

National Gallery of Art

Center 4

Research Reports and Record of Activities





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

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Research Reports and Record of Activities

June 1983—May 1984

Washington, 1984

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565

Telephone: (202) 842-6480

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Frontispiece:

Gavarni, "Les Artistes", no.7 (printed by Aubert et Cie.), published in *Le Charivari*, 23 June 1838.

"Voyons! me trouvez-vous bien comme ça?"

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Report on the Academic Year 1983-1984 (June 1983—May 1984)

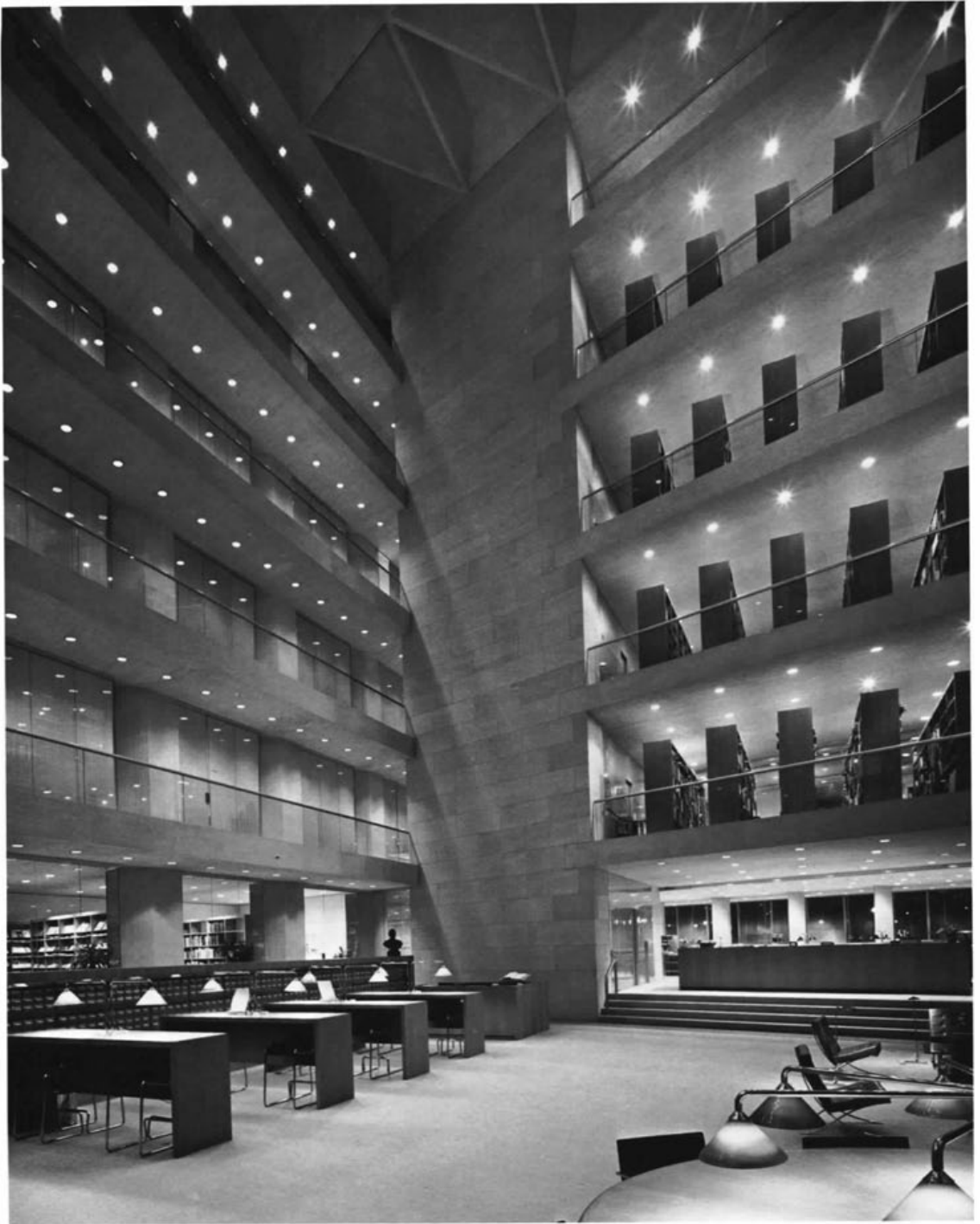
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GENERAL INFORMATION



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, Mellon Lecturer, 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 Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the Gallery in 1965. Occasionally during the same academic year two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms. 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 without regard to the age or nationality of the applicant. Senior Fellowships are 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 normally made for the academic year. Awards for one academic term and, in exceptional cases, four consecutive terms, are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in Washington during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

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 15 October. Each candidate submits an application form including a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, 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 six months to pursue their projects.

The application deadline is 15 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 who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made 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.

Predocctoral 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, coursework and general or preliminary examinations, and at least one-half year's full-time 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 and under the sponsorship of departmental chairmen. The application deadline is 15 November. 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

The Center sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shoptalks given by predoctoral fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, and *incontri*. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly lunch and tea, annual reception in honor of the new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery, provide the opportunity for formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in the area and elsewhere engaged in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines.

A listing of the meetings held at the Center in 1983-1984 may be found on pages 20-29.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually. (See pages 32-80 for reports written by members of the Center in 1983-1984.) 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 and Canada.

Papers presented at symposia and other conferences sponsored by the Center are often 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*. Volume 13 of *Studies*, entitled *El Greco: Italy and Spain*, contains the papers of a symposium on El Greco and Toledo held in April 1982 under the joint

auspices of the Instituto Diego Velázquez in Madrid and the Center for Advanced Study. *Claude Lorrain 1600-1682*, held at the Center in December 1982, will be published as *Studies* volume 14, and *Raphael before Rome*, held at the Center in January 1983, as volume 15.

The papers of three symposia held in 1984, *Italian Medals, Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (jointly sponsored with The Johns Hopkins University), and *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (jointly sponsored with the Freer Gallery of Art), are now being prepared for publication.

RESEARCH PROGRAMS

In 1982-1983 the Center initiated a program of long-term research projects. One such project, under the direction of the dean of the Center and with the participation of various research assistants, involves the compilation of a photographic archive of architectural drawings and the development of an automated system for cataloguing and to aid research. It is envisioned that the archive will eventually include photos of architectural drawings up to the year 1800 held in public collections of North America and Europe.

Another research project aims to develop a standard method of gathering and processing information on illustrated Islamic manuscripts and to organize the documentation into a centralized and easily accessible compilation. The project will deal with manuscripts written in Arabic and Persian and produced in Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Central Asia, and Afghanistan during the eleventh through fifteenth centuries. The goals of this project, which is under the direction of the associate dean, are to permit the study of broad technical and historical issues and to encourage the exploration of various methodologies that might be employed to evaluate the Islamic manuscript tradition as a whole.

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
1983-1984
(June 1983—May 1984)

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Dore Ashton, The Cooper Union
James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley
Marvin Eisenberg, University of Michigan
Alfred Frazer, Columbia University
George Heard Hamilton, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study
Alan Shestack, Yale University Art Gallery
Craig H. Smyth, Villa I Tatti

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*

Rita Offer, *Research Assistant*
Therese O'Malley, *Research Assistant*
Deborah Wilde, *Research Assistant*
Jean Wilson, *Research Assistant*

MEMBERS

Kress Professor

Philippe M. Verdier
Université de Montréal (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1983-1984
L'Abbot Suger et Paul Gauguin

Mellon Lecturer

Richard Wollheim, University College London (emeritus) and Columbia
University
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1984
(lectures to be delivered in November-December)
Painting as an Art

Senior Fellows

Anne Hagopian van Buren, Tufts University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1983-1984
Hesdin Castle and Broederlam's Paintings of the Golden Fleece

John C. Irwin, Victoria and Albert Museum (emeritus)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1983-1984
Origins of Monumental Art in Universal Myth

Elisabeth Kieven, Bibliotheca Hertziana
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1984
Roman Architecture in the 1730s

V. A. Kolve, University of Virginia
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1984
The God-denying Fool in Medieval Art and Literature

John A. Pinto, Smith College
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1984
The Trevi Fountain in Rome

Thomas F. Reese, University of Texas, Austin
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1983
Architecture and Reform Politics in the Age of Charles III

Charles S. Rhyne, Reed College
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1983-1984
The Drawings and Paintings of John Constable: Catalogue Raisonné

Richard E. Spear, Oberlin College
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1983-1984
Problems of Originality and Caravaggio Studies



Visiting Senior Fellows

Sheila ffliott, George Mason University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1983

Civic Sculpture of the Renaissance: Montorsoli's Fountains at Messina

Edith W. Kirsch, The Colorado College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1983

Patronage and Chronology in Five Manuscripts of Giangaleazzo Visconti

Artur Rosenauer, Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1984

Donatello's Development in the 1430s

Robert W. Scheller, University of Amsterdam

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring-summer 1983

State Symbolism in France in the Sixteenth Century

Alan Shestack, Yale University Art Gallery

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1984

A Reconsideration of the Drawings of Wolf Huber

Elise Goodman-Soellner, University of Cincinnati

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall-winter 1983

*The Lady and the Landscape: A Seventeenth-Century Pictorial and Poetical
Topos*

Maren Stange, Maryland Institute, College of Art

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1983

Documentary Photography in Social Reform Movements, 1900-1943

Sidra Stich, University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1984

Miró's Tableaux Sauvages

National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., National Gallery of Art

National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, spring-summer 1984

Vermeer's Painting Techniques and Their Relationship to His Style

Fellows

*Susan MacMillan Arensberg, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1983-1985

The Padua Bible

*Susan Barnes, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1981-1984

Van Dyck in Italy (November 1621-January 1628)

Douglas Crimp, [The Graduate School and University Center of the
City University of New York]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984
The Museum's Culture: A Postmodern Perspective

*Linda Docherty, [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]
Lawrence and Barbara Fleischman Fellow, 1983-1985
*A Search for Identity: American Art Criticism and the Concept of the Native
School, 1876-1893*

Katherine Fraser Fischer, [Harvard University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984
The Rebuilding of the Palais de Justice in Paris in the Nineteenth Century

Jeffrey Hamburger, [Yale University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1983-1986
The Rothschild Canticles

Christopher Johns, [University of Delaware]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984
*The Influence of the Paleo-Christian Revival on the Art Patronage of Pope
Clement XI Albani, 1700-1721*

Jennifer Licht, [Columbia University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984
The Peace of Amiens: Art in France and England in 1809

Lucy MacClintock, [Harvard University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1982-1985
Eugène Delacroix and the Significance of Finish in Romantic Painting

*Thomas S. Michie, [Yale University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1982-1984
The Willards and Collaborating Craftsmen in Boston, 1780-1830

Lawrence W. Nichols, [Columbia University]
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1983-1984
The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617

*Steven F. Ostrow, [Princeton University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1982-1984
*The History and Decoration of the Sistine and Pauline Chapels at Santa Maria
Maggiore*

Linda Wolk, [University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1983-1985
The Paintings of Perino del Vaga (1501-1547)

*in residence 1983-1984

MEETINGS

Symposia

16-17 March 1984

PICTORIAL NARRATIVE IN ANTIQUITY AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Jointly sponsored with the Department of the History of Art, The Johns Hopkins University

SESSION I

Presiding: Gary Vikan, Dumbarton Oaks

How to Represent Miracles: Shigisan Engi Scrolls of c. 1175 A.D.

Yoshiaki Shimizu, Freer Gallery of Art

Early Christian Pictorial Narrative and Church Mission

Herbert L. Kessler, The Johns Hopkins University

SESSION II

Presiding: Anne Hagopian van Buren, Tufts University

Narrative Allusion and Metaphor in the Decoration of Medieval Islamic Objects

Marianna Shreve Simpson, Center for Advanced Study

History, Myth, and Allegory in the Program of the Temple of Athena Nike, Athens

Andrew Stewart, University of California, Berkeley

The New Role of the Narrative in Public Paintings of the Trecento: Historia and Allegory

Hans Belting, Universität München

SESSION III

Presiding: Robert Bergman, The Walters Art Gallery and The Johns Hopkins University

The Prestige of Saint Peter's: Observations on the Development of Monumental Narrative Cycles in Italy

William Tronzo, Dumbarton Oaks and American University

Image and Text in Amarna Tomb Art

Elizabeth Meyers, The J. Paul Getty Trust (at the Institute for Advanced Study)

SESSION IV

Presiding: Carol Bier, The Textile Museum

Restructuring the Narrative: the Function of Ceremonial in Charles V's Grandes Chroniques de France

Anne D. Hedeman, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

After the Battle is Over: Historical Narrative in the Ancient Near East
Irene Winter, University of Pennsylvania

29-31 March 1984
ITALIAN MEDALS

SOURCES IN ANTIQUITY

Graeco-Roman Asia Minor to Renaissance Italy: Medallion and Related Arts

Cornelius Vermeule, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Speculations on the Origins of Renaissance Medals

John R. Spencer, Duke University

Domenico Compagni: Roman Medalist and Antiquities Dealer of the Cinquecento

Martha A. McCrory, The Walters Art Gallery

PURPOSE AND FUNCTION

La Medaille italienne: le problème du revers (XVe-XVIe siècles)

Michel Pastoureau, Bibliothèque National

The Importance of Papal Medals for the Architectural History of Rome

Ingrid Szeiklies-Weber, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich

Alexander VII, Bernini, and the Baroque Papal Medal

John Varriano, Mount Holyoke College

Soldani's Models for Medals

Charles Avery, Christie's, London

TECHNICAL PERSPECTIVES

Surface Characteristics of Medals and Their Interpretation

Arthur Beale, Fogg Art Museum

Nondestructive Instrumental Analysis of Medals

Eugene Farrell, Fogg Art Museum

An Investigation of Medals with Incuse Reverse

Patricia Tuttle, J. Paul Getty Museum



MEDALISTS

Matteo de' Pasti: Attribuzioni e Cronologia

Pier Giorgio Pasini, Rimini

Reconsidering Sperandio

Christopher Lloyd, Ashmolean Museum

Giancristoforo Romano: The Courtier as Medalist

Andrea S. Norris, Archer M. Huntington Art Gallery,
University of Texas, Austin

A "Modern" Medalist in the Circle of "Antico"?

