

National Gallery of Art

Center 5

Research Reports and Record of Activities





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

Center 5

Research Reports and Record of Activities

June 1984—May 1985

Washington, 1985

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. 2 (printed by Aubert et Cie.), published in *Le Charivari*, 24 May 1838.

"Vois-tu camarade. Voilà comme tu trouveras toujours les vrais Artistes . . . se partageant tout."

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Report on the Academic Year 1984-1985 (June 1984-May 1985)

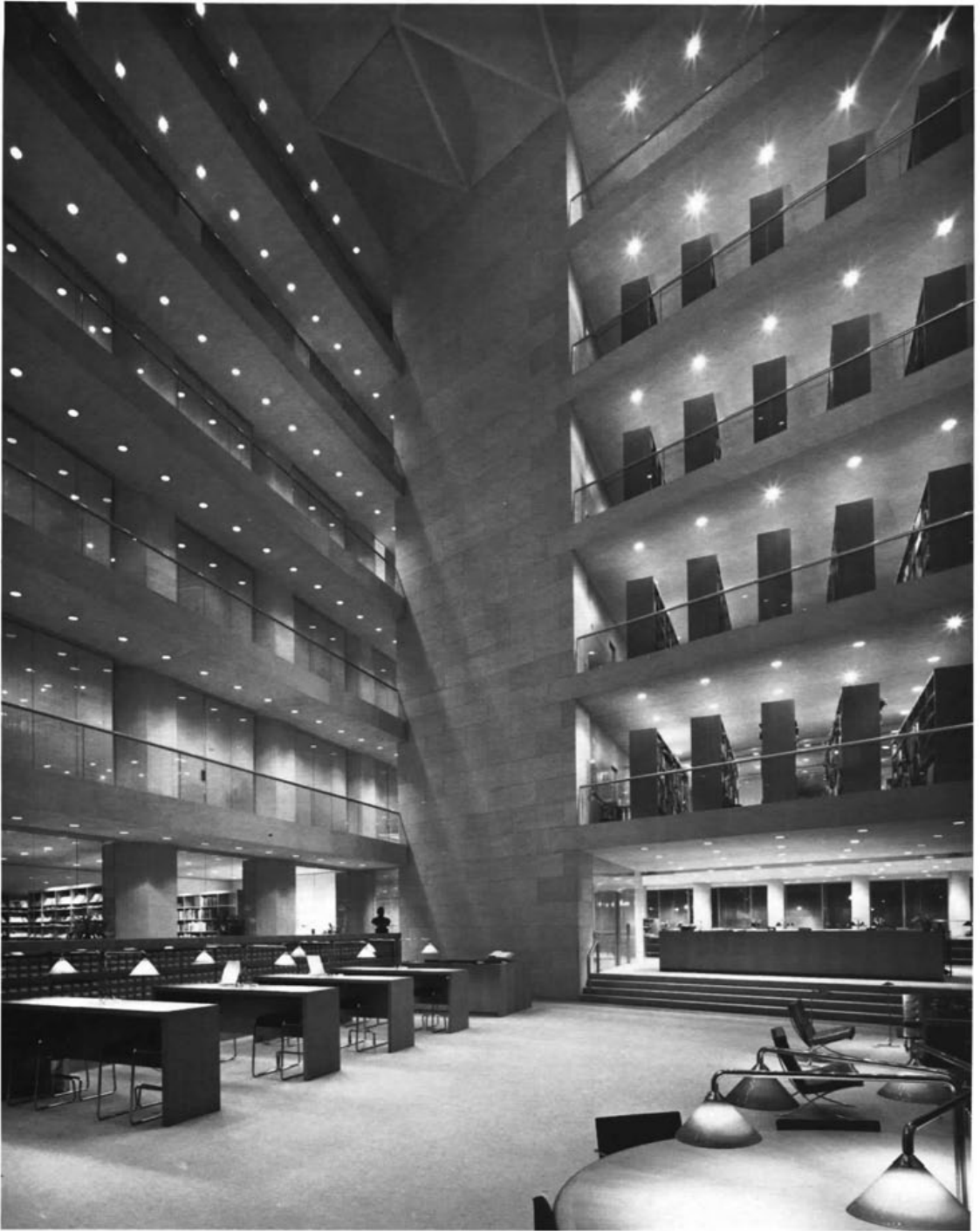
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GENERAL INFORMATION



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 the Washington area 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. Associate and full professors are expected to bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. Only in the case of junior faculty might the award approximate 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, and so forth, and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for research purposes and for presenting papers at professional meetings.

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 through February, and B) March through 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, and who holds the Ph.D. or has a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows 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.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of Western art history who have completed their university residence requirements, 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 that includes 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; the award 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 other 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 shop talks 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, encourage 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 list of the meetings held at the Center in 1984-1985 may be found on pages 21-30.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually. (See pages 32-88 for reports written by members of the Center in 1984-1985.) 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*. Three symposia volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* is volume 10 of *Studies in the History of Art*; *El Greco: Italy and Spain* is volume 13; and *Claude Lorraine 1600-1682: A Symposium* is volume 14. Two more are in press:

Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages, from the March 1984 symposium sponsored jointly with the Department of the History of Art, The Johns Hopkins University, will appear in the summer of 1985 as volume 16; and *Raphael Before Rome*, papers from the January 1983 symposium, will be published in the spring of 1986 as volume 17 of *Studies*. Papers from five other symposia are being prepared for publication: *James McNeill Whistler*; *Italian Medals*; *Antoine Watteau*; *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*; and *Italian Plaquettes*.

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, as well as the development of an automated cataloging system including an extensive program for interrelated indexing. It is expected that the archive will include photographs 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 in 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 the 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 entire Islamic manuscript tradition.

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
1984-1985
(June 1984—May 1985)

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Dore Ashton, The Cooper Union
James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley
Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University
Ilene Forsyth, University of Michigan
Alfred Frazer, Columbia University
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*
Susan J. Barnes, *Acting Assistant Dean*
Donald Garfield, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*
Rita Offer, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*
Deborah Wilde, *Research Assistant to the Dean*

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS ADVISORY GROUP

Deborah Wilde, *NGA/CASVA Research Associate*

Supported by the J. Paul Getty Trust

Beverly Brown, *Senior Research Associate*
Barbara Chabrowe, *Research Associate*
Kathleen Curran, *Research Associate*
Amy Meyers, *Research Associate*
Therese O'Malley, *Research Associate*

MEMBERS

Kress Professor

Charles Mitchell, Bryn Mawr College (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1984-1985
Tempio Malatestiano, Rimini and Scalamonti's Life of Ciriaco d'Ancona

Mellon Lecturer

James S. Ackerman, Harvard University
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1985
The Villa in History

Senior Fellows

Jonathan Alexander, University of Manchester
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985
Humanistic Book Illumination in Padua and Venice c. 1450-1530 and The Patronage of the English Court c. 1200-1420

Elizabeth Cropper, Temple University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985
The Crisis of Originality and Tradition in Seventeenth-Century Rome

Mojmír Svatopluk Frinta, State University of New York, Albany
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1984-1985
Punched Decoration of Gilded Surfaces on Panel Paintings of the Trecento and Quattrocento; The Confrontation of Italo-Byzantine Paintings with the Procedures of Byzantine Icon Painting

Martin Powers, University of California, Los Angeles
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985
Immortals and Their Imagery in Han Pictorial Art



Edward A. Snow, Rice University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985
Interpreting Bruegel

Richard C. Trexler, State University of New York, Binghamton
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1984-1985
The Journey of the Magi: the Social History of a Christian Iconologue

Visiting Senior Fellows

Beryl Barr-Sharrar, New York City
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985
The Derveni Krater and Its Legacy

Alessandro Bettagno, Università di Venezia; Fondazione
Giorgio Cini, Venice
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1985
Anton Maria Zanetti il Vecchio

Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, Institute of Fine Arts and College of Arts
and Sciences, New York University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985
Sidera Domus: Raphael's Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo

Peter Heinz Feist, Institut für Aesthetik und Kunstwissenschaften,
Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1985
*American Commissions to German Sculptors in the Second Half of the
Nineteenth Century and Studies in Methodological Trends of Art
Historiography in the United States*

Anne Walter Lowenthal, Barnard College
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985
*The Paintings of Pieter Claesz: A Study of Style, Method, and Meaning in
Still Lifes of Holland's Golden Age*

John Browning Onians, University of East Anglia
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Fellow, fall 1984
Final revision of work on the classical orders and research into the
transformation of man's relation to nature in the Roman world

Myra Nan Rosenfeld, Montreal
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985
*Studies on the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris and the Sources of the French
Renaissance Palace: 1350-1500*

Margarita Anna Russell, Gresham College, City University, London
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1985
*The Influence of Dutch Marine Painting on the Development of Dutch
Landscape Painting of the Seventeenth Century*



Christine Smith, Georgetown University; Charles Strong Center, Villa
le Balze, Fiesole
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1985
*Architectural Descriptions in Western Europe and Byzantium from Late
Antiquity to the Renaissance*

National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art, Department of Early
Italian Painting
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, fall 1984
Solario's Newly Discovered Lamentation in the Louvre

Associate

David Porter, University of Massachusetts
fall 1984
Linguistic Structure and the Art of Joseph Cornell

Fellows

*Susan MacMillan Arensberg, [The Johns Hopkins University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1983-1985
The Padua Bible

*Barbara Butts, [Harvard University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984-1985
"Dürerschuler" Hans Süß von Kulmbach

Sarah R. Cohen, [Yale University]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1984-1986
The Interrelationship Between the Fête Galante and 18th-Century Dance

Francesca Consagra, [The Johns Hopkins University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984-1985
The De Rossi Print-Publishing House: 1615-1739

Tracy Cooper, [Princeton University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1984-1987
The Campaign of Decoration in the Church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice

*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

David Gillerman, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984-1985
S. Fortunato, Todi

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

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

Carol McMichael, [University of Texas at Austin]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984-1985
Denver 1893-1941: Architecture, Urbanism, and the City Beautiful

Sasha Newman, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1984-1986
Pierre Bonnard

Judith Testa, University of Chicago
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1984-1985
The Beatty Rosarium, a Manuscript with Miniatures by Simon Bening

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

*in residence 1984-1985

MEETINGS

Symposia

29-31 October 1984

ANTOINE WATTEAU: LE PEINTRE, SON TEMPS ET SA LEGENDE

Jointly sponsored with the Société de l'histoire de l'art français and held
in Paris

WATTEAU ET L'HISTOIRE

Président de séance: D. Posner

Valenciennes dans les dernières années du XVIII^e siècle

F. Machelard

Watteau à Valenciennes

M. Vangheluwe

Watteau à l'Opéra (1702)

J. de la Gorce

Le thème de la paix chez Watteau

H. Opperman

L'année 1715

C. Nordenfalk

WATTEAU ET SON ENVIRONNEMENT CULTUREL

Président de séance: J. Deprun

Watteau: iconosphère et personnalité d'artiste

Y. Zolotov

L'influence d'Antoine Watteau sur l'oeuvre de Charles Coypel

T. Lefrançois

*La 'furia francese' de Rosalba Carriera. Ses rapports avec Watteau et les artistes
français*

B. Sani

Watteau libertin?

F. Moureau

WATTEAU: DESSINS ET GRAVURES

Président de séance: C. Nordenfalk

New observations on some Watteau drawings

M. Morgan Grasselli

Figures de différents caractères

M. Roland Michel

CONFERENCES: HOMMAGE A WATTEAU

*Hommage à Watteau. J.B. Carpeaux, die Watteau-Rezeption in der Kunst des
Deuxième Empire und die Ikonographie des Watteau-Denkmal in Valenciennes*

D. Kocks

Les structures dialectiques de la temporalité dans l'oeuvre de Watteau

E. Moutsopoulos

WATTEAU: THEMES ET VARIATIONS

Président de séance: D. Ponnau

Les sites de Watteau

J. R. Mantion

Watteau en son temps: le Paysage et les Figures

R. Démoris

Watteau's Landscapes and Park-Landscapes

D. Posner

Watteau et l'imaginaire social: la représentation animale comme étude de cas

G. Le Coat

Watteau: la nature dans le tableau et l'esthétique de la grâce

A. M. Rieu

WATTEAU: L'OEUVRE AU SINGULIER

Président de séance: Y. Zolotov

Early works of Watteau

M. Eidelberg

Le GILLES de Watteau. Recherches sur les origines et connotations historiques

J. Baticle

Quelques points de technique picturale et de restauration

S. Bergeon et L. Faillant-Dumas

WATTEAU: L'ATELIER DE L'OEUVRE

Président de séance: R. Démoris

Les répétitions dans l'oeuvre de Watteau

P. Rosenberg



Conversation as literary and painted form: Madeleine de Scudéry, Roger de Piles and Watteau

M. Vidal

Die in der Landschaft gelagerte Figur. Zum Verhältnis Watteaus zur Vorromantik

Y. Boerlin-Brodbeck

WATTEAU ET LES ARTS DE SON EPOQUE

Président de séance: F. Moureau

Mythe théâtral de Watteau

G. Macchia

Watteau et le théâtre français

A. Blanc

Watteau et l'Opéra de son temps: Problématique d'un parallèle

Ph. Hourcade

Watteau and the Dance

J. Edwards

Watteau peintre du costume de son temps

Y. Deslandres

Fête galante et/ou Fête foraine

R. Tomlinson

LE MYTHE DE WATTEAU

Président de séance: P. Rosenberg

Watteau's International Reputation before 1740 and Gabburi

B. Schreiber Jacoby

Watteau et l'Espagne

J. Luna

Watteau and His Imitators in England in the Mid-Eighteenth Century

B. Allen

Watteau and 'Watteaus' in Britain (1780-1850)

S. Wittingham

Théophile Gautier et Antoine Watteau

A. Montandon

Pierrot-Watteau: Nineteenth Century Pantomime and Poetry

L. Jones

Watteau et les Goncourt

S. Simon

Watteau et ses imitateurs en Saxe

H. Marx

SOIREE

Watteau et les danses de son temps

(dance performance)

R. Astier

8-9 March 1985

RETAINING THE ORIGINAL: MULTIPLE ORIGINALS, COPIES
AND REPRODUCTIONS

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

SESSION I

Moderator: Andrew Oliver, National Endowment for the Arts

Defining the Issue: The Greek Period

Brunilde S. Ridgway, Bryn Mawr College

Copy and Original in Roman Classical Sculpture

Miranda Marvin, Wellesley College

SESSION II

Moderator: Marianna Shreve Simpson, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts

Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium

Gary Vikan, The Walters Art Gallery

*Facsimiles, Copies and Variations. The Relationship to the Model in Medieval
and Renaissance European Manuscripts*

Jonathan J. G. Alexander, University of Manchester

*Paradigmatic Social Functions in Anglican Church Architecture in the Fifteen
American Colonies*

Alan Gowans, University of Victoria

SESSION III

Moderator: Richard Spear, Oberlin College

The Print in Thrall to its Original: An Historiographic Perspective

Caroline Karpinski, Washington, D.C.

Replication and the Art of Veronese

Beverly Louise Brown, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
and National Gallery of Art





Measures of Authenticity: The Detection of Copies in the Early Literature on Connoisseurship

Jeffrey Muller, Brown University

SESSION IV

Moderator: Elizabeth Cropper, Temple University

Questioning the Original: Observations on Portraits of George Washington

Egon Verheyen, The Johns Hopkins University

You Irreplaceable You

Rosalind Krauss, Hunter College and The Graduate Center, City University of New York

Handling the Original: Painting, Photography, and the Commonplace

Richard Shiff, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

21-22 March 1985

ITALIAN PLAQUETTES

A symposium made possible by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation

The Study of Italian Plaquettes

John Pope-Hennessy, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Collections of Plaquettes in the British Museum

Graham Pollard, The Fitzwilliam Museum

Two Large Plaquettes in Oxford from the C.D.E. Fortnum Collection

Christopher H. Lloyd, The Ashmolean Museum

Master IO. F.F. and the Function of Plaquettes

Christopher Fulton, National Gallery of Art

Plaquettes on Bookbindings

Anthony R. A. Hobson, Whitsbury, Fordingbridge

Le Placchette del Filarete

Pietro Cannata, Rome

Name Inscriptions: Solution or Problem?

Anthony Geber, Chevy Chase, Maryland

The Role of Plaquettes in the Transmission of Antique Gems

Nicole Dacos Crifò, Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique de Belgique

Le Gemme Antiche e le Origini della Placchetta

Francesco Rossi, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo

Two Early Romano-Mantuan Plaquettes:

The Master L.C.I.

