

National Gallery of Art

CENTER I2

Record of Activities and Research Reports

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

CENTER 12

Record of Activities and Research Reports
June 1991–May 1992

Washington 1992

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: Honoré Daumier, *Exposition universelle: section égyptienne*,
engraved by Julien Antoine Peulot, first published 1867. National Gallery of Art,
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Arthur E. Vershbow

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DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAMS



The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote study of the 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, Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows, the Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow, Associates, the Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center for Advanced Study, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publications, are privately funded.

FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters 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 National 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 applicants. 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 usually are 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. The Center is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will be limited generally to one-half the applicant's annual salary with 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 funds; a supplemental allowance for local expenses; a research allowance for photographs, slides, and microfilms; and subsidized luncheon privileges. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for attendance at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 1 October. Each candidate must submit ten copies of all materials, including an application form with 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 residence period of 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. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit five copies of all materials, though only two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed. Submission of publications is not required.

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowship

One Senior Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least three years in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows may obtain leave for six months or more away from the Gallery to pursue independent research unrelated to Gallery projects.

The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and 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 and conditions are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships and Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October, and the procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. 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. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

Postdoctoral Fellowship

One Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow holding the Samuel H. Kress or Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship. Kress or Davis Fellows may apply for a postdoctoral curatorial fellowship if the dissertation has been approved by 1 April of the second predoctoral fellowship year. A letter to this effect from the primary advisor must be received by this date. The candidate must have graduated or received a certificate of degree by 1 September. During this twelve-month appointment, the fellow is associated with an appropriate Gallery department and pursues curatorial work while preparing the dissertation for publication.

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, examinations in two languages, and general or preliminary examinations. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a twelve-month period of residency at the Center that may include participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants must be either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center for Advanced Study. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs.

Other Information about Tenure and Application

Members may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or once a fellowship has been awarded. 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 may reapply after three years. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply after five years. Appropriate application forms for Senior Fellowships, Visiting Senior Fellowships, National Gallery Sabbatical 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 Assistant to the Fellowship Program: (202) 842-6482.

FACILITIES

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 179,000 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 Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

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

A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1991–1992 may be found on pages 24–32.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 38–99 for reports written by members in 1991–1992). The Center also publishes an annual listing of awards for research in the history of art sponsored by granting institutions in the United States and abroad. This year saw the publication of *Sponsored Research in the History of Art 11, 1991–1992*.

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. Seventeen 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); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the*



British Country House (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); and *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37). Papers from nine other symposia are in preparation for the series: *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*; *Michelangelo Drawings*; *The Pastoral Landscape*; *The Artist's Workshop*; *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Post-Classical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988)*; *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*; *Titian 500*; *Van Dyck 350*; and *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*.

RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. One such project, under the direction of the dean of the Center and with the support of the J. Paul Getty Trust and consulting scholars, involves the compilation of a photographic archive of architectural drawings, as well as the development of an automated cataloguing system with 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. A second research project, under the direction of the assistant dean, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seven-



teenth to nineteenth century are employed, with the intention of tracking words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of an American landscape vocabulary.

BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A Board of Advisors, comprised of eight art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider policies and programs. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery of Art is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR

June 1991–May 1992

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Svetlana Alpers, University of California, Berkeley
Caroline Bruzelius, Duke University
Everett Fahy, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Lisa Golombek, Royal Ontario Museum
William Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks
Donald Preziosi, University of California, Los Angeles
Jules Prown, Yale University
David Rosand, Columbia University
John Rosenfield, Harvard University
Kirk Varnedoe, Museum of Modern Art

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Marianna Shreve Simpson, *Associate Dean*
Steven Mansbach, *Acting Associate Dean*
Therese O'Malley, *Assistant Dean*

Karin Alexis, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*
Christine Challingsworth, *Research Assistant to the Dean*
Sabine Eiche, *Senior Research Associate*
Isabelle Frank, *Research Assistant to the Dean*
Sarah Hadley, *Program Assistant*
Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *Research Assistant to the Assistant Dean*
Vicki Porter, *Project Head* (Foundation for Documents of Architecture)
Astrit Schmidt-Burkhardt, *Research Assistant to the Acting Associate Dean*
Claire Sherman, *Project Head* (Sponsored Research in the History of Art)

Cecelia Gallagher, *Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings* (until February 1992)
Deborah A. Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowship Program*
Amelia Henderson, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and Special Projects*
Elizabeth Kielpinski, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*
Curtis Millay, *Assistant to the Program of Sponsored Research in the History of Art and Secretary to Research Programs*
Randi Nordeen, *Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings* (from February 1992)
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*

Curatorial Liaison

Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., *Curator of American and British Paintings and Deputy Senior Curator of Paintings*



MEMBERS

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1991–1992

John Coolidge, Harvard University (emeritus)

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1991

Willibald Sauerländer (director emeritus), Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte,
Munich

Changing Faces: Art and Physiognomy, a History of Representing the Passions

Senior Fellows

Clifford M. Brown, Carleton University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1992

Isabella d'Este—Documents for a Collection of Greco-Roman Art in Renaissance Italy

Anita Cook, Catholic University of America

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

*Expressions of Andean Ceremonialism: Architecture and Ceramics on the South Peruvian
Coast from the Fourth to First Century B.C.*



Michael Gullick, Oxford, England

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1991

A Corpus of Portraits of Medieval Scribes and Artists

John Dixon Hunt, Oak Spring Garden Library, Upperville

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1992

A History of Garden Design, Use, and Meaning in the City of Venice

Carolyn Kolb, University of New Orleans

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

Studies in the Sources of Francesco di Giorgio's First Treatise

Debra Pincus, University of British Columbia

Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

Doge Andrea Dandolo and the Fourteenth-Century Development of the Baptistery of San Marco as a Civic Space

John Pinto, Princeton University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1991

The Drawings of Pietro Bracci

William Tronzo, Bibliotheca Hertziana

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

The Fate of Old Saint Peter's

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow

David Alan Brown, Curator of Southern Renaissance Painting

1991–1992

Leonardo: The Formative Years

Visiting Senior Fellows

Franca Trinchieri Camiz, Temple University, Philadelphia

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

Painting and Music in Seventeenth-Century Rome

Anna Ottani Cavina, University of Bologna

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1992

Townscapes in David's Circle in Rome: The Development of the Genre between the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Kalpana S. Desai, Prince of Wales Museum of Western India

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

Persian Elements in Akbari Paintings

Millard F. Hearn, Jr., University of Pittsburgh

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1992

Canterbury Cathedral Choir and the Cult of Becket

Joan A. Holladay, University of Texas at Austin

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

The Ursula Busts and the Cult of the Holy Virgins in Cologne, 1260–1360

Linda Neagley, University of California, Berkeley

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1991

Disciplined Exuberance: Essays on the Parish Church of Saint-Maclou and Late Gothic Architecture in Rouen

Michael E. Shapiro, Saint Louis Art Museum

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

Affinities and Parallels: Postwar German and American Art, 1950–1975

Rocco Sinisgalli, University of Rome “La Sapienza”

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

Il Planisfero di Tolomeo

Jane ten Brink-Goldsmith, Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Gemeente Musea Delft

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1992

Leonaert Bramer: Painter in Delft, 1596–1674

Toby Yuen, Frick Art Reference Library
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1992
Engraved Gems and Related Small Antiquities: Survivals and Revivals in Renaissance Art

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows

Dmitri V. Shelest, Lviv Art Gallery
Fall 1991–winter 1992
Old Master Drawings in Lviv Art Collections and Other Regional Museums in the Soviet Union

Ivan Vacil'evich Aseyev, Institute of History, Philology, and Philosophy,
Novosibirsk
Spring–summer 1992
Petroglyphs of the Northwestern Coast of North America and Their Interpretation

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow

Mitchell Merling, Department of Southern Baroque Painting
1991–1992

Predoctoral Fellows

Matthew Affron [Yale University]*
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1990–1992
The Advent of the Object: The Art and Art Theory of Fernand Léger, 1925–1940

Patricia Bochi [University of Pennsylvania]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1991–1993
Agricultural Scenes in the Private Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: A Study in Iconographic Polyvalence

Aline Brandauer [City University of New York, Graduate School and University Center]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1991–1994
In the Beginning All the World Was America: The Surrealist Construction of the New World or the Semiotic Unbound

Robert Haywood [University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]*
Wyeth Fellow, 1990–1992
Beyond the Canvas: The Invention of Happenings

Julie Berger Hochstrasser [University of California, Berkeley]
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1991–1992
Life and Still Life: A Cultural Inquiry into Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting

- Ronda Kasl [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1989–1992
The Cartuja de Miraflores: A Study of Royal Patronage and Hispano-Flemish Style in Fifteenth-Century Burgos
- Kenneth D. S. Lapatin [University of California, Berkeley]
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1991–1994
Greek and Roman Chryselephantine Statuary
- Dana Leibsohn [University of California, Los Angeles]
 Ittleson Fellow, 1991–1993
Mapping Memory: The Art of Nahua History
- Richard Lewis [Northwestern University]
 Wyeth Fellow, 1991–1993
Interesting Particulars and Melancholy Occurrences: The Visual Representation of Philadelphiaian Shipping Culture, 1784–1834
- Pauline Maguire [Columbia University]
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1991–1993
Poussin in France: Chantelou's Collection
- Dominique Malaquais [Columbia University]
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1991–1993
Patterns of Space, Designs of Power: Architecture of the Bamileke Kings
- Laurie Jean Monahan [Harvard University]
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1991–1992
The Massacres of André Masson and the Chaos of Representation
- Kevin Murphy [Northwestern University]*
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1990–1992
Architectural Restoration in France, 1830–1848
- Nadine Orenstein [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1989–1992
Hendrik Hondius (Duffel 1573–The Hague 1650): Prints and the Business of Printmaking in Seventeenth-Century Holland
- Philip Hotchkiss Walsh [Harvard University]
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1990–1993
The Atelier of Gustave Moreau at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts
- Ethel Sara Wolper [University of California, Los Angeles]*
 Ittleson Fellow, 1990–1992
Patronage and Practice in Late Seljuk and Early Beylik Anatolia: A Study of Dervish Lodges in Northeastern Anatolian Cities

* in residence 16 September 1991–31 August 1992



MEETINGS

Symposia

24–26 October 1991

THE FORMATION OF NATIONAL COLLECTIONS OF ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

SESSION I

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

Roger Kennedy, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution

A Taxonomy of Modern Institutions Professing Themselves to Be National

Philip Fisher, Harvard University

*National Collections, Literatures, Architectures, Music: Local Meanings and
Portable Objects*

Per Bjurström, National Swedish Art Museums (emeritus)

Interpretation of the Terms National Collection/National Museum in Scandinavia

SESSION II

Moderator: Per Bjurström, National Swedish Art Museums (emeritus)

Enrico Castelnuovo, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

*The Birth of Municipal Museums in Italy in the Second Half of the Nineteenth
Century and the Problems of Regional Identity after Unification*

Carol Duncan, Ramapo College of New Jersey

Putting the "Nation" in the National Gallery (London)

Donald Preziosi, University of California, Los Angeles

In the Temple of Entelechy: The Museum as Evidentiary Artifact

SESSION III

Moderator: Enrico Castelnuovo, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

Werner Oechslin, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zürich

Nations and "National" Arguments: Debates on Art in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Daniel J. Sherman, Rice University

"Receptacles of Factitious Ruins": Quatremère de Quincy and the Ideological Origins of Art Museums

Andrew McClellan, Tufts University

Nationalism and the Origins of the Museum in France

SESSION IV

Moderator: Werner Oechslin, Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule, Zürich

Gwendolyn Wright, Columbia University

National Culture under Colonial Auspices: The Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient

Françoise Forster-Hahn, University of California, Riverside

Shrine of Art or Signature of a New Nation? The History of the National Gallery(ies) in Berlin, 1848–1968

Thomas W. Gaehtgens, Freie Universität Berlin

The Museumsinsel in Berlin at the Time of Wilhelm von Bode



SESSION V

Moderator: Françoise Forster-Hahn, University of California, Riverside

Annie E. Coombes, University of London, Birbeck College

The Recalcitrant Object: National Unity and Cultural Difference in British Ethnography

Alan Wallach, College of William and Mary

The Problem of Forming a National Art Collection in the United States

10–11 April 1992

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART

TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History and Archaeology, University of Maryland at College Park

Introduction: David G. Wilkins

Jennifer Craven [University of Pittsburgh]

Unveiling Petrarchan Metaphor in Raphael's Fornarina

Introduction: Arthur S. Marks

Richard Gantt [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]

Visual Satiety and Mental Propriety: The Garden Perspective in the French Baroque

Introduction: David Bjelajac

Mary Jo Agerstoun [George Washington University]

Washington Allston's Hermia and Helena (c. 1818) from A Midsummer Night's Dream: Ideal Love and the Progress of the Soul

Introduction: Nina Athanassoglou-Kallmyer

James C. Cooke [University of Delaware]

The Importance of Being Gross: Delacroix, Rabelais, and the Grotesque Aesthetic

Introduction: Mary Louise Krumrine

Lisa Salay Miller [Pennsylvania State University]

Carpeaux's America: Art and Sculptural Politics

Introduction: June Hargrove

Susan Houghton Libby [University of Maryland at College Park]

Paradigms of Deviance: Science, Medicine, and Gauguin's Images of Tahitian Women

Introduction: Christopher M. S. Johns

Joyce Henri Robinson [University of Virginia]

Looking for Luxe in All the Wrong Places: Conservative Criticism, Pastoral Landscapes, and the Origins of Matisse's Luxe, calme et volupté

Introduction: Elizabeth G. Higdon

Robert A. Delehanty [American University]

Homosexual Candor in the Early Work of Jasper Johns



Curatorial/Conservation Colloquy IV

18–21 May 1992

SAINT PORCHAIRE

Colloquy Cochairs:

Daphne Barbour, National Gallery of Art

Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art

Participants:

Aileen Dawson, British Museum

Helena Ivanova, State Hermitage Museum

Jessie McNab, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Michael Tite, Oxford University, Research Laboratory for Archaeology
and the History of Art

Pamela Vandiver, Smithsonian Institution, Conservation Analytical Laboratory

Timothy Wilson, Ashmolean Museum

Seminars

6 December 1991

CYCLES OF TIME AND MEANING IN THE MEXICAN DIVINATORY
CODICES

Participants:

Anthony F. Aveni, Colgate University

Elizabeth Boone, Dumbarton Oaks

John B. Carlson, University of Maryland, Center for Archaeoastronomy
David Carrasco, Princeton University
Michael Coe, Yale University
Anita Cook, Catholic University of America
Jill L. Furst, Moore College of Art and Design
Peter Furst, University of Pennsylvania
Cecelia F. Klein, University of California, Los Angeles
Dana Leibsohn, Dumbarton Oaks
Arthur Miller, University of Maryland
Barbara Tedlock, State University of New York, Buffalo
Dennis Tedlock, State University of New York, Buffalo

27 March 1992

WORKS OF ART IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Participants:

Sarah Brett-Smith, Rutgers University
Anita Cook, Catholic University of America
Richard Ellis, Bryn Mawr College
Ann Gunter, Arthur M. Sackler Museum
Donald Hansen, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
Janet Jones, Bucknell University
Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Holly Pittman, University of Pennsylvania
Mary M. Voigt, College of William and Mary
Barbara Watkinson, College of William and Mary
Alexandra Wilkinson, Dumbarton Oaks

1 May 1992

KÄTHE KOLLWITZ

Participants:

Hildegard Bachert, Galerie Saint Etienne
Jutta Bohnke-Kollwitz, Köln
Judith Brodie, National Gallery of Art
Raymond Dobard, Howard University
Hannelore Fischer, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln
Gudrun Fritsch, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Berlin
Martin Fritsch, Käthe Kollwitz Museum Berlin
Alexandra von dem Knesebeck, Göttingen
Maria Makela, Washington, D.C.
Elizabeth Prelinger, Georgetown University
Astrit Schmidt-Burkhardt, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts



Richard Simms, Harbor City, California
Elizabeth Streicher, National Gallery of Art
Christopher With, National Gallery of Art

Colloquia C–CVII

7 November 1991

John Coolidge, Samuel H. Kress Professor

Great Modern Interiors from the Crystal Palace to the Present

21 November 1991

Michael Gullick, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

For God or Mammon: Portraits of Medieval Artists and Scribes

12 December 1991

Debra Pincus, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow

The Ruler in the Space of Community: The Development of the Baptistery of San Marco in Fourteenth-Century Venice

23 January 1992

Anita Cook, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

Paracas: A History of Domestic and Civic-Ceremonial Settlements in the Lower Ica Valley of Peru (500 B.C.–200 A.D.)

