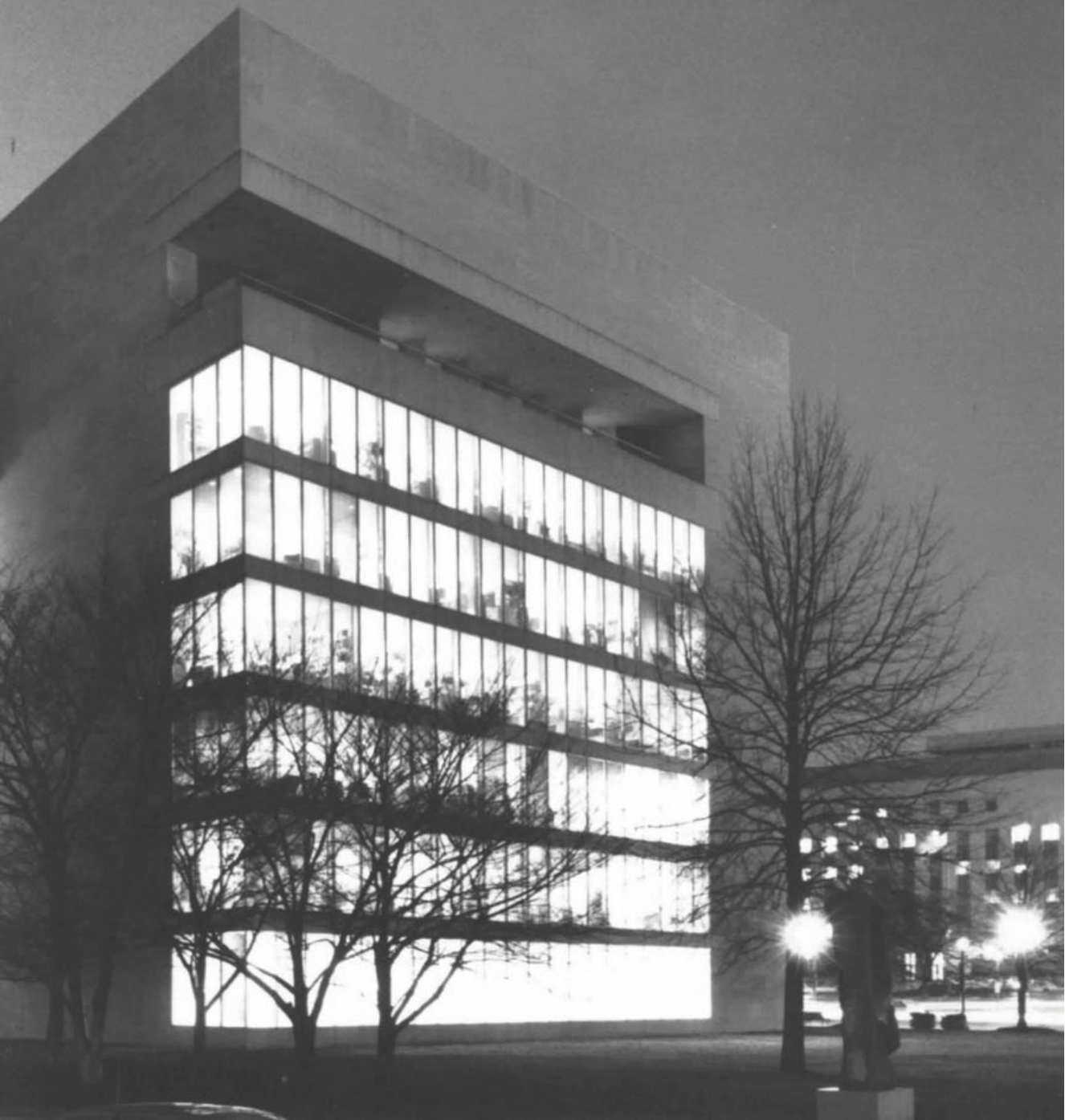


National Gallery of Art

Center 8

Research Reports and Record of Activities





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

Center 8
Research Reports
and Record of Activities

June 1987–May 1988

Washington, 1988

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:

Thomas Rowlandson, *Viewing at the Royal Academy*, c. 1815, Paul Mellon Collection, Upperville, Virginia.

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Report on the Academic Year 1987–1988

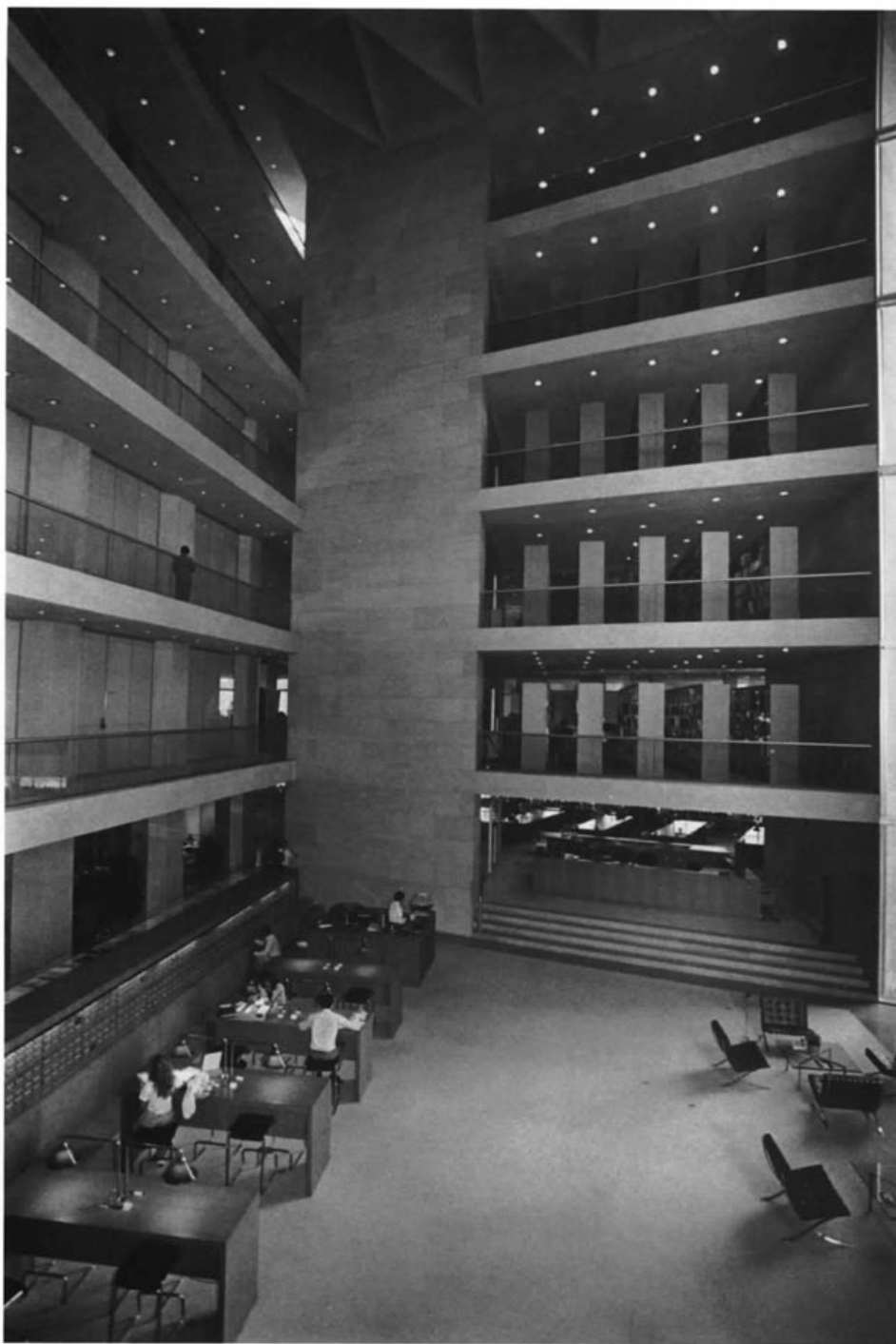
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GENERAL INFORMATION



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



FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

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 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 half the applicant's annual salary on the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives



round-trip travel expenses; a supplemental housing allowance; a research allowance for photographs, slides, microfilms, and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for research purposes and for presenting papers at professional meetings.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 15 October. Each candidate submits an application form including a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

Visiting Senior Fellowships

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a maximum of sixty days during the year in two periods: A) September through February, and B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Awards include a stipend, a research allowance, subsidized luncheon privileges, and a study. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships need only two letters of recommendation in support of their applications. 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. Qualifications, conditions, and application procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships and Visiting Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 15 October. Applications will also be considered on 21 March for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February and on 21 September for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of 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 fellowships at the Center during the period of their award; the award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments, including National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, may reapply after three years. The appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, National Gallery Curatorial Fellowships, and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 20565. 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 seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly lunch and tea, annual reception in honor of 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 in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines.

A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1987–1988 may be found on pages 21–31.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center are published annually. (See pages 38–84 for reports written by members of the Center in 1987–1988.) 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*. Seven symposium 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); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21). Papers from eight other symposia are being prepared for publication as Studies Volumes: *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*; *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991*; *Nationalism in the Arts*; *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia*; *The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*; and *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*. Occasionally papers presented at conferences sponsored by the Center are published outside the National Gallery. Two such volumes came out in 1986–1987: *Emilian Painting of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth 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-Geneva. Another regular publication of the Center is a directory of art history projects supported by granting institutions in the United States and abroad. This year saw the publication of *Sponsored Research in the History of Art 7*, listing awards for 1986–1987 and 1987–1988.

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 comprising 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 in the interview 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
1987-1988

BOARD OF ADVISORS

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, The Philadelphia Museum of Art
Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, Institute of Fine Arts,
New York University
Juergen Schulz, Brown University
Linda Seidel, The University of Chicago
Cecil L. Striker, University of Pennsylvania

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Marianna S. Simpson, *Associate Dean*
Steven Mansbach, *Acting Associate Dean*
Therese O'Malley, *Assistant Dean*
Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., *Curatorial Liaison*

Tracy Cooper, *Research Assistant to the Dean*
Ann Gilkerson, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*
Jane ten Brink Goldsmith, *TAU Staff Assistant*
Peter Lukehart, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor and the Associate Dean*
Claire Sherman, *Senior Research Associate*

Susan Bewley, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*
Cecelia Gallagher, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and Assistant to the
Program of Special Meetings*
Deborah Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowships Program*
Curtis Millay, *Secretary to Research Programs*
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*

ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS CATALOGUING PROJECT

Supported by the J. Paul Getty Trust

Monica Brune, *Secretary*
Barbara Chabrowe, *Research Associate*
Sabine Eiche, *Senior Research Associate*
Mina Marefat, *Research Associate*

MEMBERS

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1987–1988

Craig Hugh Smyth, Harvard University (emeritus)
Michelangelo's Design of the Drum and Dome of St. Peter's (in collaboration
with Henry A. Millon); *Repatriation of Art after World War II: Background
and Beginnings*

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1988

John Shearman, Harvard University
Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance

Senior Fellows

Barbara Goldberg Abou-El-Haj, State University of New York, Binghamton
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1987
Late Medieval Church Building in Its Urban Setting

Colin Eisler, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1987–1988
The Evangelist as Artist: Saint Luke, Painter of the Virgin

Meredith Parsons Lillich, Syracuse University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1987–1988
The Stained Glass of Eastern France, 1250–1325

Ira S. Mark, University of Chicago
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1988
*Ideas of Beauty in Greek Art: Aesthetic Theory and the Origins of the Classical
Style*



Carl R. G. Nylander, Swedish Institute of Classical Studies, Rome
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1987–1988
*Investigation of Near Eastern and Classical Evidence of Willful Mutilation of Art,
in Particular Sculpture, for Political and Propagandistic Purposes*

Gerald Silk, Tyler School of Art, Temple University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1987–1988
Futurism: Its Past, Present, and Future

Visiting Senior Fellows

Margaret A. Alexander, The University of Iowa
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987
The Roman Mosaics of Thuburbo Maius, Tunisia

Silvia Bordini, Università degli Studi di Roma, *La Sapienza*
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987
American Panorama Painting, with Particular Interest in Moving Panoramas

Nicola Gordon Bowe, National College of Art and Design, Dublin
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988
*Nationalism and Design: Analogies and Links Between the Arts and Crafts Revivals
in America and Ireland, 1880–1930*

Anna Ottani Cavina, University of Bologna
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987
Culture in Rome (1770–1800) and the Activity of the Painter Felice Giani

Fernando Checa Cremades, Universidad Complutense, Madrid
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988
The Artistic Patronage of Philip II of Spain

Yasushi Egami, Sophia University, Tokyo
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988
Styles of Early Japanese Illuminated Buddhist Manuscripts

Dragos Gheorghiu, Bucharest
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988
The Development of European Architectural Designs Parallel to Natural Design

Fritz Koreny, The Albertina
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988
*German Drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum
of Art, New York City*

Mary Tompkins Lewis, New York City
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1988
Cézanne's Early Imagery

Naomi Miller, Boston University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1988
Mapping the City, Ptolemy's Cosmography in the Renaissance



Rocco Sinisgalli, Università degli Studi di Roma, *La Sapienza*
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988
*The Contribution of Federico Commandino to the Scientific Development of Artificial
Perspective*

Dell Upton, University of California, Berkeley
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988
The Commercial City, 1790–1860

Tomás Vlček, Czechoslovakian Academy of Science
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1988
Vojtech Preissig in the United States, 1910–1930

Associate Appointments

Mardges Bacon, Trinity College, Hartford
spring 1988
*Le Corbusier's First Visit to the United States in 1935 and Its Impact on American
Urban Design*

Allan Sekula, California Institute of the Arts
fall 1987
*Between Instrumental Realism and Modernism: the Physiognomic Paradigm and
the Model of the Archive in Photographic Practice, 1880–1940*

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow

Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., Curator of Northern Baroque Painting
Vermeer's Painting Techniques and Their Relationship to His Style

Board of Advisors Sabbatical Fellow

Marianna Shreve Simpson, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Aurang

Fellows

*Elizabeth Ann Brown [Columbia University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1986–1988

Brancusi's Photographs: A Sculptor's Mind

*Marc Gotlieb [The Johns Hopkins University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1987–1989

The Thematics of Decoration in French Painting, 1890–1905

Jennifer Kilian [Institute of Fine Arts, New York University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1987–1988

The International Trend in History Painting, Amsterdam 1660–1683

Ewa Lajer-Burcharth [City University of New York]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1987–1988

Forgetting the Revolution: Art in France under the Thermidorian Reaction and Directory, 1794–1799

Annette Leduc [The Johns Hopkins University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1986–1989

Gavarni's Human Comedy

Sarah Schroth [Institute of Fine Arts, New York University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1987–1990

The Private Art Collection and Patronage Activities of the Cardinal-Duke of Lerma

*Elizabeth Streicher [Columbia University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1985–1988

The Graphic Work of Max Klinger

Thelma Thomas [Institute of Fine Arts, New York University]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1987–1988

Niche Decorations from Coptic Tombs

Wendy Wegener [Princeton University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1987–1989

Mortuary Chapels of Renaissance Condottieri

Jeffrey Weiss [Institute of Fine Arts, New York University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1987–1990

Cubism and Early French Dada in the Aesthetic Milieu of the Café and Cabaret, 1908–1918

*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 1987–1988

MEETINGS

Symposia

16–17 October 1987

NATIONALISM IN THE ARTS

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

National Expression in Italian Sixteenth-Century Art: Problems of the Past and Present

Charles Dempsey, The Johns Hopkins University

Some Aspects of Artistic Competition

Renate Prochno, The Johns Hopkins University

The Public Monuments of Great Men in the Third Republic: Shaping the National Image

June Hargrove, University of Maryland

Le Corbusier, Nationalism, and the Decorative Arts in France, 1900–1918

Nancy J. Troy, Northwestern University

National Romanticism in Modern Italian Architecture, 1900–1925

Richard A. Etlin, University of Maryland and The Johns Hopkins University

National Romanticism in Modern German Architecture

Barbara Miller Lane, Bryn Mawr College

Identity, Modernism, and the American Artist after World War I

Wanda M. Corn, National Museum of American Art and Stanford University



30–31 October 1987

THE MALL IN WASHINGTON 1791–1991

Jointly sponsored with the American Institute of Architects

Moderator: Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Monumental Spaces

Norma Evenson, University of California, Berkeley

“This Grand Empire”: *The Iconography of Public Space*

Pamela Scott, Smithsonian Institution

The Mid-Nineteenth Century Picturesque Mall

Therese O’Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Moderator: Norma Evenson, University of California, Berkeley

