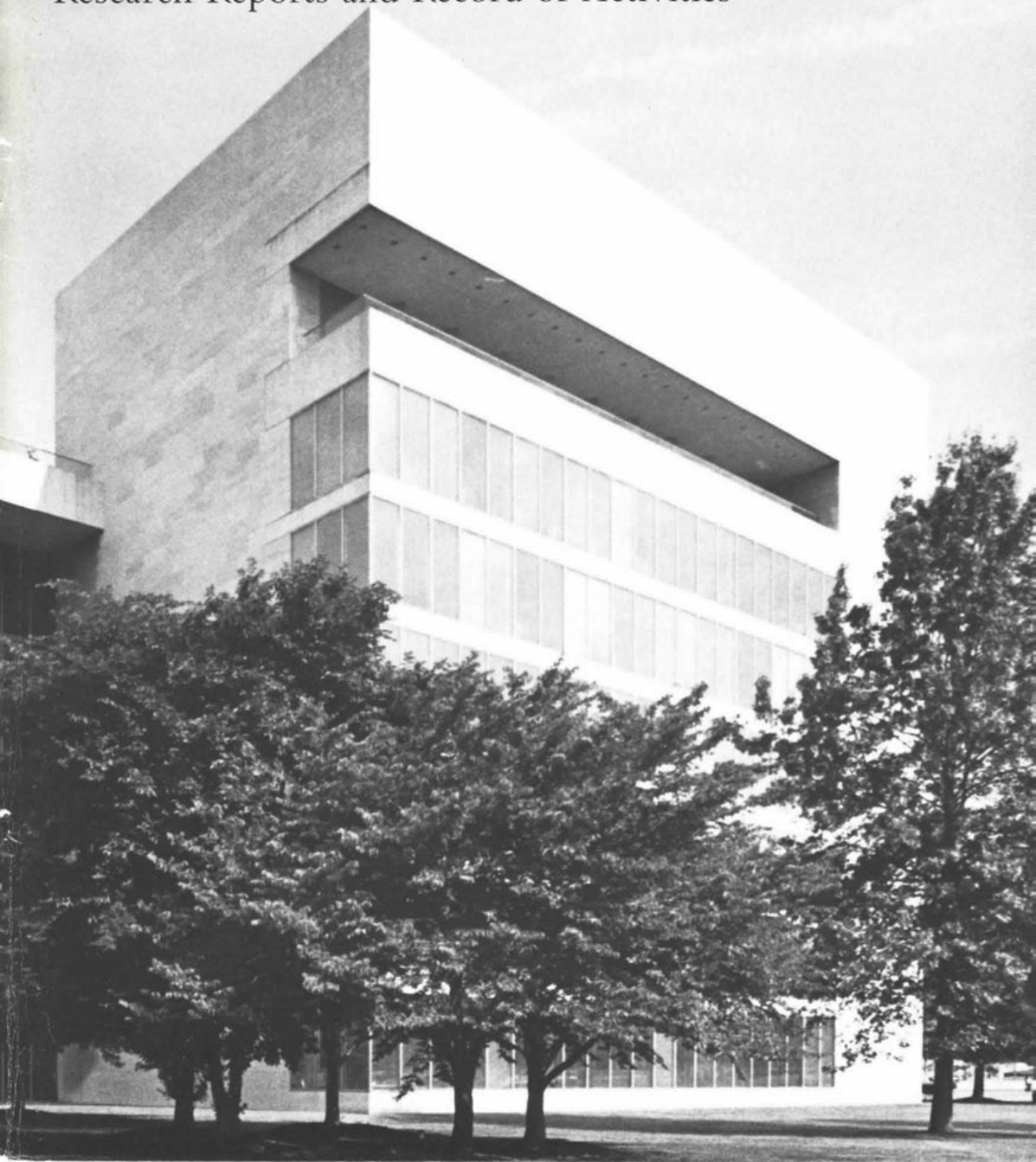


National Gallery of Art

# Center 6

Research Reports and Record of Activities







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

# Center 6

## Research Reports and Record of Activities

June 1985—May 1986

Washington, 1986

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:*  
James Gillray. *A Cognocenti Contemplating ye Beauties of ye Antique*, 1801.  
Prints Division, New York Public Library. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

# CONTENTS

## General Information

<i>Fields of Inquiry</i>	9
<i>Fellowship Program</i>	10
<i>Facilities</i>	13
<i>Program of Meetings</i>	13
<i>Publication Program</i>	13
<i>Research Programs</i>	14
<i>Board of Advisors and Selection Committee</i>	14

## Report on the Academic Year 1985-1986 (June 1985-May 1986)

<i>Board of Advisors</i>	16
<i>Staff</i>	16
<i>Architectural Drawings Advisory Group</i>	16
<i>Members</i>	17
<i>Meetings</i>	21
<i>Lecture Abstracts</i>	34

## Members' Research Reports

<i>Reports</i>	38
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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 on the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel expenses, a supplemental housing allowance, a research allowance for photographs, slides, microfilms, 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, a 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 chairs. 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 chairs 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 offices, lounge, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center are located in the East Building of the National Gallery. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 120,000 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 1985-1986 may be found on pages 21-33.

## PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually. (See pages 38-88 for reports written by members of the Center in 1985-1986.) 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, Canada, and Europe.

Papers presented at symposia and other conferences sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the symposium series of the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art*. Five symposia volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain 1600-*

*1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); and *Raphael Before Rome* (Volume 17). Papers from six other symposia are being prepared for publication: *James McNeill Whistler*; *Italian Medals*; *Antoine Watteau*; *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*; *Italian Plaquettes*; and *The Fashioning and Furnishing of the British Country House*.

## 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 cataloguing system including a 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 appointed with rotating terms 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  
1985-1986  
(June 1985-May 1986)



## BOARD OF ADVISORS

Dore Ashton, The Cooper Union  
James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley  
Wanda Corn, Stanford University  
Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University  
Jan Fontein, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Ilene Forsyth, University of Michigan  
Alfred Frazer, Columbia University  
Alan Shestack, Minneapolis Institute of Arts  
Cecil L. Striker, University of Pennsylvania

## STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*  
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*  
Susan J. Barnes, *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*  
  
Irene Gallas, *Staff Assistant*  
Deborah Gómez, *Fellowships Program Assistant*  
Susan Koch, *Secretary to the Associate Dean*  
Phyllis Meltzer, *Secretary for the Program of Special Meetings*  
Monica Brune, *Acting Secretary to the Dean*  
Roselle George, *Secretary to the Kress Professor*

## ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS ADVISORY GROUP

Deborah Wilde, *NGA/CASVA Research Associate*

*Supported by the J. Paul Getty Trust*

Vicki Porter, *Acting Senior Research Associate*  
Barbara Chabrowe, *Research Associate*  
Mina Marefat, *Research Associate*  
Amy Meyers, *Research Associate*  
Therese O'Malley, *Research Associate*  
  
Gabrielle Flanagan, *Secretary*

## MEMBERS

### *Kress Professor*

George A. Kubler, Yale University

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1986-1987

*A Historiographical Study of the Recognition of Ancient Amerindian Art*

### *Mellon Lecturer*

Lukas Foss, Milwaukee Symphony, Brooklyn Philharmonic

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1986

*Confessions of a Twentieth-Century Composer*

### *Senior Fellows*

Rózsa Feuer-Tóth, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1985-1986

(Deceased before she could commence the fellowship.)

*Giardino pensile: An Early Renaissance Garden-type and Its Classical Sources*

Stephen Gardner, Harvard University (Mellon Faculty Fellowship Program)

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1985-1986

*Paris and the Origins of Gothic Architecture*



Louis Hawes, Indiana University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1985  
*The British Vision of Switzerland in the Early Romantic Era (1770-1810)*

Lawrence Nees, University of Delaware  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1986  
*Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*

Patricia Netherly, University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1985-1986  
*Dual Organization in Andean Art and Architecture*

Jack J. Spector, Rutgers University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1985-1986  
*Hegel, Trotsky, and Freud as Sources for Breton's Surrealism (1924-1932)*

Fikret K. Yegül, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1985-1986  
*Bathing and Baths in Classical Antiquity*

R. T. Zuidema, University of Illinois  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1986  
*Inca and Huari Royal Tunics*

### *Visiting Senior Fellows*

Michael Bury, University of Edinburgh  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1986  
*The Critical Reputation of Pietro Vannucci, Known as Perugino*

Nicole Dacos Crifò, Fonds National de la Recherche Scientifique de  
Belgique, Université Libre de Bruxelles  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1985  
*Drawings by Pedro Campaña (Peeter de Kempeneer)*

Marcello Fagiolo, Università di Firenze  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986  
*Centers and Peripheries of the Baroque*

Jaroslav T. Folda, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986  
*The Kahn and Mellon Madonnas in the National Gallery of Art*

Ulrich Hiesinger, Philadelphia  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1985-1986  
*Vincenzo Camuccini and Painting in Rome circa 1780-1830*

Adele M. Holcomb, Bishop's University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1985  
*Anna Jameson as an Art Scholar: Her Strategies of Interpretation*



Jan van der Marck, The Detroit Institute of Arts  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1986  
*The Place of Decorated Bookbinding in the Arts of this Century*

Guy Paul R. Métraux, York University, Toronto  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986  
*Ancient Medicine and Greek Sculpture: A Preliminary Study*

Paul M. Mylonas, National Academy of Fine Arts, Athens  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1986  
*The Affinity between Greek and Roman Cultures as Revealed through a  
Research Translation of Vitruvius into Greek, and Commentary*

Allan Sekula, California Institute of the Arts  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986  
*Between Instrumental Realism and Modernism: the Physiognomic Paradigm and  
the Model of the Archive in Photographic Practice, 1880-1940*

David Van Zanten, Northwestern University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986  
*Louis Sullivan, 1890-1895: America's Profoundest Classical Architect*

### *National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow*

Diane M. De Grazia, Curator of Italian Drawings  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, summer  
1986  
*Jacopo Bertoina, 1544-1573/1574*

## *Fellows*

Frederick Bohrer, [The University of Chicago]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1985-1987

*Studies in the Reception of Mesopotamian Art in London, Paris, and Berlin from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to World War I*

Alan Chong, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1985-1986

*Social Meanings in the Paintings of Aelbert Cuyp*

\*Sarah R. Cohen, [Yale University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1984-1986

*Antoine Watteau's Fête Galante and Its Relationship to Eighteenth-Century Dance*

Tracy Cooper, [Princeton University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1984-1987

*The Campaign of Decoration in the Church of S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice*

\*Jeffrey Hamburger, [Yale University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1983-1986

*The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland c. 1300*

Mark Jarzombek, [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1985-1986

*Leon Baptista Alberti: His Philosophy of Cultural Criticism*

Mary Alice Lee, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1985-1987

*Problems of Criticism, Style, and Iconography in Roman Monumental Decoration*

Michael Leja, [Harvard University]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1985-1986

*The Ideology of the New York School*

Louise Marshall, [University of Pennsylvania]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1985-1986

*"Waiting on the Will of the Lord": The Imagery of the Plague*

Jeffrey H. Rosen, [Northwestern University]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1985-1986

*Lemercier et Cie: The Advent of Photolithography and the Transformation of Print Production During the Second Empire*

Elizabeth Streicher, [Columbia University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1985-1988

*The Graphic Work of Max Klinger*

\*in residence 1985-1986

## MEETINGS

### *Symposia*

23-25 October 1985

#### L'AMERICANISME ET LA MODERNITÉ

Jointly sponsored with the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales and held in Paris. Travel for U.S.A. participants was supported by U.S.I.A.

#### L'AMERICANISME: CONCEPTS FONDAMENTAUX

*Président:* François Furet, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

#### *Ouverture du colloque*

Marc Auge, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

#### *La scène de la vie future*

Hubert Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

#### *L'américanisme ou le changement d'échelle*

Philippe Boudon, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris—La Villette

#### *Sigfried Giedion et le second américanisme*

Stanislaus Von Moos, Universität Zürich

#### *L'éclipse des-ismes aux USA*

Werner Oechslin, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Bonn

#### ARCHITECTURE ET POLITIQUES SOCIALES

*Président:* Christian Topalov, Centre de Sociologie Urbaine, Paris

#### *Américanisation et culture de masse*

Victoria De Grazia, Rutgers University

#### *L'hygiène publique en France: une entreprise américaine*

Lion Murard, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Villemin

Patrick Zylberman, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Villemin

#### *Le Moderne et le Nouveau*

Marino Folin, Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice





QUAND LES USINES ETAIENT BLANCHES

*Président:* Henry Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

*L'architecture moderne et l'Usine américaine*

Reyner Banham, University of California, Santa Cruz

*Le gratte-ciel: un type américain*

Rosemary Haag Bletter, New York

*Américanisme et pensée technocratique dans l'architecture française*

Mary McLeod, Columbia University

*Le voyage de Le Corbusier en Amérique, 1935*

Mardges Bacon, Trinity College, Hartford

*Le Corbusier et le gratte-ciel, aux origines du Plan Voisin*

Francesco Passanti, New York

DU BATIMENT AU TERRITOIRE: LES OBJETS DE L'AMERICANISME

*Président:* Jean-Louis Cohen, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Villemin

*Varèse, l'Amérique, Le Corbusier*

Alain Arvois, Collège de Philosophie

*L'Américanisme et la ville idéale du rationalisme européen*

Aldo de Poli, Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice

*Land art et modernité*

Madeleine Deschamps, American Center

*L'acclimatation de formes urbaines au Nouveau Monde*

Philippe Gresset, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Villemin

*Coup d'oeil sur le Kitsch américain*

Yves Hersant, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

*La Chine aujourd'hui: l'américanisme ou la cinquième modernisation*

Philippe Jonathan

*Autour des manuels italiens*

Marino Narpozzi, Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice

*Athènes et Washington: question de villes avec ou sans histoires*

Yannis Tsiomis, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris—La Villette

*Le projet Atlantropa de 1932*

Wolfgang Voigt

FRANCE/USA ET RETOUR

*Président:* Hubert Damisch

*Une reconstruction "Made in USA": Reims 1918-1925*

Marc Bedarida

*Frank Lloyd Wright et Viollet-Le-Duc*

Jean Castex, Ecole d'Architecture de Versailles

*La France et l'Usine américaine: voyages d'ingénieurs et tourisme industriel*

Olivier Cinqualbre

*Retours d'Amérique 1918-1960: voyages d'architectes*

Isabelle Gournay, Yale University

*L'américanisation des politiques techniques*

Patrice Noviant, Université de Paris XII

Bruno Veysseyre, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Nanterre

*Le climat artificiel "goût américain," Alexis Carrel, André Misenard  
et Le Corbusier*

Pierre Saddy, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Belleville

L'AMERICANISME A GRAND SPECTACLE

*Président:* Françoise Choay, Université de Paris VII

*L'Oncle Sam au pays des Soviets*

Jean-Louis Cohen, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-Villemin

*Des gratte-ciel pour le Führer*

Hartmut Frank, Hochschule für bildende Künste, Hamburg

*L'Américanisme dans l'architecture du fascisme italien*

Giorgio Ciucci, Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice

*Berlin—Chicago*

Marco de Michelis, Istituto Universitario di Architettura, Venice

*L'Amérique à travers l'Allemagne: Madrid 1920-1940*

Carlo Sambrić, Escuela Técnica Superior de Arquitectura de Madrid

DE L'IDEAL AU PROJET

*Président:* Jean-Pierre Epron, Département Echanges et Formation à l'Institut  
Français d'Architecture

*Le Mythe de la croissance naturelle*

Tom van Leeuwen, Technische Hogeschool, Delft

*L'Amérique n'a pas de monuments*

Dominique Rouillard, Ecole d'Architecture de Lille

*Songe américain, songe européen*

Joseph Rykwert, University of Essex

*Manhattan dérive*

Rem Koolhaas

*Clôture du colloque*

Jean-Pierre Dupont, Ministère de l'Urbanisme, du Logement et des  
Transports



5-8 February 1986

THE FASHIONING AND FURNISHING OF THE BRITISH  
COUNTRY HOUSE

Jointly sponsored with the Folger Institute of the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Program of Studies in Landscape Architecture at Dumbarton Oaks, and held at the National Gallery of Art, the Folger Shakespeare Library, and Dumbarton Oaks

