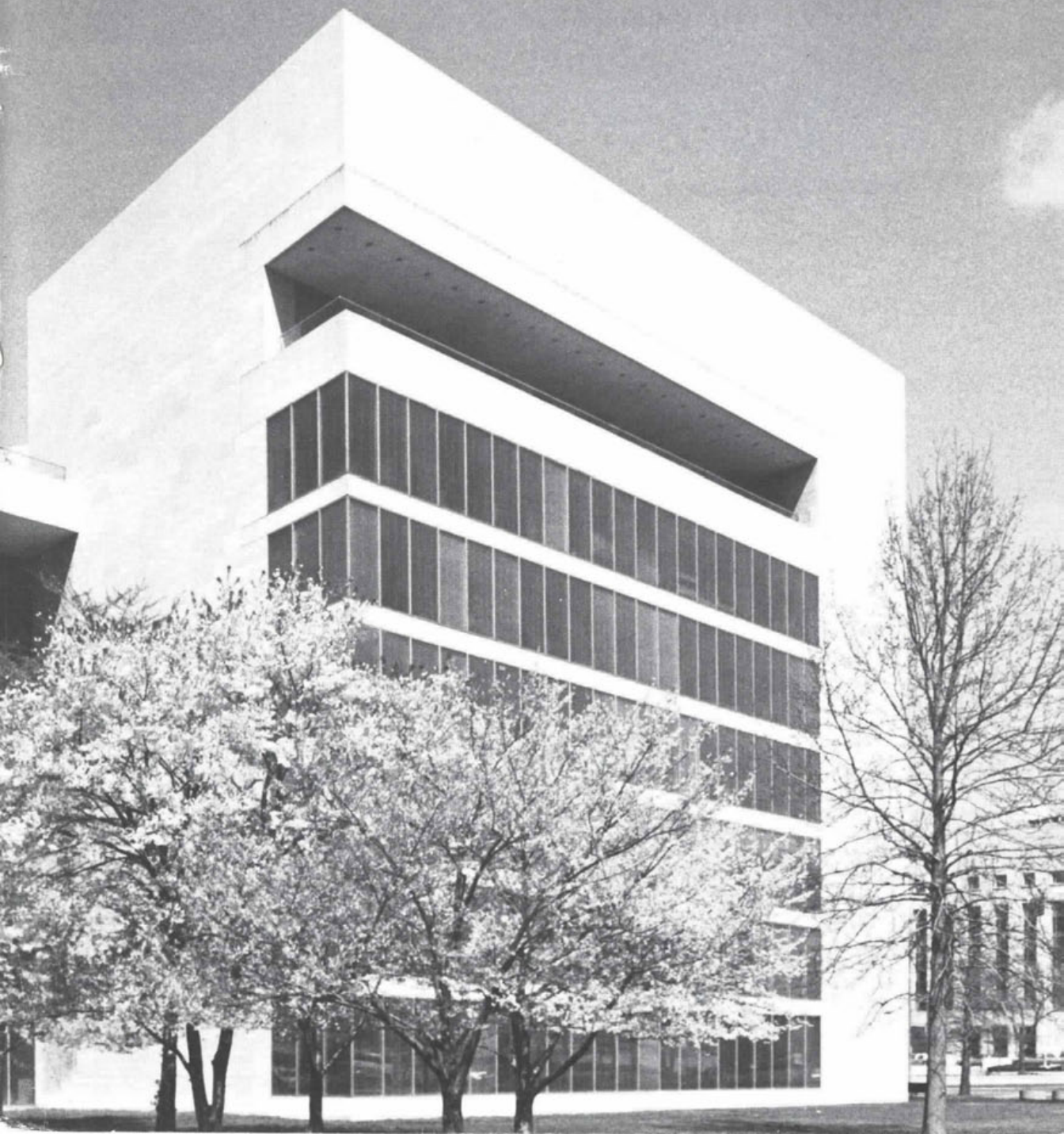


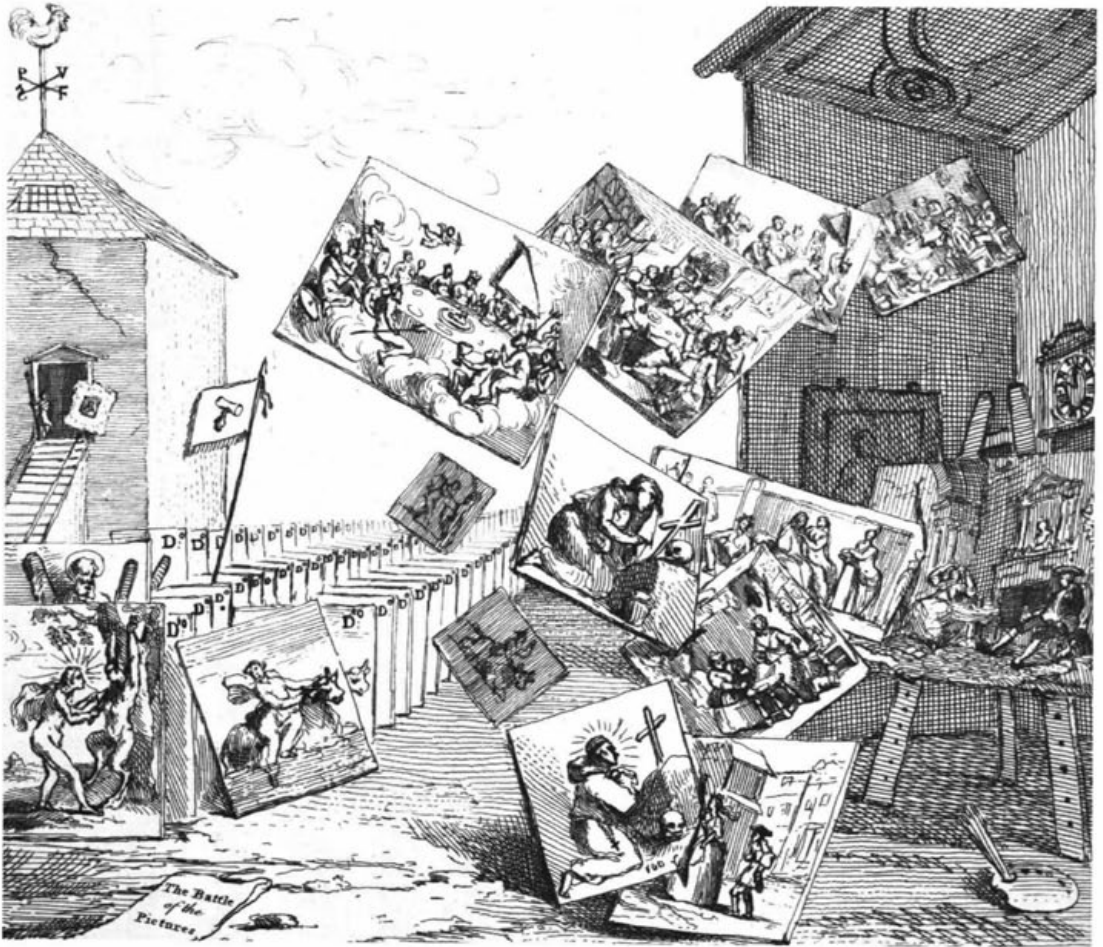
National Gallery of Art

# Center 7

Research Reports and Record of Activities







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

# Center 7

## Research Reports and Record of Activities

June 1986–May 1987

Washington, 1987

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:*

William Hogarth, *The Battle of the Pictures*, 1744/1745. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection.

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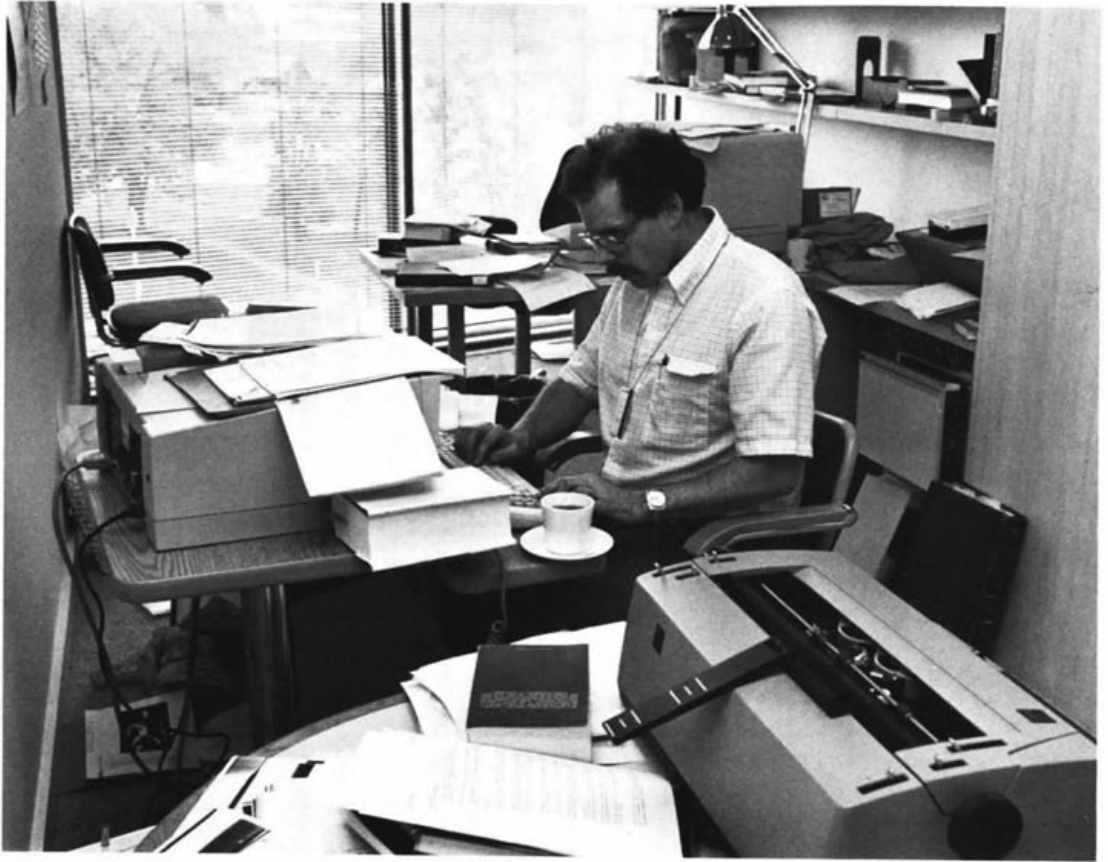
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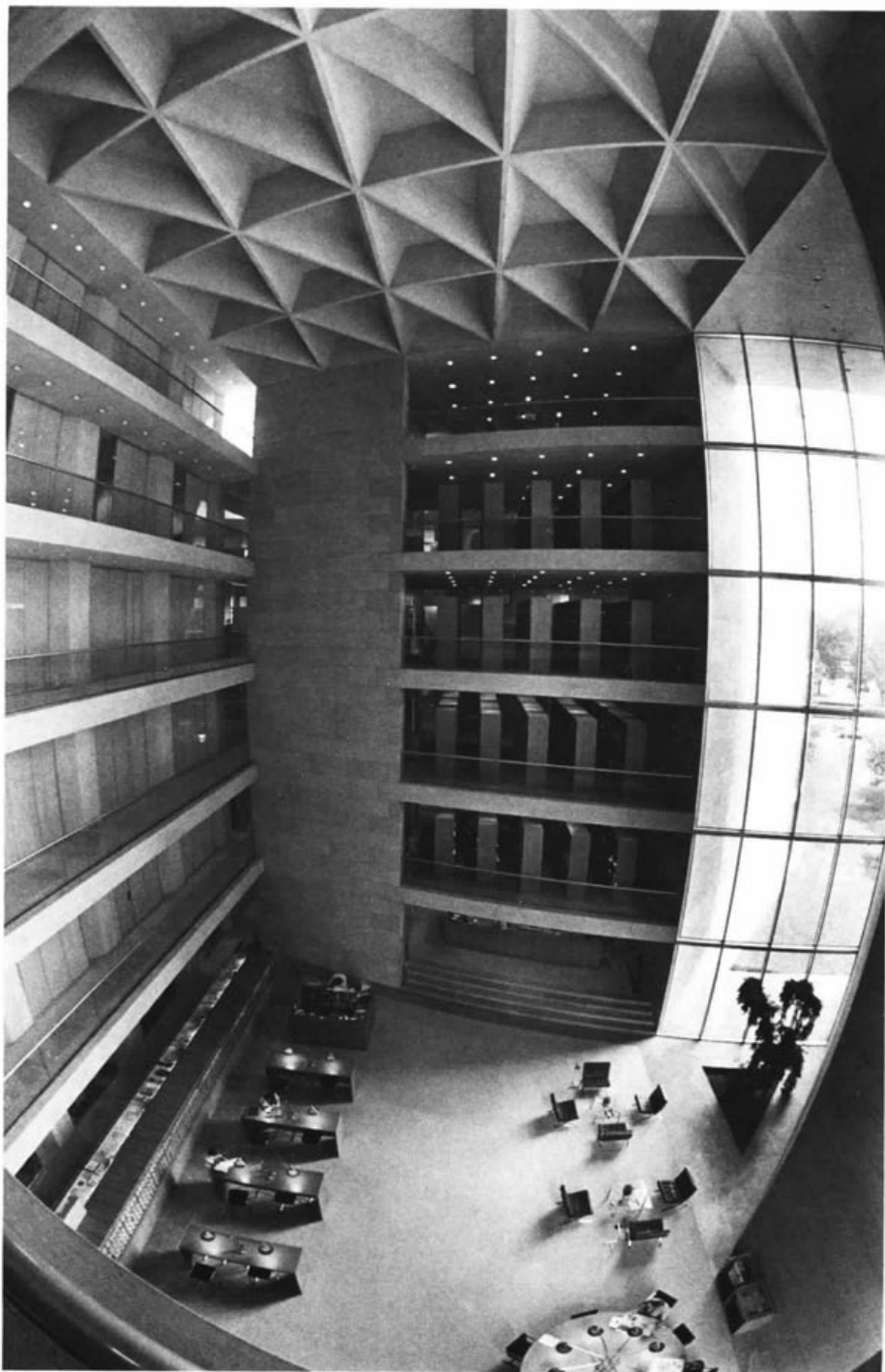
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## GENERAL INFORMATION





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 Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 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. It encourages 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. 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

### *Samuel H. Kress Professorship*

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

### *Senior Fellowships*

Senior Fellowships are awarded 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 ex-



pectation 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, and 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 ranging from one month to an academic year in length. 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, course work and general or preliminary examinations, and at least half a 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 CASVA fellowships 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. 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 available for fellows and staff 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 symposia, conferences, seminars, colloquia, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. 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 1986–1987 may be found on pages 21–29.

## PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually (see pages 36–96 for reports written by members of the Center in 1986–1987). 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 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); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17). Papers from seven other symposia are being prepared for publication as *Studies* volumes: *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*; *Italian Medals*; *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*; *Italian Plaquettes*; *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*; *Winslow Homer*; *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*. Occasionally papers presented at conferences sponsored by the Center are published outside the National Gallery. Two such volumes were published in 1986–1987: *Emilian Painting of the 16th and 17th Centuries*, published by Nuova Alfa Editoriale, Bologna, and *Antoine Watteau (1684–1721): The Painter, His Age, and His Legend*, edited by François Moureau and Margaret Morgan Grasselli, published by Editions Champion–Slatkine, Paris and Geneva.

## 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 associates, 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 Board of Advisors comprised 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. A member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present as an observer during the interviews of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery.

REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR  
1986-1987  
(June 1986-May 1987)



## BOARD OF ADVISORS

Dore Ashton, The Cooper Union  
Wanda Corn, Stanford University  
Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University  
Jan Fontein, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Ilene Forsyth, University of Michigan  
Anne d'Harnoncourt, Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, New York University,  
Institute of Fine Arts  
Alan Shestack, Minneapolis Institute of Arts  
Cecil L. Striker, University of Pennsylvania

## STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*  
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*  
Therese O'Malley, *Assistant Dean*  
Susan J. Barnes, *Assistant Dean (former)*  
  
Donald Garfield, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*  
Ann Gilkerson, *Research Assistant to the Dean*  
Peter Lukehart, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*  
  
Susan Bewley, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*  
Joan Enfield, *Staff Assistant*  
Cecelia Gallagher, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and  
Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings*  
Irene Gallas, *Staff Assistant (former)*  
Roselle George, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and  
Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings (former)*  
Deborah Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowships Program*  
Curtis Millay, *Secretary to Research Programs*

## ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS ADVISORY GROUP

*Supported by the J. Paul Getty Trust*

Vicki Porter, *Project Manager*  
Barbara Chabrowe, *Research Associate*  
Mina Marefat, *Research Associate*  
Amy Meyers, *Research Associate*  
  
Monica Brune, *Secretary*  
Gabrielle Flanagan, *Secretary (former)*

## MEMBERS

### *Kress Professor*

Lawrence Gowing, University College, London  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1986–1987  
*Rembrandt, the Louvre, and Cézanne*

### *Mellon Lecturer*

Jaroslav Pelikan, Yale University  
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1987  
*Imago Dei: The Byzantine Apologia for the Icons* (to be delivered fall 1987)

### *Senior Fellows*

Jean-Louis Cohen, Ecole d'Architecture, Paris-Villemin; Ecole Nationale  
des Ponts et Chaussées, Paris

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1987  
*The American Ideal in Soviet Architecture, 1917–1954*

Cecelia F. Klein, University of California, Los Angeles  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
*Dressed to Kill: The Politics of Costume in Aztec Sacrificial Rites*

Annette Michelson, New York University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1986–1987  
*Dziga Vertov: Theory and Practice of the Documentary Film*

Helen Searing, Smith College  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1987  
*Architecture and Politics in Amsterdam, 1890–1940: The Art of the Possible*

Martha A. McCrory, The Johns Hopkins University; The Fashion Institute  
of Technology, State University of New York

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1986–1987  
*Antique Coins and Cameos in the Florentine Cabinet: An Edition of Sixteenth-  
Century Grand-Ducal Letters Concerning Coins*

Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway, Bryn Mawr College  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
(joint appointment as Distinguished Visiting Professor in Art History,  
George Washington University)  
*Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of c. 331–200 B.C.*

Larry Silver, Northwestern University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1986–1987  
*Artistic Patronage and the Ideology of Emperor Maximilian I*

## *Visiting Senior Fellows*

Stephen C. Behrendt, University of Nebraska  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
*William Blake and the Tradition of History Painting*

Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Warsaw University  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987  
*Oriental Motifs in the Works of Rubens, Rembrandt, and Their Pupils*

Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987  
*Dutch Mannerist Printmaking, 1585-1610*

Dragos Gheorghiu, Bucharest  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987  
*The Development of European Architectural Designs that are Parallel to Natural Design*

Heinz Horat, Department of Preservation of Monuments and Sites, Lucerne  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987  
*Cavalier Architects*

Peter Humfrey, University of St. Andrews  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
*The "Scuole Piccole" as Donors of Altarpieces in Renaissance Venice*

Elizabeth Langhorne, Piedmont Virginia Community College  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
*The Content of Jackson Pollock's Art: His Images and His Abstractions*

Denis Lavalley, Ministère de la Culture, Paris  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
*The Art Works and Interiors of Jesuit Establishments in France in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*





Vicente Lleó Cañal, University of Seville  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987  
*The Art Collections of the Dukes of Medinaceli: Taste and Patronage Through  
the Centuries*

Giovanni Previtali, Università degli studi di Napoli  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986  
*Problems in the Workshop of Simone Martini*

### *Associates*

Craig Adcock, Florida State University  
Associate, spring 1987  
*The Light and Space Sculpture of James Turrell*

Vincent J. Bruno, University of Texas at Arlington  
Associate, spring 1987  
*Delos and Pompeii: A Comparative Study of Greek and Roman Painting Techniques*

Peter W. Parshall, Reed College  
Associate, winter 1986  
*Print Production in Early Modern Europe, 1480–1550*

### *National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow*

Gail Feigenbaum, Coordinator of Special Projects, Education Department  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow,  
summer 1987  
*Catalogue of Lodovico Carracci's Paintings; and Essay on Bolognese Painting  
1605–1625*

## *Fellows*

\*Frederick Nathaniel Bohrer, [The University of Chicago]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1985–1987

