

Center 2

Research Reports and Record of Activities





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C. MAURAND

National Gallery of Art
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY
IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Center 2
Research Reports
and Record of Activities
June 1981—May 1982

Washington, D.C. 1982

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565

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frontispiece:

Honoré Daumier, *Une Salle de l'Hôtel Drouot*. woodcut (engraved by C. Maurand). first published 1862 (1920 impression). National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur E. Vershbow

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GENERAL INFORMATION



The CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote the study of history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Kress Professor, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, Associates, and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publication, are privately funded.

FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters the study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art and artifacts from prehistoric times to the present. Studies of all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, are encouraged. The Center also supports studies of the theory, historiography, and criticism of the visual arts, including critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Kress Professorship

The National Gallery of Art and the Center select annually a distinguished art historian as Kress Professor, a position created by the Gallery in 1965. Occasionally two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms during the same academic year. Traditionally, the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

Senior Fellowships

Senior Fellowships are awarded regardless of the age or nationality of the applicant. Senior fellowships will be limited to those who have held the Ph. D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards are made for one, two, and, in exceptional cases, four consecutive terms. Senior Fellows must reside in Washington during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will normally be limited to one-half the applicant's annual salary; in no case can it exceed the applicant's annual salary. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel expenses, a supplemental housing allowance, some research allowance for photographs, slides, microfilms, etc., and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds may be available for research purposes and for presenting a paper at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 31 October. Each candidate submits an application form including biographical data, a project proposal, three publications, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

Visiting Senior Fellowships

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a maximum of sixty days during the year in two periods: A) September to February, and B) March to August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Awards include a stipend, some research allowance, subsidized luncheon privileges, and a study.

The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships need only two letters of recommendation in support of their application. Submission of publications is not required.

National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellowship

One Senior Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has



served at least one year in one of the departments of the National Gallery. Holders of the fellowship may obtain leave for up to four months to pursue their projects.

The application deadline is 31 October. Candidates submit an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.

Associate Status

The Center may appoint Associates without stipend for periods from one month to an academic year. Qualifications, conditions, and application procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships and Visiting Senior Fellowships.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of Western art history who have completed their university residence requirements and at least one additional year's research on their proposed dissertation topics. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a period of residency at the Center and participation in a curatorial research project at the Gallery. Applicants must be either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history in colleges and universities in the United States. Departmental chairmen sponsor applications from their departments. The application deadline for the 1983-1984 Predoctoral Fellowship program is 15 November 1982. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable.



Other Information About Tenure and Application

Members may not apply for other fellowships at the Center during the period of their award, which itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments, including National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, may reapply after three years.

The appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565.

Application for Predoctoral Fellowships may be made only through the chairmen of the respective departments of art history in which the candidates are enrolled. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Center.

FACILITIES

The Center's office, lounge, seminar room, and individual studies are located in the East Building of the National Gallery. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 100,000 volumes. The Gallery's collections, photographic archives, and support services are available during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Lunch is served in the National Gallery refectory Monday through Friday.

PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

Opportunity for formal and casual exchange among the members is provided through seminars, colloquia, lectures, and symposia, as well as the Center's weekly lunch and tea. Art historians and other scholars in the Washington area are invited to these meetings.

Senior members are invited to discuss their research at a colloquium. Pre-doctoral Fellows present informal shop talks based on their dissertation research in progress.

A listing of the meetings held at the Center in 1981-1982 may be found on pages 65-74. Pages 85-91 contain the listing of meetings held during the Center's initial academic year.



PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center and abstracts of lectures are published annually. (See pages 20-64 for reports written by members of the Center in 1981-1982 and pages 72-82 for abstracts of lectures presented at the Center in 1981-1982.) The Center also publishes an annual listing of research in the history of art sponsored by a number of granting institutions in the United States.

Papers presented at symposia and other conferences sponsored by the Center are gathered and published in the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. The papers delivered at a symposium held at the Center in November 1980 have been published as volume 10 of *Studies in the History of Art: Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Hellenistic Times*. Those of the symposium on *El Greco and Toledo*, held in Toledo, Spain, in April 1982 under the joint auspices of the Instituto Diego Velázquez in Madrid and the Center for Advanced Study, are now being prepared for publication.

BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A rotating Board of Advisors of seven art historians meets annually to consider the policies and programs of the Center. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. Members of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery participate in the review of applications for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery.



REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR
1981-1982
(June 1981-May 1982)

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Jean S. Boggs, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Marvin Eisenberg, University of Michigan
Oleg Grabar, Harvard University
George Heard Hamilton, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Francis Haskell, Oxford University
Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Marianna S. Simpson, *Assistant Dean*
Alison Luchs, *Research Assistant*
Susan Arensberg, *Research Assistant*

MEMBERS

Kress Professors

Fall 1981

Frank E. Brown, Yale University and American Academy in Rome
Miscellaneous Matters of Ancient and Classical Art

Spring 1982

Jean V. Bony, University of California, Berkeley
The Architectural Consequences of the Norman Conquest of England

The Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts

1982

Leo Steinberg, University of Pennsylvania
The Burden of Michelangelo's Painting

Senior Fellows

1981-1982

Christiane Andersson, Columbia University
A Catalogue Raisonné of the Drawings of Urs Graf

Irene A. Bierman, University of California, Los Angeles
*The Iconographic Significance of Interlocked Arabic Script:
Lām/Alif, Alif/Lām*

Yasushi Egami, Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties
Works Related to the Imperial "Painters' Bureau" in Early Medieval Japan

Molly Faries, Indiana University
*Survey of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Northern European Panel Painting
in the National Gallery with Infrared Reflectography*

Alan Gowans, University of Victoria, British Columbia
*Interrelations of Form, Cultural Expression, and Social Function in North
American Architectural Styles*

Donald Preziosi, State University of New York, Binghamton
Narrativity and Textuality in Palaeolithic art

Claire Richter Sherman, Washington, D.C.
The Illustrations of Nicole Oresme's Translations of Aristotle

Barbara Maria Stafford, University of Chicago
Voyage into Substance: Illustrated Travel Accounts, c. 1760-1840

Visiting Senior Fellows

Summer 1981

James A. Fasanelli, University of Maryland, Baltimore County
The Paris Book of Drawings Attributed to Jacopo Bellini

Madeleine Fidell Beaufort, The American College, Paris
A Measure of Taste: Samuel P. Avery's Art Auctions 1864-1880

Elise L. Goodman, University of Cincinnati
Petrarchism in Secular Paintings of the Italian Renaissance

Inabelle Levin, American University
*Traditions and Transformations in Late Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait
Sculpture*

Meredith P. Lillich, Syracuse University
Stained Glass in Western France, 1250-1325

Charlotte V. Stokes, Oakland University
*The Influence of Twentieth-Century Psychological Theory on the Working
Methods of Max Ernst*

Fall 1981

Francesco Dal Co, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia
The Design Experience of Mies van der Rohe

Erica C. Dodd, American University of Beirut
Supplement to Byzantine Silver Stamps, including the Sion Treasure

Spring 1982

Jörg Garms, Austrian Institute, Rome
Piranesi's Drawings of Architectural Fantasies

Gridley McKim-Smith, Bryn Mawr College
Writing and Painting in the "Siglo de oro"

National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow

Spring 1981

Virginia Tuttle, National Gallery of Art
The Legend of Lilith and Hieronymus Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights

Associate

1981-1982

Peter Brunette, George Mason University
The Films of Roberto Rossellini

Fellows

1981-1984

Susan J. Barnes, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1981-1984
The Italian Period of Anthony Van Dyck, c. 1621-1627

Anita Joplin, [University of California, Berkeley]
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1981-1983
Jan Bruegel and the Encyclopaedic Collection

Franklin Kelly, [University of Delaware]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1981-1983
The Twilight Paintings of Frederic Church

Brian Lukacher, [University of Delaware]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1981-1982
Architectural Fantasy in English Romantic Art

Patricia Mainardi, [City University of New York]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1981-1982
Universal Expositions in Paris, 1855-1900

Andrea L. Matthies, [State University of New York, Binghamton]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1981-1982
Building Technologies in Late Medieval Manuscript Illumination

Martha Pollak, [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1981-1982
The Civic Expansions of Turin in the 1620s and 1670s

Fronia E. Wissman, [Yale University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1981-1983
Musical and Poetical Themes in the Late Paintings of Corot



MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

The following are reports of the work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1981 to May 1982. The term of appointments of Predoctoral Fellows ends in August. Reports by these members will be published in *Center 3*.

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Drawings of Urs Graf

The year's project at the Center was the compilation of a catalogue raisonné of the drawings of Urs Graf (c. 1485–1529?). Graf was the most original and gifted artist active in German-speaking Switzerland during the Renaissance, and although he worked in numerous media of the graphic and applied arts, he is remembered primarily for his highly imaginative drawings. These works, executed almost exclusively in pen and black ink and notable for their exceptional quality, vitality, and expressiveness, fall into two distinct categories. In his capacity as a goldsmith and glass painter, Graf made numerous designs for execution in those media. But since such designs had to conform to a preestablished visual format and to a standard vocabulary of images, they are not Graf's most typical or most interesting sketches and constitute only a small part of his surviving oeuvre.

Graf's place in the history of art is due above all to his autonomous drawings created as independent works of art. For northern European art, Graf played a seminal role in the liberation of drawing from its traditionally subsidiary status as preparatory study for works of art in other media. Free from the constraints of conventional imagery with its traditional associations in use and meaning, Graf fully exploited the potential of his medium for personal expression. His sketches of this type form the vast majority of his work as a draftsman. In them he addresses both personal and public issues: they are impromptu renderings of intimate experiences and trenchant commentaries on the world around him. They are both the whimsical records of a sudden insight, passing mood, or witty observation and the carefully considered products of lengthy contemplation.

The freedom afforded by his medium and its autonomous status gave Graf an enormous flexibility of subject matter. His work seems to have suffered none of the inherent limitations imposed on Renaissance art by function and patronage. Graf did not occupy himself with the learned themes and dynastic allegories commissioned by humanist or princely patrons, or with the religious pictures and portraits which other artists produced for local burghers and merchants. Rather, Graf chose the subjects for his drawings from those facets of culture which other artists rarely incorporated into their art. He took his inspiration from the life around him—the political climate, social conditions, and popular culture of early sixteenth-century Basle.

As a group these drawings constitute the most revealing visual commentary on an artist and his times which has survived from the Renaissance in northern Europe. Graf's *engagé* eye-witness accounts offer fascinating glimpses of the world in which he lived, filtered through his own subjective viewpoint. Graf singled out the controversial and emotional issues of his day. More attracted by vice than by virtue, he held up a mirror to the folly and foibles of his contemporaries. His drawings reveal which prejudices were most strongly entrenched in his generation, what political issues were most vigorously debated, and what kinds of social conduct provoked scorn

or ridicule. Graf's sketches also show how this culture defined manhood and feminine honor but how easily both were lost, what people would do for money and what foolish whims they spent it on, and how the venal motives of politicians and mercenaries often brought the Swiss cantons to the brink of disaster and how it was narrowly averted. In his drawings Graf dealt with the full array of upheavals that accompanied the dawn of the modern era.

The clarification of Graf's artistic origins has been a major concern. The fineness of line and the style of cross-hatching resembling engraving characteristic of the artist's earliest known drawings clearly derive from his training as a goldsmith, the craft from which engraving originally evolved. The stylistic kinship to Graf's goldsmith work has heretofore been overlooked, presumably because so little of this has survived to provide a source for comparison. Predictably enough, Graf's early development also reveals a keen interest in the work of the two greatest printmakers of his own generation and of the previous one: Dürer and Schongauer. Graf's adaptations of their engravings range from direct copies to satirical spoofs. Equally important but previously underestimated is Graf's appreciation of the angular, expressive style of Master DS, whose woodcuts were published in Basle between about 1505 and 1511, but about whom little is known. The Master DS' style left its mark very visibly on Graf's woodcuts around 1512, and rather more subtly also on drawings from this period, such as the *Mercenary Bribing the Harlot Fortuna* in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. By 1513 Graf's drawings began to reflect his fascination with the chiaroscuro drawings of Hans Baldung Grien, his contemporary working in nearby Freiburg. Among Graf's chiaroscuro drawings of 1513-1514 are a precise copy of a drawing by Baldung in the Louvre and a copy after a lost Baldung. Graf's *Adoration of the Magi* of 1513 was modeled on a painting by Baldung of 1510, which Graf presumably saw in Strasbourg when delivering woodcut designs to local printers. Graf's eclectic taste during these years also produced chiaroscuro drawings which combine elements derived from Schongauer, Master DS, and Baldung, such as the *Madonna and Child with a Bird* at Coburg. Graf's personal style began to emerge alongside his experimental and derivative work about 1512.

The majority of my time at the Center was devoted to writing entries, particularly for Graf's early drawings prior to 1520. The final catalogue will appear in a monograph series on Swiss and German artists, published jointly by the Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich, and the Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, Berlin.

Columbia University
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

IRENE A. BIERMAN

*The Iconographic Significance of Interlocked Arabic Script:
Lām/Alif, Alif/Lām*

The Arabic letters *lām* (L) and *alif* (A) and their combined ligature *lām-alif* appear to have a special significance in the system of visual meaning of Islam. These letters and the ligature formed by combining them appear in isolated sequences on all manner of objects from the material culture of the Islamic world, as well as on buildings. These letters and the ligature also appear decorated or embellished in inscriptions, whereas other letters remain undecorated or less decorated. My period of research and writing at the Center provided time to formulate some conclusions about what these letters mean, how they mean, and how they came to be so differentiated from other letters.

It now appears that the meaning attached to these letters and the ligature was the product of a complex interweaving of strands which produced patterns of meaning that are time and space specific. The basic fibres of the meaning structure are vested in the orthographic properties of these letters and the ligature within the Arabic writing system and in the range of semantic nuances possible in Arabic deriving from the written form of the letters. However, while it is the Arabic language that vests the letters and their written form with meaning, it is the milieu of ninth-century Baghdad, particularly its social and intellectual ferment, that accounts for the initial vesting of these letters and the ligature with a particularly *Islamic* meaning, one that was group specific and reflected an intentional shift in modes of piety. At various subsequent periods in Islamic history and in various areas, religion, philosophy, and science, as well as “meaning-freighted” metaphors from languages other than Arabic, augmented the initial Arabic vesting of meaning. Thus, in Arabic-speaking areas in later times, and in Persian- or in Ottoman-Turkish-speaking areas, time- and space-specific meanings and uses came to be attached to the visualization of the *alif*, the *lām*, and the *lām-alif*.

What is clear is that Islamic society inherited the tendency to conceive Arabic alphabetic letters as object-signs with meaning potential beyond the semantic. The orthographic properties and shapes of the *alif* and the *lām-alif* were employed as poetic metaphors before the coming of Islam. Thus, when Islamic society came to vest writing and these letters with different religious and secular significances from within its own ideology, it was augmenting a mechanism already at work within the society.

These letters first appear in decorated or highlighted form and were felt to carry meaning beyond their usual semantic range in the urban society of the ninth century, a time when people from all classes, Qur’an readers, Hanbalis, Hanafis, Shafiis, Sunnis, and Shia alike, were involved in dialogues encouraging the “inner life.” These dialogues were a popular response to the establishment politicians who supported and were supported by a kerygmatic view of religion. The *alif*, the *lām* and the *lām-alif* helped people to un-



Kufic Inscription with Interlocked Lam-Alif. Egypt, tenth century. Cairo, Islamic Art Museum

derstand the workings of love in their lives. Indeed, the ligature *lām-alif* in particular seems to have served as a lightning rod to which those seeking alternate modes of piety were attracted.

It is the constant appearance of the ligature *lām-alif*, a phoneme which also has morphemic capacity in Arabic, that remains a continuing part of my concern. The question still remains, how does it mean?

University of California, Los Angeles
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

JEAN V. BONY

The Architectural Consequences of the Norman Conquest of England

My primary effort was devoted toward continuing a long-range project of sorting out and evaluating the consequences of the Norman Conquest of England in the field of architecture, an area of research which involves the Romanesque architecture of continental Europe (western, central, even Mediterranean) as much as pre- and post-Conquest England. During my few months at the National Gallery my research focused principally on two sets of questions. On the one hand, I have tried to get a more precise idea of what Normandy represented at the time of the Conquest, what were its connections with the other major centers of Romanesque architecture, and what actual dynamic impulses could be recognized behind the novelties that gave their character to major Norman works in the critical period of the 1050s-1070s. The three major works surviving from that period are Jumièges, the Mont-Saint-Michel, and Saint-Etienne at Caen. I selected the nave of Jumièges and Saint-Etienne for detailed study because of the ideological implications indicated by their design and style.

Those aspects of the Jumièges problem under investigation this year included contacts between Germany and Normandy, the relationship between Jumièges and its twin design, the Westminster of Edward the Confessor, the position of Robert of Jumièges in England as well as in Normandy, and the imperial claims formulated by the Saxon kings and their repercussion on the attitude of the Norman ecclesiastics established in England during the late 1040s and early 1050s.

Begun a few months after the Conquest, Saint-Etienne at Caen represents a totally different situation. The design and the constructional system are also quite different in tone from that of Jumièges. At Saint-Etienne the emphasis passes to Roman Late Antique sources, which agree both with the vocabulary used by the ecclesiastical writers and with the claims of the Conqueror, who called himself Basileus of England.

The other line of investigation which I have been able to pursue, and which I discussed at a Center colloquium in April, is the complex problem of the Saxon-Norman "overlap" and its meaning when viewed in the context of the situation in post-Conquest England. One of the major tasks has consisted in sorting out what is pre- and post-Conquest in the architectural works of Late Saxon character, a sorting out which gives the basis for any attempt at an evaluation. Another area of research has been the identification of the patrons responsible for the building of the most notable "overlap" churches. It has become evident that many of these churches were built either on royal estates or on the estates of men very close to the Conqueror. In other cases, the action of the new Norman bishops seems to have been an essential element in the multiplication of works in a mixed idiom, indicating a date of construction in the 1070s or early 1080s.