5 February 1986

*National Gallery of Art*

ARCHITECTURE

*William Kent and Esher Place*

John Harris, Royal Institute of British Architects

*The Bombé Fronted Country House from Talman to Soane*

Pierre du Prey, Queen's University, Kingston

*Pompeian and Etruscan Tastes in the Neoclassical Country House Interior*

John Wilton-Ely, University of Hull

*The Neoclassical Transformation of the English Country House*

Damie Stillman, University of Delaware

PAINTINGS AND COLLECTIONS

*Portraits of the English Abroad in Countries Other than Italy*

Sir Brinsley Ford, London

*Old Masters in English Collections*

St John Gore, The National Trust

*The Hanging and Display of Pictures, 1700-1850*

Francis Russell, Christie's, London



6 February 1986  
*National Gallery of Art*

INTERIORS

*A Georgian Patchwork: Attitudes to and Uses of Color, Material, and Pattern in Eighteenth-Century Country House Decoration*

John Cornforth, *Country Life*, London

*Turkey-work, china, and japann*

Oliver Impey, The Ashmolean Museum

*The Ornamental Use of Ceramics in Country Houses from the Late-Seventeenth to the Twentieth Centuries*

Anna Somers Cocks, Victoria & Albert Museum

*A Rural Parnassus: Mythology in the Country House*

Gervase Jackson-Stops, The National Trust

*The Chimneypiece in England in the Eighteenth Century*

Alastair Laing, London

*The Duke of Hamilton's Palace: The Cult of Napoleon*

A. A. Tait, University of Glasgow

7 February 1986  
*The Folger Shakespeare Library*

LITERATURE AND THE COUNTRY HOUSE

*The Lady of the Country-House Poem*

Barbara K. Lewalski, Harvard University

*The Country-House Arcadia*

William Alexander McClung, Mississippi State University

POLITICAL THOUGHT AND THE COUNTRY HOUSE

*"Business" and the Convivium Philosophicum: The Politics of Great Tew*

Michael Mendle, University of Alabama

*Philosophy at the Country House: The Ideas of the Tew Circle*

Richard Tuck, Oxford University

*The Country House and the Town House in the Eighteenth Century*

Mark Girouard, London

8 February 1986  
*Dumbarton Oaks*

TRAVEL AND THE GARDEN

*Introduction*

Elisabeth MacDougall, Dumbarton Oaks

*The British Garden and the Grand Tour*

John Dixon Hunt, University of East Anglia

*The View from the Road: Joseph Spence's Picturesque Tours*

A. A. Tait, University of Glasgow



THE WRITER'S IDEA OF THE GARDEN

*Uncommon Ground: Landscape and Garden in Georgian England*

Robert Williams, London

*Time and the English Landscape Garden, 1700-1760*

Michel Baridon, University of Dijon

*Social and Political Uses of the Garden in English Fiction*

Alistair M. Duckworth, University of Florida

13-14 March 1986

HISTORICIZING POST-MODERNISM

Jointly sponsored with the Department of the History of Art, The Johns Hopkins University, and held in Baltimore

*The Idea of the Post-Modern and the Critique of the Enlightenment*

Thomas Crow, Princeton University

*The Post-Modern Availability of Kant*

Stephen Melville, Syracuse University

*The Post-Modern Museum*

Douglas Crimp, *October* magazine

*Post-Modern Architecture: The Question of Meaning*

Mary McLeod, Columbia University

*The Reconstruction of Modernism: Paradigm-Repetition of the Neo-Avant-Garde*

Benjamin Buchloh, State University of New York, Old Westbury

*Post-Modernism and Post-Structuralism: An Archaeology*

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

*Post-Modernism: Merchandising or Questioning History?*

Yve-Alain Bois, The Johns Hopkins University

*Post-Modernism and Historicism*

Hayden White, University of California, Santa Cruz

5 April 1986

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART:  
SIXTEENTH ANNUAL SESSIONS

Jointly sponsored with the Department of Art, University of Maryland

Introduction: Professor Mary D. Garrard

*Hans Baldung Grien's Bewitched Groom: Witchcraft and Sexuality*

Rosemary J. Poole, [American University]

Introduction: Professor David Summers

*The Carracci, Caravaggio, and Federico Zuccaro: Some Reflections on the  
Theory of Imitation in Roman Painting*

Dwight Shurko, [University of Virginia]

Introduction: Professor Arthur Wheelock

*The Painting As Object: Hendrick Avercamp's Scene on the Ice*

Kathleen Pedersen Knutsen, [University of Maryland]

Introduction: Professor Arthur S. Marks

*Charles Willson Peale's Portraits of American Worthies, 1780-1827*

Brandon B. Fortune, [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

Introduction: Professor Kim Hartswick

*William Rush: The River God in a New Context*

Kimberly B. Kroeger, [George Washington University]

Introduction: Professor Aaron Sheon

*Courbet's Joueurs de Dames and "La Vie de Bohème"*

Elisabeth Roark, [University of Pittsburgh]

Introduction: Professor Wayne Craven

*George Caleb Bingham's County Election: For or Against the Common Man?*

Gail E. Husch, [University of Delaware]

Introduction: Professor Yve-Alain Bois

*The Nabis and the Aesthetic of the Arabesque*

Marc Gotlieb, [The Johns Hopkins University]





18 April 1986  
WINSLOW HOMER

*Moderator:* Helen Cooper, Yale University Art Gallery

*Introduction*

John Wilmerding, National Gallery of Art

*Winslow Homer: 'best chronicler of the war'*

Lucretia Giese, Rhode Island School of Design

*Winslow Homer and His Literary Contemporaries: Sources, Affinities, and the Structure of Art*

Roger B. Stein, State University of New York, Binghamton

*The Influence of Winslow Homer's Trip to France*

Henry Adams, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

*Homer's Dressing for the Carnival*

David Park Curry, The Denver Art Museum

*Winslow Homer at the North Woods Club*

David F. Tatham, Syracuse University

*Homer Around 1900*

Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., National Gallery of Art

## *Seminars*

22 November 1985

CITY MAKING IN CENTRAL ITALY: 1460-1480

### *Participants:*

Nicholas Adams, Lehigh University  
Richard Betts, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign  
Beverly Brown, National Gallery of Art  
Charles Burroughs, State University of New York, Binghamton  
Giancarlo Cataldi, Florence  
David Friedman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
Martin Kubelik, Cornell University  
Elisabeth MacDougall, Dumbarton Oaks  
Charles Mack, University of South Carolina  
Naomi Miller, Boston University  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
John Onians, University of East Anglia  
Linda Pellechia, University of Delaware  
Martha Pollak, University of Illinois  
Brenda Preyer, University of Texas, Austin  
Howard Saalman, Carnegie Mellon University  
Leon Satkowski, Syracuse University  
Franklin Toker, University of Pittsburgh  
William C. Westfall, University of Virginia



*Colloquia XLVIII–LVI*

17 October 1985

*Dreams of Desire, Dreams of Power in the Early Surrealism of Breton*  
Jack J. Spector

29 October 1985\*

*Anna Jameson, the Sistine Madonna and the Doctrine of Separate Spheres*  
Adele Holcomb

7 November 1985\*

*Eidetic Imagery and Paleolithic Figuration*  
George Kubler

5 December 1985

*Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*  
Fikret Yegül

9 January 1986\*

*The British Vision of Switzerland in the Early Romantic Era (1700–c. 1800)*  
Louis Hawes

20 February 1986

*Paris, “The Twelfth-Century Renaissance” and the Birth of Gothic Architecture*  
Stephen Gardner

8 April 1986\*

*Royal Tunics from Cuzco and Huari*  
R. Tom Zuidema

10 April 1986

*The Hercules Ivories of the Cattedra Petri and the Problem of the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*  
Lawrence Nees

8 May 1986

*The Double Image: Principles of Duality in Andean Architecture and Art*  
Patricia Netherly

\*Presentations to members of Center only

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Brenda Preyer, University of Texas, Austin

Howard Saalman, Carnegie Mellon University

Leon Satkowski, Syracuse University

Franklin Toker, University of Pittsburgh

William C. Westfall, University of Virginia





20-21 March 1986

(RE)WRITING THE HISTORY OF THE ISLAMIC ILLUSTRATED  
MANUSCRIPT

*Participants*

Esin Atil, National Gallery of Art

Julie Badiée, Western Maryland College

Milo Beach, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

Sheila S. Blair, Harvard University

Michael Brand, Rhode Island School of Design

Sheila Canby, The Brooklyn Museum

Ernst Grube, New York, New York

Renata Holod, University of Pennsylvania

Glenn Lowry, Freer Gallery of Art, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery of Art,  
Smithsonian Institution

B. W. Robinson, London

John Seyller, Boston University

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

Eleanor G. Sims, New York, New York

Ellen S. Smart, Saunterstown, Rhode Island

Priscilla Soucek, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Marie L. Swietochowski, The Metropolitan Museum of Art



9 May 1986

NORTHERN RENAISSANCE STUDIES: THE STATE OF  
RESEARCH

*Reading:* Michael Baxandall, *The Limewood Sculptors of Renaissance  
Germany* (New Haven, 1980)

*Participants*

Susan J. Barnes, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Laurinda Dixon, Syracuse University  
Molly Faries, Indiana University  
James D. Farquhar, University of Maryland  
Jeffrey Hamburger, [Yale University]  
John Hand, National Gallery of Art  
Craig Harbison, University of Massachusetts  
Linda Hultz, University of Tulsa  
Barbara G. Lane, Queens College  
Walter Melion, Duke University  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Charles Minott, University of Pennsylvania  
Keith Moxey, University of Virginia  
Peter Parshall, Reed College  
Larry Silver, Northwestern University  
Marianna Shreve Simpson, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts  
Richard Spear, Oberlin College

16 May 1986

ITALIAN RENAISSANCE STUDIES: THE STATE OF RESEARCH

*Participants*

Beverly Brown, National Gallery of Art  
David Brown, National Gallery of Art  
Samuel Edgerton, Williams College  
Rona Goffen, Duke University  
Marcia Hall, Temple University  
William Hood, Oberlin College  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
David Rosand, Columbia University  
James M. Saslow, Vassar College  
Craig H. Smyth, Institute for Advanced Study  
Richard Spear, Oberlin College  
Leo Steinberg, University of Pennsylvania  
James Stubblebine, Rutgers University  
David Summers, University of Virginia

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## *Shop Talks*

12 December 1985

*The Rothschild Canticles and the Origins of the Andachtsbild*

Jeffrey Hamburger

16 January 1986

*Watteau's Arabesques*

Sarah Rachel Cohen

17 April 1986

*"De Pictura" and the Cultural Philosophy of Leon Baptista Alberti*

Mark Jarzombek

## *Lectures*

10 December 1985

*Las Meninas, Once Again*

Hubert Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

25 February 1986

*The Architectural Cement of Empire: Rome and the Provinces*

Alfred Frazer, Columbia University

(Part of a lecture series on *Centers of Empire*, sponsored by the Washington Collegium for the Humanities)



## LECTURE ABSTRACTS

HUBERT DAMISCH

Las Meninas, *Once Again*

Roman Jakobson once traced an interesting historical parallel between the function of grammar in poetry and the rules of pictorial composition based on either a latent or a manifest geometric order. *Las Meninas* is generally regarded as an outstanding illustration of such a “poetical” use of perspective. Developing Michel Foucault’s by-now standard analysis according to which Velasquez’ masterpiece represents the space of classical representation, the issue becomes not only what this masterpiece “represents,” but also what it *does*, what it effects in theoretical terms, and, above all, what it *transforms*. The series of studies on *Las Meninas* made by Picasso in 1957 forms a part of the picture inasmuch as they reveal the rivalry and final divorce between the mirror and the open door within the painting. Whereas in Jan van Eyck’s *Portrait of the Arnolfini* (which in Velasquez’ time was part of the king of Spain’s collection) the door is inscribed within the frame of the mirror, “classical” representation proceeds from the disjunction between these two elements and the introduction of a calculated gap between the geometric organization of the picture and its imaginary structure. The “operation” of the picture is reflected in the interaction on the analytical level, between two different “games of language”: a geometric one, and a phenomenological one. Perspective is the condition for classical representation, but it by no means suffices to define it.

This paper treats the successive phases of the monumental fabric of Rome as an imperial seat, its effect on the stock of building types in provincial cities that reinforced each city's bonds to the capital, and the planning of surrogate capitals following the crisis of the third century A.D. insofar as they employed the still authoritative elements of the old Roman model.

The idea of and commemoration of victory over foreign and domestic foes and the inanimate forces of nature ever informed the monumental development of the capital. It began with the Capitoline Temple in the late sixth century B.C., which by the third century B.C. was interpreted as premonitory of Rome as the seat of empire. In the second century B.C., ideas of imperial authority imbued the building of basilicas in and around the Forum Romanum as well as the development of Campus Martius with grand temples erected by victors in eastern wars of conquest. The latter were followed by the monuments of Pompey and Caesar that established the coordinates that conditioned subsequent monumental construction in Campus Martius. Caesar's urbanistic program, the boldest and most imaginative ever proposed for the city, was largely unrealized at the time of his death. Augustus selectively adopted Caesar's legacy. This paper focuses on four Augustan projects: the Mausoleum, the other work in Campus Martius, the Palatine temple of Apollo and Augustus' adjacent residence, and the Forum Augustum. The four imperial fora are then considered in their cumulative relationship to one another. The projects discussed established the modes and vectors of the development of the imperial capital that remained authoritative for Hadrian, the Antonines, and the Severans.

The orthogonally planned cities of the provinces offered a neutral network for the setting of a number of building types necessary to their cities' status in the Roman world. Many of these types had achieved their canonical forms in the imperial capital. Capitolia, fora, basilicas, theatres, and baths, uniformly articulated in the classical orders, expressed their relationship to one another—despite differences in climate and custom, language and religious orientation—and, in turn, their common link to Rome.

Although in the earlier imperial period the emperor had occasionally resided temporarily outside Rome, it was only after the dislocations of the third century A.D. and the establishment of a new order under Diocletian's Tetrarchy that a number of surrogate capitals were established that were intended for a longer duration. Contemporary authors, pagan and Christian, allude to such new capitals as Trier, Milan, Nikomedia, and Constantinople as the equals of Rome. This parallel was achieved physically in each by the construction of a circus in proximity to an imperial palace. In the course of the transformation of the institution of the emperor, the locus of his majesty was increasingly rooted in the *palatium sacrum*, the successor of the *Domus Augusti* on the Palatine, and in the circuses, replicas of the old Circus Maximus in Rome. The former was now the sacrosanct center of the emperor's presence and the latter the vehicle of his epiphanies to his people.



## MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS



## MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

The following research reports discuss work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1985 to May 1986 and by several Predoctoral Fellows not in residence whose terms ended in August 1985. Additional reports by Predoctoral Fellows for the 1985-1986 academic year and Visiting Senior Fellows for summer 1986 will be published in *Center 7*.

*The Critical Reputation of Pietro Vannucci, Known as Perugino*

My stay at the Center allowed me to complete the research, organization, and drafting of my work on the critical reputation of Perugino. When I came to the Center I had assumed that I would be writing a chronological account of the changing opinions about Perugino's quality and importance as a painter, viewed against the background of changing tastes in painting in general. However, the extended period of time with which I would have been concerned—some five centuries from the fifteenth to the twentieth century—seemed to promise only superficial results. When it became obvious that some periods were more interesting than others, it seemed less attractive to consider the changing reputation in straightforward chronological terms.

The alternative was to deal with the material in a more thematic way. What I decided to do was to examine certain important ideas that have collected around the personality and work of the painter. Such inherited ideas, unless one is fully aware of their meaning, impose themselves subliminally and destroy proper historical understanding of the artist. I do not mean that such ideas can or should be shaken off, but that they must be recognized and thus used, or not, with clear understanding of their resonance.