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

Elizabeth Brown, [Columbia University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1986–1988

*Brancusi's Photographs: A Sculptor's Mind*

\*Tracy E. Cooper, [Princeton University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1984–1987

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

\*Mary Alice Lee, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1985–1987

*Problems of Rhetoric and Style in Baroque Ceiling Painting*

Annette Leduc, [The Johns Hopkins University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1986–1989

*Gavarni's Human Comedy*

Steven Moyano, [Northwestern University]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1986–1987

*Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Oberbaudeputation 1810–1840: Prussian Architectural Administration and Design During the Era of Reform*

\*Sasha Newman, [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1984–1985, 1986–1987

*Pierre Bonnard and the Reinvention of the French Tradition, 1895–1920*

Elizabeth Streicher, [Columbia University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1985–1988

*The Graphic Work of Max Klinger*

Suzanne Tise, [University of Pittsburgh]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1986–1987

*Entre Deux Expositions: Architecture and Design in Paris, 1925–1937*

Thomas Willette, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1986–1988

*A Critical Edition of Bernardo De Dominici's Life of Massimo Stanzione, with an Edition of the Stanzione Manuscript and a Catalogue of Paintings*

\*in residence 1986–1987

## MEETINGS

### *Conferences*

29–30 January 1987

#### EMILIAN PAINTING OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

A conference made possible by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Montedison Group

*Moderator:* Donald Posner, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

*Natura e storia: Due appuntamenti nella storia dell'arte bolognese fra '500 e '600*

Andrea Emiliani, Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici, Bologna

*Dopa Correggio: Note sulla pittura a Parma da Correggio ad Annibale Carracci*

Eugenio Riccòmini, Soprintendenza per i Beni Storici e Artistici, Parma

*Parmigianino and Parmigianino Problems in the Exhibition*

Sydney J. Freedberg, National Gallery of Art

*Tuscan History and Emilian Style*

Elizabeth Cropper, The Johns Hopkins University

*Ulisse Aldrovandi and the Bolognese Painters in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*

Giuseppe Olmi, Università degli studi di Trento

*The Carracci and the Devout Style in Emilia*

Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University

*Studies from Life: Annibale Carracci's Paintings of the Blind*

Anna Ottani Cavina, Università degli studi di Bologna

*Summary*

Beverly Louise Brown, National Gallery of Art



13-14 March 1987

CULTURAL DIFFERENTIATION AND CULTURAL IDENTITY IN  
THE VISUAL ARTS

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

*Identity and Difference: The Uses and Meanings of Ethnic Styles*

Esther Pasztory, Columbia University

*Hellenic Identity and Athenian Identity in the Fifth Century B.C.*

Evelyn B. Harrison, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

*Rival Politics and Rival Tastes in Late Han China*

Martin J. Powers, University of California, Los Angeles

*Painting in the Provinces: Art and the Formation of the Florentine State*

David H. Friedman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

*Did England Have a Renaissance? Classical and Anticlassical Themes in Elizabethan  
Culture*

Alice T. Friedman, Wellesley College

*Constructions of the Bourbon State: Classical Architecture in Seventeenth-Century  
France*

Hilary Ballon, Columbia University



*Portrait Tradition and Cultural Identity in Italy in the 1620s*

Susan J. Barnes, North Carolina Museum of Art

*Karel van Mander's Life of Goltzius: Defining the Paradigm of Protean Virtuosity in Haarlem around 1600*

Walter S. Melion, The Johns Hopkins University

4 April 1987

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

Jointly sponsored with the Department of Art, University of Maryland

Introduction: Katheryn M. Linduff

*A Reconsideration of the Irish La Tene: The Navan-Type Brooches*

Ann Shafer, [University of Pittsburgh]

Introduction: John Dobbins

*What Could Be Better than Nero's Baths?*

Larry Ball, University of Virginia

Introduction: Barbara von Baraghan

*Stories from the "Popol Vuh" Illustrated on Classic Maya Vase Painting*

Martha Lukowsky, [George Washington University]

Introduction: Roger Rearick

*Piero Di Cosimo's Visitation in the National Gallery*

Lynne Johnson, [University of Maryland]

Introduction: Mary Pardo

*Visual Panegyrics in Guercino's Casino Ludovisi Frescoes*

Carolyn Wood, [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

Introduction: Michael Fried

*Frédéric Bazille's Vue de Village: The Death of Landscape, the Gardener's Daughter, and the Twenty-Nine-Cent Village*

Dianne Pitman, [The Johns Hopkins University]

Introduction: Raymond Dobard

*The Idea of Death as Presented in the Art of James Ensor and the Carnival of Trinidad and Tobago*

George W. Benoit, [Howard University]

Introduction: Wayne Craven

*Paul Wyland Bartlett's Bear Tamer, c. 1885-1887: American Sculpture in the French Style*

Thomas P. Somma, [University of Delaware]

Introduction: George Mauner

*The Iconography of Sleep and the Life-Cycle: Theosophical Influences in Georges Lacombe's Le Lit*

Michael Losch, [The Pennsylvania State University]



## *Seminars*

17 October 1986

### EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STUDIES: STATE OF THE FIELD

#### *Participants:*

John Archer, University of Minnesota  
Shelley Bennett, The Huntington Library  
Judith Colton, Yale University  
Robert Enggass, University of Georgia  
Richard Etlin, University of Maryland  
Michael Fried, The Johns Hopkins University  
Alden Gordon, Trinity College  
Margaret Grasselli, National Gallery of Art  
Ulrich Hiesinger, Philadelphia  
Christopher Johns, University of Virginia  
Thomas McCormick, Wheaton College  
Hal Opperman, University of Washington  
Christian Otto, Cornell University  
Ronald Paulson, The Johns Hopkins University  
Jules Prown, Yale University  
Tom Reese, The Getty Center for the History of Arts and Humanities  
John Riely, Boston University  
Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art  
Myra Nan Rosenfeld, Canadian Centre for Architecture  
Mary Sheriff, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill  
Barbara Stafford, University of Chicago  
Damie Stillman, University of Delaware  
Wesley Trimpi, Stanford University  
Guy Walton, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts  
Dora Wiebenson, University of Virginia





6 March 1987

AMERICAN FURNITURE: SEVENTEENTH TO NINETEENTH  
CENTURIES

*Participants*

John Bivins, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts  
Michael Brown, Bayou Bend Collection  
Edward Cook, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Wendy A. Cooper, Colonial Williamsburg  
Bert Denker, The Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur Museum  
Michael Flannigan, Kaufman American Foundation  
Beatrice Garvin, Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Wallace Gusler, Colonial Williamsburg  
Morrison H. Heckscher, The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
William Hosley, Wadsworth Atheneum  
Ronald Hurst, Colonial Williamsburg  
Brock Jobe, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities  
Marilyn Johnson, The Fashion Institute of Technology  
John Kirk, Boston University  
Thomas S. Michie, Rhode Island School of Design  
Christopher Monkhouse, Rhode Island School of Design  
Frances Safford, The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Robert St. George, Boston University  
Lonn Taylor, National Museum of American History  
Barbara McLean Ward, The Henry Francis Du Pont Winterthur  
Museum  
Gregory R. Wiedman, Maryland Historical Society  
Philip Zea, Historic Deerfield

20 March 1987

FRENCH COLONIAL ARCHITECTURE IN AFRICA AND  
INDOCHINA

*Participants*

Thomas August, University of the West Indies

Zeynep Celik, Columbia University

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

Michel Coquery, Université de Paris VIII

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Université de Paris VII

Richard Etlin, University of Maryland

Ann Gilkerson, [Harvard University] and Center for Advanced Study in  
the Visual Arts

June Hargrove, University of Maryland

Renata Holod, University of Pennsylvania

Helen Jessup, [Courtauld Institute]

Mina Marefat, [Massachusetts Institute of Technology] and Center for  
Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Myra Nan Rosenfeld, Canadian Centre for Architecture

H. Paul Rovinelli, Arlington, Massachusetts

Helen Searing, Smith College

Christopher Tadgell, Canterbury College of Art

Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago

Dora Wiebenson, University of Virginia

Gwendolyn Wright, Columbia University



*Colloquia LVII-LXVII*

2 October 1986

*Investigating Hellenistic Sculpture*  
Brunilde Sisondo Ridgway

30 October 1986\*

*The Evolution of Blake's Pestilence*  
Stephen C. Behrendt

4 November 1986

*Cézanne: The Beginnings*  
Lawrence Gowing

11 December 1986

*The Kinetic Icon in the Work of Mourning*  
Annette Michelson

2 January 1987\*

*Dressed to Kill: The Politics of Costume in Aztec Sacrificial Rites*  
Cecelia Klein

20 January 1987\*

*Pollock, Primitivism, and Picasso*  
Elizabeth Langhorne

5 February 1987

*Family Ties: Genealogy as Ideology for Emperor Maximilian I*  
Larry Silver

5 March 1987

*The American Ideal in Soviet Architecture: The Time of the Avant-Garde (1917-1932)*  
Jean-Louis Cohen

10 April 1987

*Architecture and Politics in Amsterdam, 1890-1940: The Art of the Possible*  
Helen Searing

21 April 1987\*

*The Contemporary Sublime: Art and Science in the Work of James Turrell*  
Craig Adcock

30 April 1987

*Cameos and Coins in Sixteenth-Century Florence: The Cabinets of Grand Dukes Cosimo, Francesco, and Ferdinando de' Medici*  
Martha A. McCrory

\*Presentations to members of Center only

## Shop Talks

18 January 1987

*Prospectus of a Temple for Heroes: The Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem by Girolamo Teti and Pietro da Cortona's Fresco in the Grand Salon of Palazzo Barberini in Rome*

Mary Alice Lee

22 January 1987

*The Memorial Facade of S. Giorgio Maggiore, Venice*

Tracy E. Cooper

17 February 1987

*The Reception of Mesopotamia and the Nature of Orientalism*

Frederick Nathaniel Bohrer

26 March 1987

*Pierre Bonnard and the French Tradition: Au Louvre*

Sasha Newman

## Lectures

Abstracts of lectures are found on pages 30-33.

23 October 1986

*The Poetics of Classical Architecture*

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## *Curatorial Colloquy*

8–12 June 1987

THE MELLON VENUS

*Colloquy Chair:* Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

*Participants*

Sergey Androssov, The State Hermitage Museum

Bruce Boucher, University College, London

Charles Davis, Florence

Giancarlo Gentilini, Museo Nazionale del Bargello

Herbert Keutner, Florence

Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art

Anthony Radcliffe, Victoria and Albert Museum

Shelly Sturman, National Gallery of Art

Patricia Wengraf, London



## LECTURE ABSTRACTS

### ALEXANDER TZONIS AND LIANE LEFAIVRE

#### *The Poetics of Classical Architecture*

In our work we investigate the way classical buildings are put together as formal structures. We research the “poetics” of composition that classical architecture shares with classical music, poetry, drama. This is not to say that classical buildings have no symbolic meaning, no ideological content, no social or political function. Our study complements investigations that concentrate on these issues and identifies the very framework on which the meaning and use of a building are founded. It tries to represent the knowledge that existed in the mind of the architects or the viewers of classical buildings, that made the creation or appreciation of these buildings possible.

Our analysis relies on the documents of the periods in which classical architecture was shaped and attempts to find out how classical architecture was seen, how it was talked about, what were the categories through which classical buildings were originally conceived and perceived. In our efforts to reconstruct the canon of classical architecture, we draw from Vitruvius and the *Poetics* of Aristotle. We also go back to the theories of classical architecture, music, and poetry since the Renaissance, and to modern poetics such as those of the Russian formalists. In addition, we investigate the illustrations and diagrams of architecture in treatises that provide clues to imply formal categories but fall short of supplying them. Finally, we test the conclusions of the investigations on the works themselves, the heritage of classical buildings.

We identify three levels of formal organization: (1) taxis, which divide architectural works into parts; (2) the genera, individual elements that populate the parts as divided by taxis; and (3) symmetry, the relations between individual elements. The three levels are equally important. They make up what is usually referred to as the “canon” of classical architecture. The canon does not so much dictate form as constrain it, to borrow a term from cognitive scientists. This means that it specifies what not to do rather than what to do. Hence the traditional capacity of the classical canon to create an infinite number of formal arrangements. Instead of being dogmatic and mechanical in its operations, the classical canon allows for a fascinating exploration of anomalies, paradoxes, and riddles that redefine its own limits. The analysis of these exceptions to the rule has proven most rewarding.

BRUNILDE SISMONDO RIDGWAY

*The Belevi Mausoleum: A Rich Hellenistic Tomb near Ephesos*

The Belevi Mausoleum has been known since the beginning of the century, but a war and several deaths prevented an official publication from appearing until 1979. Even after this public presentation, the monument has remained controversial in terms of reconstruction, dating, and attribution. Who was the person buried in this elaborate structure? Several suggestions have been made, but debate continues. Yet, surprisingly, the discussion has touched only some restricted circles, and the mausoleum remains largely unknown by the wider audiences interested in ancient art and culture.

The Belevi Mausoleum consists of a rock core revetted with ashlar masonry and surmounted by a Doric entablature with blank metopes. On this "podium" stood a colonnade of Corinthian columns, surrounding some walls that may have formed a cella or enclosed an open courtyard (for an altar?). Between the Corinthian columns and the walls ran a series of decorated coffers, representing a centaumachia and funerary games. The type of roof above this level is still open to debate, but it included a series of griffins in the round, flanking large vases and corner horses. Inside the rock core, a funerary chamber was carved and vaulted. Although robbed in antiquity, it was found to contain an elaborately carved sarcophagus and the statue of an oriental servant. The mixture of Persian and Greek traits in the decoration of the tomb had increased the difficulty of attribution to an owner.

A review of all the elements of this monument compared with those of other famous buildings and sculptures underscores the classical sources of inspiration for the Hellenistic tomb.



JOHN SHEARMAN

*Raphael, Bellini, and Titian in the Camerino of Alfonso d'Este*

The Camerino of the Duke of Ferrara, Alfonso I d'Este, may fairly be described as the most representative act of patronage of the High Renaissance: Alfonso had the idea (which has precedents in Siena, Mantua, and Rome) of matching several of the greatest artists from all of Italy—Raphael (and probably Michelangelo) in Rome, Fra Bartolomeo in Florence, Dosso Dossi in Ferrara itself, and Bellini and Titian in Venice. The surviving canvases are among the most celebrated secular paintings ever made: Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (or *Feast of Bacchus*) in Washington, and Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (London), *Worship of Venus*, and *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (both Madrid). A *Triumph of Bacchus* designed by Raphael and a *Bacchanal* by Dosso are now lost.

The importance of the project has always been recognized, and there have been several attempts to reconstruct the sequence of events and the room's eventual appearance. Several new documents, and reconsideration of others already known but neglected, suggest that planning of the paintings began in 1511 and that the first commissions were given in 1512–1513; Raphael's *Triumph of Bacchus* was among the first, and from 1517 he was working on a second design (never delivered), the *Hunt of Meleager*. It is argued here not only that the chronology of the project must be advanced, but also that existing reconstructions of the room (all of them for other reasons unsatisfactory) are based upon a probably wrong assumption about the number of canvases hung there. In particular the relations between Raphael's designs and Titian's are reexamined. The thrust of the argument is not to propose yet another reconstruction, but to stimulate a more active debate by opening new options as old ones are closed.

New archival material, particularly about the zoological mania uniting Pope Leo X, the d'Este, and the Gonzaga in Mantua, reveals some entertaining history, a number of portraits of animals (including two of elephants by Raphael), and allows a more precise appreciation of Alfonso d'Este's patronage and the efforts of his artists to indulge his particular tastes.

GWENDOLYN WRIGHT

*Imperial Lessons for Republican France: French Colonial Urbanism under the Third Republic*

The cultural realm offers different opportunities for imperial strategies. Under the Third Republic, the prevailing French colonial policy underwent a dramatic shift. The earlier "assimilationist" stance had entailed the destruction of existing cities and the imposition of metropolitan monuments as a sign of French domination. In contrast, "association" sought to preserve local culture, especially indigenous (both vernacular and refined), to introduce modern social services in the cities, and then to integrate elements of indigenous architecture into exemplary new housing and public buildings for the French *villes nouvelles*.

To a striking degree, the audience for the new policy involved France as much as the colonies themselves. Administrators hoped to win stronger support for French imperialism: political endorsement, economic investment, and enthusiastic tourism. Several officials also saw the colonial cities as models for how France could address many of its own urban problems. The capitals of Morocco, Indochina, and Madagascar did indeed come to be viewed as laboratories. Here architects, social scientists, and political administrators studied the particularities of each local culture, evolving specific urban design and political policies in response to these investigations. At the same time, however, these experiments could suggest basic urban strategies to mitigate problems France also faced, ranging from poor public health to low industrial productivity, from class antagonisms to regional resistance against the centralized state. In the most general terms, these settings suggested how one could modernize without destroying cultural traditions and the historic fabric of cities, an issue with obvious political as well as aesthetic and social implications in any context.

The urban proposals and achievements in the three colonies of Morocco, Indochina, and Madagascar, especially during the 1910s and 1920s, represent an important alternative to the European modern movement, an approach more responsive to local history and culture. Yet the colonial environments, in particular the *villes nouvelles* for the French *colons*, with their streamlined white structures and wide straight boulevards, also replicated elements of the imagery favored by the European avant-garde. Both sides of colonial urbanism involved specific political concerns, over and above stylistic agendas. The established patterns of ritual, street life, and architectural ornament seemed a way to reinforce the superimposed colonial order; the modernist imagery of the *villes nouvelles* was designed to impress the French and build up the local industrial economy. The goal, in sum, was to protect certain aspects of tradition and sponsor other aspects of modernization, all in order to buttress the power of French imperialism.



MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

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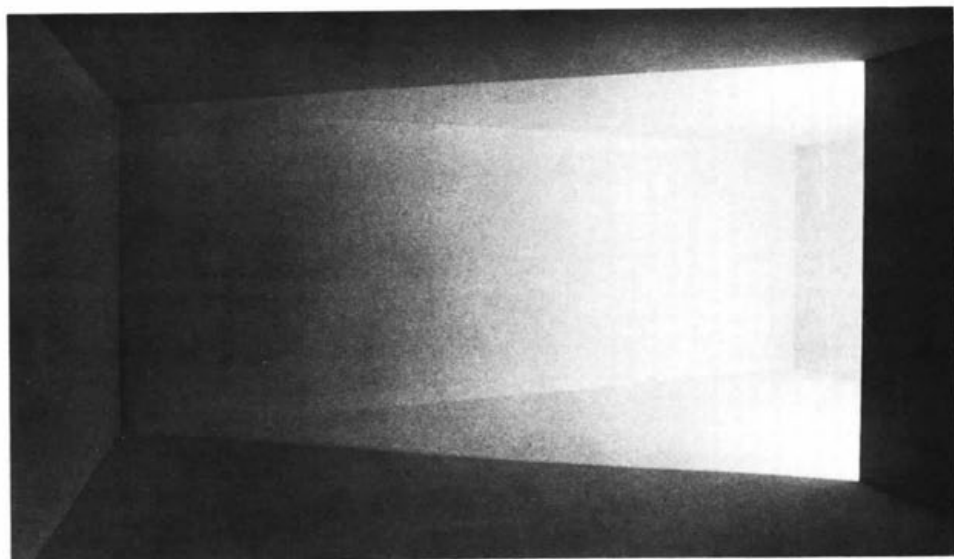
The following research reports discuss work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1986 to May 1987 and by several Predoctoral Fellows not in residence whose terms ended in August 1986. Additional reports by Predoctoral Fellows for the 1986–1987 academic year and Visiting Senior Fellows for summer 1987 will be published in *Center 8*.

CRAIG ADCOCK

*The Light and Space Sculpture of James Turrell*

James Turrell's art is not about science, but it sits comfortably within the boundaries of science, and understanding his complex perceptual sculpture is facilitated by understanding the science that gives it shape and direction. One of the central implications of his work is that contemporary art is unavoidably tied to science. In his ethereal light sculptures, works that subtly modify the perception of space, art and science seem to be intimately related—the light and the knowledge come together in meaningful ways, and the patterns have profound beauty. At still deeper levels, the connections become philosophical. Much of my research during my stay at the National Gallery was devoted to finding ways of articulating the fundamental epistemological implications that I perceive in these interrelationships. In the broadest terms, my research was, and still is, devoted to finding ways of bridging the specific uses of science evident in Turrell's work to the more general importance that science has had for art in the modern period.