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

Camelio and Leopardi: Two Medalists of the Venetian Myth

Hans Brill, Royal College of Art, London

Nuovi Studi su Giovanni da Cavino

Giovanni Gorini, Università di Padova

Eine Medaille auf Leone Baglioni von Vincenzo Danti (Arm. III, 82)

Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien

PATRONAGE AND COLLECTIONS

The Italian Renaissance Medal: Collecting and Connoisseurship

J. Graham Pollard, Fitzwilliam Museum

"Pride and Prejudice:" Mehmed the Conqueror and the Italian Portrait Medal

Julian Raby, Oriental Institute, Oxford

Some Grimani Medals and Their Context

Peter Meller, University of California, Santa Barbara

Offene Fragen zur venezianischen Medaillistik der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts

Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien

From Medalist to Imperial Sculptor: Leone Leoni's Charles V and Fury

Restrained

Michael P. Mezzatesta, Kimbell Art Museum

Ten Papal Medals from Bologna

Richard J. Tuttle, Tulane University

French Medals 1400-1650: The Italian Dimension

Mark P. Jones, British Museum

7 April 1984

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MIDDLE ATLANTIC
SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART

Jointly sponsored with the Department of Art, University of Maryland

The Saint Peter Icon at Dumbarton Oaks: New Evidence for the Dating

Barbara Eckert, [American University]

The Iconography of Purgatory in French Gothic Illumination

Pamela Hemzik, [Pennsylvania State University]

The Litany of Saints and the Interior of the Ghent Altarpiece

Susan Jenson, [University of Maryland]

Pordenone and Titian in Treviso

Fiona DeJardin, [University of Delaware]

Invitation to Immanence: The Commentator Figure in Painting before 1800

Alice Campbell, [University of Virginia]



Winslow Homer: America's Most Native Painter

Linda Docherty, [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

Degas' Ecole de Dance: Pivotal Work in the Chronology of the Ballet Paintings

Marilyn Romines, [George Washington University]

Oskar Schlemmer's Folkwang Museum Commission (1930): The Fulfillment of an Iconographic Program

Lucy Embick, [University of Pittsburgh]

11 May 1984

JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER: A REEXAMINATION

Jointly sponsored with the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

Introduction and Symposium Chairman

John Wilmerding, National Gallery of Art

Whistler: The Pregnant Pause

Margaret F. MacDonald, Hunterian Art Gallery, University of Glasgow

"The Thames from its Source to the Sea:" An Unpublished Portfolio by Whistler and Haden

Katharine A. Lochnan, Art Gallery of Ontario

Whistler and Manet

Robin Spencer, University of St. Andrews

Total Control: Whistler at an Exhibition

David Park Curry, The Denver Art Museum

Studies in Black and White: Whistler's Photographs in Glasgow University Library

Nigel Thorp, Glasgow University Library

Summary

Ruth E. Fine, National Gallery of Art



Conference

16-17 December 1983

LEONARDO DA VINCI: *THE LAST SUPPER*

Observations on Leonardo's Last Supper

Carlo Bertelli, Palazzo di Brera

State of Conservation and Causes of Deterioration

Pinin Brambilla Barcilon, Sezione Pinacoteca Brera

Recent Scientific Examination of Leonardo's Last Supper

Antonietta Gallone Galassi, Istituto di Fisica del Politecnico, Milan

The Working of the Hands of Christ: Reflections on the Reasoned Irrational in Leonardo's Last Supper

Leo Steinberg, University of Pennsylvania

Perspective in the Last Supper, or the Last Supper in Perspective

Francis M. Naumann, Parsons School of Design

Leonardo's Saint Simon

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

Turning One's Back on the Last Supper

Carlo Pedretti, University of California, Los Angeles

Further Reflections on Leonardo's Last Supper

Jack Wasserman, Temple University

Summary

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

Seminars

October and November 1983, January, March, and May 1984
FRANCE AND BURGUNDY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Readings and Discussion Papers:

21 October 1983

Maurice Smeyers and Bert Cardon, "Pierpont Morgan Library, Manuscript 649."

18 November 1983

Christine McArdle Reno, "Christine de Pizan's *L'Avision - Christine* (1405): Summary."

18 January 1984

Martha Wolff, "The Master of Saint Giles: the *Baptism of Clovis* and *Episodes From the Life of a Bishop Saint* in the National Gallery."

William M. Hinkle, "The Iconography of the Four Panels by the Master of Saint Giles," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 28 (1965), 110-145.

2 March 1984

Brigitte Bedos Rezak, "Images of Royalty on Seals and Diplomatics (450-1380)" (Published as "Mythes monarchiques et thèmes sigillaires, Du Sceau de Louis VII aux sceaux de Charles VII," in *XV Congreso Internacional de las Ciencias Genealogica y Heraldica* [Madrid, 1982], 199-213) and "Images and Political Statements on Fifteenth-Century Seals."

4 May 1984

Anne McGee Morganstern, "The 'Burgundian Tomb' during the Reign of Philip the Good."

Detroit Institute of Arts, *Flanders in the Fifteenth Century: Art and Civilization* (Detroit, 1960), 264-267, cat. nos. 101-102.

Jaap Leeuwenberg, *Beeldouwkunst in het Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 1973), 40-45, cat. no. 10.

Jaap Leeuwenberg, "De Tien Bronzen 'Plorannen' in het Rijksmuseum te Amsterdam, hun Herkomst en de Voorbeelden Waaraan zij zijn ontleend," *Gentse Bijdragen tot de Kunstgeschiedenis* 13 (1951), 13-59.

Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, *Les Primitifs flamands III. Contributions à l'étude des primitifs flamands 7, Les mémoriaux d' Antoine de Succa, volume 2* (Brussels, 1977).

Participants:

Anne Hagopian van Buren, Tufts University

*Bert Cardon, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven

John Fleming, Princeton University

John Hand, National Gallery of Art

Robert W. Hanning, Columbia University

Anne D. Hedeman, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign

Sandra Hindman, The Johns Hopkins University

Anne McGee Morganstern, Ohio State University

Keith P. F. Moxey, University of Virginia
Carra Ferguson O'Meara, Georgetown University
Myra D. Orth, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Lilian M. C. Randall, Walters Art Gallery
Christine McArdle Reno, Vassar College
Brigitte Bedos Rezak, National Archives (Paris) and The Metropolitan
Museum of Art
Claire R. Sherman, Washington, D.C.
*Maurice Smeyers, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven
Gabrielle M. Spiegel, University of Maryland
Philippe Verdier, Université de Montréal
Hope P. Weissman, Wesleyan University
Jean C. Wilson, Center for Advanced Study
Martha Wolff, National Gallery of Art
*attended only one session

9 December 1983

URBAN STUDIES IN INDIA

Readings:

Paul Wheatley, *City as Symbol* (London, 1969).
Robert Redfield and Milton B. Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities,"
Economic Development and Cultural Change 3, no. 1 (1954), 53-73.
Diana L. Eck, *Banaras: City of Light* (New York, 1982).
Howard Spodek, "Studying the History of Urbanization in India,"
Journal of Urban History 6, no. 3 (May 1980), 251-295.

Participants:

Catherine B. Asher, Minneapolis, Minnesota
Frederick M. Asher, University of Minnesota
Wayne Begley, University of Iowa
Stephen P. Blake, University of Minnesota
Carol Breckenridge, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
John E. Brush, Rutgers University
George F. Dales, University of California, Berkeley
Joseph M. Dye, III, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Diana L. Eck, Harvard University
John Fritz, University of New Mexico
Robert E. Frykenberg, University of Wisconsin
Gavin R. G. Hambly, University of Texas, Dallas
John C. Irwin, Victoria and Albert Museum
Deborah Klimburg-Salter, University of California, Los Angeles
Stella Kramrisch, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Glenn D. Lowry, College of William and Mary
Michael W. Meister, University of Pennsylvania
Mary Slusser, Alexandria, Virginia
Howard Spodek, Temple University
Doris Srinivasan, Fairfax, Virginia

9 March 1984

ROMAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Readings:

Hellmut Hager and Susan Munshower, *Architectural Fantasy and Reality*, [exh. cat.] (University Park, Pennsylvania, 1981).

Alessandro Del Bufalo, *G. B. Contini e la tradizione del tardomanierismo nell'architettura tra '600 e '700* (Rome, 1982).

John A. Pinto, "An Early Project by Nicola Michetti for the Trevi Fountain," *The Burlington Magazine* 119 (1977), 853-857.

John A. Pinto and Elisabeth Kieven, "An Early Project by Ferdinando Fuga for the Trevi Fountain in Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 125 (1983), 746-749.

Participants:

Elena Ciletti, Hobart and William Smith College

Michael Conforti, Minneapolis Institute of Arts

Joseph Connors, Columbia University

Elaine E. Dec, Cooper-Hewitt Museum

Dorothy Metzger Habel, University of Tennessee

Hellmut Hager, Pennsylvania State University

Cathie Cook Kelly, University of Nevada

Elisabeth Kieven, Bibliotheca Hertziana

Nina A. Mallory, State University of New York

Tod A. Marder, Rutgers University

Thomas J. McCormick, Wheaton College

Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study

Susan S. Munshower, [Pennsylvania State University]

John A. Pinto, Smith College

Martha Pollak, University of Illinois

Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art





Colloquia XXXII-XL

20 October 1983

How Much did it Cost Abbot Suger to Rebuild and Redecorate Saint-Denis?

Philippe Verdier

10 November 1983

The Education and Early Career of Melchior Broederlam

Anne Hagopian van Buren

8 December 1983

Idea and Reality: The Image of Madrid in the Eighteenth Century

Thomas F. Reese

12 January 1984

New Light on Lapis Lazuli and the Archaic Pillar-Cult

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MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

The following research reports discuss work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1983 to May 1984 and by several Predoctoral Fellows not in residence whose terms ended in August 1983. Additional reports by the National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow and Predoctoral Fellows for the 1983-1984 academic year will be published in *Center 5*.

The Places Royales of Henri IV and the Urban Development of Paris 1600-1615

Henri IV has long been honored for the rebuilding of Paris during the first decade of the seventeenth century. The Pont Neuf, the place Royale, the place Dauphine and rue Dauphine, as well as the Hôpital Saint Louis, were realized through his efforts, although his contribution alone did not produce these projects. The king relied extensively on private entrepreneurial participation; he established the designs and made available the land to individuals who were then required to execute the royal schemes. The measures taken by Henri IV are well documented, but the ensuing responses from private patrons have not been studied. Lack of information about the means by which the projects were accomplished, the constituencies involved and interests served, has limited our understanding of Henri IV's urbanism. The aims of my research were to examine in detail the construction and settlement of the place Royale and the place Dauphine and, in light of this material, to reappraise the goals of Henri IV's building program.

Previous research had been confined to the royal archives, which explains why only the crown's activities were known. The notary archives, I expected, would disclose what steps were taken by the private entrepreneurs to comply with the king's charge. Consequently, I spent the fellowship year in Paris, primarily at the Minutier central, the notary deposit at the Archives Nationales, completing dissertation research begun the previous year. The Minutier proved to be an extraordinary resource from which I learned how Henri IV's Paris took shape.

I did research on every house or pavilion built at the place Royale and place Dauphine. There were some houses for which I was unable to identify the appropriate notary, but for the majority of houses I did find a full series of building contracts—for masonry, carpentry, joinery, glazing, ironwork, paving, and in some cases, for decoration—as well as leases and contracts of sale. These documents permit me to trace the development of the squares from the initial sale of lots through construction and tenancy of the houses. I can follow the building process from the purchase of materials at the quarry, brickyard, or forest and their delivery to the *chantier*, to the *marchés* passed with master masons, and subcontracts with other artisans. I can also identify who owned and who occupied the houses, in addition to the prices at which they were rented and sold. With this rich documentation of the construction and settlement of the projects, it is possible to define more clearly the roles which the place Royale and place Dauphine played in Henri IV's building program.

The crown was guided by an interest in meeting the needs of an urban population. A particular economic or social program was associated with each project. The place Royale was conceived as a center of commerce, with silk works occupying its northern side. Documents uncovered in the Minutier dispute the prevailing view that the original plan for the square

called for the destruction of the factory. The documents indicate that the silk business was an essential element in the 1605 project, but that a new scheme in 1607 altered the design and program of the place Royale, transforming it into an aristocratic enclave. While the silk factory was still functioning at the place Royale, the place Dauphine was planned in late 1606 to accommodate a different commercial element. Notarial acts confirm that the second square succeeded in attracting, in addition to parliamentary officers, goldsmiths, printers, and other merchants whose trades were concentrated in or near the Palais de Justice.

As my research progressed, I became convinced that Henri IV's urbanism could not be fully understood if the *places royales* were divorced from the Hôpital Saint Louis. Begun by the king in 1607, it was the first monumental facility built in Europe for the exclusive treatment of plague victims. The hospital's records, held at the Archives de l'Assistance Publique in Paris, reveal the importance that the crown attributed to the building. Located just outside the walls of Paris, the hospital promised to relieve the city of its principal scourge, yet the cost and architectural grandeur of the plague hospital far surpassed its limited medical function. The same urban strategy that produced the places Royale and Dauphine shaped the Hôpital Saint Louis.

While the abundant archival material helped to establish Henri's building program in a concrete economic, social, and political context, the conceptual context that informed his urban strategy remained uncertain. How did the changes in the physical form of Paris relate to new ways of thinking about the city? To approach these underlying conceptions, I studied three major texts produced at the time of the transformation of the capital: the two plans of Paris published in 1609 by Quesnel and by Vassalieu dit Nicolay, and Dubreul's 1612 guidebook *Le Théâtre des Antiquitez*. These texts suggest a growing interest in the topographical order of the city, an awareness of it not simply as a stage on which kings performed acts of state, but as a physical domain of constructed space. Henri's urbanism clearly inspired new efforts to map, describe, and represent the city which will be addressed in the closing chapter of my dissertation. The broader question about the relationship between the physical form of the city and conceptual models persists, and I hope to explore it further following the anticipated completion of my dissertation by September 1984.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983

SUSAN J. BARNES

Van Dyck in Italy (November 1621-January 1628)

This was the third and final year of the Finley Fellowship which has supported my doctoral research on Van Dyck's Italian period. When completed, my thesis will consist of a biographical sketch, an analysis of the artist's contributions in portraiture and history painting during this period, and a catalogue raisonné of the Italian-period paintings.

I spent the first two years of my fellowship living in Rome and traveling throughout Europe. I was able to examine many of Van Dyck's paintings and to make detailed photographic records of them. I also worked in various libraries, archives, and photographic collections. Much of my time was spent in Genoa, where Van Dyck executed the greatest part of his Italian oeuvre, and where I scoured public and private records for traces of the artist's presence. In the end, only one contemporary document came to light, but it is an important one: a payment dated 18 December 1627. This discovery has led me to suggest a new date for Van Dyck's return to Antwerp; I believe he left Genoa in January 1628 instead of the fall of 1627, as has been generally assumed. Another focus of my research in Genoa was to develop an understanding of the social, historical, and economic conditions of the Genoese Republic in Van Dyck's time.

This year in residence at the Center has given me the unique opportunity to learn by living with some of the finest of Van Dyck's Italian works, those in the National Gallery of Art. My understanding of Van Dyck's technique has also been deepened through work with Arthur Wheelock, curator of northern baroque painting, and with members of the paintings' conservation staff, who completed the cleaning of two of the portraits during this year—*Filippo Cattaneo* (NGA 689) and *Clelia Cattaneo* (NGA 690)—and made the preliminary examination for cleaning a third: *Elena Grimaldi, Marchesa Cattaneo* (NGA 688). The research I accomplished last year in Genoa enabled me to rectify the catalogue information on some of the Gallery's Van Dycks, especially with regard to their dating and the identification of sitters.

Although Van Dyck was a devout Catholic and a dedicated painter of religious imagery, the patronage he received from his Genoese patrician clients was overwhelmingly for portraits. Thus it was in Italy that Van Dyck created much of the repertory of *grand-mode* portrait forms he later developed in England and that would be his rich legacy to court portraiture. Van Dyck's full-length Italian portraits broke with the traditions of the time. The artist rejected the rigid conventions of the so-called International Style, turning away from the flat, formulaic, immobile, iconic images that dominated Italian court portraiture in 1620. Instead he looked back to examples of earlier sixteenth-century Italian portraiture, particularly to works by Titian, Raphael, and Moroni. These nurtured his own tastes in portraiture, which included the use of a variety of poses and of settings, as well as the depiction of the figure in movement.

One specific objective of my study during my year in residence at the Center has been to understand the themes of Van Dyck's portraiture and to analyze the formal means he used to convey those themes. It is clear from the oeuvre that Van Dyck's goal was to make the portrait not only a physical likeness, but also an image that embodied such intangibles as the sitter's psychology, his unique personal presence, and his place in the world. Titian, a master at rendering individual psychology in portraiture, was Van Dyck's favorite model; like any ambitious young artist working in the tradition of *imitatio*, Van Dyck strove to surpass his model. He brought new elements into play beyond the sitter's own face and figure, skillfully selecting and arranging the elements of the setting to enhance the meaning in his portraits.

