Representing Justice

Invention, Controversy, and Rights in City-States and Democratic Courtrooms

Judith Resnik and Dennis Curtis
# SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A Remnant of the Renaissance: The Transnational Iconography of Justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Civic Space, the Public Square, and Good Governance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Obedience: The Judge as the Loyal Servant of the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Of Eyes and Ostriches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Why Eyes? Color, Blindness, and Impartiality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Representations and Abstractions: Identity, Politics, and Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>From Seventeenth-Century Town Halls to Twentieth-Century Courts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A Building and Litigation Boom in Twentieth-Century Federal Courts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Late Twentieth-Century United States Courts: Monumentality, Security, and Eclectic Imagery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Monuments to the Present and Museums of the Past: National Courts (and Prisons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Constructing Regional Rights</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Multi-Jurisdictional Premises: From Peace to Crimes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>From “Rites” to “Rights”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Courts: In and Out of Sight, Site, and Cite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>An Iconography for Democratic Adjudication</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

ENDNOTES 379
NOTE ON SOURCES 603
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 607
INDEX OF IMAGES 629
SUBJECT INDEX 633
CONTENTS

PREFACE xv

CHAPTER 1  A Remnant of the Renaissance: The Transnational Iconography of Justice 1

A PICTORIAL PUZZLE 1
A VIRTUOUS VISUAL COMPETITION 8

The Cardinal and Theological Virtues in a Psychomachia 8
The Cohort 9
Justice’s Ascent 12

JUSTICE’S VIOLENCE 12
VISUALIZING JUSTICE’S PAIN AND CHALLENGES 13
ADJUDICATION’S TRANSFORMATION: ACCESS FOR ALL BEFORE INDEPENDENT JUDGES IN OPEN COURTS 14

Celebrating and Understanding New Demands 15
Building Idioms: Transparency, Access, Identity, and Security 15

DEMOCRACY’S CHALLENGES 16

Privatizing Process and Controlling Access 16
The Decline of Adjudication 16

RE-PRESENTING JUSTICE 17

CHAPTER 2  Civic Space, the Public Square, and Good Governance 18

A LONG POLITICAL PEDIGREE: SHAMASH, MAAT, DIKÉ, AND THEMIS 18

The Scales of Babylonia and of the Zodiac 18
The Balance in Egyptian Books of the Dead 20
Embodyed Greek and Roman Goddesses 21

JUSTICIA, ST. MICHAEL, AND THE CARDINAL VIRTUE 22

CIVIC SPACES, ALLEGORIES OF GOOD AND BAD GOVERNMENT, AND FOURTEENTH-CENTURY SIENA 25
Public Buildings Fashioning Civic Identities 25

Lorenzetti and the Palazzo Pubblico 26
“Love justice, you who judge the earth” 28
Justice Bound by Tyranny 29
Theories of Governance: Aristotle, Cicero, Aquinas, Latini, God, and Political Propaganda 29
Good Government on the East and West Coasts of the United States: Reiterations by Caleb Ives Bach and Dorothea Rockburne 30

LAST JUDGMENTS IN TOWN HALLS 33
Civic, Public, and Christian 33
“For that judgment you judge, shall redound on you”: The Magdeburg Mandate 34
Conflating the Last Judgment with Trials 34

CHAPTER 3  Obedience: The Judge as the Loyal Servant of the State 38

PLAYED ALIVE OR MAIMED: JUDICIAL OBLIGATIONS INSCRIBED ON TOWN HALL WALLS IN BRUGES AND GENEVA 38

Controlling Judges: A Fifteenth-Century Cambyses in the Town Hall of Bruges 38
Bribes, Gifts, and Budgets 39
Skeptical about Law and Distrustful of Judges 42
The Unjust Prince: Plutarch’s Theban Judges and Alciatus’s Emblems 43
Dogs, Snakes, and Virgins: Even-handedness in Ripa’s Iconologia 43
Hands Cut: Disfigured Judges and Regal Justices for Sixteenth-Century Geneva 44
Judicial Subservience and Dependence 47

