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Marina Martins Amaral

REMINISCENCE OF IMAGES: PICTORIAL REPRESENTATION OF SHAKESPEARE'S OPHELIA IN WESTERN ART

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Orientador: Prof. Dr. José Roberto O'Shea.

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Marina Martins Amaral

Reminiscence of Images:
Representation of Shakespeare's Ophelia in Western Art.

O presente trabalho em nível de doutorado foi avaliado e aprovado por banca examinadora composta pelos seguintes membros:

Prof. Dr. José Roberto Basto O'Shea
(Orientador e Presidente) Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

Profª. Drª. Maria Lúcia Milléo Martins
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

Profª. Drª. Beatriz Kopschitz Xavier Bastos
Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

Profª. Drª. Aline de Mello Sanfelice
Universidade Tecnológica Federal do Paraná

Certificamos que esta é a **versão original e final** do trabalho de conclusão que foi julgado adequado para obtenção do título de Doutora em Inglês: Estudos Linguísticos e Literários, na área de concentração Estudos Literários e Culturais.

____

Profª. Drª. Rosane Silveira
Coordenadora do Programa

____

Prof. Dr. José Roberto Basto O'Shea
Orientador

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Nos domínios de que tratamos aqui, o conhecimento existe apenas como lampejos. O texto é o trovão que segue ressoando por muito tempo.
(Benjamin, 2006, p.499)

ABSTRACT

The dissertation addresses the plethora of visual images produced about Ophelia, one of the two female characters in William Shakespeare's play *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, throughout Western Art. Ophelia was represented by neoclassicists, romantics, Victorians, expressionists, surrealists, symbolists, cubists and postmodern artists, having become an icon. This phenomenon seems to indicate that Ophelia is an especially intriguing dramatic character who has attracted the attention of artists throughout the centuries. Drawing mainly on the idea of "survival", as theorized by Aby Warburg and George Didi-Huberman, this research carries on the investigation about the visual representation of this fascinating character who keeps surviving throughout the time in Art. The present research concludes that her visual representations allow for a diversity of interpretations that change according to culture, place and time. Ultimately, I have verified that the history of Ophelia's representation in Western Art demonstrates that the character broke free from the text, gaining her own independence and significance.

Key Words: Ophelia. Representation. Shakespeare. Aby Warburg. Georges Didi-Huberman**.**

RESUMO

Esta dissertação aborda a pletora de imagens visuais produzidas sobre Ofélia, uma das duas personagens femininas na peça de William Shakespeare, *A tragédia de Hamlet, Príncipe da Dinamarca*, na arte ocidental. Ofélia foi representada por artistas neoclássicos, românticos, vitorianos, expressionistas, surrealistas, simbolistas, cubistas e pós-modernos, tornando-se um ícone. Tal fenômeno parece indicar que Ofélia seja uma personagem dramática especialmente intrigante, que tem atraído a atenção de artistas através dos séculos. Recorrendo sobretudo ao conceito de "sobrevivência", teorizado por Aby Warburg e Georges Didi-Huberman, esta pesquisa desenvolve uma investigação acerca das representações visuais dessa personagem fascinante, que segue sobrevivendo na arte através do tempo. A presente pesquisa conclui que as representações visuais dessa personagem permitem uma diversidade de interpretações que se alteram de acordo com a cultura, o local e o tempo. Em última instância, a investigação constata que a história da representação de Ofélia na arte ocidental demostra que a personagem livra-se do texto e conquista sua própria independência e significação.

Palavras-Chaves: Ofélia. Representação. Aby Warburg. Georges Didi-Huberman**.**

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1. INTRODUCTION

The proposed study addresses the plethora of visual images produced about Ophelia, one of the two female characters in William Shakespeare's play *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, throughout time in Western Art. This phenomenon seems to indicate that Ophelia is an especially intriguing dramatic character who has attracted the attention of artists throughout the centuries. Arguably, the possibilities provided by Ophelia's thematic ambivalence in the play have allowed artists from various periods in the History of Art to pursue their own interpretation of the character. To be sure, Ophelia has become an icon among female characters in Shakespeare's plays given the vast amount of criticism and symbolic discourses stimulated by her story. Moreover, she has become not only a reflection of the culture of given historical periods but also a symbol of feminine discussion.

For these reasons, this research investigates the visual representation of this character who refuses to be, as it were, fossilized and who keeps surviving throughout the History of Art. There is reason to believe that said "survival" can be verified and explained by way of Georges Didi-Huberman's and Aby Warburg's challenging notions of "reminiscence" and "anachronism". I understand that Ophelia's overall representation has a long and complex history. Furthermore, to apprehend an artist's rendering is to mobilize our memories and our experience of the visible world and test the image produced by the artist. Thus, the proposed research will approach the representation of Ophelia by means of a phenomenological approach, through an analysis of "point of view".

The broad context of this investigation has to do with the textual representation of Ophelia. As is known *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* is extant in three early texts: The First Quarto - Q1 (1603), The Second Quarto - Q2 (1604), and The First Folio - F1 (1623). The three versions present important differences mainly in terms of length, structure, characterization, and stage directions. This textual issue is of great interest in itself, but is not directly related to the purposes of the research developed in the present dissertation. Therefore, I will refer to textual differences among these three versions only when necessary or helpful for backing up or illustrating my argumentation. However, this also means, of course, that I will not use a conflated edition of *Hamlet.* Instead, I will quote from Neil Taylor and Ann Thompson's Third Arden *Hamlet*, which prints the three versions separately in two volumes.

The textual representation of the character Ophelia will be based on all three versions of the original text in order to reach all the scenes and lines by or about [that contemplate] Ophelia. Hence, the specific context, that is, the analysis of the visual representations of

Ophelia, will follow the same logic. Therefore, since representation is a central idea/concept to be followed in this research, and the key to understand the general and specific contexts, it is instrumental to problematize such notion.

To address the representation of Ophelia in the three texts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is to discuss the effects of the very construction of the character. This involves thematic issues that permeate her story, her dynamics in the play, and how she is positioned according to the characters. Ophelia is a rather complex character: a noble young woman, daughter of Polonius and sister of Laertes, and she is in love with Hamlet, the Crown Prince. As aforementioned, she is one of the two female characters who appear in the play, and as the arguable heroine, she ends up going insane and dies drowned.

Ophelia stands out in the play in contrast with Queen Gertrude, the other female character, Hamlet's mother and King Hamlet's widow. Despite their differences, the two share thematic similarities, such as: the condition of being women, their love for Prince Hamlet, and their status as "traitors" in the view of the protagonist. Both female characters are implicated by thematic ambivalence in the play and subtle differences involve the characters in the aforementioned three versions of the text.

In the case of Ophelia, we can understand Q1 as probably the most expressive version as regards her ambivalence and also maybe as a catalyzer of important aspects of her iconographic representation. José Roberto O'Shea in the introduction to *O Primeiro Hamlet In-Quarto de 1603*, from 2013, submits that Q1 is the only version in which Ophelia plays the lute; in which Hamlet jumps into her grave; and in which she is publicly exposed to indiscretions by her own father, when he reads in front of the king and queen the love letter that Hamlet wrote to her. Moreover, O'Shea (20) explains that Q1 shows us a more fragile Ophelia, involved in an even stronger patriarchal environment. Despite the particularities that O'Shea points out about Ophelia in Q1, the main issues that involve this character are present in all three versions of the play. In act, when we analyze Ophelia, intriguing thematic aspects, such as, melancholy, gender issues, psychological depression, and especially the mysterious circumstances of her death, pervade her character and are impossible to be dissociated from her story.

The specific context is the character's pictorial renderings. In this research, "pictorial" refers to art works that pertain to paintings. It must be granted that the definition of painting has become controversial and broad due to the variety of experiences in new media that are available today. Hence, this research approaches an expanded notion of "painting", i.e., visual representation through colors, not restricting the materials to pigments in paste, liquid or

powder forms, in order to allow the study to investigate, whenever necessary and applicable, drawings and engravings as well.

Although there already exists several studies about Ophelia's representation, most of the material found focuses on the textual representation of the character, or on Ophelia's representation under the perspective of the history of theater or performance. This latter perspective, not covered by this research, is usually found in studies about Ophelia, such as Mander and Mitcheson's *Hamlet through the Ages: A Pictorial Record from 1709* (see References). Yet, given this dissertation's specific context, I intend to follow Alan Young's book, *Hamlet and the Visual Arts* as regards my main principles of analysis. This means resorting to these critics just as a starting point for the analysis, because they tend to be overly chronological in their discussion of the representation of Ophelia.

All in all, taking into account the textual representation of Ophelia in the three versions of *Hamlet*, the overall objective of the research is to conduct a pictorial survey of Ophelia's image that may help to construct a critical review of the artistic rendering of the character. As this main objective is pursued, it is important to enable the perception and appraisal of aesthetic differences among artists and contexts, of the scenes that have stood out in the pictorial representation of the play, of the issues that permeate the representation of this character throughout time, and of Ophelia's possible relevance to contemporary audiences.

The specific objective of the dissertation is to survey the artistic output about Ophelia in Western Art until the twentieth-first century, in different genres, especially, painting; and to analyze selected pictorial representations of Ophelia in order to conduct a reflection about the relevance of Ophelia in Western Art, drawing mainly on perspectives offered by Georges Didi-Huberman and Aby Warburg.

The analysis to be carried out in this research deals mainly with ideas established by Georges Didi-Huberman in the books *Devant le temps*. *Histoire de l'art et anachronisme des images* (2000) and *A Imagem Sobrevivente: História da arte e tempo dos fantasmas segundo Aby Warburg* (2013). The author proposes an important review of art's theoretical and methodological basis, in which the interlacement of image and time makes new artistic and historiographical possibilities emerge. Didi-Huberman also proposes an epistemological gap that is foregrounded from the viewer's perspective *vis-à-vis* the paradoxes of time and image. Hence, when we bring a contemporary analysis to the representation of Ophelia's character, we realize that despite the passage of time, some thematic aspects–e.g., melancholy, gender issues, psychological depression--remain among us, and this could be the reason why we keep looking at old images, and making their relevance current.

This dissertation takes into account verbal language (textual representation) and images (visual representation), with comparative attention, under the "archaeological look", defined by Didi-Huberman as the capacity to compare what we see in the present (what has survived) with what we know to have disappeared. According to Didi-Huberman, when we work with old images or texts, it is nearly like working among ruins: almost everything is destroyed, dated, but something remains. The important thing is how our gaze puts those things in motion, capturing resemblances, updating them and re-signifying the object in the present (*Diante do Tempo Página* p.271).

The "archaeological look" proposed by Didi-Huberman resorts to two ideas that can here be considered as conceptual parameters, due to their importance to this dissertation's theoretical analysis. The first one is his revision of the concept of "anachronism". Anachronism is often described in dictionaries as an error in chronology, a lack of alignment or correspondence with time, a notion usually disclaimed among historians. However, Didi-Huberman insightfully challenges time models used in the study of the history of art and proposes the notion of anachronism as a new model of temporality. The author offers a vision of the history of art organized not in a fixed timeline but in a "constellation", in which images are mobile in relation to one another and to time (*A imagem sobrevivente,* p.105-293). The second concept is "survival", which deals with what we can describe as traces, vestiges of time, of memory, that survive in images (*A imagem sobrevivente,* p.11-94).

Didi-Huberman's concetps derive mainly from Aby Warburg and the Warburgian school of art history that advocates a theory of memory and of the symbol. In Warburg's work, the term *Nachleben* is constantly used, and can be translated as "survival of images" (the continuity or afterlife and metamorphosis of images). The author created a concept called *Pathosformel,* that is*,* a form evoking pathos*,* in order to approach Renaissance images. The term is associated with certain marks, "symptoms", and can be understood as a classification of formulas used by art historians within the figurative European tradition (*A imagem sobrevivente,* p.167-177). Thus, both Warburg's and Didi-Huberman's works break with restrictive chronological traditions and suit this research with a proper theoretical apparatus for a non-chronological analysis of different images of Ophelia produced in Western Art.

As previously mentioned, this dissertation draws on the phenomenological approach, which describes experience as perceived from a certain point of view. To approach the research topic, data collection will be through books; articles in magazines, newspapers and periodicals; originals and reproductions of artwork; and catalogs viewed electronically. Visits to museums and public libraries have also been made. The research is essentially theoretical and critical,

focused on readings and on the critical analysis of documents and works of art. This research investigates similarities and differences perceived in different contexts and renderings of Ophelia's images. The dissertation also aims at stimulating a discussion about Ophelia and the relevant theories in terms of art history and criticism.

The approach adopted in the investigation, given its characteristics and objectives, is a basic, qualitative exploratory study using primary and secondary sources. It is basic from the point of view of its nature, which aims at generating new and useful notions for the advancement of knowledge. It is qualitative in terms of how to approach the problem, considering that there is an inextricable link between the objective world and the subjectivity of the viewer, a link that cannot be translated quantitatively, that is, into numbers. From the standpoint of technical procedures, the research is bibliographic because it is developed from previously published material; and it is also a case study because it involves a deeper investigation of the subject allowing for broader and detailed knowledge.

As we have seen, the textual corpus for this investigation is the play *Hamlet*, edited by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor in the Arden Shakespeare, Third Series. This specific edition was chosen because it includes all the three versions of the original text (Q1, Q2, and F1). This research works with the three original versions, combining textual and visual information about Ophelia when necessary. The use of a conflated edition was discarded because a conflated edition might overlook important textual singularities and, therefore, compromise the breadth and the depth of the analysis. The idea here is to examine the original versions and collect the scenes that have served as bases for artists' depiction of Ophelia, whether scenes in which she figures or scenes in which she is mentioned.

The visual corpus for this research is defined by a large sample of depictions of Ophelia, 189 images. Evidently, I do not analyze such a large corpus. However, from this broad corpus, a narrower set of images was selected from scenes in which Ophelia appears, whether in-group or solo, and scenes in which she is referred to. Observing the images, it was possible to notice a thematic division related to the character herself and the way she is portrayed by artists. This research has divided the collected images in two categories. The first category, titled "*Constellation I*", gathers representations of Ophelia before madness; in the second category, titled "*Constellation II*", Ophelia is represented as a reflection of her frustrated life, fallen into madness and death. Hence, the classifications consequently correspond the first group with images before Ophelia's madness, and the second group with images after her madness.

Table 1 below exhibits the images collected by this research. The table shows the images divided by the two constellations and scenes where Ophelia appears; and also the categories of

“portraits”, portraits of Ophelia with no reference of a specific scene; and “Others”, images that could not be classified.

TABLE 1: Original scenes where Ophelias appears in the play.

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Constellation I (23)</td><td>Act I Scene III</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Act II Scene I</td><td>3</td></tr>
<tr><td>Act III Scene I</td><td>14</td></tr>
<tr><td>Act III Scene II</td><td>6</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Constellation II (139)</td><td>Act IV Scene V</td><td>16</td></tr>
<tr><td>Act IV Scene VII</td><td>123</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3"></td><td>Portraits</td><td>22</td></tr>
<tr><td>Others</td><td>5</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td>189</td></tr>
</table>

Chronological characteristics of the images have been used only to analyze and compare them inside one of the two elected “constellations” and not as a criterion to select the categories, because, as we have seen, chronology goes against Didi-Huberman’s revisionist notion of “anachronism”. Each “constellation” has been the object of the necessary analysis in what concerns genre, style and thematic issues under the lens of the specific theoretical framework.

It is important to have in mind in this dissertation that visual representations provide us a different approach than text or theatrical performances. This happens because the traditional media of art – painting, drawing, engraving, sculpture, photography -- are “stiff” methods of representation. That is, while text/theater scenes can exhibit characters going in and out stage, set the mood by the rhythms of speeches, and show stage movement, visual art scenes are a static representation of a single moment. The visual artist in order to represent a scene must carefully choose a unique moment to be immortalized, the one that has embodied the meaning of that event, the climax; after all, the only explanation offered to the viewer is the visual representation.

Thus, there is a difference when we talk about representations of Ophelia on text/stage and in visual arts. The understanding of this character works differently, according to the

opportunities offered by the art media itself. While in the text and theater Ophelia is analyzed by the totality of the scene -- in the text she is analyzed by her speeches, in performance by speeches and body language - in visual arts she is analyzed by the representation of the frames of each scene. This means that a single scene from the play can turn into multiple visual scenes.

In Ophelia's case, she appears in five of the twenty scenes in the play (Q2). However, if we base ourselves on those same scenes but focus on visual representation possibilities, the number significantly increases from five to twelve visual scenes. Table 2 below shows the possibilities of visual representations that we have from the original play scenes. The table reveals interesting details for the research. As we have observed, the scene where Ophelia plays the lute can only be found in one of the three versions of the play, the first quarto. And not all of the original scenes were staged, as some are narrated.

TABLE 2: Ophelia's possible pictorial scenes in the play

Constellation	Act / Scene	Visual scene
Constellation I	Act I Scene III	Ophelia says good bye to Laertes
		Ophelia plays the lute (Q1)
		Lecture from Polonius
	Act II Scene I	In the sewing room, encounter with prince Hamlet (narrated by Ophelia)
		Ophelia telling her father about the encounter with Hamlet
	Act III Scene I	Ophelia with Polonius, king, queen before the nunnery scene
		Nunnery scene
	Act III Scene II	"mouse-trap" – conversation with Hamlet
Constellation II	Act IV Scene V	Madness scene
	Act IV Scene VII	Into the woods getting flowers for her garland (narrated by Gertrude)
		Willow sliver broken (narrated by Gertrude)
		Ophelia lying dead in the brook (narrated by Gertrude)

Images of four out of the twelve possibilities indicated in table 2 have not been found in this research, as we will see further. Observing the numerous images produced about her in the archive collected, we can notice that her representations can be separated in two major groups. One before madness, which shows Ophelia as the naïve, obedient daughter, images that depict her as model of an idealized femininity portraying an obedient, beautiful, and chaste

Ophelia. And a second group that shows a mad and dead Ophelia, a different femininity that explores a provocative and insane woman and her tragic end.

Focusing on the paintings collected, the number of images gathered in each group demonstrates clearly a predilection among artists. From 189 images of Ophelia collected in this research, 23 images are representations of Ophelia before the “madness scene”; and 139 are representations of Ophelia from the “madness scene” onwards. The difference between the two groups is expressive. This predilection for representing Ophelia from her madness and on has little to do with chronologic periods of art or the evolution of her popularity but with her story itself.

The Chapters of this dissertation are thought to lead the reader on a journey into Ophelia’s representation in Western Arts. After the Introduction, two Chapters provide a theoretical support of this research. Chapter II -- Visual Representation -- offers an overall idea of representation, its origins and theoretical discussions throughout times; then the Chapter discusses how representation appears in literature and literary painting. Chapter III -- Statute of Image: Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman -- is dedicated to representation in the visual arts, focusing on the theorists chosen for this research, Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman.

Chapters IV and V address the various representations of the character and its analysis. Chapter IV – Constellation I -- is dedicated to analyses of Ophelia’s visual representations before madness. The group of images analyzed is situated on the visual scenes provided by act I scene III, Act II scene I, Act III scene I, Act III scene II. From the eight visual scenes provided by the play, depictions of five of them were not found by this research: Ophelia says good-bye to Laertes; Ophelia plays the lute (Q1); Lecture from Polonius; Ophelia telling her father about the encounter with Hamlet; Ophelia with Polonius, king and queen, before the nunnery scene. Therefore, the scenes that will be analyzed in this Chapter are - In the sewing room, encounter with prince Hamlet (narrated by Ophelia); Nunnery scene; and The mouse-trap scene – conversation with Hamlet.

Chapter V – Constellation II -- is dedicated to analyses of Ophelia’s visual representations as a mad and dead woman. This group is situated on the visual scenes provided by act IV scene V and Act IV scene VII. From the four visual scenes provided by the play, three of them are narrated by Gertrude. The scenes that will be analyzed are: Madness scene; Into the woods getting flowers for her garland (narrated by Gertrude); Willow sliver broken (narrated by Gertrude); Ophelia lying dead in the brook (narrated by Gertrude).

The significance of this research is grounded mainly on the fact that Ophelia's images are still remembered and/or keep being recreated by artists nowadays, whether in the fine arts, new media or film. This can be observed, for instance, in the famous *Vogue* magazine, which over the years seems to be obsessed by Ophelia's image, dedicating several issues to fashion-inspired renderings of the character. The first reference to Ophelia in *Vogue* dated from 1930, with the actress Fay Wray as Ophelia, photographed by "Edward"(sic). Issues in Italy (2012), England (2012), Korea (April, 2007 - July, 2013), China (2014) and The United States (December 2011), to name a few, all take the character as inspiration as well. The American issue, the most popular, depicts the actress Ronney Mara, who plays the main role in the movie *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo*, photographed by Mert Alan and Marcus Piggott. Here, Ophelia is shown in a white dress, laid out on a wild and green vegetation.

In film, we have further appearances of Ophelia, as we can notice in the controversial director's Lars Von Trier's *Melancolia* (2011), in which a clear reference to Ophelia is made, showing the main actress, Kirten Dunst, lying down in what appears to be the edge of a lake, surrounded by lush vegetation, wearing a bridal dress. Or in the Brazilian movie *Elena* (2012), directed by Petra Costa, in which the image of Ophelia is evoked to discuss the relation between the female body and society, in a scene where several women bodies float on the water.

Figure 1: Vogue. *Actress Fay Wray como Ophelia,* 1930./ **Figure 2**:*Vogue Korea*, 2007.

Figure 3: *Vogue EUA*, 2011. / **Figure 4:***Vogue Italy*, 2012.

Figure 5: Vogue Korea, 2013. / **Figure 6:** Vogue China, 2014.

This impressive number of depictions demonstrates that such images have relevance to contemporary viewers. There is something compelling and current in Ophelia and her representation that this study investigates. This research contributes to UFSC-PGI's Shakespearean Studies because it is the first Phd dissertation in the program to propose an analysis of the pictorial output on Ophelia, focusing on visual arts materials based on Shakespeare's works. It is also significant because I wish to pursue the reasons that make this character's image persist throughout the ages and that hold it current. Walter Benjamin has

famously written about the aura[1] that pertains to the singularity of the work of art, and I think that the aura of the works I am interested in studying is a motivating factor for this research.

[1] See Walter Benjamin, "A obra de arte na era de sua reprodutibilidade técnica" (1993).

2. VISUAL REPRESENTATION

2.1 WHAT IS REPRESENTATION?

This Chapter attempts to review a concept whose history is as vast as it is complex: representation. Given the vastness of the concept's history, only the ideas of a few key figures can be here highlighted. As regards the concept's complexity, to begin with, such complexity can be related to the fact that the idea of representation goes beyond the stiff sense of imitation (*mimesis*) to become an abstract concept, related to social and cultural phenomena, in fact, human phenomena (Pitkin 15-47).[2] The concept of *mimesis* has, in fact, been present in Philosophy since Classic Antiquity.

For Plato, for instance, in *The Myth of the Cave*, book VII from his *Republic,* famously, the myth speaks of prisoners who, since birth, are trapped in chains in a cave. They spend their time looking at the back wall that is lit by light generated by a fire. On this wall, shadows representing people, animals, plants and objects are projected, depicting scenes and day-to-day situations. The prisoners name the images (shadows), analyzing and judging the situations. Let us imagine that one of the prisoners was forced out of the chains to explore the interior of the cave and the outside world. This prisoner would get in touch with reality and realize that he had spent his entire life analyzing and judging only images, shadows, projected. Hence, human beings have a distorted view of the world. For Plato, the images that we see and believe in are cultural creations; that is, images are influenced by concepts and information that we apprehend throughout our lives. Plato explains that reality can only be known when we release ourselves from cultural and social influences. Ultimately, for Plato, the world is a simulacrum, an imitation of reality.

Therefore, Plato divides reality into two distinct universes: intelligible and sensible. The first contains pure forms and the second is a sensible copy of original, intelligible models. From these ideas, Plato advances his criticism in relation to art,[3] submitting that art is an imitation that can deceive us; after all, according to Plato, art is an imitation of an imitation. To be more specific following Plato's myth, we can understand that according to the author art is the copy

[2] As a thorough discussion of the notion of *mimesis* would exceed the scope of the present Chapter, I have limited my remarks to the sources and scholars here mentioned.
[3] In Plato's work, art relates to poetry, but here I am expanding his conception of representation to the Fine Arts.

of a sensible reality (a copy of the shadows in the cave), which is already a copy of the intelligible world of Reality, the world outside the cave (p. 267-75).

However, if art is considered something negative for Plato, a way to distance human beings from reality, for Aristotle, art is a way to reach universality. Aristotle considers Plato's model unsustainable and believes that the sensible world is reality. For Aristotle, art[4] creates catharsis, being a way to explore human beings' subjectivity. In his *Ars Poetica*, Aristotle refers to *mimesis* as representation of the visible world, being a copy of actions. The philosopher affirms that "*imitar é congênito no homem*" (1448 a, II, §13), believing that *mimesis* has its own roots in human existence, making it possible for human beings to reach a deeper understanding of nature and human acts. Yet, although Aristotle is one of the references in Philosophy to talk about the idea of *mimesis*, he never really developed a proper concept about it.

The word *mimesis* is regularly related and translated as "copy" or "imitation". However, according to Roselyne Dupont-Roc and Jean Lallot (p. 20), this terminology is not precise, and they prefer to use the word "representation" to refer to the "tricky word" "*mimesis*". Dupont-Roc and Lallot explain that the word "representation" encompasses aspects that pertain to artistic creativity, thus, recognizing the subjectivity and complexity in the mimetic process.

Undoubtedly, the words "*mimesis*" and/or "representation" embody rather complex ideas that make it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to be summed up by a single, stiff definition. Paul Woodruff writes about the lack of clarity caused by using these two words as synonyms:

> O conceito de representação apresenta o mesmo grau de complexidade para a filosofia moderna que a noção de 'mimesis' para o pensamento clássico, e ao optarmos por tal tradução não obteremos vantagem alguma em termos de clareza conceitual. (apud Velloso 189)

Etymologically, "representation" comes from the Latin *representare* (to be present or to present again), that is, to render someone present or something absent, including an idea, through the presence of an object (Makowiecky p.87). The history of the word "*representare*" is explained by Dominique Vieira Coelho dos Santos, in her essay "Acerca do Conceito de Representação", from 2011. Santos argues that in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries an expansion of the word "*representare*" occurred because of the influence of the Catholic Church,

[4] In Aristotle's work art relates to drama, but here I am expanding his conception of representation to the Fine Arts, as I have done in the case of Plato.

as people accepted the image of the pope and the cardinals as the representation of God and his apostles on Earth.

Hanna Fenichel Pitkin (p. 28-29) in the book *Representação: Palavras, Instituições e Idéias*, from 2006, proposes that the appearance of the word "represent", according to the Oxford English Dictionary, probably occurred at the end of the fourteenth century. For Pitkin (p.19-20), the Oxford English Dictionary brings the following definition to the word "representation": "'trazer a própria pessoa, ou outra pessoa, à presença de alguém'; 'simbolizar ou encarnar concretamente'; 'trazer à mente'. O adjetivo 'representativo' significa 'que serve para representar, figurar, retratar ou simbolizar*'* (as quoted in Portuguese by Pitkin). Pitkin also says that this idea of representation was intensely used by political theory in England, and she affirms that the first occurrence of the word "representation" in political theory was in Thomas Hobbes's famous *Leviathan*, from 1651.

Despite the areas where the word "representation" has been used, whether in History or the Social Sciences, we can observe that the sense of presence or absence is often attached to the word. Sandra Makowiecky, in her book *A Representação da Cidade de Florianópolis na Visão dos Artistas Plásticos*, from 2012, affirms that the term representation seems to be in the center of a myriad of ideas and/or concepts, such as: the imaginary[5], ideology, myth, and mythology, utopia and memory. Makowiecky explains that after Descartes (1596-1650), and with the birth of sciences, things start to be looked at and recognized not as the empirical world could tell by touch, look, etc.:

> O mundo passou a não ser só o que os olhos viam e se despontou para o fato de que a nossa noção de realidade é enganosa, é ficção, pois tudo é, e nada é. Antes da ciência, a imaginação era algo ilusório. Depois, as coisas passaram a sair do plano do real (representações) para o plano das taxionomias, onde da ausência nasce o real. O objeto não precisa estar mais presente. A própria imagem o substitui, como no exemplo: "A toga do Juiz vale pelo Juiz". (MAKOWIECK, 2012, p.87)

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[5] Further on the "imaginary" will be problematized with the discussion of "representation", but since this is the first time that this word appears it is import to establish here a basic notion of what concerns the idea of imaginary; and this means being aware of its relation with social and psychological theories. The imaginary can be defined as a production of images, ideas and conceptions of a person or a group of people in order to express their relation of otherness towards the world. (See more in François Laplantine e Liana Trindade "O Que é Imaginário").

Makowiecky dedicates a whole Chapter to the discussion of representation. The Chapter "A Palavra, a Idéia, a Coisa", a title inspired in Carlo Ginsburg's book *Olhos de Madeira – Nove Reflexões Sobre a Distância*, starts addressing the difficulty of comprehending the concept of representation and of constructing a coherent line of thought. This happens because of the very nature of the term, which for Ginzburg deals with a complicated "game of mirrors":

> Por um lado, a "representação" faz as vezes da realidade representada e, portanto, evoca a ausência; por outro lado, torna visível a realidade representada e, portanto, sugere a presença. Mas a contraposição poderia ser facilmente invertida: no primeiro caso, a representação é presente, ainda que como sucedâneo; no segundo, ela acaba remetendo, por contraste, à realidade ausente que pretende representar. (GINZBURG, 2001, p.85)

The "game of mirrors" in Ginzburg's thought deals with the idea of presence and absence, both together and mutable in the same concept of representation. Thus, we can understand that in this ambiguity Ginzburg suggests an evocation of a real presence and a real absence; either way, the key here is to realize that both have one thing in common: the capacity to represent reality. Referring to representation, Ginzburg submits that "*a substituição precedeu a imitação ... o elemento substitutivo prevalece nitidamente sobre o elemento imitativo*" (p.93). The author's concept values the psychological element that involves the practice of representation, since through representation, an image, our imaginary is stimulated to evoke the *absence* of something or someone by means of the *presence* of an object.

In order to visualize those, mostly, abstract definitions, a fine example is the painting of René Magritte (1898-1967), *Ceci n'est pas une pipe,* from 1928/1929. The painting shows a figure of a pipe and the bottom of the picture the following phrase "*Ceci n'est pas une pipe*", which means "this is not a pipe". At first, the observer gets confused because the phrase contradicts what we can see, a pipe. But if we pay attention, we realize that the painting shows us nothing but the truth, and no contradictions at all: what we see is not a pipe but a painting of a pipe, a representation of the symbol that we recognize as a pipe.

Figure 7: René Magritte. *Ceci n'est pas une pipe*, 1928/1929.

Sandra Pesavento (2006, p.49) summarizes the idea of representation using the ambiguity of presence and absence, saying: "Representações são presentificações de uma ausência, onde representante e representado guardam entre si relações de aproximação e distanciamento". In Pesavento's definition, again, the idea of making something or someone present dealing with absence is the center of the discussion. Moreover, the notion of representation refers to the notion of the imaginary. After all, Pesavento, corroborating Ginzburg's idea of representation, postulates that the imaginary enunciates, reports to, and evokes something that is not explicit or present. Besides, for Pesavento, the process that involves the relation between sense (the object or the discourse) and meaning (representation) is a symbolic process:

> O Imaginário é, pois, representação, evocação, simulação, sentido e significado, jogo de espelhos onde o "verdadeiro" e o aparente se mesclam, estranha composição onde a metade visível evoca qualquer coisa ausente e difícil de perceber. Persegui-lo como objeto de estudo é desvendar um segredo, é buscar um significado oculto, encontrar a chave para desfazer a representação de ser e parecer. (PESAVENTO, 1995, p.24)

Jacques Le Goff also relates the ideas of representation and imaginary. The author defines representation as a mental translation of an external reality that connects to the process of abstraction. For Le Goff the imaginary "faz parte de um campo de representação e, como expressão do pensamento, se manifesta por imagens e discursos que pretendem dar uma definição da realidade" (apud PESAVENTO, p. 15). However, Pesavento (2006, p.50) herself explains that the imaginary, a representative collective system of images and ideas, is not the opposite of reality but another reality. Thus, the imaginary exists in function of a given reality

and is legitimized by the social sphere. Still according to Pesavento, we can affirm that all social groups in History build their own representation of the world, a system of collective representation that forms a particular identity, as the social groups set their own rules, conceive their own codes of behavior, establish their own power, and present themselves to the world ("Representações" p.16).

The connection among the imaginary, reality and the social context is a subject intensely discussed by Roger Chartier. For Chartier (1990, p.17), social history is connected to cultural history, and it is impossible to comprehend the first without the second, since representations are built by social roles: "As representações são variáveis segundo as disposições dos grupos ou classes sociais; aspiram à universalidade, mas são sempre determinadas pelos interesses dos grupos que as forjam. O poder e a dominação estão sempre presentes". Chartier believes that the image or the idea (discourse) are more than rigid reflexes of reality but potential elements of transformation and transcendence of reality. Hence, it is possible to understand that in Chartier the assimilation of a representation is deeply connected to time and place, and, therefore, context is an important piece in order to access the comprehension of any representation.

Applying this idea of context to art's visual representations, Makowiecky argues that when we look at a work of art from a cultural perspective, we take into account the personal world that surrounds the observer, his or her knowledge, previous experiences and prejudices:

> Significa valorizar a capacidade de relacionar os objetos artísticos com a vida das pessoas com as quais esta obra está em relação; assim, não podemos deixar de lado aspectos biográficos dos artistas, pois se considera a relação que o artista faz entre sua história pessoal e a obra. [...] um olhar cultural supõe considerar a arte dentro de um sistema de representações simbólicas que os indivíduos constroem como parte desse sistema a que denominamos cultura. (MAKOWIECK, 2012 p. 101)

Although context is a crucial element in the creation and comprehension of a representation, it is important to highlight that the elaboration of significance demanded by a represented object or idea is always a particular and individual task. This means that if two individuals from a same time period, place and cultural background come across a painting, for example, they will develop their own particular perceptions about the object. Hence, every individual in his or her own singularity processes the signs according to their own sensibility and experiences.

Therefore, we must remember that both the artist and the observer have a significant role in the "game of representation". Context can be a starting point to create and to assimilate a representation. Thus, not only the observer but also the artist is likely to be influenced by his or her own cultural and social environment. The mechanisms involved in the process of representation are full of subjectivity and possibilities, firstly with the artist and then with the observer. After all, here we have two different human beings, with different perspectives on the world, with just one certain thing in common: the represented object.

The Art Historian Ernest Gombrich, in the classic *Arte e Ilusão: Um Estudo da Psicologia da Representação Pictórica,* published in 1977, argues that the history of representation was progressively intertwined with the history of the psychology of perception. Gombrich (1977, p.330) explains that there is an important difference between what he calls "sight" and "knowledge", and starts to elaborate his conceptual arguments from Antiquity's models of representation. Gombrich proposes that primitive artists used to draw a face using just simple lines, instead of observing a "real face". For Gombrich, this happens because until the nineteenth century artists used to paint what they knew, according to conventions of the world, and not what they really saw:

> [...]reportamos aos egípcios e ao seu método de representar numa pintura tudo o que sabiam e não tudo o que viam. A arte grega e romana deu vida a tais formas esquemáticas. A Arte medieval usou-as, por sua vez, para contar história sagrada, e a arte chinesa para contemplação. Nenhuma delas exortava o artista a 'pintar o que via'. Essa idéia só apareceu com a Renascença. De início, tudo deu muito certo [...] Mas cada geração descobriu que havia ainda 'bolsões de resistência', redutos de convenções que faziam com que artistas aplicassem fórmulas aprendidas em vez de pintar o que de fato viam. (GOMBRICH, 1977, p.330)

After the nineteenth century, "rebellious" artists, as qualified by Gombrich, proposed to break with the conventions and change the way art had been represented. Gombrich explains that the impressionists affirm that their method of representation allowed them to see the world with scientific precision. However, Gombrich comments that the impressionists' intentions are not entirely true. According to him (p.330), it is not possible to separate completely what we see from what we know, and he gives the following example: "um cego de nascença que passa a ver tem que 'aprender' a ver. Com alguma autodisciplina e auto-observação descobrimos por nós mesmos que aquilo a que chamamos ver é inevitavelmente colorido e conformado pelo nosso conhecimento do que vemos". Therefore, Gombrich expresses his belief about art's

representation, when he implies that the images of art articulate the world according to our own experiences, despite artistic styles or time periods.

