eisenstein's lion rises have been advanced. Their range prominently includes *indignatio* and *misericordia*. Viewers attribute or transfer their own strong emotions – anger at the oppressors, pity for the people – to unemotional marble. The fact that Eisenstein goes one step further and presents an *incredibilis rerum imago* does not subvert Quintilian's point because engaged viewers willingly suspend their disbelief, which is rational, not emotional. They suffer with the people on the Odessa Steps, then respond with the lion. The apposite rhetorical terms are, in Latin, *miseratio*; in Greek, *pathos*. Hence our term *sympathy*: the feelings of pity and fear (*eleos*, *phobos*) evoked by tragedy.[93] *Pathos* is based on "the painful or lethal nature of the plot" – a circumstance fully applicable to the Odessa Steps

[88] EAGLE 1987 provides details. Eisenstein died in 1948.
[89] LAUSBERG (1990, 142-43, in § 257.3).
[90] On this LAUSBERG (1990, 145-46 and 220-27; §§ 259 and 400-409).
[91] Quintil. 4.2.123.
[92] On this LAUSBERG (1990, 227; § 409).
[93] On the emotions (*pathê*) aroused by tragedy see Aristot. *Poet.* 1449b24-28 (definition of tragedy). The endless discussions that the terms *eleos*, *phobos*, and *katharsis* have provoked do not apply to the present topic.

sequence.[94]

Eisenstein designed the entire film as a tragedy on literary models. He once referred to the "masters of pathos — the Greeks" and "the giants of Greek tragedy," then briefly traced their continuation in Roman tragedy (Seneca) and Elizabethan drama.[95] Eisenstein considered ancient Greek tragedy as the "common cradle of future cultures."[96] *Battleship Potemkin* belongs to this tradition. In Eisenstein's words:

> *Potemkin* looks like a chronicle of events but acts as a drama.
>
> The secret of this effect is that in it the chronicle stages of events have been timed to the strict composition of tragedy. In addition, it is the composition of tragedy in its most canonical form – the five-act tragedy.
>
> The events, taken almost as bare facts, are divided into the five acts of tragedy, in which the facts have been chosen and selected in a sequence where they answer those demands that classical tragedy imposed on the third act as opposed to the second, on the fifth act as opposed to the first, etc., etc.
>
> […] it was this very structure, validated by the centuries, that was selected. This is even emphasized by the fact that every "act" has its own independent title.[97]

These titles appear on screen. The fourth act of *Battleship Potemkin* is "The Odessa Steps."[98] Ancient drama was not divided into a specific five-act structure, but the nearly canonical prominence of this model derives from Greek and Roman plays with their divisions into episodes and choral odes. It is evident that Eisenstein adhered to the classical and not just the classic tradition. Two factors in particular demonstrate this fact. One is the principle of the Golden Section for the film's plot design. Eisenstein explains, at some length, his adherence to it and, a little later, specifically links the 3:2 proportion of the Golden Section to the structure of tragedy.[99] Summarily he states:

> *Potemkin* […] is completely constructed according to the law of the golden section […] not only each separate part, but the film as a whole, and in both of its culminations as well — at the point of complete stasis and at the point of maximum movement —

[94] LAUSBERG (1990, 583; § 1207).
[95] EISENSTEIN (1987, 103-104; quotations at 103).
[96] Quoted from SOMAINI (2016, 45, with source reference at 440 n. 98). See further SOMAINI (2016, 46-47, 59, 63-64, 95, and 100-105) on Eisenstein's understanding of Dionysus and dithyramb, largely taken from Nietzsche.
[97] EISENSTEIN (1987, 12).
[98] EISENSTEIN (1987, 13) lists the five titles, with brief explanatory comments. The astonishing error on this page ("The battleship firing on the 'Germans' H. Q.'") cannot be Eisenstein's.
[99] EISENSTEIN (1987, 15-19 and 22 n.), including reference to and quotation from Plat. *Tim.* 31a-32a.

> strictly follows the law of the golden section — the structural law of the organic phenomena of nature.