Anthony Radcliffe, Victoria & Albert Museum

Work in-Progress: Technical Analysis of Riccio Plaquettes

Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art

Riccio et Ulocrino

Bertrand Jestaz, Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne

Moderno's Plaquettes: A New Look at the Extent of His Oeuvre

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

Jacopo Sansovino and the Italian Plaquette

Charles Davis, Villa I Tatti

Fontainebleau, Milan, or Rome? A Mannerist Bronze Lock-plate and Hasp

Charles Avery, Christie's, London

13 April 1985

THE FIFTEENTH ANNUAL MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN
THE HISTORY OF ART

Jointly sponsored with the Department of Art, University of Maryland

Reconstructing the Delphi Charioteer

Saul Zalesch, [University of Delaware]

Early Christian Sources for the Vercelli Rotulus and Their Implications for the Origin of Acts Illustrations

Glenn Gunhouse, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Two Copies of Michaelangelo's Invention of the Last Judgment

Bernadine Barnes, [University of Virginia]

Pieter Bruegel the Elder and the Privileged Point of View

Nina Serebrennikov, [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis by Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem

Pamela D. King, [University of Maryland]

Hapsburg Patronage in Portugal, 1580-1640

Annemarie Jordan, [George Washington University]

Not Only Hercules, But Alexander: A Reevaluation of Bernini's Equestrian Monument of Louis XIV

Marianne Berardi, [University of Pittsburgh]

The Accademia di San Luca and the Establishment of the Academy of Arts and Sciences as a Building Type

Christine Challingsworth, [The Pennsylvania State University]

Fitz Hugh Lane and the China Trade Connection

Marjorie Principato, [The American University]

Seminars

26 October 1984

PRECEDENT, PARADIGM AND NORM; THE VALUE OF ANCIENT, RENAISSANCE AND LATER CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE, URBAN DESIGN AND LANDSCAPE FOR AN ARCHITECT IN THE LATE-TWENTIETH CENTURY

Participants:

William H. Adams, Columbia University
Jean Paul Carlhian, Shipley, Bulfinch, Richardson and Abbott
David DeLong, New York, New York
Arthur Drexler, Museum of Modern Art
Allan Greenberg, New Haven, Connecticut
Frances Halsband, Kliment and Halsband
Mark A. Hewitt, Rice University
Stephen Kieran, Princeton University
Barbara Littenberg, Columbia University
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks
Elisabeth MacDougall, Dumbarton Oaks
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Iris Miller, Washington, D.C.
John Onians, University of East Anglia
Steven Peterson, Institute of Architecture and Urban Studies
Henry Hope Reed, New York, New York
Colin Rowe, Cornell University
Thomas Schumacher, University of Maryland
Robert A.M. Stern, Columbia University





19 April 1985

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH GENRE PAINTING

Participants:

Svetlana Alpers, University of California, Berkeley
Susan J. Barnes, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Margaret D. Carroll, Wellesley College and Bunting Institute
David Freedberg, Columbia University
John Hand, National Gallery of Art
Egberg Haverkamp-Begemann, Institute of Fine Arts
Frima Fox Hofrichter, Highland Park, New Jersey
Thomas D. Kaufmann, Princeton University
Alison M. Kettering, Carleton College
George Keyes, Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Susan Donahue Kuretsky, Vassar College
David A. Levine, Southern Connecticut State University
Walter Liedtke, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Anne Lowenthal, Barnard College
J. Michael Montias, Yale University
Keith Moxey, University of Virginia
Otto Naumann, Hoogsteder-Naumann, Ltd.
Nanette Salomon, State University of New York, Purchase and
The Metropolitan Museum of Art
Mary Ann Scott, Cincinnati Art Museum
Jacob W. Smit, Columbia University
Edward Snow, Rice University
Linda Stone-Ferrier, University of Kansas
Peter C. Sutton, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
James A. Welu, Worcester Art Museum
Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., National Gallery of Art
Martha Wolff, National Gallery of Art

Colloquia XLI-XLVII

9 October 1984

Observations on the Cantiere at St. Peters, 1546-1580

Henry A. Millon

8 November 1984

Interpreting Bruegel: A Reading of Children's Games

Edward A. Snow

20 November 1984

The Meaning of Disorder

John Onians

6 December 1984

What Can the Study of Punched Decoration Do for the History of Art?

Mojmír S. Frinta

30 January 1985

A Social History of the Magi

Richard Trexler

14 March 1985

Paradoxes About Paradise in Chinese Mural Engravings of the Mid-Second Century A.D.

Martin J. Powers

30 April 1985

Domenichino's "Last Communion of Saint Jerome": Patronage, Plagiarism, and Paternity

Elizabeth Cropper



Shop Talks

15 November 1984

Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins: Critical Problems

Linda Docherty

24 January 1985

Perino del Vaga's Frescoes in the Palazzo Baldassini, Rome

Linda Wolk

11 April 1985

Unfinished Business: Delacroix and Constable at the Salon of 1824

Lucy MacClintock

Lecture

1 May 1985

*"Et sachez bien qu'il fut contrefais al vif." Reflections on Mimesis and Stylization
in the Art of the Thirteenth Century*

Willibald Sauerländer, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich



MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

The following research reports discuss work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1984 to May 1985 and by several Predoctoral Fellows not in residence whose terms ended in August 1984. Additional reports by Predoctoral Fellows for the 1984-1985 academic year will be published in *Center 6*.

JONATHAN ALEXANDER

Exhibition of English Gothic Art. Artists and the book in Padua, Venice, and Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century

In the first part of my stay I worked on the exhibition of English Gothic art planned to take place at the Royal Academy, London, in the winter of 1987. The main part of the exhibition will be a series of works of art in all media arranged chronologically according to reigns from the reign of King John, c. 1200, to the death of King Richard II, c. 1399. In addition there will be four main thematic sections.

The first thematic section will present some of the techniques of medieval art through unfinished works, sketchbooks, and representations of artists at work. There will also be maps, diagrams, and photographs to show, for example, Gothic vaulting systems, or where stone was quarried, or how stained glass was made, or how manuscripts were written and illuminated. A second thematic section will be devoted to the nobility, to knights and their ladies. This will include examples of their tombs and monumental brasses, objects they used such as secular plate, ivory chess pieces or arms and armor, as well as images of them as donors in manuscripts and stained glass. A third section will show ecclesiastical patronage, featuring groups of works of art owned by Bishop Grandison of Exeter and Bishop William of Wyckham of Winchester. Liturgical objects used at the altar such as chalices and patens, altar frontals and copes, and Mass books will also be gathered together here. A fourth section will examine popular devotion and piety, including pilgrimage to the saints' shrines, through objects like prayer rolls, pilgrim badges, and illustrated lives of saints, as well as through surviving fragments of sculpture from shrines. Other segments of medieval society will be represented at appropriate points in the exhibition either in works of art that depict them or in works made for them. For example, the growth of towns and merchant communities will be illustrated through a Charter of Edward III to Bristol, or peasants at work through calendar scenes and misericords, or the part played by women in culture through the image of Saint Anne teaching the Virgin to read. The exhibition's aim is thus first to show the range and beauty of English Gothic art, and second to place it in historical context.

With the help of a program on the computer I processed the lists of objects in different media provided by the Exhibition Committee. As a result I was able to provide an outline of the exhibition for the Royal Academy in early January which will be the basis for loan requests and for the eventual exhibition.

In the second part of my stay I worked on the Sanders Lectures in Bibliography to be given at Cambridge University in June 1985. The lectures are entitled "Artists and the book in Padua, Venice, and Rome in the second half of the fifteenth century." The first lecture deals with a number of illuminators working in Padua and Venice from c. 1450 and in Rome from c. 1470 until c. 1500. These illuminators were particularly influenced by the antiquarian study of classical remains, exemplified in the

famous account, the *Jubilatio* by Felice Feliciano of Verona. Felice describes how he and other friends including Andrea Mantegna visited Lake Garda in 1464 to look for classical remains. Mantegna's influence was strongly felt by a number of these illuminators, particularly Girolamo da Cremona whom he recommended to the Marchesa of Mantua in 1461, and an artist known as the Master of the Vatican Homer who worked for Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga and other patrons in Rome in the 1470s. The latter artist's work is examined in detail. There emerges from this study an interlinked circle of patrons including high church dignitaries like Cardinal Lodovico Trevisan, Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, and Cardinal Giovanni d'Aragona, of humanists and antiquarians like Giovanni Marcanova and Bernardo Bembo, and of painters, illuminators, and scribes like Mantegna, Zoppo, Girolamo da Cremona, Franco dei Russi, and Bartolomeo Sanvito.

The second lecture traces the use of classical sources in these manuscripts in terms of pastiches and copies. One of the main innovations, the architectural frontispiece, is discussed at length. The ways in which motifs were transmitted by drawings and by works of art in other media are also discussed. An example is the motif of a putto frightening his fellows with a mask.

The third lecture is concerned with the consequences of the introduction of printing into Venice in 1469. A number of manuscript illuminators also worked in printed books and it is interesting to see how the results of the new technology were by no means all negative for illuminators, providing them with new opportunities for work and with new technical problems to solve. The participation of artists in woodcut design is also discussed and in particular the suggestion examined that an artist who illuminated a number of manuscripts in Venice c. 1500 may have provided the designs for the famous woodcuts in the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili* printed by Aldus in 1499.

In addition to these main research projects I wrote a paper on copies in manuscript illumination for the symposium, *Retaining the Original*, organized in March 1985 by the Center and the Department of the History of Art, The John Hopkins University. My study concerns the different types of copies found in manuscripts and proposes a terminology for them of facsimiles, replicas, and reproductions. The terms aim to take account of the circumstances in which the copies were made. However, there are problems in defining likeness in these copies and this question is also addressed in my paper.

University of Manchester
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985

The Padua Bible and the Phenomenon of the Late Medieval Biblical Picture Book

Now divided between the Accademia dei Concordi in Rovigo (MS. 212) and the British Library in London (MS. Add. 15277), the Padua Bible, also known as the Rovigo Bible, is an Old Testament picture book produced in Padua at the close of the fourteenth century. With nearly nine hundred colored drawings, usually distributed with four to a page and representing the events of the first six books of the Bible plus the book of Ruth, the Padua Bible is the most densely illustrated biblical manuscript known from medieval Italy and the only extant Italian picture Bible. Despite its vast pictorial cycle, the manuscript has been studied primarily by philologists. The often lengthy vernacular captions that accompany the miniatures constitute one of the two best witnesses to the Italian dialect spoken within the city walls of late medieval Padua. The other, the “Libro aggregà de Serapion” (London, British Library, MS. Egerton 2020), sometimes called the Carrara Herbal, was made for Francesco Novello da Carrara, the last of the Carrara lords to control Padua before the city was absorbed into the Venetian Republic in 1404. The Serapion manuscript provides such a close linguistic and paleographic analogue to the Padua Bible that the two must be contemporary and the Padua Bible must also date to the closing years of Carrara rule. The art historical literature on this manuscript, which dates to Förster’s initial publication of the section in Rovigo in 1846, has focused on the style of its miniatures and their attribution. Although the miniaturists were clearly influenced by such local artistic luminaries of the day as Giusto dei Menabuoi, Altichiero, and Jacopo da Verona, attempts to identify them with any one of these artists have proven overly optimistic. The manuscript is the product of a collaborative effort by a team of diversely trained artists who may have been brought together specifically for this project.

Leaving aside the question of authorship, my research at the Center has concentrated on the manuscript itself. Through a careful reading of its text, a biblical paraphrase that amalgamates the Vulgate and Peter Comestor’s *Historia Scholastica*, and a comprehensive study of the relationship of its pictorial cycle to earlier Old Testament illustration and to contemporary manuscript production in the Veneto, I have been able to address questions not yet raised in connection with this manuscript: how such an enormous undertaking was accomplished; to what extent the miniaturists relied on earlier iconographic traditions for biblical illustration; to what extent and why they modified and supplemented what was available; what the relationship of the miniatures is to the accompanying text and what the sources of that text are; what purposes were served by this extraordinarily detailed pictorialization of Old Testament history and why a late fourteenth-century Paduan would have commissioned such a work.

Although the focus of my work is the Padua Bible, my goal is to contribute to an understanding of picture Bibles in general, a relatively

unstudied class of illustrated manuscript that enjoyed a vogue from roughly the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries across Europe, from Spain to Bohemia and from England to Italy, and of which the Padua Bible is a major and, in some respects, unusual example. Characterized by highly literal, narrative pictorial cycles that render the events of biblical history in remarkable detail, picture Bibles represent a complete contrast to the other two major types of late medieval biblical picture books: the *Bible Moralisée* and the *Biblia Pauperum* in which biblical history is thoroughly subordinated to overriding theological concepts. It is perhaps precisely because of their straightforward narratives that picture Bibles have received so little attention. Unlike the exegetical miniatures of the typological picture books, the self-explanatory narrative miniatures of the picture Bibles require no decoding. But while the individual miniatures pose few problems, the phenomenon as a whole bears study because picture Bibles represent an approach to Biblical illustration that had not been widespread since the Early Christian period. A review of medieval picture Bibles indicates that, although their artists often drew on early iconographic traditions, these manuscripts should not be viewed as the final witnesses to a dissolving Early Christian tradition, but as a rising phenomenon that developed in the late medieval period. To understand the motivations that led to this vogue, I have examined the larger cultural and historical context of these manuscripts, with an emphasis on the status of images relative to the written and spoken word in the later Middle Ages, and on the relationship of picture Bibles to contemporary vernacular, secular literature and to current attitudes toward the Bible and the study of the Old Testament. In an age when the line between the sacred and the profane was thoroughly blurred, the detailed portrayals of battles and conquests found in picture Bibles would have appealed to the same audience as that which avidly acquired illustrated romances and epics. They would also have served purposes of religious instruction of members of the laity wealthy enough to afford them. The demand for picture Bibles coincided with a period of intense Biblical study, initiated by Hugh of St. Victor, that focused on the need to understand the historical facts, the *sensus litteralis*, of the Bible as an essential prerequisite for the proper understanding of Scripture. Picture Bibles, with their extended narrative cycles of miniatures outlining the course of biblical history in full detail, represent a kind of pictorial equivalent to the teachings of Hugh and such followers as Peter Comestor whose *Historia Scholastica* was one of the most widely read texts of the later Middle Ages and influenced both the text and the miniatures of the Padua Bible. In addition, particular features of the Padua Bible distinguish it from other picture Bibles and anticipate the more historical, scholarly interest in the Bible that was to develop in the course of the fifteenth century. During the period of my fellowship, I completed the research and a draft of my dissertation. I also assisted the department of Italian paintings by preparing catalogue entries on selected trecento panels for the systematic catalogue of the National Gallery.

[The Johns Hopkins University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1983-1985

The Derveni Krater and Its Legacy

My research and writing during two months at the Center was concentrated on the first and fifth chapters of my book on the Derveni krater, a highly significant late classical monument discovered in 1962 in a fourth-century B.C. tomb in Macedonia. The purpose of the book is to place this remarkable bronze vessel in historical perspective at the beginning of a tradition of extravagant works in metal which continued through the Hellenistic and into the Roman imperial period and to define and discuss the products which were its legacy.

The Derveni krater is the only extant example of the kind of lavish toreutic works with repoussé friezes and added figures, catalogued by the Hellenistic writer Kallixenos as they passed on display in the famous grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus sometime between 280 and 270 B.C.—a catalogue of wonders wrought in gold, silver, and bronze, recorded in the *Deipnosophistae* by Athenaeus.

Chapter I describes the form, manufacture and in some respects unique Dionysiac imagery of the krater, and discusses the date of its production. While the overall effect of the krater is one of ornate detail and elaboration suggestive of Hellenistic development, the elongated proportions and the languid, dreamy quality of the figures on the frieze are reminiscent of the work of Praxiteles (fl. 364-361) and Leochares (fl. 395-350) rather than the restless and agitated products characteristic of the Lysippean school of the later fourth century B.C. The striking poses of the shoulder figures may to some extent anticipate later Hellenistic types, but the subtle torsion of the least quiet of them—the maenad who bares her breast with her head thrown back in wide-eyed ecstasy—can be found in works by Scopas, a contemporary of Leochares. It is this figure style, together with certain classical decorative motifs, that identifies the krater as a creation of the late classical rather than the early Hellenistic period. While a terminus ante quem for the burial of the krater can safely be placed in the thirties of the fourth century, as suggested by the coin of Philip II found among the ashes within it, I believe the actual date of its manufacture may be several decades earlier. The multiplicity of decorative effects which give the krater so ostentatious an appearance for a work of that time can be explained, I believe, by the fact that it was produced in an atmosphere and for a market in which luxury display objects were the norm, that is, the monarchic kingdom of Macedon, probably at or near the court of Phillip II (359-336) early in his reign. This date is somewhat earlier than that previously suggested.

Chapter V, which I also began writing during my fellowship at the Center, deals with one class of the direct descendants of vessels like the Derveni krater: the so-called “neo-Attic” marble kraters with Dionysiac friezes, now in museums in New York, Rome, Naples, Paris, and Tunisia. I believe these to be versions in marble of metal kraters produced throughout the Hellenistic period, both volute—like the Derveni krater—and calyx—

like the cast bronze "maenad krater" in Berlin, which probably dates to the very early fourth century. A corollary of my research for this chapter was a study of the persistent figure types in this long series of classicizing marble reliefs, specifically the ecstatic maenad types which are found on round bases and rectangular plaques as well as on the walls of kraters (and two remarkable, almost identical, marble rhytons). It has often been suggested that these maenads copy figures famous from some late fifth-century monument in Athens, specifically a base by Kallimachos, an idea first proposed by Furtwängler.

The similarities that exist at first glance between some of these "neo-Attic" figures and certain figures on the "maenad krater" as well as on the frieze of the Derveni krater do not impose a common classical source. Indeed, differences emerge in a careful investigation which make the configuration of putative originals extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. My argument is that the originals of the marble relief maenads are the inventions of Hellenistic toreutic artists continuing—in a classicizing mode—a tradition of Dionysiac friezes. The poses may already have been standardized clichés by the middle of the second century B.C. (a period when classicizing was popular) with slight variations, such as attributes and the embellishment of the drapery (which was highly decorative by the middle of the first century B.C.) left to the determination of the individual artist. However, the underlying concept of at least one of these poses—the animal-carrying women—had surely been invented much earlier, possibly appearing first in an early fourth-century painting or architectural relief like that on the Lysicrates monument, and then perpetuated for centuries by the toreutic tradition.