For Gombrich, both the artist and the observer mobilize their own experiences of the world, testing and projecting them. The artist does so in the process of creation, trying to understand and to represent nature; and the observer does so in the effort of deciphering the artistic image. Thus, on one side we have an aesthetics of reception and on the other side a criticism of the empirical perception of the visible. Gombrich (1977, p.174) stresses the importance of the observer and exalts his/her singularity, affirming that "A imagem não tem ancoragem firme na tela – é 'conjurada' apenas nas nossas mentes". Gombrich means that the power of interpretation of the observer, his or her ability to collaborate with the artist and transform a piece of painted canvas in a resemblance of the visible world, is essential in the discussion of representation and perception.[6]

Maurice Merleau-Ponty, in the book *Fenomenologia da Percepção,* first published in 1945, proposed a revision of the concept of sensation and its relation with body and movement, presenting a detailed critique of the positivist understanding of perception. Merleau-Ponty criticizes positivist science that postulates the idea of perception and sensation as being distinct, although related. In this case, perception is considered an act of consciousness that apprehends a certain object, and sensation is the tool used for such apprehension. But, the phenomenological perception suggested by Ponty has its roots on Psychology, more specifically on *Gestalt*,[7] and art. In *Gestalt* perception is comprehended as a broad conception with no elementary notion or isolated objects; hence, perception, according to Ponty, always generates a provisory and incomplete interpretation.

Terezinha Petrucia da Nóbrega (2008, p.141) affirms that in order to comprehend the notion of perception it is fundamental to understand the idea of sensation. Nóbrega (p.142) sees the notion of perception as being a body atitude, and she explains: “Na concepção fenomenológica da percepção a apreensão do sentido ou dos sentidos se faz pelo corpo, tratando-se de uma expressão criadora, a partir dos diferentes olhares sobre o mundo”. Pesavento, aforementioned, corroborates the discussion about the relation between body and

[6] It is important to explain that this dissertation will not work directly with reception theory. But since the research proposes a phenomenological discussion and relies on phenomenological theorists, such as Georges Didi-Huberman and Aby Warburg, the idea of reception theory will be indirectly present.
[7] Gestalt, a German word with an approximate translation of "form" or "figure", is a doctrine of Psychology based on the idea of the comprehension of the totality so that there is the perception of the parts. The pioneers of this doctrine and formulators of the Laws of Gestalt were Psychologists Kurt Koffka, Wolfgang Köhler and Max Werteimer.

senses justifying that the sphere of the sensible deals with the contact between human beings and reality, concluding that the assimilation of world knowledge goes beyond rationality:

> Na Verdade, se poderia dizer que a esfera das sensibilidades situa-se em um espaço anterior à reflexão, na 'animalidade' da experiência humana, brotada do corpo, como uma resposta ou reação em face da realidade. Como forma de 'ser' e 'estar' no mundo, a sensibilidade traduz em sensações e emoções, na reação quase imediata dos sentidos afetados por fenômenos físicos ou psíquicos, uma vez em contato com a realidade. (PESAVENTO, 2006, p.50-51)

Nóbrega (p.142) cites Ponty: "das coisas ao pensamento das coisas, reduz-se a experiência". Based on this quotation, she demands our attention to emphasize the conception of body experiences as the *locus* where sensation is conceived; that is to say, perception is not a mental representation but a body "happening".[8] For Ponty, movement plays an important part in the possibility of sensation, since experiences are created by the relation between the body and the object. Perceptive experience is a corporeal experience. According to Merleau-Ponty, movement and sensation are basic elements for perception, and if this fact is not perceived by us, the reason lies on scientific knowledge: "A percepção sinestésica é a regra, e, se não percebemos isso, é porque o saber científico desloca a experiência e porque desaprendemos [...] a sentir, para deduzir de nossa organização corporal e do mundo tal como concebe o físico aquilo que devemos ver, ouvir e sentir" (qtd. in NÓBREGA, p.142). Merleau-Ponty's theory of perception also allows for the idea of subjectivity and historicity, taking into account cultural and social relations, time, body, affection and the relations with other beings.

Merleau-Ponty in his theoretical work also discusses perception as being an aesthetic sensibility. In one of his most famous essays titled "A Dúvida de Cézanne", from 1945, Ponty argues about the obsession of the artist and his unfinished work, with Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) intensely seeking a satisfactory way of representing a landscape. Basically, in the essay Ponty explains the frustration of Cézanne's search, as he intended to express through painting what his eyes could see, capturing the characteristics of the visible. Cézanne wanted to capture the details of nature and, at the same time, capture the details that escaped his senses. This transitory and ephemeral relation between sight and visibility drove Cézanne in an endless

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[8] The term "happening" as an artistic category was first used by the artist Allan Kaprow in 1959. "Happening" is an artistic expression that incorporates elements of spontaneity or improvisation; historians usually define it as performance, but it contains special characteristics as unpredictability and usually involves the direct or indirect participation of the spectator or public. One of the most famous artists to compose "happenings" was John Cage (1912-1992). Cage's artwork titled 4'33" from 1952 remains to this day an icon.

pursuit of the perfect representation, pushing him to doubt himself and his mental sanity several times:

> Encontro-me num tal estado de perturbações cerebrais, numa perturbação tão grande que temo, a qualquer momento, que minha frágil razão me abandone [...] Parece-me agora que sigo melhor e que penso com mais exatidão na orientação de meus estudos. Chegarei à meta tão buscada e há tanto tempo perseguida? Estudo sempre a partir da natureza e parece-me que faço lentos avanços. (qtd. in MERLEAU-PONTY, 2004, p.123)

Cézanne wishes to capture more than reality on his canvas. The artist yearns to transpose the effects of sensibility, color, shapes, the effects that his eyes could intensely provide to him at that exact moment when all was "happening". Cézanne's artwork has influenced a new way to look into representation, providing the conceptual basis for the twentieth-century artistic field. Ponty uses the term "*ruminação do olhar*" to describe painting, and he proposes a "*filosofia figurativa da visão*" (apud CHAUÍ, 1988, p.61). Perhaps we can consider those terms as the perfect description to clarify the new representative perspective raised by Cézanne.

As this review has hopefully indicated, the vast history of representation is full of different conceptual theories. Here, I have tried to explore some of the central ideas involved in the discussion of representation, such as *mimesis*, the imaginary*,* duality between presence and absence, and psychological perspectives. Art has always played a fundamental part in the comprehension of representation, being one of the main exponents of the phenomenon. D'Alessio Ferrara sums up representation, helpfully connecting parts of those theories:

> Representar é, portanto, tornar o mundo cognoscível e compreensível ao pensamento que é o arquiteto das representações que medeiam as experiências do mundo. Representar é deformar e criar, para o real, mediações parciais, mas reveladoras [...]. O real enfrentado na sua dimensão fenomenológica e aprisionado em mediações representativas parciais cria a complexa ciência marcada pela imprecisão e pela relatividade do conhecimento que constitui a imagem (outra representação) da ciência no fim do milênio. (apud. in MAKOWIECKY, 2012, p.107)

This dissertation intends to approach representations of Ophelia taking into account some of these theoretical concepts, that is, looking at Ophelia's images under a phenomenological perspective, allowing perception and sensibilities to be part of the process of interpretation. Moreover, the social and cultural contexts of Ophelia's visual representations are considered important elements for the discussion of the character, and the interpretations

about Ophelia built here will not sustain a merely formal approach for the construction of meaning. Hence, this dissertation intends to exalt her image and propose possible contemporary interpretations to such images without ignoring context.

2.2 FROM PAGE TO CANVAS

> "A pintura é poesia silenciosa,
> a poesia, pintura que fala."
> Simonides of Ceos[9]

The basis for comparisons between literature and painting goes back to Classical Antiquity, with the fascinating discussion about poetry and image. As discussed in the beginning of this Chapter, Plato's and Aristotle's Philosophy can be considered references in this debate, whereas later the visual arts were usually invoked as examples to support philosophical concepts. Yet, it is important to observe that in Classical Antiquity there was no specific theory or knowledge about the pictorial arts. Thus, the visual arts were considered an inferior class of representation subordinated to the rhetorical arts.

We need to return to the aforementioned concept of *mimesis*, albeit literary since it lies in the center of the relation between literature, and painting in the classical period. Sânderson Reginaldo de Mello comments on the importance of *mimesis* as a basic concept to relate literature and painting according to classical parameters:

> [...]entende-se que as reflexões sobre as correspondências entre poesia (literatura) e pintura (imagem), na Cultura Clássica, solidificam-se no conceito de 'mimese' literária, que passou a ecoar no campo das artes visuais, mediante o teor narrativo e descritivo que os gêneros e as expressões artísticas encerram. (MELLO, 2010, p.217)

Hence, painting was classified as being as efficient as rhetoric to represent narratives, which in Classical Antiquity were composed by the stories of myths and heroes. However, Mello (p.218) reminds us that although the visual arts could be considered an efficient media to represent narratives, epic poetry and drama were the main artistic manifestations considered worthy of translating the impressions and hegemony of Greek culture. Nevertheless, the visual

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[9] Aphorism attributed by Plutarch to the Greek lyrical poet Simonides of Ceos (*circa* BC 556 – BC 468).

arts have filled a gap that poetry was not able to supply: to make visible what was just in our imagination; or, as we have discussed, to make something present through absence.

The stories of myths and heroes, which earlier partook of the imaginative world, now became part of the real world. Stories start to gain a representational unity through visual shape and characteristics. And because of the perspective and relevance that both word and image brought to their society in terms of reality, imitation and truth, Greek philosophers create the first criticism about the rivalry between word and image (Mello, p.220).

Interestingly, throughout History, word (literature) and image (painting) have been critically positioned in favor of and against each other several times. Plutarch (*circa* AD 46 - AD 120) attributes to Simonides of Ceos the first aphorism which insinuates the approximation of the two genres, positioning the coexistence and interdependence between poetry and painting. With a similar conception between word and image, the Latin poet Horace (BC 65 – BC 8), in a passage from *Epistolae ad Pisones*, expresses the celebrated idea of "*ut pictura poesis*" meaning "as is painting so is poetry", being one of the most famous and classic conceptions about the similarity of word and image:

> Poesia é como pintura; uma te cativa mais, se te deténs mais perto; outra, se te pões mais longe; esta prefere a penumbra; aquela quererá ser contemplada em plena luz, porque não teme o olhar penetrante do crítico; essa agradou uma vez; essa outra, dez vezes repetida, agradará sempre.[10] (HORACE, 1997, p.65)

The central point of *Ut picture poesis*'s idea was that a poem was "a mute painting" and a painting was "spoken poetry", both are similar arts but different in the medium chosen. The theories that put in check the similarity of poetry and painting, opposing to the idea of *ut pictura poesis,* only appear in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Following such new ideas, we have the classic essay by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-1781) about aesthetic criticism, titled *Laokoön oder Über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (*Laocoonte, ou Sobre As Fronteiras da Pintura e da Poesia*), from 1766. In this essay, Lessing redefines the limits between poetry and painting, saying that each genre should be subject to its own conditions and specificities. Lessing specifically justifies the differences between poetry and painting saying that in particular each had a dimension that the other lacked; poetry was located in time and painting in space. Lessing believes that restricting the genres to

[10] Original em Latim: "*erit quae, si propius stes,/ te capiat magis, et quaedam, si longius abstes;/ haec amat obscurum, uolet haec sub luce uideri,/ iudicis argutum quae non formidat acumen*" (qtd. in Gonçalves: 26).

their own conditions and functions they become more efficient. Andrey Pereira de Oliveira observes that even the title of Lessing's essay proposes a deep reflection about the relation between the verbal arts and the visual arts. Oliveira (p. 164) also comments that regardless of the critical positioning, the influence of Lessing's criticism is a mandatory reference for the discussion of comparative arts.

To be sure, since the Medieval period, the visual representation of literary characters has been a regular practice among artists. The period suffered the influence of the classical model of Horace, among others, and experienced an important development of the visual arts with Giotto (1267-1337) and the biblical paintings. In that period, the Catholic Church controlled the arts using them as a massive religious "weapon". Since most people were poor and could not read, the Church commissioned artists to paint biblical scenes in order to provide Christian instruction. Practitioners were just craftsmen and not "artists" as we conceive nowadays. They had no liberty to paint any subject besides religious ones. Moreover, artists often played the role of "story tellers", taking characters in a given book and translating them into images.

Despite the end of the "Dark Ages" and of religious control, the practice of representing literary characters has continued throughout the history of art and has become an exponent artistic modality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially in England. Around 1760 Britain witnessed a growing interest of the bourgeoisie in the pictorial arts. Art exhibitions in London were acclaimed by crowds of spectators and art consumers. Cristiane B. Smith (2007, p.130) tells us that "muitos dos assuntos desses quadros figuravam tanto nas prateleiras das bibliotecas quanto nas paredes das prósperas casas de classe média. Desta forma, dois territórios da imaginação inglesa se uniam: a arte visual e a palavra impressa". It is from this period on that the dialog between painting and literature binds intensely, creating a distinguished artistic subgenre in the History of Art: the literary painting.

Richard Altick (1985, p.11), in the book *Paintings from Books: Art and Literature in Britain 1760-1900*, explains that the first literary paintings were inspired on theatre and had the intension of publicizing plays and playwrights. The theatrical pictures, character portraits and representation of scenes prove to be for more the half century the strongest link between the "sister arts" of poetry and painting in England. Altick (P.16 -17) explains that in the first decade of exhibitions, the paintings of English literature were basically represented by dramatic sources, but from this time on, contemporary plays, specifically comedies, started to appear on some exhibitions, although those were not considered serious art but just theatrical publicity.

Even with the literary painting being already widely spread among the public in England, it is just with the advent of the Royal Academy, in 1768, that the art derived from English literature gained an official status. The Royal Academy was found through the personal act of the King George III, with a mission to promote arts in England through education and exhibitions. However, with the appearance of new styles of paintings and artistic movements (such as the Pre-Raphaelites), a wide discussion occurs in England in order to decide what kind of Art was proper to be exhibited by the Royal Academy. Initially, the supremacy of the historical painting is established, given the important political and military achievements of the nation. Then, the definition of historical painting expands its concepts allowing the incorporation of mythology and the historical heritage of England, and this includes Shakespearean characters and scenes (SMITH, 2009, p.164). Altick (apud. DINIZ, p.87) affirms that the artistic representation of Shakespeare's scenes and characters adds up to 1/5, a number around 2,300 (two thousand and three hundred), of all the "literary paintings" documented between 1760 and 1900, being *Hamlet* one of the most represented of Shakespeare's plays. The first image of Hamlet appeared in the 170 volume of Shakespeare of Jacob Tonson, edited by a well-known playwright of the time, Nicholas Rowe.

According to Altick (p.255), Shakespeare entered history painting under the "most dignified auspices", and the doutrine of "*Ut picture poesis*" offered a helpful association, since "if Shakespeare was a great poet, the sister art of painting should respond to, and memorialize, that greatness". The relation between Shakespeare and painting became so popular in eighteen-century English society that in 1789 a gallery devoted exclusively to exhibiting scenes from the dramatic work of the Bard was opened, The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery.

The Boydell Gallery was a three-part project planned by John Boydell in 1786, with the intention of promoting the creation of a school of English historical painting. The project included an illustrated edition of Shakespeare's work; a folio with printed engravings of the paintings exhibited in the gallery; and a public gallery to exhibit the paintings, being the gallery the most popular part of John Boydell's project. The Boydell Gallery displayed for the first visitors 34 (thirty-four) paintings, but according to Frederick Burwick (1996, P.09) in the introduction of "The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery", from 1996, this number doubled in the following year, and in every spring a new exhibition, with new paintings of Shakespeare, was announced. Before its close in 1805, the Boydell Gallery gathered 167 (one hundred and sixty-seven) canvases from 33 (thirty-three) different artists, among them: Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), George Romney (1734-1802), James Barry (1741-1806), Thomas Stothard (1755-

1834), James Northcote (1746-1831), Benjamim West (1738-1820), Johan Heirich Fuseli (1741-1825), and Angelika Kauffmann (1741-1807).

It is commonly known that Shakespeare's work and the visual arts have a close relation, since Shakespearean texts have been the inspiration to several visual artists. However, what is not so notorious is that the relation between Shakespeare and the visual arts can be seen as "a two-way street", since some authors affirm that Shakespeare used sometimes as inspiration several artwork's masterpieces. This device suggested to be used by Shakespeare is known as Ekphrasis, a word that derives from Greek, used to indicate a work of art, real or imagined, produced as a rhetorical exercise. Anna Stegh Camati comments that Shakespeare borrowed from painting, and visual references used by the Bard generate an aesthetics that stimulates complex intermidiatic constructions on his work. Camati cites evidence of the influence of the visual arts in Shakespeare:

> A concentração de imagens nos textos de Shakespeare flagra a sua tendência de transpor elementos da pintura para a literatura. Sua poesia lírica e dramática dialoga não somente com os versos de Ovídio, mas também com a "poesia visual" de mestres renascentistas italianos (CAMATI, 2013, p.10).

Thus, the deep relation between word and art in Shakespeare's work is conspicuous, and as discussed in this Chapter, such relation has been present in the history of art since Classical Antiquity. Whatever the theoretical positioning and scales of importance between word and image, the visual arts and literature have had a close connection that has been solidified over the centuries. In the previous century, with the increase of several new media, this connection grew considerably, sometimes involving media differing from each other by minimum details (photography and hyper-realistic paintings, for instance), so much so, that sometimes it becomes difficult for the contemporary viewer to classify what he or she is seeing. All in all, my point here is to construct a critical discourse that does not restrict itself to the conventions of any chosen medium. In this dissertation, I choose to look at images, a medium that requires an analytical effort that is as intense as the one required from literary analysis. The connection between literature and the visual arts will be shown by Ophelia's character in this research, in the way that as a dialectic body she expresses her condition and her questionings no matter the media in which she is represented.

3. STATUTE OF IMAGE:
ABY WARBURG AND GEORGES DIDI-HUBERMAN.

> "Da influência do Antigo.
> Esta história é fabulosa para contar.
> História de fantasmas para gente grande."
> A.Warburg, *Mnemosyne*, *Grundbegriffe* II
> (2 de julho de1929, p.3)

The following section intends to show how Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman develop their theory of art having images and the idea of representation as the center points of their discourses. Both these scholars argue that image is not a simple representation of the real word, a slice of the visible word. However, for Warburg and Didi-Huberman images traces, visual impressions of time, when the images were produced, but also other, anachronistic and heterogenic, times between them.

My theoretical selection in this dissertation deals with an idea that goes beyond plastic reality, but as Gilles Deleuze describes in the book *O que é Filosofia*, from 1991, "*um plano ou um solo de trabalho do sentido*"; since Warburg's and Didi-Huberman's fundamental conceptions enter the field of aesthetics and senses to give a new perspective to the history of art. My explanation corroborates Stéphane Huchet, in the book "*Frangmentos de uma História da Arte*", from 2012. According to Huchet, contemporary theory of art does not seek for predicates or definitions of an object anymore; the methodological and aesthetic conventions are not the central point of investigation as once they were. Didi-Huberman and, before him, Aby Warburg share this conception.

Particularly, Didi-Huberman rests his ideas on a knowledge of historiographical, critical and philosophical traditions to create an original, conceptual way of thinking about art. However, in order to understand those contemporary concepts, we must go back and learn from old masters and scholars. Roland Recht in "*A Escritura da História da Arte Frente aos Modernos (observações a partir de Riegl, Wölfflin, Warburg, et Panofsky)*" affirms:

> A tese que eu gostaria de apresentar aqui e ilustrar com alguns exemplos é a seguinte: O historiador de arte que desenvolve uma reflexão a partir da arte do passado não é somente tributário do momento histórico no qual se situa mas, nesse trabalho sobre o passado, ele toma posição sobre a arte que lhe é contemporânea, no mais das vezes inconscientemente. Há, em todo discurso sobre a arte do passado, um discurso subterrâneo sobre a arte do presente, pois a atividade artística é um movimento ininterrupto. (RECHT, apud HUTCHET 2012, p.35)

That anachronistic discourse about images is one of the main ideas that permeate the concepts of Aby Warburg and Didi-Huberman. Moreover, for them the image is a strong, true, cruel medium that imposes itself in our aesthetical, political, historical and daily universe, as we will see further in this dissertation

Thus, this Chapter is organized in two parts: one dedicated to Aby Warburg and the other dedicated to Georges Didi-Huberman. Admittedly, the order was arranged in a chronologic way, aiming to a better comprehension of the development of the theoretical conceptions of both authors, since Aby Warburg's work is a reference to Didi-Huberman's.

3.1 ABY WARBURG

Abraham Moritz Warburg, best known as Aby Warburg, was a German art historian and cultural theorist who proposes a review of art's theoretical and methodological basis, in which the interlacement of image and time makes new artistic and historiographical possibilities emerge. Warburg's biography is directly connected with the development of his ideas; thus, to know about his life is a requirement to comprehend his theoretical work.

Warburg was born in Hamburg in 1866 as part of a rich family of bankers. According to a family legend, in 1879, Aby Warburg, first born of seven sons, yielded his rights as the firstborn to one of his younger brothers, Max, under one condition: that Max promise him to buy all the books he desires for the rest of Warburg's life. Therefore, the freedom to buy as many books as he wanted made it possible for Warburg to build a large scientific apparatus, which turned out be the inspiration and the reflection of his work.

According to Gombrich (p.178), in the book *Aby Warburg. Eine intellectuelle Biographie*, from 1981, the following quote belongs to Warburg himself and evidences Warburg's passion for knowledge and his relationship with his books: "No ano passado, adquiri 516 livros novos, e da maioria deles sei exatamente o que não sei sobre seu conteúdo. Assim, já me prestaram excelentes serviços. No entanto, nesse mesmo ano, cresceram-me também 516 cabelos brancos [...]". Aby Warburg. Warburg's curious and inquiring instinct conducted him to leave one of the largest private libraries existing in the world; which is recognized as one of greatest achievements of his life and from where his theoretical work arises.

Aby Warburg's collection of books grew exponentially over the years; in 1909 the scholar's library held up to nine thousand volumes, and in 1911 fifteen thousand books. Warburg's library was the source of his research; there he investigates about Western

civilization and its most varied themes. Warburg used no specific library systematization to organize his books, but his own system with personal criteria that he calls “rule of good neighborhood”. According to his rationale, books on Astrology were next to Astronomy books; Alchemy next to Chemistry, and etc. Despite being originally a private collection, in 1914, Warburg decided to open his library to other scholars, turning the place semi-public. His intension was to completely open the library and go public, but with The First Great War and several psychological problems that put him away in medical clinics from 1918 to 1924, Warburg postponed his plans. Meanwhile, Fritz Saxl (1890-1948), a well-known art historian and Warburg’s assistant since 1913, accepted, in 1919, to take on as director of the Library due to Warburg’s psychological conditions, transforming the library in an Institute of Research.

However, in 1924 Warburg returned to Hamburg and resumed his position at the Library. With Warburg’s return, a new architectonical project, designed by him, was made and an oval building was built to receive his library, with a special area designated to classrooms. The *Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg* (The Warburg Library of Cultural Science) had in its collection books about Art, History, Sociology, Anthropology, Religion, Astronomy and others. Despite the architecture and large collection, the library’s unique organization is what stood out. In the new building, Warburg reached the highest point of sophistication in his organization system. Warburg housed his collection on four floors, classified by evocative themes: first floor – *Drômenon* (action); second floor – *Wort* (word); third floor – *Bild* (image); and fourth floor – *Orientienrung* (orientation). To this day, the library is famous for its powerful and suggestive system of classification, being notable for its interdisciplinary research.

The library stayed in Hamburg until 1933, but with the death of Warburg (in 1929) and the rise of Nazism in Germany, it was exiled to London. Fritz Saxl, with the support of the English government, transported the sixty thousand books to its new home in the Queen’s land. The Warburg Institute is one of the most respected institutions in the world, and has received great scholar over the years – from Erwin Panofsky and Edgar Wind to Ernst Cassirer. The spectacular library, now institute, is one of Warburg’s greatest achievements. Warburg built a temple of Western knowledge and created a new way of systematizing this knowledge. At the entrance of the library, Warburg ordered to engrave the word "Mnemosyne", the name of an ancient pagan deity, the muse of memory, who symbolically pervades in a peculiar way the nucleus of his work. The library, at the same time, was the source and the reflection of his critical and theoretical work (as we will see further in this Chapter).

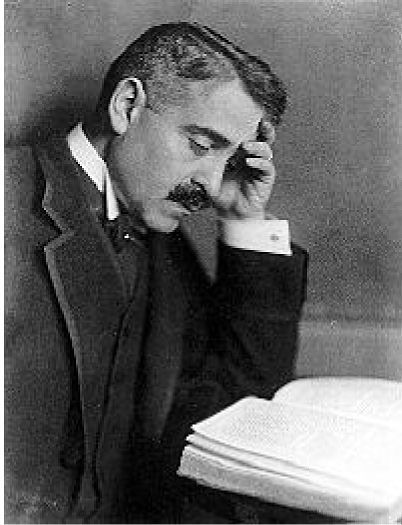

Figure 8: *Aby Warburg*, 1900**. / Figure 9:** *Warburg's Library in Hamburg*.

Aby Warburg was a scholar of art and cultural studies who was deeply disturbed by the classical, purely stylistic, approaches to art history. Thus, during his life, Warburg advocated pro an interdisciplinary approach of the scientific fields, dedicating himself to the study of Renaissance images and their interdisciplinary developments. His theoretical and critical works invoke this pluralism, as we see reflected in the organization of his library of cultural science. Warburg dedicated his life to his work, which can be considered an important breaking point in the theoretical discussion about the image.

This acknowledgment is corroborated by the fact that some of the most important modern and contemporary art scholars recognize Warburg as the precursor of their own theoretical work. Among them we have: Erwin Panofsky, Ernst Gombrich, Edgar Wind, Ernst Cassirer, Walter Benjamin, Carlo Ginzburg, Georges Didi-Huberman (part of the theoretical framework in this dissertation as mentioned before), and Giorgio Agamben, to name a few.

Aby Warburg's work elicits a comprehension that exceeds the object of art, its form and aesthetics, and explores the history of culture, supported by the anthropology of the image. Didi-Huberman (2013, p.17) in the preface of Philippe-Alain Michaud's book *Aby Warburg e a Imagem em Movimento* comments about the extension of Warburg's work: "[…] Warburg nunca parou de pôr a história da arte 'em movimento'. Em movimentos, deveríamos escrever, a tal ponto esse pensamento abriu e multiplicou objetos de análise, vias de interpretação, exigências de método, desafios filosóficos". Didi-Huberman explains that Warburg's rationale does not simplify the art historian's work; instead it creates a tension, generating more discussion and questioning about the object of art.

Warburg's formal education starts in 1886, studying History, Art History and Psychology in the city of Bonn; later in 1888 he spends a season in Florence where he starts to study images in motion with Agust Schmarsow; and in 1889 he gets in contact with the Viennese art school. However, it is in 1893, with the publishing of his dissertation O *'Nascimento de Vênus' e 'A Primavera' de Sandro Botticelli: uma investigação sobre as representações da Antiguidade no início do renascimento italiano*, that Warburg makes a statement as an art historian, presenting the hypothesis of the "survival" of ancient gesture expressions in Renaissance images.

Michaud tells that when Warburg starts to think about how Renaissance artists represent the movement, he concludes that they would force to restrict themselves to describe an appearance:

> O Movimento é descrito como uma dissociação ativa entre os contornos flutuantes da Figura e sua massa, que parece dissolver-se nas extremidades, tal como uma dança introduz a desordem na simetria e rompe o equilíbrio comedido da postura estática [...] O artista do Renascimento, a partir dos modelos antigos, procura reproduzir artificialmente a ilusão de movimento. (MICHAUD, 2013, p. 77-99)

Figure 10 - Sandro Botticelli. *A Primavera,* 1482.

Michaud (p.99) points out the visual characteristics observed by Warburg:

> [...] os sinais de mobilidade concentravam-se na periferia das Figuras, na deformação dos contornos e dos traços, no inflar da roupa e dos cabelos, sem

> afetar sua estrutura: A origem do movimento era relacionada a uma causa externa que modificava provisoriamente a configuração do corpo, mas não o afetava em profundidade. (MICHAUD, 2013, p.99)

Figure 11: Sandro Botticelli. *O Nascimento de Vênus.* 1483

The analysis of Renaissance images and the outcome of Warburg's observation about the representation of movement instigate him to continue his investigation. Thus, in the next nine years of his life Aby Warburg dedicated himself to his research about Renaissance images and movement; and the result came in 1902 with the sequel publication of two different studies: *A arte do retrato e a burguesia florentina* and *A arte flamenga e o início do renascimento florentino*. Both dedicated to what he called *A arte viva do retrato* (Michaud, 2013, p.99).

Although Warburg continued his investigation about Renaissance images and movement, the two new studies assumed a new direction. Warburg choose art works in which the images appear completely static; yet, according to him, the idea of movement does not disappear, instead, it becomes internalized. Warburg in 1893 concentrated his analysis on the structural part of the images, despite their symbolism and signification; and in 1902, his focus turned to the symbolic content in which a subject portrayed is involved and represented in the image. Michaud explains:

> [...] as Figuras já não são captadas no instante em que se modificam, mas representadas em posturas rigorosamente estáticas. No entanto, a questão do movimento não desaparece: internaliza-se. Já não designa os deslocamentos de um corpo no espaço, mas seu transporte pelo universo das representações, onde ele adquire uma visibilidade duradoura. A questão do movimento passa então

> a remeter, para Warburg, à entrada do sujeito na imagem, aos ritos de passagem e às encenações que regem seu comparecimento. (MICHAUD, 2013, p.34)

Therefore, at this point it is important to understand that Aby Warburg's exhausting research about Renaissance images and their representation of movement results for Warburg in an enhancement of the classical way of thinking about the image and the History of Art itself. To the scholar, what matters are the things that are outside the image, its movement, what echoes from it.

José Emilio Burucúa[11] (p.13-14), in *História, arte, cultura. De Aby Warburg a Carlo Ginzburg*, from 2007, expounds Warburg's understanding about the Renaissance as a transition period, when the tensions between the classical and the traditional enable the newness of the modern era. Burucúa explains that this tension, according to Warburg, is what gives modern society the possibilities of using what was inherited from different sources to interpret, transform and re-interpret, in order to learn and improve our material and intellectual experiences:

> la confrontación entre los dos mundos de sentido, el pagano antiguo y el cristiano bajomedieval, [...] amalgama cultural dinámico y cambiante, transida de tensiones, en donde lo antiguo, lo tradicional y lo nuevo se impregnaron de uma vitalidad desconocida que dio a luz, finalmente, el mundo de los Estados, de las cortes, de las artes y de los saberes modernos [...] la capacidad de esos hombres de transformar, reinterpretar, desarmar y rearmar lo heredado por múltiples vertientes y, sobre esa base, descubrir caminos desconocidos para la experiencia material e intelectual de individuos o de sociedades enteras. (BURUCUÁ, 2007, p.13-14)

Warburg seeks the details on image that reveal certain modes of thoughts, cultural dynamics, in order to understand beyond the aesthetics and symbolisms of art, but a whole

[11] José Emílio Burucúa, essayist and art historian, doctor of philosophy and letters, researcher and professor at the National University of San Martín, is the best-known Latin American researcher of Aby Warburg. Burucúa, in 2012, opened his conference titled "*Repercussões de Aby Warburg na América Latina*" saying that the studies about Warburg's work and cultural theory have been, in Latin America, as late as in the rest of the world. The author tells that it is just in 1992 that historians and anthropologists from Argentina had a first translation to the Castilian, published in Buenos Aires by the mythical Latin American Publishing Center, two famous essays by Warburg. 1) The one on the relations between the Florentine bourgeoisie of the Quattrocento and the art of the portrait; 2) And the other devoted to solving the astrological enigma of the frescoes painted at Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. Burucúa continues to explain that an English version, Gesammelte Schriften from 1999, published by the Getty Research Institute, ensured that the Latin American academic world could initiate contact with the corpus of Warburg. In 2005, the Alianza de Madrid publisher brought out the translation to Schriften's text, which became the basis of a growing academic craze for the work of Aby Warburg during the last decade, especially in Mexico and South America.
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functioning of the mentality of the artist and of his time. Carlo Ginzburg (p.42), in *Mitos, emblemas e sinais: morfologia e história*, from 1990, explains that Aby Warburg creates in his study about the Renaissance a method to use "Figurative testimonies", images, as historical sources. Ginzburg (p.44) affirms that Warburg was determined to find what exactly was re-born in the Renaissance, being haunted by the discovery of a "symptom".

This "symptom" is sought by Warburg in his studies about Botticelli, in which he identifies a recurrence of some forms in the artist's paintings. The scholar refers to these forms as a pathos or a mime language whose historical and geographical migration can be traced. Therefore, in 1905 Warburg created the term, celebrated today in Warburguian studies, *Pathosformeln,* to indicate these recurrent forms. The term was used for the first time in Warburg's essay *Dürer e a Antiguidade Italiana* to designate the formula of *pathos.* In the essay, Warburg analyzes an image from Albrench Dürer titled The death of Orpheus, inspired in an anonymous print from Andrea Mantegna[12]'s studio, and demonstrates that the Italian composition recovers themes and motifs from classical decorative art used in ceramics and sarcophaguses (Figures 12 and 13). Although the term was employed for the first time in 1905, Warburg (p.73) already used the idea of *Pathosformel* in his previous Renaissance researches, as we can observe in the opening of his essay about Botticelli in 1893:

> Proponho-me, no presente trabalho, a comparar os conhecidos quadros mitológicos de Sandro Botticelli, O nascimento de Vênus e A primavera, com as representações equivalentes da literatura poética e teórico-artística contemporânea, com o objetivo de clarificar quais foram os aspectos da Antiguidade que interessaram ao artista do Quattrocento. (TEIXEIRA, 2010, p.73)

[12] Andrea Mantegna (1431 -1506) was an Italian painter and engraver of the Renaissance. He was the first great artist of northern Italy.

Figure 12: Albrench Dürer. *The Death of Opheus*, 1494.

Figure 13: Greek krater Vase. *The death of Orpheus*, 470.B.C.
Source: Louvre Museum, Paris.

The term *Pathosformeln* embraces not only the form in its iconographical matter, but also in its emotional and psychological dimension. Warburg used the term to open the historical experience to the sensibility, considering *Pathosformeln* as "Figuretive motifs characterized by the intense feelings that remained, somehow, constant from classical art to the art of the Renaissance and from then on" (SCARSO, WEB). Agamben (1984, p.11), observes about Warbug's concept that "[...] um conceito como 'Pathosformel' torna impossível separar forma

e conteúdo, pois designa a intricação indissolúvel de uma carga afetiva e uma fórmula iconográfica"; in other words, the term takes into account the phenomenological relation with form and with material culture.

Thus, Warburg begins to overview the history of art as an erratic memory of images and forms that constantly re-appears during the times as "symptoms"; with this in mind, Warburg creates another concept *Nachleben der Antike*. The term becomes the "touchstone" of Warburg's work, carrying the idea that moves the entire Warburguian Studies.

Although *Nachleben der Antike,* or just *Nachleben,* has its signification usually simplified as "survival", it is a difficult term to translate, thus being known by several different forms among authors. For example, Giorgio Agamben (1999) translated it as "posthumous life of antiquity" and "survival of antiquity" as well. Georges Didi-Huberman (2013) refers, in some passages, to the "transmission of the old", but in most cases, opts for "survival". In Brazil, Cássio da Silva Fernandes (2004, p.150) goes with "posthumous life", while Cláudia Valladão de Mattos (2007, p.133) speaks of a "post-life" of old images (TEIXEIRA, 2010, p.134-147). Although different in translation, the main idea is always the same: "*Nachleben der Antike"* is the "symptom", the pathos that survives through time on images.

