

MANNEQUINS AND VATICINATORS*

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I have always been intrigued by the idea of identifying and revealing the so potent oriental and Mediterranean roots that symbolically mark the great images of de Chirico's metaphysical iconography. Oriental roots linked to the artist's birth in Greece, to the cosmopolitan world in which he spent his childhood, where we find those irrational veins, faced with the unknowable, remixed with beliefs, with propitiatory and counter-spell rituals in the articulation of a careful reading of natural phenomena. A nature that turns out to be divinatory even in simple evocation of the mythical inhabitants of an archaic Greece, of a world dominated by primordial power and by its excesses. Centaurs, tritons, sirens, born of the gods' sensual games or merciless vengeance, figures of a boundless abyss which de Chirico imagines and in which he seems to be wholly immersed during his early youth between Italy and Germany. Italy through Greece, Greece through Germany, Germany through philosophy, in the absence of a single place of physical and intellectual belonging. As if everything were seen through a series of mirrors reflecting things already reflected. As if sensations of remote memories, at the distance of millennia, resurfaced with primitive intensity, obscured solely by the rising up of a consciousness. An innate and melancholic dream, charged with all the melancholy that accompanies someone who has left behind a land which, in the phantasm of myth, built the strength of its history and passions. A land which through its poets could bring forth agonizing choruses of loves and torments in a lyrical and impassioned language, miraculously echoing the nature of its most enchanted essence. Enchanted and tragic like the destiny of its gods and heroes, united in perilous events to the fate of humans in search of a gateway towards supreme knowledge (fig. 1).



fig. 1 G. de Chirico, *Triton and Siren*, 1909, private collection

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“The wind rustles the oak leaves: it is the voice of a god which speaks, and the trembling prophet listens, his face bent towards earth.”¹

Thus de Chirico lets himself be transported by a whispered and subdued anxiety in evoking the feeling of the aboriginal artist, the first who, shaken by a tremor and a mysterious impulse to create, dared to picture and mould the statue of a god. At a distance of centuries the voice of the deity makes itself heard once more, bringing with it the melancholy of a sound of “terrible” persistence and, at the same time, the awareness of a loss. The rustling leaves of the sacred tree tragically announce the oracle’s cruel response. A response which can only intensify the sense of suspension and uncertainty inherent to the very nature of man.

An extraordinary and new sensation which the modern artist, prophet of new ideals, must reawaken in his innermost being: “Thought should be so detached from everything we call logic and meaning, so detached from human shackles that things appear to it under a new light, as if illuminated by a brilliant constellation for the first time”².

What de Chirico evokes is the truth of cosmic law, a truth concealed behind the phenomenal appearance of things. Hidden behind a veil, behind the illusoriness of images, it lives in the aphorisms of ancient Greek philosophy, in obscure wisdom desirous of giving a meaning to the phenomena of nature. That wild nature, harsh and powerful, through which the god manifested itself and the primordial thought of a form emerged, of the reflection of its contemplation. “Thinking of those temples consecrated to marine deities along the arid coasts of Greece and Asia Minor, I have often imagined vaticinators attentive to the lament of the wave which in the evening withdraws from the Adamic earth; I have imagined them with head and body enveloped in a mantle, awaiting the mysterious and revelatory oracle. Thus I once also imagined the Ephesian, intent on meditating in the first light of dawn beneath the peristyles of the temple to Artemis of the hundred breasts”³.

