National Gallery of Art

CENTER 13

Record of Activities and Research Reports

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"*I think you know everybody.*"

National Gallery of Art

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Record of Activities and Research Reports
June 1992–May 1993

National Gallery of Art
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS
Washington, D.C. 20565
Telephone: (202) 842-6480

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REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR
June 1992–May 1993

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, a Curatorial Fellow, Associates, a 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.

Paul Mellon, Ailsa Mellon Bruce, and Samuel H. Kress
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 sets 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.

Frese Senior Research Fellowship

The Frese Senior Research Fellowship is intended for a German citizen who has held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possesses a record of professional

accomplishment at the time of application. The applicant either may be preparing a *Habilitationsschrift* or pursuing a career in a museum or a historic monuments commission in Germany. A Frese Senior Fellowship will be awarded annually for an academic year, early fall to late spring, and may not be postponed or renewed. The fellowship is for full-time research. An application form is required, and ten sets of all materials, including application form, proposal, and copies of selected pertinent publications, must be forwarded by the deadline of 1 October of the year prior to the fellowship.

## Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce 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 four sets 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
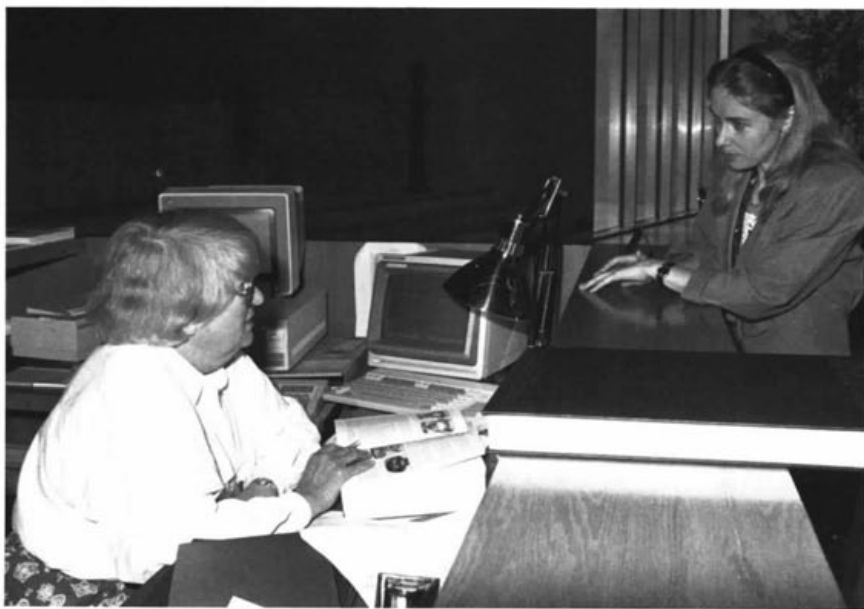
for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship

One postdoctoral curatorial fellowship is available each year to a fellow who has held 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 at the Center 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, Frese Senior Research 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 190,000 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 1992–1993 may be found on pages 24–36.

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 39–112 for reports written by members in 1992–1993). 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 12, 1992–1993*.

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. Twenty-one 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); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of*

Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *Michelangelo Drawings* (Volume 33); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); *The Pastoral Landscape* (Volume 36); *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37); and *The Artist's Workshop* (Volume 38). Papers from eight other symposia are in preparation for the series: Eius Virtutis Studiosi: *Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988); Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen; Titian 500; Van Dyck 350; The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology;* Monarca della Pittura: *Piero and His Legacy; The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome;* and *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review.*

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 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 associate dean, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seventeenth 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 of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery 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 1992–May 1993

Curatorial Liaison

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

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1992–1993

Anne Coffin Hanson, Yale University (emerita)

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1992

Anthony Hecht, Georgetown University
On the Laws of the Poetic Art

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1993

John Boardman, University of Oxford
The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity

Senior Fellows

Clifford Brown, Carleton University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1993
Isabella d'Este—Documents for a Collection of Greco-Roman Art in Renaissance Italy

Peter Brunette, George Mason University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1992–1993
Recent Critical Theory and the Films of Luchino Visconti

Richard Etlin, University of Maryland at College Park
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1992–1993
Angiolo Mazzoni and the Politics of Style in Fascist Italy

Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1992–1993
Conception, Creation, and Reception of the Magdeburg Rider

Claudia Lazzaro, Cornell University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1992
Gender and the Political Imagery of the Medici in the Sixteenth Century

Carol Mattusch, George Mason University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1992–1993
Greek Bronze Statuary: The Fourth Century and the Hellenistic Period

Annabel Wharton, Duke University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1992–1993
Ritual Rebirth: Baptism and the Christianization of the Late Antique City

Visiting Senior Fellows

Paul Binski, University of Manchester
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992
Westminster Abbey under the Plantagenets: Sainthood, Power, and the Art of Materials

Michael Conforti, Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1993
The Idealist Enterprise and the Applied Arts

Judith Fryer, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992
Women's Camera Work

Elena Ivanova, State Hermitage Museum
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1993
French Ceramics of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

Milan Lukeš, Charles University, Prague
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1993
The Culture of Feasts and Carnival: Their Development and Reflection in the Dramatic and Visual Arts; Dreams as an Alternative World of Existence

Charles Morscheck, Jr., Drexel University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1993
Ingenium quasi hereditarium: *The Solari Dynasty of Milanese Artisans*

Lena Orlin, Folger Institute, Folger Shakespeare Library
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992
The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England

Martha Pollak, University of Illinois
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992
The City in the Seventeenth Century: Representation and Aesthetics of Baroque Urban Culture

Nancy Pressly, National Endowment for the Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992
The Specter of Intimidation: Controversy and the Arts

Artur Rosenauer, Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität Wien
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1993
The Early Titian

Victor Stoichita, University of Fribourg
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1993
Painting and Visionary Experience in Spanish Art

Charles Zika, University of Melbourne
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992
Representing Witchcraft: Images and Social Meaning in Sixteenth-Century Europe

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow

Alison Luchs, Associate Curator of Early European Sculpture
Tullio and Antonio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice,
    c. 1490–1530

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellows

Levon Chookaszian, Yerevan State University, Center of Armenological Studies
Fall 1992
The Art of T'oros Roslin

Jan Bakoš, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art History, Bratislava
Spring–summer 1993
Metamorphoses of Ideas of the Vienna School of Art History

Predoctoral Fellows

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

Karen Fiss [Yale University]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1992–1994
Deutschland in Paris: The German Pavilion of 1937 and Franco-German
    Cultural Relations

Maria Gough [Harvard University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1992–1995
The Forgotten Dialogue: Russian Constructivism and Russian Formalism in the
    Early 1920s

Gabriele Guercio [Yale University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1992–1993
The Identity of the Artist: Theory and History of the Monographical Approach in the Literature of Art

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

R. Anthony Lewis [Northwestern University]*
Wyeth Fellow, 1991–1993
Interesting Particulars and Melancholy Occurrences: The Visual Representation of Philadelphian Shipping Culture, 1784–1834

Pauline Thayer 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

Bratislav Pantelić [University of Pennsylvania]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1992–1993
The Architecture of the Catholicon of the Monastery of Dečani in Serbia

Nicole Rousmaniere [Harvard University]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1992–1994
Vessels of Influence: Early Japanese Porcelain and Its Production in Northern Kyushu

Claudia Swan [Columbia University]
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1992–1993
Jacques de Gheyn II and the Representation of the Natural World in The Netherlands, 1585–1629

T. Barton Thurber [Harvard University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1992–1994
Religious Architecture in Turin and Piedmont, 1560–1610: Buildings, Projects, and Strategies in the Center and Periphery

Philip Hotchkiss Walsh [Harvard University]*
David E. Finley Fellow, 1990–1993
The Atelier of Gustave Moreau at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts

Martine Westermann [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1992–1995
Jan Steen and the Visual Poetics of Farce

Dorothy Wong [Harvard University]
Ittleson Fellow, 1992–1994
*Public Religious Monuments: Chinese Buddhist Steles of the Northern and Southern
Dynasties, 386–581*

* in residence 14 September 1992–31 August 1993

MEETINGS

Symposia

3–5 December 1992
MONARCA DELLA PITTURA: PIERO AND HIS LEGACY

Cosponsored with the J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Center for the History
of Art and the Humanities, with support from the Istituto Italiano per gli Studi
Filosofici

ROUNDTABLE ON DOCUMENTS
James Banker, North Carolina State University
  Documents
Carlo Bertelli, University of Lausanne
  Chronology
Frank Dabell, independent scholar, New York City
  Documents

INTERACTIVE COMPUTER IMAGING DEMONSTRATION
Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Princeton University
Kirk Alexander, Princeton University

SYMPOSIUM

Piero and the Theme of Constantine
Moderator: Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Princeton University

Stephen Nichols, Johns Hopkins University
  In Hoc Signo Vincis: *Constantine, Mother of Harm*
Michael Curschmann, Princeton University
  Constantine-Heraclius: German Texts and Pictorial Cycles
Serafin Moralejo, Universidad de Santiago de Compostela
  Spanish Attitudes toward the Medieval Constantine

Jack Freiberg, Florida State University
  Constantine in Counter-Reformation Italy
Marc Fumaroli, Collège de France
  *Cross, Crown, and Tiara: The Constantinian Myth between Rome and Paris
  (1590–1690)*

Piero's Style and Content
Moderator: Martin Kemp, University of Saint Andrews

Daniel Arasse, Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne)
  "Oltre le Scienze dette di Sopra," Piero della Francesca and the Vision of History
Maurizio Calvesi, Università degli Studi di Roma I "La Sapienza"
  Piero's Flagellation: *The Story Continues*
Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Princeton University
  Piero's Vision of the Nativity
Colin Eisler, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
  Patronage and Humanism—Codeterminants of Northern Elements in Piero's Art
Bert Meijer, Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Florence
  Piero and the North

Piero's Mathematics and Architecture
Moderator: Daniel Arasse, Université de Paris I (Panthéon-Sorbonne)

Paul Grendler, University of Toronto
  What Piero Learned in School: Fifteenth-Century Vernacular Education

National Gallery of Art
Washington, D.C.

J. V. Field, Imperial College of Science, Technology, and Medicine, London
   A Mathematician's Art
Martin Kemp, University of Saint Andrews
   Piero and the Idiots
John Shearman, Harvard University
   Refraction, and Reflection
Christine Smith, Syracuse University Program in Florence
   Piero's Painted Architecture: Analysis of His Vocabulary

Piero and the Twentieth Century
Moderator: Bert Meijer, Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut, Florence

Albert Boime, University of California, Los Angeles
   Piero and the Two Cultures
Michael Zimmerman, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte
   Seurat and Piero della Francesca: On a Relationship Born by Critical Reception
Rosalind Krauss, Columbia University
   The Grid, the True Cross, the Abstract Structure

22–23 January 1993
THE INTERPRETATION OF ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE IN GREECE
AND ROME

Architectural Sculpture in Fifth-Century Greece
Moderator: Diana Buitron-Oliver

SESSION I
Jerome J. Pollitt, Yale University
The Meaning of the Parthenon Frieze
Olga Palagia, University of Athens
First Among Equals: Athena in the East Pediment of the Parthenon
Alexander Mantis, Acropolis Museum
The Parthenon Central South Metopes, New Evidence
Angelos Delivorrias, Benaki Museum
The Sculptural Decoration of the So-called Theseion: New Light on Old Problems

SESSION II
Evelyn Harrison, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
The Glories of Athens: Some Observations on the Program of the Nike Temple Frieze
Erika Simon, Seminar für Archäologie der Universität Würzburg
The Parapet of the Temple of Athena Nike
Helmut Kyrieleis, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Berlin
Zeus and Pelops in the East Pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia

Architectural Sculpture in Hadrianic Rome
Moderator: Olga Palagia

SESSION III
William L. MacDonald, independent scholar, Washington, D.C.
Hadrian and Greek Art: The Tivoli Evidence Reconsidered
Paul Zanker, Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität München
How Did the Roman Beholder Perceive the Sculptural Decoration of Imperial Buildings?

SESSION IV
Mario Torelli, Università degli Studi di Perugia
A Marble Panegyric: The Arch of Trajan in Benevento
Susan Walker, British Museum
Hadrian and the Renewal of Cyrene
Mary Boatwright, Duke University and Intercollegiate Center for
Classical Studies in Rome
*Hadrian's "Library" in Athens and Traianeum in Italica (Spain): Aspects of Hadrianic
Planning and Style*
Sheldon Nodelman, University of California, San Diego
*Public Image and Private Persona: The Construction of Imperial Self-Representation in
Hadrianic State Portraiture and Relief*

5 March 1993
FEDERAL BUILDINGS IN CONTEXT: THE ROLE OF DESIGN REVIEW

Cosponsored with the National Building Museum

SESSION I
Moderator: J. Carter Brown, director emeritus, National Gallery of Art

Brenda Lightner, University of Cincinnati
  Introduction: A Design Review Primer

*Case Study 1: The Boston Experience: The Federal Office Building in
New City Hall Square*
David A. Crane, former director of design and planning, Boston Redevelopment
  Authority
Norman Fletcher, The Architect's Collaborative, Cambridge, Massachusetts

SESSION II
Case Study 2: American Embassies Abroad, an American Image in a Foreign Context
Lawrence B. Anderson, former panelist, the Architectural Advisory Board,
United States Department of State
  A Panelist's View (read by Joseph Passonneau)
George Hartman, Hartman/Cox Architects, Washington, D.C.
  An Architect's View: The Chancery in Kuala Lumpur

SESSION III
Case Study 3: The New Federal Courthouse, Boston
Douglas P. Woodlock, judge, United States District Court, Boston
  Intentions and Expectations
Henry N. Cobb, Pei Cobb Freed & Partners, New York City
  Design of the Federal Courthouse: The Architect's View
Herbert Gleason, former corporation counsel for the City of Boston
  Comments on the Process
William Rawn, member, Boston Civic Design Commission
  Comments on the Process

SESSION IV
Federal Building Plans in the Near Term
Gerald Thacker, chief, Space and Facilities Division, Administrative Office,
  United States Courts
Robert J. DiLuchio, assistant commissioner for real property development,
  General Services Administration

SESSION V: PANEL
Design Review of Federal Projects: What Should be Done Now?
Moderator: J. Carter Brown

David Childs, Skidmore, Owings & Merrill, New York City
George Hartman, Hartman/Cox Architects, Washington, D.C.
Robert Peck, American Institute of Architects
George White, Architect of the Capitol

3 April 1993
MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART
TWENTY–THIRD ANNUAL SESSIONS

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

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

MORNING SESSION
Moderator: Steven Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Introduction: Arthur S. Marks
Anne P. Chapin [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
   *The Aegean World through Minoan Eyes: Minoan Landscape and the Representation
   of Bronze Age Crete*

Introduction: Anthony Cutler
Jennifer L. Russell [Pennsylvania State University]
   *Hagiography and the "Trinity Apocalypse": A New Role for Saint John the
   Evangelist*

Introduction: William R. Rearick
Lauree Jean Sails [University of Maryland at College Park]
   Giotto's Wedding Procession of the Virgin *Reconsidered*

Introduction: Charles Dempsey
Stephen Campbell [Johns Hopkins University]
   The Traffic in Muses: Painting and Poetry in Ferrara c. 1450

Introduction: Ann Sutherland Harris
Alison Jane McQueen [University of Pittsburgh]
   Images of Lucretia and the Politics of Gender

AFTERNOON SESSION
Moderator: Sally M. Promey, University of Maryland at College Park

Introduction: H. Diane Russell, National Gallery of Art
Lisa Kirk [American University]
   Peter Paul Rubens' The Fall of Phaeton: *When Galileo Met Ovid*

Introduction: David Bjelajac
Norine S. Hendricks [George Washington University]
   Thomas Sully's Lady with a Harp: Eliza Ridgely, *a Portrait of Eligibility*

Introduction: William I. Homer
Eugene Balk [University of Delaware]
   Sexual Politics and the Art of John Sloan

Introduction: Lawrence A. Goedde
Hope Mauzerall [University of Virginia]
   What's the Matter with Matter?: Some Problems in Greenberg's Theory of Modernism

Introduction: Floyd Coleman
Michelle-Lee White [Howard University]
   Affectations: African-American Artists and Performance Art

Curatorial/Conservation Colloquy V

18–19 May 1993
ALFRED STIEGLITZ' PALLADIUM PORTRAITS OF GEORGIA O'KEEFFE

Colloquy cochairs:
Sarah Greenough, National Gallery of Art
Constance McCabe, National Gallery of Art

Participants:
Peter Bunnell, Art Museum, Princeton University
Lisha Glinsman, National Gallery of Art

Anne Havinga, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Rebecca Johnston, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Nora Kennedy, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Roy Perkinson, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Sarah Peters, Bronxville, New York
Nancy Reinhold, Evanston, Illinois
Jeff Rosenheim, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Doug Severson, Art Institute of Chicago
Julia Thompson, National Gallery of Art
Katherine Ware, J. Paul Getty Museum

Seminars

26 March 1993
JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY'S *WATSON AND THE SHARK*

Participants:
Ann Uhry Abrams, Emory University (visiting)
David Bull, National Gallery of Art
Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., National Gallery of Art
Erica Hirshler, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Franklin Kelly, National Gallery of Art

R. Anthony Lewis, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Louis Masur, City College of New York
Ellen Miles, National Portrait Gallery
Emily Ballew Neff, Museum of Fine Arts, Houston
William Pressly, University of Maryland at College Park
Jules Prown, Yale University
Susan Rather, University of Texas at Austin
Carrie Rebora, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Richard Saunders, Middlebury College
J. William Shank, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art
Paul Staiti, Mount Holyoke College
Theodore Stebbins, Jr., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Roger Stein, University of Virginia
Carol Troyen, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Margaret Rose Vendryes, Princeton University
Bryan Wolf, Yale University

7 May 1993
DESIGN HISTORY

Participants:
Jeremy Aynsley, Victoria and Albert Museum
Christopher Bailey, University of Wolverhampton

Jan Bakoš, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Richard Buchanan, Carnegie Mellon University
Clive Dilnot, Harvard University
Dennis P. Doordan, University of Notre Dame
Alain Findeli, Université de Montréal
Kathryn Henderson, Texas A&M University
Ellen Lupton, Cooper-Hewitt Museum
Victor Margolin, University of Illinois, Chicago
Andrew Pekarik, New York City
Tim Putnam, Middlesex University
Joan Rothschild, University of Massachusetts, Lowell
Barbara Stafford, University of Chicago
Nancy Troy, Northwestern University
John Michael Vlach, George Washington University
Peter Whalley, Loyola University, Chicago
Jonathan M. Woodham, University of Brighton

Colloquia CVIII–CXVI

14 October 1992
Steven Mansbach, Acting Associate Dean
   The Political Presentation of Russian Art in the West: The First Russian Art
   Exhibition in Berlin

5 November 1992
Anne Coffin Hanson, Samuel H. Kress Professor
   Severini +

10 December 1992
Claudia Lazzaro, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
   Animals as Cultural Signs in Renaissance Florence

14 January 1993
Richard Etlin, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
   Angiolo Mazzoni: Futurist Architect and Nationalist Culture

28 January 1993
Peter Brunette, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
   Thinking the Body in the Films of Peter Greenaway

18 February 1993
Clifford Brown, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
   Fruste et strache nel fabricare: *Isabella d'Este's Apartments in the Corte Vecchia
   of the Ducal Palace in Mantua*

31 March 1993
Virginia Roehrig Kaufmann, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Magdeburg Rider and Braunschweig Lion: A Ghibelline Response to a Politically Effective Guelph Symbol?