The other factor and, according to Eisenstein, "the second distinctive feature of *Battleship Potemkin*," is its *pathos*.[100] This is a central concern for Eisenstein, to which he devotes almost two hundred pages of *Nonindifferent Nature*.[101] He breaks down the Odessa Steps sequence into its units of composition to demonstrate the nature of its *pathos*.[102] In this context he observes: "the compositional structure of the 'Odessa Steps' is identical to the behavior of *man* overcome by *pathos*."[103] Eisenstein characterizes *pathos* as "the highest feeling experienced by man."[104]

The climactic point of the sequence is the battleship's cannon shot, which leads to the complex montage examined earlier. Its culmination, its *amplificatio*, is the lion. To heighten the impact of *pathos*, ancient rhetoricians resorted to various kinds of alienation effect (in a non-Brechtian sense) to rouse audiences out of their ordinary or everyday mindset. One of these is verbal: the unusual diction of elevated literature.[105] Classical linguistic alienation, we may deduce, finds its counterpart on the screen in Eisenstein's powerful montage.

The highest degree of such an alienation effect in ancient rhetoric is *ekstasis*.[106] Eisenstein was clearly aware of the importance of *ekstasis* to generate *pathos* and of the latter's effect. His words on the subject reveal a surprising affinity with ancient rhetoric, even if it is unlikely that Eisenstein, immensely well-read though he was, was here specifically thinking of ancient oratory. The presence or absence of such awareness, however, is not decisive; the decisive factor is the presence of this affinity itself. Here are Eisenstein's central passages on *ekstasis*:

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[100] The quotations are from EISENSTEIN (1987, 21-22). The culmination point of movement in the film is the mutineers' raising of the red flag, which appears on screen in color. EISENSTEIN (1987, 26-32) explains the film's *pathos*. See further AUMONT (1987, 57-65 [section "Pathos/Ecstasy/Organicism"]) and, in considerably more detail, LENZ (2008, 89-168).

[101] Cf. EISENSTEIN (1987, 10-37 [chapter section titled "Organic Unity and *pathos*"] and 38-199 [chapter titled "*Pathos*"]). Eisenstein's understanding of *pathos* was indebted to Aby Warburg's "formulas of pathos" (*Pathosformeln*) and to Walter Benjamin. On the former see, among others, SASSE 2010 and SOMAINI (2011, 350-81; chapter titled "La 'formula del pathos'"). An introduction to the latter is SOMAINI (2016, 84-90 [section titled "'Rückblick' and 'Ausblick,' 'Fore-history' and 'After-History': Eisenstein and Benjamin"]).

[102] EISENSTEIN (1987, 30-32).

[103] EISENSTEIN (1987, 32; in first footnote).

[104] EISENSTEIN (1987, 36). The entire context (35-37) is important.

[105] LAUSBERG (1990, 589; § 1219) lists five of these. On the linguistic one see LAUSBERG (1990, 597-601; §§ 1235-41).

[106] So LAUSBERG (1990, 589-90; § 1219). Cf. the serendipitous analogy in the comments by EISENSTEIN (1987, 28-29) on linguistic-poetic *ekstasis.*

> *pathos* is what forces the viewer to jump out of his seat. It is what forces him to flee from his place. It is what forces him to clap, to cry out. It is what forces his eyes to gleam with ecstasy before tears of ecstasy appear in them. In [a] word, it is everything that forces the viewer to "be beside himself."
>
> […] the effect of the *pathos* of the work consists in bringing the viewer to the point of ecstasy […] since *ex stasis* (out of a state) means literally the same thing as "being beside oneself" or "going out of a normal state" does […]
>
> To be beside oneself, to be out of the usual balance and state, to move to a new state – all this, of course, contributes to the conditions necessary for the effect of any art capable of captivating us.[107]

This has practical consequences for the filmmaker who wants to bring about ecstasy in his audience:

