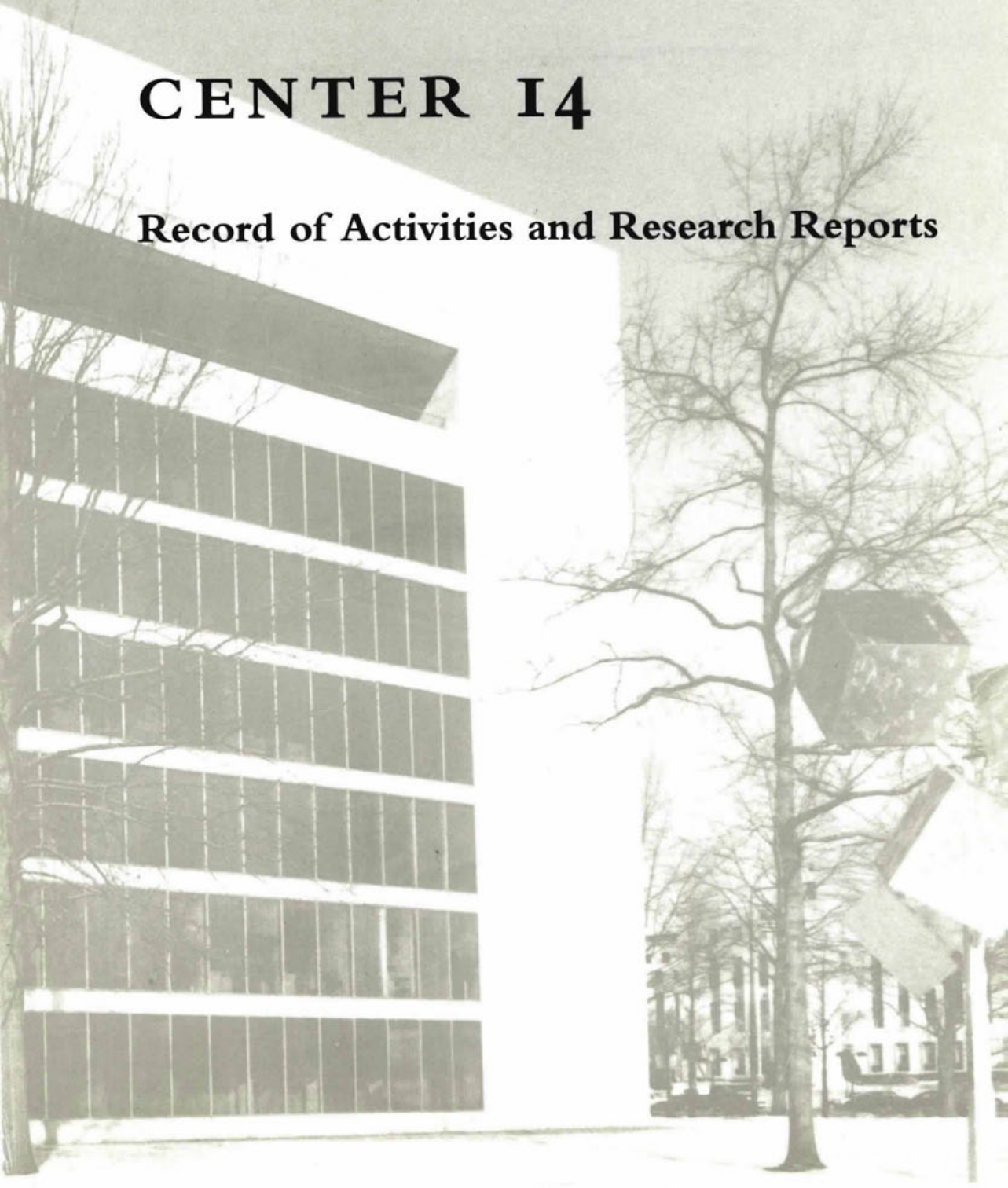


National Gallery of Art

CENTER I4

Record of Activities and Research Reports



CENTER 14



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

CENTER 14

Record of Activities and Research Reports
June 1993–May 1994

Washington 1994

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

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This publication was produced by the Editors Office, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Frontispiece: Will Barnett, *The Collectors*, 1977. Dorothy and Herbert Vogel Collection, Promised Gift of Dorothy and Herbert Vogel, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Photographs, pages 6, 18: untitled, 1993, by Sarah Hadley