30 January 1992

William Tronzo, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

The Medieval Object-Enigma

5 March 1992

Carolyn Kolb, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

Making Marvels Visible: Visual Artists and Technology in the Early Renaissance

19 March 1992

John Pinto, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

The Drawings of Pietro Bracci: New Light on Architecture and Sculpture in Eighteenth-Century Rome

30 April 1992

John Dixon Hunt, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

Representations of the Venetian Garden and the Role of Garden History

Shoptalks

15 October 1991

Robert Haywood, Wyeth Fellow

"...and once again the art world will swing": Happenings and High Modernist Painting in the 1960s

14 November 1991

Ronda Kasl, Paul Mellon Fellow

El Rey Virtuósismo: Sovereignty and Salvation Miraflores

17 December 1991

Nadine Orenstein, David E. Finley Fellow

Hendrik Hondius and Print Publishing in the United States

6 February 1992

Ethel Sara Wolper, Ittleson Fellow

Dervish Lodges in the Construction of the Late Seljuk and Early Beylik City: A Study of Dervish Lodges in Tökat

11 March 1992

Matthew Affron, Samuel H. Kress Fellow

Fernand Léger and the Spectacle of Objects

15 April 1992

Kevin Murphy, Mary Davis Fellow

Restoring Rouen: Debates in Nineteenth-Century Architectural Values



Incontri

30 October 1991

Catherine Gordon, Courtauld Institute

Problems of Variable Truth: Witt Computer Index

10 December 1991

Fritz Koreny, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

A Colored-Flower Study by Martin Schongauer and the Development of the Depiction of Nature from Van der Weyden to Dürer

6 January 1992

Richard Stapleford, City University of New York, Hunter College

The Vision of Saint Augustine

13 January 1992

Janice Shell, Rome

Leonardo, Salai, and the Gioconda

Lectures

4 December 1991

Lynn Hollen Lees, University of Pennsylvania

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LECTURE ABSTRACTS

LYNN HOLLEN LEES

University of Pennsylvania

Poverty in Pictures and in Policy: Changing Representations of the Poor in England, 1830-1910

A strong symmetry existed in Victorian England between social policies toward the dependent poor and their public representation in books, periodicals, and prints. The repressive Poor Law of 1834 and its mandated use of prison-like workhouses confirmed the marginal status of the destitute in a world organized around self-help and economic independence. Until late in the nineteenth century, public relief policies in England and Wales effectively distanced the poor from the communities of which they were a part. Artists' depictions of people on welfare were particularly savage during the first half of the century, stressing the social distance existing between them and respectable citizens. The conventions of caricature and satire, in common use during the 1830s and 1840s, shifted, however, around mid-century, to styles in which the principles of craniology and physiognomy seem to have shaped drawings, producing less hostile representations. By the late nineteenth century, reliance on photography and lithography encouraged a shift to social realism in pictures of the poor. During the 1870s artists led and mirrored a softening of attitudes toward relief policies, which eventually helped to encourage more generous treatment. By the First World War, the British government insured citizens against some of the risks of old age, unemployment, and sickness. Public policy had reincorporated a large proportion of the poor into a national community, lessening the effective social distance between the dependent poor and their neighbors.

Distortion of faces and of bodies to signal social marginality did not disappear, however, in the popular press. The counterpart around 1900 to the caricatures of earlier periods was drawings of the many non-Anglo-Saxon races of the empire. Artists combined the teachings of eugenics and anthropology with the familiar conventions of craniology and physiognomy to produce a new group of non-English grotesques in the pages of illustrated newspapers.

DONALD HANSEN

New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Sculpture from the Temple of the Sumerian Goddess Inanna at Nippur

The lecture, given in conjunction with a seminar on "Works of Art in Archaeological Context," examines small sculpture found in the temple of the goddess Inanna at Nippur, in southern Iraq, excavated by the University of Chicago in association with the American Schools of Oriental Research. The sculpture was found in two archaeological levels of the Inanna temple, Levels VIII and VII, dated to the Sumerian Early Dynastic period of the middle of the third millennium B.C. This period was the era of the early Sumerian city-states.

Nippur was the holy city of Sumer and the home of the main god, Enlil, but important temples of other gods were also built there. The first temple to Inanna was established in the early part of the Early Dynastic period and was constantly rebuilt for over two thousand years. The plan of the temple with two shrines, or cellae, is unique and may be the result of an association of this temple with a locality mentioned in a Sumerian creation myth.

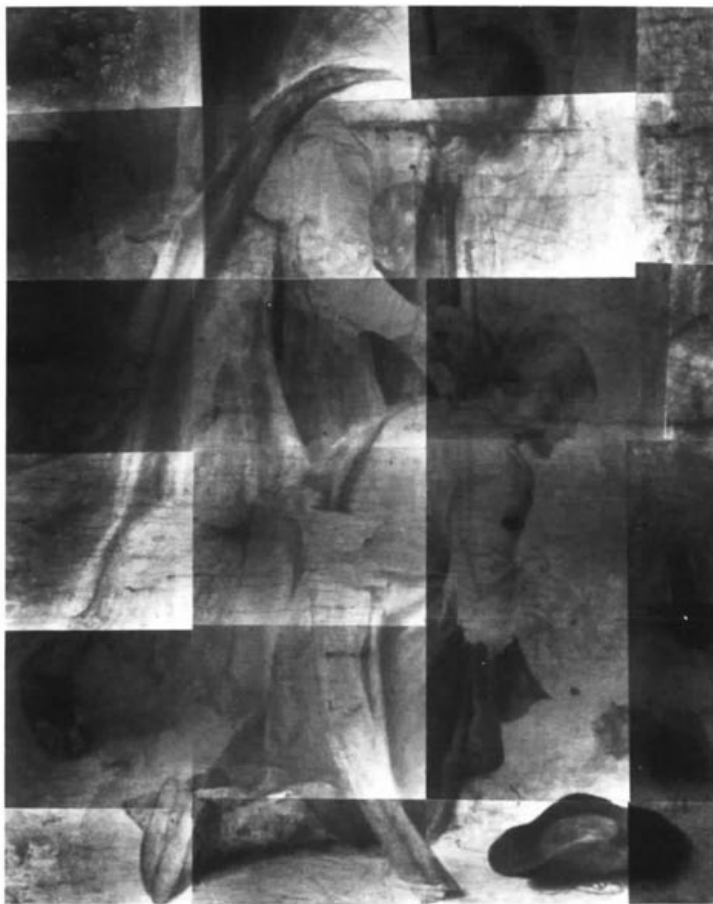
Sculpture in the round, plaques with scenes carved in relief, and functional objects embellished with relief decoration were found in profusion in the Early Dynastic levels and represent votive gifts made to the goddess. The statues in the round, of both men and women, clasp their hands in a gesture signifying prayer. It is suggested that such votive objects were dedicated and placed in the cells in conjunction with contributions made to the temple.

Beside sculpture found scattered through the rooms and courts by chance, most of the votive gifts were purposefully "buried" in groups either beneath the floors, in the furniture of the cells, or else they were used as an integral part of a cult installation. Such dedicated objects, hence sacred, could not be kept within the temple precinct. These practices are similar to some known in later Near Eastern religions.

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts who were in residence during the period June 1991 to May 1992. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1992. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1992 will appear in *Center 13*.



Giorgione, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, c. 1505/1510, infrared reflectogram, detail.
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

MARK STRAND
University of Utah
The Loneliness Factor

It is often assumed that many of Edward Hopper's paintings engender feelings of loneliness. It is also assumed that such feelings are in response to narrative elements in the paintings. Rarely, if ever, are these feelings related to structural motifs used repeatedly in Hopper's work. In my talk I shall explore the relationship between the narrative and the structural. I shall also provide convincing reasons why we often feel left behind, even abandoned, while something else in the painting, usually a road or tracks, continues; why we feel caught in a wake that offers no possibility of catching up to whatever has departed; or why, once allowing ourselves to be taken into the painting's ambience, we feel closed out by forces within the painting.



Giorgione

Since Giorgione's death there has never been any doubt that he was one of the greatest of all Italian artists. There has been, however, even in the earliest sources, considerable confusion about the attribution and meaning of his paintings. It is unlikely that much more documentation will be found in Venetian archives about Giorgione's paintings, although over the last fifteen years, I and other scholars have discovered some new and revealing inventories and documents of commission. In the monograph I am writing, I have been able to clarify a number of provenances of pictures and have been given much new material on such subjects by Klara Garas. My monograph on Giorgione will begin with a new critical history of the development of Venetian art history focused on writing about Giorgione. Emphasis will be laid on the early sources, the development of a Venetian view of art, the new material that is emerging about seventeenth-century collections, and finally the development of scientific connoisseurship—the pitfalls that arise from it as well as its many virtues. In this last section there also will be an account of myths created by the scientific examination of Venetian paintings, so recently exemplified by the perception that the X-rays of *The Feast of the Gods* had been earlier misinterpreted. This will lead to discussion of new criteria for an analysis of Giorgione's paintings.

We can rediscover more about the mysterious master from Castelfranco by a reexamination of the works themselves, aided by the latest scientific means. Some progress was made in this direction at the 1978 celebrations for the quincentenary of Giorgione's birth, conferences and exhibitions held at Castelfranco and Venice, in which I was involved. And over the last decade more has been discovered about the techniques of Venetian paintings by Giorgione and his followers. At Washington I was able to study David Bull's restoration of the Allendale *Adoration of the Shepherds*, and examine other works in the collection with David Bull and David Alan Brown, who shared many new observations with me. There are, for example, considerable problems with the condition of the Borgherini double portrait and the Benson *Holy Family*, which have not been identified in the National Gallery of Art's catalogue of Italian paintings and which affect the critical history of their attributions.

The curious mixture of naiveté and sophistication in the execution of the Allendale *Adoration*, which has always been remarked upon, has at times elicited confusing statements concerning the authorship. While the painting was in the Fesch collection, it was attributed to Giorgione. When it came on the art market in 1936 Bernard Berenson announced it to be by the young Titian, and ruined his friendship with Joseph Duveen as it reduced the price of the picture considerably, works by Giorgione being infinitely rarer than those by Titian. Since the painting entered the Kress Collection, the attribution to Giorgione has prevailed

with some dissenters, such as Sir Ellis Waterhouse, and Sydney Freedberg, who both opt for the young Titian. Alternatively there are those who favor a master of the Allendale *Adoration*, sometimes giving him a name. The first art historian to advance this alternative was Giovanni Morelli, who ascribed the *Adoration* to Vincenzo di Biagio Catena.

Following his recent restoration of the painting, David Bull suggested the possibility that it was executed in several stages, beginning with the landscape background. Then changes were made in the left-hand foreground, the tree stump, and bush, covering an earlier foreground landscape, and finally ending with the figures of the Holy Family and the shepherds before the cave. He suggests the picture may even have been left for several years between the time in which the landscape background was executed and the foreground figures begun and completed, which may have occurred between 1501 and 1503. Bull's hypothesis makes sense of the difficulties that earlier scholars have experienced with the radical changes between parts of the painting, such as the awkward transition between foreground and background, and where the sky and foliage from the earlier background are visible both to the eyes and in X-rays. After Bull's restoration the details of the imagery are dazzlingly clear, such as the ultramarine blue of the Madonna's robe and the brilliant red pinpoints of hearth fire in the building on the right. Many points of comparison with Giorgione's other known works are more easily discernible than ever before. The figures in the landscape background resemble those in the background of the Uffizi panel *The Trial of Moses*. Another well-known comparison is that of the tower with the broken roof of the Castelfranco Altarpiece. Most remarkable of all is the resemblance with the composition and morphology of *Il Tramato* in the National Gallery of London. The new infrared photograph of the picture shows indications of brush drawing, though, as is characteristic of Giorgione, the composition is not extensively worked out.

University of Oxford, Ruskin School of Drawing and Fine Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1991

The Landscapes of Reason: The City of Antiquity in the Image of David's Circle at Rome

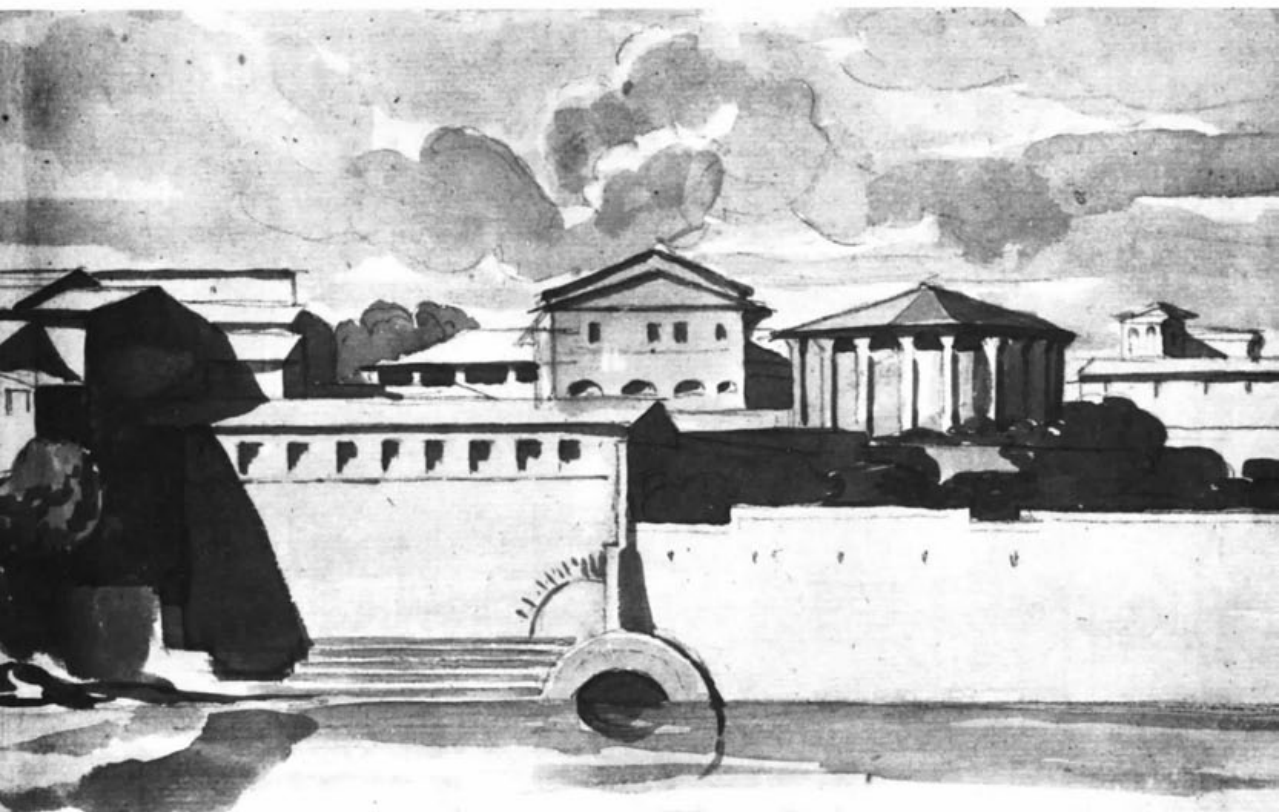
The antique city as seen in the age of neoclassicism—a city that almost always is identified with Rome—is a topic on which I have been working for some time. My initial findings were reported earlier in “Rome 1780: le thème du paysage dans le cercle de David,” delivered at the “Colloque David” in Paris, 1990, and “La città reale e la città geometrica nelle vedute di fine Settecento,” delivered at the Cini Cultural Center, Venice, in September 1990. The study opens with the key figures of the 1780s—Jacques-Louis David, Pierre-Henri Valenciennes, Jean-Germain Drouais, Louis Gauffier, and Jean Pierre Saint-Ours—and draws to a close at the end of the eighteenth century with the radical and extreme developments embodied in the frozen, timeless townscapes of Jakob Carstens and Humbert de Superville, who were exponents of the rationalist school of thought in Rome and strongly influenced by the philosophical ideas of Carl Ludwig Fernow, an active member of Villa Malta’s German circle.

The pictorial documentation on which the study is based includes primarily the watercolors and drawings inspired by the urban *veduta* or townscape. This is an extensive, and little explored, body of material housed in the collections of drawings at the Louvre, Rennes (almost six hundred of Drouais’ sheets), Montpellier, Berlin, Stockholm, and Geneva, and in private collections (such as Gauffier’s notebooks in New York). The sunny, geometric image of the antique city introduced by these artists in the 1780s contrasts sharply with the sepulchral, romantic “city of ruins” elaborated only a few years before by Piranesi.

The aim of my study was to determine the constituent elements acting on this new vision of Rome and bring to the fore the historical context in which the artists of David’s circle worked. For these artists were involved not only in the genre of history painting but also in the less studied areas of landscape and townscape. Thus my investigations include the architectural features composing the *vedute* of Rome, which were quite often drawn from life but then simplified and “regularized” to the point that all traces of distinct reality were eliminated. The influence of Poussin’s seventeenth-century models and of contemporary French ones (Etienne-Louis Boullée and, particularly, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux) emerges in clear relief.

Yet it is the essential influence exerted by David that stands out above all. The tension he imparts to natural forms in disciplining them, in bringing them back to elementary geometric matrices, snaps apart once and for all the integrated system of the *rocaille* style and prompts the adoption of an idiom based on geometric forms and their linear juxtaposition. This new idiom is adopted as a vernacular code by many artists of the neoclassical period, even in landscape painting.