It seemed to me that there were four main groups of ideas that particularly must be examined in this way. The first is the positioning of Perugino in a historical framework, at the end of one era and the beginning of another. This was formulated in the most impressive way by Vasari, whose brilliant construction of the development of the arts of design from Cimabue and Giotto up to his own time was based on a three-stage model of progress. In the first edition of the *Lives* (1550), Vasari placed Perugino at the climax of the second stage. Although it was slightly adjusted in the second edition (1568), very important remnants of this idea remained embedded in the later text. In the introduction to the third part of the *Lives*, Vasari distinguished between the majority of the second-part painters—from Piero della Francesca to Signorelli—and Francia and Perugino. The achievement of the latter pair was, according to Vasari, to have given unity to color; this brought them a great deal of attention, for people were attracted by the new and living beauty of their work. Yet, he wrote that admiration for them was short-lived, fading away once the works of Leonardo da Vinci became known. No writer prior to Vasari had proposed such a system of understanding. Attempts to give historical order to the development of painting, from Albertini's *Opusculum* (1510) to Alberti's *Descrittione di tutta l'Italia* (1550), present rather different models. Once formulated, however, Vasari's idea had a hypnotic fascination: it still underlies our concepts of the change from the quattrocento to the cinquecento or from the early to the High Renaissance.

The second important inherited idea is that Perugino was a painter who was satisfied to repeat himself and who worked within a very limited range

of expression. Again, Vasari gave the clearest statement of this, and he even felt that the phenomenon was striking enough to build a moral around it. In Vasari's eyes, the root evil seems to have been that Perugino was less motivated by a desire for honor and glory than he ought to have been. He suggested that Perugino's tradesmanlike attitudes toward the maintenance of an efficient workshop with full order books were accompanied by the vice of avarice. In the end he asks us to see Perugino as having sacrificed his reputation for commercial motives.

The third idea, that Perugino was a painter of pious images, is not part of Vasari's characterization. He wrote that Perugino did not believe in the immortality of the soul, implying that he was in effect an atheist. Although there are some indications in the early sources that Perugino was particularly successful at representing the divine, the notion of his piety was only fully formulated at the beginning of the nineteenth century by "romantic" critics. Then the revived interest in Perugino stems from a desire to identify a tradition of truly "Christian" painting, best represented in the writings of Friedrich Schlegel, C.F. von Rumohr, A-F. Rio, and Ruskin. Rumohr was especially important. In his *Italienische Forschungen*, published between 1827 and 1831, he argued that up until the thirteenth century there had existed in Italian painting a unified sense of purpose, but that at the end of the century, this shared aspiration to forms that would express the dignity and majesty of the Christian religion was destroyed by Giotto. Rumohr identified Perugino as a Christian painter who preserved many of the older traditions. This thesis is linked to Rumohr's exploration of the fourth concept with which I am concerned; that Perugino was part of a so-called Umbrian school.

Rumohr believed that a particular "Umbrian" art emerged in the middle of the fifteenth century which exhibited a tenderness and depth of feeling and preserved traditional inspirations. Rumohr speculated that the cause might lie in the influence of the Siense or the proximity of the Franciscan sanctuary of Assisi. For him, Perugino's role was to have combined Umbrian feelings with the imitative skills of the Florentines. Rumohr's successful formulation endured from Burckhardt to Berenson and beyond.

These four ideas, or groups of ideas, seem to be the ones which potentially burden any modern approach to Perugino. It is only by understanding their origins and development that we can give them the attention they deserve and can use them, or not, in our approach to the painter. My intention now is to proceed with a full-scale study of the painter, in collaboration with Sylvia Ferino Pagden.

University of Edinburgh

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1986

*Antoine Watteau's Fête Galante and Its Relationship to Eighteenth-Century Dance*

The *fête galante*, which depicts aristocrats socializing in the open air, has been recognized as an innovative subject in the history of art. Watteau's original style of representation, however, has hitherto been neglected in the scholarly literature. His figures are characterized by a remarkable lack of facial expression, and although naturalistically rendered, they have provocatively stylized poses and gestures. Likewise, the disposition of the figures is determined not by the representation of literal action, but by animated, linear designs which create a sense of elegant interplay. I have discovered that the unprecedented figural and compositional style of the *fête galante* parallels the structure and interaction of early eighteenth-century dance. The origins of this connection lie in Watteau's earliest representations of the aristocracy, in which he manipulated pictorial and decorative traditions to create a mode of representation similar to dance. In developing more complex scenes, Watteau turned to the practice of dance itself, exploiting its dynamics pictorially to arrange and integrate his figures. My dissertation examines the nature and development of the *fête galante*, showing how both its structure and its aesthetic communication are based upon the paradigm of dance.

The principal aim of my study is to demonstrate that Watteau's dancelike representations of the nobility articulate a specific cultural ideal. For dance had become closely associated with nobility in early eighteenth-century French society. It was regarded both by the aristocracy and by the aspiring bourgeoisie as a distinctive sign of noble "grace," as well as the ideal mode of interaction between aristocratic men and women. It is my thesis that the *fête galante* gives unique, pictorial expression to this social identification of the aristocracy with the dance.

The primary task of my research has been to determine the precise nature of the parallel between the *fête galante* and the dance. Early eighteenth-century dance is documented both in descriptive writings and in diagrammatic notations. I have found that it is the social, rather than the theatrical, form of aristocratic dance whose movement is most strikingly re-created in the visual dynamics of the *fête galante* composition. Watteau poses his figures in asymmetrical, fragmented lines which recall those of the social dance, and he encourages the viewer to trace repeatedly the complex patterns that these lines suggest. Such layered configurations parallel the dance as it unfolds continuously in time, and also evoke the dance's inherent erotic tensions, which Watteau expanded to interrelate all of the figures in his scenes.

The other side to this analysis has been my investigation of how the relationship of the *fête galante* to the dance originated. I found that initially Watteau manipulated certain seventeenth-century graphic arts which themselves embody the aristocratic dance ideal. In creating his elegant figural postures, Watteau drew upon aristocratic fashion and masquerade prints,

which emphasize pose for its own sake and often feature the attitudes of dance itself. At the same time, he exploited the arabesque, whose linear configurations had developed in the seventeenth century as the graphic counterpart to the floor patterns of the court ballet. Intuitively perceiving the relationship between the arabesque and the ballet, Watteau merged the linear structure of the decoration with his incipient aristocratic figures, using the arabesque to create a pictorial equivalent of the dance.

In his arabesques Watteau initiated the parallel with the social form of aristocratic dance which would characterize the *fête galante*. He altered the traditional structure of the decoration specifically to represent the union of loving couples; his alterations strikingly resemble the dynamics of the social dance that had developed from the court ballet. I believe that Watteau was expressing in these arabesques both the aristocratic ideal of dancelike comportment and an urge toward social interaction on the part of the contemporary aristocracy.

Watteau's subsequent representations of social dance itself form the direct precedent for the dancelike gatherings of the *fête galante*. In these works Watteau features a dancing couple but delineates the movements of the dance visually in the surrounding figures, arranging them in dynamic lines which recall the actual progression and coy interaction of aristocratic social dance. Such animated linear groupings, derived from the movement of dance, would become the essential structuring element of the mature *fête galante* composition. Moreover, the integrated dancelike style of these works established the basis for the *fête galante's* aesthetic, in which pictorial structure simulates the order of enacted ritual.

Eighteenth-century writings on Watteau and his works show that the *fête galante* was aesthetically bound to dance in the eyes of contemporary viewers. Early eighteenth-century writers continually used the vocabulary of aristocratic dance to describe the effects of the *fête galante*, and they praised the appropriateness of such a "graceful" style for representations of the socializing nobility. This appreciation turned to scorn later in the century, when critics such as Diderot disparaged a representational style which associated itself so closely with the dance style of a "decadent" aristocracy, and which seemed to appeal only to the senses rather than to the intellect. Such arguments demonstrate the way in which the paintings were originally perceived: instead of reading the figures as words in a text, contemporary viewers "felt" them on a structural level, through physical sympathy with their dancelike play.

A general fascination with movement, complexity, and play indeed seems to have shaped the broader cultural and aesthetic outlook of the nobility in early eighteenth-century France. Garden labyrinths, geometric puzzles, musical ornamentation, literary patchworks, and games of all kinds shared with dance an ascendancy during this period, culminating in the sensual, time-conscious aesthetic of the rococo. To place the *fête galante* and its relationship to dance within the context of this wider cultural phenomenon is the final, and the broadest, aim of my dissertation.

[Yale University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1984-1986

*The Printing and Publishing Activities of  
Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi*

Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi was a printer, publisher, and importer of prints in the via della Pace in Rome. From 1647 until 1691, he ran one of the largest and most distinguished print businesses in Europe. He catered to a growing passion for prints that had flourished in the early years of the seventeenth century as the result of a new consciousness of the aesthetic and didactic value of multiple and correct images made by the rolling press. Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi's inventory included an enormous number of prints devoted to ancient and contemporary works of art, archaeological remains, the churches of Rome, mythology, portraiture, military campaigns, and architectural ornament. Printmakers who created prints for him include Pietro Testa, Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione, Giambattista Falda, and Pietro Santi Bartoli.

De Rossi was an extremely important transmitter of visual information. Artists and architects depended on his prints of ornamental cartouches, architectural plans, and the canonical models of ancient art as sources for their own work, while antiquarians turned to the same images for scholarly knowledge. De Rossi maps and illustrations of Rome were popular sources of information for pilgrims and tourists, affecting what they saw. Influential people from all over Europe ordered publications from De Rossi, and his publications circulated widely, spreading a wealth of visual information throughout the cultivated world.

It is surprising how little is known about the printers and publishers who were intermediaries between artists and their large, diverse public. Little study has been devoted to the printmaking industry of seventeenth-century Rome, and the state of the scholarship on Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi has been rudimentary. The only published documents concerning this printer are rental payments for his shop. All other information derives from his own publications, sales catalogues, and copperplates. Even these have never been analytically examined for evidence of his business operations.

I expected that many more documents pertaining to De Rossi existed, and consequently, I spent my fellowship year in Rome searching the numerous archives of the city for any mention of him. A wealth of new documents concerning De Rossi's activities came to light, including family wills and codicils, shop and house inventories, contracts with apprentices, letters and bills of sale to clients, lists of creditors and debtors, and real estate investments. One inventory alone contained 107 pages and listed the number of printing presses and copies of each print in the shop. It also specified who supplied the paper and which papal families had loaned copperplates. Such documents are extremely rare in published histories of prints, especially in such quantities.

By making a contextual analysis of prints produced by De Rossi, based on documents pertaining to his shop and his competitors, I defined and

evaluated De Rossi's role in the production, sale, and circulation of prints, and investigated how entrepreneurship, market conditions, legal restrictions, and artistic values affected the print industry in seventeenth-century Rome. Subsequently, I discovered that De Rossi did much to enliven a rundown industry.

From about 1620 until the 1650s in Rome, there was an indiscriminating market of tourists and pilgrims, and little enforcement of the imprimatur. Print publishers stopped issuing innovative prints because competitors pirated them instantly and tourists seemed satisfied with what had become the industry's standard stock of prints, many of which were pulled from copperplates incised in the fifteenth century. In addition, the *cognoscenti* and amateur print collectors of Rome sought foreign prints, and foreign printmakers in the city preferred to work and sell independently of the local printers' shops.

Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, with the help of Alexander VII and some influential members of the papal court, revitalized and strengthened the industry. He obtained papal sanctions to protect his imprimatur and business so he could publish innovative prints and set himself apart from competitors. De Rossi also pursued a larger European market. He wrote in 1665 to a client that he wanted "the prints of Rome to be more curious like those printed in Flanders and in France," and under his supervision, such young printmakers as Giambattista Falda were instructed in the rules of perspective by Pietro Cortona and Francesco Borromini. De Rossi operated as a highly successful contractor in the printing business, establishing himself on an international basis. In the process, he exerted extraordinary cultural influence as a transmitter of art and information to European artists, scholars, and the general public.

[The Johns Hopkins University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984-1985

*Drawings by Pedro Campaña (Peeter de Kempeneer)*

Dans le cadre de la monographie que je prépare sur Peeter de Kempeneer— Pedro Campaña (Bruxelles 1503-1580), étude des dessins que j'ai pu rendre à l'artiste.

Aux deux seules feuilles que l'on connaissait de lui j'ai pu ajouter une étude (considérée jusqu'ici comme hollandaise du dix-septième siècle) pour l'un des panneaux du retable de Santa Ana de Triana à Séville, et différentes pièces exécutées après le retour de l'artiste à Bruxelles (1563).

Celles-ci comprennent: un projet (portant une vieille inscription "Muziano") pour l'une des tapisseries des guerres de Judée que j'ai pu rendre à l'artiste, et qui sont conservées au musée de la cathédrale de Marsala; trois "anatomies" (dont une était attribuée à Francesco Salviati et deux portent le nom "Peeter de Kempeneer"), à mettre en relation avec un tableau exécuté après 1580 par un élève; et surtout une série de feuilles représentant des scènes de l'Ancien Testament, qui étaient anonymes et sur deux desquelles j'ai pu trouver la trace du nom du peintre, que par la suite on a effacé.

Cette série devait comporter plus de 50 dessins destinés à la gravure, mais dont la réalisation a dû être interrompue par le mort de l'artiste. Les



Pedro Campaña, *Jacob Asking for Rachel's Hand in Marriage*. Leiden, Prentenkabinet.



compositions, dont quelques-unes témoignent de la connaissance des bibles françaises illustrées du seizième siècle, sont extrêmement originales. Elles sont à rattacher aux tableaux que j'ai déjà pu situer au cours de la dernière période d'activité de l'artiste et en montrent un aspect jusqu'ici inconnu. De la sorte est confirmée l'importance de Peeter de Kempeneer, injustement oublié.

Université Libre de Bruxelles

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1985

*Paris and the Origins of Gothic Architecture*

My aim for the fellowship year was to continue the preparation of a book on the history of Paris in the twelfth century and the impact of that history on the origins of Gothic architecture. During my stay I progressed on the project in three directions: the consolidation of previously-collected evidence; the completion of research on the historical background of the period; and the understanding of several conceptual formulations that seem to have informed the developments of the period. The following paragraphs will discuss these areas in order.

*Consolidation of evidence.* The project involves an examination of almost one hundred monuments that were built in and around Paris between 1120 and 1155. The vast majority no longer exist, however, and have had to be reconstructed on the basis of surviving drawings, engravings, ground-plans, and descriptions made before destruction. (In only a few cases are there archaeological data or preserved fragments.) Four summers of on-site research in Paris prior to my year at the Center had yielded a large quantity of documentation relative to these buildings, but I had not yet had the opportunity to collate it all in a systematic way. Thus, a good deal of my fellowship time was spent organizing the material and discovering exactly what I had collected in each case. The result of this process of consolidation was the realization that, although it had been collected in a disparate fashion, the evidence was virtually complete for every monument and that further research of this type was not called for. Consequently, I was able to create computer-stored data files for each building, to execute reconstructions of the lost examples (to the varying extent this is still possible), and to begin organizing the buildings into groups of different sorts (i.e., by date, region, plan-type, and presence or absence of special trace-features). The evidence thus consolidated will now serve as the basis for the completion of the text of my book.

*Historical background.* I was able to complete research on the historical developments of the period which underlay the changes in attitudes toward architecture. Central to these developments is the reorganization of the French monarchy (principally under Louis VI) and of the administrative structure of the government. Due to Louis' securing a valid peace in the royal domain (after about 1120), as well as to his decision to establish Paris as the permanent capital of the realm, the tenor of life in the Ile-de-France changed radically. Paris especially profited by these changes, being transformed from little more than a moderately-sized provincial town at the beginning of the twelfth century into the largest, most cosmopolitan city in Europe by c. 1200. Of equal importance in the historical arena is the reform of the Parisian Church, which affected the functioning of the city's most important abbeys and collegiate foundations, and the parochial structuring of the Paris diocese. Spearheaded by Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis and Bishop Etienne de Senlis, and sanctioned by the king, this reform did much to encourage the widespread pattern of new construction in the city

at the time. Similarly, the population explosion that Paris experienced over the course of the century necessitated further building, and this went hand in hand with a reorganization of the social topography of Paris. From the 1120s, in fact, one finds the first emergence of guild associations and, contemporaneously, the relocation of various artisan groups to specific quarters of the city, predominantly on the Right Bank. It is indeed the Right Bank that became the core of the "New Paris," and it was there that much of the new construction of the period in question took place. The research leading to these and other conclusions has now been completed and forms the nucleus of the first chapter of my book, entitled "The Flowering of Paris," which I wrote during my fellowship.