THE CHALLENGE AND PAIN OF RENDERING JUDGMENT: AMSTERDAM’S SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOWN HALL 48
An “undertaking of megalomanic proportions” 48
The Virtues of Prosperity: Justice, Peace, and Prudence Reigning over an Expanding Municipality 49
“The free state flourishes, when the people honor the laws” 51
Harming Your Children in the Name of the Law: Solomon, Zaleucus, Brutus, and Death 55
The Judgment of Solomon 56
The Blinding of Zaleucus and His Son and the Execution of Brutus’s Children 57
“SO SHALL YOU BE JUDGED” 61

CHAPTER 4 Of Eyes and Ostriches 62

BLIND TO THE LIGHT AND BLINDFOLDED BY THE FOOL 62
The Blindfolded Justice in the Amsterdam Tribunal 62
“Open the eyes that are blind” 64
Synagoga: Blind to the “Light” of Christianity 65
Justice and Judges as Fools 67
Alciatus’s Theban Judges and Ripa’s Injunctions: “A Steely Gaze,” the Eye of God, and Bandaged Eyes 69
Bruegel’s Justice (or Injustice?) 70
Damhoudere’s Janus-Faced Justice 72
Turning a Critical Eye 74

TRANSCENDENT, WIDE-EYED, AND AMIDST THE ANIMALS 75
Raphael’s Glory of Justice 75
Symbolism’s Caprice: The Many Animals of Justice 76
The Proud and the Dead Bird: Giulio Romano’s Justice with an Ostrich in the Vatican and Luca Giordano’s Justice Disarmed 76
Sheep and Foxes, Dogs and Serpents: Rubens’s Wide-Eyed Justice 79

THE PAST AS PROLOGUE: SIGHTED OR BLINDFOLDED, AND TALL 79
Venice as Justice, Justice as Venice 79
Across the English Channel 83
Queen Anne as Justice 83
The Lord Mayor’s Show 84
Dublin’s Justice 85
Old Bailey’s Open-Eyed and Wide-Armed Justice 87

Across the Atlantic Ocean: Kansas’s Sharp-Eyed Prairie Falcon and Vancouver’s Peaceable Justice 87

A RESILIENT, ALBEIT INVENTED, TRADITION 89

CHAPTER 5 Why Eyes? Color, Blindness, and Impartiality 91

ICONOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS, PICTORIAL PUZZLES, AND JUSTICE’S BLINDFOLD 91
Commitments to Representation 91
Impossible to Depict: An Exchange between Mantegna and Momus 93
Creating the Canonical Elements 94
Sight, Knowledge, and Impartiality 95
“Suppose a Man born blind . . . be made to see”: Locke, Diderot, and Molyneux’s Problem 97
Rawlsian Veiling 98
Ambiguity and Self-Help: Joshua Reynolds’s Justice in Oxford and Diana Moore’s Justice in New Hampshire 98

CONSTITUTIONAL METAPHORS AND INJUSTICES 102
Color-Blind 102
Impartial or Unjust? The “Festering Sores” behind the Blindfold in Langston Hughes’s Justice 103
Confrontation, Eyewitnesses, Prison Garb, Spectators’ Badges, and Ostrich Imagery 104

CHAPTER 6 Representations and Abstractions: Identity, Politics, and Rights 106

JURIDICAL RIGHTS AND ICONOGRAPHY 106
Public Art and Popular Dismay 106
Batcolumns and Mariannes 107

BREACHING THE CONVENTIONS OF JUSTICE WHEN DECORATING THE PUBLIC SPHERE 108
Unblindfolded: A “Communist” Justice Raises a “Newark Row” 108
Hiding a “Mulatto Justice” in Aiken, South Carolina 110
Life in Mississippi, Draped 113
An “Indian” Hung in Boise 116
Muhammad in Midtown and at the United States Supreme Court 117
Lady of Justice but No Moco Jumbie in the Virgin Islands 121
The Safety of Abstraction: Ellsworth Kelly in Boston 124