> to achieve maximum "being beside oneself" in the viewer, we must propose to him a corresponding "prescription" following which he will arrive at the desired state.
>
> The simplest "prototype" of similar imitative behavior will be, of course, a figure behaving ecstatically on the screen, that is, a character seized by *pathos*, a character who in one sense or other is "beside himself."[108]

That, immediately after the massacre and the cannon shot, this character is the lion is self-evident. The *ekstasis* itself are the three shots of the lion, who quite literally stands out (*ek*-, *sta*-) from himself (in his first posture). Without specifically referring to his lion, Eisenstein had already made the connection when he observed a little earlier about the spectator affected by *pathos*: "Sitting – he stood up. Standing – he jumped. Motionless – he moved. Silent – he shouted." Such a *he* could be the lion reacting in exactly this way. Even Eisenstein's staccato sentences are analogous in their rapidity to the lion's movement – and to the roar that Eisenstein and many others have attributed to him. We know that such a roar is not *really* there, but it is undeniable as the aural component of a visual manifestation of *pathos*. The lion is effectively turned into a viewer of the Odessa massacre as much as any spectator in the cinema theater. Just for a moment, the lion functions as if he were a Greek tragic chorus of one: a link between the characters on stage (or screen) and the

[107] EISENSTEIN (1987, 27). The phrase "*ex stasis*" may cause philologists displeasure but does not invalidate Eisenstein's point. KLEIMAN (2017, 133) explains why Eisenstein used this phrase. LEFEBVRE 2000 examines *Nonindifferent Nature* in connection with *pathos* and ecstasy in classical rhetoric (Plato, Aristotle, Neoplatonism) and in the Jesuit rhetoric of St. Ignatius of Loyola.
[108] EISENSTEIN (1987, 28).

audience observing and reacting to them.

This kind of *ekstasis* is essential for Eisensteinian montage: "To be beside oneself is unavoidably also a transition to something else, to something different in quality, to something opposite to what preceded it (no motion — to motion, no sound — to sound, etc.)."[109] Eisenstein realized that such a "progression *from quality to a new quality*" can encompass non-human participants in any drama: "The situation will be more complicated and more effective when this basic condition […] will spread both to the milieu and surroundings of the character, that is, when the surroundings themselves are presented under those same conditions of 'frenzy.'"[110]

In this context we may attend to the lion's roar in greater detail. As we saw, Eisenstein is mistaken about it, but only on the most literal level. On a deeper level he is wholly correct. The roar, inaudible in a silent film and not imitated in its musical accompaniment, is still there: in the *pathos* evoked by what we have just been watching. In a 1929 essay on sound, especially music, and film, Eisenstein developed an intricate perspective on different approaches to montage. At one point he reaches the following conclusion:

> "while a shot is a *visual* perception and a tone is a sound perception, *both visual and sound overtones are totally physiological sensations*.
>
> And, consequently, they are of *one and the same kind*, outside the sound of acoustic categories […].
>
> For the musical overtones (a beat) the term 'I hear' is no longer strictly appropriate.
>
> Nor 'I see' for the visual.
>
> For both we introduce a new uniform formula: 'I feel'."

This feeling is based on *pathos*: the viewers' *sympathy*. We do not actually hear the lion roaring but persuade ourselves that we do. Tellingly, Eisenstein a few pages later writes that a shot may be designated "as a 'sharp sound'."[111]

In 1940 Eisenstein opened an essay on implied color in black-and-white films—and on color added to such films, as with the red flag in *Battleship Potemkin*—with these explanations concerning sound in silent cinema:

> Sound did not take root in the film as a whim, novelty, or freak.
>
> Strictly speaking, it did not take root in the silent film but sprang from it.
>
> Sound sprang from the inner urge present in the silent film to go beyond the limits of plastic [visual] expressiveness alone.

[109] Both the preceding passages are quoted from EISENSTEIN (1987, 27).
[110] Both quotations from EISENSTEIN (1987, 29).
[111] EISENSTEIN (1988c, 186 and 189), in essay titled "The Fourth Dimension in Cinema."