*Conceptual formulations.* My work this year has been directed toward understanding a variety of new mental formulations that seem to have stood behind the birth of the Gothic style in architecture. One of these, mentioned above, was the establishment of Paris as the capital of the realm, a development that changed the attitudes of the French people toward the city. No longer simply one town among many others, Paris began to be considered the *umbilicus* of the kingdom—its spiritual as well as its governmental heart. The earliest *chansons de geste*, which I have studied during this year, frequently attest to this new way of thinking and reveal that Paris started to be understood as the symbol of what was only then beginning to be thought of as "France." Thus, the rise of nationalistic sentiment led to a revised conception of Paris. Further, a sense of the city's history became increasingly important (witness again the first *chansons de geste*). The repercussions of this movement in regard to architecture are many. For one thing, *spolia* from older Parisian buildings were used consistently and intentionally in the new monuments of the period 1120 to 1155. Other historically-charged elements, patterned on those then visible in the Merovingian churches of Paris, also were revived (for example, acanthus capitals, monolithic columns, mosaic pavements, and the five-aisle plan). These phenomena can only mean that there was a deliberate desire to link the past with the present. In the process, this antiquarian attitude—which was only one of many new conceptions that led to the creation of the first Gothic buildings—transformed the nature of the local architectural tradition. This twelfth-century interest in the architectural history of Paris is perhaps the major discovery that I made during the current year. It was detailed in my colloquium presentation at the Center in February 1986 and in an article that has now been submitted for publication.

My year was thus a profitable one that advanced the preparation of my book considerably. Only one full year more will be necessary for its completion and for the writing of a series of satellite articles intended to further elucidate detailed material that cannot comfortably be treated in the body of the book itself.

Harvard University (Mellon Faculty Fellowship Program)  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1985-1986

*The Gothic Church of S. Fortunato in Todi*

Begun in 1292, the Franciscan church of S. Fortunato in Todi survives as a precocious manifestation of the hall church, the new treatment of space and structure that thirteenth-century Italy introduced to the late phase of Gothic architecture. Unlike the staggered basilican cross section, which dominates western religious architecture, the less commonly employed hall-church scheme calls for a nave and side aisles of equal height. At S. Fortunato, lean, widely-spaced piers open up broad vistas of a sparsely articulated spatial container. This scheme produces a sense of grandiose scale which belies the modest dimensions of the structure. The impression of simplicity and equilibrium contrasts dramatically with the soaring spaces of High Gothic France.

Because the lines of sight and sound encounter few interruptions in such a structure, the hall church provided an ideal solution to the Franciscans' need for preachers' churches. Nevertheless, earlier Franciscan hall churches are rare in Italy, and the differences between them and S. Fortunato led previous writers to derive the design from a superficially similar hall church of twelfth-century France. My dissertation on S. Fortunato, the subject of research during my fellowship, attempts to provide both a more comprehensive view of the building than previously had been available, and a fresh perspective on its architectural evolution and historical significance.

I began my research in Todi itself, where my initial concern was to collate the well-preserved medieval fabric of S. Fortunato with contemporary documents attesting to its construction. Earlier scholars had been pessimistic about the duration of construction and believed that the vaults, so characteristic of the design, dated from the late fifteenth century. My study revealed that the nucleus of the design, including the vaults, was complete as early as c. 1300. We no longer needed to view S. Fortunato as a fine, but still unrealizable duecento dream; though ambitious, the hall-church scheme was well within the reach of Todi's highly skilled late thirteenth-century builders.

Equally essential to a reappraisal of S. Fortunato was accurately situating the church in the proper historical context. The years 1250 to 1292, when both the commune of Todi and the local Franciscan community increased rapidly in potency and prosperity, were a critical period of gestation for S. Fortunato. The situation would seem to have been ripe for the construction of a big new Franciscan church, but all was not well with the S. Fortunato project. Previously neglected sources reveal that the construction site was only about half as long as the four-bayed structure we know today. It appears almost certain, therefore, that the Franciscans knew before work began that construction must temporarily cease after the completion of only the first two bays. It is in the context of this agonizingly paradoxical situation that we can understand the decision to build a hall church as an attempt by Todi and the Franciscans to create at least the illusion of the grand scale their newly-augmented prestige deserved, while remaining

within the constricting boundaries of the site.

In implementing the hall-church scheme, S. Fortunato's unknown architect did not use a French model, as previously had been supposed. Instead, the design of S. Fortunato reflects a highly disciplined, yet remarkably flexible adaptation of sources indigenous mainly to Italy. Moreover, one of the most significant results of a detailed historical analysis of S. Fortunato is the conclusion that many of the major architectural landmarks of the duecento had already issued from the same sources. To an extent previously unsuspected, the Upper Church of S. Francesco at Assisi, the church of Sta. Maria Novella in Florence, the cathedral of Siena, and other structures as well, all descended from the same artistic parentage. S. Fortunato, as the most recent offspring, was naturally closely related to them all. Far from being merely the most eccentric demonstration of the stylistic hegemony of France over the peninsula, and unhinged from Italian contemporary churches, S. Fortunato emerges as the fitting—one is tempted to say the logical—result of the experiments of a half century in the modernization of traditional Italian forms.

At the same time, however, the design of S. Fortunato transcends its Italian sources to reveal an interest in architectural effects which were soon to acquire an international currency, particularly that of the open, unified space, bounded by uncluttered expanses of wall. The interior of S. Fortunato thus represents several things: the great pride of the communes in the late duecento; the attempt to preserve Franciscan poverty within the folds of the richly embroidered mantle of this hall church; and the prefiguration of an astonishingly modern artistic sensibility.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984–1985

*The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland c. 1300*

My year at the Center was spent completing my dissertation, a monographic study of the *Rothschild Canticles* (New Haven, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, MS 404). The *Rothschild Canticles* is a small *florilegium* or miscellany of mystical meditations produced in French Flanders in c. 1300. Although it is diminutive in size, few manuscripts of the Middle Ages contain programs of decoration of comparable variety and inventiveness. Originally, the manuscript included at least fifty full-page miniatures; forty-six survive, the majority of which have highly unconventional iconography. To this already extensive program, twenty-three drawings of hermit saints were added at a later date. Less central to the iconographic program, but no less important in decorative terms is the rich marginal decoration characteristic of many Franco-Flemish manuscripts of its period. For the iconographer as well as the student of Gothic illumination in France and Flanders, the manuscript presents an almost overwhelming *embarras de richesses*.

Apart from a brief description published in 1904 and a handful of shorter notices that touch only on individual miniatures, the manuscript remains unstudied. As a result, it was necessary to begin by carefully describing the manuscript so as to arrive at an accurate reconstruction of the original sequence of texts and miniatures. Before arriving at the Center, I also prepared an edition of the text, composed in part of a unique set of mystical meditations. An edition of the meditations will be included in the dissertation as an Appendix.

The sources of the text and the tradition of monastic meditations with which it is affiliated are of fundamental importance for understanding the subject matter and function of the decorative program. My working hypothesis has been that the manuscript can best be understood within the tradition of mystical texts and imagery that has its roots in the twelfth century, in particular in the writings of Saint Bernard, and that reaches full flower in Flanders and the Rhineland in the early fourteenth century. The dissertation explores the relationship of the *Rothschild Canticles* to mystical devotions and to the tradition of imagery designed to assist in that devotion. Both the devotional structure and the peculiar imagery of the *Rothschild Canticles* can be related to the organization and structure of devotional handbooks of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. An unexpected and significant result of these investigations has been that, despite its Franco-Flemish origins, the manuscript has indisputable ties to Rhenish mystical texts of c. 1300. Certain sources and relationships suggest that the manuscript was made for a nun, perhaps in a Cistercian convent.

In the course of writing the dissertation I found it necessary to extend my investigations beyond their originally intended scope to include a discussion of the changing role of imagery in mystical devotions in the late Middle Ages. The miniatures of the *Rothschild Canticles* provide a simu-

lacrum of the process of mystical ascent, from the initial *askesis* to union with the Godhead and the *visio Dei*. In thus embodying the process of contemplation, rather than simply setting out its stages in schematic or allegorical form, the miniatures of the *Rothschild Canticles* fulfill what might be described as the ideal of the devotional image as it was conceived by late medieval mystics and theologians. On the one hand, mystics espoused an entirely transcendent and imageless devotion; on the other hand, they recognized the value of devotional imagery in raising the soul to God. Images were central not only to the rhetoric of mysticism, but also to the practice. Most medieval devotional imagery served as a starting point or stimulus for a meditative process meant to transcend imagery. The program of the *Rothschild Canticles* is exceptional in the extent to which both the text and images provide analogues to the entire contemplative process. Few other medieval devotional books so successfully exploit the possibilities of symbolic imagery to fulfill the requirements of mystical devotion.

The year at the Center also afforded me the opportunity to reconsider the relationship between the mysticism and the devotional imagery of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, a subject of frequent yet not always very productive discussion. Few links have been established between specific texts and images. The imagery of the *Rothschild Canticles* suggests that the failure to link texts and images is due to a limited approach to the problem. Artists and authors draw on a common stock of metaphorical imagery, much of it sanctioned by the Bible and absorbed through meditation and the experience of the liturgy. The dissertation thus concludes with a discussion of the function of metaphor in mystical devotions and the changing role of the image, both verbal and visual, in late medieval monastic devotions.

[Yale University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1983–1986

*The British Vision of Switzerland in the Early Romantic Era  
(1770-1810)*

British romantic art is unusually rich in mountain landscapes, and some of the most remarkable, innovative examples portray alpine scenery. Turner's many watercolors (and a few oils) of such scenes have long aroused admiration and scholarly attention. However, the first works that did justice to the "sublime" grandeur and vastness of Europe's highest mountains appeared a full generation before Turner's initial efforts of 1802. They were painted by three English watercolorists: William Pars, John Robert Cozens, and Francis Towne, in the 1770s and early 1780s. A large part of my study treats the Swiss views of these artists, discussed for the first time in the context of eighteenth-century alpine views by such Swiss artists as Felix Meyer, J. M. Fussli, Ludwig Aberli, Heinrich Rieter, and above all, Caspar Wolf. This approach enables one to see more clearly and subtly what is distinctive about the English views. Having already examined the latter in England during the preceding summer, I devoted part of the fall at the Center to studying and comparing many relevant alpine prints in the Library of Congress—in particular, the following anthologies of views: Daniel Herrliberger's *Neue und Vollständige Topographie der Eydgnossschaft* (1754-1758), Wyttenbach's *Vues Remarquables des Montagnes de la Suisse* (1777, 1782, 1785), and Baron Zurlauben's and J. B. Laborde's monumental *Tableaux Topographique, Pittoresque . . . de la Suisse* (1780-1786). The latter contains 318 prints after views made in 1777 by such French artists as Chatelet, Le Barbier, and Perignon. I also examined a number of eighteenth-century Swiss illustrated publications on mountains and glaciers by J. J. Scheuchzer, G.S. Gruner, M.T. Bourrit, and H.B. De Saussure. De Saussure, a celebrated scientist, in fact, accompanied Pars and his patron, Lord Palmerston, on part of their Swiss tour of 1770. Further, I reviewed Grand Tour literature as well as writings on the sublime and the picturesque, issues directly pertinent to my topic.

Earlier northern European alpine views, such as those by Dürer, Bruegel, Savery, Hackert, and Merian were studied and discussed with Arthur Wheelock, curator of Dutch painting at the National Gallery. I also greatly benefited from conversations with Professor Marcel Roethlisberger.

The original achievement of Pars, Cozens, and Towne is most fully revealed when their alpine watercolors are compared to contemporary mountain views by "Schweizer Kleinmeisters." A number of the most impressive English views emphasize the sublime aspect of the alps, whereas contemporary Swiss views of comparable scenes typically introduce picturesque foregrounds. (Caspar Wolf's unprecedentedly audacious mountain landscapes are the exception.) Cozens and Towne rarely exploited picturesqueness, in contrast to most Swiss artists of the time and to the contemporary British artists who occasionally painted or sketched Welsh or Lake District mountain views, particularly Paul Sandby, George Barrett, "Warwick" Smith, Joseph Farington, and slightly later, Edward Dayes and





William Pars, *The Via Mala, Grisons*.  
1775. Private Collection.

J.C. Ibbetson.

I have nearly completed a manuscript which I shall submit for publication. Each of the three British artists is discussed in a separate chapter. The introduction addresses the crucial emergence of a positive attitude toward mountain scenery in the eighteenth century, first in England, then on the Continent. Accompanying the text is a large corpus of reproductions (some not previously published), including a sizable number of relevant views by Swiss artists.

Indiana University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1985

*Vincenzo Camuccini and Painting in Rome c. 1780-1830*

While at the Center I was able to review material gathered in the last several years, and to expand and update my studies of Vincenzo Camuccini (1771-1844), Rome's principal neoclassical painter. The Roman art world in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—marked by revolution, French occupation, and papal Restoration—showed remarkable complexity, ambition, and continued vitality. In the field of painting Camuccini occupied the crucial center ground, enabling him to dictate the standards for his own and the next generation. He did so, however, in an ambient of contradictory and divergent forces, as represented by late baroque, romantic, and Pre-Raphaelite artists. It is the wider context in which Camuccini worked that I undertook to examine more systematically. Even through the violence of the 1790s and the early decades of the nineteenth century, Rome's artistic community managed to retain a traditional character that was both intimate and international. The interrelationship between resident Italian and visiting foreigner, and the active proximity of such diverse figures as Camuccini, Landi, Canova, Overbeck, Thorvaldsen, or Ingres were paramount facts of the artistic life of the city.

In the time at my disposal I chose to concentrate on the career of the Piacentine painter Gaspare Landi, who, from the late eighteenth century until his death in 1830, was acknowledged as one of the reforming leaders of Italian painting, and who in Rome was ranked second, and opposite, to the immensely successful Vincenzo Camuccini. As second painter in the city, and despite his long activity there, Landi's work is even less well represented in Roman institutions than is Camuccini's. He received no commissions for altarpieces in Roman churches, and of his major historical works, the few that found Roman buyers were subsequently removed, as in the case of paintings made for the Palazzo Torlonia and the Palazzo Quirinale.

Landi's work remains largely forgotten except for occasional note taken of his portraits. Kept marginally alive in the biographical handbooks and, with few exceptions, remembered in his native Piacenza mainly out of antiquarian interest, there has been no effort to examine systematically the religious and historical paintings that accounted for his considerable reputation and influence. Many major paintings are still untraced, but an extensive correspondence between Landi and his friends and patrons in Piacenza does survive beginning with his first arrival in Rome in January 1781.

Landi was a gifted and prolific portraitist, and although he considered it a distraction, he depended on portraiture as a source of income when other commissions in the 1790s and early 1800s were difficult to find. Apart from a few English, Dutch, and Polish sitters, his clients were mostly Italians from the nobility of Piacenza and elsewhere in Lombardy, and included many cardinals and princes, as well as literary and theatrical figures. Canova, who became an intimate friend, Minardi, and Bossi were



Gaspare Landi, *Painting Mourning the Death of Raphael*. 1795. Milan, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana.

among the artists who sat for him. His principal rival in this field seems to have been Angelika Kauffmann.

After youthful studies in Piacenza and brief periods studying in the capital under Pompeo Batoni and Domenico Corvi, Landi won increasing public attention for his mythological paintings through the 1780s. In 1787 he shared the highly prized commission for one of the altarpieces for the Basilica at Loreto. This decade was crucial to his formation, and while many paintings are still unlocated, when we next observe him in a spate of known works from the early and mid-1790s, virtually all the elements of his mature style are already established.

Derived largely from the northern masters to whom he was exposed, Landi's style is not overtly antique. Rather, with Leonardo in the background, he carried forward the influence of mannerism and of Correggio in a manner reminiscent of Cavalucci. Though often conscientiously orthodox in his figure groupings, Landi typically preferred scenes of low-keyed drama, devoid of Camuccini's formal grandeur, and concentrated instead on the subtle interplay of emotions and mental states conveyed through gesture and facial expression. With an exquisite refinement in coloring, and a personal disposition that matched the sincerity and pathos of his subjects, Landi convincingly approached the qualities of poetry to which he believed, and often wrote, that painting should aspire. Landi's work in the early decades of the nineteenth century included a number of major church and government commissions, but he never did achieve the official acceptance that Camuccini so brilliantly acquired and managed. With the polarization that eventually developed between Rome's opposing artistic camps, Landi came to epitomize the art of sensibility and color, a lesser choice it was decided, when matched against the stern moral force and pure draughtsmanship of Camuccini.