During the spring I also worked along another line dealing with a some-

what later stage in the survival of Saxon trends or concepts: what remained alive after the Saxon technology of construction had practically disappeared and when all buildings were conforming to the Romanesque technique of masonry, but not necessarily to the forms of continental Romanesque. The phenomenon of cultural fusion that resulted in some of the major buildings has been examined so far in only two cases: Durham and Gloucester. All these investigations lay an excellent basis for the field work I shall be carrying out during the summer and fall of 1982 under the auspices of a Guggenheim Fellowship.

Finally, I spent quite a lot of time on the final stages of the publication of my forthcoming book, *French Gothic Architecture of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, particularly on the compilation of an analytical index, a major piece of meticulous work.

University of California, Berkeley
Kress Professor, spring 1982

Miscellaneous Matters of Ancient and Classical Art

I brought to Washington four bundles of notes for essays that I had not found time to complete during the years of my archaeological activity. They concerned one of the peripheral areas outside of the orthogonal plans of ancient cities, the original basilicas, the terraces and sculpture at Nemrud Dâg in Commagene, and the garden sculpture of peperino found outside the walls of Rome.

During my four months at the Center I drafted short compositions on all four subjects. Three were discussed at a Center colloquium, as follows.

I. Cosa: Peripheries of Orthogonal Street Plans

Rectangular town plans with right-angle streets running to rectangular edges are always flat or gently sloping, but most town sites are on heights for vision and defense, the fortifications following the lay of the steep descents. Those that were planned orthogonally were perforce obliged to leave irregular areas outside the regular net of streets. Excavators naturally try to explore the major structures of temples, civic centers, and blocks of houses within the net. The peripheral spaces come second or are ignored. Yet they are often of substantial significance, as can be demonstrated at Cosa.

II. Rome: The First Basilicas

It is believed that the basilica was derived and named from the Greek *stoá* or *porticus* and after the Stoá Basileios (king's portico) in Athens or from an unknown *stoá basiliké* (royal portico) or rather a *stoá* from a Doric town in the form *stoá basiliká*, presumably in Sicily. But the *stoá/porticus* was a long, narrow, shedlike building, open on one side to a street or open space, supported by one or two ranges of columns, whereas, from the beginning, the basilica was a longish, barnlike building, open on one side or one end, supported inside by four ranges of double columns or piers, with a clerestory and roof. The earliest basilica known was behind one side of the Roman Forum and was built about the end of the third century B.C. In fact, the basilica entered Greece and Asia Minor more than 350 years later, and none has been found in Sicily.

My work on the Basilica of Cosa and recent work in the Roman Forum attempts to give a better picture of how the basilica came to be.

III. The Roman Campagna: Fragments of an Apollo and Daphne

In 1878 two pieces of sculpture were turned up near the Via Tiburtina, which runs from the walls of Rome to Tivoli and about two miles out. One was a mansize head of Apollo, the other a two-third size Orpheus. The face of Apollo was badly battered, but Orpheus with his lyre was in good form. Both had been carved from peperino, the gray tufa of Alban mount, and both had followed the Hellenistic baroque of the marble sculpture of Pergamon of the early second century. These were rare pieces, before marble carv-

ing had reached Rome, where tufa carving was principally that of sepulchral figures.

I had hoped for more over the years, but none showed up until about a year ago when another head appeared at the American Academy in Rome. When the Academy was building some sixty-nine years ago, it used features taken from seventeenth-century Roman palazzi. One such feature was the insertion of bits of architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions into the walls of the cortiles. In the course of time the Academy walls received layers of wash, covering walls and inserts, so that the inserts gradually disappeared. Eventually the walls were stripped, and the inserts gently brought to light again, including a winsome face of peperino. I had her dislodged and discovered that behind her cheeks and brow laurel leaves were sprouting amidst her hair.

The Apollo and Daphne matched in size, in stone, and in carving. The pair, I feel sure, is the oldest known, once placed by the stream in the garden of a villa, with Orpheus in another corner.

Yale University and American Academy in Rome
Kress Professor, fall 1981

PETER BRUNETTE

The Films of Roberto Rossellini

Roberto Rossellini (1906–1977) is universally regarded as one of the most important figures in the history of world cinema. However, because of the difficulties in locating many of his films, especially in the United States, very little about the director's work has been published in English. Those few articles which have appeared have been marred by incompleteness, and all too often critics have been led to overly ambitious generalizations based on the viewing of a mere handful of Rossellini films.

I have sought to rectify this situation in my research on Rossellini during the last three or four years. The first task—which took me to France and Italy several times—was simply to see and study all the Rossellini films still extant. Since then, I have also managed to read most of the vast amount of scholarship on Rossellini in French and Italian, and have discovered along the way that a critical study of his films will necessarily also have to be a study of the history of film criticism through the last forty years. Formalists, Catholics, Marxists, phenomenologists, and semioticians have all had their say about this director, and points of opposition among these various methodologies, especially in terms of often unexamined assumptions, become more sharply etched, and thus easier to distinguish and consider when their practitioners are talking about the same body of films.

My nine months at the Center provided me, above all, with the time to assess, sort out, and begin to piece together the massive amount of research material I had gathered over the years. I have thus been able to see Rossellini's career in a wider perspective, a perspective that attempts to account for the vertiginous shifts his filmmaking practice continually underwent. I have become convinced that no simple formalist, organic paradigm—the “essence” of Rossellini, in other words—will ever be found which will give his entire career a sense of unity and which will explain the various discrepancies that repeatedly surface. Like all artistic production, Rossellini's work overall, and, indeed, each film, is constituted by a series of similarities and differences which can only be reduced to unity by a suppression of every discontinuity that does not “fit” our preestablished sense of what it is we are looking for. In the study of Rossellini's films, as in the study of all forms of art, the hermeneutic circle closes us into ways of thinking that predetermine what we will find. My work on the specifics of Rossellini have made me begin to see the entire process of criticism in a different light.

Within my specific study of Rossellini's films, I have come increasingly to challenge the image of him as “realist” par excellence. I have also begun to probe more deeply into the ontological and signifying status of realism itself in order to understand how Rossellini's films fit into this context. It is now clear that there has always been at least one other major side to Rossellini—an expressionist, highly stylized, antirealistic Rossellini, which was suppressed because it was not what critics, especially Marxist critics, wanted to see. Thus, films in which expressionist elements openly challenge the realist,

documentary elements, such as *Germany Year Zero*, *The Machine To Kill Bad People*, and *Fear*, are refused in-depth examination and labeled partial or total failures. Among other things, my work is aimed at “recuperating” these unpopular works so that the entire canon of Rossellini’s films, and all their insistent differences, can be rightfully restored to cinema history.

I hope to publish the theoretical underpinning of my work, first presented in the form of a colloquium paper at the Center, as an article on “Rossellini and Cinematic Realism.” In this article I primarily discuss previous phenomenological criticism of Rossellini’s films, which maintains that the “essence” of reality is capturable in neorealist cinema, as another example of what Jacques Derrida calls the metaphysics of presence. The rest of the essay will concern the application of Jacques Lacan’s theories of spectator psychological involvement to what are usually considered Rossellini’s most “realist” films. I intend to prepare the final version of my work for publication as a book.

George Mason University
Associate, 1981-1982

The Design Experience of Mies van der Rohe

During the three months I spent at the Center my research was focused on documentary materials in the Ludwig Mies van der Rohe archive, stored today in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. My work originally had a precise aim: I intended to examine the origins and, hence, the cultural significance of the magazine *Gestaltung*, to which Mies van der Rohe contributed in various ways, to shed light on the confluence of various European avant-garde movements of the 1920s. I had made contact in Switzerland with the heirs of the painter Hans Richter, without, however, obtaining information important to the completion of my work. Therefore, I found it necessary to extend my research to the Mies van der Rohe archive in the Library of Congress, as well as to the more modest archival collection left by Hans Richter to the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Most of my attention this year was on the Mies archive in Washington.

In unexpected ways, this archive proved considerably richer than I had anticipated. Although I was able to gather only a little information from Mies' papers—fairly useful albeit limited—relative to the periodical *Gestaltung*, I was able to read numerous documents of extraordinary importance for illuminating hitherto unknown aspects of Mies van der Rohe's personality, as well as his activity as a designer.

With respect to the most immediate aim of my work, the Mies archive contains several documents which are fundamental for reconstructing the relationship between Mies and certain important representatives of the European avant-garde. (Especially noteworthy from this point of view are the papers of Theo van Doesburg; the emerging confirmation of Mies' particular interest in research on neoplasticism is equally interesting.) The documents I was able to consult concerning the various relationships established between Mies and the artistic community of Berlin, and especially with the November Gruppe, constitute a chapter of considerable importance for reconstructing the range of Mies' activity in the early 1920s—the years during which his architectonic research reached a turning point and a definite maturation.

Finally, to complete the cycle of investigation carried on about Mies' European activities, the archive at the Library of Congress contains documents of extraordinary interest for the relations between Mies and important exponents of German architectural culture in the 1920s and 1930s (for example, Walter Gropius, Ludwig Hilbersheimer, etc.), not to mention for the troubled events, in which Mies was a main character, at the end of the experiment during which the Bauhaus was transferred, under his direction, from Dessau to Berlin.

The Mies van der Rohe archive at the Library of Congress is richest in documents relating to his activity in the United States, enabling one to reconstruct every aspect and new direction of Mies' work in America. This documentation has contributed to at least a partial modification in the objec-

tives of my research. I am referring to the “discovery” of the intellectual and artistic maturation Mies experienced after his move to the United States, a maturation reflected in his teaching activity at the Illinois Institute of Technology in Chicago as well as in the more famous architectonic research of the first years of his stay in America.

The body of information thus gathered will allow me to broaden considerably the scope of the essay I intend to write. The documents I have examined in Washington appear now to open the way to a historical-critical judgment of Mies' work which may be expanded to include the whole complex of his activity, and no longer restricted to his activity up to the mid-1930s, as had been my original intention.

In addition to the visit to the archive at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, I integrated the research carried on at the Library of Congress with brief visits to the Library of the School of Architecture at Harvard University to consult the Martin Wagner archive, and to the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University to consult the Ernst Jäckh archive. Through the Wagner archive I had hoped to find some traces of Mies' artistic activity in the association Der Ring, while through the Jäckh archive I intended to check on certain questions concerning the relations between Mies and the Werkbund. These two explorations, however, proved fruitless.

Instituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia
Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1981

ERICA C. DODD

Supplement to Byzantine Silver Stamps, including the Sion Treasure

Since the publication of my *Byzantine Silver Stamps* in 1961, about sixty-four silver objects with hallmarks from the sixth and seventh centuries have come to light. (The number is imprecise because some of the objects are in fragments, and the fragments are divided between different collections, in which case they are generally catalogued separately.) About half of these silver objects come from one treasure, the so-called Sion Treasure. In 1976 I collected the information, references, and photographs for these objects and their stamps, under a grant from Dumbarton Oaks. My time at the Center was spent in the final preparation of this material for publication. During this period I once again made use of the resources and facilities of Dumbarton Oaks.

Not unlike sterling silver marks today, the earliest hallmarks on silver objects were designed to guarantee the quality of the silver. Government officials whose job was to guarantee by their individual stamps the quality of metal were appointed in several centers of the Roman Empire during the third and fourth centuries to attest to the quality of silver and gold in the production of ingots. By the fourth and fifth centuries, this practice had spread to the guarantee of silver objects, and perhaps of gold ones as well, although no gold stamps have so far survived. The practice of stamping silver objects became widespread in the sixth and seventh centuries. Apparently it died out in the late seventh or early eighth century, to be revived only in medieval Europe. My original study of these stamps, *Byzantine Silver Stamps*, catalogued the known objects with stamps and discussed their origin and purpose. Many of these objects—plates, chalices, patens, spoons, ewers, and the like—are decorated in fine relief and are artistically of superb quality. The value of the stamps to the art historian is to document the date and possible origin of the objects.

In the Byzantine Empire stamps were applied to silver objects primarily during the sixth and seventh centuries, and many have a distinctive character that relates to Constantinople. Other, different stamping systems functioned contemporaneously with the Constantinopolitan stamps, but not all of the various centers have been identified. For example, stamps from Antioch and stamps from Carthage have been noted. The study of the stamps on Byzantine silver objects thus may identify Constantinopolitan work of the sixth and seventh centuries and may also identify work from the provinces. Among the “new” group of stamps I have been considering are about forty-five objects from Constantinople and about twenty from other centers. The group of Constantinopolitan stamps includes stamps on about thirty objects from the Sion Treasure.

The Sion Treasure was found in southern Turkey, near the village of Kumluca, in 1963 and is currently divided between several collections. Study of the stamps provides documentation for the treasure, and this documentation

is amplified and supported by inscriptions on the objects themselves. The Sion Treasure consists of what must have been almost the entire adornment of a single Byzantine church in the sixth century. The inscriptions mention the Church of Sion, which has been almost certainly identified as a church in Lycia, near ancient Myra. Many, but not all, of the objects were donated to this church by a certain Bishop Eutychianos who has not yet been identified. Bishop Eutychianos donated several large patens, chalices, lamps, ewers, and over a dozen polycandela. In addition to these gifts there are even larger patens, chalices, book covers, and what appears to be the revetment for an altar and ciborium. The stamps indicate that most of this treasure was acquired by Bishop Eutychianos and presented to the Church of Sion in the years between A.D. 546 and 565. All except one of the bishop's gifts were acquired in Constantinople.

The forthcoming Supplement to *Byzantine Silver Stamps* treats four new issues in the study of Byzantine stamps. First of all, the Sion Treasure presents indubitable proof for a consideration raised in the 1961 study—namely that objects acquired in Constantinople were sometimes decorated in the provinces and not in the Byzantine capital. Secondly, the “new” stamps from Constantinople enlarge the repertoire of known Constantinopolitan documents and reinforce the system of dating and localization previously advanced. In some cases the “new” stamps date objects that were not previously dated, or were misdated. Thirdly, among the “new” stamps are ones from centers other than Constantinople that have not yet been identified but which, nevertheless, increase our understanding of the stamping systems used elsewhere. And finally, the Supplement documents the magnificent Treasure of Sion.

Publication of the stamps on the Sion Treasure is made possible by agreement among all the owners. During my stay in Washington I completed the Supplement and submitted a complete copy of the manuscript to Dumbarton Oaks and a duplicate section concerning the Sion Treasure to the Archaeological Museum in Turkey. These two publications will appear jointly and simultaneously as soon as arrangements permit.

American University of Beirut
Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1981

Works Related to the Imperial "Painters' Bureau" in Early Medieval Japan

During my stay in Washington, I was engaged in research on two works related to the activities of artists who belonged to the *Edokoro* or "painters' bureau" at the imperial court of Japan. These works are the Nishihonganji version of the *Anthology of Thirty-Six Poets* and a Buddhist painting entitled *Six Worlds of Unenlightened Beings*. My study of these works has yielded new and meaningful information on the stylistic and functional development of the artistic activities of the *Edokoro* in early medieval Japan.

The Nishihonganji version of the *Anthology of Thirty-Six Poets* is one of the most ornate books ever made in Japan. Originally it consisted of thirty-eight volumes. Thirty-two volumes and a considerable number of fragments now survive. All the various types of paper available in the Heian period were employed in these volumes and were decorated in every conceivable technique, including painted ornamentation. The text was copied by the best calligraphers of the day. The work is known to be from about the 1110s, based on various evidence, although there are diverse theories of dating within this time span.

I have analyzed the painters' hands, numbering about fifty, in the extant part of the set. I have compared them with other contemporary Chinese and Japanese works to assess the stylistic characteristics and background. The search for literary material relevant to the production of general secular painting in the period and an examination of the work from a technical point of view have also been an important part of the study. While at the Center I continued this survey work, taking advantage of access to fragments of the *Anthology* in the Freer Gallery of Art and in other collections in the eastern United States. The survey included x-ray and infrared examination of the Freer fragment.

My idea, which had been taking clear shape and was reinforced more and more during my fellowship period, is that the manuscript was made as a gift from the ex-Emperor Shirakawa to Emperor Toba, his nine-year-old grandson, for the party celebrating the ex-emperor's attaining the age of sixty, held in March 1112. This is the date proposed decades ago by Hitaku Kyūsojin, a literary historian, but not accepted by most art historians. The surprisingly large number of painters' hands which I have found, the overall complex master plan through which the ornamentation of the set was carried out, and the styles of the painted decoration, indicate that this work was made by many court painters for just such a special occasion as the ex-Emperor Shirakawa's celebration. One can combine this supposition with certain documents that suggest that a beautiful manuscript was presented by the ex-emperor to the emperor at the celebration party.

The latest development in my research sheds light on the personal history of Fujiwara no Tamefusa, a courtier who was once head of the *Edokoro* and the vice head of the *Kurōdodokoro*, an important administrative office of the

court which supervised the *Edokoro* and the *Tsukumodokoro* or “craftsmen’s bureau,” in addition to other duties. A study of literary sources suggests that this courtier, who was the closest consultant of ex-Emperor Shirakawa and who died in 1115, was in charge of the *Anthology* project. I have formulated a related hypothesis based on a number of pieces of evidence that the text of two volumes in the set devoted to the poet Yoshinobu Ōnakatomi may be in the handwriting of the ex-emperor himself. Although there is a widely accepted theory that the text of these two volumes and that of the volume for Ōtomo no Yakamochi are by the same hand, I take the view that they are by different hands. My statistical study has proved that the frequency of syllabic letters used in the former and in the latter are markedly different, thus reinforcing my hypothesis.

During my stay I also focused on two hanging scrolls in the Freer Gallery of Art, which depict the *World of Devas* and the *World of Animals* of the *Six Worlds of Unenlightened Beings*, a basic concept in Buddhist philosophy. These scrolls are apparently a part of a larger set representing the *Six Worlds of Unenlightened Beings*.

I had noticed previously that the style of these scrolls, especially in the text of the *World of Animals*, is very close to the painting style of a voluminous set of twenty handscrolls known as the *Illustrated Handscrolls of the Miraculous Stories of the Kasuga Shrine* now in the Japanese Imperial Collection. This set of handscrolls has a clear history. It was made in 1309 by a branch family of the Fujiwara, an influential clan in the aristocracy, with Takakane Takashina, the head of the imperial *Edokoro* of the time, as the chief painter. In my opinion the hanging scrolls of the *World of Devas* and the *World of Animals* are by the same painting school of about the same time as the set of Kasuga Shrine handscrolls. I also feel that there is a possibility that Takakane himself was head of the project.