One new fact that distinguishes this study is the relationship linking David’s idiom to the contemporary oeuvre of Ledoux and Boullée, thereby offering for



Jean-Germain Drouais, *The Cloaca Massima in Rome*, c. 1784. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes

the first time an inquiry into the contiguity of the work (historically verified between Ledoux and David), of syntactical transfer, of common cultural roots. Another significant feature concerns the role of the new techniques employed to enhance this highly rationalistic *city portrait*. Here pastel, color, sanguine, chiaroscuro (expressive means much esteemed in the images of Rome executed by the preceding generation of Fragonard and Hubert Robert) abound, and we find the systematic use of outline, *Pierre noire*, gray watercolor, and *papier en réserve* (that is, the unprepared white sheet of paper used as a chromatic area). These instruments, essential and even overtly austere, are employed to heighten what is structurally dominant in the neoclassical townscape.

University of Bologna

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1992

ANITA COOK

Paracas: A History of Domestic and Civic-ceremonial Settlements in the Lower Ica Valley of Peru

Public religious architecture in the Andes was until this decade considered the hallmark of Chavin culture (900–200 B.C.), which was held responsible for the dissemination of religious ideas and monumental temple constructions. But recent research has challenged these long-held assumptions. Small, austere platform mounds on the central Peruvian coast whose initial construction dates range between 2500–2200 B.C. are known, and many others appeared during the following millennium. Excavations at these sites and the later site of Chavin de Huantar have focused on the monuments and less on the regional context. This has led to our current understanding that early ceremonial architecture in the Andes was largely separate from the domestic sphere in the sense that the people who built and used these ritual spaces lived elsewhere, in dispersed hamlets and villages. Based on the results of a settlement survey in the lower Ica Valley, a different pattern emerges for the first millennium B.C., also known as the Early Horizon.

Paracas society is known from sites in at least six adjacent river valleys on the south coast of Peru, including the Paracas Peninsula and the Ica Valley. The culture received its name from the sites on the Paracas Peninsula where the discovery of rich cemeteries revealed mummy bundle burials containing individuals wrapped in hundreds of meters of finely woven and embroidered textiles. Objects from Paracas Peninsula habitation and cemetery sites include ceramics, textiles, and associated funerary materials found in museums throughout the world, while information on the nature and structure of Paracas settlements is poorly understood. Research conducted during the past year has focused on an analysis of decorated utilitarian and votive ceramics associated with temple mounds and the spatial distributions of Paracas terracottas with other types of surface architecture.

Paracas society flourished during the Early Horizon (900–200 B.C.), and the ceramics attributable to the Ica Valley Early Horizon phases were recovered at ninety-two sites, although many included ceramics of earlier and later periods. A large part of this study involved chronological issues, which include the dating of ceramics based on a previously published ten-phase stylistic seriation of Ica pottery; and an analysis of settlement patterns by phase that suggests several phases in the sequence are not evident in surface collections. The results led us to question the strength of several currently accepted stylistic phases as significant units of time. At least three temporal phases are absent in the lower Ica Valley, or may be ceramic groups of special function, for example, used exclusively in funerary contexts.

Five types of sites were defined during this study: civic-ceremonial (four sites), residential (thirty-seven sites), hilltop (seven), cemeteries (eighteen), and sherd scatters (thirty-three). Particular attention was given to the four civic-ceremonial

sites, the habitation sites, and hilltop settlements. When large-scale adobe architecture is found in the Ica Valley, it is within the confines of domestic sites characterized by mud and cane architecture associated with domestic wares. The ceremonial adobe architecture is spatially isolated and characterized by discrete distributions of fineware ceramics within habitation sites. The ceremonial adobe structures are interpreted to have nonresidential functions and to share many of the same architectural and ceramic characteristics found at the only previously excavated Paracas temple at Animas Altas in the lower Ica Valley.

The major sites during the florescence and apogee of Paracas culture in Ica are located in the area of Callango. Two major ceremonial centers existed on either side of the river in this region, a dualistic pattern common to Andean forms of social and spatial organization. In the highlands many individual communities are still organized into moieties, with principles of spatial organization expressed as well in tripartite and quadripartite divisions. In the Callango region of the lower Ica Valley dualism is expressed in the emergence of a civic-ceremonial site hierarchy marked by the juxtaposition of two principal religious centers. Neither is situated in rich agricultural land. To the contrary, they are on the far northeastern and southwestern margins of occupation. An extensive and intensive resident occupation is found at both centers and at other sites with civic-ceremonial architecture. The earliest occupations are found on the western shore at the only site within our survey area that was continuously occupied throughout the Early Horizon. Site sizes and density increase over time on the western shore with most sites arranged around elevated adobe constructions. The appearance of sites on the eastern shore, many of which lack distinguishable adobe buildings, suggests communities were established adjacent to the southeastern ceremonial center, which eventually grew in size at the expense of smaller sites abandoned by late Paracas times.

Like the U-shaped ceremonial centers that date to the second millennium B.C. on the north and central coasts, the recognizable adobe ceremonial structures in Ica are oriented to the northeast toward the headwaters of the valley in the high Andes. The orientation symbolically unites and marks the interdependence of highlands and coast, as well as of herders and agriculturalists all linked through the river valleys that descend from east to west. A regional perspective and attention to the distribution of architectural types and associated terracottas have made it possible to map aspects of Paracas social and religious space and to acknowledge adobe ceremonial architecture as part of Paracas community life.

Catholic University of America

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

JOHN COOLIDGE

Great Secular Halls of Modern Times

I devoted the past year principally to two unrelated activities. Unexpectedly, I had to prepare a new preface for a book published fifty years ago, my *Mill and Mansion: A Study of Architecture and Society in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1820-1865*. I also began research on monumental secular interiors erected since 1850.

Lowell was the earliest American industrial city. Devoted to the manufacture of textiles, it was a purely Yankee enterprise that was innovative both architecturally and socially. After the Civil War, immigration gradually created a population of seventy different ethnic groups among which the Yankees were a small minority. Unable to compete with southern mills, 40 percent of the population was on relief by 1940. In the 1970s, Lowell became first a state and then a federal urban park that has been attracting 850,000 visitors to the city annually. Simultaneously, the city evolved into a center of high-tech manufacturing. The new preface attempts to outline the expression in local architecture of the interlocking dramas of changing population, industrial decline, and economic resurrection.

A unique achievement of modern times has been the creation of secular interiors capable of containing tens of thousands of people within a single space. On being offered the Kress professorship I proposed to consider these as a building type, which, apparently, had never been done before. This was the subject of a colloquium on 7 November 1991. From the commentary at the colloquium and the efforts of my research assistant, Karin Alexis, emerged the following summary of our knowledge and a program for further study.

The major nineteenth-century interiors were iron and glass structures and, for the most part, exhibition buildings and railroad sheds. Since these had been studied individually to some extent, further consideration could be deferred until the time came to draw general conclusions on monumental secular interiors as they have evolved in modern times.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the dominant material used in the construction of great halls was reinforced concrete. The purposes these buildings served have expanded to include assembly halls of various kinds with aerodromes and hangars replacing railroad terminals. Since architectural aesthetic interest in the era of functionalism had shifted away from the large and grand to emphasize the small and practical, by no means have all the major halls been adequately studied by historians. It is hoped that continued search of past professional literature will lead to important discoveries.

The late twentieth century has introduced radical changes. Widespread spectator interest has required the creation of gigantic roofed arenas for the Olympic Games and American professional baseball. The advent of the computer has made possible a more exact calculation of building stress and encouraged experimentation in building technology and the use of new materials. Metal is once

more important, making possible, for example, a retractable roof at the Skydome in Toronto. Elsewhere a light metal frame is combined with panels of Teflon-coated fiberglass. Such softer materials can be maintained aloft by gently compressed air. Potentially such a combination, the building as bubble, may introduce as radical a change into our architecture as the combination of iron and glass did into that of the nineteenth century.

I have begun research on some of the architects who especially interest me, notably Nowicki. My hope is to visit some of the buildings I have studied but not seen. Then I shall concentrate on one aspect of the project with the intention of publishing the first of a series of monographic articles. Prominent candidates would be the so-called "Jahrhunderthalle" in Breslau, now Wochlau, or several of the north American stadia.

Other practical and aesthetic issues will be addressed as the project advances. By their very nature, these great halls assemble many people in a short period of time, and release the entire crowd at the same moment. What location offers the best transportation to those going to and from the building and least disturbs other citizens?

However spacious the interior of a great hall may be, the exterior is almost of necessity a great inert block. How can such a block be designed to least insult the environment?

One hypothetical question puts both these last issues historically: when they tore down Pennsylvania Station in New York City, should they have replaced it by a new covered Yankee Stadium supporting a skyscraper-hotel, offices, or what have you?

Harvard University (emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1991-1992

Teaching and Learning in the Carracci Academy

The Carracci Academy, opened in Bologna in the 1580s by Agostino, Annibale, and Lodovico Carracci, has long been recognized as the cornerstone, along with the Accademia del Disegno of Florence, of all succeeding academies of art. Modern scholarship on the Carracci Academy has been problematic. It has propagated the notion that the Carracci Academy was like a nineteenth-century academy—as if it somehow could have predicted and assimilated centuries of subsequent academic evolution in its self-invention. Heavy reliance on later literary accounts, especially the seventeenth-century biographies of Bellori and Malvasia, has prompted widely divergent views of the academy. My aim has been to bring to bear other categories of evidence, primary and historical, that might help us to understand the nature of an institution that was, after all, a new and, in my opinion, highly improvisatory and mutable enterprise. I have concentrated on the drawings that the Carracci and their pupils made in the academy and on other idiosyncratic aspects of their quotidian practice and production. The picture that emerges from this primary evidence is at odds with what has been written about the Carracci Academy both in the seventeenth century and in our own. I have also looked into historical evidence regarding the founding of the Carracci Academy and the Florentine Accademia del Disegno, uncovering links that had been overlooked or suppressed as early and later writers sought to highlight the independence and originality of the Bolognese experiment.

Part of my investigation was to examine the Carracci as copyists. Though many of the more than seventy-five painted copies ascribed to the Carracci in early sources are well-documented and not difficult to trace, they often present sticky problems of connoisseurship and have been largely ignored. Even when a copy is undeniably autograph, its “subject” being another work of art in the same medium somehow disqualifies it from consideration: a Carracci painting that copies Correggio is neither a Correggio nor a-Carracci. I discovered that copying was more than an exercise to learn alternative modes of painting—a foundation for their so-called eclecticism. Evidence regarding the commission and collection of the Carracci copies indicates these in fact were highly prized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The drawings generally relegated to such categories as “Carracci school” or “attributed to Annibale Carracci” will take many years to identify and sort out. I also looked anew at autograph Carracci drawings for clues to their preoccupations in the academy. Their purported study of anatomy, noted by early writers, perplexed me. Malvasia even named the professor who taught the subject to the academicians. Yet not a single drawing or other record of dissection can be identified. While this may be an accident of survival, the lack is not out of keeping with remarks attributed to Annibale (*Postille* to Vasari) and other pupils in the

academy that decry as senseless the practice of obsessive anatomic analysis by artists. In fact the extant drawings reveal the Carracci and their pupils to be interested in anatomy not from the perspective of natural philosophy, but rather from a functional and pragmatic point of view. The Carracci were more concerned, for example, that a particular muscle in the arm would swell when a man squeezed his fist or with how the bones shape the appearance of the flesh-covered kneecap in a living body.

Academies preceding and following have shaped our view of what went on in the Carracci Academy. The Florentine Academy, in the tradition of the great artist-scientists of that city, sponsored regular anatomical dissections; had the Carracci done less, would not their academy have appeared to be wanting? My suspicion is that the anatomy professor named by Malvasia may have given a lesson or two in the early years of the Carracci enterprise, and done so partly because the artists themselves consciously would have wanted to meet the Florentine Academy's challenge. Yet the subject for its own sake was by no means central to their work; they concentrated on the living model, not the corpse.

A functional approach was likewise evident in Agostino's lively drawings of a challenging foreshortening or difficult body part. Working out a problem step by step, spontaneously, and often with great wit, Agostino used his pen to demonstrate a technique to pupils who must have laughed as they learned. Records of ephemeral processes of teaching, Agostino's sketches were translated shortly after his death into schemata for the drawing manual *Il vero modo del disegnare tutto il corpo umano*. Recast into fixed, rote patterns to be imitated, their intention and meaning were inexorably transformed. The Carraccis' efforts to find a way back to nature without discarding the achievements of art were personal, inventive, and spontaneous. Yet their methods were instantly enshrined as new canons, "honored" by imitation that drained the life from their methodology of restless experimentation. With an irony that has gone unrecognized owing to misunderstanding of the nature of their academy, the vehicle the Carracci had created to set the artist free was ossified into a new kind of academy that chained the artist to tradition.

National Gallery of Art, Education Division

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, January–June 1991

Melozzo da Forlì and the Rome of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484)

During my fellowship I completed my dissertation, entitled “Melozzo da Forlì and the Rome of Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484).” Melozzo was a crucial figure in the development of Italian painting, using color and light to define massive, illusionistic figures within spatial architectural settings. His explorations in figural foreshortening were models for Serlio and Vasari, and inspired the later development of illusionistic cupola painting. Melozzo is a well-known artist whose development has nonetheless remained mysterious. Only a handful of documents relating to him have survived, and only three major frescoes have been accepted as his: *The Portrait of Pope Sixtus IV*, fragments from *The Ascension* formerly in SS. Apostoli, and the frescoes in the Sacristy of Saint Mark in the Santa Casa of Loreto. Even the ordering of these three major works is disputed by students of Melozzo. A rich bibliography has grown up around Melozzo that has perpetuated unsupported interpretations. This situation led me to examine the context of Melozzo’s commissions in the hope of settling unresolved disputes concerning the patron, dating, and occasion for each fresco. A brief foray into the literature revealed that all three frescoes were in some way linked to the patronage of the Della Rovere family. I thus decided to focus on the central figures of Melozzo da Forlì and Sixtus IV, constructing a contextual interpretation of the artist’s frescoes.

The first chapter introduces Sixtus IV, as Franciscan, pope, and patron. Well known for his artistic patronage, for his urban renewal of Rome, and for his ruthless wars, Sixtus IV has come to represent the first of the “corrupt” Renaissance popes. It is difficult to reconcile such a contemporary vision of Sixtus as pope with his earlier cloistered existence. Moreover, his patronage appears almost random and eclectic, ranging from third-rate anonymous artists to famous Florentine painters. This introductory essay therefore attempts to distinguish patterns within Sixtus’ diverse activities and decisions, while familiarizing the reader with the papal family and quattrocento Rome.

Sixtus directly commissioned only one work from Melozzo: a large portrait of himself with the librarian Platina and four papal nephews for the new Vatican Library. In the second chapter I propose that Melozzo recast the conventions of papal portraiture, adapting the fresco to suit its location and intended audience: the users of the first public library in the Vatican palace. There Melozzo and Sixtus planned a fresco which drew on secular portraiture, library decoration, and papal imagery to convey a new image of the papacy as a dynastic imperial ruler. Melozzo’s next commission was the *Ascension* in the apse of SS. Apostoli. In chapter three I suggest that the patron of the fresco was Giuliano della Rovere, Sixtus’ nephew and Cardinal of San Pietro in Vincula. New documentation reveals that he intended to transform the apse of SS. Apostoli into a Della Rovere mausoleum, burying his father in the most honorific site in the apse of the



Melozzo da Forlì, *Music-Playing Angel*, c. 1477–1480, fragment from SS. Apostoli.
Author photograph

church. This information allows one to hypothesize that Giuliano commissioned Melozzo's fresco as a suitable decoration for his father's funerary chapel—a weighty and important affair for Renaissance rulers. Moreover, the subject of the fresco is actually a combination of an Ascension and of a Christ in Glory, making it an appropriate decoration both for the entire church and for the private family chapel.

The fourth chapter offers an account of Melozzo's frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Maria di Loreto. The cycle represents Christ's Passion, displayed in a complex composition combining symbol, text, and narrative. Commissioned by Cardinal Girolamo Basso della Rovere, another nephew of Sixtus, the frescoes were part of a larger decorative program that may have been planned as a means of making Loreto into a Della Rovere basilica.

The dissertation concludes with an analysis of Melozzo's stylistic development that supports the dating of the three frescoes suggested in the preceding chapters. One can see how Melozzo's developing mastery of fresco technique and perspective enabled him to experiment more boldly in each painting. The earliest portrait of Sixtus shows an architectural illusion with the figures as on a stage, set only slightly above eye-level. The second fresco, at SS. Apostoli, includes figures defined by color and light, floating freely in the air, with no architectural support. The last surviving fresco at Loreto reunites the architecture and the figures in a complex interior regulated by one overarching perspectival scheme.

[Harvard University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1988–1991



Francesco Francia, *Annunciation with Four Saints*, 1500. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna

Flying Babies in Emilian Painting: Iconographies of the Immaculate Conception circa 1500

I began my study as an investigation of the Bolognese painter Francesco Francia and his contribution to devotional expressionism in Italian art circa 1500. While researching the relationship between Francia's art and contemporary Bolognese spirituality, I was intrigued by the unusual *Annunciation* that the artist painted in 1500 for the church of the Santissima Annunziata, an important Franciscan convent outside Bologna's medieval walls. Peculiar in many respects, the iconography of this painting had always perplexed Francia scholars, but it had never been discussed in detail.