To Warburg, *Nachleben* transcends the images to a symbolic role, in which they reflect evidences of time, marks of memory, and thus, providing a tension between the past and the present. The images and forms perform to Warburg the same function as the *engramma* to Richard Semon[13]. Both contain crystalized pulsing energy, an emotional experience that survives time and is passed through generations as social memory that becomes effective in accordance with an "elective will" of a given epoch. In Agamben (p.118), *A Potência do pensamento: Ensaios e conferências,* from 2015, the author reinforces the codependency of images, memory and time, and where the *Nachleben* is applied in this relation:

> As imagens que compõem nossa memória tendem incessantemente, no curso de suas transmissões históricas (coletiva e individual), a se enrijecer em espectros, e trata-se justamente de restituí-las à vida. As imagens são vivas, mas, sendo feitas de tempo e de memória, a sua vida é sempre já Nachleben, sobrevivência, estando sempre já ameaçada e prestes a assumir uma forma espectral. (AGAMBEN, 2015, p.118)

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[13] Richard Simon (1859 -1918) was a German zoologist and evolutionary biologist who believed in the transmission of acquired characteristics, applicable to social evolution. According to Semon, in the book "The Mneme", from 1921, the Mneme would represent the memory of an experience that occurs outside the body. To the author, memory is the quality that differentiates the human being from inorganic matter, and has the power to preserve and transmit energy. Semon believed that every event lived by a person leaves a mark, which he called *engramma*, and that the energy contained by the *engramma* can be accessed in determinate situations.

Didi-Huberman (2002, p.55) corroborates Agamben and says that the survival forms "desaparece[m] em um ponto da história, reaparece[m] muito mais tarde, num momento em que talvez não fosse[m] esperada[s], tendo sobrevivido, por conseguinte, no limbo ainda mal definido de uma 'memória coletiva'*"*. It is important to explain that when Warburg refers to survival forms in his work he is talking about symbols.[14] The study about the Renaissance forms was a study about symbol; however, Warburg does not consider that a symbol has a stiff and closed meaning, but something that contains energy and predisposition for metamorphosis.

Therefore, the concept of History created by Warburg is grounded on a theory of memory and on a theory of the symbol. Historical research must then bring to light typological and trans-historical conflicts must discover in what remains and not in what has passed, in the intensive historicity of the *Nachleben*, the purest historical matter (GUERREIRO, SITE). Hence, according to Warburg, memory cancels the gap between past and present. Yet, what is transmitted on images does not remain the same. Developing a theory of the symbol that passes from the idea that *Nachleben* are symbolic images, Warburg shows that the symbol, materializing and condensing this tension between the past and the present, breaks the continuum of history (GUERREIRO, SITE). Didi-Huberman explains:

> Warburg, creio, sentia-se insatisfeito com a territorialização do saber sobre as imagens porque tinha certeza de duas coisas, pelos menos. Primeiro, não ficamos 'diante da imagem' como de algo cujas fronteiras exatas não podemos traçar[...]. Uma imagem, toda imagem, resulta dos movimentos provisoriamente sedimentados ou cristalizados nela. Esses movimentos a atravessam de fora a fora, e cada qual tem uma trajetória – histórica, antropológica, psicológica – que parte de longe e continua além dela. Eles nos obrigam a pensá-la como um 'momento' energético ou dinâmico, ainda que ele seja específico em sua estrutura. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2002, p.33)

Warburg organized this theoretical thinking about memory, symbol and history in a discipline -- a History of Art of Culture -- supported by an anthropologic interpretation of images. The discipline has never received a proper name. Nevertheless, Warburg once defined it as being "*histórias de fantasma para gente grande*" (WARBURG, 1929), expression used later by Georges Didi-Huberman to titled his book *A imagem sobrevivente: Histórias da arte e tempo dos fantasmas segundo Aby Warburg*. In 1975, Giorgio Agamben in a certain way named Warburg's method as "the science with no name" in the essay titled "*Aby Warburg and the*

[14] The Warburguian idea of symbol has a phenomenological perspective, being directly influenced by social culture and time. I refer to the idea of symbol in this part of the dissertation because it is something that I cannot ignore when reporting Warburg's theory; however, for lack of space and in an attempt to preserve focus, symbol is not an issue that I can go into further here.

Nameless Science" (AGAMBEN, 1999). In the essay, Agamben discusses Warburg's controversial and provocative way of thinking about image, challenging the limits of the aesthetic analysis of the work of art itself. The designation "nameless science" is still used to talk about Warburg's method.

Still according to Agamben (2012, p.36), in the book *Ninfas*, Warburg was the one to realize that "as imagens transmitidas pela memória histórica […] não são inertes e inanimadas, mas possuem uma vida especial e diminuída, que ele chama, justamente, de vida póstuma, sobrevivência". The relationships among art, history and time are the center of Warburg's theory and are debated by Didi-Huberman in the book *A imagem sobrevivente: História da arte e tempo dos fantasmas segundo Aby Warburg*, from 2013. The author opens the first section of his book with the Chapter "*A arte morre, a arte renasce: a história recomeça".* The author shows the difference between historical speech and the History of Art as a discipline:

> Arriscamos isso: o discurso histórico não nasce nunca. Sempre recomeça. Constatamos isto: a história da arte – a disciplina assim denominada – recomeça vez após outra. Toda vez, ao que parece que seu próprio objeto é vivenciado como morto... e como renascendo. (DIDI-HIBERMAN, 2013, p.13)

The work of Aby Warburg has as a fundamental character of hypertextuality.[15] This characteristic is present in Warburg's method, in his library and in his last, and perhaps more daring, project: the *Atlas Mnemosyne.* Warburg just started to work in the Atlas in the last years of his life; therefore, it was never finished. The *Bilderatlas Mnemosyne,* original name in German*,* consists of a plethora of images - an encyclopedia of images – where we can find works of art, photographs of objects, stamps, pages of books, post-cards, advertising images and newspaper clippings; the images were cataloged numerically and arranged in large panels made of wood and black fabric. Each panel was inspired by a different theme. Also, the physical proximity among the images on the panels represents geographical, historical or thematic proximity, thus, making it possible to compare its similarities and differences. On the panels,

[15] Hypertext exists through the advances of technology, through the organization of digital information, with connections that form a process of non-linear reading, as a rhizome, which grows and branches in different directions for new ones to be created. Deleuze and Guatarri explain: "*não se deve confundir tais linhas ou lineamentos com linhagens de tipo arborescente, que são somente ligações localizáveis entre pontos e posições. (...) O rizoma se refere a um mapa que deve ser produzido, construído, sempre desmontável, conectável, reversível, modificável, com múltiplas entradas e saídas, com suas linhas de fuga. São os decalques que é preciso referir aos mapas e não o inverso*" (DELEUZE e GUATTARI, 2004, p. 32-33).

the relationships between the images are never definitive and linear, the order of the images being constantly allowed to be rearranged in new configurations.

Figure 14: Bilderatlas Mnemosyne. *Panel 37*, 1929.
Source: The Warburg Institute, London.

Figure 15: Bilderatlas Mnemosyne. *Panel 45*, 1929.
Source: The Warburg Institute, London.

The *Atlas Mnemosyne* was never finished but, according to Ernest Gombrich, in Warburg's Biography, this was an endless project. The very nature of the Atlas was to permit countless possibilities of combinations, as today's nets of hypertexts. Therefore, the Warburguian method is based on the accumulation of texts, images and ideas, in whose articulation the images gain privileged status. The scholar's logic is almost exclusively visual; his task was to accumulate all sorts of images and create a continuum narrative that reflects the representation of Western memory.

3.2 GEORGES DIDI-HUBERMAN[16]

Georges Didi-Huberman is a French philosopher and art historian born in 1953 in Saint-Étienne. Son of a painter, Didi-Huberman grew up surrounded by paint, brushes, and art discussions. Perhaps these childhood memories stimulated the scholar to pursue the theory of art and promote an "archeological view" of the images and the world. Inspired mainly in the work of Aby Warburg,[17] Didi-Huberman has created his own view of art history in which images are carriers of memories and time.

It is specifically from Aby Warburg's work that Didi-Huberman proposes reflections, in which the heterogenic relationships among object, culture and images question the strictly historiographical perspective of art. Didi-Huberman's reflections are specially instigated by the aforementioned *Atlas Mnemosyne*, in which the visual knowledge is both aesthetic and epistemic. To the scholar, the Atlas provides an archeological and chronological attitude:

> Al descomponer la historia presente, surgen del atlas espectros, fantasmas, seres o cosas anacrónicas: es el impensado de la repetición, el ignoto de las represiones y de los 'retornos del reprimido'. Tal vez no exista reflexión acerca de la historia contemporánea sin una actitud genealógica y arqueológica que revele sus síntomas, sus movimientos inconscientes. (WARBURG, 2010, p. 396)

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[16] Didi-Huberman is currently professor of the *École de Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales*, in Paris. Known by his challenging work in the field, Didi-Huberman has also taught at foreign universities, such as Johns Hopkins, Northwestern, Berkeley, Court auld Institute, Berlin and Basel. The scholar received important awards, such as the *Hans-Reimer-Preis* from the Aby *Warburg-Stiftung* in Hamburg and the Humboldt award, in 2006. In addition, Didi-Huberman was curator of several exhibitions as "*L'Empreinte*" at the Georges Pompidou Centre, in Paris, in 1997, "Fables du lieu" at *Studio National des Arts Contemporains*, in Tourcoing, in 2001, and the exposition "Atlas" about the work of Aby Warburg, at the Reina Sofia Museum.

[17] Besides Aby Warburg, Didi-Huberman has the work Walter Benjamin and Sigmund Freud as references to his own as well. But, for lack of space and more compatibility with the idea proposed by Warburg towards my approach of the corpus, I choose to focus my theoretical reflections on Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman.

Georges Didi-Huberman, over the course of forty years, developed an exhaustive variety of work about art and images of different times, places, and media. The author, from 1985 to 2004, shows us diversity in his theoretical work, spreading his critical contributions both in the history of art and in the history of the image. The author “plays” both roles of “art historian” and “image historian”, being versatile in order to comprehend the complexity that surrounds the structure of art and cultural phenomena. Didi-Huberman’s scientific production displays a range of possibilities: traditional knowledge about the history of Renaissance, *Fran Angelico* (1995); contribution to phenomenological thinking and image theory, *O que vemos, que nos olha* (1991); a methodological proposal towards the history of art, *Diante da Imagem* (2013) e *Diante do Tempo* (2015), etc.

Such work highlights the depth of Didi-Huberman’s contributions and shows the variety of possibilities offered by the breath of his research. However, some issues remain central to Didi-Huberman’s theoretical work about the image. The author insists that when we think about images we must have three basic issues (CAMPOS, 2017, p. 269-70) in mind: first, to know how to look; second, to understand the image not as a solution or an answer to something, but as a problematization; and three, to place the images in relation to something. Those three issues will be crucial to the analyses of Ophelia’s images further in this dissertation.

Thus, to contextualize the complexities of art, Didi-Huberman (2013, p.9) in the opening of his book “*Diante da Imagem*” explains that when we lay our eyes on an art image, usually, we experience the sensation of paradox. This happens because the image at the same time can promote the feeling of knowledge, as the observer captures the visual information by his first interaction with the representation; and the felling of lack of knowledge, when the observer lets his eyes capture more than what the visual world can provide. Therefore, what seems to be legible and clear to the observer can also raise questions that go beyond the on-screen representation. The author affirms that this paradox is banal, being a commonplace for someone who ventures in the interaction with an image of art:

> Com frequência, quando pousamos nosso olhar sobre uma imagem da arte, vem-nos a irrecusável sensação do paradoxo. O que nos atinge imediatamente e sem desvio traz a marca da perturbação, como uma evidência que fosse obscura. Enquanto o que nos parece claro e distinto não é, rapidamente o percebemos, se não o resultado de um longo desvio – uma mediação, um uso das palavras. [...] Tudo isso diante de uma mesma superfície de quadro, de escultura, em que nada terá sido ocultado, em que tudo diante de nós terá sido, simplesmente, ‘apresentado’. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013, p.9)

Didi-Huberman (2013, p.9) continues his reasoning suggesting that sometimes this paradox can arouse anxiety, leading the observer to seek to understand more than the image seems to show. In this case, this attention regarding the object of art, in the search for what is hidden, or forgotten, proposes a specific knowledge about the object. According to Didi-Huberman that knowledge is the discipline of History of Art. The author explains about the History of Art (p.10):

> A história da arte se apresenta, em realidade, como um empreendimento sempre mais conquistador. Ela atende demandas, torna-se indispensável. Enquanto disciplina universitária, não cessa de refinar-se e de produzir novas informações; graças a ela há, para os homens, um ganho evidente em saber. Enquanto instância de organização dos museus e das exposições de arte, ela não para igualmente de crescer [...] Enfim, a história torna-se a engrenagem essencial e a caução de um mercado de arte que não cessa, ele também, de aumentar suas apostas. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013, p.10)

Didi-Huberman, reflecting about the History of Art, makes the following questioning: should we be surprised to see an art historian take over the role of a doctor who addresses his patient with the rightful authority of someone who supposedly knows everything about art? He answers firmly: yes, we should be surprised. Didi-Huberman exposes the fragility of history, explaining that history is a lacunar element that is subordinated to figurative objects and discourses created by man. Thus, according to the scholar (p.10), the historian is nothing more than a *"*fictor, isto é, o moderador, o artífice, o autor e o inventor do passado que ele dá a ler". In order words, history is something always told by someone's perception.

Furthermore, Didi-Huberman believes that when the historian focuses his work on art, it is even more difficult to provide an absolute knowledge, giving us the example of a cloud[18] "that passes over, constantly changing shape. Now, what can be known about a cloud, if not by guessing it and without ever fully understanding it". One of the greatest criticisms made by Didi-Huberman about the History of Art is that the discipline's books give us the wrong impression that the object of art can be fully revealed, completely comprehended in all its particularities, being precise as a medical diagnosis.

The certainty that the idea of representation is an exact mirror which translates clearly all concepts into images and all images into concepts incited Didi-Huberman to critically reflect on this positivist and formalist model. Thus, Didi-Huberman breaks with the traditional

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[18] Influenced by Hubert Damisch in "*Teoria da Nuvem*" from 1972.

moorings of art historiography,[19] more specifically with Erwin Panofsky's (1892-1968) iconological method. The major criticism towards Panofsky focuses on what Didi-Huberman (2013, p.11) has called "*omnitradutibilidade da imagem*". The term signifies that it is possible to exhaust the analysis of the art image leaving no room for cultural plurality.

Didi-Huberman condemns that the visible is submited to the legible. The scholar explains that Panofsky turned to Immanuel Kant's (1724-1804) philosophy to develop his method; this happens because, according to Didi-Huberman (2013, p.13), Kant knew how to "open" and "re-open" the knowledge problem, defining the limits and the subjective conditions of his game. Therefore, Panofsky relies on Kantian rationale to contain art discourse and exclude the unknown. Didi-Huberman explains:

> Ao apoderar-se da chave kantiana ou neokantiana [através de Ernest Cassirer], Panofsky abria portanto novas portas para sua disciplina. Mas é impossível que, tão logo abertas essas portas, ele as tenha tornado a fechar com firmeza diante de si, não deixando à crítica senão o momento de uma breve passagem: uma corrente de ar. É o que o Kantismo em filosofia também havia feito: abrir para tornar a fechar melhor, recolocar em questão o saber, não para deixar transbordar o turbilhão radical, mas sim para reunificar, ressintetizar, reesquematizar um saber cujo fechamento agora se satisfazia consigo mesmo por meio de um alto enunciado de transcendência. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013, p.13)

Georges Didi-Huberman affirms that this is not a strict application of Kant's philosophy on the studies of images of art. But a "Kantian tone", or a "Kantian Syndrome", which according to Didi-Huberman (2013, p.14) utilizes words to "[…] tapar as brechas, negar as contradições, resolver sem um instante de hesitação todas as aporias que o mundo das imagens propõe ao mundo do saber". Thus, Didi-Huberman criticizes the philosophy that restricts the possibilities and uncertainties provided by art images.

In Didi-Huberman's work, Freud appears to oppose the "Kantian tone". According to the scholar (2013, p.15), in Freud there are elements of a critique of knowledge capable of analyzing art deeply within what we generally call the Human Sciences. Didi-Huberman uses Freud as a support for the development of his criticism because of Freud's critical paradigm and not his clinical model. Didi-Huberman uses the word "symptom" but the meaning has nothing to do with the clinical application of the word. Symptom here stands for something that crosses and disturbs the pattern, something capable of producing laceration, which discloses

[19] Although this subject also present in Didi-Huberman in "*A Pintura Encarnada*", from 1985, the criticism against the formalist idea of traditional historiography was not explicit in the book; The proper criticism occurs just with the publication of "*Diante da Imagem*" in 1990.

what is hidden in the image. It is through the symptom that the image reveals its complex structure and latencies.

Hence, what Didi-Huberman seeks in his theory goes beyond the visible world. The author focuses on the paradox inherent to art images, and specifically, being attracted by the unknown. Didi-Huberman believes that iconography is insufficient to reach the totality of art images; such totality is not just about what the art image is, who painted it, when it was painted, its visible characteristics, but what this image can be:

> Para além do próprio saber, lançar-se na prova paradoxal de não ‘saber’ (o que equivaleria exatamente a negá-lo), mas de ‘pensar’ o elemento do não-saber que nos deslumbra toda vez que pousamos nosso olhar sobre uma imagem da arte. Não se trata mais de pensar um perímetro, um fechamento, trata-se de experimentar uma rasgadura constitutiva e central: Ali onde a evidência, ao se estilhaçar, se esvazia e se obscurece. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013, p.15-16)

Thus, Didi-Huberman looks at art images without a “hard look” or pre judgments; we can risk a metaphor, saying that to the author art images cannot be understood as being either black or white, but a wide variation of grey. Didi-Huberman breaks with art’s historiographical standard, and shows us the complexity contained in art images in its psychological and phenomenological senses. Didi-Huberman (1990, p.297) affirms “A pintura é dotada de uma estranha e formidável capacidade de dissimulação. Ela nunca cessará de estar aí, diante de nós, como uma distância, uma potência, jamais como ato completo”. As we can observe in the quote above, time is a present issue in the development of Didi-Huberman’s art theory. To the author, images are not mere illustrations lined up in continuous time, in a chronological sequence in which past and present never meet.

Didi-Huberman, in his studies about the history of art, makes us rethink the discipline’s models of conducting its temporalities, making us consider other forms of movement and rhythms that entail “anachronisms”. Didi-Huberman dedicated himself to the study of the “survival” of images, a term created by Aby Warburg and reconceptualized by him. The scholar (2002, p.13) believes that the art historical discourse is always reborn: *“*o discurso da arte não ‘nasce’ nunca. Sempre recomeça”. He sustains his arguments by art historical facts, showing that the discourse appears repeatedly in history.

For example, in the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) argued about the death of classical art with the advent of the Middle Ages, and its resurrection with the Renaissance movement, the rebirth of classical art. Two centuries later, in the middle of eighteenth century, we observe again a resurrection event, not in the Renaissance context

anymore but the rebirth of the Neoclassic, an important period for art theory. The theorist Johann Winckelmann (1717-1778) was the first to designate categories and styles for art history, and the first one to get away from the old system of "*gabinete de curiosidades*" and form a historical method. Here is Didi-Huberman about Wickelmann:

> Desse ponto em diante, o historiador da arte já não se contentou em colecionar e admirar seus objetos: como escreveu Quatremère[20], ele analisou e decompôs, exerceu seu espírito de observação e de crítica, classificou, aproximou e comparou, 'voltou da análise para a síntese', a fim de 'descobrir as características seguras' que dariam a qualquer 'analogia' sua lei de 'sucessão'. Foi assim que a história da arte se constituiu como 'corpo', como saber metódico e como uma verdadeira 'análise de tempos'. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2002, p.15)

Georges Didi-Huberman proposes that images go beyond mere illustrations, and that the history of images is a history of objects psychologically and symptomatically complex (BARROS, 2012, p. 103-116), and time is one of these complex factors emphasized by Didi-Huberman in his work. The author dedicates the book *Devant le Temps*, from 2000, to explore critically the history of art based on the relationships between image and time, proposing that the study of images is composed by temporarily impure objects (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 1994, p. 158-176). In the book, Didi-Huberman invites to his discussion different scholars. He refers to them (Aby Warburg, Walter Benjamin and Carl Einstein) as an "anachronistic constellation", Warburg being the one from this constellation who has the strongest connection with Huberman's work.

Following Warburg's rationale of "survival" (2002, p.69), which imposes a disorientation to any vileness of periodization, Didi-Huberman concludes that "cada período de tempo é tecido por seu próprio nó de ambiguidades, anacronismos, presentes e propensões para o futuro". The French author believes that the historian must learn to complexify his own time models, that is "atravessar a espessura de memórias múltiplas, retecer as fibras de tempos heterogêneos, recompor ritmos aos tempi disjuntos" (2000, p.39). Therefore, survival extends the field of its objects, its approaches, its temporal models, making history complex.

Georges Didi-Huberman's idea of "anachronism" lines up perfectly with Warburg's concept of "*Narchleben*", survival. He affirms that "survival" releases a kind of "margin of indetermination" in the historical correlation of phenomena and explains:

[20] Antoine-Chrysostome Quatremère de Quincy (1755 – 1849) was a French "armchair archaeologist" and architectural theorist, a Freemason, and an effective arts administrator and influential writer on art.

> Constatar isso é nos rendermos à evidência de que as ideias de tradição e transmissão têm uma complexidade atemorizante: são históricas, mas também são anacrônicas; são feitas de processos conscientes e processos inconscientes, de esquecimentos e redescobertas, de inibições e destruições, de assimilações e inversões de sentido, de sublimações e alterações. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2002, p.70)

Therefore, Didi-Huberman concludes that “survival” anachronizes history. At this point of our discussion, it is important to recall that Warburg and Didi-Huberman advocate in their theories that survival appears through images. Then, the image is the object crossed by the flowing of time. Didi-Huberman and Warburg believe that certain artistic forms and motifs survive in the fold of chronological time and in the collective memory as “symptoms”, revealing themselves from time to time. Thus, the “symptom” would be responsible for bringing up memories, similarities and tensions within the multiple temporalities that are manifested in the images. Didi-Huberman (2015, p.10) tells us that we must recognize, humbly, that the image probably will have a longer existence than us; after all, “diante dela nós somos o elemento frágil, o elemento passageiro, e diante de nós é ela o elemento do futuro, o elemento da duração. A imagem tem frequentemente memória e mais futuro do que o ente que a olha”. As we can see, Didi-Huberman proposes new time models, but the author does not alienate the image from its historicity. The image can be considered as having a memory that is particular to it, giving space to a set of times -- heterogeneous and discontinuous -- that connect and interpolate.

The French author comments (2015, p.40) about the difficulty of analyzing the fundamental plasticity of images, and with it, its anachronisms. Since Didi-Huberman challenges the traditional way of understanding images and time, the author uses the process of “montage”, as we saw in Aby Warburg’s Atlas, to understand these anachronisms and “reminiscences” (symptoms/survival). Didi-Huberman, in the book “*A Imagem Sobrevivente*”, affirms about the system of montage:

> A montagem – pelo menos no sentido que nos interessa aqui – não é a criação artificial de uma continuidade temporal a partir de “planos” descontínuos, dispostos em sequências. Ao contrário, é um novo modo de expor visualmente as descontinuidades do tempo que atuam em todas as sequências da história. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2002, p.399-400)

Thus, Didi-Huberman explains that by means of that system of montage the image is inserted into a visual web in which images can be analyzed and compared. From this process of visual approximation, the images can reveal, through their reminiscences, survivals, thoughts or ideas from the past, and promote a new gaze onto the same problem. The past, therefore, refers to a memory and a history that are not chronological or direct. Didi-Huberman seeks to

analyze images of art today by looking at them under the lens of heterogeneous time, and this is what this dissertation attempts to do with images of Ophelia.

Following the ideas of Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman, this dissertation applies the process of montage to analyze images of Ophelia in the history of Western art. I propose here to observe different images of Ophelia in order to verify the existence of "anachronism", and how it interacts with her images, their dysfunctions and symptoms, revealing her currency in contemporaneity.

4. CONSTELLATION I

4.1 REPRESENTATIONS OF OPHELIA BEFORE MADNESS

"I do not know, my lord, what I should think."
(1.4.135)

At a first glimpse, Ophelia seems to be a relatively minor character, when we analyze the play in its structure – number of scenes and lines where she appears --, but what can be observed over the years, and what concerns this research, is that she may be simplified as a character, but in fact is nothing simple at all. I choose to start with some basic information: saying that she is a secondary character in the play, appearing in only five of the twenty scenes in *Hamlet*. She is also one of the two female characters, with Gertrude, present in the play; however, despite her underestimated importance in *Hamlet*, Ophelia became an icon among artists in the History of Art.

Besides the intriguing facts about the relation between the status of the character and her popularity, none of this information tells us who exactly this woman is. If we look into synopses of the play the most common answer to the question, "*Who is Ophelia*?" is "*she is a young noblewoman of Denmark, the daughter of Polonius, sister of Laertes, and is in love with prince Hamlet*". It is valid to remember that there are some variations to the definition above; for instance, if we change the part "*in love with prince Hamlet*" to "*potential wife of Prince Hamlet*", which I consider a hasty interpretation of the text, we get exactly Google's synopsis of our character in question. However, what is important despite the slightly different versions of Ophelia's "definition" is that we go back to the same issue that we had with the basic information given earlier: we still do not know who Ophelia is.

The identified problem in those last descriptions is the apparent lack of personality or characteristics given about the character herself, who is described only from her relationships with other characters in the play. She is somebody's daughter, somebody's sister and somebody's lover; therefore, the description gives us no empathy with Ophelia, or characteristics of this woman, but instead gives us the same amount of limited information as that of a genealogic tree.

However, it is not impossible to find detailed descriptions of Ophelia. In those cases, frequently, besides the information that we have just seen, her plot is added in an attempt to detail her character – "*she is a young noblewoman of Denmark, the daughter of Polonius, sister*

of Laertes, and is in love with prince Hamlet. Ophelia succumbs into madness after the death of her father and the rejection of the prince, and ends up dead". Yet, once more we are introduced to Ophelia through other characters; her madness and death are consequences to events involving other characters. The truth is that we do not know Ophelia, what she thinks, her desires, what her intentions are in the play, and I even dare to say that without her the main plot would be the same. Hamlet would see the ghost, swear and succeed in his revenge against his uncle, hate his mother and pretend his madness.

Nevertheless, what we can suppose about Ophelia is that she is an intriguing character because of her lack of personality – being an intentional decision of Shakespeare or not. The fact is that she has become an agent of complex issues. Her submissiveness as a character in the play, and the tradition of being described not by her own self but by her relation with other characters, is a starting point of her web of complexity that happens in a certain way in isolation from the main drama of the play. This is, while other characters in the play were necessary for the development of Ophelia's issues – suicide or accidental death, sexual relation, patriarchal system, madness – the issues raised by her do not affect the course of the main story.

It is precisely this lack of information and malleable personality that make Ophelia a mystery to be explored by the visual artists. Her untold story, her ambiguous speeches and events, her non-staged actions have aroused interest in this supposedly dispensable character. However, Ophelia's tradition in the arts does not start suddenly; Ophelia's popularity among artists was developed over time and in different ways. Her visual representation over the years present two distinct Ophelias: one that represents the figure of the obedient daughter and naive girl; and another that, despite the oppression in which she is immersed, is able to break free in her madness.

Ophelia can be considered an icon among the female characters in Shakespeare's plays because of her great number of visual representations in the arts. And Ophelia's popularity has grown over time. In England, between 1791 and 1828, only five works featuring Ophelia were shown at the Royal Academy. But in contrast, three representations of Ophelia were presented in the 1831 Royal Academy annual exhibition alone. From 1831 onward, more Ophelias were exhibited at the Royal Academy per decade than were shown between 1791 and 1838. In Parisian salons in the nineteenth century, Ophelias were depicted in paintings, watercolors, drawings, and sculptures. Among these were fifty paintings, rather few compared to the British Royal Academy's Ophelias exhibited over the century. Moreover, her popularity is not restricted to eighteenth and nineteenth centuries' paintings and engravings; Ophelia's visual

representation has overcome the barriers of contemporary media and the changes of the artistic materials and has metamorphosed through the ages, always updated.

The first ever *Hamlet* image documented appeared in Jacob Tonson's 1709 six-volume edition of Shakespeare, edited by an important playwright of the time, Nicholas Rowe. The image, an engraving, depicted the "*Closet Scene*", when the Ghost made his dramatic appearance. According to Alan Young (p.27-28), *Hamlet and the Visual Arts, 1709-1900*, from 2002, the three earlier visual representations of Hamlet were depictions of the "*closet scene*", and later in 1740, a new subject attracted the artists. The matter was a moment on act I scene IV, with an earlier appearance of the Ghost before Hamlet.

However, as of 1740 artists began to explore new subjects and visual perspectives of the play. Ophelia's first visual representations happened in that period, setting off her visual popularity in the middle/end of the eighteenth century. The first visual representations place Ophelia into group scenes, as *tableaux vivants*. [21] Érika Vieira (2010, p.7), in *Resistindo à clausura: a iconografia de Ofélia*, tells us that one possible explanation for the predominance of group scenes in the beginning of the eighteenth century is the idealizing neoclassic approach to the play. As is known, neoclassical art seeks inspiration in balance and simplicity, the bases for creation in antiquity; its main characteristics are the illustrative and literary character, marked by formalism and linearity, sculptural poses, with correct anatomy and accuracy in contours.

The subsequent part of Ophelia's visual story can be a little foggy because we can not affirm for sure what was the first pictorial image of Ophelia. However, probably her first pictorial representation appears in Sir Thomas Hanmer's six-volume quarto edition of Shakespeare from 1744. There is a previous illustrated edition of Shakespeare's plays; yet, in the researched sources,[22] none of the previous editions depict Ophelia or describe the visual material on her.

Anyhow, Hanmer's edition, published at Oxford, included thirty-six engraved plates, five designed by Hubert Gravelot and the remainder by the important English artist Francis Hayman. Therefore, according to Young (p.30), Hayman was responsible for designing a picture of "the Play Scene" to Hamner's edition of Shakespeare, adding a new subject to the visual tradition of *Hamlet* in the eighteenth century. Thus, "*The play scene from Hamlet*",

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[21] Tableaux Vivant is a French expression, translated as "live painting", to define the representation by a group of actors or models of a pre-existing or unpublished pictorial work. The tableau vivant was a form of entertainment that originated in the nineteenth century with the advent of photography, where costumed actors posed as if it were a painting.

[22] Especially from the extensive work of Alan Young and personal research at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

painted later in 1745 by Hayman (Figure 16), can be considered Ophelia's first pictorial representation.

The painting shows Ophelia immersed in a group scene from *Hamlet.* The moment in question is act 3 scene 2, located in what appears to be the ballroom of the castle. In the scene, we can recognize prince Hamlet with blond hair sitting on the floor next to Ophelia, wearing black. The king stands in a red coat, looking surprised and maybe scared. Queen Gertrude, in a beige dress and dark coat, sits in the background, behind the king, watching his reaction. Polonius is behind a chair and next to the king. Ophelia, in a white dress, sits on a chair next to Hamlet and looks at the prince. Horatio is up behind Ophelia's chair observing the king's behavior. Finally, on the left side of the image two actors are staging a play, while others with no character definition blend with the scene's background.

Figure 16: Francis Hayman. *The play scene from Hamlet*, 1745.

The "mouse-trap" scene or, as it became known, "the play scene", is one of the scenes where Ophelia gains prominence in the play probably because of the offensive dialog with Hamlet. The double-meaning conversation between Ophelia and Hamlet is one of the most uncomfortable scenes for the character and, I dare to say, for the audience as well. Given

Hamlet's word games, Ophelia demonstrates either naivety, foolishness, and/or cleverness, depending on the viewer's interpretation:

> **Hamlet**: Lady, shall I lie in your lap?
> **Ophelia**: No, my lord
> **Hamlet**: Do you think I meant country matters?
> **Ophelia** I think nothing my lord.
> **Hamlet**: That's a fair thought to lie between maid's legs.
> **Ophelia**: What is, my lord?
> **Hamlet**: Nothing.
> **Ophelia**: You are merry, my lord?
> **Hamlet**: Who, I?
> **Ophelia**: Ay, my lord.
> **Hamlet**: O God, you only jig-maker! What should a man do but be merry, for look you how cheerfully my mother looks, and my father died within's two hours!
> (3.2.108-120)

Of the four earliest pictorial versions of the play scene painted by Francis Hayman this dissertation has in its data only one (Figure 16), as the others have not been found. However, according to Alan Young (p.190) later in the eighteenth century, three further artists rendered versions of the Play Scene. The first of these was an anonymous engraving that was published 1769 (image not found). Two other eighteenth-century depictions were a 1770 pen and ink wash drawing by Samuel Hieronymous Grimm, now in the Folger Shakespeare Library (image not found on Folger's image database online). Also from this period, we have Daniel Chodowiecki's record of Karl Döbbelin's 1777-78 Berlin production, entitled Die Mausfalle (The Mouse-trap – image 17).

The difference between Grimm's and Chodowiecki's images in relation to Ophelia is that Grimm's Ophelia is sitting on a chair and prince Hamlet has his legs extended towards his mother, but his back is against Ophelia's knees at right. This is an unusual pose if compared with the other visual representations of this scene found in this research, since this is the only one that shows Hamlet with his back on Ophelia's knees. In Chodowieck's image, Ophelia is sitting on a chair and Hamlet is on the floor beside her. In both images, although being black and white representations, we can observe that Ophelia is portrayed with light hair and clothes, and a doll face that lacks expression.

Figure 17: Daniel Chodowiecki. *Die Mausfalle*, 1777-78.

Figure 18: Henry Courtney Selous. *Untitled*, 1864/68.

One of the most famous visual representations of the "mouse-trap scene" is Daniel Maclise's much commented oil painting "*The Play Scene in 'Hamlet'*" (figure 19). The painting was first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1842. Almost a century ahead of Hayman's first representation of the play scene, Maclise changed the general visual composition adopted by previous artists. The representations mentioned so far usually located Ophelia and Hamlet on the right side of the image; However Maclise invert this order, placing the couple on the left

side of the composition. Maclise continues the tradition of the implied symbolism of the two opposing groups of characters. On one side we have the king, Gertrude and Polonius, and on the other we have the hero and heroine, Hamlet and Ophelia, and Horatio.

An overall description of Maclise's image indicates a scene divided in two groups, one on the right and the other on the left. In center bottom, Hamlet's body works as a visual link between the two groups. At the back, in the middle of the composition and behind the two main groups of characters, the actors perform the play on a small stage. The staging has reached the moment when the murderer is in the act of pouring the poison into the sleeping victim's ear. Behind the players, the shadow of the murderer's hand and the sleeping man's head are projected upon the wall, emphasizing the evil nature of the staged scene.

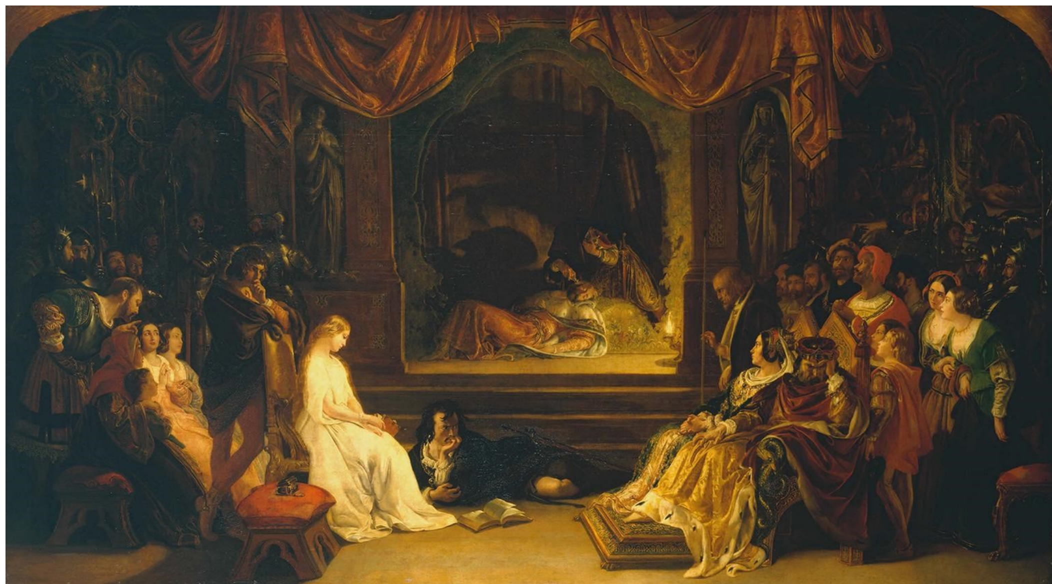

Figure 19: Daniel Maclise**.** *The Play Scene in 'Hamlet'*, 1842.