Other chapters to be written will include, in Chapter III, a discussion of masterworks of toreutic art produced during the Hellenistic centuries, studied through artists' plaster models, clay copies and adaptations as well as representations in contemporary mosaics and funerary reliefs. Some glass and gem vessels will be discussed as illustrative of the quality of lost masterworks in silver, gold, and bronze. Chapter IV will discuss the representations of Hellenistic metal kraters on Roman wall painting, specifically in the paradeisos garden walls and in tombs of Julio-Claudian date, and the iconography and meaning of these representations as they relate back to the traditional Dionysiac significance of the krater shape. The final chapter will discuss the legacy of the kingdom of Macedon to the Roman decorative arts, restating and amplifying my previously published suggestion that the Macedonian court played a role of heretofore underestimated significance in the development of the Hellenistic and Roman decorative arts. Chapters I and II will also develop previously published analyses of the Derveni krater's complicated Dionysiac iconography.

New York, New York

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985

Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder

The study of Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder (1680-1767) delineates for the first time the profile of a man who was not only an artist, but also a collector, connoisseur, and promoter of publishing and of culture. My research has allowed me to begin to illuminate a figure of great consequence, hitherto confused and more or less obscured in the history of the artistic culture of eighteenth-century Venice, by separating him from the critic of the same name—his cousin Anton Maria Zanetti il Giovane, author of *Della Pittura Veneziana e delle Opere Pubbliche de' Veneziani Maestri, Libri cinque* (Venice, 1771).

I began my investigation by publishing caricatures by Zanetti from an album that Count Vittorio Cini presented some years ago to the collections of the Giorgio Cini Foundation and by establishing Zanetti's relationship with the Venetian artists, Sebastiano and Marco Ricci. The aim of my research is to illuminate the various aspects of the elder Zanetti through the following projects: a study of his production of chiaroscuro prints from drawings in his collection, especially those of Parmigianino; a reconstruction of Zanetti's collections of paintings, drawings, prints, old books, gems, and antiquities; a study of his extensive correspondence throughout Italy and Europe, including the letters and documents on the dispersion of the collections; and a study of his editing of three important volumes, *Delle antiche statue greche e romane che nell'antisala della libreria di S. Marco e in altri luoghi pubblici di Venezia si trovano* (parte I, Venice, 1740; parte II, Venice, 1743); *Le gemme antiche di Anton Maria Zanetti di Girolamo, illustrate con le annotazioni latine di Anton Francesco Gori, volgarizzate da Girolamo Zanetti, da Zanetti di Alessandro* (Venice, 1750); and Gaetano Zompini's *Le arti che vanno per via nella città di Venezia* (Venice, 1752).

My reconstruction of the holdings of Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder began to show their true character and great importance in the context of the Venetian collections of the eighteenth century. The amplitude and the consistent quality of Zanetti's collections are on a par with those of his most important Venetian contemporaries, whether patrician Venetians or resident foreigners such as Consul Joseph Smith and Marshal Matthias von der Schulenburg.

My research has extended well beyond Venice to other European and American collections. The international relations which the elder Zanetti maintained with almost the entire intellectual world of Europe that was interested in Venice resulted in the diversity of his collections. The collections, which passed to his nephews, were sold to the flower of European collectors at the end of the eighteenth century, and thus dispersed into different hands in many countries. I am now seeking to identify the items one by one. For example, the extraordinary, complete collection of prints by Callot, of which the print cabinet of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, is the proud owner today, was acquired at the 1826 sale of the collection of Dominique Vivant Denon, who had purchased it with many other things

from Zanetti's heirs when he was in Venice in 1794.

Interest in the figure of Anton Maria Zanetti the Elder is not exhausted with his activities as a collector, however. He was also a connoisseur, a man consulted by other collectors from every part of Italy and Europe—one might call him a sort of "Venetian Mariette." He corresponded with Mariette for many years and assisted the French scholar by providing him with information, especially for the preparation of the *Abeceario*. Zanetti's initiatives as an editor and promoter of culture make him a force to be reckoned with in future studies of the vast and complex culture of the eighteenth century. His relationships of both friendship and work with artists such as Sebastiano and Marco Ricci, Rosalba Carriera, Antonio Pellegrini, Giovanni Battista and Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista Piazzetta, Gaetano Zompini and other painters, sculptors, architects, and engravers, made him, his library, and his collections a pivot in the dissemination of knowledge and culture to these artists. The breadth of his interests is reflected in the catalogue of his library, an early example of the kind of art historical library formed by a modern connoisseur.

My chief point of departure was the discovery of the manuscript of the catalogue of his own library, which I had the good fortune to find in a private collection in Venice. In addition to information on his books and on his graphic collections (bound volumes of prints and drawings), this catalogue contains accurate information about the entire array of his collections and shows the range of his erudition. The catalogue of the library includes: the principal sources for art history, that is books on painting, sculpture, architecture; scholarly works on antiquities, such as gems, coins, medals; Greek and Latin classics; and a large section of volumes illustrated by engravings, which display his taste for graphic documentation and his passion for the world of engraving. In this last category, there is a special place for the groups of engravings known as "Cabinet du Roi," published by the Imprimerie Royale during the reign of Louis XIV, which were presented by the Prince d'Orléans to Zanetti during his stay in Paris in 1720-1721.

The difficulty of identifying the books listed in the manuscript catalogue, dated 1744, rests in the fact that many are described only approximately. Of great importance in the manuscripts are the bound volumes of original drawings and engravings by major and minor artists: this adds to our knowledge of his collections. Frequently the numbers in the catalogue are repeated on the bindings of the volumes, which helps in tracing their present locations. The presence in the National Gallery of a computer terminal connection with a national bibliographical system and the proximity of the Library of Congress enabled me to unravel many of the most complicated puzzles which were impossible to solve using the traditional cataloging of libraries. In Washington, I was also able to study thoroughly the volume of Zanetti's chiaroscuro woodcut prints formerly in the collection of Lessing J. Rosenwald at Alverthorpe and now in the National Gallery.

Università di Venezia, Seminario di Storia dell'Arte
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1985

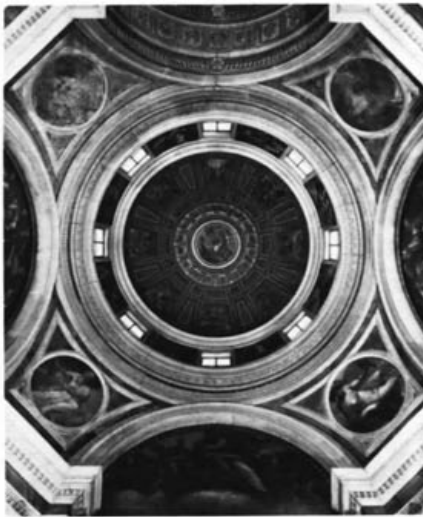
KATHLEEN WEIL-GARRIS BRANDT

Sidera Domus: Raphael's Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome

Designed c. 1513 for Agostino Chigi, the great Siense international merchant banker, political and cultural figure, the Chigi Chapel has a significance for the Roman High Renaissance which parallels that of Michelangelo's Medici Chapel for Florence. Funerary monuments to powerful and cultivated patrons, both works were to integrate architecture, sculpture, and painting in new ways, yet neither ensemble was completed by the artist who designed it. Both chapels share fundamental iconographical similarities. Both have been studied extensively, and John Shearman's magisterial article on the Chigi commission seemed to have said the last word on the subject. Now, recent observations I made by chance indicate that the matter needs rethinking and that questions remain unanswered that speak to basic issues of Renaissance art, patronage, society, scientific and humanist thought.

The Chigi Chapel has been seen as a unified statement of Raphael's intentions for all its components, and as essentially completed according to the original design. Instead, the design underwent important changes both in the early phases and in the ensuing century and a half. Each of these formal changes corresponded to fundamental changes in the meaning of the ensemble.

The chapel's plan and program had a complex evolution before construction began. The 1516 date on the cupola mosaic marks only the first state of construction rather than its termination as had been thought. Important heretofore unnoticed changes and repairs were made during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The crypt rediscovered beneath the chapel some twenty years ago and Bernini's changes in the chapel's lighting



View into the dome of the Chigi Chapel, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome.

also reveal that the chapel was constructed in significant relation to the cardinal directions and to the path of the sun's light through the architecture.

Reinterpretation of the chapel's building history leads to a reconstruction of Raphael's original iconographic program and its later vicissitudes. Valid observations about the meaning of the separate elements of the chapel have been made by Shearman and others but it is now possible to demonstrate that all elements of the ensemble were governed by a fully unified pattern of ideas. This is not, in itself, unexpected but the content of this intellectual structure is in many ways different from what might have been imagined. It involves an image of the material and Christian universe comparable to contemporary cosmological schemata found in scientific and philosophical literature. Furthermore, the celestial scheme depicted in the Chigi cupola is not a neutral image of the heavens as has long been believed, but can be related to the astrological ceiling painted for Agostino in his Tiber villa, the Farnesina.

The recent discovery of the date and hour of Agostino's birth (I. Rowland) shows that Saxl's brilliant reconstruction of Chigi's horoscope was in crucial aspects mistaken. The use of sixteenth-century astronomical instruments and computerized techniques of astronomical reconstruction allowed me to reinterpret the Farnesina ceiling and thus to offer a new reading of Agostino's "fede astrologica," which was known to his contemporaries and influenced their view of his character and achievement.

The personal imagery of the chapel is extensive. Agostino identified himself in various ways with the Emperor Augustus. This association informs the design and iconography of the chapel and its parallels with the Pantheon. Similarities of decorative motifs between the two buildings are often noted but the chapel actually embodies both the form and meaning of the antique monument. Bramante's designs for new St. Peter's were equally important for the genesis of the chapel, which patron and artist envisaged as a Christian Pantheon in its most profound implication. The chapel's dedication to the Madonna of Loreto needs to be taken more seriously.

When Raphael and Agostino died in 1520, the chapel remained incomplete in important respects. Sebastiano del Piombo and Francesco Salviati, charged to complete the commission, so changed the chapel's program that its original meaning was contradicted and obscured. Reassessment of their intervention suggests a solution to the famous question about the subject originally intended for the chapel's altarpiece.

Bernini's contribution is also far greater than had been supposed. With the new Chigi patron, Alexander VII, and his advisors, he resolved the contradictions introduced into the chapel's decoration during the cinquecento, transforming it in response to modern ideas about death, immortality and Chigi destiny. Finally, analysis of the chapel's structure and imagery suggests hypotheses about the intellectual milieu in which Agostino and Raphael moved and about the authorship of the iconographical program.

Institute of Fine Arts and College of Arts and Sciences,
New York University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985

Studies on Andrea Solario

During my tenure as a Curatorial Fellow from September through December 1984, I examined virtually all of the extant works by the Milanese painter Andrea Solario. My focus was on the artist's *Lamentation*, which I helped to bring to light in 1976. Formerly at the Château of Tanlay, the painting was recently acquired by the Louvre. In connection with the reemergence of this important work, Sylvie Béguin, Curator at the Louvre, and I are planning an exhibition to be held there on the theme of Solario in France. The special interest of the exhibition lies not only in the recently acquired *Lamentation* but also in the fact that Solario was one of the first Italian painters to bring the Renaissance style to France. He was active there, decorating the château of the Cardinal Georges d'Amboise in Normandy, as early as 1507-1509.

The research I completed as a Fellow was meant to contribute to the exhibition and also to lay the groundwork for a monograph on Solario. This book, which is to be finished late in 1985 concurrently with the exhibition, will be the first in a new series of beautifully produced and fully documented monographs on Lombard artists. With the series, the publisher, Electa Editrice in Milan, hopes to stimulate scholarly and popular



Andrea Solario, *Lamentation*. Paris, Musée du Louvre (from the Château de Tanlay).

interest in the art of Milan and nearby centers, which has been hitherto neglected by scholars working on Florence, Venice, or Rome.

It may be of interest to note that in preparing the catalogue of Solario's paintings and drawings, I made use of a source of information often ignored by writers of monographs, namely, museum files. Working as a curator, I became aware that the material gathered about works of art by successive generations of curators responsible for them often included valuable information not available elsewhere. As a result of systematically collecting this unpublished information about Solario, I have been able greatly to expand the previous catalogues of his works by Badt (1914) and Cogliati Arano (1965). In addition, as a result of my travel sponsored by the Center, I was fortunate to discover several new works by the artist, including a splendid preparatory drawing which served either for the Louvre altarpiece or for the closely related *Lamentation* by Solario in the National Gallery of Art.

National Gallery of Art

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow,
fall 1984

"Dürerschüler" Hans Süß von Kulmbach

My time at the Center was spent completing my dissertation, *"Dürerschüler" Hans Süß von Kulmbach*. The artist, who is reputed to have been the *"Lehrjung"* of Jacopo de' Barbari (Neudörfer) and the *"Discipel"* of Albrecht Dürer (Sandrart), emerged in the second decade of the sixteenth century as the foremost designer of stained glass and as the preeminent designer and painter of altarpieces in Nürnberg. Building on the work of Franz Stadler and Friedrich Winkler, I was concerned with characterizing Kulmbach's artistic personality and development and with strictly defining the contours of his oeuvre. That oeuvre had become a "catch-all" for paintings, drawings, woodcuts and stained glass not immediately attributable to Dürer or to the master's better-known pupils Hans Baldung Grien and Hans Leonhard Schäußelein. Numerous misattributions have long disguised the fact that Kulmbach's style is as characteristic as Baldung's or Schäußelein's. These misattributions led one scholar to make the dramatic and mistaken reattribution of a large body of Dürer's drawings to the pupil, and led other scholars to claim that there is no logic to Kulmbach's development. The dissertation treats more than seventy drawings and paintings that have been given incorrectly to Hans von Kulmbach. Several works, including two *Designs for Triptychs* in the Albertina that have been given to Kulmbach since 1919, now are attributed to Dürer. Other drawings and paintings are attributed to Jacopo de' Barbari; to Lucas Cranach the Elder; to Hans Springinklee, who emerges as a painter of altarpieces; and to Wolf Traut, who emerges more clearly as a portrait painter with the new attribution of three works including *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg. It is argued that none of the large body of woodcuts generally considered to be Kulmbach's are by him and that Kulmbach did not come to Dürer's workshop c. 1500-1501, as is generally accepted, finding his mature style soon thereafter, but that he came to Dürer's workshop c. 1504-1505, having learned the rudiments of his art in Wittenberg from Barbari and Cranach. Several new paintings are introduced to the Kulmbach literature.

Surprisingly, Kulmbach is not diminished as attractive myths of a productive early career as a book illustrator are dispelled and as master drawings and paintings are removed from his oeuvre. Kulmbach emerges more clearly as the Dürer pupil whose exceptional sensibility for light, atmosphere, and color, and whose adeptness in handling the oil medium set him clearly apart from his colleagues in Nürnberg. It is the Venetian element of Kulmbach's art, arrived at through his early contact with and special affinity for the art of Jacopo de' Barbari, that most clearly separates his works from those of his fellow pupils in Dürer's workshop.

My time as a Chester Dale Fellow at the Center from September 1984 until March 1985 also allowed me to lay the groundwork for a *catalogue raisonné* of Kulmbach's graphic work that I will coauthor with Matthias Mende. The book will be part of a series on the graphic art of the Dürer

school written under the auspices of the Stadtgeschichtliche Museen Nürnberg and published by Verlag Dr. Alphons Uhl, Nördlingen. With support from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, I will continue my work in Germany from April 1985 through January 1986.

[Harvard University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984-1985

The Museum's Culture: A Postmodern Perspective

In the late 1960s art museums in the United States and elsewhere in the industrial West underwent a brief period of crisis, precipitated both by general political conditions and by specific developments within avant-garde art practice. Although this crisis was felt principally by museums exhibiting contemporary art, all museums were subject to the critical questions posed by that art. Short-lived as this problematic situation was, it nevertheless suggested the necessity of, and the terms for, a thorough investigation of the function of the museum in modern culture, a function which can no longer be taken for granted. It is this investigation which my dissertation undertakes.

Prior to my fellowship year, I had concentrated on critical questions posed by the works of art of such figures as Michael Asher, Marcel Broodthaers, Daniel Buren, Hans Haacke, and Louise Lawler, as well as on the exhibition policies of the Museum of Modern Art in New York and contemporary art museums in Europe. My fellowship year provided the opportunity to begin intensive historical research on the foundation and early development of art museums. As there exists little scholarly work on the subject, my research was wide ranging, and much of my time was spent mapping out the terrain of the project, isolating exemplary cases, and locating important documents.

My research eventually concentrated on that moment in the late eighteenth century which can be designated as the birth of the institution we know as the art museum. At that time, the field of knowledge came into being that we now consider to concern art—aesthetic philosophy, art history, art criticism. It is a central thesis of my dissertation that the historical continuities generally posited for the development of art represent a projection of our own discourse about art onto the past, and that this can best be understood by examining how our own system of knowledge was institutionalized; how specific objects were selected, organized and displayed; whose interests this served; and what ideas of man and his culture were conveyed. I am, therefore, less concerned with a history of art museums per se than with a theory of their ideological function in bourgeois society.

Because both the prehistory and founding moment of modern museology are fully present and documented in the creation of a museum for the Viennese imperial collections, I intend to use this history as the focal point of the opening section of the dissertation. I begin with Kaspar Friedrich Jencquel's *Museographia* of 1727, a work which details the contents and organization of an ideal Wunderkammer as well as describing existing Wunderkammern of various types. Even that portion of Jencquel's promuseum designated as a *Kunstkammer* has little relation with what later came to be the art museum, as it included, for example, instruments of precision, scientific apparatus, objects made of mother-of-pearl, paintings. The list cannot but remind us of the Chinese encyclopedia described by

Borges and cited by Michel Foucault as the central trope for *The Order of Things*, and thus of the incompatibility of two historically distinct fields of discourse.