Infrared and x-ray examination of the Freer scrolls reveals that they have not been heavily retouched or repaired, although their surface is now darkened, and that a technique called *horinuri*, in which the spaces between the freely drawn lines are filled with colors leaving the lines unpainted, usually applied to secular paintings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, was employed. By combining these technical facts with the stylistic analysis, my hypothesis concerning the painting school of the work seems to be strengthened. Literary sources maintain that the painters of the *Edokoro* of the time were sometimes involved in the execution of Buddhist paintings, and the Freer scrolls in question could well be such a case. If so, they are rare examples of Buddhist paintings which are presumed to be mainly or solely by court painters of the *Edokoro*.

Tokyo National Research Institute of Cultural Properties
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

MOLLY FARIES

Survey of Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Northern European Panel Painting in the National Gallery with Infrared Reflectography

While a Senior Fellow at the Center I organized one of the first systematic surveys of a museum collection with infrared reflectography. Since its development in the late 1960s, this method has been used more and more frequently in the scientific examination of paintings. Capable of penetrating most of the colors of a painting's surface, the infrared vidicon in this high resolution video equipment can reveal areas of compositional change as well as the artist's drawn layout (underdrawing) on the ground of a canvas or panel—normally unseen aspects of paintings. At the National Gallery nearly ninety Northern Renaissance paintings were studied with infrared reflectography over a five-month period, with the assistance of members of various Gallery departments.

Underdrawing was revealed in approximately half these paintings. A few of the earlier Flemish paintings have complete and detailed underdrawings; in fact enough of the original ground of Jan van Eyck's *Annunciation* remains, despite its transfer to canvas, that it was possible to make the carefully shaded underdrawing visible in all areas of the composition. Somewhat more material was obtained in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works; the underdrawings in a number of Dutch and German paintings, including those attributed to Hieronymus Bosch, Lucas van Leyden (?), the Master of Saint Bartholomew, Hans Baldung Grien, and Bernard Strigel, were easy to detect. Moreover, they provide new evidence of a master's draftsmanship; they are often highly textured, executed with exacting contours, and sometimes with calligraphic flourishes.

Since reflectography penetrates to the ground, a master's working methods may be traced through the stages leading to the completion of the painting. Evidence of any sort of mechanical transfer was slight, however, in this survey. Incisions were found in only one painting by the Master of Heiligenkreuz, and an underdrawn grid was detected in the work of a later German master. The compositional changes recorded in the survey ranged from fairly minor modifications along contours, for instance, to more substantial shifts or omissions of forms. Still, no painting was found to have a completely different drawn composition under the painted surface, although the entire background was changed in one historical scene by the Master of Saint Gilles. The surface composition of *Mary Queen of Heaven*, attributed to the Master of the Saint Lucy Legend, is symmetrical and hierarchic; underneath, there is a surprising amount of repositioning in the figures. Perhaps more curious are the inconsistencies in layout and combinations of materials in underdrawings. Combinations of chalk and brush have been established, for instance, in the works of Geertgen tot Sint Jans; the infrared documentation of works by the Master of the Saint Lucy Legend and Gerard David in the

National Gallery have added to this evidence. There are also differing degrees of completeness found in some underdrawings; infrared reflectography sometimes detects exacting contours and dense, sketchy areas side by side in the underdrawings, as in several Gallery paintings attributed to Hans Memling.

The *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, generally dated 1530 and variously attributed to two sixteenth-century Dutch masters, Jan van Scorel or his pupil, Maerten van Heemskerck, received a more extensive technical investigation, which has contributed new information to our understanding of the situation in which the work was executed and the sources of the motifs utilized in this Madonna and Child composition. In the *Rest* the Madonna is shown half-length, seated before a landscape. Her head is close to the top of the panel; yet original paint extends to all four edges, and there is no evidence that the composition has been cut down. The dimensions of the panel are almost identical to the *Mary Magdalene* in the Rijksmuseum, one of the most secure attributions to Jan van Scorel. The two paintings are also close compositionally, and in addition, the style of the hair of the Washington Madonna corresponds to the original shape and position of the Magdalene's head, recently revealed in an x-radiograph. These similarities have been used to support the attribution of both works to the same hand. Certainly the *Rest* master's knowledge of an underlying shape in the Amsterdam composition would imply that the paintings were executed in close proximity or based on the same (drawn?) model.

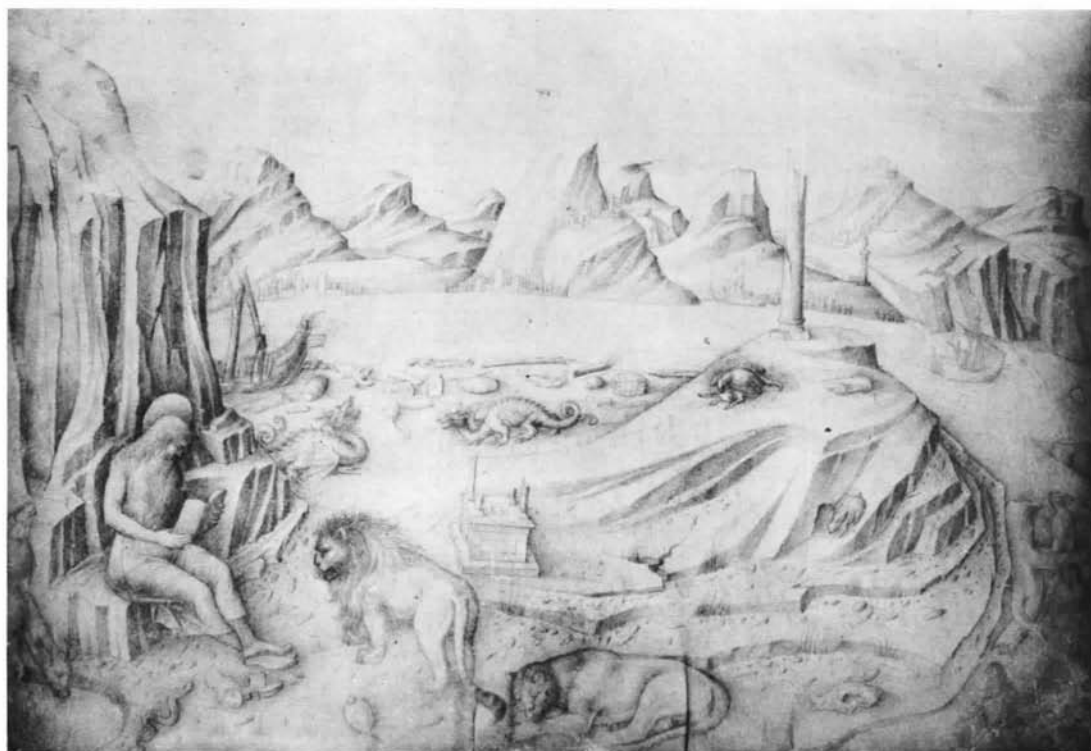
Infrared reflectography revealed long underdrawing contour lines in the *Rest*, apparently applied with a brush and only loosely related to surface form. The underdrawn layout is so random that almost all the forms have been repositioned slightly in the paint surface; the globe and arm of the Madonna in particular were shifted down and to the right. The appearance of this underdrawing is unlike anything so far encountered in the Jan van Scorel group. The sources for the surface motifs of the *Rest* are thus even more crucial, and in this regard the references become complicated. The pose of the Christ Child is the reverse of that in two paintings ascribed to Scorel and a group portrait now generally attributed to Heemskerck. The underdrawn position of a Christ Child in a Scorelesque Madonna is twice repeated in works attributed to the early Maerten van Heemskerck. Furthermore, infrared light and x-radiography have in combination exposed an underlying position of the Madonna's head in Van Heemskerck's 1532 *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* which much more closely approximates the head of the Virgin in the Washington panel. The evidence now assembled suggests a rather complex exchange of motif—and one which occurs at all stages of the painting process—between master and pupil in the workshop which Jan van Scorel established in Haarlem, 1527-1530.

Indiana University, Bloomington
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

JAMES A. FASANELLI

The Paris Book of Drawings Attributed to Jacopo Bellini

While at the Center I wrote a paper on the book of drawings in the Louvre which for many years has been attributed solely to Jacopo Bellini. My paper, entitled "The Making and Remaking of the Paris Book: Jacopo, Gentile, and Giovanni Bellini," is designed to prove that the Paris book was reorganized twice after Jacopo's death by masters who were knowledgeable of the book's importance, who contributed to its splendor, and who, in the end, altered the book's meaning to conform to their vision. The Paris book is not as Jacopo left it, as has been claimed previously. Rather, it is a silent testimony to willing collaboration between three artists in a family from which individual artistic personalities have never fully emerged, nor were they ever intended to do so. The overall purpose in the creation of this book was to honor Jacopo, and the larger portion of the drawings in the Paris book are



Jacopo Bellini, *Saint Jerome in the Desert*. Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Cliché Musées Nationaux, Paris

replicas of drawings originally made by him and transcribed from other sources. My research aims at a greater understanding of the significance of the drawings in this book for the Bellini family over more than a generation.

Since I was dealing with the making and remaking of a book of drawings, much of my work at the Center had to do with reconstruction of earlier states of the book. This necessitated preparing an appendix to accompany the text which consists of drawings of the gatherings to show the manipulation of leaves and pages.

University of Maryland, Baltimore County
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1981

MADELEINE FIDELL BEAUFORT

A Measure of Taste: Samuel P. Avery's Art Auctions 1864-1880

The focus of my research at the Center was a group of some four hundred art buyers at a series of auctions run by the New York art dealer, Samuel P. Avery (1822-1904) between 1864 and 1880. Resources available in Washington helped me to prepare a definitive list of many of the people who made purchases. Another list of the works sold and prices paid will soon be ready to accompany an article about art auctions in America in the 1860s and 1870s.

During this formative period in American art buying and collecting, auctions played a key role in permitting people with limited experience to see enough works of art to form opinions, develop tastes, and acquire pictures on an open market. By attending such auctions, perspective buyers not only absorbed information about monetary values but also learned about the social relevance of these acquisitions and the appropriate comportment connected with owning and displaying their purchases.

My study of Avery's printed auction catalogues has provided certain insights into issues that seemed important for art buyers at that time. In addition to offering assurances that the pictures were in perfect order, with elegant new frames furnished at no extra cost, Avery specified that the majority had been purchased directly from the artists and a large proportion painted expressly to his order. This ruled out the unsettling eventuality of buying fraudulent works, even if it meant that many of the pictures were replicas or reductions of paintings which had won prizes abroad. The element of exclusivity was apparently an important selling point, and Avery stressed that these pictures had never been seen before in the United States.

In underlining the difficulties he had in obtaining the collections he presented, Avery was emphasizing the rarity of his commodity. In fact, he often pointed out the soundness of investing in art and cited examples like that of the Chicago art collector Alexander White (1814-1872), who realized a one hundred percent profit in twenty-three pictures he sold with the rest of his collection when it was auctioned off in December 1871.

Other elements stressed by Avery included quality rather than "high sounding names" and "good taste with nothing that would be indifferent or offensive." While there might not be any "transcendently great painting," there were "no rash experiments," nor were there "embarrassing attempts to try something too difficult." In short, Avery specialized in paintings that could be hung safely at home, in work that was cheerful as well as entertaining.

Buyers at the auctions I have studied fall into two distinct groups. The first included professional taste-setters who bought work to hang in their New York and out-of-town art galleries, to reproduce in the magazines and newspapers that they edited, to hang in furniture and decorating showrooms, or to adorn the fashionable hotels they managed. American artists

also belonged to this group. They came to learn and bought for a variety of reasons, probably most frequently out of sympathy for certain artists and admiration for special skills and effects.

The mainstay of the auction clientele constituted a second group of prosperous businessmen, transporters of people and goods, buyers and sellers of merchandise, bankers, brokers, importers and exporters. These men made money in real estate, insurance companies, and manufacturing and refining goods. Rather than representing a new social order just beginning to support the arts, American businessmen had already been members of various art unions where they acquired pictures through a lottery system. By the time they began to buy at Avery's auctions, many were living in close proximity to each other on lower Fifth Avenue. Their tastes and cultural aspirations were similar, and they usually belonged to the same clubs and professional associations, such as the Chamber of Commerce. There were some dyed-in-the-wool collectors, but the majority were simply buying a few pictures to grace the walls of their very comfortable and sometimes elegant homes.

Due to nineteenth-century literary conventions, accounts of these men's lives rarely mention art collections in the 1870s. They focus instead on the theme of rags to riches via hard work and self-reliance. My research substantiates Edward Pessen's reappraisal of social fluidity in mid-nineteenth-century America. People buying art at these auctions usually descended from parents and families combining affluence and social standing. Self-made men were the exception rather than the rule.

The list of buyers at Avery's auctions does, however, show a more diverse and respectable population than that predicted or described in earlier accounts of art collecting in America. In the 1860s and 1870s, the pace-setters being emulated were civic minded, respected figures like August Belmont (1816-1890), William T. Blodgett (d. 1875), Israel Corse (1819-1885), Moses Grinnell (1803-1877), John Taylor Johnston (1820-1893), Edwin Dennison Morgan (1811-1883) and William T. Walters (1820-1896), rather than the profiteers, idle rich, or socially prominent.

A meaningful assessment of the paintings purchased at these auctions remains difficult since often only ambiguous titles are available. During my stay at the Center, I was able to locate a few paintings and collections belonging to buyers at the Avery auctions. By evaluating such works in the context of mid-nineteenth-century social aspirations, I believe we can arrive at a more balanced view of various stylistic and iconographic changes in painting and sculpture, as well as the shifts in taste and exhibition policies. A reconstruction of a group of art buyers such as those who bought from Avery may also lead to a greater appreciation of the real significance of individual buyers and collectors. A reconsideration of the artists who were either celebrated prize winners or followers of established taste may lead to still further insights about American painting at mid-century.

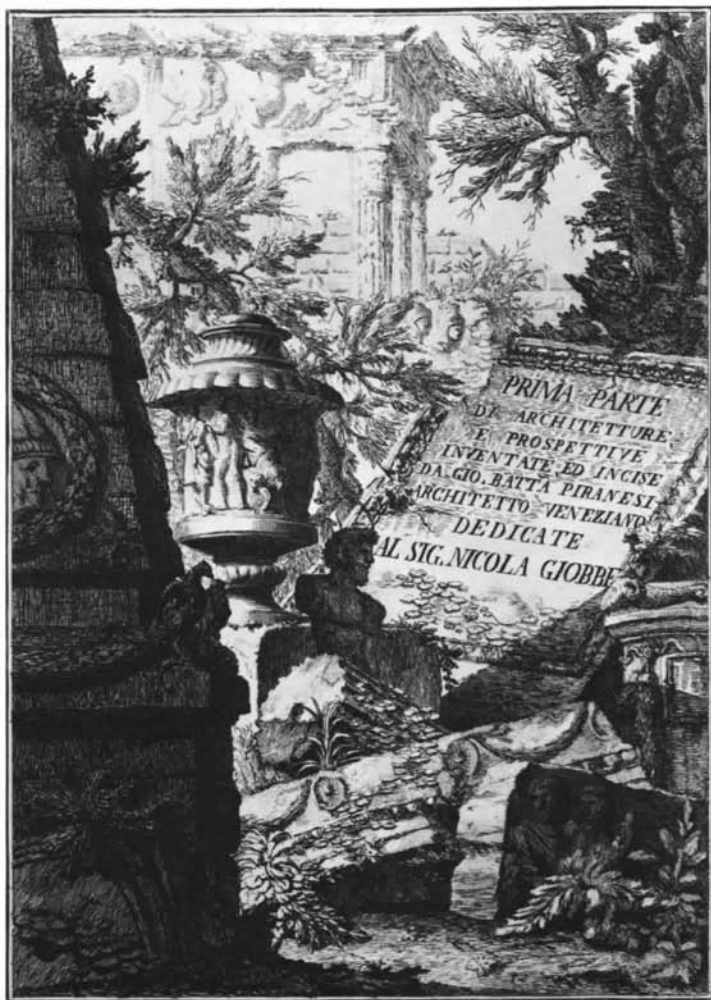
The American College, Paris
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1981

JÖRG GARMS

Piranesi's Drawings of Architectural Fantasies

This research project is based on some ideas, developed between 1976 and 1979 while working on Piranesi's *Prima parte di architetture e prospettive*, as to the possible significance and organization of this group of works.

The study will result in a catalogue of Piranesi's architectural renderings of fantasies, including a list of false attributions. En route to Washington I studied the two major collections of Piranesi drawings in the British Mu-



Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Prima Parte di Architetture e Prospettive*, Frontispiece. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fund, B-28, 647

seum and in the Pierpont Morgan Library. During my stay in the United States I had the occasion to see almost all of the remaining drawings in American collections. During the summer of 1982 I intend to further my knowledge of these architectural drawings by visiting Hamburg and Rotterdam, and in the final phase I foresee the need to revisit London and other British collections.

Besides studying the originals, I compiled at the Center the basic files for the catalogue. There exist about one hundred and fifty drawings and fifty prints of architectural fantasies. A group of similar importance survives only in connection with Piranesi's late prints of decorative inventions, which also can be compared for execution by variation.

The architectural fantasies are concentrated in the first fifteen, or even fewer, years of the artist's activity. Later drawings of this type seem to have been executed only on behalf of friends and patrons, such as those for Adam in the Soane Museum, and for Walter in the collection of the Earl of Verulam. Signed drawings—about thirty in all—occur almost exclusively in the architectural fantasy set; some may very well have been done on request. A group of three in Warsaw is quite typical of this set.

The attribution of these works seems to pose no major problems, but it is much more difficult to establish a chronological sequence. The difficulty arises for two main reasons: one is that Piranesi seems to have used different drawing manners contemporaneously; the other is that there is an open question as to whether the artist later reworked earlier drawings. (I am rather skeptical of this theory and tend to see the three "manners" present in some drawings as coherent stages of elaboration of one idea.)