Alan Young submits (2002, p.197) that the division of the two groups creates a dramatic opposition between good and evil. Ophelia and Hamlet are identified with goodness, which is contrasted with the side of guilt and evil, depicted by Claudius and Gertrude. This interpretation is reinforced by other details in the painting, such as the two tapestries hanging behind the audience on each side of the back wall. Despite the darkness, themes can be identified in the tapestries. For instance, the left, the good side, depicts the temptation and expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden. And the right side, the evil side, the tapestry displays the murder of Abel, a fratricide, akin to what occurs in the play.

Maclise's painting emphasizes the dichotomy of good and evil by the figure of Ophelia. She is highlighted in the painting, being the focal point of the piece. In spite of Ophelia not

being in the center of image, nor the main character of that scene in the play, she attracts the viewer’s eyes. This happens because there are two sources of light in the image: one comes from a candle lit on the stage corner that illuminates just the actors on stage; and the other is Ophelia herself, the main source of light in the painting that illuminates the rest of the picture.

Ophelia in Maclise’s picture can be understood as a symbolic representation of a celestial being, or even be compared to holy representations in history. In Maclise’s picture, she shows to be a figure of strength that overpowers the scene with her light. I believe that Ophelia is the main character of the Maclise’s painting, and in this specific depiction, the key to Hamlet’s plan. Without her, all the characters would fall into darkness, and the only thing visible in the painting would be the actors on stage; therefore, without her light Hamlet would not be able to watch his uncle’s reaction.

Visually we can suppose that Maclise seems to draw on religious paintings’ references to depict Ophelia. Some of the elements used by him, her clothes, body language and physical characteristics, can be found in Middle Age and Renaissance religious paintings. In the artist’s image Ophelia is dressed in white and is depicted with long, golden and loose hair. Ophelia’s arms are bare from the elbow and her hands are properly resting on her lap, with delicacy and elegance. The character looks down to the prince with a soft and tender expression, as if she forgives Hamlet’s insults.

In figures 21, 22, 23 and 24, we can see a selection of images showing the representation of the archangel Gabriel. In the details shown below, the figures painted between 1333-1513 have characteristics in common with Ophelia. The four angels are represented using a loose white gown; their physical appearance, despite the difference of time periods, is similar; they have gold, blond and loose hair; all of them have their heads or bodies making a reference; in a position of submissiveness – in this case, to Mary mother of Jesus, in the moment of the annunciation of her pregnancy.

Image 20: Daniel Maclise**.** *The Play Scene in 'Hamlet'*, 1842. (Detail)

Figure 21: Benvenuto di Giovanni. *Annunciation*, 1470. (Detail) / **Figure 22:** Simone Martini and Lipo Memmi. *The annunciation with St. Margaret and St. Ansanus*, 1333. (Detail) / **Figure 23:** Master of Mebkirch. *Thalheimer Retable*, 1518. (Detail) / **Figure 24:** Sandro Botticelli. *The annunciation*, 1485. (Detail)

Thus, similarities between the image of Ophelia and the religious representations are feasible. The representation of Maclise's Ophelia's description could be easily replaced by the description of one of the figures above. Symbolically, we can draw a parallel between the archangel Gabriel and his mission to announce the arrival of Jesus, and Ophelia in the picture of Maclise. As was observed, in the painting she can be seen as an essential element in the revelation of the king's murder; hence, we can think that Ophelia has the role of annunciation, the annunciation of the murder in the painting and, by implication, in the play.

Maclise was not the only one to lead us on this interpretive path. The English painter Keeley Halswelle, in his representation of "The Play Scene" from 1878, also conducts us on a holy interpretation of Ophelia. The overall composition of Halswelle's painting is different

from Maclise's. Halswelle does not choose a theatrical setting, but a specifically Roman one. His conception of nineteenth-century Denmark is based on his experience of seventh-century Rome. The setting thus has religious connotations, which are in keeping with the strong religious thread that runs through the play.

Figure 25: Keeley Halswelle**.** *The Play Scene*, 1878.

While Maclise places the stage at the center of the painting, with the audience on either side, Halswelle makes a bold move away from Maclise, changing the scene round, taking a more adventurous angle, which opens up the foreground to a great expanse of marble floor, and throws the figures back into the middle distance. However, Maclise was the inspiration for Halswelle in some aspects, such as Hamlet, whose position here repeats the famous Kean's crawl.

This specific similarity between the artists -- Kean's crawl -- is an interesting fact. In 1856, Lewis Carroll attended a performance of *Hamle*t at the Princess Theatre with Charles Kean playing Hamlet. Kean's production so strongly resembled the composition of Maclise's painting of 1842 that Carroll recorded it as an obvious example of how a painter could influence an actor. However, these relationships are more complex; Maclise recorded in his painting details from a production of *Hamlet* that he had seen before. Probably we are talking about Edmund Kean, not Charles, who introduced the "crawl" in his production of *Hamlet* in 1814.

Beyond Hamlet's crawl, Halswelle's painting shows us similarities in what concerns Ophelia's depiction. Halswelle, as Maclise, represents her in a white dress, a symbol of purity, with long golden, loose hair. Ophelia is sitting on what looks like a marble bench; and at first

glance, she seems to be part of a large classical sculptural group, maybe in reference to the artist's roman inspiration; her figure blends with her broad fabric dress, the marble bench and the other two female figures behind creating a prank to the eye (Figure 26).

Figure 26: Keeley Halswelle**.** *The Play Scene*, 1878. (Detail)

As in Maclise's painting, Halswelle's light in the picture has an important interpretative role for us. The light in the image divides the scene. However, in Halswelle's the source of light is not Ophelia, like what we saw in Maclise's, where she had her own light. Although she is not the source of light, in Halswelle's she is the one chosen to be touched by light. The natural light comes from what seems to be a huge window behind the stage. A curtain blocks half of the light causing a contrast of light and shadow in the painting. The only ones illuminated by the natural light are Ophelia and the stage with the actors. Characters such as the King, the Queen, and Hamlet are all in the foreground but out of the light, in the shadow.

The pictorial legacy of the Fine Arts is undoubtedly the one that has contributed most to the imaginary about light and shadow. These two elements usually carry symbolism about good and evil, ascension and fall, life and death, glory and terror. In the case of Halswelle and Maclise, Ophelia's light brings us a sensation of a holy or sacred figure. Her similarities with the figure of Archangel Gabriel are allowed first by her intense contrasts in the scene. Ophelia

in those paintings demands the viewers attention, being the point of reference to all other interpretative relations in the images.

The feminist critic Lee R. Edwards (1979, p.36) points out that "it is impossible to reconstruct Ophelia's biography from the text: we can imagine Hamlet's story without Ophelia, but Ophelia literally has no story without Hamlet". However, in Maclise's and Halswelle's paintings we can construct a narrative about Ophelia without Hamlet, but the opposite, contrary to what Edwards states, in this visual case, maybe not be true. Ophelia undoubtedly outstands from the other characters on the representation. Her vivid contrast of light in a scene full of dark makes her a monumental character. Although exaggerated, it is the illumination that increases the sense of realism in the scene, making her facial expressions more evident and emphasizing the movement of the characters.

The inspiration to Ophelia's visual representation as a pure and naïve woman may have had its origins in the early seventeenth century. Mary Floyd Wilson (1992, p.402) argues that British playwright William Davenant modified some parts of the original text in order to transform Hamlet into the ideal hero and Ophelia into the ideal woman. According to Floyd-Wilson, Davenant, led by the didacticism of the period, excluded the "improper" dialogs. Consequently, Ophelia became represented as an innocent woman, with no consciousness of her sexuality[23] and with no expressiveness of her own. Those modifications of the text, consequently of the play, were reflected in visual arts as well.

Ophelia in Victorian England gained greater expressiveness in literature, on the stage, and in iconography. Georgianna Ziegler (p.11), in *Queen Victoria, Shakespeare, and the ideal Woman,* from 1997, explains that it "was not an accident that Queen Victoria's reign (1837-1901) corresponds the heightened cult of womanhood which revealed itself in a focus on the heroines of that other idol of the period, Shakespeare". This "cultural phenomenon" encouraged girls and women to read Shakespeare, as well as books and essays about his heroines. According to Ziegler, this happens for two reasons: first to improve women's minds; and second to improve their character.

[23] This dissertation uses the terms "sexuality" and "sensuality". Alan Young favors the term "sexuality", whereas other critics prefer "sensuality". According to Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, "sexuality" refers to "the quality or state of being sexual; the condition of having sex; sexual activity". And "sensuality" relates to or consists "in the gratification of the senses or the indulgence of appetite; sensory, devoted to or preoccupied with the senses or appetites; voluptuous, deficient in moral, spiritual, or intellectual interests" (https://www.merriam-webster.com/).

Thus, in order to "educate women", editions of Shakespeare's plays were produced especially to "chaste ears".[24] The representation of Ophelia in Shakespeare's "chaste editions" and "domesticated texts" moralized the original texts making them "proper" to female readers and bourgeois families. Shakespeare's drama in the Victorian period was transformed into a model of virtue, and one of the methods to achieve this was to control the depiction of moral issues in the plays. Cristiane Smith (p.51) explains that in order to keep Shakespeare's texts in the service of the moralizing purposes of the period, a sanitization occurs, purging characteristics that were considered improper and obscene.

The version of the Bowdler Brothers,[25] titled *Family Shakespeare* (1807), and the version of the Lamb Brothers, [26] called *Tales from Shakespeare* (1807), for instance, were the most famous of the sanitized editions. In the preface of their edition, Charles and Mary Lamb explain the reasons for modification in the texts. In the explanation, it is clear the differentiation between male and female education; the authors emphasize the incapability of females to comprehend the original text without male guidance:

> For young ladies too, it has been the intention to write; because boys being generally permitted the use of their father's libraries at a much earlier age than girls are, they frequently have the best scenes of Shakespeare by heart, before their sisters are permitted to look into this manly book; and, therefore, instead of recommending these Tales to the perusal of young gentlemen who can read them so much better in the originals, their kind assistance is rather requested in explaining to their sisters such parts that are hardest for them to understand: and when they have helped them to get over the difficulties, then perhaps they will read to them (carefully selecting what is proper for a young sister's ear) some passages which have pleased them in one of these stories. (LAMB, 1994, p.vii).

The differentiation of gender justified by the Lamb brothers has nothing to do with male or female intellectual capacity, but with the domestication of Victorian girls. After all, Mary Lamb and Henrietta Bowdler were females; both read the original texts and understood them so well that were able to classify what should be purged. Smith, in the quote below, refers to the Bowdler brothers, but we can extend such logic to all sanitized editions:

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[24] To name a few editions written by women: Anna Jameson's **Characteristics of Women** from 1832; Mary Cowden Clarke's **Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines** from 1850 – 52; and Helena Faucit Martin's **On Some of Shakespeare's Female Characters** from 1880-84.

[25] Henrietta and Thomas Bowdler. Due to the success of *Family Shakespeare*, the surnames of the editors entered the English language as a verb, "bowdlerize", which designates the act of appropriation and "purification" of texts.

[26] Mary and Chales Lamb.

> A idéia é que o Shakespeare fosse um Shakespeare familiar, para ser lido, muitas vezes em voz alta para a família toda, inclusive crianças e mulheres de todas as idades. [...] *O Shakespeare Familiar* oferece um espelho à moral da época, revelando como e o quê deveria ser lido. Na realidade, *O Shakespeare Familiar* oferece um bom espelho para a moral burguesa vitoriana que recebeu este Shakespeare mutilado e o tornou extremamente popular. (SMITH, 2007, p.48)

Ophelia in these purged texts is represented as a fragile, modest and kind young woman, all qualities considered ideals to be followed by Victorian girls. The representation of Ophelia in these versions extends beyond the fictional dimension to become an implicit pedagogic discourse. Smith (2007, p.89) rightly argues that Ophelia was appropriated and framed to fit Victorian homes, becoming a symbolic figure that reflects the culture of that time.

Observing visual images of Ophelia before madness, we notice that the Victorian tradition and culture is present on the visual artists' work of the period. Most of the iconography used to represent Ophelia in the "constellation" presented in this Chapter, before madness, is inspired on the sanitized versions of the play. After all, as see have seen, great part of the original construction of Ophelia's character favors her visual representation with characteristics of an ideal woman of Victorian time. However, even with the "cultural agenda" of the nineteenth century, some of the artists stayed true to their interpretation of the original text, representing readings of Ophelia "not suitable" for Victorian homes.

In Act II scene I, the non-staged scene in which Ophelia narrates her encounter with Hamlet in the sewing room, some of those Victorian characteristics can be recognized. It may seem ironic that Ophelia, a supposedly secondary character who struggles to gain voice in the play, and whose death scene -- the one she is usually remembered for in the visual arts – is narrated by someone else, is the character who provides the audience with the first description of the prince's mental stress. This is an important scene in the play, where we can first observe the effects of the Ghost's revelations upon Hamlet's psyche. Ophelia describes Hamlet's appearance in the sewing room to her father Polonius:

> **Ophelia:** My Lord, as I was sewing in my closet
> Lord Hamlet, with his doublet all embraced,
> No, hat upon his head, his stockings fouled,
> Ungartered and down-gyved to his ankle,
> Pale as his shirt, his knees knocking each other,
> And with a look so piteous in purport
> As if he had been loosed out of hell
> To speak of horrors, he comes before me.
> (2.1.74-81)

In this appearance, Ophelia tells Polonius that she was interrupted by Hamlet's arrival in her closet while she was sewing. Ophelia explains that Hamlet broke the decorum of dress and held her by the wrist. He stared at her face along the length of his arm, while holding his other hand to his brow. He said nothing, but after a pitiful sigh, he left the room, without ever taking his eyes from her. Ophelia seems scared by Hamlet's strange behavior and, as a "good daughter", runs to her father and recounts what happened.

> **Ophelia:** He took me by the wrist and held me hard,
> Then goes he to the length of all his arm
> And with his other hand thus o'er his brow
> He falls to such perusal of my face
> As' a would draw it. Long stayed he so;
> At last, a little shaking of mine arm
> And thrice his head thus waving up and down,
> He raised a sigh so piteous and profound
> As it did seem to shatter all his bulk
> And end his being. That done, he lets me go
> And with his head over his shoulder turned
> He seemed to find his way without his eyes
> (For out o' doors he went without their help)
> And to the last bended their light on me.
> (2.1.84-97)

The scene provides us with two possible visual representations: one is the depiction of the moment when Ophelia talks to Polonius about her encounter with the prince; and the other depiction is actually her description of the encounter with Hamlet. From the few reported visual representations, this research has found only two depictions of the scene; both display Ophelia's description of Hamlet's behavior to Polonius. The two images are different in terms of composition and interpretation. The textual scene itself can lead us in two paths, one that shows us a damsel and the other a woman and her sexuality.

The first image of act II scene I to be analyzed shows Ophelia's obedient behavior, and can be related to some characteristics explored by the Victorian period. In this image, we can assume an interpretation in which Ophelia's devotion and full trust in her father lead her first reaction, as a "good daughter", to run to Polonius and tell the occurred situation. Ophelia's honesty and benevolence towards Hamlet is demonstrated in her description of the scene, when she leaves no indecorous detail hidden from her father. Ophelia tells Polonius about Hamlet's indecent garb and his awkward manners. She comes to her father to report what happens to her, and to seek guidance about what to do. Ophelia demonstrates her obedient condition, letting her father decide what is best for her in that situation.

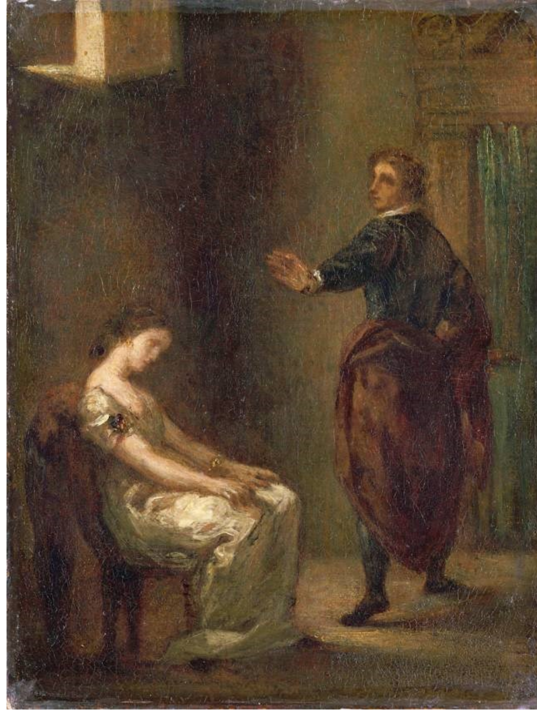

Figura 27: Eugène Delacroix. *Reproches d'Hamlet à Ophélie*, 1840.
Source: Louvre Museum, Paris.

The picture above (Figure 27) shows a painting by Eugene Delacroix. Delacroix was not unfamiliar with subjects from Shakespeare's dramaturgy. The artist depicted several plays from the Bard, but no play received more of his attention than *Hamlet,*[27] Ophelia being one of his favorite subjects. Delacroix produced a series of lithographs of the play that were influenced by the Paris performance of *Hamlet* in 1827.[28] The painting *Reproches d'Hamlet à Ophélie* was first conceived as a lithograph,[29] and then transposed into painting by Delacroix in 1840. The representation focuses on the two characters' expressions and body language. The scenario is simple, with no ornaments, containing only a window, a chair and a door. Although the window in the room is open, the light seems to be scenic; it does not come naturally in diagonal, as if it were coming from the outside. However, it seems that Hamlet and Ophelia have their own spots of light. Maybe this can be a reference from the theater.

In the scene, Hamlet is standing next to Ophelia. His body posture suggests that he is leaving the room. Hamlet's right side of the body is facing the door, but his left side and head are turned in the opposite direction towards Ophelia. He is wearing dark clothes and has his left arm extended to Ophelia with an open hand. The pose suggests that Hamlet is ordering her to

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[27] Delacroix's fascination with play for a while made him associate himself with "*les Shakespeariens*" and sign his correspondence as "Yorick".
[28] See Chapter V.
[29] The exact date is unknown.

stay in her place, or saying good-bye to her. His facial expression can be better interpreted along Ophelia's expression. While Hamlet keeps his head upright looking down at Ophelia, she is sitting in a chair, wearing a white gown, and has her head down. We can not identify if she has her eyes closed or if she is staring at the floor. Either way, she appears to be in a submissive position in relation to the prince.

Ophelia is a character taken by submissive behavior in the play. She is surrounded by men who hold power over her life. Polonius, her father; Laertes, her brother; and Hamlet, her beloved. Although in this particular scene we can only observe visually her submissiveness to Hamlet, the original text is full of indications of submissiveness to the three men in her life. This characteristic in relation to Ophelia in the text may have influenced artists in their visual characterization, regardless of the scene portrayed; after all, the theme of submissiveness is one of the strongest issues in the play.

Since the beginning of the play, the issue of men's power is present. Ophelia's first appearance, in act I scene II (no representations found), shows her condition of being a woman with no power over her life. In the scene, her brother and father make decisions for her. Laertes warns Ophelia about Hamlet's seduction attempts, and Polonius, as her father, goes beyond and strongly forbids Ophelia to accept any kind of affection from the prince. Although in her rebuttal of Laertes' advice (1.3), Ophelia can be interpreted as a woman with "knowledge of life", she demonstrates obedience, promising to follow her brother's guidance and her father's command. Ultimately, Ophelia is a submissive daughter, sister and lover, as we could observe in Delacroix's image.

Meire Lisboa Santos Gonçalves (2011, p.10) in *A Mulher Ofélia – Um Contraste entre o Natural e o Social*, proposes that Ophelia's submissiveness is a reflection of social principles in Shakespeare's time. The author suggests that the social roles played by men and women are not behaviors determined only biologically but also influenced by changing cultural patterns. Gonçalves (p.11) affirms that regarding the construction of Ophelia, from the beginning of the play it is evident the conflict between the exterior mask, socially constructed, and the repressed inner self of the character.

Although Ophelia, in the eyes of Laertes and Polonius, is a damsel, some parts of the text, even before the madness scene with its sexually explicit songs, provoke some questioning. Despite the obedient and submissive attitude, Ophelia gives us brief glimpses of ambiguity and doubts in her lines before madness. For example, the encounter with Hamlet in the sewing room, where she sees the prince in intimacy. Thus, the same scene that we interpreted as being an act of obedience and trust of Ophelia in her father can be interpreted as an allusion to a pre-

existent sexual relation between Ophelia and Hamlet. Ana Camati, in *Questões de gênero e identidade na época e obra de Shakespeare*, from 2008, is emphatic in affirming that Ophelia's sexual desire towards Hamlet is oppressed by her father and brother:

> A intimidação sexual de Ofélia já se evidencia na terceira cena do primeiro ato: vemos como ela é sugestionada para submeter-se às regras do patriarcado, manipulada por ambos, seu pai e seu irmão, que lhe ordenam a não confiar em seus sentimentos e desejos. A fragmentação de sua mente é o resultado de atitudes e mensagens contraditórias que ela não consegue conciliar: ela é usada e confundida por todos os homens de seu convívio, seu pai, seu irmão, o rei Cláudio e o próprio Hamlet. Laertes tenciona colocá-la num pedestal como um objeto estético, encarnando seu ideal de castidade feminina; Polônio objetiva transformá-la num completo autômato, sempre pronta para obedecer às suas ordens, uma mercadoria a ser negociada em proveito próprio [...] Ela não tem autonomia de escolha, pensamento e ação, e todos se mostram completamente alheios às suas necessidades e desejos (CAMATI, 2008, p. 3)

Therefore, double interpretations of the play exist, and Ophelia is one of the characters surrounded by ambiguities. Visual representations of the play are an independent form of art that expresses its own meanings, being interpreted by the viewer without the necessity of knowing the text. However, it cannot be ignored that interpretations come from textual reverberations that were processed and reinterpreted by visual artists; from their own perspectives and personal readings. Previously, the image of Delacroix and his representation of the sewing room showed us an interpretation of Ophelia as the obedient and submissive maiden, an interpretation completely different from the next artist and image to be presented.

The image in question is the earliest, and probably the most unusual, from the "sewing room" scene. The drawing by Henry Fuseli[30] (Figure 28), from 1775-6, places Ophelia's image as a damsel in check. It is not clear if the artist was inspired just by the individual scene to draw his work, or his understanding of the whole play could have influenced him**.** The representation shows Hamlet as a naked figure, about to leave through a door. He extends his right hand to Ophelia, while he leans his head on his right shoulder. His body language indicates that he is leaving the room, in a slow motion movement, but during the entire time, Hamlet stares at Ophelia, almost as if he was asking for help or saying good-bye. It is difficult to read his facial expression, which oscillates between insane and languid.

[30] Johann Heinrich Füssli (1741-1825), or Henry Fuseli, was probably the most important Shakespeare painter of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He is known specially by the following works: The Boydell Shakespeare Gallery, where he contributes with nine canvas and wash drawings from 1770s.Paintings for Woodmason's Irish Shakespeare Gallery and Macklin's British Poets. Fuseli produced a large number of individual canvases, watercolors, sketches and designs, many of which were used in illustrated editions of Shakespeare's work.

Figure 28: Henry Fuseli. *Hamlet, act II, scene 1. Ophelia and Hamlet*, 1775-76.

Ophelia is wearing a white gown, as we have seen, but here her hair is up. She rests her elbow upon a kind of shelf beside her, and her chin is upon her hand as she leans forward gazing intently at Hamlet. Curiously, her expression does not go with the disturbed description of the scene; she does not seem scared or worried about Hamlet; actually, she does not seem anything. Her face is depicted as a blank space of emotions (Figure 32). The light of the picture falls diagonally illuminating Hamlet, taking special focus on his facial expression and on Ophelia's profile.

Fuseli challenges the viewer with a mixture of references in his drawing. The postures of Ophelia and Hamlet do not correspond exactly to those textually described in the scene, but there is enough resemblance to it, and to the tone of the scene as a whole. Fuseli uses the episode reported as basis for his visual treatment. The composition alludes to a decorated Etruscan vase from classical antiquity (Figure 29), even if in the vase it is the female who seems to be leaving. Fuseli's extensive study of Renaissance art brings another feature to his paintings. Stuart Sillars (P.102), in *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic, 1720–1820,* from 2006, comments that in Fuseli's work the "use of iconographical reference is not simply to follow a convention of depiction but to generate meaning through the equation between and element's signification in its original context and that which it conveys in its new setting".

Figure 29: Etruscan Vase. *Satyr and Maenad*, date Unknown.
Source: Reproduced from Stuart Sillars book.

Fuseli is his earlier works, being the "sewing scene" one of them, uses a radical exploration of textual ideas through an idiosyncratic use of iconographic reference. The Etruscan vase (Figure 28) referenced by Fuseli shows a Satyr entreating a dancing Maenad who moves away from him with outstretched hand and gracefully arched body; according to Sillars (2006, p.107), the scene records "part of a Grecian feast where 'lamentations made an essential part of devotion'". Fuseli takes as reference the image but makes some modifications on it. As has been observed, the artist reverses the gender of the character in the image: Hamlet is the one with the outstretched arms moving away, the Maenad; and Ophelia is the one leaning and dispirited, the satyr.

The depth of reading in this image is not only rare in late eighteenth-century painting, but of a quality rarely approached elsewhere in Fuseli's own work, as it moves towards a greater public acceptance. Although the image in question is slightly different from the other representations of Ophelia in this Chapter, it is important to register its existence. This is an image, one of the few found here before Ophelia's madness, that explores her sexuality or at least intends to. Fuseli's representation of act II scene I, leads us in a complex relation between Ophelia and Hamlet. His work suggests a sexual intensity in the scene.

This interpretation is much stronger when related to the original source of inspiration. Ophelia is related with the image of a Satyr, minor divinities who lived in the fields and woods and who had frequent sexual relations with nymphs, especially Maenads. Although the body position of Ophelia and the Satyr is slightly different, Fuseli's reference is recognized in her facial expression and in the whole composition of the classical image. When Fuseli chooses

this pagan image as reference and reverses the gender of the characters, the painter is making a statement about the play. After all, his interpretation of Ophelia is inspired on an entity that has its history always connected with sexuality and luxury.

Satyrs in art's history have been portrayed in many forms, but always connected with sexuality. In Antiquity they were seen in scenes with nymphs, who were constantly repelling them from unwanted amorous advances; in Middles Ages they were portrait as symbols of Satan, because of their lasciviousness; and in the nineteenth century they provided a classical pretext which allowed sexual depictions of them to be seen as objects of high art rather than mere pornography (SCOBEY, 2002, p.43-63). Fuseli's use of a Satyr, this iconic being full of signification, demonstrates his views of some of Ophelia's ambiguities in the text.

However, it is not only his inspiration on the earlier picture that suggests a seductive interpretation of Ophelia. Some others characteristics in his drawing can also suggest his thoughts about her sexuality in the play. Thus, Besides Fuseli's references to Antiquity, we may also observe some similarities connected with Fuseli's own period. Ophelia's depiction, especially her head and face, can be compared with the French women of the time (Figures 29, 30 and 31). Although her clothes indicate a classical period, her hair and jewelry can refer us to eighteenth-century France. The period where Fuseli painted this image corresponds to Louis XV's reign on France, highly unpopular, among other reasons, for his sexual excesses. The female model of France at the time was Marie Antoinette, Louis XV's wife, known by her naivety and alienated life in Versailles. She was accused of squandering and of being promiscuous.

Thus, once more in the image of Fuseli there is evidence that relates Ophelia to the image of sensuality. In the case of the two historical characters, the Satyr, and Marie Antoinette, the comparison seems to go beyond sexuality or desire but rather lust, since the chosen characters are related to this thematic. Fuseli seems to have a clear interpretation towards Hamlet and Ophelia's relationship, leaving no doubt to the viewer that in the artist's view the two characters were sexually involved.

Figure 30: Marie-Gabrielle Capet. *Self-portrait*, 1783. **/ Figure 31**: Jean-Baptiste Gautier Dagoty. *Marie Antoinette, Queen of France*, 1775. / **Figure 32**: Henry Fuseli. *Hamlet, act II, scene 1. Ophelia and Hamlet*, 1775-76. (Detail)

Given Fuseli's references and allusions, we can conclude that the painter points us to a direction of interpreting Ophelia as a woman cognizant of her sexual desire. The image delivers a sense of malicious behavior long before the bawdy songs she sings in her mental distress. Ophelia's relaxed body, her hand touching her sex, the hero's nudity, are Fuseli's critical statements. He employs classical iconographic references in an original perspective system to clarify in his inventions his reading of the play. Sillars (2006, p.109) comments that the artist "is using what he needs of Neo-Classical tradition allusion, but adapting it to suggestively complicate critical aporia with a sensitivity that far out measures other contemporary criticism". Moreover, Ophelia is recognized either as innocent maiden or a sinner; either way, being most often realized as a fragile and powerless maiden with few words beyond "I shall obey, my lord" (1.3.19). She has become the embodiment of virgin/promiscuous dichotomy, rarely imaged as a woman in control of her own choices before the madness scene.

Before the madness of Ophelia, one of the most iconic moments is the "Nunnery scene". This scene contains one of the most thought-provoking dialogues between Ophelia and her beloved Hamlet. The scene takes place after her meeting with the prince in the sewing room. After Ophelia tells her father what happened, Polonius, in turn, tells the king and queen about the odd behavior of the prince and states that the reason would be Hamlet's love for Ophelia. To prove his assumption, Polonius reads Hamlet's love letters to Ophelia, in front of the king and the Queen.

> [Reads.] *To the celestial and my soul's idol, the most*
> *Beautified Ophelia* – that's an ill phrase, a vile phrase,

> 'beautified' is a vile phrase, but you shall hear – *thus in*
> *Her excellent white bosom, these, etc.* (2.2.108-111)
>
> [Reads.] *Doubt thou the stars are fire,*
> *Doubt that the sun doth move,*
> *Doubt truth to be a liar,*
> *But never doubt I love.*
> *O dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers. I have not art*
> *To reckon my groans, but that I love thee best, most dear lady, whilst this machine is to him. Hamlet*.
> (2.2. 114-121)

After the reading, Polonius and the king make a plan to investigate the veracity of Hamlet's madness and its reasons. For this, Ophelia is forced by her father and the king to find herself alone with Hamlet and to return the gifts and letters given by him to her, while Polonius and the King observe his reaction hidden.

The "nunnery scene", placed in Act III scene I, according to this research, is the scene before Ophelia's madness which has the highest number of pictorial representations. From the fourteen pictorial images of the "nunnery scene" found, nine are from the second half of the nineteenth century; one is from the earlier twentieth-century, and for three of them the date could not be found. Yet, analyzing their styles and the artists' ages, we can assume that they belong to that period as well. The iconography and interpretation of the scenes found follow similar paths: depicting Ophelia as the obedient maiden. Despite the intense and intriguing dialog offered by Hamlet and Ophelia in the scene, none of the artists seems to explore the couple's sexual ambiguities, as we saw in Fuseli's work; instead, they focus on Ophelia's dilemma of obedience and love versus the deceived prince.

The "nunnery scene" can be considered one of the highlights of the play. After all, although we know from previous dialogues that there is a relationship between Ophelia and Hamlet, this is the first time when the audience can see the romantic couple interact and meet on stage. After all, the "sewing room scene", the previous moment that we know that they were together, is narrated by Ophelia, not seen. Most importantly, this scene is also the first one to provide single images of Ophelia.

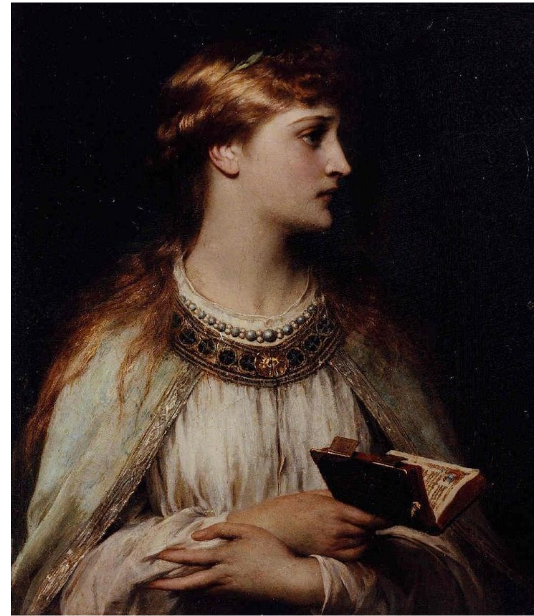

Figure 33: Thomas Francis Dicksee. *Ophelia*, 1864. **Figure 34:** Thomas Francis Dicksee. *Unfortunate Ophelia*, 1861.

The artist Thomas Francis Dicksee (Figures 33 and 34) depicted two portraits of Ophelia in the nunnery scene. He was not the first artist to paint a portrait of Ophelia, but was one of the few who portrayed Ophelia before the madness scene, by herself, and not in a group. Didi-Huberman, in *O Rosto e a Terra*, presents an interesting reflection on the emergence of the portrait as an artistic expression:

> A questão do retrato começa talvez no dia em que um rosto começa diante de mim a não estar mais aí porque a terra começa a devorá-lo [...]. O que a terra preenche quando o rosto é escavado [...] é o que o retrato, com outros meios e para outros efeitos, preencheria também [...] um rosto que se ausenta: nos dois casos, uma morte significa-se pelo esvaziamento. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 1998, p. 62).

Didi-Huberman relates the origin of the portrait to death. The author develops his reasoning through iconographic representations and ancient skulls, found in excavations in various parts of the world. For Huberman the attempt to represent the face of the dead through skulls goes beyond the representation of the face itself, evoking also the representation of the pain of loss. The portrait, according to the author, is born of the filling of an emptying of the face, that is devoured and filled by the earth, and of the pain of loss, which is filled by the image. Ophelia can be related to this idea of Didi-Huberman according to her trajetory in the play; the character is caught in a plot where she is tormented by pain and loss, and finaly death.

Dicksee's images show an Ophelia with no emotions and sad eyes. He aproaches the image of Ophelia from a perpective that we can relate to the angelical iconography aforementioned in this Chapter. In both of Dicksee's images, Ophelia wears a white dress with a cape, which almost appears to be wings, and she has golden long and loose hair. Her arms are gathered in the center of her body and her hands touch each other gently.

In both images the artist depicted Ophelia in profile, and holding a book. The book is the key feature used by the artist to indicate to the viewer the scene in which Ophelia is being portrayed. In the scene, before the arrival of Hamlet, Ponious instructs Ophelia to pretend to be reading a book; according to him, the action would indicate to Hamlet that she is alone, concentrated on her reading.

> **Polonius**: Ophelia, walk you here. (Gracious, so please you,
> We will bestow ourselves.) Read on this book
> That show of such an exercise may colour
> Your loneliness. We are oft too blame in this-
> 'Tis too much proved that with devotion's visage
> And pious action we do sugar o'er
> The devil himself.
> (3.142-48)

Polonius and the King, who in several stagings hide behind tapestries, observe Ophelia's encounter with Hamlet. Ophelia does not seem natural, knowing that the meeting is, after all, a trap for the prince. Ophelia up to this point in the play does not show her true feelings, as she remains under the controlling eye of her father. She is a character divided between loyalty to the father and the desire to indulge in the love of the prince. The images of Dicksee depict Ophelia with a sad expression; her anguish is felt in the attempts to return Hamlet's present, since she is forced by her father to do so.

In the painting of Charles Buchel, date unknown, the British artist portrays Ophelia, who is being used as bait to prove that Hamlet, as Polonius believed, was mad with love. Buchel is the only one, in this research, to paint the king behind the tapestries observing Ophelia. Although Polonius is also present in the text, the artist chooses to depict just the king. While in other representations of the nunnery scene we can only feel the presence of Polonius and the King by the discomfort in Ophelia's expression, in this picture, we can witness their espionage on Ophelia and Hamlet. The painter provides the viewer with the opportunity to share with Ophelia the experience of being observed. The experiment of being positioned as the character stimulates us to understand better her oppression and anxiety in the scene.