I started my analysis from the most striking of the painting's elements, the Christ Child suspended in the sky. I soon realized that the presence of this motif in Francia's altarpiece was problematic and, apparently, inexplicable. By the time Francia adopted it, the representation of Christ as a baby flying through the sky in the scene of the Annunciation was old-fashioned and, most important, suspected of carrying heretical overtones. Nonetheless, after appearing in Francia's altarpiece, this motif became quite popular in Emilian painting throughout the sixteenth century.

Works derived from Francia's altarpiece also presented problems and contradictions. While the flying baby's identity as Christ Child was certain in paintings by Francia's closest followers, its appearance in later works was ambiguous. In Pordenone's altarpiece for the Santissima Annunziata in Cortemaggiore (c. 1529), the small figure in the sky is obviously indebted to Francia's earlier painting. Since Pordenone's altarpiece was painted for a chapel dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, however, many scholars assumed that the baby here represented the infant Mary. There thus seemed to be some confusion over the role and meaning of the motif of the flying baby.

I noticed that the examples of this motif which I encountered in sixteenth-century Emilian painting were mostly related to the Franciscan order, as was the earlier medieval tradition of this iconography. Hence, I concluded that this was a single iconographical phenomenon (or two related phenomena) that could most fruitfully be examined in the context of contemporary Franciscan spirituality and the order's status in Emilia and Romagna. Since the altarpieces by Francia and Pordenone seemed to have played a crucial role in the diffusion of the iconography of the flying baby, I decided to use both works as case studies to address the broader problem of Renaissance representation of two complex theological issues already associated with these paintings: the Incarnation and the Immaculate Conception.

My investigations convinced me of the relation between the invention of the new religious iconography visible in the paintings by Francia and Pordenone and the Franciscans' promotion of the cult of the Immaculate Conception. Theologically elaborated and supported by this order since the thirteenth century,

the immaculist doctrine spread with unprecedented success in the fifteenth century. In this period, the growing Marian cult combined with intense, new lay religiosity (evident in such urban phenomena as the Modern Devotion), creating a propitious moment for the doctrine of Mary's immaculacy to enter popular devotion. The translation of this belief into the visual arts was, however, extremely problematic because of the theological complexity of the doctrine, the lack of a previous iconographical tradition, and the strenuous opposition to the doctrine from the powerful Dominican order that directed the Inquisition. Both Francia's altarpiece for the Santissima Annunziata and Pordenone's chapel at Cortemaggiore were attempts to provide a solution to this problem.

My dissertation is in two parts: each concerns one of the altarpieces, as well as a number of related issues and other works. Part one, on Francia's altarpiece of 1500, analyzes the relationship between Christ's Incarnation and Mary's exemption from original sin, the appropriation of many prefigurations of Mary's virginal motherhood within the immaculist doctrine, and the theological value of the mystery of the Annunciation in immaculist thought. In part two I examine the relationship between Pordenone's altarpiece and the surrounding fresco decoration; through identification of their liturgical sources, a coherent interpretation for the meaning of the whole iconographical program is offered.

[Johns Hopkins University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1988–1991

ROBERT HAYWOOD

Beyond the Canvas: The Invention of Happenings

This dissertation engages one of the most contentious issues about art in the wake of Jackson Pollock: a shift away from painting to theater in order to revolutionize and expand the realm of art. Allan Kaprow, a relentless advocate and producer of Happenings during the 1960s, strategically argued that the “environmental” paintings of Pollock led art into the streets. “The Legacy of Jackson Pollock,” Kaprow’s influential essay of 1958, prescribed an initial logic for such a shift in art. Happenings—participatory, site-specific, theatrical, or open-air events—were Kaprow’s invention to dramatically reawaken the oppositional and radical dream that is at the very heart of the avant-garde paradigm.

This vanguard revival was unique in the United States because it interacted and intersected with countercultural formations of the late 1950s and 1960s. This countercultural sphere was fluid and changing, rather than strictly circumscribed. It embodied the Beats’ subversive embrace of commercial culture, the existential hipsters’ revolt against conformity of the 1950s, the energetic, utopian vision of the New Left in the 1960s, and, I argue, Happenings. Radicals’ alienation from corporate and state power spurred a desire to reform or contest existing institutions, as much as it accelerated the construction of an oppositional space.

With the near-collapse of the Old Left—which was effectively undermined and suppressed by the McCarthyist crusade—young, radical intellectuals, activists, and artists focused on lifestyles, race, sexuality, or vanguard art, in addition to politics, as agents of change. Their aim was to free themselves from the Cold War consensus politics, affluent values, and conformist pressures so widely lamented by liberal and leftist writers during the Eisenhower era and after. Occupying and transforming social space, whether in the name of a liberating politics or art, were similar strategies of both the New Left and the producers of Happenings.

Because Happenings were transitory events, they present special problems for art historians. Yet numerous public and private archives provide a rich, if incomplete, view of the character of this art. My project has been to bring these archival materials together for a study of the phenomenon of Happenings. These resources include the Sohm Archive of Happenings and Fluxus in Stuttgart, personal files of the artists, archives of modern and contemporary art museums that commissioned Happenings, the Archives of American Art, the archives of Robert Frank at the National Gallery of Art, the Fluxus Archive in New York, the Film-Makers’ Cooperative, and the Judson Church in Greenwich Village.

The Judson Church was a pioneering patron of Happenings: Allan Kaprow, the first director of the Judson art program, as well as Claes Oldenburg, Carolee Schneeman, Robert Rauschenberg, Robert Morris, and other artists, presented performances at the church. I provide extensive documentation on the formative years of its art program and the church’s desire to enlist vanguard art in its own

program of radical Christianity. Previous studies of the Judson art program have assumed that the church was a passive patron of art. This study, however, reveals how, in the early sixties, the artists' need to find space for their unorthodox work served the social and political mission of this Baptist church, a mission counterpart to that of the New Left.

Though my analysis of Happenings remains specific to the late 1950s and 1960s, Mikhail Bakhtin's portrayal of the carnivalesque in *Rabelais and His World* (1968) serves partly as a theoretical model for conceptualizing a countercultural sphere. Additionally, Bakhtin is useful because much of the art under study centers on the visceral and subversive experience of the body rather than the eye. In conclusion, I argue that Happenings were neither a postmodern split with the hard-won autonomy of modernist art, a mere repetition of earlier avant-garde practice, nor simply a theatrical invasion of the high art sphere, as has been previously argued. Instead, Kaprow's melodramatic, utopian rhetoric of the "death" of the traditional museum opened for art a productive, expansive space counter to, yet ultimately dependent on, the institution of modernism.

[University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]
Wyeth Fellow, 1990–1992

MILLARD F. HEARN, JR.

Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket

The Early Gothic eastern arm of Canterbury Cathedral, constructed 1175–1184 following a fire of 1174, was begun just as the cult of Saint Thomas Becket, canonized in 1173, was getting under way. Consideration for housing the cult inevitably had to be included in the design program, but how that was to be accomplished was not a foregone conclusion. While it is well known that the so-called Trinity Chapel, site of Becket's shrine from 1220 until the end of the Middle Ages, was formulated as a modification of the intended design, the full extent of the alterations and their significance for the cult have not been investigated. Although reconstitutions of a rejected design have been attempted, they were based on an incomplete assessment of the archaeological evidence available in the building. Moreover, no importance has been attached to the meaning implicit in the different designs and to the implications of the revisions for the cult. This study addresses all the modifications affecting spatial disposition, reconstituting not one but three designs rejected during the course of construction and relating them to the historical context.

Documentary support for the archaeological investigation was provided by an extraordinary range and number of texts, most notably the writings of the monk Gervase and accounts by the various authors of the life and miracles of Saint Thomas. Gervase's tract, the only known eyewitness description of the construction of a Gothic cathedral, exactly dates each portion of the structure while his chronicle provides data about most of those who were in position to affect either the functional program of the new church or the formal character of its design. This documentary material supports a degree of interpretation of the archaeological data not possible in any other Gothic building.

The method for executing this study was a systematic examination of the building and the documents. The approach to the building was founded on the assumption that no building is begun without a fully formulated design in mind and that no major alteration is undertaken without a definite notion of the newly intended scheme. By contrast, previous investigators assumed that the design just gradually evolved as alterations were made during the course of construction. In a similar departure, rather than focusing solely on the most problematic area, the two bays where the presbytery adjoins the axial chapel, I made a comprehensive review of the entire structure, analyzing each alteration and dating it with reference to the chronology given in Gervase's tract. Observing that the modifications fell into chronological clusters, I was able to determine which changes were interrelated and when each new scheme was adopted. Next, starting with the scheme for which I had the most evidence—the second, as it turns out—I reconstituted the intended format and then deduced the others by assessing what implicitly had been altered in the first design in order to produce the second, and

then what had to be changed in the second in order to make the third and fourth. Through this means I recovered four distinctly different schemes for housing the cult, each with a different programmatic significance.

The first design, of 1175, would have left the cult in the Romanesque crypt while a new Gothic main vessel was erected in the upper church within the Romanesque cincture of aisles and chapels. The second, of 1176, integrated the eastern transept for the first time with the high space of the main vessel and was intended to provide the cult a monumental martyrium, an octagonal rotunda, to the east of an elongated polygonal apse. The third, of 1178, would have substituted a retrochoir for the rotunda, providing a still grand but iconographically more modest setting for the cult. The fourth, of 1179, substituted a raised chapel for the retrochoir in an ambiguous program that included a secondary axial feature in the Corona, originally intended as an eastern tower but never completed. More modest as a format than a retrochoir, the chapel nevertheless provided a splendid setting for a shrine. Yet, paradoxically, a guardian chamber was constructed beneath the raised chapel floor, overlooking Becket's tomb in the crypt, as if to keep the cult in its original location. While each successive scheme intensified the relationship of the cult to the monastic community—that is, until the last alteration, of 1181, seems to have retained the cult in the crypt—there was a simultaneous diminution of iconographical stature from the second scheme through the fourth. This crossover pattern implies that monastic opposition to the cult resurfaced whenever an opportunity arose, necessitating delicate compromises that ultimately muddled the design of the building.

University of Pittsburgh

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1991

JULIE BERGER HOCHSTRASSER

Life and Still Life: A Cultural Inquiry into Seventeenth-Century Dutch Still-Life Painting

It is striking that the genesis of still-life painting as an independent genre coincides in time and place with a key period in the birth of consumer society: a historical moment of spectacular economic success enjoyed by the tiny Republic of the Netherlands through primacy in a global trade network between 1590 and 1700. During this same period, Dutch painters such as Van Schooten, Van Dijck, Claesz, Heda, Van Beyeren, Kalf, and De Heem developed a new type of image increasingly sumptuous in content and style—variations of the theme of the laid table. The central thesis of this dissertation is that in their conspicuous display of value, those pictures are subtle but unmistakable tokens of power: the economic power of the society that commanded the affluence and global resources assembled in these lavish compositions; the consumer power of the individuals able to own such pictures; and the creative power of the artist to generate market value, to outcraft the craftsmen of objects he rendered in paint, and even to defy time and death by creating an enduring image. I analyze each of these aspects in turn through distinct methodological approaches, considering, first, objects in the pictures, then the pictures themselves as objects, and last, the picturing of objects.

My investigation of the objects in the pictures looks beyond the religious and emblematic referents that have been invoked in most art-historical interpretations of these paintings to examine what one might term “cultural iconography” from other quarters of daily life. More pragmatic sources of domestic lore such as books on manners and medical treatises on food and drink offer views that differ from and sometimes directly contradict the negative moralizing allusions commonly cited today. That favorite motif in still-life spreads, the lemon, is disparaged in emblem literature for its deceitfully beautiful exterior concealing sourness within, but Dordrecht physician Johan van Beverwyk hails its virtually miraculous curative powers. While moralizing interpretations see wine as a threat to intemperance, Beverwyk recommends it as the healthiest of drinks. Such findings underscore the polyvalency of meaning in real life and the limitations of impoverishing pictorial subjects through reductive readings.

Exotic commodities featured in the paintings, from pepper and porcelain to salt and slaves, were lucrative cargoes of the Dutch trading companies. Documents and travel journals expose the history of the luxury trade as a disturbing tale of armed conflict with rival powers, manipulation and exploitation both of European poor and indigenous populations abroad. It is difficult to reconcile such violence and injustice with these cool, splendid displays of products in a world apart from their troubled origins—and still accept the conventional interpretation of these works as moralizing against excess in consumption. Certainly there was more to moralize about than met the eye in these paintings; if any-



Willem Claesz. Heda, *Banquet Piece with Mince Pie*, 1635. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Patrons' Permanent Fund

thing, their elegance bespeaks a measure of relish, working to posit and condone luxury *in moderation* as conceivable and acceptable. I contend that as eloquent illustrations of a lifestyle, still-life paintings could play an active role in shaping and disseminating such a “vision of the good life” for the upwardly mobile *even if* the intended message were one of admonition against it.

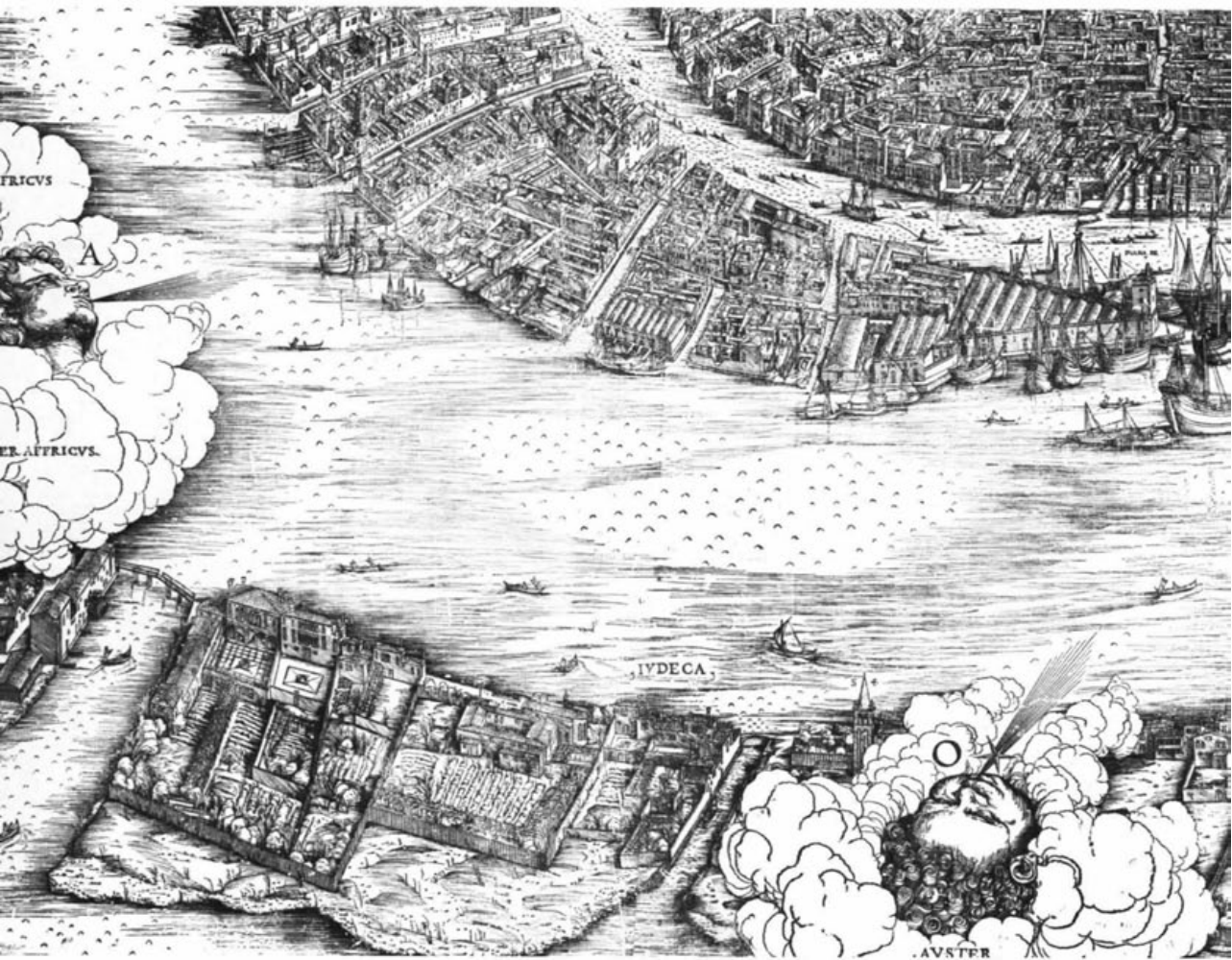
Data from seventeenth-century household inventories in Amsterdam, Haarlem, Leiden, and elsewhere yield an overview of the patterns of ownership of still-life paintings compared with other genres, as well as with other household items depicted in these works: pewter, silver, and gold; earthenware, stoneware, glass, and porcelain; table linens and Turkish carpets. Statistics show a strong upward trend in the possession of paintings and other luxuries over the course of the century, with a steady increase in the percentage of still life as a genre. Despite the popular notion prompted by foreign visitors' remarks that even Dutchmen of the most modest means collected art, rural and small-town records not previously consulted by art historians indicate it remained a privileged pastime. Some homes were crowded with paintings while others had absolutely bare walls. In Amsterdam, still lifes and other paintings were hung most frequently in the more public *voorhuis* or *vorkamer* at the front of the house, suggesting a sort of conspicuous consumption consistent with my hypothesis.