> This urge to give play to its potentialities was present in the silent film since its inception.
>
> From its very first steps our [i.e. Eisenstein's] silent film strove by all attainable means to convey not only the plastic but also the sound image.[112]

In combination with what just preceded – the cannon shot, the flying Cupid – Eisenstein's rearing lion is just such a sound image. Robert Robertson, a British composer and filmmaker, summarizes the matter in convincing terms. I quote him at some length:

> When Eisenstein was making his earliest films […] he was already thinking in terms of the sound film […]. The silent moving image […] inexorably and inevitably implied sound. Eisenstein wanted to use this phenomenon, which he called 'the sound image', to attain a maximum degree of effectiveness of expression and communication: 'from its very first steps our silent film strove by all attainable means to convey not only the plastic but also the sound image.' […] These sound images rely to a certain extent on the phenomenon of synaesthesia, but they are […] closer to the phenomenon of the conditioned reflex: when the audience see an accordion being played [in *Strike*], they will instantly imagine the sound it makes as they are familiar with this instrument, and they normally experience it audiovisually. The same type of reflex applies to the tinkling chandeliers, the roar of the machine gun fire in *October*, and the imagined noise of the factory whistles seen blasting in *The Strike*. Even if they are simultaneously imitated in a piano and orchestral accompaniment, the audience will still hear them as noises because of the strength of the automatic conditioned reflex.[113]

In our context the cannon shot in *Battleship Potemkin* and the machine-gun fire in *October* (1928), Eisenstein's commemoration of the 1917 revolution, may be regarded as parallel phenomena. Both elicit *pathos*. And sound.

The *pathos* of the Odessa Steps sequence and the lion's climactic *ekstasis* are the best proof of Eisenstein's artistry in montage and, at the same time, a full vindication of classical rhetorical principles in a non-classical medium of artistic expression. The following summary by Tom Gunning of Eisenstein's approach to montage can therefore serve equally as a summary of the nature and purpose of classical rhetoric:

> Eisenstein's constant concern with the audience defines his theory less as a poetics of film than [as] a rhetoric. Eisenstein points the way for a fruitful return to the original

[112] EISENSTEIN ([1944], 114), in essay titled "Not Coloured, but in Colour."
[113] ROBERTSON (2009, 155), in section "Association" of chapter titled "Synaesthesia." *October* is also known as *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Cf. ROBERTSON (2009, 157-158 [section "Eisenstein's Overtone Analogy in Audiovisual Cinema"]), on Eisenstein's essay "The Fourth Dimension in Cinema."

> purposes of the "art of persuasion." […] Eisenstein re-established the meaning of the film trope as its power over an audience. From intellectual montage's agenda to teach the spectator to think dialectically, to the methods of arousing emotions through pathos and the techniques of ecstasy, Eisenstein proposed a method for the transformation of the spectator through both emotion and reason.[114]

So we can only agree with Eisenstein when, with a justifiable note of triumph, he observed about the history of art in literature, drama, and painting since antiquity: "What serves as a sign of extinction for the 'preceding' arts passes directly into the originating forms of a new kind of art – cinema!"[115]

8. *The Screen Legacy of the Medici and Alupka Lions*

A brief and necessarily incomplete survey of memorable (and amusing) appearances of Medici Lions and lions on screen will suitably round off the present subject. They usually appear for their visual appeal only. They are not integral to any plot, and directors do not draw special attention to them. Cumulatively, however, they reveal how unlimited our classical heritage may be in the media age.

Famous images from *Battleship Potemkin*, especially the Odessa Steps sequence, have frequently been imitated on screen, usually as homage to Eisenstein. So have his lions. Ranald MacDougall's post-apocalyptic allegory *The World, The Flesh, and the Devil* (1959) is largely set in a depopulated New York City. At one point a church bell appears to awaken a sleeping marble lion. This first shot is followed by three others in which the lion rises until, in shot five, he stands on all fours (Ills. 14-18). This laudable but little-known tribute to Eisenstein is excessive: five lions, not just three, become one. So MacDougall is forced to abandon the smooth cohesion that Eisenstein achieved with his matching Alupka lions. MacDougall's five do not belong together, and their surroundings, clearly visible on the gigantic CinemaScope screen, are different each time. Crucially, they have different plinths. Identical-looking lions in five related postures were simply not available. One of them looks identical to Patience and Fortitude, as they are called, the pair adorning the entrance to New York's Public Library. But one thing is noteworthy: as if ready to attack, McDougall's fifth lion does roar — and how!