Philadelphia

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1985-1986

*Anna Jameson as an Art Scholar: Her Strategies of Interpretation*

As Heinrich Dilly has recently argued (*Kunstgeschichte als Institution*, Frankfurt 1979), in the first third of the nineteenth century a discipline of art history encompassing the interplay of artistic, intellectual, social, and political factors in opposition to Winckelmann's *Geschichte als Lehrgebäude* was already envisaged. With Wilhelm Waetzoldt and others, Dilly finds a turning point in the thought of C.F. Von Rumohr (1785-1843), observing that his alertness to concrete historical circumstance in artistic production tended to subvert Winckelmann's timeless ideal, and challenged the abstract agency of the "idea" in Hegel's philosophy of art. Rumohr's use of archival research in Italian art gave substance to his new concept of a discipline.

Like most historiographic studies, Dilly's book is concerned with characterizing the field as it took shape during the nineteenth century in German universities and museums. (A scholar of private means, Rumohr figures in such accounts for his contribution to the development of art history as an institutional study.) The establishment of art history as a field of study distinct from aesthetics and independent of departments of classics came very much later in all parts of the English-speaking world. It can nevertheless be shown that significant contributions to historical understanding were made in the nineteenth-century English literature of art during those same middle decades that were crucial for German scholarship.

My research has to do with this development in England, specifically with the work of Anna Jameson (1794-1860). A writer of Anglo-Irish background, she was self-educated in art and financially dependent on her authorship of books that would be read by a large audience. These included travel memoirs, analyses of Shakespeare's female characters, and works of cultural criticism in the vein of Mme. de Staël. The earliest published evidence of Mrs. Jameson's serious attention to art occurs in a fictionalized account of her first Italian tour, *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826). Art historical topics figure in several of Mrs. Jameson's works of the following decade, such as the discussion of German museums in *Visits and Sketches* (1834) and the commentary of 1836 on the Coesvelt collection of Italian pictures, then recently dispersed. At the beginning of the 1840s she redefined her purview to that of a specialist writer on art, a shift accompanied, indeed preceded, by recognition of her authority in this sense. Substantial catalogues of public and private collections in London (1842 and 1844) marked this redirection (her *Private Galleries* was a source for the *Treasure Houses of Britain* catalogue). Next followed a history of Italian painting that employed historical concepts and findings of German art history in a book directed to a mass audience (*Memoirs of Early Italian Painters*, 1845); and the first study in English of Christian iconography (*Sacred and Legendary Art*, six volumes including sequels, 1848-1864). In this magisterial tetralogy, Anna Jameson's effectiveness in treating the religious content of Christian art with sympathy but without departures from historical modes of ex-

planation is a major achievement of Victorian culture and one that has yet to receive attention within the burgeoning field of Victorian studies. At a practical level and as a tool for students, *Sacred and Legendary Art* has been widely employed by art historians. The absence of historiographical recognition by scholars such as Panofsky, who have written about the traditions of art history, reflects the marginalization of women's contributions to the history of the discipline.

My research is concerned with modes of interpretation that Anna Jameson brought to bear on the study of art, and especially her treatment of Christian imagery. The hypotheses and arguments I have formulated are based on: the study of her published work in comparison with other writings on art; to a lesser extent on unpublished sources such as correspondence; and on biographical circumstances, where they appear to be significant for her intellectual interests. Several leading issues engaged my attention while working at the Center. I concluded that Mrs. Jameson's understanding of fitness and other traditional criteria for the judgment of painting is chiefly derived from the formulation of Renaissance and baroque theory in Jonathan Richardson's writings. It is more challenging to explain her sophisticated historical sense, which involves a complex counterpoint between distanced characterization of the art of the past and what she (with other contemporaries) saw as her own feminine sympathy in the reconstruction of alien mentalities. No direct way of addressing this question has emerged, but I have looked at all kinds of evidence for Mrs. Jameson's attitudes toward religion (personal reminiscences, family history, silences regarding belief in her published work) in seeking to understand the basis of her ability to maintain a distance from doctrinal issues while conveying sympathy and respect for the ethos of Christian art. It has been part of my research to investigate what art Mrs. Jameson knew and how she knew it, with regard to a culture of expectation in which the traveler would come face to face with the Uffizi *Niobe* or Titian's *Assunta* for the Frari after many years of indirect acquaintance through engravings or verbal description. Taking into account language, discourse, and narrative, I have considered Anna Jameson's writing in relation to the ways in which art was described or characterized in the first third of the nineteenth century. Stories or tales that she wrote before 1830 have been examined both for possible connections with her art historical interests and for the bearing their narrative style may have on modes of exposition in *Sacred and Legendary Art*. During my tenure as a fellow I substantially advanced my inquiry into these questions, I examined a significant body of papers newly acquired by the Folger Library, and I drafted part of the section of my book devoted to Anna Jameson's 'formation,' or her life and work up to 1840 in relation to her concerns as a writer on art.

Bishop's University  
Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1985

*Leon Baptista Alberti: His Philosophy of Cultural Criticism*

Leon Baptista Alberti, one of the most prolific and versatile authors of the fifteenth century, has suffered amazing neglect in the annals of scholarship, and this in spite of the fact that his name is routinely evoked as the embodiment of the Renaissance spirit. Because his treatises *De pictura* and *De re aedificatoria* are held to reflect his aesthetic theory in its entirety and his treatise *Della Famiglia* his ideas on civic life, the rest of Alberti's literary output, which comprises approximately eighty-five percent of his writings, continues to reside in obscurity. To this day, this imbalance has never been addressed and Alberti's literary output, which includes dialogues, aphorisms, poems, letters, allegories, fables, and character descriptions, has remained undervalued.

To gain a comprehensive understanding of the orientation of Alberti's thought, it is first of all imperative to follow the evolution of his thoughts in his so-called minor works. As is well known, authors often provide the most accessible route to their thoughts in those works whose nature allows them to communicate in more experimental, sketchy, and intimate terms. Indeed, in writings such as *De commodis litterarum atque incommodis* (On the Pleasures and Displeasures of Writing), *Intercoenales* (Table Talks), *Theogenius* (The One Whose Origin is with the Gods), and *Momus* (The Greek God of Ridicule), to mention only a few, Alberti sketches out an entire edifice of thought, a veritable epic, in which the treatises do play a crucial role, but this role cannot be understood outside the context of Alberti's larger literary output.

The central themes around which Alberti's thought continued to cycle throughout his life coalesce in what we would call today a theory of cultural criticism. He develops scenarios in which he depicts the ills of society and designs elaborate and complex strategies for cultural survival. Far from being a proponent of an idealistic civic optimism, Alberti saw society in the grips of ominous destructive forces, forces that are the result of man's own doing, for he has "sworn an oath to commit evil." The different levels of the urban hierarchy work in collusion to carry out this oath. He points not only to the masses, ignorant and rapacious, but also to those who control them, the false priests, "henchmen of the painted gods," and the false princes, such as *Megalophos* (Grand and Plumed), a character in one of Alberti's stories. Though each works against the other, all share the same ultimate goal—the destruction of society. Aggravating the problem are the false humanists, the *litterati*, *eruditi*, and *rhetorici* who inhabit the decaying literary center of society.

It is the latter, the false humanists, on whom Alberti's scorn descends with particular fury. They are the most to blame for this "spectacle of frenzy" because they are neither able nor willing to perform their true function, namely to protect society from the eschatological cloud that hangs over its future. Instead, by squabbling over details, imitating the style of Cicero, thwarting the advance of others, or "wallowing in the succulent

swamp of erudition," they have allowed the once sacred bond between author, text, and society to decay. Distrust and contempt pervades not only the authors themselves, but the author-audience relationship as well. In opposition to the *litterati*, Alberti envisions a new breed of humanists who would rally to the aid of the floundering society and formulate a new text of urban identity. These new humanist authors would emerge, under Alberti's scenario, as the engine that reactivates society's dormant rejuvenative instincts. Their aim must be to create and protect texts which uphold the myth of an intact society at all costs. The services that these new humanists provide are, however, neither wanted nor appreciated, and thus they are defined as engaged in a hopeless Promethian struggle against the forces that oppose them.

Alberti's theory of art is intimately intertwined with his ideas on the centrality of the author in cultural continuity. Unless the author overcomes society's indifference and keeps the myth of regeneration alive, society's historical viability is endangered and the links that anchor society and connect it to the past as well as to the future will lose their holding power. Alberti, however, was not optimistic about the success of the envisioned literary enterprise:

A small ramshackle barge without oars,  
Made up of broken bottomed wicker baskets,  
It is impossible for the Muses to do anything anymore.  
The bow leaks much too copiously.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1985-1986

GEORGE KUBLER

*A Historiographical Study of the Aesthetic Recognition of  
Ancient Amerindian Art*

Research continued this year on historians after Columbus and on those since 1841, when F.T. Kugler in Berlin and J.L. Stephens independently established the autonomous character of pre-Columbian art. Stephens described ancient American monuments as "different from the works of any other known people, of a new order, and entirely and absolutely anomalous. They stand alone."

Before 1841, the ways of writing the history of art had been as various as the generations since Pliny the Elder, but after the mid-nineteenth century, archaeological research rapidly separated in the United States from its humanistic origins, becoming part of the social sciences as anthropological archaeology. Writings about the history of ancient American art nearly ceased (except those by W.H. Holmes) until *A Study of Maya Art* was presented in 1909 by J.H. Spinden as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. Since then, many universities in this country have included ancient American art in their departments of the history of art. Among the writers on ancient America I here consider only those not alive now.

During the nine months from September to June at the National Gallery, various lines of investigation were opened. One is about the aesthetic recognition of early human stone industries and of paintings before the end of palaeolithic glaciation. This problem led to a study of the art historical methods used by prehistorians, such as S. Reinach, G. Luquet, H. Breuil, S. Giedeon, and A. Leroi-Gourhan, presented and discussed at a Center colloquium in November, and including an article on eidetic vision among

William Henry Holmes, *View of the Grand Canyon*. Whereabouts unknown. In Clarence Edward Dutton, *Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District*. 1882.





tablewares, foods, and other objects, and exploring their function and social significance. Some of the actual objects survive, but whether his paintings faithfully document actual situations is a question worth pondering. The issue of realism in Dutch art can be explored in such a discussion.

Visually at least, the paintings are most effective as pure description, yet this only partly accounts for their significance. Given the seventeenth-century Dutch inclination to look beyond surface appearance in search of deeper meaning—an inclination well-documented by contemporary writers—we, too, can explore the symbolism of Claesz' arrangements. The sources available at the time allow us to establish a range of possible meanings for Claesz' objects. Often these meanings are contradictory, that is, a given object can be interpreted either *in bono* or *in malo*. Rather than structuring his arrangements so as to emphasize one or the other meaning, Claesz typically created an open system of relationships that sustains many possible interpretations. Shifting meanings are mediated, as it were, by things such as watches and knives, which function as reminders of the need for discriminating judgment or temperance. Claesz seems to have intrigued the viewer with choices. The opposition between spiritual and worldly values that emerges reflects a tension fundamental to Dutch culture. In Claesz' paintings, as in others, lessons seem couched in an ambivalence that reflects a fundamental duality in Dutch bourgeois mercantile society, devoted equally to temporal wealth and spiritual salvation.

The effectiveness of Claesz' "moral dilemmas" resides in the skill with which he unifies the realistic, the aesthetic, and the didactic. The aesthetic power of illusionism, painting technique, skillful composition, and coloristic subtlety captivates the senses to approach the higher soul, or conscience, in accordance with seventeenth-century theory. An interpretation that will do Claesz justice will necessarily integrate formal, technical, symbolic, and expressive elements as he himself did, in an approach that embraces the totality of the work of art.

New York, New York

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985

GEORGE KUBLER

*A Historiographical Study of the Aesthetic Recognition of  
Ancient Amerindian Art*

Research continued this year on historians after Columbus and on those since 1841, when F.T. Kugler in Berlin and J.L. Stephens independently established the autonomous character of pre-Columbian art. Stephens described ancient American monuments as "different from the works of any other known people, of a new order, and entirely and absolutely anomalous. They stand alone."

Before 1841, the ways of writing the history of art had been as various as the generations since Pliny the Elder, but after the mid-nineteenth century, archaeological research rapidly separated in the United States from its humanistic origins, becoming part of the social sciences as anthropological archaeology. Writings about the history of ancient American art nearly ceased (except those by W.H. Holmes) until *A Study of Maya Art* was presented in 1909 by J.H. Spinden as a doctoral dissertation at Harvard University. Since then, many universities in this country have included ancient American art in their departments of the history of art. Among the writers on ancient America I here consider only those not alive now.

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ancient peoples ("Eidetic Imagery and Palaeolithic Art," *The Journal of Psychology, Interdisciplinary and Applied*, 1985).

Another investigation is about the aesthetic sensibility of sixteenth-century chroniclers of the discovery and conquest of America. Many were aware of ancient American arts, from Columbus and Cortés onward. In contrast, the European Enlightenment after 1750 was a time, from Buffon to Hegel and Kant, when Amerindian peoples were strangely considered inferior and bestial. These attitudes are negatively aesthetic, and they also require study, which may be done with help from the work of Antonelli Gerbi (1904-1976).

A repetition of such "enlightened" withholding of approval reappears in the anthropological history of ancient America as written since the mid-nineteenth century by archaeologists. Among this large profession are many exceptions, whose works give serious attention to aesthetic questions. One of them is William Henry Holmes (1846-1933), who in 1920 was named the first director of the National Gallery of Art (the present-day National Museum of American Art). His life displays the difficulty of reconciling science with art in his day in this country. He resolved this by becoming an unequalled illustrator of geology from 1871 to 1880 with the United States Geological Survey. In 1954 Wallace Stegner called Holmes "a poetic and speculative geologist, and an artist with geological training and a genius for the literal" (*Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*).

Holmes' articles on aesthetics appeared from 1883 to 1894. His views resemble the "technicism" of Gottfried Semper (1803-1879). In 1879-1880 Holmes returned to the art studies he began in Ohio before 1871, by going to Munich and Italy, and by continuing in Washington during 1882-1885 in museum work and the study of "primitive art" in its various branches. His descriptions of pre-Columbian architecture (1895-1897) are still basic and interesting. Anticipating Spinden's more detailed analyses, he described Maya ornament as owing most (9/10) of its forms to "associated thought" in "geometric reductions" of animal shapes representing mythological figures. Holmes' long life was spent more in search of Amerindian art than of anthropological science.

It is usually assumed by social scientists that they began Americanist studies in the 1840s, and that other approaches to the material were derivations from their discoveries of archaeological, ethnological, and anthropological evidence of antiquity exceeding the biblical date of creation. But there is reason to think that essential procedures for a history of ancient American art were already in existence before the emergence of the social sciences in the second half of the nineteenth century. Such studies continue in volume today with benefit for all who need to consider the aesthetic dimensions, whether positive or negative, of all historical happening.

Yale University  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1986-1987

ANNE W. LOWENTHAL

*The Paintings of Pieter Claesz*

A two-month stay at the Center provided ideal conditions for beginning a new project, a study of the works of Pieter Claesz (1597/1598-1661), one of seventeenth-century Holland's greatest and most prolific still-life painters. My book will define his style and development and interpret his works in a broad cultural context. Claesz' still lifes seem to be paradigms of images designed for both instruction and pleasure. By exploring his means to these ends, I hope to elucidate a widespread *modus operandi* of his time.

Like most seventeenth-century Dutch artists, Claesz was a specialist, and within the still-life specialty he concentrated on "breakfast pieces" and *vanitas* scenes. His choice of objects is relatively consistent: wine, bread and other foodstuffs, goldsmith's work, various tablewares, smoking utensils, skulls, and books. Taken at face value, Claesz' still lifes present plausible corners of actual Dutch life, superbly realized.