The picturing of objects was uniquely suited to effect this odd collapse of the *vanitas* notion into the craft of painting. Artists demonstrated an insistent awareness of their part in the project of still life by asserting their presence in extraordinary ways in these scenes. Consummate technical virtuosity in rendering varied textures—naturally a central concern for this of all genres—was highly prized in Dutch writings about art. But as if outcrafting the crafters were not enough, many painters employed the novel device of a self-portrait reflected on a shiny object in the still life or added tools of their trade to the composition. Cornelis Gijsbrechts even created a life-size trompe-l'oeil cutout easel complete with palette, brushes, mahlstick, and still life in progress.

This artistic self-consciousness reframes the many allusions to the passage of time in still life such as pocketwatches, candles, even skulls. Relative to the viewer they may connote memento mori, but it is only logical to consider them also in relation to the artist, for whom they could instead draw attention to art's power to still time's passage. In a vivid metaphor for the triumph of painting, Jan Vos' 1652 poem "Strijdt Tussen Doodt en de Natuur" (Battle between Death and Nature) describes Nature, frantic at the destruction Death wreaks upon her handiwork, appealing to Painting who vanquishes Death with her undying "counterfeits." In a more practical vein, in the introduction to his 1604 *Grondt der edel vry schilder-konst* (Foundation of the noble free art of painting) of 1604, Karel van Mander stresses the necessity for the painter wishing to achieve fame of using time wisely: "time surpasses all riches." The themes of time, value, and consumption conflated so remarkably in paintings of the laid table meant different things to different players in the burgeoning market economy on which painters, too, were dependent for their survival. I conclude that these paintings did more than register the value of societal, personal, and artistic power: they nourished the myths sustaining that power.

[University of California, Berkeley]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1991–1992



Jacopo de' Barbari, *View of Venice*, 1500. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection

JOHN DIXON HUNT

A History of Garden Design, Use, and Meaning in the City of Venice

To study the gardens of the city of Venice from their beginnings to the present day is to focus on their design, use, and meanings in the eyes both of Venetians and visitors. Unlike other garden histories, at least as they are customarily researched and written, Venice demands focus on elite and vernacular examples together, on the interface of design and plant material, on the often explicit refusal of Venice's gardenists to follow fashions practiced elsewhere, especially on the *terra firma*. Further, materials for the study of these gardens are widely scattered—in public and private archives, in maps, in travel literature, memoirs, in imaginative literature (e.g., Henry James or Thomas Mann), in the illustrations of especially early Venetian printed books, and in the backgrounds of paintings. From these different kinds of sources—each with its own constraints and assumptions about the information offered—my proposal is to put together an *identikit* of gardens at key moments of the urban history.

I started with the opportunity presented by the National Gallery collections to study again but in considerable detail the woodcut “portrait” of Venice by Jacopo de' Barbari (c. 1500) and to review the literature on it. Barbari was, some scattered references apart, the first person to foreground (literally, too) gardens in representations of the city. The questions therefore—and once posed they continue to be essential at whatever period—concerned exactly what was being represented: the woodcut allowed me to establish an exhaustive typology of the garden (a type still surviving and being reused). Together with sixteenth-century written documents (Venetians were nothing if not self-conscious about their topography), it also allowed me to propose a theory of landscape architecture based on the privileging of gardens, historically and topographically, within the larger territory. Gardens tend to come at the end of cultural development, once essential agrarian needs have been fulfilled; they are the most concentrated and sophisticated working of open space. As such they afford insight into how a given society at a given period views—re-presents—its situation in the world. More than just sites, then, Venice gardens were commentary on a historical and geographical site.

From this considerable focus on one important document came other directions for thinking: if the garden was represented, how did different persons read it? The tension between insiders and outsiders was crucial, and it led to considerations of how essentially the same formal vocabulary of garden-making elsewhere in Italy or Europe was susceptible of different analysis in Venice (i.e., how and where, in what situation, a thing is perceived is part of its meaning). When and how did changes in the basic pattern of garden form occur? Here later maps and plans needed to be reexamined in the light of the Barbari model.

The time at the Center was therefore spent reviewing the accumulated materials from over a dozen years of intermittent research, catching up on the recent

literature on Venetian architecture, art, and culture—not that there has been any specific attention to gardens, but so as to be able to locate my own conclusions about garden design and function in a larger context—and drafting a long article on the representation of the garden in the city of Venice and the repercussions of that for the study of garden history generally.

Oak Spring Garden Library, Upperville
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, spring 1992

*Francesco di Giorgio's First Treatise on Architecture:
Taccola and non-Vitruvian Sources*

Mariano di Jacomo, called Il Taccola (1382–1454?) wrote and illustrated two manuscript books on mechanical technology. Though he was a communicator of ideas and images who seems never to have acquired recognition for ingenuity or productivity himself, his writings were the starting point for Francesco di Giorgio Martini's concepts and experience with treatise writing. Francesco's participation in a wide range of activities from altarpiece painting to fortress-building is well documented. His status as a forerunner of Leonardo as an all-round virtuoso is beginning to be appreciated and studied.

Francesco was also an author, producing two lengthy treatises inspired by Alberti and Vitruvius, and leaving two authentic and six secondary works of text and images. The influence of Francesco di Giorgio's illustrated writings may be second only to that of Serlio and Palladio as bearers of Renaissance architectural theory to artists and architects outside of Tuscany. The role of Francesco's writings within his overall intellectual and artistic development, however, has been neglected. The role his treatises played within the framework of fifteenth-century writing on the visual arts also has been addressed only superficially.

My study of Taccola and other non-Vitruvian sources of Francesco di Giorgio's first treatise is a step toward redressing these oversights. There is an *Ur*-text by Francesco, a single kernel from which all the later texts grow. That text is his pocket-sized Codicetto (Ms. Urb. Lat. 1757) in the Vatican Library. We have only a sketchy history of this manuscript, but it is demonstrably in his own handwriting and contains dozens of lively thumbnail drawings that reveal his characteristic graphic virtuosity. Francesco's little book of two hundred pages must have been compiled over a greater period than that devoted to any of his other writings. In conjunction with another fragmentary text, it also reveals that there were once two of these little books, one devoted to engineering and military stratagems, the other to "civil architecture." Francesco's first formal treatise on architecture and engineering contains material that also appears in his Codicetto, but the text and illustrations have developed in scale, quantity, complexity, communicativeness, and many other dimensions from the Codicetto version to the treatise. There is no question about the relative chronological order of these writings by Francesco, although the precise date of composition is debated. And while Francesco's is demonstrably the hand that wrote the Codicetto, much of its content, especially the verbal text, is not original with him. By contrast his own thoughts, interpretations, and compositional ideas probably appear in the first treatise; his handwriting and, arguably, his draftsmanship do not. Therefore, we must construct our understanding of Francesco di Giorgio the creator of illustrated texts out of "mediated" evidence: his own selection and elaboration of the



Francesco di Giorgio, Codicetto (Ms. Urb. Lat. 1757, 3v-4r), c. 1465. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

writings and images of others, notably Taccola, and the copies by scribes and draftsmen, some of them quite inferior, of his own writings and drawings.

Some current concerns in scholarship and criticism give “mediated” materials such as Francesco’s autograph theoretical texts increased stature and interest. In approaching Francesco’s writings with an awareness of their role as indirect and mediated witnesses, we also deal with the more basic issue of the mediated nature of all historical reconstruction. By keeping their complexity in mind, one can achieve a clearer understanding of our role as witnesses and of the selectivity we bring to these objects of historical study.

University of New Orleans
 Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

Studien für den Katalog der Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister: Flämische Malerei des 17. Jahrhunderts

Die Dresdner Gemäldegalerie besitzt eine hauptsächlich im 18. Jahrhundert entstandene bedeutende Sammlung flämischer Bilder des 17. Jahrhunderts mit mehr als 450 Werken. Der Arbeitsaufenthalt in Washington diente der Vorbereitung des schon seit längerem vorgesehenen Katalogs dieser Abteilung, an dessen Niederschrift die Verfasserin nunmehr tätig ist. Der letzte beschreibende Katalog der Galerie stammte von Karl Woermann aus dem Jahre 1908; Posse publizierte 1930 lediglich den Bestand der italienischen, französischen und spanischen Gemälde. Zu einer Publikation über die niederländische und die deutsche Abteilung ist es durch die Geschehnisse des zweiten Weltkrieges nicht mehr gekommen. Nachdem 1956 die Bilder wieder nach Dresden zurückgekehrt waren, konnte man mit der systematischen Bearbeitung der Bestände beginnen. Publiziert wurden 1962 die Erwerbungen und Zugänge der niederländischen, holländischen und flämischen Abteilung. 1964 folgte die vollständige Bearbeitung der Bilder von Anton Graff, 1966 ist die kleine Gruppe der altniederländischen Malerei in einem wissenschaftlichen Katalog dargestellt worden, 1974 sind die Neuerwerbungen der deutschen Malerei veröffentlicht worden, 1975 das Oeuvre von Louis de Silvestre.

Einzelne Bilder der flämischen Schule des 17. Jahrhunderts sind in Beiträgen untersucht worden. Zum Beispiel wurde ein Frühwerk von Rubens in der Dresdner Galerie entdeckt; die Winterlandschaft von Wildens ist in Beziehung zu der in Leningrad befindlichen Fassung gebracht worden; eine Reihe von flämischen Landschaftsbildern sind im Katalog über die *Europäische Landschaftsmalerei 1550–1650* bearbeitet worden. Darüber hinaus wurde seit Jahren das erreichbare Material gesammelt, doch es fehlen in Dresden viele wichtige Publikationen. Die Bibliothek der Galerie ist verschollen, der neu angelegte Bestand an Büchern fragmentarisch. Erst jetzt konnte man damit beginnen, Voraussetzungen für die systematische wissenschaftliche Kommunikation zu schaffen, was sich zunächst in Projekten ausdrückt.

Die Beschäftigung mit den Dresdner Werken und den über sie vorhandenen Untersuchungen, den publizierten Erkenntnissen und aufgestellten Hypothesen machte es in hohem Maße notwendig, die Möglichkeiten anderer Einrichtungen zu nutzen. Grosszügige Unterstützung erhielten wir bisher vor allem von dem Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in Den Haag, dem Centrum voor Plastische Kunsten in Antwerpen, dem J. Paul Getty Museum in Malibu und nunmehr durch die National Gallery of Art in Washington. Durch das generöse Angebot der National Gallery war es mir möglich, einen Teil der bibliografischen Arbeiten fortzuführen, beziehungsweise zu ergänzen. Für die Arbeit in Washington wurde speziell die umfangreiche Gruppe der Bilder von Van Dyck ausgewählt (26

Gemälde nach dem Verzeichnis von 1930, dazu noch eine Anzahl von Schülerarbeiten, Werken in der "Art des Van Dyck" und einige Kopien).

Meine Bemühungen um ergänzende, zum Teil korrigierende Erkenntnisse nicht nur aus neueren Veröffentlichungen, sondern auch aus den mir bisher nicht erreichbaren älteren Quellenschriften und Dokumenten waren hinsichtlich nicht weniger Details erfolgreich. In Kürze nur einige der zur Neubewertung anstehenden Fakten: Die Diskussion um die Gruppe der Dresdner Apostelbilder dürfte noch immer nicht abgeschlossen sein. Die ältere Forschung sah sie im Zusammenhang mit den Bildern beim Lord of Spencer in Althorp House, was von der heutigen Forschung nicht mehr akzeptiert wird. Mit dem in Washington vorhandenen umfangreichen Archivmaterial (Nachlass Glück usw.) war es möglich, die mit den Dresdner Apostelbildern übereinstimmenden Fassungen zusammenzustellen und neu zu ordnen (alle Dresdner Bilder tragen Antwerpener Brandmarken). Auf bestimmte Qualitätsunterschiede einzelner Apostel zur Althorp Serie hat man schon in den zwanziger und dreissiger Jahren aufmerksam gemacht (Oldenbourg, Glück u.a.). Inzwischen sind die Dresdner Apostelbilder nun auch röntgenologisch untersucht; dendrologische Analysen stehen noch aus. Jedenfalls dürfte es jetzt aufgrund des überschaubaren Materials möglich sein, ein klareres Bild für die Forschung zu gewinnen. In zahlreichen Fällen konnte die Provenienz wichtiger Bilder noch weiter als bisher in der Literatur geschehen verfolgt werden.

Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1991

MITCHELL MERLING

Research in Venetian Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Painting and Art Theory

In the past year, my time has been divided between my own research and the National Gallery's department of southern baroque painting, where I acted as a curatorial assistant.

Two articles have been prepared. "*Lucidi Specchi: Marco Boschini's Artistic Production*" examines the personal and political intentions that underlie Boschini's copious production of paintings, prints, and maps. "*A Venetian Intendente*" presents an unpublished inventory of the large art collection of the Venetian noble Giovanni Nani, and analyzes the rationale that governed the selection and display of objects in his collection. Boschini's relationship with Nani, traditionally identified as his patron, is discussed at length. I conclude that Nani's house presented a programmatic academic environment, and that the academy of which Nani was the *principe* was the most important precursor to the Venetian Academy of Painting founded in 1750.

I also began to prepare three talks to be given in symposia next year. "Art Theory in (Venetian) Dialect: Local Audiences/Universal Applause" concerns how Boschini's practice of composition in the Venetian language is intended to satisfy the tastes of national and international audiences simultaneously. "The Modern Manner" demonstrates how Boschini came to view Pietro Liberi as the fulfillment of the Venetian tradition in painting. "Before Formalism: Marco Boschini and Venetian Aesthetics" emphasizes the differences between Boschini and the later theories of Roger de Piles.

My curatorial assignment has also been productive of scholarship as well as of valuable practical experience.

Under the aegis of research for the forthcoming volumes of the National Gallery of Art's *Systematic Catalogue*, I was able to continue my investigations of Venetian seventeenth-century artists and their patrons. Thus my entries on Pietro della Vecchia, Vittore Ghislandi, and Tiberio Tinelli derive some of their impetus from analyses first set forth in my dissertation. Della Vecchia and Tinelli, for example, were both in close association with Boschini over the course of his career. Further, my interest in Venetian painting was extended to the eighteenth century through examination of problems in connoisseurship concerning Francesco and Antonio Guardi. The relation between the oeuvres of the two brothers as figure painters has been a particularly difficult problem for modern scholarship. Examining this material afresh, I was able to identify more clearly the hands of each brother as they worked as equal partners in the two large paintings illustrating subjects from Tasso that are now in the National Gallery of Art's collection. These new findings will also be published in the *Systematic Catalogue*. Finally, I extensively researched the paintings of Louis-Joseph Le



RI.

Marco Boschini, *Allegory*, after Pietro Liberi, from Marco Boschini, *La carta del navegar pitoresco* (Venice, 1660). National Gallery of Art Library, Washington

Lorrain, to whom (following Pierre Rosenberg) I now attribute *Before the Masked Ball*, a painting variously attributed in previous scholarship.

In conclusion, this year provided many opportunities both for personal research and the acquisition of curatorial skills.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Southern Baroque Painting
 Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1991–1992

Memory and Modernity: Architectural Restoration in France, 1830–1848

In my dissertation I consider the problem of how ideas of history are constructed through the process of restoring buildings that belong to the past. The specific case addressed here is the formulation of a national policy on restoration in France during the July Monarchy (1830–1848). These years represent an important moment in the ongoing controversy over what the historic monuments of France meant for the nineteenth century, a debate that began after the Revolution and continued through the Second Empire. The July Monarchy was a critical point in this trajectory, because during the reign of Louis-Philippe a new concept of history was formulated, the rise of romanticism focused attention on medieval architecture, and institutions were established that played crucial roles in establishing the meanings of monuments.

During the fellowship, I completed a study of five restoration projects of the July Monarchy: the abbey church of Saint-Denis, the cathedral of Notre-Dame of Paris, Rouen cathedral, the church of Saint-Ouen in Rouen, and the church of the Madeleine in Vézelay. These five medieval buildings were the subjects of both architectural and political debates that illuminated divergent points of view on how significant buildings should be restored.

Abbot Suger's church at Saint-Denis stood out in the nineteenth century not only as a significant episode in the history of Gothic architecture, but also as a politically-charged monument to the French royalty. The cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris likewise carried associations with the monarchy, but it was also the building in which the dynamic between the cultural and religious functions of Gothic churches became particularly sensitive owing to the political orientations of the clergy there. The two projects in Rouen that I examined—the cathedral and the church of Saint-Ouen—show how animosities between the national government and local interests converged on the question of historic monuments. When local authorities fought Parisian control of historic buildings, they strained against an increasingly powerful central government. At the cathedral, the community eventually won, at Saint-Ouen it lost. Finally, the church of the Madeleine at Vézelay exemplifies what happened when a town with few economic resources relinquished control of its historic monument to the national government. While in the other cases the Commission des Monuments Historiques had to modify its projects in certain ways, at Vézelay it carried out the restoration unchallenged.