JUDGING JUDGES: FROM SPECTATOR TO CRITICAL OBSERVER 126
The Appearance of Impartiality 127
Duck Blinds in 2004 128
Putting Cases into Courts: The Second Reconstruction 157
Rights across the Board 157
From a Three-Story Courthouse in Grand Forks to Twenty-Eight Floors in St. Louis and 760,000 Square Feet in Boston 158
Housing the Corporate Judiciary 161

Redesigning Federal Buildings 163
The Peripheral Role of “Fine Art” 163
Inelegant Design: The National Endowment for the Arts as Architectural Critic 165
Subsequent Precepts: Preservation, Conservation, Accessibility, Sociability, and Security 166
GSA’s Design Excellence Program 168

Chapter 7: From Seventeenth-Century Town Halls to Twentieth-Century Courts 134

Public and Social Traditions in Town and Country Courts 134
Building a New Legal System in the United States 136
A Grounding in Colonial and State Court Systems 136
Purpose-Built Structures: From Houses and Taverns to Courts 136
Segregating Interiors by Roles and Race 136
Architecture and Adornment 137
Juridical Privilege, Exclusion, and Protest 137
Marking a “Federal Presence” 139
Borrowing Space, Rules, and Administrative Support 140
Custom Houses, Marine Hospitals, and Post Offices 140
Professional Architects and Public Patronage 142
Courts—From California to the New York Island 142
Statehood for Texas and a New Federal Building in Galveston 143
Building and Rebuilding in Des Moines and Biloxi 144
Moving Further, Farther, and Higher 145
Westward Expansion: Denver, Missoula, and San Diego 145
Offshore and Across Land: Puerto Rico and Alaska 147
Sky High in New York City 149

Architectural Statements and Obsolescence 152

Chapter 8: A Building and Litigation Boom in Twentieth-Century Federal Courts 154

Institutional Girth: In-House Administration, Research, and a Corporate Voice 154
William Howard Taft’s Innovations 154
Building the Administrative Apparatus 155
“Court Quarters” 156

Renovation, Rent, and William Rehnquist 169
“Judicial Space Emergencies” 169
Court Design Guides 171
Rescaling the Proportions 171
Routing Circulation to Avoid Contact 173
Dedicated Courtrooms 174
Negotiating Rent and Space 174
Cutting into the Judicial Dollar 176
Inter-Agency, Inter-Branch Oversight or Intrusion 178
“Rent Relief” 178
A Courtroom of One’s Own 180
Judicial Political Acumen and Incongruity: The Rehnquist Judiciary’s Monuments to Federal Adjudication 181

“Art-in-Architecture” 182
Selecting Community-Friendly Art to “stand the test of time” 183
Collaborative Diversity 183
Quietly Quizzical: Tom Otterness in Portland, Oregon and Jenny Holzer in Sacramento, California 184
“Plop art” and Building Norms 191
CHAPTER 10 Monuments to the Present and Museums of the Past: National Courts (and Prisons) 193

COMPARATIVE CURRENTS 193
Singularly Impressive, Diverse, and Homogeneous 193
The Business of Building Courts: The Academy of Architecture for Justice 194

JUSTICE PALACES FOR FRANCE 195
Legible Architecture for an Evolving Justice 195
"Le 1% décoratif" 200
Jean Nouvel and Jenny Holzer in Nantes 204

CREATING NEW SYMBOLS OF NATIONHOOD: A SUPREME COURT BUILDING FOR ISRAEL 208
“Circles of Justice” and Laws That Are “Straight” 209
Roman Cardos, British Courtyards, Moorish Arches, and Jerusalem Stone 210
Judgment at the Gate 213
"The Symbols" 213
Reiterating Familiar Motifs 215

NEW AND RECYCLED FROM MELBOURNE TO HELSINKI 216
"Australian in concept and materials": Melbourne’s Commonwealth Law Courts 216
From a Liquor Factory to a District Court in Helsinki 220