During my two-month stay at the Center for Advanced Study, my research involved exploring potential connections between art and science as manifested in the work of James Turrell. The libraries and collections devoted to both art and science in the Washington area were of great help to me, especially in terms of my work in the scientific disciplines that inform Turrell's art. I am working on a book about Turrell's light and space sculpture, and a good deal of the actual writing I did at the Center



James Turrell, *Wedgework III*, 1969.

was about his relationship to minimalism during the 1960s. When I arrived at the Center, the work I had already completed consisted of those chapters that deal with specific aspects of Turrell's work. By the time I left the Center, the entire manuscript for the book, including those chapters devoted to historical background, was beginning to take definite shape.

Florida State University  
Associate, spring 1987

*William Blake and the Tradition of History Painting*

My research at the Center focused upon the tradition of history painting generally, and upon its evolution in eighteenth-century England in particular, as it was likely to have been known to William Blake. Although Blake criticism has come increasingly in recent years to appreciate and respond to the necessity of considering both Blake's verbal and his visual works in arriving at any properly informed estimate of his art, too often Blake's critics are still hampered by an insufficient awareness of the various literary or art historical aspects in Blake scholarship. The result has frequently been readings that neglect or seriously misinterpret one or the other of these aspects of Blake's work, with the result that errors and misapprehensions are perpetuated. My research involves a deliberate attempt to proceed from an appropriately balanced and informed interdisciplinary perspective in a variety of projects, which will culminate in a book addressing both Blake's poetry and his visual art.

While at the Center, I paid particular attention to the tradition of history painting in England and to its roots in earlier art and critical theory, since a close study of the shorter illuminated prophetic poems Blake composed during the 1790s (the "Lambeth prophecies") reveals surprising analogies to the nature and conception of eighteenth-century English history painting. Like most artists of his time, Blake aspired to a career as a history painter, an ambition that, like so many of Blake's plans, went largely unfulfilled. His early paintings—particularly in the 1780s and early 1790s—demonstrate his considerable interest in subjects first from the history of England and later from both English authors (especially Milton) and the Bible, all of which are entirely in keeping with the generally nationalistic impulse of British art of the period as revealed in the works of artists like James Barry and Blake's Swiss friend Henry Fuseli.

Moreover, Blake's earliest longer poems reveal a similar fascination with historical subject matter. Among the first of these are poems on the French Revolution (*The French Revolution*), the American Revolution (*America: A Prophecy*), and the outline of European history since the birth of Christ (*Europe: A Prophecy*). Blake's longer poems of this period move gradually toward the encompassing perspective of universal history—rather than merely topical and local focus—in a manner that shares much with history painting. Likewise, Blake's poems embody many features that have recognizable relations to history painting, including a neoclassical formalism, a strongly allegorical—even typological—treatment of subject, and a strong eclecticism that links both verbal and visual texts to other works within the tradition of historical art.

Not surprisingly, much of my research time was devoted to studying visual resources of all sorts, particularly the works of Blake's contemporaries and immediate predecessors, but also those of earlier artists who most profoundly influenced the English history painters. I also consulted critical and theoretical works on the subject, both from the relevant periods and





Benjamin West, *The Death of General Wolfe*, 1770. National Gallery of Canada, Gift of the Duke of Westminster.

from modern scholarship, as well as the valuable catalogues and records of exhibitions at the Royal Academy of Arts, the Society of Artists, and other contemporary exhibitions with which Blake was probably familiar.

In the course of pursuing the research that will lead eventually to a book on this subject, I was able to bring some of my preliminary findings to bear in a long article on Blake's *Pestilence* pictures, a series that spans some twenty-five years of the artist's most productive years and that reveals significant intersections between Blake's interests and practice as a painter of historical subjects and his work in an analogous vein in the unique vehicle of illuminated poetry. I also completed a shorter manuscript on Blake and Gillray, as well as some preliminary drafts of material that will eventually be elaborated in my book. All these activities, together with my research at the Center and at the Library of Congress, have served to reinforce what I perceive as the validity of studying in greater detail the relationships among Blake's Lambeth prophecies, his early visual works, and the tradition of history painting.

University of Nebraska

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986

FREDERICK NATHANIEL BOHRER

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

Aujourd'hui, l'univers est à notre porte et les artistes le parcourent déjà, trouvant sur des terres bien étranges pour nous et parmi des populations qui représentent non seulement tous les types mais tous les âges de l'humanité une inspiration enfiévrée.

—Etienne Thoré-Bürger, 1864

The interpretation of modern artistic exoticism is caught between two paths: the formalist mode, which presents the artist as a transcriber of alien lands and exotic artifacts, and the contextualist mode, indebted to Edward Said, among others, in which the construal of non-Western cultures is seen as primarily conditioned by the priorities and prejudices of Western observers themselves. I have attempted to eschew both interpretative strategies, as well as the narrow group of images they are based upon, in an attempt to help break the impasse between the two modes of interpretation. Instead, I acknowledge the wide variety of exoticism as noted by critics such as Thoré-Bürger. I have chosen to consider one exemplary aspect of the universe of exoticism, the art of ancient Mesopotamia, first excavated in the middle of the nineteenth century. My goals are to describe the little-studied artistic significance and influence of these works and to develop a historically verifiable model for their reception in which both the formalist and the contextualist modes can be situated. My Kress grant has allowed me a year of European research and a year in residence at the National Gallery in which I have completed much of the writing of this project.

I have focused on three "moments" in the archaeological excavation of Mesopotamia, points in which three of the major groups of Mesopotamian art—Assyrian, Sumerian, and Babylonian—became known. Assyrian art was first made public around 1850 in England and France. Sumerian art was first exhibited around 1880 in France. Babylonia was excavated, and publicized, between 1900 and World War I by a German group. I examine each milieu in turn and consider a fixed range of issues: the physical recovery of the artifacts, methods of exhibition of the works, coverage of the objects in publications, reactions of artists and critics, operant methods of interpreting or evaluating the works, and the literary and visual reuse of the artifacts. This method allows me to compare and contrast stages of both a chronological progression and a physical one, in which the leading role passes successively farther from England.

If there is a methodological innovation to my study, it lies in my paying considerable attention to the system by which information on the Mesopotamian objects was circulated. *Parcourir*, as used by Thoré-Bürger, could suggest either "to travel through" a country or "to leaf through" a text. In fact, the single most popular form in which information on the Mesopotamian discoveries was promulgated combined these two processes, as

many of the most often cited works on the antiquities belonged to the realm of travel literature. Mesopotamian artifacts were thus utilized in organized narratives, in which the objects took on roles determined by their place in the story. This sort of usage, I argue, is basically amenable to the imagery of Mesopotamia dominant before the discoveries, for instance in the strongly narrative work of Delacroix and John Martin. Thus, in the later nineteenth century there is a continued current of grand historical narrative images of Mesopotamia by artists as varied as F. M. Brown, Edgar Degas, and Georges Rochegrosse. This continuity is much more striking than the far greater accuracy in depicting the appearance of Mesopotamia that is evident in the later works.

Yet the availability of the works in national museums (the British Museum, the Louvre, Berlin's Staatliche Museen) and in such vehicles as *The Illustrated London News*, *L'Illustration*, and the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* is a central factor in the rise of an alternative mode of conceiving of Mesopotamia, striving not for narrative but for visual coherence. Artists such as Dante Gabriel Rossetti, Gustave Moreau, and Emil Nolde were involved in this way of treating Mesopotamian artifacts. The works were therefore visually available far beyond the confines of museums themselves. In the case of Moreau, ties can be concretely established to published Mesopotamian objects. The confluence of Rossetti and Nolde suggests a social dimension to this confrontation of narrative versus visual modes of evaluation of the artifacts. At the time in question for each, they were young, middle-class, antiacademic members of alternative artistic groupings (the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and Die Brücke). Mesopotamian objects of many classes were frequently denounced by academic authorities as aesthetically worthless. Thus the Mesopotamian works appear to have been absorbed by antiacademic groups into an alternative aesthetic canon.

This social basis for trends in interpretation of Mesopotamian art is especially valuable because it embraces many of the different aspects of the reception. The illustrated magazines were basically middle class in orientation. Moreover, the decision of the British Museum and Louvre to devote considerable resources to displaying Mesopotamian objects is in part a surrender to popular protests over the exclusive exhibition policies of those museums.

Insofar as the differing modes of construing Mesopotamia represent a disagreement in the evaluation of the aesthetic worth of Mesopotamian objects, the contextualist point obviously applies. But the fact that visual accuracy is an essential part of the non-narrative mode suggests that the formalist mode of evaluation is also applicable. The next question, which I hope to take up subsequently, is how typical Mesopotamia is of the vast encyclopedia of historical and non-Western peoples.

[The University of Chicago]

Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1985–1987

*Delos and Pompeii: A Comparative Study of Greek and Roman Painting Techniques*

In recent years significant attempts have been made for the first time to bring together various preserved examples of Greek and Roman wall painting in order to gain a better view of the little-understood art historical development that took place in the formation of the Roman "Four Styles." My approach to the problem involves, first, the identification of certain techniques of handling color and certain concepts of the spatial relation between three-dimensional forms and their backgrounds that appear in the narrative friezes in mural relief decorations of the Masonry Style in Greece; and second, tracing the history of these special techniques and spatial concepts in the Roman-Campanian context.

The techniques in question include the use of white monochrome, in which figures are rendered in milky white pigment on a dark red background, and the use of solid black as a background for figures rendered in various colors. In my book on the Delos fragments I suggested that both the solid red and solid black backgrounds in painted friezes must have been adapted by mural painters from the use of colored stone as background for relief figures in architectural sculptures of the classical and Hellenistic periods. As early as the late fifth century B.C. the Erechtheion frieze on the Athenian Acropolis had marble figures, painted in various colors, doweled to frieze blocks of dark Eleusinian marble. In painted friezes, however, the figures, unlike their doweled prototypes in sculpture, were given a certain amount of pictorial space to move in and actually cast shadows behind them, thus separating themselves from what became an arbitrary field of deeply saturated color. This applied as much to the figures of the red friezes, executed in monochromatic white, as it did to the figures of the black friezes, which were rendered in a full and naturalistic palette. The abstract, arbitrary character of the coloring in narrative friezes of this type appears anachronistic; it can be best explained as something that occurred quite naturally in the course of translating conventions of color in relief sculpture into the atmospheric effects that can be obtained only in painting. In this way the naturalism to be expected in the easel painting of Hellenistic Greece might be consciously sacrificed in the murals in order to maintain a recognizable connection between the painted frieze and its original architectonic prototype. It was the architectonic emphasis of the Masonry Style itself that seems to have caused this extraordinary ancient departure into the realm of abstract color.

When we follow these typical muralist methods from Hellenistic Greece into Italy, the first and most surprising fact that presents itself is that in Italy they do not appear at all in the mural context in which they developed in Greece. In the Roman-Campanian First Style, the continuation in Magna Graecia of the Greek Masonry Style, which then spread through the rest of Italy, illusionistic rendering was exceedingly rare and confined almost exclusively to ornamentation. When we see the Greek frieze techniques

appear at Pompeii toward the middle of the first century B.C., they are executed not in the First Style, but in a fairly advanced stage of the Second.

The few examples of the Greek narrative friezes that do occur in the Second Style prove that these techniques were in fact known to the painters of Roman-Campanian mural workshops. They painted careful and accurate pictures of them in their views of architectural monuments. Having noted this fact, it then becomes possible to isolate precisely what it was that the workshops in Italy retained of the Greek muralists' ideas on color and the psychology of *trompe l'oeil*, and what they discarded. The format of the frieze, an inheritance from high classicism, was soon abandoned in the Second Style except for the few cases where the Greek examples were pictorialized in the larger *trompe l'oeil* designs. The idea of painting figures on fields of arbitrary color was kept, and as the Second Style developed, this practice was carried beyond anything that had happened earlier in Greece. It became the province of the Italian mural workshops to enlarge the sense of fantasy created by painting naturalistically colored and lighted figures on backgrounds of deeply saturated reds, blacks, and other colors. Carried to the scale of an entire painted room, the solid color backgrounds of the earlier Greek friezes became giant color fields in the modern sense, so close in expressive power to what happens in modern art that Mark Rothko himself, after a visit to the Villa of the Mysteries in 1959, exclaimed upon the correspondence he felt between the ancient designs and his own work.

In the later Second Style and then in the Third and Fourth Styles the Roman muralist developed an increasing awareness of the possibilities inherent in combining powerful color, *trompe l'oeil* spaces, and the symbols of mythological poetry, all of which were originally part of the Greek mural tradition but now attained levels of beauty and suggestive power that were far beyond the reach of earlier periods.

Thus the comparisons between Greek and Roman examples can become a starting point for the rewriting of the history of the art of the ancient mural in a way that throws new light not only on the continuity between the Greek and Roman chapters but also on the character of the Roman contribution. My research in the past year has been directed at collecting newly excavated and recently published data that help to fill in the gaps in this whole art historical process, particularly at the moment of transition from the First to the Second Styles in the late Republic, and at the moment in the early Augustan Age when the Second Style began to lose its fidelity to the principles of architectonic structure that had governed earlier experiments and to strike out in unprecedented new directions.

The University of Texas at Arlington  
Associate, spring 1987

*Social Meanings in the Painting of Aelbert Cuyp*

The study of seventeenth-century Dutch landscape painting has proceeded fitfully since Wolfgang Stechow's analysis published in 1966 of the graphic innovations in the genre. In particular, the investigation of the meaning, or significance, of landscape painting has been problematic, with various attempts to isolate specific emblematic, moralizing, religious, or poetic meanings. To a large extent these endeavors have duplicated the methods used to treat history and genre painting, with an incumbent reliance on texts, emblems, or theoretical writings. That most Dutch landscape paintings appear to contain no overt textual references or even poetical allusions (Ruisdael's famed *Jewish Cemetery* being an exception), suggests that a more subtle, broad-based approach is required. The landscape paintings of Aelbert Cuyp (1620–1691) permit, perhaps more readily than most, a specific understanding of meaning based on contemporary response or association, since the artist spent his entire career in the town of Dordrecht and worked for a small circle of upper-class patrons.

A major portion of Cuyp's work consisted of portraits in landscape of the Dordrecht regency. Here the artist concocted a unique blend of elegantly dressed riders, often at the hunt, set against fanciful architecture or even classical ruins, and imbued with a golden Italian light that the artist never experienced firsthand. This highly original formula is matched by the life and pretensions of the sitters themselves, whom I have been able to profile



Aelbert Cuyp, *The Valkhot at Nijmegen*. Private collection.

through research in Dutch archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Hoge Raad van Adel, and Gemeente Archief Dordrecht) in my year under the Center's sponsorship. These patrons, greedy for position and prestige at the *stadhouder's* court, desirous of landed titles or foreign orders of nobility, commissioned Cuyp to portray them and their residences (or to decorate their rooms). Cuyp's other mature landscapes, although not necessarily portraits, are based on this imagery and were often made for the same patrons.

Many of the attributes and devices used by Cuyp are derived from Dutch Italianate landscape paintings, especially the work of Jan Both. Italian landscape pictures embodied specific associations and ideas for the contemporary Dutch observer, which can be gauged through critical reactions, poems about landscapes, as well as the circulation of and market for such paintings. What appears to have been a well-defined sense of elegance, power, and classical atmosphere was adopted by Cuyp for use in his own Dutch landscapes, not merely for his grand portraits, but also for views of Dordrecht, Nijmegen, and the Rhineland. This aggrandizing impulse was paralleled by the propagandistic celebrations of cities and the fatherland found in seventeenth-century histories and descriptions. Cuyp's views of Nijmegen differ wholly from earlier representations of the site by artists such as Salomon van Ruisdael and Jan van Goyen. Lit by warm, golden sunlight, populated by idyllic herdsmen and seigneurial horsemen, the scene is recognizably both Italian and aristocratic. While being a striking artistic innovation, Cuyp's work of this sort fully taps the desire of the seventeenth-century Dutch to celebrate their history and their historical monuments. Descriptive texts stress the historic importance of Nijmegen as the first city of the Netherlands, capital of Claudius Civilis, leader of the revolt against the Romans, and even seat of Charlemagne. That much of this was embroidered legend underscores the Dutch desire to glorify the past. In representing Nijmegen, Cuyp heightens its patriotic role as the birthplace of the nation and lends it a timeless classical status.

Similar strategies operated for Cuyp's depictions of his native Dordrecht, which were also apparently popular with his patrons. Certain of the artist's other themes, such as cattle and other livestock before the town of Dordrecht, may have been directly tied to local economic factors. I have used much of my tenure as a Smith Fellow investigating patterns of local circumstance and belief as they affected the development of Aelbert Cuyp's art. This has involved an intensive study not only of Dordrecht patronage, as recorded in sales, inventories, and testaments, but also of the sources of local pride and prosperity. I have also explored the reception of certain images—how depictions of industries, cities, and historic sites were received and understood. Through such means, which concentrate primarily on vernacular, descriptive source material rather than rarified literary products of the intelligentsia, Aelbert Cuyp's unique and original ability to respond to the special forces that surrounded him may be successfully examined.

[New York University]

Robert and Clarice Smith Predoctoral Fellow, 1985–1986

*Oriental Motifs in the Works of Rubens, Rembrandt, and Their Pupils*

My aim for my two-month fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts was to continue the preparation of a book on the artistic relations between the Netherlands, Central Europe, and the Orient in the seventeenth century. The Orient is here broadly understood to include the Ottoman empire, Persia, Poland, Transylvania, and the kingdom of Turkey.

In the seventeenth century ambassadors from Poland or Persia would arrive in The Hague and in Brussels with their corteges arrayed in national costume. In Amsterdam and Antwerp, the preeminent centers of commerce and art during this period, merchants from Poland, Russia, and Persia were known by the name "de Oistersche Natie" (the Eastern nations). One of the largest colonies of these merchants came from Persia, but a considerable number of Armenians settled in the Boomsloot quarter of the city. "Persiaen" or "Persiaan" were other names commonly used in Amsterdam to refer to the Armenians, even those who came not from Isfahan but from the Ottoman Turkish empire.

In 1772 F. Valentijn wrote, "The Persians I need not describe either in their clothing or character, as one has plenty of them at Amsterdam where one can see them daily." He identified a Persian as other Europeans did also in this time, with the characteristic turban and long dress. In reality, the Persian turban and costume first appeared in Rembrandt's work, on the figure in *The Noble Slav* from 1632, now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. I have identified hypothetically an Armenian from Turkey as the first figure in the drawing by Rembrandt *Two Men in Discussion* (Benesch cat. no. 500a) and also as his *Oriental Standing* (Benesch, addenda 14).

Rubens in his *Costume Book* drew an Armenian from Constantinople, with the description of the colors of his cap, collar, and underdress (Lohse Belkin, cat. no. 37G) copied from a Jerusalem codex. The portrait of Antwerp's merchant Nicolas de Respaigne in Kassel, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen, was painted by Rubens in 1619, with the sitter in Turkish costume, holding a palm as a sign of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Rubens' *The King of Tunis*, now in Boston and dated 1613-1614, was painted after the etchings by Jan Vermeyen; it is the portrait of Müllây Aḥmad. Rubens often repeated this figure, as did his pupils after him (*The Adoration of the Magi*, for example).

Approaches to oriental subjects in the Netherlands varied quite widely depending on the religious, economic, and intellectual climate. For instance, the University of Leiden invited the French protestant Josephus Justus Scaliger, one of the greatest scholars of his day, to create in this town a center for oriental languages. He edited, among other works, *De emendatione temporum* (1598), with astronomical terminology in five oriental languages, and *Specimen characterum Arabicum*.

In Antwerp, on the other hand, the Jesuits established a center to oversee the missions in Persia, Korea, China, India, Japan, and Indonesia. Rubens was closely associated with Domus Professus Antverpiensis and especially



with the priest Andrew Scott, a connoisseur of “. . . rebus Indicis, Iaponicis etc.” Five drawings of a group of Chinese costume studies are dated by me to the years 1615-1620. There are also Jesuit converts portrayed in Korean costume in the J. Paul Getty Museum, and Jesuits in Chinese costume (before 1620)—one in Stockholm and exact copies by Anthony Van Dyck in the Robert Smith Collection (Washington, D.C.) and by Rubens in the collection of Dr. L. Burchard (London). In a study in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Rubens portrayed the oldest Jesuit. My research has previously concerned aspects of the oriental drawings and *modelli* of Rubens. In my grant period I have taken this up again and have discovered other works bearing on this subject, such as the drawing *Bearded Man in a Turban* from the Albertina attributed to Rubens by Michael Jaffé.