Jencquel's *Museographia* coincides chronologically with the first installation of the Viennese collections in the Stallburg upon the order of Charles VI. The installation of these pictures, many of which had belonged to Archduke Leopold Wilhelm and were illustrated in David Teniers' *Theatrum Pictorium* of 1660, was completely documented in miniatures painted by Ferdinand Storffer to complete the inventory drawn up by Count Gundacker von Altham between 1720 and 1733. The installation is further documented in the *Theatrum Artis Pictoriae* of Anton von Prenner and in the *Prodomus* of Prenner and Frans van Stampart. Under orders from Joseph II, the imperial collections were reinstalled in the Schloss Belvedere in 1779. The project was undertaken by Christian von Mechel, the friend of Winkelmann and engraver who had recently completed a publication of engravings of the installation of the picture gallery of the Elector of Düsseldorf. Von Mechel's catalogue, *Verzeichnis der Gemälde der kaiserlich-königlichen Bilder Gallerie in Wien*, 1783, specifically contrasts his own installation with that in the Stallburg: where the Stallburg was intended to give delight, Mechel's goal was instruction, the making visible of the history of art in order that the museum have a public function similar to that of a library. Von Mechel's installation was severely criticized for its didacticism, for undermining the values of connoisseurship, in Johann-Sebastian Rittershausen's *Betrachtungen* of 1788. Taken together, the foregoing documents provide the basis for my discussion of the transition from museography to museology—from a system of knowledge in which art as we know it cannot yet be usefully isolated from other manmade "artful" products and functions to the modern conception which provides art with an idealist and separate history.

After completing essential research in Vienna for this first chapter, I began research on the second section, which examines the relationship of the establishment of bourgeois democracy and the growth of Western imperialism with the creation of public museums. The focus of this part of the dissertation is the early history of the Louvre during the Revolution and Empire, together with those other European museums that came into being as a result of the Napoleonic conquests. This will be followed by a discussion of the creation of a specific architectural space for art, concentrating on Friedrich Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin.

[The City University of New York]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984

Imitation, Novelty, and Theft in Seventeenth-Century Rome

The concept of Imitation, with its analogue of Memory, lies at the heart of Italian Renaissance artistic thinking and practice. It may indeed be said to provide a defining principle of what Rensselaer Lee has termed humanist painting, and it defines the paradox of that painting. Broadly speaking, it refers to tradition, to the accepted canon of masterpieces stored up in the book of Memory to which any artist with ambitions to similar greatness had to relate, even while establishing his own originality. The critical history of the problem of Imitation in the visual arts has yet to be written, and writers on art continue to point to particular sources of influence without turning to the fundamental question of Imitation and its correlates, Emulation, Dissimulation, Translation, Quotation, and Theft, all determined by the accepted canons of Memory.

My work during the year has been concerned with one area of this problem—the critical debate that arose around the issue of originality, or *novità*, in the seventeenth century in Italy. My point of departure is the accusation concerning the relationship between Agostino Carracci's *Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, painted for the Certosa in Bologna in the 1590s, and Domenichino's painting of the same subject completed in 1614 for S. Girolamo della Carità in Rome. In this accusation, raised in the 1620s, reported by all the major contemporary critics, and still debated by such writers as Fuseli in the eighteenth century, the question of artistic plagiarism was raised in a coherent way for the first time in the visual arts, and the problem of acceptance within a modern artistic canon was openly debated.

That Domenichino's opponent, Lanfranco, was able to exploit the charge of theft, and to generate publicity around this in a way that distinguishes his attack from sixteenth-century precedents, can only be understood in the context of the great literary wars involving the poet Marino. In 1614 and 1620 Marino published letters in defense of his own novelty, laying out his definitions of imitation, translation, and theft. Seizing upon the as yet ill-defined relationship between publication and intellectual property, Marino exploited the metaphors of paternity and plagiarism, or kidnapping, to establish his prior claim to works supposedly adopted by his rivals.

In the year at the Center, I completed research and writing of a large part of what will be a short monograph devoted to the controversy surrounding Domenichino's altarpiece. The first chapter establishes the differences between the two paintings in question, in order to assess Lanfranco's complaint. Both inventions derive from the same textual source, the *De Morte Hieronymi*, a letter shown by Erasmus to be a medieval forgery, and the originality of each is closely related to its distinct context. A thorough study of Agostino Carracci's work reveals how a Counter-Reformation response to Erasmus was framed. Through skillful precision in the invention of gesture and the disposition of figures, Agostino collapses the generic distinction between the *Last Communion* as a representation of a past event in the form of a contemporary celebration of the rite of Viaticum

and the spontaneous invention of that rite by Jerome in words that had to be written down because they were not yet ritually prescribed. In the Certosa the altarpiece would have functioned in the ritual of the Mass to inspire even greater humility among monks dedicated to the imitation of Jerome. The Saint is not the focus of the composition. Humble devotion to the Body and Blood of Christ is.

Domenichino's altarpiece celebrates, by contrast, the work of the Arciconfraternita della Carità. It was painted as the culmination of a program of renovation undertaken in preparation for the canonization of Filippo Neri, the most famous of the priests employed there. Members of the confraternity are included in the scene, and through a shift in perspective and an understanding of gesture equal to Agostino's, Domenichino makes the celebrant the focus of the composition. He thereby emblemizes the works of charity to which the confraternity was dedicated, and the importance attached to confession and communion in Neri's church. The character of the rite, the vestments, and many other details that distinguish the work from its model are to be understood in the context of the patronage of the confraternity under its Cardinal Protector Pietro Aldobrandini.

In the second part of my research and writing I examined the critical issues of the works of others. This involved a study of notions of authorship, intellectual property, and copyright in similar controversies surrounding innovators from Dürer to Galileo. Marino's polemical self-defense was constructed for a public that included many of the writers in Bologna and Parma with whom Lanfranco and Domenichino, as well as their teachers in the Carracci Academy, were closely familiar. They were also familiar with the more classical definitions of imitation, upon which the Carracci reform was based, and I have attempted to contrast Marino's position as an innovative, anti-canonical latecomer with that of the Carracci and their great model, Torquato Tasso.

In the concluding part of the study, for which my research at the Center has prepared the way, I will consider the broader context of changing attitudes of critics toward imitation and originality in the seventeenth century. Poussin's defense of Domenichino, the attitudes of critics towards an imitable canon, and discussions of novelty of invention itself will be especially important here. Domenichino's conscious imitation of a model that had not yet been canonized, and his understanding of differences in context did not help his case. His true goal, which was to equal Raphael's *Transfiguration*, as Poussin well understood, was not to be fully acknowledged until both Agostino Carracci's and his own *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* were to be placed beside the *Transfiguration* in Paris in 1797, in a triple *paragone* that presented seventeenth-century critical discussions of imitation and novelty in their most essential form.

Temple University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985

A Search for Identity: American Art Criticism and the Concept of the Native School, 1876-1893

During the first year of my fellowship, I was primarily engaged in doing research on late nineteenth-century art criticism and considering my findings in the light of Washington's rich collections of American painting. My second year at the Center was devoted to writing the final text of my dissertation.

In the past fifty years, the "native school" of American painting has been a subject of considerable interest and controversy. Various scholars have attempted to define what is American in American art, yet all have taken a backward glance across decades (and sometimes centuries) in search of its distinctive qualities. My approach to the problem differs from theirs on two counts: first, I have sought to identify a concept of the "native school" based not on twentieth-century perceptions but on those of contemporary critics, and, secondly, I have confined my conclusions to a limited time frame (the years between the Centennial Exhibition and the World's Columbian Exposition).

When I began formulating a dissertation topic, my intention was to study the critical response to Winslow Homer's paintings in the hope of gaining insight into the methods and motives of this exasperatingly taciturn artist. I soon discovered that while late nineteenth-century writers repeatedly proclaimed Homer to be America's most "native" painter it was not immediately clear from their comments why this was so. This uncertainty stemmed from the fact that American art criticism had never been an object of serious scholarly attention. Before I could use this critical material to answer questions about individual artists, it was necessary to examine it as an independent discourse with principles and purposes of its own.

American art critics of the late nineteenth century were a privileged group—well educated, widely traveled, and involved throughout their lives in the contemplation and study of works of art. Working independently for the most part, they communicated with one another through their published writings, wherein were expressed common beliefs, concerns, and preferences. As a class, these writers were an intellectual more than a social elite; inspired by Matthew Arnold, they were advocates of beauty in a world that was rapidly growing ugly. If they appeared altruistic in their desire to make art available to all, it must be remembered that the alternative, in an increasingly democratic society, seemed to be that it would be available to none.

It is my thesis that between 1876 and 1893 critical attention and approbation shifted from the "native" features of American painting to more "national" types of expression. The difference between these two terms is a subtle but significant one; briefly stated, a "native" art reflects characteristics indigenous to a culture, while a "national" art may be produced by the assimilation of foreign elements. In the former case, distinction lies in purity; in the latter, it is a result of the adaptation of traditional means

to individual ends.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the difference between the “native” and the “national” school of American painting was primarily a matter of technique. The excessive concern of American critics with the technical aspect of art was due in part to the realization that American painting was inferior in this area to European work. It was also a result of the repudiation of both literary and literal painting in favor of art that represented aesthetic values and, in its higher forms, individual thought and sentiment.

Art critics of this period believed that a national art was a reflection of national character. From its beginnings, American civilization had been distinguished from that of Europe by qualities of independence, energy, and crudeness; and during the late nineteenth century it was artists whose technical manner best represented these features (Winslow Homer and George Inness, for example, but most significantly, *not* Thomas Eakins) who were recognized as the most “native.” As American painters became increasingly cosmopolitan, a conflict arose between the “wild western flavor” of life in the New World and the values of collaboration, order, and refinement that were embodied in the academic tradition of the Old. Artists trained in foreign studios found it difficult to express the American character with means that were antithetical to it in spirit.

Critics, too, were embroiled in this tension between the actual and the aesthetic. Rather than follow the isolationist lead of early nineteenth-century writers, they encouraged European contact as a means of leading America toward artistic maturity. Their anticipation of and desire for a “new” national art reflects an optimistic belief in the ongoing progress of American civilization—but it may also be interpreted as a manifestation of their unease with its current state. Although critics admired “native” painters who exemplified the American character as it was and had been, they promoted artists whose works seemed to promise a future society in which harmony and unity would prevail.

When I first came to the Center I was greatly involved in asking questions of “what”: what was the concept of the native school? What artists represented it? What distinguished their work from that of other painters? Gradually, however, as a result of the opportunity to share my ideas with other scholars, I came to realize that knowing the answer to “what?” was little more than a preparation for wondering “why?” It is evident to me that an understanding of the critical concept of the “native school” is of significance not only for the insights it provides into late nineteenth-century art, but also as an indicator of much broader intellectual responses toward American life as a whole. By asking why American critics responded to art as they did, I have found a human dimension in their interpretations that enriches rather than diminishes their historical value.

[University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
Lawrence and Barbara Fleischman Fellow, 1983-1985

Public Sculptures from Abroad American Commissions to German Sculptors in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

In the second half of the nineteenth century some German sculptors got commissions for civic sculptures in various cities in the United States. These works have not been seriously investigated by art historians. Except for the work of Rodin and, perhaps, Adolf Hildebrand in Germany, the sculpture of the last two thirds of the nineteenth century is still very much an unexplored frontier. My study deals with only a small part of it. My stay at the Center was indispensable for this study and enabled me to gather information from American sources. During the nineteenth century the international exchange of art was quite the usual thing. It is known that artists looked for new markets for their products. But sculptures are so much a matter of national or local pride that it must be asked why the commissions were given to foreign artists.

The results of my research, which I hope to publish in an article, may be summed up as follows: the commissions (I know of about fifteen) are to be understood as a part of the complex relationship of American art and culture to Europe—of America's borrowings from the Old World and her development of a national identity. German Americans, becoming citizens of a new country but still clinging to their cultural heritage, played an important role in funding these commissions or choosing the artists. To the commissions for sculptors in Germany we may add, as a second group, works of sculptors who were born, and sometimes trained, in Germany but who later became Americans. It is possible that the unidentifiable C. L. Richter should be included together with these. He made a bust of Friedrich Schiller, which was presented in 1859 to the City of New York by its German citizens at the centenary celebration of the poet. It was the very first monument placed in the new Central Park.

Of these commissions, the first among the four or five really important examples was the Tyler Davidson Fountain (*The Blessings of Water*), commissioned in 1867 by Henry Probasco, a citizen of Cincinnati, for the center of that town, where numerous German immigrants were living and where "the predominance of German art is a fact that has often been commented upon" (*The American Art Review*, 1881). Probasco thought he could find something beautiful and spirited only in Germany. He ordered the fountain in Munich from August von Kreling in Nuremberg and Ferdinand von Miller (not Müller), the head of the Royal Bavarian Bronze Foundry, which had already cast, among others, Thomas Crawford's and Randolph Rogers' equestrian monument to George Washington for Richmond, Va., Rogers' Columbus Doors for the U.S. Capitol in Washington, D.C., and Thomas Ball's equestrian monument to Washington for Boston.

The largest commission to a German sculptor was the enormous equestrian monument of George Washington, designed in 1879 for Philadelphia by Rudolf Siemering in Berlin (unveiled 1897). Washington is portrayed surrounded by groups of Indians and animals representing the four main

rivers of the United States, and the monument serves as a fountain, too. The Society of the Cincinnati of Pennsylvania had asked some American sculptors and perhaps three foreign ones (we do not know their names) for designs, and had chosen Siemering's. It bore some resemblance to Christian Daniel Rauch's monument to Frederick II of Prussia in Berlin (unveiled 1851), a sculpture that certainly also had its impact on Clark Mills' original design for his Washington monument in Washington, D.C. (1854) as well as on Crawford's monument to the same hero mentioned above. It also resembles the Neptune fountain in Berlin by the neobaroque naturalist Reinhold Begas. Philadelphia, where many people of German origin were living, had received a strong impression of German art at the Centennial Exhibition 1876, just before the wave of Parisian Beaux-Arts influence began. But exactly why the Philadelphians favored Siemering only is not clear.

Adolf Donndorf's "Mother with Children" in Union Square in New York City, "the handsomest fountain on Manhattan Island" (*New York Times*, 26 Oct. 1881), was presented to the City by D. Willis James, who did much "for the betterment of the conditions of the poor and working classes by providing for them tenement-houses." In 1876/1877, James commissioned the drinking fountain in Stuttgart from Donndorf, one of the most respected pupils of Ernst Rietschel, on the advice of the well-known German art historian Wilhelm Lübke. Donndorf presented a second cast of the James Fountain in 1895 to his native town Weimar.

Ernst Herter's fountain with Lorelei, a monument to the poet Heinrich Heine, was presented to the City of New York by German Americans, including Carl Schurz, and unveiled in 1889 in the Bronx as a monument to political and religious freedom, after a long controversy in which aesthetic judgment of the sculpture had been largely overshadowed by late Victorian prudishness, nationalism, anti-Semitism, and a growing distaste for the German Reich of Emperor Wilhelm II. Before the fountain had been ordered, Düsseldorf, the native town of Heine, and other German cities had refused to put up this or any other monument to Heine, who was a partisan of the 1848 Revolution and a critic of the monarchy.

The last example, which lies beyond the limits of the nineteenth century, is the Goethe monument in Chicago's Lincoln Park, commissioned by the Germans of that town and unveiled in 1914. In 1910 an international jury in Berlin chose Hermann Hahn's design. Hahn, a follower of Adolf Hildebrand, had designed a neo-neoclassical and symbolist composition that was altogether in the spirit of the turn of the century but that also met the requirement that no more ordinary portrait statues should be erected. The colossal naked young Goethe with an eagle sitting on his knee seems like an odd later pendant to Canova's and Greenough's neoclassical, half-naked effigies of George Washington, which had been among the first pieces of nineteenth-century monumental public sculpture in the United States. In the meantime, American sculpture had developed to the point that hardly any more commissions to foreign sculptors were made thereafter.

Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR, Berlin
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985

Punched Decoration on Early, Principally Italian, Panel Paintings

The study of a special type of punched decoration on gilded surfaces of medieval panel painting provides a history of a widely used technique and of the changing taste for adornment, and addresses itself to a range of art historical concerns, especially in the domain of connoisseurship. Data provided by the analysis of punchwork form an objective tool for the evaluation of attributions, dating, authenticity, master-pupil relationships, contacts among workshops and centers, and outside influences. The application of a comparative method of analysis is warranted on the one hand by the almost universal use of various "motif" punches for patterning the halos, garments, and panel borders during the trecento (extending in some centers into the quattrocento) and, on the other hand, by the specificity of the punched components of the decoration, which permits us in most cases to recognize the precise tool that was used.

One of the main concerns of my study is the evaluation of the status of current attributions. A comprehensive examination and recording of the "motif" punch marks confirms the validity of the premise that each master, especially in Siena, had his own set of punches which were used in conjunction with the shop's production. The punches present on documented works by these masters form a nucleus for assembling individual repertoires and serve as an objective base for my evaluation. Major masters who delighted in this new decorative procedure such as Simone Martini, Lippo Memmi, the Lorenzetti brothers, and Bartolomeo Bulgarini owned dozens of motif punches. A proportion of the punches tended to change hands after the closing of the shop of their originators, and their later use provides clues for documenting contacts, be they master-pupil relationships, workshop associations, or collaborations. The occurrence of similar shapes that presumably imitate the originals is quite instrumental in tracing these relationships.