The Imperial Mall: Burnham, McKim, and the Plan of 1902

Thomas Hines, University of California, Los Angeles

The Mall, the McMillan Plan, and the National Movement for City Planning

Jon Peterson, Queens College, City University of New York

The Landscape of the Mall and the Work of the Olmsted Brothers

David C. Streatfield, University of Washington

High Noon on the Mall: Traditionalism versus Modernism, 1920–1970

Richard Guy Wilson, University of Virginia

Moderator: George White, Office of the Architect of the Capitol

The Mall and the Commission of Fine Arts

J. Carter Brown, National Gallery of Art

The Impact of the Mall on the Development of Cities in the United States and Abroad

Robert A. M. Stern, Columbia University

The Museum of History and Technology/National Museum of American History

Walker O. Cain, New York City

The Classical Imperative

Allan Greenberg, New Haven, Connecticut

The Designing of the East Building

J. Carter Brown, National Gallery of Art

Moderator: Richard Longstreth, George Washington University

A Critical Look at the McMillan Commission’s 1901 Proposals for the Mall

Daniel Urban Kiley, Office of Dan Kiley

The Design of the National Air and Space Museum

Gyo Obata, Hellmuth, Obata & Kassabaum

The New Smithsonian Quadrangle

Jean Paul Carlhian, Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson & Abbott

Summary

Richard Longstreth, George Washington University



3–5 December 1987

URBAN FORM AND MEANING IN SOUTH ASIA, THE SHAPING
OF CITIES FROM PREHISTORIC TO PRECOLONIAL TIMES

Jointly sponsored with the American Institute of Indian Studies

URBANIZATION IN THE PRE-INDUS AND BEYOND

Chairman: George F. Dales, University of California, Berkeley

*The Early Architectural Traditions in the Greater Indus as Seen from Mehrgarh,
Baluchistan*

Jean-François Jarrige, Musée Guimet

Structural Interpretation of Architecture at Mohenjo-Daro

Michael R. N. Jansen, Rheinisch-Westfälische Technische Hochschule

Deurbanization in the Northern Plains

Dilip K. Chakrabarti, Delhi University

Reurbanization in the Eastern Punjab

Jim G. Shaffer, Case Western University

TAXILA

Chairman: Doris Srinivasan, George Washington University

The Urban Development of Taxila and Its Position in Northwest India-Pakistan

F. R. Allchin, University of Cambridge

*Taxila in the Context of the Rise of Urbanism in the Northern and Central
Gangetic Region*

Suraj Bhan, Kurukshetra University

Taxila, the Central Asian Connection

Gérard Fussman, Collège de France

Dating of the Monuments of Taxila

Saifur Rahman Dar, Lahore Museum



SACRED SPACES

Chairman: Frederick M. Asher, University of Minnesota

Madurai: The City as Goddess

D. Dennis Hudson, Smith College

Temples of Stone, Centers of Culture: Sacred Space in Early Medieval Kalinga

Mary F. Linda, The Asia Society

Hanging Gardens in the Princely Capitals of Rajasthan: Sacred Space, Earthly Paradise, Secular Ritual

Jan Pieper, Universität Aachen

Bhaktapur: The New Year (bisketjatra)—Re-creation of an Urban Space in the Kathmandu Valley, Nepal

Niels Gutschow, Universität Kiel

MADRAS

Chairman: Robert E. Frykenberg, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Urban Configurations of Tondaimandalam A.D. 600–1350: The Kancipuram and Madras Region

R. Champakalakshmi, Jawaharlal Nehru University

City and State in Late Precolonial Madras

Burton Stein, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Madras in 1800: A Carnatic Capital

Susan Neild Basu, Rochester, New York

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

Jointly sponsored with the Department of Art, University of Maryland

Introduction: Jeffrey C. Anderson

A Byzantine Icon of Saints Peter and Paul

Colette Czapski [George Washington University]

Introduction: Mary D. Sheriff

Expanding the Text: Aesthetic Invention in Eighteenth-Century Book Illustration

Anne Schroder [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

Introduction: George Mauner*

Klimt, Nietzsche and the Beethoven Frieze

Timothy W. Hiles [The Pennsylvania State University]

*read by Elizabeth Smith

Introduction: Norma Broude

Matisse and the Ballet: A New Source for the Odalisques

Anna Brooke [The American University]

Introduction: Roger Stein

Charles Willson Peale's Portrait of John Dickinson: The American Landscape as Political Allegory

Karol Ann Lawson [University of Virginia]

Introduction: David Wilkins

Painter and Patron in Civil War Politics: A New Iconography for David Gilmour Blythe's "Southern Attack on Liberty and the U.S. Treasury"

Britta C. Dwyer [University of Pittsburgh]

Introduction: Patricia Leighton

Bacchantes, Black Americans, and the First Steps of "Primitivism" in Modern Art

Jody Blake [University of Delaware]

Introduction: Don Denny

Lewis Hine and the Southern Drought: A Visual Testimony of the Rural Depression

Mark Zapatka [University of Maryland]



27–28 May 1988

NEW PERSPECTIVES IN EARLY GREEK ART

SESSION I: A NEW VIEW OF THE WORLD

Moderator: Yannis Tzedakis, Ministry of Culture, Athens

Archaic Greece, An Era of Discovery

Alan Boegehold, Brown University

The Social Function of Art in Early Greece

Oswyn Murray, University of Oxford

The Absent Landscape: The Representation of Nature in Early Greek Art

Jeffrey Hurwit, University of Oregon

The Alphabetic Impact on Archaic Greece

Mabel Lang, Bryn Mawr College

SESSION II: MYTH AND MAN

Moderator: Martin Robertson, University of Oxford (emeritus)

Homer's Anthropomorphism: Ritual and Narrative

Walter Burkert, University of Zurich

The Image of Man in Homer

Bernard Knox, Center for Hellenic Studies (emeritus)

Myth and Tradition from Mycenae to Homer

Emily Vermeule, Harvard University

Between God and Man: The Hero in Archaic Greece

Alan Shapiro, Stevens Institute of Technology

SESSION III: SACRED SPACES

Moderator: James McCredie, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

The Importance and Role of Sanctuaries from the Dark Ages into the Archaic Period

Bernard Dietrich, University College of Wales

The Emergence of Monumental Religious Architecture in the Seventh Century, B.C.

Richard V. Nicholls, Fitzwilliam Museum (emeritus)

The Sanctuary of Iria on Naxos or the Birth of Monumental Greek Architecture

Vassilis Lambrinoudakis, University of Athens

A Vase Painter as Dedicator on the Acropolis: A New View of the Painter of Acropolis 606

Olga Tzachou-Alexandris, National Museum

Moderator: Diana Buitron-Oliver, National Gallery of Art

The Dress of the Archaic Korai

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

The Image of Man in Early Bronzes from the Acropolis

Evi Touloupa, Acropolis Museum, Athens

The Human Figure in Archaic Greek Coinage

Mando Oikonomidou, Numismatic Museum, Athens

The Human Figure in Early Vase Painting

Dyfri Williams, British Museum

Seminars

20 November 1987

ITALIAN ARCHITECTURE IN THE OVERSEAS COLONIES, 1922–1930

Participants:

Alexander J. DeGrand, North Carolina State University
Dennis Paul Doordan, University of Illinois at Chicago
Richard Etlin, University of Maryland
Diane Ghirardo, University of Southern California
Spiro Kostof, University of California, Berkeley
William L. MacDonald, Washington, D.C.
Steven Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Mina Marefat, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Carol Rusche, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Jeffrey Schnapp, Stanford University
Thomas Schumacher, University of Maryland
Ellen R. Shapiro, Connecticut College
Gerald Silk, Tyler School of Art, Temple University
Marla Stone, Princeton University
Krystyna von Henneberg, University of California, Berkeley
Egon Verheyen, George Mason University

26 February 1988

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND ART HISTORY

Participants:

Wayne Anderson, Boston, Massachusetts
Colin Eisler, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University
Jonathan Fineberg, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
John E. Gedo, Chicago
Mary Mathews Gedo, Chicago
Jennifer Gibson, Washington, D.C.
Donald Kuspit, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Elizabeth Langhorne, Charlottesville, Virginia
Steven Z. Levine, Bryn Mawr College
David Lubin, Colby College
Steven Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
George Moraitis, Glencoe, Illinois
Francis V. O'Connor, New York City
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Stephen Polcari, State University of New York, Stony Brook
Philip Rieff, University of Pennsylvania



Gilbert J. Rose, Rowayton, Connecticut
Gert Schiff, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University
Jack J. Spector, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

22 April 1988

CINEMA STUDIES, ARTISTIC PRACTICE, AND ART HISTORY

Participants:

Richard Abel, National Humanities Center
Robert C. Allen, University of North Carolina
Patricia Aufderheide, Washington, D.C.
David Bordwell, University of Wisconsin, Madison
Peter Brunette, George Mason University
Raymond Carney, University of Texas at Austin
Noel Carroll, Cornell University
Lucy Fischer, University of Pittsburgh
Douglas Gomery, Chevy Chase, Maryland
Marjorie Keller, University of Rhode Island
Vance Kepley, University of Wisconsin
Margot Starr Kernan, Washington, D.C.
Robert Kolker, Silver Spring, Maryland
Anna Lawton, Washington, D.C.
Ana M. Lopez, Tulane University
Scott MacDonald, Utica College
Steven Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Annette Michelson, New York University
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Peggy Parsons, National Gallery of Art
Dana Polan, University of Pittsburgh
David Rodowick, Yale University
Scott Simon, Washington, D.C.
Maureen C. Turim, State University of New York, Binghamton
Allen Weiss, Huntington, New York

Colloquia LXVIII–LXXVII

8 October 1987

Pirro Ligorio, Michelangelo, and St. Peter's
Craig Hugh Smyth and Henry A. Millon

5 November 1987

Giacomo Balla's Abstractions: Iridescent Interpenetrations and Plastic Complexes
Gerald Silk

8 December 1987*

The Twilight of Physiognomy? Photography, Crime, and Modernism
Allan Sekula

15 December 1987

Reflections on a Lost Revolution: An Overview of the Hungarian Avant-garde
Steven Mansbach

7 January 1988

Building at Reims and Amiens: Feudal Monopolies and Communal Constraints
Barbara Goldberg Abou-El-Haj

4 February 1988

Sargon's Eye and Diocletian's Nose—Iconoclasm as a "Counter-Language"
Carl R. G. Nylander

31 March 1988

Art is Work—Saint Luke Painting the Virgin
Colin Eisler

26 April 1988*

Le Corbusier's American Lecture Tour
Mardges Bacon

28 April 1988

Hagiography, Patronage, and Anti-Semitism in the Stained Glass of Saint-Dié
Meredith Parsons Lillich

4 May 1988

Greek Aesthetic Theory and the Origins of the Classical Style
Ira S. Mark

*presentation to members of the Center only

Visiting Senior Fellow Presentations

20 October 1987

Introduction to Panorama Painting

Silvia Bordini

3 November 1987

Felice Giani and the Late-Eighteenth-Century Roman Culture

Anna Ottani Cavina

15 December 1987

Vojtech Preissig: Art Between Creative Experiment and Utopia

Tomás Vlček

Shop Talks

18 November 1987

The "Lives of the Neapolitan Painters and Sculptors" Attributed to Massimo Stanzione and Its Critical Fortune in Nineteenth-Century Historiography

Thomas Willette

21 January 1988

Through the Sculptor's Lens: Brancusi's Photographs

Elizabeth Brown

17 March 1988

The Graphic Cycles of Max Klinger: A Study of the Art of Imperial Germany

Elizabeth Streicher





Lectures

Abstracts of lectures are found on pages 32 -35 .

23 September 1987

America by Design

Spiro Kostof, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley

4 November 1987

David by the Hand of Michelangelo: The Original Model Discovered

Frederick Hartt, University of Virginia

19 November 1987

Fascism at Large: Planning the Imperial City

Spiro Kostof, College of Environmental Design, University of California, Berkeley

25 February 1988

Henry Fuseli: The Artist Psychoanalyzed

Gert Schiff, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University

10 March 1988

Bernini's Portraits of No-Body

Irving Lavin, School of Historical Studies, Institute for Advanced Study (part of a series, *Death and the Afterlife*, sponsored by the Washington Collegium for the Humanities)

11 April 1988

Conservation of Historic Buildings and Monuments in Britain

His Royal Highness Prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester, Deputy Chairman, English Heritage

21 April 1988

Film Studies in the University: Unfinished Versions of a Success Story

David Bordwell, University of Wisconsin, Madison

FREDERICK HARTT

*David by the Hand of Michelangelo: The Original Model
Discovered*

Michelangelo's original working model for the *David*, mentioned by Vasari, modeled in wax in 1501 and cast in plaster, was in the possession of the composer Artur Honegger since 1921, and later in that of his heirs in Switzerland. The model was discovered by a French collector in 1985, and I was called to examine it in the spring of 1986. The discovery was publicly announced on 6 March 1987, the artist's 512th birthday.

The model is identifiable with that listed as *un modello di stucco del gigante di man di Michelagnolo* in the inventory of the Guardaroba of Cosimo I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio in 1553 (published and universally accepted), and in six unpublished inventories of the Guardaroba up until 1666, where it is sometimes listed as *del davit*. In 1690 a disastrous fire swept the whole top floor of the Palazzo Vecchio and many important works of art were damaged or destroyed. Many, however, were saved and are now in the Uffizi or the Pitti. Raphael's portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, duke of Nemours, came to light recently.

The model was damaged by fire, presumably in 1690, and lost its head. It was later buried for a prolonged period in a clay soil, and either on exhumation or at some later time its arms and legs were broken. In spite of the damage the remaining torso, eight inches high, is of extraordinary beauty. As always in Michelangelo's preparatory studies, the model differs slightly but in important respects from the finished work—in this case in the pose, the physical type, and a higher degree of anatomical definition in the groin.

According to Cellini it was customary for the artist to make such small-scale working models for all his statues before the period of the Medici Chapel, and Vasari also mentions his use of models for his painted figures. Models for the *Moses* and the *Dying Slave* were utilized extensively by Raphael, who drew this model as well. Since no other small-scale model by Michelangelo is preserved, this fragment gives us a new insight into his working methods. In its surprising degree of surface finish and anatomical refinement, presupposing a prolonged period of study and work, it contrasts sharply with the rapidly sketched *bozzetti*. The lecture will be illustrated with photographs of the model as well as *bozzetti* by Michelangelo in terracotta and wax, and in related drawings and marble sculptures by the master.

GERT SCHIFF

Henry Fuseli: The Artist Psychoanalyzed

An attempt will be made in this lecture to deduce essential features of Fuseli's sexuality and character from one of the most prominent features of his pictorial imagination, his fascination with hair, especially female hair. His paintings and drawings abound in depictions of beautiful (or lascivious) women with extravagant coiffures, real or invented. The phallic character of these hairdos marks them as his fetish. Fetishism is based on the fantasy of the phallic mother. The fetish is an attempt to deny both the real woman's lack of a penis and the resulting castration anxiety. Of special interest are those fanciful hair creations by Fuseli in which the phallic emphasis is counteracted by shaven areas symbolizing castration. Psychoanalytically speaking, the artist endows woman as his love object with a penis, while at the same time castrating her.

This indicates an unresolved conflict between the desire of submission and aggression. Both presuppose fear of woman as the sexual partner. Aggression is rooted in object-loss; the desire for submission, in castration anxiety. This latter tendency will be exemplified by some of Fuseli's many depictions of male surrender to female cruelty: Queen Margaret and York, Brunhild and Gunther, and Samson and Delilah. Aggression toward women is manifest in his most famous painting, *The Nightmare*. Fuseli's portrayals of his own wife suggest that she catered to both his fetishistic and his masochistic needs. She may have been both cruel mistress and loving wife to him. While his most extreme imaginings hint at death as fulfillment, or release from, masochistic craving, there are other works from his later years in which the conflict is sublimated, if not resolved.

In conclusion, it will be shown that these observations link up with the uprootedness that characterizes Fuseli as the quintessential exile.

HRH PRINCE RICHARD, THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER
Conservation of Historic Buildings and Monuments in Britain

As Deputy Chairman of English Heritage, I am in Washington to take part in the launch of a new organization, the American Friends of English Heritage, and to talk about architectural preservation and conservation in England. In my country as in yours, conservation of the architectural and archaeological heritage must begin with educating the public as to the true value of irreplaceable historic and cultural resources. Some of us see this as a war that is never won, an effort that demands almost eternal vigilance. It seems worth noting that in Britain more of our heritage has been destroyed by natural decay, apathy, and the desire to redevelop than by revolutions and earthquakes. In fact, redevelopment alone has destroyed more historic buildings than the Luftwaffe.

But destruction takes various forms: the modern conservation movement's origins with William Morris and the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings were in effect an effort to put pressure on eminent architects who were over-restoring churches and great cathedrals, perhaps as part of their efforts to boost their own reputations as original designers.