[114] GUNNING (1988, 56).
[115] EISENSTEIN (1987, 260).

Ill. 14-18. The five lions in *The World, the Flesh, and the Devil*.

Ill. 14

Ill. 15

Ill. 16

Ill. 17

Ill. 18

By contrast, the smartest parody of Eisenstein's lion occurs in Woody Allen's comedy *Love and Death* (1975), set in Czarist Russia. This is an irreverent but affectionate homage to Tolstoy's *War and Peace* and to Eisenstein, Ingmar Bergman, and Sigmund Freud all at the same time. At one point, an energetic bout of lovemaking ends in the "hero's" utter exhaustion, shown to hilarious effect in three successive lion images. The statues here are props made to look like stone (not marble), and they are not distinguished by their elegance. If we number Eisenstein's sequence as 1-2-3, Allen's parallel sequence is 2-3-1 (Ills. 19-21).

Ill. 19-21. Woody Allen's satirical homage to Eisenstein in *Love and Death*.

Ill. 19

Ill. 20

Ill. 21

Medici lions, often downsized, have made it onto the screen in various fictional contexts, not always in pairs and often anachronistically. And there may be variations on their posture. The musical romance *Die Frau meiner Träume* ("The Woman of My Dreams," 1944) is one of the last escapist fantasies produced in Nazi Germany. Its climax is a lavish dance sequence, one of whose settings has a Spanish décor. A curved outside staircase is flanked, at its top, with a pair of squatting lions, front paws on globe. While only the left one is visible on screen, it is obvious that there was a matching pair on the set.

An anachronistic fictional pair, standing, flanks the top of a short flight of indoor steps inside a castle in the medieval romance *The Black Shield of Falworth* (1954), set in England during the reign of Henry IV: well before Sciarano and Vacca carved the lions on whom these were modeled. They look good as decoration — an appropriate one because they stand outside a nobleman's library — and that is all that matters; anachronisms do not. Beckmessers routinely charge the cinema with errors concerning time (and often place). But a distinguished precursor to the anachronism in *The Black Shield of Falworth* can be found in one of the eight wall paintings of the Antinous Room in the Villa Albani, which date to 1763 or before and show historical episodes set in imaginary Roman country estates. The seventh depicts Queen Berenice's farewell from Titus in 70 A.D. Its centerpiece, nearly dominating the entire composition, is a Medici lion with his right paw on a globe but looking straight ahead at the scene of the lovers parting forever.[116] Hollywood, of course, can match such artistic liberty. In *History of the World, Part I* (1981), writer-director Mel Brooks's outrageous romp through various periods, the Roman emperor has a pair of Medici lions flanking his throne (Ill. 22). This emperor is none other than Nero, as various parodistic allusions to the famous M-G-M epic *Quo Vadis* (1951) make evident. He is never addressed or referred to by name, but he is identified as Nero in the final credits.

The original Medici Lions may appear anachronistically as well. The 1919 historical German epic *Pest in Florenz* ("Plague in Florence") is a medieval morality tale indebted to Giovanni Boccaccio and Edgar Allan Poe, among others; the film's architects recreated the most famous of the city's landmarks to spectacular effect. The Loggia and its Lions appear in several shots and with accurate placement (although a few steps are missing) even though they had not been carved by the time in which the story is set.

[116] A photograph is in BECK–BOL (1982, fig. 162 on plate 82). On this and the other paintings see, e.g., RÖTTGEN (1982, 95-97); she quotes from Johann Joachim Winckelmann's descriptions and assesses his influence on Cardinal Alessandro Albani. See additionally BOL (1998, 72-73, 94, and plate 30).