I have been uncomfortable with the tendency to limit the choice of attribution to just a few names and to endow these productions lavishly. The many names of painters in the guilds' listing contradict this view of history. The definition of a new, distinct punch repertoire in a body of paintings points to the existence of an additional workshop. The paintings that form these new groups obviously come largely from the pool of unattributed works, but also exceptionally from seemingly safe attributions. Our task is to investigate whether we could link these groups with any of the presently "shadow" names. I am proposing several such identifications.

My project started many years ago when I studied with a magnifying lens photographs in the Berenson fototeca, the Kunsthistorisches Institut, and G. Coor's files of Sienese painting. Since 1963 I have made over 14,000 life-size details of punchwork. I was intrigued to find some new examples in the Photographic Archives of the National Gallery of Art. Going through the files, I have been able to confirm my estimate of the thoroughness of



Reconstruction of the altarpiece for the chapel of Saints Peter and Paul. Duomo, Siena. Center: Paolo di Giovanni Fei, *Presentation of the Virgin*, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection. Side panels: workshop of Bartolo di Fredi, *Saint Paul*, Quimper, Musée des Beaux-Arts, and *Saint Peter*, Kansas City, Nelson—Atkins Museum.

my documentation, which is nearly complete for the trecento, especially Siena. While it is comprehensive for public collections, some paintings in private collections remain to be examined.

In view of the voluminous material, I have decided to publish my book in two volumes. I nearly completed the first volume here at the Center. The text is divided into five chapters. The introduction explores the genesis of the “motif” punches and surveys the various kinds of decoration of gilded surfaces in the dugento. This protohistory is followed by a scrutiny of transitional types of decoration in which traditional designs, either incised or stippled, were complemented by modest use of tiny motif punches. The core material is contained in the third chapter which deals with the apogee of this type of adornment in Siennese trecento painting, starting with the innovations of Simone Martini. Charts of punch repertoires are drawn for each atelier. The fourth and fifth chapters deal with the impact of Siennese decorations on Pisan and Catalanian painting respectively.

The second volume will deal with Florentine trecento painting, as well as art centers in Umbria, the Marches, Emilia Romagna, the Veneto, Liguria, Southern Italy, and will conclude with the Siennese quattrocento. One chapter is devoted to the use of the technique in manuscript illumination and another to its transmission into painting north of the Alps. My *catalogue raisonné* of all punch shapes, organized by types rather than by workshop repertoires, and including every instance of their use, is intended to make this a reference book for continued research in early panel painting.

State University of New York at Albany
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1984-1985

The Social Meaning of Civic Space

“Civic space” refers to enclosed, public space in which governmental authorities perform ceremonial functions and rituals. Examples are legislative chambers, ceremonial offices, capitol rotundas, and formal hearing rooms. Because of the vital nature of these functions and rituals to the affirmation of governmental authority, we can assume that their physical settings are either consciously calculated to present a certain image or unconsciously reflect values deeply ingrained in established regimes.

In analyzing civic space one can consider two aspects of what is called its social meaning. One of these is expressive content, that is, nonverbal statements made by a culture by its very display of artifacts and physical forms. This aspect may be thought of as being in the tradition of iconography or cognitive anthropology, and is a means by which we interpret the existence of values espoused either currently or at the time of construction. The other aspect of social meaning is the influence brought to bear on occupants of the space by their presence within it. Here we do not read the physical setting but instead are shaped or conditioned by it—a relationship illuminated from the perspective of environmental psychology.

The method of this study was to select a particular building type for empirical and comparative examination. This is the “legislative chamber” of the municipality, the city council chamber. A total of seventy-five chambers located throughout North America were studied for the project. The methods included direct observation, photographic recording, physical measurement, interviews with builders and users, examination of plans and documents, and the witnessing of actual council meetings. By the time the fellowship began a mass of data had been compiled and analyzed in a preliminary way. The period of the fellowship was used to write the first half of a book to be derived from the material, tentatively entitled “The Social Meaning of Civic Space: Design and Symbol in City Council Chambers.”

The analysis immediately made clear that the principal variable of explanatory power and interest is the era of construction. Over time, values expressed in these civic spaces and in the conditioning mood cues found within them altered dramatically. These changes concern (1) the shape of the civic space itself, (2) the forms and design of furniture “solids” within the space, and (3) the nature of surface decoration and semifixed features and objects. Distinctions between these three areas of change can be roughly organized into three periods: (1) chambers built in the late nineteenth century and prior to 1925, known as “traditional”; (2) rooms built or remodeled from 1925 to 1960, referred to as “mid-century”; and (3) spaces created after 1960, called “contemporary.”

In shape, the traditional council chamber is nearly square in floor plan and possesses flat wall and floor surfaces. Within this boxlike space the arrangement of furniture and seating is such that the public observes the officials from three sides and from overhead galleries, as in an arena. In

the mid-century chamber, by contrast, the floor plan is rectangular, creating a long, "navelike" space. The authorities are placed at one end (in a "chancel") and the public at the other, in an oppositional relationship. The contemporary chamber differs once again: here walls, floor, and ceiling are sculpted in angled planes and flowing curves, creating a space with a distinct nature of its own that directs attention in contrived ways. In its most extreme state, the contemporary form is the circular, domed, and inward sloping chamber whose shape itself molds the occupants into a common group. The attending public is no longer a spectator as in the traditional chamber, nor is it an opponent as in the mid-century. Instead it has a participatory role in the governing process.

With respect to furniture and other objects, the traditional chamber places presiding officials above and away from the people by locating them in massive rostra mounted on elevated podia. Furthermore, councilors are seated at separate desks facing the podium, in the manner of separate "ambassadors" representing their separate wards. In the mid-century chamber, by contrast, all officials are placed at a common table that faces the audience, signifying a corporate identity and common accountability to the people. The contemporary chamber, in a still different pattern, tends to elevate both officials and public, with the result that they are in effect at the same level; this is accomplished by a raked seating floor and counterpoised stage, similar to what is found in a theater. The three concepts of governance represented are, respectively: rule by higher authority; corporate accountability; and dramatic performance.

Finally, parallel differences are reflected in decoration and objects. The traditional chamber is busily adorned with neoclassical ornament and somberly dressed in dark-wood wainscoting. Its vaulted ceiling, columns, chandeliers, carved façades, and period furniture suggest majesty and power. The mid-century room, by contrast, is relatively simple and utilitarian. The principal symbols of authority there are nameplates, goose-necked microphones and electric vote-tally boards. The contemporary chamber, for its part, is seductively decorated in textured wall surfaces, soft lighting, natural-grain wood, pelt carpets, and sound-absorbant ceilings. Relatively unobtrusive, state-of-the-art electronic equipment assures a powerful but well-modulated sound environment. Articulate visual images are created by slide projection, motion pictures, and video recordings. The council chamber is no longer a setting for either grandeur or practical government but for dramatic communication and subliminal assurance.

The remaining task of the project is to complete the book manuscript. It should be ready for a publisher in 1985. The book will be illustrated with a large number of black-and-white photographs.

During the fellowship ideas for new projects sprang to mind, including a study of parliamentary space worldwide and an examination of "civic shrines," that is, the display of sacred historical and governmental objects in public buildings.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1984

CHRISTOPHER JOHNS

The Art Patronage of Pope Clement XI Albani and the Early Christian Revival, 1700-1721

Two events took place in the year 1700 which forever altered the status quo in western Europe: the death of the childless King Charles II of Spain and the election of Cardinal Gianfrancesco Albani as Pope Clement XI. The former circumstance precipitated a long dynastic conflict, the War of the Spanish Succession, and the latter established the arch-conservative *zelanti* party in control of the Church. Taken together, these two occurrences did not bode well for the secular position of the Church or for Roman art patronage. A war among Catholic princes was always viewed with abhorrence by the Roman pontiffs, who preferred that the aggressive tendencies of orthodox rulers be turned on Protestants and heretics. The abolition of lucrative offices usually reserved for papal relatives, such as Gonfaloniere and *cardinale nipote*, moreover, helped to eliminate one of the great traditional sources of art patronage and collecting. The twenty-year reign of Clement XI, however, was not the artistically impoverished era which many later critics have maintained, in spite of severe financial problems and acute political humiliations. Painting, sculpture, and especially architecture flourished under Albani, who attracted many Italian and foreign artists to Rome to work for the papal court. Measured against the achievements of Urban VIII and Alexander VII, the results are modest, but when examined in light of contemporary politics, religious sentiments, intellectualism, and literature, the unique nature of Clement's contribution can be understood and appreciated.

A spiritual and scholarly interest in early Christianity was one of the leading intellectual currents in early settecento Rome. Informed by a taste for simplicity and a search for origins, the paleochristian revival exerted a profound influence on Clement's art patronage, resulting in a large number of church restorations undertaken with unprecedented circumspection. These projects, studied as a group, reveal much about contemporary ideas of restoration as opposed to renovation and the aesthetic attitudes manifested towards the objects restored. Albani's main concern was to preserve existing objects and building fabrics, often at the expense of stylistic unity and against the wishes of his artistic advisers. When changes and destruction were deemed inevitable, careful drawings of the soon-to-be-lost works were ordered and the alterations were limited as much as possible. The pope's desire to harmonize medieval mosaics and wall paintings with the new decorations also accelerated the positive aesthetic reevaluation of Christian antiquities which came to fruition in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

During the year of my fellowship, I continued archival and primary research in Rome and began writing my doctoral dissertation. I tried to read widely in complementary disciplines, especially political, intellectual, and religious history, martyrology, and museology. My documentary research centered on the *Fondo Albani* of the Archivio Segreto Vaticano,

several manuscripts of the period in the Biblioteca Vaticano and the Archivio di Stato, and a number of individual church archives. In the Archivio di Stato, I found an interesting reference to the architect Alessandro Specchi's involvement with an Albani project at Sant'Adriano al Foro Boario. My most significant documentary find was at the Archivio Capitolare at Santa Maria Maggiore, where I turned up the contract, payments, and chapter discussions of Carlo Fontana's project for the *cancelli* for the portico of the basilica. I also read the published works of those scholars and writers who were closely connected to the Albani pontiff such as Francesco Bianchini, Cristoforo Battelli, and Giovan Mario Crescimbeni. In addition, I was able to photograph a number of monuments which Clement restored and I found several illustrations of his projects as they appeared before later restorations.

My most difficult task has been one of organization and development. Clement ordered works projects of greater or lesser extent in over forty Roman churches, and I have been compelled to select a small representative group. In addition to discussions of Saint Peter's, the Lateran, and the Pantheon, I focused on San Clemente, Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Santa Maria in Trastevere, Santa Maria Maggiore, Santa Maria in Monticelli, San Teodoro, and San Sebastiano fuori le mura. To place these restorations in context, I organized a great deal of thematic material which became introductory chapters devoted to Clement XI and his circle, Albani art and politics, and the sources of this paleochristian revival. Many questions remain, especially those regarding the relationship of Albani's reforms, his art patronage, and arcadianism. Another scabrous issue is the artistic competition and mutual influence of Paris and Rome, which raises several unresolved problems about the role of the Accademia di San Luca. My continuing research on Albani patronage and art in settecento Rome has allowed me to draw one central conclusion: Clement XI was the driving force in Roman patronage of the period, inspiring numerous prelates and nobles to follow his example. Albani's vast learning, zeal, and keen artistic interests created a thriving intellectual atmosphere in which his nephew Annibale was nurtured, thus extending Clement's intellectual influence to Mengs, Winckelmann, and European neoclassicism.

[University of Delaware]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984

The Peace of Amiens: Art in France and England in 1802

From 1793 to 1814 wars with France prevented travel from Britain to the Continent. In those decades the Treaty of Amiens created the only respite from hostilities. Peace preliminaries between the two nations were signed in October 1801, and the treaty was ratified in March 1802. In England the terms were not considered favorable, however. Indeed, only eighteen months later, in May 1803, England again declared war on France. Nevertheless, while peace lasted, thousands of Britons crossed the Channel. Among the travelers were numerous artists. The Peace of Amiens produced a unique interval of direct contact between them and their Continental counterparts in decades of estrangement. My dissertation concerns the effects on contemporary art of this aesthetic colloquy between the French and English.

For English artists, Paris in 1802 had particular magnetism, and about thirty artists, many of whom were members of the Royal Academy, made the journey. Their long tradition of travel and study in Italy had also been interrupted by the war, but at the time the French capital was said to have surpassed Rome as a cultural center. During military conquests, the French had practiced systematic spoliation of works of art, particularly in Napoleon Bonaparte's Italian campaign of 1796. These trophies of war, which included some of the most venerated sculptures of antiquity such as the *Apollo Belvedere* and the *Laocoön* as well as masterpieces of the Italian and Flemish schools, were already installed in the *Muséum Central des Arts* in the Louvre when English visitors began to arrive at the end of 1801.

To witness many of the most celebrated works of art of that day on view together for the first time in history was virtually imperative for artists. Those who had sojourned in Italy before the wars with France began, such as John Flaxman, Henry Fuseli, and Benjamin West, looked forward to examining familiar masterworks in their new milieu. For a younger group who went to study in Paris, including Thomas Girtin, Martin Archer Shee, and Joseph Mallord William Turner, the peace provided their first opportunity to venture beyond the British Isles.

After a decade of isolation, English artists were also eager to see contemporary works of the French school, and the majority made the journey late in 1802 in order to attend the Salon exhibition. Among the exhibitors that year were François Gérard, Anne-Louis Girodet, Pierre-Narcisse Guérin, Pierre-Paul Prud'hon, Carle Vernet, and Jean-Antoine Houdon. The most renowned artist, Jacques-Louis David, did not participate, but his apartments in the Louvre were accessible, and the visitors saw a number of his paintings, including *Oath of the Horatii*, and *Napoleon at St. Bernard*.

The artistic community in Paris welcomed the influx of British colleagues. The visitors were invited to artists' studios, private collections were opened to them, and they met prominent connoisseurs and museum officials. This congregation in the same capital of some of the most consequential painters and sculptors of that time has never been the focus of

art historical study, although monographs on a few English artists affirm the importance of their travel in 1802. I am studying the communal aspect of the experience and the reciprocal exchange of ideas engendered during the peace.

My fellowship year was spent mainly in London, with excursions to Paris and Rome. I wrote introductory sections of my dissertation that summarize the history of political and cultural relations between England and France from the Revolution up to the Treaty of Amiens, and I collected material on problematic background issues, such as the effects on English artists of the isolation caused by the war, and their cognizance of the work of the French school in the decade prior to 1802.

During most of my time abroad I concentrated on the period of the peace. Of the English artists who journeyed to the Continent, only Turner's travel and the consequences for his later oeuvre have been extensively studied. In one section of my dissertation, I document the activities of all the members of the English school and discuss their reactions to the Old Masters on view in Paris. I was concerned principally with analyzing the visitors' responses to contemporary art. Their opinions of French neo-classicism were largely disparaging, and they clearly found the style contrary to the direction of their own developments. In their view, the works in the Salon displayed a uniformity that betrayed the sterility of the French school. In studying works by English artists of the following decade, however, I have discovered features that derive from exposure to French art in 1802. Although it is generally conceded that English ideas contributed to French romanticism, there is little documentation on the subject, and I am still doing research on the difficult question of possible influences on French artists arising from their encounters with English colleagues.

Dozens of eyewitness accounts of postrevolutionary Paris written by English travelers in 1802 attest to their admiration for the Republican system as it functioned in the arts. The galleries in the Louvre excited universal praise, and West, the President of the Royal Academy, obtained permission to send young English artists to study there. The tourists' enthusiasm, however, inevitably induced criticism of the lack of similar institutions in England, where major works of art were in private collections. In chapters on the aftereffects of the peace, one of the issues I am exploring is how the visitors' approval of the situation of the arts in France affected the subsequent formation of public galleries in England.

[Columbia University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984

Eugène Delacroix and the Significance of Finish in Romantic Painting

Recent scholarship in early nineteenth-century painting has tended to blur the lines between academic, avant-garde, and *juste milieu* art. An analysis of the criticism of painting exhibited at the Paris Salon from 1814 to 1834 is helpful in establishing exactly how these three categories developed, and how they were viewed by contemporary critics. On the cutting edge of these distinctions were issues of execution—how a painting was made, and what a “finished” painting was. During this period, two opposing types of finish developed: the polished, licked surface of Ingres and the Lyon school painters, and the apparent stroke and “sketchy” finish of Delacroix and his followers. It may be argued that while these two types of finish represented two different traditions, they called for a similar repositioning of the spectator in regard to the painting, a focusing of attention not on the illusion but on the surface. An analysis of early nineteenth-century Salon criticism reveals the reactions of contemporary viewers as well as the demands these two types of finish made on them.

This was the third year of my Finley fellowship; I spent the first two years in Paris, working at the Bibliothèque nationale and the Louvre. My dissertation consists in a close analysis of paintings exhibited at the Salon from 1814 to 1834, particularly the work of Eugène Delacroix, and the criticism of them. I deal with questions about how words such as *fini*, *faire*, *exécution* and *dessin* were used by critics in this period. Not only did different critics use these terms differently, but the terms came to have new, programmatic meaning in the twenties. For instance, after 1824, the term *faire*, which one might translate as handling, became identified with a particular type of finish, the broad rhythmic strokes and free impasto of Delacroix and Ary Scheffer. The word was almost never applied to the work of the neoclassicists, and instead was used as a term of opprobrium about the paintings of the new school. *Dessin*, on the other hand, became a sort of code word for the work of Ingres and his followers. What were these subtler meanings, and how did a variety of critics use these terms?