Our first protective legislation concerned itself with archaeological remains and the need to identify just which ancient monuments merited protection. The government's brief was widened in 1896 to include buildings as well as the evidences of prehistory. Xenophobia played its part, too: in 1913, new legislation to protect historic buildings was one reaction to an American who wanted to transport Tattershall Castle brick by brick across the Atlantic. Other legislation grew out of threats closer to home, for example, tourists who wanted to take home souvenirs of sites such as Hadrian's Wall. Also important have been private preservation societies such as the Georgian Group and the Victorian Society (as appreciation for the nineteenth century's artistic and architectural contributions spread) and the non-governmental National Trust. And we cannot overlook the influence of the magazine *Country Life* in raising public awareness and concern. New ideas and new organizations have emerged: Town and Country Planning Acts, Historic Buildings and Monuments Act, the Civic Trust, Sir Nicholas Pevsner's guides, SAVE, and now, English Heritage with its four hundred properties, has taken over many governmental conservation responsibilities and has absorbed those of the Greater London Council. A hands across the sea effort—in both directions—the new American Friends of English Heritage will examine English influences upon American architecture, art, and culture, and will also support research and studies that link our individual cultures and our shared culture as well.

DAVID BORDWELL

Film Studies in the University: Unfinished Versions of a Success Story

Over the last twenty-five years, the academic study of films has grown from a minor area within literature and art history departments into a significant discipline in its own right. Film studies now has professional associations, academic journals, conferences and conventions, graduate programs at several universities, and a variety of approaches to understanding its object. It is, along with black and ethnic studies and feminist studies, one of the academic success stories of the 1970s and 1980s. But how are we to explain its success, and of what does that success consist? This lecture seeks to outline some standard stories of the rise of film studies and to point out some factors that those explanations ignore. It looks critically at the most common story, which presents cinema studies as enacting a history of ideas. On this account, ever more theoretical frames of reference (semiotics, psychoanalytic theory, Marxism, poststructuralist feminism) are said to dislodge more empirical practical criticism, and an aesthetic approach is said to be displaced by a more sociological one identified as "cultural studies." This lecture argues that such dichotomies are largely untenable; the history of film criticism is a more untidy affair. The lecture also considers how the development of film studies can be understood by a less commonly circulated story: that of accommodation to the norms and demands of the university. To a considerable extent, the recently won prestige of film studies is the product of an adjustment to the academic practices of departments of literature and the arts. Throughout the talk, discussions of particular films and writings will illustrate the more abstract historical argument.



MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

MEMBERS' RESEARCH REPORTS

The following research reports discuss work accomplished by members in residence at the Center during the period June 1987 to May 1988 and by several Predoctoral Fellows not in residence whose terms ended in August 1987. Additional reports by Predoctoral Fellows for the 1987–1988 academic year and Visiting Senior Fellows for summer 1988 will be published in *Center 9*.

Late Medieval Church-Building in its Urban Setting

Late medieval cathedrals have long been admired for their size, technical complexity, and decorative programs. My project explored the disproportion between the resources of towns, whose topography these buildings permanently transformed, and the striking capacity of ambitious bishops and archbishops to nevertheless build in this scale. My project enters the debate over the effects of cathedral building on local economies, and the social means and effects of mobilizing underdeveloped resources. It includes an evaluation of the accounts of cooperative building enterprises in the twelfth- and thirteenth-century "cult of carts" and the contemporary critique of luxury, as well as the nineteenth-century model of a "natural" medieval order. I have suggested for Reims that, even though the new church was the coronation cathedral and therefore might have been exempt from some of the more disastrous consequences of overbuilding, in fact it followed the typical pattern of ambition, deficit, and social dislocation when the archbishop used his political autonomy to mobilize resources. The insurgency he provoked was put down and the town was subordinated once again to ecclesiastical authority, exacted in economic, judicial, and spiritual humiliations, and visualized in the most lavishly decorated of the cathedrals: in the building alterations, sculpture, and glass of the east end. Rudely put, at Reims one sees the aesthetics of oppression.

My principal work at the Center was a comparative political economy of building at Reims and Amiens, one of its suffragans, which stood at the opposite end of the narrow spectrum of thirteenth-century social arrangements. Reims was a feudal town whose archbishop was also its count, and who had practically unlimited monopolies in assembling the resources necessary for the building project. Amiens was a communal town whose clergy was virtually confined within the cathedral enclosure, yet they built a higher and more refined church than Reims, with sculpture, however, qualitatively and quantitatively reduced.

I began with the comprehensive account of documents assembled by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars in the positivist tradition, principally Georges Durand, who wrote a remarkable monograph on the cathedral of Amiens published at the beginning of this century. Amiens has always been taken as the model for a cooperative building enterprise between town and clergy. This is based on documents that record the bishops encouraging reluctant clergy to move from a hospital and parish church in order to expand the foundations for the new cathedral; the bishops remind the parish priest and hospital brothers, ever more forcefully, that the town had agreed to this expansion. Using the same method as Durand, I could trace the increasingly urgent effort to force the hospital brothers and parish priest out by appealing to the consent of the commune, rhetorically enlarged with each repetition. This was accompanied by promises to place the priest in a new place to celebrate the cult, by criticizing both the hospital and parish church as unsuitable for their purposes, and finally

by bribing the master and brothers of the hospital to dislodge them. Thus the reference to communal consent cannot be taken for cooperation, but for an added lever in the bishop's difficulties with his own subordinates. In fact the commune is entirely reticent except for the occasions when episcopal building threatened to encroach on communal land, on its access route, or its well in 1177, before the new cathedral was built, and in its final stages, when the commune, in strikingly demeaning language, forbade the clergy from creating a parvis before the new church. Twice, in 1244 and 1258, serious conflicts between town and clergy erupted. First, when the bailiff executed young clerics or students for "dishonoring" his daughter, the bishop was awarded reparations because his authority had been compromised. Second, three leading members of the town were accused of stealing the seal and privileges of the chapter during a fire in the cathedral. I would suggest that since the fine from 1244 was not delivered to the bishop until after the pope had reconstituted the chapter's stolen privileges, members of the town, intended to further delay payment by stealing documents under cover of a fire they may themselves have set.

As donations—which are most entirely clerical—diminished, and as the bishop had to pay off the hospital masters and brothers, Amiens' funds, like those of Reims and many other cathedral fabrics, began to fail. Although the archbishop of Reims could extract revenues through his feudal monopolies, even at the risk of an insurgency, Amiens' bishop had no comparable political, economic, or judicial authority in the town, and so put an older method to use: a relic-journey, likely less effective than such practices were for the more modest projects of the twelfth century.

The second part of my project was to assess within the cathedral any signs of building constraints: advances and efficiencies in reducing stone, reducing labor by introducing cutting to exact patterns, as Dieter Kimpel has shown, and in the quantitative and qualitative levels of sculptural decoration. Compared with Reims, Amiens tends to repeat the same faces for multiples especially of its jamb figures, particularly for the west portals. Qualitative differences are dramatic in the two groups of the Annunciation, Visitation, and Presentation. Where at Reims every surface is painstakingly worked, elastic, and mobile, Amiens' faces are often repetitive and unexpressive, summary and carved along a continuous rounded surface. Reims' foliage grows in endless variety; Amiens' is often repeated, flat rosettes. How this may relate to skill, labor-time, numbers of employed carvers, the mobility of excellent craftsmen who might have moved to Reims, and the economic limits of production sponsored by a relatively constrained chapter, which nevertheless built the largest cathedral up to its time, has yet to be evaluated. But the differences are consistent.

The last part of my project will integrate the case studies of Reims and Amiens with the wider secondary literature to show what is normative and what is exceptionable in these histories, how they relate to the fundamental history of these centuries, and the slow and often failed transformation of feudal relations in the later Middle Ages.

State University of New York, Binghamton
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1987

The Geometric Mosaics of Thuburbo Maius (Tunisia)

Roman floor mosaics are known for their mythological scenes and figures, still lifes, and, particularly in North Africa, scenes of everyday life. Having survived in greater numbers than frescoes and panel paintings, they provide the richest documentation we have for the history of Roman painting. Art historians have tended to concentrate on representational mosaics, usually cut from the original floors and hung on the walls of museums like individual pictures. As a result, the emphasis has been on iconography and figural style. Now that pavement mosaics are recognized as an art form in their own right, consideration is being given to the far more numerous geometric and floral mosaics in which many of the figural panels were encased. This has resulted in a number of new approaches. Purely ornamental mosaics are being studied in and for themselves, as figural panels continue to be, and more and more the two are treated as an entity and as an integral part of the buildings they pave.

The latter approach is adopted in the *Corpus des mosaïques de Tunisie*, of which the mosaics of Thuburbo constitute Volume II. Each volume includes a catalogue documenting the mosaics in detail within their architectural and archaeological contexts and a critical essay. The essay on the mosaics of Thuburbo that I am writing with Dr. Aïcha Ben Abed-Ben Khader will be published in the fourth and last fascicle of Volume II. Dr. Ben Abed is concentrating on the figural mosaics, while I am collecting data for a study of the geometric/floral mosaics. Charts have been prepared of all the geometric mosaics. They are organized by "families," each comprising a different basic scheme with its variations: type of mosaic (black and white, polychrome), surround, exterior and interior borders, filling motifs (elements responsible for the distinctive character of each member of the "family"), and dates. Systematic analysis of the charts has proved useful in determining the Thuburban repertory and its particularities. Reference to comparable datable mosaics in Tunisia is included in each catalogue entry and these and similar but undated mosaics are now in the charts. But to place the geometric mosaics of Thuburbo in a broader context, data was needed from sites outside Tunisia. The collecting and organizing of this material was my primary task at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. There I had the opportunity to concentrate solely on this work and, with the specialized research facilities of Dumbarton Oaks, to proceed in a systematic fashion. A great deal of new data was amassed, a large part was entered in the charts and considerable visual material was added to our photo archives. Eventually a database will be established to facilitate research.

Although there was not time to analyze the new information in detail, some possibilities for new procedures were explored. One is the making of charts for Thuburbo to coordinate the types of ornamental mosaics with figural representations and with specific kinds of buildings and shapes and functions of rooms. While there seems to be some correlation between the

choice of iconographic programs for private as opposed to public structures, such a distinction does not exist in the case of geometric mosaics. Yet it is apparent that certain compositions were considered appropriate for specific purposes, for example, the wavelike chevron pattern so common in basins. The same pattern is also frequently used in corridors where the design emphasizes the longitudinal axis and draws the visitor along the passageway. Further investigation is necessary and a satisfactory method of charting still has to be worked out.

Some thought was given to the various ways in which the new data can be used to help establish a genealogy for the geometric mosaics at Thuburbo and verify the chronological development. Thuburbo has a wide range of types, many common to Roman mosaics since the first centuries B.C. and A.D. The evidence is well published. Less easy to trace are the origins and diffusion of the more complex schemes, such as the octagonal compositions so popular at Thuburbo. My research indicates that they were more common in Tunisia than in the other Roman provinces. They were also more popular in sites within the orbit of Carthage, including Sardinia and Sicily, than in those around Hadrumetum in Byzacena. It would seem, then, that Carthage was the center of diffusion. Research will continue along this vein to trace the development of other compositions. These studies should provide new insights into such topics as the production of mosaics at Thuburbo and into the formation of ateliers.

Results of the new data for the verification of dates assigned to the mosaics at Thuburbo are still to be explored. From the brief review of the comparative material, it appears that on the whole our dating of the mosaics at Thuburbo is reasonable. Though none of them is dated internally, a fairly secure relative chronology, based largely on archaeological evidence and building phases has been established.

Though we think the various filling motifs will be important for chronological purposes, there was not time to make a systematic study of the various types. Only the floral motifs have been classified. In general, types such as open or closed, stylized or geometricized, foliate motifs, particularly rosettes, are common to most Roman mosaics. But data just collected makes clear that their particular makeup varied considerably in the different provinces and at different periods.

During my stay at the Center, most of my efforts were expended in accumulating factual data. Only a few of the possible ramifications of that search have been mentioned above. Once assimilated, the material will serve as a foundation for the more subjective study of stylistic trends at Thuburbo. As finally formulated for the essay on the mosaics of Thuburbo Maius, it can form the basis for a much-needed history of all the geometric/floral mosaics of Tunisia.

The University of Iowa
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987

Le Corbusier's First Visit to the United States in 1935 and Its Impact on American Urban Design

Because of the financial collapse of Europe and diminished patronage during the 1930s, Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, the Swiss-French architect called Le Corbusier, embarked on a lecture tour of fifteen American cities during the fall of 1935 in search of commissions. Sponsored by the Museum of Modern Art in New York, Le Corbusier promoted his ideas through an exhibition of his work at the museum, a press conference and a radio broadcast, newspaper and journal articles, meetings with editors to negotiate an American edition of his book *La Ville radiieuse* and meetings with public officials and potential clients. Returning to France later that year with no commissions, Le Corbusier assembled his bittersweet recollections for publication in *Quand les cathédrales étaient blanches: voyage aux pays des timides*.

During the early decades of the twentieth century, no European architect had written more analytically about the American landscape, its skyscrapers and city plans, its icons of modernity including grain elevators and factories, than had Le Corbusier. In his early writings, including *Vers un architecture* of 1923, Le Corbusier repeatedly characterized the United States as a country of paradoxes. He summoned the imagery and symbolism of American technology to promote his polemical view of "the first machine age." Yet he countered such admiration with a sharp attack on the American architect whose designs for skyscrapers were still dominated by retrogressive academic styles. Moreover, he criticized the chaotic siting of American skyscrapers, caused by excessive building speculation, which impeded a reasoned approach to modern urban design. Such criticism, however, was secondhand, forming an armature of preconceptions that irrevocably shaped his first trip.

By the early 1930s Le Corbusier and his French syndicalist colleagues no longer viewed America as a technocratic model for solving social problems. The Depression was sober evidence of the failure of capitalism in America. Suburbanization, commuting, decentralization, the waste of consumer goods, and advertising resulted in disharmony and deleterious effects on family life and human values. As an outsider, a European, Le Corbusier saw America poised at the crossroads between two eras: an earlier "first machine age" in which mechanization had lead America too far into overproduction, waste, and chaos; and a later "second machine age" based on harmony and a collective social conscience. In effect, the purpose of Le Corbusier's lecture tour was to promote planning principles based on his "radiant city," in which so-called Cartesian skyscrapers appeared as great obelisks spaced far apart on a grid to allow light, space, air, and order to dominate the city. Urban housing was concentrated into large apartment blocks he called "vertical garden cities". Le Corbusier envisioned that such architectural reformations would eliminate commuting and permit more leisure time. His urban theory of the thirties, therefore, embraced not only

questions of technology and aesthetics, but also those of biology, psychology, sociology, economics, and politics. Yet such transformations, Le Corbusier maintained, still entailed harnessing industrial production for standardization and scientific management. These expectations contained the crux of Le Corbusier's ambivalence toward the United States during the 1930s. America had been the model for the first machine age, which he now considered misguided; but to Le Corbusier, an industrially based society in general, and America in particular, was still the foundation for a new era of social conscience. However, the extent to which he believed in the feasibility of implementing some of the more collective principles of his "radiant city," including a reorganization of land ownership and controlling big industry, remained unresolved.

In 1935 Le Corbusier's expectations for patronage in America were placed within a wider search of the private and public sectors for a centralized authority to implement the "radiant city." To reequip American cities for the second machine age, Le Corbusier identified housing as the key issue and New York City as a laboratory for his ideas. Le Corbusier advocated replacing Manhattan's gridiron plan with a "cellular reformation" into larger blocks and apartment houses as a consequence of high land values. He offered a range of possibilities for the central city, but not a complete plan. In the end, Le Corbusier's meetings with administrators of the New York City Housing Authority resulted in no commissions, for they were guided by the decentralist policies of the Garden City Movement. Their discussions with Le Corbusier only confirmed the American position that his solution was too radical, too visionary, and too destructive. This cautious American view also reflected a reaction against the idealism of the First World War and the broader consequences of the American Depression: isolationism, pragmatism, and burgeoning nationalism.

Yet in spite of the tacit resistance to Le Corbusier's ideal city, his New York lectures and his discussions with housing officials had a direct impact on public housing reform. Progressive housing administrators and architects during the late 1930s and 1940s adopted a number of Le Corbusier's ideas on planning, siting, density, and access to sunlight. Yet post-World War II public housing often reflected a mistranslation of Corbusian housing design and recalled, instead, the standardized slabs of business towers in his *Ville contemporaine* of 1922. Further, Le Corbusier's contributions to the design of the United Nations in New York City remain the broadest application of these theories where as a member of both the site commission and an international team of architects he proposed a secretariat—a slab raised on *pilotis* and derived from a Cartesian skyscraper—and a megaphone-shaped auditorium (Project No. 23-A). Yet once again, Le Corbusier met with disappointment as elements of Project No. 23-A were dismembered by the team and reconstituted into the final scheme. Regrettably, the United Nations headquarters, like the New York City public housing projects Le Corbusier influenced, demonstrated an adoption of his general principles, but neither the poetry nor the spirit of his design.