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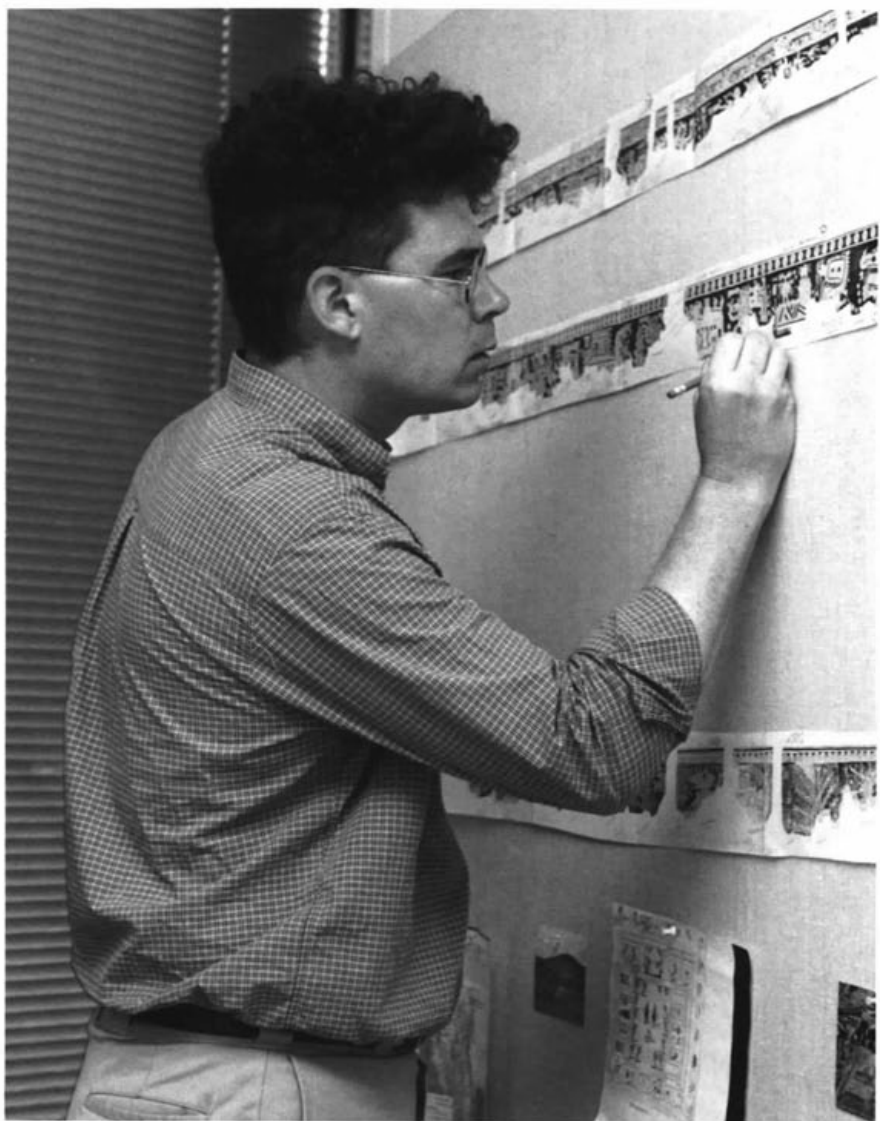
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DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAMS



The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote study of the history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, 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