A splendid example of Van Dyck's accomplishment in this area is the double portrait in the National Gallery: the *Portrait of an Italian Noblewoman and Her Son* (NGA 687; formerly called *Paola Adorno and Her Son*), painted in about 1625. If we look at the portrait in light of the customs of the Genoese patriciate, particularly as regards male primogeniture and the political and social divisions between men and women in the seventeenth century, we can recognize how the painting depicts the individuals in their roles in society. These roles constitute a principal theme of the work.

While mother and son are linked by the joining of their hands, they are separated from one another spatially and psychologically. This separation functions pictorially to allow each sitter his due. Van Dyck devised a fictive architectural setting of massive column shafts that set the mother apart in a sheltered interior. Furthermore he turned her face completely in profile, removing her from any psychological encounter with the viewer and directing our attention instead to her son, who faces us frontally. Behind him the space suddenly opens onto an airy blue sky. The scale of the architecture shifts too, so that the balustrade and the single Corinthian column framing the boy also heighten his stature. Although a young boy, perhaps only six or seven years old, he already has the pose, the gaze, and the bearing of the patrician leader he might become. The wide world is his to command as a male, particularly if he is the first born; this open horizon is as proper to him as the sequestered, domestic realm is to his mother. At the far left of the painting, Van Dyck provided some relief to this weighty image of patrician power in the bounding puppy: it reminds us that his master, the haughty aristocrat, could also be a playful little boy. In paintings such as this, Van Dyck greatly enriched the expressive potential of the full-length portrait.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1981-1984

Hesdin Castle and Broederlam's Paintings of the Golden Fleece

My project involved completing the reconstruction of the paintings of the Golden Fleece in the Burgundian dukes' favorite castle at Hesdin. Evidence reveals that this lost wall cycle, known through a set of drawings now in Berlin, was painted by Melchior Broederlam. I am concerned with not only the cycle's visual form and iconography, but also with the setting in the castle's famous entertainment galleries and the resonance of the paintings in the imagination of their viewers. Most of my time at the Center was spent on the reconstruction of this physical and ideological context, for the first of two interrelated publications on fourteenth-century Flemish art. The second volume will be a monograph examining the career of Broederlam as a court artist.

The principal source of information on the castle, beside the tree-covered ruins of the ramparts, is in the financial accounts of the bailiwick of Hesdin, still extant in the archives of the *Départements* of the Pas-de-Calais and the Nord, respectively in Arras and Lille. The hitherto unstudied series begins in 1294, just after the castle's refounding by Count Robert II of Artois, and extends to 1535, when the French last captured Hesdin, before Emperor Charles V destroyed both town and castle in 1553. Each year, under the heading of *Ouvrages au chastel*, the registers list payments for major and minor repairs and periodic renovation. The accompanying descriptions of work reveal that, except in the galleries, the layout and decoration of the principal rooms remained unchanged throughout the castle's history. Consequently, in reconstructing the castle's plan and history, I have been able to use the topographical allusions throughout the period.

For this reason and to discern the castle's evolving traditions, this volume takes the form of a building history of the galleries, from their creation under Robert II through their three renovations under the Burgundian dukes. The original architect was Renaud Coignet, a knight from Barletta of dubious character, but the continuation and expansion of building after he absconded indicates that the concept of the castle came from the count. From the beginning, the double gallery contained mechanical entertainments, which included carved heads in the outer wall that spoke to visitors and then sprayed them with water. They were made by a woodcarver, Master Guissin, who may have been one of the ingenious builders of northern France, along with Villard d'Honnecourt and Roger Bacon's teacher, Peter Peregrinus.

Robert's projects were completed by his daughter, whose descendants maintained the castle through the depredations of the Hundred Years War, adding in the galleries only a few statues, including a hermit by the door to an adjacent room. In 1384 Hesdin descended to Philip the Bold, the first Valois duke of Burgundy. The following year the destruction of part of the wall containing the machinery for the mechanical entertainments in a violent storm gave the duke the opportunity to have his new Flemish

painter, Broederlam, rebuild and decorate the galleries. Broederlam moved to Hesdin in late 1385. Working in the galleries until 1388, he had the old machines repaired and new ones installed. These included, in the room opposite the hermit figure, a machine that imitated thunder, lightning, snow, and hail and paintings that William Caxton later described as showing Jason's conquest of the Golden Fleece. His paintings in the gallery itself probably depicted the history of Troy.

The ducal family enjoyed the galleries for years, sometimes operating the machines themselves from behind the wainscoting, but the constant dampness affected the woodwork and the paintings. In 1411 Philip's son John the Fearless had the hermit room's ceiling and weather machine rebuilt; in 1428 John's son Philip the Good ordered a restoration of the whole complex by a local painter, Colard le Voleur. Colard made no changes except to add several waterspouts designed by the duke himself. He repainted Broederlam's scenes but did not alter the compositions.

The first six of eight chapters are now complete. The discussion of each campaign includes the art patronage of the owner at the time. Since each owned a sizable, and recorded, library, his or her reading provides clues to their guiding concepts. Robert II, nephew to Saint Louis, was a crusader, a lover of romances, and a self-conscious model of Christian chivalry. His daughter Mahaut, also a lover of romances, cultivated her father's memory and maintained the family cult of the crusading Saint Louis. Philip the Bold was a royal prince and the first peer of France. His many building projects, his support of Netherlandish architects, sculptors, and painters, and his enormous collection of tapestries illustrating France's national epics reveal that he saw himself as a history-making hero of France and the founder of a new Burgundian dynasty. Emulating the epic heroes who fought the infidel, Philip sponsored efforts at renewing the crusade against the Turks. But his chief effort, led by John the Fearless, ended at Nicopolis, in disaster. John never forgot the humiliation, but his short reign was spent in struggling to control the French throne. His patronage, finishing his father's projects and buying books on practical and moral subjects, shows that he believed in the rightness of his cause. His murder made him a martyr of the duchy. Philip the Good separated the duchy from France; he founded the order of the Golden Fleece, almost certainly in order to lead the long-delayed crusade, two years after ordering the restoration of the paintings at Hesdin. Enjoying a long reign, great wealth, and the flowering of Flemish talent, he exercised a lavish and theatrical patronage. Featuring such ancient precedents as Jason's conquest of the Fleece and the Greeks' destruction of Troy, it was largely focused on crusading.

These threads will be woven together in the final, more speculative, chapter. In it the literature and history read by Hesdin's patrons will serve to delineate the castle's ambience and to explain its combination of high art and low pranks. It will argue that Hesdin was seen as an embodiment of the magic castles of the romances and as a theater for reenacting the stories of Jason and Troy, allegories of a successful crusade, to show the Burgundian dukes as the leading heroes in the history of their realm.

Tufts University

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1983-1984

The Fresco Decorations of Luca Giordano in Spain

Luca Giordano was called to Spain in 1692 by Carlos II, the last member of the Spanish Hapsburg dynasty. In the years before the king's death in 1700, Giordano's legendary *fa prestismo* was exercised as never before, particularly in a series of fresco projects that depict the political concerns of the royal house at a moment when the extinction of the dynasty seemed inevitable. The goal of my study is to assess the meaning of the frescos through an examination of their place in Hapsburg ideological and iconographic traditions, as well as their response to the particular historical conditions that brought them into being. Analysis of Giordano's formal sources for each fresco will clarify how the artist used illusionism to convey meaning, giving traditional Spanish concepts new life in their final manifestation.

During my year as a Chester Dale Fellow, I was principally concerned with writing three sections of my dissertation: an introduction and two parts dealing with Giordano's projects for the Escorial and the Cason of the Buen Retiro Palace, which were his most extensive and important works. These sections are based on research carried out in Europe during the two preceding years, supplemented by work in the libraries of the New York metropolitan area.

The introduction surveys Giordano's career as a fresco decorator in Italy and considers the history of previous Hapsburg fresco projects to demonstrate the novelty of the artist's work in Spain. The specific circumstances of his summons to Madrid, his life at court, and his return to Naples in 1702 in the entourage of Philip V, the first of the Spanish Bourbons, are presented with new documentation.

Part II covers the fresco cycle at the Escorial, which includes the main staircase and ten vaults in the church. Shortly after Giordano's arrival, Carlos II charged the Hieronymite scholars at the monastery to help the painter formulate a program which would express Philip II's motives for founding the Hapsburg pantheon and monastic retreat. The chapters in the second part of the dissertation clarify how this commission was fulfilled.

In the vault of the staircase Giordano illustrated the symbolic role of the Escorial as an image of heaven by painting a vision of the Trinity adored by the heavenly host. The fresco reflects images created to illuminate the final chapter of *De civitate Dei*, where Augustine described the Trinity-centered heavenly kingdom. The concept of the Escorial as an earthly manifestation of the *civitas Dei* is discussed in the context of the Augustinianism inherent in Hapsburg royal ideology and the Hieronymite Order, with particular attention to its expression in the first decorative campaign at the monastery.

Giordano's painting does not catalogue the hierarchies of heaven, but rather concentrates on the patron saints of the Escorial, who recommend the founder of the Hapsburg dynasty in Spain, the Emperor Charles V,

and his son, Philip II, the builder of the Escorial. The presentation of the first two Spanish Hapsburgs in an Augustinian vision of the City of God specifically recalls Titian's *Gloria* (Madrid, Prado), painted for Charles V. The emperor had requested that the painting be incorporated in his tomb monument, and thus, it was the logical model for Giordano to follow as he sought to glorify the founder of the dynasty at the very place where he was entombed.

From the vision of heaven at the center of the vault, personifications of Virtues descend into the stairhall and surround the family of Carlos II, who stand on a feigned extension of the real architecture. In this way, the specific heavenly source of the virtue and legitimacy of the reigning royal family are proclaimed. The kingdoms of the Spanish monarchy, represented by their escutcheons in the clerestory, are also recipients of the virtues sent down from heaven to guide the Hapsburg rulers.

The frescos in the lower part of the staircase and in the vaults of the church commemorate the function of the Escorial as a votive temple of military triumph. The dedication of the monastery to Saint Lawrence was initially intended to reflect Philip II's gratitude for the first victory of his reign (Saint Quentin, 1557), which occurred on the feast day of the Spanish proto-martyr. As time went on, however, Philip decided to deemphasize the importance of the battle as a motive for the foundation. By equating the building of the Escorial with the great victory over the French at Saint Quentin, Giordano's paintings revive this discarded significance. The reasons for the change may be found in an important current event, the Nine Years War (1688-1697), when Spain found itself virtually defenseless against Louis XIV's forces. Although the frescos were never publicly proclaimed as an offering to reestablish the covenant with God and Saint Lawrence, the letters of the king to the prior of the monastery during the execution of the decorations urge the community to continue prayers for Spain's deliverance.

Besides recalling the covenant with God against France, the Hapsburgs' greatest rival, and their role as the head of the City of God in the kingdoms, the frescos may also commemorate the impending centennial of the consecration of the church in 1695. In this context, Giordano's descending heavenly apparitions may be interpreted as a celebration of the moment when the heavenly realm was called down to inhabit the church.

Part III deals with Giordano's decorations in the Cason of the Buen Retiro Palace, where the theme of the felicity of the monarchy under Hapsburg rule is restated in secular terms. Giordano's *Allegory of the Order of the Golden Fleece* exalts the institution which had become inextricably tied to the Spanish Hapsburgs, who served as grand masters of the order. The complicated allegory of Giordano's ceiling declares that the order's principles of chivalry, princely virtue, and defense of the faith, as embodied in the Spanish kings, were responsible for the prosperity and preeminence that Spain enjoyed.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983

Civic Sculpture of the Renaissance: Montorsoli's Fountains in Messina

My time at the Center was spent completing a study of two fountains that the Florentine sculptor Fra Giovanni Angelo Montorsoli made in Messina, Sicily, in the mid-sixteenth century. These important civic monuments have been largely neglected because of their provincial locations and the fact that natural disasters repeatedly damaged them and destroyed the relevant documentation.

In the sixteenth century Messina was an important city commercially and strategically, the southeasternmost port of the Hapsburg Empire. The city fathers spent some of their mercantile wealth on civic improvements in hopes that such evident *magnificentia* would make their city suitable, in the eyes of their Spanish overlords, to be designated capital of Sicily, instead of their arch-rival Palermo. Among the monumental projects envisaged by the city government was a marble fountain for the central Piazza del Duomo. The cathedral was the most important civic building for Messina, as there was no city hall, and served as the terminus for civic processions. A search committee was formed to find a sculptor qualified to execute the fountain as planned. It eventually chose Montorsoli, a Florentine who had had experience with large-scale marble complexes and who had worked with Michelangelo.

Montorsoli went to Messina in 1547 and made two fountains, among other works, during his ten-year stay. The first was dedicated to Orion, legendary founder of the city. Monuments like the Fontana Maggiore in Perugia and the Fonte Gaia in Siena also celebrated their respective cities' foundations. The Orion Fountain's candelabrum form combined elements of the Italian civic fountain tradition with recent developments in Tuscan villa fountain design, with which Montorsoli had had experience. The sculptural decoration of the fountain, including free-standing figures, reliefs, and inscriptions, is also reminiscent of other types of decorated complexes, including those erected temporarily for festivals and triumphal entries. This suggests a definite connection between the fountain and the triumphal entry staged for Charles V when he visited Messina a decade earlier after his successful Tunisian campaign. A thorough investigation of the subject matter of the decorative sculpture: four river gods (Tiber, Nile, Ebro, and the local river, Camaro), Sirens, Tritons, Nereids, and putti on dolphins, capped by a standing figure of Orion dressed in Roman armor and assuming a traditional pose of dominance, supports this association.

Montorsoli's second fountain, located on Messina's waterfront and dedicated to Neptune, exemplifies a new formal type. Instead of being composed of basins ascending a central shaft, like the candelabrum Orion Fountain and its predecessors, it consists of a single large basin with colossal free-standing sculptures placed above it. This new fountain form places greater emphasis on the sculptures themselves and increases the dramatic

potential of the monument. Neptune's extended right arm and position on a pedestal, to which four marine horses are attached, suggest that the god has just skimmed across the Straits to Messina, calming the seas as he goes. This action is reminiscent of the famous "Quos Ego" episode from Virgil's *Aeneid* in which Neptune calmed a storm at sea and allowed Aeneas to continue his voyage of imperial destiny. Here it results in the creation of a Messinese epic, for Neptune stands triumphant over the now-restrained sea monsters, Scylla and Charybdis, terrors of the Straits of Messina. The Virgilian references continue in the fountain's inscriptions, which refer to the new Golden Age that will occur in Messina as a result of the peace brought about by Neptune. That the city sees itself as the *locus amoenus* in which arts and letters may flourish is shown in the fountain's inscriptions inviting the Muses to take up residence in Messina.

The two fountains taken together create a Messinese epic defining the city's position in the world and its aspirations for the future, which they see linked to the imperial destiny of Charles V, their "new Orion." These fountains define Messina's self-image in monumental form.

Montorsoli brought to Messina his version of the central Italian High Renaissance style, to which Sicily had had little previous exposure. These commissions allowed him to execute two large-scale works in marble, an opportunity that might not have come his way in Rome or Florence. His fountains are not the first monumental civic fountains with figural sculpture, but they do predate the better-known sixteenth-century fountains of Florence or Bologna. The Orion Fountain is the more heavily laden with sculptural decoration and the Neptune Fountain is the first to be crowned with sculpture of colossal proportions. Messina chose to use monumental sculpture by a Florentine artist with a sophisticated program referring to ancient triumphal monuments as the medium for calling attention to its own civic status.