Trinity College, Hartford
Associate, spring 1988

Panorama Painting in America

Studying the history of panoramas in America, two basic trends clearly emerge: the dependence of the circular panorama on foreign models, and the innovative elaboration of pictorial experiences and techniques that lead to a new kind of pictorial show, the moving panorama. The subjects depicted were based on topics of national interest, and endowed with implications both for early animation and easel painting. Most panoramas exhibited in the United States between 1794 (the *Panorama of London* by W. Winstanley) and 1842 (the fire of Catherwoods' Rotunda) were either painted in Europe or were reproductions of panoramas already shown in Europe. John Vanderlyn, after painting his *Panorama of Versailles* (1819), had little success, so he subsequently confined himself to importing foreign panoramas as an entrepreneur. Neither John Trumbull nor Thomas Cole succeeded in realizing their panoramas, which were nonetheless important in the development of landscape painting. The reasons for the initial lack of autonomy in American panorama painting may be found in its subjects, which had great appeal for European audiences but not for American. The subjects were views of famous cities, such as the panoramas of London (1794), Jerusalem (1802), Rome (1810), Liverpool, Athens (1826), Mexico City (1827), Geneva (1828), and celebrated battles, such as the *Battle of Alexandria* (1804), the *Battle of Lodi* (1805), the *Battle of Waterloo* (1818), and the *Battle of Paris* (1818). The iconography of these panoramas was didactic and ideological, representing in the present the impact of the past.

The historical content of the immense circular canvases was linked to the visible presence and experience of the past, providing a strong sense of identity in European audiences. But these experiences were not to be found in the historical reality of America, in the awareness of living toward a new age, as effectively expressed by Thomas Cole: "American Associations are not so much of the past as of the present and the future." For this reason in 1818 the *National Advocate* among others asked Vanderlyn to paint panoramas of national topics, following a direction already present in the panoramas of Charleston (1796), New York, Boston (1811), Baltimore (1814), the *Bombardment of Fort McHenry* (1817), *Niagara Falls* (1839), and later in some historical panoramas, such as the famous *Panorama of Gettysburg* by the French painter P. Phillpoteaux (1884), the *Battle of Manassas* (1886), the *Battle of Manila* (1889), or the *Cyclorama of General Custer's Last Fight against the Sioux Indians* (1889). The desire for national topics was satisfied on a large scale only by the moving panorama, which, after 1848, in conjunction with traditional landscapes, helped to establish a new specifically American iconography—both realistic and symbolic. This iconography was characterized by the presence of a large unknown continent whose immense and varied nature could hardly be enclosed within the boundaries of the circular panorama or limited by its historically fixed space and time.

The moving panorama was composed of a continuous series of scenes

painted on a long single canvas, which slowly rolled before the audience. The subjects depicted included the most interesting places, especially the Ohio, Mississippi, and Hudson rivers. In the traditional panorama there was an involvement of visual perception based on a total engagement of the eyes in a painting, which became the only visual reality in the moving panoramas. There was the emotion of a journey and the reward of a discovery, the feel of the visual possession of a boundless and full promised land in the heart of a new myth. Besides, the moving panorama was experimenting with a kind of "animation" both through the running canvas (which suggested the movement in space) and through the representation of atmospheric effects from dawn to dusk, or from storm to clear and vice versa, (which gave the illusion of the passing of the time). The origins of the technical features of the moving panoramas must be found in the various optical and mechanical techniques of panoramas, late-eighteenth-century *vue d-optiques*, and the visual journeys created by a sequence of pictures such as the *Aegyptiana* by M. Lonsdale (London, 1802), the *Cosmorama* by Gazzera (Paris, 1808), and the *Pleorama* by K. W. Gropius and F. Schinkel (Berlin, 1832). Other sources can be found in the moving pictures in which by means of painting, lighting, and transparencies some atmospherical transformations took place, such as in the *Tableaux Transparent* by L. Carmontelle (Paris, about 1780), the *Eidophusioon* by P.J. de Louthembourg (London, 1871), the *Diaphanorama* by F. N. Koenig (Berne, 1815), the *Diorama* by Daguerre (Paris, 1822). One of the most famous, Daguerre's diorama *A Midnight Mass at the Church of Saint-Etienne-du-Mont*, was shown in New York in 1841, but by that time other moving pictures had already been exhibited by C. W. Peale, 1785, by W. Dunlap in the *Trip to Niagara*, in 1828, and several so-called peristrepthic panoramas and dioramas. Induced by the industrial revolution, this form of pictorial entertainment escaped the traditional rules of painting (painting as the "art of space" rather than the "art of time"), by manipulating the sense of time and space.

The final aspect of my research concerns the relationship between the aforementioned optical-pictorial forms and landscape painting in nineteenth-century America, specifically the search for effects of light and the way Thomas Cole represented nature and history in narrative and cyclic painting.

Università degli Studi di Roma, *La Sapienza*
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987

*Through the Sculptor's Lens:
The Photographs of Constantin Brancusi*

My dissertation addresses the complex interchange between Constantin Brancusi's sculpture and the photographs he made to reproduce it. In depicting his oeuvre the sculptor attempted to circumvent the limitations of photography, finding pictorial equivalents for his sculpture's three-dimensionality, for coloristic treatment of sculptural mediums, and for the emotional impact of the object's presence. Brancusi was reluctant to explain the meaning of his work. "Do not search for obscure formulas or mystery. I give you pure joy," he asserted, instructing, "Look at the sculptures until you see them." To help his audience "see" his sculptures, he produced a body of photographs reproducing his oeuvre, which posit a manner of looking and adumbrate what one should see. His manner of photographing, his choices of subjects and site, and his patterns of publishing these images represent important decisions that should be studied as a clue to his intentions as a seminal modern artist.

Brancusi experimented with a camera early in his career, discovering a pictorial medium that he preferred to drawing or painting. He probably began photographing as a means of showing and selling his sculptures, as he never took on a dealer. Soon the medium began to appeal to him for its own sake. Between roughly 1918 and 1938, Brancusi was equally prolific as a sculptor and as a photographer. During this period, several of his sculptural subjects inspired extended photographic responses. Although Brancusi carved directly, without preparatory materials, he also found ways to incorporate photographs in his intellectual working process. He exploited photography's power to re-form a subject; he developed new treatments of his materials and new finishes in respect to their photogenic potential. In depicting individual works or views of his atelier, he also experimented with the inventions of contemporary painting: with cubist organization of space and of multiple viewpoints, as well as with energetic constructivist compositions.

The photographic images Brancusi sent to friends or published in avant-garde journals served as powerful tools for controlling the public reception of his sculpture, a preoccupation of his mature career. An extension of Brancusi's concern with control was his development of site-specific sculpture, which culminated with his monumental installation of the *Gate of the Kiss* and the *Endless Column* in Tirgu Jiu. But this cathexis found its fullest expression in Brancusi's treatment of his studio, which he gradually transformed into a coherent ensemble, a monumental work of art in its own right. Photographing areas of this installation helped him to project and refine its arrangement; in turn, the studio provided a meaningful surround for such individual sculptures as the *Endless Columns*, *Bird in Space*, the *Fish*, and the *Sorceress*, viewed or photographed in situ. His new conception of his atelier as well as his monumental sculptures established an intrinsic link between fixed installation art and photographic reproductions.

Brancusi's photographic oeuvre comprises over two thousand original prints in various states of preservation, a few of them in circulation; around seven hundred negatives, mostly glass plates of which perhaps half are related to known proofs; and reproductions published during the artist's lifetime. Most were intended for the artist's own use: nearly all of the extant photographic materials are preserved in the Musée nationale d'art moderne, to which he bequeathed the contents of his studio. Although most of his sculptures appear in one or another photograph, he concentrated on a small group of his mature works, and published only a few of these regularly. In my research, I tried to make sense of the oeuvre as a whole, concentrating on the artist's selections and preferences. I identify and discuss most of the images that he chose frequently to reproduce. The thesis surveys Brancusi's photographic career, establishing the range of functions he devised for his photographs: an increasingly subtle selling tool, a means of explaining the content of individual sculptures, and an element of his intellectual working process. Clusters of photographs serve as case studies: *Mlle. Pogany*, the *Newborn*, *Leda*, and his studio, the artist's favorite photographic subject.

Although some of Brancusi's photographs have been reproduced and exhibited in the past decade, they have not received scholarly attention, either for their aesthetic quality or as evidence of the artist's intentions in sculpture. My thesis is intended to redress that omission. The first year of my fellowship allowed me to complete my original research in the Fonds Brancusi of the Musée nationale d'art moderne, Centre Pompidou, where I worked directly from original photographs and sculptures. The year in residence provided an ideal context for rethinking and writing—surrounded by colleagues who generously provided encouragement and advice—which made it possible for me to complete my dissertation.

[Columbia University]

Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellow, 1986–1988

The Art Collection of the Dukes of Medinaceli: Taste and Patronage Through the Ages

On 26 January 1711, Luis Francisco de la Cerda y Aragón, ninth duke of Medinaceli, was poisoned in prison, probably on orders of Philip V. Thus ended miserably the life of one of the most powerful men in modern Spain, suspected of collusion with the Austrian pretender during the War of Succession (1701–1713). As the heir of one of the oldest and wealthiest families in the country, Medinaceli had accumulated important offices: commander of the galleys of Andalusia and then of Naples at the age of twenty-two, ambassador to Rome during the pontificate of Innocent XI, and viceroy of Naples from 1692 until 1706. Back in Spain, he became prime minister in 1709, dying tragically two years later.

Medinaceli must have inherited many works of art from his father, the eighth duke, whose palace and furnishings were described by Mme d'Aulnoy as “de la dernière magnificence.” But it was in Italy, particularly in Rome and Naples, that he amassed a superb collection of paintings, which we know thanks to an inventory taken after his death in 1711. It was said that he was always surrounded by *fabbricatori, stuccatori e pittori*, and according to Bulifon, during Medinaceli's years in Naples he acquired exclusive rights to all the *vedute* painted by Gaspare van Wittel, better known as Vanvitelli.

The inventory of Medinaceli, obviously compiled by a painter with a good knowledge of schools and styles, is a far more complete document of this type than is usually found. Out of 388 paintings listed, 195 are identified, often with remarkable accuracy. The inventory also included a handful of works that belonged to the ninth duke's heir and came from his estates in Priego (Córdoba).

One striking aspect of Medinaceli's collection is the relative scarcity of religious paintings: there were only 103, or slightly more than twenty-six percent. Among the nonreligious paintings, landscapes of every variety composed the most numerous group: 107 works, including thirty-seven by Vanvitelli alone (which seems to confirm Bulifon's assertion about exclusive rights). Quite remarkable also is the paucity of Spanish paintings, although conceivably some of the unattributed paintings might have been Spanish. Only three painters from Spain are specifically identified: Velázquez, Ribera, and Matias de Torres. Velázquez is represented by two works, one simply described as “a portrait of a man” and the other as “women working on tapestry,” which must be the *Spinners* now at the Prado. Six paintings are from the hand of Ribera: three male saints, two “philosophers,” and the famous *Bearded Woman*, which Medinaceli had inherited from an ancestor, the third duke of Alcalá.

There is a small group of sixteenth-century paintings, thirty-six in all, Italian except for a few works by Lucas van Leyden and one by Brueghel. This group of works is predominantly Venetian, including seven paintings by Tintoretto, six by Veronese, three by Titian, three by Bassano, and one by Paris Bordone.

The main body of the collection, however, comprised Italian seventeenth-century paintings. In quantity, Vanvitelli's thirty-seven *vedute* excepted, the painter best represented is Guido Reni, with a surprising total of fourteen works (one a copy), followed by Carlo Maratta's ten and Michelangelo di Campidoglio's five. There are also works by almost all of the more classicist masters: Sacchi (one), Mola (one), Guercino (three), Brandi (two), Cortona (four), Albani (four), Domenichino (one), Annibale Carracci (three), Cignani (one), and so on. In Naples, apart from Vanvitelli's *vedute*, Medinaceli must also have bought the paintings by Giordano (six), Rosa (three), and Solimena (one).

Schools other than Italian are poorly represented: four works by (and two after) Poussin and one by Claude Lorrain confirm Medinaceli's preference for classicist paintings. Of the northern schools, apart from a few Flemish landscapes there are three portraits by Van Dyck, two religious paintings by Rubens, and three genre scenes by Teniers.

Apart from the aforementioned paintings and a few others, there is little evidence of the Medinaceli collection until 1764 when the thirteenth duke married the third duchess of Santisteban. The inventory of the Santisteban paintings that subsequently joined the Medinaceli collection includes 251 works, of which 145 have been attributed. The collection is particularly strong in Italian seventeenth-century painting, specifically in works by Luca Giordano. The inventory records a staggering total of 82 paintings plus a book with 24 drawings by him. These works, which included 13 alone on Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and many other of religious, allegorical, and mythological subjects, were mentioned by Palomino in the *Lives of the Spanish Painters*, and must have been influential in artistic circles in Madrid. In fact, it seems that it was the admiration aroused by the works of Giordano already in Spain that prompted his being called to the court from Naples in 1692 and his appointment there as *pintor de cámara*.

The Santisteban inventory lists only a handful of sixteenth-century paintings from the northern schools: one work each by Bosch, Holbein, Mor, and Marinus Rymerswaele (*The Money Lenders* now at the Prado, where it entered as a gift of the Duchess of Tarifa). The Italian school is represented by works attributed to Michelangelo (one), Raphael (one, and one copy), Antonio Solari (one), and Titian (four). The seventeenth century is more strongly represented, with a marked emphasis on the Italian schools. The collection includes, apart from the works by Giordano already mentioned, a drawing by Bernini of *Constantine on Horseback* (surely the same now at the Academia de San Fernando in Madrid, of unknown provenance) and a group of ten drawings by the painter-architect Philipp Schor, plus two paintings by Caracciolo and one each by Caravaggio, Carlo Maratta, Paolo de Matheis, Santafede, Solimena, and Micco Spadaro.

Many paintings from the Medinaceli collection have been acquired by the Prado and other museums—most in relatively recent times, dispersed through testamentary vagaries. A surprising number, however, still remain in the possession of the duchesses of Medinaceli and Lerma and their step-sister the duchess of Cardona.

University of Seville

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1987

Felice Giani and the Roman Cultural Milieu in the Late Eighteenth Century

The work I am now finishing represents the meeting point of two different projects. The first is a monograph on the painter Felice Giani (1758–1823), to whom I devoted the 1979 exhibition (see the catalogue *L'età neoclassica a Faenza* [Bologna, 1979]). The second is aimed at furthering the research done in Rome by Tony Clark, focusing, however, on the second half of the eighteenth century. By this time Italian civilization had lost its role as artistic leader, but Rome was still the focal point of cosmopolitan society of the time and the point of origin of many modern cultural phenomena.

In one sense the complete catalogue of Felice Giani's works is a starting point for an exploration of the Roman milieu. This catalogue consists mainly of the numerous cycles painted to decorate aristocratic palazzi in Rome, Bologna, Faenza, Venice, and Montmorency (France). In order to provide a more comprehensive view of the working methods employed in the atelier run by Felice Giani, who directed masters of ornamental painting, stucco work, cabinetmakers, and so forth, I have included a checklist of autograph drawings that are to be found in lots of several hundred each in the collections of the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, the Biblioteca Piancastelli, Forlì, the Gabinetto Nazionale Disegni e Stampe and Biblioteca di Palazzo Venezia (Fondo Lanciani), Rome, and the Uffizi, Florence.

The study itself and the classification of the graphic works provide conclusive proof of a unified ambient design for which Giani personally executed drawings to be used by his collaborators. These other artists transferred Giani's pictorial representations by the techniques of their individual media (plaster, wood, etc.).

The next essential phase of my study was to reconstruct Rome's cosmopolitan cultural milieu c. 1780, the period in which Giani strove toward artistic maturity. The research for this section was completed in the library and photo archives of the National Gallery of Art in Washington.

The main concern in this part of the study was to find confirmation for my thesis that Giani had a cultural affinity to painters from northern Europe–Scandinavia, England, Switzerland, and Austria. It should also be noted that he lived with Michael Köch, Franz Caucig, and Joseph Bergler at one time or another. The records used to document this circle of colleagues were the *Stati d'Anime*, the registries of persons of the Roman parishes in which Giani had lived. They were consulted at the Vicariate Archives in Rome.

As a result of this research I have identified a dossier of drawings that underscores the surprising analogies between Giani and Louis Masreliez, Alexander Runciman, Henry Tresham, and Henry Fuseli. Indeed, several of Giani's drawings are currently attributed to these artists.

I also discovered a series of drawings made by Giani and Caucig of the same subjects, such as landscapes, life studies, and renderings from antiq-



Felice Giani (1758–1823), *Self-portrait Drawing by Lamplight*, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York.

uity. These works provide evidence for common working habits, similar cultural interests, and close stylistic affinities in the Rome of that period. Giani's Italian circle was made up of the few native Romans or permanent resident painters there with whom Giani had close cultural contact. Again, these relationships became evident in researching and sorting through numerous drawings by Giuseppe Cades, Giovanni Battista dell'Era, Angelica Kauffmann, Domenico Corvi, and others.