22 April 1993
Annabel Wharton, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Good and Bad Images from Dura-Europos: Texts, Contexts, Pretexts, Subtexts, Intertexts

6 May 1993
Carol Mattusch, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Large-Scale Bronzes and Questions of Mass Production in Antiquity

Shoptalks

29 October 1992
Philip Hotchkiss Walsh, David E. Finley Fellow
The Art of the Past in the Teaching of Gustave Moreau

14 December 1992
Dana Leibsohn, Ittleson Fellow
Fashioning Nahua History

25 February 1993
Pauline Thayer Maguire, Mary Davis Fellow
A Rereading of Nicolas Poussin's The Israelites Gathering Manna in the Wilderness *(1638–1639)*

4 March 1993
R. Anthony Lewis, Wyeth Fellow
Reevaluating Thomas Birch's Images of Shipwreck

11 March 1993
Patricia Bochi, Samuel H. Kress Fellow
The Iconography of Agriculture as "Daily Life" in the Eighteenth Dynasty

8 April 1993
Dominique Malaquais, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow
Architecture as Power: Construction and Hegemony in the Bamileke Grasslands of West Cameroon

Incontri

19 November 1992
John Pollini, University of Southern California
The Gemma Augustea: *Ideology, Rhetorical Imagery, and the Construction of a Dynastic Narrative*

2 December 1992
Dimitry Shvidkovsky, Moscow Architectural Institute
The Ideology of Imperial Gardens of the Russian Enlightenment

23 March 1993
Wolfgang Wiemer, University of Essen, Institute of Physiology
Architectural Analysis of Medieval Buildings by Computer

Lecture

2 December 1992
J. Carter Brown, director emeritus, National Gallery of Art
Dreams, Design, and Disaster: A Modernist Case History in Observance of the Neutra Centennial
Lecture abstract appears on page 37.

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1992

Anthony Hecht, Georgetown University
On the Laws of the Poetic Art

11 October
Poetry and Painting

18 October
Poetry and Music

25 October
Paradise and Wilderness

1 November
Public and Private Art

8 November
The Contrariety of Impulses

15 November
Art and Morality

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1993

John Boardman, University of Oxford
The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity

28 March
Overture to the Persian Empire

4 April
The East after Alexander the Great

18 April
Greeks in the Land of the Nile

25 April
The Arts of Etruria

2 May
The Semitic World

9 May
Europe and Rome

J. CARTER BROWN
National Gallery of Art (director emeritus)
Dreams, Design, and Disaster: A Modernist Case History in Observance of the Neutra Centennial

As a harbinger of an architectural revolution that had not yet begun to affect prevailing building styles in the eastern part of the United States, Viennese-born, Los Angeles-based architect Richard Neutra was commissioned in 1936 to design a 14,500-square-foot vacation "dream house" for an exacting pair of clients. John Nicholas Brown was steeped in art and architectural history by Harvard graduate study; he shared with his young wife, a former music critic and violinist, a passion for music. The existence of an enormous archive of correspondence and drawings at the Neutra Archive at UCLA and at the new John Nicholas Brown Center for the Study of American Civilization in Providence has made it possible to reconstruct the arduous design process that ranged over six proposals, and included many innovations, some by Buckminster Fuller.

After agonizing delays, the family moved in in September 1938. Two weeks later a hurricane, unprecedented in memory in that region, tore off the roof and devastated the interior. Reconstructed, the house ultimately burned to the ground on New Year's Eve 1973, so that archival renderings, photographs, and film footage are our only record of a building and style of life now gone. The year 1992, the centennial of Neutra's birth, offers a timely moment to explore a project, considered revolutionary over half a century ago, that relates to the current questions of modernism in the context of succeeding movements in American architecture.

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 1992 to May 1993. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1993. Remaining reports by fellows for the summer 1993 will appear in *Center 14*.

IVAN VACIL'EVICH ASEYEV

The Art of Petroglyphs

Petroglyphs and pictographs occupy a special place among the monuments of ancient art, being as they are a source that lets us understand the spiritual world of the societies of ancient times whose material culture is expressed through what appear at first glance to be ordinary, primitive pictures on rock. Not surprisingly, there is a great deal of research in this field in many countries. The petroglyphs of the North American continent are particularly interesting because they show the problems of intercontinental contacts and the ethnocultural relationship between the ancient societies of northern Asia (particularly Siberia) and North America. Judging by the written sources and comparing these with what I myself have seen during a two-month journey around North America, ancient pictorial rock art is documented in more than five hundred places.

　After seeing numerous petroglyphs, I concluded that in the pictorial rock art of this continent there are correlations in style and narrative to the geographical and climatic zones of human habitation. These pictures also specifically reflect ethnocultural characteristics. While the appearance of ancient humans and this art in North America cannot be dated exactly, some archaeological artifacts indicate that it occurred during the first waves of immigrants from Siberia who crossed the Bering Strait while land still connected Siberia and Alaska. After crossing they followed the shore, now under water, then turned in toward the heartland. In Millican (Oregon) near the Dallas canyon of the river Feder, camps of ancient peoples were founded from about 7,500 B.C. According to American scholars, the first North American petroglyph appeared in this period. On the river Amur in Siberia, pictures have been found that date from 8,000 to 6,000 B.C. A few were identified by archaeologists as almost identical to those in North America in the area of Fort Ruper. On the lower banks of the Amur, A. P. Okladnikov found numerous pictures of masklike human faces, looking directly at the viewer, which exactly match petroglyphs found in southeast Alaska by E. Stevens (in 1974). Many faces, also staring at the viewer, found on Kodiak Island (shown to me by Richard Knecht, Kodiak Native American Association), are examples of a later time. These distinctive faces are not outlined, but rather marked by deep carvings; they also have unusual eyebrows, narrow bridges of noses, wide eyes, and smiling mouths with markings on the lower lip, either at the corner or along the length of the lip. Found one hundred years ago, this series of Alaskan petroglyphs has been dated to two hundred to three hundred years ago. I question the dating, based on only the facial features; however, the ethnic matching is certain. They belong to the art of the Eskimo.

　Quite different from the Alaskan petroglyphs are pictures that I saw in the southern and central parts of the United States. In Texas I was lucky to see beautiful rock pictures of Indians painted in red, black, and white. There are also pictures
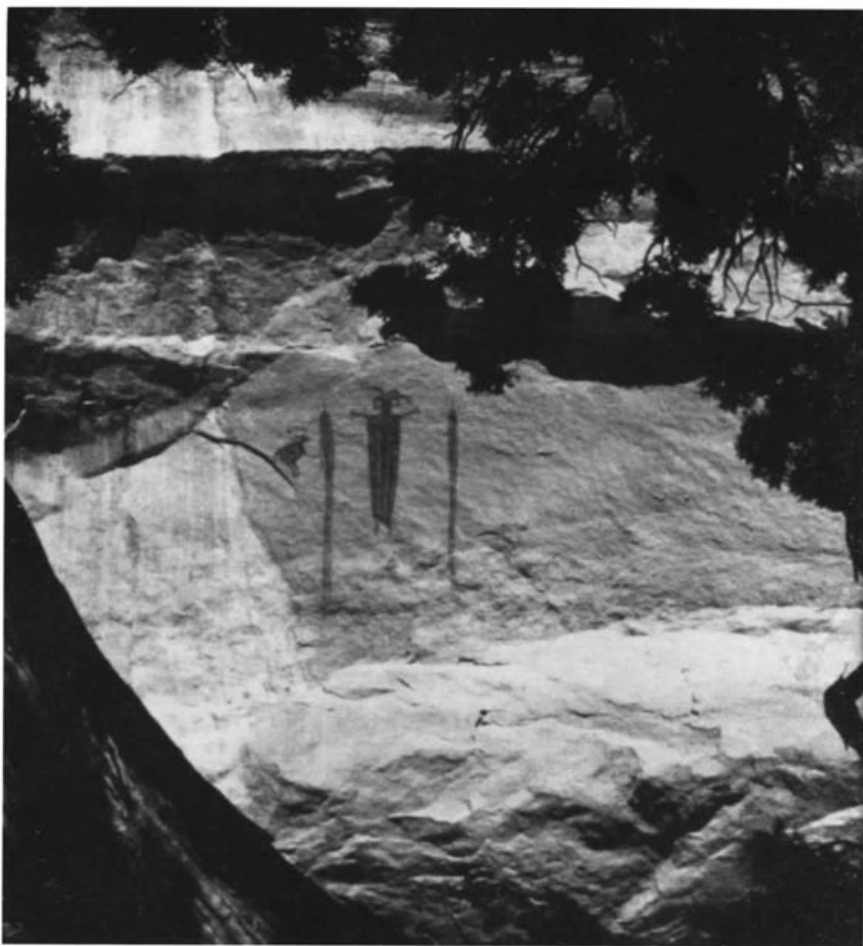
Head of Sinbad, San Raphael Swell, Utah. Photograph by Sharon Odekirk

of panthers, snakes, and imaginary animals. Most numerous and important are those pictures in which the shamans' clothes, accessories, and symbols are shown.

In Utah there are pictures in similar style and colors of shamans surrounded by various animals, reflections of real life but expressive of still-mysterious meaning. These pictographs, along the bank of the San Juan River, are carefully kept and protected by local services, archaeologists, and Wild River Expeditions, headed by Charles Dellorme.

Institute of History, Philology, and Philosophy, Novosibirsk
Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, spring–summer 1992

PAUL BINSKI

Westminster Abbey under the Plantagenets

In 1245 King Henry III of England began the reconstruction of Westminster Abbey largely at his own expense. His patronage of a major Gothic church ranked with Louis IX's Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, or Charles IV's building of Prague cathedral in the following century, as a purposeful assertion of the ever-increasing identification of royal power with specific centers. But it is to the French monarchy and the region of Paris in the thirteenth century especially that the development of a new Gothic idiom, elegantly fashionable and linked with the physical administration of royal authority, has been attributed by such historians as Hans Sedlmayr, Robert Fawtier, and Robert Branner. A building like Westminster, informed in detail by the architecture of Paris and Reims, has come to stand as an exemplification of *opus francigenum*, and so of a specifically French hegemony in the field of "political" Gothic architecture. Even in the more recent writing of Jean Bony on the English decorated style, Westminster stands more as the symptom of a supranational architectural and artistic movement, that of the court style, than as the outcome of local or contingent circumstances.

My work on the art patronage of the Plantagenet dynasty has begun instead precisely with the local and the contingent, and has sought out a more radically fragmented vision of the formation of the image of royalty in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. To understand Saint Peter's church at Westminster is to apprehend first the processes that concentrated departments of state—the exchequer and treasury—at the residential Palace of Westminster, for which the abbey church was a private cloister. It is to understand the quite formative role, poetic but also exemplary, of the cult and literature of Saint Edward the Confessor, the current royal patron saint and emblem of a nascent nationhood whose relics lay in the church. Saint Edward stands as the sign, to my mind, of a certain way of thinking about the royal state at a time when the cults of royal persons were helping to ease the transition toward permanent, but theoretically impersonal, sites of power. It is further to understand the contingencies of a great Gothic church built, but not really designed, to house the liturgies of monasticism, royal burial, and coronation.

My work at the Center involved the completion of a major survey of Westminster Abbey under the Plantagenets, in the knowledge that the most famous artifacts are frequently the most overlooked: Westminster's latest scholarly monograph dates from 1925. I have approached the building as a skeptic of a highly synthetic caste of mind, prepared to address the major critical myths that this building and its (I think genuinely) neglected contents have engendered.

In what ways do the local themes mentioned earlier, historically unconnected to the more totalizing vision of the artistic movement, impinge critically speaking on the abbey church? We can pinpoint several fields of interest. One is cer-

Westminster Abbey,
corbel heads, c. 1250.
Author photograph

tainly the quite peculiar eclecticism of English court patronage, favoring not only French Gothic architecture but also the choice, unique for a Gothic church north of the Alps, of Roman Cosmati mosaic for its earliest royal tombs and shrine. Such eclecticism has been seen as the necessary prelude to the formation of the English decorated style of the fourteenth century which, to some, did so much to wrest creative authority from France. But it defies the vision of *opus francigenum*. It is to be understood as an assertion of the purposeful appropriation of art forms linked to other types of power, imperial, papal, or monarchical, for reasons ingrained in the local institutional sensibility: an abbey church placed directly under the authority of Rome and the monarch; and a monarchy whose political position and mythologies were undergoing rapid and deep reformulation by means of the royal cult and by acts of territorial expansion into Wales and Scotland. Diversity of this type illustrates not the incorporation of international taste but rather that of a certain political virtue, largess, a virtue that enjoyed increasing theoretical and practical prominence in the political thinking of the period, and not just in monarchical states. Westminster, though a monument to a certain aesthetic bricolage, is indicative of the rise in the late thirteenth century of a broader symbolic order whereby monarchs could employ the same signs and forms of display as popes or emperors. To us the effects of such variety open up the vista of a semiotic quagmire; but Westminster simply indicates the different ways in which we can position monuments of power in relation to style. If the abbey church owes much in detail to Louis IX's Paris, it exemplifies even more closely the exoticism and acquisitive mentality of imperial Prague under the Luxembourg dynasty. Like both, it is testimony to the transformative impetus of royal patronage and to the formation of the idea, practical and symbolic, of a political center.

University of Manchester
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992

PATRICIA BOCHI

Agricultural Scenes in the Private Tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty: A Study in Iconographic Polyvalence

My dissertation, completed during the tenure of my fellowship, explores the significance of the scenes of agriculture found in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of the Theban elite. Identified as depicting "daily life," the scenes thus far have been examined principally as documents providing information on, for instance, the use of technology and types of cultivars. As for their original function, the scenes are thought to have been used as a magically efficacious device that provisioned the deceased in the next world while recording his past life or status.

The positivism that characterizes the conventional approach to the agricultural scenes slights the significance these may have assumed within the funerary context. Not considered are the unique and vital role of agriculture in Egypt and aspects of the relationship between the recurring depiction of its practice (from the Old Kingdom until the early New Kingdom) and its original funerary context. Further overlooked is the significant shift in the decoration of private tombs of the early New Kingdom (late Eighteenth to early Nineteenth Dynasties), when the scenes of daily life vanished and were replaced by overtly religious scenes. As the motif of agriculture in daily life disappeared, it was replaced by a new motif depicting agriculture in the next world, with the deceased personally cultivating the fields. Given the remarkable continuity of Egyptian iconography, both the disappearance of scenes of daily life and the survival, albeit in a new form, of one of their core motifs, namely agriculture, have not been addressed.

The systematic examination in situ of fourteen tombs reveals patterns of locational, iconographical, and temporal specificity, which show a concern beyond that of recording pictorially either the agrarian reality or time in a linear fashion. Rather, the selection of specific tasks and, hence, seasons may have been motivated by a more complex set of ideological requirements. As for the socioeconomic context of the scenes, the lack of systematic correlation between their presence and the owners' past offices, as documented by their titles, suggests that at the same time the scenes cannot be understood in terms of narratives of the owners' past official functions.

Study of the primary texts reveals that activities related to the land represented a way with which the official could attain high social status and happiness in this world, as well as demonstrating his righteous or *maat*-like behavior at the time of judgment. The concept of agriculture in the next world constituted one of the goals of the individual's eternal existence.

As agricultural scenes conjured up seasons, they are also likely to have evoked the festivals during which the tasks were performed and, by extension, the gods celebrated during these festivals. Finally, by depicting the official's involvement in agriculture and the regenerative process of nature, the scenes evoked ulti-

Tomb of Menna (T.T. 69), Thebes, detail, Eighteenth Dynasty. Author photograph

mately the concept of life after death. The traditional scenes of agriculture thus would have been understood on a multiplicity of levels, all of which bore on funerary ideology.

The new motif depicting the individual personally working in the fields of the afterlife represents a concept that had originated in the royal context, namely, in the *Pyramid Texts*, and was later found in the nonroyal context, in the *Coffin Texts* and, illustrated, in the *Book of the Dead*. The ultimate pictorialization of the concept in the latter illustrates in effect the trend of increasing access to the afterlife reached by the private individual in the early New Kingdom.

Additionally, my residence at the Center allowed me to begin exploring the concept of time in ancient Egyptian art and to undertake a critical study on the relationship between Egyptology and art history.

[University of Pennsylvania]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1991–1993

CLIFFORD BROWN

"Our Insatiable Desire for Antiquities": The Collections of Greco-Roman Art of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga

The beginning of each term was spent completing a Mantuan archival project. The book-length monograph finished in May 1992 was published this past spring (*"Our Accustomed Discourse on the Antique": Cesare Gonzaga and Gerolamo Garimberto—Two Renaissance Collectors of Greco-Roman Art* [Garland Publishing]). In February 1993 copyediting began on the 358-page text of *Flemish and Italian Tapestries in the Collections of Federico II, Ercole, and Ferrante Gonzaga*, written in collaboration with Guy Delmarcel of Leuven University.

Facets of Isabella d'Este's art patronage were explored through lectures given at the London Mantegna conference (March 1992), the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (February 1993), and the Folger Institute (April 1993). Critical comments by colleagues were extremely helpful in clarifying a range of ideas. In working through aspects of Mantuan art patronage as they relate to Isabella d'Este's husband, I was able to achieve far more than merely redefining the cultural interests of Francesco II Gonzaga. The fresco cycle of the *Muses* in his palace (destroyed by 1760) in the Mantuan countryside at Gonzaga actually anticipates the role played by the classical muses in Isabella d'Este's Studiolo, both in the reliefs in the Gian Cristoforo Romano portal and in Andrea Mantegna's *Parnassus*. Thus, by directing some of the research to Francesco II Gonzaga, it was possible to enrich an understanding of certain aspects of Isabella d'Este's patronage which have previously been seen as being entirely Ferrara-based.

Although fraught with difficulties, it is essential to define those aspects of Isabella d'Este's peculiar personality that motivated her, almost obsessively, to establish an art and antiquities collection and a library which had few, if any, rivals among other women of her rank and station. Born in Ferrara, it is in the city of her parents, Ercole d'Este and Eleonora of Aragon, that the search began, aided by two incontrovertible facts. First, Isabella did not begin to collect on a large scale, or to think of her Studiolo as a museum for allegorical pictures and significant examples of the Greco-Roman world, until after a crucial meeting with her father in 1495. Second, she was almost desperate to get the Domenico de' Piero antiquities away from Venice before her father arrived there, bluntly stating that should he see them he would doubtless carry off the best pieces. To some degree, therefore, she was in competition with her father, just as years later she sought to outdo her brother by ordering from Rome marble doorframes and commissioning in Venice a mosaic marble pavement superior to what she saw in his *camerini* in Ferrara. At the same time, however, the Mantuan factor—the role of her husband—also needs to be entered into the equation.

In addition to refining the structure of the publication that is to result from the stay at the Center, the catalogue raisonné of the records of Isabella d'Este's

chancery office dealing with her negotiations for Greco-Roman coins, cameos, intaglios, and marble and bronze statuary has reached a near-definitive state. As the heart of the proposed publication, the catalogue provides transcriptions and critical analyses for the letters dealing with a range of specific negotiations—from Isabella d'Este's unsuccessful attempt in 1502 to negotiate (with the assistance of Leonardo da Vinci) the purchase of a group of Lorenzo de' Medici's hard stone vases, to her successful dealings in 1515 with the heirs of the Sforza of Pesaro for the entire estate of Giovanni Sforza.