Another of my interests is Polish portraits or studies of Polish costume by Rembrandt. D. de Hoop Scheffer with K. G. Boon have identified the etching from 1641 (Bartsch 261) with the term from the inventory of the copperplates in 1679 “Raetsheer van sijn majestijt in Poolen” (the councillor of His Majesty in Poland). Another term from the inventory, “Noch een Poolse Vendrich” (another Polish standard bearer), was probably the first description of the painting entitled *The Standard Bearer* (1636), now in the collection of E. de Rothschild in Paris (Bredius 433). Rembrandt's *A Polish Nobleman* from the National Gallery of Art has been traditionally identified as a portrait of Andrzej Rey from Naglowice, the Polish ambassador to London and The Hague in 1637. If it is a self-portrait in the costume of a Polish nobleman, it would suggest to me that there are two versions of this painting, with the second (a self-portrait) painted not in 1637 but a little after.

I have written about *The Polish Rider* from The Frick Collection in New York and I maintain my opinion: it is a portrait of Marćjan Aleksander Ogiński from Lithuania. In studying costumes of the Polish noble in Rembrandt's work, I have identified *The Old Polish* (Benesch 44), *The Polish Officer* (Benesch 45), *Two Orientals Standing* (Benesch 655a) (a noble with his servant), *Oriental in Turban* (?) (Benesch 956), and two etchings of Poles (Bartsch 141 and 142). Rembrandt and his school used some costumes *orientalisés* in biblical subjects and also in representations of ancient history (e.g., *Thetis Urges Achilles*, Benesch 45a). Among the great number of works in Rembrandt's collection that he was forced to sell in the auction of 1656, he made particular note of his miniatures from the Mogul court, making twenty-five or more copies after them. As an example of his interpretation of the style of these miniatures from 1620-1650, we see the etching *Abraham Entertaining the Angels* (Bartsch 29), which most perfectly exemplifies Rembrandt's orientalism.

During my CASVA fellowship I was able to study works of art not only in the National Gallery but in collections in New York, Chicago, and Boston. I was particularly interested in the work of Rembrandt, Rubens, Ferdinand Bol, and Van Dyck, among other Dutch and Flemish painters who depicted figures in oriental dress.

University of Warsaw

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987

*The American Ideal in Soviet Architecture, 1917–1954*

The emergence of the diverse components of an architectural culture of modernism is in many aspects based on the creation of an ideal relationship with the American city and with American buildings. The architecture of Soviet Russia is not an exception to this rule, and as much as modern architecture in Germany, France, or Italy, it is based on the reference to fragments of the urban, architectural, or industrial design cultures of the United States.

The roots of *Amerikanizm* plunge deep into Russian history. As early as the beginning of the nineteenth century, an interest in the building industry of America and in its material and cultural production arose. In the first place, Russia and America, facing each other across the Pacific Ocean, are nations that similarly conquered their eastern (Russia) and western (America) territories. Moreover, part of the Russian elite, aspiring to modernize the country, saw in America the very face of the future, and in Russia itself, according to the futurist poet Alexander Blok, a "new America." This representation did not change after 1917. At the same time, others of the elite, such as the writer Maxim Gorky, were horrified by the vision of a civilization devoted to the "yellow devil"—gold—and were pioneers of a lasting and passionate anti-Americanism.

The Bolsheviks and particularly Vladimir Lenin were fascinated by Frederick Taylor's "scientific management" and by Henry Ford's assembly line, a fascination that went well beyond the sphere of mere politics or of industrial strategies into the realm of poetics. The writer Sergei Tretyakov asked in the 1920s for an "Americanized man in an electrified country." Vladimir Mayakovsky eulogized the Brooklyn Bridge during his 1925 visit, while complaining at the same time about the inadequate forms of New York's skyscrapers.

Immediately after the October 1917 Revolution *Amerikanizm* was reduced to a simple idealization of the machine. The universe of modern production, as identified with America, was used in the first architectural designs of the constructivist Alexander Vesnin, the stage designs of Lyubov Popova for Vsyevolod Meyerhold, and in the early films of Dziga Vertov. In addition to the idealized machine, it was the method of American production that rapidly became a central reference in design theories and projects. During this period American firms like Albert Kahn Associates and the Austin Company actually built the backbone of the first Russian Five-Year Plan's infrastructure, and the chief engineer of its most prestigious site, the Dneprostroy Dam, was Hugh C. Cooper, an American.

The supporters of "de-urbanism" dreamt of extending to the whole Soviet territory the decentralized production structure they believed to exist in the subcontracting system of Ford's factories. On the other hand, the image of the skyscraper was so pregnant in the thinking of the constructivists that Alexander Pasternak saw in this building type the very "social condenser" he looked for in the campaign opened by the Left and

the avant-garde to “reconstruct” the daily life in the city.

The achievements of the American building industry were central in the discussions among the Soviet architects and builders, perceived as they were through the enthusiastic descriptions of Richard Neutra or Martin Wagner, which had been very quickly translated from the German. The Weimar Republic was, before the opening of diplomatic relations with the United States in 1933, the main channel of foreign influence into the Soviet Union.

With the abrupt transition toward socialist realism in the middle 1930s, the interest focused on America took a new shape. A strongly ambiguous attitude appeared, which combined explicit criticism and implicit borrowings, as in the case of the detailing of Boris Iofan’s Palace of the Soviets or of the postwar Moscow skyscrapers. Looking for a theory of urban form usable for Moscow and the new industrial towns, the Soviet urbanists endorsed visions like the *Metropolis of Tomorrow* designed by Hugh Ferriss in 1929. Architects were eager to use the technical information on steel construction sent to Russia by the temporary émigré Vyacheslav Oltarzhovsky, who worked in New York. The relationship with American industry also changed, however, so that, instead of emulating the means of production, American products such as automobiles, airplanes, refrigerators were “borrowed,” even before the mighty acceleration provoked during the war by the lend-lease agreements.

At the end of Stalin’s era the purge of architects and technicians who were too much fascinated with the West coincided with the final crystallization of *Amerikanizm* in the set of skyscrapers built in Moscow. At the same time, Gorky’s anti-American criticisms were repeatedly reprinted in the early 1950s. The Soviet representation of America, combining as it did naive preconceptions and often indirect knowledge, crossing politics, technology, literature, and art, was an essential component of a culture aspiring toward building symbolically another “new world.” Observing the effects of *Amerikanizm* in the field of architecture and urban design, where ideal visions and specific policies overlap, allows an understanding of both the general phenomenon of modernity in Europe and of the particular and contradictory development of Soviet Russian architecture.

Ecole d’Architecture, Paris-Villemin

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1987

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

The completion of the facade of S. Giorgio Maggiore in 1610 was the culmination of a campaign of building and decoration in the Benedictine monastery church begun in 1566 by Andrea Palladio. These dates provide general termini for an investigation of the painted, sculptural, and architectural decoration; the most intense phase, however, was during the 1590s under the leadership of Abbot Michele Alabardi, when the majority of the works were commissioned for the new church. These commissions went to some of the most important Venetian artists of the later sixteenth century: Jacopo Tintoretto and his workshop were allotted most of the painted altarpieces, with paintings also being executed by Jacopo Bassano and his son Leandro; the most extensive sculptural commissions were entrusted to Girolamo Campagna, whose bronze group for the high altar initiated a new freestanding type, and to the wood sculptor Albert van der Brulle, who undertook the choir stalls carved with scenes from the life of St. Benedict. It was unusual for a campaign of this scope and quality to be achieved within such a relatively limited span of time. The history of this campaign of decoration in S. Giorgio Maggiore forms the subject of my dissertation.

My premise is that a formal and thematic unity was present in the decoration, although not rigidly programmatic, and that the decoration campaign was expressive of the particular historical and artistic moment. This offers the opportunity to test assumptions about the response of forms and styles of art to the social and political circumstances that were integral to church decoration in Counter-Reformation Venice. The last decades of the sixteenth century were a critical period in Venetian history when its institutions were being reexamined by a significant reform group within the patriciate, a group that included patrons of the church. Historians have revised notions that characterized this period as one of economic and political "decline." In art history, however, it has been harder to shake off a view of this period as the twilight of the "golden age" of Venetian art, punctuated as it was with the deaths of the artists who had defined the style of the late Renaissance in Venice. The reevaluation of Venetian art of this period is made more difficult by its development outside the standard periodization applied in art history. Continued commissions in S. Giorgio from the family workshops of Jacopo Tintoretto and Jacopo Bassano after the deaths of these masters indicate fertile potential for investigations into the demands of patrons and their relationship to methods of studio production.

Until this time, the predominant form of art historical study on the paintings, sculpture, and architecture of S. Giorgio has been monographic, subsuming the particular works under a larger discussion of an artist's career. Such discussions provide a basis for determining the development of the artist's formal and iconographic means, as well as relating it to artistic tradition. But for a treatment of the decoration of S. Giorgio in the context

of the monastery one must turn to historical studies. The intention of my research is to provide a synthetic study of the decoration as compared, first, to what we know of the earlier decoration of the pre-Palladian church of S. Giorgio; second, to contemporary church decoration in Venice, such as that of Il Redentore and S. Francesco della Vigna; and third, to projects undertaken by other members of the Benedictine congregation to which S. Giorgio belonged, that is, the Congregation of S. Justina, later called Cassinese.

Contrary to the previously conceived monographic approach to the patronage component, I propose a more complex pattern of patronage, being a collective endeavor, among patrons of differing interests whose commissions were realized by a number of artists in what I believe can be convincingly shown to be a homogeneous effort. Various networks were established in which intersections between one party and another—for example, that between patricians and monks—were able to be ascertained, as were the points at which artists were incorporated into this complex, allowing an assessment of the political, ecclesiastical, and artistic concerns that tempered the decorative program. An aspect of the decoration aptly illustrating these concerns is the facade, where civic and monastic concerns are most visible. Here—along with the cotitular saints of the church, George and Stephen, and the patron saints of the city, Mark, and of the order, Benedict—appear the illustrious personages chosen to represent the monastery's history: Doge Sebastiano Ziani, thirteenth-century negotiator of political equality with Rome, and Doge Tribuno Memo, founder of S. Giorgio in 982. The facade program and its execution was the subject of my shop talk given at the Center during my year in residence at the National Gallery. This residency, following two years in Venice where I carried out the research for my dissertation, completed my fellowship term.

[Princeton University]

David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow, 1984–1987



Engraving by Giacomo Franco of the entrance of the doge to S. Giorgio Maggiore for the "Festa di Natale," from *Habiti d'huomini et Donne venetiane* (Venice, 1614).

*Jacopo Bertioia and the Farnese Court*

My CASVA curatorial fellowship was granted in order to aid my research for a monograph on Jacopo Bertioia (1544–1572/1573) and his relations with the Farnese court. I spent the four months of the fellowship period in Italy, working in the libraries in Parma and Rome and in archives in Parma, Piacenza, Rome, and Naples. In addition, I studied closely the frescoes attributed to Bertioia at the Palazzo del Giardino in Parma and the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola. The results of research during these months have changed my conception of Bertioia as an artist and his importance to Ottavio Farnese, Duke of Parma and Piacenza.

The background for this research began with my dissertation on the drawings of Jacopo Bertioia (Princeton University, 1972). Since the completion of that graduate work, I had gathered much material on Bertioia, mostly graphic, that strengthened my perception of his role at Caprarola and at the Oratorio del Gonfalone in Rome, already documented by contemporary letters. On the other hand, his participation in the extant rooms attributed to him in the Palazzo del Giardino at Parma became less secure. A contemporary Parmese chronicler, Edoari da Herba, wrote in 1572 that Bertioia had executed marvelous things for Duke Ottavio in the Palazzo del Giardino and in the house built on the gateway of Santa Croce. (The house above the gate has no remaining frescoes, and many of the frescoes in the Palazzo del Giardino were destroyed or covered over in the eighteenth-century restoration of the palace.) No attributions to Bertioia of works in the Palazzo del Giardino were noted again until the late eighteenth century, and these were of several small works detached at about that time. The two frescoed rooms, the so-called Sala di Orfeo and Sala del Bacio, upon which Bertioia's fame rests, were attributed to him only in 1950. However, since that date art historians have accepted these attributions as traditional.

The shadowy figure of the Bolognese Girolamo Mirola (died 1570) had always appeared to be the key link in the attribution of the Sala di Orfeo and Sala del Bacio. Along with other art historians, I had believed previously that Mirola had executed the Sala di Orfeo. I thought that on his death the more talented Bertioia had finished this room and painted the much more beguiling frescoes in the Sala del Bacio, admired for the frolicking and kissing figures amid a forest of crystal columns with golden capitals. I had ignored the documentation that suggested that Mirola's participation was far more important than Bertioia's. In studying payments and letters regarding Mirola in the Archivio di Stato, Parma, I had to accept the fact that Mirola, although unknown today, may have been regarded more highly at the Farnese court than was Bertioia. He was *capomaestro* of the painters in the Palazzo del Giardino until his death, and letters indicate that he worked in the rooms adjacent to the central loggia, that is, in the Sala di Orfeo and Sala del Bacio. Payments show also that his stipend was higher than Bertioia's.

As I was coming to the realization of Mirola's importance, Bert Meijer

(Director, Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte, Florence) was approaching the same problem from another angle. He had discovered that Count Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, on his travels through Italy in the late seventeenth century, had visited the Palazzo del Giardino and wrote in his notes that Girolamo Mirola had painted the rooms in question. In the meantime I had read an account of Parma written c. 1600 that mentioned that Mirola had painted beautiful works for Ottavio in the Palazzo del Giardino. With the numerous contemporary payments and letters and these accounts, Professor Meijer and I concluded that Mirola was the guiding force behind these rooms (which we now call the Sala di Ariosto and Sala di Boiardo since their subject matter has now been deciphered correctly by de Vito Battaglia). In studying the drawings related to these rooms, we saw also that they differed stylistically from those by Bertioia connected with his documented work in Rome. Our conclusions will be published in the September 1987 issue of the *Art Bulletin* ("Girolamo Mirola and Jacopo Bertioia in the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma").

There remain the contemporary account of Edoari da Herba and the drawings securely by Bertioia to show that he must have worked in the Palazzo del Giardino. I have not rejected the idea that he did aid Girolamo Mirola in the Sala del Bacio. However, in the meantime, two small frescoed rooms in the Palazzo del Giardino were discovered when the *carabinieri* (who occupy the palace) attempted to find more space for living and working quarters; and these two rooms, which I have attributed to Bertioia, are close in style to work by the artist at Caprarola. In addition, a drawing by Bertioia can be connected with these paintings. The results of this discovery of rooms, which I call the Sala di Perseo and Sala del Paesaggio, will be published in my article "An Unknown Masterpiece by Jacopo Bertioia in the Palazzo del Giardino, Parma," in a forthcoming issue of *Bollettino d'Arte*.

Further research during my fellowship period suggested to me that Bertioia probably died sometime around January 1573, that his father was a carpenter (as were others with the same name in sixteenth-century Parma), and that a painting of the *History of the Sabine Women* mentioned in one of the Farnese inventories is not the painting in the Museo Civico, Bologna, but one in the *deposito* of the Museo di Capodimonte, Naples. The painting in Bologna has been attributed by most writers to Bertioia in spite of others identifying it with the Farnese painting. Unfortunately, the attribution of this painting and paintings that Gere and Pouncey attributed to Bertioia in the Palazzo Spada, Rome (formerly Palazzo Capodiferro), are still, in my opinion, not completely understood. Mirola was also in Rome, he and Bertioia may indeed have worked together, and the participation of an *équipe* must be considered.

Consequently, my research in Italy, while clarifying some aspects of Bertioia's career, brought up new questions about his importance at the Farnese courts, both in Parma and Rome. My book will now treat both Jacopo Bertioia and Girolamo Mirola and their relationship with the Farnese.

Curator of Italian Drawings, Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art  
Art Curatorial Fellow, April–July 1986

*Dutch Mannerist Printmaking, 1582–1600*

With the exception of a few editions of a limited number of woodcuts, print production in the Netherlands prior to 1580 was centered almost exclusively in Antwerp, where from c. 1550 publishers like Hieronymus Cock, Gerard de Jode, and Philips Galle issued large numbers of engravings. Two events led to the development of a flourishing print industry in the northern Netherlands. First, a new artistic style resulted from the meeting and friendship in Haarlem around 1583 of three young artists—Hendrik Goltzius, trained as an engraver by Coornhert; the painter Karel van Mander, who collaborated with Bartholomeus Spranger in Vienna; and the painter Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem. This style, Haarlem mannerism, initially drew its inspiration from the work done by Spranger at the court of Rudolf II in Prague. Second, the fall of Antwerp in 1585, which separated the northern provinces of the southern Netherlands, created the economic conditions for an independent northern development.

In 1582 Goltzius had published his first engravings in Haarlem. These differ stylistically from the work he did before 1582 for Antwerp publishers. In a few years he developed a new virtuoso graphic style linked to the formal language of Spranger and of the new Haarlem mannerism. Goltzius in 1585 published his first engravings after the drawings of Spranger, which van Mander had brought from Vienna. He also engraved prints after his own designs in the rather idealized Spranger style, which powerfully influenced the current Haarlem mannerist style. Two years later, Spranger sent Goltzius drawings for engravings, including the large-scale design for *The Wedding of Cupid and Psyche*, which Goltzius engraved on three copper plates in the new engraving style, which featured a variety of swelling lines. Goltzius' cooperation with Cornelis Cornelisz. in 1587 resulted in a less idealized but highly agitated style, which after Goltzius' journey to Rome in 1591 was calmed to a more classical mode.

Goltzius soon trained pupils like Jacques de Gheyn and Jacob Matham to the level of professional engravers capable of executing his designs, and from 1587 on, he was publishing a stream of graphic works, which gradually took on a scale and variety fully comparable to the output of any Antwerp publisher. Other engravers such as de Gheyn's pupil Jan Saenredam and, during a short period, Jan Muller, also engraved prints for Goltzius. Almost all these prints were new inventions, designed by Goltzius, Cornelis Cornelisz., van Mander, Abraham Bloemaert, Pieter Isaacs, and other contemporaries. After 1590 Goltzius engraved only a few of his published prints, and around 1600 he stopped printmaking completely and started painting. He left his publishing firm to his stepson, Jacob Matham. Jacques de Gheyn followed a course similar to that of Goltzius, evolving from an engraver who executed designs by other artists to an engraver-designer in his own right, finally becoming mainly a publisher. After 1600 he concentrated almost exclusively on print design.

The careers of Goltzius and de Gheyn show that around 1600 the artistic



importance of a print was not only determined by the engraver but also by the designer. The "invention," whether or not it was intended for a print, was paramount. The technique of engraving was a way of rendering the design as faithfully as possible so that it could be reproduced in an edition. In the Dutch mannerist prints, however, we see a remarkable interplay between invention and engraving technique. Goltzius developed a new engraving style, which was capable of expressing the new visual vocabulary developed by Spranger and later by Cornelis Cornelisz. and other mannerist artists.

Printmaking and publishing activities were not limited to Haarlem, but shortly before 1590 Herman Jansz. Muller in Amsterdam started to publish engravings by his son, Jan Muller, after Goltzius, Spranger, and many other mannerist artists. Jan Muller, who became the most virtuoso of the mannerist engravers, was more a rival than a follower of Goltzius. Smaller publishers, such as Joos de Bosscher in Amsterdam from 1588 to 1591, began publishing mannerist prints around the same time.

My two-month stay at the Center enabled me to begin a deeper study of the general development and the specific aspects of printmaking in this period. It is possible to reconstruct the rise of printmaking in this period in Haarlem and Amsterdam rather precisely, because of the copious information given in the inscriptions on the prints, in most cases the names of the engraver, designer, and publisher. Often the prints are dated and have a short poem with the name or initials of the poet, and in some cases the print is dedicated to a well-known collector or Maecenas.