Each chapter illustrates questions raised by the process of representing history in monuments, for the purposes of the modern situation. Viollet-le-Duc begins the entry on "Restauration" in his *Dictionnaire* with the now-famous statement that "the word and the thing are modern." I argue that restoration was modern in two ways. First, an historic monument gave visual form to the concept of the

past as temporally distinct from the present. Second, architectural restoration became a rallying point in contemporary conflicts between various institutions including state, departmental, and local governments, as well as the Catholic church and architectural administrations.

These struggles became particularly fervent during the July Monarchy because numerous institutions that laid claim to history and architecture in various ways were given shape at this time. The Ministry of the Interior is of particular concern, for in that arm of the central government the post of inspector general of historic monuments was created in 1830 and the Commission des Monuments Historiques in 1837.

After 1830, a particular understanding of French medieval architecture was advanced in the central government by Prosper Mérimée (1803–1870), the second inspector general of historic monuments who served from 1834 to 1860, and by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), the most trusted architect associated with the commission from 1840. Between 1834 and 1848, these two men were able to manipulate the bureaucracy to such a degree that they saw their concepts of restoration spread throughout the central and provincial governments. During the Second Empire, Mérimée and Viollet-le-Duc were favorites of the court and were able to carry out numerous extensive restoration projects. It was under the July Monarchy, however, that government policy received its definitive shape.

[Northwestern University]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1990–1992

LINDA NEAGLEY

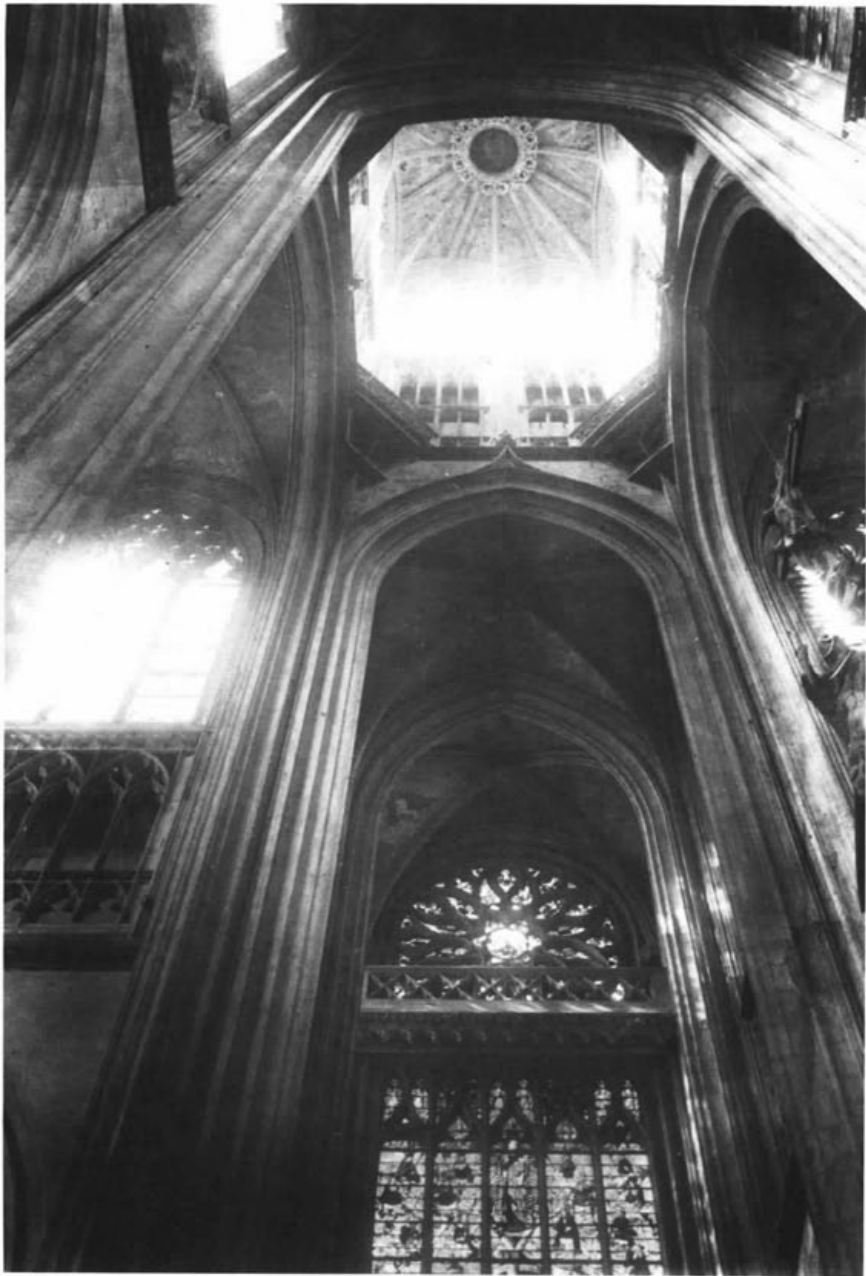
Disciplined Exuberance: Essays on the Parish Church of Saint-Maclou and Late Gothic Architecture in Rouen

My two-month stay at the Center for Advanced Study provided the opportunity to elaborate more fully the last section of my book on the late Gothic architecture of Rouen and the church of Saint-Maclou. This study explores two primary themes that link Flamboyant architectural form and the socio-political and artistic context of fifteenth-century Rouen. It examines the progressive forces arising from the extreme sophistication and technical virtuosity evident in the craft of masonry and in architectural design. At the same time, the social and economic upheavals in the last decades of the English occupation of Rouen contributed to the strong nostalgic and retrospective tendencies evident in the tastes of the patrons and the insistence of the architect on the High Gothic canon as the primary point of departure for his design.

The first part deals primarily with the intrinsic evidence provided by the building and its written sources. A close reading of "text," or architectural form, is substantiated by the directly relevant written sources, chiefly fabric or building accounts. This formal analysis articulates a theory of Late Gothic design that evolved from the design canon established by the architects of the High Gothic French cathedrals. Although the design of Saint-Maclou participated in the continuing formal and technical evolution of northern French architecture, it is clearly distinguished from High Gothic monuments by a freedom and willingness to expose the geometric underpinnings of the craft and to showcase the technical virtuosity and individuality of the craftsman. I demonstrate that the architecture of Saint-Maclou is a consummate expression of the discipline provided by the High Gothic canon (as expressed in scholastic terms), made exuberant by the excess of Late Gothic craft.

The issues of artisanal sophistication and historical retrospection emerge in each essay of the study's second part. The artisanal values that underlie the aesthetic preferences of the architectural patrons were fostered in their own cloth industry centered in the parish of Saint-Maclou. At the same time, the craft of masonry in the city of Rouen was also concentrated in the same parish by masons whose confraternity was at Saint-Maclou and who must have viewed the church as their "masterwork." In an attempt to wrest the single-building study from what Sumner Crosby described as the "information rich but conceptual poor duality" of the traditional medieval architectural monograph, I have focused my attention on the constituencies who directly contributed to, or were affected by, the construction of the church—the patron, the architect-mason, the parish craftsmen, and the clergy and lay community.

Both the patron and the mason-architect were affected by the social upheavals of the second quarter of the fifteenth century, and, while the state of the craft

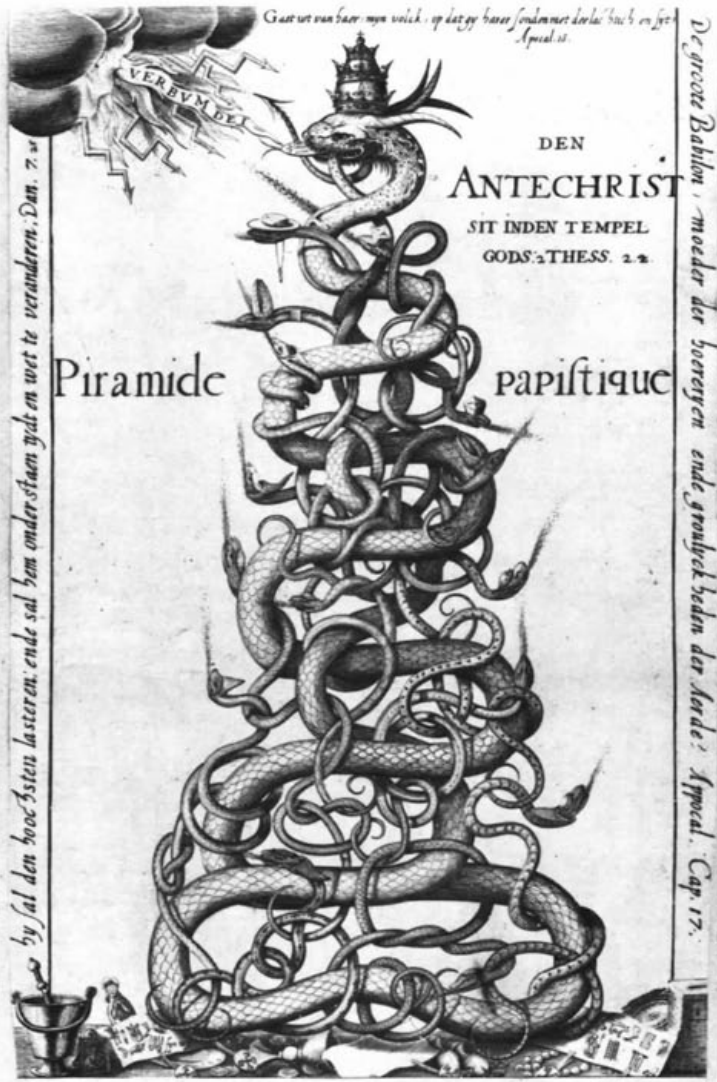


Saint-Maclou, Rouen, lantern tower. Photograph: Caisse Nationale des Monuments Historiques et des Sites

dictated a specific method of design and execution, a conservative backlash, linked to nationalism, xenophobia, and the dramatic demographic and economic changes, dictated the choice of retrospective models. As the wealthy merchant families of Rouen began to occupy positions of power left by the demise of the old noble families during the English occupation of Normandy, they used architecture to legitimize their new social status. An examination of these patrons and the political and economic events in Rouen during the 1430s provides the historical basis for the return to specific High Gothic models.

Scholars generally agree with Marvin Trachtenberg's observation that the single-building study is the "indispensable publication upon which all architectural history is eventually grounded" (*Art Bulletin* 70/2 [1988], 215). To date, however, Late Gothic architecture has been considered only in stylistic terms involving imprecise discussions of double-curved tracery patterns and vague references to international influence. In addition to providing unpublished documentary evidence concerning building in fifteenth-century Rouen and Paris, I bring a new methodology to design analysis, using the analytical power and precision of computer technology. More important, by focusing on issues of an emergent ideology of individualism within the craft of masonry—and by reexamining the political attitudes of the patrons, the economics of building seen against general patterns of wealth within the city, and the reconstruction of Late Gothic space in response to Late Gothic devotion—I present Saint-Maclou as a paradigm. The questions raised here may serve as a basis for the discussion of a range of monuments constructed in northern France on the eve of the Renaissance.

University of California, Berkeley
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1991



Dy Creatie orné tes cornes gléant,
 demandé tu es ces serpens serpenteaux
 l'ord. p'antid'itez par degrés méchants
 qui du gléant du ciel la mort vont réserant?
 Ils sont assez coquins et de nous et de fait.
 J'aim' les ar' armés; par le sus' te couvrent
 d'un' t'rez' d'ent'z' all'ent'cent' de nous.
 et contre toute humanité par leur propre méfiance.
 Mais Dieu pronome p'ite du méchant et' tas
 des hommes du t'rez' hant de son v'oebe les bat.

Urecht' by Creatie sal met u' vierd'obolde roosien
 van d'eregel d'is' van aderen en slangen,
 dat' u' so' seer aenleest met veel' v'elke' gansen
 ende die' h'elck' swaert' streng' als' den' g'elick' roosien.
 Sy' in' g'ewicht' bekent' met' warmen' g'elick' daer
 J'aim' d'ere'f're' don' gyt' gebaelt' ut' syn' d'ere'f're' h'elck'
 die' d'ere'f're' d'walmé' al'ou' de' mé'g'el'cken' quellen.
 w'ispa'word' ou' al' sulck' een' v'erm'g'elick' fact'
 Man' is' o'it' ont'form'nd' ons' don' sijn' G'elick' w'oord'
 ende' e'et'el'ck' h'et' die' s'ee'ck'ere' nu' de' m'ardé.

Hendrik Hondius, *The Papist Pyramid*, state I, 1599. Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen

Hendrik Hondius (Duffel, 1573–The Hague, 1650) and the Business of Prints

The topic of print publishing in Holland has been largely neglected in the scholarship on old master prints. Publishers were a significant force for the development of printmaking in the United Provinces, yet questions about print publishing still address even the most basic issues: who were the print publishers in this period, what did they do, what sort of relationship existed between artists and publishers and publishers and their clients? Publishers, in essence, facilitated and financed the production of prints. They not only sold prints but brought together, and even took on the role of, designer, engraver, poet, and printer of an original or reproductive print. Contrary to the situation in the southern Netherlands, no one city or family dominated the Dutch seventeenth-century print market. Instead, abundance and diversity characterize this period. Print, book, and map publishers were active in every city in the United Provinces, yet the character of their oeuvres varied a great deal according to the city in which they were active, the size of their business, and their own artistic concerns.

The object of this study has been to examine the process of print publishing by focusing on one publisher in particular, Hendrik Hondius. Active as a printmaker and publisher in The Hague between 1595 and 1650, Hondius' contributions place him among the most significant publishers of his time. Hondius published about one thousand prints during his career, as well as several illustrated books on architecture, perspective, and contemporary historical events. His stock of publications was composed of about three hundred engravings and etchings, carried out by Hondius himself, and another three hundred by artists working for him. A final three hundred prints consisted of second-hand plates acquired from the stocks of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century publishers, rereleased with Hondius' address. Hondius was the first print publisher to acquire a general privilege from the States General, which gave the government's seal-of-approval to all the work he produced.

Hondius' work as a publisher was characteristic of his time in several respects. Instead of promoting a particular "house style," he employed artists with widely differing techniques, among them the etcher Simon Frisius and the engraver Andries Stock. He produced many reproductive prints after Dutch, Flemish, and Italian artists in addition to numerous political prints, including depictions of contemporary figures and events. The latter is not surprising given that his business was established in The Hague, the home of the *stadhouder*, the States General, and many government functionaries. Other work, such as his two books on perspective dedicated to foreign monarchs, must have been envisioned for a broader international audience. In general, Hondius contrasts with the previous generation of print publishers, most notably Hendrick Goltzius, whose workshop reproduced his own designs and engraving style and who strove for artistic virtuosity.

My first chapter considers the Netherlandish publishers who preceded Hondius. Publishing began in the southern Netherlands mainly with the activity of Hieronymus Cock, a prominent influence on the publishers of following generations. Around 1570, the center for printmaking activity began to shift to the north with Goltzius and his school taking the lead. The second chapter addresses Hondius' life, which has often been confused with those of two contemporary Hendrik Hondiuses: his own son, Hendrik Hondius the Younger, and the well-known mapmaker in Amsterdam, Henricus Hondius. As a Contra-Remonstrant, Hondius participated in the religious upheavals in The Hague of 1618. His deep interest in religious and political issues is apparent as early as 1599, however, in several ardently antipapist prints. In the third chapter, addressing Hondius' own work, the stylistic transformation of his own prints and drawings is discussed.

The fourth chapter is devoted to Hondius' published oeuvre. This section examines the artists who worked for Hondius, the processes involved in publishing prints and books, the purpose of privileges and dedications, and the progression of Hondius' subject matter and inscriptions throughout his lengthy career. This study draws on archival evidence about Hondius and contemporary publishers, as well as the catalogues of his drawings, prints, and published work that I assembled during visits to European printrooms and archives in the first two years of this fellowship. The catalogues, which include numerous unpublished prints, attempt to provide insight into the range of prints and books that a single seventeenth-century publisher would have produced.

Finally the basic characteristics of print publication in Holland during the first half of the seventeenth century are summarized. While Hondius by no means ran the largest publishing house at the time, his practice sheds light on the activities of contemporary Dutch publishers, both large and small, and the broad spectrum of prints in circulation in the seventeenth century.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1989–1992

DEBRA PINCUS

The Baptistery of San Marco in Venice

I have spent the year working on two related projects. I have researched and set down the frame of a short book on the Baptistery of San Marco. San Marco's identity as the state church of Venice was well established from the moment the relics of Mark were installed at the end of the ninth century. This civic identity was gradually intensified and then in the course of the thirteenth century was made more graphic. In the fourteenth century, under the sponsorship of the important scholar-doge, Andrea Dandolo (1343–1354), the full development of the Baptistery of San Marco took place. The establishment of an elaborate baptistery space attached to San Marco came somewhat later than the great wave of baptistery building in Italy of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The development of the structure under Dandolo, who, in adding a full mosaic program, pulled the baptistery into the decorative program of San Marco as a whole, had an important prelude with the installation of Doge Giovanni Soranzo's tomb (died 1328) in this space—at a time when Andrea Dandolo was influentially placed in the administrative structure of San Marco as *procuratore de supra*. The Soranzo tomb represents the first known use of the baptistery in Italy for nonecclesiastical burial. As the place of entrance into the Christian community, the baptistery is an appropriate space for a civic statement, and this was done by including figures of the Venetian government in the decorative program, as well as by the specific turn in the religious imagery. The working out of this statement took place at a highly fraught moment in Venice's history when two related factors were operating: one, the reformulation of the Venetian state in the wake of the fundamental law known as the *serrata del maggior consiglio*, in 1297, a law that gave the state a fixed structure in terms of well-defined noble and citizen classes; and two, a new policy of territorial expansion focused on the mainland of Italy, complementing the earlier emphasis on laying down an eastern network of territories. In the analysis of this study, the original configuration given in the mosaics to established themes such as the *traditio legis* and the Second Coming—combining in a peculiarly Venetian way eastern and western motifs (as was appropriate to Venice's political stance)—allows for understanding the cycle as it would have spoken to its mid-fourteenth-century audience.