The nearly eight files into which well over three hundred letters are gathered provide significant insights on a range of issues, which will be adumbrated in the chapters that precede the catalogue, including the use made of such art experts as Andrea Mantegna, L'Antico, and Gian Cristoforo Romano to certify the authenticity of objects offered to her as antique. What has proven especially difficult, indeed quite frustrating, is the need to provide meaningful generalizations in the absence of comparative material and based on a limited amount of internal evidence; for example, the degree to which Isabella was able to control what she accepted as gifts and the extent to which her agents were able to act on her precise instructions and interests. From one point of view she was clearly at the mercy of those friends and agents in Rome, Venice, Rhodes, and elsewhere, who provided whatever happened into their hands. One does learn a great deal about Isabella's attitudes from the 1516 file concerning the offer of an all'antica *Satyr* by Antonio Lombardo, originally offered to her brother the Duke of Ferrara. From another point of view Isabella, while accepting all gifts, treated them unequally. Sadly, display criteria are rarely if ever mentioned, although, when one Antico all'antico bronze was to be set on the lintel of a doorframe, Isabella suddenly had the need for a mate for the sake of symmetry. The final arrangement of the collection, housed in the Studiolo and the Grotta in the Castello di San Giorgio until 1519 and then transported to the nearby Corte Vecchia, is known from the detailed inventory that was drawn up after her death. This allows for an exact reconstruction of the extent of the collection, although curiously most of the objects therein catalogued cannot be matched up with objects dealt with in the correspondence files. Thus, whereas the correspondence files and the inventory work well as concerns the two *Sleeping Cupids* (the one by Michelangelo, the other attributed to Praxiteles), one is left entirely in the dark regarding the circumstances surrounding the acquisition of the first item in the inventory—the celebrated *Augustus and Livia* cameo. Those *Sleeping Cupids* and this cameo will be scrutinized in the portion of the book analyzing the categories of antiquities listed in the inventory, and this analysis will be coordinated with the information found in the correspondence files.

Carleton University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow and Smith Distinguished Visiting Professor
of Art History, George Washington University, spring 1992, spring 1993

PETER BRUNETTE

Recent Critical Theory and the Films of Luchino Visconti

Luchino Visconti is a seminal figure in postwar Italian culture, and is at least as well known in the fields of opera and theater as in cinema. My work at the Center for Advanced Study has focused on the films of this director, considered specifically from the viewpoint of contemporary critical theory. Such a perspective, I believe, has enabled me to move beyond conventional formalist and thematic readings of his films toward a consideration of larger theoretical issues that are currently being hotly debated. These issues include the nature of cinematic realism (and, by implication, the nature of all realism, *tout court*), the status of the author and authorial intentionality, the possibility of the representation of history, the relation of films to their literary sources, the psychological and ideological positioning of the spectator, sexuality and gender identity, and so on. Despite the importance I give to this theoretical perspective, which is drawn largely from contemporary literary theory and Continental philosophy, I have tried to keep my focus throughout on both the specific phenomenality of film and the sometimes recalcitrant, particular details of these historically specific cinematic texts.

After a year's worth of reading film and social criticism and studying Visconti's films, I am now more convinced than ever that his putative "realism" can only be properly understood in the light of both postwar Italian realist aesthetics, in its specific sociopolitical context, and recent critical theory, which sees realism as little more than a historically determined style with no privileged access to the real, however that is defined. Visconti was aware of the contingent, mediated nature of all forms of realism, I believe, and what might be called the "stylized realism" (if such an oxymoron can be permitted) of films like *La terra trema*, both in visual and narrative terms, is an admission and exploration of this fact. His literary adaptations, as well, need to be reconceived from the point of view of a rewriting of the complicated relationship between original and copy, one that draws, for example, on the deconstructive insight that a copy always in a sense "creates" its own original. During my stay at the Center, I was also able to begin to investigate the precise ways in which the ideology of social formation can be said to manifest itself in thematic concerns, character psychology, narrative structure, and the very composition of the image itself, and the way these diverse manifestations interact and modify each other.

It is also clear that many manifestations of ideology operate through various forms of sexual desire, which is always complexly encoded in cinema. In Visconti's films, the desire dramatized by and in his characters and, more obliquely, his own desire, mediated through the cinematic apparatus, are linked in complicated ways to the spectator's desire as a subject position by a certain ideologically driven discourse within narrative.

During the year, I made considerable progress on other projects. I completed a book for Rutgers University Press on François Truffaut's *Shoot the Piano Player* that includes an introduction and biographical sketch, the complete shooting script and shot-by-shot description of the film, and some thirty reviews and essays that will usefully place the film in various social, historical, and aesthetic contexts for students. I also completed a coedited anthology that will be published in the Cambridge University Press series on the New Art History and Criticism, entitled *Deconstruction and the Visual Arts: Art, Media, Architecture*. This book contains a long interview (by me and the coeditor) with Jacques Derrida on the subject of the visual and spatial arts, as well as sixteen original essays on painting, sculpture, visual theory, film, television, and architecture, all considered from a deconstructive viewpoint. Finally, I was able to write three chapters of a book in progress on the representation of the body as it is manifested in different visual media. The first chapter I wrote concerns the complex relation of the real body of the television news anchor with what might be called his or her "electronic body," which is always part of the effect of knowledge and mastery that the news must project in order to retain its authority. The second chapter, the subject of my colloquium at the Center, is on the films of British filmmaker Peter Greenaway, and specifically discusses the way the body is represented and used thematically in those films. The final chapter is a reconsideration of a film by Roberto Rossellini entitled *The Rise to Power of Louis XIV*, in terms of the way the king's and the director's bodies are written and read in the space(s) created by and in the film.

George Mason University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1992–1993

FRANCA TRINCHIERI CAMIZ

The Mute Lyre: Viewing Music in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome

The subject of music in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Flemish and Dutch painting has attracted considerable attention, while Italian depictions of music seem hardly to have been discussed. Yet by the early seventeenth century these images had become much sought after, including work by major artists of the period (Caravaggio, the *caravaggisti*, Gentileschi, the Carracci, and Guido Reni). They represented an important component, still to be fully defined as a genre, of newly formed collections of paintings expressing the encyclopedic interests of aristocratic patrons.

Early seventeenth-century pictures painted in Rome are particularly interesting because the city's culture generously supported art and music on almost equal terms, whether for church, theater, or the private chamber. Cardinal Scipione Borghese, for instance, provided sophisticated musical entertainment and kept singers and musicians on his payroll; he also had a notable art collection, which included several examples of this musical genre, among them a mosaic panel of *Orpheus Taming the Wild Animals* (Orpheus is significantly present in many Roman collections). Part of my two-month stay at the Center for Advanced Study therefore was dedicated to researching the goals and nature of Italian art collecting of the period.

Most useful has been the opportunity to map out the major themes and ideas of my book, "The Mute Lyre: Viewing Music in Early Seventeenth-Century Rome." Topics include: viewing music; the role of the musical genre in seventeenth-century Roman collections; Orpheus as a political symbol; and Venus/Saint Cecilia. One appendix will concern the architectural spaces in Roman palaces and homes where music was played: in the grand public rooms music served as a conspicuous sign of prestige, while in the *camerino* listening to or playing *musica da camera* served as an important elitist exchange that defined a shared aristocratic status. A second appendix will deal with the musical instrument as a collectible item and with specific instruments in collections.

The rivalry, or *paragone*, between the visual arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture, and aural arts such as poetry and music, is well known in Italian Renaissance and baroque studies; the word *harmony* alone brings to mind statements of Leonardo and Michelangelo on the parallel concerns that can link the eye and ear. That art should need to concern itself with music is tied to conceptions of the meaning and power of musical experiences in Western society. Against this background, I am concentrating on the problems that faced artists in rendering music and the multiple meanings implicit in the musical experience, a transient, nonvisual one. I recall Ernst Gombrich's story (in *The Image and the Eye*) of the unfortunate singer who could not sing the top note of his aria, but was still fully applauded by the public as if he had sung it because he simply

opened his mouth wide at the crucial moment while the orchestra played loudly. Similarly, "mute" musical detailing in images can help to evoke and complete our aural expectations. Understandably, musical pictures in seventeenth-century Rome needed to contain recognizable reminders of how music was performed, practiced, or enjoyed in the lives of their elegant viewers. My study will attempt to codify what these reminders might have been.

Viewers' musical expectations, however, could also be based on *ekphratic* poetic traditions praising musical performers, and I have collected both ancient and Renaissance-baroque poems that relate specifically to musical performance. Ancient poetic traditions essentially praised male musical heroes (Amphion, Apollo, Orpheus); by the sixteenth century, the female performer, "la bella suonatrice o cantatrice," had assumed an important role in poetry as in painting, a phenomenon that corresponded to increased participation of women in professional musicmaking. Some of the painted images portray an erotic, lightly-clad Venus type, a half-length female figure that was either a singer or performer, a genre that originated in Venice. Other images portray the virginal Saint Cecilia, usually with a rapt expression that connotes being attuned to otherworldly "celestial harmonies." These two types are to be seen as mirror images, expressing the view that music was meant to move the passions of both the senses and the soul.

Considering the importance of the Saint Cecilia theme for early seventeenth-century artists in Rome (Reni, Domenichino, Lanfranco), I am particularly grateful to Diane De Grazia, the curatorial staff, and the restorers of the National Gallery of Art for sharing with me their evaluation of the technical problems related to the Gallery's *Saint Cecilia* by Gentileschi-Lanfranco. I would like to reciprocate with a search in Rome's state archives for more information on the Rondinini collection from which the painting came.

Temple University, Rome
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

LEVON CHOOKASZIAN

The Art of T'oros Roslin

The practical difficulties of visiting foreign collections and libraries have prevented proper study of Armenian illustrated manuscripts in the United States by art historians from Armenia. My fellowship included several months' residence at the Center for Advanced Study and travel across the United States to gather comparative material for two projects.

While at the Center, I had the opportunity to research the miniatures of Armenian manuscripts illuminated by T'oros Roslin, the greatest of all Armenian medieval painters. One of these manuscripts, Gospel no. 539 at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, dates from 1262 and contains nearly 100 miniatures. The other, Gospel no. 32.18 at the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, painted around 1270, has about 130 illustrations. In Baltimore and Washington, I was able to study the execution of these illustrations in detail. Many points of comparison with Roslin's other known works were made. Figures in certain miniatures resemble those in Roslin's illustrations in the Matenadaran collection, Yerevan. I noted many stereotypical facial expressions which perhaps were copied from the same models or from some sketchbook and appear in different manuscripts signed by Roslin. I have attempted to group the miniatures and faces with evident similarities. In addition, I have focused attention on stylistic differences in these illustrations, largely ignored by previous scholars.

The physiognomic features and depictions of flesh in the miniatures show that they were executed by T'oros Roslin in collaboration with several other painters, his assistants. Examining this material I was able to identify more clearly the hands of those partners. Particular attention was given to discovering common stylistic characteristics in Roslin's miniatures and other signed Armenian manuscripts of the same or following years. Although all the miniatures in these two manuscripts were published in black and white by the late Sirarpie Der Nersessian, and their iconography identified, these miniatures continue to present problems of authorship. The illustrations, generally labeled "Roslin's workshop," "Roslin School," or "attributed to Roslin," will require many years to identify and sort.

I also looked anew at the style and models of Cilician manuscripts whose painters are known for clues to authorship. My aim was to distinguish the contributions of Roslin and his pupils. I noticed that some faces in the Baltimore and Washington manuscripts are related to the works of known Cilician painters of the same period. Hence I concluded that they had helped Roslin with the illustrations. One of the artists was Hovasap, the painter who signed the Gospel of 1273 (Topkapi Museum, Istanbul), and another was Konstandin, who copied the Gospel of 1274 (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. 740) and to whom the illumination of the Gospel of Queen Keran of 1272 (Library of the Armenian Patriarchate, Jerusalem, no. 2563) is attributed. The comparative work demon-

strates that these supposed pupils of Roslin very faithfully copied his works. It is hoped that the continued search for authors of unidentified miniatures will lead to further discoveries.

In the Gospel miniatures in Baltimore, I noticed a haloed figure with a crown and royal dress in the illustration of Pentecost that seems to be a heretofore unknown portrait of the Cilician king Hetoum I (1215–1270). Bearing in mind Roslin's portraits of Prince Levon (future king Levon III, 1270–1289), one can reach a clearer understanding of Roslin's role as recreator of the old Armenian tradition of presenting images of the royal family.

The opportunity to examine closely other Armenian illuminated manuscripts of the Middle Ages in other American cities was very useful. During travel across the United States, I examined miniatures in the Pierpont Morgan Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York Public Library, Princeton University Library, Houghton Library at Harvard University, and the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University. Information gathered from four months' work provided the opportunity to elaborate more fully one of the last chapters of my forthcoming book about T'oros Roslin.

Yerevan State University, Center of Armenological Studies
Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1992

MICHAEL CONFORTI

The Idealist Enterprise and the Applied Arts

My two months at the Center for Advanced Study have been spent continuing re-
search on the applied arts movement of the nineteenth century, its institutionaliza-
tion both in England and on the Continent, and the model these institutions served
for Americans in realizing their goals in establishing art museums in this country.

The applied arts museum was by far the dominant museological enterprise of
the second half of the nineteenth century. The movement was unabashedly capi-
talist in its goals. Its museums were created to improve training in design and, in
turn, the business of manufactured objects for the material-laden interiors of the
time. By supporting the theories of Gottfried Semper, however, the movement
also embraced an aesthetic value system in which a cross-cultural and cross-
media theory of art challenged traditional aesthetic idealism as represented muse-
ologically in nineteenth-century galleries of painting and sculpture. Semperian as
well as more contextual, *Kulturgeschichte* goals in display were adopted by many
American museums founded from the 1870s to the early 1900s, most notably the
Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

These theoretical challenges to the idealist foundation of museum practice
were undermined in the early years of the twentieth century. A new museological
specialness directed toward painting and sculpture reinstated Kantian and
Hegelian philosophy, though in an altered form. This neoidealism set the standard
for later twentieth-century concepts of value in museums and was the result of a
variety of factors: for example, the ascendancy of the aesthetics of Julius Meier-
Graefe, Roger Fry, and Clive Bell over those of John Ruskin; the promotion of
the "masterpiece" object by museum practitioners like Wilhelm von Bode and his
many imitators; the rise of connoisseurship as a special activity (with training
grounds like the Fogg Art Museum to support it); the development of more ob-
ject-specific installations that gave a special aura and reverence to individual works
of painting and sculpture. While object reverencing in display had been intro-
duced in protomodernist museum enterprises around the turn of the century, as
in the Hugo von Tschudi-installed Nationalgalerie in Berlin, its goals were later
assumed by modern museums such as New York's Museum of Modern Art and
the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterloo, Netherlands, as well as museums with
historical collections such as Washington's National Gallery, planned in the 1930s.
This reorientation also was expressed in the "aesthetic versus education" contro-
versy that enveloped museum practice in the 1920s and 1930s. It resulted, as well,
in the marginalization of the applied arts in older American institutions, museums
whose founding charters and mission statements had once embraced the decora-
tive arts.

My work at the Center has been concentrated on the examination of this
topic in the period 1890–1930. I have, on the one hand, examined contextual

installations in both applied arts and art museums at the turn of the century, while also investigating the early manifestation of, as well as rhetorical justification for, the reinstated, idealist museological value system that gave special importance and power to galleries of painting and sculpture in the mid-twentieth century.

Minneapolis Institute of Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1993

KALPANA DESAI

Persian Elements in Akbari Painting

When Shah Tahmasp decided to withdraw his patronage to the painters of his atelier in 1544, no one knew that it would ultimately result in the emergence of an elegant style of painting at the court of Akbar in India. Humayun and, after him, his son Akbar inducted two great masters of the Persian atelier of Shah Tahmasp—Mir Sayyid-Ali and Abd al-Samad—to head the one-hundred-artist-strong atelier in A.D. 1556.

It is but natural that the Persian masters brought with them a rich heritage of technical skills as well as aesthetic values, perfected in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries by the legendary artist Bihzad. The emperor Humayun was not satisfied with the languid style of Iran, however, and as Abul Fazl comments, it was through his vision that Abd al-Samad could turn that which was "form to that which was spirit." This explains the genesis of the Mughal painting. It evolved after intense experimentation and synthesis of the Persian and the local Indian idioms generated first by Mir Sayyid-Ali, then by Abd al-Samad.

The painters must have actually brought with them several sketches, study drawings, and maybe *charbas* of the paintings drafted by them or others at their school in Persia. Even though the style underwent a total transformation at the court of Akbar, these forms persisted and appear as an integral part of the paintings created during this period. The Persian elements they introduced are at times direct borrowings from earlier examples of Persian painting or adaptations to fit into the Indian settings. The Persian elements largely responsible for the development of Mughal painting are: concept of space and perspective, configuration of architecture, color tonalities and their implications, themes, characterization, gestures and mannerisms of the people, landscape, flora and fauna, decorative designs and motifs.

At the court of Akbar the artists to a major extent remained illustrators, illustrating some of the best-known Persian texts, such as the *Gulistan* of Sa'di, *Kalila wa Damna*, and the *Khamsa* of Nizami. Keeping with the tradition of Persian kings, Akbar had the astronomical manuscript of Tilasm—a book on omens and signs now preserved in the Rampur Library—illustrated. He also ordered the production of a large-scale copy of the *Hamza-Nama*. This enormous project coincided with a change in the format of manuscripts, and therefore the paintings were altered from the horizontal format common in India to vertical. The new manuscript format may also have resulted in a change in Indian paper size influenced by Persian examples.

In general the text and the painting occupy a marginated space on the paper, and in the majority of illustrations, a few lines of relevant text appear within the painting, a feature that developed in Iran as early as the late Jalayrid and early Timurid period. The margin line, which consists of three or four finely drawn

lines, one generally in gold, often deviates from a proper rectangular format; the reason being that the artist takes a great deal of liberty in extending his painting beyond the delineated picture plane. The Timurid artists were the first to break through the margin rulings and to use the space for new purposes. More often in Persian painting of the early Timurid period, one sees the artist cutting off the margin and extending the painting beyond it, merely to complete a figure or tree, not to include an essential component there. Later the space was used for important aspects of an episode. Both Abd al-Samad and Mir Sayyid-Ali were adept at this technique, which is fruitfully employed in manuscripts such as the *Anwar-i-Suhaili* of A.D. 1570, now at the University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies.

Within the vertical format perspective is created with either a landscape of colorful rocks and trees or sectional details of the interior of a palace, mosque, or fort. The landscape is generally a detailed panoramic view with human figures forming part of the whole, whereas in the architectural backdrop the concentration is on the human drama. Around 1575, the detailed landscape is sometimes replaced by the depiction of a sequence of narrative events beginning at the top of the page. Spatial division, then, indicates a change of location.

The vertical format, however, leaves little scope for horizontal space. The challenge is met with subtly, particularly when the horizontal space is required to depict armies confronting each other. In such cases the soldiers are arranged in vertical rows and the figures of the last row are cut at the margins to create a sense of further rows beyond it. Persian artists as early as the fourteenth century had evolved this device to depict war scenes in the *Shah-Nama*. Another artificial device used to create a feeling of horizontal space is architectural pattern that includes an area of two or three halls.