My first aim, realized during my stay at the Center, was to reconstruct and define the characteristics of the print production in Haarlem between 1582 when Goltzius' first publications appeared and 1590 when Goltzius left Haarlem for Italy. Especially in these first years the relations between a few engravers, designers, and a small group of intellectuals in Haarlem and Amsterdam appear to have been decisive for the stylistic developments in printmaking and for the choice of subject matter. Further study of the originals and the background of the artists and intellectuals involved will be needed to interpret these developments in a broader stylistic and cultural context.

Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1987

*The Kahn and Mellon Madonnas: Icons or Altarpieces?*

The Kahn and Mellon Madonnas are among the best known early paintings in the National Gallery of Art and have been the subjects of study and commentary since they came on the art market about 1912. Major articles have been published on these panels by Bernhard Berenson, Viktor Lazarev, Otto Demus, James Stubblebine, and by Hans Belting in conjunction with a technical report by Ann Hoenigswald, but no consensus has been reached on the circumstances of their artistic production. In view of the substantial new developments since the 1960s concerning the study of panel painting in the Mediterranean region and the continuing intense interest in the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas themselves, it seemed appropriate to attempt a fresh investigation of the two works, building on the research to date and asking some new questions.

Debate continues over the attributions of the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas in terms of location, date, and origins of the artists involved. Although Belting has recently argued convincingly the position that these panels were executed by different painters, an idea proposed already in the 1930s by Paolo d'Ancona, the relationship of the two paintings to each other, to Italian duecento painting, and to painting in Constantinople, Cyprus, Cilicia, and the Crusader states remains to be fully explored. Moreover, the function of the two works must be thoroughly investigated in light of a complete assessment of archaeological and art historical factors. Finally, with the unmasking of the Calahorra provenance as fictitious, reliable information is needed on the whereabouts of these panels before they came on the market.

My program of research at the Center divided into four major phases. First, I inspected the two panels as closely as possible with the help of Ann Hoenigswald in order to understand all the information she reported in relation to the current condition of the paintings. Secondly, I compared the condition of the Mellon Madonna in 1986 to its state prior to restoration as documented by Berenson photographs. Thirdly, I reviewed the historiography of the discussion on these two paintings, with special attention to the methods used, the assumptions underlying scholarly judgments, the evidence adduced, and the reasons proposed for the various interpretations. Fourthly, I reevaluated the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas, insofar as possible, against the full range of *comparanda* from thirteenth-century Italy and the eastern Mediterranean area.

The results of my inquiries have been incorporated into a working paper that will serve for lectures and discussions while further research is underway. The issues that can be addressed at this stage of my study concern the following points: (1) Accepting the proposition that the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas were done by different painters, I find the Byzantine character of the Kahn Madonna, with modest Western intrusions, is best accounted for in an Eastern setting with a possible Italian patron. (2) The extraordinary and unusual features of the Mellon Madonna are not ex-



Anonymous Byzantine, *Enthroned Madonna and Child*, thirteenth century. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mrs. Otto H. Kahn.

plained by the Kahn Madonna and find their most convincing parallels in works executed in the eastern Mediterranean, whether for Byzantine or western European patrons. (3) The recent conservation reports on the exact species of wood that form the material of these panels suggests that the two paintings were done under special workshop conditions that must be evaluated against other comparative data. (4) It is likely that the two Madonnas were done for different patrons by different artists for different functions. In both cases, however, the panels seem more closely related to icons than altarpieces in content and configuration.

Further research focusing on the physical materials of Byzantine icons and Italian panels and altarpieces and on the archaeology of thirteenth-century panel painting in general should enable us better to assess the role these Madonnas may have played in the transmission of the Byzantine tradition to the West. Crucial works such as the Pushkin Madonna, paintings of Coppo da Marcovaldo, and certain Byzantine and Crusader icons also must be examined and studied as intensively as the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas in order to persuade these paintings to yield their secrets.

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1986

## LAWRENCE GOWING

### *Rembrandt, the Louvre, and Cézanne*

A few days after I arrived in Washington to take up the Samuel H. Kress Professorship, I was asked to give a brief presentation to the Council of the National Gallery Trustees at its October meeting. This provided an opportunity to consider a possibility, which occurred to me some years ago, that Rembrandt's posthumous portrait of Hendrickje at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, known as *Lucretia*, more likely represents her in the role of Arria, the wife of Paetus (*Letters of Pliny the Younger* 3.16). The overtones of this later exemplary suicide and the meaning of Arria's heartening words, "Death does not hurt," would have contributed much to the meaning of the subject for the aged painter. I delivered this paper to the Council, which received it generously, and I subsequently reworked it with the help of Donald Garfield, my research assistant.

One project I had begun before coming to Washington was the preparation of an extensive survey of paintings in the Musée du Louvre, a companion to John Walker's substantial book on the National Gallery of Art. Part of my year at the Center was devoted to completing this book, writing short essays to accompany full-page plates of the over one hundred pictures. In the course of the work I found myself realizing afresh the effort, imaginative as well as possessive, that achieved the transition from royal collections to a common heritage. I came to know better the national genius that formed the Louvre and wrote a history of the collection that will introduce the book. Publication is due before the end of 1987.

More of my time at the Center was spent in following another episode of the French achievement in greater detail. It has seemed overdue to take a closer look at the earliest work of Cézanne, which inspired so much that characterized the age that followed. So I welcomed a chance to organize an exhibition of Cézanne's paintings and drawings from between 1860 and 1872 for the Royal Academy of Arts in London, of which I am an Associate as well as the honorary curator of collections, and for the Musée d'Orsay in Paris and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, with dates fixed in 1988-1989. My first task was a critical consideration of the works of the 1860s listed by Venturi in 1936 and of the numerous additions to the oeuvre that have come to light since. Many of these have been illustrated in sales catalogues, and the excellent collection of these in the library of the National Gallery proved invaluable. I offered my first results to an invited audience at the Center in November 1986. Subsequent discussions with several of my colleagues there, the Fellows in residence, proved a very real stimulus to my taking a more selective approach toward the exhibition. I presented my paper on early Cézanne in this more focused form at the University of Indiana in Bloomington and again benefited from my audience's responses.

My recent study of Matisse enabled me to contribute several lectures and the film text for the National Gallery's 1986 exhibition of Matisse's early years at Nice. Showing as large a slice of Matisse's total production as even I could wish, this selection was indeed an incomparable opportunity to study in depth the middle phases of the artist's development. I was

pleased to introduce the exhibition with a lecture placing the Nice paintings in the context of Matisse's purpose as a whole, and found a flattering welcome for my reflections on modern art.

Toward the end of the academic year I delivered lectures at The University of Chicago and at the Hirshhorn Museum on the elusive strand in the skein of tradition that has in our time led to Francis Bacon, analyzing the figure positions that Bacon employs in the light of both a long-standing tradition and the very new technique of radiography. I also began work on the catalogue of an exhibition of the sketchbook drawings by Cézanne that are to be loaned by the Kunstmuseum in Basel to the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1988. The Phillips Collection had already commissioned me to help with an exhibition of the pastoral tradition in landscape painting, for which work from Giovanni Bellini to Claude Lorraine will be shown at the National Gallery, and work from Claude to Matisse will be displayed at the Phillips. A quite different exhibition for which I am responsible, to be shown at the IBM Gallery in New York, will be concerned with pictures painted and deposited at the Royal Academy in London in the first forty years of this century, the immediately premodernist period whose specific qualities are easy to overlook.

The exhibition of the benefactions of Mr. Paul Mellon to the National Gallery of Art featured the *Houses in Provence* by Cézanne, which is possibly the preeminent masterpiece among Cézanne's landscapes, yet in some ways an unaccountable one. Anyone who is impressed may also be slightly puzzled by the consequential monumentality of these in themselves rather ordinary little Provençal houses, and may have noticed that among all Cézanne's landscapes only the solidity here is so deliberately carved by the sharp shadows that one cubic shape casts across the next. In the course of verifying the whereabouts of these houses for his catalogue raisonné, John Rewald received from the Arts et Métiers at L'Estaque a nineteenth-century drawing and a postcard of 1916 that clearly place the houses on a hillside at L'Estaque. The importance that Cézanne attached to the houses is explained by the title of the drawing and the description on the postcard, which identify this as the presumed birthplace of Pierre Puget, one of Cézanne's favorite artists. Cézanne's admiration for Puget is apparent not only in the subject of *Houses of Provence*; the shadows have an affinity with a quality of Puget's style that was only noticed by Cézanne. He pointed out to Joachim Gasquet, who understood much in Cézanne's conversation that other commentators missed (1926, p. 191), that Puget used the shadows surrounding his sculpture in the same spirit that his baroque contemporaries used dark paint; he urged Gasquet to "go and look at the effect he achieved by the shadow below the caryatid balcony in Toulon."

In discussing the varied occupations that made up a busy year, I find that I have omitted one that possessed a marginal connection with art. I made time to paint, as I usually do, and completed a view of the dome of the Capitol flanked by the two wings of Congress that will remain in Washington when I go.

University College, London  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1986–1987

*Cavalier Architects*

My aim for my stay at the Center was to continue an analysis of clients as architects and contractors, describing the relations between the theory of architecture, the well-educated client who was able to fulfill the role of both customer and contractor, and the meaning of the building and its parts, expressing the philosophical and practical knowledge of the client.

Through all periods of history there have been individuals who possessed the intellectual and financial means to create and build an architecture of their own. In German they are called Liebhaberarchitekten or Kavalierarchitekten (amateur or cavalier architects). The personification of the cavalier architect was King Solomon, who built the Temple of Jerusalem and, as a builder himself, organized the workers. Another example is Nimrod, described by Josephus Flavius in his *Jewish History* and depicted by Netherlandish painters of the seventeenth century. He built the tower of Babel, which is a building, a symbol, and a political program. Nimrod was the archetype, Solomon the example to be followed by medieval bishops such as Benno of Osnabrück, Otto of Bamberg, and Bernward of Hildesheim. Another example of the cavalier architect was the German emperor Frederick II, who built the Castel del Monte, in southern Italy. Its plan, structure, materials, and openings are associated with the contemporary definition of the labyrinth, which Frederick II knew well through his connections throughout the Mediterranean world and quoted in the architecture of his most elaborate castle. A similar project was planned by another well-known cavalier architect, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (1529-1595), who designed the castle Stern on a starlike pattern.

Great Britain generated a large number of cavalier architects, mostly well-situated aristocrats like Sir John Vanburgh (1666-1726), Sanderson Miller (1717-1780), and Horace Walpole (1717-1797), who expressed their taste in architecture by providing designs for friends. It was this tradition that produced one of the most interesting cavalier architects, Thomas Jefferson. Art historians usually treat him as an architect, although he was something in fact quite different. He was a scholar, lawyer, statesman, and planter, who created architecture. He fulfilled all the criteria of the cavalier architect: possessing financial and social power and therefore freedom of building; showing a special interest in architecture and the problems of building; and knowing much about the theory of architecture, the meaning of architecture, and architectural functions. He thus was prepared for architectural experimentation, based on his education, his profession, his social and financial situation, and his definition of the purpose of architecture.

Of all the professional and cavalier architects of his time and of any time before him, Jefferson was the only one without an acceptable building tradition surrounding him and influencing him. By rejecting most of the local architectural achievements and by trying to import European models in an effort to improve American society, he created a vacuum of reality

and filled it with the theory of architecture. Europeans could not ignore the existing culture around them: they grew up and lived within an omnipresent traditional environment where the written word, music, the visual arts, architecture, and landscape as parts of society were interrelated and sensually experienced. Even if such architects rejected parts of it, they did so by choosing others. Theory as presented in books could be compared against reality, and the visual impression of the existing architecture was available within travel distances. Only physically experienced architecture led to the natural feeling of space and environment, of the third dimension, which was not found in a treatise of architecture.

Jefferson, on the other hand, was brought up at the border of civilization, where society was purely rural and education was of personal interest. Cities did not exist. The planter, head of the family and of the plantation, was an important figure in eighteenth-century American life. On his decisions depended the fate of many people. His circumspection, intelligence, and common sense made the plantation grow. He tried different methods of cultivation, invested in new machinery; he set up mills and naileries and ordered construction of buildings, based on simple plans, which the local, unskilled builders carried out. In this environment Jefferson set out to build his own plantation. By then a well-educated lawyer, he owned the four Palladian books of architecture, "his bible." He named his favorite mountaintop "Monticello," after the description by Palladio of the site of the Villa Rotonda, and built a Palladian villa, which by the time it was finished, due to the actual builders, was mainly in the style of the local tradition. The two-story porticoes, the low wings, and the name of the site were the only Palladian quotations. To the intellectual mind of Thomas Jefferson, this did not matter. Although the site was highly inconvenient as the center of a plantation and although the local builders had carried out a house within their limits of craftsmanship, Jefferson wanted his favorite spot in nature to be the copy of the acknowledged summum of private architecture, the Villa Rotonda. His theoretical concept became a *pars pro toto* reality that was transformed due to the natural and social environment. In its creator's mind, however, it represented the never personally experienced original. This same intellectual approach toward architecture can be followed throughout Jefferson's life and work. The Virginia state capitol in Richmond, the planning of Washington, the Capitol, and the White House, and the University of Virginia in Charlottesville: these were all contributions to the improvement of the new American society, planned by a statesman, philosopher, and planter as quotations of the old and sanction of the new world as executed within the local tradition. The lack of formal unity and architectural congruity felt everywhere was unimportant, because the intellectual mind was able to read the meaningful quotations and fill the formal gaps. Diderot's *Encyclopedia* had become a personal, Jeffersonian, three-dimensional reality.

Department of Preservation of Monuments and Sites, Lucerne  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987

PETER HUMFREY

*The "Scuole Piccole" as Donors of Altarpieces in Renaissance Venice*

The research that I undertook during my five-week period of residence at CASVA forms part of a much longer term project, which is to be a book on the altarpiece in Renaissance Venice. In my book I will consider the altarpiece as a type from many different points of view—in relation to architecture, business practices, technical procedures, changing subject matter, the changing religious climate, and so on—and a substantial section will also be devoted to questions of patronage. In this section I plan, among other things, to compare the respective contributions made by different types of donors, to analyze their various motives in commissioning altarpieces, and to trace any changes in patterns of altarpiece donation during the period from 1450 to 1600. Since any attempt at a broad synthesis of this kind would be premature in the present state of art historical knowledge, however, I have decided first to undertake a number of partial studies on the subject. I published one such study on the Venetian trade guilds, in collaboration with the social historian Richard Mackenney, in the May 1986 issue of *The Burlington Magazine*, and I took the opportunity to prepare another, on the *scuole piccole*, while at CASVA.

As patrons of art, the numerous Venetian *scuole piccole*, or devotional confraternities, are normally associated with the cycles of canvases that some of them commissioned to decorate their meeting houses. Carpaccio's St. Ursula cycle and Tintoretto's Old Testament cycle for the Scuola della Trinità are well-known examples. But it is arguable that the *scuole piccole* were actually much more important as donors of altarpieces. Virtually all of them possessed rights to a side altar in one of Venice's many churches, where they held their regular religious functions; and we know that even for confraternities with limited funds, it was a matter of high priority to decorate their altar with a befitting altarpiece. A particularly spectacular and well-documented example is that of Titian's *Death of St. Peter Martyr* commissioned by the Scuola di S. Pietro Martire for its altar in SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Yet before I began my research, it was not clear to me whether a work of this scale and ambition, and with such innovative subject matter, was normal or exceptional in the context of *scuola piccola* patronage in general.

I undertook the initial task of identifying as many *scuola piccola* altarpieces as possible during two earlier research visits to Venice. Unfortunately, the records of the Venetian confraternities are generally rather poorly preserved; but by conflating a variety of sources of evidence, I was able to add a number of new *scuola* commissions to the list of the previously known ones, and compile a roster totaling about forty-five for the period c. 1400–1600. Undoubtedly many other works are now lost or remain unrecognized as *scuola* commissions; but this total should provide sufficient basis for drawing at least some preliminary conclusions. Further, there exists one



type of *scuola* document that does survive in plentiful quantity, and which seems interesting and informative in the present context. This is the *mariegola*, or foundation statute, which sets out the obligations of membership; and although it rarely makes direct mention of the confraternity altarpiece, it makes frequent reference to devotional practices that are to be performed in front of the altar.

The article I have drafted is divided into four sections. In the first I will be looking at the *mariegole* of some of the confraternities for which surviving altarpieces can be identified. The form and content of the altarpieces will be examined in the light of the devotional aims and practices of the confraternity. The ways in which altarpieces were normally illumined, and hence were made visible, will be discussed. General conclusions will be drawn about the way that altarpieces were actually used in the Renaissance, particularly in the pre-Reformation period.

In the second section I will discuss a conspicuous group of confraternity altarpieces that include images associated with the plague and miraculous healing. As a whole, the group reinforces the conclusion of the first section that probably the most important religious function of the altarpiece was to help confraternity members attain salvation for their bodies and souls through the intercession of selected saints. But the group also illustrates a pronounced tendency for confraternities dedicated to a similar range of saints to compete with one another by commissioning altarpieces that invite favorable comparison with those of their most obvious rivals.

In the third section the theme of competition will be developed, with special reference to confraternities dedicated to saints associated with the mendicant orders. These include the donors of some of the most impressive Venetian altarpieces of the period, including two by Giovanni Bellini as well as Titian's *St. Peter Martyr*. It will be shown that this last work marks the climax of a whole series of commissions by confraternities with altars in the two main mendicant churches of Venice, the Frari and SS. Giovanni e Paolo.

Finally I will trace the rise and fall of the *scuola piccola* altarpiece. Although the lack of outstanding examples before c. 1450 may be partly due to the accidents of preservation, the striking drop in quality after c. 1550 calls for some explanation. Part of this may be related to the rise of a new and distinctive kind of devotional confraternity in the wake of the Catholic Reform, the parish-based Scuole del Sacramento, which were very active in commissioning wall paintings for their chapels, but not, on the whole, altarpieces.

University of St. Andrews  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986

*Dressed to Kill: The Politics of Costume in Aztec  
Sacrificial Rites*

The Aztecs of central Mexico, in control of an expanding tributary empire-state at the time of the Spanish conquest, are well known for their interest in frequent and lavish ceremonies, and in particular for their practice of ritual human sacrifice. The importance of costume among the Aztecs also has been long recognized. The thesis of this study derives, however, from the fact that the most elaborate and symbol-laden Aztec costumes either pictorially or verbally described in colonial texts and painted manuscripts were precisely those that were worn during sacrificial rites. The questions I have been addressing are: Why were such expensive and complex costumes worn on these occasions? What did they signify? And more important, what were their effects on a people whose economy was based on the fruits of military aggression and exploitation?

The most spectacular costumes were worn by the various priests who officiated and performed the actual sacrifices, and by the victims themselves. On rare occasions, even the king himself dressed up to take part. Many of these costumes can be associated with one or more of the numerous deities who made up the extensive Aztec pantheon. Scholars in the past have assumed that in both cases the costume was intended simply to identify the wearer with the god or goddess to whom he or she was being sacrificed, and that the principal motive was to appease the deity so as to earn its benevolence. I have found considerable evidence, however, that many Aztec deities had been forcibly taken from conquered peoples, and that sacrifices to them symbolically represented, even reenacted, the latter's subjugation. Viewed from this angle, the costumes worn by the priest-victor and the victim-subject obviously assume a potentially historical and political meaning, which I have undertaken to explore.

During my stay at CASVA I systematically culled the most reliable pictorial and written primary sources for information on the kinds of occasions on which human sacrifice was performed, the social and personal identities of the participants—officiants, victims, and audience—and the exact nature and apparent meaning of the various costumes worn. I looked into the question of who was entitled to offer up another person for sacrifice, and what the social effects of that act were for him. I also investigated the issues of the financing and production of sacrificial rites and costumes, and the matter of who ultimately profited from them in material terms. I tried to determine exactly when a particular form of sacrificial rite first entered into Aztec ceremonial practice, and why it appeared on the historical stage at that particular time.

I found that most Aztec sacrificial victims were socially marginal individuals, sometimes slaves and criminals, most often war prisoners. Contrary to popular thinking, these victims were unwilling to be sacrificed and had to be constrained or drugged. The officiants, in contrast, were

typically state or state-sanctioned representatives who were drawn from the upper echelons of the highest status (and highest paying) occupations. Normally they were members of the highest rank of the Aztec priesthood, if not the king himself. These individuals controlled the production of the rites and costumes, and the bulk of the profits obtained went to them. Their costumes, moreover, sometimes referred not just to a single deity, but to several deities, whose insignia apparently referred to various personal accomplishments, as well as to their rank or office. I have succeeded, moreover, in gathering evidence for my hypothesis that these accomplishments could be specific military takeovers of certain territories for which the sacrificer and/or the social group he represented took personal credit in some way. Thus I have concluded that sacrificial costuming was indeed related to the political economy of the Aztec empire-state, and that an important aspect of its meaning was political in nature. Aztec sacrificial costumes signified the divine right to conquer and to extract tribute, but their material benefits largely went to the members of the nobility and ruling family.