It is the wisdom of Heraclitus that de Chirico invokes. Of that proud and lofty philosopher who, as Diogenes Laërtius narrates, abandoned the corrupt habits and customs of his city, Ephesus, to take refuge in the solitude of the mountains. Hostile to the politics of his fellow citizens he wanted to offer his writings to Artemis and live his final years far from men whom he had learned to despise. To those men he had revealed lapidary thoughts and reflections drawn from his observation of complex physical realities in his intimate dialogue with nature. In these terrific judgements one could still intuit the impenetrable oracular foretelling and the obscure presage bound to an inexpressible interiority. The bold and definitive tone of the Heraclitean precepts, still charged with powerful archaic religiosity, was a challenge to the human intellectual capacity and superficial erudition of the wise men of his day. And de Chirico, in his youthful writings and early paintings, seems to grasp not only

¹ G. de Chirico, in *Le sentiment de la préhistoire*, part XI of the manuscript datable between 1911 and 1914 which belonged to Paul Éluard. Published in English by J. Thrall Soby in *Giorgio de Chirico*, The Museum of Modern Art, New York 1955, p. 248 and for the first time in the original French by M. Fagiolo dell’Arco, in “Cahiers d’art du Musée National d’Art Moderne”, 13, 1984, p. 58, subsequently in *Il meccanismo del pensiero. Critica, polemica, autobiografia 1911-1943*, edited by M. Fagiolo dell’Arco, Einaudi, Turin 1985, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

the evocative tragicalness of the Greek philosopher's insights but also, and more so, the potency of his message. That message represented one of the origins of the whole of western thought. But the Ephesian's words were still entangled with the purifying mystical vision that only the initiatory and ritual experience of mystery ecstasy could decipher: "the Sybil with loud voice gives sound to words unsmiling"⁴. And again: "the Sovereign who reveals himself in the oracle of Delphi does not say and does not conceal but makes use of signs"⁵.

In the inflexibility of his sayings Heraclitus moulded the structure of an internal law of the cosmos, a truth possible only in the dialectic between eternal conflicts of things and opposite sensations. A cosmos in continuous becoming and continuous transformation: "mutations of fire; firstly the sea, from the sea the one half earth, the other fiery thunderbolt"⁶; "mortal immortals, immortal mortals: the former live the death of the latter, who die the life of the former"⁷.

And if de Chirico could discover in the figure of the pre-Socratic philosopher the image of a prophet, deep in meditation with head and body enveloped in a mantle, it was the reading of Nietzsche that had opened the way to this revelation. "After reading Nietzsche's works I became aware of the existence of a number of strange things, unknown, solitary, which might be translated into painting; I reflected long on this. Since then I started to have the first revelations"⁸.

And in the pages of *Ecce Homo*, where Nietzsche describes the moment of his first encounter with Zarathustra and of his being "surprised", which must have really struck de Chirico⁹, one passage unites the myth of the oriental thinker with the twofold Apollonian-Dionysian dimension: "The affirmation of flow and annihilation, which is the decisive characteristic in a Dionysian philosophy, the yes to opposition and to war, becoming, with radical repudiation even of the concept of 'being', in this I must acknowledge that which under every aspect is most kindred to me of anything ever thought heretofore. The doctrine of 'eternal recurrence', meaning the unconditioned and infinitely repeated circulation of all things – this doctrine of Zarathustra's might have formerly been taught by Heraclitus. At least traces of it are found in the Stoa, which inherited almost all the fundamental conceptions of Heraclitus"¹⁰. Conceptions inferable from the writings of the Ephesian philosopher which, advised Diogenes Laërtius in an epigram, should be read with discernment: "Do not turn the pages of Heraclitus' book too hurriedly. The path is truly inaccessible. There is darkness deep as the night, without light. But if an initiate guides you, the light is brighter than the light of the sun".

And that clarity was understood by Nietzsche in the years when he was teaching in Basel.¹¹ Heraclitus and his philosophy of becoming represent, in the German thinker's notes, the highest

⁴ Fragment 92, Heraclitus, *I frammenti*, edition consulted: trans. by F. Trabattoni, foreword by C. Sini, Marcos y Marcos, Milan 1989.

⁵ *Ibid.*, fragment 93.

⁶ *Ibid.*, fragment 31a.

⁷ *Ibid.*, fragment 62.

⁸ See *Il meccanismo...*, cit., p. 17.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰ F. Nietzsche, *Ecce homo (La nascita della tragedia)*, 3, edition consulted on a critical text by G. Colli and M. Montinari, Arnoldo Mondadori, Milan 1977, p. 51.