The comparative analysis of the graphic works of Giani and several of his contemporaries resulted first in correcting numerous attributions, and second in reconstructing the Roman cultural milieu of the period on the basis of the types of subject matter that characterize the range of Giani's artistry. They include interior decorations, studies after models of antiquity, and travel sketchbooks rendering the theme of the Roman landscape.

University of Bologna
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1987

Styles of Early Japanese Illuminated Buddhist Scriptures

The Heian (A.D. 794–1185) and Kamakura (A.D. 1186–1333) periods saw the development of a variety of styles in Buddhist manuscript ornamentation. In addition to the occasional use of dyed paper and text written in gold and/or silver, such techniques as sprinkled gold and silver dust or finely cut leaf and painted design were seen. The theme of the present study is the stylistic analysis of the painted designs in sutra (Buddhist scripture) manuscripts from these periods. Paintings, especially secular paintings, remaining from the Heian period are scarce. Therefore, the study of the scripture ornamentation is indispensable if one is to understand the evolution of secular painting.

Usually the outside of the cover attached to the opening of an ornate, extravagant sutra scroll bore painted floral scrolls while the inside of the cover was adorned with a painting related to the content of the sutra. In such cases, the deities or narrative scenes were often depicted against a landscape setting, a convention that Japanese artists learned from Chinese and Koreans. In Japan, however, other kinds of natural motifs came into use as early as the very beginning of the Heian period. A set of two indigo-dyed scripture scrolls from early in the period has a design of a bird flying against a floral-scroll background on the inside of each cover. Later in the Heian period and then in the Kamakura period, purely nonnarrative landscape designs or scattered floral motifs were sometimes painted on the text portions. However, the first convention was most prevalent.

In examining such ornamented scripture scrolls it is possible to trace not only the iconographical development of the frontispieces inside the covers, but also some aspects of the depiction of nature and figures in these works. As only a limited number of examples remain, the investigation of the works existing outside Japan is essential. As a visiting senior fellow of the Center, I examined three Heian-period ornamented scripture scrolls and related works in the Freer Gallery of Art and some Heian, Kamakura, and Chinese pieces in other collections such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Harvard University Museums. For the examination of four scrolls owned by the Freer Gallery of Art and one fragment from Harvard, microscopic, X-ray, and infrared photographs were ordered in addition to detailed black-and-white photographs and color transparencies. Use of these special photographic methods is valuable as a complement to observation by the naked eye or by using a microscope and infrared video camera and monitor. When combined with stylistic analyses, they show not only the details of the miniaturelike paintings clearly, but also give information concerning the materials used, state of preservation, past repairs and subsequently the presumed date of each work, the kind of artist or artists, and even the production history.

The three Japanese works in the Freer Gallery, although all of them are indigo-dyed scrolls, represent various styles and kinds of commissions. The first one, acquired by the gallery in 1968, is a scroll from a set of

scripture known in English as the *Three-Fold Lotus Sutra*. Its frontispiece is a refined narrative scene with a landscape setting in gold and silver, showing the style of the early to mid-twelfth century. Judging from the style and the extremely refined artistic quality of the cover decoration, frontispiece, and text calligraphy, this obviously belonged to a set made at the order of an influential aristocratic patron. In 1985, the gallery purchased another scroll also with decoration in gold and silver. The opening section of the text has a stamped red seal which reads *Jingoji*, the name of a famous temple in Kyoto. The stylized floral scrolls of the cover decoration and the simplified but precise mode of the narrative frontispiece lead one to believe that it is part of a comprehensive set of Buddhist scriptures consisting of more than five thousand scrolls completed during the middle of the twelfth century. If that is not the case, it would then be an adoption of a new style in a smaller set of scriptures. The third scroll is different from the aforementioned type. The outside of the cover is not in its original state. But the inside has an extremely fine and surprisingly colorfully painted design of two male dancers in court dance costumes with the wings of a butterfly and a mythological bird respectively. Each of them holds a banner. It is known that this is a scroll from a ten-volume *Three-Fold Lotus Sutra* set that was prepared in 1180 by Taira no Motochika, a court nobleman, as is indicated by an inscription on one of the volumes still in Japan. The dancers in the frontispieces of this set hold various offerings referred to in the scripture. This design, unique for a Buddhist scripture, is a noteworthy example of the creative combination of religious and secular concepts. However, no in-depth study on this painting has been published with the exception of the scientific analysis of its pigments done by a researcher at the Freer Gallery. During the fellowship period, much time was spent in stylistic analysis of the details of the painting such as the facial depictions of the two dancers and the typical Heian period coloring method known as "rainbow grading" found in their costume patterns. The photographs of the entire text of this scroll which is about nine meters long, are now being studied from textual and calligraphic points of view. At the same time stylistic investigation of the painting's paper support continues.

During the term of the fellowship, my experience at the Center included the exchange of opinions with many scholars in related fields, which opened a new dimension in my knowledge of the Buddhist manuscript ornamentation in early Japan.

Sophia University, Tokyo

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988

The Evangelist as Artist: Saint Luke, Painter of the Virgin

During the 1987–1988 year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts my primary research concern was the concept of work in relation to art and creativity in biblical and classical times. The reason for this special area of interest was that of illuminating the association of Saint Luke with the role of art and the reasons for the popularity of that link to work in the early European guild systems. Most of the study was undertaken at the Center with the aid of books from the Library of Congress. I had the most welcome help of an excellent research assistant from the University of Maryland, Robert Echols.

Images of artistic inspiration and creativity are of unique significance as indicators of an artist's self-image and role in society. The scene of Saint Luke painting the Virgin is one of the most revealing of such images. I have been conducting research on this key *topos* from its beginnings in early Christian times to the mid-nineteenth century in northern Europe and in Italy. While at the Center, I have tried to complete a study of the origins of Luke as an artist. This involves an investigation of the relationship of word to image and of healing to art—both of which are central to the belief in Luke as a painter—and includes a consideration of the cult of the saint, which was especially strong in the major painting centers of Bologna and the Veneto.

For many centuries almost all Christian artists identified themselves very closely with the role of the evangelist as painter of the Virgin. Their altars, chapels, guilds, societies, and academies were dedicated to the saint. Many major paintings (and a host of minor ones) are devoted to this subject, which is essentially an allegory of the role of Christian art—its origin, nature, and function. These pictures have been explored in terms of what they reveal about the artist's sense of self, style, and mission.

I presented much of this material at the Center, in the Bakwin Lecture at Wellesley College, and at the annual art history lecture at Wheaton College. Aspects of this study were also discussed at the University of California, Los Angeles at a special seminar devoted to "The Art of the Ordinary," dealing with themes that were of everyday concern in late medieval and early Renaissance times.

The first weeks at the Center were spent writing an introductory essay for the International Center of Photography exhibition on the magnificent photography of James Stillman, exploring his role as apostle of art. This was published by *Aperture* in the fall of 1987.

A substantial part of the year was given to teaching as Distinguished Visiting Professor at George Washington University. The seminars I conducted over two semesters were devoted to the theme of the "Inter-Renaissance," to the connections by myth, trade, travel, faith, intermarriage, and court traditions between northern, southern, and eastern Europe. For this opportunity I am much indebted to Professor Lilien Robinson and to Robert H. and Clarice Smith who made that post possible, as well as

to the Samuel H. Kress Foundation.

While at the Center substantial research was done on the “Renaissance” project, which I am writing up this summer in a publication for Weidenfeld and Company. The National Gallery’s library, along with the Library of Congress were invaluable for that book. I also worked on the galleys for *The Genius of Jacopo Bellini*, a massive monograph which includes all his drawings and paintings, and which will appear a year from this fall.

Completion of manuscript revisions for the catalogue on *Early Netherlandish Paintings in the Thyssen Collection* was also undertaken and once again the very fine National Gallery library as well as the Library of Congress were a great help. The book will be out this fall and will be published by Philip Wilson, Ltd.

Studies were made toward publishing an unknown Watteau in the Cooper-Hewitt Museum and a fourteenth-century Parisian marble statue of the Savior. Galleys were read on articles dealing with the J. Paul Getty Museum’s early Netherlandish *Annunciation* for the *Gazette des Beaux Arts* and Flemish baroque drawings for *Artibus et Historiae*. I also enjoyed assisting the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts in selecting its opening exhibition, defining the theme of the initial show *Grand Tour* (works from museums in the southeast) for the new building. Writing was begun for the introduction to the catalogue *Collecting Themselves*. Finally, using the print resources of the Library of Congress, and the print department of the National Gallery of Art much tedious work was done (figure numbers, print and photo locations, and so forth) for a book on Dürer, which will be published by the Smithsonian Institution Press in the fall, 1989.

Institute of Fine Arts, New York University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1987–1988



Israhel van Meckenem, *Saint Luke Painting Portrait of the Virgin*, c. 1450–1503, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection.

Lodovico Carracci and Bolognese Painting, 1605–1625

As Rudolf Wittkower observed, Lodovico Carracci's importance for the formation of baroque art cannot be overestimated. Lodovico occupied a crucial position in the history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Italian art in three respects. As *caposcuola* of the Carracci Academy, he taught all of the leading artists of the Bolognese school, including his cousin Annibale, Guido Reni, Domenichino, and Algardi. He was the first to depict many subjects that were later assumed into the repertoire of baroque art based on his inventions. But perhaps of greatest consequence, together with his cousins Annibale and Agostino he was the progenitor of the reform of painting in the late sixteenth century. Lodovico's contemporaries recognized his extraordinary role, and Carlo Cesare Malvasia made him the hero of his account of the Bolognese painters, *Felsina pittrice* (1678). In our own century Lodovico's reputation has been buffeted by changes of taste and ideology, and no modern comprehensive study of his work has been written: Heinrich Bodmer's monograph and checklist catalogue of 1939 is sorely out of date. My project has been to prepare for publication a catalogue of Lodovico's paintings and related drawings.

I spent my three-month fellowship partly in Italy, and partly elsewhere in Europe completing the research that I had begun when I was awarded a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in the Arts and the Humanities for the previous year. I had laid a foundation for this work in my dissertation, *Lodovico Carracci: A Study of His Later Career and a Catalogue of His Paintings*. During the term of my fellowship I planned to expand my study to embrace Lodovico's drawings as well as the work of his cousins and colleagues in the early period of the Carracci Academy. I also hoped to study firsthand all the paintings I had not seen before. My research is in large part complete; I have seen all but a small handful of the one hundred and eighty paintings to be included in my catalogue of accepted works, and the manuscript of my book is nearly finished.

The two new areas of research that I explored—the drawings and the early period of the Carracci—dovetailed to an extent I had not anticipated. By studying masses of drawings by the Carracci and their pupils, only a small percentage of which are published, I came to see more clearly how these artists worked in the academy. This rich and concrete evidence, albeit unwieldy and fraught with contested attributions, helps to balance the early written accounts upon which scholarly notions of the academy tend to be based.

The drawings also afforded insight into the nature of the collaboration that produced the Carracci's pioneering fresco cycles of the 1580s. For more than four hundred years scholars of the Carracci have been confounded by the problem of distinguishing hands in both the painting and the drawing. In some cases the situation can acquire an unfortunate tone of parody, as in the scholarship on the Carracci's early collaborative masterpiece, a frieze in the Palazzo Magnani depicting the Founding of Rome. More than a

dozen scholars in this century have attempted to apportion the various parts, but no two have offered the same conclusions, and none has agreed with Malvasia. The few drawings that do survive suggest that we take seriously Malvasia's report that "one artist entered into what the other had begun; one finished what was already half done by another." According to Malvasia, the Carracci enjoyed the confusion that their collaboration engendered and they purposefully cultivated the resemblances of their manners in order to maintain individual anonymity, wanting praise only for the operation as a whole. Lest we remain forever in the position of confounded outsiders, failing to recognize the collective aims and programs of the young Carracci, we must direct our inquiry toward the nature of their collaboration. If this means accepting a higher level of uncertainty regarding attributions of certain early works, at least for a time, we may be compensated with a more coherent map of the explorations that were to reform Italian painting in the late cinquecento.

Crucial to the Carracci's reform of painting was their early study of the great Renaissance masters of Parma and Venice. Despite extensive discussion of the Carracci's relationship to this heritage, scholarship has ignored one category of evidence that testifies most directly to this issue, namely the scores of copies the Carracci made after Correggio, Parmigianino, and Titian. It is exceedingly difficult to correlate the copies reported by the early sources with the plethora of replicas hidden away in storerooms of museums and country houses, much less to examine the hundreds of un-attributed copies after these famous masters. Nevertheless I have made a start by identifying some of the more promising candidates, and I will pursue the problem in a separate study.

When I outlined my project I expected to produce, apart from the book, studies of the critical fortune of the Carracci and an analysis of painting in Bologna between 1605 and 1625. During the course of my work this year I decided to integrate these issues into the introductory text. Also to be included in my book is a chronology based on documents published in scattered sources and incorporating my own archival findings, among which are a letter by the artist, payment records, contracts, and records of personal financial affairs.

National Gallery of Art

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, summer 1987

DRAGOS GHEORGHIU

A Cargo Myth from the Time of the Renaissance: An Essay on Easter Island

The two-month research I undertook at the Center focused on the similarities between sculpture on Easter Island and Spanish art of the late sixteenth century, starting with the comparison of a grotto statue, considered until now an “unusual *moai*,” with the *mascarons* (grotesque masks) common in Renaissance gardens. The use of *mascarons* in these gardens corresponds closely in time to the geological dating of the Pasquan sculpture.

Assuming that contact between European sailors and the indigenous inhabitants took place toward the middle of the sixteenth century, soon after the first traversals of the Strait of Magellan, one can explain these enigmas of Easter Island. Compared with European contemporary sculpture, the Pasquan “*mascaron*” is volumetrically well preserved in all component elements: eyes, cheekbones, nose, mouth, lips, and beard are present and identifiable. The parallel I have drawn between the Pasquan *mascarons* and similar drawings by Aloiso Giovannoli or Antonio Salamanca is very striking. The decorative character of the drawings of Renaissance masks is similar to the designs found in the representations of the chief Pasquan god Make-Make, who is also represented in the form of the domino mask identical to that of the *commedia dell’arte*. Moreover, the god’s name has



Mascaron (grotesque mask), Easter Island.

the same phonetic sound as the Spanish word for mask, adding additional support to my hypothesis.

I think that a study of Easter Island sculpture and its possible European origin must follow two approaches: (A) "esoteric" and (B) the indigenous.

A. The grotto *mascaron*, a "hell-mouth" found on Easter Island, apparently originated in Renaissance gardens, which usually contained a mound with a grotto accompanied by *mascaron*, sculptures of giants, mythological characters, and mazes. Paleobotanic examination of the island's vegetation confirms that this type of arrangement was also common on Easter Island. This break with the real, this transformation of savage reality into a performance or *teatro*, where the savage-native becomes the savage-character, the satyr of contemporary Spanish plays, is the psychological motivation I suggest to explain the "mannerist" art of Easter Island, often termed unusual or aberrant.

B. A comparative analysis between the volume and ornamentation of the costume of the *moai* (statues) and late sixteenth-century Spanish costume demonstrates similarity in many details: the hats with their embroidery and tufts, the high collars and collarettes, which seem to detach the head from the torso, the shirts and the capes decorated with acanthus stems, the hilt guard placed symmetrically in the figure's axis, and the swollen belly of the Spanish "bombastic doublet" with the peasecod.

An analysis of the physiognomy of the Pasquan *moai* reveals four types of beard: long, pique-dévant, goatee, and mouche, all of which coincide with the European aesthetic types of the time. Moreover, the statues' long ears could be an interpretation of the Spanish fashion of hair cut short at the nape and long over the ears; the natives, in imitation, deformed their ears and decorated themselves trying to copy the image of the *mascarons*, convincingly illustrated by eighteenth-century engravings.

The accentuated eyebrows of small wooden statues representing famished-looking characters in domino masks are an anatomic interpretation of the visors of the military helmets, of which I have succeeded in identifying four classical types. This is also a plausible explanation to the native custom of engraving the skulls of the dead. The very gesture of the giant statues, the hands on the hips, is a typical Spanish posture, and the colors in which they were painted are like the shades of fabrics fashionable in Spain at the end of the sixteenth century. The eyes of the *moai* with pupils of red looking up toward the sky in an imploring attitude provide a final argument in support of the explanation I have suggested for Easter Island sculpture: the wreck of a Spanish galleon is a motif that appears frequently in the art of the island with the *mascaron* at the prow, in the form of graffiti or wooden objects.

I think the carving of the statues of the first European navigators is one of the oldest (verified) cargo myths that appeared from the tragic encounter between a great civilization and a primitive culture, and is a logical answer given by the history of art to an enigma that has fired man's imagination for a long time.