There exist two good catalogues of Piranesi drawings (Thomas 1954, Bettagno 1978), each containing a selection of about eighty pieces. The problems with which I am concerned can be resolved only by considering the largest possible number of works. By studying the drawings as a group independent of their direct relation to prints, I hope to arrive at a closer understanding of Piranesi's architectural fantasies in general. The main means of reaching that goal should be to establish a network of relations between the drawings (and the prints); to analyze the process of change; and to study some single motifs (e.g., "antique" types, palaces, rotundas, etc.), their composition and function. The few surviving, and hitherto neglected, Piranesian plans should also be taken into consideration. Finally, some new light may be shed on the "capriccio" of figures in an architectural setting.

Austrian Institute, Rome
Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1982

Petrarchism in Secular Paintings of the Italian Renaissance

At the Center I continued my research on the influence of Petrarchan themes and imagery in Venetian and north Italian paintings of the cinquecento. My previous study of poetic imagery in Titian's *The Lady and the Musician* suggested that Petrarchism had left its mark on a significant number of other paintings. During my stay in Washington I uncovered three instances of this influence.

My first project involves a study of Renaissance paintings of the "Lady or Venus at her Toilet," whose imagery, settings, and meanings are paralleled by conventions in Petrarchan lyrics. These paintings generally depict an idealized woman at a dressing table admiring herself in a mirror. Her beauty outshines her surroundings, and the objects on or near her, such as jewelry, flowers, and the mirror, are metaphors for her radiance. A major theme in Petrarchism was the lover's praise of the lady's charms and his fascination with her personal effects, which implement and heighten her beauty.

The earliest example of this theme in the Renaissance is Giovanni Bellini's *Lady at her Toilet* (1515) in Vienna, a picture which may have inspired Pietro Bembo's ode to the sitter's grace. Petrarchan poetry provides clues to the way the Renaissance viewer may have read the painting. Thus, the lady is poised in deep contemplation near a window, like Petrarch's Laura in Sonnet 100; and the idyllic pastoral landscape outside her window macrocosmically embodies her ideal beauty, as proclaimed in Sonnet 248.

Contrary to most sixteenth-century versions of this theme, Titian's *Young Woman at her Toilet* of c. 1515 in the Louvre portrays the lady with her lover, who is an agent in her beautification, and who gazes longingly at her while she admires herself in a mirror he holds. As opposed to Panofsky's reading of the picture as an allegory of vanity, I see it as an adaptation of a common Petrarchan *topos* in which an admiring lover is gratified by his good fortune of being allowed to assist with his lady's toilet.

For Petrarchan poets and painters the divine beauty of the goddess of love was an even more eminent subject of hyperbolic adulation. In Titian's celebrated *Venus at her Toilet* (c. 1555) at the National Gallery of Art, a Petrarchan metaphor is subtly implied by the harmony of reds, whites, and golds—colors associated with the physical features of the divine mistress. The goddess' ivorylike skin is heightened by her red velvet robe, luminous white pearls, and burnished gold jewelry. The Petrarchans worked with similar color harmonies and similes; thus Bembo's catalogues of colors and jewels, "Rose, bianchi e vermiglie . . . / Care perle e rubini" enumerate the hues of the lady's complexion and the tint of her jewels. By the mid-sixteenth century when Bembo's third edition of poems was published and Titian's picture was painted, Petrarchan conventions were so well known that their mere evocation through poetic lists and pictorial coloration was sufficient to conjure up color scales and contrasts that measured a lady's beauty.

My second project treats the poetic imagery of Veronese's *Cycle of Love* (c. 1575) in London, which has been interpreted as a Neoplatonic allegory and as a moralizing program beginning with the punishment of impurity and ending with purity triumphant. I see the *Cycle* primarily as an allegory of courtship in three of the four pictures, leading up to a celebration of marriage in the last picture. It now appears that Veronese derived his subject matter and imagery from Petrarchan love lyrics, also set to music during his life time, and from Renaissance epithalamia.

In the first painting Veronese depicts one of the great pleasures of the Petrarchan suitor: love guiding him to view his sleeping mistress and his resultant amazement at her beauty. In the second picture Veronese portrays one of courtship's bitterest woes: the swain's discovery of his lady's infidelity. Here the mistress is poised between two adoring gentlemen, evidently fascinated by the younger courtier to whom she slips a *billet doux*. The letter is inscribed with the words "che uno possede," a phrase which is similar to lines in cinquecento love lyrics, many of which were published in Venice; the musical setting of the poem is indicated by Cupid playing a clavichord. In the third picture, Veronese presents the suitor's ultimate vexation: the merciless, disdainful mistress directing Cupid to inflict torture upon and chastise her passionate admirer. The last painting shows the final reward for the persistent suitor, now united in marriage with his lady. Veronese may have culled this imagery from contemporaneous epithalamia in which Fortuna crowns the now-faithful lovers. The poetic conventions are the olive branch (a symbol of conjugal harmony), the cornucopia (a metaphor for marital fecundity), the girdle connoting chastity, and the blazoning of the bride's beauty common in such lyrics. Altogether, the four paintings constitute a theme that could be entitled "The Pleasures and Pains of Love."

My third project is an analysis of poetic metaphor in Cariani's *Young Woman Reclining in a Landscape* (Berlin-Dahlem Museum, c. 1520-1524). This enigmatic picture, whose iconography has not been discussed previously, portrays a partially draped woman with her lap dog in front of an idyllic landscape with burning cities and warriors fording a watercourse. She gazes intently at the viewer, who becomes a participant in the drama that unfolds behind her. In view of the fact that Cariani had illustrated scenes from the *Orlando Furioso*, it is likely that he was familiar with metaphors for the beauty of the lady employed by Ariosto and contemporary Petrarchans. Thus the landscape becomes an extended metaphor for the woman's seductiveness, and the constituent elements comment on and heighten her attractiveness. She is a beautiful warrior and "sweet enemy," whose fiery glance ignites the cities and the landscape behind her, and her gaze vanquishes the spectator-lover, who can identify himself with the besieged city at the left.

University of Cincinnati
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1981

Interrelations of Form, Cultural Expression, and Social Function in North American Architectural Styles

This project falls into three parts: a categorization system (1) by styles, and (2) by building types, both based on all three methodologies usable in architectural history, and (3) correlations of these systems to ascertain how historic styles have “worked,” and still do “work,” in the formation of an architecture capable of performing the prime social function of the historic art of architecture, that is, the transmission of human values from one generation to another.

(1) *Categorization by styles.* Historians of architecture have at least three available methodologies: line-of-progress, cultural expression, and social function. Which methodology, or combination of methodologies, they use determines the ideological thrust of their writings. In practice, greatest reliance has been placed on the same sort of line-of-progress methodology favored by art historians. That is, to put it in simplistic terms, the history of art is seen as a history of artistic expression in a series of stages each representing a “style” introduced by a master (where one can be found) as an avant-garde expression, then petering out into *retardataire* forms, to be replaced by another avant-garde. The culmination of this approach is, of course, the modern (i.e., whatever happens to be in fashion at the moment). Such a system produces a primarily chronological scheme of categorization.

The study of architectural history as cultural expression has modified the basic line-of-progress scheme by adding pejorative categories for artistic expressions judged to be out of step with the prevailing *Zeitgeist* of any given time. The logical difficulties inherent in line-of-progress methodology have rarely been addressed.

Social function methodology does, however, address that difficulty. It operates on the principle that the key question to ask about an artifact or artwork is not how its form or style fits into a line-of-progress or expresses the “spirit of an age,” but who or what institution bore the cost of making it, and to what end. What did the building *do*, in and for society? In such a context “colonial” would be defined as a manner of styling buildings so as to assist in the process of transplanting from old to new worlds those class-structured institutions on which the early European colonizing powers believed stability and happiness in human society depended. In new as in old worlds, architecture was one means by which distinctions between classes were maintained. Thus the great variety and number of pre-Revolutionary “colonial styles” can be seen as all performing comparable functions and thus become substyles in one broad colonial category, whereupon their interrelations become self-evident. “Colonial” would also include some nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture: “interior colonizations” by migrants moving out of the “culture hearths” of early settlements; churches, mosques,

homesteads, etc.; transplanting cultures from eastern and southern Europe, the Ukraine, the Islamic world, etc.; whereupon their relationship to earlier cultural patterns in turn becomes properly perceptible.

Roman, Greek, and Egyptian revival styles of the early nineteenth century likewise may be seen as substyles of that era's general revival of ancient architecture for purposes of literary and romantic associations. But since that revival served two distinct social functions—earlier, to persuade toward an improved political and social order allegedly inspired by the model of ancient republics, and later, to proclaim that such a new order had been established and to buttress it—this classification system distinguishes between revolutionary democratic and national democratic classical revivals. Later that same kind of division holds for the category of modern, to distinguish between the times when it was revolutionary and persuasive, and later when it was established as good taste.

In all, this system recognizes eleven basic stylistic categories, each with substyles and variants. It has already revealed interesting relationships; for example, all the historic styles of North American architecture persisted not only in popular/commercial form through the modern period, but also in supposedly styleless modern as well—vestigially, to be sure, but quite recognizably. However, it is when this categorization system is applied to building types that new interrelationships most dramatically occur.

(2) *Categorization by building types.* The second part of this study categorizes North American architecture by types as determined by social function. As with style, the enormous variety of types is here reduced to a few broad categories containing numerous subtypes—monument, sanctuary, fort, shed, homestead, palace, public works, mansion, shop, amenity—which have such broad functions as commemoration, worship, defense, storage, family-raising, law-giving and administration, public order, social status, commercial enterprise, and social service. The category of “monument” includes such diverse subtypes as steles and cairns, flagpoles; arches; sculptural and architectural monuments to heroes; and settings for parks, fountains, cemeteries, and gardens. “Palace” includes governors' palaces and bawns; cross-plan houses and capitols; township halls; and every sort of building where government meets people; and so on.

(3) *Correlation of styles and types.* With these two systems everything standing on the landscape could in theory be categorized and retrievable. Correlating them produces new insights. For example, it appears that certain styles have been much more consistently applied to given types of buildings than others. Furthermore certain forms appear more consistently associated with certain buildings than others. What seems to be appearing is a pattern of certain kinds of archetypes for certain building types surviving through all changes of stylistic vocabulary. How that archetype came to be and how it is perceived is not the immediate area of my concern; the point here is simply that it exists, that it can be recognized and demonstrated.

University of Victoria, British Columbia
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

Traditions and Transformations in Late Roman and Early Byzantine Portrait Sculpture

Throughout the third through fifth centuries the art of portraiture attracted many of the most gifted sculptors of the day. Indeed, there are times when the quality of the portraits far surpasses most other sculptures surviving from the same era. During the third century, for example, repeated political upheavals meant unfavorable conditions for short-lived emperors who otherwise would have commissioned the type of grandiose historical monuments which typified the official sculpture of their first- and second-century predecessors. Despite the absence of such commissions, the level of official and private portraiture in the third century remained remarkably high. Moreover, the portrait artists were developing important formal and iconographic ideas which captured intense psychological states mirroring the social unrest of the age.

Late Roman portraits also reflect the growing abstraction appearing in all media during the third through fifth centuries. Yet, even in this era, there were sculptors who retained an ability to execute realistic likenesses according to older Roman traditions. The Arch of Constantine stands as a paradigm of the stylistic dichotomy which could coexist in one monument. Whereas the friezes celebrating the emperor's victorious march to Rome present roughly sculpted heads supported on stunted, schematic bodies, the portraits of the Emperors Constantine and Licinius on the reused Hadrianic *tondi* belong to the realist traditions of Roman portraiture.

The goal of my research project is an exhibition of late Roman and early Byzantine portraits from North American public and private collections. The exhibition and its accompanying catalogue will bring together for the first time approximately fifty sculptured portraits, in marble, other hard stones, and bronze, which are normally scattered throughout a wide geographic area. They will then be seen by a broader audience in meaningful association with cognate works. The exhibition will include the finest and most representative late antique portraits from the major museums, as well as from normally inaccessible collections.

Before the start of my two-month summer fellowship at the Center, I began to ferret out as many of these portraits as possible. I had long realized that the European experts on late Roman and early Byzantine portraiture had frequently ignored the treasure trove of material in North America, especially in small collections; therefore, another eventual and potentially valuable product of this search would be a comprehensive handlist of the works.

During the course of the summer I began to plan a regional strategy which involved determining the location of as many portraits as possible within areas to be visited within the next few years. At this early stage of research the National Gallery's collection of museum catalogues, bulletins, newslet-

ters, and dealers' catalogues proved to be an invaluable tool for locating photographs and basic data concerning each of the scores of portraits under consideration for the exhibition.

Among the new finds made during the course of the summer were two Severan portraits in storage at the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art and the Atkins Museum of Fine Arts in Kansas City. A yet unpublished head of a young girl of age ten to twelve is notable for her shy, thoughtful smile. Her hairdo is known as a "Melonenfrisur" and is arranged in twenty round plaits which begin at her forehead and temples and course along the length of her head in a fashion resembling the ridges of a melon. This arrangement terminates at the back of her head in a flat rectangular nest of ten narrow vertical braids. Short curling locks frame her face and neckline. This hairdo is found on the early coins of the Empress Plautilla, the unfortunate young wife of Caracalla. She was married in A.D. 202 at age fourteen and was exiled in 205. All of the technical, iconographic and stylistic details of this young girl's portrait are compatible with a date of c. A.D. 202-203.

An exceptionally fine and sensitive portrait of a young man in the same collection has been tentatively identified as the Emperor Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235) by Cornelius C. Vermeule. Although comparisons with recognized portraits of that emperor in coins, medallions, and marble substantiate a date late in Severus Alexander's reign, they do not support a comparison with that emperor's portraits. Profiles on coins show that the emperor has a curved forehead and cheeks, a nose descending straight down from the bridge, lips of even fullness with a slight overbite, and a somewhat receding chin. The young man in Kansas City has a straight forehead in profile, smaller eyes, flatter cheeks, a jutting chin, and a broad and fleshy lower lip. Although most of his nose is missing, its bridge clearly indicates that it would have projected at a prominent angle. Moreover, his brooding, vain, and self-centered character does not correlate with the personality seen on portraits usually considered to be of Severus Alexander. Instead, this superb portrait represents a fashionable young man in his twenties whose resemblance to the emperor is so close that he may well have been a Syrian relative risen to prominence at court.

This project on late Roman and early Byzantine portraiture is continuously bringing to light such works which are as yet unpublished or scarcely known.

American University
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1981

Stained Glass in Western France, 1250-1325

My fellowship was spent finishing a book on Gothic stained glass tentatively titled *The Armor of Light: Stained Glass in Western France 1250-1325*. The period 1250-1325 has been considered transitional in medieval stained glass, falling between the mysterious color-drenched gloom of Gothic interiors such as Chartres and Bourges, and the light-washed, delicate court art of the next century. These are the years between Saint Louis' crusade and the first drum rolls of the Hundred Years' War, the "late Capetian era." The western French region—formerly the Aquitaine of Eleanor and the Plantagenet kings—had been under French control for only a generation and was a troubled borderland, provincial, far from the Parisian court fashion. Thus the Gothic art of western France from 1250 to 1325 has been a *terra incognita* both chronologically and geographically. But a "transition" which occupied three generations of a most volatile political-social period, sometimes identified as the beginning of the modern era, and a "provincial style" which was patronized by the brothers, sons, and intimates of the French monarch, suggests that the evidence has been misread.

My study begins with the return of the western knights from crusade, in 1251. It is a natural and uncontrived beginning, since the western lands were fought over and unsettled in the 1230s and 1240s, and artistic life can be assumed to have suffered the same discontinuity noted in economic and social patterns generally. The west began anew c. 1250, and when it did, stained glass artists turned for ideas not only to the borrowed French court fashion but also to the Plantagenet heritage of their own region. This was, however, an artistic heritage newly observed rather than assimilated by the normal workshop training. The result is bound to be different from the past and from the court.

The end of the study falls just as inevitably at 1325, since not only was the economy suffering and war imminent, but the medium of stained glass itself had been invaded by a new technique. The yellow tint called silver stain (*jaune d'argent*) which was quickly to transform stained glass painting into an intimate art of great delicacy. *Jaune d'argent* was not the only agent of change, of course; Gothic art and architecture of the fourteenth century, courtly, "international," served a different society and function than the majestic high Gothic of the past. But the advent of silver stain is a definable harbinger of change, and the last western monument of my group was produced by an artist whose own long career terminated with works trying out the new yellow tint.

The western style of 1250-1325 is not—in the correct senses of the words—transitional nor provincial. It is a major style with its own developmental evolution and its own character. Loose, exaggerated, gay, and even gaudily colored, forceful and uninhibited, dramatic and dazzling, it is a spirited art which we now define by the term expressionism. This art first appears in the very last works at Chartres, the great south rose lancets, depicting the four evangelists squirming and wiggling atop the shoulders of

the four major prophets. Other western style monuments include Le Mans cathedral, glazed in the 1250s and 1260s; Sainte-Radegonde, the pilgrimage center in Poitiers; the cathedrals of Dol near Mont-Saint-Michel and of Sées near Alençon; and the great Benedictine abbeys of La Trinité at Vendôme, of Evron (Mayenne) and of Saint-Père de Chartres.

In a medium as complicated as stained glass, in which six totally separate operations contribute to the final product and may possibly be carried out by three or even by six different people, the art historian hopes to track evidence of painters, of glazing shops and shop working methods, of models and sources, of the sharing of patternsheets, or of cooperation in production. Thus the questions involve not only who made it, but also how many people were in his shop, and what were their functions and their methods of design and production. Just about every possible answer can be found among these church ensembles: individual painters who worked shoulder to shoulder but without much interaction; shops where everybody did what was on the table to do; painters recruited from the manuscript trade and instructed; dynastic families where women and children helped out; monks who were loaned to other abbeys with projects in the works.

The energetic art of the Gothic windows of western France has not received much attention heretofore. The only real problem which has been considered is the relationship of some of the churches to the pacesetter monuments of the court. I also have attempted to focus on the nature of this connection. How is a fashion spread? Is an artist trained in the style, does he go to study or observe it, is he told about it by a patron, or does he see another artist practicing it? I do not see anything specifically Parisian in these ensembles, not even at Le Mans where the medallions are not Parisian, I believe, but reflective of the lost chapel chantier of Bourges to the southeast. I believe the new vogue for grisailles, on the other hand, was dictated from Paris, not from the court, however, but from the theologians, who from 1240 to 1260 were waging the war of Augustine versus the Pseudo-Dionysius. The location of the Parisian sources and the nature of the transfer of the new style have therefore been important issues in my work, as have the differences between a style passed by artists and one desired by patrons.