Assessing the "reality quotient" of Claesz' paintings is one of my tasks. Whether he actually painted before the motif remains a basic question. If it can be demonstrated that he relied on memory, imagination, or patterns (though no drawings survive), then he was continuing the working method of his predecessors, yet disguising the artifice of his inventions with verisimilitude, a common practice among Dutch "realists." Most of the things Claesz depicted were found in Dutch middle class homes. I am identifying



Pieter Claesz, *Still Life*. 1642. Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Bequest of Mrs. Edward Wheelwright.

tablewares, foods, and other objects, and exploring their function and social significance. Some of the actual objects survive, but whether his paintings faithfully document actual situations is a question worth pondering. The issue of realism in Dutch art can be explored in such a discussion.

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New York, New York

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1985

*The Place of Decorated Bookbinding in the Arts of this Century*

Twentieth-century typography, the private press revival, and the *livre d'artiste* have all been served by timely and authoritative publications. In contrast, no single satisfactory treatment exists of the related and complementary art form, the decorated binding.

The decorated binding was formally renovated and stylistically reinterpreted by specialized practitioners of the medium in the last one hundred years. It can be defined as the ultimate clothing of a finely produced, typographically distinguished, sometimes illustrated text of literary merit, with custom designed leather covers that specifically express or generally reflect, in a typographic, purely graphic, or sculptural way, a salient aspect of the contents of the book.

Unlike a publisher's or a library binding, the decorated binding is handmade, unique, and an art form in its own right. There exists, in England as well as in the United States, a strong tendency to combine all requisite skills, from forwarding to gilding, in one highly trained person. In France, the traditional home of this art form, operational skills are subcontracted by the designer of the binding or "architecte du livre," whose name we read on the lower edge of the inside cover. Gilding, through the ages the most important distinguishing feature of a finely wrought binding, is of less importance in Anglo-Saxon countries where blindtooling, inlays and onlays, and sculptural and painterly transformations have replaced, generally speaking, the understated elegance of gilt patterns and tracings. Forwarding, which involves the sewing of the signatures and their preparation to receive the covers, is a craft in which the English are thought to surpass their French rivals.

At the end of the nineteenth century, bookbinding progressed from its confinement as a craft, albeit one practiced in exclusive ateliers enjoying aristocratic patronage, to something approaching an art form. Marius Michel in France and T. J. Cobden-Sanderson in England began putting an individual slant on the binder's role and making programmatic claims for their craft in a cultural and economic climate in which all arts of the book flourished. His family's artisanal reputation allowed Michel a freedom to innovate that made him a mentor for the next generation. As for Cobden-Sanderson, a one-time solicitor who took up binding as a hobby, he owed no debt to tradition and was therefore uninhibited in experimenting. Both sought inspiration in the new arts of their time and thus established a connection with the fine arts that was to characterize binding for the century to come.

From enhancement within a style that imitated those of earlier, aristocratic periods, bookbinding became interpretative of the style and ideas of its own time. Order, sobriety, and a frank use of materials were the hallmarks of those pioneering efforts. The art practiced by the designer of fine bindings starting with Pierre Legrain after World War I bears a direct, if ancillary relationship to that of the principal innovators in art of that era.

Since little has been written on this subject that can lay claim to critical analysis and historical perspective, my initial research at the Center had to be fundamental and wideranging. I relied on writings by binders in professional treatises and journals; by library scientists who have catalogued bindings and books on bindings; by bibliophiles who have left us their commentaries, appreciations, and impressions. There is, however, a growing literature, recently escalated by a revived interest in the subject, that applies the high seriousness with which sixteenth- to eighteenth-century armorial bindings have been studied to binding in our own time. Despite this, a history of twentieth-century binding, placing the medium in the larger context of twentieth-century art, has yet to be written.

Much of my time at the Center was spent mapping out the terrain to be surveyed and establishing a data base. In a field distinguished by specialized scholars and connoisseurs it would be presumptuous to assume that there is a shortcut to the intimate knowledge of fine bindings. Seeing them, handling them, describing them, and committing their characteristics to memory, in auction rooms and special collections, is the only way in which that knowledge can be acquired. The bindings, *livres d'artiste*, and private press books in the Lessing J. Rosenwald collection at the Library of Congress were a welcome "hands on" experience and a "laboratory" complement to my study at the Center.

My short-term goal of mastering the essential literature and seeing some important examples of the binder's art has been furthered. During the next few years I intend to compile, from among public and private collections in the United States and in Europe, a working list with appropriate descriptions and visual illustrations toward the organization, at some future time, of an exhibition devoted to master bindings. In addition, the acquisition of knowledge and information on which a catalogue and, eventually, a book can be based, is one of my constant and long-term ambitions.

The Detroit Institute of Arts

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1986

CAROL McMICHAEL

*Denver 1894-1941: Architecture, Urbanism, and the City Beautiful*

The Chester Dale Fellowship allowed me to write substantial portions of my dissertation, a study of the urban development of early twentieth-century Denver. The architecture and urbanism of Denver in this period is an important field of research for two reasons. First, the City Beautiful movement achieved unusual success in Denver, and thus it is an important case study of the era, which awaits a definitive history. Secondly, as a city that lay far from the generating centers of architectural thought (like New York, Boston, and Chicago), Denver is a representative type-specimen of the class of relatively unstudied American cities (like Atlanta, Detroit, or Seattle) where local conditions and practices confronted mainstream American architectural theories headlong. In analyzing Denver, then, I investigated not only the universal processes that shaped American cities but also the specific synthesis of the particular and the universal that made Denver a unique place.

The dissertation is organized geographically to reflect Denver's spatial growth over time as the city first embraced outlying communities—creating a unified system of suburbs—and ultimately reached the mountains. The determinants and processes of that growth are what interest me. Topographical features, land-subdivision methods, territorial and state legislation of land rights, water lines, transportation routes, municipal and state power relationships, annexation procedures, and tax-district formations are some of the universal processes that shape cities. The roles that they play in forming the urban matrix are specific according to locale, but they are ever present in complexly interrelated structures that resist easy analysis. The first chapter of the dissertation sketches the relationships of these factors to show how between 1894 and 1941 Denver evolved as a system of distinct socio-economic districts, each with its own character and architectural demands. This chapter also shows how Denver's City Beautiful master plan provided an ideal framework for the development of the city until the beginning of the Second World War.

Bringing the City Beautiful to Denver was one of the most prominent political issues in the first two decades of the century. Denver's conservative "boss" Mayor Robert Speer was the initiator, and ultimately, the implementor of the City Beautiful in Denver. Interestingly, both conservatives and their progressive opponents promoted the reform goals of the City Beautiful for political reasons, even when they waged fierce battles over social, moral, and economic issues. In the end, conservatives, who supported boss rule, and progressives, who championed commission government, together built a consensus for urban improvement; alone perhaps neither would have succeeded. The history of the City Beautiful movement in Denver raises important issues about the relationships between politics and art, economics and art, and morality and art, not only in Denver but also in other American cities.



At the turn of the century, the City Beautiful became a crucial means for Denver to achieve and project a national image. Between 1904 and 1918, three types of planning schemes guided urban improvement efforts in Denver. They were schemes for a civic center, a park and a parkway system, and a mountain park system. Nationally recognized “civic beauty experts”—Charles Mulford Robinson, George Kessler, Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., Arnold Brunner, and Edward Bennett—contributed to the designs of these three schemes, which came to at least partial completion by the end of the First World War. While other cities sought contemporaneously to implement civic centers, park and parkway systems, and metropolitan park systems, their efforts often had only limited success. Chicago’s urban park system, for example, became a model followed throughout the country, while Daniel Burnham’s ambitious Chicago civic center plan never materialized. Thus, Denver’s three-fold achievement was a monumental accomplishment on a national scale.

The second chapter of the dissertation builds a collective biography of twenty-two Denver architects using prosopographical techniques to periodize and elucidate career patterns. In summary, my findings show that three groups of architects practiced in Denver between 1894 and 1941. The first group immigrated to Denver in their mid-twenties and established practices before 1900; they trained predominantly as apprentices in the office of New York architects. The second group immigrated to Denver in their mid-thirties and established practices before 1910; they trained in New York, Chicago, and Paris. The third group—with the exception of only one—were all native Denverites who took their training in a wide variety of regional, national, and international programs and returned home to practice in their early thirties. These three clusters represent national trends in changes in the duration, type, and location of professional training; they also demonstrate that Denver was a powerful magnet for talented practitioners in the east. But in the ascendancy of the last group, we can see the forging of an architectural self-sufficiency that allowed Denver to perpetuate its own traditions.

Subsequent chapters of the dissertation explore the architectural images of seven distinct districts through the analysis of approximately one hundred structures that represent the panorama of building types—governmental, ecclesiastical, commercial, residential, educational, and recreational. Politicians and the political process significantly influenced design, financing, and building in Denver’s urban and suburban districts.

Finally, political decisions shaped the development of the largely residential periphery as well. In 1903, for example, the new Home Rule Charter of the city created four park districts to finance park improvements district-by-district rather than on an at-large basis. While those responsible for establishing this tax assessment basis were perhaps innocent, such a geopolitical division of the city was to have profound social and economic consequences, precluding the equitable distribution of improvements that City Beautiful planning theory proclaimed.

[University of Texas at Austin]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1984–1985

*Ancient Medicine and Greek Sculpture: A Preliminary Study*

Greek sculpture was a figural art, and Greek sculptors were as involved with the manipulation of human anatomy as they were with the manipulation of materials and stylistic traditions. My attention was drawn to the manipulation of anatomy by a student, who asked me why archaic kouroi, independent of their Egyptian origins, always strode off on the left leg: what Greek notion about physique prompted sculptors to observe the Egyptian convention? Because an answer was not forthcoming from the existing literature, I began to ask myself: is the physique of a statue influenced by some current ideology of health? Ultimately, I was drawn to research in ancient medical literature and natural philosophy, because those are the places where documentation about health and physique is abundant, both in primary sources and modern scholarly analysis.

Human beings do not know very much about their bodies. They have to guess about them, or they must be told. In prescientific societies, the answers to questions about the body reside in the structures of the society itself—in popular culture, in family lore, in institutions of religious expression, in traditional habits, and so on. Another source for answers is advice from experts, including mid-wives, physicians, quacks, snake-oil hucksters, faddists, pharmacists, and philosophers, all of whom were themselves part of the popular culture and, in the case of medical writers and philosophers, were exponents and manipulators of that culture. It is possible to determine the important concerns about physique during the late sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C. because the answers, found in the primary written sources, tell us what questions the writers had to address. Physicians found it convenient to adopt the methods of natural philosophy, and metaphysicians coopted medical “proofs” to guarantee the plausibility and completeness of their explanations.

It is not hard to foresee the consequences of all this: ingenious chaos, designed to convince. In almost every Hippocratic writer and natural philosopher, intellectual rigor was combined with bits of remarkable nonsense, popular wisdom, special pleading, and medical slogans, old or new. Extreme interdependence of theories with observations on the body was accompanied by absolute disagreement about their meaning. Treatises close to each other in date took mutually exclusive views on the body, digestion, the location of the soul, the function of respiration, and the nature of veins. It comes as no surprise that Hippocratic physicians both inveighed against popular suspicion of their profession *and* advised patients to get a second opinion.

In this intellectual ambient, sculptors were making statues. It seemed to me that the test of the applicability of medical ideas and natural philosophy to statues would lie in two areas: in situations where stylistically similar works exhibit seemingly anomalous physiques, and in situations where some profound transformation in representation of the body had occurred. What I found was that, in some cases, differences among physiques may

seem anomalous to us, but they would not have been in the fifth century; equally, stylistic changes in the representation of bodies can partially be explained by ideas and/or changes in the medical culture.

A funerary stele from Paros, showing a young girl with her pet doves, exhibits anomalies in bodily proportions (head:body = about 1:5) relative to contemporary works in the Severe style (c. 480-450 B.C.), particularly the Omphalos *Apollo* whose head-to-body proportions (1:about 7½) are themselves quite different from what would become the norm by about 450 B.C., the classic proportion of 1:7. This last proportion is the one used, more or less, in the Riace *Warriors*. Thus, we have three examples of anomalous proportions in works made by two overlapping generations of sculptors. I have established a set of correspondences among these works which has convinced me of their similarity with respect to anatomy and physiology, if not to proportions. At the same time, I discovered the physiological reasons for the sudden appearance of superficial veins in male nudes of this period, and its corollary—namely, why Greek female figures, with the exception of Hellenistic statues of women emaciated with age, do not have superficial veins. In addition, the girl from Paros has anatomical proportions that accord with the notions of pediatric physiology current in the fifth century. Finally, investigation of the torsos and veins of the three male figures, and of the drapery of the girl from Paros, can be related to “proofs” of the location of the soul in the body, and of the nutritive (instead of the refrigerative or pneumatic) function of respiration. As was said at the time, we are rooted in air through our nostrils and mouths, as trees are rooted in the earth.

Physicians and natural philosophers in pre-Socratic times were absorbed with the issue of the external manifestations of the soul in physiological functions. Descriptive anatomy was important, but much less so than general physiology, and the *semeia* or signs of internal functions became *a priori* the proofs of soul, its life, its parts, its disposition, and ultimately its destiny. By 450 B.C., physiology and soul were intricately interrelated in the medical literature, and it is no accident that sculptors were anxious to show in their statues what physicians and philosophers were expounding, albeit with great variety, in their writings and speeches.

My work at the Center saw the completion of my project to the point described. It will continue with consideration of changes in the representation of male nudes, from kouroi in the sixth and early fifth centuries to classical figures after the Severe style, mainly the Riace *Warriors*. This is a preliminary study, intended to raise issues in the iconography of anatomy and physiology in Greek sculpture. Ultimately, it is my intention to continue with a longer study of ancient medicine with respect to other artistic and architectural phenomena in Greek and Roman history.

York University, Toronto

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986

*The Affinity between Greek and Roman Cultures, as Revealed through a Research Translation of Vitruvius into Greek, and Commentary*

The theoretical parts of *De Architectura* are based on Hellenistic sources (Knell), whereas Vitruvius' own wide experience shows in the chapters on applied sciences; the text extends into topics of engineering and has been formed over a long period. This is why the text has been considered a compilation (P. Gros). Because of its importance, it has been translated and commented on in all major European languages. The first Greek translation is only now being prepared by this writer.\*

Vitruvius' active years fall during the reign of Augustus, when Rome was absorbing Greek knowledge. His admiration for Greek culture matches that of his learned contemporaries at a time when Greek words and phrases were the *argot* of literary Rome (Tyrell) and when absorption of Greek words by authorities such as Cicero reminds us of such contemporary linguistic phenomena as Franglais or of the enrichment of Old-English with French after the Norman Conquest. A great number of "Hellenisms" can be detected in Vitruvius (Ussing), and his style is influenced by Greek (e.g. *non minus* = οὐχ ἡ ττων instead of *item* [Morgan]). Vitruvius uses about 5000 words (Nohl, Index; L. Callebat et al., Concordance) of which 550 are of Greek origin (P. Ruffel), and 158 are written in Greek. This last fact proves the absence of Latin equivalents for various words, an issue which Vitruvius himself discusses (V, Pr., 2-V, 11, 4-VI, 7, 5).

My research concentrates not only in collecting past and present commentaries but mainly in deciding on the proper Greek version to be used for the translation, so as to translate the text substance and to convey the essence of Latin "language-physiognomy." Modern Greek is closer to ancient Greek than other European languages are to their respective older forms. It has, however, at least two varieties: one nearer to ancient Greek, called Katharevousa or pure language; and another known as Demotikē, the lively everyday language of the Greeks, which was granted official status by law in 1980.

Our research has produced quite a few experimental versions in both varieties. Demotikē gives a lively text, but has a syntax where verbs and nouns are appositioned and sentences are longer. In the classical language there are shorter sentences and a more abstract intellectual style. Katharevousa—which is based on ancient Greek and took its final shape during the nineteenth century—produces an almost word-for-word transcription and conveys the feeling of Latin grandiloquence, but will not win the confidence of the coming generations of Greeks. The writer believes that the Greek translation of Vitruvius is not only a local matter: beyond architecture, it illumines the links between Greek and Roman cultures at the time of their closest relations. It could and should, therefore, be considered of international interest.