University of California, Los Angeles  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1986

ELIZABETH LANGHORNE

*The Content of Jackson Pollock's Art: His Images  
and His Abstractions*

While at the Center, I continued preparation of a book on the meaning of the art of the abstract expressionist painter Jackson Pollock. Scholars have firmly placed Pollock's style within the modernist tradition, and recently have begun to situate his art within broader contexts, cultural, political, and economic. However, a more complete assessment of his work awaits an iconographic reading of his pre-1947 imagery (and its later resurgence) and a discussion of its intimate relationship to the development of his abstract automatist style.

I have divided this project into four major areas. The first is an iconographic study of Pollock's pre-1947 images in light of their cultural, artistic, and psychological sources. Pollock's dissatisfaction with the American regionalist subject matter and neobaroque forms of his earliest work coincided with the crisis of subject matter and form that many artists experienced in America in the late 1930s and early 1940s. The crisis for Pollock, however, was amplified by personal and psychological problems. His symbolic imagery reveals the story he tells himself to make sense of his life as a man and an artist.

The artistic and cultural sources upon which he drew in forging his identity were diverse. The mystic and psychological cultures of theosophy, yoga, Jungian analysis, American Indian shamanism and totemism, and surrealist hermeticism all played a part, as did the artistic influences of the Mexican muralists, primitive American Indian art, Picasso, John Graham, and the surrealist painters. Pollock came to see himself, as his imagery shows, as a shaman-artist engaged in an initiatory quest for transformation and integration of spiritual and instinctual forces in his art. His theme is creativity itself, explored in terms of opposites, male-female, human-animal, spirit-matter, conscious-unconscious. His quest for the union of these opposites constituted the subject matter of his art.

The emotional basis of his espousal of mystic and psychic culture was the dynamo for its consequent projection into artistic culture. Biographical details, what is known of his experience of Jungian analysis in 1939-1943 and of his belief in an initiatory hermetic quest, contribute to the psychological dimension of my study. While at the Center, I continued research for this iconographic and psychological study, reading through the Jackson Pollock papers at the Archives of American Art.

My second area of study is the relation of Pollock's imagery to the development of his formal concerns. From around 1941 onward, inspired especially by his experience of American Indian art, Pollock's symbolic awareness included not only imagery but a symbolic approach to the pictorial surface. Both his images and their spatial placement served to symbolize his theme, the growth and strengthening of his creative aspirations. These aspirations he learned to project into the forms of pictorial modernism and of surrealist automatism. His desire for a union of opposites, while

explicit in his symbolic images and their spatial placement, found its stylistic equivalent in increasingly sophisticated uses of an all-over, abstract, linear, and painterly automatism. Because the formal advances in his art so closely accompanied the growth of his symbolic awareness, Pollock's images in effect reveal to us the story he told himself as he proceeded to create his new postcubist style.

Relating Pollock's formal innovations to my iconographic and psychological research, I have come to see that he not only used primitive metaphors to amplify his creative concerns but took on the character of a modern shaman. His animistic attitudes toward imagery and raw paint ultimately permitted him to pour his psychic energy into totally abstract works.

The third area of my study focuses on an analysis of the capacity of the abstract forms of the 1947–1950 paintings to convey meaning. Bringing the full weight of the previous two areas of the book to bear, I intend to provide a reading of the poured paintings that adds awareness of their metaphysical and psychological dimensions. My thesis is that both the act of creating the paintings and the paintings themselves embodied the wealth of theme and understanding of creativity that characterizes Pollock's art since the late 1930s.

The fourth area of study covers the remainder of Pollock's art, especially the resurgence of imagery in the post-1950 works, the dissolution of the 1947–1950 synthesis of form and content, and the psychological and aesthetic reasons for this dissolution. While at the Center, I presented an informal session on the work in progress. Group discussion of Pollock's shamanic imagery led to clarification of the role that psychoanalytic interpretations will play in my overview of Pollock's career, especially in this fourth area. A triggering question was, "What does it mean for an artist to think that he is a shaman in downtown New York in 1941?" In Pollock's case, one must distinguish early on between artistic theme and psychological reality. The distinction becomes crucial in 1951 when unresolved psychological problems resurfaced as themes in his art. At this point it becomes appropriate to introduce a full-scale psychoanalytic interpretation into a hitherto largely iconographic and stylistic discussion of Pollock's art. I began the rewriting that this reassessment of methodological strategy entails while at the Center.

Piedmont Virginia Community College  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986

MARY ALICE LEE

*Problems of Rhetoric and Style in Baroque Ceiling Painting*

It is recorded in the annals of the Accademia di San Luca that during the presidency of Pietro da Cortona there arose a controversy regarding principles seen to be operative in the Palazzo Barberini ceilings of Cortona and his rival Andrea Sacchi. For arbitration in the major issue of whether large paintings with masses of figures were preferable to those with few, the members had recourse to the language of literary theory, in particular the Aristotelian definitions of tragedy and epic from the *Ars Poetica*. A rhetoric derived from poetic theory informed the entire framework of artistic conception in the Italian seventeenth century.

My work this year has centered on an investigation of the Cortona ceiling in terms of literary production directly related to it, but it has also required a reconstruction of the profile of the cultural enterprises of the Barberini court in Rome. Of special significance is the Pistoiese poet, Francesco Bracciolini dell'Api, who composed an epic poem entitled *L'Elettione di Urbano Papa VIII* in honor of his old friend and new protector. It is recorded by Passeri and Domenichino that this poem, originally entitled *La Divina Provvidenza*, was the "program" for Cortona's fresco.

Indefatigable readers are disappointed to find no iconographic parallels between poem and painting beyond the central dominating presence of the Lady Divine Providence. If, however, one reflects on Bracciolini's work as a late response to the continuing literary debate about the qualities of epic exemplified by the two great sixteenth-century poets, Ariosto and Tasso, it becomes clear what the early commentators meant. It is a revolution in style that links the two works of art. In reviving the ancient psychomachia to fuse it within the traditional epic structure, Bracciolini replaces the worn epic hero, the Aeneas or Ruggiero, with the symbolic qualities those heroes formerly represented. Personified vices and virtues now carry forward the narrative and effect the final end of the poem. By this *invenzione* Bracciolini well deserved the acclaim he received in the seventeenth century as the third member of a triad of poets including Ariosto and Tasso. Tasso had used allegory as an instrument of moral philosophy but had not conceived of the entire poem allegorically. It was for Spenser and Milton to produce the total fusion of ethical and narrative structure. Bracciolini stands midway in this development.

An analogous shift in structural modes is reflected in Cortona's painting of Divine Providence. Straightforward scenes culled from classical mythology form the basic narrative of the painting, as they do for countless monumental frescoes throughout the Italian Renaissance. Vignettes from Roman history, allegories, emblems, and personifications, amplify the main scenes, as in earlier works such as Vasari's frescoes in the Cancelleria or Salviati's in the Palazzo Farnese. But what Cortona has achieved is the complete integration of the two modes, narrative and allegorical. As intercessors between the earthly and heavenly realms, the groups of allegorical figures both set in motion and are the interpretative keys to the entire fiction. The fresco is a visual definition of Tasso's aim to delight through

imitation and instruct through allegory.

The ceiling also shares with the epic poem the central importance of the Barberini *impresa*. Borrowed from Virgil's *Aeneid* (bk. 7), in which the founding of Rome by a foreign wanderer is prophesied to King Latinus, the painted *impresa* dominates the ceiling in the same way the historic, heroic *impresa* of the Barberini ancestors at Senofonte is related at a culminating point in the poem. The entry of the Barberini into Florence in the twelfth century is only a prefiguration of their descentance upon Rome in the late sixteenth. Genealogy, as ever, justifies dynastic pretensions.

There follows the fascinating saga of the writing of Barberini history by Florentine *letterati*, under the close supervision of the pope himself. The tale begins with Federico Ubaldini's preparation for publication of the *Documenti d'Amore* by the trecento Tuscan poet Francesco da Barberino. So firm was the pope's determination to proclaim the poet as his ancestor that he directed Carlo di Tommaso Strozzi to amend the genealogy of Florentine noble families in the new edition of Verino's *De illustratione urbis Florentiae* so that the bard and the Barberino from Senofonte were one and the same. In researching the commissioned genealogy of the Barberini, a work subsequently suppressed because it failed to elevate the *casa* as the pope wished, Strozzi was assisted by his lifetime friend and literary colleague, Ubaldini, and it was the latter who began the task of writing the *Life* of Maffeo Barberini, Pope Urban VIII. Although death intervened and the job was completed by Andrea Nicoletti, Ubaldini provided an important link into the visual realm. It was he who suggested a plan for a set of frescoes based on the life of Urban to decorate the walls of the Gran Salone beneath Cortona's painting. Years after Urban's death, this plan was put into effect by the pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco, who realized the scheme in tapestry instead of paint.

An examination of the series of ten tapestries of the life of Urban VIII in relation to the imagery of the ceiling is extremely fertile, for it provides a visual analogy to the endeavors of the small group of *letterati* constructing the dynastic claims of the papal family and mirrors that elision of epic and history that characterizes artistic production in the Barberini era. There emerges an issue which preoccupied both literary theorists and historians throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: the question of the relationship between fiction and truth, between poetry and history. Tasso said that the historian considered the truth of particulars, whereas the poet (like the philosopher) considered that of universals. Thus the poet does not spoil truth but seeks in it a perfect form.

The seventeenth-century historians and rhetoricians Agostino Mascardi and Famiano Strada who wrote their treatises and "histories" according to Cicero's dictum of *magistra vitae*, created a similar product: history as the action of perfect exemplars. When Ubaldini, composing the *Life* of Urban, said "one does not imitate the things as they are but as they ought to be," he was repeating the *leitmotif* of the Barberini cultural enterprise, one that finds its most eloquent expression in the ceiling of Divine Providence.

[The Johns Hopkins University]  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1985–1986

*The Ideology of the New York School*

The Chester Dale Fellowship enabled me to make substantial progress toward the completion of my dissertation on the New York School in the 1940s. This progress was concentrated in two areas. The first centered on questions that arose early in the course of my research. As I tried to formulate with precision the network of beliefs, attitudes, and commitments that underpinned the production and reception of New York School painting, I discovered that there was surprisingly little agreement among the artists about issues that are usually seen as basic to the identity of the group. The coloring and emphasis given to such key notions as "the primitive," "myth," and "the unconscious" by Pollock, Rothko, Gottlieb, de Kooning, and others, varied as widely as the styles of their paintings. Furthermore, I was struck by the disinclination of these artists to promote themselves as a group or movement. Although many of them participated in other groups and organizations, some of which presented themselves as "avant-gardes" in the European mold, they took no initiative to promote the particular grouping that has come to be known as the New York School. And when, in 1945, certain critics and dealers began to suggest that a new school was emerging, a school whose membership was in some cases surprisingly close to its present roll, several of the artists involved reacted by distancing themselves from the alleged movement.

These considerations directed my attention to new questions. Why did artists who ostensibly wanted to be part of an avant-garde fail to exploit the opportunities of 1945? Why, given the centripetal impulse, did centrifugal forces prevail within the collection of artists that contemporary observers felt had the best claim to the avant-garde mantle? At least three factors are significant: aesthetic and conceptual differences among the artists, the competitive and individualistic milieu, and difficult interpersonal dynamics among the artists. Thus, from a vantage outside the group, certain apparent similarities in the paintings held the spotlight, whereas, from the inside, the perception of difference may have thrown the whole notion of a group identity into question. Later in the decade, during the outburst of antimodernism produced by the postwar forces of reaction, the situation changed somewhat. The artists became willing to submerge their differences and seek defensive strength in unity. Although there was no more theoretical or stylistic agreement among the artists than there had been in 1945, they accepted the distortions involved in producing a common denominator. Furthermore, their work had in most cases become susceptible to a form of criticism capable of obscuring their disagreements and articulating a case for their congruity.

The notion of the New York School that has come down to us still rests on these unstable, defensive, and partisan bases, and the tactics used to satisfy the original political and economic demands for an American avant-garde continue to shape New York School scholarship. The received synthesis portrays the movement as an essentially solid grouping of staunch



individuals. In order to make the New York School into an avant-garde, that synthesis assumes a measure of agreement about means and ends among the artists that is not justified by the historical evidence. It shifts back and forth among claims about the nature of the collectivity—informal fraternity, set of imperatives regarding style or subject, and underlying ideological congruity—concealing the real diversity and substantial disagreement in play. It presumes that provisos about individualism are adequate to explain glaring evidence of difference. These tactics have so effectively established the objectivity, the factuality of the synthesis, that it has survived recent assaults upon the modernist paradigm. And having survived, it continues to serve its dual function: portraying the New York School with a family resemblance to the European avant-garde tradition, the better to legitimize its status as heir; and necessitating a level of generality and abstractness in the thematic analysis of the art, the better to keep the work open to ideological appropriation.

The second thrust of my work during the fellowship period was both a start toward addressing some of these problems and a return to my original line of inquiry. My focus was the notions of “the primitive” held by the New York School artists. What precisely did these artists believe about “the primitive”? What did they take its nature and significance to be? And more importantly, why did primitivism assume prominence in American modernism at this time? By investigating other areas of contemporary cultural production, I learned that “the primitive” was an important component of American middle-class culture’s effort to come to terms with the cataclysmic events it was witnessing. Traditional beliefs about human nature and mental process were crumbling in the face of the cruelty and evil of which humanity was showing itself capable. “The primitive” served as a form, a container, for conceiving this evil. It played a critical part in the rehabilitation or replacement of the fundamental components of American bourgeois culture that were being challenged by global events—human goodness, free will, the advance of civilization, scientific progress, and so on. New York School art was deeply embedded in this project. Although there was considerable range in the shape and emphasis the artists gave this notion, their formulations of “the primitive” shared a fundamental responsiveness to contemporary cultural constructions. My work on this relationship is still incomplete, but I am optimistic about its potential for both reconstituting the New York School on historical grounds and accounting for the impact and success of early New York School art in a way that escapes dependence upon accounts of its compelling formal achievement or of its shrewd and shameless ideological maneuvering.

[Harvard University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1985–1986

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

Recent scholarship has intensively debated the possible effects of the second plague pandemic, begun in western Europe with the Black Death in 1348, upon economic, political, and social structures. The more intangible psychological responses, however, remain almost completely unexplored. This is due to the nature of sources hitherto utilized by scholars: the dramatic and evocative accounts produced in the immediate wake of 1348, or the impersonal administrative and statistical data gleaned from local archives. It is the argument of my dissertation that careful analysis of a new kind of resource—the images generated by experience and/or expectation of the plague, from the mid-fourteenth to early sixteenth centuries—can provide direct access to the ways in which those who lived during the pandemic attempted to articulate and manipulate their situation.

The greater part of my year as a Chester Dale Fellow was spent in Europe, particularly in Italy, researching my dissertation. My first task was to organize the images chronologically, allowing me to explore the changing dynamic of response patterns over time. As previously observed, the initial impulse was in the direction of historical record: the harrowing events of the day, such as mass burials and flagellant processions, were documented for future generations. This descriptive intention is paralleled in the many contemporary written accounts of the plague, and it was therefore not surprising to observe that most of these early images occurred in the context of illustrated chronicles. I was also extremely interested, however, to find several instances of this kind of imagery in altarpieces and frescoes, and thus on a much more visible and public scale. In each of the latter cases, the rationale lies in memorializing a locally significant and propitious event connected with the great upsurge of penitential guilt and fervor around 1400, which gave rise to the *bianchi* (white-robed flagellants) processions.

Recourse to an elaborate, highly structured prophylactic imagery, designed to secure the active intercession of the Virgin and the saints, does not seem to have become common until the second half of the fifteenth century. The most notable instance of this type was the plague variant of the "Madonna della Misericordia" theme, where a towering figure of the Virgin shielded the populace with her cloak from the arrows of the plague hurled down by a wrathful divinity. This image was not limited to Umbria, as some scholars have claimed, but was used throughout Italy by the mid-fifteenth century.

The remainder of my dissertation will examine the material thematically, thus permitting a more intensive investigation of the explanations and defense mechanisms most frequently activated. A primary focus of my research in Italy has been to recognize the selected works as functional objects of devotional and ritual manipulation. This was accomplished by careful examination of those works still in situ, and archival and bibliographic research into their commissioners to determine as far as possible

their original purpose and the motivations and expectations that led to their creation.

Various regions of Italy yield particularly rich concentrations of extant plague images and were therefore singled out for extended research. Umbria, for example, presents an extensive series of plague *gonfaloni*, or processional banners, which were variously commissioned by a lay confraternity of *disciplinati* (flagellants), a religious order, a local parish church, or the commune itself. Although the differing origins of the commission were naturally reflected in the banners—for instance, in the choice of saints—it was difficult to maintain rigid distinctions between religious and secular patronage, or private and public audiences. As the Perugian *Riformanze* or daily record of the deliberations and decisions of the city council indicate, communal subsidies played a large part in financing the expenses associated with the ritual use of the *gonfaloni* in processions and later in churches. Perugia's magistrates thus saw the creation and honoring of plague banners as an extremely important communal duty and responsibility, undertaken by one group for the salvation of the city as a whole.

The wording of the Perugian *Riformanze* is also a valuable articulation of the ways in which these images were expected to function. It is often assumed that repeated outbreaks of plague reduced the population to a state of unmitigated terror and despair. Yet here the tone is one of confidence: Mary must respond to the pleas of her worshipers, as she has always done in the past, and will become a petitioner before her Son on the city's behalf. By setting up hierarchical relationships of mutual obligation between worshiper and image, the survivors of the plague were not neurotic and helpless, but were taking positive—and in their eyes effective—steps to regain control over their environment.

I have also studied the imagery of the most popular plague saints, in particular Sebastian and Roch. By the quattrocento Sebastian was seen as a kind of *alter Christus*: like Christ, he offered himself as a willing sacrifice, taking on the sufferings and punishments (in this case the plague) justly deserved by a sinful humanity. Fifteenth-century images of the saint deliberately utilize attitudes or attributes traditionally associated with Christ—the billowing, supernatural loincloth, a dead tree with a single new shoot, or the placement of the saint high on a tree, as on a cross. The way the narrative representation of the saint's (first) martyrdom was transformed into an iconic and devotional image reveals the same intention: pierced with arrows and yet alive, Sebastian calmly regards his worshipers in a timeless, ahistorical realm, as a second Man of Sorrows.

[University of Pennsylvania]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1985–1986

*Antique Coins and Cameos in the Florentine Cabinet: An Edition of Sixteenth-Century Grand-Ducal Letters Concerning Coins*

In the fifteenth century the Medici formed an important collection of coins and cameos that was dispersed after the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492. When Cosimo I de' Medici, a member of the collateral branch of the family, established himself as legitimate ruler of Florence in 1537, he sought to recreate the important numismatic and glyptic cabinet of the fifteenth-century Medici. To this purpose he commissioned from the gem engraver and medalist, Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, a cameo, one of the largest cut since classical antiquity, which shows Cosimo and Eleonora di Toledo with five of their children. At the same time Cosimo began what was to become one of the most important collections of antique coins held by the princely courts of Renaissance Italy.

I have embarked on a critical edition of the letters written by expert dealers in antiquities to the grand dukes of Tuscany—Cosimo I (1519–1574) and his sons, Francesco I (1541–1587) and Ferdinando I (1549–1609)—and of the minutes of their replies regarding their acquisition of predominantly Roman antique coins (called *medaglie*) for their collections. A substantial introduction will set the whole subject in its local, historical, and cultural context.

Among the topics I am discussing are a comparison of the Medici numismatic and glyptic collections with similar ones in courts such as those of Italy and Vienna; the uses of antique coins as aids to history and festal design; the way in which coins and medals were housed and displayed in the cinquecento; the manufacture of imitations and rivals of ancient coins and why they were made; and not the least, the interpretation of the imagery on the reverses of Roman coins, which in the hands of writers like Sebastiano Erizzo, had attained by the mid-sixteenth century in Italy the status of an exact science.