"JUSTICE FACILITIES": JAILS, PRISONS, AND COURTS 222

The ECtHR and the ECJ: The Form of Resources 239
Regional Law: The Organization of American States and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights 239
The 1907 Central American Court of Justice: A “permanent court of justice” 240
Shaping a Pan-American Convention on Human Rights 242
Parallels and Distinctions: Human Rights Adjudication in Europe and the Americas 243
Costa Rica and the Inter-American Court: Linked “not only by conviction, but by action” 246
Engineering a $600,000 Renovation 246

CHAPTER 12 Multi-Jurisdictional Premises: From Peace to Crimes 247

MODELING THE FUTURE: EPIC ARCHITECTURE AND LONELY BUILDINGS 247
THE PEACE PALACE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE 248
Convening for Peace 249
The Amsterdam Town Hall Redux: “Dutch High-Renaissance Architecture” for the World’s Library and Court 249
Competing and Litigating for Building Commissions 249
National Artifacts for the World Court 253
Tribunals to Which No Country Can Be “Bidden” 255
The Misnomer of the Permanent Court of Arbitration and the Puzzles of International Adjudication 255
The Small Hall of Justice and the PCA 256
The League of Nations’ Permanent Court of International Justice 257
Nationality and Judicial Selection 257
Inaugurating the “World Court” and the Hague Academy for International Law 259
Lawmaking through Advisory Opinions and Contentious Cases 259
The Great Hall of Justice and the United Nations’ International Court of Justice 261
Nationality’s Continuing Import 261
A Celebratory Iconography 262
Renovations, Modernization, and Expansion: Carnegie’s Library at Last 263
A Home for Living Law or a Museum? 264
CHAPTER 14 Courts: In and Out of Sight, Site, and Cite 306

Adjudication’s Challenges to Democracy 306
Demand and Distress 307
The Data on Privatization: The Vanishing Trial 310
The Methods of Privatization 311
Managerial Judges Settling Cases 311
Unheard Arguments and “Unpublished” Opinions 313
Devolution: Administrative Agencies as Courts 314
Outsourcing through Mandatory Private Arbitration 318

Regulatory Options: Public Access to Alternative Dispute Resolution 323
Multi-Jurisdictional Premises (Again) 328
Tracking, Managing, and Obliging Mediation:
Lord Woolf’s Reforms in England and Wales 322
Outsourcing to Tribunals 324
Competing for Transnational Arbitration 324
Mediation under the Direction of the European Union 325

Transnational Procedural Shifts 326
The Continuum on Which Guantánamo Bay Sits 327
The Appointing Authority’s Adjudicatory Discretion 327
Court-Like, Court-Lite: “Honor Bound to Defend Freedom” 328
Foucault’s Footsteps 334

 CHAPTER 15 An Iconography for Democratic Adjudication 338

Transitional and Transnational Idioms 338
Symbolic Courts with Facades of Glass 340
Opaque Transparency 341
The Politics of Glass 341
Zones of Authority 342

Replenishing the Visual Vocabulary 344
An Interdependent Collective: The Cardinal Four of Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude 344
The Burdens of Judging: The Nails of a Nkisi Figure 348
FACING JUSTICE’S INJUSTICE 349

Nelson Mandela’s Jail as South Africa’s Constitutional Court 350

Aiming to Capture the Humanity of Social Interdependence 350

Prison Vistas of Barbed Wire 352

Splashes of Color and References to Oppression 355

The Challenge of Crime and Caseloads 355

Visually Recording (in)Justice in Mexico’s Supreme Court 356

Mexican Muralists, Orozco, and “Profoundly National” Paintings 356

George Biddle’s Redemption from the Horrors of War 361

Cauduro’s Vision: Torture, Homicide, and Other Crimes, Unpunished 362

Impunity and Insecurity 365

OPEN TENTS, TATTERED COATS, AND THE CHALLENGES ENTAILED IN DEMOCRATIC PROMISES OF JUSTICE 366

“If performed in the open air”: The Federal Court of Australia’s Ruling on the Ngaanyatjarra Land Claims 367