A first installment, *The Ten Prooemia, with Commentary*, is to be included in the forthcoming *George E. Mylonas Festschrift*.

National Academy of Fine Arts, Athens  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1986

• My gratitude goes to Dr. Kriton Paniyiris, Professor of Classics, Athens College, Greece, for his unfailing encouragement and advice.

*Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court*

The critical importance and long-lasting effects of the Carolingian period on European cultural history continue to be recognized by most scholars. They have long focused their investigations upon the discovery and interpretation of the many connections of the age with ancient Roman civilization, resulting in the historiographical conception of the "Carolingian Renaissance." This "Renaissance" is now commonly understood as the outcome of a deliberate program sponsored by Charlemagne and his successors, and by the members of their court circles of scholars, to revive ancient cultural and artistic traditions as the basis for the reform of society along improved and "classical" lines. In the influential words of Erwin Panofsky, Charlemagne's "guiding idea" when he set in motion a purposeful program of cultural and societal reforms was "the *renovatio imperii romani*," whose recovery was intended "to bring about an *aurea Roma iterum renovata*."

Such an enthusiastic view of the central role of the classical past in the intended goals and methods of the Carolingian kings and scholars seems to me overdrawn and oversimplified, taking virtually no cognizance of the demonstrable diversity of Carolingian views. It is also quite misleading, because it reflects a modern notion of the prestige and authority of the ancient Roman world rather than the perception of the Carolingian period explicit in the evidence of abundant surviving Carolingian sources. Of course, ancient Roman sources were important, were studied and emulated, and were sometimes freshly interpreted over the course of the later eighth and ninth centuries. It is clear, however, that the "reform" of the Christian church in preparation for the world to come was the repeatedly and explicitly avowed central concern of the vast majority of Carolingian individuals whose words have survived, and that any "revival" of ancient cultural traditions was distinctly secondary to the Christian spiritual reformation and significant only insofar as it could contribute to it. Recognizing the paramount importance of Christian sources and Christian purposes in Carolingian culture and art, Richard Krautheimer, Donald Bullough, and others have shown that what appealed to and influenced Carolingian artists and scholars was the period following Constantine's conversion to Christianity, the fourth and early fifth centuries, the age of the Fathers of the Church, not what we today define as the "classical" Roman period. While the special role of the patristic period to the Carolingians has been recognized, the influence of patristic sources upon Carolingian attitudes toward the pagan Roman tradition has received scant attention. This is especially true in regard to works of art. Too often they have been interpreted with the anachronistic prejudices of hindsight, ignoring the very special character of Carolingian utilization of antique sources.

At the Center I nearly completed drafting a monograph which will seek to address the general problem of the role and interpretation of the classical Roman tradition through two case studies dealing with the myth of Her-

cules. The first of these studies focuses upon a literary work, the long poem *Contra iudices* by Theodulf of Orléans written for Charlemagne in c. 799, on the eve of his adoption of the Roman imperial title: the poem contains a famous "description" of an ancient silver vase decorated with scenes from the life of Hercules. Characteristically, modern scholarship has emphasized the masterful and frequent reference to ancient sources in this poem, but has failed to note the pervasive Augustinian influence. Nor have the complex historical circumstances surrounding the creation of the poem been addressed, circumstances which control its sophisticated thematic structure, including the treatment of Hercules. The second study focuses on a work of visual art, the throne of Charles the Bald, now preserved in the Vatican. Long venerated as the *Cathedra Petri*, the throne of Saint Peter, the chair has a remarkable and controversial series of episodes from the Hercules story carved on ivory panels and mounted on its front. I believe that the panels were executed for Charlemagne's grandson, Charles the Bald, in connection with his adoption of the Roman imperial title in 875.

It is my view that the appearance of Hercules in a prominent position in two works so closely connected with the adoption of the imperial title is no accident. Rather it reflects in each case substantial debate within the respective court circles of Charlemagne and Charles the Bald concerning the proper relationship between the Roman imperial tradition and the responsibilities of the Christian king of the Franks. Close analysis of a variety of details in each work suggests that the fundamentally pagan character of Hercules was recognized and indeed emphasized by the author or designer of each work. Furthermore, each ultimately reflects the powerful influence of the jaundiced and often overtly hostile attitude toward the Roman tradition reflected in the bulk of patristic writings, and particularly in Augustine's *City of God*, whose preeminent influence shaped the numerous, frequently monitory "Mirrors for Princes" written during the ninth century. Augustine, explicating the allegedly virtuous Hercules as an example, had emphatically stated that the apparent virtues of the pagans were not true virtues but vices, inspired by vainglorious pride and without reference to God.

Inspired by Augustine, ninth-century reformers such as Theodulf and later Hincmar of Reims, in my view the sponsor of the ivories of the *Cathedra*, developed an attitude toward the classical tradition less naively philo-classical than that found in many earlier and later medieval works. The treatment of Hercules in both poem and ivories, each addressed to a Frankish king on the point of donning the Roman imperial mantle, reflects this critical Augustinian and Carolingian attitude, and presents the poetic and visual representations of Hercules' exploits as a model for royal behavior, which was at best insufficient to stand on its own and at worst damnably tempting.

University of Delaware  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1986

PATRICIA J. NETHERLY

*Dual Organization in Andean Art and Architecture*

The high artistic merit of many of the buildings, textiles, ceramics, and metalwork of the Central Andean region of South America has been widely recognized for many years. However, neither the possible rationale or ideology nor the symbolism that are evident in this art have been accessible to Western scholars. My work over the past fifteen years as an anthropological archaeologist of Andean culture has offered the opportunity to approach Andean architecture and art with at least a partial internal understanding of what might be the purpose and meaning underlying this art.

Knowledge of the pre-Hispanic Andean ideology, while it has increased in the past three decades, is still imperfect. However, the dual nature of the fundamental social and political organization of Andean society at many levels of complexity has been established. For this reason, my study of the meaning of Andean architecture and art was confined to representations of social and political organization and ignored the whole field of religious and cosmological symbolism.

Andean society was divided into ranked halves or moieties, each of which had at its head a political authority or lord. Since the moieties could be further subdivided into sub-moieties, also hierarchically organized, the number of rulers in a particular polity could be represented as two (the heads of the two moieties, ranked with regard to each other); four (the heads of the sub-moieties are included here); or even eight (the sub-moieties having themselves been halved to make eight sections).

The initial method employed was to look for pairing or the recurrence of sets of four or eight motifs in association with other elements which would suggest a reference to the social or political spheres. My own archaeological research had presented me with the problem of determining the significance of pairs of ranked, but equivalent structures on archaeological sites of different periods. Most of these could be associated with large social groups, such as ceremonial or public structures. While at the Center, I was able to gather comparative examples from other parts of the Andes and to work out further examples of dual patterning across regional landscapes. The inequalities, most frequently in size but sometimes in elaborateness of essentially equivalent structures, could also be further studied.

The fellowship allowed me to spend time studying the iconography of textiles, ceramics, and metal objects. The published sources were reviewed and photographed, and a visit was made to New York where appropriate collections at The Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History were studied and photographed. The pre-Columbian collection of Dumbarton Oaks and the collection at the Textile Museum were also studied in detail.

The examination of this material provided insight into other areas, particularly the funerary symbolism associated with deceased rulers and lords.



Yet, it also provided sufficient information to support the original hypothesis that the social and political organization would be represented at certain periods and in certain media. If this is most consistently seen in architecture through time, it can also be found in other media, despite cultural and temporal differences.

A preliminary synthesis of this research was presented at a colloquium at the Center. A monograph is planned once further museum collections can be examined. The fellowship enabled me to set the foundation for this study.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1985-1986



A Lambayeque-style vessel from the North Coast of Peru, c. 800-900 A.D. The central figure, whose head forms the spout (which is here broken), shows many attributes of lordship: feather tufts to the side of his headdress, large earspools, and pendant fringes from the ear ornaments. That the figure is sacred and represents a divinity is shown by the tear bands on the cheeks below the eyes, and the figures at the shoulders which I interpret as foxes, a sacred animal in the Andes. The four small figures represent men, lords in this case, who are identified as such by their headdress. The pairing and positioning of these figures suggests representation of four sections of a polity with the two principal lords on the front and the two lesser ranking lords on the sides of the vessel. The further ranking of these pairs may have been done by placement on the right or left. Museo Nacional de Arqueología y Antropología, Lima.

*The Influence of Dutch Marine Painting on the Development of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Landscape Painting*

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a new style of landscape painting began to evolve in Holland. In pursuit of new stylistic and compositional ideas, based on a realistic representation of the native Dutch scenery, Dutch landscape artists emancipated themselves from the common sixteenth-century Netherlandish tradition. The resulting Dutch landscape painting of the seventeenth century has a highly individual character that differs greatly from landscape painting in the South, including Flanders.

The acknowledged pioneer of the new Dutch landscape school was Hendrick Goltzius, whose drawings of the dunes around Haarlem, produced shortly after 1600, reflect a radical break with tradition. The flatness of the land, the far horizons, the vast sky, and the horizontal structure of the Dutch countryside in these drawings replace the rocky mountain scenery popularized by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, and present in Goltzius' earlier landscape graphics.

The literature has unequivocally traced the origins of a national school of Dutch landscape painting to these pioneering drawings by Goltzius and the subsequent graphic work of a group of younger artists also working in Haarlem in the second decade of the seventeenth century, notably Esaias and Jan van de Velde, Hercules Segers, and Willem Buytewech. The unique position of Haarlem as the cradle of Dutch landscape art is thus well established, but why this new outlook on nature should have originated in Haarlem and what caused Goltzius' decisive change of direction remains unanswered.

The object of my study has been to isolate trends in painting and the graphic arts in Haarlem from c. 1590 to c. 1620, which directly or indirectly led artists like Goltzius and his followers to attempt a new, more realistic and straightforward interpretation of nature. I found that these trends are all encapsulated in the new art of marine painting, which was founded in Haarlem by Hendrick Vroom during the 1590s. Marine painting contains many of the stylistic elements characteristic of Dutch seventeenth-century landscape painting. The realistic rendering of ships in their natural setting necessarily involves a low horizon line and an emphasis on the sky. The subject encourages the observation of light and atmosphere for which Dutch seventeenth-century landscape painting is celebrated. Vroom and his followers had to invent compositional formulas to accommodate the new subject matter, and they found their motifs almost entirely in the native Dutch scenery. Vroom was the first artist to go to the beach and draw scenes of boats and fisherfolk and dunes from life, and it seems that his example inspired Hendrick Goltzius, who was both a friend and a neighbor of the 'father of Dutch marine painting.'

My study attempts to investigate the extent to which the pioneers of Dutch landscape, who all worked in Haarlem in the early seventeenth century, were influenced by the new approach of the marine painters.



Hendrick Vroom, *The Beach at Scheveningen*. Whereabouts unknown.

Vroom's follower, Cornelis van Wieringen, receives special attention, since his graphic work combines both marine and landscape elements, and because his close relationship with Goltzius seems to have made him a catalyst between the two disciplines.

This study is based on research in connection with my book, *Visions of the Sea: Hendrick C. Vroom and the Origins of Dutch Marine Painting* (Leiden, 1983). The stay at the Center enabled me to consolidate my findings and complete a manuscript. A number of the illustrations are drawn from the graphics collection of the National Gallery of Art, where I found many good examples relevant to my subject. While at the Center I benefited from the opportunity of discussing my findings with Arthur Wheelock, who read my text and offered valuable suggestions and constructive criticism. The manuscript is now in preparation for publication.

Gresham College, City University, London  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1985

*Architectural Descriptions in Byzantium and the West from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*

My research at the Center was of two kinds: the gathering, translation, and analysis of literary texts for future use in a full-length study of architectural descriptions; and the investigation of two specific problems within this broader scope. In this report I will outline the nature and conclusions of the latter.

The first problem focused on the fifteenth-century antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona, who went five times to Constantinople and made drawings of some of the city's famous sites. Although none of the original drawings survive, some are known from copies and captions. In particular, seven unpublished captions in a manuscript in Parma (Bib. Palatina, ms. 1191, fols. 61v-64v) describe a series of drawings of Hagia Sophia. The illustrations intended to accompany these captions were never added into the spaces left for them in the Codex Parmensis. Three of them are known, however, from copies by Giuliano da Sangallo, or Giuliano's son Francesco, in the Barberini Codex (Codex Vat. Barb. lat. 4424, fols. 28r and 44r). The subjects of the other four drawings can be determined from the captions in the Parmensis, permitting a reconstruction of the whole series. This series is unique in Cyriacus' work and without parallel in early Renaissance architectural drawings.

My first task was to reconstruct the subjects of the missing illustrations of the Parmensis, establishing their graphic technique and accuracy as far as the evidence permitted. This reconstruction then served as the basis for an investigation of the aesthetic and epistemological significance of the series. The structure of the series suggests that Cyriacus' perception of Hagia Sophia as a totality of spatially sequential parts led him to communicate his visual analysis to the reader in a way new to architectural drawings. Imitating the approach of literary descriptions of architecture, most likely a Byzantine ekphrastic model, he presented the building as a spectator experiences it moving through space. His transposition of words into images suggests the increasingly important role assigned to sensory, especially visual, experience by Italian humanists in the earlier quattrocento.

The second subject that I investigated was Leon Battista Alberti's description of the Cathedral of Florence in his moral essay *Della tranquillità dell'animo*, or *Profugiorum ab aerumna*, written c. 1440. *Profugiorum* is a precious source for the architectural historian, showing how the experience of architecture could be used for moral argument in the culture of early humanism, and revealing Alberti's own aesthetic response to architectural style. In *De re aedificatoria*, begun shortly after *Profugiorum*, Alberti tells us that good architecture elicits pleasurable emotion in the spectator, who, enchanted by the excellence of the work, is stimulated to express an intellectual judgment about its qualities. Examples of such responses, however, are absent from *De re*; the treatise, concerned with truth and precept rather than opinion, abstains from subjective expression. Alberti's expo-

sition of the principles of good architecture does, to be sure, include abundant examples, but these are qualified by—at most—one or two adjectives signifying his approval. Since in *De re* there is no extended description of any building, it is not clear, as it is in *Profugiorum*, how Alberti would have applied his precepts to the architecture familiar to him.

By contrast, Alberti's description in *Profugiorum* of the Cathedral of Florence elucidates the principles of good architectural design as perceived by an individual in relation to a specific building. The description requires discussion from several points of view. The first and most important for Alberti is its moral implication: the image of the Cathedral serves as an allegory for the tranquility of the soul, a state in which opposite qualities are held in equilibrium. The second is the description's function as a literary device which serves to stimulate the imagination of the reader; Alberti seems to agree with Aristotle that no one can think without a mental image. That Alberti singled out for his only architectural description the Gothic Cathedral of Florence is most unexpected, given his admiration for classical architecture; this suggests the need for a reassessment of his attitude toward non-normative styles.

Finally, Alberti's critical vocabulary, borrowed from the traditions of classical literary theory and rhetorical treatises and adapted to the new subject of architectural form, requires explication. Indeed, Alberti made a decisive break with earlier descriptive modes, which provided factual accounts of buildings in terms of measure and number, or which, ignoring their physical presence, interpreted the symbolic significance of the structures. In describing the Cathedral of Florence, Alberti deduced general stylistic qualities from the physical form and characterized the affective force of the building. Both of these innovations were fundamental for the formation of architectural criticism.

Georgetown University, Villa Le Balze, Fiesole  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1985

*Hegel, Trotsky, and Freud as Sources for Breton's  
Surrealism (1924-1932)*

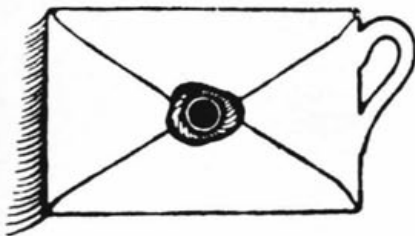
This project has the unusual character of involving several systems of thought—Hegelian idealism, Marxism, and psychoanalysis—forcibly combined in the comparatively thin intellectual context of the surrealist praxis of Breton and his associates. Consequently, I have had on the one hand to do much archival legwork establishing the special places of each of the systems in the Paris of the 1920s and 1930s, and on the other to look closely at the concrete imagery of poets and artists presumably related to those systems. The results obtained to date augur well for a new and more accurate understanding of this complex and fertile period.