In recent years interest has centered on the European princely collections, and an important contribution to those studies was made by the exhibition catalogue, *Palazzo Vecchio, Committenza e Collezionismo Mediceo* (Florence 1980), for which I wrote the section on cameos and engraved gems. The purposes of a collection of cognate material such as antique coins and cameos were manifold. A program that included portraits of *uomini illustri* was well served by numismatic and glyptic material showing the effigies of rulers and statesmen both ancient and modern. Another purpose that lay behind the formation of a cabinet of the size and importance of the Medici was to provide a gloss on the classical histories that formed an important part of the Medici library. Ancient coins and cameos were considered important evidence in the search for a more profound knowledge of the classical world, and they were collected with the same interest as the Greek and Roman sculpture that occupied such an important place in the Uffizi Gallery. There the coins and cameos were housed, first in the *Tempietto* of Francesco I de' Medici and next in the *Studiolo* of Ferdinando I de' Medici,

together with contemporary medals. The entire contents of the *Studiolo* is known, and the information on the iconographic program that governed the way in which these objects were arranged illuminates contemporary attitudes concerning their purpose. In addition to our awareness of the use of coins as illustrations of *uomini illustri* and as aids to the study of history, it is also known that they were used as pictorial sources for festal design. The decorations for the triumphal processions held during the marriage of Prince Francesco I de' Medici and Princess Giovanna d'Austria are known to have been inspired by antique coin types, which suggests that an investigation of the other elaborate Medici ceremonies and their relationship to numismatic iconography is warranted.

My year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts has offered me the opportunity to explore a number of these issues. I was able to study the many letters naming antique coins and cameos that were written to the Medici princes, which I had assembled from the rich archival material present in the Archivio di Stato in Florence. These letters to the grand dukes of Tuscany from their agents and the minutes of their replies form the core of my study, and an understanding of the information contained therein is an essential point of departure for any further research.

The sixteenth century saw the publication of a number of numismatic treatises and the *Illustrium Imagines* of Andrea Fulvio (published in 1517) that furnished a series of portraits—both real and imaginary—of the caesars and their predecessors. With growing assurance the authors of these treatises, including Enea Vico, Sebastiano Erizzo, and Antonio Agustín, were able to identify and interpret the coins, and especially their reverses. However, the debate on whether Roman coins were truly *medaglie* (that is, commemorative pieces) or whether they were struck as currency continued throughout the sixteenth and later centuries. I have been able during my year at the Center to study certain of these treatises, especially those that are known to have been present in the Medici library, which are to be found in important collections of rare books held by the Library of Congress and the Folger Library.

With these two major projects well under way, I look forward to a research trip to Italy during the coming summer, especially in order to be able to complete the assembly of original sources before I begin to write my book on the Florentine cabinet of coins and cameos, an undertaking which has been furthered in many important ways during my fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts.

The Johns Hopkins University; The Fashion Institute of Technology, State University of New York  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1986–1987



Domenico Compagni, die showing the *Head of Arethusa*, late sixteenth century. Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence.

*Dziga Vertov: Theory and Practice of the Documentary Film*

The study of the cinematic theory and practice of Dziga Vertov (1896–1958) provides a point of departure for the analysis of a pivotal stage in the culture of revolution in our century. This view is grounded in evidence that Vertov's work represents the sharpest and best sustained articulation of three modernist and revolutionary projects conjoined in filmic innovation. The intersections of Vertov's work with that of painters, poets, sculptors, and photographers (Rodchenko, Tatlin, Maykovsky, Shklovsky, Tretiakov), as well as with that of his colleagues in the filmic production of the immediately postrevolutionary period, confirm this conviction. The particularly delicate and problematic relation of modernist aesthetics to the revolutionary project is, moreover, most vividly illuminated by his work and its reception.

Although Soviet film theory and practice generated an immediate and enthusiastic international response during its most seminal period (1924–1934), little of the immense critical literature of that time remains wholly useful. Developments in our knowledge of the period and in historical method, and the emergence of perspectives informed by recently developed analytic techniques, have created a need for a fresh treatment of this seminal period.

Cinema studies, a very young discipline, is still in the process of developing the iconological and historiographic techniques that have enabled the monographs traditional in other, older fields of inquiry. This absence has, however, proved to be something of an advantage, for it encourages a flexible redefinition of the form appropriate to this chosen area of investigation.

The structural principle of this study, then, has been the selection of parameters and problems rather generally characteristic of the Society Cinema of the heroic period as they crystallized, in paradigmatic fashion, through the work of Vertov. And Vertov is the site of postrevolutionary theory and practice in the Soviet Union in the decade immediately following Lenin's death. Major areas of investigation consequently included the following: the development of a grammar of montage; theories of "the interval" and of "intellectual montage"; the musical model of construction as against that of narrative; the centrality of visual metaphor; the analytic and epistemological functions of optical processes as openly deployed within the filmic text; the transition to sound in its relation to futurist poetics.

Textual analyses of the films of Vertov's mature period are structured by consideration of two intersecting thematic axes: the construction of socialism through an accelerated industrialization and the construction of the Leninist cult. Electrification of the vast rural economy provides a point of conjunction for these two movements, and the development of a Leninist iconography (from "bringer of light" to "eternal light of international socialism") is examined for its rich iconographic articulation, grounded in Byzantine tradition. These processes, studied comparatively, with reference



Mikhail Kaufman walking up girder, carrying tripod for shooting Dziga Vertov's *The Man with a Movie Camera*, 1929.

to the work of Vertov's contemporaries (most particularly that of Eisenstein and of Esfir Shub, the inventor of the "compilation film"), are considered within the framework of an intensified industrialization of the film industry itself, with a view to clarifying the problem of the reception of Vertov's oeuvre, for its reception was one of the most troubled of this entire seminal period of production.

A study of the debates carried on within the community of "left" writers and artists of the time, notably within the pages of *LEF* and *NOVY LEF* under Mayakovsky's editorship, focuses on the question of the political priority and authenticity of the "document" as theorized and promulgated by writers such as Shklovsky and Tretiakov. The critical and theoretical exchanges published there illuminate the major divisions animating the particularly sharp exchanges between Vertov and Eisenstein, unquestionably the two most dynamic polemicists among the filmmakers of their generation. Their discourse is seen to define the terms of film's theorization for a half-century to come.

New York University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1986–1987

SASHA NEWMAN

*Pierre Bonnard and the Reinvention of the French Tradition,  
1895–1920*

The original impetus for my dissertation on Pierre Bonnard sprang from an exhibition I curated, *Pierre Bonnard: The Late Paintings*, for the Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C., in conjunction with the Centre Georges Pompidou and the Dallas Museum of Art. I became fascinated by the work Bonnard created after 1900—an enormous body of work (Bonnard did not die until 1947) that had been largely ignored. Previous literature focused primarily on Bonnard in the 1890s, while the work after 1900, when addressed at all, had generally been considered a form of anachronistic impressionism, unaffected by contemporary artistic and political issues. I became increasingly convinced that this view was one perpetuated by the insidious hegemony of the cubist-formalist viewpoint in histories of twentieth-century art. Impressionism after all, did not end in the 1890s, nor could the great impressionist masters be relegated to a historical position when the most important of them, Monet and Renoir, continued to produce well into the twentieth century—Renoir did not die until 1919, Monet until 1926.

Thus I began an investigation into the legacy of impressionism in France in the first decades of the twentieth century and its relationship to the fervent reassessment of the lineage of the “grande tradition française” occurring in the years preceding World War I. Newly erected stylistic hierarchies assumed tremendous importance for France after the Franco-Prussian War, as the country looked for clues to explain its defeat by identifying and cataloguing its national “qualities” in contrast with those of the German victor. In addition to a retrospective colonization of the Mediterranean heritage of ancient Greece, France looked to its prerevolutionary past in an effort to develop a modern style worthy of its earlier glories. What, then, was the critical fate of impressionism (the most recent avant-garde French “style”) during this period when the Third Republic was so preoccupied with the manufacture of national symbols and traditions? What was the cultural and political resonance of impressionism in these years, and how was it incorporated into the developing, and ever more rigid, French canon? How did the generation of the 1890s, the symbolist generation, respond to, and participate in, the changing critical attitudes to impressionism, the shift within the impressionist vision itself, and the more general and overwhelming concern with defining a French “tradition”?

The late work of Pierre Bonnard became, for me, the perfect vehicle through which to examine these questions. In Bonnard’s analysis of the great traditions of French painting through close study at the Louvre (visits, sometimes as often as twice daily, are recorded in the journals of Edouard Vuillard and noted in sketches in Bonnard’s notebooks and address books), in his desire to use and remake these traditions and create an ultimate “marriage” of classicism and impressionism, he manifested an urge reflected



in much of the art of his time—but one that has received only the most cursory and fragmentary examination. Studies have noted the development of the conservative, neocatholic traditionalism of Maurice Denis and Emile Bernard, of which *L'Action Française* became so notorious a mouthpiece. They have not, however, addressed the issue as it emerged in the 1890s, nor as it evolved in more avant-garde circles, particularly those frequented by Felix Fénéon and contributors to the *Revue Blanche* magazine. Fénéon's odyssey from his early tenure at *Le Chat Noir* and other symbolist journals to his assumption of the directorship of Bernheim-Jeune is an important aspect of my study. This was the gallery most devoted to the identification and canonization of the French tradition (and was Bonnard's dealer from 1900 until his death), while still maintaining avant-garde interests and affiliations.

In pursuing my work on Bonnard and his contemporaries, I have been fortunate enough to have had access to Bonnard's agendas, notebooks, and correspondence—material that M. Antoine Terrasse, trustee of the Bonnard estate, has never before made available to anyone outside the immediate family—as well as similar unpublished material from the Vuillard and Roussel estates and the Bernheim-Jeune archives. I spent my two years in Paris with this material, as well as related archival material in the Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet, the Doucet Littéraire, the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the Musée des Deux Guerres Mondiales. I was also able to visit principal private and public collections of Bonnard's work in Great Britain, Germany, and Switzerland, as well as in France.

Although my analysis of the later work of Pierre Bonnard is deeply involved with the issues of critical reception and political context already mentioned, I would, finally, like to stress the importance to this analysis of the very act of looking. Initially, basic connoisseurship played a critical role in my study in that I was able to redate a number of paintings as well as to reassign several paintings to Vuillard previously attributed to Bonnard. In addition, my involvement with these paintings grew through my appreciation of their tremendous visual potency and my apprehension of the dearth of critical material addressing them. It was only then that the issues of originality and tradition, of decoration versus easel painting, and of classicism versus impressionism emerged as essential to understanding that generation of painters who called themselves the Nabis, and most particularly Pierre Bonnard.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]  
Samuel H. Kress Predoctoral Fellow, 1984–1985, 1986–1987

PETER W. PARSHALL

*Print Production in Early Modern Europe, 1480–1550*

During my two-month stay at CASVA I revised existing sections of my manuscript on print production, drafted a substantial portion of new text, and added complete documentation to the entire study. The resulting one hundred pages will constitute the opening portion of a book.

The introductory section discusses guilds and other institutional relationships maintained by early printmakers throughout Europe. I conclude that the untraditional mixture of skills involved in printmaking allowed these artisans to avoid many guild restrictions and operate with relative freedom from an early stage. In a second section I have attempted a relatively detailed reconstruction of the Renaissance printmaker's atelier. This is based initially upon the interpretation of two surviving inventories—those of Alessandro Francesco Rosselli in Florence (1525) and of Cornelis Bos in Antwerp (1544). My analysis is supplemented by information drawn from additional inventories, contracts, and a wide range of other documents pertaining to the materials, supplies, costs, and dealings of printmakers and book publishers active in Italy and the North throughout the period. From here I proceed to my third topic, the emergence of workshop spe-



Hans Burgkmair. *Herald*, from *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (1512-1519, New York, 1964).

cialization during the first quarter of the sixteenth century, giving particular attention to the rise in importance of the professional woodblock cutter, or *Formschneider* (versus woodcut designer). My case study for this phenomenon is Augsburg, in particular the activity surrounding the woodcut commissions of Maximilian I. I then go on to trace the careers of various of Maximilian's cutters in southern Germany, the Netherlands, and Switzerland as a means of illustrating the evolution of the small "corner presses," which played such a critical role in the popularization of the print and in the development of its journalistic character during the 1520s and after. My main argument here is that specialization led to the primacy of technicians over artist-designers. This can be traced clearly in woodcut production, and it sets a pattern that eventually reached fruition about mid-century when large publishing houses established monopolies in Antwerp and Rome.

Since I had completed the basic research for my project before coming to CASVA, I was able to devote my time here to writing and documentation, though I found myself doing considerable additional research along the way. Conditions were ideal: the library and print room directly at hand and the services of the Library of Congress nearby. I managed to complete more than I expected—more than one quarter of my entire year's project during this period alone. I should also add that during my tenure I was able to revise the text of a lecture on "Art and the Reformation in the Northern Netherlands" delivered at the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, in November 1986. This will be published in a forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*.

Reed College  
Associate, winter 1986

*Problems in the Workshop of Simone Martini*

During my stay at the Center I worked on a final, fully annotated draft of my report for the Simone Martini Congress in Siena, entitled "Introduzione ai problemi della bottega di Simone Martini." With the opportunity to study directly once again the Simonesque panels in American museums, I thought it wise to concentrate on panel painting. In so doing, I inescapably fell upon that most cherished pastime of Renaissance art historians—reconstructing polyptychs.

The most celebrated of Simone Martini's panels in the United States is the five-bay polyptych from the church of Santa Maria dei Servi in Orvieto, now in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston and considered "the only large and complete altarpiece . . . outside Italy" (Philip Hendy, 1974). In my Siennese report I put forward the hypothesis that a partially preserved polyptych from Montepulciano, published in 1956 by Klara Steinweg, could help us to imagine the original architecture of the Boston polyptych as a seven-bay construction instead of five. Research during my stay at the Center has convinced me that the practice of producing a second, cheaper version of the most important masterpieces was more common in Siennese workshops than one might think. A hint of this practice can be seen in iconographic series that are found in products of the same workshop repeated in reverse, forcing a reading from right to left contrary to the normal one; this can only be explained as a device for concealing as far as possible the repetition.

The polyptych (pentaptych) from Montepulciano is such a copy, and possibly a reduced version of the polyptych from the Servi church of Orvieto, now in Boston. The same was also true of the pentaptych from which derived the two female saints by the "Master of Palazzo Venezia" in the Berenson Collection at I Tatti. This was possibly a second version of the seven-bay polyptych painted by Simone for the church of St. Francis in Orvieto.

I am now convinced that if correctly reconstructed, the same would probably also be true of the well-known series of Apostles now distributed among the National Gallery of Art in Washington (James Major and Thaddeus, Matthew and Simon), The Metropolitan Museum in New York (Thomas and Bartholomew, Matthias and Andrew), and private collections (Philip and James Minor). In fact, the actual pairing of the Apostles seems to be nothing other than the result of some antique dealer's attempt to build up a group of more saleable dyptychs from a single large predella. If we try to arrange the Metropolitan and National Gallery Apostles from Simone's workshop in the same order as the canonical examples of Duccio's *Maestà* and Simone Martini's Pisa polyptych, we are forced to give up immediately because of the inappropriate attitude of the first one, the St. Thaddeus, who would then turn his back to the whole holy team. If, on the contrary, in our review of this Apostle series we look for a figure that assumes an appropriate stance, we will soon identify St. Matthias. The



Workshop of Simone Martini, *Saint James Major and Saint Thaddeus*, probably c. 1320. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection.

surprise is that Matthias is the Apostle who in Duccio's line holds not the first place on the left, as we should expect, but the last place on the extreme right. This encourages us to completely reverse the order of the original series.

From the point of view of iconography, the new grouping is perfectly feasible, as it is confirmed by at least one existing Sienese example: the predella of the polyptych by Meo da Siena in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia. The rather unexpected conclusion should be that we have here a new example of the practice in early Sienese workshops of reversing, for the sake of variety, the order of a line of saints. We cannot yet be sure if this also involved, or was encouraged by, the practice of turning the same "cartoni," or preparatory drawings, left side to right.

In summary, we must imagine that there existed, prior to The Metropolitan and National Gallery Apostles, an older, more authoritative series by Simone himself, running in the canonical direction. Two such Apostles are extant: the *Male Saint with a Book* (possibly St. Andrew) in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (no. 51.2397), and the *Saint Holding a Book* (possibly a St. Thaddeus) in the Birmingham City Museum and Art Gallery.

Università degli studi di Napoli  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1986

*Hellenistic Sculpture I: The Styles of c. 331–200 B.C.*

The one semester I spent at the Center, on a joint appointment with the Department of Art at George Washington University, allowed me to write the main text of the fourth in a series of books I am attempting to compile on the history of ancient Greek sculpture. As I write this report, I am checking the last references for the footnotes and planning to send the completed manuscript to press (approximately 600 pages). Gathering the numerous photographs needed to illustrate my text will require additional time.

The Hellenistic period is particularly difficult to study, since the expansion of Greek culture throughout the Mediterranean basin and beyond vastly increases the areas to be covered, some of which are still imperfectly excavated; several major ancient sites mentioned by the literary sources are virtually unknown in archaeological terms. In addition, almost since the time of Winckelmann, we have formed certain preconceived ideas on Hellenistic style(s), which subsequent studies have not managed to dispel. Most of the sculpture considered Hellenistic is known to us only through works carved during the Roman imperial period, but we have confidently assumed that these latter faithfully copied earlier models, to which we have assigned dates primarily on stylistic grounds, without firm and objective evidence. My primary task, therefore, was to investigate what monuments could be safely assigned to the Hellenistic period, in order to obtain a justifiable, if not necessarily coherent, picture of the sculptural trends prevalent at the time. I restricted my inquiry to the first Hellenistic period in order to focus more precisely, and to avoid including the Pergamon Altar, which has always represented a virtual touchstone, almost a watershed, for our stylistic attributions.

My book is articulated into ten chapters, of which two are devoted to the period c. 331–330 and seven to the following century. Within each phase I have attempted to investigate systematically by categories: architectural and funerary sculpture, statuary in the round, dated monuments, and monuments dated only by inference or on stylistic grounds, both Greek originals and Roman copies. Because much sculpture has been assigned to the third century by various scholars, I have also had to consider pieces that I ultimately rejected as belonging to the period of my survey—such as the group of temples attributed to Hermogenes and their sculptural decoration; or the so-called Pasquino Group, the Fanciulla d'Anzio, the Crouching Aphrodite, and several other monuments. Chapters 7–9 are devoted to specific problems: the Muses and related figures; the Gauls and related figures; genre compositions such as the Old Fishermen and Peasants, satyrs, centaurs, and other “rococo” creations. The final chapter attempts a survey by geographical areas, by way of conclusion.

The third century emerges as a period of great sculptural and architectural activity, of which very little has come down to us. Most freestanding monuments were in bronze, and were honorary in nature so that they had

little appeal for the Roman clientele and were not copied. In architecture, the greatest need was for civic buildings and town planning, with few public religious monuments on the scale of the Parthenon or the Pergamon Altar. This situation seems to have changed considerably during the second century B.C., but the previous hundred years were devoted to consolidating the Greek expansion and establishing the trappings of monarchy. Yet the evidence of the minor arts must be used with caution, since the presence of certain subjects or iconographic traits in terracotta or metal statuettes does not guarantee contemporary manufacture on a large scale. A great deal of capital was spent on luxury items, or on temporary constructions such as those that embellished the great festivals of the Ptolemies at Alexandria, but not yet on the decoration of private houses and gardens. Although the third century has been called "the relief-less period," some gravestones and votive reliefs of good quality or iconographic interest could be included, but the total harvest seems meager in comparison with the wealth of examples in the following periods. Styles range from a conservative classicism to a progressive "baroque *ante litteram*," and include archaistic as well as realistic renderings. Many so-called Hellenistic monuments may, however, have to be redated to the Roman period, at least until additional evidence becomes available.