Terra nullius and the Native Title Act 367

Commemorating Power, Witnessing Compromise 369

An Icon of Free Legal Services in Minnesota 372

More Courthouses than Counties 372

A Jacket, Worn 373

FACETS OF JUDGMENT 374

ENDNOTES 379

NOTE ON SOURCES 603

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY 607

Books, Monographs, Articles, and Dissertations 607

Caselaw 626

International Conventions and Treaties 627

INDEX OF IMAGES 629

Painters, Printmakers, and Engravers 629

Sculptors 629

Photographers 630

Cartoonists 631

Buildings 631

Logos and Seals 632

Brochures and Other Objects 632

Graphs and Charts 632

SUBJECT INDEX 633

Color plates follow page 142.
“This book is a richly documented study of the iconography of Justice, from Antiquity through its medieval personification as a Cardinal Virtue to the emergence of her figure as an independent icon of a social value. Tracing the continuing resonance of that figure to the modern courtroom and in the public imagination, Representing Justice demonstrates the power of an image to embody ideals and, when those ideals are ignored, to stand as an indictment of injustice.”—DAVID ROSAND, Meyer Schapiro Professor of Art History Emeritus, Columbia University

“The scope of the book is breathtaking. Through the iconography of justice, Resnik and Curtis chart the history of courts and public justice and compellingly make the case for the central role of adjudication to democracy. The combination of haunting and often visceral imagery with powerful analysis makes the book both a joy to read and an inspiration.”—PROFESSOR DAME HAZEL GENN, Dean of the Faculty of Laws, University College London (UCL)

“Representing Justice is a fascinating and ambitious study of the iconography of justice and what it reveals about attitudes towards a just society, impartiality, and authority, from the Renaissance to the Mexican Muralists. In this engaging and eminently readable book, the authors show how emblems, icons, and courthouses vividly embody the fundamentally democratic process of adjudication.”—RUTH WEISBERG, Roski School of Fine Arts, University of Southern California

“In this visually stunning and provocative book, Judith Resnik and Dennis Curtis lead us to think in new ways about justice as symbol, justice as reality, and the connections as well as the distance between the two.”—LINDA GREENHOUSE, Joseph Goldstein Lecturer in Law, Yale Law School

“How did a blindfolded lady holding scales become the ubiquitous image of justice? How have designs and decorations of spaces defined and redefined adjudication? Assembling monumental research, Resnik and Curtis powerfully show how images and buildings reflect and shape local and international justice across human history and how privatized dispute resolution, security concerns, and diminishing community participation erode the ideal and reality of courts’ justice.”—MARTHA MINOW, Dean and Jeremiah Smith, Jr. Professor, Harvard Law School

“This is a profoundly original and rich book. By looking at the public iconography of justice, the book maps the evolution of courts and their relationship with public power and democracy as it has never been done. In this instance, an image is indeed worth a thousand words. Judith Resnik and Dennis Curtis offer us the images and articulate the words.”—MIGUEL POAIRES MADURO, Professor and Director of the Global Governance Programme, European University Institute, Villa La Pagliaiola

“Resnik and Curtis provide a stunning tour of the iconography and architecture of justice. Bristling with insights and steeped in learning, Representing Justice casts the relationship of democracy, justice, and law in an entirely new light. Both gripping narrative and deep meditation, there is no other book remotely like it.”—NANCY FRASER, Henry A. & Louise Loeb Professor of Political and Social Science, New School for Social Research

“This is an extraordinary book. It combines iconography of justice and claims about judges, courts, and democracy. With a deep sense of art and law, the reader is guided through the comparative history of judging, courts, and their role in society as manifested through the history of art and architecture. The book is a glorious proof that when judges sit at trial they stand on trial.”—AHARON BARAK, Former Chief Justice of Israel