¹¹ The notes for lessons held in Basel between 1869 and 1879 were published in Italian, editor P. Di Giovanni, in F. Nietzsche, *Plato amicus sed. Introduzione ai dialoghi platonici*, Bollati Boringhieri, Turin 1991. Cf. in particular p. 77.



fig. 2 G. de Chirico, *The Delights of the Poet*, 1912, private collection

sense of reality in the ancient Greeks' tragic art which, without artifice or fiction, discovers and unveils the terribleness of the human condition. A condition that de Chirico imagined and projected in those spectral and silent visions, in those motionless infinities, in the solitary larval apparitions that throw the long shadow of a timeless hour (fig. 2). "The day is about to be born. It is the hour of the enigma. It is also the hour of prehistory. The song in dream, the revelatory song in the last morning dream of the vaticinator asleep by the plinth of the

sacred column close to the cold and white simulacrum of a god"¹².

And the prophet poet, glacial in steadfastly awaiting the oracle's response, appears in the first works of 1910 which by now were distant from the initial, romantic symbolist impetus. Far from that German spirit and from that climate which, according to Nietzsche, wears down even strong and heroic minds. And painted in Florence, in one of those places where "you find or once found men of great spirit, where keenness, refinement and wit were part of happiness, where genius almost necessarily felt at home: all such places are distinguished by particularly dry air. Paris, Provence, Florence, Jerusalem, Athens – these names stand to demonstrate something: that genius is conditioned by dry air, by a pure sky – and this means rapid metabolism, the possibility of continually drawing forth great, even enormous, quantities of strength"¹³.

How could de Chirico fail to see himself in Nietzsche's words, he who was born in Greece, had spent long years in Athens and, after a period in Germany which – as the 'Dionysian' philosopher said – "corrupts civilisation wherever it sets foot"¹⁴, who was now living in Florence but with his mind already turned towards Paris? A geographic fortuitousness which nonetheless already seemed like an obscure sign of destiny, of that fate which warps and woofs the lot of humankind. And one of those threads must, in the invisible weave, have bound the life of de Chirico precisely to those places charged with evocations and the past. In Munich with Böcklin, one of the encounters that would guide him on the road to revelation: "Each of his works gives that sense of surprise and agitation, as when we meet a stranger whom we feel we have already seen but without remembering the time and place, or when we arrive in a city for the first time and find a square, a street, a house where

¹² *Il meccanismo...*, cit., p. 22.

¹³ F. Nietzsche, *Ecce homo*, cit., p. 25.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

we seem to have already been. Strange and inexplicable phenomena which once set Heraclitus to meditating beneath the arcades of the Temple to Diana, in ancient Ephesus; and maybe his figure in those moments took on the painful solemnity of the Ulysses that Böcklin depicted on the seashore, erect above the black cliffs of the island of Calypso”¹⁵. What de Chirico could relive before Böcklin’s paintings was the place of his childhood, was Greece washed by a sea crowded with divinities and mythical



fig. 3 G. de Chirico, *The Enigma of the Oracle*, 1910, private collection

creatures. But he could also think back over those Homeric songs telling of Ulysses and his voyage full of numberless dangers and traps, of those painful years spent before he could once more reach the shores of his long dreamt of island. A voyage in search of pure knowledge. This is how Böcklin had depicted him¹⁶, petrified in his torment, and this is also how de Chirico imagined him¹⁷, intent on scrutinising the horizon for some proof of his disturbed and wandering destiny. Enwrapped, like an ancient priest, in the guise of one who is about to reveal an unfathomable truth.

And here, in comparison with the first mythological creatures charged with expressionism of a material quality, the colour loses consistency, abandons the descriptive aspect of things, and the few shades are concentrated on the solidity of representation. On the conceptualisation of an idea. And the sign becomes archetype. Ulysses as Heraclitus. “Star without atmosphere”, in Nietzsche’s definition. Like Zarathustra. Men of superior spirit, with the eye looking inwards and the glance only apparently cast towards the outside.