George Mason University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1983

Origins of Monumental Art in Universal Myth

My year's work at the Center has been interdisciplinary and antispecialist. Although founded on a lifetime of Indian specialism, it has been mainly directed toward revising and extending existing habits of thought in areas applicable either directly or indirectly to the origin of monumental art and its hitherto unacknowledged debt to universal myth. To this end, I have been especially concerned with problems left unsolved by contemporary archaeology and art history. My stand has rested on a rejection of current ideas about cosmology and its replacement by new thinking on cosmogony as the driving force in archaic or so-called "traditional" cultures. In the same line of thinking, I also reject the idea of "progress" as a logical and rational development from the "primitive," and the corresponding fallacy of thinking that the first in *time* is necessarily the simplest in *structure* and the source from which more developed forms have evolved.

I embarked on my research in five separate yet interrelated directions, each centered on the belief that the cosmic pillar and its role as *axis mundi* was at the center of archaic art and religion. Two studies were started before I left Britain but finished here as part of my fellowship. The first was a paper based on a monument I had identified in India and as the relic of a pre-Asókan pillar still under worship. A summary of this paper was presented at a Center colloquium in January; the full text is published in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Band 133, 2 (Wiesbaden, 1983; issued 1984). The second paper, based on new knowledge and published under the title, "The Ancient Pre-Asókan Pillar-cult at Prayaga," appears in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London, 1983; issued 1984); the text was circulated and summarized in outline at the conference of the Association for Asian Studies held in Washington in March 1984. I had felt it necessary to dispense with these two subjects before embarking on the extended research of my Senior Fellowship at the Center. Next, stages were completed with my third and fourth papers; the first, entitled "Buddhism and the Cosmic Pillar," has been accepted as a contribution to the volume in honor of Professor Giuseppe Tucci, now in press and due to appear in late 1984 under sponsorship of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente in Rome. The fourth paper, a summary of my conclusions on "The True Chronology of Asókan Pillars," was published in *Artibus Asiae* 44, no. 4 (1983; issued 1984). If the conclusions of the last two papers are generally endorsed, they can be expected to change the course of teaching in the fields concerned; the third paper may be expected to have a similar effect through its new interpretation of Buddhist religion and iconography, and the fourth by a parallel process in the wider field of Indian history. The fifth paper, entitled "Pillar and Cross," extended my interdisciplinary studies to Western art and in particular to the so-called Cross cult, studied in light of evidence of the traditional pillar cult in India.

It was offered as a paper at the Center in April, presenting the European Cross cult as synonymous in origin with the traditional pillar cult of India and with pillar cults in other parts of the world. A sixth paper, completed in the final stages of my fellowship, deals with "The Mystery of the Foundation and Collapse of 'Asókan' Pillars"; it will be included in the *festschrift* celebrating the retirement of Professor P.H.L. Eggermont at the University of Leuven.

Apart from these six papers, I have used my fellowship and presence in the United States to explore areas opened up by new discoveries in American prehistory that are relevant to my own theme. Among those I felt to be of highest importance to world archaeology are the recent and continuing discoveries of Anna Sofaer and supporting scientists at Fajada Butte in the Chaco Canyon of New Mexico, which came to my notice through her film, *The Sun Dagger*. This film throws new light on the sophisticated astronomy of a prehistoric tribe that flourished and disappeared between A.D. 900 and 1250. The hitherto unsuspected astronomical sophistication of these vanished peoples in accurately measuring both solar and lunar cycles is now serving as a revelation to scholars trying to understand megalithic sites in other parts of the prehistoric world. To the art historian this tribe is of the greatest interest in demonstrating the close integration that existed between scientific and aesthetic achievements of early cultures, founded on the vision of a fertile relationship between the earth, the sun, the moon, and the ultimate sources of life in the universe. Other, and apparently parallel revelations, are embodied in the research of Von del Chamberlain (formerly director of the Planetarium at the National Air and Space Museum) on the cosmology and, more particularly, the cosmogony of the Skidi Pawnees, as outlined in his book, *When the Stars Came Down to Earth*, published by the Centre of Archaeoastronomy, University of Maryland, 1982. These discoveries add a new dimension to the study of non-Western cultures already uniquely accessible in Washington.

Victoria and Albert Museum (emeritus)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1983-1984

ELISABETH KIEVEN

Roman Architecture in the 1730s

In the process of writing a monograph on the architect Alessandro Galilei, I became interested in his two Roman contemporaries, colleagues and rivals, Nicola Salvi and Ferdinando Fuga, and, at the same time, in the art patronage of Pope Clement XII (1730-1740) in general. Scholarly interest and research in Roman eighteenth-century architecture has long been neglected in favor of studies in contemporary French and English art. Yet Rome in the decade of the Corsini pope presented a fascinating variety of styles, buildings, and theories and contributed far more to the evolution of neo-classicism than is generally understood.

While at the Center, and especially under the impetus of a seminar on eighteenth-century Roman architecture held in March, I spent time reflecting on how Nicola Salvi and Ferdinando Fuga reacted to the challenge that Alessandro Galilei launched with his two early Roman buildings, the Cappella Corsini in S. Giovanni in Laterano and the façade of the Lateran Basilica, both of 1732. Called to Rome from Florence by the pope's nephew, Cardinal Neri Corsini, Galilei presented designs whose austerity, rectangularity, and simplicity provoked a storm of controversy and rejection in Rome's as yet baroque ambience. Although the attempt by Galilei and Neri Corsini to introduce a new Vitruvian architecture in the form of a new Renaissance to Rome eventually failed, Roman architects nonetheless felt attacked and irritated, especially because they had to try to adjust their architectural style to the new trend in order to obtain commissions from the Corsini circle. The Fontana di Trevi, Salvi's masterpiece, and Ferdi-



Alessandro Galilei, *Façade of San Giovanni in Laterano, 1732, Rome.*

nando Fuga's Palazzo della Consulta, both designed a few months later than Galilei's Lateran façade, reflect the change in traditional Roman architecture that happened in the very year 1732 and the different ways in which both architects reacted to this change. Salvi's evolution of the Trevi Fountain is a very deliberate answer to the papal demands for strict rectangular, right-angled architecture with a very limited canon of ornamentation. Salvi was able to blend the Roman high baroque heritage with these new Vitruvian tendencies. It is exactly this position of "translator" that secured Salvi's rank as the most famous architect in Europe and attracted students from various countries to study with him. After Carlo Fontana and Filippo Juvarra, Salvi turned out to be the last Italian architect with influence throughout Europe.

Ferdinando Fuga, a Florentine like Galilei but trained in Rome, reacted in a more pragmatic way, not really considering new theories but changing his style. Drawings of Fuga's early years that I discovered in New York during my fellowship, in addition to those already known, prove how effectively the architect changed from a follower of the Roman academy tradition of the 1720s to the sober "Corsini" style of the 1730s. This change proves, too, the extensive influence of the papal patronage in architecture and explains why Roman art theory and architecture of the 1730s could influence the young French architects, such as Soufflot, Legeay, and Le Lorrain, who developed neoclassicism in Rome at the beginning of the 1740s.

Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1984

Patronage and Chronology in Five Manuscripts of Giangaleazzo Visconti

During my two-month stay at the Center, I carried forward a study of five manuscripts made for Giangaleazzo Visconti, Count of Virtues, lord of Milan from 1378 to 1395, and the first duke of that city from 1395 until his death in 1402. As a group, these manuscripts reflect a previously unrecognized aspect of Giangaleazzo's wide-ranging activities as a bibliophile: his practice of commissioning at least one richly illuminated manuscript to mark each of the principal events of his adult life.

The only manuscripts in the group in which Giangaleazzo is not named are a pair of Missal-Hours in Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 757 and Smith-Lesouëf 22. My earlier study of the pictorial cycles and emblems in these manuscripts had indicated that the former had been made for Giangaleazzo himself and the latter for his cousin and second wife, Caterina, on the occasion of their marriage in 1380. The third manuscript in the group is a Psalter-Hours in two volumes (Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, Banco Rari 397 and Landau-Finaly 22), the illumination of which was begun by Giovannino dei Grassi. On the basis of internal evidence as well as its relationship to both Missal-Hours in Paris, I believe that this manuscript was begun around 1388, in connection with the birth of the first child of Giangaleazzo and Caterina, a much-desired son, Giovanni Maria. Finally, the group also includes the Missal illuminated by Anovelo da Imbonate to celebrate Giangaleazzo's coronation as Duke of Milan in 1395 (Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, MS 6) and an illuminated copy of the eulogy composed by the Augustinian friar Pietro da Castelletto for Giangaleazzo's funeral (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Lat. 5888), painted by Michelino da Besozzo in 1403.

My stay at the Center during July and August 1983, after I had reexamined Lat. 757 and Smith-Lesouëf 22 in June, enabled me to consider calendrical, codicological, and textual matters that have confirmed my earlier hypotheses concerning these manuscripts. I am now able to demonstrate that the Easter tables and calendars in both books were written in 1380 (not several years apart as has been suggested), probably by the same scribe; that the armorials in Lat. 757, which have been interpreted as evidence that the manuscripts were made for Bertrando dei Rossi, a counselor of Giangaleazzo Visconti, are later additions; that the text of Lat. 757, in which unusually extensive portions of the Missal are interspersed with a Book of Hours, would not have been useful to a clergyman (it has been proposed that Lat. 757, the larger of the two manuscripts was made for a church, whereas Smith-Lesouëf 22 was intended for the personal use of the donor); Lat. 757 would, however, have admirably served the purposes of Giangaleazzo, who, especially between 1378 and 1385 and in part for political reasons, cultivated the image of an "ingesuato e cattolico uomo [who] faceasi dire due o tre messe per mattina. . . . e comunicavasi ispeso, e

dicea molti ofici ecclesiastici. . . ." (*Cronica Volgare di Anonimo Fiorentino dall'anno 1385 al 1409*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L. A. Muratori, 27, part 2, 281).

My fellowship also allowed me to extend my consideration of the variety of ways in which all five manuscripts are interrelated. Personal devotions of the Count of Virtues, including his special veneration of the Madonna of the Apocalypse and of the Trinity, influence both the text and illumination of all of them. Thus, for example, in the earliest manuscript of the group, Lat. 757, Giangaleazzo kneels in adoration of the enthroned Woman of the Apocalypse, and in the last, Lat. 5888, the eulogy is structured around the rhetorical conceit that the crown bestowed by the Christ Child upon Giangaleazzo in the frontispiece of the manuscript is none other than that of the Woman of the Apocalypse, each of its twelve rays terminating in a star that represents one of Giangaleazzo's virtues. Giangaleazzo's devotion to the Trinity is variously expressed in all five manuscripts, most conspicuously through display of his most personal emblem, a radiant sun inscribed with a dove, which was also understood as a representation of the triune deity.

Through visual quotations the illuminators of all five books observed their affinity as documents of personal significance. Thus, in the Coronation Missal, Anovelo da Imbonate portrayed the new duke and duchess kneeling with courtiers before the Madonna of Mercy, much as the youthful groom and his bride had been depicted fifteen years earlier in Lat. 757. In both manuscripts, also, the family is shown worshipping in a private chapel. Michelino's pictorial genealogy of the Visconti in the funeral oration is related both to a textual genealogy in the Coronation Missal and to an illuminated antecedent in the Florence Hours.

Giangaleazzo's predilection for illuminators who also worked on a monumental scale further unified this group of manuscripts. It has long been known that the two most gifted illuminators involved in their production, Giovannino dei Grassi and Michelino da Besozzo, participated in a wide range of artistic activities, including architecture and fresco painting. But even Anovelo da Imbonate, the least distinguished illuminator in the group, must have had some experience in monumental painting, because his depiction of the investiture of Giangaleazzo as Duke of Milan is spectacular for its scale and frescolike color, as well as its verisimilitude. Anovelo's work is closely related to that of the anonymous illuminators of Lat. 757 and Smith-Lesouëf 22, whose illuminations have already been related to contemporary frescos; I have been able to show that they were also designers of sculpture. Perhaps the most unifying aspects of the five manuscripts considered in my study are their originality and high quality. One may infer that these characteristics also reflect the taste and demands of a bold and exigent patron.

The Colorado College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1983

The God-denying Fool in Medieval Art and Literature

My research at the Center has focused upon illuminations to Psalm 52—"The fool hath said in his heart, There is no God" (*Dixit insipiens in corde suo, Non est Deus*)—in medieval psalters and books of hours, and the influence of that pictorial tradition upon other medieval art and literature. Since Psalm 52 marks one of the eight divisions of the psalter customarily illustrated in deluxe manuscripts, the visual material is abundant and often of high quality. In the greatest of these manuscript paintings, it is possible to discover something very rare in medieval art and thought: a rigorous attempt to imagine life in a secular universe—a world devoid of externally sanctioned meaning, a world in which there is no God. For medieval man, that was virtually unthinkable. Even the Fathers of the Church confess themselves puzzled by the extremity of the literal premise; there can be few, wrote Saint Augustine, who think such a thing, even in their hearts. In the book that will grow out of these researches, I shall first examine the explanation he proposed to make the psalm in its literal sense more generally significant and admonitory to all men. Since God is just, wrote Augustine, anyone who lives sinfully, as though God condoned his sin, implicitly denies God's justice and thereby His existence. This reading has particularly interesting consequences for the literature of *fin' amors*, the so-called "courtly love," and I will conclude this part of my study by paying extended attention to a great Anglo-Norman poem of the twelfth century, *La Folie de Tristan*, in which Tristan woos Iseult, under conditions of the gravest danger, in the disguise of a fool.

That reading of the psalm, however, serves chiefly to underscore the power and originality with which the psalter illuminators and their directors met the need, specific to their enterprise, of picturing literally such a man and his denial. The iconography of the fool that evolved within this context has been little understood, even by students of psalter illuminations. It is essentially of two kinds. In the earlier (and more profound) version, it shows the fool as an idiot, naked or near-naked, sometimes deformed, often emaciated, carrying a club and eating at something round which he holds in his hand. Incapable of reason, anguished in his madness, he stands defiantly before a king while God looks down upon him from the sky. Sometimes the fool defies God directly; sometimes, as in a splendid painting attributed to Jacquemart de Hesdin, he inhabits an emptied universe. Almost always, he eats compulsively at something that seems unlikely to yield him nourishment of any kind. What he eats—or *tries* to eat—is often difficult to identify: I shall survey the several medieval possibilities, studying the theological and human implications of each. A second way of imagining the fool developed later and is, within the context of a psalter, less interesting by far; it shows a jester, in elegant garb of many colors, disporting himself before a king.

Both traditions have a hidden life elsewhere in medieval art. The figure

of the fool, whether as idiot or jester, migrates into other highly charged contexts, chief among them depictions of the Passion of Christ. The logic of this transmigration depends upon a reading of the psalm far more consequential than the moral reading summarized above; Augustine himself included it in his commentary. It interprets the psalm as expressing David's prophetic knowledge that the Jewish people would, in the fullness of time, deny the divinity of Christ. *Non est Deus* is construed to mean "He is not God," rather than "there is no God," with the fool unmasked as the Jew and the killing of Christ as the ultimate denial of God's existence. Much of my time at the Center has been spent researching the currency of that interpretation among the Fathers of the Church and the covert use of the psalter fool to express it in northern European painting and sacred drama of the later Middle Ages. The presence of a fool or jester within the crowd that arrests Christ, tortures Him, mocks Him as a fool king, and dances before Him on the cross is metaphoric rather than naturalistic: the fool is there to signify something about the others—most specifically the Jews but not excluding the Romans—who kill God in the person of the Son.