The master artists Mir Sayyid-Ali and Abd al-Samad would have found no precedents for creating any kind of perspective in Indian miniature tradition and therefore seem to have imported certain techniques from Persia. The perspective in landscape is indicated by juxtaposition of darker and lighter planes, introducing rocky areas in between, dark outlining of planes which are drawn in small, moundlike shapes, figures lurking behind rocks, and foreshortening.

Achieving linear perspective through architectural configuration is one of the most important borrowings of those Mughal artists who understood the geometrical principles of draftsmanship in which the Persian artists such as Bihzad, Shaykh-Muhammad, and Mir-Musavvir excelled. This must be the result of the previous training of the Persian masters Mir Sayyid-Ali and Abd al-Samad who joined the Mughal atelier and also of other artists who had arrived later, such as Farrukh Beg. Detailed isometric as well as perspective drawings of the palaces, forts, and religious buildings succeed in providing considerable illusion of depth to otherwise very flat paintings. Overlapping of planes is carefully avoided by creating an area of a different and generally lighter color between planes to demarcate buildings, grounds within a fort, even verandas and passages of mansions.

Only in rare cases does one find an entire painting copied from an earlier

Persian example, though certain compositional elements do appear as direct borrowings. To cite a few examples: drummers and other musicians in war scenes; groups of warriors; mounted horses trotting, prancing, or galloping; the manner in which the courtiers present themselves before the king; scenes outside the court; gestures expressing astonishment or aggressive conversation; and demons. Other details such as decorative wall designs, color combinations in costumes, gold eyes of animals, the rendering of horseshoes; shrubs and trees bearing white or pink flowers; the chinar; and stunted, curved, and bowed trees—all remind one of Persian paintings.

Prince of Wales Museum of Western India
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992
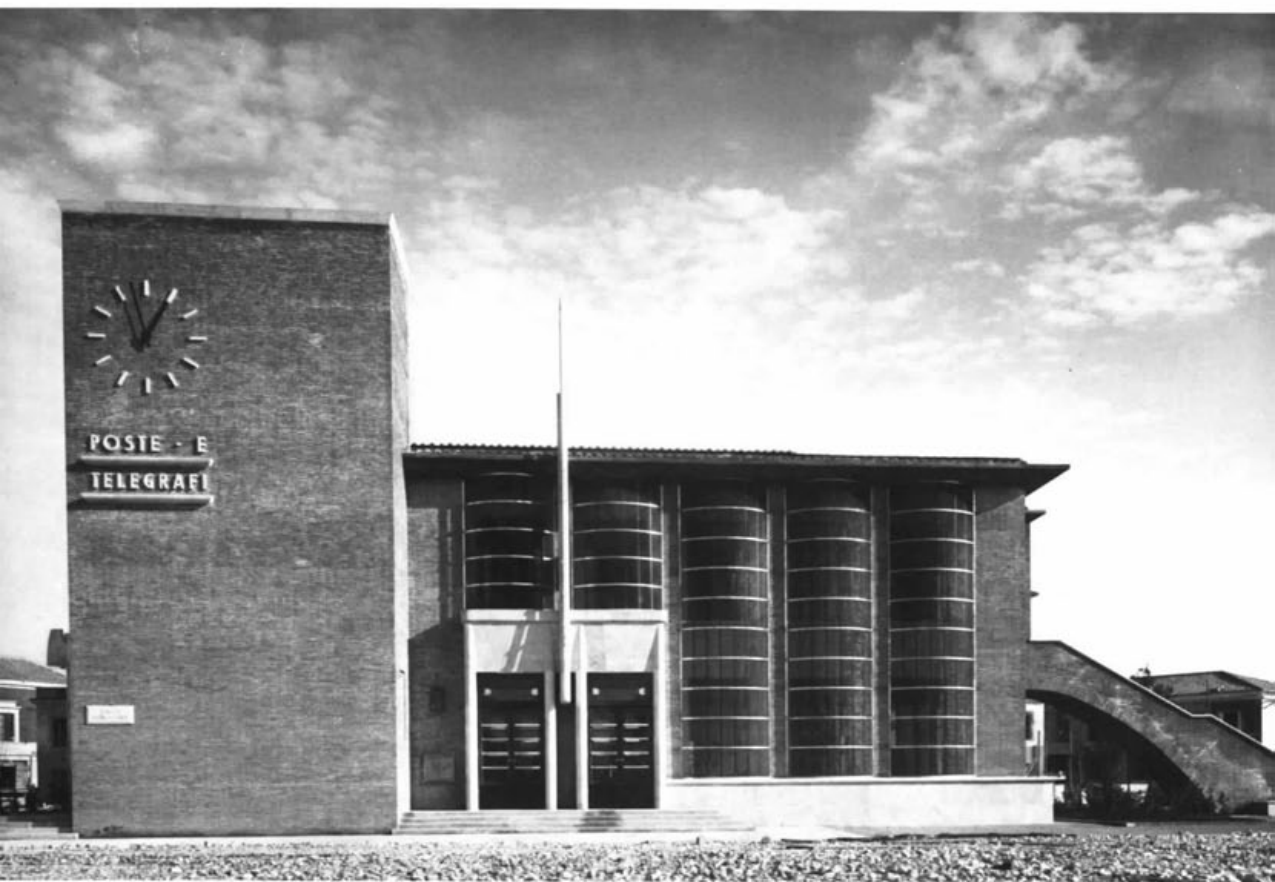
Angiolo Mazzoni, Post Office, Littoria (today Latina), 1932. Galleria Museo Depero Rovereto, Archivio Angiolo Mazzoni

RICHARD ETLIN

Angiolo Mazzoni and the Politics of Style in Fascist Italy

The subject of my research has been the career of Angiolo Mazzoni and the politics of style in Fascist Italy. As the principal architect in the Ministry of Communications, Mazzoni was the designer of about thirty buildings during the Fascist era, mostly train stations and post offices. These buildings were more than mere utilitarian structures. They belonged to the category of "representative architecture," in the dual sense of the term, as monumental edifices invested with an importance that reflected the legitimacy of the state and as buildings that incarnated the most characteristic features of modern life. Since the mid-nineteenth century, the railroad station had been considered throughout the West as a building type representative of the new industrial age. In Fascist Italy, railroad stations were accorded special importance. "The railroad is the mirror," affirmed Mussolini, "of the progress of the nation." Railroad stations and post offices were part of Mussolini's public works program used to mitigate the effects of unemployment in the Great Depression while providing Italy with the necessary infrastructure to realize the Fascist vision of a dynamic, modern state. Like the roads, bridges, dams, and waterways, the new railroad stations and post offices gave concrete expression to the popular Fascist slogan, "Italia in cammino," Italy on the move.

Yet despite the symbolic importance of railroad stations and post offices, there was no central governmental policy about the style of these buildings. It depended on the taste of the numerous parties who had roles in determining the look of these new buildings: the municipality; the high-level administrators of the Ministry of Communications; the minister himself; at times Mussolini; various cultural authorities either individually or through cultural institutions, such as the Consiglio delle Belle Arti; and the architect himself, Angiolo Mazzoni; as well as his superior, the engineer Ferruccio Businari. Both Mazzoni and Businari were intent on erecting modern buildings. Their efforts were chronicled, in part, in contemporary newspaper articles, which were supplemented by the extensive autobiographical notes and manuscripts written by Mazzoni in the 1970s.

Among the many projects undertaken by Mazzoni were the train stations for Florence, Venice, and Rome, all of which caused major controversies, resulting in public competitions. The cultural importance of the choice of style for the Florentine train station can be gauged by the number of visitors—150,000—to the exhibition of the one hundred competition projects on display in the Palazzo Vecchio between 9 March and 20 March 1933. The complexity of the cultural politics in selecting a style can be seen in the controversy over the design for the Roman train station whereby two successive designs, approved by Mussolini and published in the popular press as the approved project, were retracted in favor of increasingly conservative designs, more in touch with the imperial image of the

ancient Roman empire, which was deemed to have found its counterpart in Mussolini's Italian Empire established after the invasion of Ethiopia in 1935–1936.

This project has particular importance for the humanities, not only as a work of architectural history, but also as a study of the complex workings in the domain of politics and culture within the totalitarian Fascist state. In my previous book, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940* (MIT Press, 1991), I addressed this issue only briefly. That study provides a comprehensive treatment of the changing and pluralistic attempts to create a modern style also Italian in identity over this crucial fifty-year period that saw the birth and development of modern architecture in the West. It is also a study of the relationship between the culture of architecture and the culture of Fascism. Because I had to cover so much material and so many subjects I was able to accord Mazzoni only a dozen printed pages, including illustrations of only five of his buildings. The importance of Mazzoni's career in public service deserves its own study.

My book on Mazzoni is organized into two sections. First comes a brief account of his training in the school of contextual urban design and modern vernacular architecture pioneered in Rome in the teens by Gustavo Giovannoni and Marcello Piacentini. I relate the young architect's student projects and subsequent activity in Bologna to this intellectual context. This section introduces the reader to the aesthetic attitudes that inform Mazzoni's work throughout his subsequent career at the Ministry of Communications. Part two, the heart of the study, explores the politics involved in the choice of style for each of Mazzoni's train stations and post offices. This section interweaves the changing nature of Mazzoni's modernism, the political and cultural interests of the principal players in the decision-making process, and the response to modern architecture in the popular press. In addition, consideration is given to Mazzoni's involvement in Filippo Tommaso Marinetti's futurist movement in the 1930s when Mazzoni was the most eminent architect adhering to this cause. Because of Mazzoni's prominence, he was invited to coedit with Mino Somenzi the futurist periodical *Sant'Elia*, a post that he held between January 1934 and March 1935.

University of Maryland at College Park
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1992–1993

JUDITH FRYER

Women's Camera Work

The Center was literally that for me during September 1992; the fellowship en-
abled me to conduct primary research in the Washington area for my book,
"Women's Camera Work," a study of visual images made by women who were
photographers working in the United States from 1890 to 1940. I am interested in
the interconnection of the issues of gender, race, and class in the work of: female
pictorialist photographers who both situate themselves within and depart from the
conventions of the art world (usually identified with Alfred Stieglitz, 291, and
Camera Work); documentary photographers who represent in their work blacks,
Native Americans, the poor; and photographers of landscape and cityscape, whose
images are as precise and intimate as the human body, as spacious and mythical as
primeval monuments, or as densely inscribed as our urban scenes. My major con-
cern in this study is with the problem of representing the Other, with the ques-
tion of how to bridge the disconnectedness in order to document, or represent, a
presence that is outside the realm of one's own felt experience.

Reading photographs, the act of interpretation itself—assigning categories of
meaning ("art," "document") to images, ordering photographs into sequences of
other photographs and of words—is a way of constructing our own versions of
history. Mindful of the complexity of my task in describing "Women's Camera
Work," I approach the gendered implications of my own version with caution,
intending not to polarize the world of images, or of history-making, but to open
the nature of historical narrative to a fuller participation than readers and inter-
preters of photographs so far have given us. In isolating a body of work by fe-
male photographers for study, I hope to avoid the pitfalls of constructing a uni-
versal category called Woman: I am aware of the sentimentalization of women's
work as a kind of utopian community on the one hand and, on the other, of
women quite capable of abusing positions of power. The work of Diane Arbus,
whose trying on of alien experience has been likened to a "panopticon of the
spirit"; of Margaret Bourke-White, who described war in terms of pageantry and
regular patterns; and the playful performances of contemporary photographer
Cindy Sherman, who takes Arbus' guise of giving a sign to the world and turns
it into dis-guise, representing the self as an illusion, a culturally constructed con-
trivance—these constitute a powerful argument against a "gift of sympathy"
when the woman looks—while the work of a Lewis Hine reminds us that an in-
sistence on the participation of the subject in the making of the picture is not
simply a question of gender. (Words similar to those of Willa Cather about Sarah
Orne Jewett have been used to describe the work of female photographers from
Gertrude Käsebier to Helen Levitt.)

This project, informed by feminist theory, psychoanalyses, and cross-discipli-
nary theories of representation, particularly in the field of cultural anthropology,

Dorothea Lange, *The Daughter of a Negro Tenant Churning Butter,* July 1939.
Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, U.S. Farm Security
Administration Collection

seeks to establish cultural contexts for visual images. When my fellowship began,
I had established the groundwork in these fields, had written the theoretical in-
troduction to the book, and had drafted chapters on pictorialism, representations
of Native Americans, and landscape photography. But I had not yet done the
most important work, that of studying the whole range of available images. The
first problem of revisionist history-making, after all, is *which* images; for the con-
struction of history is bound up with the re-presentation, in books, journals, and
the popular press, in reviews and monographs, in museum and gallery exhibitions,
of a given set of images that have become canonized. I came to Washington to
read the papers of Imogen Cunningham at the archives of the National Museum
of American Art; to look at a great variety of original images by female photog-
raphers in the collections of the National Museum of American History, the
National Portrait Gallery, and the Library of Congress; to read in historical period-
icals available at the National Museum of American Art and the National Gallery
of Art. My most important task was to study unpublished work by female pho-
tographers in the Farm Security Administration files of the Library of Congress,
the National Archives, the National Museum of American Art, and the anthro-
pology archives of the National Museum of Natural History—particularly images
of Native, African, Asian, and Hispanic Americans.

All of Gertrude Käsebier's studio portraits of Native Americans, most of them of members of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, taken when they traveled east, are available at the Library of Congress and the National Museum of American History. The images of Native Americans in the anthropology archives of the National Museum of Natural History are beyond count, but I spent a full week looking at photographs made by early twentieth-century female anthropologists, nearly all of them unknown to me previously. My most important discoveries were made in the Farm Security Administration archives, which contain some 270,000 photographs catalogued not by photographer or subject, or chronologically, but geographically. Within a region photographs are organized by category—land, buildings, tasks (for example, crop harvesting, and then by crop), men, women, children, recreational activities, landmarks and signs, and so on. This made it difficult to see images in a series—to follow Dorothea Lange's track as she envisioned a particular migrant family's story—but it was a constant lesson in the diverse work of the FSA. It was also a lesson in research of another kind—into my own hunches, which in confronting thousands of images of similar subjects, surfaced, became insistent, demanded attending to, and finally became the basis for selection. Repeatedly I found a focus on the bodies of these disempowered Others: bodies cramped in makeshift tents, thin bodies, strong bodies, bare feet, bodies with the weight of a child against a protruding hip, the weight of a bale felt in the back and arms, the back bent over a lettuce field, the hand wiping a sweaty brow—these *are* her stories. Again, in the National Archives, immersed in the horror of the Japanese internment camps which Lange also photographed—images not made public until the early seventies—I was brought up against sharp recognition of the fact that war is a contest in which human bodies are the tokens of victory. Lange's focus is on these other bodies—handled, herded, inoculated, lined up, tagged, housed in former horse stalls that stank of manure, in every way humiliated, impounded, like her photographs. All of this was diverse work, but within it I found a kind of unity for which I was not prepared. What I thought I had when I returned home were materials for the chapter on Lange's documentation of the Other—and, separately, a rich thickening of contextual and supplementary materials on pictorialism and representations of Native Americans. In fact I brought back an understanding of the way in which Lange's documentary photography was not a departure but a development from her earlier work in portrait photography, which included study with Clarence White and apprenticeship with Arnold Genthe, and was informed by conventions of pictorialism—an understanding that a side of pictorialism (if we discount the soft focus and artistic manipulation of prints) has always been concerned with the exotic Other, which is perhaps another way of saying that "document" and "art" are, after all, constructed categories in the history of photography.

University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992

This late eleventh-century self-portrait by the Benedictine monk Hugo *pictor* is one of the earliest medieval artist-portraits. Hugo is seated, quill in hand, before a carefully observed arch with what appears to be a tiled roof above. The setting is perhaps the cloister of Jumièges where Hugo is thought to have been a monk.

The inscription behind Hugo's head reads *Hugo pictor* and the one about his head, *Imago pictoris et illuminatoris huius operis* (representation of the painter and illuminator of this work, or book). The repetition of the word *pictor* is notable as is the very early use of the word *illuminator* in connection with manuscript decoration. Hugo also wrote part of the manuscript in which he appears but did not mention his role as scribe. He certainly decorated all of the book.

The self-portrait appears at the end of a large manuscript of Jerome's commentary on Isaiah and is a kind of inhabited colophon. The manuscript was probably made at Jumièges but might have been commissioned, or purchased, by Osbern, bishop of Exeter 1072–1103, as a gift for his cathedral. Hugo worked not only at Jumièges, but also at Saint Ouen, Rouen, and either at or for Fécamp. He was one of the few medieval artists to leave two self-portraits, for there is another by him in a manuscript in Paris.

Bodleian Library, Oxford (Bodley 717 f.287v). Reproduced with the permission of the Curators of the Bodleian Library

MICHAEL GULLICK

A Corpus of Portraits of Medieval Scribes and Artists

Apart from their surviving work, what is known about those who wrote and decorated medieval manuscripts is largely derived from a wide range of literary and archival sources. Much of this supporting data is unpublished or scattered in a variety of publications. What has been collected needs to be used cautiously. The original sources and the literary evidence together have fueled the fundamental preoccupation of those who have studied manuscripts: who did what, when, and where. It usually comes as a surprise to those who are not medievalists to learn how much of this work remains to be accomplished.

The ordering of medieval manuscripts by scholars has depended on stylistic and iconographical studies of all kinds of decoration, from full-page miniatures to pen-flourished initials, increasingly combined with paleographical and codicological studies—the analysis of script and production techniques. This kind of approach will remain basic in organizing and controlling the wealth of original material, but whereas this was regarded until quite recently as an end of study, it is now widely seen as only a beginning.

The questions being asked of manuscripts and the literary and archival sources by historians of many kinds are becoming more sophisticated and more demanding of the materials. This, in turn, leads to increasingly detailed investigation and analysis of the production, patronage, and provenance of books, and of the needs and habits of authors, scribes, artists, and readers.

A small body of visual evidence that touches on several areas of inquiry is the portraits, many self-portraits, of scribes and artists found in manuscripts themselves. Some are well known, although these are often the least typical, but most are not. Information on portraits has long languished in the specialist literature and catalogues of collections. About 250 portraits have been identified, a minute number set against the thousands of surviving manuscripts. No doubt other portraits remain to be discovered, but there are enough known to be able to make some observations about their types and distribution. Further discoveries seem unlikely to radically alter the conclusions that can be drawn from the known examples.

The portraits offer insights into how some craftsmen (most were men) regarded themselves and how patrons and others saw them. The medieval craftsman was above all a servant, and the inclusion and exclusion of subject matter of all kinds, including that of a portrait or self-portrait, usually must have been a matter for patron rather than artist to decide. Even the small number of portraits that have been identified adds to the further destruction of the old myth about the anonymity of the medieval craftsman, whether servant of God or Mammon.

The portraits range in date from the late ninth to the sixteenth century, with the greatest number and variety occurring in Romanesque manuscripts. Before 1200, self-portraits appear to be more common north of the Alps than south;

later they are distributed fairly evenly throughout Europe.

During my fellowship I was able to revise my notes accumulated over twenty years, made with the intention that one day they might serve as the basis for a corpus publication of the portraits. My own attributions, as well as those of earlier scholars, needed to be reviewed, recent literature searched, bibliography checked, and portraits of craftsmen and artists from other media, times, and places examined and reviewed. In short, much of my time was spent in the tedious but necessary task of checking printed material.