Böcklin himself seemed like a priest in the eyes of that eccentric “philosopher” of disdain Otto Weininger¹⁸, whose writings had so fascinated de Chirico during his Munich years. Weininger saw Böcklin as a master of “colour without line”. As a priest who “had a truly powerful and great relationship with *nature*; the priest in fact comes from the spirit and seeks to make the world coincide with himself; everything must shine brightly, like the fire that is within him. [...] The priest has revelation behind him and within him it is day. [...] The priest has already made an ‘alliance’ with the

¹⁵ G. de Chirico, *Arnold Böcklin*, in “Il Convegno”, a. I, n. 4, 1920, reprinted in Fagiolo dell’Arco, cit., pp. 166-171.

¹⁶ *Odysseus und Calypso*, 1882, Basel, Kunstmuseum.

¹⁷ *The Enigma of the Oracle*, 1910, private collection.

¹⁸ Weininger killed himself at the age of 23 and his works were published posthumously in Vienna. The most famous and debated one, *Geschlecht und Charakter. Über die letzten Dinge*, would be de Chirico’s ideal bridge to an understanding of the thought of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche. This book, translated and published in 1914 by the Bocca brothers, was also fairly widespread in Italian intellectual circles, especially among theoreticians of absolute individualism.



fig. 4 G. de Chirico, *Battle of the Centaurs*, 1909, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome

absence of deceit, does not conceal other appearances and the fantastical wrestles with the spirit. In a world dominated by Dionysian exaltation. And from Mount Pelion²⁰ the centaurs had descended to populate his canvases.²¹ After the bloody battle against the Lapithae these men-horses, sacred to the moon, forced to leave their territory, had to press forward towards other lands. Hybrid figure of two bodies, master and knower of two souls, the centaur fuses the perception of a territory that belongs to dream with the deep modes of the spirit, with the most defined places of the real (fig. 4). Distance resolves the antinomies of a primordial world bound to nature; it is in that detachment of elect souls, inclined to clairvoyance, that interpretation of the secret of creation becomes possible. But it is a spell soon shattered by the boldness of man. The gesture of Prometheus, who violated the Olympian laws and offered the sacred flame to man, would be cruelly punished by the father of the gods. Chained to a peak in the Caucasus and petrified in the titanic gesture, Prometheus was thus depicted first by Böcklin²² then by de Chirico²³. Prometheus in the variation of the “foresighted”.

A 1906 text²⁴ on Prometheus by Salomon Reinach, a learned man of eclectic erudition, seems to confirm the interpretation of a loss of archetype and the transformation of that sign into different awareness. De Chirico was a great admirer of Reinach's work, knew his archaeological inventories and drew a great number of images from them. So it is not unlikely that the text might have come into his hands or, given his familiarity with the author, that he knew the theses on the meaning of

deity; he alone knows mystical experiences [...]. The priest is the opposite of the blind man, he is one who ‘sees’ and who ‘blesses’¹⁹.

Böcklin had taken de Chirico back to Greece. He had opened his eyes to visions of a primordial world where the bestial divinity, the initial gesture, the sense of non-fallacious unity of the creation dominate feeling and reason, where life is subject to the violence of nature. And his painting had taken it back to the sources of myth where reality, in the

¹⁹ O. Weininger, *Delle cose ultime*, edition consulted, Studio Tesi, Pordenone 1985, pp. 120-121.

²⁰ On the slopes of Mount Pelion stands the town of Volos where de Chirico was born in 1888 “to a Florentine father and Genoese mother. So his boyhood was spent in the land of classical antiquity; he played by the sea that saw the Argonauts' ship cast off, at the foot of the mountain that knew the childhood of fleet-footed Achilles and the wise admonishments of the centaur pedagogue”. Thus wrote de Chirico himself around 1919 in an autobiographical note, now in Fagiolo dell'Arco, cit., pp. 74-76.