The third part of my research grows out of the above, but is, in the nature of the surviving materials, more difficult and speculative. With the knowledge that "fool" often meant "Jew" in patristic commentary from the fourth century on, it has seemed possible to investigate anew the surviving records of the medieval Feast of Fools, an uproarious and often indecorous celebration that flourished for centuries within churches across much of northern Europe, most often on January 1, the feast day of the Circumcision. We know of it mainly through documents dating from the later medieval centuries, when the customs associated with the feast had clearly become a scandal, indefensible on any theological grounds. Virtually all of the documents are hostile, intended to abolish the feast, and the details they offer are fragmentary and obscure. But I think one can discover in them clues out of which to reconstruct the original *theo*-logic of the feast, a logic once sufficient to have gained it entry into the calendar of the medieval Church year. I shall argue that the Church created the feast as an occasion on which to burlesque, in corrosive fashion and for dialectical purpose, what (in its view) the Synagogue had become in refusing to recognize Christ as its awaited Messiah—the religion of the Jews parodied as a perverse and continuous Feast of Fools. The iconography of Synagoga/Ecclesia provides many materials germane to this reconstruction, in which the progress from the Old Law to the New is celebrated on the day the old year gives place to the new.

University of Virginia

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1984

CATHERINE M. LEVESQUE

God, Man, and Nature: Dutch Landscape 1560-1660

The spiritual significance of landscape is a commonplace in Dutch religious, didactic, and philosophical literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. These works portray nature as a source of revelation second only to Scripture. Theologians, humanists, and scientists constantly encouraged the search for diverse meanings in nature—and by extension landscape. That this attitude provides a key to the contemporary interpretation of landscape paintings and prints is justified by a wealth of visual and written material. These sources, which I found in Dutch museums, libraries, and archives during my year of research in the Netherlands, illustrate the meaning and development of several of the most influential landscape themes throughout this period.

Themes such as the pilgrimage of life, the world as a wilderness, man's place in creation, and his ability to learn from nature have a long history in biblical exegesis and pietistic writings. Rooted in artistic and literary tradition, these subjects came under renewed scrutiny during the religious and intellectual turmoil prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Throughout this time moralizing intent continued to determine the choice of landscape imagery in art and literature despite increased sensitivity in recording the precise details of nature. The persistence of conventional didactic themes in works by artists of the most diverse beliefs demonstrates the flexibility with which inherited models, observation of nature, and personal views could be fused. The new leeway that artists had in portraying time-honored motifs allowed for subtle variations of interpretation appropriate to an era of increasingly personalized religious views. These more individual meanings force the scholar to view and analyze each work within its cultural context. My examination of artistic and intellectual activity in Frankenthal and Haarlem reveals the subtle variety of meanings possible within traditional subjects.

Frankenthal, in the German Palatinate, was both a religious and artistic center. A place of refuge for Calvinist exiles from the southern Netherlands, it was also seminal in the development of painted and printed landscapes. The Frankenthal artists, especially Gilles van Coninxloo, were among the first to emphasize settings with deep, dense woods. Biblical illustrations and title pages, as well as sermons, commentaries, and tracts by figures associated with the Frankenthal community, make explicit the connection between these forest scenes and biblical subjects. Themes from the Psalms, the Prophets, and the Exile of Israel are shown against general forest scenery indicating the wilderness of the world. A typical example, from an illustrated bible, portrays a hunter and his dogs who represent King Nebuchadnezzar and his soldiers hunting the defeated Israelites (II Kings 25:1-8). An explanatory text is quite detailed in its denunciation of tyrants who harry exiles—a not so oblique reference to the relationship between Philip II and the Dutch Reformed Church. Once recognized, a specific biblical

theme helps to elucidate the meaning of motifs scattered throughout a picture. These interpretations can be confirmed, or at least judged, by their similarity to imagery in written sources and to emblem literature produced by Dutch Calvinist scholars in nearby Heidelberg.

An examination of Haarlem's complex artistic and intellectual life also clarifies the artists' and writers' use of traditional themes. The work of the draftsman and printmaker Hendrick Goltzius epitomizes the cultured Haarlemers' concern with humanism, ethics, and natural history. Goltzius' landscapes deal, for the most part, with a limited number of themes on which he plays a series of variations. For example, different versions of life's journey are portrayed in prints of the *Tabula Ceбетis*, the Way to Emmaus, and wandering peasants—usually village types or “characters”—subjects which associate, respectively, neostoic, theological, and literary ideas with the traditional theme. These varied approaches are not always easy to disentangle; indeed, they are often intended to be read on several levels. The flexibility inherent in Goltzius' print themes reflect Haarlem's diverse cultural atmosphere and the pragmatic open-mindedness of many printmakers who had to appeal to a broad market in uncertain times.

Goltzius' prints and drawings provided a solid technical groundwork and a wide variety of models for other artists interested in landscape. His students, followers, and contemporaries were not slow to exploit the possibilities suggested by his compositions. The second generation of Haarlem printmakers (Matham, Molijn, the Van de Veldes) focused on more specific themes and approaches that reflect individual viewpoints in a changing cultural climate. Many of the landscape prints by these artists were originally issued as series. Most popular are groups which combine biblical and didactic subjects or sets of travel scenes. Travel scenes are an extended treatment of the traditional wanderer theme. They range from overtly didactic subjects, complete with explanatory texts, to views that show more interest in actual scenery than in moralizing. Some scenes can be read on more than one level, as when an actual view has historic and religious overtones. We find in Haarlem landscapes, as in those from Frankenthal, that once the theme of a work has been identified, other sources from the same cultural circle can be used to interpret details throughout the scene.

The landscape prints and paintings—often by the same artists—produced in the first decades of the seventeenth century provided stylistic developments, a repertory of themes, and, perhaps most important, a way of looking at nature that influenced the development of landscape painting in Haarlem and in the Netherlands, well into the seventeenth century. Insights on the development of traditional themes gained by studying their use in art and literature throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries enable us to place the paintings of Esaias van de Velde, Pieter Molijn, Jan van Goyen, Salomon Ruysdael, and Jacob van Ruisdael in perspective. A knowledge of the contemporary use of these themes in Haarlem visual and written sources allows us to approach a more specific appreciation of their meaning.

[Columbia University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1982-1983

THOMAS S. MICHIE

The Willards and Collaborating Craftsmen in Boston, 1780-1830

My year in residence at the Center follows a year of research in Boston and London, where I have been on the trail of the Willard family of clockmakers and the other craftsmen (including cabinetmakers, brass founders, carvers, gilders, dial-makers, and dial-painters) with whom they collaborated. While based in Boston I concentrated on manuscript and archival material at the Massachusetts Historical Society, The American Antiquarian Society, and other New England libraries and historical societies. I also visited public and private collections of clocks and furniture on the East Coast. In London I worked chiefly at the Victoria and Albert Museum, The British Library, and the guildhall of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers.

The goals of my research have been to examine the surviving clocks by the Willards and to establish their close relationships with other craftsmen in the Boston area and the larger Atlantic trading community. The Willards' chief period of production, about 1780 to 1830, covers a span of time during which the craft traditions of the eighteenth century were giving way to small factories using mass-production techniques. As with most eighteenth-century craftsmen, hardly any written records survive. However, by examining the variety of construction methods found in Willard clocks and clock cases, I have found evidence of changes in craft organization and the impact of mechanization and mass-marketing on the preindustrial craftsman. A more speculative portion of my thesis concerns the changing attitudes toward time and timekeeping on the eve of industrialization. Such notions were hardly ever expressed in writing, yet they are clearly indicated by the stylistic changes in clock design and iconography at the turn of the eighteenth century.

Among the more unexpected facts that I have been able to uncover is that Benjamin Willard appears to have been more active as a merchant in Connecticut and Pennsylvania than he was as a clockmaker in Boston. Likewise, Ephraim Willard seems to have been active in trading other goods besides clocks. Simon Willard, the most celebrated American clockmaker of his era, stuck to his trade but managed to extend his market for clocks from Maine to Mexico. On the basis of two signed and several related clock cases, I have also been able to isolate a group of clock cases that I believe can now be attributed to an individual cabinetmaker for the first time.

One area of research that turned out to be particularly rewarding was the early court records of Boston. Craftsmen frequently found themselves involved in cases of debt, replevin, breach of contract, naturalization, libel, and assault. The court dockets and file papers often contain useful and otherwise elusive information about craftsmen's shops and apprentices, their parents' professions, and occasionally lists of property. Probate records

also occasionally contain room-by-room inventories of households and shops. Thus what began as a brief foray ultimately required several months of tedious searching, since few historians have had the time or the will to plod systematically through many of these records, for which no handy indexes exist. Aside from the merely antiquarian advantage of uncovering hundreds of craftsmen's names, immersion in the court records, like the study of objects, gives one a feeling for the times (not to mention colorful language) that cannot be gained elsewhere.

My year at the Center has given me the opportunity to organize my notes, to adjust aspects of my thesis on the basis of a year's research, and to begin writing the dissertation. In addition to work on my dissertation, I have also fulfilled the terms of the Kress Fellowship by working part-time for the department of American paintings, writing catalogue entries on selected portraits by Gilbert Stuart for the Gallery's systematic catalogue.

[Yale University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1982-1984

*The History and Decoration of the Sistine and Pauline Chapels
at Santa Maria Maggiore*

The Sistine and Pauline chapels at Santa Maria Maggiore, built in 1585-1589 and 1605-1620, respectively, represent two of the most elaborate programs of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century architecture and decoration in the papal capital. The Sistine chapel was initially conceived as a papal funerary complex for the tombs of Sixtus V and his mentor Pius V and as a giant reliquary to contain the relics and ancient oratory of the Holy Manger or Presepio. It later acquired the added function of chapel of the Holy Sacrament when the bronze tabernacle of the Sacrament was installed in 1589. The Pauline chapel, like its counterpart and model, is both a funerary chapel housing the tombs of Paul V and his predecessor Clement VIII and a colossal reliquary containing the "Salus populi romani," the most celebrated miraculous image of the Madonna and Child, said to have been painted by Saint Luke. My dissertation is a study of these pendant chapels as paradigmatic Counter-Reformatory monuments erected to the efficacy and triumph of the Roman Church.

Working from this premise, the goal of my study has been to explicate and reevaluate the formal and thematic character of the two chapels within their larger religious and historical context. It has become a commonplace to refer to "official" Roman art of this period as largely subservient to Church demands, homogeneous in style, and pedagogic in intent. My task has been to analyze and interpret the specific nature of that subservience, to question and evaluate the relative homogeneity of style, and to assay the didactic character of the art. This has involved an extensive review of the literature on Church history and the Counter Reformation, and on the most important individuals and institutions active in the period. I have focused a great deal of attention on the two popes—Sixtus V and Paul V—as the patrons of the chapels, on the Congregation of the Oratory and the chapter of Santa Maria Maggiore, and on such reform leaders and influential thinkers as Cesare Boronio, Silvio Antoniano, Carlo Borromeo, and Tommaso Bozio, whose writings and views directly influenced the form and iconography of the chapels. Through a detailed comparison of the ideas expressed in such works as Carlo Borromeo's *Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae* and Gabrielle Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* with the actual forms of the chapels (and their components), I have been able to begin to assess how art responded to Church demands and to what extent practice followed theory. In addressing the issues of homogeneity of style and the pedagogical character of the art at this time, I have tried to formulate and answer a series of new questions: what were the aesthetic criteria and functions of religious art in this period; what was the nature of the roles played by the popes, their advisors, theorists, and the artists in formulating new styles and modes of representation; did artists change their style (and if so, how) when working in an official capacity

on papal commissions; how do differences in style and content between the two chapels relate to changes in the political and religious climate, as well as to shifts in artistic taste and patronage? An analysis of contemporary attitudes toward history and oratory has made it clear that many parallels existed, at least in theory, with views about images and their role.

Certain aspects of the Sistine and Pauline chapels have received scholarly attention in recent years. Studies have appeared on their architectural history and on the iconography of the papal tombs; monographs on artists who were engaged in the chapels' decoration have discussed individual frescos and sculptures. Yet no synthetic study of either chapel exists. Moreover, the chapels have not been considered either in relation to one another or in relation to the larger basilica. Consequently, I have concentrated my research in these areas. I have come to view Santa Maria Maggiore as a kind of living organism with its own particular personality and internal development. Each addition to, or transformation of, the structure responded, I believe, to that personality. I have been able to demonstrate, in fact, that many of the formal and iconographic features of the Sistine and Pauline chapels were determined by preexisting traditions associated with the basilica. Therefore, the chapels may be seen as integral components of the basilican organism, in which long-standing traditions as well as the Counter-Reformatory ideas of the period were given expressive form. Finally, in analyzing the two chapels, it has become apparent that they must be viewed as true pendants and as two halves of a larger conceptual scheme. Not only does the Paolina imitate the Sistina in its plan and decoration, but it also completes and enlarges upon the program envisaged by Sixtus V.

During the first year of my fellowship, I completed the primary research for my doctoral dissertation in Rome. Most of my time was devoted to the study of archival material and rare books in the Archivio Capitolare di Santa Maria Maggiore, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Biblioteca Vaticana, and Biblioteca Vallicelliana. I was able to carry out a photographic campaign of the chapels and to make a close study of mostly unpublished cognate material. During my year at the Center, I have had the opportunity to complete the secondary research for my project, to sort out and digest the material that I collected the previous year, and to begin writing the dissertation. In addition, I worked on various research projects for the departments of European sculpture and Italian painting.

[Princeton University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1982-1984

The Trevi Fountain in Rome

One of the most familiar images associated with Rome, the Trevi Fountain, has repeatedly been studied as a grand but isolated monument; relatively little attention has been paid to its urban context. As we see it today, the Trevi is largely the work of Nicola Salvi, whose design was executed over a thirty-year period between 1732 and 1762. Salvi's fountain, however, is only the end result of a millennial process, which began in the Augustan age, when Marcus Agrippa brought to Rome the water that still feeds the Trevi. In order to illuminate both the form and the meaning of Salvi's eighteenth-century masterpiece it is necessary to trace its origins back to classical antiquity, for the Trevi, perhaps better than any other monument, embodies the full sweep of Rome's architectural history. My study of the Trevi, accordingly, is divided into two parts, the first treating the early history of the fountain and the second examining Nicola Salvi's executed design.

My approach to the Fontana di Trevi is broadly historical and stresses three neglected aspects of the Trevi's long history: its earlier manifestations, its place in the urban development of Rome, and the numerous unrealized projects that were drafted for its embellishment. I am also concerned with clarifying the evolution of Salvi's executed design for the Fontana di Trevi, which may now be seen as a highly original solution accommodating private and public interests, as well as the concerns of Salvi's collaborator, the sculptor Giovanni Battista Maini.

While I have chosen to write a monograph on a single fountain, I have tried to avoid the myopia of what might be termed monument fixation that causes many works of art to be disassociated from their context. Indeed, the contextual relationships of a monument like the Trevi reveal what the analysis of style alone cannot. First and foremost, the Fontana di Trevi functions as a civic monument, the design of which was shaped and periodically redefined to meet the changing needs and aspirations of the surrounding city. Salvi's executed design was a response to specific social and political interests, as well as the embodiment of a tradition spanning many centuries. Considered in this light the Trevi Fountain emerges more clearly both as a compelling symbol of Rome's classical heritage and as a concrete reality that posed specific design problems for architects, sculptors, and their patrons.