I have also used this year to bring my long-range project on the tombs of the doges of Venice to what I now see as its final stage. It was out of this project that my work on the Baptistery of San Marco came. The thesis of the book is that the ducal tombs, in their form, imagery, and placement, are part of the “myth of Venice”—that is, Venice's conscious crafting of its image and its sophisticated use of images as a vehicle of statecraft. Carrying a distinct political message, the tombs participate in the changing picture of state definition. Emerging around the middle of the thirteenth century, the monumental ducal tomb of Venice is



The tomb of Doge Jacopo Tiepolo, SS. Giovanni e Paolo, with author.
Photograph by Jack Freiberg

part of the program of self-promotion and self-definition that characterizes the newly expansive political entity of Venice following its conquest of Constantinople in 1204. In the tomb that opens the study, the tomb of Doge Jacopo Tiepolo attached to the façade of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, a pagan-type sarcophagus (inspection of the back of the lid has revealed that part of the tomb is in second use) has been overlaid with Christian motifs that carry eastern imperial associations. In the fourteenth century, with the inclusion of the long, historical inscription and the escalation into a new level of monumentality, the ducal tomb becomes a speaking instrument, a vehicle for the display of history. A key figure in the development of the ducal tomb at this time—as well as an important link between my two projects—is Doge Andrea Dandolo, whose highly sophisticated sense of how to use images in the service of the state is demonstrated by what may be termed his “tomb politics,” as well as by the specifics of his mosaic program for the Baptistry of San Marco.

University of British Columbia
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

JOHN PINTO

The Drawings of Pietro Bracci

Among the numerous architectural drawings in the collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture are one hundred and ten sheets by the Roman sculptor-architect Pietro Bracci (1700–1773). These drawings, together with twenty-six sheets in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Montreal and eight others scattered in collections in Rome, New York, and Chicago, originally belonged to the Bracci family archive in Rome, which was dispersed sometime after 1928. As a coherent collection formed by Pietro Bracci and subsequently added to by his son Virginio, the drawings of the Canadian Centre shed important light on late baroque architecture and sculpture in Rome. The collection includes examples of academic work Bracci did as a student, studies for unexecuted projects, as well as preparatory sketches and finished drawings for important buildings that rank among the most outstanding monuments of mid-eighteenth-century Rome.

The core of the collection, Pietro Bracci's autograph drawings preparatory to sculpture, provides valuable insights into the collaborative relationship between sculptors and architects in eighteenth-century Rome. For certain commissions, such as the Monument of Benedict XIV in Saint Peter's, there are drawings illustrating every step in the conceptual process, from quick sketches to highly finished presentation sheets. Other groups of studies document Bracci's interests in archaeological restoration and festival designs.

Numerous drawings relating to projects by Bracci's contemporaries expand the perspectives offered by those documenting his own work. Among these are two autograph sheets by Luigi Vanvitelli and a drawing after an unexecuted project by Nicola Salvi for the Trevi Fountain, the main sculptural component of which was executed by Bracci in 1759–1762. To these may be added an important group of studies drawn after the acknowledged masters of the preceding century, architects such as Pietro da Cortona, Francesco Borromini, and Gianlorenzo Bernini. As a study collection formed in the eighteenth century, the Bracci drawings assume a significance that far exceeds their value when considered individually; moreover, apart from a few drawings, this corpus remains unpublished. Very few comparable collections have remained substantially intact down to our day, and the Bracci drawings merit the kind of study that in recent years has been devoted to the graphic work of Carlo Fontana, Filippo Juvarra, and Carlo Marchionni.

Pietro Bracci's son Virginio appears to have played a crucial role in the formation and expansion of the collection. Virginio was born in 1737 and studied architecture, first with Luigi Vanvitelli and then with Vanvitelli's pupil, Carlo Murena. Virginio's architecture and drawing style are much indebted to the late baroque classicism of Vanvitelli and Nicola Salvi. Virginio also studied sculpture, and assisted his aging father on the monument to Benedict XIV. As an architect

Virginio practiced extensively outside Rome, and many drawings in the Canadian Centre relate to his projects in provincial centers of the Papal States.

In the early decades of this century, when the Bracci family archive was still intact, two scholars made extensive use of its documents—including the artist's diary and drawings—to write important early studies of Bracci. Kurt von Domarus' 1915 dissertation and Costanza Gradara's 1920 monograph laid the groundwork for all subsequent study. Both authors, however, emphasized Bracci's finished work in sculpture and tended to neglect the architectural dimension of his career. Moreover, their approach was primarily descriptive rather than analytical, with the result that many fascinating themes and issues raised by Bracci's designs were ignored. With the passage of seventy years since the ground-breaking work of Domarus and Gradara, the time is overdue for a critical reassessment of Bracci, a reassessment based on the careful analysis of his surviving drawings.

With the encouragement of the Canadian Centre, my German colleague Elisabeth Kieven (Universität Stuttgart) and I are preparing an inventory catalogue of the Bracci drawings that we hope will assess Bracci's achievement as a draftsman and illuminate the field of eighteenth-century Roman art generally. My fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts was devoted to research on the relationship between Bracci's preparatory drawings and his finished works of sculpture and to drafting catalogue entries.

Princeton University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1991

OLGA PUJMANOVÁ

Trecento and Quattrocento Paintings in Czechoslovakia

Italian painting has never been the object of proper attention by Czech art historians. This should not be attributed to a lack of interest, so much as to awareness that the study of Italian art meant practical difficulties, such as studying in foreign collections and libraries. In addition it was believed that only northern medieval art was well represented in Czechoslovakia. Systematic research in the last two decades has shown, however, that Italian painting of the Gothic and Renaissance periods occupy a prominent place in Czechoslovakian collections. This became particularly obvious with the exhibition I organized in 1987 in Prague (*Italské gotické a renesanční obrazy v československých sbírkách*). It included Gothic and Renaissance Italian pictures from various Czechoslovak institutions other than the National Gallery in Prague. Now I am preparing an exhibition of Italian panels and miniature cuttings (fourteenth to sixteenth centuries) from the storage of the Prague National Gallery (scheduled for 1993). These two exhibitions form part of a larger, ongoing project: the catalogue of all Italian Gothic and Renaissance painting to be found in the territory of Czechoslovakia.

The material is vast and heterogeneous, with works of varying quality and different Italian schools. The majority of pictures came to Czechoslovakia only at the end of the nineteenth century. This was the case of the famous Este collection from the castle Konopiště (now in the National Gallery in Prague), published for the first time by Millard Meiss (*Art Bulletin* 28, no. 1 [March 1946]). The only works that came to Bohemia at the time of their origin, they were painted for Charles IV, the king of Bohemia and emperor of Rome. Both the historical circumstances and the Italian character of Bohemian Gothic painting suggest that in the fourteenth century there were also other Italian imports in Czech lands. It is highly likely that the traveling altar from Brno (Moravian Gallery) with the coat of arms of Robert of Anjou and his wife, Queen Sancia, was one of them. Fashioned by artists close to the circle of the Maestro delle tempera francescane and Tino di Camaino (who worked at the court of Anjou at Naples), it most probably came to Moravia with Blanche of Valois, Charles IV's first wife. The discovery of this courtly tabernacle directed my attention to another interesting problem: the relationship of Italian and Bohemian medieval art, which then became the subject of my second research project.

My fellowship included two months in residence at the Center for Advanced Study and two months of travel across the United States. The main aim was gathering comparative material for the two projects. Most of the time at the Center I studied in the library, but I frequently visited the National Gallery, taking advantage of daily access to this important collection of Italian Gothic and Renaissance art. As a curator I was especially grateful for many opportunities to meet colleagues at the National Gallery and other institutions and to discuss mu-

tual problems. Visiting museums and galleries, I paid special attention to the connection to our works of art. Useful for my work was the opportunity to examine closely the *Crucifixion with Saints* from Baltimore, particularly the small panels painted by Tomaso da Modena with plaques of *verre églomisé* (Walters Art Gallery, 37.1686). This object was formerly the right wing of a reliquary diptych. The structure and the decoration of its carved frame resemble Tomaso's diptych kept in Karlštejn. In a medallion below the Virgin Mary and the Archangel Gabriel of the Karlštejn diptych, a white twin-tailed lion is painted on red ground (coat of arms of Bohemia). In the same place below *Imago pietatis* and the Archangel Michael, remnants of an imperial eagle are visible on a silver ground. Similarly, below the Baltimore Crucifixion there is a quadrilobe with remnants of black and white paint, most probably also a fragment of a former coat of arms. I suggested elsewhere that this could have been the imperial eagle ("Some notes on works by Tomaso da Modena at Karlštejn Castle," *Umění* 28 [1980, no. 4], 330). Having seen the Baltimore work, my earlier conclusions are reaffirmed. The affinity of the compared details is more striking in the original than in the photograph. We know that Charles IV loved curiosities. The reliquary diptych to which the Baltimore Crucifixion belonged truly was a curiosity: in all known Italian trecento examples, *verre églomisé* appears only twice in combination with panel painting. And only once, precisely, on the Baltimore object, do the two techniques appear side by side. But the greatest peculiarity of the Baltimore Crucifixion is the presence of polished gemstone insets. Also this motif is unusual in Italian trecento panel painting, suggesting a certain relation with Bohemia. It recalls the wall decoration of several sanctuaries constructed for Charles IV, including the Saint Wenceslas Chapel in Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague and three chapels in Karlštejn Castle.

National Gallery, Prague

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, summer 1990

Hairpin Turns on the Road to the End of Idealism: The Banal, the Collaborative, and the Indexical as Signifiers of Authenticity in Second-Generation Postwar Art

The long-term goal to which the Center fellowship contributed is a book-length study that analyzes and interprets in a synthetic manner significant characteristics shared by the work of post-World War II second-generation international vanguard artists; that is, conspicuous features in art that came to public notice between about 1955 and the late 1960s. The issues and practices I am examining include the use of banal or quotidian imagery and materials, as exemplified by the work of Robert Rauschenberg, Jasper Johns, pop artists such as Roy Lichtenstein and Andy Warhol, the New Realists, and abstract painters whose stated sources are things observed in the real world, such as Ellsworth Kelly. I am interested in approaches to visual representation that both illustrate a subject and show its literal traces (in the terminology of C. S. Peirce, representation that is at once iconic and indexical), as evidenced by work such as Rauschenberg's *Automobile Tire Print* and transfer drawings; Yves Klein's body prints and fire paintings; Johns' handprints, tracings, cast body parts; Piero Manzoni's use of thumbprints, lines drawn at extreme length to denote distance; Warhol's use of photography. There has been a tendency for many second-generation artists to work in collaboration with others, demonstrated by the formation of European and Japanese exhibiting groups such as Gutai, Zero, G.R.A.V., Gruppo N and T. Since 1960 there has been a renaissance in printmaking, typically a collaborative process. Also collaborative were performance activities led by artists such as Allan Kaprow, Claes Oldenburg, and Rauschenberg. This phenomenon is exemplified by Warhol's heavily populated studio, The Factory. Much art since 1955 has tended to be anti-illusionistic and to insist on invading the viewer's literal space in an obvious fashion, as in the wall-to-floor combines of Rauschenberg, the "specific objects" of Donald Judd, and the mirrored boxes of Robert Morris.

It is my hypothesis that each of these characteristics or common practices may be understood to function as ironically expressed yet profoundly felt signifiers of *authenticity*, made partly as response to hyperbolic claims for, and diminishing belief in, the "sincerity" and "spontaneity" of abstract expressionist practice (and that of its European counterpart, *art informel*). Such ironic signifiers of authenticity were also employed in responses to the atmosphere of prevarication that prevailed in public life from the Vichy regime through the cold and neocolonialist wars.

Having earlier brought to completion or near completion intensive studies of Klein and Rauschenberg—studies that established for me emphatically the methodological usefulness of approaching the art of this period *first* by close examination of the careers of individual artists and *then* synthetically—I accom-

plished in the course of the fellowship two goals. First, I completed a study of the work of Johns and the extensive literature on him. This effort was continued later as I prepared the exhibition and catalogue *The Drawings of Jasper Johns*, 1990, for the National Gallery of Art. Second, I undertook an examination of the literature on and by Andy Warhol and analysis of works from the early 1960s (including two paintings in the collection of the National Gallery) to illuminate key issues of his work as a whole, particularly as these issues devolved from his apprenticeship as a commercial designer in the 1950s. This culminated in the publication of an essay, "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men: Andy Warhol as Art Director," for the DIA Art Foundation's *Discussions in Contemporary Culture* 3, 1989, a revised version of a paper delivered at the foundation's 1988 symposium on Warhol.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Twentieth-Century Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Curatorial Fellow, 1988–1989

DMITRI SHELEST

Old Master Drawings in Lviv Art Collections and Other Regional Museums in Russia and the Former Soviet Republics

During his fellowship, Dmitri Shelest was preparing a catalogue of European master drawings in public collections in Russia and the former Soviet republics. The various regional museums and libraries contain several hundred drawings dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by Italian, French, German, Dutch, and Flemish artists. These drawings remain virtually unknown and unstudied. Having visited each repository, Shelest identified works by many important Italian artists, including Parmigianino, Reni, Guercino, Tiepolo, Guardi, Canaletto, Michelangelo, Titian, and Pietro da Cortona. He attributed drawings to Dutch and Flemish artists such as Cuyyp, Jordaens, Huysum, and others. The corpus also contains drawings by Lemoyne, Bouchardon, Clérisseau, Greuze, Robert, and Gérôme among the French masters. This comprehensive study resulted in several publications and exhibitions of individual artists represented in the larger catalogue. The Soros Fellowship allowed Shelest to consult scholarly literature that previously had been unavailable to him and, most important, to study related master drawings in collections in this country.

On 29 April 1992, several months after returning to Ukraine at the conclusion of his fellowship, Dmitri Shelest was shot and killed during an armed robbery at the gallery in Lviv. His bringing to light and identifying so many unstudied drawings has already made a substantial and permanent contribution to the history of drawings. Plans to publish his work are under way.

Lviv Art Gallery

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1991



Leonaert Bramer, *The Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1633–1635. Private collection

Leonaert Bramer, Painter and Illustrator in Delft (1596–1674)

My work at the Center for Advanced Study was devoted to the preparation of a catalogue for an exhibition on the work of the seventeenth-century Dutch artist Leonaert Bramer. The exhibition is being organized by the Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, in Delft, for the fall of 1993 and is the first comprehensive overview of Bramer's art. The catalogue will serve as a monograph on the artist (the only existing monograph is Heinrich Wichmann's study, published in Leipzig in 1923) and will include essays by myself, J. Michael Montias (Yale University), Michiel Plomp (University of Leiden), and Ernst van de Wetering (director, Rembrandt Research Project, Amsterdam).

Bramer was a leading figure in Delft, and his clientele included Delft's patrician class and professional elite. Bramer's early experience of art in Italy played an important role in his contribution to Delft painting. Following an extended stay in Italy (1617–1628), Bramer returned to his native town with mastery of the Italian fresco technique, as well as knowledge of the latest trends in Italian painting. His technically and iconographically innovative easel paintings of the 1630s and 1640s reflect the artist's encounter in Italy with the work of Elsheimer and Caravaggio. His large public decorative commissions of the 1650s and 1660s, many executed in the fresco technique, demonstrate that Bramer was also knowledgeable about Italian art of the Renaissance. Although the artist played a key role in the transformation of Delft from an artistic backwater to a leading artistic center in the seventeenth century, his contribution was overshadowed in the late nineteenth century by that of Vermeer.

My previous work on Bramer concentrated on the artist's activity as an illustrator. The artist is unique among Dutch painters of the seventeenth century for his attention to the illustration of literary texts throughout his career. His illustrative drawings are also unusual in that they were conceived as independent picture cycles and were not intended to be translated into the medium of prints. In my doctoral dissertation and a subsequent publication on Bramer's illustrations for the *Aeneid* (see "From Prose to Pictures: Leonaert Bramer's Illustrations for the *Aeneid* and Vondel's Translation of Virgil," *Art History* 7, no. 1 [March 1984]), I dealt with the peculiar nature of Bramer's illustrations, as well as the artist's highly inventive interpretation of classical literature and his relationship to Dutch literary culture of the seventeenth century.

My contribution to the exhibition catalogue is an essay on Bramer's accomplishment as a painter, in which I consider both Bramer's easel paintings and his decorative works. Since most of his decorative works are no longer extant, consideration of them will be based on contemporary descriptions, drawings, and the few paintings that have survived. Discussion of Bramer's easel paintings gives primary focus to the artist's iconographical inventiveness.