What types of finish were considered appropriate to each genre of painting? For instance, the broken touch of Constable's *The Hay Wain* (London, National Gallery) was praised by a number of critics as adding to the painting's “naturalness” when the work was exhibited at the Salon of 1824. Yet when Delacroix, perhaps inspired by Constable, used a similar, if less radical touch in the *Scènes des Massacres de Scio* (Paris, Louvre) of the same year, it was termed by the same critics “barbaric.” Clearly a different type of touch was accepted for landscape than for history painting. What were these finish types, and how were they defined?

How were Delacroix's paintings executed, and how was the work of the artist in creating them viewed? When Delacroix exhibited his first major painting, the *Massacres de Scio*, at the Salon of 1824, it was greeted with an outpouring of praise and vilification, “an unparalleled outburst of passion,” as Adolphe Thiers said. Critics called the painting a hash, a daub,

an abomination, or alternatively, a triumph, a masterpiece. Most interesting were critics like Fabien Pillet who stigmatized the *Massacres* as a mere *esquisse*, sketch, or *ébauche*, underpainting. In this view, the painting was profoundly unfinished, fragmented in both subject and technique. Its incompleteness was such that it was seen as a mere generative stage on the way to an as yet unpainted work. Critics like Pillet saw this as a deliberate confusion of the sketch with the finished painting. In fact, in works like the *Massacres de Scio*, as well as in Delacroix's other work, the *process* of execution becomes almost more important than the final product.

These are some of the issues that I discuss in the thesis. In addition, while I was in France, I traveled extensively, compiling a photographic archive of details of technique of Salon paintings. With these, and with an analysis of the criticism of them, I hope to clarify the issue of finish in Romantic painting.

[Harvard University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1982-1985

The Tempio Malatestiano

I spent the year completing research—begun many years ago—into the problems of iconography, structural history and religious significance posed by the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, which Sigismondo Malatesta left unfinished at his death in 1468. In 1952 I published a paper suggesting that its enigmatic program of relief-sculptures was largely derived from two sources. First, it was taken from the neoplatonic system of philosophy expounded by Macrobius in his Commentary on Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, who was Sigismondo's ancestor—a myth of the soul's immortality and the only portion of Cicero's *Republic* then known to survive; and secondly it drew on references to ancient solar theology in Book I of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. That thesis, I think, still holds, though I was wrong to infer that Malatesta was thus identifying himself as a sort of paganizing *roi soleil*.

The next step was to set this imagery, and account for its oddities, within the context of the stages by which, from 1448 onwards, Sigismondo undertook the total reconstruction and redecoration of his ancestral church, first in the hands of Matteo de' Pasti and Agostino di Duccio, as "architect" and master sculptor, and later, probably from 1453 to about 1457, to the superimposed design of Leon Battista Alberti. In a paper of 1973 I argued that the decoration, begun by de' Pasti, was modeled on that of the late antique, in effect Early Christian, Orthodox Baptistery in Ravenna; and in 1978 I published, without references or illustrations, the text of a lecture given in Rimini in 1968 in which, on the evidence of further iconographical and structural findings, I proposed a reconstruction of Alberti's original revised design of the Tempio and tried to explain why Sigismondo left it such a flawed torso, with its façade, lateral arcades and nave unfinished, its ostensibly regular pairs of lateral chapels not properly matching one another, and its series of reliefs failing to make logical sense.

My argument, briefly, was as follows. Sigismondo intended his new church, dedicated to God and the city of Rimini, to be a Christian *Republic*—a Renaissance analogue of Plato's and Cicero's texts—in stone. Alberti originally laid it out perfectly regularly. It was to have exterior arcades of nine arches instead of the present seven; a tripartite nave, one section longer than what survives of the fifteenth-century one, leading into a domed rotunda inspired by that of the church of Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem and modeled on the Pantheon; and side-chapels displaying three sets of figured reliefs corresponding to the tripartite structure of neoplatonic philosophy—moral, natural and rational—with a sky-myth of immortality (like Cicero's dream of Scipio and Plato's myth of Er) in the middle, except that in this Christian church the third section of reliefs was to represent the prophets and sibyls and the Passion of Christ, the Sun of salvation. But when this plan had been less than two years under way Sigismondo was compelled, no doubt for lack of money, drastically to curtail it and to get Alberti to redesign the nave in two sections instead of three, which is why the reliefs of the prophets and sibyls, which had already been carved, incongruously

ended up in one of the chapels of the first section of the building. For some years the abbreviated scheme went ahead briskly and by 1457, when he left Rimini, Agostino had more or less finished the present reliefs. But by the end of the decade, Sigismondo was at implacable war with Pius II, his treasury was empty, and work on the building gradually ground to a halt, Alberti himself, the pope's man, having long withdrawn from the enterprise. That is why, for all his sporadic efforts to complete it, Sigismondo's Tempio, even in its truncated form, remained unfinished inside and out, and betrays so many irregularities and signs of botching and compromise.

I brought to the Center last September the draft of an expanded essay, written some time ago, which I have been correcting and revising in the light of more recent literature, especially by P. G. Pasini. I have refined and simplified my reconstruction of the building history. Whereas I previously assumed that Alberti was responsible for the philosophical program of imagery, I am now convinced that it was primarily devised by Sigismondo himself and his local humanists Basinio of Parma and Roberto Valturio. And I have been looking more deeply into the question of the Tempio's alleged paganism. Pius II in his *Commentaries*, finished in 1463, asserted that it was "full of gentile works" and "a temple more for demon-worshipping infidels than for Christians." The charge sounds wild and far-fetched. But at the time when Pius was writing, neoplatonic and hermetic "ancient theology" was very much in the air, and he was most probably specifically alluding to a text in the *Asclepius* of Hermes Trismegistus telling how the ancients had in their temples man-made statues of "terrestrial gods" into which they induced demon-souls by magic rites. However that may be, Sigismondo was unquestionably fascinated by the pagan wing of contemporary platonic thought: he tried to bring Gemisthos Pletho to his court, and in 1465, when he was fighting against the Turk in the Morea, he dug up Pletho's bones and sent them home to Rimini to be entombed in the Tempio.

Bryn Mawr College (emeritus)
Kress Professor, 1984-1985

The Paintings of Hendrick Goltzius, 1558-1617

With the support of the 1983-1984 Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellowship I was able to conduct research in Europe on the paintings of Hendrick Goltzius. My study was based in Utrecht, Holland, where I could draw on the facilities and staff of the Kunsthistorisch Instituut of the University of Utrecht.

My initial and major task of the year, upon which all subsequent conclusions were based, was the compilation of a catalogue of Goltzius' paintings. In addition to studying secondary research sources—archival documentation, auction and museum catalogues, photograph collections, and dealer records—I devoted four months to visiting museums and private collections in more than ten countries in order to inspect paintings attributed to Goltzius. The results of this work are the following.

In my section of accepted works, including all Goltzius' pictures judged to be authentic from visual evidence, I have assembled approximately forty-five paintings. Only a couple of pictures fall into the category of questionable works. It is the rare exception that Goltzius did not monogram his paintings, and the great majority are dated as well. The third category, unidentified references, consists of pictures known only from descriptions that have a reasonable claim to be considered originals by Goltzius. This group numbers approximately forty pictures. The final catalogue division, which contains rejected attributions, includes the numerous paintings that reproduce compositions from Goltzius' prints. To the best of my knowledge none of them is by Goltzius himself. It seems that Goltzius did not make copies after his paintings, although documentary evidence and one extant painting attest to the fact that others did.

After establishing Goltzius' painted oeuvre, I was able to address other issues, such as why Goltzius turned to painting in 1600 at the age of forty-two after more than two decades as an engraver and draftsman. The possible reasons for this conversion are numerous. Karel van Mander's ranking of painting as the premier art form must have influenced Goltzius to try his hand with oils. A yearning to claim some of the laurels awarded to Haarlem's foremost painter of the 1580s and 1590s, Cornelis van Haarlem, also is likely to have contributed to the switch from burin to brush. But perhaps of greatest significance is the character of his preceding engraved and drawn works. From the initial years of his career Goltzius displayed a strong predisposition for what can be described as a painterly quality. His early metal-point portraits exhibit a concern for the changing tonality of a face or a felt jacket rather than for the mere recording of contours. In the late 1580s Goltzius actually began to work with colors in his chiaroscuro woodcuts, and in the 1590s his interest in this medium increased. The colored chalk portraits he made during his trip to Italy in 1590-1591 reveal the degree to which he was able to utilize fused color as an expressive force. Later in the decade Goltzius increasingly employed wash and body color in his preparatory designs for engravings, which in turn assume a more

painterly character. It has been noted by E.K.J. Reznicek that many of Goltzius' large "Federkunststücke" actually address concerns more generally associated with those of a painter than with those of a draftsman. Two of these Federgemälde are even executed on large canvases and represent the missing links between Goltzius' drawings and paintings. In retrospect, painting looms as the inevitable result of such a progression.

Just as Goltzius turned to painting as the highest art form, he turned for the most part to history painting because of its primacy over all other genres. Goltzius was a painter of the nude. His subjects either are taken from classical mythology and the Old and New Testaments or illustrate allegorical themes. Within this context there occasionally appears a "portrait historié." As for pure portraits, although only one example has come down to us, archival research has brought forth evidence for as many as fifteen more by Goltzius, some of them pair portraits. Clearly Goltzius' activity as a portrait painter was greater than previously known, and it is quite likely that more of his portraits will be recognized in the future.

One additional area of research completed during the Smith Fellowship was a comprehensive survey of the critical appraisal of Goltzius as a painter from 1600 to the present. Various written sources including auction and inventory records as well as a study of the owners of his pictures make clear that during Goltzius' lifetime and most of the seventeenth century he was equally renowned as a painter and as an engraver. Only in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when firsthand knowledge of his relatively few paintings became scarce was his fame as a painter overshadowed by his activity as an engraver. Otto Hirschmann's 1916 book was the first modern endeavor to consider Goltzius' paintings; my research, when completed, will result in a more up-to-date contribution to our understanding of Goltzius' career as a painter.

[Columbia University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1983-1984

Having finished a book on the use of the classical orders in antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, my last task was the writing of an introduction. This involved considering why the choice of such forms in practice relates so rarely to the theoretical recommendations of architects in treatises, and why, although the choice and placing of the orders often seems so important, during a period of 2,000 years there are almost no references to such decisions in written documents and hardly any identifications of the orders in literary descriptions. The simplest explanation is that the use of the orders was normally regarded as self-explanatory—that the reasons for the choice of a particular form could be inferred from the human and architectural context. The choice of an order was, like most actions, neither preceded by verbal discussion nor followed by verbal commentary. Like most actions too it can best be understood only by reconstructing the context in which it would have been self-explanatory. It is as little use to look for explanations in the theories of architects as it is to look for an explanation of other actions in the professed reasons offered for them by their authors. This does not mean that it is not worthwhile to study the explanations of architects and the reasons people give for their actions. Such studies tell us much about current value systems and the way architects and others relate their actions to them to improve their acceptability. A study of the written theories of the orders is just as important as a study of their use in practice.

The other major work on which I was engaged at the Center was a book on the history of Greek and Roman art from 500 B.C. to 300 A.D. This sets out in a relatively small compass to provide general explanations for the main features of so-called classical art, its emergence in the sixth and fifth centuries, its transformation in the new world created by Alexander's conquests, its acquisition of new characteristics under Roman patronage of the late Republic and early Empire and final transformation in the late Empire. The part which occupied me particularly while I was at the Center was the Roman period. The general explanation which I was concerned to develop took as its starting point the observation that the relation between man and nature was effectively changed under the Roman Empire. While the Greeks were generally concerned to understand nature so that they could follow its rules in their lives and imitate it in their art, the Romans discovered that in many ways instead of serving nature they could be its masters. Characteristic of the new attitudes which developed under the Empire are the wall paintings of the so-called Third Style, which Vitruvius in c. 25 B.C. attacked as being entirely against nature in contrast to the earlier styles which were natural and which derived from Greek prototypes. A parallel manifestation was readiness of Romans to mould landscape to their will by alternately destroying mountains to make plains and piling up earth to make artificial hills. Equally they were proud of being able to make their rooms hot in winter or cold in summer, to irrigate deserts and

to drain swamps. A wealthy Roman was able to live in a largely artificial world in which nature was constantly denied. The change in the relation to nature between 100 B.C. and 100 A.D. was without parallel in history and was, I would argue, the most decisive and important change in people's world view during that period. It was also a change which frightened and appalled most writers whose values were Greek in origin. A simple way to sum up the change is that people were able to live more according to their imaginations, free of the restrictions which nature might otherwise have imposed, and in no field is this new imaginative freedom likely to have had a greater effect than in the visual arts, which were exploited as never before to gratify the fancies of demanding and rich patrons. I was concerned to understand this effect on architecture and interior decoration, painting and sculpture. The character of the effect is obvious in broad outline. In architecture and interior decoration a new freedom emerges in the shaping and mixing of forms, colors and textures, a freedom which seems often to contradict nature deliberately. Similarly, in painting and sculpture it becomes less and less important to imitate a nature which is so frequently flouted in other aspects of life. As descriptions of works of art reveal, viewers are increasingly ready to make up in their imaginations for what is lacking in a representation. Thus, in painting and sculpture it is less and less important to follow the rules for natural representation which are referred to by Pliny in his history of Greek art, while in architecture it is less and less important to follow the rules of "natural" design which Vitruvius had extracted from Greek practice. If life did not need to follow nature, why should art?

University of East Anglia
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1984

DAVID PORTER

Linguistic Theory and the Art of Joseph Cornell

The American assemblagist artist Joseph Cornell (1903-1972) held a curiously productive dialogue across one hundred years with the nineteenth-century poet Emily Dickinson. Each of them invented an idiom for the modern age: Dickinson a language to express the menacing ascendance of consciousness; Cornell, drawing initially from European surrealism and dada, the hidden dialogue between objects and the imagination. How he constructed fantasies from the humdrum is an extraordinary instance of the joining of poetry and the visual arts.

Beginning with the connection between the two artists, first noted by Dore Ashton (1974), my objective is to apply advanced linguistic theory to this body of visual art that has such marked affinities to writing. In particular, I am attempting to define what might be called the unique code of which Cornell's boxes are the only utterances. Cornell's work, in turn, like certain works of Magritte, will be seen to provide a radical critique of language itself, especially the poetic function. The project, then, brings together cultural and biographical inquiry as well as literary theory.

Cornell's principal desire was to discover visionary possibilities in the modern hegemony of the manmade, the "drabness of Main Street," as he called it, where all nature has become social. His is a city idiom, an unprecedented art of odds and ends. In the undertaking, he joined other artists of the twentieth century who faced the challenge of creating art out of disparate particulars and disjointed urban existence. Confronting the same "strewn" nature of experience in our own day, the poet John Ashbery, one of Cornell's most incisive critics, asserts that "meaningfulness and randomness somehow have to be brought together."

The historical link between Cornell and Dickinson occurred first in the 1920s when, for Cornell, the experience of the city, the poetry of Dickinson, and the art of collage came together. In that decade, public interest in the poet was growing as new Dickinson poems and letters appeared in print and the 1930 centenary of her birth approached. Cornell read Marsden Hartley's 1921 paean of praise to Dickinson in *Adventures in the Arts* at the time he was forming his ideas and his materials from the city environment—store windows, pet shops, the vaudeville stage, penny arcades, shooting galleries, art galleries, hotels, the cinema, the circus, and opera ballet. Out of this agglomeration was later to come not only his famous series of aviary, hotel, slot-machine, and bubble-set boxes, including those for Hedy Lamarr and Lauren Bacall, but boxes and objects connected by various codes to Emily Dickinson.

Three stylistic elements unite the assemblagist and the poet: the unexpected joining of ingredients in their respective media, their preoccupation with the reach of the imagination ("the infinite a sudden guest," as Dickinson put it) and the small scale of their art, he in boxes not much more than 40 centimeters on a side, she in compact common-metre quatrains. Most important to their new modes of expression was their isolation as

artists. Untutored, both stood aside from and thus were unprotected by a great idea. No grand tradition sanctioned their art or provided it with coherence. In effect, Dickinson the reclusive poet legitimized the strange new realism of Joseph Cornell as he established himself in the American avant-garde. He made at least one collage and assembled as many as eight boxes that refer in several degrees of concealment to Dickinson. His box *Toward the "Blue Peninsula,"* for example, takes its title and theme of escape from a Dickinson poem.

I have outlined the nature of that biographical and artistic connection, work based on earlier research in the Cornell family papers and completed during my six-week residency at the Center. Research took place in the National Gallery of Art and several other locations in Washington, including the Joseph Cornell Study Center and the Archives of American Art in the National Museum of American Art.

Further linguistic analysis is in progress. There is an inescapable referential and quasi-literary quality in Cornell's work together with an intention that amount to a poetics. In literary terms, poetics comprises the elements that make a verbal arrangement a work of art. Put more broadly, it is the principle by which there is a saturation of form by meaning. This transformation was what Cornell meant when he spoke of the communication between the objects with which he furnished his boxes. The linguistic model is useful in revealing the basic processes of Cornell's patterns of selection and combination.

The study involves questions of both grammar and performance. Inevitably they lead in turn to the domain of semiotics and to the threshold where sign systems divide between words and objects. My hope is to advance the practical and theoretical work now under way that bridges verbal and visual expression (Lévi-Strauss, Eco, Marr). A taxonomical survey of as much of Cornell's work as has been available to me reveals distinct categories in his thematic preoccupations and the grammar of their presentation. In other words, Cornell had basic preferences in compiling his lexicon of objects and in his spatial, or syntactical, placements. What emerges finally is how often Cornell's boxes, even as they seem to have the least human reference—celestial charts, screening lines, clay pipes, brass rods, a dovecote—are in fact, with abundantly varied means and in the way that language disassembles seamless reality, deconstructions of the human figure.