At the Center I devoted my time to finishing my monograph on the Trevi. After spending the autumn of 1983 in Rome, I was able to return to the United States to sift, evaluate, and incorporate the material I had gathered in Italy. While at the Center I wrote the final chapter of my book, which attempts to place the Trevi against a broad art-historical background. This chapter includes a discussion of the fountain's relationship to sources in the art and architecture of preceding epochs, an examination of artistic currents in the Rome of Clement XII, and a comparison with contemporary



G. B. Nolli, Plan of Rome (detail), 1748.

monuments in northern Europe. In completing my book I was considerably aided by discussions that grew out of the seminar on Roman architecture of the eighteenth century, sponsored by the Center in March 1984. By the end of my fellowship I was able to revise the entire manuscript and submit it for publication.

Smith College
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1984

The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki: A Study in Early Palaeologan Architecture

Historical accounts of the late Greek Middle Ages depict the Palaeologan era as a period of great artistic and intellectual activity in Thessaloniki. This cultural flourishing of the Byzantine Empire's second major city is most strikingly evident in the extent of building activity that took place during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Of the numerous religious foundations documented by the written sources, the church known today as the Holy Apostles stands as a key monument for modern understanding of the period throughout the empire, not only in Thessaloniki. Despite its renown, the building and its history have remained largely obscure. Questions concerning the original function and dedication of the church are unsettled, and its architecture has been inadequately studied. Recent controversies concerning the building's structural history and place in late Byzantine architecture are the result of this state of scholarship and prompted the present study of the church as a doctoral dissertation. During my 1982-1983 fellowship period I continued my research into the Holy Apostles church, dividing my time between field work in Greece and Turkey and study at the Center.

In its present state the church of the Holy Apostles stands in the center of a small *plateia* in the western part of Thessaloniki. The church seems originally to have served as the *katholikon* of a sizable monastery, of which a large cistern, traces of a monumental gateway, and parts of the perimeter wall survive. Constructed in the early fourteenth century, the church was converted into a mosque after Thessaloniki came under Ottoman control. By virtue of its intrinsic charm, the building was recorded in sketches, written descriptions, and photographs by visitors to Thessaloniki beginning in the early eighteenth century. These accounts document the popular association of the church with the Apostles as early as 1735, although its original dedication was probably to the Virgin as *Theotokos* or jointly with Christ. The building has been partially restored since its return to Orthodox service in 1916.

The present form of the Holy Apostles church is the result of a series of modifications that began even before initial construction of the building was completed. Laid out on a cross-in-square plan, this traditional building core is enveloped on three sides with a continuous ambulatory and domed lateral chapels flanking the sanctuary. Changes of patronage during the course of construction resulted in structural and liturgical alterations to the ancillary spaces. Major architectural changes to the building's exterior were necessary during the later Palaeologan and Ottoman periods: the south flank colonnade was closed, the undulating roofline of exonarthex and ambulatory wings was made horizontal and continuous, and a minaret and timber porch were added to west and north. Other Turkish alterations dramatically changed the pattern of interior circulation.

With its original plan clarified, the church of the Holy Apostles assumes a special position in the history of late Byzantine architecture. Although the constituent elements of plan and elevation are familiar in late thirteenth-century ecclesiastical architecture, their synthesis in this building represents a significant departure that was to effect profoundly much subsequent building in Macedonia, Thessaly, and Serbia. The influence of Constantinople is evident in various aspects of the patronage, design, and construction of the church. Nevertheless, the Holy Apostles also embodies a number of regional characteristics, including the functional arrangement of peripheral spaces, composition of wall structure and articulation of building forms, that provide new insight into the process of architectural planning in early Palaeologan Thessaloniki.

In addition to its transitional design, the Holy Apostles church holds particular significance for other Palaeologan monuments in Macedonia because of its association with a known donor and, consequently, the possibility of securely dating its construction. Numerous problems concerning the foundation of the church and its attendant monastery may never be fully resolved, but the combination of archaeological study with analysis of the available textual evidence clarifies the situation. The patronage of the Oecumenical Patriarch Niphon I (1310-1314) is documented by several monograms and inscriptions within the church. In fact, the actual extent of Niphon's support is open to question. The localization of this epigraphic evidence in the upper nartheces suggests that Niphon's participation may have occurred relatively late in the course of the building's construction and probably ended before its decoration was completed. Niphon is known to have appropriated the episcopal see of Thessaloniki late in 1310 and to have retained control of the bishopric through the end of his brief reign. This seizure of the Thessaloniki episcopate apparently precipitated Niphon's association with the Holy Apostles church, the construction of which probably was begun before 1310 as a comprehensive restoration of an earlier foundation. The possibility that an older monastery preceded the Palaeologan complex on the site is suggested by the availability of an expansive setting within the walls of the city, and like the church, the contemporary cistern and gateway may stand on earlier remains. These circumstances of foundation suggest that this major building project originated not in patriarchal but in local episcopal initiative, probably inspired by the previous metropolitan of Thessaloniki, Malachie. Analysis of the available historical sources also permits the reevaluation of prevailing opinion concerning the building's fourteenth-century dedication. The previously accepted identification of the Holy Apostles church with the monastery of the *Theotokos tēs Gorgoepēkoou* is difficult to maintain in light of recently published written evidence, which now documents a monastery of this patronage in the late thirteenth century. Although the Holy Apostles church in its final, decorated state may have been associated with the *Theotokos*, substantial evidence suggests that this complex was not the *monē tēs Gorgoepēkoou* but another monastery of the Virgin, as yet unidentified in the Palaeologan sources.

[Indiana University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1982-1983

Architecture and Reform Politics in the Age of Charles III

For the past several years, my work in Spanish art has focused on the relationship between architecture and economic reforms in the reign of Charles III (1760-1788). These studies have joined socio-economic, intellectual, and architectural history to illuminate an era that opened with the dissemination of the ideas of the Enlightenment in Spain and ended with government censorship that suppressed throughout the country any notice of the French Revolution. The intense aspirations of progressive Spaniards during these years and the collapse of their ideals following 1789 are probably best known to art historians through the work of Francisco de Goya.

The far-reaching reforms of this period were directed by an activist core of royal ministers, who launched their programs on a national scale through the chief legislative and judicial bodies of Castile, the *Consejo* and *Cámara* of Castile. Campomanes and Floridablanca, the *fiscales* or attorneys general of these bodies, were the most important figures. Both were pragmatic men of action with strong intellectual debts to mercantilist and physiocratic theory. They believed that the wealth of the nation depended on two groups of primary producers: agricultural workers and artisans. Rural repopulation, improvements in transportation, and the establishment of towns for artisans were primary goals and accomplishments, but they did not ignore the problems of larger towns and cities, where their efforts were directed at revitalizing legal institutions, protecting the public good, and trying to stem the deterioration of housing. Although they inaugurated many comprehensive plans for highways and new towns for agrarian, industrial, and military use, they more frequently concentrated their attention on the design and construction of modest and locally funded public buildings that served the public good.

Campomanes and Floridablanca used a simple bureaucratic instrument of control. They ordered that any work repaired or built with public funds exceeding a modest 200 *reales* be approved by the Consejo and Cámara. Plans, contracts, and documentation of need were forwarded to Madrid, where officials studied and evaluated thousands of requests, returning them to local officials, often with new designs. For over twenty years, Campomanes, Floridablanca, and other royal officials reviewed these requests from all over Castile on a case by case basis, gathering information and joining like cases (*hacer expediente*) that would aid them in the creation of more comprehensive legislation. Theirs was a very effective method of discovering and dealing with problems that originated at the local level but required national attention.

I spent over a year in the archives of the Consejo and Cámara of Castile reviewing decisions on architectural and urban issues. The index of the documentation I gathered at that time portrays the breadth of the problems those bodies treated: banks, bath houses, bullrings, cemeteries, city gates, custom houses, commercial buildings, consulates-exchanges, festival dec-

orations, fountains, government buildings (executive mansions, judicial buildings, and ministries), granaries, guild halls, highways, hospices-workhouses, hospitals, housing, industrial buildings, inns, libraries, markets, military buildings (arsenals-ports, shipbuilding facilities, barracks, fortifications), mints, *montes de piedad*, monuments, museums, palaces, *paseos*, post offices, *plazas*, prisons, schools, scientific buildings (botanical gardens, observatories, zoos), theaters, and town halls. These institutions provide a panoramic view of Spanish life and society in the eighteenth century that is made visible through the buildings designed to house and shape them, to give them symbolic form, and to direct or restrain human actions.

Pevsner's encyclopedic survey of functional building types provides a useful discussion of the major genres, but it treats the works almost exclusively in terms of ideal progressions of advanced forms migrating through European and American time and space. I do not believe that one can understand the form or meaning of any of these functional works unless one first understands the nature of the institutions that they were designed to contain and direct. All such institutions evolve historically, obeying the requirements of specific national priorities at specific moments in time, so one must study these works in their fullest historical contexts, exploring such topics as patronage, political propaganda, economic requirements, national tradition, and patterns of use. Only then can the architects and specific buildings be judged as clients, users, and critics did at the time of their inauguration. Only then can the historian evaluate the success of an architect's specific responses to the needs of the economic planners in the realms of form, program, meaning, and cost.

My work at the Center was directed toward the completion of three aspects of this larger project. The most significant was the preparation of the foundations for the comparative dimension of my study. In Spain, I had studied Spanish buildings, architectural drawings, municipal ordinances, royal orders defining the functions of different institutions, economic and administrative records, the legal briefs of the Consejo and Cámara, and responses to these by local officials. But before my research in Washington, I did not have access to the dispersed, rare, and highly specialized literature on national institutions and functional buildings elsewhere in Europe. At the Center, I completed a review of most of the major older institutional histories and of many more recent works by social and economic historians.

Also at the Center I wrote two portions of my study, which explore the historical problem of reconstructing the image of Madrid in the eighteenth century. In the first, I reconstructed the "nodes," "districts," and "edges," which reflect the historical infrastructure of the city that is almost always lost to present-day observers. My reconstruction was based on contemporary descriptions and depictions of the city, but more significantly on an evaluation of demographic data and housing in late eighteenth-century Madrid. In the second, I studied more conscious planning elements like "landmarks" and "paths" that were the subject of my Center colloquium, "Idea and Reality: the Image of Madrid in the Eighteenth Century."

The University of Texas, Austin
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1983

CHARLES S. RHYNE

The Drawings and Paintings of John Constable: Catalogue Raisonné

The major project of my year at the Center was the writing of the first half of the Constable catalogue raisonné, the second half now being completed by Graham Reynolds. Surprisingly, it was possible to divide the catalogue in half chronologically: two decades of Constable's career before his marriage in 1816, two after. The approximately 2,800 entries divide equally between the earlier and later works with almost no overlap in dating. The complete catalogue is to be published in four volumes, one of catalogue and one of plates (with nearly every item reproduced) for each half, by the Yale University Press and the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London.

These volumes will catalogue Constable's complete oeuvre, combining drawings and paintings in a single chronological sequence. By bringing together all known works, many previously unpublished, important aspects of Constable's career become clear for the first time: the early evidence of his special sensitivity to nature; the beauty of many of his little-known life studies and figure drawings; the role of portraiture; the flood of drawings from certain years and paucity of evidence for others; the sudden richness and spontaneity of oil sketches following his avowal of love for his future wife; the unprecedented intensity of his study of nature during the crucial years of courtship; the sudden expansion of his powers and scale of ambition immediately following marriage; the extent to which Hampstead Heath came gradually to replace Dedham Vale as a source of new ideas; the evocative and convincing naturalism of his painting technique; the brief but important role of John Dunthorne as a studio assistant; the daring reworking of even six-foot canvases, cutting off or stitching or gluing on strips of canvas as if working with paper; his unique gifts as a copyist; the diversity of types and expressive range of drawings and watercolors; the density of major exhibition pictures and the grandeur of his mature conception of nature; and the undoubted authenticity of many often-doubted late oil sketches of great brilliance.

In addition to the usual sorting out of hands, the catalogue attempts to reconstruct dismembered sketchbooks through careful measurement of hundreds of sketchbook pages. Included as an appendix in the first two volumes will be a chronology of every dated reference to Constable through inscriptions on drawings and sketches and quotations in correspondence and diaries, consisting of some 2,500 references, which will serve, among other things, as a chronological index to the eight published volumes of correspondence and other documents. Also, in the first two volumes will be a complete bibliography, running to over 500 items, arranged chronologically and therefore the basis for a history of Constable studies.

While at the Center I also completed the following related projects: a review article for *Master Drawings* of the recent facsimile publication of

four Constable sketchbooks at the Louvre, taking advantage of the facilities of the Smithsonian to study reproductive processes, especially the endangered but uniquely sensitive collotype process; the organization of a symposium, "The Interpretation of Landscape Painting," for the 1985 meeting of the College Art Association, conferring with numerous visiting scholars on recent work in the field and how we might most profitably share ideas on some of the seemingly intractable problems of interpretation; and a thorough study of Constable's six-foot oil sketch for *The White Horse*, in the permanent collection of the National Gallery of Art (NGA 605), discovering most dramatically, through x-radiography, a previously unsuspected six-foot sketch of *Dedham Vale* beneath. This now becomes Constable's earliest six-foot sketch, but as it was not followed by a directly corresponding exhibition picture, the *White Horse* sketch remains Constable's first full-size oil sketch for a major landscape painting, indeed the first such sketch in the history of art. An article presenting the results of this study is being prepared.

For my colloquium at the Center in February 1984 on the cooperative study of painting technique by art historians and conservators, I prepared for distribution some preliminary materials outlining what a comprehensive study of the technique of a single artist might look like. As far as I know, no such study yet exists. This would include all available laboratory reports of works by the artist, x-radiographs, etc.; relevant information from inscriptions, correspondence, eyewitness accounts, and other contemporary documents; evidence from the artist's studio equipment; and observations by experts on the artist. I suggested that files of this sort on major artists would be valuable for both art historians and conservators and that one way to generate them would be to bring scholars and conservators together at those precious times when works are being examined in the laboratory in preparation for shipping or restoration, with a report to be written on the spot. I recommended also that museums and professional associations establish standards for the sharing of the rich body of information in museum files so that both curators and outside scholars could have some idea what is reasonable to request and how to proceed in consulting this sometimes confidential information. In the colloquium presentation, I attempted to relate Constable's drawing and painting technique to evidence from contemporary documents in order to reconstruct his working procedure and show how certain works would have looked when painted and how he would have wished them to be seen.

Reed College
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1983-1984

Donatello's Development in the 1430s

As I am preparing a monograph on Donatello for Electa Editrice, I concentrated my research at the Center on the period between the artist's return from Rome and his departure to Padova, that is to say, on his development in the 1430s. This is the period in which Donatello created such important works as the Prato Pulpit, the Cantoria, the Cavalcanti *Annunciation*, the *Feast of Herod* in Lille, and the decoration of the Sacristia Vecchia. The primary aim of my research has not been the monographic treatment of single works, but rather a comprehensive view of Donatello's development in the third decade of the fifteenth century.

There still are some important clues that never have been seriously considered in connection with Donatello's chronology in the thirties. For example, one of the best-documented works of this period is the window with the *Coronation of the Virgin* in the Duomo. We know that Donatello delivered the design in 1434, but until now it has been treated in a rather incidental way. Because it does not belong to the category of sculpture, but is "only" a stained-glass window, this important composition has been generally regarded as an outsider. I am convinced that a proper inclusion of this work in Donatello research will lead to new and more precise results.