My study deals with these medieval windows not only in themselves—their style, their methods of production, their producers—but as evidence of the men and women who commissioned them and who, by implication, considered them a suitable response of commemoration of the events of their society and of their personal lives. Gothic art carries the same payload as that of any other society: propaganda, human aspirations, hopes and dreams, joy and sorrow, triumph and despair. My work on the western French windows of the late Capetian era has been intended, therefore, as a study of that society and its values, messages, and responses. The freewheeling and somewhat unbuttoned society of the western provinces is a worthy subject whose time has come, and if their gorgeous windows cause some to gasp, nod, or giggle, then a new dimension will be added to our grasp of the Gothic world.

Syracuse University
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1981

Writing and Painting in the "Siglo de oro"

During a stay of two months at the Center, I investigated a painting by El Greco with two goals in mind. First, I wished to study four versions of the *Holy Family with Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist*, one of them in the National Gallery, in an effort to sort out the relationship of these variants to each other. Second, I wanted to compare verbal descriptions of a painter's technique with that technique as revealed by the examination of actual paintings. Because earlier research on Velázquez, carried out in 1980-1981, had laid the theoretical groundwork for the El Greco research, I concentrated this second part of the project on a comparison of El Greco with Velázquez.

The National Gallery's *Holy Family with Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist* was examined in the Department of Conservation with infrared vidicon and a binocular microscope; radiographs were also reviewed. The version in Hartford was examined with a microscope. No final conclusions on the relationship of the Gallery's painting to the other versions can be drawn until work on the variants in Spain is complete. However, it is possible to comment on the second aspect of the project: the comments by seventeenth-century writers on El Greco's and Velázquez' techniques.

It is generally recognized that baroque treatise writers were apt to draw upon literary commonplaces in their theoretical remarks. Students of Spanish art have assumed, however, that practical descriptions of materials and techniques, such as pigments and brushwork, are likely to be valid accounts of picturermaking in the *siglo de oro*. During the Velázquez research, it became clear that pigments from the paintings of Velázquez' master, Francisco Pacheco, did not match the pigments recommended by Pacheco in his treatise, *El arte de la pintura* (1649). Likewise, the analysis of Velázquez' pigments by Richard Newman revealed that Velázquez departed from the published instructions of his master. Perusal of writings on pigments from Vitruvius to Vasari then suggested that Pacheco had incorporated traditional recipes as well as reporting substances in actual use in Spain.

The realization that even the raw materials could be manipulated within art theory suggests that descriptions of physical techniques should be scrutinized as well. In descriptions of works by El Greco and Velázquez, freely applied splotches of paint (*borrones* or *manchas*) are the frequent subject of comment and controversy. The *borrón* as symbol, and free brushwork as ideology, is a complicated topic involving Spanish artistic tradition in general and the Venetian school in particular, and *borrones* and *manchas* had significance *per se* for more reasons than can be described here. Their treatment in verbal descriptions, however, was reduced to formulas which echoed literary conventions. Throughout Spanish and Italian treatises, a distinction between paintings that were executed with smoothly blended strokes, and therefore were comprehensible when seen up close, and those executed with splotches and thus comprehensible from a distance, became a stock theme. Vasari had said of Titian's free brushstrokes that "they cannot be looked at

close up—but from a distance they appear perfect.” Similarly, Palomino said of Velázquez’ works that they “could not be understood close up, and from a distance they are a miracle.” The trope is repeated in Padre Sigüenza, Lope de Vega, Vicencio Carducho, and Fray Hortensio Paravicino. All ultimately derive from that cherished passage in Horace’s *Ars Poetica*, which begins “Ut pictura poesis.” After declaring that a poem is like a painting, Horace goes on to say that “one [poem or painting] strikes your fancy more, the nearer you stand, and another, the farther away.” Thanks to his authority, the notion of standing near a painting versus standing far away itself became a topic worthy of consideration, and with this nearness/farness concept integrated into critical thinking, the problem of smoothness versus splotchiness was easily brought into play. Thus the very tendency to comment on El Greco’s *cruelles borrones* or Velázquez’ *manchas distantes* indicates that splotchy paint fit manageably into the structure of Spanish criticism. Comments on the technique of free brushwork therefore represent more than simple documents of direct visual observation

Similarly the development of an artist’s style could be conventionalized. Palomino laments El Greco’s departure from Titian’s example: “And he [El Greco], seeing that his paintings were confused with those of Titian, tried to change his style, so extravagantly, that he ended up making his painting disagreeable and ridiculous as much in the awkwardness of the drawing as in the tastelessness of the color.” The rejection of a master’s style by a gifted pupil was itself, of course, a standard element in artistic biography, and it also appears in Pacheco’s and Palomino’s accounts of Velázquez’ rebellions against the precedent of Raphael. Velázquez also is compared to Titian, but both Pacheco and Palomino acclaim Velázquez as a true follower of the Venetian master, saying that he worked “in the manner of the great Titian.” Despite the critics’ repeated claim that Velázquez’ technique was Titianesque but El Greco’s was not, technical examination reveals that El Greco’s layering, glazing, and use of colored grounds are more consistently Venetian than those aspects of Velázquez’ work. The historical reasons for the censure of El Greco’s style and acceptance of Velázquez’ are a topic in themselves; it must suffice to point out here that Titian’s work had become a criterion rather than a realistic visual precedent.

What is most interesting in early descriptions of the paintings of El Greco and Velázquez is not merely the prevalence of conventionalized comment, but the intrusion of convention into the physical description of the works. Clearly classical and Renaissance literature, as well as historical judgments such as the reverence for Titian, provided Spanish authors with a repertory of ideas for discussing a painter and his creations. These ideas could be applied to the description of pigments, brushwork, and style, producing statements that have heretofore been taken at face value, but which in fact reflect critical commonplaces.

Bryn Mawr College
Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1982

DONALD PREZIOSI

Narrativity and Textuality in Palaeolithic Art

My work at the Center was divided among several issues, of which the principal ones were the problems of interpretation of the earliest traces of aesthetic activity and the current state of the discipline of art history.

In its long and complex history since the Renaissance, the study of art has been dominated by a number of principal themes: the paradigms of genesis, continuity, resemblance, evolution, and periodicization. There have existed pervasive impulses toward dualities and binarisms, tendencies to speak in terms of primitive and sophisticated, simplex and complex, monumentality and ordinariness, uniqueness and replication. The history of theories of art speaks to us of inventions, changes, problem-solving, transformations, the gradual (or abrupt) emergence of one visual logic out of or against another. Art historical praxis has been concerned with the mapping of relationships between objects and surrounds, or systems of social, cultural, and individual values.

In point of fact, art history has always been a *system of value* pertaining to the nature of history, sociality, production, consumption, exchange, perception, cognition, semiosis, and origins. Historically, its discursive formats have been bent toward making inevitable the idea of Art as an Object in its own right. My interests have been in the direction of articulating the strategies which have made certain kinds of artifactual behavior accessible to knowledge and epistemic control. Certain metaphorical paradigms have been central to the art historical enterprise, guiding its praxis within frameworks as diverse as iconography, semiotics, psychoanalytic theory, and Marxism. Amongst these the logocentric paradigm has been the most pervasive deep structure in art history.

Underlying variant models of artistic practice and production is the notion that art objects serve as communicative tokens whereby a user is addressed by a maker, in a manner analogous to the speaker-message-hearer triad of formal linguistics. This notion of art as a transitive nonverbal language has served as a mechanism to produce certain kinds of viewing subjects, and has served as a system for the investiture of certain groups of individuals with interpretative, semiotic, or exegetical power. The art historian has traditionally been a manipulator of signs and symptoms and a legitimate communicator of effects or interpretations arising out of such manipulations. By and large, art historical discourse skews the triadic linguistic paradigm so as to privilege the maker, artist, or author of works as an essentially active, originary force in contrast to what in complementary fashion becomes an essentially passive or receptive user or viewer. Such an antisymmetric alignment serves in turn as a validating mechanism for the privileged role of the art historian or critic as a decoder or diviner of intentionality on behalf of beholders.

This essentially linear, unidirectional, and transitive paradigm is frequently masked by certain rhetorical manoeuvres or displacements

whereby the source and origin of art work are situated “behind” the producer—either externally, into *Zeitgeist*, ethnicity, or economic and social forces, or internally, into (usually) mysterious forces internal to the conscious self of the maker. Much of this internalizing movement in modeling artistic signification goes toward the legitimization of a homogeneous selfhood, all of whose products are to be construed as evidence for biographic unity and self-identity.

The metaphorical paradigms, rhetorical protocols, and ideological mechanisms of the discipline are perhaps revealed nowhere so clearly as in the discourse on the origins of art and the problem of the early evolution of artistic practice during the long Palaeolithic period of human existence. Over the past couple of decades, excavation and research have fundamentally altered our understanding of early human history. Artifactual behaviors of a type we associate as aesthetic in intent and destination antedate by a considerable length of time the technical appearance of homo sapiens (c. 40,000 B.C.), and are associated with earlier and now extinct or assimilated hominids (e.g., homo erectus). Indeed, it might be said that the bottom has dropped out of our traditional chronological picture: traces of houses were being made upwards of a third of a million years ago, and notational markings of a type later associated with figural and quasi-figural drawings in the caves of southwestern Europe can now be dated to the same period.

It has become increasingly evident that our very notions of what art is are being fundamentally revised by Palaeolithic scholarship and also by contemporary theoretical developments in the study of representation, signification, and reception—most poignantly within semiotic and poststructuralist discourse. In a highly interesting sense, these separate avenues of scholarship may be seen to overlap and intersect in regard to the question of visual signification and representation. The pioneering work of André Leroi-Gourhan and Alexander Marshack on the interpretation of Palaeolithic art has shed new light on the nature and processes of visual signification and its relation to problems of narrativity and textuality, revealing a picture of early hominid cognitive capacity as much more complex and sophisticated than previously imagined. And the implications of their methodologies concerning the construal of works by users dovetails with contemporary notions of reception and reading; in particular concepts of dissemination, deconstruction, and *écriture* in the work of Jacques Derrida.

My research at the Center this year, to be discussed in a contracted volume entitled *Origins of the Built World*, has sought to portray the contemporary confluence of these approaches to the nature and origins of artistic production and reception, and to articulate a bracketing of the historical career of the discipline of art history as an episode in intellectual history deeply complicit with a variety of ideological, theoretical, and societal paradigms which more often than not have served to inhibit our understanding of fundamental issues.

State University of New York, Binghamton
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

CLAIRE RICHTER SHERMAN

The Illustrations of Nicole Oresme's Translations of Aristotle

During my year at the Center I completed a draft of a monograph on the illustrations of Nicole Oresme's French translations of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics*. My study focuses on two sets of these texts executed in the 1370s for King Charles V of France (1338-1380) and considers more briefly ten later manuscripts produced from the 1380s to the 1450s.

My work begins with an investigation of the motives and audience for Oresme's translations. As the first complete, extant versions of these Aristotelian texts in a modern vernacular language, Charles V's manuscripts belong to a period when a growing lay audience with a limited knowledge of Latin encouraged translations into modern languages of serious works on history, theology, and philosophy. Analysis of the prologues of these translations reveals that they were directed not only to the education of the king but also members of his government.

A second chapter in my monograph discusses the personal and intellectual relationships between translator and patron. Nicole Oresme (c. 1320-1382), one of the most distinguished minds of the fourteenth century in such diverse fields as economics and natural science, became associated with Charles in the middle or late 1350s at a time of intense political crisis and acted as the king's mentor in a private and public sense. Through examination of iconographic evidence and of Oresme's early nonscientific writings and translations, there emerges a picture of the relationship between the two men that frames an important context of the Aristotle translations.

The contributions of Charles V and Oresme to shaping the forms of texts and illustrations of the three translations comprise the third chapter of the study. In addition to financial support, Charles V provided Oresme with the impetus to clarify for his readers the difficult ideas of Aristotle already interpreted by medieval translators and commentators. Also from Charles V came the notion of illustrating the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics* as an important means of aiding the readers' understanding of the texts. Oresme, extremely aware of the intellectual challenges entrusted to him, provided admirably clear and full translations of the thirteenth-century Latin versions of these Aristotelian texts. His glosses and commentaries were outstanding in explaining unfamiliar terms, concepts, and institutions in relation to contemporary culture. Because Oresme introduced about a thousand neologisms to French in the course of the Aristotle translations, he provided the reader with a glossary of foreign words at the end of the *Ethics* and the *Politics*. For the latter text, which had a more practical application, Oresme also introduced an alphabetical index of important subjects, complete with cross references. The inclusion of serious reference tools, especially in the *Politics*, made it possible for this work to serve as a source for future treatises justifying monarchical authority as the best type of political leadership.

Another contribution by Nicole Oresme to the Aristotle translations was

the instructions he gave to the illuminators for the new programs of illustrations that accompanied the king's copies of the *Ethics*, *Politics*, and *Economics*. He was aided in reediting the second set of Charles V's illustrated manuscripts by one of the favorite scribes, Raoulet d'Orléans. Oresme's key role in providing instructions for the programs is signaled not only by the close relationship of texts and images, but also by a second prologue of the translator interpreting the bifolio frontispiece of the first illustrated *Politics* manuscript. Furthermore, the consistent function of the miniatures—almost always tied to the text by inscriptions—as visual definitions of neologisms or unfamiliar terms, also points to Oresme as author of the program of illustrations.

The next two chapters are devoted to an analysis of the imagery in Charles V's copies of Oresme's translations of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 9505-06; and The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianu, MS 10 D 1). Beginning with models borrowed from the virtues and vices iconography, as well as other medieval Christian art, the illustrations range from simple personifications to elaborate allegories. A more complex format coincides with a new profundity of content in the miniatures of the second copy of the *Ethics* in The Hague. Later illustrated copies of the *Ethics* are discussed from the standpoint of fidelity to or deviation from the Charles V models. Serious losses in the original signification of the illustrations were caused by changes in a miniature's format, including the number of registers and divisions of the picture field. Also instrumental in altering text-image relationships were revisions of the scale, sex, and costume of individual figures, as well as of the placement, removal, or misreading of inscriptions.

Text-image relationships form the main theme of the two concluding chapters on the *Politics* and *Economics* illustrations in Charles V's manuscripts (France, private collection; and Brussels, Bibl. Royale, MS 11201-02). Both the translation and the cycle of miniatures of these texts show that they were of greater interest than the *Ethics* to Oresme and Charles V. The equivalent of the more elaborate commentaries, glossary, and addition of the index in the *Politics* is the more complex and didactic imagery. In general, the illustrations suggest medieval cosmological, scientific, or theological diagrams, although the imagery offers concrete examples of such ideas as good and bad government, democracy, sedition, and the social classes included or excluded from citizenship in the ideal state. Reference to legal iconography constitutes an important source of several images in this totally secular cycle. While monarchy is given pride of place as the best type of good government, as a whole the illustrations follow Oresme's translation in providing an accurate interpretation of the text in contemporary terms. Although strident propaganda is avoided, the *Politics* miniatures stress the advantages to the entire community of a moderate and wise royal leadership informed by the moral and political teachings of Aristotle.

Washington, D.C.
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

BARBARA MARIA STAFFORD

*Voyage into Substance: Illustrated Travel Accounts,
c. 1760-1840*

The research undertaken at the Center during 1981-1982 represents the concluding phase of a project begun in 1976. During my fellowship year, I was engaged in making major revisions in the final draft of a book-length manuscript.

This study examines the kinds of landscape elements that were featured in European illustrated travel accounts with an eye to identifying an empiricist attitude toward nature. The focus of this investigation is thus, of necessity, trained on the strong alliance forged between art and science during the Enlightenment and the subsequent embodiment of this ideal in land, sea, and air exploration carried out "for a purpose." To this end, I am at pains to distinguish the scientific aesthetic of discovery from that concurrently espoused by the Grand Tourist or seeker after picturesque scenery.

After an introductory discussion that compares and contrasts past and present landscape traditions with those evinced in the text and illustration of the scientific voyage, I trace, in chapter one, the rise and development of an empirical attitude toward nature. To accomplish this, I focus first on the radical language reforms—involving the abolition of metaphor and the development of a paratactic style—that arose in England and France during the mid-seventeenth century. I then try to indicate how a "passionate intelligence" came to be thought requisite for the accurate perception and representation of the "real thing."

Chapters two and three survey the vast repertory of individual obdurate objects and ephemera that the travel account simultaneously revealed and documented as constituting the physiognomy of the earth. During the course of this exposition, I examine seventeenth- and eighteenth-century matter and cognition theories and their relation to the widespread apprehension of a universe filled both with enduring "hard" substances and intermittent or fleeting apparitions and "soft" powers.

All this leads to a fundamental eighteenth-century assumption, namely, that the infinite metabolism of matter is legible and hence penetrable. Chapter four develops the theme of the secular emancipation of the earth, the recognition and estimation of lithic traces strongly merged with a vital or animate universe, of "characters" that require the lexical gaze of the natural historian rather than the transformative vision of the theologian. Further, I suggest that the voyage into substance, into the fabric of nature, constitutes a distinctively eighteenth-century contribution to an ancient genre. It corroborates the discovery—worthy of being termed another Copernican revolution—that matter "acts."

Next, I take up certain identifiable psychological traits that seem to stamp the voyager and shape his spatial perception, regardless of nationality. Chapter six demonstrates how this intense inquiry had far-reaching repercussions not only by underscoring novel dimensions of space, but also by punctu-

ating particular moments in time. The first-hand and concrete perception of a specific phenomenon, at an identifiable moment, is possible only when observations are made “on the spot.” Admiring, yet objective, scrutiny of the natural object is based on the profound awareness that it is an independent and powerful presence, possessing a history separate from that of man. Such absorption in the chronology and being of the phenomenon is contrasted with the self-absorbed lapse out of time experienced in reverie, meditation, and *recueillement*.