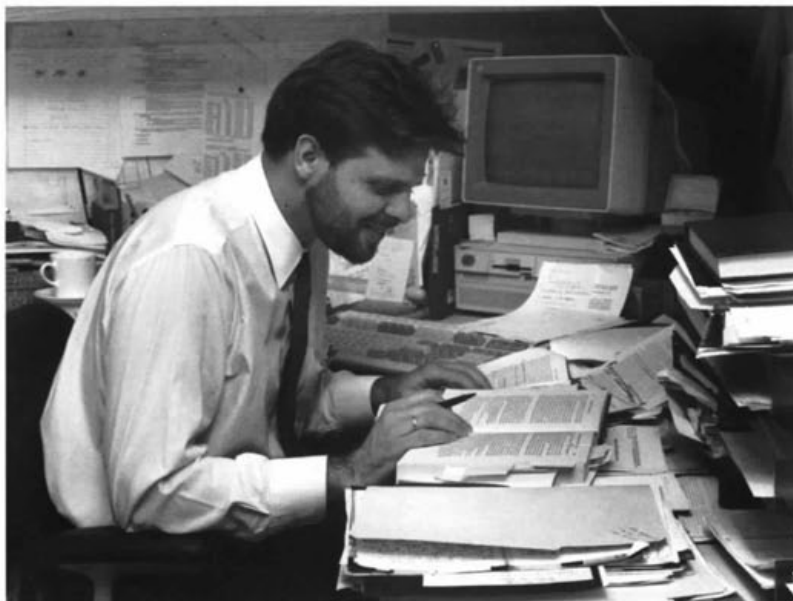
is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

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 *Habilitationschrift* 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. Two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed, but submission of publications is not required.

Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellowship

The Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellowship for scholars from Latin America is intended for scholars from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. The fellowship includes a period of two months at the Center for research in Washington libraries and collections, followed by an additional two months of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. The applicant must have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Knowledge of the English language is required. Applications will be considered on 21 March for appointments during the period September–February and on 21 September for appointments during the period March–August. A complete application includes the following: an

application form, a two- to four-page research proposal, a tentative schedule of travel in the United States, a curriculum vitae, and two letters of recommendation to be forwarded by the appropriate deadline. Two Visiting Senior Research Fellowships will be awarded annually.

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowship

One 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 September for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August and on 21 March for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February. 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 June of the second 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 during the summer prior to the autumn deadline.

Further 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 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 accessible 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 1993–1994 may be found on pages 26–32.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 37–128 for reports written by members in 1993–1994). The Center also has published 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 final publication in this series, *Sponsored Research in the History of Art 13, 1993–1994*.

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-five 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); *The Artist's Workshop* (Volume 38); *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (Volume 43); *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (Volume 44); *Titian 500* (Volume 45); and *Van Dyck 350* (Volume 46). Papers from five other symposia are in preparation for the series: *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*; *Monarca della Pittura: Piero della Francesca and His Legacy*; *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*; *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review*; and *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910*.

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 seven 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 1993–May 1994



BOARD OF ADVISORS

Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
Elizabeth Broun, National Museum of American Art
Lisa Golombek, Royal Ontario Museum
Rosalind Krauss, Columbia University
David Rosand, Columbia University
Linda Seidel, University of Chicago
Larry Silver, Northwestern University
Andrew Stewart, University of California, Berkeley
Kirk Varnedoe, Museum of Modern Art

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Steven A. Mansbach, *Associate Dean*
Therese O'Malley, *Associate Dean*

Francesca Consagra, *Research Assistant to the Dean*
Sabine Eiche, *Senior Research Associate* (Architectural Drawings Project)

Eric Garberson, *Research Assistant to the Kress Professor*
Anne Helmreich, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*
Irena Dzurkowska-Kossowska, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*
Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *Project Associate* (Keywords in American Landscape/
Garden Design)
Claire Sherman, *Project Head* (Sponsored Research in the History of Art)
Elizabeth Streicher, *Project Head* (Kress Professor Commemorative Publication)

Deborah Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowship Program*
Sarah Hadley, *Secretary to the Kress Professor and the Mellon Lecturer*
Elizabeth Kielpinski, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*
Curtis Millay, *Assistant to the Program of Sponsored Research in the History of Art
and Secretary to Research Program* (until December 1993)
Randi Nordeen, *Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings*
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*

Curatorial Liaison

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

MEMBERS

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1993–1994

Anthony Radcliffe, Victoria and Albert Museum (keeper emeritus)

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1994

Jonathan Brown, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe

Senior Fellows

Andreas Beyer, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-
Universität Bonn
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1993–1994
*Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni at Naples: Palace-Culture and Greek Renewal in
Aragonese Naples*

Elizabeth Boone, Dumbarton Oaks
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1993–1994
Aztec Pictorial Histories

Yvonne Brunhammer, Union des Arts Décoratifs, Palais du Louvre
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1993–1994
Evolution of the Concept of “Decorative Art” in France between 1850 and 1990