University of Massachusetts
Associate, fall 1984

Immortals and Their Imagery in Han Pictorial Art

The patronage for most art works in pre-Han China can be credited to one major social group: the hereditary (some say "feudal") nobility. During the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) a variety of new pictorial styles came into being as new social groups, including certain officers at the imperial court, merchants, scholars, and eunuchs, became active as consumers of art. Preferred types of subject matter differed from one patronage group to the other, but one theme cherished by all was the immortals' paradise, the repository of the highest hopes and dreams of the men and women of the Han. This year at the Center I completed research and began composing a book on Han immortal paradises with the aim of linking different traditions of paradise imagery with differing social aspirations among patronage groups. To date I have completed several chapters as well as an article dealing with the moral meaning of paradise scenes of the first century B.C.

Before arriving at the Center I had already distinguished four or five types of paradise associated with different periods and regions. I also had some notion of the kind of patronage which supported several of these traditions. For instance, paradise scenes of the early Han have all been found in the tombs of royalty, while some of the most important traditions of the Latter Han are well tied to the patronage of the Confucian literati. There remained, however, two major lacunae in my research. The first concerned paradise scenes of the first century B.C. which, though similar to earlier paradises, tend to be far richer in imagery and are not so easily associated with royalty. The second lacuna concerned the complex problem of the eunuchs. I had been able to link certain late Han, high-quality tombs to eunuch patronage, but still understood little about the social constraints and aspirations of this group. My research at the Center focused largely on these two problem areas. Taking advantage of the excellent research collections at the Freer Gallery and the Library of Congress, I was able to solve both problems to my satisfaction.

As to the first problem, I was able to uncover a sizable body of literary evidence suggesting that articles decorated with paradise scenes during the first century were consumed, for the most part, by upwardly mobile merchants, brokers and landowners wishing to appropriate for themselves a body of imagery traditionally associated with wealth and nobility. Of course, by this time, the nobility was politically defunct, but styles of decor based on the old art of the courts still signified wealth, as is evident from the writings of social critics of the time. These critics regarded elaborately decorated art works as both a symptom and a cause of that concentration of wealth which they maintained was creating hunger and destitution in the countryside. Thus a tradition of decor which, for consumers, betokened profusion, abundance and pleasure, signified, for its critics, little more than economic ruin and injustice.

As to the second problem, I discovered that the eunuchs not only were



Rubbing of a sculpted stone door leading into the "harem" chamber at Dahuting tomb no. 1, Mi County, Henan (detail). Second century A.D.

important patrons of art during the second century A.D., but that their well-known political competition with the literati extended to matters of taste as well. In general the literati liked to promote an appearance of moral purity while the eunuchs were quite openly into prestigious consumer items like fancy cars and [yes!] beautiful women. In matters of art the literati were accustomed to using pictures as political tools. For instance, they liked to commission portraits of famous sages or contemporary Confucian statesmen in schools, prefectural offices or other public places. The eunuchs imitated this form of propaganda, having portraits of their cronies placed inside one of the academies in the capital. Such competition included matters of style as well. The literati favored the classical *shi* style of poetry, while the eunuchs favored the elaborate *fu* form. The literati favored a plain style of script while the eunuchs favored the ornate style of pre-Han script. The literati criticized elaborate styles of art while the eunuchs would commission carvings "too complex for description (see illustration)." In such ways historical material documenting the political struggles of the eunuchs and literati has much to say about the styles of art favored by each group. This, in turn, helps to explain a great deal of what is known about the style and imagery of paradise scenes commissioned by the two groups of antagonists.

University of California, Los Angeles
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1984-1985

Studies on the Hôtel de Cluny in Paris: The Sources and Typology of the French Renaissance Urban Palace

During my two months' stay at the Center, I carried out further research in order to prepare my 1971 dissertation on the Hôtel de Cluny, now the Musée de Cluny, for publication.

The Hôtel de Cluny was built by Abbot Jean de Bourbon (1413-1485) between 1456 and 1485 according to the original manuscript of the *Chronicon Cluniacense* (Bibliothèque Nationale), written by François de Rive in 1510. The coat of arms of Jacques d'Amboise, abbot from 1485 to 1510, was added to the main staircase tower of the Hôtel during a campaign of restoration in 1845 (Archives des Monuments Historiques). The Hôtel de Cluny, built on the left bank of Paris, adjacent to the Roman Baths, contains the main components that were to characterize the large French urban palace from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. These are the main wing (*corps de logis*) with rooms placed along a longitudinal axis (*enfilade*) behind a forecourt and a gallery which led from a small pavillion on the street to the private apartment of the abbot, located at the back of the main wing overlooking a garden; the whole is separated from the street by a wall. Besides the private apartment of the abbot, there were two large reception rooms (*salles*) in the center of the main wing and a kitchen and service wing opposite the gallery along the forecourt.

As a building type, the Hôtel de Cluny can be considered a nonfortified manor. Urban palaces derived from manors had been built in Paris earlier in the fourteenth century. The main questions I investigated at the Center were the following: why was a rural building type adapted to the city and what were the origins of the French manor as a building type? Historians of the French Renaissance tend too often to isolate the sixteenth century from the traditions of Roman and medieval architecture and to judge innovation solely in terms of Italian influence in planning and decoration. The Hôtel de Cluny indeed represents an innovation in the design of the urban palace: since it does not contain fortified towers derived from the castle, it can be totally integrated into the fabric of the city.

I believe that the French manor in its rural and urban variants represents the survival of the Roman portico villa seen in the Villa at Montmaurin, built near Toulouse between 150 and 250 A.D. The tradition of the Roman villa was preserved in such Carolingian-era buildings as the Palace of Charlemagne at Aachen. The same tradition survived in the early Middle Ages in the *castrum*, the loose agglomeration of rural buildings surrounded by a fortified wall which preceded the fully developed fortified castle. Few manors have survived from the Middle Ages, but many are known from descriptions in the registers of the tax collectors of King Philip Augustus in the thirteenth century. Only dukes and barons were allowed to build fortified castles. The lesser nobles had to be content with fortified and non-fortified manors.

The Hôtel de Cluny can also be classified as a hall house. The origin of

the hall (*salle*) can be traced to the reception hall (*aula regia*) of the Roman imperial palace and villa. However, the principle of placing this room along a longitudinal axis, as in the Hôtel de Cluny, rather than along the central axis of the building, is a major change from the principles of Roman planning. This new orientation of the rooms in medieval domestic architecture may have been a contribution of native Germanic domestic architecture. It occurs in the placement of the *aula regia* in Charlemagne's Palace at Aachen as well as in the plans of the Ottonian palaces at Goslar and Wartburg. The other contribution of early medieval architecture to the Renaissance palace was the apartment with its bedchamber, closet, and vestibule, which was placed either adjacent to the hall or above it in the earliest known fortified keeps at Langeais and Loches, built in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in northern France.

It is logical that a rural building type, the manor, was adapted to the city because cities in France in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were rural in character. After the end of the Roman conquest, most cities in Gaul regressed to a rural state. When they began to revive as commercial centers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, they often remained as rural agglomerations built around fortified castles for protection. A recent reconstruction of the area on the right bank of Paris around Les Halles has revealed that there were large plots of land available to nobles and rich members of the bourgeoisie to build extensive dwellings. Since the wealthier urban dweller needed to have facilities to store grain, wine, and livestock as well as stables and gardens, the components of these urban dwellings were identical to those found in the rural manor. Furthermore, the manor was also probably chosen as a building type because of the connotation of the noble status which it could confer on its owner.

The decision of Jean de Bourbon to build a palace in Paris is symptomatic of the economic revival of Paris after the end of the Hundred Years War (1337-1453). There had been an economic depression and drastic drop in population from 1420 to the late 1440s during the English occupation of Paris. An increase in population and the revival of building activity occurred after 1450 when the city became an economic and administrative center again. Many government and church officials like Jean de Bourbon returned to live in Paris. A member of the powerful Bourbon family who owned the duchies of Auvergne and Bourbonnais as well as the counties of Languedoc and Forez, Jean de Bourbon had been appointed by King Charles VII to be both Abbot of the Order of Cluny and his Lieutenant General in the Languedoc and Forez. Jean de Bourbon's palace can be associated with both the religious and secular spheres of society, since he used it when he came to Paris to oversee the affairs of the Collège de Cluny near the Sorbonne as well as to attend meetings of the Royal Council. Thus, the plan of the Hôtel de Cluny could be easily adapted to the needs of purely secular patrons and it became a model for subsequent urban palaces of well-to-do owners from both the noble and bourgeois strata of society.

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Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985

Interpreting Bruegel

We no longer think of Bruegel as a naive painter endowed with simple “peasant” instincts. Modern scholarship has revealed to us instead a sophisticated humanist intelligence engaged with the central issues of its time. Yet on the whole we still lack a method or a language adequate to the visual forms in which that intelligence manifests itself. Close attention to the paintings has with a few exceptions been limited to a discussion of sources and iconographic parallels. When Bruegel’s meanings are discussed, they are usually reduced to a few moral commonplaces. Rarely is there engagement with the intellectual and emotional complexity of his work, or with its levels of finely calibrated nuance.

This is especially true of *Children’s Games*, the painting which has been the focus of most of my research at the Center. The iconographers, dwelling superficially on a few isolated details, interpret the painting as a disguised representation of “the world upside down,” and see it as populated by the forms of human folly (a boy peering through a mask becomes “deception,” a child rolling a hoop, “vanity”). The literalists argue in response that the games are innocent and carefree, and that they are depicted “without recondite allusion or moral connotation.” Neither of these approaches permits access to what are for me the salient features of this painting’s visual language: images that are saturated (not encoded) with meaning, a syntax that proliferates, and the resulting impression (to borrow a phrase used by Pierce) of an “incessant semiosis.”

My goal this year has been to develop an approach to Bruegel more nearly adequate to the scope of this language and its incredibly detailed,



Pieter Bruegel, the Elder, *Children’s Games* (detail). Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

nuanced texture. In the process I would hope to dissociate Bruegel from the allegorizing moralists like Sebastian Brandt and Jacob Cats, and bring him closer to Montaigne, Rabelais, and the other great sixteenth-century *explorers* of the human region. My efforts have been more or less equally divided between contextual research and intrinsic analysis. As far as the former is concerned, I have become especially interested in the relevance to Bruegel of various fictional strategies devised by sixteenth-century writers to embody complex metaphoric ideas about the workings of the human order. Rabelais' island kingdoms, with their oppositional organizations, and Montaigne's images of the public world as a dialectic of flux and siege, centrifugal whirl and centripetal focus, have proved especially relevant to the configurations into which Bruegel's playing children instinctively enter. At the same time I have attempted to trace the way the language of childhood infiltrates sixteenth-century religious and political controversies, and to show as a result how the image of childhood is implicated in the ambivalent feelings about freedom, anarchy, and social coercion that haunted Bruegel's age.

The central aim of my project, however, has been to provide a new way of looking at Bruegel's images. I have been less concerned, finally, with (re)constructing contexts than with preserving, at the level of close visual analysis, resistances to the contextualizing impulse. And to the generalizing impulse as well: my ideal has been a thesis-free, detail-oriented criticism that would match the disseminating impulses of Bruegel's own imagery. The bulk of my completed study will therefore consist of an elaborate "reading" of *Children's Games*, one that will attempt to spiral outward toward a sense of the painting's meaning and structure via an image-by-image traversal of its space. Charting the territory this fabulous painting covers has necessitated sections devoted to "Nature and Culture," "The Human Region," "The Social Bond," "The Coagulating Impulse," "Violence," "Assurance," "Gender Difference," "The Sexual Relation," "Creation," and "Structure and Its Undoing." The trick will be to bring the cultural and historical material to bear on this reading in a way that will make it resonate, but without creating the impression of context containing, producing, or even controlling analysis. The result, if successful, will I hope provide a paradigm not only for an approach to Bruegel in general, but for a discussion of the problematic of image and context that attends on every major artist's work.

Rice University

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1984-1985

KATHERINE FISCHER TAYLOR

The Rebuilding of the Palais de Justice of Paris, 1835-1922

The Chester Dale Fellowship enabled me to complete a second year of research in Paris for my dissertation on the rebuilding of the Paris law courts, or Palais de Justice, between 1835 and 1922. Located on the Ile de la Cité, at the geographic and historic center of Paris, this complex of buildings is best known for its role in French history, and for its remaining Gothic structures, the Sainte Chapelle and the Conciergerie. Established by Merovingian kings as the first royal palace of France, the buildings devolved in the fourteenth century to the most powerful of those ancestors of the modern French law courts, the Paris *Parlement*, whose tenure ended with the Revolution of 1789.

If the early history of the Palais is familiar, we know little about the profound architectural transformation it underwent in the nineteenth century that produced the buildings one sees today. The palace reassigned to the streamlined law courts organized by Napoleon comprised a haphazard grouping of structures of every period and style. But in 1835, when the courts obtained the promise of far-reaching improvements, public appreciation for the historical and architectural significance of the older buildings was just beginning to grow. Defenders included Victor Hugo and the organizers of a new preservation board, the Commission des Monuments historiques. The Palais became a testing ground for controversial ideas about preservation and for the application of new principles of Beaux-Arts design. Municipal, departmental, and national administrations joined to sponsor a systematic restoration, reconstruction, and expansion of the old complex to house seven separate services: a hierarchy of law courts, the prefecture of police, and several prisons. J.-N. Huyot (1780-1840), the first architectural history professor at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, devoted his last four years to producing a master plan. His scheme guided the building campaign led by three generations of Prix de Rome architects—the influential Romantic architect Louis Duc (1802-1879), Honoré Daumet (1826-1911), and Albert Tournaire (1862-1957). The new Palais won high praise from contemporaries as different as Viollet-le-Duc, a well-known critic of the Ecole, and Julien Gaudet, the theory professor who codified Beaux-Arts tradition at the turn of the century.

Though cited in surveys, the modern Palais de Justice has never been the subject of a historical, analytic study. While little has been written on 19th-century French architecture, the pioneering literature has tended to focus on theory, especially work from the Ecole, or on completely new buildings. My premise has been that the Palais de Justice will reveal a contextual approach not generally associated with Beaux-Arts architecture, because it represents a different and widespread type of commission, combining the dominant contemporary concerns with restoration, urban renewal, and public architecture. I felt that the most revealing approach to understanding the architects' intentions was to focus on the institutional aspect of the reconstruction—both its nature and image as a public institution, and the highly institutionalized process by which it was created.

The preliminary task was to reconstruct the building history. The most important source lies in the several tons of records from the former architects' offices, which I discovered in the Palais and studied at the Cour d'Appel. (It had been assumed that most of the pre-1871 archives had burned during the Paris Commune.) In conjunction with these drawings, which cover the entire campaign, I studied the administrative files preserved in several Paris collections, especially the Archives nationales. The files derive from the complicated government review procedure, which significantly influenced the architects' projects. These combined archives yield an unusually complete portrait of the production of a major building, and explain how some of the most powerful and original works of Beaux-Arts architecture could be created through a collaborative process in a situation characterized by major external constraints.

To understand the architects' response to constraints entailed a contextual approach. That included research on French legal history; on the building program and type for the post-Napoleonic courthouse, through a tour of provincial courthouses; on the nineteenth-century discovery of the Palais' history, through contemporary publications and iconographical collections; and forming a broad view of careers of the architects that included tracing Duc's and Daumet's descendants and consulting family archives.

My research has convinced me that the modern Palais represents more than a pragmatic attempt to make the best of difficult circumstances. In writing my dissertation, I am testing the idea that it is an especially appropriate building to demonstrate the emergence and development of an influential theory of public building in Beaux-Arts architecture. One of the first rebuilding projects of the century, the Palais challenged its first architect, Huyot, to apply the ideas he had introduced in his course, especially the belief that architecture must reflect local conditions and institutions. In his project, Huyot demonstrated how a typologically-based, contextual historicism could be used symbolically to represent the significance of the site and the nature of nineteenth-century French justice, whose origins and traditions lay in the old Palais, but whose code derived from Roman precedent. Moreover, his emphasis on specific character led him to treat the Palais as a diversified urban complex rather than a uniform building, an approach ultimately extended to the city itself by Haussmann.

While Huyot's ideas were broadly influential, perhaps the best-known single monument affected by his project is the new Louvre, built by his nephew Lefuel in the Second Empire. Yet it was Duc's work for the Palais which won Louis-Napoleon's prize for the representative work of art of the Second Empire. Furthermore the reconstruction period spanned the July Monarchy to the Third Republic, a politically volatile period when law and order held multiple implications. The continuity of the campaign provides the opportunity to compare how several generations of architects, extending through most of the Beaux-Arts period, interpreted and applied new ideas about the relationship between history and architecture to represent an evolving public institution.

[Harvard University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1983-1984

The Journey of the Magi. The Social History of a Christian Image

In the early fall, I wrote a study that will accompany an edition of Peter the Chanter's (d. 1197) unpublished manual on prayer postures, *De Oratione et Speciebus Eius*. Study and text, including fifty-six illustrations from eight manuscripts of Peter's seven authorized prayer postures, have now been submitted to a scholarly press for consideration. After an extensive analysis of the manuscripts, the study examines the author's notions of body language and then compares his verbal description of the postures to the illustrations, which he himself called for and in part described for the artists.