The final chapter suggests that, while the scientific travel account continued to flourish in the nineteenth century, the conventions by which it operated began to change significantly. Further, by 1800, a strong reaction set in, opposing not only the marriage between art and science—the premise on which these accounts rested—but the emphasis on natural facts unaltered by the imagination. Despite this *caveat*, the concluding section then proposes specific ways in which the legacy of the factual travel narrative—forged during the second half of the eighteenth century—shaped nineteenth-century attitudes toward landscape representation. The obsession with a particular, charged site, the isolated, potent natural masterpiece, centrally stationed within the picture plane, or commemorated as sculptural and architectural monolith; the truth to material dictum discernible in Ruskinian art theory; the attempt to seize tangibly the unseizable in nature; and the romantic flight into the interior with its reaction against an excess of visibility and external “thingness,” are seen as part of the illustrated travel account’s aesthetic bequest.

University of Chicago
Senior Fellow, 1981-1982

CHARLOTTE V. STOKES

The Influence of Twentieth-Century Psychological Theory on the Working Methods of Max Ernst

The original problem that occupied me was the relationship between the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud and Max Ernst's methods of making collages from nineteenth-century engravings. While at the Center I became aware that, during different phases of his career, Ernst was influenced by the studies of several different psychologists, although Freud's theories on the ways the subconscious organizes information and emotions remained important for the artist throughout his career.

In the years just before World War I the future surrealist Max Ernst (1891-1976) studied psychology at Bonn University, and a friend, who was a student of Freud's, introduced him to the great psychiatrist's writings. Freud's *Wit and the Unconscious* provided Ernst with some of his most useful devices. Since jokes, unlike dreams, are set and limited arrangements of words meant to be presented to a public, they share some important formal characteristics and communication methods with works of art. Ernst's skill lay in transforming verbal devices into principles of organizing images, usually preexisting images from old engravings. For example, an engraving of a gentleman innocently tipping his hat can become a peeping tom or a parody of a high priest when carefully insinuated into another scene, just as the innocent "Have you taken a bath?" is run off the rails by the new context of "No, is one missing?" Ernst found that preexisting images from engravings could be twisted, juxtaposed, and changed by context almost like words through the use of devices isolated by Freud. Further, in both jokes and in surrealist collages, the aptness and richness of the form is usually more important than content. Freud inventoried other verbal methods of compressing and combining words, such as puns, double entendres, allusions, etc., that Ernst was also to use in making collages, paintings, and finally sculptures.

Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* provided Ernst with many modes of the interaction of visual and verbal components. For example, Freud said that a woman who dreamed of someone hurling a monkey at her really thought that the person was "hurling" an invective or calling her a monkey. Ernst put this principle to work in his famous *The Hat Makes the Man* (*C'est le chapeau qui fait l'homme*) (1920) in which hats literally make up the figures.

Such Freudian devices as visualizing sayings or using verbal patterns of organization to order images were always used by Ernst, but the ideas of other authors, such as Hans Prinzhorn, were also important. In 1922 Ernst bought Prinzhorn's newly published book, *Artistry of the Mentally Ill*. Like Freud's writings on Jensen's *Gradiva* and on Leonardo, Prinzhorn's work provided Ernst with examples and models of the interrelationships between art and psychological theory. However, Prinzhorn combined aesthetics and theories on mental activity in more equal measure than did Freud. Also in contrast to Freud, Prinzhorn wrote that the healthy man was in harmony

with his animal nature, an idea that Ernst would use in the formation of the half-bird, half-man alter-ego, Loplop, who appeared in many of his works.

In the early part of his career Ernst employed Freudian methods tempered by Prinzhorn's ideas to explore his own childhood and personality. Later, beginning in the 1930s and continuing into his years in America in the 1940s, Ernst was influenced by Carl Jung's theories on archetypes and anthropology. These interests show up in the editorial policy he helped form for the surrealist magazine *VVV*, published in America during this period, which contains articles not only on art and poetry but also on anthropology by such writers as Claude Lévi-Strauss. In Ernst's works of art dating to that time, e.g., the National Gallery's *Capricorn*, the observations he made about himself were molded into archetypes meant to have a general—even mythic—meaning.

The most important method used by Ernst throughout his long career was the collage method of cutting out and juxtaposing old engraving and other materials. While at the Center I was fortunate to find many editions of the books and magazines that Ernst had cut up. Many of these newly discovered publications represent sources he used later in his career, in the 1940s. There is a consistency between these sources and those he used in the 1920s. For example, in the United States Ernst substituted a similar English-language publication for *La Nature*, a French popular-science magazine of the nineteenth century he had used with success in Europe. But there were some shifts of emphasis. As Ernst became more interested in Jung and in general cultural patterns he found useful illustrations in books about magic and demons, and about Greek myths, and apparently did not seek out the illustrated novels he had used earlier.

Given these new discoveries it seems possible to say that Ernst, who began his career as an artist with a thorough knowledge of psychological theory, continued to add to this knowledge and use these insights into the workings of the mind as a basis of ordering his own imagery into powerful surrealist works.

Oakland University
Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1981

VIRGINIA TUTTLE

The Legend of Lilith and Hieronymus Bosch's Garden of Earthly Delights

During my four-month tenure at the Center, I investigated the iconography of the Paradise scene on the interior, left panel of Hieronymus Bosch's triptych *Garden of Earthly Delights*. This is a most unusual version of the Garden of Eden teeming with evil-looking, demonic beasts that battle with and prey upon each other. A curious scene is portrayed in the foreground of this eccentric Paradise: Christ as Logos-Creator stands between man and woman. The man is seated on the ground and Christ holds the woman suspended by her wrist as she balances in an unsupportable position. Her body is upright from head to knees, her knees are bent, and only the tips of her toes are touching the ground. Since it is physically impossible to maintain this position, Bosch must have had a special reason for presenting the woman this way.

This event is often called either the creation of Eve or marriage of Adam and Eve, but neither identification can be correct. Medieval and Renaissance artists followed tradition closely when depicting events from Genesis. The Paradise in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* is nontraditional in two important respects. First, since evil and death should not be present in Paradise before the Fall, the demonic, murderous beasts that populate this Garden are completely inappropriate. Second, the positions of the man and woman do not correspond to the standard iconography of any Genesis episode. The only time that Adam is shown seated and awake in the traditional Genesis cycle is immediately after he has been created. However, if Bosch were depicting the newly created Adam, how does one account for the untimely presence of the woman in the strange position to Christ's left?

The position of the woman provides the most important clue for the identification of the scene. This pose is part of the iconography of one of the more frequently portrayed events from Genesis, the creation of Eve, in which Eve is customarily shown being drawn from the side of Adam with her body straight from the knees up, bent at the knees, and held at her wrist by the Creator. Bosch himself depicted Eve in exactly this manner in the Paradise panel of the Vienna *Last Judgment* triptych. The obvious difference between the representation of Eve's creation and the image on the Paradise panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych is that in the latter work the woman is not being taken from Adam's side. Her pose is the traditional creation position but taken out of its usual context; Bosch shows that she is created independently, immediately following the creation of Adam, rather than from Adam's rib. While this cannot be reconciled with the biblical account of the creation of Adam and Eve, it does correspond perfectly with the Talmudic legend of the creation of Lilith, God's first and unsuccessful attempt to create a suitable female companion for Adam.

Talmudic exegesis accounts for the apparent redundancy of Genesis I:27 and Genesis II:22, both of which recount the creation of woman, by ex-

plaining that Eve was the result of God's final, but not first, effort to create a helpmate for Adam. They describe the fate of the first woman, whose disappearance was assumed to result from her unsuitability, by conflating the story with the ancient Near Eastern legend of an evil female spirit named Lilith. One of the best-known midrashic sources of the legend of Lilith is the *Alphabet of Ben-Sira*, a pseudo-epigraphical work probably composed in the tenth century and possibly known to Christians by the early twelfth. According to this late midrash, God made a woman named Lilith from the earth as soon as he had completed Adam. However, Lilith was very independent and refused to acknowledge Adam's superiority, reasoning that since she had been made in the same way that he had, she was obviously entitled to equal rights. One special point of disagreement between Adam and Lilith was Lilith's unwillingness to be sexually submissive. Adam tried to force Lilith's acquiescence, but she escaped by flying through the air from Eden to the Red Sea. Here she consorted with the lascivious demons who inhabited these Egyptian waters and began to produce a demonic progeny numbering more than one hundred a day. God, meanwhile, decided to make another woman for Adam, this time from Adam's rib so that there would be no further questioning of woman's natural subservience to man.

While the imagery of the Paradise panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych would provide a perfect pictorialization of Lilith's creation at the same time as Adam's, would Bosch have been familiar with Jewish legends such as this? Since, only the most meager information about Bosch's life is known, it would be difficult to prove his acquaintance with any specific learned science or esoteric lore, unless this material was commonly known among his contemporaries. It is therefore significant that knowledge of the Hebrew midrashim and Jewish art was not at all uncommon among Christians in the Middle Ages and Renaissance and that the legend of Lilith, as well as other Judaica, was definitely familiar to them during Bosch's lifetime. It was also at this time that Renaissance humanists, including some who lived within the courtly realm and some of Bosch's most important patrons, became fascinated with the Cabala and began to read Jewish literature with growing interest. Cabalistic texts had a particular appeal, particularly the *Zohar* in which the legend of Lilith reached its full elaboration. Although we lack direct evidence to prove that Bosch was acquainted with Renaissance humanism and specifically with Jewish studies and the Cabala, the history of the legend of Lilith and of Christian interest in such Jewish legends, indicates that it would have been quite possible for Bosch and his patrons to have been acquainted with the story of the first woman. As described in my study, the imagery of the Paradise panel of the *Garden of Earthly Delights* does not conform to the medieval or Renaissance iconography of any scene from the Creation cycle nor would the positions of the figures have been appropriate for an episode narrated in Genesis. However, it does correspond perfectly with the story of the creation of Lilith with Adam. On the basis of this evidence it is possible to conclude that the legend of Lilith may indeed be the subject of the picture.

National Gallery of Art
National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, 1981-1982

MEETINGS

Symposia

19-20 March 1982

RECENT RESEARCH IN ITALIAN ART

Jointly sponsored with The Johns Hopkins University and held in Baltimore.

Medieval Amalfi: Art Forms on the Mediterranean Frontier

Robert Bergman, Walters Art Gallery and The Johns Hopkins University

Aspects of the Study of Urban Development in Pienza

Henry Millon, Center for Advanced Study

Art in the Renaissance Florentine Household: The Dynamics of Acquisition

Kent Lydecker, National Gallery of Art and [The Johns Hopkins University]

Two Michelangelo Portraits

David Summers, University of Virginia

Politian and Botticelli's Mars and Venus: A Problem of Grammatical Interpretation

Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University

Some Problems Regarding Piranesi

Jörg Garms, The Austrian Institute, Rome and Center for Advanced Study

How the Other Half Lived: Neighborhood Planning in Trecento Florence

Paula Spilner, [Columbia University]

Borromini's Early Work and the Nobility of Baroque Architecture

Joseph Connors, Columbia University

26 March 1982

HERMETICISM AND THE RENAISSANCE

History of art session, jointly sponsored with the Catholic University of America and The Folger Institute.

Hermeticism and Renaissance Art

Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University

The Mystery of the Obvious: Emblems and Allegories in the Art of Bernini

Philipp Fehl, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Freemasonry in Frescoes: Hermetic Meaning in a Palladian Villa Program in 1716

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

2-4 April 1982

EL GRECO Y TOLEDO

Jointly sponsored with the Instituto Diego Velázquez in Madrid and held in Toledo, Spain.

A propos de Greco portraitiste: identification de la Dame à la fourrure

Jeannine Baticle, Musée du Louvre

¿Pudo influir en algunas composiciones del Greco un retablo flamenco existente en Toledo?

Elisa Bermejo, Instituto Diego Velázquez

The Redefinition of El Greco in the Twentieth Century

Jonathan Brown, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Simbología de la serpiente en la obra del Greco

José Rogelio Buendía, Universidad de Barcelona

La herencia del Greco, Jorge Manuel Theotocopuli y el debate arquitectónico en torno a 1620

Agustín Bustamante, Universidad de Valladolid and Fernando Marías Franco, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

El Greco à l'Escorial: le Martyre de Saint Maurice

Annie Cloulas-Brousseau, Université de Paris X

El Greco and the Spiritual Reform Movements in Spain

David B. Davies, University College, London

Pedro de Salazar de Mendoza: coleccionista, erudito y mecénas

Richard L. Kagan, The Johns Hopkins University

Significados augustinianos en el diseño del Escorial

George Kubler, Yale University

El concepto de retablo en El Greco

J. J. Martín Gonzáles, Universidad de Valladolid

Algunas consideraciones iconográficas sobre la Crucifixión con donates de las Jeronimas de Toledo, del Greco

Isabel Mateo Gómez, Instituto Diego Velázquez

Cotán y la tradición artística toledana

Emilio Orozco Díaz, Universidad de Granada

Appunti sul soggiorno italiano del Greco

Lionello Puppi, Università di Padova

La repercusión en España del Decreto del Concilio de Trento acerca de las imágenes sagradas y las censuras al Greco

Alfonso Rodríguez G. de Ceballos, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Las notas del Greco al texto de Vasari sobre la vida del Tiziano

Xavier de Salas, Museo del Prado

El Greco in Rome and the Portrait of Vincenzo Anagni

Harold E. Wethey, University of Michigan

Observations on Herrera and Renaissance Architectural Theory

Catherine Wilkinson, Brown University

17 April 1982

THE TWELFTH ANNUAL MIDDLE ATLANTIC
SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART

Jointly sponsored with the University of Maryland.

An Old Testament Subject by Jan Victors in the Indianapolis Museum of Art

Debra M. Miller, [University of Delaware]

The Four Seasons in the Synagogue at Beth Alpha: Iconography and Style

Nancy Setzer Luria, [University of Maryland]

Imagery and Propaganda: Editorial Changes in Charles V's "Grandes Chroniques de France" (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. français 2813)

Anne D. Hedeman, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Artifice, Imagination and Structure in the Architecture of Hector Guimard

Frances S. Connelly, [University of Pittsburgh]

Who is in the Brothel of Avignon? A Case for Context

Elizabeth Hutton Turner, [University of Virginia]

Picasso's Guernica and the Late Figural Paintings of Jackson Pollock

Elizabeth T. Burr, [George Washington University]

Henri-Gabriel Ibels: "Nabi Journaliste"

Judith Hansen O'Toole, [Pennsylvania State University]

Seminars

16 October 1981

QUESTIONS OF REPRESENTATION

Readings:

Svetlana Alpers, "Vermeer's *Art of Painting* and The Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art." (Lecture delivered at Center for Advanced Study, 15 October 1981.)

T. J. Clark, "Preliminaries to a Possible Treatment of *Olympia* in 1865," *Screen* 12 (1980), 18-41.

Michael Fried, "Representing Representation: On the Central Group in Courbet's *Studio*," *Art in America* 69 (1981), 127-133.

Participants:

Svetlana Alpers, University of California, Berkeley

Deborah Bershad, [City University of New York]

Peter Brunette, George Mason University

David Craven, State University of New York College, Cortland

Elizabeth Cropper, Temple University

Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University

Stephen Eisenman, [Princeton University]

Michael Fried, The Johns Hopkins University

Andrée Hayum, New York City

Rosalind Krauss, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, C.U.N.Y.

Steven Z. Levine, Bryn Mawr College

Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study

Keith P. F. Moxey, University of Virginia

Donald Preziosi, State University of New York, Binghamton

Richard Shiff, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Edward A. Snow, George Mason University

Barbara Stafford, University of Chicago

David Summers, University of Virginia

Henri Zerner, Harvard University

13 November 1981

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE

Readings:

- W. L. MacDonald and B. M. Boyle, "The Small Baths at Hadrian's Villa," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39 (1980), 5-27.
- J. and T. Marasovič, S. McNally, and J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace. Report on Joint Excavations in the Southeast Quarter, Part I* (Split, 1972).
- P. Zanker, ed., *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien. Kolloquium in Göttingen 5-9 Juni 1974*, 2 vols., (Göttingen, 1976). (Articles by F. Coarelli, E. Gabba, M. Frederiksen, and F. Rakob.)

Participants:

Bernard M. Boyle, Arizona State University
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David Thompson, Howard University
Charles W. White, Texas A&M University
Walter Widrig, Rice University

12 December 1981

CIRCUMSTANCES OF MANUSCRIPT PRODUCTION

Readings:

- François Avril, *Manuscript Painting at the Court of France: The Fourteenth Century* (New York, 1978), 9-30.
- Robert Banner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of St. Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), 1-21.
- Annemarie W. Carr, "Two Manuscripts by Joasaph in the United States," *Art Bulletin* 63 (1981), 182-190.
- C. Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Uppsaliensis: Echternach Gospel-Book of the Eleventh Century* (Stockholm, 1971), 34-41 and 129-138.

- Antoine de Schrijver, "Pour une meilleure orientation des recherches à propos du Maître du Girart de Roussillon," in *Rogier van der Weyden en zijn Tijd* (Brussels, 1974), 43-82.
- Priscilla P. Soucek, "An Illustrated Manuscript of al-Biruni's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*," in *The Scholar and the Saint*, ed. P. Chelkowski (New York, 1975), 103-168.
- Anne H. van Buren, Review of L. M. J. Delaissé, James Marrow, and John de Wit, *The James F. Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Illuminated Manuscripts in Speculum* 55 (July 1980), 549-554.

Participants:

- Jeffrey C. Anderson, The George Washington University
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 Marianna S. Simpson, Center for Advanced Study
 Priscilla P. Soucek, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
 Harvey Stahl, University of California, Berkeley
 Anne H. van Buren, Tufts University

12 February 1982

PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA AND FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO

Readings:

- Richard J. Betts, "On the Chronology of Francesco di Giorgio's Treatises: New Evidence from an Unpublished Manuscript," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 36 (March, 1977), 3-14.
- F. Paolo Fiore, *Città e macchine del'400 nei disegni di Francesco di Giorgio Martini* (Florence, 1978).
- Carlo Ginzburg, *Indagine su Piero* (Turin, 1981).
- Marilyn A. Lavin, *Piero della Francesca's Baptism of Christ* (New Haven, 1981).