A. A. Donohue, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1993–1994
Studies in the Historiography of Classical Art

Sally Promey, University of Maryland at College Park
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1993–1994
To Cultivate the Spiritual: The Art of George Inness and the Religious Philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg

David Smith, University of New Hampshire
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1993–1994
Privacy and Civilization in Dutch Art, 1650–1700

Visiting Senior Fellows

Richard Becherer, Carnegie Mellon University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1994
Robert Mallet-Stevens and the Adventure of Modernity

Peter Bethausen, Berlin
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1993
Catalogue of German Printmakers (peintres-graveurs) in the Age of Classicism and Romanticism (1750–1850)

Victor Carpov, Russian Academy of Architecture and Building Sciences;
Institute for Architectural and Urban Theory, Moscow
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1994
Soros Visiting Senior Research Travel Fellow, summer 1994
Architectural Hermeneutics: The Typological Interpretation of Alberti

Meredith Clausen, University of Washington
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1994
The Pan Am Building and the Demise of Modernism

Alan Darr, Detroit Institute of Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1994
Completion of a Monograph on Pietro Torrigiani and Italian Sculpture in Renaissance England



Vojtech Jirat-Wasiutynski, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1994

Studies in the Painting Procedures of Paul Gauguin, 1873–1891

John Pohl, Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California,
Los Angeles

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1994

The Wall Paintings of Mitla

Vadim Sadkov, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, Soros Visiting Senior Research Travel
Fellow, fall 1993

*Catalogue Raisonné: Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth
Centuries in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*

Victor Schmidt, Rijksuniversiteit, Groningen, Instituut voor Kunst-,
Architectuurgeschiedenis en Archeologie

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1993

*Panels for Private Devotion in Sieneese Painting, 1250–1450: Form, Content, Function,
Production*

Marcio Veloz Maggiolo, Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña,
Santo Domingo

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1994
Art and Society in the Precolumbian Antilles

Malcolm Warner, San Diego Museum of Art

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1994
*A Survey of Contemporary Critical Responses to the Paintings of John Everett Millais, for
a Catalogue Raisonné of His Works*

Joanna Woods-Marsden, University of California, Los Angeles

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1993
*The Construction of Artistic Identity: Self-Portraiture and the Social Status of the Artist
in the Renaissance*

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellows

Patricia A. Bochi, University of Pennsylvania and National Gallery of Art
1993–1994

Pauline Thayer Maguire, National Gallery of Art, Department of Southern
Baroque Painting
1993–1994

Predocctoral Fellows

Roann Barris [University of Illinois]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1993–1995
The Reification of Utopia

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*

Leah Dickerman [Columbia University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1993–1996
*Utopian Practice and Revolutionary Complexity, 1917–1936: The Work of Aleksandr
Rodchenko*

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
- Jodi Hauptman [Yale University]
 Wyeth Fellow, 1993–1995
Vision and Spectatorship in the Work of Joseph Cornell
- Kathleen Howe [University of New Mexico]
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1993–1994
Egypt Recovered: The Photography of Maxime Du Camp, Félix Teynard, and John Beasley Greene, and the Development of Egyptology
- Kenneth Lapatin [University of California, Berkeley]*
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1991–1994
Greek and Roman Chryselephantine Statuary
- Lyle Massey [University of California, Los Angeles]
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1993–1994
The Gamble of the Gaze: An Investigation of Visual Illusion through the History of Anamorphosis and Trompe l’Oeil
- Donald McColl [University of Virginia]
 Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1993–1994
Christ and the Woman of Samaria: Studies in Art and Piety in the Age of the Reformation
- Abby McGehee [University of California, Berkeley]
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1993–1996
The Parish Church of SS Gervais et Protais: Parisian Flamboyant in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
- Cynthia Robinson [University of Pennsylvania]
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1993–1995
Meaning in Art and Architecture of the Muluk al-Tawa'if: The Reconstruction of an "Imaginaire"
- Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere [Harvard University]*
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1992–1994
Vessels of Influence: Early Japanese Porcelain and Its Production in Northern Kyushu
- Kathryn Smith [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1993–1995
Canonizing the Apocryphal: London British Library Egerton MS. 2781 and Its Visual, Devotional, and Social Contexts