²¹ *Lotta di centauri*, 1909, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome; Centauro morente, 1909, Assitalia collection, Rome.

²² *Prometheus*, 1882, private collection.

²³ *Prometeo*, 1909, private collection.

²⁴ S. Reinach, *Aetos Prometheus*, in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1906.

the pediments in Greek temples whose form is referred back to the spread wings of an eagle. In this text Reinach speaks of the bird of prey, of Prometheus, of the combination of the two figures, united solely for the purpose of stealing fire from Zeus. Reinach then develops his analysis by clarifying the passage from the zoomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception. The eagle therefore takes on a twofold semblance; in becoming Prometheus it remains at the same time slaughterer. And the word Prometheus contains the Sanskrit root “mand”, which passes through Greek and thence to the Italian term “mantica”, meaning prediction. Thus we have the image of “foresighted” Prometheus also through Reinach’s archaeological exegesis.



fig. 5 G. de Chirico, *Sphinx*, 1909, private collection

Nonetheless the real tragedy predicted by an inauspicious oracle, at the crossroads of Thebes and Delphi, will come to pass. Oedipus liberates Thebes, the city of Dionysus’ birth, which did not want to worship him, from the horrendous monster with serpent’s head and lioness’s body, and he goes against the ferocity of fate. Even though it is his knowledge that will win the challenge against that world of irrational instincts. With the resolving of the enigma and the precipitous leap of the sphinx into the abysses, the way of knowledge is at last revealed to man. Of that knowledge which grants the vision of reality and the construction of abstract and illusory reflections. But the mysterious sphinx of de Chirico²⁵ is concealed in the rocks, with the obscurity of her words, in the moment immediately prior to her definitive metamorphosis. In the divinatory nature of the vaticinator (fig. 5).

One more voyage before revelation. On the seashore, having carried out the propitiatory rite, Jason and Orpheus cast their eyes elsewhere. They are, like de Chirico and Savinio, “Argonauts of the Ideal”, as Nietzsche²⁶ also defined himself in reflection of an elation of awareness: “we Argonauts of the ideal, perhaps more courageous than required by prudence, after many shipwrecks and disasters, are now it seems rewarded for all this by the appearance before us of a still unknown land of which no eyes have yet measured the frontiers... How could we, after such a spectacle and with such voracity for understanding and knowing, be content with the man of today?”

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²⁵ *Sfinge*, 1909, private collection. The sphinx arises from the rock in the same position that will be assumed by Ulysses-Dante-Heraclitus-Zarathustra. In one of his youthful pages (Fagiolo dell’Arco, cit., p. 22) de Chirico instead imagines the horse of the sea god as a sphinx figure of a more traditional form: “I once pictured in the darkness of a temple that rose on the seashore the talking steed, the vaticinator, which the sea-green god gave to king Argus: I imagined it carved in a marble spotless and pure as a diamond, crouched on its hocks like a sphinx and bearing in its eyes and in the movement of its white neck all the enigma and infinite nostalgia of the waves”.

²⁶ F. Nietzsche, *Ecce homo*, 2, cit., p. 70.

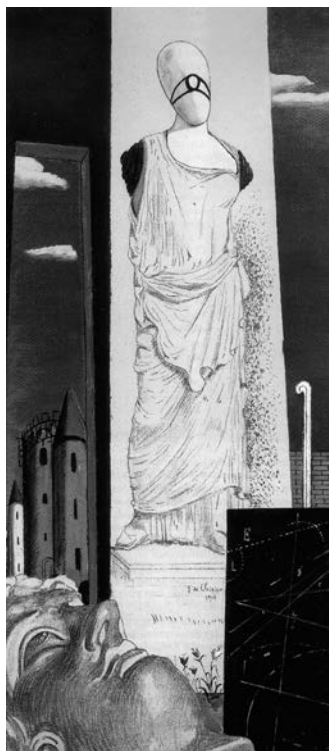


fig. 6 G. de Chirico, *The Endless Voyage*, 1914, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford

Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, Heraclitus. These were the authors of “salvation”, the philosophers who pointed to new openings. The triad through which de Chirico glimpsed the possible recovery of those worlds of classical antiquity and past grandeur whose distant echoes had reached him on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the light and culture of those lands (fig. 6). The writings, fragments and philosophical theses replaced the images of a painting which once more became painting. What did recovering these themes and images lead to if not a slight variation of the perceptive plane? That system of dislocation was a primary exercise, the beginning of a new discovery. And behold the first signs of the metaphysical alphabet. The threshold, that fleeting and indefinable limiting, can only be pointed out, lapped by the artist’s hand in the act of dislodging representation from obscurity. “Art,” wrote de Chirico in 1919 upon completion of his first metaphysical journey, “as a fine prophetic daydream and at high noon in the face of inexorable reality, precedes us continually and advises us today more than ever the framing and the total solidification of the universe”.²⁷ It isn’t that the centaurs, sirens and tritons have abandoned the scene. It is a new awareness, a literary apparition, a simple decanted vision that have modified the structure of the language. The elongated gaze of the old centaur can no longer glimpse that truth which

only the vaticinators, philosophers and poets can grasp. So it will be Ulysses who marks the passage from the animalistic and barbaric beginnings of the pre-Socratic world to the more artificial construction of a gnoseological system of reality. The architectonic structure is delineated with increasing clarity, to isolate or rather to frame the place of the new metaphysical “aesthetic”. “Art was freed by the modern poets and philosophers,” de Chirico²⁸ declared, again in 1919; “Schopenhauer and Nietzsche first taught the profound meaning of the non-sense of life and how such non-sense could be transmuted in art, indeed it had to constitute the intimate skeleton of a truly new art, free and profound. The new, able creators are philosophers who have overcome philosophy. They have returned here; they stop before the rectangles of their boards and walls because they have overcome contemplation of the infinite. The terrible emptiness discovered is the same senseless and tranquil beauty of matter”. It is therefore in the paradox of emptying the representation that the fullness of the idea comes into play. Onstage, there are only spectral actors, actors who play a part where there is no drama and where gestures do not exist (fig. 7).

²⁷ G. de Chirico, in *Arte metafisica e scienze occulte*, “Ars Nova”, 3, 1919, now in *Il meccanismo...*, cit., pp. 62-65 (63).

²⁸ G. de Chirico, in *Noi metafisici*, “Cronache d’attualità”, February 1919, now in *ibid.*, pp. 66-71 (68).

From the encounter with the poet Apollinaire, a “man soaked in the hot bath of universal melancholy”²⁹, other horizons would both open up and draw close. History veers and turns on itself. Now the statue takes on the lineaments of the mannequin, replacing one emptiness with another; human absence fills the space taken by the depthless cast of ancient sculptures. Apollinaire is the new prophet: “...Mr. de Chirico’s painting is too sombre, shades of pools covered in dead leaves, and these enigmas would stand out if presented in more resplendent colours”³⁰. It is the age of a new revelation that reconfirms the insight already grasped in Nietzsche: “And how could I bear to be a man if man