Participants:

Richard J. Betts, Institute for Advanced Study
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David A. Brown, National Gallery of Art
Francesco Paolo Fiore, University of Rome
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Carolyn Kolb, University of New Orleans
Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Princeton University
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art
Charles Mack, University of South Carolina
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study
Howard Saalman, Carnegie-Mellon University
Gustina Scaglia, Queens College
Laurie Schneider, City College of New York
John Spencer, Duke University

14 April 1982

URBAN HISTORY

Readings:

Dominique Chevallier, "La ville arabe: notre vision historique," in *L'Espace social de la ville arabe*, ed. D. Chevallier (Paris, 1979), 7-29.
Suzanne Lewis, "Function and Symbolic Form in the Basilica Apostolorum at Milan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 28 (1969), 83-98.
Farouk Mardam-Bey, "Sources historiques et documentation," in *L'Espace social de la ville arabe*, ed. D. Chevallier (Paris, 1979), 33-49.
Tod A. Marder, "The Porto di Ripetta in Rome," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 39 (1980), 28-56.
John A. Pinto, "Origins and Development of the Ichnographic City Plan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35 (1976), 35-50.
Carl E. Schorske, *Fin de Siècle Vienna—Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980), 24-115.
Thomas R. Winpenny, "The Nefarious Philadelphia Plan and Urban America: A Reconsideration," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 101 (1977), 103-113.

Participants:

Christiane Collins, Parsons School of Design
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Tod Marder, Rutgers University
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study
Donald Preziosi, State University of New York, Binghamton

Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, Bryn Mawr College
Franklin Toker, University of Pittsburgh
Carroll William Westfall, University of Illinois, Chicago

30 April 1982

MEDIEVAL ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

Readings:

- Carl F. Barnes, "The Drapery-Rendering Techniques of Villard de Honnecourt," *GESTA* 20, no. 1 (1981), 99-206
- Robert Branner, "Drawings from a Thirteenth-Century Architect's Shop: The Reims Palimpsest," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 17 (1958), 9-21.
- Robert Branner, "Villard de Honnecourt, Archimedes and Chartres," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 19 (1960), 91-96; and Letters to the Editor by Leonard Cox and Branner, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 20 (1961), 145-146.
- Robert Branner, "Villard de Honnecourt, Reims and the Origin of Gothic Architectural Drawing," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 61 (1963), 129-146.
- François Bucher, *Architector: The Lodge Books and Sketchbooks of Medieval Architects*, I (New York, 1979); and reviews by Peter Kidson, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 40 (1981), 329-331; and Carl F. Barnes, *Speculum* 56 (1981), 595-598.
- Stephen Murray, "The Gothic Façade Drawings in the Reims Palimpsest," *GESTA* 17 (1978), 51-55.
- Lon R. Shelby, *Gothic Design Techniques: The Fifteenth-Century Design Booklets of Mathes Roriczer and Hanns Schmuttermayer* (1977); and reviews by Carl F. Barnes, *Art Bulletin* 60 (1978), 363-365; Eric G. Carlson, *Speculum* 54 (1979), 190-191; and Bert Hansen, *Technology and Culture* 20 (1979), 627-630.

Participants:

- C. Edson Armi, University of North Carolina
Carl F. Barnes, Jr., Oakland University
Jean Bony, University of California, Berkeley
Caroline A. Bruzelius, Duke University
François Bucher, Florida State University
Eric Carlson, State University of New York, College at Purchase
William W. Clark, Queens College
Michael Davis, Princeton University
Mary Dean, University of Maryland
Peter Fergusson, Wellesley College
David Friedman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Stephen Gardner, Columbia University
Millard F. Hearn, University of Pittsburgh
Joel Hershman, Fordham University
Walter Horn, University of California, Berkeley
Karen Kingsley, Tulane University
Walter C. Leedy, Jr., Cleveland State University

Carolyn Malone, University of Southern California
Robert Mack, Princeton University
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study
Stephen Murray, Indiana University
Vivian L. Paul, Texas A&M University
Sergio Sanabria, Miami University
Lon R. Shelby, Southern Illinois University
Franklin Toker, University of Pittsburgh

Lectures

22 September 1981

The Montefeltro Altarpiece Once Again

Carlo Bertelli, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Milan

15 October 1981

Vermeer's Art of Painting and the Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art

Svetlana Alpers, University of California, Berkeley

17 November 1981

"Looking Before and After:" The Uses of Visual Evidence and Symbolism for Understanding Hamlet

Roland Mushat Frye, University of Pennsylvania

19 January 1982

Women, Art, and Power

Linda Nochlin, The Graduate School and University Center of the City
University of New York

13 April 1982

The Esthetics of Demolition

Spiro Kostof, University of California, Berkeley

23 February 1982

The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and Modern Oblivion

Leo Steinberg, University of Pennsylvania

6 May 1982

Manet's Dead Toreador: Some Problems of Method

Theodore Reff, Columbia University

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Incontri

2 March 1982

Géricault and Realism

Hans A. Lüthy, Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich

16 March 1982

I Bronzi di Riace

Francesco Nicosia, Soprintendenza di Beni Archaeologici della Toscana,
Florence

4 May 1982

The New Museum of Andrea del Sarto at San Salvi

Serena Padovani, Soprintendenza alle Gallerie, Florence

Colloquia XI-XXI

24 September 1981

Architectural Symbolism of the First and Second British Empires

Alan Gowans

22 October 1981

Language, Visual Structures, and Historical Experience: The Illustrations of Aristotle's Politics in the French Translation of Nicole Oresme

Claire Richter Sherman

12 November 1981

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Frank E. Brown

3 December 1981

The Study of Underdrawings with Infrared Reflectography

Molly Faries

7 January 1982

The Structure of the Ornamentation in the Nishi-Honganji Version of the Sanjuro-kunishu (Anthology of Thirty-Six Poets)

Yasushi Egami

4 February 1982

The Art Historical "I": Constru(ct)ing the Origins of Art

Donald Preziosi

18 February 1982

Eros and Satire in the Drawings of Urs Graf

Christiane Andersson

11 March 1982

Rossellini and Cinematic Realism

Peter Brunette

1 April 1982

The Curious Case of Two Arabic Letters: The Relationship of the "Lām" and the "Alif"

Irene A. Bierman

29 April 1982

The Saxon-Norman Overlap in Post-Conquest English Architecture

Jean V. Bony

13 May 1982

Landscape Freed of Culture: Crystallography and the Natural Hieroglyph

Barbara Maria Stafford

Washington Area Art Historians Meetings

27 October 1981

Technical Investigation and Connoisseurship

Ross Merrill, National Gallery of Art

15 December 1982

The Demand for Art in Renaissance Italy: An Economic Analysis

Richard A. Goldthwaite, The Johns Hopkins University

9 February 1982

Feather Crown and Feather Skirts: A History of the Principal Visual Stereotyping of American Indians from 1500 to the Present

William Sturtevant, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History

11 May 1982

"Meaning" in Children's Games: On the Limitation of the Iconographic Approach to Bruegel

Edward A. Snow, George Mason University



SVETLANA ALPERS

Vermeer's Art of Painting and the Mapping Impulse in Dutch Art

This lecture attempts to define something of the *practice* of Dutch seventeenth-century art, by which I mean both the nature of Dutch images and their role in society. By the mapping impulse I refer to certain features or characteristics which make Dutch images resemble maps, and also to the way in which landscape representations function in maplike ways to educate viewers about the lay of the land.

Vermeer's *Art of Painting*, with the prominent map which fills the wall behind both artist and model, is the starting place for a study of Dutch maps and pictures. This painted map has been plumbed for moral meanings, its presence interpreted as an image of human vanity, and its depiction of the northern and southern Netherlands reads as an image of a lost past when all the provinces formed one country. However, these interpretations overlook the obvious claim that the map makes on us as a piece of painting in its own right. The Dutch were major producers of maps and atlases in the seventeenth century, and many contemporary pictures show maps used as wall hangings. But nowhere else does a painted map have such a powerful pictorial presence. Indeed, Vermeer claims the map as his own by signing his name to it. He thereby suggests that the art of painting is related to mapping, and he reiterates this with the word "Descriptio" which is prominently visible on the upper border of the map. Mapmakers and publishers were referred to as world describers at the time, and there is good reason to apply the term to painters and their paintings also. We can see them as descriptive in a similar way.

It is possible to demonstrate that the format of Dutch city-view paintings, such as Vermeer's *View of Delft*, as well as the panoramic landscapes of Ruisdael and Koninck, are related to topographical city views and to maps respectively. The panoramic landscapes even designate places and buildings, much as landmarks are shown in guides for ship pilots. The very notion of a picture in the north of Europe depends not on an external viewer, as in Albertian perspective, but on an internal one, positioned like a surveyor within the territory he observes. Pictures then tend to be like maps, rather than like windows on the world. Finally, the record of history put forth in Dutch maps and related paintings is different from that assumed by the major Italian tradition of history paintings. Places, rather than actions or events, are its bases, and space rather than time is what must be bridged. The Dutch produce a news map of Breda in contrast to Velázquez' painting which presents a human relationship, steeped in artistic tradition and based on an account of the battle in a contemporary play.

In Vermeer's *Art of Painting* the painter's model, who is dressed up to represent Clio, the Muse of History, and the map bring history conceived in this Dutch or northern mode into the domestic interior. And Vermeer's painter represents an art of painting which does not worship or attempt to possess the world, but instead offers a supreme description of it.

University of California, Berkeley

CARLO BERTELLI

The Montefeltro Altarpiece Once Again

In 1980-1981 the Montefeltro altarpiece, painted by Piero della Francesca for Federico, the Count and later Duke of Urbino, was the subject of a thorough restoration. This restoration, the first in the altarpiece's 170-odd years at the Brera in Milan, has yielded the following new observations.

1) The hand of Federico, believed to have been left unfinished by Piero and completed by a northern artist, was in fact painted over by a later painter. The same man painted out a jewel on the head of the Virgin. This artist must have had the opportunity to add the garter and other paraphernalia to the figure of the duke. If he did not, it means he was not required to do so.

2) The helmet of Federico shows signs of having been seriously damaged. That agrees with the date of the cuirasse in 1450-1460. In 1450 Federico had the most terrible accident of his life in which he broke his nose, lost his right eye, and nearly died. Nevertheless, he is not represented as the twenty-eight-year-old man he would have been in that year.

3) The perspective of the church in which the figures stand has been reconstructed with the use of a grid in a manner very different from that proposed by other scholars. It gives the reconstruction a sound system of proportion, establishes compositional relationships, and confirms the evidence, obtained by an examination of the back of the panel, that a board is missing at the bottom of the altarpiece. The system of lighting deliberately breaks all laws in order to focus on the egg, which obviously has a meaning.

4) Both Saint Bernardino and Saint Peter the Martyr are part of the original composition and not later additions. The three saints on the left are a group of ascetics; on the right Saint Francis and Saint Peter the Martyr display their wounds. Saint Peter is actually bleeding.

5) Federico is also displaying his wounds, while offering his gauntlets and *bâton* to the Virgin, whose image is mirrored in the cuirasse, giving a unique expression to the concept of the Virgin as the Church and to the offering of Federico.

6) Saint Francis displays a crystal cross, alluding to the Crucifixion and the sacrifice of the martyrs as instruments of human redemption. The Redeemer himself here resembles a sleeping Cupid, whose flesh is exposed to the contemplation of Federico and the saints. The *Verbum Incarnatum* ap-

pears to be the main theme of the composition stressed by Saint John the Baptist who points to the Infant Christ and, probably, by Saint John the Evangelist, the Evangelist of the word made flesh. The egg is accepted as a unique reference to an exceptional birth.

7) The theme of redemption is obviously appropriate for a tomb, as is the loneliness of the donor and the documented insistence on his humility. The cuirasse reflects a room dimly lit by two windows which do not fit with the church represented. They are outside the painting, behind the onlooker. The room reflected in his cuirasse is, in all probability, the mausoleum Federico intended to build for himself. Tomb and paradise are thus mirrored at the same moment.

8) The altarpiece appears to be datable before the 1470s and looks very close to the diptych in Florence.

Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Milan

ROLAND MUSHAT FRYE

"Looking Before and After:" The Uses of Visual Evidence and Visual Symbolism for Understanding Hamlet

Over the past half-dozen years or more, I have been pursuing research on the relations between Shakespeare's plays and the visual evidence and visual art of his time. The first book manuscript to develop out of this work is substantially completed, and it focuses upon *Hamlet*.

This lecture presents an abbreviated report of this research on *Hamlet*, illustrating how our understanding of the play can be advanced by drawing both upon the visual arts and their iconography and also upon what, for want of a better phrase, I call "visual evidence," which may and often does fall short of the level generally associated with art as such. To illustrate the conclusions reached and the methodology employed, I shall focus upon several representative findings: the significance and theatrical impact of the costuming of the court and the prince when they first appear in *Hamlet*; Claudius' exploitation of funerary monuments in his arguments about what he calls "the painting of a sorrow" in his speech to Laertes and also in his posture over Ophelia's grave; the controversial burial of Ophelia and the often misunderstood final embrace of her corpse by her brother; Shakespeare's visual exploitation of the fact that both Prudence and Fortune have bifrontal faces; and Shakespeare's evocation of visual imagery which expressed the Renaissance gentleman-prince ideal by combining the roles of Mars and of Mercury.

The paper will thus attempt to illustrate certain very practical ways in which both visual art and visual evidence can be usefully employed for the understanding of literary materials.

University of Pennsylvania

SPIRO KOSTOF

The Esthetics of Demolition

The story of massive demolition in old cores in the name of urban renewal has two major chapters. In the modern period the policy of Haussmann's "grand travaux" and Mussolini's *sventramenti* goes back to Napoleon Bonaparte. It was his regime which also introduced the concept of *valorizzazione* (to use the Fascists' word for it); that is, the reevaluation of the monumental achievement of the past in order to bring out the competitive grandeur of the present. Napoleon's precedent, in turn, was Hellenistic/Roman antiquity. The city as a work of art, a design to be controlled and orchestrated, became established then. Old Greek cities which had frowned on private and public display were subjected to works of urban pomp, often privately endowed.

From the fall of the Roman Empire to Napoleon, the dominant urban process is conservative, one of adjustment and modest change. Even when planning as *perceivable order* returns in the late Middle Ages, urban stock is frugally expended: renewal relies on exemplary accent. In the eighteenth century the rise of the picturesque esthetic and revivalism makes what is there acceptable.

It is this promise of contextualism that Napoleon, and after him Haussmann and Mussolini, set out to destroy. Only in Germany and Austria was the awareness of contexts, of memory as a planning principle, kept alive and strengthened toward the end of the century. The defense of "local color" had to be mounted against two formidable enemies: speculative greed and authoritarian vision. Both had the upper hand in the postindustrial city. Haussmann's Paris and Mussolini's Rome are only the most spectacular products of this double-edged tool of change.

In the end the issue of demolition rests on two related antitheses: representative government versus centralized power; and the city as a collection of people versus the city as an amenity or a monument. In this respect Haussmann's distinction between the Commune of Paris and the Department of the Seine is very much to the point.

University of California, Berkeley

LINDA NOCHLIN

Women, Art, and Power in the Nineteenth Century

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the relationships among the conceptions of women, art, and power in nineteenth-century imagery. In order to do this, I have consistently tried to reveal the unconscious ideological assumptions underlying and controlling the overt iconographical and formal structures in a group of representations in which women play important roles.

The extent to which woman's weakness, her innate powerlessness, exists as a given for nineteenth-century artists is demonstrated by David's *Oath of the Horatii*, a work in which the high intelligibility of the iconography depends precisely on such an assumption. The binary division in the *Oath* between male energy and concentration as opposed to female resignation and relaxation is as clear as any Levi-Straussian diagram of a native village and is carried out in every detail of pictorial structure and treatment. By the mid-nineteenth century, in Victorian England, woman's passivity, above all the lady's defining inability to engage in physical violence, was such an article of faith that the very poses which had signified weakness in David's pre-revolutionary *Oath of the Horatii*, could, by 1857, in a work like Sir Joseph Noel Paton's *In Memoriam*, commemorating the heroism of British ladies during the Indian Mutiny, be read as signifying heroism itself. Here, a fashionably dressed group of British ladies and their children await rape and murder, on their knees, preternaturally calm, apparently fortified by prayer and the Bible. Part of the attraction of *In Memoriam*, of course, had to do with its imaginery sequel: "Rape and Murder of British Ladies by Lascivious Indian Troops." Such a painting did, in fact, exist in France, not in England: Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus*, a fantasy about men's limitless power to enjoy, by destroying them, the bodies of women. Subtending the vivid turbulence of Delacroix's brilliant pictorial invention is the more mundane assumption, common to all men of his class and nation, that men were "naturally" entitled to the bodies of certain women. Delacroix's private fantasy existed in a particular social context, which granted permission for some kinds of imaginative behavior as well as establishing boundaries for the imagination. It is almost impossible to conceive of a *Death of Cleopatra*, say, with nude male slaves being put to death by women servants, painted by a woman artist of this period.

The iconography of less inspired fantasies about the possession of women's naked bodies, such as that projected by Gérôme's various *Slave Markets*, also depended heavily on imperial and colonial ideologies. In Gérôme's orientalist works, the assumption of man's power over women joins hands with the belief in white man's natural superiority to darker, "subject" races. Within the pictorially "objective" yet racially distancing space of Gérôme's paintings, the *homme moyen sensuel* was invited sexually to identify with, yet morally to distance himself from, his oriental counterparts. It was precisely because it revealed the actuality of contemporary French sexual practice that Manet's *Ball at the Opera* was rejected from the Salon of 1874. Manet's work was not only iconographically daring in depicting contemporary Parisian men-about-town at the "flesh-market" of the Opéra, but also innovative in its formal radicalism, the way it cut off parts of female figures and emphasized the artifice of art at the same time, rejected the smooth, unbroken flow of traditional pictorial narrative, and called into question the ideological bases on which such narratives were premised. Yet not even Manet, of course, was immune to notions of feminine sexual availability common to men of his time.