Buchel's painting shows Ophelia according to the traditional iconography used by the previous artists analyzed in this dissertation; she wears light clothes, blond, long and loose hair. In the painting Ophelia's facial expression seems discontented and sad. The character is positioned on the right side of the image and Hamlet on the left side; she holds a necklace, and on top of a small table that separates the two characters other jewels can be observed. As Ophelia extends her arm toward Hamlet, offering him the necklace in her hands, her head is turned to the opposite direction, not maintaining eye contact with the prince. Hamlet observes Ophelia's attitude, apparently in disbelief.

Figure 35: Charles Buchel. *Untitled*, date uknown.

Both painters, Dicksee and Buchel, highlight the representation of Ophelia in their paintings. Dicksee in giving her own space, in portraits, and Buchel in depicting her as the focal point of the painting. Buchel puts her in the foreground with a dramatic expression emphasized in relation to the other characters of the scene. Buchel's Ophelia requests the attention of everyone involved in the image: Hamlet, who is watching her astounded; the king, who is

watching her as a bait; and us, the viewers of the painting, who, because of all such factors, are automatically drawn to her.

Unlike Bushel and Dicksee, other painters in this category seem to have chosen Hamlet as the focus of their painting, leaving Ophelia as an accessory to his performance. As it is known, Ophelia is sent by her father to return the gifts that Hamlet gave her. However, Hamlet seems to realize that it is a trap and denies that he has given her gifts. The prince asks questions putting in check the character of Ophelia.

> **Ophelia**: My lord, I have resemblances of yours
> That I have longed long to redeliver.
> I pray you now receive them.
> **Hamlet**: No, not I. I never gave you aught.
> (3.1.92-95)

> **Hamlet**: Ha! Ha! Are you honest?
> **Ophelia**: My lord?
> **Hamlet**: Are you fair?
> **Ophelia**: What means your lordship?
> **Hamlet**: What if you be honest and fair you should admit
> No discourse to your beauty.
> (3.1.102-105)

Hamlet seems shaken up with the idea of being manipulated by Ophelia. Their dialog becomes harsh. In the text, the prince attempts to have Ophelia confess the truth to him; but his attempt is useless, and the maiden keeps faithful to her father's orders. Hamlet sends Ophelia to a nunnery. However, this word, nunnery, had two meanings: convent and brothel. One interpretation is that Hamlet projects his mother's issues on all females. After his mother's remarriage, Hamlet sees her as a prostitute. According to him, Gertrude was unable to remain loyal to the deceased King Hamlet, her late husband. After this event, the prince lost his faith in all women, treating Ophelia as if she were dishonest, and a prostitute. Hamlet's famous lines sending Ophelia to a nunnery:

> **Hamlet:** Get thee to a nunnery! Why wouldst thou be a
> breeder of sinners? I am myself indifferent honest but
> yet I could accuse me of such things that it were better
> my mother had not born me. I am very proud,
> revengeful, ambitious, with more offences at my beck
> than I have thoughts to put them in, imagination to give
> them shape, or time to act them in. What should such
> fellows as I do crawling between earth and heaven? We
> are arrant knaves – believe none of us. Go thy ways to
> a nunnery. Where's your father?
> **Ophelia:** At home, my lord. (3.1.120-130)

From the pictorial representations printed below (Figures 36 and 37), some of the characteristics mentioned in the original text can be observed. The images by Agnes Pringles and G. Demain Hammond, both date unknown, show Hamlet's contempt for Ophelia. His expression to her is disdainful; in the two images the prince is with his back to her, as if he does not care for, or does not believe in, her. Ophelia in Pringles' painting follows the angelic damsel appearance; Ophelia looks desperate and begging for Hamlet's attention. Despite the same thematic, in Hammond's image Ophelia seems to be inspired on some middle age noble woman. The female character looks almost catatonic, her gaze is fixed and without expression, as if she were present and absent at the same time, perhaps a way of bearing the situation in which she is forced to be.

Figure 36: Agnes Pringle. *Hamlet and Ophelia*, Date unknown.

Figure 37: G. Demain Hammond. *The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons / Be all my sins remember'd*, date unkown.

Ophelia's gaze is a highlight in this Chapter. The character's eyes are always represented by the artists as looking down, or staring fixedly at a point which the observer, no matter how hard he tries, will never reach, or looking at others who do not correspond to her. There is a nuisance in this mismatch of Ophelia's glances. The gaze is a powerful weapon that can reveal the other without the words becoming necessary. Sartre, in the text ***O olhar*****,** exposes the hidden truths in the nuisance of the gaze between the "self and other". The author explains that it is at this moment that both share the discovery of what the self allows to be seen. In the words of Sartre (2003, p.366) “[...] A consciência só pode ser limitada por minha consciência.” In the essay, from 2009, *O Olhar em Sartre: Relação entre o Eu e o Outro* about the instant of the gaze:

> Nesse instante o eu e o outro são apenas um caleidoscópio onde tudo gira rapidamente,como se estivessem em ondas eletromagnéticas que geram um turbilhão de emoções contraditórias. Por um segundo o eu tem plena consciência do outro. Há neste momento um silêncio constrangedor, instigante, desconfortável, quase insuportável, pois ambos estão paralisados um diante do outro, tentando compreender qual a dimensão dessa descoberta. (SILVA; DIAS; REZENDE, 2009, p. 89).

The awareness that we acquire in the gaze between the self and the other causes a strangeness before the revelation of the self under the eyes of the other, and vice versa. Sartre (2003, p.345) submits: “[...] Pelo olhar do outro eu vivo fixado no meio do mundo, em perigo, como irremediável. Mas não sei qual meu ser, nem qual meu sítio no mundo, nem qual a face que esse mundo onde sou se volta para o outro”. The shared identity between the "self and the other" destabilizes the individual, who feels vulnerable, invaded in their intimacy. The "me and the other" are invaded by the fear of the revelation of what a glance allowed to be accessed. In this way Ophelia is alone. She does not share her emotions or true fellings.

From the analysis of Ophelia’s images before the madness, it was observed that the character is understood by the artists in different ways; however, some issues involving Ophelia seem to gain special prominence among the artists. In the artists’ pictorial representations seen in this Chapter, issues such as submissiveness, obedience, patriarchy and naivety stood out among the collection. The issues involving Ophelia’s sexuality are also represented, as in Fuzeli’s image; however, looking at the collected corpus, this is not an issue highlighted among the majority of artists until this moment in the play.

Although the text provides many interpretations about the sexual issues between Hamlet and Ophelia in the dialogues before the madness scene, most of the images do not seem to explore this theme. It is believed that one of the reasons for this involves the moments in which the representations were produced and their cultural tradition at the time; most of the paintings are from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

An important characteristic identified in this research is that in the data collected there are no post-twentieth-century pictorial representations of Ophelia before the madness scene. The only exception is an old postcard depiction of the nunnery scene, from 1910, found in online surveys with low resolution. This research has identified many images of Ophelia in contemporary art; however, the research also indicates that such images do not refer to scenes before the character’s madness.

5. CONSTALLATION II

5.1 REPRESENTATIONS OF OPHELIA'S MADNESS AND DEATH

"Goodnight, ladies, goodnight. Sweet ladies, goodnight,
goodnight". (4.5.72-73)

Madness in *Hamlet* is one of the crucial themes approached by Shakespeare. The subject permeates part of Ophelia's trajectory in the play, being almost a mandatory subject when we talk about the female character. Ophelia's change--from being a fair maiden to madness, followed by her mysterious death--imparts a greater complexity to the character than we can initially notice. With her transformation from the obedient daughter of Polonius to the mad woman, Ophelia's madness displays her conflicts and true feelings and becomes an iconic moment to her in the play.

Ophelia's transformation in the play is directly reflected on her pictorial representation. The quantity of images depicting Ophelia's madness and death found by this research adds up to seventh-three percent of the total pictorial representations in this collection. The difference between the amounts of images depicted before and after Ophelia's madness is remarkable, and the reason has nothing to do with art periods or artistic genres. The data collected show that the moments of Ophelia's depictions were not determined by period, neither by cultural or social constraints, since many of the images discussed in Chapter IV date from the same period as the images in Chapter V. Thus, reading the data we can conclude that the artists' favoritism for Ophelia's madness and death has to do with the issue itself.

Carol Solomon Kiefer, in *The Myth and madness of Ophelia*, from 2001, postulates that studies of Ophelia's visual representation use a variety of critical and socio-historical approaches. Images of Ophelia "[…] are inscribed in discourses relating to the concept of femininity, to notions of ideal womanhood, to the historically gendered understanding of madness as a female malady and to the very idea of representation itself" (KIEFER, p.12). Representations of Ophelia's insanity become more pronounced in the nineteenth century, but they were not absent in the eighteenth century, although Ophelia seems to represent a "delicate madness" in this period.

According to Alan Young (2002, p.244-50), the first appearance in the visual arts of the mad Ophelia, Atc IV scene V, was an etching of John Hamilton Mortimer, from 1775 (Figure 38). This etching comes from a series that Mortimer devoted to Shakespearean

characters, based on drawings exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1775. In the same year, another depiction of Ophelia was published: a portrait of the actress Jane Lessingham as the mad Ophelia, designed by James Roberts and engraved by Charles Grignion (Figure 39). In Mortimer we have a depiction of a half-length Ophelia; her back is partially turned to the viewer. She faces right and holds some herbs or flowers up before her. Beneath her left arm is a small basket of flowers. She has a garland on her hair and a seemingly unfocused gaze across her left shoulder. Different from Mortimer's image, Robert's Ophelia has a calm look on her face. Jane Lessingham, Ophelia, is portrayed in full-length body. She also has a garland of flowers on her hair; the flowers fall down on her back and on her dress. She has her left arm stretched out offering flowers.

Figure 38: John Hamilton Mortimer. *Ophelia*, 1775. / **Figure 39**: James Roberts and engraved by Charles Grignion. *Ophelia*, 1775.

Interestingly, in several representations of Ophelia, artists were influenced by actresses' performances of the play. Those performances have managed to captivate and attract different artists' attention to Ophelia's breaking point. After Jane Lessingham's, a small but steady procession of female actresses had their portraits made as mad Ophelia, among them: Mary Bolton (1813), Lydia Kelly (1815), Caroline Heath (1857), Helena Modjeska (1871 and 1889) and Sadda Yacco (1891?), etc. The performances of Ophelia on stage were so important at the time that they interfered in visual representations of the character.

According to the data in this research, most of Ophelia's images show depictions of the female character using white or light color dresses. However, in some images Ophelia appears with a black veil, a striking feature among the collected images.

According to Young (2002, p.108) and Kiefer (2001, P. 23), in 1827 a *Hamlet* production by Charles Kemble's company was performed at the Odeon Theater, in Paris. One actress in particular stood out in the production, the young Harriet Smithson, who played Ophelia. Smithson's Ophelia caused a frenzy and a strong impression on the artists who attended the play. In her performance, Ophelia was presented with a long white dress and a long black veil. In the scene, the actress uses the veil as sign of mourning and to indicate that her madness was due to the sudden death of her father. The actress spread the veil on the floor in front of her, and, according to what was recorded from the production, she mistook it for her father's grave. Still according to Young, the black veil was not directed by Kemble, but added by Harriet Smithson as a personal touch on her interpretation of Ophelia.

Thus, after her performance it was observed that several visual representations of Ophelia were made adding Smithson's stage business. Louis Boulanger (Figure 40), in 1827, was the first artist to depict Ophelia and the black veil inspired by the actress's performance.

Figure 40: Louis Boulanger. *Hamlet, Act IV, Scene V*, 1827. Lithograph hand colored.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 41: Auguste de Valmont, Mlle Smithson**.** *Rôle d'Offelia dans Hamlet*, 1827. Two-toned Lithograph, hand colored.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Although Harriet Smithson gained fame for the black veil and it was an important influence on some artists' representations of Ophelia, probably her performance was not seen by all the artists who depicted the black veil. The two images below, for example, present Smithson's famous stage business. In Delacroix's Ophelia (Figure 42), from 1834, we cannot affirm whether the painter had access to the actress's original performance or was inspired by another artist who attended the performance and portrayed her with the black veil. But, in Erneste Etienne Narjot's (Figure 43), it is certain that the artist never had any contact with the performance by Smithson; after all, Narjot was born in 1826, and was only one year old when Smithson was performing Ophelia in Paris. Thus, her performance probably reverberated through time, added by the work of artists who inspired others with her depictions.

Despite Smithson's merits for the black veil, this research believes that she was not the precursor of this visual characteristic. Of course, her performance stood out with her original use of the veil, but, as a visual element, the black veil can be observed thirty-five years earlier in the painting by Benjamin West (Figure 44) "*Act IV, scene V. Elsinore. – King, Queen, Laertes, Ophelia*". The painting from 1792 depicted Ophelia using a long white dress and a long black veil around her neck. Maybe the black veil used by Smithson is a reminiscence of West's painting,[31] used as inspiration by the actress to create her performance, who consequently inspired other artists, and onwards.

[31] Benjamin West's painting was residing in The United States by 1805, but the representation was circulating in the nineteenth and twenty centuries in England because of the Boydell prints and illustrated editions of Shakespeare.

Figure 42: Eugène Delacroix. *Le Chant d'Ophélie*, 1834. Lithograph.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 43: Erneste Etienne Narjot (1826-1898). *Ophelia*, date Unknown.

Figure 44: Benjamin West. *Act IV, scene V. Elsinore. – King, Queen, Laertes, Ophelia*, 1792. Oil on Canvas. **Source:** Cincinnati Art Museum.

Alongside actor portraits of Ophelia, artists produced an even larger stream of representations of the mad Ophelia. In Benjamin West's painting, Ophelia appears in a room of the castle; she is bare-footed, and her long hair is wildly disheveled. She wears a white dress that she holds up in her left hand and a black veil around her neck. Flowers seem to be falling from her dress and some lie on the ground before her. She stares forward, and her eyes are wide open but seem to be unfocused. In the scene, we see the Queen and king disturbed by her visible insanity. Laertes is behind Ophelia and holds her by her right arm, with his left hand raised to heaven.

The depiction by West is one of the first that rids Ophelia from her "pretty madness" and shows her insanity. As a number of feminist scholars have noted, Ophelia has provided artists with the opportunity of displaying female madness and vulnerability, with all the erotic undertones thereby permitted. In West's depiction, according to Kiefer (2001, p.12), the artist pulls the viewer's eyes to her ample thigh and belly – to her womanhood; "She is the image of uncontrolled madness". The madness scene is probably one of the most commented scenes in *Hamlet*. This scene becomes important in the play because this is the moment when we can see Ophelia's ruin, after realizing that her father is dead, killed by her lover, that she is being rejected by prince Hamlet, and that she is left alone, since her only family, her brother, is absent.

However, if such is the moment of her ruin, the madness scene in Hamlet is also the moment when the audience gets in contact with the true voice of Ophelia. Madness serves as freedom for the submissive character that we saw in the beginning of the play, and also as

protection, since being mad can relieve the pain of her grim reality. The scene happens in a room of the castle; the entrance is set up by the character of a Gentleman who explains to the queen that Ophelia is outside and requests to talk to her. The Gentleman warns the queen about Ophelia's state of mind:

> **Gentleman**: She speaks much of her father, says she hears
> There's tricks i'th' world, and hems and beats her heart,
> Spurns enviously at straws, speaks things in doubt
> That carry but half sense. Her speech is nothing,
> Yet the unshaped use of it doth move
> The hearers to collection. They yawn at it
> And botch the words up fit to their own thoughts
> Which, as her winks and nods and gestures yield them,
> Indeed would make one think there might be thought,
> Though nothing sure, yet much unhappily.
> (4.5.4-14)

After the Gentleman's speech, Horatio, who is with the queen, asks to let Ophelia in. Ophelia's entrance is disturbing, as is her dialog with the queen:

> **Ophelia**: Where is the beauteous majesty of Denmark?
> **Queen**: How now, Ophelia?
> **Ophelia** (*sings*.): How should I your true love know
> From another one?
> By his cockle hat and staff
> And his sandal shoon.
> **Queen:** Alas, sweet lady, what imports this song?
> **Ophelia**: Say you? Nay, pray you, mark.
> *Sings*
> He is dead and gone, lady,
> He is dead and gone.
> At his head a grass-green turf,
> At his heels a stone.
> (4.5.21-32)

Part of the depiction of Ophelia's madness in the nineteenth century follows the Victorian models and traditions at the time. Several artists seek to aestheticize and silence the heroine, representing Ophelia as a chaste and innocent woman. Nineteenth-century portraits of Ophelia show popularity in the approach of beauty and doomed woman, not showing the madness for what it really was: a disease. Kimberly Rhodes (p.40), in "*Ophelia and Victorian Culture: Representing Body and Politics in the Nineteenth Century*", from 2008, observes representations of Ophelia in the Victorian period. The Author's observations suggest "a myth

that develops in popular and fine art representations of Ophelia: normalizing insanity as a feminine attribute; a trait that is inherent and even physically attractive in women".

The portraits below (Figures 45 and 46), respectively, by John Hayter and Marcus Stone, are examples of depictions that beautify the character's madness. Both images portray Ophelia with a sense of "pretty madness": her hair is half-loose but just enough to not be flawless; her dress is loose but meticulously draped, and her expression is far from being despair; thus, what we have is an organized disarray. Ophelia is depicted with a naked shoulder and long neck in Hayter's image, and with a pink ribbon and rosy cheeks in Stone' image; both artists used just the right amount of sexuality to exalt Ophelia's femininity and delicacy even in her tragedy.

Figure 45: John Hayter. *Ophelia*, 1846. / **Figure 46**: Marcus Stone. *Ophelia*, 1896.

Surely, the subject of "madness" in the play is not an exclusive issue of Ophelia. Prince Hamlet also presents the subject, being the first one to have his mental health questioned in the play (the sewing room scene). However, Hamlet and Ophelia offer two different kinds of madness. In Hamlet's case, we see a man fighting for his sanity, bordering on madness and irrationality, and this happens because of his encounter with his father's ghost. When Hamlet, an educated man, a mind governed by reason, meets the ghost, something that is not from the logical world but from the realms of the supernatural, his beliefs and ideas of what is real become unstable, making him doubt his own rationality. Another side of Hamlet's madness is

the "fake madness" that the character is able to pull off in parts of the play. The Prince manages to pretend lunacy in his favor, displaying a certain level of insanity in order to reach his personal vendetta.

However, Ophelia's case is characterized a by the lack of control over her madness. Unlike prince Hamlet, Ophelia does not display a battle between her rational and her irrational selves, nor does she dissimulate her state of mind to her own advantage; Ophelia advances progressively in a one-way direction to lose herself in insanity. She is a character who has no will power in the play, her actions are determined by her father, and all of her expectations in life are projections of her lover, prince Hamlet. Thus, Ophelia is dependent on the male figures in her life, not knowing a life apart from them. Her madness is directly related to the loss of this male-centered support system that surrounds the character. Ophelia finds herself in a situation where the three male figures of her life are gone. She is left alone in a man's world and does not know how to deal with her dependency and her delusion; thus, she surrenders to insanity:

> Ophelia is more than just a flat character that Shakespeare arranges to play as Gertrude's double or to strengthen the tragic effects of the play. With her transformation from the obedient daughter of Polonius to the mad woman who speaks of bawdy connotations at the court, Ophelia's madness displays her inner conflicts and plight that she fails to ease. (CHEN, 2011, p.1)

However, some authors believe that it is through her madness that Ophelia "finds" herself or, in other words, her own voice in the play. The madness scene in *Hamlet* is the moment when the audience gets in contact with Ophelia's true voice. By means of her songs, she exposes her feelings and emotions, leaving room for multiple unanswered questions in the play, for example regarding her sexual activity with the Prince, as suggested in the madness scene. Ophelia in a dialog with the king:

> **Ophelia**: Pray, let's have no words of this, thus when they
> Ask you what it means, say you this:
> *Sings*.
> To-morrow is Saint Valentine's day,
> All in the morning be time,
> And I a maid at your window,
> To be your Valentine.
> Then up he rose and donn'd his clo'es,
> And dupp'd the chamber-door,
> Let in the maid, that out a maid
> Never departed more.
> (4.5.48-55)

It is through bawdy language in the song of “Saint Valentine” and “inappropriate behavior” that Ophelia expresses her predicament and manages to deal with her suffering. Ophelia’s madness serves as a cry for freedom to the submissive character seen in the beginning of the play, and also as a form of protection, since being insane can relieve the pain of her reality, the death of her father and the neglect of her lover.

The painting by the female artist, Henrietta Rae, “Ophelia”, from 1890, depicts the character in a provocative manner. The artist’s visual representation of Ophelia seems to explore the evidence manifested by the “Saint Valentine” song, insinuating Ophelia’s sexual issues. Rhodes (2008, p.166) argues that Rae’s depiction (Figures 47 and 48) of Ophelia’s hysterical, sexualized body and Gertrude and Claudius’s apprehensive response to Ophelia “signify a larger cultural anxiety regarding female sexual purity, sanity and morality during a period when women were actively seeking equal rights and sexual freedom in England”.

In the painting, we can see in the foreground, Ophelia, the King and Queen; in background, a man who looks like a guard and some people standing, looking at the scene from a distant door. Gertrude and Claudius are sitting in their chairs and lean toward each other; they appear scared by the behavior of the young woman in front of them. Ophelia wears white and has a garland of flowers on her head. With her left arm, she holds her dress, and with her right arm she offers a bouquet of flowers to the king and Queen. Her body language seems to insinuate herself in a sexual manner, her eyes and facial expression seem seductive, looking straight at Gertrude and Claudius when she speaks. Rae’s Ophelia seems to confront the King and Queen with her true and insane self. To Rhodes (p. 171), Rae’s Ophelia confronts society and “represents male fear of female power in the guise of Claudius’ covering figure”.

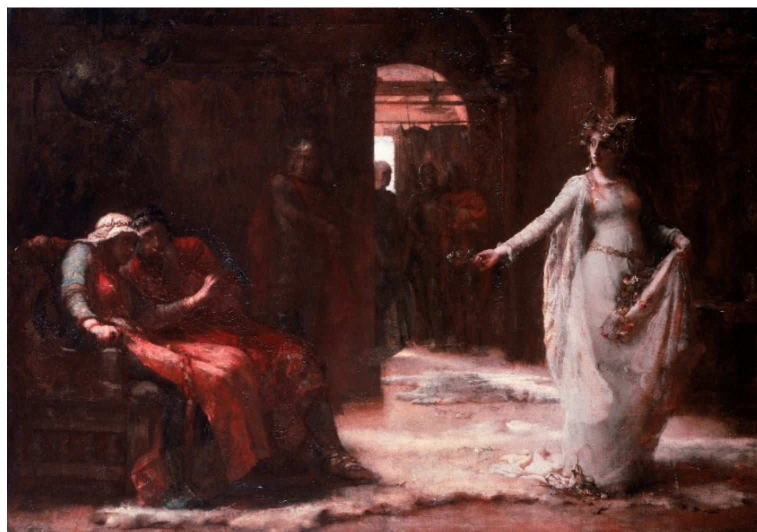

Figure 47: Henrietta Rae. *Ophelia*, 1890. Oil on Canvas.

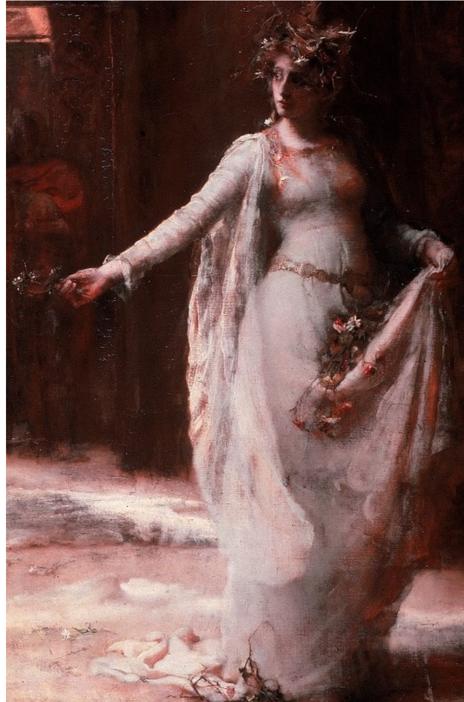

Figure 48: Henrietta Rae. *Ophelia*, 1890. Oil on Canvas. (Detail)

The artist depicts Ophelia in a period when female madness was considered a part of female nature. In Elaine Showalter's classic *"The Female malady: Woman, madness and English Culture - 1830-1980"*, from 1985, the author chronicles the history of madness and its association with the female gender. According to Showalter, the discrepant treatment in relation to women's and men's madness becomes more evident from the mid-eighteenth century. The appeal of the madwoman gradually displaced the repulsive image of the madman. Showalter (p.8) refers to a "lunacy-reform movement" and affirms that the movement "had its immediate origins in revelations of the brutal mistreatment of frail women in madhouses".

As of the late eighteenth century, novelists explored the psychological issues in their works, embodying in their characters the role of the mad woman exhaustively. Female madness in Gothic Literature, the uncanny woman, mainly refers, in a metaphorical way, to the change of the conventional, or violation of the norm. This psychological disorder in Gothic fiction can be interpreted as being caused by woman's oppression within the domestic sphere or even by the very idea of domestic environment, by marriage itself, being a "madhouse", where the woman is trapped, becoming vulnerable and powerless in her own home, embodying "madness" as a getaway.

> While the public might be persuaded that madmen were subhuman creatures that required violent restraint, these accounts of the abuse of 'delicate' women inspired a public outrage and a change of consciousness that led to a series of legislative reforms […] the correlation between madness and the wrongs of women became one of the chief fictional conventions of the age. (SHOWALTER, 1985, p.10)

Figure 49: Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Horatio Discovering the Madness of Ophelia*, 1864.

In that period, it was believed that women were more vulnerable to insanity than men, and that madness was experienced in a specifically feminine way. In the Victorian period, the psychiatrist Henry Maudsley maintained that even in violent dementia women were limited and bounded by the qualities of femininity; they did not "evidence such lively exultation and energy as men, and they had quieter and less assertive delusions of grandeur conformable with their gender natures and the quieter currents and condition of their lives" (Apud SHOWALTER, 1985, p.8). What can be observed is that there is historically a duality of ideas when we relate madness and gender. Women are typically situated on the side of irrationality, silence, nature, and body, while men are situated on the side of reason, discourse, culture, and mind. This duality is clearly represented in *Hamlet* by comparison of Ophelia's madness and the Prince's madness.

Until the mid-eighteenth century the two most famous visual representations of madness were two statues from the seventeenth century by Caius Gabriel Cibber, for the gates of Bethlem Hospital, in England. The statues "Melancholy Madness" and "Raving madness" (Figures 50 and 51) were representation of two male nudes. However, the old idea of madness represented

by the masculine and grotesque was replaced by the idea of feminine, young and beautiful, being Ophelia, arguably, its model.

Figure 50: Caius Gabriel Cibber. *Melancholy Madness*, 1677.

Figure 51: Caius Gabriel Cibber. *Raving madness*, 1677.

Therefore, it is possible to surmise that visual representations of Ophelia have played a significant role in the visual construction of female insanity at the time. Showalter (p.77-94) proposes that Ophelia became a prototype for insane women at the time, a model for clinical diagnosis. Kiefer (2008, p.16) presents some Victorian psychiatrists saying that they "universally acknowledged Shakespeare as a reliable aid in diagnosing the 'Ophelias types' entrusted to their care". Kiefer also invokes the psychiatrist John Connolly, in "*A study of Hamlet*"**,** from 1863, affirming:

> Never did poet's pen draw so touching and so true a portrait of madness fallen on a delicate and affectionate girl. […] Our asylums for ruined minds now and then present remarkable illustrations of the fatal malady, […] so that even casual visitors recognize in the wards an Ophelia; the same young years, the same fated beauty, the same fantastic dress and interrupted song. (CONNOLY, 1863, p.168)

Figure 52: William Paget. *Ophelia*, date unknown.

William Paget's painting of Ophelia (Figure 52) is a fine example of the idea of madness encouraged by nineteenth-century society. In the painting, Ophelia, even in her madness, is a model of beauty and youth. In Paget's image, Ophelia is represented in the foreground holding flowers. She carries a bouquet with various flowers on her left arm and has her right hand help up holding what seems to be a bunch of herbs. She wears a garland of flowers on her head and a long light dress, with long and wide sleeves that give her movement. She seems to be dancing while disturbed, singing her songs. In the background, Gertrude is standing next to the king who is seated, both characters are observing Ophelia. Paget's rendering of Ophelia corroborates Connolly's affirmation above: what we see is madness in "a delicate and affectionate girl", a young woman passionately and visibly driven to picturesque madness.

The extensive reproduction of Ophelia's images, especially in the nineteenth century, made her image a "symbol" of madness. We can find depictions of her in the most varied forms: as a beautiful, fragile and innocent girl, as in Paget's; and as a crazy and sexualy frustrated young woman, as in Rae's. Ophelia's representations can be associated with Angelical characters or mythological figures of nymphs and mermaids. Her madness and death became the object of contemplation (ROCHA, 2017, p. 283-391).

According to several authors, in the madness scene, Ophelia's speeches are full of statements that provide us with explicit facts about her sexual activity with Hamlet and symbolism about her wit towards what was happening in the court. In her madness, Ophelia appears in the castle offering specific types of flowers to Laertes, the King and the Queen. Based on the original text, we cannot know exactly which flowers she gives to each one of the present characters in the scene; thus, her speech is subjective, and we can only interpret to whom Ophelia was offering the specific flowers:

> **Ophelia:** There's rosemary: that's for remembrance.
> Pray you, love, remember. And there is pansies: that's
> For thoughts.
> **Laertes:**A document in madness – thoughts and rememberence
> Fitted!
> **Ophelia:**There's fennel for you, and columbines.
> There's rue for you, and here's some for me. We may
> call it herb of grace o'Sundays. You may wear your rue
> with a difference. There's a daisy. I would give you
> some violets, but they withered all when my father
> died. They say'a made a good end.
> (4.7.169-178)

According to specialists[32] the flowers offered by Ophelia have their own meanings. The flowers and their intrinsic meanings have been explored exhaustively by visual artists and by critics to insinuate Ophelia's "lucidity" even in her moment of madness. In the madness scene, almost all Ophelia's visual depictions show her with flowers: a direct reference to her speech. She starts offering rosemary; the flower is a "symbol" of faithfulness and remembrance. It is possible to interpret that Ophelia is urging the viewers to "remember what's been happening" and encouraging her brother, Laertes, to "examine where true loyalties seem to lie". Next, Ophelia offers pansies, also treated as a "symbol" of faithfulness and thoughtful recollection. She continues with fennel, an emblem of false flattery. In the Middle Ages fennel seeds were used as appetite suppressants to aid fasting pilgrims. Thus, they became symbolic of things that appear to give sustenance but that in effect have none. Ophelia offers the King fennel, since she assumed that the king loved flattery. She also offers the King and the Queen columbine, originally, a wild flower of the English fields and meadows but it became a popular Elizabethan garden flower. In Shakespeare's days known as the "emblem of deceived lovers," columbine is a symbol of ingratitude, male adultery and faithlessness. Continuing with the insinuations,

[32] The definitions are based on the work of Katarina Eriksson, the former head gardener of the Huntington Library, Museum and Botanical Garden in San Marino, California. "Ophelia's Flowers and Their Symbolic Meaning Act 4, Scene 5, of Shakespeare's Hamlet"- Source link - http://www.huntingtonbotanical.org/Shakespeare/ophelia.htm

Ophelia, in some stage productions, presents Queen with rue, observing that “There’s rue for you, and here’s some for me”. Ophelia “presents” herself with the same herb that supposedly was the major cause of abortion in its day, which is also why it was tied in with adultery. Following, Ophelia mentions a daisy, which represents gentleness, innocence and righteousness. In some stagings Ophelia is shown picking up a daisy, admiring it and putting it down, an allusion of a loss of innocence and loyal love. Finally, Ophelia says that all the violets withered when her father dies; violets are the flower of faithfulness and fidelity.

The disturbed mental health of Ophelia appears in two different scenes in the play. Usually, Act IV scene V is the scene that comes to our minds in terms of Ophelia’s madness; after all, it is the famous “madness scene”, as we have just seen. However, in Act IV scene VII, the speech of Gertrude describing Ophelia’s death is also a report on Ophelia’s madness; and this speech becomes crucial in visual depictions of the play. It is impossible to dissociate Ophelia from madness in Gertrude’s speech. According to table 2 (see Introduction), we can verify that Gertrude's description of Ophelia's death offers multiple representations of the character in arts. Gertrude’s speech can be divided in three parts, each one corresponding to one of the possible pictorial scenes so often depicted by artists in Western Art.

Gertrude:
There is a willow grows askant the brook
That shows his hoary leaves in the glassy stream.
Therewith fantastic garlands did she make
Of crowflowers, nettles, daisies and long purples, **1**
That liberal shepherds give a grosser name
But our cold maids do dead men’s fingers call them.

There on the pendent boughs her crownet weeds
Clambering to hang, an envious sliver broke, **2**
When down her weedy trophies and herself

Fell in the weeping brook. Her clothes spread wide
And mermaid-like awhile they bore her up,
Which time she chanted snatches of old lauds
As one incapable of her own distress,
Or like a creature native and endued **3**
Unto that element. But long it could not be
Till that her garments, heavy with their drink,
Pulled the poor wretch from her melodious lay
To muddy death.
(4.7.164-181)

In the first part of the description of Ophelia’s death, the Queen tells Laertes that Ophelia was walking in the woods collecting flowers to make her beautiful garlands. In this part of the text, as in Ophelia’s previously analyzed speech, the symbolisms of flowers is brought up again.

The Queen tells the names of the flowers collected by Ophelia in the woods: crowflowers, nettles, daisies and long purples. Here we can highlight the "long purples", which Gertrude affirms that "liberal shepherds give a grosser name". Probably, by the comment of the Queen and the name of the flower --long purple-- we can perceive an allusion to the male sexual organ.

Figure 53: Jules Joseph Lefebvre. Ophelia, 1890. Oil on canvas. 91 x 150 cm.
Source: Springfield, Museum of Fine Arts

In the painting of Jules Joseph Lefebvre (Figure 53), from 1890, we can observe the described flowers. In the painting, Ophelia is in what seems to be a swamp. She is surrounded by vegetation and has her feet and shins unsder water. Lefebvre follows Ophelia's classical iconography: she is dressing white, and has blonde, long and loose hair. Her melancholy gaze seems to focus nothing. In the painting, we can recognize the crow flowers, nettles, daisies and the long purples. Although I choose to display Lefebvre's painting as pertaining to the first part of Gertrude's speech, his image causes some questioning about its classification according to the categories proposed by this research. The artist positioned Ophelia in the water, but she has not fallen into the brook, neither is she completely submerged, as we usually see in visual depictions of the character. What we observe is that she seems to choose to go into the brook, a conscious or unconscious action do to her madness. Importantly, Lefebvre's pictorial choice seems to be an interpretation of this ambiguous part of the text: Ophelia's suicidal or accidental

death. The artist is the only one, in the data collected, to depict Ophelia walking inside the water apparently moving away from the brook bank.

Along Lefebvre's image, other interesting particularities were found in this first third of the Queen's speech about Ophelia's death. Analyzing carefully the research's archive, a depiction of the aforementioned black veil was identified. From the forty-seven images in this classified group, four of them (Figures 54, 55, 56 and 57) present what can be interpreted as being a black veil.

Figure 54: John Wood. *Ophelia*, 1889. / **Figure 55:** Annie Ovenden (1945-).*Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil on hardboard, 91cm x 76cm.

Figure 56: Artist unknown. *Ophelia with Hamlet spelled in Flowers*, date unknown. Shakespeare Postcard. / **Figure 57:** Arthur Hughes. *Ophelia (second version),* [33] 1863-64. Oil on Canvas.

The first observation to be made is that despite the lack of a specific date information, it is possible to affirm that Annie Ovenden's depiction is one of the most recent representations of the group, dating from some time after 1945 (Ovenden's date of birth). Since the artist and date of image 56 are unknown, we cannot affirm which one of the paintings is the oldest. The four images have differences in terms of composition, Ophelia's body position, and its representation of the black veil; but they also share similarities. The four Ophelias are portrayed with golden, loose or semi-loose hair. All of them are surrounded by vegetation and flowers. And with the exception of figure 56, which portrays a white shirt and a dark dress, the other Ophelias are depicted using a long white gown.