More important was the opportunity to think about the material I had collected, assemble it into some order, and make it intelligible to nonspecialists. The assembly of a body of material or evidence, if it is based on a broad search, is often an end for one scholar and a beginning for another. To have spent an uninterrupted and happy time making my ending, with my mind mostly in places and times old before Columbus was born, was a joy.

Oxford, England
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1991

ANNE COFFIN HANSON

Severini futurista: 1912–1917

Although the boisterous declarations of the Italian futurists made their program widely known throughout Europe and the United States in the first decade of this century, the rich complexities of futurist art and theory still remain to be explored. The recent Umberto Boccioni exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was a welcome step in bringing a deeper understanding of futurism to the United States. Similarly, my project at the Center for Advanced Study attempts to further our knowledge of the futurist accomplishment of Boccioni's friend and colleague, Gino Severini.

The original spread of futurist ideas was consciously orchestrated by F. T. Marinetti in a round of traveling exhibitions and performances. The first and most important of the exhibitions of futurist painting took place at the Bernheim-Jeune Gallery in Paris in 1912. It was planned to counter the accusation that futurism was an offshoot of cubism, and to stress the differences in theory and practice between the two avant-garde movements. The propaganda effort was formidable. The exhibition left Paris for London and Berlin and continued to more than fifteen other venues, lasting well into a second year. In spite of invitations to participate in the Armory Show in New York in 1913, the futurist pictures did not travel to the United States. Marinetti was still involved in the continuing European tour, and his demands for a separate room, and even a separate entrance, could not be met. In 1915, at the Panama Pacific Exposition in San Francisco, the futurists had a room of their own, but its location in the annex, rather than the main pavilion where more traditional "modern" Italian artists were shown, made their exhibition appear marginal to both public and press.

The first notable exhibition of futurist art in the United States was Gino Severini's one-man show at Alfred Stieglitz' gallery, 291, in New York in early 1917. Severini had approached his American friend, Walter Pach, who had passed on photographs of his work to Stieglitz. It was an extraordinary exhibition of outstanding pictures that won for the artist more than one intelligent and sensitive review. No catalogue has survived, but the lists of works exhibited have been known since 1970 when they were discovered by Joan Lukach in the Stieglitz archives at Yale University. Ten of the twenty-five works were bought by John Quinn, and because the war prevented their immediate return after the exhibition, the others remained in Stieglitz's collection until his death, when they were distributed by his executor, Georgia O'Keeffe, to a number of American institutions. As a result, the works in the 291 exhibition have rarely been seen with works of the same period that remained in European collections.

The years between the Bernheim-Jeune exhibition of 1912 and late 1916, when Severini's works were shipped to Stieglitz in New York, were extraordinarily productive for the artist. An outpouring of theoretical ideas paralleled an active pe-

Gino Severini, *Dancer in the Light*, 1913. Private collection

riod of inventive artistic production, word and image feeding on each other as his ideas developed and matured. My project has been to define Severini's futurist contribution through an exhibition of precisely those works that were shown in these two exhibitions and in several other exhibitions that intervened.

To do so involves both practical and conceptual issues. Finding the specific objects that were exhibited during those years has been a difficult task since there are many similar drawings and paintings without provenance, some of which are known to have been made at a later date. Without Daniela Fonti's new *Gino Severini: Catalogo ragionato*, this work could not have been attempted; Severini's autobiography has provided crucial information on his habits of inscribing his pictures. Unpublished letters in the Stieglitz and Marinetti archives at Yale University have provided key information concerning plans for futurist exhibitions and the identity of individual works, and I have benefited from the generous assistance of European and American dealers, and the efforts of my research assistant, Karin Alexis. All the works in the Bernheim-Jeune and Stieglitz shows have now been identified and located, as have all but a few works in five other exhibitions.

In 1913 Marinetti encouraged Severini to write a "manifesto" similar to those being produced for *Lacerba* by other futurist artists. An essay was written, but it never met with Marinetti's approval, and was not published until forty-five years later when it no longer had immediate meaning for him. Unpublished corre-

spondence, read together with the various surviving versions of the manifesto text, tells a story of Severini's persistence and frustration, and illuminates his rapid personal development from ideas held by the futurists as a group to his own individual futurist contribution.

Severini had earlier accepted (and signed) the official futurist position in "The Exhibitors to the Public," the essay published in almost all futurist exhibition catalogues (including that of the Panama Pacific Exposition). Along with their complex assertions about motion and light, "the exhibitors" expressed concern about "the question of volumes in painting, as opposed to the liquefaction of objects favored by the vision of the Impressionists." A year later, in his manifesto, Severini could confidently state, "Objects no longer exist." And, indeed, by the beginning of 1914 the object, as described by its volumes, had disappeared from Severini's paintings, "liquefied" by light and color into pure sensory experience. "The abstract forms and colors that we paint belong to the Universe beyond time and space," he said. The degree of abstraction he achieved appears to have become unsupportable, however, and by 1916 as he prepared for the Stieglitz exhibition, Severini had begun to rediscover and redefine the function of the *thing* in art. He did not reinstate "nature" at this point, but turned from the "idée-image" given by the senses to a "réalisme idéiste," which represents the object in symbolic form. When Severini published a version of his manifesto in 1960, he included an addendum recanting his earlier position and explaining that he had only discussed the suppression of the object in a dialectical and polemic form. "One would have to be very naive to believe that one could destroy the object itself, and consequently the existential world .... in destroying existential reality, we would destroy ourselves."

In addition to the mundane tasks of organizing the exhibition, I have substantially completed two essays for the catalogue: one on commercial galleries, futurist exhibitions, and their control by a central futurist authority; the other on the sources for Severini's "theory of analogies" as it was developed both in his masterly works and in his ill-fated "manifesto."

Some of these ideas concerning futurist theory and its complex sources will play a part in the final chapters of a book I am preparing on perspective, perception, and representation. The book traces nineteenth-century changes in assumptions of how we see and how sight relates to the traditional charting of space. A section remains to be written on the views of early twentieth-century artists and critics on the changing roles of art, as mimesis and as experience, as illusion and as object. Severini's persistent confrontation with exactly these issues makes him an excellent model for this exploration.

Yale University (emerita)
Samuel H. Kress Professor 1992–1993

Reliquary bust of Saint Euphrosyne, c. 1348. Saint Ursula's, Cologne.
Photograph: Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne

JOAN HOLLADAY

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

In the century between 1260 and 1360 sculptors in Cologne produced hundreds of life-size wooden reliquary busts of female saints. A small number of reliquaries in bust form predate these Cologne products; none of the earlier works represent women. The large numbers of Cologne busts and the predominantly female subjects of these works result from their association with the cult of Saint Ursula and her virgin companions, who had been martyred at Cologne in the third or fourth century and venerated near their burial site at the city's perimeter from that time. By the eleventh century the legends of the saints' lives and martyrdom consistently numbered Ursula's companions at eleven thousand, and the discovery of a Roman cemetery near the traditional cult site in 1106 seemed to verify the story. The invention of the saints' relics prompted the rebuilding of the Church of the Holy Virgins (now Saint Ursula), probably between 1106 and 1135, and excavations, visions, and church furnishings document interest in the cult for the next fifty years.

An apparent lull until the middle of the thirteenth century ended with a series of events marking a deliberate reinvigoration of the cult of the virgins. In 1247 and again in 1267, Dominican friars took some of the virgins' relics on tour to solicit donations for new construction, presumably the Gothic choir consecrated about 1287. Immediately thereafter a second aisle was added to the church's south side, and a Golden Chamber dedicated to the storage of the relics may have been erected in the same area about this time. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the wooden roof of the nave was replaced with stone vaults. Throughout this period—the second half of the thirteenth century and the early fourteenth—the virgins' relics were excavated and exported in large numbers. It is not yet clear whether this renewed interest in the cult occurred in response to specific events, or whether the canonesses at the Church of the Holy Virgins made a conscious decision to promote their foundation and its incomparable stock of relics for increased prestige and financial gain. Previous scholarship on the reliquary busts has concentrated on the stylistic relationships between the busts and related questions of their relative chronology and dating. Neither architectural nor art historians have taken notice of the exact chronological correlation between the development and popularity of the bust form for the storage of the virgins' relics and the historical events and architectural changes at the virgins' cult site. I consider it imperative, however, to think of the busts not only in this historical context, but as one of the essential components of the revitalized cult of the virgins.

While the building and decoration of the new cathedral choir (1248–1322) may have provided an impulse for similar activity at other religious foundations in town, the important and unusually visible role of religious women in Cologne

at this time seems more directly related to the renewed interest in Ursula's virgin band. Cologne was home to large numbers of canonesses and nuns and played a pivotal role in the thirteenth-century history of the beguines, women who led contemplative lives of apostolic poverty without taking vows or entering the cloister. A dense network of connections links the active promotion of the virgins' cult to the church's attempt to maintain appropriate ecclesiastical discipline over Cologne's religious women, especially the beguines, whose independence from the approved monastic orders made it difficult for the church to control their activities and verify the orthodoxy of their beliefs. The proclamation of Ursula's feast day as a celebration for the entire diocese in 1305, indulgences from 1314, and familial relationships between the archbishops and the abbesses at the Church of the Holy Virgins evidence support for the virgins' cult at the highest levels. The Dominicans, supervisors of all local beguines from 1260, received numerous and important relics from the abbess at the Church of the Holy Virgins, whose canonesses were themselves responsible for two beguine houses. Some of the many other beguine houses located near the church must have come under its influence as well. Coats of arms of local patricians, painted in prominent positions on the shoulders of several of the preserved reliquary busts, identify the same families whose daughters and nieces became beguines.

The marked physicality of the Ursula busts, heightened by the life-size scale, natural coloring, and fashionable clothing, seems intended to promote their use as role models by presenting the viewer with a woman like herself. Specifically female and eminently approachable, the busts invite the viewer's direct engagement and identification with the object of her meditations. The saint's choice of virginity, commitment to the communal life, and devotion to the Roman church presented forceful encouragement for the viewer's similar decisions. Busts of men, manufactured from the 1320s on to house the relics of clerics, supposed to have traveled with the virgins to attend to their spiritual needs, and nobles, especially the virgins' fathers and brothers, downplayed the virgins' legendary independence and situated their activities in traditional arrangements with respect to long-standing power structures.

By visualizing the members of Ursula's band as the daughters of patrician families, the reliquary busts reconfigure the perception of the virgins for use in the religious life of the late medieval city. My study focuses for the first time on the functions of these objects in the interlocking contexts in which they were created and used. In the physical space of the newly renovated church and within the theological and political debates about the appropriate roles for religious women, the busts structured specific relationships between the saints and their worshippers and between different constituencies' understandings of the religious life.

University of Texas at Austin
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

ELENA IVANOVA

The Development of French Ceramics of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

French Renaissance pottery with a transparent lead glaze was contemporary with majolica covered with white tin glaze in the Italian style. Usually lead glaze ware was decorated by impressed relief and unpainted. The workshops that produced lead glaze ceramics existed wherever there was suitable clay, but the most prominent were in Saintonge, Beauvais, and Normandy. At the beginning of the sixteenth century lead glaze pottery was revered by the nobility, and certain workshops were patronized by members of the royal family. By the end of the century it had lost popularity and acquired the features of primitive folk art. The centers for production of majolica in the Italian style were Lyon, Nevers, Rouen, and Nîmes, where both Italian and French ceramists worked. Majolica's opaque, white tin glazing provided an excellent ground for painted decoration. This gave majolica workshops an advantage, and by the end of the sixteenth century majolica had gained acceptance and was sought for interior decoration together with silver and enamel decorative arts.

Followers of Bernard Palissy Sousier, vase, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

As French pottery emerged as a decorative art, it was greatly influenced by other of the so-called high or fine arts such as painting. Painting became influential because engraving in the same period allowed the reproduction of original paintings, the relatively inexpensive dissemination of images, and consequently their availability to craftsmen. Engravers published books of great masterpieces that became standard sources for potters. Many craftsmen faithfully reproduced the images rather than creating original scenes. As prints became widespread in Europe, the same compositions and their details appeared on silver dishes, tapestries, and painted enamels. This became a distinctive feature of works of art in the mannerist period.

Part of my research is devoted to the pursuit of graphic analogies and patterns for French ceramics. In this period the painted sources were extremely diverse, though the school of Fontainebleau was a frequent source. The paintings of Raphael were also important to French ceramists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The collection of engravings in the National Gallery of Art proved very fruitful for this aspect of my study. For example, I found a print by the Master of the Die after Raphael, a fragment of which served as a pattern for seventeenth-century majolica in the Hermitage collection.

The focus of my study is the two hundred, mostly unstudied pieces of pottery in the collection of the Hermitage, and I have been able to identify certain pieces as Saintonge ware, a type that has only recently attracted scholarly interest. I have also been able to distinguish for the first time French pieces that have until now been considered Italian. The work of later followers and of nineteenth-century forgers, particularly of Palissy ware, can now also be identified.

State Hermitage Museum
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1993

VIRGINIA ROEHRIG KAUFMANN

The Magdeburg Rider as a Public Monument in the Context of the Guelph-Ghibelline Struggle

My previous work has tried to establish the Magdeburg Rider as an example of Frederick II's efforts to reintroduce, in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the ancient Roman type of life-size equestrian monument as a symbol of imperial power. I have linked Frederick II with the patronage of equestrian images in Apulia (Italy) and indirectly with others in the north, through his associations with ecclesiastics including the archbishop of Magdeburg. "The Magdeburg Rider: An Aspect of the Reception of Frederick II's Roman Revival North of the Alps" will appear soon in Studies in the History of Art.

This year research helped broaden my understanding of the complex historical context in which this powerful symbolic image was invented and later played a significant role. Despite long-standing interest of scholars in the Magdeburg Rider, and countless publications, its relation to the political struggle between pope and emperor has not previously been introduced into discussion. In considering the Rider's function as a public monument, and comparing it to the nearby Braunschweig Lion, I have been able to unravel a history of these monuments as symbols of the source of legal power in their localities and as demonstrations of loyalty to, as well as propaganda for, that power.

The Magdeburg Rider seems to have been part of the "battle of images" used on both sides of the Alps in the so-called Guelph-Ghibelline struggle. Indeed the first lions identified in this context were in Rome, where they may have been used in the early Middle Ages as propaganda for papal claims to legal power there. The lion reappeared in twelfth-century sculpture, in numerous commissions of the papal supporter Mathilda of Canossa, on cathedral portals near where legal activity is documented as taking place. In work by the same Italian workshop the lion also appeared north of the Alps in the foundation at Königslutter, near Braunschweig, of the Guelph, Lothar of Supplingenburg. Thus I have been able to demonstrate that the transalpine link of the Guelphs (a term derived from Welf, the earliest remembered member of the family), the lion, and the papal cause was established already in the twelfth century, even prior to the 1166 erection of the bronze lion in Braunschweig.

I have also discovered evidence suggesting that the equestrian, as well as the lion, was used as a symbol of papal power. Although a Roman imperial symbol, the equestrian image had been taken over by the pope, as a symbol of the "Imperial Papacy." His claim to it was based on the forged Donation of Constantine which purported to give the pope secular as well as ecclesiastical control of the lands of the empire. In the context of the "war of images" of the Guelph-Ghibelline struggle, I am suggesting that Frederick II, in using the equestrian for his own purposes, was attempting to reclaim this powerful political symbol from the pope.

Study of the prodigious activity of codifying different systems of law in Italy and the north in the thirteenth century has clarified the further transalpine link of cities successful in gaining commercial rights with Guelph and papal support. At this time the Hohenstaufen emperors (called "Ghibelline" in Italian after their ancestral castle at Waiblingen) were also active in codifying law, including Roman (or feudal) law for which they claimed to be the ultimate authority.

I have been able to document the use of both lion and equestrian topographically, in relation to actual law courts, as symbols of their source of authority. Indeed the Magdeburg Rider is the best, but not only, example I have found so far symbolizing the Holy Roman emperor as the ultimate authority for law in a Ghibelline city. Among other documents brought to this discussion are a series of grants Frederick II made to his German archbishops, returning to them total legal and political control over their cities. Legal scholars have suggested that in return for the very real power he restored to his prelates, Frederick II wanted to be acknowledged as ultimate legal power in the system of Roman law. The erection by the archbishop of the newly revived imperial symbol of an equestrian monument, at the place documented as the location of the archepiscopal courts in Magdeburg, would certainly have fulfilled this obligation to Frederick II. It also would have identified Magdeburg as a Ghibelline city in much the way Braunschweig with its lion would have been identified as the Guelph city par excellence.

Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1992–1993

Magdeburg Rider, second quarter of the thirteenth century, pre-World War II photograph.
Bildarchiv Foto Marburg

Bartolommeo Ammannati, *Ceres*, from the Juno
Fountain, 1555. Museo Nazionale del Bargello,
Florence. Photograph by Ralph Lieberman

CLAUDIA LAZZARO

Gender in the Political Imagery of the Medici in the Sixteenth Century

The Medici creation of a dynastic imagery in Florence in the sixteenth century
has been investigated in numerous iconographic studies of paintings, sculpture,
portraits, and decorative cycles. Recently there has been great interest in ephem-
eral and minor arts as well, in a wealth of scholarship on ritual entries and other
ceremonies and festivities, along with tapestries and majolica. A few studies focus
on the relationship of political and sexual power, inherent in the sculpture
groups in Piazza Signoria that involve male and female figures—Donatello's
Judith and Holofernes, Cellini's *Perseus and Medusa*, and Giambologna's *Rape of the
Sabine Woman*. I hope to demonstrate that Medici imagery in the sixteenth cen-
tury drew on contemporary social constructions of gender in many more ways as
well, both obvious and subtle.

In addition to his programmed imagery of personal power, Cosimo also prom-
ulgated that of the ruling family and female aspects of the state and of good gov-
ernment. An analogy between family and state was implied in the elaborate and
highly politicized entries of the brides staged during marriage festivities. The im-
agery in the *apparati* was paralleled in painted and sculpted decoration, tapestries,
medals, and so on, altogether creating the myths and signs of autocratic rule.

Following the traditional association of family and state, the Medici ruling family
embodied the fertility of the Tuscan state, primarily through its female half, the
Duchess Eleonora of Toledo. When Eleonora entered Florence in 1539 for her
wedding with Cosimo, the first of the triumphal arches that she encountered was
dominated by a figure of Fecundity. Eleonora fulfilled her charge by bearing
Cosimo ten children, and this fecundity was celebrated in an emblem devised by
Paolo Giovio. In the wedding festivities for the marriage of Cosimo's son Francesco
and Joanna of Austria, Ceres glorified Florence, called the "garden of Europe," and
her fertility. In a fountain in Cosimo's actual garden at Castello, fertile Florence,
represented as Venus Anadyomene, wrung fresh water from her hair.

Among the strategies of Medicean imagery are repetition in different con-
texts, association of similar images, and overlapping of meanings. Thus fertility
was an attribute of Florence, the good wife and female ruler, as well as of the
flourishing state and good government. Fecund marriages both assured the dy-
nasty and symbolized the well-being of the state. In the Palazzo Vecchio rooms
are dedicated to Ops and Ceres, the mother of all the earth and her daughter,
who taught men to cultivate the earth; both are explicated by Vasari with analo-
gies to the good rule of the Medici and such particular examples as land reclama-
tion. In the principal public space of the palace, the Sala Grande, the personifica-
tion of Florence wears on her head the towers of Ops, so that the abundance of
the earth, good government, and the state are all associated by the repetition of a
visual sign and implied transference of significance. This is suggested in the

image, but not verbalized in Vasari's text.