The rest of the year has been spent on the Magi project. Its thesis is that during the Christian dispensation, in liturgy, festivities, and in art, the story of the wise men has been the prime image through which Christians have discoursed about social order. At present, two of the work's six projected chapters have been written: chapter 1 on the early Christian period, and chapter 2 on the cult's history until the transportation of the "Kings" to Cologne in 1164. Before leaving Washington in late July, I plan to have a draft of chapter 3, which will cover the Eurasian story of the Magi until the discoveries of the New World, at which point a new chapter on the "exotic magi" of the Indies will begin. I plan to terminate the work in the fall of 1985.

My research to date has confirmed my hypothesis that the theme of triumph is at the core of Christian use of the image of the Magi. This hypothesis has led me to conclude from visual evidence, for example, that Constantine's famous vision at the Milvian Bridge was thought to be comparable to the Magi's vision of the Star, the Magi's task of legitimating the Child now being transferred to Constantine's task of legitimating Child and Church (*In hoc signo vinces*). No less important, it is now clear that the triumphal meaning of the Magian Journey and Adoration was retained during the period of the German migrations, surviving unbroken into the high Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The most important new finding to date regards the use of the Magi by individuals to induce salvation: a study of early sarcophagi and paintings reveals that patrons often emphasized their charity through the image of the Magi. Surprisingly, the theme of the "fourth Magus," which I thought first appeared in Goethe, is already found in Christian antiquity, the charitable testator occasionally being shown in a position behind the three Magi, seeking salvation or apotheosis. Not uncommonly, the vessels of the Magi's gifts are inscribed with numerals, and I will argue that they record testators' specific charitable donations.

My extensive reading in the literature of the field during this year has allowed this general historian great strides in shaping my thoughts on these subjects. First, it has enabled me to locate the thrust of my social-historical work in relation to the art-historiographic tradition. André Grabar's studies of Roman and Byzantine imperial art, E. Baldwin Smith's studies of triumphant architectural contexts, Von Simson's liturgically-oriented work on

the Magian monuments of Ravenna (Sant' Apollinare Nuovo and San Vitale), and Forsyth's studies of Romanesque wood statuary afford much evidence which, reevaluated from an ethnographic point of view, will allow me to project my social-historical enquiry far back in time.

Thus I can now bring out much valuable social-historical information that is latent in established art-historical discourses. The benefits of reading in a field other than my own have been multiplied by association with my art historical colleagues at CASVA, whose visual skills have helped me to avoid various mistakes and to adopt greater caution in interpreting pictures for social meaning. But a creative aspect of this cross-disciplinary association is more important: after having first absorbed my approach to visual materials regarding the Magi, my colleagues have repeatedly returned to me with telling insights gained from their own disciplinary background that will have lasting effects on the finished product. I think that these cross-disciplinary associations have enriched comprehension of the representational character of social processes on all sides.

State University of New York at Binghamton
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1984-1985

The Sources of Bruegel's Art and His Relation to Early Netherlandish Painting. Quotation, Revival, or Archaism in the Vienna Carrying of the Cross

Until recently research on Bruegel has been concerned mainly with the novelty and individuality of his art; only lately has attention turned to his sources, particularly the art of Bosch. Bruegel's recourse to fifteenth-century painting has been noticed in some cases, but always in general terms and never in any depth. In my earlier work on Bruegel's archaism (published in *Acta Historiae Artium*, 1978) I tried to show the sources of his *Death of the Virgin* grisaille (Upton House, The Bearsted Collection). His archaism seems to be a conscious revival of fifteenth-century Netherlandish art and spirit, which was a concern of the spiritualist group of intellectuals in Antwerp.

Charles de Tolnay and Carl Stridbeck have already provided guidelines for the allegorical meanings of Bruegel's biblical pictures. Orthodox Catholic imagery and new religious faith were dangerous issues in mid-century Antwerp. Catholic iconography had to undergo radical changes and sometimes even illustrated hidden meanings of new beliefs. The now classical method of investigating "disguised symbolism," especially as found in Bruegel's biblical paintings, can lead to new ways of interpreting his work.

The *Christ Carrying the Cross*, painted in 1564 (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), has been the subject of many interpretations. My analysis focuses on the *repoussoir* group in the right foreground consisting of the swooning Virgin supported by Saint John and two mourners, the Magdalene, and Maria Salome (?). This group forms a lamentation with the body of Christ on the ground. The placement of the figures is similar to compositions of Geertgen tot Sint Jans and Cornelisz Engebrechtsz., whose works Bruegel could have seen in situ. All the actors in this scene are alien to Bruegel's own figural style; thus, as a leitmotif they must be quotations with a special meaning and importance. The question is whether their placement in the foreground really could be justified from a biblical point of view and how they are linked iconographically to the main scene in the middle ground.

The iconography of the way to Calvary in early Netherlandish painting, starting with Jan van Eyck's now lost painting (copies in Budapest, Gaesbeck, New York, etc.), is specified as a crowd scene in a panoramic landscape. Bruegel both continues and culminates this tradition. Textual sources for the scene are very important. Apart from the short biblical text, the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, especially its enlarged version B containing a broader narrative of the events, was important for later medieval descriptions of the scene. The meeting of the Virgin with Christ on the road and her fainting are described in this text as an extended narrative. The motif survived in medieval devotional literature and drama, and texts based on them, such as the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* or the *Vita Christi* by Ludolphus de Saxonia are well known in the Netherlands even at the end of the sixteenth century.

After the short survey of the texts, it is necessary to trace the pictorial tradition of the scene in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italian and Netherlandish art. In our present state of research it is difficult to determine when the meeting of the Virgin and Christ became isolated from the crowd scene. The first representation known to me is on the main altar of the Franciscan church of 1390 in Torun, Poland (now Warsaw, Muzeum Narodowe). The scene is widely represented on paintings of Bruegel's time: in an early panel by Cornelis Engebrechtsz., from around 1490; in the painting by the Master of the Douai, *Carrying of the Cross* (first quarter of the sixteenth century); in a painting by Bernard van Orley in Oxford, among others. It also appears in Raphael's famous *Santa Maria dello Spasimo*, well-known to northern artists through engravings. The motif was formulated earlier in Italian art; one example is Ercole de' Roberti's painting in Dresden. As for the emphasis on the group of mourners and their placement in the foreground, Bruegel's inspiration must have been Lucas van Leyden's engraving of the Circular Passion of 1508-1509.

After considering the group of holy figures in general, the details may be investigated in terms of their origins in the repertory of earlier Netherlandish painting. The motif of the swooning Virgin supported by Saint John on the way to Calvary can be traced back to Rogier van der Weyden's now-lost panel, known through a drawn copy. The group was formulated in his monumental *Deposition* which had influenced northern art for two centuries. The dramatic posture of Bruegel's Saint John is Rogerian in its movement, but Eyckian in the face and character of the saint, who is similar to Van Eyck's Saint John in his Berlin *Crucifixion* or the Saint John in the *Last Supper* by Dirck Bouts. The pathos of Bruegel's *Mater dolorosa* is also unique in his oeuvre, and is matched only by Grünewald or Michelangelo. However, in type it is again an old Rogerian formula. The gesture of the Virgin's clasped hands, now falling apart in desperation, is related to representations of the seven sorrows of the Virgin, well-known in Flanders. The motif of the two kneeling mourners in profile also comes from the repertory of crucifixion-entombment paintings of the fifteenth century.

But why was it so important for Bruegel to place these archaic figures in the foreground? If this is a scene of the meeting of the Virgin with her son, the fifth station of the *via crucis*, as I hope to prove, why do the figures take no notice of each other? Why is this meeting place in such isolation? Among other widely known beliefs of popular devotion this scene was ridiculed by Erasmus and other humanists of the time as being noncanonical, but it survived and flourished in sixteenth-century Flanders. The Antwerp spiritualists, with whom Bruegel had a strong connection, regarded biblical history as a parable of human behavior. It was just these humanists whose attention turned so eagerly in the spirit of the Reformation to unpublished Apocryphal texts and to popular texts of the Middle Ages, like the *Meditationes Vitae Christi* and Ludolphus, which were printed in the sixteenth century.

Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1984

Vermeer's Painting Techniques and Their Relationship to His Style

The focus of my research as a Fellow was to examine the relationship between Vermeer's techniques and his style of painting. Much of the technical analysis upon which I based my judgments, including a large archive of detail slides, had been assembled a few years ago when I was able to study most of Vermeer's paintings in laboratory conditions. The fellowship gave me the time to assess the material and to interpret the results. This process occurred primarily during the last half of the fellowship while I was doing research and writing in the Netherlands.

Fortuitously, just as my fellowship began, I was asked to look at a painting on the art market that had been tentatively ascribed to Vermeer but that had never been firmly accepted into his oeuvre. This work, *Saint Praxedis*, signed and dated 1655, was brought to the National Gallery where I was able to study it at length in the conservation laboratory and where various technical examinations were conducted. The painting, unusual in that it is a close copy of a work by the Florentine artist Felice Ficherelli, proved to be an authentic work by the Delft master. As the earliest dated painting known by Vermeer, it is extremely important for furthering our understanding of the stylistic characteristics of Vermeer's other early paintings, *Christ in the House of Martha and Mary* in the National Gallery of Scotland and the *Diana* in the Mauritshuis. I have subsequently written an article about his painting, its attribution, and its significance for understanding Vermeer's evolution as an artist.

Most of my time and energy during the fellowship period, however, was devoted to Vermeer's mature paintings. While I was working in the Netherlands, I concentrated on works in Dutch and German collections so that I could confirm my observations by direct study of the paintings. I wrote in particular on *The Milkmaid*, *The Little Street* and the *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* from the Rijksmuseum and on the *Geographer* from Frankfurt. Although the text, when completed, will eventually discuss the evolution of Vermeer's style from one period to the other, at this stage I particularly wanted to concentrate on exploring the character of his individual images. My discussions focused on the mood evoked in his paintings and the relationship of that mood to the meaning he sought to convey. Much of my analysis concentrated on Vermeer's compositional organization, use of light and shadow, color, and painting techniques.

One of the questions I asked myself about the *Woman in Blue*, for example, was how Vermeer depicted such a private moment in this person's life without having the viewer feel as if he were intruding into her space and world. We are brought close to the woman yet Vermeer keeps us separate from her. He creates a number of psychological and physical barriers that keep us from interrupting the woman's intense concentration on the letter she reads. The quiet shapes formed by the placement of tables and chairs are important in this respect as is the position of the map behind the woman. The subtle nuances of color and contour created by Vermeer's delicate

brushwork and his use of glazes also help establish the mood. Perhaps most significant, however, is Vermeer's control of light. Light floods the scene from the left and illuminates the back wall, the chair, the map, and the figure of the woman. Soft shadows fall against the back wall that define the spatial relationships of the chairs and the map within the room. Behind the woman, however, no shadow falls. As a result, her relationship with the viewer is different from that of the other elements in the painting. The integrated sense of time and space that comes with a consistent treatment of light does not exist in her case. She is somewhat apart, and, as such, exists in a world totally unto herself.

Intimately involved in such analyses is a study of the compositional changes that have been discovered with the aid of x-rays, infrared photography, and infrared reflectography. Trying to interpret the reasons for the many changes in composition that occur in Vermeer's paintings was another of the focuses of my research. During the period of my fellowship, I presented a paper on this material at a symposium on Dutch genre painting held in Berlin.

One new discovery of pentimenti in Vermeer's paintings that came during my research last summer concerned the *Geographer* in Frankfurt. Although I had suspected that a number of compositional changes existed with this work, I had never previously been able to study the painting with infra red reflectography. This examination revealed that Vermeer made several adjustments in the position of the figure before he arrived at his final solution.

I also investigated more thoroughly than previously possible the degree to which Vermeer, for compositional reasons, altered the size and proportions of objects in his paintings. Of particular interest in this respect was *The Little Street* in the Rijksmuseum. Although the actual site of the scene is not known, through a careful analysis of the painting and reflectographs, it was possible to determine that Vermeer made a number of modifications in the structure of the buildings he represented. These changes allowed him to balance the composition and to make it seem self-contained, even though the buildings are cut at their edges in a seemingly arbitrary manner.

The thrust of my work on Vermeer is that far more is needed to understand the meaning of his works than to analyze the emblematic and symbolic references that occur in his paintings. His greatness as an artist is due to the subtle means he uses to convey meaning through the conception and presentation of his image. In most instances the meaning is intimately connected with the mood he establishes. An explanation of the full range of these possibilities in his work is my goal for this project once it is completed.

National Gallery of Art

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Perino del Vaga's First Roman Period: from Raphael's Workshop to the Sack of Rome

In the company of Parmigianino, Pontromo, and Rosso Fiorentino, Perino del Vaga is considered an innovator of the "stylish style." Trained in Florence, then active in Raphael's *bottega* in Rome, Perino could boast a dual artistic heritage that distinguished him from all his contemporaries. That his credentials and talents impressed artists and patrons of his own day is amply attested by contemporary evidence and sources, notably Vasari, who knew Perino personally and devoted to the artist the second longest of the *Vite*. Yet the fame Perino enjoyed in the sixteenth century has not survived and the scholarly attention devoted to him is not commensurate with his achievements or significance in the history of Italian Renaissance painting. No monograph has ever been written on Perino del Vaga, and the lacunae in his artistic activity are considerable.

Following his early training in Florence, Perino del Vaga's career divides neatly into three decade-long periods. From 1516 to 1527, he was active in Rome, with a brief but productive sojourn in his native city. After the Sack, Perino fled to Genoa where he remained until 1537, primarily engaged at the court of Andrea Doria. Finally, from the late 1530s until his death in 1547, Perino was once again in Rome, the head of a large and active workshop and court artist to the Farnese pope, Paul III.

While I have studied Perino del Vaga's entire career, my dissertation is devoted to his early Roman period. My approach has been to treat Perino's frescoes and panel paintings, both extant and lost, as separate enterprises, each one conditioned by divergent circumstances of patronage, setting, and function. Analyzing these circumstances has been a major task of my research. In some instances, the study of a fresco cycle has meant reconstructing its original or intended appearance, often with the aid of newly discovered drawings. In others, the object has been to identify Perino's patron or to determine the original setting of a work. Assembling this type of information on images that have been studied largely in formal terms, and in physical and historical isolation, has allowed me to restore each securely to its contemporary milieu. This constitutes the groundwork from which a consideration of the function and meaning of these images has proceeded. The result is a series of essentially monographic studies of major works of art executed in Rome after Raphael's death.

My study of Perino del Vaga is also concerned with the artist's life and career. Perino's tenure in the Raphael *bottega* was important for both his subsequent artistic development and the stellar success he enjoyed in Rome after the master's death, yet this phase of his early career is remarkably ill-defined. I have thus attempted to clarify his role in this workshop and to define the nature of his contact with Raphael. Perino's "apprenticeship" and later partnership with Raphael's trusted associate, Giovanni da Udine, and his relationship with the master's favorite disciples, Giulio Romano and Gianfrancesco Penni, are also investigated. The focus here is not only

on the last years of Raphael's life, but also on the period after his death when the professional ties between these artists assumed a different character and former associates became rivals. The contact between Perino and two newcomers to Rome in the 1520s, Parmigianino and Rosso Fiorentino, is also examined; the conventional view that Perino was the least innovative of the group and the most cavalier "borrower" of his contemporaries' inventions is challenged as being inconsistent with contemporary evidence.

I have also investigated Perino's activity in the historical context of Rome in the years between Raphael's death and the Sack. The death of Leo X in 1521 signaled the end of an era of lavish papal commissions—Clement VII, elevated to the papacy in 1523, was a parsimonious patron in comparison with his predecessors and initiated few large-scale artistic enterprises—and artists were suddenly forced to look outside the Vatican for employment. Commissions were fewer and smaller in scale, and the nature of artistic activity shifted as well. Polidoro da Caravaggio was celebrated as a façade painter during this period, while Rosso and Parmigianino were largely active as printmakers in Rome. In contrast, Perino del Vaga, who decorated a handful of façades at the very beginning of his career and turned to designing prints only in desperation after the Sack, was primarily occupied with monumental fresco painting. Many of Perino's patrons knew Raphael, a circumstance which at once reflects the favorable reputation the artist enjoyed and suggests that he was considered Raphael's heir and successor much as was Giulio Romano.

The following, general conclusions have been reached in the course of my research. In many instances, Perino was called upon to represent subjects for which no formal or iconographic prototypes existed—hence Vasari's and Armenini's eloquent praise of Perino's powers of *invenzione*. Moreover, his work in the 1520s was undertaken at the behest of some of the most important personalities in Rome. Finally, in terms of sheer number of major commissions received, Perino del Vaga was the preeminent artist in Rome in the years before the Sack. A study of this period of Perino's career is also, then, a study of a rich but still ill-defined decade in the history of Roman painting. This subject, which embraces the closely related topic of Raphael's workshop after the master's death, has evolved as the subtext of my investigation.

During the first year of my fellowship, I spent time in Rome and Florence studying Perino's paintings and working in libraries, archives, and drawings collections. Besides traveling in Italy, I went to Paris, Vienna, and London to study works by the artist. In New York, I divided my time between libraries and drawings collections. My year in residence at the Center was spent completing research and writing four of the six chapters of my dissertation. In addition, I worked with David Brown in the Italian Paintings department, completing a lengthy entry for the systematic catalogue on Perino's *Adoration with Saints*, known as the *Pala Baciadonne*, in the National Gallery. The most important of his panel paintings, the *Pala Baciadonne* is the only work by Perino del Vaga in an American collection.

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