Donatello, *Coronation of the Virgin*, designed 1434, stained-glass window, Duomo, Florence (from G. Marchini, *Italian Stained Glass Windows*, Milan and New York, 1957, fig. 53).

Another example may be mentioned: for more than ten years we have known that the statue of Saint John in the Frari in Venice is not, as was always thought, a late work, but that it was, according to the original inscription on the pedestal, created in 1438. But far more than just a new fact, this discovery has important consequences for our ideas about Donatello's development. It is now also possible to associate two tomb slabs, one in a Florentine museum and one in San Francesco in Prato dated 1432, with Donatello, at least in terms of their invention.

Another question with which I deal in my research is the problem of Donatello Madonnas. H.W. Janson accepted only two pieces as autograph in his corpus: the Pazzi Madonna in Berlin and the Quincy Shaw Madonna in Boston. But as John Pope-Hennessy has recently shown, many more Madonnas can be connected with Donatello. To mention only one of the most splendid examples, the polychromed terracotta Madonna in the Louvre was probably done in the late thirties. During my stay in the United States I had the opportunity to study the Cryan Madonna in New York, as well as a very interesting polychromed terracotta Madonna, close in style to the late Donatello, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

In general it was a great boon for me to be able to study the rich collection of quattrocento painting and sculpture in the National Gallery of Art and in other major East Coast museums.

During my stay at the Center, I also became involved in the preparations for a Donatello exhibition organized by the Detroit Institute of Arts for 1985-1986.

Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1984

State Symbolism in France in the Sixteenth Century

During my two-month stay at the Center I concentrated on the impact of French royal symbolism on foreign policy, covering the period when Louis XII and his troops occupied the greater part of northern Italy (1500-1513). How did the Italians react and in what way did they express their political (and other) feelings toward their temporary ruler (or foe)?

I had already collected the visual material, mostly to be found in illuminated manuscripts, often dedicated to the French king and treating various events occurring during the early sixteenth century. My next study was in a field for which hardly any visual documentation exists but which is particularly relevant to the study of sixteenth-century symbolism. It is the field of pageantry, festivals, royal entries, processions, and ceremonies, a problem child insofar as it does not fit into the categories established for present-day scholarly disciplines.

Art historians, feeling most at ease when they can look at as well as read about things, have indeed studied these forms of human expression, but mostly from the time when pageantry was recorded in magnificent publications in which engravings, accompanied by long explanatory texts, document the symbols and emblems used, that is to say from c. 1550 onward. Earlier festivities have not received the attention they deserve, as there are nearly no visual documents to whet our appetites. The various festivities have to be reconstructed from descriptions of eyewitnesses who were evidently not always quick to grasp the deep symbolism incorporated in the various floats, triumphal arches, and *tableaux vivants* that (very often too quickly) passed before their eyes. It is only in France in 1514 that two series of representations of royal pageantry have been preserved, namely the manuscripts recording the funeral procession of Queen Anne of Brittany and the subsequent marriage festivals of the widowed King Louis XII with Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII.

In charting the various forms of Italian pageantry in this period, I found that Louis XII participated in a great many royal entries. In nearly all the larger cities of northern Italy (Milan, Genoa, Pavia, Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona) he was received by the municipal magistrates and the population, albeit under very different circumstances, ranging from peaceful events to entries in which Louis acted as the stern but ultimately clement victor. The most elaborate entries were those in Milan in 1507 (after quelling the revolt of Genoa) and 1509 (after defeating the Venetians near Agnadello). Both show a strange mixture of topicality and antiquarianism. Art historians tend to relate these entries to the well-known *Triumph of Caesar* by Mantegna, now at Hampton Court. I came to the conclusion, however, that Mantegna's influence, often adduced for every triumphal representation in northern Italy, is very slight. There is a notable difference between organizing an actual triumphal procession and reconstructing one along antiquarian lines on canvas. Topical allusions and, above all, the decorum

required by contemporary protocol result in not using this or that antique device. Just to cite two instances: no captives were allowed to appear in the Milan entry of 1509, while in both entries Louis was offered a triumphal chariot with which to enter the city. In both cases he refused because contemporary custom required that a ruler should enter a town on horseback.

In the festivities organized by other rulers on the peninsula, their relations to the French king often play a role. Louis' great opponent was, of course, Pope Julius II. I did my best to investigate the manner in which Julius incorporated (or ignored) the presence of French troops on Italian soil, for instance in his entries in Bologna, 1506, and Rome, 1507, and in the justly famed carnival procession of February 1513, a few weeks before his death. I also tried to discover how the Venetian Republic reacted. It is not easy to get an idea of the concrete shape of Franco-Venetian relations in the Doge's Palace, which was gutted later in the century. The late sixteenth-century decoration does reflect, here and there, earlier paintings, as for instance several representations of the League of Cambrai in 1508. Marino Sanuto's diaries record several processions on the Piazza San Marco between 1508 and 1513, which included representations of Louis XII and other warring rulers in poses and compositions that recall contemporary painting in Venice.

Another ruler who had good reason constantly to redefine his position vis-à-vis the French king was Emperor Maximilian. An active propagandist himself, he expressed his ideas in various publications like the *Theuerdanck*, the *Freydal*, the *Weiszkunig*, the *Triumph*, and the *Triumphal Arch*, illustrated by the best draftsmen of his time. The French king appears regularly in these woodcuts depicted in many forms and disguises.

The *Weiszkunig* illustrations proved to be a useful starting point for investigating the various forms of "topicality" in visual documents of the period. For the present-day viewer there are often very few indications identifying a documented event in a contemporary illustration. I came to the conclusion that early sixteenth-century illustrations of contemporary events still make use of visual symbols rather than introducing modern forms of identification as, for instance, topographical accuracy, portraits of participants, or, in the case of battle pictures, the movements of military units. I do think, however, that most of these "noncommittal" illustrations of events could be read by contemporaries, because use was made of a universally known body of "ensigns of authority" (see *Simiolus* 13 [1983], 75-141), which constituted a last flowering of late medieval symbolism.

This same kind of symbolism is evident in another type of visual document commenting on actual events. Around 1500 there was a growing interest in the political cartoon. Accompanied by often elaborate texts, necessary to explain their intricate symbolism, they represent, *mutatis mutandis*, a commentary on situations and events comparable to those in several frescos in the Vatican *Stanze*.

University of Amsterdam

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring-summer 1983

A Reconsideration of the Drawings of Wolf Huber

Wolf Huber (c. 1490–1553), one of the leading painters of the so-called Danube School, left a body of several hundred drawings, among which are some of the first pure landscapes in European art. Many of these drawings document specific sites along the Danube and in the Vorarlberg region of Austria; others appear to represent no identifiable place. Although they seem to contain motifs observed from nature, their spirit lies in the realm of fantasy. Huber's drawings must have been popular in their time; some of them were copied time and again by Huber himself or by workshop apprentices, complicating the questions of dating and attribution. Some of the drawings are known in as many as seven surviving versions; consequently, the authorship of a large number of sheets is disputed. It seems likely in many instances that the best surviving version of any given drawing may actually be a copy of a lost Huber prototype. It is an understatement to say that the artist's drawings have never been satisfactorily sorted out. Peter Halm made a good start in his 1930 dissertation on Huber as a landscape draftsman. More recently, some German scholars—notably Dieter Kuhrmann—have grappled with certain Huber problems with impressive success. However, despite the considerable scholarly attention paid to untangling Huber's work, the artist's drawings still present vexing problems for the connoisseur. A recent catalogue raisonné of Huber's work (Franz Winzinger, *Wolf Huber: Das Gesamtwerk*, Munich, 1979) confuses rather than clarifies the basic problems. Winzinger has, in my opinion,



Wolf Huber (or close imitator),
The Broken Tree, c. 1530, pen
and black ink, Munich, Staat-
liche Graphische Sammlung.

introduced into the artist's oeuvre many drawings of doubtful authenticity and has proposed a new and rather radical chronology which is far from convincing.

The purpose of my two-months' research at the Center—which followed a trip to the major European print rooms holding Huber material—was to read systematically and critically through the surprisingly abundant literature on Huber and the Danube School, to assemble and scrutinize photographs of all the attributed drawings (including macrophotographs of related details in variant drawings and suspected copies) and to develop a keen sensitivity to Huber's graphic "handwriting," as well as to establish explicit criteria for judging authenticity. In addition, I read generally on the history of landscape and dealt with several broader questions raised by Huber's graphic work. Why do independent landscapes emerge as a genre in Huber's time? What relationship do the drawings bear to topographical and cartographic studies done at the same period, and to what degree do the drawings represent the growth of national consciousness in the early sixteenth century? What was the function of these drawings—were they made for their own sake or primarily for patrons or collectors with a taste for inspired, impromptu sketches? For what other reason would an artist make (or have made) multiple copies of apparently spontaneous landscape renderings? Finally, how do Huber's drawings relate to contemporaneous drawings of landscape in the Low Countries?

As expected, a two-month period turned out to be inadequate for resolution of all these issues, but my fellowship did provide the opportunity for me to become intimate with the artist's work and to begin to confront certain obvious questions. I also began to plan an exhibition, which might bring together a selection of the drawings and thereby provide an opportunity for comparative judgments which could lead to a more precise definition of the artist's graphic oeuvre.

Yale University Art Gallery
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1984

The Lady and the Landscape: A Seventeenth-Century Pictorial and Poetical Topos

During my tenure at the Center, I completed research on the *topos* of "The Lady and the Landscape" in seventeenth-century painting, prints, poetry, and music. I expect that this work will result in a chapter of an art-in-context study of Rubens' *Conversatie à la Mode* and an article treating relevant paintings by Van Dyck, Lely, Vermeer, and Mignard.

In order to explicate the intimate relationship of ladies to nature in these pictures, I studied landscape conventions in European amatory poetry and panegyrics to beautiful women. In these works the landscape functions in a manner similar to that in the paintings with which I am concerned. For example, in *Jouissance*, *Countryhouse*, and *Promenade* poetry, the various components of nature—the sun, trees, gardens, and flowers—are often similes and metaphors for female pulchritude. Poets delicately mingled the mistress with the features of her natural environment, thereby heightening her attractiveness, her sensuality, and augmenting her power and influence over them and the landscape. In *Promenade* poems of the period, for instance, the lady meanders through the grounds of her estate and has a marked effect upon everything she encounters: flowers grow up at her feet, structures and trees "own her for a deity," and all nature's creatures awaken at her august entrance and wither at her departure. This principle of the woman's dominance over nature, I believe, is also a major theme of Van Dyck's *Elena Grimaldi* in the National Gallery of Art (NGA 688).

In a different tenor, the literary landscape was intimately connected with courtship and amorous dalliance. It could be a setting for seduction and a mirror and catalyst of a couple's physical delights. It was also a sympathetic witness to the lamentations and meditations of a gallant estranged from his lady.

With these conventions in mind, I undertook a study of enframed landscape paintings within Vermeer's pictures. Tentatively, I propose that the wooded landscape that prominently hangs on the wall behind the couple in *The Glass of Wine* in Berlin may comment on their relationship. Although there are no explicit indications of love play here, seduction is subtly alluded to by the intense gaze of the gentleman at his lady who imbibes wine and by the presence of the lute, which was often used for amorous serenades in Vermeer's time. In contemporaneous love songs set to string accompaniment, such as Joost van den Vondel's "Come hither, pretty maiden," a swain invites his lady to seize the moment and accompany him to a secluded wood, where "Love must blossom and grow."

In *The Love Letter* in Amsterdam, a solitary wanderer appears in an idyllic landscape on the wall above an enframed picture of a ship at sea. This man in the landscape forms a vertical that directly descends to the female lutenist below in Vermeer's painting itself. Vermeer seems to have portrayed their relationship in the theme of the lover who confides to

nature that he wishes to return to his lady; it appeared in countless Dutch and French poems and lute songs. Constantijn Huygens' ballad "Grave witnesses of my delight" intones it; the lover here informs the woods and bushy oaks that they should not expect him to go anywhere except where love beckons him. In Vermeer, the theme appears to be linked to the emblematic motif of the lover as a ship searching for a safe harbor in the seascape on the wall, and his message to his lady is indicated by the delivery of the love letter.

The Guitar Player at Kenwood I believe to be the most ingenious evocation of "The Lady and the Landscape" *topos*. The landscape here is distilled into a painting directly behind the musician's head and visually relates to and reflects her beauty. In fact it seems to grow out of and recapitulate her brown hair; the leftward tilt of her head and her ringlets are suggestively restated in the arching foliate branches of the tree and the rolling hills behind her. Her music weaves, as it were, a civilizing magic into plain and forest. Vermeer may have drawn on the theme of the woman as a "chef d'oeuvre de nature," which appeared in love poems, songs, and tracts on beautiful women. It is discussed, for instance, in André du Chesne's *Figures mystiques du riche et précieux cabinet des dames* (1605), in which the woman is the epitome of nature like the Tree of Life that assimilates all the virtues and perfections of other plants. This motif evolved as a popular convention of love and beauty and was poeticized in Crispin de Passe II's *Les Vrais Pourtraits des plus grandes Dames desguisées en Bergères* (Amsterdam, 1640). Here a lovely girl in front of a pastoral landscape is lauded as "un miracle de nature." In a similar vein, coquettes personifying spring in Wenceslaus Hollar's fashion plates of 1643 and 1644 are addressed respectively in the expository verses as "Nature's Cheefe" and "Nature's Darling."

The *topos* was a common feature of French seventeenth-century allegorical engravings that depict a guitarist or a lutenist in front of a garden or a park. Verses on prints by Jeremias Falck and Jean I^{er} Leblond assert that the luster of the earth is effaced by the splendor of the musician's beauty. Female musicians in such prints and in French *airs de cour* are poeticized as animating the earth, forest, and trees with their stringed instruments.

I believe that similar conventions are at work in Sir Peter Lely's *Beauties* at Hampton Court and Althorp, mistresses who are depicted in the guise of goddesses and shepherdesses in luxurious gardens and parks. Like their acquaintance Lely, the poets Edmund Waller and Andrew Marvell hyperbolically salute their ideal mistresses as deities in a "sacred shade" who make "the Sun himself descend with greater Care."

University of Cincinnati

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall-winter 1983

Problems of Originality and Caravaggio Studies

During the seventeenth century (the focus but scarcely the limit of this preliminary study), diametrically opposed views were expressed by artists toward the desirability of copying. Some, such as Poussin and Sebastian Vranx, resisted replication of their works, while others, Francesco Albani, for instance, flooded the market with authorized copies from their shops and even were criticized by certain authors for doing so. The aim of my study is to understand, through documentation from the period, the varying attitudes of painters, patrons, and theoretical writers toward what we now celebrate (and in so doing, usually exaggerate) as *the* original work of art, in distinction to a collaborative effort, a shop replica, or a good copy by someone else. My research has included the combing of published, yet widely scattered evidence, whether in the *vite* of the artists, their letters, contracts, or inventories bearing evaluations and differentiating between "originals" and "copies."

Though in fundamental ways the issue of replication is separable from a second, broader, and more theoretical subject of originality as creative imagination, invention, newness, it seemed desirable to establish at least an outline of this intellectual background, against which to place the concept of "the" original work of art. This intention directed my readings far beyond the seventeenth century and the literature of art history, as I increasingly concentrated on philosophical, literary, and scientific thought that affected attitudes not only of the seventeenth century, but even more so of the romantic period.