As concerns the black veil, we can observe three different depictions. In John Wood's and Annie Overden's images, Ophelia has the veil on her shoulder, using it as a mantle. In figure 56, Ophelia has the veil around her head and face, a depiction different from all the other findings of the black veil in this research. She is also the only one, from these four Ophelias, that shows a frightened expression in comparison with the calm look of the others. Finally, in Arthur Hughes's image, the black veil appears subtly camouflaged with the greenery and the dark background of the painting. Hughes's treatment using white paint to reproduce the black veil is impressive, making the accessory seem nearly translucent. In the picture, the veil seems

[33] The first version, from 1952, is present in the second third of Gertrude's speech.

to be hanged over Ophelia's right shoulder. Hughes's rendering explores the character's sexuality, leaving her left shoulder, the one seen by the viewer, naked. Her seductive appearance is also present in others painters' depictions of Ophelia in the woods.

The visual representation of women and their bodies has always been a spectacle. The preference for the depiction of women's bodies in the History of Art is not just for purely artistic or aesthetic reasons; women's nudity also provokes erotic impulses through the male gaze. Therefore, we can understand that the feminine body became an object of appreciation of men. In Hughes's painting, the shoulder is the hypnotic focus to Ophelia's feminine body; however, other representations, in this classified group of images, explore the character's sensuality in a more explicit manner.

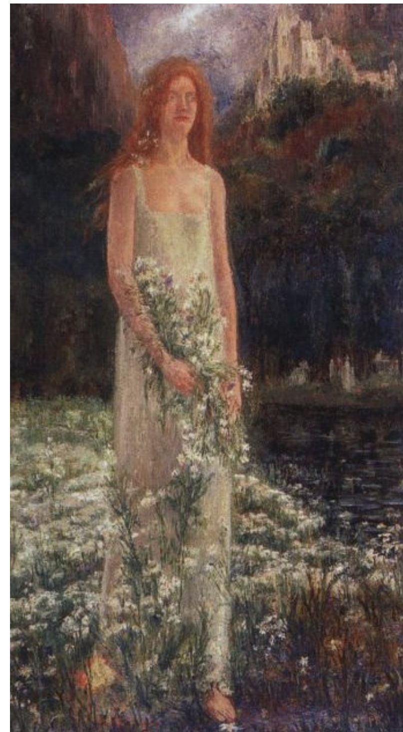

Figure 58: *Madeleine Lemaire's 'Ophelia'*, 1880. Lithograph. / **Figure 59:** Theodor Pallady. *Ofelia*, 1900.

In the Figures 58 and 59, we have depictions of Ophelia with naked breasts. In both images we can recognize part of Gertrude's description of Ophelia's death. In the two images, she is walking in the woods and carries flowers. In both representations, the facial expression of the character and her naked body draw our attention. On the left, we have a mad seductive gaze, and she is showing her breasts and pulling up her skirt; and on the right a lunatic face that seems unaware of her thin dress and exposed figure. Lynda Nead, in *Female Denude: Art, obscenity and sexuality*, from 1998, affirms that in the nineteenth century, exposure of female

nudity was a way of controlling and “promoting” women's sexuality and behavior. The pictures of the time supposedly should portray an idealized woman, a pattern that should be followed by female society. Thus, according to Nead (1998, p.18) the pictorial genre "female nude” was an act of “regulation”, and the genre’s purpose was to contain and regulate the sexualized body of women. The female body has always been tied to the ideas of sensuality, fluidity and passivity, as the aforementioned representations of passive and fragile Ophelias can attest.

However, in the middle of the nineteenth century, we have a change. The French artist Edouard Manet challenges the traditional scenario of the pictorial nude and breaks with the stereotype of portraying female naked mythological and allegoric bodies. Manet painted the famous “*Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*”[34] (Figure 60). The famous painting depicts an ordinary young naked woman among other ordinary people, having a picnic.

Figure 60: Edouard Manet. *Le déjeuner sur l'herbe*, 1862/63.
Source: Musée d’Orsay, Paris

Manet challenges the system of female representation by placing a common woman naked in a painting. Until then, the “privilege” of being naked was reserved to “fantastic” figures. Thus, in the middle of the nineteenth century the depictions of Ophelia start to explore in a more revealing way her undeniable sexuality. Alan Young draws our attention to the eroticism present in Ophelia's depiction.

[34] Manet’s painting was exposed at the “Salon des Refusés” (Salon of the Refused) in 1863. The Salon gathered the works of art rejected at the official salon, which was intended for artists belonging to the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. The Salon of the Refused is regarded as a milestone for the emergence of modern painting.

> The principal reason for the attractiveness of Ophelia to artists, feminist scholars have surmised, was that she provided artists and the viewers of their works (particularly males) with the opportunity to contemplate and contain (notably when madness leads to death) the threatening fantasy of uncontrolled female sexuality. That sexuality, paradoxically, is the more powerful in the case of Ophelia because it has been repressed and hidden by editors, interpreters, and actors. (YOUNG, 2002, p.282)

The visual representations gathered in the second third of Gertrude's seventeen- and-a-half-line speech contain images that explore Ophelia's sexuality in a more subtle way. Different from what we could observed in the first group, this second group does not contain nude depictions of the character. However, the idea of femininity and sexuality continues present in the archive. According to innumerous Shakespeareans scholars, Ophelia's madness and death are surrounded by conventions and by metaphors that carry specific messages about femininity and sexuality. Thus, despite the type of representations about Ophelia, the issue of sexuality is always connected to her image. Showalter submits that

> Ophelia's virginal and vacant white is contrasted with Hamlet's scholar's garb, his "suits of solemn black." Her flowers suggest the discordant double images of female sexuality as both innocent blossoming and whorish contamination; she is the "green girl" of pastoral, the virginal "Rose of May" and the sexually explicit madwoman who, in giving away her wild flowers and herbs, is symbolically deflowering herself. (SHOWALTER, 1992, p. 3)

Among the data collected in the second group, the most famous image alluding Ophelia to the moment when the branch broke is the first version of Arthur Hughes's "*Ophelia*" (Figure 61). The painter presented his work in 1852 in the Royal Academy and did not have much success. Some critics believed that Hughes's lack of success was caused by his "bad timing", since he presented his painting at the same time as John Everett Millais's famous version of Ophelia. While Millais gained fame from his *Ophelia* (as we will see further), Hughes's version was relegated to the Octagon Room, known at the time as "The Condemned Cell" because of its terrible location. Hughes's painting was exposed in a bad place and in a bad position, being hung extremely high up where it could only be observed with the use of a ladder.

Hughes's painting placed the character in the center of the representation; she is sitting on the trunk of a tree located in what appears to be a swampy forest. Ophelia is represented by a childlike figure who has long and golden hair. She wears a sleeveless white dress and a crown made by vegetation. With her left hand, she holds a bouquet of vegetation and, with her right hand, she throws flowers into the water beneath her. The painting has a golden frame; according

to Ziegler (2001, p.48) this type of framing became popular among the Pre-Raphaelites,[35] who used it for religious and secular effects; but in Hughes's case the golden frame "enhances the sense of holiness already suggested by the clear mysterious light that sets Ophelia's rush/thorn-crowned figure". Hughes depicts Ophelia as a sickly, pale girl who vacantly looks down into the water dropping blossoms.

Figure 61: Arthur Hughes. *Ophelia*, 1852. Oil on canvas with an arched top.
Source: Manchester City Art Galleries, Manchester, England.

Bram Djistra suggests, as he evaluates Ophelia in Hughes's painting, that at the edge of the brook, where Shakespeare placed her, she is in a state of madness and anguish. Ophelia has crowned herself with reeds as she watches the flowers she drops in the water float away in anticipation of her own imminent fate:

> She is emaciated and tubercular and therefore has all the requisite attributes of the icons of illness. Consumptive fever has heightened the contrast between the pallor of her skin and her red lips and the deathlike shadows around her eyes […] Millais' [sic] even more famous "Ophelia" of 1851 follows her journey into death: woman and water united forever in a passive voyage to eternity among reeds […] Millais' dead Ophelia, floating prettily but uselessly in the water, and Hughes's mad Ophelia, showing her weakness and lack of control over her own fate, her touching expendability and her inherent debility, gradually became the models for a host of their analogous treatments of the

[35] The Pre-Raphaelite was a movement popularly known for images of medieval damsels and sensual *femmes fatales*, but art historically it is generally valued for the realism of its landscapes and modern scenes. Despite Hughes's use of the golden frame in his painting, he was not considered a Pre-Raphaelite. The artist lived in the same period and had several friends who were part of that artistic movement, but Hughes never became an official member.

> theme by British painters such as Richard Redgrave, Henrietta Rae, and Louise Jopling […]. (DIJKSTRA, 1986, p.43)

Arthur Hughes's representation of Ophelia, in terms of composition, is akin to Richard Redgrave's painting (Figure 62) from 1842. The image, painted ten years before, also places the female character on a trunk of a tree and close to a bank of a stream. Despite these similarities, the images depict two different figures of Ophelia. While Hughes's Ophelia appears to be a child, a tiny creature; in fact, Showalter (1985, p.84-85) defines Hughes's Ophelia as "a sort of Tinker Bell Ophelia in a filmy white gown, perched on a tree trunk by the stream. The overall effect is softened, sexless, and hazy, although the straw in her hair resembles a crown of thorns". However, Redgrave's character is a mature woman. She is placed in the middle of the painting, and seems to be throwing flowers into the water beneath her; his Ophelia is bare-footed and uses a kind of see-through dress, where the viewer can easily see the shape of her breasts and the contour of her nipples. Different from the young girl represented by Hughes.

Figure 62: Richard Redgrave. Ophelia Weaving her Garlands, 1842.
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

In this second group of images, besides the depictions of Ophelia leaning or sitting on the trunk of a tree, we can also find visual representations of the exact moment when Ophelia falls into the brook; the depictions by John Willis (Figure 63) and Johann Heinrich Ramberg

(Figure 64) are examples of that. The picture by Willis, an illustration in the book *The lives and tragical deaths of Hamlet, prince of Denmark, and the lovely Ophelia,* dates from 1823. In the depiction, Ophelia is falling into the brook; we can see her left arm standing and holding the tree. She has the bottom of part of her dress inside the water. Ophelia wears a white dress and a red veil; she looks up and has a sorrowful expression. The artist's work seems to be from an older period of art because of its perspective, proportions and effects. Willis tries to incorporate the movement of Ophelia's fall into the depiction; we can observe a timid attempted from the painter to bring movement to the rendering, with the disturbance on the water and the effect on Ophelia's veil, which is disconnected from her body, alluding to her motion towards the brook.

Johann Ramberg's depiction from 1829, just six years later, represents the same part of Gertrude's speech; the artist also incorporates the sensation of movement in the scene but, different from Willis, Ramberg obtains fine results in his painting. Ramberg depicts the character in the moment of her fall; she is holding the broken branch in her left hand and a garland of flowers in her right hand. The artist uses several devices to create the idea of movement on the flat canvas. He positions Ophelia in diagonal position to the viewer, as Willis does; but Ramberg also uses the rest of the painting to work as a "simulator" of movement. He paints the trees and vegetation in diagonal position too, and adds a wind effect, as the leaves seem shuffled. Ophelia wears a light colored, long and flowy dress, which is partially immersed in the water. The part of the dress that meets the water is blended with the waves caused by the disturbance of the water, which by its time is caused by Ophelia's fall. In the image, we almost cannot differentiate what is the bottom of her dress and what are the waves. Ramberg makes the painting move in front of our eyes and transforms Ophelia in a reverberation of and in the water.

Figure 63 - John Willis. *The lives and tragical deaths of Hamlet, prince of Denmark, and the lovely Ophelia,* 1823.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 64 - Johann Heinrich Ramberg. Ophelia, 1829. Watercolor. 15 x 19 1/4 in.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

From the three parts of Gertrude's description of Ophelia's death, divided by this dissertation, the second group is the smallest in number of visual representations, seventeen images, and the third and final group is the largest, with fifty-nine images. The significant difference between the numbers in each group shows a predilection in Western Art for Ophelia’s death as described by Gertrude. Two iconic visual moments in the history of Ophelia’s visual representation have been observed. The first concerns Ophelia’s madness depiction; this moment prevailed until the middle of nineteenth century; and the second concerns Ophelia’s drowned depictions, a moment which took over in the middle of nineteenth century and continues to be dominant until today.

One of the oldest visual representations of Ophelia drowned is a drawing by Henry Fuseli (Figure 65), from 1770-78. The artist places Ophelia in the horizontal position, lying down in what seems to be water. Ophelia appears floating, her dress and hair blend with the swirling water. She has her right arm outstretched above her hair and, with her right hand, she holds something that we cannot distinguish; her left arm is close to her body, and her left hand holds part of her gown to her hip, leaving her left leg uncovered. She has both breasts exposed. According to Young (2002, p. 329), Fuseli’s drawing of the drowning (or drowned) Ophelia merging with the water was a “remarkable, almost prophetic anticipation of a romantic fascination with this subject that can be traced through the nineteenth century”.

Figure 65 – Henry Fuseli. Ophelia, 1770-78. Roman Album.
Source: British Museum, London.

A few years later in 1838, Eugène Delacroix depicts a near prone Ophelia, bare-breasted and bare-footed, and already partially in the water. Delacroix is considered the one who most fully embraced the character. The artist's fascination with Ophelia stimulates him to produce in total four works about her[36] -- one lithograph (1843) and three oil paintings (1838, 1844 and 1853) -- all of them titled "*La Mort D'Ophélie*". In the first of Delacroix's rendering (Figure 66), the artist depicts Ophelia in a horizontal position. She lays in what we imagine to be the brook. The character is bare-footed and has her breasts naked. Her right arm is flexed holding some vegetation or flowers; her right hand touches one of her breasts, while her left hand holds one of the tree's branches. The lighting in the painting is focused on Ophelia. The artist's brush treatment on the image connects the vegetation, the muddy water and Ophelia, as if they were part of the same thing. Poetically, we could say that Delacroix's Ophelia is struggling between life and death; she appears partly clinging to the tree, trying to stay on the surface, and partly in the water, being taken by its density.

In Delacroix's other three visual representations of Ophelia (Figures 67, 68 and 69), the artist bears a significant resemblance among the works. All the depictions present part of the character's body naked; she is in a horizontal position holding a branch with one of her hands and the other hand is on her body; and she has one of her arms flexed hugging a bunch of flowers. One of the significant differences noticed was in Delacroix's last rendering of Ophelia, where the painter inverts the position of the whole image. In the representations by

[36] In addition to Ophelia's representations, it is estimated that between 1834 and 1853, the artist developed eleven paintings and sixteen lithographs illustrating *Hamlet*'s various passages.

Delacroix, the expressions of Ophelia and details of the painting are difficult to see in the oil paintings, because of the artist's brush treatment on the canvas; and in the engraving, because of the smoky effect of the drawing on the lithographic stone.

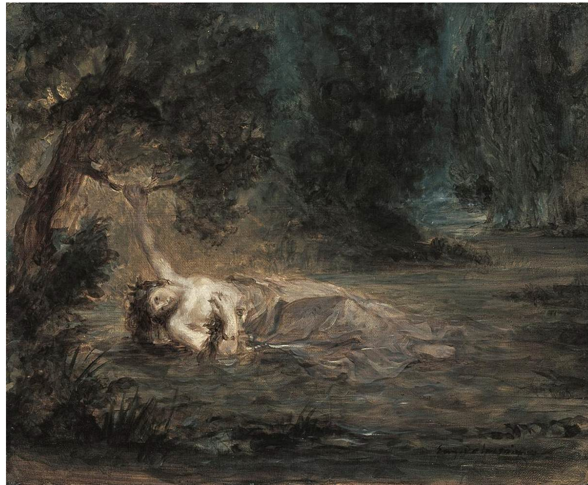

Figura 66 – Eugène Delacroix. *La Mort D'Ophélie*, 1838. Oil on canvas, 37,9 x 45,9 cm.
Souce: Neue Pinakothek, München.

Figura 67 – Eugène Delacroix. *La Mort D'Ophélie*, 1843. Lithograph, 18,1 x 25,5 cm.
Source: Musée Eugène Delacroix, Paris.

Figura 68 – Eugène Delacroix. *La Mort D'Ophélie*, 1844. Oil on canvas, 55 x 64 cm.
Source: Oscar Reinhardt Museum “am Römerholz”, Winterthur.

Figura 69 – Eugène Delacroix. *La Mort D'Ophélie*, 1853.Oil on canvas, 23 x 30 cm.
Source - Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Despite the popularity of Delacroix’s visual representations of Ophelia, the artist probably was inspired by the work of Eugène Devéria, who, with Delacroix and Louis Boulanger, was one of the leading representatives of the romantic movement in French painting. Devéria produced an engraving of Ophelia, dated around 1827-30, where the character was positioned as in Delacroix’s.

Figure 70 – Achille Devéria. *Ophélie*, 1827-1830.
Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

According to Rocha (2015, p. 42), it is possible that Delacroix saw Devéria's Ophelia before he painted his own version, as both worked together in Charles Motte's lithographic studio. Thus, probably Delacroix was influenced by his fellow's engraving of the death of Ophelia. The figure 70 shows Devéria's engraving. We can observe that Ophelia's body is in the water. The character has her two hands holding a branch of the tree, instead of one as in Delacroix. Ophelia wears a long white dress with a cleavage but no nudity, another divergent point between the representations of the two artists. Despite some details in composition, it is noticed that Delacroix may have taken the general conception from Devéria's rendering as a basis to his work.

Despites Fuseli's depiction of Ophelia, 1770-78, placing Ophelia horizontally in his drawing, many historians and art critics point to Delacroix as responsible for the new way of representing Ophelia. Luciana Lourenço Paes (2014, p. 13), in *As representações de A Morte de Ofélia na obra de Eugène Delacroix*, affirms: "é Delacroix quem inaugura, publicamente ao menos, a imagem de Ofélia morta, na horizontal, sobre a água".

Although Delacroix's Ophelia can be considered the forerunner in the changing of the traditional way of portraying the death of Ophelia, the turning point on Ophelia's visual representations is directly connected with another artist, Sir John Everett Millais. The artist's celebrated depiction of Ophelia (Figure 71), from 1851, brought a new perspective to the character and changed the history of her pictorial representation. Millais's painting influenced the future generations' depictions of Ophelia, making almost impossible to discuss Gertrude's speech without referring to him.

Millais's depiction of Ophelia, as in Delacroix painting, can be interpreted as a woman between life and death. Millais depicted Ophelia completely lying in the brook. Her clothes are entirely submerged, and her body seems to be rigid. Ophelia's hands and face are the only body parts that are out of the water. Her expression stands out in the composition; despite the motionless body, Ophelia is still alive and seems to be singing her songs cradled by her own hands. She looks at the sky but seems no longer conscious; instead, she just waits for her death. The painter attentively minds nature in the painting, depicting the flowers mentioned by Gertrude in her speech. The image has no background, only the far bank on the river, full of undergrowth. In Millais's visual representation, Ophelia "does not resist the forces that act on her, punctuating the 'glassy stream', encased in an exquisite rendering of bright colored plants, flowers, and other vegetation, her acquiescent, supine body drifts to its 'muddy death'" (ZIEGLER, p.22).

One of the main characteristics of the Pre-Raphaelite's movement was the exploration of meaning in the depiction of nature. Sarah M. M. Leonard (2009, p.4), in *The Bower of the Pre-Raphaelites: Plant Life and the Search for Meaning in the Art of Millais, Rossetti, and Morris*, explains that Pre-Raphaelite artists considered that nature and plants had great potential and layers of meaning to be explored. Therefore, Ophelia offered Millais a promising material to work on, since her death description is full of nature references. Leonard (P. 4) also reminds us that nature was something with important value to the Victorians: "It was something to be bested and conquered, something uncivilized, but it was also a site of nostalgia, a realm untouched by the sometimes horrific progress of industry and development".

In order to portray his best version of the death of Ophelia, Millais used a model to paint this work. Elizabeth Siddal, a beautiful young woman and a popular model among Pre-Raphaelite artists, posed for him. In order to depict Ophelia's floating dress and face, Millais requested Siddal to stay in a bathtub full of water for several hours; the model stayed in cold water without complaining, not to disturb the artist; consequently, she caught a bad cold, probably pneumonia, that lingered on for months. Siddal's predicament became almost as famous as the painting itself, and the model eventually sued the painter. To paint the trees and plants that surrounds the brook, Millais went to Worcester Park Farm in Surrey.

Figure 71 – Sir John Everett Millais. *Ophelia*, 1851. Oil on canvas
Source: Tate Britain in London.

The critical reception of the painting in the exhibition of 1852 was mixed, and many reviewers considered Millais's Ophelia a transgression rather than a virtue. At the time, it was suggested that the painter had worked against the pathos of the scene (RHODES, 2008, p. 89-90). It is valid to remember that Victorian taste was mostly based on moral, sentimentalism, and polished manners. Here is the *Art-Journal* from 1852 about Millais's painting:

> This is an interpretation of the Queen's description of the death of Ophelia to Laertes, certainly the least attractive and least practicable subject in the entire play. The artist has allowed himself no license, but has adhered most strictly to the letter of the text. Ophelia was drowned chanting snatches of old tunes, and she was "incapable of her own distress." Thus the picture fulfills the conditions of the prescription, but there are yet other conditions naturally inseparable from the situation, which are unfulfilled. (ART JOURNAL, 1852, p.174)

The conditions mentioned by the journal are the sentimental aspects of the painting, an element which supposedly should connect us with the depictions. But divergent opinions on the matter existed. David Masson, in *Pre-Raphaelitism in Art and Literature*, from 1852, shares his thoughts about Millais's work:

> The artist seems to have been more faithful to the circumstantial of the actual brook which he selected as answering to Shakespeare's description, than to the text of the description itself. […] Ophelia, in Shakespeare's text, is evidently not floating horizontally in the water, as in Millais's picture, but buoyed up, in the attitude of a mermaid, by 'her clothes spread wide'. Whether the graceful management of this attitude by a painter would be easy, we do not know; but

> certainly, if it were, a painting so conceived would strike less painfully, not to say less awkwardly, than one in which the corpse-like length of robe and figure suggests to literally a drowning woman. (MASSON, 1852, p.89)

According to Kimberly Rhodes (2008, p. 90) Millais's painting reveals Ophelia's emotional significance in her death; the artist privileges surface detail over content, bringing something different to the discussion. Instead of depicting the "traditional emotive impact" provided by previous artists, Millais chooses to favor a "sensationalistic style". Rhodes (p.90) believes that Millais "created a crisis of sorts in literary illustration that allowed the painter's power to skew conventional readings of female characters like Ophelia from one indicative of virtue to one of progression, perversity, and decadence." Rhodes concludes that Millais did this being quite categorical to the depiction of the text.

Moreover, it is from Millais that the visual representation of Ophelia takes another perspective, influencing artists' depiction of Ophelia from the mid/end of the nineteenth century until the present. The selection of Ophelias below (Figures 72, 73, 74, 75, 76 and 77) shows the presence of Millais's work on the iconography of the character.

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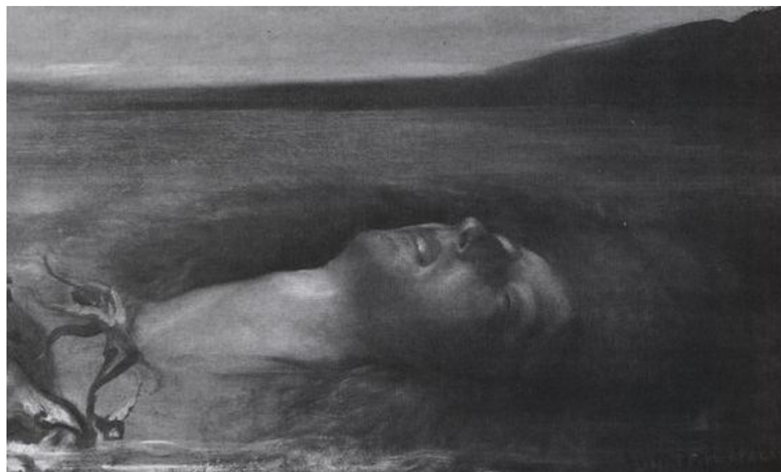

Figure 72 - Albert Ciamberlani. *Ophélie*, avant 1900.

Figure 73 - Marie Berthe Mouchel. *Ophelia*, 1915.

Figure 74 - Salvador Dalì. *The Death of Ophelia*, 1973

Figure 75 - Cheryl Johnson. *Ophelia Alive*, date unknown. Oil and acrylic on paper.

Figure 76 - Alderley Edge. *Ophelia,* 2008. 150 x 90 cm.

Figure 77 - Cesar Del Valle, *Untitled* (Ophelia), 2009. Pencil, paper, graphite powder, paper - 25 x 25 cm.

The previous images are examples of what can be observed in the archive collected. Millais's painting, which depicts the final part of the Queen's speech showing Ophelia's demise, was adopted as inspiration by a number of nineteenth- and twentieth-century artists, and I dare say has become unanimous among contemporary depictions of the character. The six images, despite being different in their media, materials, techniques and artistic periods, are connected by their source of inspiration, that is, their iconographic inspiration, the work of Millais. All Ophelias are lying in the water, be in a river, in a bathtub or in some fantastic liquid; they are all immersed in their agent of death. Some of them are floating partially, some have their faces

above the water, and one has her face completely submerged; but all of them have their eyes closed.

The image of Ophelia's death in the brook became the ultimate representation of the character. Today we can observe that artists do not have the necessity of separating Ophelia's moments in the play: madness scene and death scene; what can be observed is that Millais's visual iconography became the embodiment of Ophelia's history and issues explored in the play. Today if we observe an image of Ophelia, our connection with this image is anachronistic, a relationship of fragmentation of history of linear time; no matter if it is the original Millais -- an ancient object -- or some contemporary depiction of the character – ancient subject. To be sure, images are powerful and capable of demanding a crucial work of memory, producing an incessant reconfiguration of the past (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 1998, p. 176-177).

The collected archive opens the possibility of interacting with a set of anachronistic images, in which various constellations are possible to be created; montages of times and spaces that yield a better understanding of the present than the past. Moreover, montages are "Constellations" that emerge from the thought that comes from the images themselves, their survival, their symptoms, their character of operation, but systematized by contemporary viewers of this archive. Through the analysis of the collected data, it has been possible to understand the notion of "survival" that Didi-Huberman develops from Aby Warburg's *Nachleben*. As we have seen, traces proper of images, forms and themes have remained as a mark, as a "symptom", and are expressed in other images and at different times, of which the black veil and the composition of Millais are telling examples.

The representation of Ophelia can be considered a "mutant element" in arts that has its function changed over time; after all, at first, her depiction was limited to the representation of a literary character. However, over time, her representation became the object of discussion of femininity and issues inherent to her figure. Her meaning became larger than simple aesthetic demands. What I observed is that Ophelia in the history of her representation seems to break free from the text, gaining her own independence and significance.

CONCLUSION

The present dissertation's main objective has been to survey pictorial representations of Shakespeare's Ophelia in Western Art. From the collected material, an analysis was made drawing on the theoretical perspective of Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman, in order to verify why Ophelia's image has become a phenomenon in the arts and has stood out pictorially among the bard's characters. In order to initiate the discussion, Chapter II, following the dissertation's Introduction, situated the viewer on the basic idea of representation itself. Thus, a discussion about the origins of the notion of representation was necessary. We started with Plato's and Aristotle's concepts of mimesis and moved on to several authors, such as Ginzburg, Gombrich and Merleau-Ponty, focusing the discussion on representation in the arts.

The definition of the term representation is complex. As we have seen, in the Human Sciences, there has been a debate about the ambiguity of the term, which invokes at the same time the sense of presence and absence of something. The idea of representation can be understood as the way the visible world is portrayed in our imaginary. In the case of imaginary, we can locate the representation of literary characters. Bordieu explains that the mental representations of literary characters involve acts of appreciation, knowledge and recognition, and constitute a field where social agents invest their interests and their cultural background:

> Ou seja, no domínio da representação, as coisas ditas, pensadas e expressas têm outro sentido além daquele manifesto. Enquanto representação do real, o imaginário é sempre referência a um 'outro' ausente. O imaginário enuncia, se reporta e evoca outra coisa não explícita e não presente. Este processo, portanto, envolve a relação que se estabelece entre significantes (imagens, palavras) com os seus significados (representações, significações, processo este que envolve uma dimensão simbólica (apud PESAVENTO, 1995, p.15).

Therefore, representation in the arts is a field open to endless reflection and debate. Another important discussion that followed the idea of representation was the historical debate between literature and painting, which was here envoked in order to introduce the main subject: representations of Ophelia. The basis for comparisons between these two media goes back to Classical Antiquity, with the fascinating discussion about poetry and image. Plato's and Aristotle's Philosophy were again requested to the debate, as starting points. However, as we have seen in Classical Antiquity there was no specific theory or knowledge about the pictorial arts, the visual arts being considered an inferior class of representation subordinated to the rhetorical arts.

Nevertheless, as concerns our discussion, the visual arts have filled a gap that poetry was not able to supply: to make visible what was just in our imagination; or, to make something present through absence, as discussed previously. Despite the different considerations between the visual arts and the rhetorical arts, some authors proposed the approximation of the two media, postulating the coexistence and interdependence between poetry and painting, an important notion used in this dissertation to comprehend the image of Ophelia, a literary character, in the visual arts. To develop this issue, I invoked the Latin poet Horace (BC 65 – BC 8), in a passage from *Epistolae ad Pisones* that presents the celebrated idea of "*ut pictura poesis*" meaning "as is painting so is poetry". The central point of *ut picture poesis* idea was that a poem was "mute painting" and a painting was "spoken poetry", similar arts that differ in the media chosen. I also invoked Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's criticism, which, revising Horace, redefines the limits between poetry and painting, saying that each genre should be subject to its own conditions and specificities. Lessing specifically justifies the differences between poetry and painting saying that each had a dimension that the other lacked: poetry was located in time, and painting in space.

Still in Chapter II, it was necessary to narrow down the context of the investigation. Thus, a discussion about how literary characters gained space in the arts was presented. I started in the Medieval period, when the visual representation of literary characters, specially biblical, was a regular practice among artists. The Church at the time commissioned artists to paint biblical scenes in order to provide Christian instructions to people who could not read. The practice of representing literary characters continued throughout the history of art, approaching other subjects that were not religious, and became a pictorial genre on its own: Literary Painting. In England, Literary Painting became popular and, around the end of the eighteenth century, the genre reached an official status, being Shakespeare's characters and plays one of its great examples. *Hamlet* has been one of the most represented of Shakespeare's plays. Chapter II was crucial to demonstrate that despite the theoretical positioning and scales of importance between word and image, the visual arts and literature have had a close connection that has been solidified over the centuries.

Chapter III, the so-called theoretical Chapter, was placed between the historical context of the dissertation and its analytical research. The chapter shows how the chosen authors -- Aby Warburg and Georges Didi-Huberman -- develop their theory of art, having images and the idea of representation as the center points of their discourses. Both scholars argue that an image is not a simple representation of the real word, a slice of the visible word. For Warburg and Didi-Huberman, images have traces -- reminiscences -- visual impressions of time when

the images were produced, and also of other anachronistic and heterogenic times. That anachronism of images is one of the main ideas that permeate the concepts of Aby Warburg and Didi-Huberman. The idea of anachronism starts with Warburg's work and his Renaissance studies. Carlo Ginzburg (1990, p. 42) explains that Warburg created a method to use "figurative testimonies", images, as historical sources, and was determined to find what exactly was re-born in the Renaissance images. In the specific case, as we have seen, Warburg was examining Botticelli's paintings being compelled by the discovery of a "symptom".

This "symptom" theorized by Warburg is identified as a recurrence of some forms in the artist's paintings. Recollecting, the scholar refers to these forms as a pathos or a mime language whose historical and geographical migration can be traced. Therefore, Warburg created the term -- *Pathosformeln* -- to indicate these recurrent forms. It is worth mentioning again that the term embraces not only the form in its iconographical matter, for example, the black veil in Ophelia's paintings, or her position lying in the brook, but also in its emotional and psychological dimension, for example Ophelia's pictorial indications of being submissive or sexualized. Agamben defines: (1984, p.11), "[...] um conceito como 'Pathosformel' torna impossível separar forma e conteúdo, pois designa a intricação indissolúvel de uma carga afetiva e uma fórmula iconográfica". Thus, Ophelia's iconographic characteristics are connected with her emotional issues.

Another term explored in Warburg's theory and directly connected with *Pathosformel,* and consequently with Ophelia's representation in arts, is *Nachleben der Antike*. To the author, the term means actually "symptom", the pathos that survives through time in images. To Warburg, *Nachleben* transcends the images to a symbolic role, in which they reflect evidences of time, signs of memory, thus, providing a tension between past and present.

This dissertation also invokes Georges Didi-Huberman's view of art history, in which images are carriers of memories and time. From Aby Warburg's work and concept of "survival", Didi-Huberman proposes reflections in which the heterogenic relationships among object, culture and images question the strictly historiographical perspective of art. Didi-Huberman believes that iconography is insufficient to reach the totality of art images; such totality is not just about what the art image is, who painted it, when it was painted, its visible characteristics, but what this image can be. Didi-Huberman submits:

> […] aquilo de que as sobrevivências se lembram não é o significado – que muda a cada momento e em cada contexto, em cada relação de forças em que é incluído -, mas o próprio traço significante É preciso entender bem: trata-se menos do traço como contorno da figura figurada que do traçado como ato –

> ato dinâmico e sobrevivente, singular e repetido, ao mesmo tempo – da figura figurante. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2002, p.158)

The scholar (2002, p.13) believes that art historical discourse is always reborn: "o discurso da arte não 'nasce' nunca. Sempre recomeça". Didi-Huberman in his theoretical rationale clarifies that the "return of the same" is not a "return to the same", much less a "return to the identical". Thus, the re-appearances of Ophelia's image in the history of art do not imply that her understanding is always the same. She can provide similar iconography, not identical, and her meaning is constantly being reconfigured.

For the purpose of this dissertation, one of the most important points in Didi-Huberman's theoretical rationale was the system of thinking through the montage of images. This method, inspired by Warburg's famous Atlas, enables images to be inserted into a visual web, a procedure in which images have been analyzed and compared in the present study. Following Didi-Huberman, such organization system is here called Constellation. Based on a process of visual approximation, two "Constellations" were created. Constellation I -- Representations of Ophelia Before Madness; and Constellation II – Representations of Ophelia's Madness and Death. The method of montage allowed that different images of Ophelia could be approximated and compared among themselves and among others representations. Through the images' reminiscences, survivals, that some characteristics and issues about Ophelia could be revealed, enabling a new gaze onto a given depiction. About montage proposed by the archive collected:

> A montagem – pelo menos no sentido que nos interessa aqui – não é a criação artificial de uma continuidade temporal a partir de "planos" descontínuos, dispostos em sequências. Ao contrário, é um novo modo de expor visualmente as descontinuidades do tempo que atuam em todas as sequências da história. (DIDI-HUBERMAN, 2013, p. 399-400).

The images of Ophelia here were inserted into a network of relationships that yielded a certain visual code and thought, acquiring a configuration of survival and transformation. With the support of the theoretical apparatus, and the analyses of the collected material, the archive of images, as afore mentioned, was divided in two Constellations. Table 1 and Table 2, placed in the Introduction, showed the primary analyses of the archive and helped to formulate conclusions in this dissertation. Initially, the images were divided by the scenes where Ophelia appears, adding the categories of "portraits", portraits of Ophelia with no reference of a specific

scene; and "Others", images that could not be classified. This first separation of the images was important because it enabled conclusion about the characteristics of the material.

The first relevant conclusion is that there is a thematic preference by the artists who depicted Ophelia. The number of images depicting the character's madness onwards (139) is six times greater than depictions before her madness (23). Second, although Ophelia appears only in five of the twenty scenes in the play (Q2), there are no depictions of all five scenes. Third, textual scenes do not necessarily correspond with pictorial scenes. If we base ourselves on those same five textual scenes where Ophelia appears, but focus on the various possibilities of visual representations, the number increases from five to twelve visual scenes. Fourth, Constellation I has eight pictorial scenes and Constellation II four pictorial scenes. Fifth, in the larger thematic group -- Representations of Ophelia's madness and death -- we could also observe a preference among artists. From the four pictorial scenes in this group, two scenes based on Gertrude's speech stood out: Ophelia picking flowers for her garlands and Ophelia lying in the brook. Both pictorial scenes add up three times more images (106) than the other two pictorial scenes in this second group (33): Ophelia's madness in the castle and Ophelia in the woods when the willow sliver breaks.