Lydia Thompson [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Ittleson Fellow, 1993–1995
The Yi'nan Tomb

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*

Martine Westerman [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 13 September 1993–31 August 1994

MEETINGS

Symposia

28–29 January 1994

IMAGINING MODERN GERMAN CULTURE: 1889–1910

Cultural Topography

Moderator: Steven A. Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Kenneth Barkin, University of California, Riverside

Political Romanticism in Imperial Germany: The Second Wave

Mark Jarzombek, Cornell University

The Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period and the Jargon of "Good Modernity"

Maria Makela, Maryland Institute, College of Art

The Politics of Parody: Censorship and the Visual Arts in Munich

Institutional Framework

Moderator: Marion Deshmukh, George Mason University

Françoise Forster-Hahn, University of California, Riverside

Constructing New Histories: Displays of Art and Their Audiences

Charles McClelland, University of New Mexico

*"Young Germans, not Young Greeks and Romans": Culture and Educational Reform
in Wilhelmine Germany*

Patricia Berman, Wellesley College

The Invention of History: Genius, Genealogy, and German Modernist Criticism



Robin Lenman, University of Warwick

Taste and the Art Market in Imperial Germany, 1889–1910

Text and Images

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

Richard Pettit, Council for International Exchange of Scholars,
Washington, D.C.

The Poet's Eye for the Arts: Rilke Views the Visual Arts around 1900

Elizabeth Streicher, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Prints and Their Text: Max Klinger's "Malerei und Zeichnung"

Christopher With, National Gallery of Art

"Work and Make It Better": Lovis Corinth, German Art, and the Peril from Abroad

Presenting the German Empire

Moderator: Robin Lenman, University of Warwick

John Zukowsky, Art Institute of Chicago

Urbane Dreams and Urban Realities: Observations on the Modern German City

John Czaplicka, Harvard University

Breeding Spaces, Teeming Places, and the Confines of the "Common" People:

Picturing the Pains and Pleasures of the "Urban Other" in Wilhelmine Germany

Karen Lang [University of California, Los Angeles]

Monumental Unease: Monuments and the Making of National Identity in Germany

Marion Deshmukh, George Mason University

"Politics Is an Art": The Cultural Politics of Max Liebermann in Wilhelmine Germany

9 April 1994

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART
TWENTY-FOURTH 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 A. Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Introduction: Mary Garrard

Gretchen Holtzapple Bender [American University]

Caught in the Act: Judith Leyster's National Gallery Self-Portrait Reconsidered

Introduction: Barbara von Barghahn

Christopher Chadwick Wilson [George Washington University]

One God, Three Persons: The Holy Trinity as Three Identical Men in Spanish Colonial Art

Introduction: Sally Promey

Renée Deanne Ater [University of Maryland at College Park]

*Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson's Portrait of Jean-Baptiste Belley:
The Construction of Race in Eighteenth-Century France*

Introduction: Christopher M. S. Johns

Kathleen Placidi [University of Virginia]

*Delacroix's The Sultan of Morocco: Art and Politics in the Imagery of Arabs
on Horseback*

AFTERNOON SESSION

Moderator: June Hargrove, University of Maryland at College Park

Introduction: Floyd Coleman

Tania Beasley [Howard University]

Offsprings of the Mind: West African Antecedents in Harriet Powers' Bible Quilts

Introduction: Patricia Leighton

Deborah Gaston [University of Delaware]

*Americans in the Rough: Joseph Stella's Drawings of Immigrants and Immigrant
Laborers*

Introduction: Kirk Savage

Ivy Schroeder [University of Pittsburgh]

Minimalism and the Public: The Site-Specific Works of Richard Serra

Introduction: Carol Mavor
Jane Blocker [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
The Hunger for Dirt

Curatorial/Conservation Colloquy VI

23–24 May 1994

NICOLAS POUSSIN'S *HOLY FAMILY ON THE STEPS*

Colloquy co-chairs:

Philip Conisbee, National Gallery of Art

Ross Merrill, National Gallery of Art

Participants:

Hugh Brigstocke, Sotheby's, London

Alan Chong, Cleveland Museum of Art

Bruce Christman, Cleveland Museum of Art

Ann Sutherland Harris, University of Pittsburgh

Ann Tzeuschler Lurie, Cleveland Museum of Art

Denis Mahon, London

Pierre Rosenberg, Musée du Louvre

Timothy Standring, University of Denver

Marcia Steele, Cleveland Museum of Art

Richard Verdi, University of Birmingham



Observers:

Forrest Bailey, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
Keith Christiansen, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Anthony Colantuono, University of Maryland at College Park
Diane De Grazia, National Gallery of Art
Gail Feigenbaum, National Gallery of Art
Sarah Fisher, National Gallery of Art
Pauline Thayer Maguire, National Gallery of Art
Stephen Pepper, Leesburg, Virginia
Carol Sawyer, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts
Richard Spear, Oberlin College

Colloquia CXVII–CXXIII

21 October 1993

Anthony Radcliffe, Samuel H. Kress Professor
*The Bronze Sculpture of Riccio as a Visual Expression of Ideas Current in the
University of Padua in the Early Sixteenth Century*

7 December 1993

Elizabeth Boone, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
Aztec Pictorial Histories

16 December 1993

Yvonne Brunhammer, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Decorative Arts in the 1930s

13 January 1994

A. A. Donohue, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Studies in the Historiography of Classical Art

10 February 1994

David Smith, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Comedy and Social Vision in Jan Steen

10 March 1994

Andreas Beyer, Frese Senior Research Fellow
*“Hic Habitant Nymphae Dulces”—Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni and the Greek
Renewal of Aragonese Naples*

7 April 1994

Sally Promey, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Interchangeable Art: Warner Sallman (1892–1968) and the Critics of Mass Culture



Shoptalks

14 October 1993

Kenneth Lapatin, David E. Finley Fellow

Pheidias' Zeus Olympios: Rediscovering a Lost Wonder of the Ancient World

9 December 1993

Aline Brandauer, Paul Mellon Fellow

"Et le Mexique? C'est là que l'on voudrait vivre!"

6 January 1994

Karen Fiss, Mary Davis Fellow

"Deutschland in Paris": French Perceptions of National-Socialist Cultural Production at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale

3 March 1994

Dorothy Wong, Itleson Fellow

The Rise of Chinese Buddhist Steles in the Period c. 500–530

12 April 1994

T. Barton Thurber, Samuel H. Kress Fellow

"Alla Similitudine di Santo Pietro Novo": Pellegrino Tibaldi's Reconstruction of the Vercelli Cathedral

5 May 1994

Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

The Construction of the Other: Chinese Influence on Japanese Aesthetics in the Early Seventeenth Century

Incontro

8 March 1994

Boris Marshak, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

Crusader Silver in Siberia

Lecture

14 April 1994

Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

Bernini and the Art of Social Satire

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1994

Jonathan Brown, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe

10 April

Charles I of England and the Whitehall Group

17 April

The Sale of the Century

24 April

"The Greatest Amateur of Painting among the Princes of the World": Philip IV of Spain

1 May

Artis Pictoriae Amator: Archduke Leopold William of Austria and Art Collecting in Flanders

8 May

Reasons of State: Louis XIV of France

15 May

Toward the Preeminence of Painting

LECTURE AND INCONTRO ABSTRACTS

IRVING LAVIN

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

Bernini and the Art of Social Satire

The purpose of this paper is to trace the genesis in seventeenth-century Rome of that peculiarly modern form of visual aggression we call caricature. The word and the particular stylistic form and personal content it signifies were the result of a deliberate effort to amalgamate in a new expressive mode seemingly incompatible aspects of European cultural tradition. Essential qualities were derived from the noblest ideals of high art as it was defined in consequence of the Renaissance revival of classical antiquity. Caricature was equally indebted to the mischievous habit of artists steeped in that lofty heritage to coopt with seditious intent the eternally persistent demons of the socially uncouth and the visually inept. The third ingredient was wit, through which the sublime and the ridiculous were merged in one surpassing synthesis. And it was no accident that caricature achieved its modern form in the hands and brain of the most sought-after artist of his day, the darling of popes, kings, and queens who reveled in his trenchant lampoons, often of their very selves.