Bryn Mawr College  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1986

JEFF ROSEN

*Lemercier et Compagnie: Photolithography and the Industrialization of Print Production in France*

The lithographic master-printer Joseph Lemercier introduced photolithography in 1852 as the first ink-based means of photographic printing that made mechanical means of mass-producing photographs practical in a workshop context. My dissertation focuses on the development of mass-produced photography by studying the activities of Lemercier, its most dynamic advocate. During two months at the Center, I was able to complete my research and begin writing this study. In France prior to my fellowship year I examined the archive of Lemercier's prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale and concentrated on the development of photolithography and other photomechanical printing processes and how they compared to earlier forms of printing. My time at the Center provided me with an opportunity to analyze more closely the industrial development of French lithographic printing, the social institutions that supported this development, the fabric of French printing during the July Monarchy, and the conflicts between master-printers and workers that emerged in the course of industrial development.

Lemercier established himself as an independent printer in 1828, operating a workshop with one press. By 1849 he employed 120 workers and operated seventy-five mechanical presses in the largest and most comprehensive lithographic workshop in France. Lemercier's lithographic workshop was considered an industrial enterprise by the juries of the French industrial expositions, the membership of the Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale, and the political economists of the chamber of commerce. As a member of the Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale; as president of the master-printers' organization, the Chambre des imprimeurs-lithographes; and as a consistent competitor in the government's industrial expositions, Lemercier was well connected when either seeking support for his inventions in the technology of lithography or when publicizing his results.

Joseph Lemercier began not as a large producer of commercial works or a technical inventor, but as a skilled printer sensitive to the needs of highly esteemed artists. During the July Monarchy, artists such as Achille Devéria named Lemercier as the only printer whom they would use. Following the etching revival of the 1860s, the editor Cadart chose Lemercier to print Manet's *The Balloon* (1862), Fantin-Latour's *Tannhauser* (1862), and Bracquemond's *The Horsemen* (1862). During the 1870s Lemercier printed Corot's *Douze croquis et dessins originaux sur papier autographique par Corot* (1872), Alphonse Legros' many transfer lithographs, Manet's *The Races* (c. 1870; published 1884), and Fantin's *Rheingold* series (1876).

Because the origins of photolithography were based in the industrialized workshop of Lemercier et Cie., this study is born of the belief that the artistic and economic importance of mass-produced photography must be traced to its foundation as a graphic art form. Consequently, I have in-



investigated the way that Lemer cier organized his firm legally and have analyzed the managerial policies that he advocated in an attempt to examine how Lemer cier et Cie. became the first industrialized lithographic workshop. In addition, I have studied the institutional support for the development of photography as a graphic art form by examining the activities of the Société d'encouragement pour l'industrie nationale and the Société Héliographique. My study argues that photolithography was the product of a long-standing economic growth policy of the printer. By concentrating on the actual means Lemer cier used to produce his first portfolio, *Litho-photographie*, I have been able to show that the printer abandoned a two-stone, "tint stone process," for a process that used *chine collée* and one lithographic stone. By analyzing the actual context of production of this portfolio and the activities of Lemer cier's rivals in the marketplace, I have been able to demonstrate that competitive economic pressures forced the printer to abandon one process for the other, opting for a cheaper, quicker, industrial process.

Photolithographs frequently entered the same contexts of appreciation as calotypes. For example, in the Exposition Universelle of 1855, the same image, "L'ange portant le cadran solaire" from Chartres Cathedral, was exhibited as a calotype by Henri LeSecq and as a photolithograph by Lemer cier. Another inventor used the same image in this exposition to introduce his new graphic arts process, known as "litho-typo-gravure." Because of these shared contexts of exhibition, it is important to examine how early photographs acquired different meanings that were based upon whether they had signification as a reproductive graphic arts medium. As a result, my study opposes accounts that regard photography to be an outgrowth of painting or a self-contained, self-defined art form in its own right. Instead, I hope to make clear that nineteenth-century photographs, when exhibited or published as photomechanical prints, were understood as the industrial products of a graphic arts workshop. As a consequence, it is important to reevaluate nineteenth-century photography and examine its signification as either mass-produced prints or one-of-a-kind images, as industrial prints or precious works of fine art.

[Northwestern University]  
Chester Dale Predoctoral Fellow, 1985–1986

HELEN SEARING

*Architecture and Politics in Amsterdam, 1890–1940:  
The Art of the Possible*

During the spring semester at the Center, I continued work on my book about the making of metropolitan Amsterdam from the late nineteenth century up to the Nazi occupation. Amsterdam provides an unusual opportunity to test synthetic approaches to the history of urban design and architecture, so legibly does its physical fabric express the social, political, economic, and aesthetic conditions that brought it into being. To understand the development of Amsterdam in the modern era and its complex identity as a city—at once intimate and cosmopolitan, “red” and bourgeois, the product of a sequence of liberal, radical, and socialist regimes alternately contending and cooperating with conservative constituents and private entrepreneurs—one must explore unrealized schemes as well as executed projects. One must identify the contributions not only of architects and planners but of diverse groups of individuals and organizations, including municipal and federal officials, bankers, developers, contractors, reformers, religious leaders, political parties, housing societies, and labor unions.

Building on research and publications about the housing projects erected in Amsterdam under the aegis of the Dutch Housing Act (*Woningwet*), I have expanded my investigations by looking at many other building types that contributed to the Amsterdam that was dreamt of and realized in this period. The multifaceted story can be told within the context of a series of plans for renewing and extending the city that commenced in the 1860s but yielded no results until the 1890s. The first efforts climaxed in 1902, with H. P. Berlage’s initial plan for Amsterdam South, which embodied in its design many late nineteenth-century ideas about city planning. Berlage himself and the authorities soon came to favor a more current approach, however, and in 1915 the new Plan South was devised; it was carried out according to Berlage’s scheme over the course of the next fifteen years. Elsewhere in the city, which annexed some of the bordering municipalities in 1921, neighborhoods were completed, and by the 1920s Amsterdam had gained international renown for its progressive building policy, its exciting architectural design, and its urban amenities.

In 1934 a new, much more far-reaching plan, the General Extension Plan (AUP), was approved by the city council. Reflecting the avant-garde international concepts about urbanism that were being formulated by the International Congresses of Modern Architecture (founded in 1928), the AUP was a radical repudiation of every assumption about planning that had guided Plan South. A proud, indigenous planning tradition had come to an end, and the ground was laid for a restructuring of the city that has guided its growth down to the present day.

The discussion of the various extension plans of Amsterdam has as subtext a recounting of the relevant architectural history of the city and the nation, for what we perceive most vividly of the plan are the buildings and public spaces shaped by architects committed to distinct formal pro-

grams. During the first period of activity, initiated by the building of the Amsterdam Bourse, the sober and *sachlich* rationalism promulgated by its designer, Berlage, was dominant, although slightly younger contemporaries like Willem Kromhout, K. P. C. de Bazel, and E. Cuypers, pursued a more decorative manner that had affinities with Continental art nouveau and the British arts and crafts movement. For the realization of Plan South, Berlage came to accept the novel conceptions of the Amsterdam School, a group of romantically inclined but socially committed architects who played out their creative fantasies in the arena of housing and public works and put a powerful individualistic impress on the city between 1918 and 1928. But a new group then came on the scene offering a very different perspective. These internationally oriented functionalists contributed to the debate about the AUP and designed many of the projects that were attached to the new plan. Their reign was brief, however; there was a rapid turnover in architectural ideologies during the 1930s that makes it an exciting period for further study. A consideration of theoretical as well as formal distinctions between these Dutch groups is an integral part of this history of Amsterdam during a critical fifty-year period, which ends with the abortive competition for the town hall and the onset of the Second World War.

The relatively late industrialization of the Netherlands meant that Amsterdam was preceded in urban development by the imperial cities of Paris, Vienna, Brussels, and Berlin and was able to take advantage of their experiences. But in seeking to regain the cosmopolitan crown it had worn in the golden age of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam pursued a more democratic vision of metropolis. Motivated by the conviction that Amsterdam's cultural renewal was inescapably bound up with its physical structure, the varied and conflicting groups of decision makers sought means to assure the creation of responsible and meaningful civic design. Architectural style became a political issue of far-reaching importance; rarely has it been taken so seriously from so many different perspectives. The design professions were compelled to confront their own role in the process of urbanization, and fierce debates ensued that led to the continual reevaluation of accomplishment and endeavor. Some actions had a negative impact on the shaping of the city, which must be acknowledged alongside the positive achievements. The divergent and changing concepts of urban felicity and the intricate interaction of client, user, functionary, and professional practitioner in realizing these concepts make the story of Amsterdam from 1890 to 1940 a subject of engrossing interest.

Smith College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1987

*Between Instrumental Realism and Modernism:  
The Physiognomic Paradigm and the Model of the Archive in  
Photographic Practice, 1880–1940*

The discourse of photography is characterized by an incessant oscillation between what Georg Lukács termed the “antinomies of bourgeois thought.” This is generally a movement between objectivism and subjectivism; depending upon the circumstances, this may also be a movement between rationalism and antirationalism, positivism and metaphysics, scientific instrumentalism and aestheticism. I am seeking to chart a pattern of tensions, intersections, and divergences between the lineages of “fine art” photography and “applied” photography, between the often awkward aspirations for a “culture” of photography and a multitude of practical realisms.

My recent research and writing has centered on the system of discursive affiliations underlying the practice of photographic portraiture during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Honorific and repressive modes constitute the functional extremes of portrait practice during this period of the consolidation of modern bourgeois social relations. In the first instance, the portrait sought to individuate an idealized propertied subject. In the second, the portrait individuated the subject of medico-legal regulation and surveillance. Physiognomy, which constituted a powerful hermeneutic paradigm throughout the nineteenth century, served to unify these two modes of visual construction of the self. Following work by Georges Canguilhem and Michel Foucault on the genesis and logic of the biosocial sciences, we can argue that the “normal” and “respectable” self is produced only on the basis of a simultaneous construction: that of a “pathological” and “deviant” other. Although physiognomy and photographic portraiture threatened to dissolve social distinction into an undifferentiated and continually shifting mass, both could be used in a proto-technocratic fashion to reintroduce order and hierarchy into the body politic. The key to this latter promise lay in the precise fixing of the image of the criminal, both as an individual and as a type; but the pursuit of the criminal body ran afoul of the problem of categorization and retrieval: how was sense to be made of an unprecedented number of images?

Thus, roughly between 1885 and 1900, an institutional model of photographic meaning was invented: the model of the archive. This model answered the need to assemble and order vast functional collections of photographs. Nowhere was the archival model more urgently and rigorously pursued than in a number of new, related, and intercommunicating “sciences” of social regulation and control: in criminology, practical police work (criminalistics), and eugenics.

Contrary to commonplace understandings of the “mug shot” as the rather disreputable exemplar of a powerful, wholly denotative visual empiricism, these early archival uses of photography were systematized on the basis of an acute recognition of the inadequacies and limitations of ordinary visual empiricism. The anarchy of the camera’s prolific production had to be tamed by the filing cabinet.

Two novel systems of description of the criminal body emerged in the 1880s, both founded on the attempt to salvage the value of physiognomic evidence through recourse to more abstract statistical methods. In effect, the contingency of optics was made to submit to the regularity of statistics. Both projects relied upon the central conceptual category of social statistics: the mathematical notion of the average man (*l'homme moyen*) proposed by the Belgian astronomer and statistician Adolphe Quetelet in the 1830s. The Paris police official Alphonse Bertillon invented the first modern system of criminal identification, first, by combining standardized front-and-profile photographic portraits with a numerical anthropometrical series of nine bodily measurements on a single *fiche*; and second, by organizing these cards in a massive filing system based on their relative positions in a statistical distribution. The English psychologist and founder of eugenics, Francis Galton, invented a method of composite portraiture ("pictorial statistics") in an attempt to produce actual photographic impressions of abstract, statistically defined biosocial types. He was especially concerned with the isolation of a distinctive criminal type engendered by heredity.

Bertillon's practical nominalism and Galton's theoretical essentialism constitute the two methodological poles of positivist attempts to define and regulate social deviance. Their notions of the proper relation between image and archive were diametrically opposed. Bertillon sought to efficiently and unerringly embed the image within the archive. Galton sought to embed the archive within a single generic image. Although their projects were specialized and idiosyncratic, they mapped out general epistemological parameters for the bureaucratic handling of visual documents. Between 1895 and 1910 this broader, more encyclopaedic project was pursued by a number of international congresses on the rationalization of library science and the refinement of methods of photographic documentation.

The modernist photographic practices that emerged between 1915 and 1940 can be understood as occasionally conscious but usually unwitting attempts to come to terms with the prior institutionalization of the model of the archive. Art photographers sought variously to preserve the authority of optics and to defend an ideology of autonomous individual authorship in the face of a dominant model of image production and meaning that was profoundly bureaucratic in its social implications. A number of photographers were persistently caught up in this crisis of meaning and status, and a variety of contradictory attitudes to the archive emerge within photographic discourse in the 1920s and 1930s. One could embrace the model of the archive, as August Sander seemed to do, or as Walker Evans did in his series of New York subway photographs. Other photographers retreated into a cult of the isolated, organically self-contained image: Edward Weston is a case in point.

During my two months at the Center, I completed a long essay that developed this argument ("The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 [winter 1986]). I intend to pursue the issue further in the direction of a book over the coming year.

California Institute of the Arts

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986

*Artistic Patronage and the Ideology of Emperor Maximilian I*

The artistic projects devised by Emperor Maximilian I of Habsburg offer one of the earliest instances of a systematic campaign of what we today call “public relations.” During the last two decades of his reign, c. 1500–1519, Maximilian supported scholarly research, dictated texts for revision and editing by learned advisors, and supervised the production of numerous illustrations and woodcut cycles as well as several commemorative statues in stone and bronze. His principal artistic legacies include the books *Teuerdank* and *Weisskunig*, composite woodcut *Triumphal Arch and Procession*, the planned *Genealogy* and luxury *Prayerbook*, and a tomb ensemble of life-size bronze ancestor portraits (today in the Hofkirche, Innsbruck).

Although my original intention at the Center was to consider each of these monuments in turn, I began to realize that almost each of them is a rich complex of ideas that run like *leitmotifs* through the art and the texts of Maximilian. Thus I decided to trace those ideas from work to work, even at the risk of isolating segments from each monument in various separate studies. The trial balloon for such a project considered Maximilian’s almost obsessive research interest in his alleged Habsburg ancestors, who were traced back to Hector of Troy in the dominant genealogy (a later genealogy turned to Noah as prime parent). I presented the results of this



Attributed to Hans Springinklee, *Trophy Car*, from *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (1512-1519, New York, 1964).

study as a colloquium at the Center, entitled "Family Ties: Genealogy as Ideology for Emperor Maximilian I." Centered on the tomb as well as on the *Genealogy* project (never published, although ninety-two Burgkmair woodcuts were produced), this lecture considered the justification of the dynasty on the foundation of its purported family history.

Subsequent chapter projects will consider additional ideological campaigns by Maximilian, each of them centered on a major monument but drawing related material from other works. A chapter on piety and the emperor's crusading zeal largely considers the *Prayerbook* and the other works produced for the Order of St. George. A chapter on the concept of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation analyzes closely the triumphal woodcut projects. Maximilian's passion for tournaments is then combined with his never-ending military campaigns in order to study the relationship between vestigial chivalric ideals and the emerging technologies of infantry and artillery warfare; for this study, the unusual objects of armor and cannon as well as the books on such subjects receive attention. A final chapter considers what I describe as "princely pastimes," the activities and interests reserved for nobles and kings as their exclusive prerogative: the hunt, patronage of music and court spectacle, diplomacy and marriage. For this topic, Maximilian's writings provide insight into his ideals and ambitions in the form of such activities, and many of his heraldic claims on various objects are studied in this context.

Beyond this study of his key projects and ideas, my interest in Maximilian extends to the institutions of his court, to study of the "art world" in which his texts and objects were produced. I hope for this analysis to consider the broader context of contemporary court art and to address the question of the emperor's control over his public relations machinery and the autonomy of his artists, such as Dürer, Burgkmair, and Altdorfer. A final chapter of conclusions will assess the reception of Maximilian's ideas: their success with Charles V and later Habsburgs, and their failure with the German dukes within his own empire as well as with his fellow princes.

Northwestern University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1986–1987

*Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the "Prairie Style" as a Communicable System*

My summer's research at the Center evolved from several years' study of the work of Louis Sullivan for my contributions to the exhibition *Louis Sullivan: The Function of Ornament* and its catalogue. During my stay in Washington, I produced two essays: "Schooling the Prairie School: Wright's Early Style as a Communicable System," now in production at the University of Chicago Press; and "Sullivan's and Wright's Kindergartens," soon to be submitted for publication.

These essays embody a simple project of historical reconstruction, focusing on certain pivotal events in Chicago architecture during the busy decade from 1890 to 1900, trying to link several separate events together and to see their significance in terms of immediate, contemporaneous values instead of in terms of ideas and forms that (to later eyes) seem prophetic of "modern" architecture. This work has been drawing me toward two conclusions: first, that Sullivan and Wright (who seem to have been much more closely united in their enterprise at this time than tales of their mutual animosity after 1893 would indicate) made themselves part of a broader crusade during this decade; second, that their objectives were only incidentally productive of ideas and forms that reappeared after World War I in Europe as modern architecture. In a word, like so many other historians of the early modern movement, my objective has been to reconstruct the actual events in what has come to be a pervasively mythologized history.

The foundation of this work is a hypothetical conception of Sullivan's evolving enterprise from 1890 to 1900. During the first decade of his architectural practice, 1880–1889, he was a decorator and theater architect—with the commission for the Auditorium Building, the leading one in the country. When that building opened in December 1889, Sullivan suddenly found himself celebrated as an architect as well as a decorator, and in one year of tremendous conceptual activity (1890) he conceived a whole architectural system that he demonstrated in his Transportation Building for the Columbian Exposition as well as a series of office buildings, starting with the Wainwright in St. Louis and culminating in the Schiller and Fraternity Temple projects of 1891–1892. These were less a demonstration of any functional expression of a steel structural system than the elaboration of an imaginative "nineteenth-century style," profoundly classical and nostalgic in its principles and evocations. With the depression of 1893 and the simultaneous opening of the Columbian Exposition, Sullivan's euphoria was shattered as jobs dried up and the profession and public seemed to respond more enthusiastically to Burnham's "archaeological" classicism than to Sullivan's visions. He revised his ambitions and during the mid-1890s made a second, more focused onslaught: he began to write, organize, and proselytize, gathering about himself a group of younger, idealistic architects, led by Wright. The theme of the "kindergarten" now emerged as the basis of their formulation. They sought to create a system of ar-



chitectural conceptualization based on the experience of simple, natural forms and experiences. They tried to establish it in the architectural teaching at the School of The Art Institute of Chicago (especially during Emil Lorch's stay there in 1899–1901), in the design competitions at the Chicago Architectural Club, and in Wright's Oak Park Studio after 1898. The library in the latter building was not a library of books at all, in fact, but a *wunderkammer* of art objects for Wright, his draftsmen, and his clients to study—the equivalent of the kindergarten conducted on the second floor of the Oak Park establishment by Catherine Wright (or of the kindergarten conducted for Wright by his mother, who now lived next door down Chicago Avenue). Sullivan himself published his “Kindergarten Chats” for young draftsmen in 1902–1903.

As a result of this move from the creation of a popular classical style to a progressive educational system, Sullivan moved toward a more skeletal treatment of his late 1890s skyscrapers, while Wright tried to simplify and geometricize his house designs until in 1900 he formulated the “Prairie Style” of the Ward Willitts house. The final hypothesis I have been exploring is the explanation of Wright's “Prairie” vocabulary as a technique of conceptualization—important for its communicability to his draftsmen as well as to the younger designers of the Architectural Club. The “art” of his buildings lay elsewhere, in the symbolic layout of his houses around their fireplaces (as Norris Kelly Smith and Neil Levine have pointed out) and in the effects of light and space that the vocabulary enabled him to create.

My conclusion is that the skeletal, “functional” qualities of Sullivan's late skyscrapers and the “abstract” quality of Wright's “Prairie Style” are both only superficial aspects of the work, both motivated by the architects' efforts to fit into the progressive, “kindergarten” current in American thought. What is unique and personal in this work is much less functional and abstract: a peculiar hallucinatory classicism in the case of Sullivan (which returns in full force in his late banks) and a profoundly symbolic ceremonialism in the case of Wright. If we are to understand these two men, I would propose that they must be examined in this context, rather than as prophets of later architectural movements toward functionalism or abstraction.

Northwestern University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1986