In the analytical Chapters (IV and V), I went deeper into the archive, establishing connections among the images themselves and with outside relations as well. Chapter IV -- Representations of Ophelia before Madness -- showed us her first depiction in arts portraying her in a group scene. I followed her pictorial development and discussed some group scenes and individual depictions where she stood out. An important characteristic identified in Chapter IV is that in the data collected there are no post-twentieth-century pictorial representations of Ophelia before the madness scene, [37] all images being from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This fact became one of the reasons why I believe sexual issues between Hamlet and Ophelia, alluded to in the dialogues before the madness scene, seem not to be explored by the majority of visual artists. However, issues such as patriarchy, female obedience and submissiveness stood out in my analyses of the depictions. I believe that cultural traditions at the time influenced the depiction of this thematic group of images.

In Chapter V, the analyses showed a different depiction of the character. I observed her transformation from the obedient daughter of Polonius to the mad woman. As we have seen, Ophelia's madness displays her conflicts and true feelings about her condition of being a woman and the reflections of such a fact in her personal life. Her madness became an iconic

[37] One exception is an old postcard depiction of the nunnery scene, from 1910, found in online surveys with low resolution.

moment -- to herself and probably to the viewers -- since this moment reflects directly on her pictorial representation. Moreover, the archive indicates that the pictorial images depicting Ophelia's madness and death are from the nineteenth and twentieth-century, with few exceptions from the eighteenth century.[38] From the four pictorial scenes explored in Chapter V, it is visible the preference of artists for the images alluded to in Gertrude's speech. As concerns my conclusion in relation to the relevance of the character of Ophelia to the contemporary context, the third and last part of Gertrude's speech seems to be the most resourceful in terms of artistic content:

> Fell in the weeping brook. Her clothes spread wide
> And mermaid-like awhile they bore her up,
> Which time she chanted snatches of old lauds
> As one incapable of her own distress,
> Or like a creature native and endued **3**
> Unto that element. But long it could not be
> Till that her garments, heavy with their drink,
> Pulled the poor wretch from her melodious lay
> To muddy death.
> (4.7.173-181)

In the archive, observing the data in a strictly iconographical way, this is the only depiction of Ophelia that is still being portrayed by contemporary artists. I noticed that since the mid of twentieth century, Ophelia's image gained a pattern in her pictorial representation. This pattern goes back to Sir John Everett Millais's classic Ophelia from 1851. Until the middle of the last century, depictions of the other segments of Gertrude's description have been found, but after that the rendering starts to focus just on Ophelia lying in the brook. This pattern continues until today, and images of Ophelia in contemporary art are exclusively part of this model. Pictorial representations of Ophelia are just a small part of her presence in the arts today. In the course of this research, a massive visual framework has come across, especially in film, photography and art installations. To Salomon Kiefer, Ophelia today can even be considered a cliché.

> Mythologized over time, Ophelia has attained the status of a cult figure, appropriated in popular culture to such an extent that she has become a cliché. Today her name is used to market a range of products from bed linens to patterns of china. […] "Ophelia" is the title track of Natalie Merchant's recent *Ophelia* CD; its slipcase shows the artist in a number of roles, including the madwoman. "How to create an Ophelia Costume" is featured on the *e how to…* Website, where ten "how to" steps rehearse the standard Ophelia iconography and promise that "you will feel just like one of Shakespeare's most tragic

[38] In this case, just depictions of the madness scene.

> heroines in this Ophelia (after drowning) costume”. Numerous other Websites devoted to Ophelia document her presence, her power, her relevance, and her unending chain of signification in contemporary life. (KIEFER, 2001, p.11)

From the latest pictorial representations, and taking into account the presence of the character in contemporary media, I believe that Ophelia has become the focus of cultural projections. Surely, Ophelia as a character gathers characteristics that are deeply connected to her textual representation. However, the intrinsic subjects that permeate Ophelia’s existence make her transcend the textual dimension and be adopted by the visual arts. Ultimately, I have verified that the history of Ophelia’s representation in Western Art demonstrates that the character broke free from the text, gaining her own independence and significance. I do not believe that the artists today, inspired by the text, choose to represent “just” the dramatic character of Ophelia; they are not merely depicting the woman who was ignored by her lover and had her father killed. She became much more. Iconographically, her “final pose” – Millais’s conception of Ophelia -- is the embodiment of her whole history. Not only do we see the depiction of her death, but also the representation of her silence, her submissiveness, and her madness in the play.

In a wider observation on the representation of Ophelia, and here I add the other media where she appears, she has become especially present in two periods of history: the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century. The reason for this phenomenon is the prominent and permanent query about women’s place in society. Hence, we have two different scenarios portraying two different Ophelias. In the nineteenth century, women traditionally took care of the house, gave birth and raised children, were nurses, mothers, wives, neighbors and friends. They were expected to be obedient to their husbands and to have no authority over themselves. And on the twenty-first century, the discussion about women’s rights, equality of salary, sexuality, femicide and related matters has never been so compelling and current.

Once again, iconographically, the woman lying in a brook became an “emblem” of her own whole history on the play; “symbolically”, she is a contemporary “allegory” to discuss issues of femininity, patriarchy, submissiveness, domestic violence, suicide, sexual freedom among other issues. She is the “outdoor” to women’s reality, in a way or another. Her image “screams” about her past, giving the future a new voice. Her representation is the representation of every woman that fights her way through the painful privilege of being born a woman. Rightly so, the epigraph to this dissertation states that text is the thunder that keeps resonating throughout time. However, Ophelia’s images have also been a thunder reverberating in Western Art.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX I – PORTRAITS OF OPHELIA

Figure 1: Aleksander Beridze. *Portrait of Mako (Marian) Sapharova-Abashidze, as character of Ophelia*, 1883. Oil paint.
Source: Georgian State Museum of Theatre.

Figure 2: Natalia Rak. *Ophelia*, 2014. 27m high panel.
Source: NoLimits Festival in Boras, Sweden.

Figure 3: Wilson, T. C. *Ophelia*, date Unknown.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 4: Thomas Martine Rowlandson**.** *Portrait of Fay Compton as Ophelia*, 1925.
Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/thomas-martine-ronaldson/

Figure 5: Thomas Francis Dicksee. *Ophelia*, 1870.
Source: https://gallerix.ru/storeroom/1969450403/N/8669614/

Figure 6: James Roberts and engraved by Charles Grignion. *Ophelia*, 1775.
Source: Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 7: John Hamilton Mortimer. *Ophelia*, 1775.
Source: Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 8: John William Waterhouse**.** *Ophelia***,** 1908.
Source:https://eo.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_William_Waterhouse#/media/Dosiero:Gather_Ye_Rosebuds_-_Ophelia.jpg

Figure 9: James Sant. Ophelia, Unknown.
Source: http://www.english.emory.edu/classes/Shakespeare_Illustrated/Sant.Ophelia.html

Figure 10: Henri Gervex. *Ophelia*, Unknown.
Source: https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/henri-gervex-french-1852-1929-ophelia-3104314-details.aspx

Figure 11: John Hayter. *Ophelia*, 1846.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 12: Anna Lea Merritt. *Ellen Terry as Ophelia*, 1880.
Source: The British Museum, London.

Figure 13: Georges Roussin. Date Unknown.
Source: http://www.artnet.fr/artistes/georges-roussin/

Figure 14: Frank Dicksee. *Ophelia*, 1895.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/kiannajill/dicksee/

Figure 15: Francis Edouard Zier. Ophelia, 1904.
Source: https://www.artrenewal.org/artists/francis-edouard-zier/3500

Figure 16: Edward Gordon Craig. *Ophelia (Shakespeare's Hamlet)*, 1910. Wood engraving.
Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.

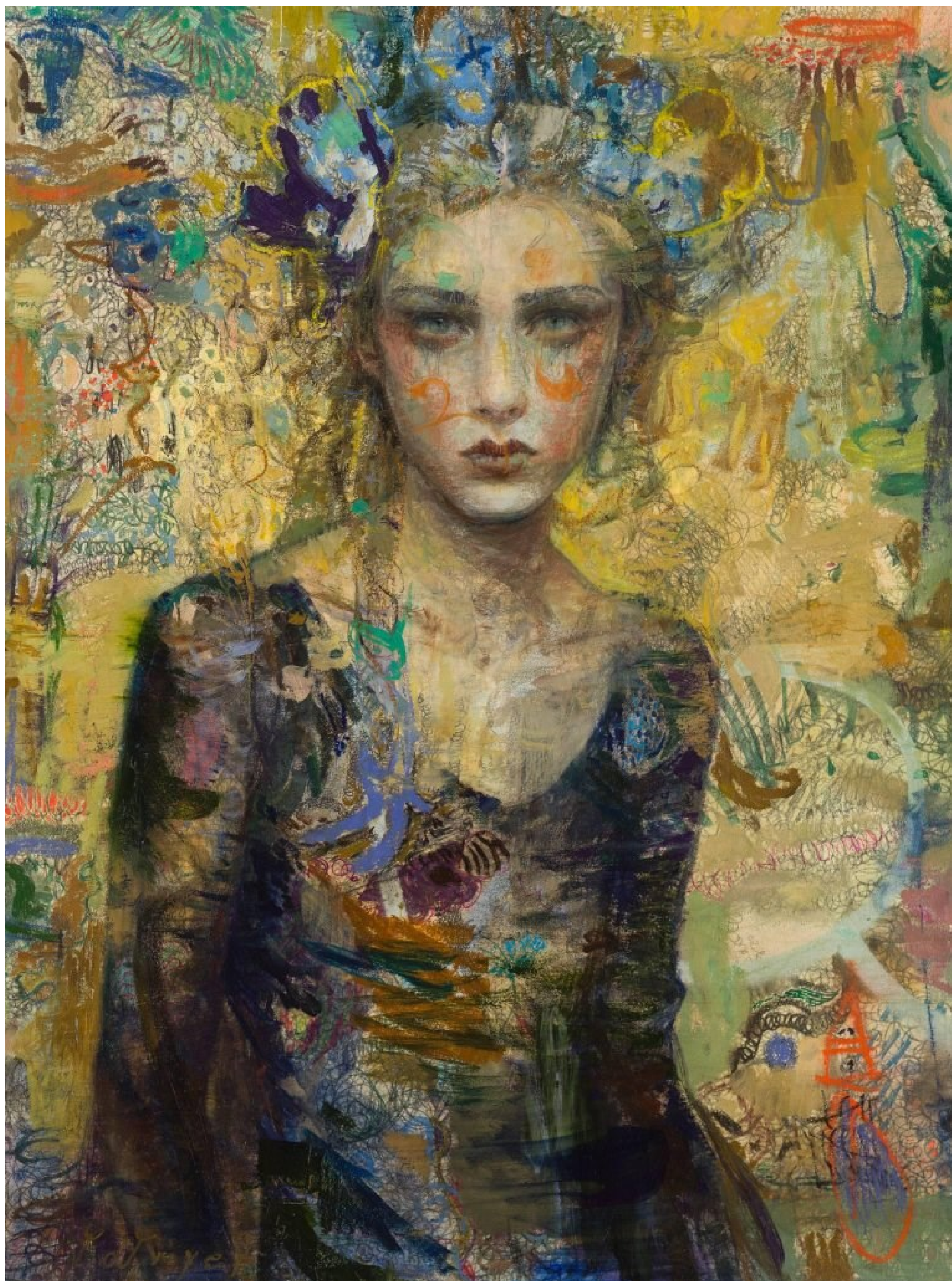

Figure 17: Charles Dwyer Portrait Painting. *Ophelia*.
Source: https://www.1stdibs.com/art/paintings/figurative-paintings/charles-dwyer-ophelia/id-a_2768413/

Figure 18: Anna Lea Merritt. *Ophelia*, 1880.
Source: British Museum.

Figure 19: John Bostock. *Ophelia*, 1836.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 20: Artist Unknown**.** *Hamlet: Ophelia Gone Mad*, date unknown.
Source: https://fineartamerica.com/featured/hamlet-ophelia-gone-mad-granger.html

Figure 21: A. Morlon**.** *Melle. Nilsson, role d'Ophélie dans Hamlet.* 19th Century.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC

Figure 22: Auguste de Valmont, Mlle Smithson**.** *Rôle d'Offelia dans Hamlet*, 1827. Two-toned Lithograph, hand colored.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

APPENDIX II - ACT II - SCENE I (SEWING ROOM)

Figure 23: Robert Smirke. *Hamlet behavious to Ophelia*, 1783.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 24: Henry Fuseli. *Hamlet, act II, scene 1. Ophelia and Hamlet*, 1775-76.
Source: The Metropolitan Museum, NY.

Figura 25: Eugène Delacroix. *Reproches d'Hamlet à Ophélie*, 1840.
Source: Louvre Museum, Paris

APPENDIX III - ACT III - SCENE I (NUNERY SCENE)

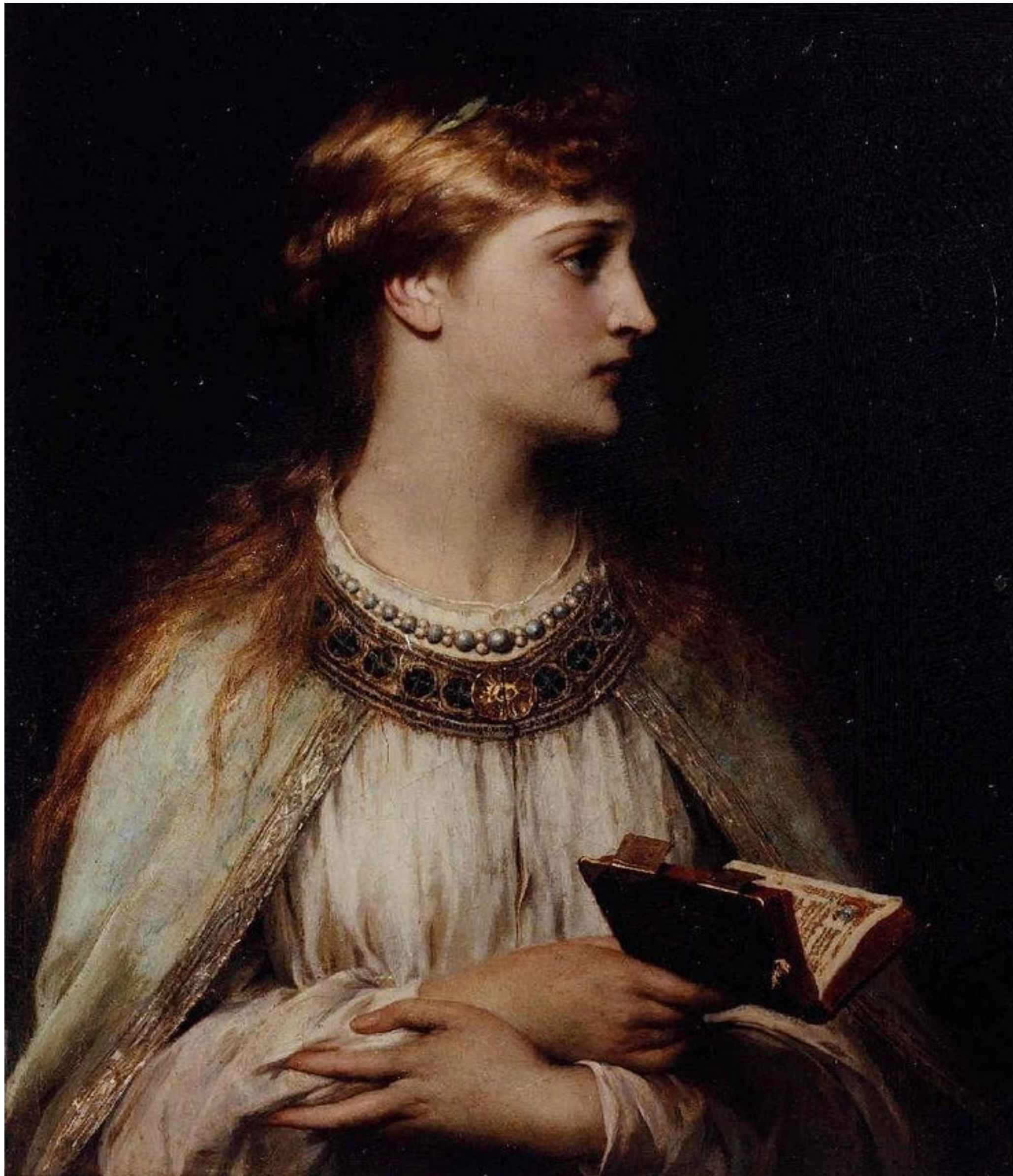

Figure 26: Thomas Francis Dicksee. *Unfortunate Ophelia*, 1861.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Thomas_Francis_Dicksee_-_Ophelia_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

Figure 27: Thomas Francis Dicksee. *Ophelia*, 1864.
Source: http://m.blog.daum.net/hyuk729/12880147

Figure 28: Pierre Auguste Cot. Ophelia, 1870.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ophelia_(Pierre_Auguste_Cot).jpg

Figure 29: J D Watson.-*Hamlet and Ophelia*, 1874.
Source:
https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~279319~120245:Hamlet-and-Ophelia,-I-loved-you-not?qvq=q:ophelia&mi=45&trs=154

Figure 30: Dante Gabriel Rossetti.. *Hamlet and Ophelia*, 1858.
Source: http://www.rossettiarchive.org/docs/s108.rap.html

Figure 31: Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Hamlet and Ophelia*, 1866.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dante_Gabriel_Rossetti_-_Hamlet_and_Ophelia_(1866).jpg

Figure 32: Henry Treffry Dunn. Hamlet and Ophelia (*After Rossetti)*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.artuk.org/artdetective/propose-a-discussion/painting/the-theodore-watts-dunton-cabinet-hamlet-and-ophelia-131525

Figure 33: George Clint. *Charles Mayne Young as Hamlet and Mary Glover as Ophelia*.1831.
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 34: G. Demain Hammond. *The fair Ophelia! Nymph, in thy orisons / Be all my sins remember'd*, date unkown. **Source:** https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo/ophelia-in-william-shakespeare-hamlet.html

Figure 35: Edward H. Bell. *Hamlet and Ophelia*, 1879.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/564287028281208865/?lp=true

Figure 36: Charles Buchel. *Untitled*, date uknown
Source: https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~481054~133436:-Hamlet,-III,-1---graphic----Chas--?qvq=q:ophelia&mi=87&trs=154

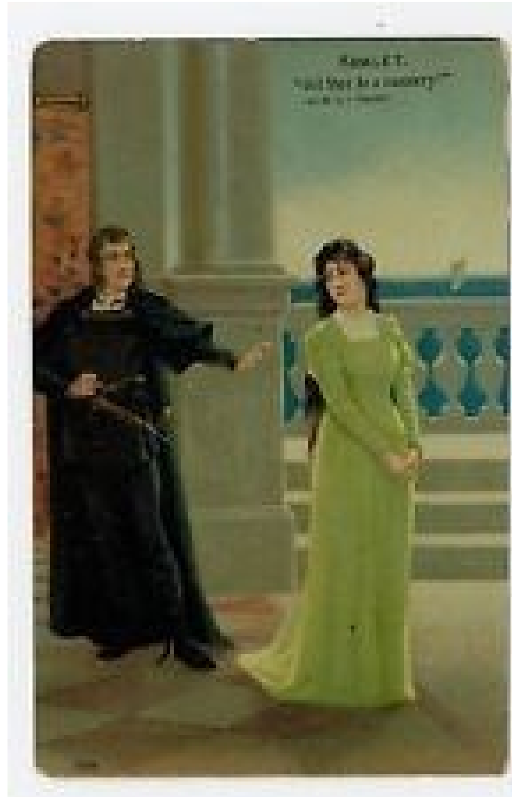

Figure 37: Hamlet. *Shakespeare Postcard Ephemera,* 1910s.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/traceymcadams/ophelia-fair-hamlet-good/

Figure 38: Agnes Pringle. *Hamlet and Ophelia*, Date unknown.
Source: https://artuk.org/discover/artworks/hamlet-and-ophelia-178865

Figure 39: Artist Unknown**.** *Ophelia. He affected to treat her with unkindness*, date Unknwon.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/270919733804909784/?lp=true

APPENDIX IV - ACT III - SCENE II (MOUSE-TRAP)

Figure 40: Francis Hayman. *The play scene from Hamlet*, 1745.
Source: https://paintingvalley.com/shakespeare-play-painting

Figure 41: Keeley Halswelle**.** *The Play Scene*, 1878.
Source: http://goldenagepaintings.blogspot.com/2010/09/keeley-halswelle-play-scene-in-hamlet.html

Figure 42: Abbey Edwin Austin. *Hamlet*, 1897.
Source: The Edwin Abbey. Memorial Collection, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Figure 43: Edwin Austin Abbey. *Compositional Study, for The Play Scene in Hamlet, Act III, Scene II*, 1897
Source: https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/62090

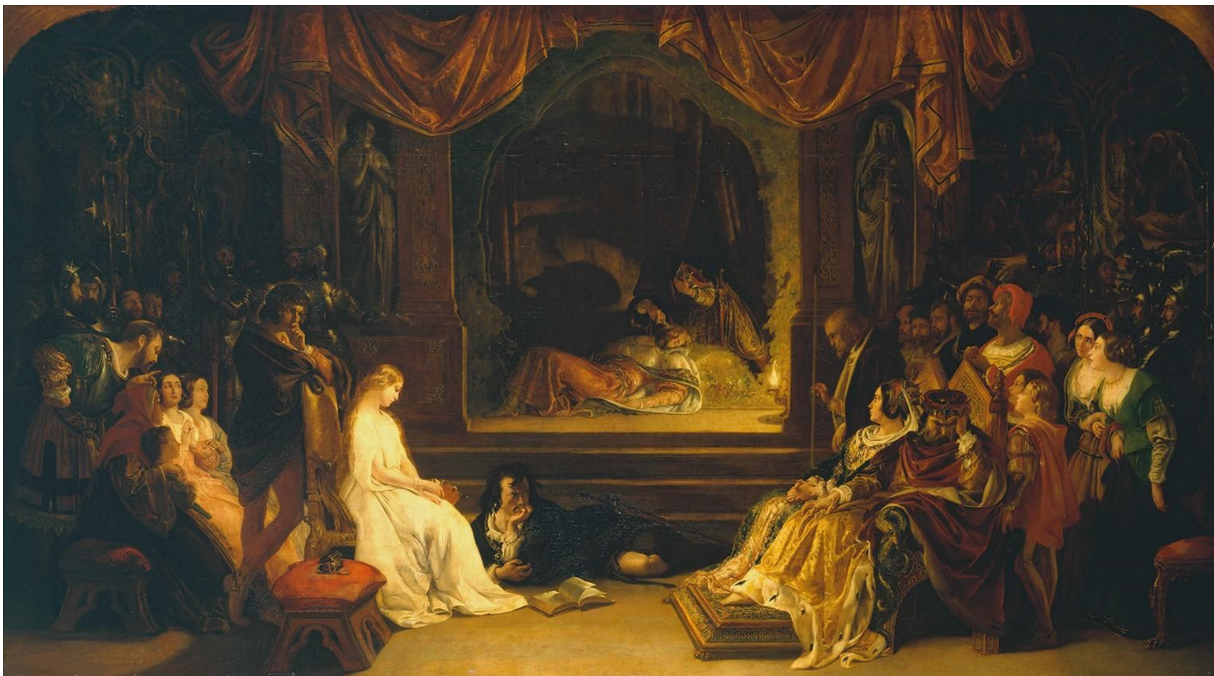

Figure 44: Daniel Maclise**.** *The Play Scene in 'Hamlet'*, 1842.
Source: https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artists/a-z/m

Figure 45: Daniel Chodowiecki. *Die Mausfalle*, 1777-78.
Source: https://www.duesseldorf.de/index.php?id=56508480&L=1

APPENDIX V - ACT IV - SCENE V (MADNESS)

Figure 46: William Paget. *Ophelia*, date unknown.

Source: https://fepimgas.pw/why-does-ophelia-go-mad.html

Figure 47: Maurice William Greiffenhagen**.** *Laertes and Ophelia*, 1885.
Source: https://remochka.livejournal.com/142431.html?thread=2604383

Figure 48: Marcus Stone. *Ophelia*, 1896.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 49: Jean Baptiste Bertrand. *Ophelia*, 1878.
Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/jean-baptiste-james-bertrand/2

Figure 50: Jean Baptiste Bertrand. *Ophelia*, 1878
Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/jean-baptiste-james-bertrand/2

Figure 51: Published by H. Bencke. *Hamlet and Ophelia, Mr. Edwin Booth as Hamlet*, date unknown.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

Figure 52: Hans Makart. *Ophelia in William Shakespeare 's ' Hamlet* ', date unknwon.
Source: https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/ophelia-in-william-shakespeare-s-hamlet-painting-by-hans-news-photo/171095137

Figure 53: Eugène Delacroix. *Le Chant d'Ophélie*, 1834. Lithograph.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 54: Louis Boulanger. *Hamlet, Act IV, Scene V*, 1827. Lithograph hand colored.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 55: Henrietta Rae. *Ophelia*, 1890. Oil on Canvas.
Source: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/ophelia/mQH7HDdPEXGiWQ

Figure 56: F. Lefler**.-***Ophelia before the King and Queen*, date unknown.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 57: Erneste Etienne Narjot (1826-1898). *Ophelia*, date Unknown.
Source: https://www.liveinternet.ru/users/bo4kameda/post259527457/

Figure 58: Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Horatio Discovering the Madness of Ophelia*, 1864.
Source: Gallery Oldham.

Figure 59: Mary Ann Criddle. Ophelia, date unknown.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 60: Caroline Watson. *Ophelia (Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act 4, Scene 5)*, 1784.
Source: The Metropolitan Museum, NY.

Figure 61: Benjamin West. *Act IV, scene V. Elsinore. – King, Queen, Laertes, Ophelia*, 1792. Oil on Canvas.
Source: Cincinnati Art Museum.

APPENDIX VI - ACT IV - SCENE VII (INTO THE WOODS)

Figure 62: Violet Oakley. *The Ophelia Rose*, 1918.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/jennyhesperus/shakespeare/

Figure 63: Pascal Dagnan-Bouveret. A Young Woman in the Play Hamlet, date unknown.
Source: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/a-young-woman-in-the-play-hamlet/VQHfiB-4FilEbQ?hl=en

Figure 64: William Quiller Orchardson. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Ophelia/0C3D06D814ECC2DA

Figure 65: William Gale. *Ophelia*, 1862.
Source: http://www.wikigallery.org/wiki/painting_217496/William-Gale/Ophelia

Figure 66: William Gale. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://victorian-era.org/william-gale-biography.html

Figure 67: Thomas Francis Dicksee**.** *Ophelia*, 1873.
Source: https://www.art.com/products/p28020660955-sa-i8515819/thomas-francis-dicksee-ophelia-1873.htm

Figure 68: Theodor Pallady. *Ofelia*, 1900.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/sledbetr/ophelia/

Figure 69: W.G. Simmonds. *Ophelia*, 20th Century.
Source: https://subastas.catawiki.es/kavels/7231849-w-g-simmonds-william-shakespeare-hamlet-1910

Figure 70: Pohle, Leon. Ophelia weaving the May coronet, date unknown.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure71: Lucien Pissarro. *Ophelia*, date unknown. Watercolour and gouache.
Source: The Evill/Frost Collection Part II

Figure 72: Pierre-Charles Comte. Ophelia, date unknown. Oil on canvas.
Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/pierre-charles-comte/ophelia-2cjd1dY-l6PsrUDc3jOjiw2

Figure 73: Pascal Adolphe-Bouveret. *Ophelia*, 1900.

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Pascal_Dagnan-Bouveret_-_Ophelia.jpg

Figure 74: Monogrammist T. E. Ophelia, late 19th century.

Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 75: Antonio Muñoz Degrain. Ophelia, date unknown.

Source: http://www.artchive.com/web_gallery/A/Antonio-Munoz-Degrain/Ofelia-en-el-bosque.html

Figure 76: *Madeleine Lemaire's 'Ophelia'*, 1880. Lithograph
Source: https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madeleine_Lemaire

Figure77: Louis Rhead. Ophelia, date unknown.

Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 78: Levy-Dhurmer Lucien. *Possibly Ophelia,* date unknown.

Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/304978205989240044/?lp=true

Figure 79: Konstantin Makovsky. *Ophelia*, 1884.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/konstantin-makovsky/ophelia-2

Figure 80: Konstantin Makovsky. *Ophelia*, date unknown.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/konstantin-makovsky/ophelia-1

Figure 81: Konstantin Makovsky. *Ophelia*, date unknown.

Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/285626801350824522/

Figure 82: Jules Bastien-Lepage. *Ophelia*, 1881. Oil on canvas.

Source: The Metropolitan Museum, NY.

Figure 83: Jules Joseph Lefebvre. Ophelia, 1890. Oil on canvas. 91 x 150 cm.
Source: Springfield, Museum of Fine Arts

Figure 84: Jules Elie Delaunay. *Ophelia*, 1882.

Source: https://www.tumblr.com/search/elie%20delaunay

Figure 85: Artist unknown. *Ophelia with Hamlet spelled in Flowers*, date unknown. Shakespeare Postcard.
Source: http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2011/victorian-edwardian-art/lot.27.html

Figure 86: Joseph Kirkpatrick. *Ophelia*

Source: https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/14979/lot/85/

Figure 87: John-William-Waterhouse. *Study for Ophelia*, 1910.

Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_pinturas_de_John_William_Waterhouse

Figure 88: John-William-Waterhouse. *Ophelia*, 1910.

Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lista_de_pinturas_de_John_William_Waterhouse

Figure 89: John Willian Waterhouse. *Ofelia*, 1889.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/john-william-waterhouse/ophelia-1889

Figure 90: John Austen - *Ophelia*, 1922.

Source: http://pictify.saatchigallery.com/154448/john-austen-ophelia-pen-and-ink-illustration-for

Figure 91: John Atkinson Grimshaw. *Portrait of the artist's wife, Theodosia, as Ophelia*, date unknown.

Source: https://www.johnatkinsongrimshaw.org/Portrait-Of-The-Artists-Wife-Theodosia-As-Ophelia.html

Figure 92: Jane Maria Bowkett, *Ophelia*, 1881.

Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/jane-maria-bowkett/ophelia-nOmoMdTtVVkzQrE9L_EXDw2

Figure 93: Jan Portielje. *Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil on canvas.

Source: https://www.mutualart.com/Artwork/Ophelia/D72E5A4B107EC215

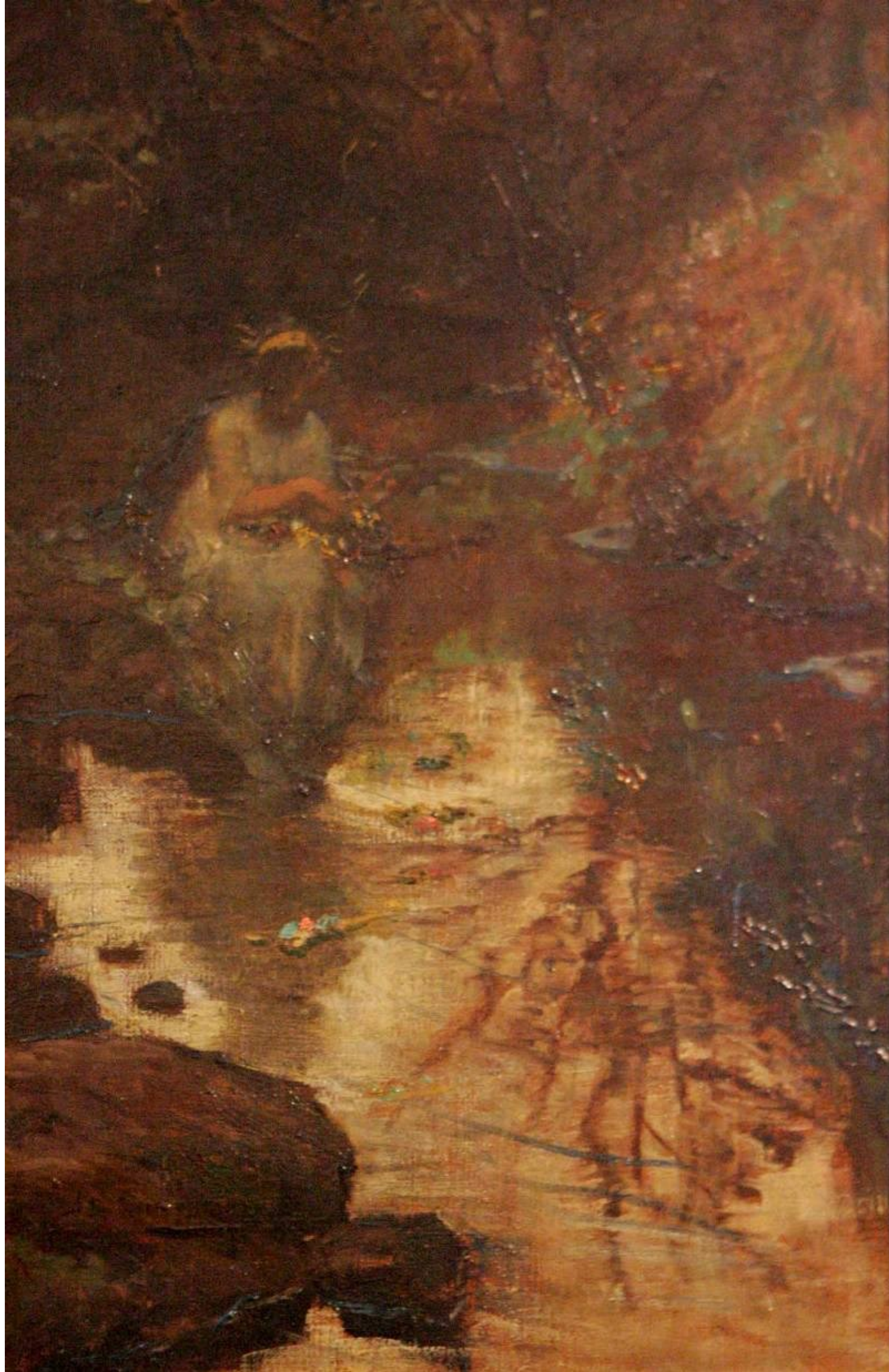

Figure 94: James Elder Christie. *Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil on canvas.

Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/james-elder-christie/ophelia-xehZx5PdnZczvrGRh8FEHg2

Figure 95: John Wood. *Ophelia*, 1889.

Source: https://www.bonhams.com/auctions/17536/lot/2048/

Figure 96: Henri Gervex. *Ophelia*, date unknown.

Source: https://www.art.com/gallery/id--a33660/henri-gervex-posters.htm

Figure 97: Gustave Courbet, *Ophelia*, 1842.

Source: https://www.the-art-world.com/ah-courbet.htm

Figure 98: Georges Jules Victor Clairin. *Ophelia*, date unkwnon.

Source: https://www.the-athenaeum.org/art/list.php?m=a&s=tu&aid=279

Figure 99: George Frederic Watts. *Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil on canvas.

Source: Watts Gallery.

Figure 100: Gabriel Ritter Von Max. Ophelia, date unknown.