Ill. 22. The ultimate anachronism: Nero's lions in *History of the World, Part I*.

The Medici Lions can be glimpsed briefly in *It Happened in Rome* (1957), an Italian romantic comedy about three young girls hitchhiking through Italy and visiting various tourist attractions, including Florence. A contemporary publicity photo had French actress Isabelle Corey, who played one of the girls, riding on the back of Vacca's lion (Ill. 23). The front part of Vacca's lion is momentarily visible in *The Warrior's Rest* (1962; in the U.S. *Love on a Pillow*), a French romance-drama and homage to the beauty of its star, Brigitte Bardot.

Modern contexts for Medici lions are much more frequent. In *The Godfather* (1972) apparently two pairs rather than one decorate the Corleone family's estate. In *The Godfather: Part III*, the two waking lions flanking the short flight of steps to the entrance of the late-nineteenth century Villa Malfitano, Palermo, may remind us of Bonnani's very similar pair. "War Games," a 2003 episode of the British-TV detective series *Foyle's War* set in World War II, involves a corrupt industrialist whose desk sports Medici lions as conspicuous decorations. A parallel case may be that of a large black pair outside the entrance to the large villa of a Russian oligarch in *The Concert* (2009), signaling the owner's cultural aspirations. In "The Trial" (1966), an episode of the television series *Mission: Impossible* set mainly in a fictitious country behind the Iron Curtain, a single small gilded Medici lion, right front paw on globe but seemingly looking straight ahead, appears in the living-room of a high-ranking politician who has pacifist leanings toward the West.

Ill. 23. Isabelle Corey riding Vacca's lion during production of *It Happened in Rome*.

Less conspicuous because surrounded by an astonishing array of other decorations, but appropriate as indication of high-class luxury, is the small pair of Medici lions in *The Remains of the Day* (1993), an adaptation of E. M. Forster. Since the room in which they can be glimpsed — only if one looks carefully — is an interior at Corsham Court, a stately British manor, they are authentic works of art rather than film props. In *The Strange Door* (1951), a Gothic-cum-*noir* melodrama adapted from Robert Louis Stevenson, a pair of small Medici lions decorate a large mantelpiece in the dining hall of sadistic aristocrat Charles Laughton's sinister castle. A charming variant occurs in the World War II espionage thriller *5 Fingers* (1952). Here a small bronze statuette, tail slung over its back, stands on the mantelpiece in the study of the British ambassador to Turkey. Similarly but more incongruously for its context, a small bronze lion stood on the mantelpiece in a run-down New York City apartment of a small-time gangster in the crime melodrama *Three on a Match* (1932). In *Design for Living* (1933, after Noël Coward), a fussy and foppish businessman has a small bronze Medici lion on the desk in his office and one on his desk at home. In *Ladies of Leisure* (1930), Frank Capra's "All Talking Drama of Nite Life," as it

was advertised, patriarchal respectability conflicts with youthful romance. A prim, proper, and prosperous businessman reveals his middle-class mindset when he renounces his only son, a painter, who insists on marrying his model. The conflict between father and son occurs in a large library, which displays a suitably sized desk and, on it, a large pair of lions. This setting cleverly characterizes the stuffy atmosphere in this family and makes the son's rebellion and his escape from paternal authority immediately sympathetic. The film was based on a play titled *Ladies of the Evening*, so contemporary viewers knew what the titular ladies were like. Since we are in Capraland, she is, of course, not really a shady lady.

In the American Cold War espionage thriller *Walk East on Beacon!* (1952), filmed in the semi-documentary style then popular, an expatriate Eastern European scientist working on a top-secret project for the U.S. government has a small pair of Medici lions facing each other above his mantelpiece. This makes sense in the film's context, but what is one to make of such a pair's appearance in *Curse of the Undead* (1959), a low-grade mix of Western and vampire film? The preacher in the small town in which the story takes place has them on his bookshelves, one on top of the other and facing in opposite directions. He will, in due course, end the titular curse by dispatching the villain, an undead gunslinger. In our context this film deserves a (dishonorable?) mention mainly as proof that the Medici lions are apt to appear just about anywhere on screen.