Bucharest

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988

German Drawings in the Robert Lehman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The German drawings given with the Lehman Collection to the Metropolitan Museum of Art form a group of a mere twenty items that is remarkable for its quality. It contains drawings by Martin Schongauer, Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, the school of Altdorfer, anonymous masters of the fifteenth century as well as lesser known artists from the sixteenth century such as Hans Beham, Hans Brosamer, Hans Schwarz, and the anonymous Master of the Landscapes on Blue Prepared Paper of 1544. The cataloguing of these drawings brings out not only their importance, but also shows that discussion concerning their attribution leads to the understanding of the significance of German draftsmanship in the early Renaissance.

The preparatory work of the catalogue began some months ago. My fellowship was intended to allow further intensive research and, above all, to complete details of bibliography, especially entries on American exhibition catalogues, which can be checked in the National Gallery of Art library better than anywhere in Europe. It also proved to be profitable to use the photographic archives. Help came unexpectedly from an exhibition of Greek sculpture, *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*, shown at that time in the Gallery, which contributed to the study of the revival of the antique pose of the mourner in Renaissance art.



German, *Landscape with a Castle*, 1544, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection.

In addition, I continued my research on a drawing attributed to Erhard Altdorfer related to the exhibition of the graphic work by Albrecht Altdorfer, held in the spring of 1988 in West Berlin and Regensburg. This study is not confined to the drawings of Albrecht, but also provided reason to renew scholarly consideration of Altdorfer and his circle (school) and insight into problems of his workshop and the stylistic diversity of his followers. The understanding that resulted from studying this exhibition in connection with new research on the subject of the foreshortened figure seen from the back in the art of the so-called *Donauschule* enabled me to finish an essay on the drawing attributed to Erhard Altdorfer.

A brief trip to New York allowed me to study the originals in the Lehman Collection to verify my work to date in the presence of the originals.

In addition to this work, I started research on the drawings by the Master of the Landscapes on Blue Prepared Paper of 1544. The Department of Prints and Drawings has two drawings by this master and other related material by the Master HWG. Together with etchings of that circle, which are in the Albertina collection in Vienna, it may be possible to identify the Master of 1544.

In the course of my study of comparative material in the Gallery collection and library, it became possible to contest the attribution of one of the drawings to Hinrik Funhof, which was made by Hans Tietze thirty years ago. I suggest that the drawing is neither German nor fifteenth century but more likely Dutch, early-sixteenth century. It will now be eliminated from the German section and catalogued among the Dutch drawings.

These results were only possible thanks to the kindness, help, and friendly atmosphere of the Center, that allowed creative work in the small scale of a short-term fellowship.

The Albertina

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1988

Cézanne's Early Imagery

"That in which the painter declares most his views is his choice of subjects."
Stéphane Mallarmé

Cézanne's biographers have served his early history well. The precipitous events of the painter's first decades, from his idyllic youth in Aix and boyhood friendship with Emile Zola to his ardent commitment to painting in Paris and repeated attempts to engage and yet affront the annual spring Salon, have been recounted often and vividly. Equally well-known is the persona that Cézanne, like Courbet, carefully cultivated for himself in Paris: that of a crude, brusque provincial, ill at ease with the fellow painters and critics he met at the Café Guerbois (the hothouse of impressionism). Ironically, however, the heroic image of the intense, young romantic artist struggling to realize his most passionate visions has long overshadowed the real paintings on which such perceptions must ultimately rest. Despite the wealth of critical literature his later painting has generated, Cézanne's first works have only recently begun to emerge from under the shadow of his legendary early history.

In April 1988, the exhibition *Cézanne: The Early Years, 1859–1872*, opened at the Royal Academy of Arts in London. Organized by Lawrence Gowing, the show will clearly be the impetus for the study of early Cézanne from numerous perspectives. My own contribution to the exhibition catalogue, an essay entitled "Literature, Music and Cézanne's Early Subjects," was finished while I was in residence at the Center. In it, I establish Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine*, published in excerpts in 1856–1857, and Wagner's opera, *Tannhäuser*, as performed in Paris in 1861, as essential sources for several of Cézanne's early fantasy paintings whose subjects have remained enigmatic. In a more detailed form, the essay reappears as a chapter in my forthcoming book, *Cézanne's Early Imagery*.

My research as a whole has focused on Cézanne's early subject pictures and suggests a new, more contextual view of the painter's first decade than previous scholarship has allowed. Though strewn with references to the art of the past and often provocatively biographical, Cézanne's early works offer us much more. By demonstrating the major roles played by tradition—both popular and artistic—and literary sources in his first painting, the subject pictures in particular, I hope to establish them as not stylistically and iconographically coherent, but as strikingly lucid reflections of the larger cultural contexts in which they were created.

Cézanne never ventured far from either the subject matter or the refuge provided him by Provence. A primary objective of my research has been to reconstruct that essential Provençal environment. Some of Cézanne's earliest images can be traced to the vernacular festivals and traditions revived in Aix during his youth as part of a larger renaissance of Provençal culture, spearheaded by the poet laureate, Frédéric Mistral. Works like Cézanne's painting of the Magdalen, the patroness of Provence, acquire new meaning



Paul Cézanne, *Flowers in a Rococo Vase*, c. 1876, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Chester Dale Collection.

in this poignant context.

In Paris, Cézanne rapidly worked his way through the conventions of the past and of the Salon world, exploring a whole range of subjects and of picture making. While some of his early paintings were intentionally beyond the pale and meant as deliberate provocations to the Salon, where he continually met with rejection, a number of them must be considered from a different perspective. Cézanne's early essays in genre painting, for example, provide a trenchant reading of the historical traditions that shaped nineteenth-century realism in France, and confirm the renewed interest in the 1860s in Spanish and Dutch baroque art. Likewise, his picnic paintings record the roots of that popular nineteenth-century subject in literature and in the rococo *fête-galante*. And some of Cézanne's violent early fantasy paintings, long dismissed as simply brutish, adolescent imaginings, take their imagery and stylistic aspects from the tradition of history paintings revered at the annual Salons. Above all, Cézanne's early works reveal the brash young painter from Aix—so anxious to play the crude provincial—as extraordinarily knowledgeable about the contemporary cultural currents of the 1860s and powerfully capable of embracing them on his own defiant terms.

Since I had completed a rough draft of the manuscript for my book before coming to the Center, I was able to devote my time to editing, documenting the text and assembling the essential photographs necessary for reproduction. I cannot imagine a more ideal environment, and took generous advantage of the extensive photo archives and the services of the Library of Congress nearby. My book will be published by the University of California Press in the spring of 1989.

New York City

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1987–1988

The Stained Glass of Eastern France, 1250–1325

Although several of the rare and famous stained glass panels to survive from the twelfth century are in Lorraine, and while the province's school of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century windows has enjoyed some scholarly attention, its stained glass of the High Gothic era has suffered from benign neglect. Only in 1983 were the Gothic windows of the four *départements* (Meurthe-et-Moselle, Moselle, Meuse, and Vosges) catalogued by art historians for the Inventaire régional in the exhibition *Le Vitrail en Lorraine du XII^e au XX^e siècle*. Jean Lafond omitted any reference to Lorraine in his basic studies of French glass from 1250 to 1300 and in the fourteenth century, operating under the belief that Lorraine and, with more justification, Alsace were, for the cultural historians not French but German.

The glass in Lorraine, however, is not German. Since 1983 I have studied the Gothic stained glass of northeastern France beginning at the francophone border, which follows the peaks of the Vosges mountains and has not budged more than three miles since medieval times. Although still nominally part of the Holy Roman Empire at the start of the thirteenth century, Lorraine was French-speaking, and its people increasingly looked to France for cultural standards. While Alsatian stained glass cannot be understood without reference to the large patterns of German development in the medium, the windows of Lorraine properly belong to the history of the craft in France.

The Gothic stained glass of Lorraine has been ignored because so little of it remains. In addition to changes wrought by passing time, weather, and fashion, the province of Lorraine—always situated on the borders of great powers, though not always the same ones—faced war or armed conflict on the average of once a generation since the time of Caesar, which often resulted in damage to the glass. No Gothic glass ensembles survive in their entirety and some, notably at Metz, are now lost beyond retrieval.

While at the Center, I wrote a book on the Gothic glass of Lorraine, including that from Toul Cathedral, Saint-Gengoult in Toul, the rural parish of Ménillot just outside Toul, Saint-Dié, and Avioth, with appendices dealing with the debris at Sainte-Ségolène in Metz, Metz Cathedral, Notre-Dame-la-Ronde, and Ecrouves. The biggest and most pleasant surprise was the discovery of how much of these ensembles can still be reconstituted even though most of them are in fragmentary condition.

My methodology is as broad and wide-ranging as I can make it in order to be receptive to whatever messages the glass still contains. The evidence, in addition to stylistic analysis, iconography, and physical and archival data, can involve heraldry, genealogy, social and political history, folklore, costume, and so on.

My intention as I began the fellowship was to expand my study to Champagne, hoping to find there the source for the French accent of the Gothic glass of Lorraine, but this search proved abortive. Marcel Aubert had suggested the relationship based on the appearance of the handsome

greens of Lorraine (impervious to weathering) in Gothic windows of some *champenois* monuments, notably the cathedral of Châlons-sur-Marne. It is certainly possible that glaziers in Champagne bought glass in Lorraine, historically a glassmaking center and unquestionably active in such industry and commerce before the fourteenth century. But such a relationship goes in the other direction. A stylistic debt of Lorraine to Champagne does not logically follow and indeed proved impossible to establish. It is conceivable that this is an accident of fate, since no large, many-paneled figures survive (if indeed any ever existed) from thirteenth-century windows in Lorraine, and almost no small-scale glazing remains in the cathedrals of Reims and Châlons-sur-Marne. But what there is does not resemble the Lorraine medallions, nor does the remaining small-scale glass of the cathedral at Troyes, nor at rural *champenois* churches in the Marne such as the châteaux at Baye, Francheville, and Compertrix. Equally interesting was the discovery that some of the distinctive features of the Gothic medallions at Saint-Urbain de Troyes, such as their precocious *damasquiné* grounds, were coeval with or possibly later than the examples in Lorraine. Thus Champagne cannot be established as the source of the Lorraine style.

Indeed the Gothic windows of Lorraine developed along their own stylistic path between 1250 and 1325. The French models for borders, grounds, medallion shapes, and the like are all from the early thirteenth century. These forms appear to have rooted quickly in Lorraine; from the 1250s until the advent of silver stain c. 1325, the peculiar glazing combinations of Lorraine simply cannot be explained by reference to an outside influence. It seems honest and just to recognize in them the *lorrain* regional style.

Its distinctive look was dictated most probably by the equally localized Gothic architecture of Lorraine, the source monument of which is Toul. This group is receiving increasing recognition from architectural historians. Based on the concept of a gigantic enlargement of the radiating chapels of Reims, the *toulois* Gothic buildings have a two-part elevation with interior passage, the fenestration consistently doublet-and-rose. To provide these exaggerated vertical lancets with attractive yet legible glazing, *lorrain* designers retained elaborate broad borders framing a single column of scenes, presented in very simple, repeating medallion shapes. Color was placed in the focal axes of the church, while grisailles filled the less visible lateral windows of the choir and transept. Such a stark contrast, a “summer-and-winter” style, had appeared briefly in Paris in the 1240s at Saint-Germain-des-Près. But such French forms were absorbed and adapted to the regional architecture of Lorraine by mid-century. Their development thereafter, in saturated color harmonies resplendent with strong yellow and, most notably, the region’s handsome greens, is truly *sui generis*—the Gothic style of Lorraine.

Syracuse University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1987–1988

Greek Art Theory and the Origins of the Classical Style

Was the ancient artist a theorist? Did he formulate an individual approach to creation, like so many artists from the Renaissance to modern times? Or was he a master of manual skills, esteemed more for his technical accomplishments than his personal direction and thought? There have been prominent scholars on both sides of this question. A wealth of scholarship has viewed ancient art as a history of great names. Working largely from written sources and Roman copies, these archaeologists have strived to define the individuality of major artists such as Pheidias and Lysippos, and have attempted to trace their roles in shaping the broader development of Greek art. On the other side are those who have stressed the anonymous nature of Greek craft. The development of Greek art is in this view more the result of small collective changes than the deliberate innovation of artistic leaders.

There is ancient evidence in support of both sides of this question, but neither is of itself a full account. The former view tends to be dominated by written sources. Ancient writings on the history of art, the earliest from the fourth century B.C., focus as much on creators as on works of art *per se*. Individual styles and accomplishments are routinely acknowledged, and a number of artists are explicitly singled out for their theory. For instance, Polykleitos is said to have devised a system of proportions for the human body that he set out in a treatise, the *Canon*, fragments of which survive in Galen and other authors. Apelles "wrote volumes setting out his doctrine" (*Pliny xxxv. 79*), and Euphranor wrote "volumes about symmetry and colors" (*Pliny xxxv. 129*).

The view of Greek art as essentially anonymous has by contrast strong support from inscriptions. The inscribed records of fifth- and fourth-century B.C. building projects attest to a large population of ancient craftsmen, many of whom were slaves and resident aliens. Almost none of their names appears in written texts.

My time at the Center has allowed me to begin a study that seeks to reconcile and integrate the seemingly contradictory evidence on the nature of Greek craft. My specific focus has been ancient art theory, foremost of the *Canon* of Polykleitos. Unlike several recent scholars who have treated the *Canon* in isolation, I have been concerned to find its place within the larger development of craft practices in antiquity. The surviving fragments of the *Canon* show this writing to have been both a workshop guide and a true work of philosophy. Its theses have long been seen to draw from Pythagorean aesthetical and numerical theory. Convinced that Polykleitos' interest and learning, usually thought exceptional for a Greek artist, are in fact part of a broader tradition, I have begun a systematic search of ancient literature for further instances of artists' interest in and knowledge of philosophy. A number of my findings from sixth- and early fifth-century texts were incorporated into a lecture on art and theology that I gave before the Washington society of the Archaeological Institute of America in March.



The Human Figure in Early Greek Art, 31 January–12 June 1988, exhibition installation, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

My project also brought me to examine the long-standing problem of how Polykleitos applied his theories to his work. Guided by a concern to set the *Canon* in context, I have focused less on the seemingly innovative methods of this treatise than on aspects of it that can be shown to draw on already existing practice. I concentrated particularly on proportional theory, tracing an approach to sculptural proportion that is first known from major works at the beginning of the classical style, foremost among them being the *Kritian Boy*, and which recurs essentially unchanged in Roman copies of the *Doryphoros* and *Diadoumenos*. The method is attested in written form by Vitruvius.

Finally, I devoted time to general research on the social history of Greek craft. The study of theory makes clear that many artists had a far more extensive education and broader cultural background than would be normal for their social class. A review of evidence on the sociology of ancient craft confirms this finding; the wealth, education, and social status of ancient artists varied widely. Changing economic conditions and attendant changes in the ambition and status of social classes have long been seen to be integral to the social and cultural history of antiquity. They prove equally important to the history of ancient art.

The University of Chicago
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1988

Mapping the City; Ptolemy's Cosmography in the Renaissance

Some of the earliest known city maps appear in three codices of Ptolemy's *Cosmography* produced in Florence in the second half of the fifteenth century: Vat. lat. 5699, 1469; Vat. urb. lat. 277, 1472; and Paris B.N. 4802, 1456(?). Appended to the maps of the world, they depict the cities of Milan, Venice, Florence, Rome, Constantinople, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo, and reflect in their execution the transition of spatial concepts from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance.

At present, my study has two foci. The first, "A Renaissance World View: The *Cosmography* of Claudius Ptolemaeus. Cod. urb. lat. 277," considers this work in the context of Federigo da Montefeltro's library as well as within the Ptolemaic revival of the fifteenth century. Work at the Center centered on the second focus, the city maps, viewed singly and collectively. We know that geographical discussions in humanist circles and the survival of earlier maps had led to a constant revision of older maps. Thus, the city maps were studied as part of that same quest for exploring the unknown that prompted the appearance of the seven new maps of western European countries in these manuscripts.

Certain commonalities are apparent in the city maps. All are drawn in bird's-eye view in roughly orthogonal projection, mindful of Brunelleschi's perspectival experiments. Each city is related to its immediate regional context; topographical features such as waterways, hills, and mountains are emphasized. However, though sometimes implied, there is a virtual absence of a street and road network. In terms of architectural elements, the walls, towers, and gates of the medieval city dominate, the latter even acting as clues to orientation and the location of landmarks. The buildings depicted are usually those with religious or civic authority, and although drawn in approximately the same scale, some hierarchical considerations can be noted. This is achieved primarily by the position of the building, but also graphically in the blue and gilded steeples and domes.