The process of accumulated images and meanings helps account for the present controversy over interpreting Medici imagery, since it is founded on slippery associations and indirect discourse. This can be exemplified in Ammannati's Juno Fountain, intended for the Sala Grande. Juno was explicitly identified with Eleonora. As the goddess of the air she figures in the allegory of the generation of water in the fountain, together with Ceres, the central figure. Ceres is represented in the same pose of pressing milk (or here spring water) from her breasts as the figure symbolizing Clemency in the ceiling of the Room of the Elements in the Palazzo Vecchio. (Baccio Baldini wrote a panegyric on Clemency dedicated to Cosimo I.) The fountain was to be served by the aqueduct that Cosimo built, his own act of generosity, to assure the literal and metaphoric health of his city by supplying it with fresh drinking water. Additional statues compound these accumulated associations. In the fountain, the overt subjects of nature and water are expressed through traditional female images, which also symbolize peace, good government, and the ruling family members themselves.

My concern is with visual discourse—how visual images convey both political messages and cultural assumptions—and with the mechanics of Medicean political propaganda. Many of the familiar themes of Medici rule, such as the continuity between republic and principate and the continuous Florentine history from its founding in antiquity and its flourishing under Cosimo, the new Augustus, are likewise reinforced by the particular visual representation. For example, personifications of Florence follow ancient sculptural types, such as the figure of Florence in the Juno Fountain that is modeled on the ancient Flora type. Antiquity and fertility thus are associated in the very form. My study will eventually develop these and other themes in which gender is a key element in the creation of a cultural identity.

Cornell University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1992

effects. His ship portraits could be copied easily by engravers and imitators, which helped disseminate his style.

Thomas Birch, *Perry's Victory on Lake Erie,* 1814. Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Gift of Mrs. C. H. A. Esling

effects, all paralleling conventions developed in contemporary treatises on naval architecture, rigging, navigation, and seamanship. The visual and textual "language" of seamanship and ship construction was sufficiently circulated by 1800 so that a nonprofessional mariner such as Birch could master its conventions. The relationship, however, was by no means exclusively deterministic. In the first chapter I also consider how Birch mediated ship portraiture with his knowledge of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European seascapes. Birch developed a hybrid genre picturing specific vessels in naturalistic environments.

Chapter two focuses on Birch's topographical harbor views. These images reflect and sustain concerns about order, civic identity, and economic stability. Birch's small panoramic views of New York City from the harbor conformed with an evident reality. Following the War of 1812, the metropolis emerged as the financial center of the United States. Numerous commercial advantages, especially related to the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, created a substantial merchant class who demonstrated increasing interest in Birch's meticulous representations of the city's bustling enterprise. Conversely, Philadelphia witnessed a general decline. A market for views strikingly similar to those purchased in New York nonetheless persisted in Philadelphia. The formulaic consistency of these images elides the waning importance of Philadelphian commerce.

Chapter three concerns paintings commemorating naval victories achieved during the War of 1812. Birch's images reached a mass audience. As one aspect

of the spectacular effusions of patriotism following several unexpected victories over the British navy, Birch's battle paintings and related engravings were voraciously consumed. These images, I argue, articulate a developing sense of national identity. Just as officers and seamen emerge as the preeminent examples of American virtues and abilities during this period, representations of the ships themselves visually reinforce American notions of racial and moral superiority. Birch's numerous images of celebrated victories do not betray the physical advantages of American vessels, as was almost without exception the case, but stress the equality of the match. The decisiveness of individual and corporate acts of American heroism, skill, and bravery is thus implied.

Finally the manifold, often contradictory meanings ascribed to shipwreck paintings are tackled. Birch exhibited a scene of maritime disaster as early as 1811, but most of his extant shipwrecks date from the 1820s and 1830s. The impact of European marine painting is evident in Birch's seascapes, yet the relationship probably does not extend beyond the formal level. Whereas the subjects of seventeenth-century Dutch tempest paintings are limited to themes of perseverance, Birch's similar scenes frequently show ships at the mercy of the elements, the crew's impotence, and even the passengers' resignation to a cruel fate. His images parallel systems of structuring the universe according to binary oppositions and the mental habit of association so prevalent in nineteenth-century Western culture. Birch's shipwrecks often replicate the narrative structure of prescriptive and religious texts, in which death or impending disaster presents opportunity to test individual fortitude and faith. There is much evidence, however, that nineteenth-century audiences were attracted by representations of suffering and defeat in ways that extended beyond pedagogical concerns. The ability to ascertain and appreciate another person's pain and relate it to one's own experience was highly valued, as is evident in shipwreck narratives and poetry, treatises on the sublime, and early psychological theories. Birch's shipwrecks presented for their original audience a site onto which various, often competing cultural meanings were projected. Evocative details, such as subtle classical allusions sometimes included in his composition, offered his audience a means of testing their powers of discrimination and knowledge and their capacity for feeling deep emotion.

[Northwestern University]
Wyeth Fellow, 1991–1993

Tullio Lombardo, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, c. 1505–1510.
Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Author photograph

ALISON LUCHS

*Tullio Lombardo and Ideal Portrait Sculpture in Renaissance Venice,
1490–1530*

For masterful carving and haunting expression, the two marble high reliefs with
busts of young couples by the Venetian sculptor Tullio Lombardo (c. 1460–1532)
are among the most spellbinding creations of the Italian Renaissance. One is in
the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, the other in the Ca' d'Oro, Venice.
Literature on them has usually focused on their chronological place in Tullio's
long career, and on their sources and meaning. The figures' preoccupied, deeply
moved expressions seem to demand explanation, and the repeated mixing of
Greco-Roman motifs with distinctly contemporary Venetian costume details
hints that the reliefs could represent contemporary Venetians in antique guise.

In reconsidering these questions, and in the continuing absence of early docu-
mentation, I have attempted to situate the reliefs more clearly in the context of
Venetian art and patronage between c. 1490 and 1530, in relation to the expecta-
tions Venetian patrons had of both sculptors and painters during this period.
Sculpture was in vast demand in Venice before 1490, but almost exclusively for
public rather than private settings. Portrait sculpture independent of public mon-
uments was nearly nonexistent, for a number of reasons related to the nature of
Venetian society and taste. Under these conditions Tullio's double portraits must
have struck a Venetian audience of their time as even more extraordinary than
they do modern viewers.

The nature of sculpture commissions, private painted portraiture, and the
growing phenomenon of art collecting in late fifteenth-century Venice suggests
Tullio deliberately set out to create a new sculptural genre and to stimulate pri-
vate patronage for it. His themes were probably antique, but his forms emphati-
cally proclaimed the works to be of their own time, and worthy competition for
the ancient sculpture that collectors had for some years been acquiring. Tullio
designed his reliefs in ways that play on the ambiguity not only of ancient and
modern, but of sculpted and living forms. And he continued to rethink his own
ideas, subtly changing his style and emotional content from the Venice relief of
c. 1490–1495 to the Vienna relief of c. 1505–1510. One stimulus for this change
may have been the arrival in Venice of Giorgione, a painter but nonetheless a
competitor for precisely the kind of discerning private patron that Tullio must
have hoped to cultivate. Both artists conjured a mood of distant, slightly melan-
choly revery, leaving much to the imagination and inviting the viewer's psycho-
logical participation, qualities that seem to have struck a sympathetic chord in
many Venetian patrons. Tullio Lombardo, who as early as the 1480s had been
experimenting with these expressive qualities, created sculpture in the 1490s that
helped to prepare the ground for Giorgione in Venice. Yet he also learned from
the younger artist, participating in a lively exchange of ideas between painters

and sculptors in the years around 1510.

Besides attempting to set the two great double-portrait reliefs in the context of Venetian art and of Tullio's career, I have explored the Venetian genre they more or less inaugurated: ideal portrait sculpture. The reliefs in Venice and Vienna were closely followed by at least four other double-portrait reliefs, five single-figure reliefs (at least three of them by Tullio himself), and a series of small bronze busts of figures in a similarly dreamy mood, probably modeled by Tullio's younger brother Antonio. Considered in relation to the group, each of these objects may become more comprehensible.

By the 1520s other sculptors in Venice had carried the expression and attributes of Tullio's works into sculpture in the round, creating busts of pensive young men and women with idealized features, dressed or semidressed in classicizing drapery. One such sculptor, the Tuscan Simone Bianco, became by mid-century a key figure in the transition from these antiquarian fantasy busts to individualized portrait sculpture of living contemporaries. It can be argued that Tullio Lombardo, with his compellingly imagined relief busts of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, began a process that ultimately helped to make an alien art form, the independent portrait bust, possible for Venice.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Sculpture and Decorative Arts
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,
1992–1993

MILAN LUKEŠ

The Carnival and the Dream of/in the Arts

I arrived at the Center with a notion that I had almost finished one book and was working on a new one. I was wrong, in several respects. The first book deals with the concept of the carnival and its reflection in the arts. It opens with an essay on feasts, their origin and transformation in modern times, and deals with masks, medieval feasts of fools, the pompous court and city festivals of the Renaissance, through to the masques of Stuart England, an early effort toward a *Gesamtkunstwerk*.

I now see that I shall have to expand and explain in more detail the concept of madness and the medieval relation to fools and to present the animal masks more as symbols than as simple allegories of human folly and vice. More important, I shall have to make clear where all this really comes from: the gradual, inevitable transformation of the Dionysian spirit into the Apollonian. In other words I shall have to use what I had learned from Nietzsche, Jung, and Foucault.

The final chapter must be rewritten, or, rather, expanded. As it is, it deals with *The Tempest*, specifically, with Shakespeare's employment of the masque in this play—and justifiably so. One can see even in Shakespeare a contest between the Dionysian and Apollonian principles and the triumph of Apollo. (Something very similar, incidentally, applies to Chagall. You can feel a robust, elementary, carnivalesque force behind many of his pictures—yet at the same time what meets the eye is a peculiar humorous drowsiness, the dreamlike quality of his paintings.)

It is precisely the masque, this "insubstantial pageant," the Dionysian carnival transformed, that makes Prospero contemplate the proximity of arts and dreams and, indeed, of life and arts. This precious moment, where the carnival meets the dream, should not be neglected; this should not be an end, then, but a turning point—in and for my book: the seeming end marks a new beginning.

In my reexamination of Shakespeare's plays from this angle, I shall have to explore the character of Ariel, and to return to Puck and Oberon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, even to Mercutio's speech on Queen Mab in *Romeo and Juliet*, in order to present the difference and, more important, to elucidate the archetypal background of these "dreamy spirits."

Perhaps it should not be two books, but one: this is where part two begins. From this point I can move further on to Calderón, Strindberg, Kafka, O'Neill, the surrealists, Chagall again, Bergman, perhaps, and other filmmakers—to the artists fascinated, even obsessed, by the idea of dream, its proximity to life and similarity to art—to explore with their help the nature of this peculiar triangle: dreams-life-art.

Charles University, Prague
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1993

Nicolas Poussin, *The Israelites Gathering Manna in the Wilderness*, 1638–1639. Musée du Louvre, Paris

PAULINE THAYER MAGUIRE

Poussin in France: Chantelou's Collection

The eleven paintings Nicolas Poussin executed for his patron, Paul Fréart Sieur de Chantelou, contain a thematic and stylistic unity that distinguishes them as a group from the two other major collections of the artist's works assembled during his lifetime, by Cassiano dal Pozzo and Jean Pointel. The works commissioned by Chantelou, executed between 1638 and 1655, form the nucleus of a larger collection of antiquities and copies of paintings after Italian masters, notably Raphael, assembled by Poussin as agent for Chantelou in Rome during these years. At its fullest realization the collection, as I argue in my dissertation, presents a coherent statement about art. I attribute the unified character of the collection to the mutual efforts of artist and patron, and assign to Chantelou a more significant role in its formation as intellectual collaborator than has been acknowledged. A just appreciation of Chantelou's role as patron and of the circumstances in which the collection was begun, at a time when he held an influential position as artistic advisor to his cousin, Sublet de Noyers, *surintendent des bâtiments* under Louis XIII, is essential, I believe, for an understanding of the paintings Poussin executed for him as well as of their significance in Poussin's artistic development. I attempt to demonstrate that Chantelou's collection occupied a critical place in the formation of theories of an ideal of art developed by the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in the last third of the seventeenth century, for which Poussin's paintings served as model.

My investigation begins with the paintings themselves, together with the 136 letters Poussin, working in Rome, wrote to Chantelou in Paris from 1638 to his death in 1665, and which constitute our most valuable source of information concerning Poussin's philosophical beliefs and ideas about art. While this has been the traditional foundation for study of the artist, and the basis of biographies from André Félibien's (1685) to Jacques Thuillier's (1988), because Chantelou's collection heretofore has not been examined as a coherent body of work representative of an artistic ideal, the correspondence has not been fully exploited for its value as the most complete documentation we have on the formation of a seventeenth-century collection, moreover the most influential collection of Poussin's works ever assembled.

After an initial chapter situating Chantelou in his historical context, each of the following sections is devoted to a single painting, or group of paintings, in the collection, with the focus on close examination of their formal elements. It is on this level that I see the dialogue between artist and patron taking place. Preeminent among the paintings for the purpose of my study, and for the place it occupies in the history of French Academic art, is the first work Chantelou commissioned from Poussin, arguably the artist's most ambitious painting to that time: *The Israelites Gathering Manna in the Wilderness* (1638–1639). This work is considered in

terms of its models in Raphael and antique sculpture, its exposition of Alberti's principles of composition, and its demonstration of the color theories of Leonardo and the seventeenth-century theorist on optics, Matteo Zaccolini. This is followed by reconsideration, in light of the foregoing and building on the work of Elizabeth Cropper (1984), of the theories of Pietro Testa on the ideal education of the artist and the goals of painting, as presented in his magisterial etching, *Il Liceo della Pittura* (c. 1640). Testa's theory, as expounded in the *Liceo*, and Poussin's practice, as evident in the *Manna*, together provide a basis for better understanding of Poussin's artistic intentions in the works painted for Chantelou, as well as other paintings he produced in the 1640s, which are among his most classical. Considered thus, the context offers, in my opinion, a more valid perception of the artist and his work than the prevailing view which derives ultimately from the interpretation that originated in the French Academy.

Poussin pursued the theories first explored in the *Manna* with rational consistency in the second set of *Sacraments*, which he painted for Chantelou over a five-year period (1644–1648) and which were added to the collection as they were completed. Poussin's interest in the color theories of Leonardo and Zaccolini achieved its consummate expression in these paintings. Writing to Chantelou, about one of the *Seven Sacraments*, Poussin introduced his notion of the Modes, derived from Gioseffo Zarlino (1573). The concept is examined in a chapter devoted to the *Sacraments*, with particular attention given to Poussin's demonstrated interest in these color theories, which provide, I believe, the best context for understanding Poussin's concept of the Modes.

Poussin's *Self-Portrait* (1650), painted for Chantelou, is considered last, together with the overall significance of the collection as the embodiment of an artistic ideal that preceded by more than a decade the first articulation of such a concept in *L'Idée de la Perfection de la Peinture* (1662) by Roland Fréart de Chambray, Chantelou's brother. In the works executed for Chantelou, it is possible to observe Poussin drawing on sources from classical antiquity and from what he had learned, by studious application, of art and science and theory from the masters of the Italian Renaissance—Alberti, Raphael, Leonardo—and the theorist Zaccolini—and arriving at an approach to painting that would become recognizable, through its adoption later in the century by the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, as distinctly French.

[Columbia University]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1991–1993

DOMINIQUE MALAQUAIS

Patterns of Space, Designs of Power: Architecture of the Bamileke Kings

My thesis addresses relationships that link architecture to fundamental social concerns among the Bamileke of West Cameroon. At its heart stands a study of architectural programs as metonymical devices: as models that shape patterns of thought and social intercourse. It is based on fieldwork in Bandjoun (a powerful Bamileke polity) and archival work undertaken in Cameroon, Europe, and the United States.

Spanning the compound of the Bandjoun kings are paths that form the abstracted image of a frog, an icon of power. Rendered on the pillars, jambs, and lintels of royal edifices, on courtly stools, masks, and textiles, the frog proclaims the overwhelming powers of the king. The frog is fertility incarnate, as is the king, or *fo*. Paired with this prolific creature, the ruler is an embodiment of moral authority, for among the Bamileke fertility is prized as a moral imperative.

Shaped as a statement of moral authority, the compound, or *tsa*, defines beliefs regarding the *fo* and the society he governs. It is a monument to, and an instrument of, his hegemony. Within it, architecture and space join with the didactic content of weaving and sculpture to ensure stability, diffuse unrest, and perpetuate his rule.

The *tsa* is built on a hill. One enters from the top, where a market stands. At the bottom lives the *fo*, in an architectural ensemble centered around a towering raffia palm structure adorned with carved pillars. The location of this ensemble embodies an important distinguishing facet of Bamileke thought: while in Europe the most powerful stand on high, here the most exalted seek the least elevated loci.

The *tsa* is articulated by three axes that form the frog icon and divide the compound into six congruent spaces. As a result, all spaces and edifices within the *tsa* find symmetrical counterparts, creating a sense of stasis. At the same time, a sense of motion emerges; unimpeded by turns or buildings, the compound's axes suggest that movement downhill will encounter no hindrances.

As one approaches the palace, however, the atmosphere becomes rarefied. While the market is open to all, the lower portions of the *tsa* are reserved for the *fo* and his associates. Easy movement downhill proves illusory. The illusion encountered here is central to the way in which the Bamileke view the structure of their society. Social mobility and access to power are made to appear here as goals open to all. An illusory portrait is drawn that presents the Bamileke social system as a fluid entity. This portrait in turn ensures the stability of the system.

The *fo's* presence in the foothills, where water and fertile soil abound, identifies him as the nucleus of the economy. He controls the land, source of life and wealth. It identifies him also as the community's spiritual leader, for his power over the land derives from the ancestors who are the focus of religious belief. His placement near water and trees, the dwelling place of spirits, indicates that he

shares their authority.

In a system that equates fertility with morality, the *fo* is exemplary. The common man is by comparison deficient; lacking multiple wives or offspring (kingly attributes), living at a distance far from the fertile lowlands, he cannot aspire to morality on a scale equal to the *fo*. An unbridgeable gap separates the two in social and architectural terms. Still, market and palace are linked by intermediary spaces staffed by commoners. The proximity of nonroyals to the throne implies social mobility; yet this is also illusory. In choosing common folk as retainers, the *fo* is protecting the hierarchy he dominates. Commoners may travel downhill only insofar as their presence safeguards established authority.

Men who do well by the *fo* enter associations that administer the kingdom. Members meet in the woods below the palace, a location that hints of boundless power. Like the power it ratifies, however, the sacred site where they gather is granted and can be revoked by the *fo*. The associations' authority is thus more limited than it appears. Such limits are confirmed by relations the *fo* entertains with association members through architecture. The mightiest members own compounds that mimic the *tsa's* alleys, pillars, and portals. These are granted by the *fo* as signifiers of the power held not by their owners but by himself. Architecture thus reflects the social order and shapes the hierarchical landscape.