Source: https://www.wikiart.org/en/gabriel-von-max/ophelia

Figure 101: Alfred Joseph Woolmer. *Ofelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/alfred-joseph-woolmer/2

Figure 102: Diaz. *Ophelia*, date unkwnown.
Source: https://yandex.com/collections/card/5c4f11c3bfe3df0029fc6b39/

Figure 103: Dante Gabriel Rossetti. *Ophelia*, between 1870 and 1875.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Dante_Gabriel_Rossetti_-_Ophelia.jpg

Figure 104: Arthur Hughes. *Ophelia (second version)*, 1863-64. Oil on Canvas.
Source: http://preraphaelitesisterhood.com/ophelia-and-the-pre-raphaelites/

Figure 105: Arthur Prince Spear. *Ophelia*, 1926.
Source: Museum of fine arts Boston

Figure 106: Antoine-Auguste-Ernest Hebert. *Ophelia*, date unkwnon.
Source: http://www.victorianweb.org/painting/france/hebert1.html

Figure 107: Annie Ovenden (1945-).*Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil on hardboard, 91cm x 76cm.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/18436679699267871/?lp=true

Figure 108: Alfred Stevens. Ophelia, 1887.
Source: https://sites.uci.edu/shakespeare/hamlet/

APPENDIX VII - ACT IV - SCENE VII (WILLOW SLIVER BROKEN)

Figure 109: Maria Spilsbury. *Ophelia*, date unkwnon.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/235031674280471512/?lp=true

Figure 110: William Morris Hunt. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/william-morris-hunt-american-1824-1879-opheli-106-c-bcxixd8brq

Figure 111: Victor Müller. *Ophelia*, 19th Century.
Source: https://sammlung.staedelmuseum.de/en/work/ophelia

Figure 112: S. McClung. *Ophelia*, 19th Century.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 113: Richard Redgrave. Ophelia Weaving her Garlands, 1842.
Source: Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Figure 114: Richard Westall *Ophelia*, 1798.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 115: Joseph Kronheim. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/william-shakespeare-hamlet-illustration?sort=mostpopular&mediatype=photography&phrase=william%20shakespeare%20hamlet%20illustration

Figure 116: John William Waterhouse. *Ophelia*, 1894.
Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Ophelia_1894.jpg

Figure 117 - Johann Heinrich Ramberg. Ophelia, 1829. Watercolor. 15 x 19 1/4 in.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

Figure 118: Ferdinand Piloty II. Ophelia, date unknown.
Source: Royal Shakespeare Company Collection.

Figure 119: Claudia-SG. Ophelia's Last Hours, date unkwnon.
Source: https://www.deviantart.com/claudia-sg/art/Ophelia-s-Last-Hours-128997094

Figure 120: Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Trautschold. Ophelia, 1867.
Source: https://www.tumblr.com/search/carl%20friedrich%20wilhelm%20trautschold

Figure 121: Arthur Rackham. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source:http://info.fazenda.sp.gov.br/NXT/gateway.dll/samp/sworks/tragedies/tfshamlet.html?fn=document-frame.htm$f=templates$3.0

Figure 122: Arthur Hughes. *Ophelia*, 1852. Oil on canvas with an arched top.
Source: Manchester City Art Galleries, Manchester, England.

Figure 123: Alexandre Cabanel. *Ophelia*, 1883.
Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Alexandre_Cabanel,_Ophelia.JPG

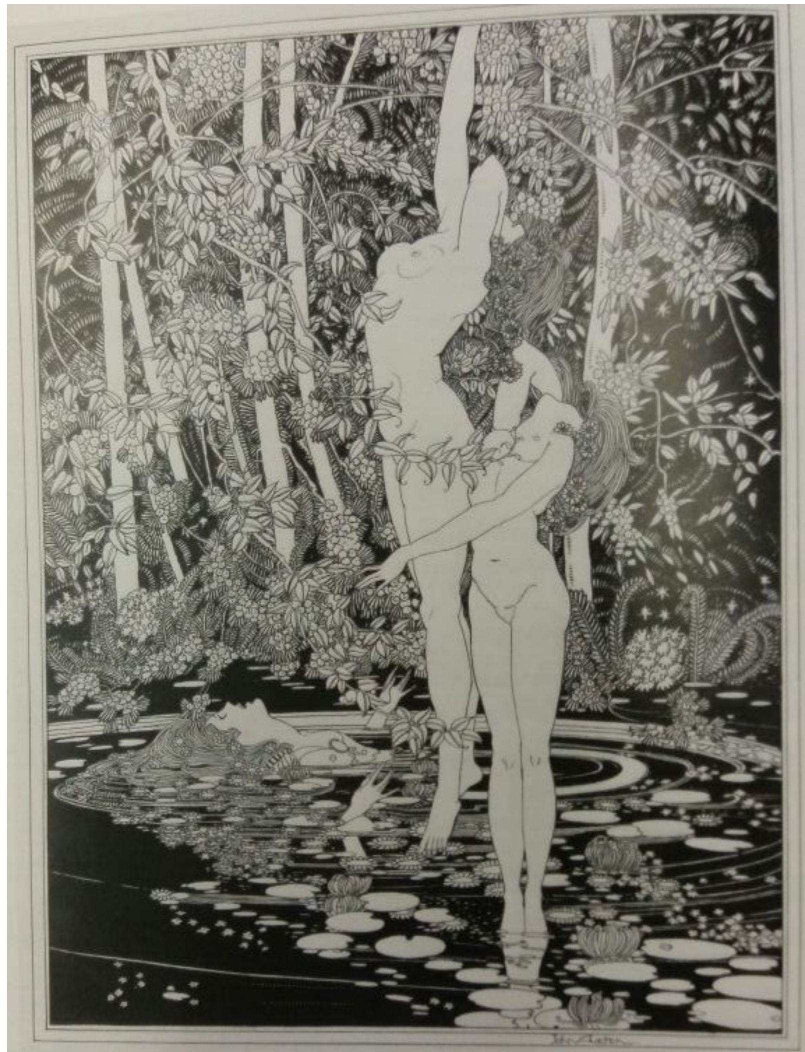

Figure 124: John Austen. *The Death of Ophelia*, 1922.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/duncan8013/john-austen/

Figure 125 - John Willis. *The lives and tragical deaths of Hamlet, prince of Denmark, and the lovely Ophelia,* 1823.
Source: Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington DC.

APPENDIX VIII - ACT IV - SCENE VII – (LYING DEAD IN THE BROOK)

Figure 126: Yuliya Dan. *Ophelia*, date unknoewn. Ink Painting on Canvas.
Source: https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Ophelia/730869/3944338/view

Figure 127: W G Simmonds. *The Drowning of Ophelia*, 1910.
Source: https://www.pinterest.pt/pin/451626668876409934/?lp=true

Figure 128: William Stewart MacGeorge. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://m.blog.daum.net/ddakkiyang/1662?categoryId=64

Figure 129: William-Ireland. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: ttps://www.goodreads.com/book/show/245141.The_Great_Comedies_and_Tragedies

Figure 130: William Oxer. *Ophelia*, date unkwnon.
Source: https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Ophelia/1162/1485635/view

Figure 131: Veronica Casas. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.redbubble.com/people/veronicacasas/works/6147366-ophelia?p=art-print

Figure 132: Thomas Dodd. *Ophelia's Demise*, data unkwnon.
Source: http://artophilia.com/artists/thomas-dodd/

Figure 133: Theodor von der Beek. *Ophelia*, 1901.
Source: http://www.artnet.com/artists/theodor-von-der-beek/ophelia-6qswNFEqbYfM2tSNuEtM6A2

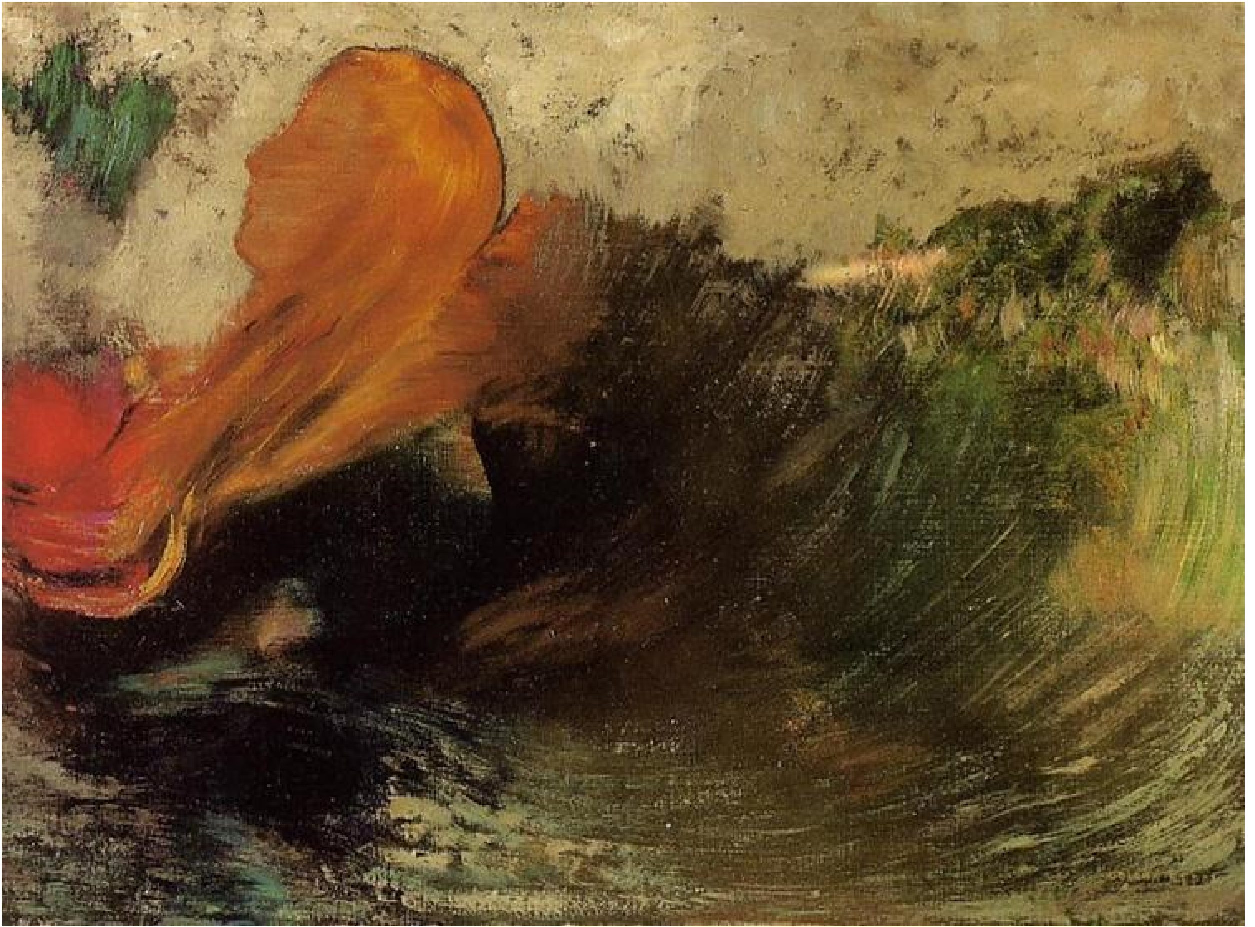

Figure 134: Odilon Redon. *The-death-of-ophelia*, 1905.
Source: https://www.odilon-redon.org/the-complete-works.html?q=Ophelia

Figure 135: Odilon Redon. *The-death-of-ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.odilon-redon.org/the-complete-works.html?q=Ophelia

Figure 136: Odilon Redon. *The-death-of-ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.odilon-redon.org/the-complete-works.html?q=Ophelia

Figure 137: Odilon Redon. *The-death-of-ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.odilon-redon.org/the-complete-works.html?q=Ophelia

Figure 138: Simeon Solomon. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2004/the-british-sale-paintings-drawings-and-watercolors-l04120/lot.71.html

Figure 139 - Salvador Dalì. *The Death of Ophelia*, 1973.
Source: http://doubletakeart.com/salvador_dali/Ophelias_Death-11463.html#.XUyA7_JKjIU

Figure 140: Robert Walker. Ophelia, date unknown.
Source: https://thatbohemiangirl.com/products/robert-walker-signed-mermaid-print-ophelia

Figure 141: Brooke Shaden. *Re-imaging Ophelia 4 (Her Burial)*, 2010.
Source: https://www.flickr.com/photos/brookeshaden/4904245825

Figure 142: Paul Albert Steck. *Ophelia Drowning*, 1895.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Albert_Steck

Figure 143:- Alderley Edge. *Ophelia,* 2008. 150 x 90 cm.
Source: http://www.riflemaker.org/s-artists-anonymous

Figure 144: Constantin Émile Meunier. *Ophelie*, date unknown.
Source: https://thefifthe.wordpress.com/2015/04/03/the-tragedy-of-ophelia/

Figure 145:- Marie Berthe Mouchel. *Ophelia*, 1915.
Source: http://m.blog.daum.net/ddakkiyang/1662?categoryId=64

Figure 146: Lucien Levy Dyurmer. *Ophelia. Portrait of Suzanne Reichenberg*, 1900.
Source: http://m.blog.daum.net/ddakkiyang/1662?categoryId=64

Figure 147: Léopold Burthe. *Ophelia*, 1851.
Source: http://m.blog.daum.net/ddakkiyang/1662?categoryId=64

Figure 148: Leonor Fini. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://crushthyflowers.tumblr.com/post/71966313909/leonor-fini-ophelia

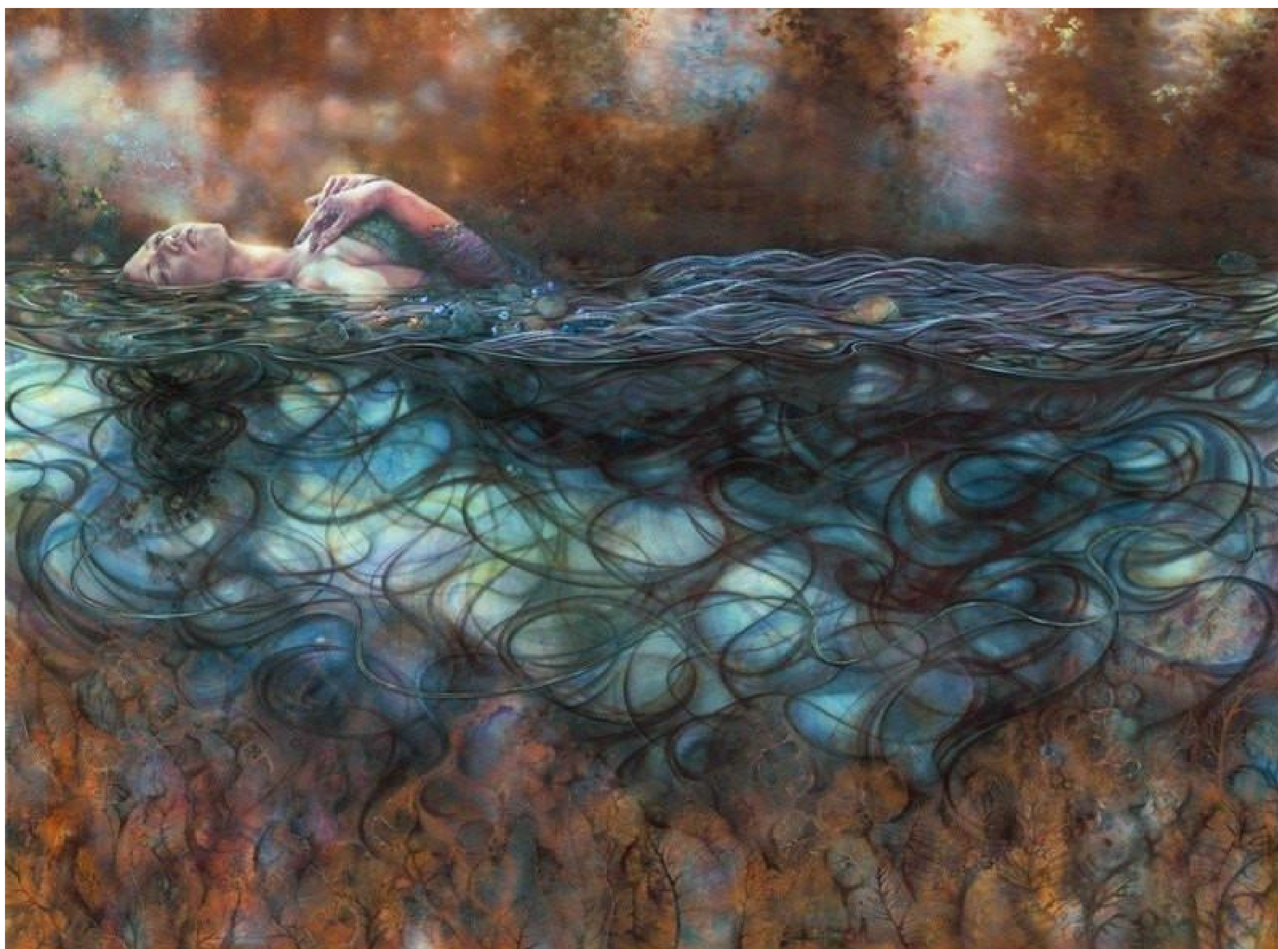

Figure 149: kerry Darlington. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.hepplestonefineart.com/kerry-darlington-unique-editions-now-in-stock/

Figure 150: Kari Lise Alexander. Ophelia, 2014.
Source: https://www.tuttartpitturasculturapoesiamusica.com/2015/07/KariLise-Alexander.html

Figure 151: Sir John Everett Millais. *Ophelia*, 1851. Oil paint on canvas
Source: Tate Britain in London.

Figure 152: John Byam Liston Shaw. Ophelia, 2012.
Source: https://fineartamerica.com/featured/the-water-sprite-jbl-shaw.html

Figure 153: Jean Baptiste Bertrand. *Ophelia*, 1852
Source: https://fineartamerica.com/featured/jean-baptiste-james-bertrand-french-1823-1887-ophelia-jean-baptiste.html

Figure 154: Harold Copping. *Ophelia*, 1897.
Source: https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-ophelia-drowning-in-hamlet-prince-of-denmark-by-william-shakespeare-83354332.html

Figure 155: Georges Clairin. *Ophelia in the Thistle*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.tumblr.com/search/ophelia%20in%20the%20thistles

Figure 156: George Pauli. *Ofelia*, 1891.
Source: https://www.pinterest.ca/pin/425379127302647962/?lp=true

Figure 157: Gaston Bussiere. *Ophelie in Water*, 1900.
Source: https://useum.org/artwork/Ophelia-Gaston-Bussiere-1900

Figure 158: Frances MacDonald. *Ophelia*, 1898.
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Frances_MacDonald_-_Ophelia_1898.jpg

Figure 159: Federica Masini . *Ophelia*, date unknown. Watercolor.
Source: https://www.artmajeur.com/en/federica-masini/artworks/11548340/ophelia

Figure 160: Paul Falconer Poole. *Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil paint on wood
Source: Tate Museum, London.

Figura 161: Eugène Delacroix. *A Morte de Ofélia*, 1844. Óleo s/ tela, 55 x 64 cm.
Source: Oscar Reinhardt Museum “am Römerholz”, Winterthur

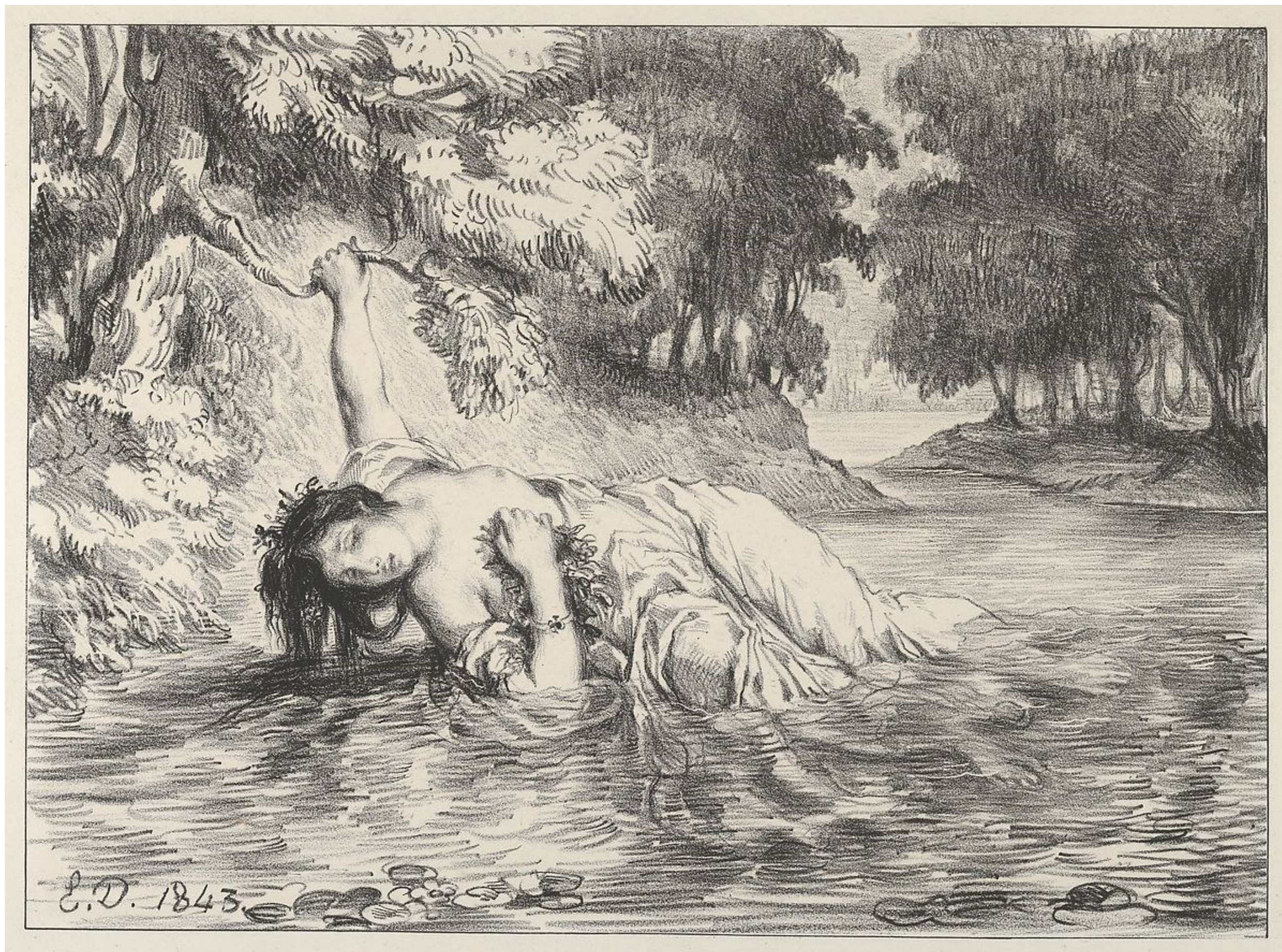

Figura 162: Eugène Delacroix. *A Morte de Ofélia*, 1843. Litografia, 18,1 x 25,5 cm.
Source: Musée Eugène Delacroix, Paris.

Figura 163: Eugène Delacroix. *A Morte de Ofélia*, 1853. Óleo s/ tela, 23 x 30 cm.
Source - Musée du Louvre, Paris.

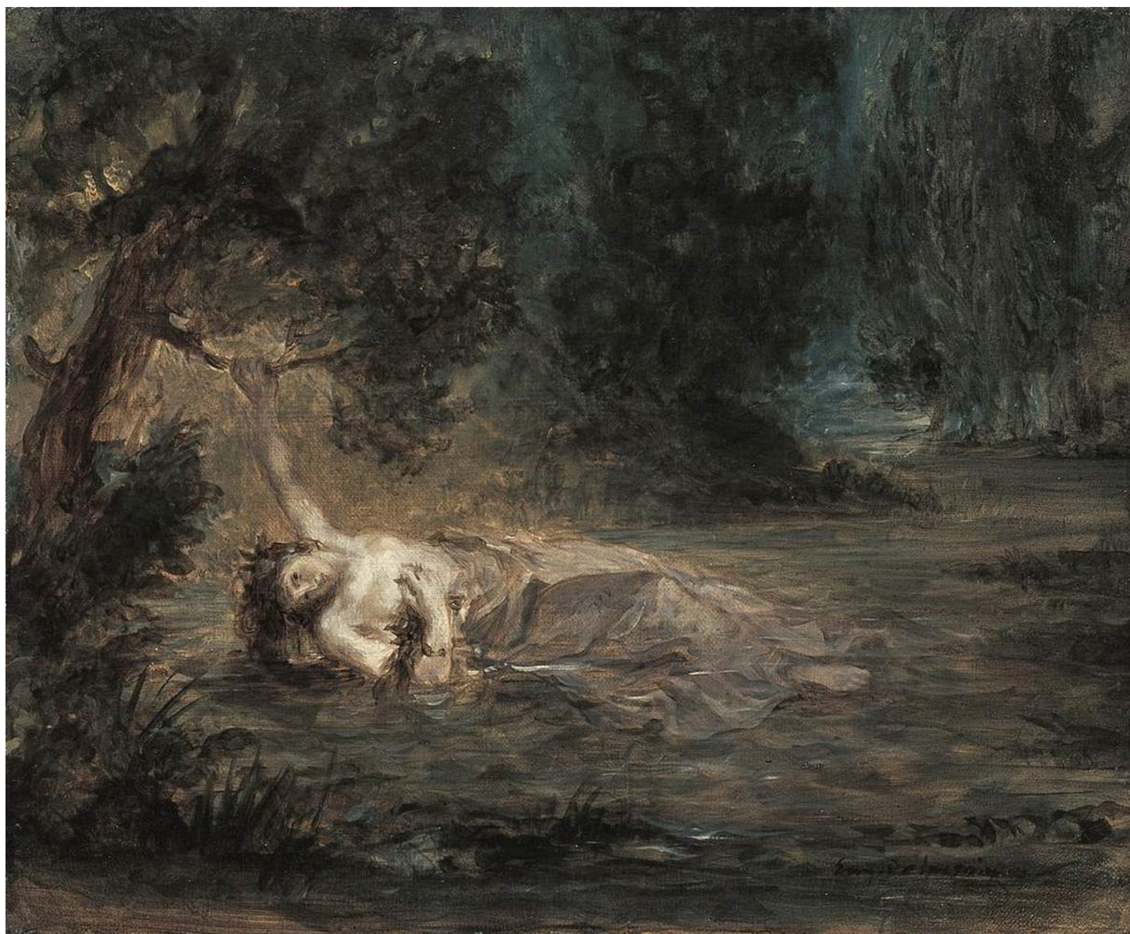

Figura 164: Eugène Delacroix. *A Morte de Ofélia*, 1838. Óleo s/ tela, 37,9 x 45,9 cm.
Souce: Neue Pinakothek, München.

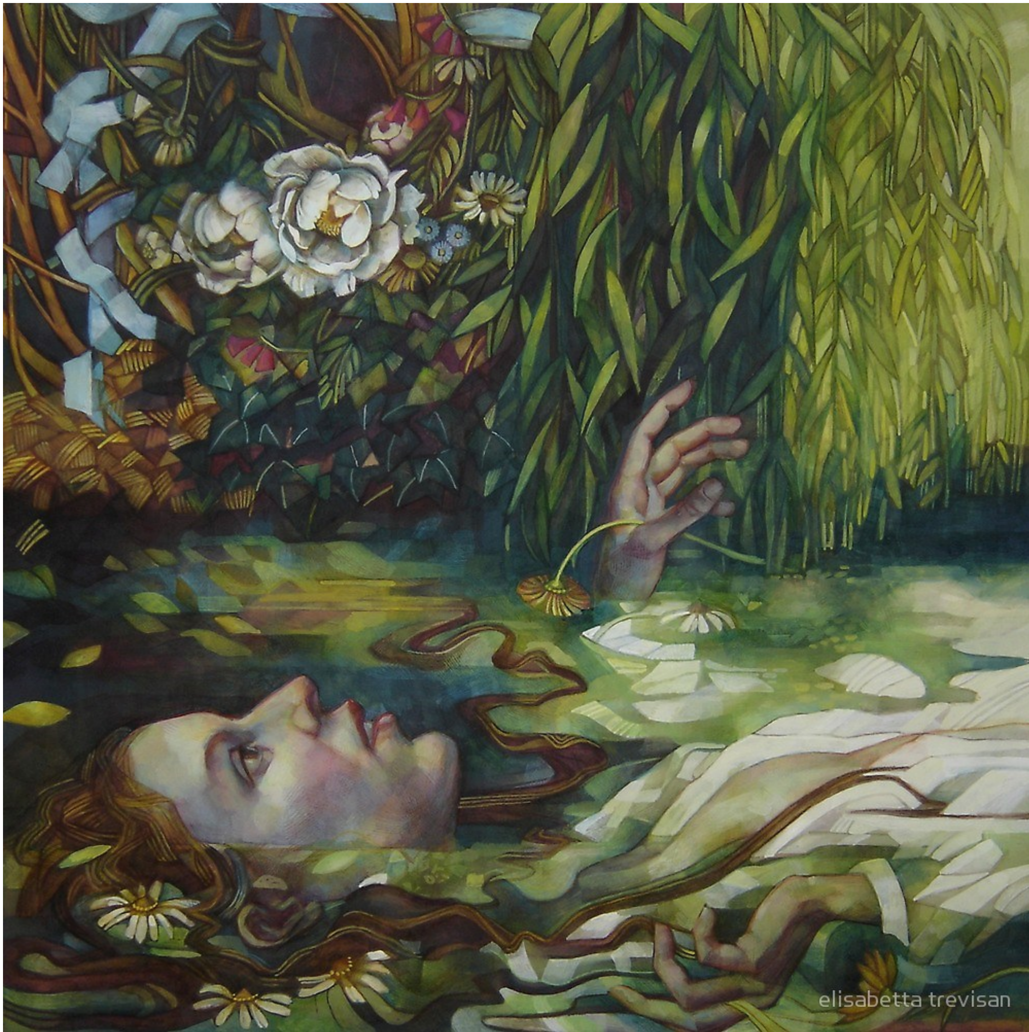

Figure 165: Elisabetta trevisan. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://artodyssey1.blogspot.com/2009/09/elisabetta-trevisan-i-was-born-in-1957.html

Figure 166: Henry Fuseli. Ophelia, 1770-78. Roman Album.
Source: British Museum, London.

Figure 167: Dana Zivanovits. *Ophelia*, 2000.
Source: https://www.absolutearts.com/painting/oil/dana-zivanovits-ophelia-1161107222.html

Figure 168: Constant Montald. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://curiator.com/art/constant-montald/ophelia

Figure 169: Cesar Del Valle, *Untitled* (Ophelia), 2009. Pencil, paper, graphite powder, paper - 25 x 25 cm.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/smasler/ophelia/

Figure 170: Brooke Gillette. *Lament-de-Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://fineartamerica.com/profiles/brooke-gillette.html

Figure 171: Ariana Papademetropoulos. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://br.pinterest.com/pin/190277152978649749/?lp=true

Figure 172: Anton van Weelie, *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://marieantoinette.himegimi.jp/ophelia-mizunisizumu.htm

Figure 173: Anna and Elena Balbusso. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://marieantoinette.himegimi.jp/ophelia-mizunisizumu.htm

Figure 174: Anibal Riverol. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-Ophelia/794310/3805414/view

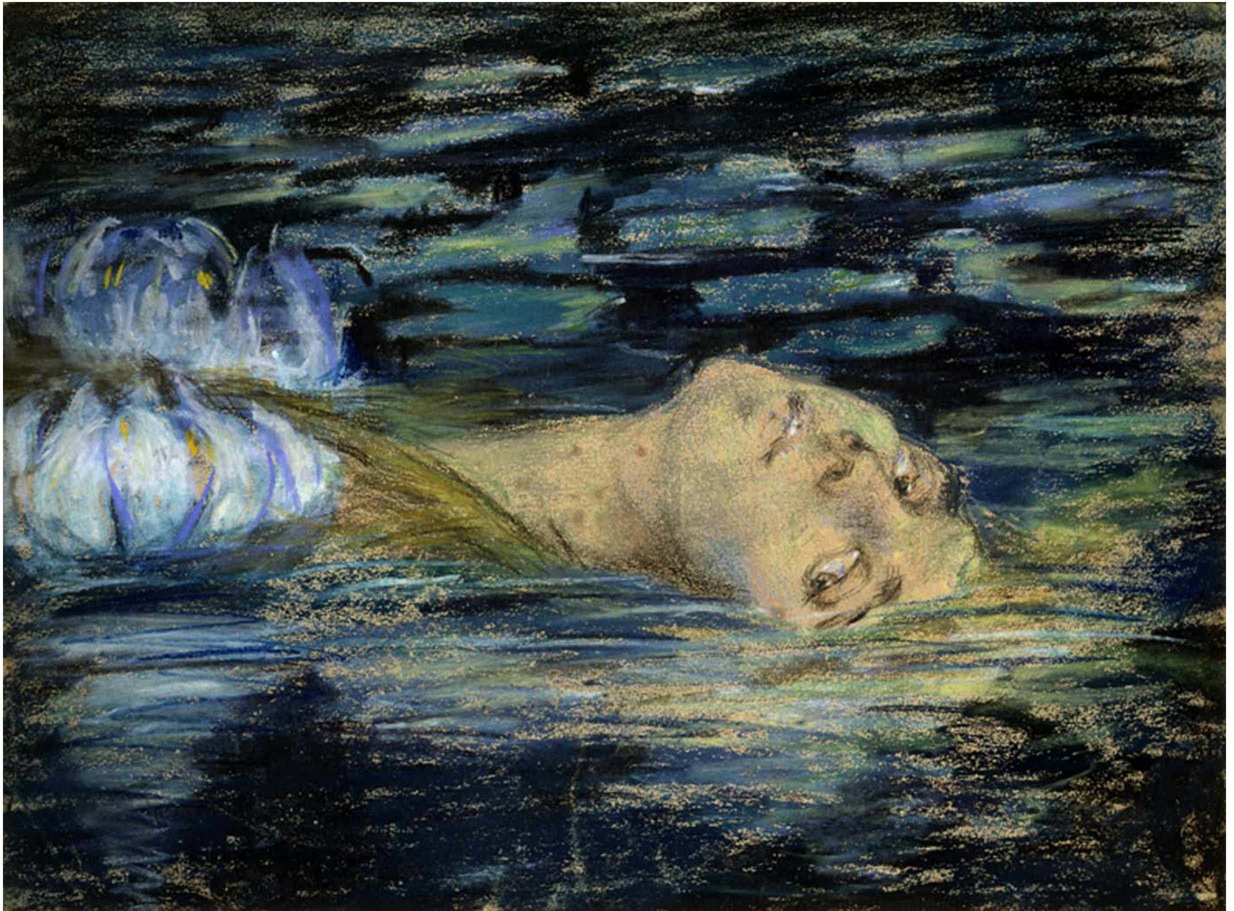

Figure 175: Alice Pike Barney. *Ophelia*, 1909.
Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ficheiro:Alice_Pike_Barney_-_Waterlily.jpg

Figure 176 - Albert Ciamberlani. *Ophélie*, avant 1900.
Source: Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bruxelles

Figure 177: Julia Pankova. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: http://fineartjulia.com/

Figure 178: Joanna Śmielowska. *Ophelia*, 2018.
Source: https://www.saatchiart.com/art/Painting-White-Ophelia/300648/2241841/view

Figure 179: Artist unknown. *Ophelia*, date unknown.
Source: https://www.queeky.com/gallery/image/ophelia

Figure 180 - Cheryl Johnson. *Ophelia Alive*, date unknown. Oil and acrylic on paper.
Source: https://www.saatchiart.com/Cherinow

Figure 181: Deviant Art. *Ophelia*, date unknown. Oil on linen canvas.
Source: https://www.deviantart.com/xxaihxx/art/Ophelia-oil-paint-on-linen-canvas-400169477

Figure 182 – Achille Devéria. *Ophélie*, 1827-1830.
Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

Figure 183: Mark Demsteader. *Ophelia Oil Study IV*, 2018.
Source: https://www.1stdibs.com/art/paintings/figurative-paintings/mark-demsteader-ophelia-oil-study-iv-british-contemporary-figurative-realism-oil-on-canvas/id-a_4011741/

Figure 184: Wesley Smith. *Ophelia II*, date unknown.
Source: http://www.wesssmith.com/

APPENDIX IX – NOT CLASSIFIED

Figure 185: Thomas Stothard. *Procession of Characters from Shakespeare's Plays*, 1840.
Source: Yale Center for British Art

Figure 186: Hans Freese. *Ophelia*, 1918.
Source: https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/ophelia/lwGNVp1-2UK5fg

Figure 187: Mikhail Vrubel. *Hamlet & Ophélie*, 1888.
Source: https://artchive.ru/mikhailvrubel/works/490856~Gamlet_i_Ofelija

Figure 188: John Archibald Austen, 1922
Source: The Metropolitan Museum.

Figure 189: Mikhal Vrubel. Hamlet and Ophelia, 1883.
Source: https://artchive.ru/mikhailvrubel/works/367342~Gamlet_i_Ofelija_Eskiz