The place of Hegelian thought in the writing of Breton and Aragon changes during the decade after 1923/1924 in tandem with their evolving political positions. For Breton it becomes an ever more important key to the meaning and significance of imaginative poetry, for Aragon, a dated antecedent to scientific (Stalinist) Marxism and Social Realism. Breton's attitude changed correspondingly toward the surrealist object—from the politically-minded *First Manifesto* (1924), the *Discours sur le peu de réalité* (1927), and *Les Vases communicants* (1932), to the nonpolitical *l'Amour fou* (1937). This change accompanied his gradually altering set of preferences in art.

The issue of the avant-garde object forms the basis of two areas of my investigation. In a colloquium at the Center in October I discussed an object described by Breton in *Les Vases communicants* (1932), an envelope with eyelashes (*cils*) on one side and a handle (*anse*) on the other. This "bad pun" ("*silence*"), originating in the group game of *cadavre exquis*, was intended to be a deceptively ordinary object with disturbing, latently sexual connotations (rather like Lautréamont's famous image of an umbrella/

lement apercevoir les raisons qui m'auront fait y tenir  
t poétique, qui vaut ou ne vaut pas sur le plan des imag  
e. Toute la question revient à savoir quel est ce plan.

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ne la rencon  
n, d'une ma  
t si l'on veut  
les sexuels  
longtemps  
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la femme (ainsi, du reste, que la plupart des ma  
ation que celle-ci est fréquemment utilisée, comme c  
s fins onanistes) et la table de dissection que le lit, co

sewing machine/dissecting table), an object to be sent out into the world to cause emotional perturbations. An article for *Res*, no. 12 (forthcoming), "The Avant-Garde Object: Form and Fetish between World Wars I and II," explores the essential political constituent of the surrealist avant-garde object (which distinguishes it significantly from "modern sculpture"), and shows how the effective political content of the object disintegrates as disillusion permeates the Marxist intelligentsia during the Stalinist thirties. This article extends research embodied in my review of Peter Bürger's *Theory of the Avant-Garde*, in *Art Criticism* (1985).

Analysis of *Les Vases* reveals that its structure is founded on a quasi-Hegelian dialectical triad: the "vase" of individual love communicates with the "vase" of bourgeois marriage and family through the overarching medium of social revolution. Despite its theoretical optimism, close study of the text shows that the book contains a conflict between political dynamism and erotic stasis. The resulting irresolution, in fact, corresponds to Breton's uncertain political and emotional condition in 1931/1932. The rereading of Breton's dreams in *Les Vases* suggests that analysis of the dreams published in surrealist or pre-surrealist periodicals discloses latent layers of motivation as well as their implicit political significance; indeed, guided by historical hindsight I have found manifestations in them of Breton's ambitious self-assertion in 1921, Sadoul's evasive defiance of Breton in 1929, Aragon's rivalry with him in 1928/1930, and Desnos' uneasy submission to him in 1927/1928. Furthermore, the psychoanalytic terms employed by the principal surrealists (Breton, Aragon, Artaud, Bataille) carry a politically-charged content, as I argued in a lecture in the symposium on *l'Amour fou* in October 1985, "Psychology and the Politics of Surrealism," at the Corcoran Gallery.

The issues of love and silence, political action and the stasis of dream, reality and idea pertain to a separate field of research to which Freud and Hegel also belong—the continuity between the twentieth-century avant-garde and late nineteenth-century Symbolism. These were developed this year in a lecture at Hofstra University, "Towards the Avant-Garde: Disjunction in Symbolist Painting, with Comments on Bürger and Benjamin" (forthcoming), and an essay for the 1987 Zimmerli Art Museum exhibition, "Between Nature and Symbol: French Prints and Illustrations at the Turn of the Century."

The material presented above has already found its place, considerably modified, within the outline of a book now in preparation, which will treat among other things: the early surrealist reception of psychoanalysis and the Freud/Janet dispute; the problem of a surrealist painting; and the evolution of Marxist politics within surrealism.

Other work during my fellowship not directly connected with the project included: completion of a long manuscript on "The Psychology of Delacroix" for *Psychoanalytic Perspectives on Art*; a book on Delacroix's writings on art; and a review of a book on the relation between psychoanalysis and art, for the *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*.

Rutgers University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1985-1986

*The Beatty Rosarium: A Manuscript with Miniatures by  
Simon Bening*

During my fellowship year I wrote a book based on my dissertation, completed in 1983 at the University of Chicago. Scheduled for publication in 1986 by Davaco Publishers in The Netherlands, the book will consist of a facsimile of the *Beatty Rosarium*, with a companion volume containing my study of the manuscript. The manuscript is owned by the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin (MS. Western 99) and contains miniatures attributed to Simon Bening of Bruges (1483-1561), the last major Flemish manuscript illuminator. The *Beatty Rosarium* is a tiny book for private devotions, containing prayers in Latin and illustrated with thirty-three full-page miniatures of scenes from the lives of Mary and Christ. All but one of the illuminations are executed in a consistent style and are of the extraordinarily fine quality typical of Simon Bening's best work. (The one miniature not by Simon is a later addition to the manuscript.) Since Simon Bening was the head of a large and busy shop, most of the works associated with him include some miniatures by his own hand and others by his associates or assistants; the *Beatty Rosarium* is one of a very small number of surviving works containing an extensive cycle of miniatures exclusively by Simon. It is surprising that a manuscript of the high artistic quality of the *Beatty Rosarium* should have remained so little known. Although mentioned occasionally in scholarly literature, the absence of published reproductions of the illuminations may account for its neglect.

Although the Beatty manuscript has undergone alteration—the book contains several added leaves and the thirty-two miniatures by Simon have been excised and mounted separately—the original text, fly leaves, and a binding survive, also in the Chester Beatty Library. As a result of this unusual circumstance, the *Rosarium* can be reconstructed to nearly its original state; this has been done in the facsimile volume of the forthcoming publication. One of my tasks was the reintegration of the miniatures into the text. This was facilitated by the texts of the prayers, which often make reference to the event in the facing miniature. In another phase of my work, I attempted to retrace the various stages in the original preparation of the manuscript as well as the dates and circumstances under which it was altered. By means of comparisons with dated or datable works by Simon Bening, I have been able to conclude that the integral miniatures of the *Beatty Rosarium* should be dated around 1530. The text pages of the original part of the manuscript are written in a Spanish script style often found in manuscripts that Simon executed for Spanish patrons. The additions to the manuscript consist of a half-length image of Christ in profile, pasted in at the front of the book, and two bifolios of text, one at the beginning and one at the end, both of purple-dyed vellum. The former, in Spanish, describes the contents of the book; the latter is a Latin prayer to the Virgin. Both are written in a combination of two Spanish script styles, *bastarda* and *antiqua*. Although the use of similar scripts occurs in one of Simon



Bening's datable manuscripts, the script style continued to be used, virtually unchanged, throughout the sixteenth century; thus it alone cannot be used to date the additions to the *Rosarium*.

Other clues, however, are provided by an inscription on one of the fly leaves and by the binding. One of the fly leaf inscriptions, dated 1652, states that the book once belonged to King Philip II of Spain. Born in 1527, Philip could not have been the original owner of a manuscript made c. 1530, but it is possible that the *Rosarium* may originally have been made for Philip's father, the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (though there are no documents to prove his ownership). The unusual occurrence of margins painted purple in the original part of the book, as well as the consistently high quality of the illuminations, suggest a royal patron. The present binding of the manuscript is probably not the original one, as it has little in common with Bruges bindings of the early and mid-1500s. Instead, it most closely resembles Spanish bindings of the third quarter of the sixteenth century. If the book did in fact belong to Charles V, the logical moment for it to have passed into the possession of Philip II would have been at Charles' death in 1558. Shortly after this date Philip may have had the manuscript rebound and at the same time had the additional text pages and the miniature of Christ in profile included in the codex.

Although few scholars dispute Simon Bening's technical virtuosity, some have dismissed him as nothing more than a talented *pasticheur*, a clever assembler of motifs and compositions derived from the works of other artists. The extent of Simon's borrowings is indeed remarkable; virtually all the compositions in the *Beatty Rosarium* derive from earlier German and Flemish prints, panel paintings, and manuscripts. During the fellowship period, I was able to make an extensive study of manuscripts from the generation preceding Simon's, the so-called "Ghent-Bruges School"; the compositions used in these manuscripts provided models for the large majority of Simon's miniatures. In comparing Simon's miniatures in the *Rosarium* with the same or similar compositions in earlier manuscripts, it became clear that Simon's eclecticism was of a special kind. The extent to which he altered and ultimately transformed his sources is even more remarkable than the variety of sources he employed. His borrowings were both critical and creative; the changes he made in his models all manifest his fundamental aim of giving his compositions a maximum of expressive life.

My facsimile edition and study of the *Beatty Rosarium* is the first work of its kind concerned with a manuscript of Simon Bening to be published in more than fifty years. During the fellowship year, I had the opportunity to become familiar with a great number of manuscripts both by Simon himself and from the generation preceding him. The resulting work offers a reevaluation of Simon Bening's position in the history of the illuminated book, acknowledging and documenting his reliance on artistic tradition, while emphasizing the complex interplay of eclecticism and originality that animates his art.

Northern Illinois University, DeKalb  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1984-1985

*Bathing and Baths in Classical Antiquity*

Bathing in the ancient world, especially that of the Romans, went far beyond the functional and hygienic exigencies of washing. It represented a deeply rooted tradition of considerable social, political, and educational significance. Bathing occupied a sizable slice of the structure of Roman daily life; it was, in the full sense of the word, a cultural institution.

In the year I spent at the Center I completed writing the last three chapters of my forthcoming book on "Bathing and Baths in Classical Antiquity." These chapters are: "Thermo-mineral Baths and the Phlaegrean Fields," "The Bath-Gymnasium Complex of Asia Minor," and "Baths and Bathing in Late Antique, Byzantine and Early Islamic Cultures."

Perhaps nothing can give a better idea of the popularity of thermo-mineral baths and spas in antiquity than the hundreds of modern hydro-therapeutic centers located over ancient sources throughout the Mediterranean and Europe, from Scotland to Syria. The most extensive and important center of curative bathing in antiquity was the region around the Gulf of Puteoli, in the Cumaean peninsula, northwest of Naples. The highly volcanic structure of the region—pitted with hundreds of hot thermal springs, underground galleries, and sources for hot gases and steam—inspired the ancient name "Phlaegrean Fields," or "fields devoured by fire." The remarkable architectural and technical achievements of the dozens of large and small bathing establishments built over these natural sources underscore the importance of the region in the early development of Roman baths. Furthermore, the Cumaean peninsula and especially the coveted center of Baiae command interest for the intensely colorful social life generated around their luxurious facilities during the late Republican and early Imperial periods.

"Our little Greeks (*Graeculi*) have a weakness for gymnasia," Trajan chided the ambitious Nicaeans, who were attempting to build beyond their means. There was hardly a city in Asia Minor that did not aspire to have a gymnasium of its own to outdo those of its neighbors. The 'gymnasium' appearing in Trajan's correspondence with Pliny must have been what one should properly call a "bath-gymnasium," a new architectural type developed in Asia Minor during the Imperial era, combining a Roman bath with a Greek gymnasium. The traditions of education and athletics of Hellenistic Asia Minor were largely absorbed by the Roman baths. A social and architectural study of this new institution was the subject of my attention for a considerable part of the year.

"He who has bathed in Christ has no need of a second bath," wrote Saint Jerome, but many of the leaders and dignitaries of the Early Church preferred to follow pagan precedence in accepting and enjoying the baths. The palaces and mansions of popes and bishops invariably included luxurious bathing suites in the manner of the great classical villas. Indeed, the position of Christianity *vis à vis* the pagan bathing culture always remained somewhat ambiguous. While the Church and the Church Fathers were

theoretically opposed to bathing as a pleasurable experience, they were ready to accept it as a therapeutic and ritualistic necessity. Many churches and monasteries owned and operated baths as business investments. Bathing as an ideological and cultural expression assumed an even richer meaning with the emergence of Islam in the seventh century. The early Islamic baths of Syria retained much of the flavor of their late antique and early Christian predecessors while introducing new concepts, new functions, and new spaces reflecting the specific needs of an evolving aristocratic Arab society. These baths constitute the significant bridge in the unbroken traditions of bathing, between classical antiquity and the Turkish baths of today.

University of California, Santa Barbara  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1985–1986

*Inca and Huari Royal Tunics*

My research on the subject of royal tunics in the Inca ( $\pm$  1500 AD) and Huari ( $\pm$  500–1000 AD) empires of southern Peru developed mostly with reference to the Incaic dress code as illustrated in the chronicle of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala. This learned descendant of the Incas finished his enormous manuscript in 1615, some eighty years after the Spanish conquest. He left us with some four hundred drawings depicting Andean life in Inca and colonial times. My analysis is based on five series of pictures from Guaman Poma's chronicle. Two series refer to the activities in the twelve months of the year; three series on the Inca royal dynasty illustrate the successions of ten kings, ten captains, and ten queens.

Two unsolved issues had made it difficult before to see how these series were related to each other. The first issue concerned the colonial development of ideas about history in an empire that did not possess writing or dated monuments. The Spanish thought that the so-called kings belonged to a kind of dynasty. Instead, they were the ranked ancestors of, respectively, ten of the twelve local groups included in the political organization of Cuzco, the Inca capital. The last two groups, belonging to the pre-Inca population, were represented by two female ancestors. The second issue concerned the association (known from the sources) of each of the twelve groups with the rituals of one month. Evidence suggests that the pre-Inca groups took care of the two months of planting and harvest.

Establishing the concordance of space and time in the Inca calendar is central to an understanding of the ritual use of textiles in Cuzco. Guaman Poma had a remarkable knowledge of the dress code in Inca culture. He lived in colonial times, however, and he had a particular interest in explaining the values of Inca culture so that a more just colonial society could be built giving the descendants of the Incas an honorable place. His draftsmanship was European and his ideas of composition were often taken from European pictorial examples. With other expressions of colonial indigenous art, his drawings are an essential tool for linking the Spanish chronicles written by men who never had seen Inca society to pre-Spanish art, where the Incas expressed themselves unencumbered by a foreign language and medium of writing.

Guaman Poma shows that the connection of each of the twelve ancestors to the calendar is apparent in his or her dress. My research progressed especially in the cases of five such dresses, for which we have surviving examples as well as Inca names, and information about their use and related myths. The ancestral tunics show how people in general would dress for such ritual occasions; royalty distinguished itself primarily through the quality of their dress, not by the use of different motifs. To give an example, in Guaman Poma we see a design of four squares, called *casana*, on tunics worn by young men who were initiated into manhood and sexually active, but not yet responsible for a family. *Casana* tunics were also worn by men while plowing and planting. This group included the king, who initiated

the agricultural year, and the ancestor, who represented the month of plowing.

Inca textile designs were built on a strict code of geometric pattern. One type of tunic, however, also included figural decoration. Worn by the king during the great state rituals, especially the initiation of the noble youths before the December solstice, it had an important new element in the design, showing four felines within a collar. The feline motif continued to be used by a royal descendant chosen annually in colonial Cuzco for the procession of the feast of Corpus Christi, as we know from paintings of the procession. These and other examples of colonial art allow us to study the transformation of the Inca feline motif into the colonial heraldic lion. We can also reconstruct the distinctive use of the motif in pre-Spanish times. While in the Old World feline guardians face outwards, the pre-Spanish Andean practice was to have the felines face their master. This observation helped me to demonstrate the continuity of the feline motif from five surviving Inca tunics back to the Huari where four examples are known. Great stylistic changes occurred from Huari to Inca times. The study of the Inca dress code helps to establish continuity as well as change between the cultures of both empires.

My research on the tunics was developed in several articles and papers written this year. A lecture on Cuzco in the series "Centers of Empire" focused on the theme of royalty. In addition, visits to museums in Washington and New York yielded new iconographic material of interest for connecting Guaman Poma's Incaic dress code to existing examples of Inca tunics from pre-Spanish and colonial times.

University of Illinois

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1986



August. The Inca King Initiating the Season of Planting, Wearing the *Casana* Tunic.

In Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno*. 1615. Copenhagen, Royal Library of Denmark.