These themes are explored in my dissertation from a variety of vantage points. Two chapters address ways in which Bamileke men use architecture to construct social identity. A third considers women's roles in the context of male quests for status and the manner in which female roles are reflected in male architectural fora. Women's roles are viewed also through the lens of façade ornamentation, with emphasis on ties between designs seen on male ceremonial structures and patterns etched on female bodies.

The link that binds architecture to identity among the Bamileke originates in a socially dictated conception of houses as images of those who inhabit them—a vision articulated through terminology and ritual. This is the subject of a fifth chapter. A discussion of ties between architecture and weaving in the sixth chapter focuses on ritual events in which male bodies and houses are treated as coterminous entities: as objects to be wrapped in lavish cloth and displayed in bids for social advancement.

Like other men, the *fo* crafts an identity for himself through architecture, though the resources on which he draws are far greater than those available to others. Royal manipulations of the built environment rely not only on concepts intrinsic to Bamileke society but also on ideas borrowed from other cultures. How such ideas are appropriated is considered in the final chapter. Ultimately, the purpose of the thesis is to present a view of architecture among the Bamileke as a powerful and finely honed tool of hegemony in the hands of the ruling elite.

[Columbia University]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1991–1993

CAROL MATTUSCH

Greek Bronze Statuary: The Fourth Century and the Hellenistic Period

The popularity of freestanding bronze statuary during antiquity is attested by literary references to the names and works of the artists who worked in the medium, such as Lysippos of Sikyon, Leochares of Athens, and Chares of Lindos. In the first century A.D., Pliny reported that three thousand bronze statues still existed on Rhodes, and no fewer than that in Athens, Olympia, and Delphi (*Natural History* 34.36). He also listed innumerable Greek bronzes that had been brought to Rome, statues of gods, heroes, athletes, chariot groups, and the like. The bronzes he mentioned most often were genre figures, among them works such as a happy courtesan by Praxiteles (*NH* 34.71), a boy blowing on a dying fire by Lykios (*NH* 34.79), and a boy strangling a goose by Boethos (*NH* 34.84).

The traditional view has been that the Greeks made original works, not copies, whereas the Romans made numerous copies of the most famous Greek bronzes. In fact the Greeks, too, cast bronzes in series, based on a single model. Such pieces can be recognized not only by their appearances, but also by their nearly identical measurements. There are examples of series castings from all periods: statuettes and vessel attachments from the geometric and orientalizing periods; and, from the classical period onward, bronze was used extensively for freestanding sculpture, and statues might be cast in series. The purpose might be either to reproduce a popular type, as was done with statuettes, or to satisfy the demand for group monuments. Bronzes that had to conform to certain specifications, such as a group of standing figures intended to fit on a single base, could be produced from a single model but finished with different details. Models could even be shipped to different locations for completion; and different artists could provide the finishing touches.

A number of fifth- and fourth-century bronze heads are thick-walled, irregular castings, which means that they were carefully worked over and finished in the wax before casting, so as to individualize them. Such heads were unique productions: among them are the heads of the Riace bronzes, of the Boxer from Olympia, of the Philosopher from Antikythera, and of the Berber from Cyrene. Pliny stated that the fourth-century founder Lysistratos, the brother of Lysippos, developed a means of casting a likeness by first molding in plaster from an actual face or the figure ("e facie ipsa"—*NH* 35.153). Pliny was perhaps referring to a technical procedure in which a founder molded directly from an artist's finished model, and thus reproduced it exactly. Evidence of this process appears in preserved bronzes of the Hellenistic period. They are thin, even castings, very unlike the much heavier cast heads of the classical period. These Hellenistic bronzes were reproduced from models which could have been used more than once, whereas heads which were completed in the waxes just before the final molding and casting left behind no finished, reproducible models.

Hellenistic bronze head from Satala, drawing showing patches, chaplets, and internal supports. British Museum, London, Br. 266. Author drawing

Certain genre figures achieved widespread popularity during the Hellenistic period, and were produced in large series. Two examples, the sleeping Eros and the running Hypnos, appear throughout the Mediterranean world in contexts of varied dates: there are large- and small-scale versions, made of marble, bronze, and terracotta. Now there are two pairs of large bronzes from widely separated provenances which exemplify the reproducible casting process. We have two examples of an unidentified female head, one from Herculaneum (first century A.D.) and one from Perinthos (undated); and two herms of Dionysos, one—signed by Boethos—from the Mahdia shipwreck (c. 80 B.C.) and one of unknown origin. Each pair of bronzes is thin-walled, with essentially the same measurements and with only small superficial differences, such as could have been added quickly and simply to the waxes molded from the original model for the series.

Once a particular type of statue was introduced, it might remain popular for an indefinite period of time. The Berlin Foundry Cup, of the early fifth century, illustrates two statues whose styles we would distinguish chronologically but which were being produced at the same time: on one side of the cup, a striding warrior has the stiff and unrealistic pose of archaic sculpture; on the other side of the cup, a three-dimensional statue of an athlete has all of the naturalism of the early classical period. A late second- to early first-century bronze torso from Colchis, east of the Black Sea, appears anachronistic, for its closest stylistic parallels can be found in works of the first half of the fifth century B.C. How then do we explain the group of stylistically different bronzes from a first-century B.C. context in Piraeus? And in the case of ancient overcasts, we can date neither the overcasts nor the bronzes from which they were molded and cast. For how long might one statue be copied?

Models that were intended to be reproduced raise additional questions. For how long might a single model remain in use? How far afield might casts from it be transported for production? Did different artists create different versions of the original, while craftsmen only reproduced it? What is the significance of an artist's signature on a work in a series? What influence was wielded by the patron? And how are we now to distinguish Greek works from Roman ones? Perhaps it is time to discard the broad terms "Greek original" or "Greek masterpiece" and "Roman copy," and look instead for terms that more accurately distinguish unique bronzes from bronzes produced in a series from a single model and from bronzes cast as variations on a model.

George Mason University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1992–1993
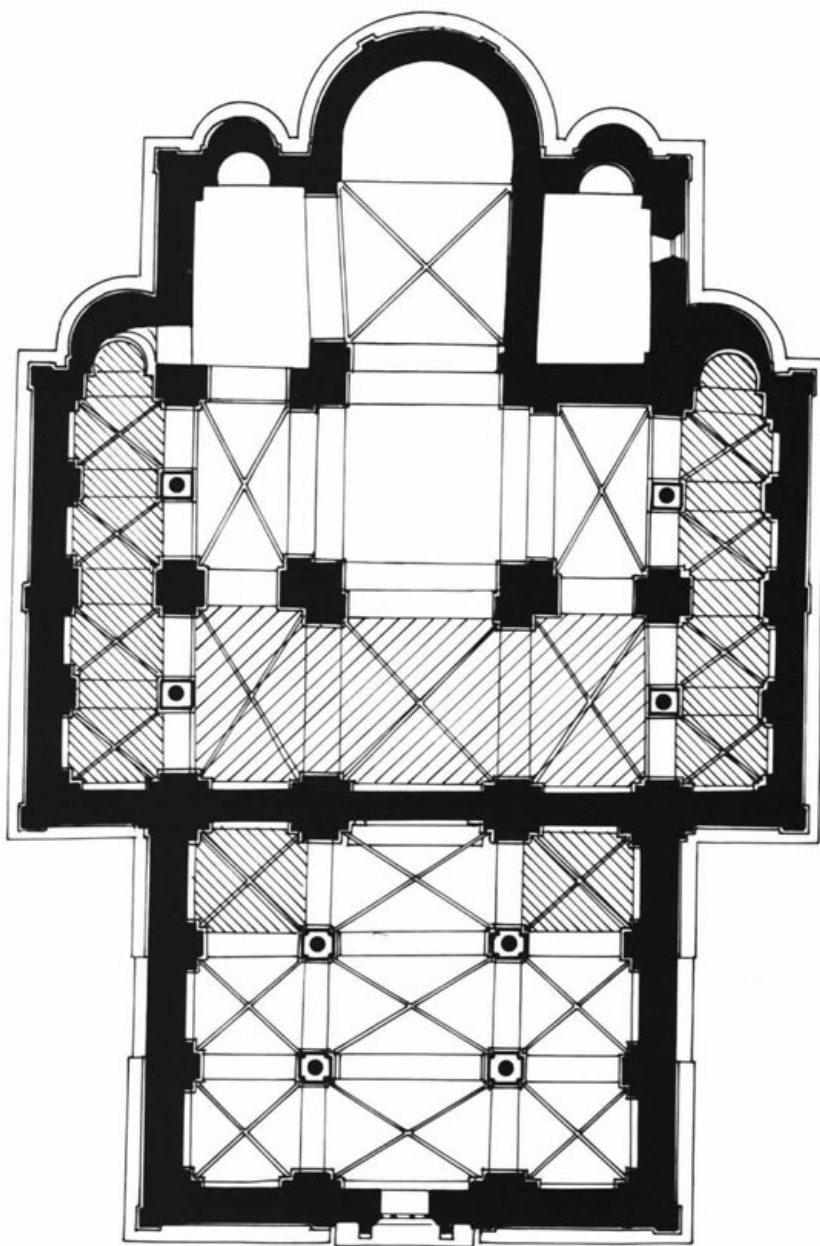
Catholicon of the Monastery of Dečani, ground plan, c. 1335. Author drawing

BRATISLAV PANTELIĆ

The Architecture of the Catholicon of the Monastery of Dečani

Dubbed by some the "Chartres" of the Balkans, the catholicon of the monastery of Dečani is by any account one of the premier architectural achievements of the Middle Ages. Founded by King Stefan Uroš III of the Nemanyid dynasty, the monastery stood at the heart of medieval Serbia near the seat of the patriarchate and at the intersection of an important route connecting Dalmatian coastal towns with the Balkan hinterland. The almost unique inscription on the south portal states that the church was built by the master builder Fra Vita from the town of Kotor in eight years and was dedicated to the Pantocrator in 1335.

Gabriel Millet (1919) established the architectural-historical position of the building that would prevail to this day. Without arguing the point in detail he considers it to be "Western" in character with closest analogies in Lombardy (Agliate), in Normandy (Cérisy-la-Forêt, Caen, and Boscherville), or in the churches of the Dalmatian coastline. This judgment found broad acceptance, and remains implicit and uncontested in modern scholarship.

The validity of conventional opinion concerning the Western origin of Fra Vita's church may be questioned, however: the ground plan displays a centralizing tendency, never quite explained by scholars, that stands in strong contrast to the basilican organization of the early Gothic structural system. At closer inspection we notice that the interior of the building is marked off by walls, masonry piers, and columns forming distinctive functional areas. Such a disparity between the superstructure and the spatial organization of the interior requires a detailed analysis of the functional properties of the individual spaces.

The building displays a surprisingly novel attitude toward architectural design and planning. For the first time in architectural practice within the Byzantine sphere, we have evidence of planning consciously extending beyond simple emulation or repetition of typological patterns. With an almost mannerist boldness the architect ventured a remarkable experiment. Certainly faced with very specific requirements by the patron, he radically altered a canonical building type, the five-aisled basilica, and succeeded in incorporating within its shell a fusion of an aisleless, domed nave and the late Byzantine expanded cross-in-square plan.

But most fascinating is the theory of design underlying the work of Fra Vita. Rather than simply combining the two plans, the architect retained the formal and structural composition of the basilica, articulating only the internal spatial disposition. The principle of architectural planning employed here entails the demarcation of specific three-dimensional areas within the existing structure into independent functional *loci*. Rather than being physically enclosed, these spaces are defined and segregated solely by their painted decoration. We term this type of nonstructural space "conceptual," for it is formulated entirely on the basis of a theoretical principle and presumes elaboration already during the planning stage.

Transgressing the conventional dependence of architectural form on function, conceptually defined space addresses the semantic quality of iconographic themes and their relation to specific architectural contexts. Thus a single iconographic theme or program connotes the function of the space, its dedication, and its physical extent. But conceptual space is "typologically sensitive" in that it denotes not just any spaces, but emulates specific architectural components (for example, chapels, narthexes, and ambulatory wings) and complies with their respective canonical functions and relative location within a typological tradition. The areas thus defined were certainly recognizable immediately to the medieval beholder as distinct *loci sancti*.

The individual structural compartments of Dečani, although part of an integral system, were assigned independent functions and employed as modular components in the articulation of the interior. Thus the side aisles of the church were transformed into lateral wings, ending in small chapels on the east side and linked on the west by three contiguous bays extending in a transverse fashion across the main body of the church. Unfolding around the liturgical cores of the church, this ancillary area constitutes a functionally homogenous extension of spaces; typologically it corresponds to the ambulatory structure of late Byzantine architecture; and particularly close analogies can be found among the contemporary churches of Thessaloniki, such as the Holy Apostles or Saint Catherine. The attempt to adapt a Western architectural concept to satisfy the liturgical requirements of the Byzantine rite is evident.

Our investigation has shed light on this most extraordinary planning principle employed by Fra Vita. In disclosing the centralized organizational pattern that had lain embedded and concealed in the five-aisled structural system, we have significantly clarified the historical position of this important monument. Despite its Romanesque formal decorative vocabulary and early Gothic structural system, the church at Dečani finds its place within the Byzantine architectural tradition.

[University of Pennsylvania]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1992–1993

MARTHA POLLAK

The City in the Seventeenth Century: Representation and Aesthetics of Baroque Urban Culture

In the seventeenth century the western European city was considered by its builders and theorists as an aesthetic artifact in continuous formulation, and as a significant element of the larger system of representation and dynastic-absolutist ideology, often in conflict with the urban population and its government. Hitherto my research has been governed by one central concern, the significance of military architecture for the design of the baroque city, but rather than studying urban form in isolation, it traced the interplay of various emblematic, ideological, and architectural problems inherent in the application of military culture to urban design. In a new study I will expand my conceptual framework, so as to define a major historical change within the period. The "military art" remained crucial in the age of siege warfare but became more abstract and geometrical; meanwhile, the ruler's theatrical self-presentation took over the dominant role— especially in sumptuous *feste*, or symbolic pageants, that imposed meaning and form on public space. Graphic representations of the city became more sophisticated and widespread, themselves contributing to its conception and development, and indeed were intended by their sponsors to form the city in the imagination of others. Extending my conception of the "baroque" or absolutist city beyond the case study of my book on Turin, I identify formal elements, cultural practices, and urban theories common to a wide range of European capital cities in the seventeenth century, and the early eighteenth century. I explore the major fortifications, streets, squares, and residential buildings whose forms were determined during this crucial century both because they are significant in themselves and because they were so resonant of power that they continued to inspire architectural and urban form long after the demise of the state they originally represented. These cities became mirrors for the relationship between power and urban planning in an age when military architecture was openly accepted as a model for the appearance of the city and cartography played a crucial role in defining the visual image and representation of the city. Rulers become the *edificatori*, or "edifiers," of their nation, educating the population through public spectacle and state-sponsored architecture.

My book, divided into three parts, will trace the development of the city in turn through the scientific influence of military strategy, the political message of state festivities, and the aesthetic achievement of planned urban interventions. The first part contains a chapter on geometry and scientific research as the source for the form of the city, as seen in fortifications and citadels, with special emphasis on the pentagon. Another chapter will deal with siege plans and views that display the city as an object of political and military desire, and are of fundamental significance both for the formulation of the city's identity and for the documentation of

urban military conflict. An examination of the city as seen through the treatises on military architecture of the period will be the focus of a third chapter.

In the second part, on state festivities, I consider the illustrated book that described public events and discuss how the various kinds of urban festivities turned the city into a theatrical backdrop. Another chapter in this section will examine the typology of the temporary architecture constructed for these public ceremonies and entertainments that exemplified the idealized aesthetic vision of the city in the seventeenth century. Both the *festa* and the book that prolongs the effect of the event in time and space turn the city into a *trophy*, symbolically offered and received, while maintaining existing power relations.

In the third part I will examine a number of urban expansions of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. My selection is based on the military and political content of the urban intervention and its representation in print form. This inevitably will include reference to the residence towns of the imperial electors, rebuilt after the Thirty Years' War, the cities illustrated in cartographic albums that update visually the earlier "laudatio" chronicles, and the principal destinations eulogized in guidebooks, which helped to formulate the idea of cities as accepted repositories of cultural artifacts and civilization. These plans, views, and guidebooks suggest that the city itself is comprised of linked "storage" places for avidly collected, stolen, or misappropriated trophies of art, history, and science.

The seventeenth century's own fascination with the city was expressed through a rich print culture that forms the principal documentation for my analysis. This will be shaped by the conceptual argument outlined above: that representation of power, military culture, and theatrical imagery are linked in the seventeenth century by the need to control—from a central, absolutist stance—the content and appearance of the city.

Working on this outline for my book on baroque cities, I was both inspired and sidetracked by the Millard collection of architectural and topographical books held by the National Gallery of Art. This collection provided me with ample material for my current study and prompted the beginning of another. The new study, undertaken for the National Gallery itself, will allow me to extend my research into two developments parallel to the representation of the city: the proliferation of topographic engravings, beginning with illustrations of Roman antiquities, and the reconstruction of classical architecture through the Renaissance and later editions of Vitruvius.

University of Illinois
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992

NANCY PRESSLY

## The Specter of Intimidation: Controversy and the Arts

The subject of my study was inspired by the controversy that propelled the National Endowment for the Arts and its funding practices onto the front pages of newspapers across the country for nearly four years. It has not been my intent to document the circumstances that fueled this debate—others have done this—but to examine these events in the context of the history of the avant-garde and recurring controversies in the arts.

During the course of my research at the Center, I was looking broadly at artists and issues that have provoked controversy, primarily from the period after 1850, and examining traditions of erotica, the history of the homoerotic photograph, and how the past demonstrates that attacks on art, in particular on political and social content, and style, can become vehicles for asserting control over society. I placed particular emphasis on the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, as a historical construct to view contemporary events.

Central to the contemporary debate has been the fundamental question of whether the federal government should be in the business of funding the arts, and if so, what limits, if any, should be placed on how federal funds are spent. In exploring the boundaries that can guide public policy for the arts and the opportunities and limitations inherent in the use of public funds, especially for the individual artist, it was instructive to turn to the 1930s when the first important federal programs supporting artists in this country were created. During this extraordinary period of social and political unrest and economic uncertainty, the government provided support for the visual arts through several work relief and art programs administered through various agencies.

I have investigated how different administrators defined the limits of what was appropriate for governmental support, how this affected the "product," and the negative impact of these restraints on the artists and the work that became associated with governmental patronage of the period. Additionally I have identified the issues that raised the most controversy, procedural and content related, involving both artist and public, and in so doing reflect on the general public's involvement in these decisions as well as the implications of investing ultimate power in public taste for the quality of art created. The successes and failures of these programs and the philosophies behind them provide perspective on the relationship of art and politics, the power of official policy to shape art work, and the public's response to it.