The scope of this research precluded concentration on any single problem or century and was defined more by the history of ideas than the history of art, since the practice of painters and the desires of their patrons undoubtedly reflected broad cultural values. To cite only a few examples of the varied questions that interested me during the year at the Center and to suggest some highly tentative explanations:

1. I asked myself why the widespread copying of ancient statuary by the Romans did not begin earlier than it did, i.e., what classical Greek attitudes precluded the copying that arose in the late Hellenistic age? Various complementary explanations might be given. For instance, the "Xenocratic" attitude toward artistic evolution, which measured success through "progress" in techniques, may have suppressed the value of whatever could not contribute to this linear betterment of art, such as copies. Moreover, in the pre-Hellenistic period, artistic novelty per se would have commanded little praise, and the effect of a work of art on the spectator was of secondary critical concern—circumstances that probably contributed to the absence of a market for copies as well. Conversely (as John Onians suggests in *Art and Thought in the Hellenistic Age*, London, 1979), once the later Hellenistic *kritikoi* began to discern styles and set up categories of excellence, and once *phantasia* could vie with technical accomplishments, then a demand for

copies of esteemed works that express "ideals" could logically develop.

2. If, as I surmised and still believe, important changes toward originality occurred in Italy during the first decades of the sixteenth century, when an approximation of what we appreciate as "autograph" originality was significantly strengthened, why, then, did many quattrocento contracts already insist that work must be carried to completion only by the hand of the master, and no one else? Such a requirement, I suspect, is deeply rooted in medieval attitudes toward value received in workmanship and materials, more than in what we tend to think of as "artistic" value, even though it was during the fifteenth century that the concept of artistic "genius" was forming.

3. I also asked, what was the relationship between the long tradition of imitation, in the classical sense, and shifting attitudes toward originality? For seventeenth-century studies, I found it especially worthwhile to approach this complex, central issue through the history of scientific thought and the literary "quarrel of the ancients and moderns," where the first serious challenges to ancient authority appear.

A second, more finite project centered on Caravaggio but was influenced in part by my work on originality. "Stocktaking in Caravaggio Studies" (*Burlington Magazine*, March 1984) reviews four new monographs on the painter and raises various questions of methodology. For the forthcoming exhibition in New York and Naples, *The Age of Caravaggio* (1985), I wrote catalogue entries on Baglione and Domenichino and one of the principal essays, again dealing with recent interpretations of Caravaggio's work in the context of historiography. I also prepared a paper (to be published by the Pennsylvania State University Press in a series of lectures on Rome) dealing with Caravaggio's relationship with the High Renaissance. There I have analyzed the much-neglected debt that Caravaggio, as a Lombard painter, owes to Leonardo and Raphael, whose paintings and precepts I believe deeply influenced Caravaggio's chiaroscuro and history compositions, even though this view upsets the attractive notion that his originality and reliance on nature somehow are incompatible with an obligation to earlier masters. Finally, as a consequence of my readings on originality, in this paper I suggest that Caravaggio's reported rebellion against the value of "authority" might be compared with developments in science and literature of the time, since their classical premises were subjected to similar attacks at the end of the sixteenth century.

Oberlin College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1983-1984

MAREN STANGE

*Documentary Photography in Social Reform Movements,
1900-1943*

I have been at work for some time on a manuscript that traces the development of social documentary photography in America. At the Center, I completed a draft chapter on the New Deal's Farm Security Administration (FSA) photography project (1935-1943).

In the documentary mode, a photograph is composed and presented in a manner that exploits its status as *index* (that is, as a symbol fulfilling its representative function "by virtue of a character which it could not have if its object did not exist," in a standard semiotic definition) in order to assert more or less explicitly that the photograph presents its viewers with the truth. Four elements—the realist photograph, its caption, its associated written text, and its authoritative presenting agency (such as the reform organization)—make up the social documentary mode, which was first developed in the *Tenement House Exhibition* of 1900 and subsequently used in the Pittsburgh Survey of 1907-1914 (for which Lewis Hine was staff photographer), the textbook *American Economic Life and the Means of Its Improvement*, published in 1924, and the FSA project.

The brilliant social photographer Hine used the documentary mode to present immediate, various and complex "human documents" (as he called them) of America's little-studied, largely immigrant working class before World War I. Although reformers and editors such as Paul Kellogg of the journal *Survey* (which published much of Hine's work) seemed to believe in the authority and reform efficacy of graphic and particular information about working people, reform publications nevertheless consistently presented the documentary image in a rhetorical framework which linked the "scientific" exactitude connoted by the photograph's indexical status (its "added realism," in Hine's words) with the supposed "neutrality" of technical expertise in the social sciences. As the then-current phrase "social engineering" suggests, reform rhetoric ascribed to social science expertise itself an exactitude of measurement and calculation equivalent to that of the mechanical engineer. Hine's "work portraits" were used to mobilize support for political candidates and policies that gave scope to the ideas of city planners, sociologists, and progressive businessmen—"technicians of reform," in one historian's phrase.

Although the FSA photography project, like the New Deal as a whole, responded to the crisis of the Great Depression, the ideological assumptions that made possible the virtual redefinition of the documentary mode which the project accomplished were actually developed in the "New Era" prosperity of the postwar decade. In that period, the rhetoric of liberal reformers increasingly identified the agencies of social change with the new forms of "scientific management" advocated and practiced in the most advanced planning and management divisions of corporate mass production industries. The existence at all of a photography project in the FSA was certainly

the result and the culmination of a collaboration that began in the early 1920s between Rexford Tugwell, then an economics professor, and Roy Stryker, Tugwell's teaching assistant and soon to be chief of the photography project. Their economics textbook, *American Economic Life*, foreshadows in style and ideology their later collaboration at the Resettlement Administration and the FSA.

Using 300 of the Hine's photographs, made for the most part before the war, to illustrate the book, Stryker cropped the images and rewrote their captions to present not the current particularities of workers' social and working lives, but rather the benefits and attractions of corporate industrial social organization and principles of modern engineering and administration applied to all aspects of life. This modernizing ideology, as well as the style of photographic representation which Stryker illustrated in *American Economic Life*, informed policies, procedures, and aesthetics at the FSA.

Arising virtually simultaneously with the FSA in the mid-1930s, new mass circulation picture magazines such as *Life* and *Look* worked successfully to establish a public view of corporate photojournalism as a mode of mass communications not only reliable and professional but also "artistic" in its appeal. At the FSA, as in his later corporate public relations work, Roy Stryker perceived that by annexing this emergent prestige and cultural authority to the already established "scientific" reliability of experts in social science, he could use photography to popularize and glamorize the public image of social science and social work—including, of course, the government's. The agency's policy increasingly preferred national magazine or metropolitan newspaper publication of FSA photographs to any other use. Although FSA photographers relied on and responded to local informants and referred in field reports to social and cultural particularities they confronted in their work, the FSA's centralized distribution system favored graphically arresting images which readily communicated a vague but apparently urgent humanitarian sentiment with minimal caption material. The agency's increasing identification of its own ideology and aesthetics with those of corporate mass communications (idealized as a means of popular education) led to the resignation or dismissal of Walker Evans, Ben Shahn, and Dorothea Lange, photographers and artists concerned with documentary aesthetics who had each achieved a mature style and defined an individual project by the 1930s. Stryker's success at lending legitimacy to photojournalism's modern style by grounding it in apparently current and responsible social content led many commentators to refer to the "Documentary Movement" as "a social art that cannot be silenced," with "the integrity of a style," and the agency's "humanistic" contribution to photography was celebrated in major museum and gallery exhibitions.

The concluding section of my manuscript will show how the project's redefinition of documentary photography and the aesthetic claim raised in the 1930s to authorize and valorize the "truth" of government-sponsored and corporate-communicated documentation of poverty and reform were elements of a more general denial and devaluation of authentic social and political meaning in the realist image.

Maryland Institute, College of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1983

Miró's Tableaux Sauvages

Joan Miró is widely known as a creator of imaginative, childlike figurations whose simple forms and lively colors convey the primal spirit of life. During the mid-thirties, however, Miró's art featured a cast of frightful personages set in nightmarish environments and disturbing scenarios. Their bodies are grossly deformed, their postures are frenzied or frozen, and their emotional states are those of extreme agony and fear. A foreboding aura of chaos and death—in marked contrast to the typical Miró aura of flourishing, harmonious life—prevails.

My research at the Center focused upon these anomalous paintings, which Miró himself called *tableaux sauvages*. This involved an analysis of subject matter and expressive content which in turn revealed a shift from depictions of figures with a more passive attitude imbued with impotence, in compositions from 1934–1936, to depictions of figures with a more aggressive attitude denoting resistance and rebellion, in compositions from 1937–1938. Often the former appear as figures in divining, trancelike postures, as in prehistoric art, while the latter appear as protest figures in contemporary political posters. Indeed, prehistoric and contemporary political art served as sources of inspiration on both a formal and signification level.

Miró's imagery unquestionably relates to the historical turmoil of the period. But the relationship is far more than a premonition of the Spanish Civil War, as has usually been contended. Through an investigation of newspaper coverage and memoirs of eyewitness observers, in addition to a clarification and correction of the dates and titles of individual paintings, a close correspondence with contemporary events and issues becomes evident. Most specifically, the emergence of the *tableaux sauvages* correlates with the Asturias uprising of October 1934; the development reflects a deep sensitivity to the atrocities and repressions of the *bienio negro* (the two black years); the change in attitude bears witness to Miró's participation in the Spanish Pavilion at the 1937 World's Fair; and the zenith coincides with Chamberlain's visit to Munich in September 1938. Issues like land reform, anticlericalism, and Catalan independence—which were central to the formation of the Spanish Republic in 1931 and to its subsequent fight for survival—are also suggested in Miró's compositions. They do not assume a polemical aspect but characteristically are intoned through indirect evocations. There are, for example, depictions of nature envisioned in a cataclysmic or utterly infertile condition, of primordial religious expressions, and of regional peasants bearing farm tools as weapons.

Securing a socio-political context not only gives greater meaning to Miró's imagery but sheds light on the importance of his friendship with members of the surrealist circle and with activists in the Spanish Republican cause. Their ideas on the nature and function of art vis à vis politics, and their activities within the political domain are especially relevant to the



Joan Miró, *Two Women Surrounded by Birds*, 1937, oil on canvas, Barnes Foundation.

tableaux sauvages. Indeed, these compositions need to be considered with reference to other historically based paintings from the period, and in terms of the debate concerning revolutionary versus propagandistic art.

University Art Museum, University of California, Berkeley
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1983

L'Abbot Suger et Paul Gauguin

Durant l'année passée à la National Gallery comme Kress Professor, mes recherches ont été essentiellement partagées entre deux directions. D'une part, j'ai poursuivi la traduction commentée, en français, des textes latins révisés de Suger sur son *Administration* de l'abbaye de Saint-Denis et la *Consécration* de la façade-porche de l'abbatiale en 1140 et du chevet en 1144. Ces textes incluent la décoration de l'église et l'accroissement du mobilier et des vaisseaux liturgiques et sont supplémentés par des extraits d'*Ordinatio* et la *biographie de Suger par le moine Guillaume*, avec citations des chartes et de la *correspondance*. J'ai promis ma présentation des écrits de Suger à l'Institut Historique Allemand de Paris.

L'interprétation des textes de Suger, si importants pour la définition de la nouvelle esthétique qui prit conscience d'elle-même avec la naissance de l'architecture gothique, a bénéficié d'un ensemble de circonstances favorables qui suivirent l'*Abbot Suger* de Panofsky, paru en 1946. L'église pré- et post-sugérienne est archéologiquement beaucoup mieux connue grâce aux fouilles poursuivies après la guerre par Sumner McKnight Crosby. La synthèse des recherches de Crosby sur l'abbatiale, depuis sa fondation jusqu'à la mort de Suger, va paraître à Yale Press. J'ai été autorisé à prendre connaissance du typescript. J'ai étudié une dernière fois les manuscrits en provenance de Saint-Denis à Paris à la fin de 1983 et au début de 1984, aussi bien que les notes de l'antiquaire Peiresc à la Bibliothèque de Carpentras. Les vitraux ont fait l'objet d'un *Corpus* de Louis Grodecki, publié par les soins du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. L'*Inventaire de 1634*, qui est le recolement d'un inventaire de la fin du moyen âge, a paru en trois volumes rédigés par le Comte de Montesquiou-Fezensac avec la collaboration de Gabrielle Gaborit-Chopin. Cette publication apporte la somme de tous les documents connus sur l'histoire de Saint-Denis depuis le cinquième siècle. Une partie importante du rapport de Suger sur son *Administration* concerne les méthodes d'exploitation et de gestion qu'il mit si bien en oeuvre qu'il tripla les revenus que l'abbaye tirait de ses domaines. Des travaux récents ont apporté beaucoup de précisions sur l'agronomie dans la première moitié du douzième siècle. Dans un article et un livre récents, Jean Bony a analysé avec beaucoup d'originalité les caractères de la nouvelle architecture apparue à Saint-Denis.

Un article que j'ai écrit sur la politique financière de Suger sera inclu à titre de contribution supplémentaire dans le deuxième volume du Colloque de l'Université de Haute-Bretagne, Rennes II: *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au Moyen Age*. La substance de cette étude a été exposée lors du premier colloque du Center for Advanced Study (Octobre 1983): "How Much Did it Cost Abbot Suger to Rebuild and Redecorate Saint-Denis?"

D'autre part, j'ai préparé la publication du dernier manuscrit de Paul Gauguin, *L'Esprit moderne et le catholicisme*, conservé au St. Louis Art Museum, Missouri, qui est resté en très grande partie inédit et, par conséquent,



Chalice of Abbot Suger from Saint-Denis, c. 1140, National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection.

sans incidence encore sur l'étude du symbolisme dans l'oeuvre de Gauguin. Le texte, ma préface, et les commentaires paraîtront dans le *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*.

En dehors de ces deux champs majeurs de recherche, j'ai envoyé au *Journal des Savants* un article sur la "sépulture d'un Sarrasin," que Villard de Honnecourt vit "une fois." C'est la seule page de l'album de Villard de Honnecourt restée inexplicable jusqu'ici. Il est indubitable que Villard a vu dans le Royaume de Jérusalem la tombe hellénistique d'un souverain client de Rome. Elle est du même type à exèdre que la tombe de Philoppapos à Athènes avec, en plus, les Dioscures tenant au dessus du souverain assis en majesté la couronne de l'apothéose.

Sous mon titre de Kress Professor j'ai publié deux articles sur l'art de la Renaissance italienne. Le premier, "Il Putto Ignoto: A Marble Statuette of Christ in Quest of a Father," paru dans *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 70 (1983), attribue à Baccio da Montelupo le Christ enfant portant les instruments de la Passion, qui couronne le tabernacle laissé inachevé par Desiderio da Settignano à San Lorenzo, Florence. L'autre article, "Bramante's Belvedere and a Painting by Raffaello dal Colle in the Walters Art Gallery," a paru dans le *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 41 (1983). En plus, j'ai fait paraître quatre articles dans *The Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (Guillaume Boucher; Ceramics [European]; Chip Carving; Enamel), et donné les comptes-rendus de trois livres: aux *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, Helmut Bushhausen, *Der Emailwerk des Nikolaus von Verdun im Stift Klosterneuburg*; à l'*Art Bulletin*, Peter Springer, *Kreuzfüsse; Ikonographie und Typologie eines hochmittelalterlichen Gerätes. Bronzegeräte des Mittelalters 3*; à *Speculum*, les trois premiers volumes *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, par Anton von Euw et Joachim Plotzek. J'ai écrit aussi pour le catalogue des arts décoratifs de la National Gallery et pour *Studies in the History of Art* deux articles sur "The Chalice of Abbot Suger 1081-1151" et les descriptions des émaux peints de Limoges à la National Gallery.

Université de Montréal (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1983-1984