Not surprisingly, in view of the provenance of the manuscripts, the map of Florence is the most accurate in the sites and renderings of the principal churches, monasteries, and those palaces that reflect the rising power of the *signore* in an ecclesiastical domain. Notice is made on the map of the coexistence of pagan and Christian monuments, but the emphasis on the Vatican area, where the building program of Nicholas V was underway, should be noted. Among eastern cities, Constantinople follows closely upon the map drawn in 1422 by Buondelmonti, while in those cities least known—Damascus, Alexandria, Cairo, Adrianopolis (in the Paris codex)—the artist appears to have been freer to experiment with new modes of representation, as also with more coherent spatial relationships. Here, despite a degree of accuracy in the general topographical boundaries, knowledge of specific sites is limited, whereas the medieval convention of indicating a building by the event that occurred there is more frequent.

Tied to the idea of cosmic harmony in the west, the centrally planned

building seems ubiquitous in the domed churches and mosques of the eastern cities. However, it is only the map of Milan that approaches a true circle, commensurate with Bonvesin's panegyric to the city written in 1288, wherein is stated, "the form of the city is round in the manner of a circle and such roundness is symbolic of its perfection." Together with a contemporary map by Fiamma, such interpretations herald the Ptolemaic map, but more influential is the quest for the right proportion in the circular form of Sforzinda, Filarete's ideal city, or in the churches and fortification schemes by Francesco di Giorgio. Just as in literary descriptions of the day we move away from a type of *Mirabilia* literature (accounts of the city destined for pilgrims or travelers), so too in the city maps, we proceed from a compendium of facts—walls, gates, landmarks—to a type of praise, based on the revival of classical rhetoric. In mapping, this movement is represented by a shift from an empirical representation of space to a more scientifically constructed townscape.

Alberti's proposed measured drawing for the map of Rome in his *Descriptio Urbis Romae* is composed by mathematical means, with locations plotted by degrees from a fixed center, thereby recalling Ptolemy's system of polar coordinates. The Ptolemaic maps, while reflecting their early Renaissance prototypes, point forward to mapmaking as an embodiment of both science and art—an accurate topographical account and a pictorial but rational view of a city.

Appended to the Urbino manuscript is a map of Volterra commemorating Federigo's capture of the stronghold in 1472. It is a genuine portrait of the city and its surrounding territory, rendered in an entirely different mode and drawn to scale, employing both aerial and parallel perspective, apparently copied from a military map. Not only may this map be considered alongside Leonardo's contemporary drawing of the landscape of the Val d'Arno of 1473, but it anticipates also his strategic survey maps of Tuscan territories made for Cesare Borgia in the early 1500s. The Renaissance myth of Florence extended to the fact that she alone of all city-states was direct heir to the legacy of ancient Etruria. Hence, the view of Volterra forms a fitting conclusion to the Urbino *Cosmography*, not only in its stylistic innovation, but also in its allusion to the idea of *civitas* and to the ideals of republican Rome.

Reflecting the expanded boundaries of the quattrocento, the application of the new learning, the glorification of the city as harbinger of the new culture, and the revival of the ancient city-states, the Ptolemaic maps represent that moment heralding the birth of a new world view. Still bearing the imprint of their medieval frame, the "moralizing" maps for pilgrims, portolan charts for navigators, and the guides for Italian merchants all celebrate the great metropolises east and west, ancient and modern, and further evoke the memory of Jerusalem, the rebuilding of Rome, and the praises of Florence.

Boston University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1988

STEVEN MOYANO

Karl Friedrich Schinkel and the Administration of Aesthetics in Prussia 1810–1841

My study considers the significance of K. F. Schinkel's work as aesthetic reviser in the Prussian Board of Works between 1810 and 1841. In the past this institutional affiliation has been considered extraneous to Schinkel's architecture. My Chester Dale fellowship allowed me to continue my research in Berlin to define areas in which this administrative context and the discussion of art intersected. The relationship between social context and art object has been the cause of intense debate, and has often resulted in the use of analogies between formal features and historical situations to legitimate contextual analysis in art history. I question this obligatory reconciliation because it can predetermine the conclusions made by art historians. The difficulty, as I see it, is that institutional compromises between competing views could influence art historical studies at the expense of the problems considered. Given my reservations on this point, it is perhaps ironic that the use of analogy and metaphor by the Prussian officials responsible for architectural projects suggested how aesthetic qualities were construed in administrative terms. In the debates surrounding Schinkel's Altes Museum in Berlin (1822–1831), for example, metaphors of the center and the periphery or the high and the low were used to justify architectural elements and to describe the anticipated influence of the building and collections on Prussia's social hierarchy. Similarly, the arguments over the selection of art works for the museum relied on analogies to the administration of religion and education. The social benefits attributed to properly regulated instruction were similar to the criteria of aesthetic quality that guided the museum's initial organization. The correspondence between administrative and artistic issues indicates that the need to justify cultural expenditures made it impossible to propose buildings or acquire art works as ends in themselves. For this reason Schinkel and other administrators committed themselves to the position that art could cultivate or refine the nation. Depending on the context of usage, cultivation and refinement were seen as ways of mitigating class distinctions and preparing the nation for the political representation promised in 1815. These attributes were also a source of authority in the central administration's dealings with the provinces. In each case a purpose was attributed to the artworks sponsored by the Prussian state, and administrators in the capital claimed to possess the cultivation and refinement they sought to promote below and at the periphery, at the bottom of the social hierarchy, and in the provinces.

Aesthetic and administrative discussions during the first four decades of the nineteenth century were heavily indebted to eighteenth-century precedents. The notion that cultivation could be acquired through immediate contact with authentic sources such as antique sculpture, ancient texts, or High Renaissance painting continued to provide criteria of aesthetic quality. The criterion of immediacy or transparency occurs in Schinkel's discussions of Greek construction and the organization scheme he and Gustav Friedrich

Waagen proposed for the Berlin museum in 1828. Like ancient Greek architecture, the best paintings embodied cultivation and were capable of conveying it to any viewer—regardless of education—through a transparency of media. What distinguishes the administration of aesthetics in the early nineteenth century is the combination of the art object as tangible cultivation with the administrative tool of the state model. Models provided by the state were used in the centralized Frederickian economy to promote mining, agriculture, manufacturing, and to increase the market value of works produced by the Berlin Academy of Art. My fellowship gave me the opportunity to compare the use of models in the eighteenth century with Schinkel's revision of designs in the Prussian Board of Works and his contribution to the *Models for Manufacturers and Artisans* published by the Ministry of Trade, Manufacturing, and Building in 1821. My research suggested that these efforts to shape national aesthetic preferences could not be explained by economic goals and that the use of state models had been decisively changed by the identification of art objects with cultivation. Schinkel, for example, often used this equation to defend his "counter designs" against local resistance. He saw his modifications and replacements as models for private buildings outside the aesthetic control of the state. Similarly, the designs Schinkel sent from Berlin were to elevate the provinces to the level of the capital. The model series of 1821 still sought to increase state revenues by improving the quality of Prussia's applied arts, but Schinkel's architectural section cannot be reduced to these mercantilist ends. He essentially offered his audience instructions for constructing a Greek temple, and assumed the use of quality building stone unobtainable in Prussia. In contrast to immediate utility, Schinkel observed that the architectural exemplars of the series were the products of a civilization unparalleled in its holistic cultivation. By shifting the focus of the state model from practical ends to cultivation, Schinkel's contribution to the series and his work as aesthetic reviser resembles the conception of art held by administrators who were not artists.

In one respect this attempt to shape society through common aesthetic standards was still indebted to eighteenth-century administrative tenets. By the 1780s a "Universal-Cammerral-Wissenschaft" had rejected the narrow economic emphasis of the Frederickian state in order to rationally plan society as a whole. Working on the analogy that society was a predictable machine, comprehensive administrative science sought to overcome historical or environmental determinism through state measures. My work suggests that the attempts to create shared aesthetic criteria, prepare the citizenry for political participation, and overcome what was seen as Prussia's mediocre artistic history all involved an inversion of the bases of culture that was already present in the notion of universal administrative science. The goal of "revolution from above" was only part of the state's guiding relationship to society. Schinkel's position in the Board of Works and the attempt to assemble a critical mass of aesthetic exemplars were also aspects of administrative social engineering in Prussia.

[Northwestern University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1986–1987

Imago Mutilata: Iconoclasm as a Counter-language

Much ancient sculpture from the Near East and the classical world has come to us in a battered, fragmented state. With the exception of some well-documented cases of a more or less complete destruction of images in the context of a *damnatio memoriae*, such fragmentation has seemed so natural a consequence of *tempus edax*, of accident and attrition that it has only rarely been a scholarly concern beyond the endeavor to ascertain the sculpture's original look and character.

There are reasons, however, to assume that the mutilated state of ancient sculpture may sometimes be the result less of accident than of intentional destructive activity. Textual evidence documents the profoundly political and propagandistic character of much ancient monumental sculpture and informs us of the violent destructive reactions visited on such art in moments of political or social conflict. And there is archaeological material that may confirm and substantiate such written information. It has been the purpose of my work this year to explore and test, by means of case studies from the Near East and the Greek and Roman sphere, the following hypotheses:

1. Damage on ancient sculpture is not rarely intentional and selective and thus has a functional dimension;
2. The background may often be a reaction to the political or ideological message of the work of art. By means of a new message superimposed upon the original one the mutilation creates and exploits a tension between what the sculpture once was and stood for and what it now is and says;
3. There may, at times, exist a relationship between the particular mutilation pattern on the stone and the corporeal, demeaning punishments documented in contemporary legal codes or in sanctional behavior (especially such as meted out on slaves, criminals, and usurpers);
4. The mutilation and its particular pattern may thus be seen as constituting a counter-language, both in a general and sometimes in a particular sense, at times using certain mutilation forms or combinations as signifiers;
5. If correct, this may provide information on generally elusive issues such as the function(s) of the work of art, the character of its message, and the way it and its message are received and acted upon by the public;
6. Intentionally and selectively mutilated ancient art can thus constitute a so-far unexploited historical source.

From the rich but not always unambiguous evidence a few examples can be singled out: In the Assyrian capital Nineveh (which was captured and, after elaborate victory celebrations, destroyed in 612 B.C. by Medes, Babylonians, and Elamites), the splendid palatial bas-reliefs with royal triumphs in war and hunting display very selective mutilations of the faces of individuals particularly hateful to the enemies of the Assyrians. Thus in the otherwise well-preserved "garden party" scene of king Ashurbanipal's victory banquet, the king's face and right hand with the drinking cup have been destroyed as have the nose and lower part of the face of the queen



Ashurbanipal and Queen in Garden,
(c. 669–630 B.C.), British Museum,
London. Photo courtesy Trustees
of the British Museum.

(reminding us of the disfigurement by which adultresses were punished). This gives a background to the strange fate of the splendid copper head of a Mesopotamian ruler found in the same destruction context: one eye destroyed, the nose violently attacked, and both ears chiseled off. This surprising fact finds its explanation in a well-known inscription of the Persian king Darius who reports what happened to two Median pretenders: “Then I cut off his nose, his two ears and blinded one eye of his. . . .” This passage evidently describes a special type of corporeal punishment current in the Median-Persian sphere and ceremonially carried out in effigy on the royal copper head by Nineveh’s Median conquerors.

Similar phenomena can be noted in the classical world, not least in Roman, heavily political contexts, including the triumphal monuments of competing generals and politicians, self-serving honorary statues, pretentious gravestones, and state and status representations in the conquered provinces. A richly decorated altar to the *gens augusta* in Roman Carthage displays the facial mutilation of the two figures least popular in that unfortunate city: Dea Roma on a heap of trophies, and the hero Aeneas, Queen Dido’s unstable lover and the ancestor of the Romans. In Piazza San Marco in Venice the porphyry Tetrarchs, otherwise well preserved, have lost their noses. This fact could mean little if the imperial *fibulae* denoting their rank had not also been chiseled off. It seems that the emperors may have suffered both degradation and the demeaning punishments meted out on late-antique pretenders: the *rhinokopia* or “cutting off of the nose.”

A sufficient number of similar examples can be found in the ancient world to make the above hypotheses and assumptions reasonable. The generous interest of my colleagues at the Center and elsewhere in pointing out the many parallels from other periods and cultures have convinced me that the problems of the mutilated image are worth further and broader exploration.

Swedish Institute of Classical Studies, Rome
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1987–1988

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

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: criminology, criminalistics (practical police work), and eugenics.

Contrary to the commonplace understandings of the mug shot as the 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 procedures for the visual identification and typing of criminals. The anarchy of the camera’s prolific production had to be tamed by the filing cabinet. This project diminished the epistemological prestige of optics, and increased the prestige of statistics. Notions of physiognomic insight into human character fostered by the Age of Enlightenment became devalued.

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 *l’homme moyen* (the average man) proposed by Belgian astronomer and mathematician 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 “pictorial statistics” (composite portraiture) 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 encyclopedic 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. The modernist recognition of the authority of the archive was concurrent with a broad popular legitimation of rationalized police methods centering on the documentary evidence offered by police photographs, which were reproduced or imitated in a genre of detective magazines that began to appear in the early 1920s. The archive and the police photograph served as convenient “bad objects” for early modernist art photographers, constituting a brute realism that art must transcend, but simultaneously exerting a seductive appeal. Walker Evans, for example, expressed an emphatic interest in police photographs. The critical discourse that surrounded modernist photographs is marked by frequent reference to pathology, deviance, and criminal transgression and detection. We might think here of Charles Sheeler’s review of Alfred Stieglitz’s 1923 Anderson Gallery exhibition of portraits “which hover so near the realm of pathology.” Or we might think of *Camerawork*’s 1917 reference to the “brutality” of Paul Strand’s clandestine street portraits. But the discourse of emergent photographic modernism is also marked by anxiety about the bureaucratic handling of visual documents, since these procedures eroded the possibilities of autonomous individual authorship.

Modernist photography entailed an ambivalent return to physiognomy. More precisely, this was an appeal to a prebureaucratic and even premodernist naturalism, based on a belief in the intuitive optical detection of the body’s signs.

My continued research at the Center focused on two specific aspects of this prolonged twilight of physiognomy in the United States: first, the mass cultural proliferation of a “criminological” discourse in the confessional pulp magazines published by the physical culture entrepreneur Bernarr Macfadden; and second, the mode of photography pursued by Walker Evans in the 1930s, described by Lincoln Kirstein as “the physiognomy of the nation laid upon your table.” Kirstein’s role in defending a distinctly American photographic modernism, exemplified by Evans, and a non-abstract art of the body, exemplified by the ballet, may well be paradigmatic of a broader American resistance to more absolute and abstract variants of modernism. Furthermore, an explicit politics of bodily discipline may underlie both the mass cultural and the high cultural ends of this spectrum.

California Institute of the Arts
Associate, fall 1987

Italian Futurism: Its Past, Present, and Future

This project has two principal components. First, it is an analysis of the relationship of Italian futurism to the art and thought of the past, its connections with contemporaneous movements, and its impact on future developments in modern art. Second, this study attempts to demonstrate that futurism engaged in a variety of media (painting, sculpture, assemblage, architecture, photography, "words-in-freedom," performance, film, etc.), issuing manifestos not only on subjects related to the above categories, but also on subjects as diverse as war, radio, television, clothing, love and lust, even cuisine. Thus futurism sought to unite social philosophy, politics, aesthetics, and design in order to transform society.

By determining the social orientation of futurism and its connections with other modern movements, I hope to point up the critical position of social issues in modernism, issues which, until recently, were generally subordinated to those of form and style. As opposed to the "formalist" contention that the major goal of modern art was concentration on the formal properties allegedly endemic to specific media, futurism illustrates the effort to combine media, to obliterate their distinctions, to mix "art" with "life," to design utilitarian objects, and ultimately to transform the environment. In these pursuits, futurism is an important link in a chain of movements that constitutes a main current of modernism.

During my time at the Center, I continued investigation of the relationship of futurism to its past, present, and future. Briefly stated, futurism had solid roots in Italian divisionism and connections with symbolism and the arts-and-crafts movement. The futurists carried on the divisionist interest in labor and urban themes as well as the belief that art should serve social and political purposes. They also used aspects of the divisionist style because of its basis in scientific theory, and perpetuated the divisionist fascination with light, treating it as a millennialist metaphor for the dawning of a new age of energy and a symbol of the dynamic core of reality.

Despite an abhorrence of symbolism's immersion in dreams and mysticism, futurist ties to anarchism, exploitation of the manifesto as a cultural and aesthetic tool, exploration of synaesthesia, states of mind, and intuition, and its foundation by a poet who hoped to unite various media under a single program, suggest links with symbolism.

Several major futurists cut their aesthetic and ideological teeth in *stile Liberty*, the Italian version of the English arts-and-crafts movement, and were influenced by its theories on the interrelation of art, design, and socialism (although differing in their attitude toward the role of technology in a socialist society).

As to connections with contemporaneous developments, futurist art and theory can be regarded as part of an international aesthetic, which was operating most strongly between 1907 and 1915, and was characterized as "cubo-futurist." The futurist component was a vitalist and dynamic vision of reality inspired, in part, by innovations in science, technology, and

urbanization and understood through intuition or quasi-scientific analysis.