It was particularly instructive to look at the federal program known as the Section in terms of issues that have characterized the contemporary debate, for the history of the Section commissions demonstrates the impossibility of scrutinizing every detail of a work of art or anticipating every outcome, however close the supervision. Stefan Hirsch's comment in the 1930s on the continuing uproar over his
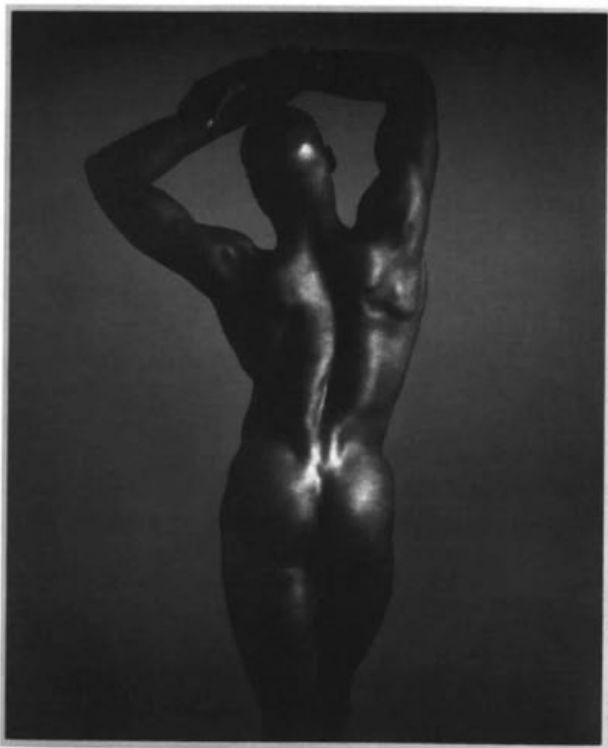
Robert Mapplethorpe,
Untitled #1, 1985.
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, Gift of
Graphicstudio/University
of South Florida and the
artist

mural for the courthouse in Aiken, Georgia, remains apt today: "I suppose we cannot figure out in advance *all* the perversities of *all* the people at *all* times."

I also considered issues of presentation and curatorial intent, and the role of museums in protecting art from the vicissitudes of taste and politics. The art world's response to the current controversy is compared to museum policy during the 1940s and 1950s when the fear of funding losses affected a broad range of institutional decisions. During my fellowship, and in the months immediately following, I was able to draft one chapter, employing a series of essays as a means to interweave past and present, and complete a detailed outline. The issues raised by the Arts Endowment controversy in terms of freedom of expression, intimidation, and self-censorship obviously extend well beyond the Arts Endowment and federal funding for the arts. By placing the controversy in the context of our political and cultural history, it is hoped that this study, to be published by Oxford University Press, will provide a better understanding of the issues and passions that have fueled the debate.

Washington, D.C.
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1992

ARTUR ROSENAUER

The Early Titian

My stay at the Center in January and February 1993 enabled me to start a project concentrating on the early Titian. As about each great artist, there is a vast literature on Titian. Beside important iconographical investigations, questions of attribution seem to be more in the foreground than questions of chronology and stylistic development. This seems especially to be true for the artist's earliest period.

To give an example: in the *Genius of Venice* show (London, winter 1983/1984), the *Christ and the Adulteress* from Glasgow remained a vexing problem. The picture was classified in the catalogue as "circle of Giorgione, attributed to Titian," incidentally in the same way as *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anthony and Saint George* from the Prado. While it is rather easy to recognize in the Prado picture the style of the early Titian as represented in his frescoes in Padua, it was far less easy to find a convincing place (if not a convincing attribution) for the Glasgow *Adulteress*. How could one explain the differences between these two pictures? Are they the works of one and the same artist? Or should one consider a wide range of different stylistic possibilities at the same time? Many questions seemed to remain without answers. One may be tempted to agree with the verdict of Paul Joannides: "Titian was always a varied artist but the stylistic range and chronology of his early work seem intransient to order." Is resignation necessary, or is there a way to better understand Titian's early development?

Even if the material in the monumental Venetian exhibition of 1990 were not complete enough to give a convincing view of the early Titian, there was at least the opportunity to study one of the key works for the reconstruction of his early career. The fresco representing Judith, or Justice, from the Fondaco dei Tedeschi was probably painted in 1508 or at the latest 1509. In nearby Padua one could easily see the frescoes of the Scuola del Santo, documented to be from 1511.

In comparing these two frescoes, we will easily recognize obvious differences. The "Judith" would be inconceivable without intimate knowledge of the art of Giorgione, with whom in fact Titian worked side by side at the Fondaco frescoes. The style of Giorgione is monumentalized. The obliquely arranged figure is defined by spherical surfaces in a way that recalls Sebastiano del Piombo. Obviously the two artists were very close at this time.

The Paduan frescoes from 1511, on the other hand, represent a different style. Contrary to the "Judith," the outlines of the figures are emphasized and the monumental figures are much more related to the surface of the whole composition.

At risk of simplification, we have to take these two frescoes as points of departure for the reconstruction of the stylistic evolution of early Titian. Now it becomes obvious that the *Adulteress* has to be earlier than the *Sacra Conversazione* of the Prado. One will also consent to David Rosand's proposal to date the San Marco altarpiece from Santo Spirito in Isola (now in the Salute) as early as 1508/1509, while

Titian, *The Virgin with Saint Dorothy and Saint George*, c. 1509–1510. Museo del Prado, Madrid

a Giorgionesque picture such as the *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* in the collection of the Marquis of Bath even could have been painted before the Fondaco frescoes. The painting with the Madonna and Child, Saint Dorothy, and Saint George in the Prado, usually dated around 1515, should be as early as 1509/1510.

As a first step I will concentrate on small groups of works to point out Titian's specific achievements. Hopefully these mosaic stones will result finally in a coherent and convincing picture of the achievements and chronology of early Titian.

It would not be sufficient to rely on the chronology of Titian alone. To obtain a complete picture of his achievements one has to include his relationship to Bellini, Giorgione, Sebastiano, and others. Michel Hirst's remark that "We need a synoptic study of Venetian painting in the first twelve years of the century," written more than ten years ago, is still valid today.

The first result of my research will be an article on the *Violante* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, which I started to write during my stay at the Center. For more than three hundred years the picture has been discussed as either Titian or Palma Vecchio. I hope to demonstrate not only that it is a work of Titian but, contrary to prevailing opinion that it was painted around 1515, that it is a rather early work, done around 1509/1510.

I also used the opportunity of my fellowship to see works of Titian in other museums (including Titians transcending the temporal limits of my project). Discussions with curators and conservators provided me with insights into questions of technique and working method. Of special interest were the visits to New York to see the Bache Madonna, to Yale for an early representation of the circumcision, to the Fogg Museum to study a picture, there on loan, representing a soldier and a lady with a child in a landscape (thus related to Giorgione's *Tempesta*, which possibly is an early Titian).

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ROCCO SINISGALLI

La rappresentazione della sfera celeste sul piano di Tolomeo

Il Planisfero di Tolomeo, che è il fondamento matematico di ogni strumento di orientazione e misurazione del tempo (astrolabio) dall'antichità classica all'età moderna, costituisce anche la chiave di lettura per la conoscenza del procedimento prospettico posseduto dagli antichi. La difficile lettura (si tratta di una traduzione dall'arabo in latino effettuata intorno alla prima metà del secolo decimosecondo, testo che a sua volta era una traduzione dal greco) e l'argomento talora ostico dei calcoli tengono ancora lontano gli storici dell'arte da quest'opera che è pressochè sconosciuta al pubblico umanistico; mentre nessuno sospetta che essa contenga un così alto livello di principi proiettivi. Non a caso la sola controparte grafico-prospettica dell'opera tolemaica è ancora costituita dal *Commentarius* del Commandino pubblicato a Venezia nel 1558 e nel quale è riportato, alle pagine 1–25 recto e verso, il testo tolemaico al quale ci atteniamo nel dare al lettore una sintesi generale del contenuto.

Pagina 1 recto: *Cum sit possibile...* Necessità e possibilità di rappresentare scientificamente sul piano equatoriale la sfera celeste con i suoi cerchi, una volta fissato il punto di vista nel polo sud o polo australe, anzichè in quello nord o boreale, per il fatto che viviamo nell'emisfero settentrionale. I cerchi meridiani sono rappresentati da linee rette che passano per il polo boreale (diametri); l'equidistante tropicale settentrionale si proietta in un cerchio all'interno del cerchio equinoziale, mentre l'equidistante tropicale australe si proietta in un cerchio esterno. Il cerchio eclittico deve essere tangente esternamente alla rappresentazione del Tropico del Cancro ed internamente alla rappresentazione del Tropico del Capricorno; si dimostra che il cerchio eclittico taglia a metà l'equinoziale e che a sua volta è tagliato a metà da questo in modo virtuale. Si proiettano gli equidistanti passanti per le origini dei Segni, e dove tali cerchi-proiezione incontrano il cerchio eclittico, lì si segnano le origini dei Segni. Il modo di rappresentare qualsiasi orizzonte coincide con il procedimento adoperato per la rappresentazione dell'eclittica, in quanto ogni orizzonte è anch'esso un cerchio inclinato come l'eclittica rispetto all'equatore. Se si fa passare un diametro per il centro dell'equinoziale e lo si prolunga fino ad incontrare i due punti del cerchio eclittico, questi due punti corrispondono a due punti diametralmente opposti nella sfera corporea.

Pagina 5 recto: *His ita constitutis...* Passa alla misura del raggio del cerchio eclittico e a quella dei raggi delle proiezioni dei paralleli all'equinoziale passanti per gli inizi dei Segni; misure che effettua tramite una serie di proporzioni fra lati di triangoli simili. Vengono dati invece direttamente, senza dimostrazione, i tre valori angolari di 23° 51′ 20″ (inclinazione dell'eclittica), di 20° 30′ 09″ e di 11° 39′ 59″ relativi agli equidistanti passanti per le origini dei Segni. Calcola la misura del raggio dell'orizzonte di Rodi in proiezione alla stessa maniera di come ha calcolato quella del raggio del cerchio eclittico. Calcola i valori angolari delle divisioni

dei Segni sopra il piano equinoziale in 27° 50', in 29° 54' e in 32° 16', angoli che corrispondono alle ascensioni dei singoli Segni sulla sfera retta.

Pagina 12 recto: *His ita firmatis...* Passa alla misura sul piano equatoriale (ascensioni oblique nella sfera inclinata) degli angoli che i Segni occupano nel sorgere dall'inizio alla fine di ciascun segno sull'orizzonte di Rodi; poi misura la differenza in ore uguali fra il giorno più lungo e quello più corto.

Pagina 18 verso: *Superioris tractatus particula...* Fissa nella proiezione del cerchio minore, parallelo all'equinoziale e passante per il Tropico del Capricorno, la dimensione del planisfero quando viene utilizzato ai fini pratici. Le proiezioni sul piano equatoriale degli equidistanti all'eclittica sono circonferenze di raggio variabile e di centro sempre diverso; tratta anche dei cerchi in proiezione che totalmente o parzialmente sono fuori della proiezione del tropico australe. Avverte che il metodo usato per la proiezione degli equidistanti alla Zodiaco e dei cerchi di latitudine celeste è valido anche per la proiezione degli almucantarat (cerchi minori paralleli all'orizzonte) e dei cerchi di altezza. La proiezione di questi cerchi (sia relativi all'equatore che all'eclittica) serve a formare un sistema di coordinate (ragnatela) per il posizionamento degli astri sul planisfero. La proiezione dell'orizzonte e dei cerchi ad esso relativi serve a posizionare l'astro sul planisfero mediante coordinante osservate.

Università degli Studi di Roma I "La Sapienza"
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1992

ANNABEL WHARTON

Refiguring the Postclassical City: Historiography, Vision, and Space in
Dura-Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem, and Ravenna

The period between the third and sixth centuries tends to be treated like a
duck/rabbit image: it is read either as a radical break from classical antiquity or as
its continuation. Rather than either shattered or seamless, late antiquity might
more productively be considered in terms of a reordering. Through an examina-
tion of a few monuments and their contexts in three cities of the late Roman
empire, it is possible to exemplify the absorption and reformation of the classical
within postclassical culture. By focusing on the performative characteristics of ar-
chitectural and pictorial space in late antiquity—that is, considering not how
forms change, but rather how changes in form both reveal and shape social
meaning—it is possible to re-see works of art and monuments as powerful pro-
tagonists in the cultural paradigm shift of the late empire. Four sites occupy the
core of this project: Dura-Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem, and Ravenna.

No single site provides more material evidence about the diversity of religious
expression from the period before Christianity became the state cult than Dura-
Europos. Excavations revealed numerous elaborately painted cult structures, in-
cluding temples, a large synagogue, and the earliest securely dated Christian
building. Yet because of the difficulty of access and political anxieties of the
1920s and 1930s, Dura was represented as peripheral, and its works of art as
provincial and unoriginal. The absence of good reproductions of Durene frescoes
is symptomatic of the politics of orientalism. By identifying Dura not as a
provincial desert fortress but as the regional capital in the heart of the rich allu-
vial plain of the Euphrates, its recentered monuments may more readily be read
as complex and multivocal. This chapter examines the diverse spatialities and vi-
sual discourses of the city's cult centers.

Excavations at Jerash revealed a city visually dominated by the great Temple of
Artemis from the second to the early fourth century and by a great Christian
complex from the later fourth through sixth century. This urban core, with its
juxtaposition of two equally remarkable sacred precincts, invites the definition
and assessment of the juncture between classical and postclassical space. A rational,
patently hierarchical, optic structuring of the core of the city was superseded by
an antirational, elusively hierarchical, haptic complex. This spatial reordering was
not a matter of a benign shift in style or fashion. Rather the center of Jerash rep-
resents a site of relentless political and ideological contestation. The politics of the
spatial dialectics of presence and absence in the transformation of the urban land-
scape are described and then elaborated through reference to the topography and
history of Jerusalem.

The chapter about Ravenna is still in process. Established by Augustus as an
important seaport, Ravenna became an imperial residence in the early fifth cen-

Church at Umm er-Rasas, Jordan, mosaic floor, representation of a late antique city, fourth–fifth century. Author photograph

tury and remained a center of political power through the sixth century. A set of remarkably decorated ecclesiastical structures, attesting to the status of the postclassical city, has superseded the classical urban matrix to which it was once attached. Although Ravenna's monuments have figured centrally in the construction of the history of Western art, the literature is resonant with moral and aesthetic ambivalences concerning their "orientalizing" postclassical forms. Reframing the Orthodox and Arian baptisteries and San Apollinare Nuovo as heterotopias (controlled sites of transformative experience) created space for reinterpreting the monuments of Ravenna in terms of episcopal and ethic conflict rather than imperial or theological interests. This perspective also reveals some of the assumptions about West-East relations that have marked Ravenna's art historiography.

The subject of my project is not only how these late ancient sites were used by their original producers, but also how they continue to be used. One basic, if unarticulated, presupposition of much work in art history is the objectivity of perception. But vision and the touch are constructed, they are not transparent or immediate; both current politics and disciplinary conventions inform what is experienced. Consequently my project departs from customary art-historical writing in two ways. First, historiography is given an unusually large role in its constitution. Not only is the first chapter of the book devoted to the art historiography of orientalism, but historiography is written conspicuously into the assessment of each of the sites analyzed. Second, as a means of reminding myself and my reader of our own location in the late twentieth century, reference is periodically made to present experience as a means of either distancing or familiarizing the past.

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CHARLES ZIKA

Representing Witchcraft: Images and Social Meaning in Sixteenth-Century Europe

The primary purpose of my brief stay at the Center was to continue researching a book on visual representations of witchcraft in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The concern of this study is to map the processes by which witches and witchcraft were visually constructed in the sixteenth century, and how such representations were linked to a wide range of contemporary social and cultural discourses. Whereas the last two decades have seen major historiographical advances in our understanding of the European witch hunt, insufficient attention has been paid to the processes by which beliefs about witchcraft achieved widespread social and geographical acceptance. Concentration on the cultural production of visual media in the form of book illustrations, frontispieces, and broadsides, as well as less widely available objects such as drawings and paintings, rather than simply a consideration of the literary documentation to be found in treatises, pamphlets, and trial deposition and testimony, allows us to problematize this acceptance and thereby move toward a richer and more nuanced awareness of belief as a cultural and social phenomenon.

My research into these issues is well advanced, and my period at the Center gave me the opportunity to consult and review the literature on particular artists, such as Albrecht Dürer, Hans Baldung Grien, Lucas Cranach, Jacques de Gheyn II, and others who are important to my study. My writing during this time focused on the way in which artists employed the iconography associated with various classical models to convey their understanding of witchcraft, and gradually developed a visual vocabulary to communicate a wide range of quite disparate beliefs.

I concentrated especially on the appropriation of the sixteenth-century iconography of the figure of Saturn. While the literature on the iconography of Saturn in the late Middle Ages and sixteenth century is huge, much of it has followed in the paths created by the critical study of Raymond Klibansky, Fritz Saxl, and Erwin Panofsky. It has been little concerned for the evil and demonic associations of the god-planet. And whereas the appropriation of Saturn in images of witchcraft had been observed two decades ago, notably by Maxime Préaud, there has been little systematic treatment of this and little reflection on its implications for understanding the development of a visual vocabulary of witchcraft.

In my research into how images of witchcraft represented human body parts and remains, and how such elements could be understood as alluding to the cruelty and cannibalistic nature of witches, it became clear how various associations with the iconography of Saturn were introduced by artists throughout the century (by Dürer, Baldung Grien, and later Crispin de Passe and Henri Le Roy, as well as by a number of unknown producers of woodcuts) to give credibility to and expand the meaning of such beliefs. The new graphic representations of Saturn in

the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which depict him as sexually potent and impotent, as castrator and castrated, and also as the cannibalistic devourer of his children, were used for this purpose. The invocatory magic of the traditional, learned magician and the everyday sorcery practice of the uneducated were associated with the activities of Saturn's other criminal and malevolent "children," with the (diabolical) illusions of melancholy, and most especially, with contemporary fears of female sexuality. In the second half of the century Saturn also became a means by which witches were linked to the cruelty and cannibalism that became an accepted feature of representations of Amerindian natives in the New World.

More generally, it was intriguing to discover that much of this visual representation borrowed little from literary stereotypes of witchcraft, demonstrating almost no concern to make use of literary descriptions of the diabolical sabbath. Rather, as with the interest in the god-planet Saturn, the representations of witches' powers and activities seemed to be guided more by visual traditions. Despite our common association of sixteenth-century witchcraft imagery with the sabbath, largely through the captions given such depictions by numerous historians and art historians, it was only in the early seventeenth century that artists began to show any sustained interest in depicting the sabbath. Even then, however, many aspects of these depictions only seem to be explicable by reference to a visual tradition, which drew in turn on a range of both popular traditions and learned iconographical schemas for their meaning.

While the National Gallery of Art library provided me with access to literature on the well-known artists who contributed to these representations of witchcraft, the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Library of Congress made available many of the illustrated texts and maps through which such developments could be traced. A close viewing of some prints from the National Gallery's collection (such as Angelo Veneziano's complex and puzzling engraving, *The Carcass*) has helped me develop and formulate questions and arguments. These are to be published in a collection of studies on the witches' sabbath.

For a historian working with visual materials it has been invaluable as well to spend a sustained period of time with scholars from disciplines more closely associated with the visual. While the variety of approaches, methodologies, and concerns among fellows and staff was refreshing and stimulating for my own work and reflection, the common concern for the social and cultural impact and understanding of the visual has helped suggest a range of ways in which my research can be conceptualized. It has also confirmed for me the need to strengthen cooperation between historians and art historians in making sense of the cultural interactions between past and present. It is therefore most appropriate that during my last week I was able to revise and submit for publication an earlier paper entitled "Writing the Visual into History: Changing Cultural Perceptions of Late Medieval and Reformation Germany."

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