Within this context, how might a woman artist of the mid-nineteenth century create a convincing image of her own professional activity? Not easily, as Emily Mary Osborn's *Nameless and Friendless* of 1857 reveals. Indeed, it is

hard to tell what the picture is actually about, so discreet is the reference to its heroine's profession. And if one turns to representations of peasant life in the art of the nineteenth century, it is equally difficult to find an imagery which represents women as forceful, self-determined, or powerful. On the contrary, the peasant woman, in her association with nature, serves as the "natural" vehicle of conservative ideologies. Not until the turn of the century, in Kaethe Kollwitz's *Peasant's War* series, is there a visual assertion of woman's energy and power in art. In *Outbreak*, an etching from this series of 1903, Kollwitz, a convinced feminist and social activist, has created a kind of counter-image to the passive acquiescence to fate bodied forth by the bent female bodies in Millet's *Gleaners*, thereby creating an antipastoral. What Millet scrupulously avoided by resorting to peasant women in his iconography, Kollwitz asserts through her peasant heroine: rage, energy, leadership.

I believe that my reading of works involving women and power are expansionist rather than reductivist. I have found interesting the degree to which most innovative artists also seem to be the ones most capable of cutting through the web of ideological fictions controlling their fellow-artists' conceptions. It is Manet, for example, and not Gérôme, who is able, at least partly, to reveal the social reality of his time in an inventive composition. It is not merely formal conservatism or traditional subject matter that is at stake here: these features are often tied to deeper failures of nerve, larger hypocrisies, more encompassing refusals of authentic vision. It is only by scrutinizing the underlying assumptions upon which all visual texts depend that we can reinsert them into the contexts in which they originated.

The Graduate School and University Center
of the City of New York

THEODORE REFF

Manet's Dead Toreador: Some Problems of Method

The most important problem of method in the study of a work of art is that of determining the problems to be studied. Often this methodological problem is not perceived as such, because the substantive problems have already been defined in the literature. The advantages of this way of formulating a research problem, both for the individual and for the field, are obvious; the disadvantage is that the research tends to become fixated on certain problems. Other problems may emerge in the course of the investigation or suggest themselves through repeated contact with the work itself and may result in a series of investigations, more or less explicitly defined, that rarely yield a single, comprehensive solution. An alternative is to proceed from a commitment to an ideological position, such as dialectical materialism, psychoanalysis, or structuralism, which helps to determine the problems to be studied and the methods to be employed. The liberal eclecticism of the majority of art historians in the United States has as its goal understanding the work of art as fully as possible, in all its material, personal, and cultural rich-

ness, rather than fitting it into an ideological framework.

In this investigation of Manet's *Dead Toreador*, painted in 1863, I have raised and tried to answer six questions, some of them already formulated in the literature, others stimulated by my renewed contact with the work, both in the gallery and in the conservation laboratory, in the course of preparing an exhibition at the National Gallery. Without such an occasion and the resources of such an institution, by the way, some of these questions would not have been raised and certainly would not have been answered. They have to do with: 1.) the cultural context of Manet's choice of a bullfight subject in the early 1860s, namely the Hispanolism of his early work and of French art and literature in general in the first half of the nineteenth century; 2.) the re-constructed appearance of the larger *Episode in a Bullfight*, from which Manet cut the *Dead Toreador*, as determined from contemporary reviews and caricatures and from a laboratory examination; 3.) the sources in recent French art, in travel literature, in a newspaper report, and perhaps in an actual bullfight, of Manet's interest in the subject and especially in its tragic aspect; 4.) the sources in both recent and historic art, notably that of Goya, Velázquez, and Gérôme, of the composition and figural pose of the *Dead Toreador* and of elements of the *Episode in a Bullfight*; 5.) the expressive significance of the foreshortened, diagonally aligned figure of the dead toreador and its occurrence in older art and elsewhere in Manet's art; and 6.) the psychological context of Manet's choice of a morbid theme and its relation to his interest in similar themes both earlier and later in his career.

Although the answers to these questions illuminate many aspects of Manet's creative process, personality, and cultural milieu, they cannot claim to be definitive; or rather, their definitiveness varies inversely with the importance of the questions. Nor can the questions themselves claim to be the only interesting ones that could be raised: they merely reflect the current position in Manet studies and the current interest of one student, interests that may not be shared by other students, especially of another generation.

Columbia University

LEO STEINBERG

The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion

Between 1400 and the mid-sixteenth century, Renaissance artists both north and south of the Alps produced a large body of serious Christian imagery in which the genitalia of the Christ Child, or of the dead Christ, receive such demonstrative emphasis that one must recognize an *ostentatio genitalium*, comparable to the canonic *ostentatio vulnerum*, the showing forth of the wounds. The visual evidence, once it has been assembled and faced, is overwhelming. Yet it has been denied or suppressed, partly from obvious motives of decorum and reverence, but more significantly because the theologi-

cal justification of these showings has been drained from modern consciousness.

The justification of the *ostentatio genitalium* resides chiefly in the theology of Christ's Circumcision. From Saint Bernard onward, "the Circumcision is proof of the [Christ's] true humanity." The Incarnate Word submitted to the painful sacrament primarily "to show the reality of the human flesh" (Aquinas); "for blood can come forth only from a real body" (Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*). Furthermore, "this first shedding of Christ's blood for men . . . was the beginning of our redemption" (*Legenda Aurea*). These doctrines—and the notion that the Circumcision, performed on the eighth day, prefigures the Resurrection—are reiterated with gusto in the Renaissance sermons preached before the popes on the Feast of the Circumcision, 1 January. The heresies that hold God's assumed body to be merely phantom are confounded:

1460: "Today he began . . . to make accessible the entry to life. At the moment the boy was circumcised, the weapons for our salvation appeared in the blood of that infant."

1485: "Here flowed the first blood of our redemption . . . Today we begin to be saved."

1490s: "Who would doubt that he had a real body derived from his mother—a body that had all its members. Who would say that that is simulated which is fondled, taken in the hand, wounded, subject to pain?"

These Renaissance preachers, preaching at solemn Mass, had no difficulty directing their eloquence to Christ's sexual member. For those who need words, their sermons confirm what Renaissance art offers abundantly to the incomprehension of later centuries. But this incomprehension is profound, willed, and sophisticated. It is the price paid by the modern world for its massive retreat from the mythical grounds of Christianity.

University of Pennsylvania

MEMBERS AND MEETINGS OF THE
ACADEMIC YEAR 1980-1981
(June 1980-May 1981)

MEMBERS

Kress Professor

1980-1981

Leopold D. Ertlinger, University of California, Berkeley

The Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts

1981

John Harris, The Royal Institute of British Architects

Senior Fellows

1980-1981

Dora P. Crouch, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute

Sandra Hindman, The Johns Hopkins University

Rosalind Krauss, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, City

University of New York

Keith P. E. Moxey, University of Virginia

Visiting Senior Fellows

Spring 1981

Jonathan Lane, Wayne, Pennsylvania

Joseph Rykwert, Cambridge University

Summer 1980

Peter W. Guenther, University of Houston

Caroline Karpinski, Washington, D.C.

Marcel Roethlisberger, University of Geneva

Associate

1980-1981

William Homer, University of Delaware

MEETINGS

Symposia

14-15 November 1980

ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY AND HELLENISTIC PERIOD IN MACEDONIA AND THE REST OF GREECE

The Alexandrian Age

Constantine Trypanis, Secretary General of the Academy of Athens
Macedonian Tombs, Their Architecture, and Architectural Decoration

Stella G. Miller, Stanford University

Architecture as a Medium of Public Relations among the Successors of Alexander

Homer A. Thompson, Institute for Advanced Study

Samothrace and Macedonia: Two Architectural Late Comers

Alfred Frazer, Columbia University

Painting in the Time of Alexander and Later

P. H. Blanckenhagen, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Early Greek Mosaic

C. Martin Robertson, Oxford University

*Painting of the Late Classical Hellenistic Period and Its Influence on Roman
Painting*

Nicolas Yalouris, Ministry of Culture, Greece

Alexander's Influence on Greek Sculpture

Caroline Houser, Smith College

*Dionysos at Delphi: The West Pediment of the Sixth Temple of Apollo and Reli-
gious Reform in the Age of Alexander*

Andrew Stewart, University of California, Berkeley

Macedonian Royal Jewelry

Reynold A. Higgins, British Museum

*Macedonian Metal Vases in Perspective: Some Observations on Context and
Tradition*

Beryl Barr-Sharrar, New York City

Arms and Tactics in the Reign of Alexander the Great

Minor M. Markle III, University of New England, Australia

The Coinage of Philip II and Alexander III

Margaret Thompson, American Numismatic Society

Comments

Katerina Rhomiopoulou, Archaeological Museum of Greece, Thessalonike
*Greeks and Macedonians: Relations between Them in the Age of Philip II and
Alexander the Great*

Ernst Badian, Harvard University

A Reconsideration of the Pixodarus Affair

Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos, National Hellenic Research Foundations,
Athens

The First Months of Alexander's Reign

J. R. Ellis, Monash University, Australia

The Location of Alexander's Campaign against the Illyrians (335 B.C.)

A. Brian Bosworth, University of Western Australia

The History and Archaeology of Macedonia: Retrospect and Prospect

Eugene N. Borza, Pennsylvania State University

The papers of this symposium have been published as *Studies in the History of Art 10: Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Washington, D.C. 1982).

13-16 May 1981

RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM: ART OF THE MAMLUKS

Jointly sponsored with the Freer Gallery of Art

From Ayyubids to Mamluks

David Ayalon, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem

East-West Relations in the Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries

John Woods, University of Chicago

Manners and Customs at the Mamluk Court

Karl Stowasser, University of Maryland

The Urban Structure of Cairo in the Fifteenth Century

André Raymond, University of Provence

Residential Architecture in Mamluk Cairo

Laila Ali Ibrahim, American University in Cairo

Regional Architectural Schools: Evolution and Interrelations

Michael Meinecke, German Archaeological Institute, Damascus

Haram Documents and Mamluk Jerusalem

Donald P. Little, McGill University

Patronage in the Building of a New Mamluk City

Hayat Salam-Liebich, McGill University

Developments in Mamluk Geometric Ornament

Manuel Keene, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Astronomy of the Mamluks

David A. King, New York University

Shaban, Barquq, and the Decline of the Mamluk Metalworking Industry

J. W. Allan, The Ashmolean Museum

Wooden Vessels of the Mamluk Period

Abd El-Rauf Ali Yusuf, Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo

Mamluk Underglaze-Painted Pottery: Whence and Whither?

Marilyn Jenkins, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Fustat Pottery: "Sgraff and Slip and What's Left Over"

George T. Scanlon, American University in Cairo

Mamluk Textiles: National and International Considerations

Louise W. Mackie, Royal Ontario Museum

The Koran of Baybars II

David James, The Chester Beatty Library

Mamluk Painting in the Late Fifteenth Century

Esin Atil, Freer Gallery of Art

Mamluk and Ottoman Decorative Arts

J. Michael Rogers, The British Museum

The Political, Economic, and Social Setting

Ira Lapidus, University of California, Berkeley

Architecture and the Arts

Oleg Grabar, Harvard University

Conference

29 April 1981

RAPHAEL'S Transfiguration

The Recent Cleaning and Restoration

Fabrizio Mancinelli, Vatican Museums

The Style and Meaning of Raphael's Transfiguration

Konrad Oberhuber, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Leonardo and Raphael's Transfiguration

David A. Brown, National Gallery of Art

Three Footnotes

John Shearman, Princeton University

The Modalities of Style in Raphael's Transfiguration

Sydney J. Freedberg, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Raphael's Death and Transfiguration

Kathleen Weil-Garris, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Seminars

23 January 1981

QUESTIONS OF METHOD IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY STUDIES

Readings:

E. A. Carmean, *Picasso: "The Saltimbanques"* (Washington, 1980).

Mary Mathews Gedo, *Picasso: Art as Autobiography* (Chicago, 1980).

Theodore Reff, "Picasso's Three Musicians," *Art in America* 68 (December, 1980), 124-142.

Theodore Reff, "Themes of Love and Death in Picasso's Early Work," *Picasso in Retrospect* (New York, 1973).

William Rubin, "Pollock as Jungian Illustrator: The Limits of Psychological Criticism, Parts I and II," *Art in America* 67 (November 1979), 104-123 and (December, 1979), 72-91.

Donald E. Gordon, "Department of Jungian Amplification, I: Pollock's *Bird*, or How Jung Did Not Offer Much Help in Myth-Making," *Art in America* 68 (October, 1980), 43-53.

Irving Sandler, David Rubin, Elizabeth Langhorne, and William Rubin, "Department of Jungian Amplification, II: More on Rubin on Pollock," *Art in America* 68 (October, 1980), 57-67.

John Richardson, "Your Show of Shows," *New York Review of Books* 27 (17 July 1980), 16-24.

Eugene Thaw, "Lust For Life," *New York Review of Books* 27 (23 October 1980), 25-26.

Participants:

E. A. Carmean, Jr., National Gallery of Art

Jack Flam, New York

Michael Fried, The Johns Hopkins University

Edward F. Fry, University of South Florida

Mary Mathews Gedo, Wilmette, Illinois

Anne Coffin Hanson, Yale University

Rosalind Krauss, Hunter College and the Graduate Center, C.U.N.Y.

Elizabeth Langhorne, University of Virginia

Steven Z. Levine, Bryn Mawr College

Jane Livingston, Corcoran Gallery of Art

Rose-Carol Washton Long, City University of New York

Annette Michelson, New York University

Charles Millard, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden

Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study

Robert Pincus-Witten, Queens College and the Graduate Center,
C.U.N.Y.

Harry Rand, National Museum of American Art

Theodore Reff, Columbia University

John Richardson, New York

Margit Rowell, Guggenheim Museum

Angelica Rudenstine, Guggenheim Museum

Irving Sandler, New York

Richard Shiff, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Eugene Victor Thaw, New York

Nancy Troy, The Johns Hopkins University

30 April 1981

METHODOLOGIES OF ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT STUDIES

Readings:

L. M. J. Delaissé, *Le siècle d'or* (Brussels, 1959).

L. M. J. Delaissé, J. Morrow and J. de Wit, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection of Waddesdon Manor. Illuminated Manuscripts* (Fribourg, 1977).

O. Grabar and S. Blair, *Epic Images and Contemporary History: The Illustrations of the Great Mongol Shahnama* (Chicago, 1980).

K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela. Parisinus Grecus 923* (New York, 1979).

Participants:

Xavier Barral I Altet, Université de Haute Bretagne-Rennes II

Elizabeth Boone, Dumbarton Oaks

Robert G. Calkins, Cornell University

Anthony Cutler, Pennsylvania State University

Sheila Edmunds, Wells College

Jaroslav T. Folda, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
Oleg Grabar, Harvard University
Ernst Grube, New York
Sandra Hindman, The Johns Hopkins University
Ioli Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, University of California, Los Angeles
Herbert Kessler, The Johns Hopkins University
Inabelle Levin, American University
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks
John Lowdon, London
Amy L. Neff, University of Tennessee
Carra Ferguson O'Meara, Georgetown University
Vicki Porter, Walters Art Gallery
Lilian M. C. Randall, Walters Art Gallery
Claire Richter Sherman, Washington, D.C.
Marianna S. Simpson, Center for Advanced Study
Eleanor Sims, New York
Ellen S. Smart, Walters Art Gallery
Anne H. van Buren, Tufts University
Gary Vikan, Dumbarton Oaks
Kurt Weitzmann, Princeton University
Josefa Weitzmann-Fiedler, Princeton, New Jersey
Martha Wolff, National Gallery of Art
Ann Yonemura, Freer Gallery of Art

Lectures

25 November 1980

The Image of Napoleon: Hero or Villain

Leopold D. Ettlinger, University of California, Berkeley and Center for
Advanced Study

28 April 1981

Poussin's Early Landscapes

Konrad Oberhuber, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Colloquia I-X

2 October 1980

The Artistic Heritage of Claude Lorrain

Marcel Roethlisberger

6 November 1980

*The Political Role of Illumination at the Court of Charles VI: Manuscripts by
Christine de Pizan*

Sandra Hindman

4 December 1980

*Observations on the Date and Purpose of the Codex "Disegni de le ruini di Roma
. . ." Attributed to Etienne Dupérac, and Its Drawing of Saint Peter's*

Henry A. Millon

18 December 1980

Breakthrough in Medieval Color Mathematics: A Case Study

Charles Parkhurst, National Gallery of Art

8 January 1981

Alfred Stieglitz' Photographs at the National Gallery of Art: An Undiscovered Resource

William I. Homer

12 February 1981

The Photographic Conditions of Surrealism

Rosalind Krauss

12 March 1981

The Production and Patronage of a Sixteenth-Century Iranian Manuscript

Marianna S. Simpson

9 April 1981

The Hellenistic Water System of Morgantina, Sicily: Some Problems

Dora P. Crouch

23 April 1981

The Function of Peasant Imagery in the Late Middle Ages: Festive Peasants as Instruments of Repressive Humor

Keith P. F. Moxey

7 May 1981

Politics and Religion in the Medici Chapel

Leopold D. Ettlinger

Shop Talks

20 November 1980

The Teaching of Architectural Design at M.I.T., 1868-1881

John Chewning, [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]

15 January 1981

The Fresco Decoration of the "Chiostrò dei Carracci" at San Michele in Bosco, Bologna

David Steel, [Bryn Mawr College]

19 February 1981

E. B. Lamb and the Gothic Revival in England

Edward Kaufman, [Yale University]

19 March 1981

Science and Imagination in the Art of Joseph Cornell

Charles Licka, [University of Washington, Seattle]

Washington Area Art Historians Meetings

25 October 1980

Lecture and discussion on approaches to the study of sixteenth-century Mexican manuscript painting.

Elizabeth Boone, Dumbarton Oaks

9 December 1980

Presentations and panel discussion on the state of current scholarship in late fourth-century Macedonian and Greek art and architecture.

Malcolm Bell, University of Virginia

Diana Buitron, Walters Art Gallery

Andrew Oliver, Jr., Textile Museum

Elizabeth Pemberton, University of Maryland

5 February 1981

Lecture and discussion on the photograph around the turn of the century as artifact and document.

Alan Fern, Library of Congress

12 May 1981

Film screening and critique of "Palladio the Architect and His Influence in America."

James Ackerman, Harvard University

John Harris, The Royal Institute of British Architects

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