While at the Center my work consisted primarily of preparing catalogue entries on the thirty-five paintings by Bramer in the exhibition. Although Bramer's preference was for New Testament subjects, his thematic range also included scenes from the Old Testament (the Queen of Sheba before Solomon), classical literature (the death of Pyramus and Thisbe), allegories (*vanitas*), marine paintings, scenes of sorcery, and popular themes, such as soldiers resting and goat-herds. Bramer consistently provided fresh interpretations for conventional themes and also dealt with themes rare in Dutch art. A large portion of Bramer's paintings were conceived as pendants, an unusual feature in Dutch art. The artist's use of the pendant format can be associated with his illustrative concerns, as well as with his interest in iconographical innovation.

Bramer's highly individualistic interpretation of conventional themes has resulted in the frequent misidentification of the subject matter of many of his works. A painting by the artist in the Prado, *Abraham and the Three Angels* (c. 1630), actually depicts the Departure of Lot from Sodom. Another work in the New-York Historical Society (c. 1637), thought to represent the Journey of the Three Magi to Bethlehem, depicts the more meaningful moment of the Meeting of the Three Magi at the crossroads. A painting from Bordeaux (c. 1630), long identified as a scene of sorcery, revealed itself as a depiction of Hermogenes and the magician.

One of Bramer's preferred New Testament themes was the circumcision of Christ, a subject popularized by the Jesuits in the seventeenth century. Among the paintings by Bramer depicting this theme there is only one instance of a Catholic interpretation of the subject. In all other instances, however, including the example in the exhibition, the artist adhered to an interpretation of the event presented in *The Golden Legend*, by Jacob Voragine. According to this interpretation, Christ "had not come to destroy the Law, but to complete and fulfill it." While some of Bramer's paintings deal with clearly Catholic themes (such as the Glorification of the Cross, in the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome) or present a decidedly Catholic interpretation of Christian subject matter (Christ among the doctors, in a private collection in Saint Petersburg, Florida), there are numerous New Testament paintings by the artist that avoid Catholic connotations. The important issue of whether Bramer may have catered to a Catholic or Reformed clientele is considered in a catalogue essay by Montias.

Stedelijk Museum Het Prinsenhof, Gemeente Musea Delft
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1992

CHRISTOPHER THOMAS

John Russell Pope and the Building of the National Gallery of Art

The exhibition *John Russell Pope and the Building of the National Gallery of Art* (17 March–17 July 1991) was one of the events marking the Gallery's fiftieth anniversary. As part of a team of three curators, I was mainly responsible for the middle section of the show, which contained about sixty architectural drawings by Pope and his assistants (especially Otto Eggers) for the building, erected in 1937–1941.

Before the present site on the north side of the Mall was selected for the Gallery, several others had been considered. But Andrew Mellon, the Gallery's donor, wanted the new building sited where it would be both close to Washington's downtown, north of the Mall area, and yet relatively isolated from other monumental buildings. The most promising site available, he thought, was the one north of the Mall and south of Constitution Avenue, running from Third to Seventh streets Northwest. But it had certain drawbacks with which Mellon and Pope and his designers had to contend. For one thing, part of the site, the block west of Sixth Street, was already occupied by the concrete foundations for a memorial auditorium, the sponsors of which had to be induced to vacate the site (they were). Then, too, the site was carved into three blocks by a pair of north-south streets (Fourth and Sixth) that local residents did not want to see closed, and the easternmost block was a trapezoid, created by the meeting of Pennsylvania Avenue with Third Street and the Mall. Thus the site seemed to discourage the building of the sort of monumental, symmetrical edifice in the classic tradition that the character of Washington, the Gallery's importance, and Pope's Beaux-Arts training all called for. But it was the best on other counts, and Pope wrestled with its limitations, trying a number of three-part schemes for the Gallery, none of which really worked. Eventually he concluded that the building



Otto R. Eggers for the Office of John Russell Pope, *Perspective of Mall Façade, National Gallery of Art West Building, 1937*. National Gallery of Art, Washington

had to be a single, unified mass of horizontal character with a strong note of vertical emphasis at the center. Sixth Street would have to be closed to create a site of sufficient size, but advantage could be taken of its closing by lining up the Gallery's portico and dome with the center of the street. The trapezoidal block from Third to Fourth Street that was so inimical to a powerful Beaux-Arts design could be left vacant as a frame of open space for the Gallery (appropriately landscaped) and used later if the Gallery needed room to expand—something the founders thought unlikely.

In the spring before they died (in August 1937, within twenty-four hours of each other!), Pope and Mellon had to fight for the integrity of Pope's design for the National Gallery. At that time the United States Commission of Fine Arts, the aesthetic watchdog of the federal capital, had on it several architects that one might call transitional modernists—men who, confronting the iconoclastic modernist architecture imported from Europe in the 1930s, were seeking to rescue classicism for the causes of modernity and Americanism by updating it in the spirit of art deco. In Pope's designs for both the National Gallery and the Jefferson Memorial (which they were reviewing at the same time), these architects disliked what they considered his too-literal and grandiloquent quotation of antique precedents, such as the Pantheon in Rome. Particularly, they attacked the dome with which he proposed to crown the center of the Gallery, which they feared would rival that of the United States Capitol. Pope, an ex-member of the commission himself (and so not easily intimidated), argued forcefully, indeed truculently, that his National Gallery of Art needed a low dome at the center to relieve its vast horizontal spread (the building would be nearly eight hundred feet long) and permit the building inside of a domed rotunda or pantheon, a feature that was *de rigueur* for a neoclassical art museum. The commissioners were not convinced by Pope's arguments, but they were by an implied warning from Mellon that he might reconsider the whole project if Pope's design was not respected.

The architectural history of the West Building, besides recapitulating the content and many of the pictures in the exhibition, includes discussion of changes to the building since it opened in 1941. Much is made, for instance, of "Operation Breakthrough" in the 1970s and 1980s—the project that corrected many shortcomings of the ground-floor layout, which from the beginning was considered unsuccessful. Undertaken just after the construction of the East Building (opened 1978), which liberated the ground floor of the old building of many functions, "Breakthrough" tied its far-flung, awkwardly arranged spaces together by means of a through-corridor running east to west, directly below that of the main floor. The project also provided the National Gallery with facilities needed to become the new, more "active" museum popular in the late twentieth century—a large gallery-shop, a café in the central lobby below the rotunda, and new spaces to care for and display the Gallery's important collections of sculpture and works on paper.

National Gallery of Art, Gallery Archives
Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1990–1991

The Fate of Old Saint Peter's

The old basilica of Saint Peter's led a strange and shadowy life in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It was not destroyed all at once when the plans were made to replace it under Julius II, but piecemeal over the course of about a hundred years—as if simply in response to the rather erratic execution of the new building project. Much of the old church thus has been completely lost to posterity, although some of it was taken away and used in other contexts. It has never been entirely clear why certain parts, as opposed to others, were preserved, or why the process took the precise form that it did. In the modern imagination the old church also lurks like a medieval shadow behind the rising splendor of the Renaissance basilica, bearing in a sense only a negative relationship in art-historical scholarship to the new building, as a constraint, or an expediency, or a mere circumstance.

The project that I was able to undertake this year at the Center for Advanced Study, however, suggests quite a different situation. I set out to investigate attitudes toward the old church as embodied in texts, such as the descriptions of Saint Peter's by Tiberius Alphanus and Giacomo Grimaldi, but I came to see that there was important evidence as well in the physical fabric of the church itself. A case in point is Bramante's *tegurium*. The *tegurium* (or *tighurio*) was built between 1513 and 1514 around the apse and adjacent portions of the westernmost wall of the old basilica, and it has long been thought to have been a temporary solution to two pressing problems during the time when the old roof and walls were gone and the new ones not yet in place: protecting the most sacred relic of the church, the tomb of the apostle; and permitting above the tomb the *capella papalis*, or papal liturgy, that was held at the main altar on fixed days of the year. (This view was codified by John Shearman in a short article in the acts of the Bramante conference of 1970.) But an analysis of the sources, including the drawings that were made of the site by Marten van Heemskerck and others, indicates a different original intention. Bramante's *tegurium* was an unroofed structure open on all sides—which in no way could have fulfilled the protective function imputed to it. Even when it was covered with a rather crude addition, it still could not have accommodated the *capella papalis* in bad weather during the later sixteenth century, as papal diarists attested. What Bramante's *tegurium* resembled was the open screen that had shielded the apse and surrounded the main altar of Saint Peter's from Constantinian times on, and if viewed in this context, it takes its place alongside other mostly contemporary solutions to the architectural enrichment of a monumental relic or site within a chapel or church (as at Loreto, for instance). Many of these structures were forthrightly pastiches of old and new, the taste for which had passed by the late sixteenth century. To a great extent the later sixteenth-century preference for a clear, unified church interior ac-



Marten van Heemskerck,
view of Saint Peter's, Rome,
c. 1532. Kupferstichkabinett,
Berlin

counts for the destruction of the *tegurium*, as well as for the *muro divisorio* of Antonio da Sangallo and the east end of the nave of the old basilica, about which similar observations could also be made.

Another aspect of my research involved the planning history of the church. In interpreting what is generally regarded as Bramante's first plan for the new Saint Peter's (Uffizi 1A), Christof Thoenes and Franz Graf Wolff Metternich have taken as a key the foundations of the choir executed for Nicholas V. But there is good reason to believe that the apse of the old basilica itself was the key. Together with other factors—such as the change in orientation envisioned at first by Bramante (which would have aligned the basilica with the palace on a north-south axis) and the presence of a Julian theme both at the beginning (in the obelisk) and at the end (in the sculpture collection of the Belvedere) of the complex—this suggests a different relationship between basilica and palace than eventually came to be: more in the manner of equal components (with all this implies about the relationship between the present pope and his apostolic predecessor) than was ever achieved either before or after.

The historical problems of Saint Peter's are preeminently those that cut across fields and lines of inquiry that otherwise tend to be kept quite separate; producing a more integrated picture of the phenomenon of change that occurred in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has been an aim of my research. It has also been my goal to raise questions of function and meaning in a context in which these questions have not yet been asked.

Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1991–1992

*Patronage and Practice in Late Seljuk and Early Beylik Anatolia:
A Study of the Dervish Lodges in Tokat, Sivas, and Amasya*

The Battle of Köse Dag and the defeat of the Seljuks of Rum in 1243 allowed for a fundamental shift from state-owned land to private property accumulated and appropriated by semi-independent local rulers in Anatolia. These local rulers became patrons of architecture and built dervish lodges in important locations within major trading cities. This represented a significant break from the previous century when building activity, primarily funded by the Seljuk sultan, did not include dervish lodges. From the mid-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth century, twelve dervish lodges were built in Tokat, Sivas, and Amasya, major trading cities on two important trade routes. These cities were populated by large numbers of Christians and by immigrants who often traveled with mystic leaders. According to contemporary chroniclers, the dervish lodges served as gathering places for many of the immigrants.

The lodges, which featured a distinct architectural unit, a visually prominent portal, conveyed meaning on several levels. They signified the presence of a new Anatolian and Islamic elite. They also denoted the dervish lodge as an institution that fostered religious and economic activities supportive of indigenous Christians and various immigrant groups. The buildings also indicated a major shift in economic and social practice. These meanings were made apparent to their intended audiences by the portal designs of the buildings.

My study diverges from earlier work on thirteenth- and fourteenth-century dervish lodges by focusing on the interaction between users and their environment as a mutually reciprocal process rather than on the effect of a single building. I address the interaction between the shifting population, new economic and religious activities, and the siting of dervish lodges within their respective cities. This study addresses how architecture and funding practices reinforce the ideology of ruling elites.

My understanding of the connotative meaning of dervish lodges differs from modern scholarship, which has interpreted the endowment of dervish lodges exclusively as a pious act. In thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Anatolia, the endowment of dervish lodges enabled local rulers to extend control over newly acquired land by securing revenues from these properties as *waqf*, a pious endowment maintained in perpetuity. The patrons of dervish lodges both supported the building of new institutions and permanently dedicated the revenues generated by former state lands to the maintenance of the lodges. They also built lodges rather than mosques or *madrasa*(s) (theological schools) to encourage institutions that gave focus to religious practices appealing to different audiences than those that congregated around mosques and *madrasa*(s).

I spent a year in Turkey reading the endowment deeds (*waqf*) of the buildings

and conducting field work in the three cities. To explicate the financial benefits gained from endowing lodges, I compared the sources of revenue for dervish lodges with those of other buildings constructed in northern Anatolia in the same period. I noted special stipulations listed in the foundation deeds regarding activities to be held in the buildings and the physical layout of the structures. Earlier research in American libraries concerned how dervishes and their leaders perceived the endowment and function of lodges.

Information gathered from this work can be used to document structures no longer extant, such as the building and street patterns of the period. I have already mapped out the location and orientation of existing dervish lodges for four separate intervals from 1250 to 1350. My maps and photographs, which document changes in the spatio-temporal arrangements in these cities over time and the relationship between buildings linked by the same trade routes, will provide a synchronic and diachronic study of the role of dervish lodges in pre-Ottoman Anatolia.

[University of California, Los Angeles]
Ittleson Fellow, 1990–1992

TOBY YUEN

Engraved Gems and Related Small Antiquities: Survivals and Revivals in Renaissance Art

The scope of my project is the influence of alternative, portable works of antiquity, as opposed to "major" or monumental works of art, on Renaissance artists. Small-scale antiquities not only provided artists with rich, diverse repositories of classical figural motifs, but also served as intermediaries to the themes and styles of lost monumental sculpture and wall paintings. By focusing on the so-called "minor" arts of antiquity, such as engraved gems, Etruscan cinerary urns and bronzes, Arretine relief vases, lamps, terracotta revetment plaques, Greek and Roman coins, and related artifacts, I have endeavored to identify and compare individual borrowings made by different artists, such as Pollaiuolo, Francesco di Giorgio, Botticelli, Mantegna, and Giulio Romano, and eventually to define patterns of assimilation in their respective oeuvres.

My corpus of photographic and documentary material includes postclassical gems noted for their medieval classicism, the cameos carved under the auspices of Frederick II Hohenstaufen which were important additions to the collections of Paul II and Lorenzo il Magnifico, and which may have been sources of inspiration for Renaissance gem carvers, painters, and bronze sculptors. The immediate aim of my two-month fellowship was to complete a section on borrowings and transformations by central and north Italian painters and sculptors that were inspired by engraved gems and Etruscan artifacts. Owing to the brevity of this research period and the fact that the collections in Washington are so rich in small bronzes and contain some significant ancient and medieval engraved gems, I concentrated on the ancient and Hohenstaufen gems, which are the best-documented class of antiquities, and the problems of their accessibility to Renaissance artists, as well as the media through which a wide range of classical motifs was disseminated.

I addressed the question of accessibility by reexamining the documentation on the history and formation of the principal Renaissance gem collections such as the Barbo, Medici, Gonzaga, and Grimani, as well as of later collections. Discussions and interchanges with colleagues at the National Gallery studying the inventories of north Italian collections proved stimulating and instructive: through them and the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century handbooks and catalogues of antiquities in the Library of Congress, I have been able to trace a number of engraved gems accessible in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to Renaissance artists. These publications have served as the most detailed source of information on connoisseurship, provenance, and carving technique perhaps owing to the fact that the art of gem carving declined after the turn of the century.

The large corpus of Florentine archival material copied from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century documents at the Folger Shakespeare Library that I am now studying has also been informative for the study of antiquities in Renaissance



Hercules and the Nemean Lion,
c. 1220–1240. Byzantine Visual
Resources, © 1992, Dumbarton
Oaks, Washington

collections. Moreover, through first-hand study of the cameos and related antiquities in Dumbarton Oaks and medals and plaquettes of the Barbo and Medici gems in the National Gallery, I have gained a more detailed understanding of the technical problems and the primacy of the bronze plaquettes in dispersing classical motifs in Italy and elsewhere.

The question of accessibility is crucial for determining an idea of both the artist's working method and the degree of the artist's perception of the technical properties of engraved gems. Literary sources and the use of figural motifs in numerous Renaissance paintings of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries indicate that most artists, like Filarete, knew classical (or Hohenstaufen) carved gems indirectly, through plaquettes, wax impressions, plaster casts, or drawings. While artists in the fifteenth century used gems mainly as a storehouse of figural motifs, sixteenth-century painters showed a growing awareness of both the vocabulary and formal qualities of antique cameos. Probably only those artists who enjoyed a more elevated status or who were collectors and connoisseurs themselves were permitted to study the semiprecious stones of their patrons at first hand: notably Mantegna, Raphael, and Giulio Romano. It is significant that some of their paintings reflect a greater appreciation of the technical properties as well as the figural motifs of carved gems: the subtle luminescence, abstract linear

effects, clear, fluent contours, and polychromy—features that distinguish them from the dense, crowded compositions of sarcophagi and historiated reliefs.

Since my research here supplements studies of “Frederician” and related classicistic gems in the British Museum, I am also reexamining their dating. While the majority of those seem to have been grouped and dated correctly by Wentzel, some do exhibit Gothic features and details that could suggest a later date. The questions of reuse, revivals, copies, altered functions, and forgeries inspired by classical and late medieval gems are critical to our understanding of the changing perception of the antique from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

Frick Art Reference Library

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1992