Actual Medici lions can be seen *in situ*, usually only briefly and without actual plot implications, as when a director films on existing locations. Such is the case in Vsevolod Pudovkin's *The End of St. Petersburg* (1927), a film about the October Revolution, in which two lions can be glimpsed briefly. The same is the case in Eisenstein's *October* shortly before this film's dramatic climax. More recently, the Swedish historical drama *The Last Sentence* (2012) shows the lion pair at the front of the royal palace. The Franco-Danish animated feature *Long Way North* (2015), which is set in the 1860s, displays the pair on the Dvortsovaya Pier in St. Petersburg mentioned above (Ill. 24).

Ill. 24. Two of the Medici lions of St. Petersburg in *Long Way North*.

Bonnani's lions had a few moments of glory on the cinema screen in 2008, although the context in which they appear is far from glorious.[117] *Summer Lover* is an American-Ukrainian production in homage to Sappho, whose name was the film's original title. (It was used for various international releases, e.g. in Greece.) The setting is the island of Lesbos in 1926. But *Summer Lover* was filmed in and around the Vorontsev Palace at Alupka. Its Medici lions at the top of the stairs and the sleeping lion at the bottom can be seen several times, briefly but memorably. The erotic triangle of a recently married young American couple — the wife's first name is Sappho — with a young bisexual Greek woman called Helen leads to jealousy and one suicide. Since the psychology of all three is only shallow, the film as a whole is so, too, and its climax and ending are predictable. The images that its director can muster for the lovers' various erotic encounters are mostly unimaginative. By default, the lions steal the show (Ill. 25).

[117] A pair of waking lions, presumably copied from Bonanni's, appear in an old photograph at the beginning and the end of the supernatural Italian shocker *Aenigma* (1988). They are flanking, as they should be, a short flight of steps leading up to a girls' college outside Boston, the film's main setting. Both lions' heads are turned left, as they should *not* be. Since the film was shot exclusively in Italy and Yugoslavia, the photograph is evidently a fake, as the lions' heads reveal.

Ill. 25. The Alupka lions return to the screen in *Summer Lover*.

Sometimes they are also the star attraction in newsreels and in television or video travelogues and documentaries. The Lion Terrace at Alupka looks especially attractive in aerial footage.[118] The lions had been featured prominently in a newsreel segment of 1930. Its narrator was even more enthusiastic than viewers may have expected. His eloquence concerning our lions is worth quoting:

> Six large lions of white marble are at the entrance. The British government is said to have offered a fabulous price for these lions, for authorities place them among the finest examples of sculptured lions in existence. [119]

Friends of the Medici Lions and the Alupka lions can only agree with the experts. They will also note that British passion for the latter predates Churchill's infatuation. Eisenstein's third lion here got an unwitting homage when he was shown from the same low angle as Eisenstein had done five years before, if at a greater distance. The one across from him received the same honor.

[118] As may be seen, for example, in "Vorontsovskij dvorets: Ekskursiya" at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bAG5xoy4IIc&feature=youtu.be.

[119] Available via criticalpast.com or at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BhDJwrx-am0%3Frel%3D0. The narrator's word "entrance" is not quite accurate. Amusingly, he then refers to the "Alhambra of India," confusing its location with that of the Taj Mahal. Both influenced the design for Alupka.

9. *Fade-Out*

The various ramifications, in sculpture and on screen, of the history of the Medici Lions and the backstory of Eisenstein's rising lion are nothing less than astonishing. It all began with Roman marble and continued in the Italy of the sixteenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries: Medici Lions, Canova's lions, Bonanni's lions; then Medici lions everywhere. Eventually the cinema took over. So, in farewell, we may salute our large pride of lions, whether in stone or bronze or on celluloid, with a Shakespearean tag, slightly adjusted to fit our topic and, of course, not meant literally: *Well roarèd, lions!*[120]

[120] From *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act 5, Scene 1, about the lion in the story of Pyramus and Thisbe.

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