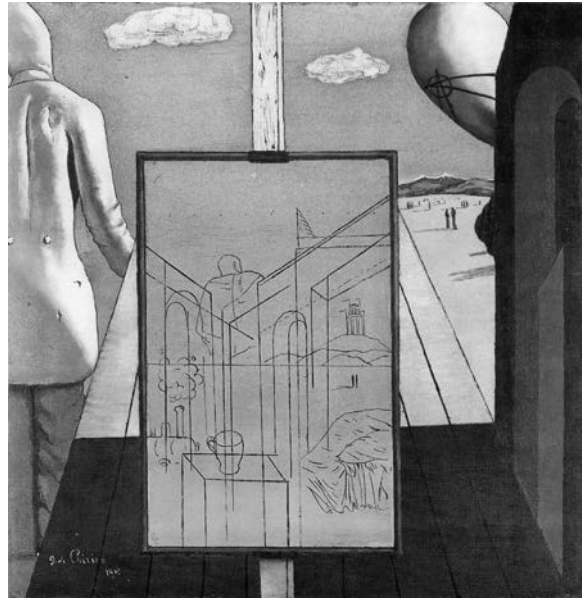


fig. 7 G. de Chirico, *The Double Dream of Spring*, 1915, Museum of Modern Art, New York

were not also poet and solver of enigmas and redeemer of fortuitousness? [...] Zarathustra also overcame his great nausea of man, for him man is a formless being, a material, an ugly stone that has need of the sculptor”³¹. And the truth of the mannequin, which from antique statue is transformed into a figure without physiognomy, is prefigured by de Chirico in the Parisian manuscript: “What will be the aim of the painting of the future? The same as that of poetry, music and philosophy. To produce sensations that were previously unknown. To strip art of every residue of routine, of rules, of tendency towards a subject, an aesthetic synthesis; to wholly suppress man as a point of reference, as means for expressing a symbol, a sensation or a thought: to free oneself once and for all of everything that continues to hold back sculpture: anthropomorphism. To see everything, man included, as a thing. It is the Nietzschean method. Applied to painting it could give extraordinary results”. As in a sort of procession – the allusion to Apollinaire’s poetic work *Cortège d’Orphée* (1911) is natural – the pictures with the mannequins file by.

After the metaphysical compositions of interiors during the first Ferrara period, the mannequin unveiled its increasingly less animated essence and the dialogue with France proceeded from a distance. In a letter to his art dealer Paul Guillaume, de Chirico came to identify himself with the figure of the clairvoyant: “I realise the extent to which this gift of the Gods (intelligence) is a far from

²⁹ G. de Chirico, *Guillaume Apollinaire*, “Ars Nova”, 2, 1918, now in *ibid.*, pp. 59-61 (59).

³⁰ G. Apollinaire, “L’Intransigeant”, 30 October 1913.

³¹ F. Nietzsche, *Ecce homo*, 8, cit., p. 79.



fig. 8 G. de Chirico, *The Great Metaphysician*, 1917, private collection

forms, beyond the poet and his last song, gather all the weight of an imprisoned revelation. And if the lyricism of an epoch has been eclipsed together with the vaticinator and the bard – “the most prodigious miner of dream in the new Europe,” as Ungaretti defined Apollinaire – it is now time to build other realities.

Translated by David Smith

common thing; I also believe that intelligence as we understand it, Nietzschean intelligence, intelligence that has something of the god and the acrobat, the hero and the beast, is so rare we might almost say that it is not to be found; and we who have seized its sparks from the sky, we who see, may be proud of it and also happy, because happiness, sweet and divine happiness, is our due independently of the fate of our life”³² (fig. 8).

With Apollinaire the circle closed on Heraclitus – the great vaticinator philosopher – to mark the ungraspable nature of that dualism between reality and appearance proper to the fate of men in possession of the gift of clairvoyance: “The Ephesian teaches us that time does not exist and that on the great curve of eternity the past is the same as the future. This might be what the Romans meant with their image of Janus, the god with two faces; and every night in dream, in the deepest hours of rest, the past and future appear to us as equal, memory blends with prophecy in a mysterious union.”³³ The apprehension solidifies and the

³² Letter, G. de Chirico to P. Guillaume from Ferrara, (datable 1916), in *La pittura metafisica*, edited by G. Briganti, E. Coen, Neri Pozza, Venice 1979, p. 118.

³³ G. de Chirico to G. Apollinaire from Ferrara, 11 July 1916, in “*Metafisica. Quaderni della Fondazione Giorgio e Isa de Chirico*”, n. 7/8, 2008, p. 616.