The cubist element was a pictorial language of fragmentation, transparency, spatial disjunction, and overlapping, initiated in France by Picasso and Braque and exploited to express vitalist phenomena. The fusion of the two revolutionized the form and content of art. Many of the movements of the period—English vorticism, French orphism, German expressionism, early American modernism, and Russian rayonism, suprematism, and constructivism—owe much to both French cubism and Italian futurism, that is, to “cubo-futurism.”

In addition, futurism influenced other contemporaneous developments. The anarchistic and revolutionary spirit of dada and surrealism, movements also launched by poets, and the use of performance art, bruitist music, simultaneist poetry, experimental typography, and the manifesto, are indebted to futurism. Futurism’s determination to transform society, integrating art and life through design and object-making, and its belief that technology should be instrumental in this utilitarian aesthetic revolution, were perpetuated by several modern movements, including Russian constructivism, the German Bauhaus, French purism, Dutch *de stijl* (and later, op art).

Ideas first explored in depth in futurism recur in more recent developments. For instance, British pop, in its involvement with popular culture (and its violence), new technology, the media, and public relations, re-established roots with aspects of futurist ideology. Also, contemporary assemblage, environments, happenings, and performance—other responses to the post-World War II “pop-technological” revolution—also owe a debt to futurism. As artists and scholars became concerned less with formal approaches and more with the relationship of art to politics and sociology, the potential of “impure” media, and the radical ideological origins of aspects of modernism, they recognized sources in futurist practice and theory.

During my fellowship year, I investigated two areas in particular depth. The first concerned the abstract art of the futurist artist Giacomo Balla. This work suggested that the drive or leap to abstraction of the early 1910s, frequently interpreted as a logical outcome of formal investigations, is instead more often the result of efforts to express the universal and the cosmic—to explore the essence of reality itself—not simply the essence of a specific aesthetic medium. Moreover, Balla’s abstractions, and those of many of his contemporaries, were not ends in themselves. They were to be design sources for a host of objects that would transform the environment, in Balla’s case, part of his “futurist reconstruction of the universe.”

The second area of research dealt with the relationship between futurism and fascism. Research on a later phase of futurism, known as *aeropittura futurista* (futurist aeropainting), helped to clarify the futurist-fascist nexus and provocatively demonstrated how traditional and modern artistic styles, contemporary, and even avant-garde sensibilities interact with reactionary and problematic politics.

Tyler School of Art, Temple University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1987–1988

Il contributo di Federico Commandino allo sviluppo scientifico della prospettiva artificiale

Poco dopo la prima metà del '500, quando la conoscenza della prospettiva aveva ormai raggiunto un grado consistente di diffusione anche in Germania e in Francia, Federico Commandino, con il suo *Ptolemaei Planisphaerium. Federici Commandini Urbinatis in Ptolemaei Planisphaerium Commentarius. In quo universa scenographices ratio quambrevissime traditur, ac demonstrationibus Confirmatur* (Aldus, Venetiis 1558), concretizzava gli interessi pratici e geometrici degli artisti del primo rinascimento italiano, tramite dimostrazioni logiche e matematiche, e svelava, a quanti non lo pensassero, che essenziale era il legame, fondato specialmente sulle opere di Tolomeo, Apollonio, Pappo e Archimede, tra la prospettiva degli antichi e quella rinascimentale: per coincidenza di interessi tra le esigenze dei prospettici e quelle di oggettività storiche che il matematico sentiva nei confronti dei due testi, antico e medievale, di Tolomeo e di Giordano Nemorario.

Di particolare importanza sono le considerazioni svolte dall'autore, a proposito dell'immagine prospettica di un cerchio, con il variare della posizione del punto di osservazione, illustrando i singoli casi nei quali l'immagine stessa, in quanto sezione conica, è di volta in volta cerchio, ellisse, parabola, iperbole. Al di là dei contatti o degli interessi utilitari, infatti, e in un quadro più ampio che lega il pensiero umano, forse Commandino riesce a intravedere il ruolo che la prospettiva avrebbe giocato nello sviluppo del grande edificio geometrico: . . . *Quamvis non ignorem fieri posse, ut ego, qui primus hanc viam et obscuram, et difficilem sum ingressus, aliquid offenderim. tamen hoc periculum subire malui, quam studiosis non prodesset. fortassis enim alii a me invitati, quae in praesentia quodammodo inchoata sunt, ea feliciter perficient, et absolverent.*

Lo studio della prospettiva del cerchio fu forse ritenuto finalizzato agli interessi contingenti della sfera piana di Tolomeo e sfuggì così all'attenzione dei matematici. Altri studiosi, in un nuovo spirito del metodo della prospettiva e nella rinnovata visione della geometria razionale, lo avrebbero ripreso circa ottanta anni dopo. La ricerca definitiva delle proprietà proiettive delle figure e di quelle comuni a tutte le coniche, compreso il cerchio che è una conica particolare, si deve al francese Girard Desargues e al suo allievo e collega Pascal. La nuova stagione geometrica, con la nascita della geometria proiettiva, infatti, sarebbe stata rappresentata dal pensiero e dall'opera di questi due autori. Ma prima di giungere alla maniera nuova ed originale di considerare le coniche, il metodo prospettico avrebbe conosciuto altre scoperte ed applicazioni fondamentali per lo sviluppo della geometria. La via maestra della prospettiva geometrica fu rappresentata dalla introduzione dei punti di concorso, dei punti all'infinito e dallo studio delle figure prospettive. Ricorrono qui i nomi di Guidobaldo Del Monte, che fu allievo del Commandino, di Giovanni Keplero e di Simon Stevin, che resero la teoria prospettica sempre più difficile ed inaccessibile per gli artisti, portandosi alle soglie di una nuova geometria, non più legata al senso del tatto, come quella euclidea, ma a quello della vista, quale sarebbe

stata la geometria proiettiva, che della geometria prospettica era la naturale estensione. Forse l'atteggiamento apologetico, assunto nel passato da alcuni studiosi oltrealpini nei confronti di Desargues e di Pascal, ha alterato la valutazione serena dell'opera del Commandino. La visione lucida, precorritrice dei tempi, del nostro autore sfugge allo Chasles, al Poudra e all'italiano Gino Loria.

Innanzitutto sono queste le prime riflessioni che mi vengono in mente in una lettura generale dell'opera prospettica del Commandino. Ma qual'è, a questo punto, il reale contributo del nostro autore allo sviluppo scientifico della prospettiva artificiale rinascimentale? Qual'è il posto che gli compete nella storia di questa scienza?

Il manoscritto relativo al commentario sul planisfero di Tolomeo e Giordano che per primo ho trovato, nell'agosto dello scorso 1987, nella Biblioteca dell'Università di Urbino, essendo sconosciuto fino a quella data, ci offre certezze e conclusioni insospettabili a tale riguardo. Su un foglio è riportata esattamente, disegnata dal Commandino, la figura del Cap. III della *Prima Regola, Dell'esempio delli cinque termini*, pag. 63 de *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica* del Vignola, pubblicate postume da Egnatio Danti nel 1583. Giustamente viene da chiedersi se sia stato proprio il Vignola, e non viceversa, come finora è stato ritenuto, ad apprendere la teorizzazione scientifica della pratica prospettica dal Commandino, considerato che i due, coetanei d'età (Vignola era nato nel 1507, Commandino nel 1509) ben si conoscevano alla corte dei Farnese a Parma. Ed io già vedo il nostro autore intento ad illustrare il cubo di Dürer, il cui testo non porta dimostrazioni scientifiche, ma costituisce una primizia riguardo a questa figura ben chiaramente esposta, anche se con diversi errori ed interpretazioni noti agli studiosi. E allora Commandino emerge nella sua grandezza di maestro proprio quando riconosce nel Vignola. Perché, se è vero che Commandino ricorre ai metodi in uso presso i pittori e gli architetti suoi contemporanei, è pur vero che grande riconoscenza noi gli dobbiamo per aver egli illuminato il ribaltamento della *tavola* e del *piano di base*, cosa che neanche il Vignola, si noti bene, nella sua opera postuma citata, riporta e che costituisce la totale chiarificazione del metodo prospettico rinascimentale. Ho potuto anche consultare a Los Angeles (California), ospite del Getty Center, i manoscritti di Commandino relativi alle traduzioni da lui fatte delle opere: *Circuli dimensio*, *De lineis spiralibus*, *Quadratura Paraboles* e *De Conoidibus et sphaeroidibus* di Archimede. In una miscellanea, presso il Department of Special Collections, U.C.L.A. Library, che porta il numero 170/624, si trovano anche alcune pagine manoscritte di Guidobaldo Del Monte. Sul recto del foglio 85, in fondo c'è scritto *Galileo*; ma trattasi soltanto, poiché si parla di parabola, che: . . . *tutti passano per il vertice chi è lo zenit di Galileo*. E non già, come si poteva sospettare di una probabile firma di Galileo. Fondamentale mi appare l'importanza di questi fogli che potrebbero rivelare, con uno studio più accurato che mi auguro di effettuare in un prossimo futuro, cose ancora più preziose sui contatti tra il grande scienziato di Pisa e il suo benefattore ed amico Guidobaldo Del Monte.

Università degli Studi di Roma, *La Sapienza*
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1988

Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Aurang

Sometime in the late spring or summer of the *hijra* year 963 (A.D. 1556), the young Safavid prince Sultan Ibrahim Mirza commissioned a copy of the great Persian classic, the *Haft Aurang* (Seven Thrones) of Abd al-Rahman Jami. Ibrahim Mirza consigned the transcription of the poetic text to five court calligraphers, who spent the next nine years on the job. In 972/1565 the text pages were turned over to another group of gifted artists for illumination and illustration. When finally gathered and bound in codex form, the manuscript contained some three hundred folios of elegant *nasta'liq* script and richly decorated margins, thousands of multicolored rubrics, nine illuminated headings at the beginning of the main text divisions, nine colophons at the end, and twenty-nine full-scale paintings.

Today Ibrahim Mirza's magnificent book, housed in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., familiarly known as the Freer Jami, enjoys a widespread reputation as one of the most sumptuous works of the Safavid period and one of the greatest masterpieces of Islamic art. Despite its renown and frequent appearance in the scholarly literature, the Freer Jami has never been the subject of a comprehensive investigation. Most attention has focused on the manuscript's unsigned illustrations, specifically on their style and attribution, and issues of connoisseurship remain a compelling concern. Yet a discriminating patron such as Sultan Ibrahim Mirza must have valued his *Haft Aurang* for its complete poetic and artistic contents. In order to capture the manuscript's original "value," it would seem appropriate to consider the work in its entirety. That is the principal goal of the present study: the intention of presenting, in monograph form, the first full account of the Freer Jami and its historical and art historical significance.

The literary and visual riches of Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Aurang* are matched by a wealth of historical documentation, found primarily in the colophons. Thus it becomes possible to reconstruct the manuscript's internal chronology, and to deduce something about its meaning, the motivation of the person who ordered it, and the methods of those who copied and embellished it. Some of these deductions have already been proposed in an article of 1982, along with certain technical data. My current research seeks both to provide additional information about the Freer Jami's textual and material contents, patron and artists, process of production, purpose and meaning, and to address some broader historical and art historical problems and issues raised by this remarkable work of art. These include the *kitab-khana* (literally "library" but also meaning artistic atelier) and the practices of deluxe manuscript production in sixteenth-century Iran; the respective roles and relationships of those, specifically patrons, calligraphers, illuminators and painters, involved in what seems to have been quite a complicated enterprise; the intersection of art and literature in a culture that privileged both form and content; and the significance of an illustrated book, especially one on which a great deal of care was lavished, as a record

of contemporary taste (both personal and cultural), social relations, and economic conditions.

The point of departure in my continuing research on Ibrahim Mirza's manuscript is a detailed description of its contents: literary, documentary, material (form and structure), decorative, and pictorial. This leads to a discussion of poetry and painting in the Freer Jami, including a precis of the seven separate poems that make up the *Haft Aurang* and an examination of the manuscript's individual illustrations, with particular emphasis on their iconography, interpretation of the poetic verses, and comparison with other known illustrations to the same text. From the "what" of the Freer Jami, this study proceeds to the "who" and "how" with a discussion of Sultan Ibrahim Mirza, of the artists known and/or believed to have worked on the *Haft Aurang* project, and of the organization and operation of the prince's *kitab-khana*. On the whole, there is little new to add by way of biographical particulars to the personal histories. It is possible, however, to flesh out certain lives and careers through a consideration of little-known and in some cases previously unpublished works of art. The literary aspirations of Ibrahim Mirza, for instance, attested to in Safavid chronicles, now may be appreciated in the only extant copy of his *Divans*, or poems, long thought to be lost until quite recently. Similarly his artistic interests and commissions can be more fully evaluated in a second apparently overlooked manuscript made for his *kitab-khana* in 982/1574–1575. A considerable number of works copied by the Freer Jami scribes can also be compiled, permitting a reconstruction of their oeuvres and an analysis of the kinds of projects in which they habitually were engaged.

One of the most challenging aspects of this study is ascertaining the purpose and meaning of the Freer Jami, and understanding why its patron wanted such an elaborate copy of the *Haft Aurang* of Jami. A comparison of this acknowledged masterpiece with other illustrated copies of the same text is instructive here in terms of evaluating the uniqueness of its overall pictorial program and the originality of its "message." A look at the much smaller corpus of royal manuscripts of the Safavid period also helps situate the Freer Jami within its artistic context, and its owner within the venerable Iranian tradition of princely connoisseurship and patronage. From these discussions follow certain conclusions about Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's *Haft Aurang* as a historical document and an art historical exemplar.

Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Board of Advisors Sabbatical Fellow, 1987–1988

I *Michelangelo's Design of the Drum and Dome of Saint Peter's*
(in collaboration with Henry Millon)

II *Repatriation of Art after World War II: Background and Beginnings*

The work of this year was in two parts. It was preceded, however, by collaboration with Henry Millon in correcting galley proofs of our joint study, "Pirro Ligorio, Michelangelo, and Saint Peter's," to be published in the volume *Pirro Ligorio, Artist and Antiquarian*, edited by Robert W. Gaston and stemming from a recent symposium on Ligorio. In this text we summarize the reasons for our proposal that Ligorio was responsible for a change in Michelangelo's design of the elevation of Saint Peter's and discuss the historical significance of the change.

The major part of the year's work, again in collaboration with Henry Millon, was on the catalogue of the exhibition, *Michelangelo, Architect: The Facade of San Lorenzo and The Dome of Saint Peter's*, opening at the Casa Buonarroti in Florence in June of 1988 and coming to the National Gallery of Art in October. My collaboration was in the section devoted to Saint Peter's. This section and its catalogue concern the development of Michelangelo's design in the light of fragmentary and sometimes conflicting evidence, which has invited a variety of interpretations, and the problem of ascertaining Michelangelo's final intentions. Although Michelangelo built most of the drum of the dome before he died, he did not begin the dome, which was built more than twenty years later by Giacomo della Porta. There is considerable scholarly disagreement about what Michelangelo finally intended for the dome. The exhibition offers the opportunity to view and study the pertinent material in one place for the first time. Included is Michelangelo's large wooden model of the drum and dome, which is not the same as it was originally. One principal view is that the elevated profile of the outer dome of the model in its present state does not represent Michelangelo's final design. Another view proposes that Michelangelo did finally decide on an elevated profile. Preparation of the catalogue necessitated reviewing all the relevant material, surveying opinions and interpretations, and reassessing the issues—not in order to close discussion, but to provide a new basis for further thought and study. The progress of our work has owed much to Tracy Cooper, Ann Gilkerson, and Peter Lukehart, research assistants at the Center who helped especially with our review of the literature and with checking our manuscript.

The other work of the year was the preparation for publication of the Horst Gerson Lecture given at the University of Groningen in the Netherlands on the invitation of the Gerson Lectures Foundation and scheduled to appear as a small book entitled, *Repatriation of Art from the Collecting Point in Munich after World War II: Background and Beginnings. With Reference Especially to the Netherlands*. Further work was needed with pertinent documents. If it had not been for the invitation to give the Gerson Lecture specifically on this subject because I had been a participant in the repatri-



Etienne Duperac, attributed to, *Disegni di la ruine di Roma*, 1574/1575 Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, on loan from the Feltrinelli Collection.

ation, I would never have taken the subject up, having always assumed that everything important about it was on record. Not so, it has turned out. It was satisfying to discover and record the origin of the idea of establishing a Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Service in the allied armies, to underline the uniqueness of this service in aiming both to conserve cultural material of all kinds in all war areas and facilitate repatriation of such materials, then to recall the collecting point in Munich, from which repatriation began, and to identify and credit some of those who made it possible. Work with the documents benefited greatly from consultation with Lynn Nicholas of Washington, D.C., whose knowledge of the documents relating to the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Section of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Second World War is incomparable. The deadline for the manuscript could not have been met without the skillful help of Ann Gilkerson at the Center for Advanced Study.

Harvard University (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1987–1988