BORIS MARSHAK

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

Crusader Silver in Siberia

The most important part of this research was carried out during my fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in 1991. After my stay in Washington, however, a hoard was discovered in Muzhi, a tiny arctic town not far from the mouth of the Ob river. This hoard adds to a large group of medieval silver vessels found in that region. Northern natives, who were trappers and hunters, sold their furs and walrus to Muslim and Western European merchants until the mid-fourteenth century. Instead of currency (useless in their tribal economy), they received from the merchants silver objects, some of which they hid in Siberian forests.

Four silver objects were found in Muzhi. Two of them are lids of Western European Romanesque covered stem cups, datable no later than A.D. 1220. The third object is a late twelfth-century bowl. This bowl was a part of a stem cup as well, but its conical support and lid are not preserved. The shape of the vessels is similar to a famous group of ciboria, but all three are rare, richly adorned samples of medieval secular toreutics.

The fourth object is a large dish with a repoussé central rondel and engravings on its side. The celestial journey of Alexander the Great is depicted in the center, surrounded by ten sections with figures. Personifications of the sun, the moon, and Jupiter are in three upper sections, and of the ocean and the earth in two lower ones. These images are closely associated with the main subject. Bellerophon, seated on Pegasus, and King David playing his harp are situated between moon and ocean. Opposite Bellerophon and David is a battle scene with three participants: a mounted archer attacking a horseman with a spear, and another horseman with raised sword, rushing to rescue the spear bearer.

The style and iconography of the dish betray first of all Byzantine tradition, but there are some Western elements too. The probable date is A.D. 1210 or slightly later. It is quite possible that the dish was made by a Greek master. The patron could have been a local vassal of Henry of Flanders, second crusader emperor of Constantinople.

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts who were in residence during the period June 1993 to May 1994. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1994. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1994 will appear in *Center 15*.

Metamorphoses of Ideas of the Vienna School of Art History

The theoretical base of the Vienna school of the history of art was defined by scientism and historicism. In the first case, works of art were regarded as phenomena to be analyzed by rational means, and history was to be interpreted as causal connection and rationally reconstructed. As a consequence, art history itself was conceived as an exact scientific discipline. In the second case, art was regarded as historical in its substance, that is, as permanently changing, contextual, and as a substantially pluralist phenomenon. All styles were considered unique structures based on particular and incommensurable values.

The synthesis of scientism with historical relativism, characteristic of the Vienna school, was a result of the confluence of Enlightenment universalism and rationalism with romantic spiritualism and particularism. In other words, the Vienna school represents a sequence of attempts to combine and harmonize two diverse traditions: Kantian tradition mediated in its Herbartian formalist version by Hegelian metaphysics. The synthesis of Herbartian and Hegelian paradigms naturally held contradictions, and as a consequence, development of the Vienna school was a dialectical story. The main representatives of the school, Alois Riegl and Max Dvořák, conceived of the history of art as the history of ideas based on a belief in the human or cosmopolitan nature of art. The history of art was regarded as a means of materialization of an *ars una*. The cosmopolitan notion of art, which can be regarded as the common denominator of the Vienna school conception, was seen in Riegl's formalism, in Dvořák's expressionism, in Julius von Schlosser's and Ernst Gombrich's linguistic ideas of art, as well as in Hans Sedlmayr's and Otto Pächt's structuralism. It was also in full conformity with the official ideological doctrine of the Hapsburg monarchy. The relatively early institutionalization of art history in Vienna beginning in the middle of the nineteenth century can be interpreted as a result of state support. Art history in general and the Vienna school's quantitative scientism and cosmopolitan historical relativism were regarded by the government as effective instruments not only in reconciling the interests of the aristocracy with those of the bourgeoisie, but also in fighting nationalistic disintegration of the multinational empire.

The Vienna school trained many art historians from all parts of the monarchy. The original Viennese ideas, however, were remarkably transformed when transported to new milieus—to Prague or Budapest and Cracow—especially in the new political atmosphere after the collapse of the Hapsburg empire in 1918. Generally, it can be said that the Viennese conception was transformed within the new cultural contexts for both nationalist and patriotic purposes. The ideas of evolution, continuity, causal connection, the notion of historical process as dialectics of two opposites, the concept of art as expression, the idea of the parallelism of cultural spheres, and the unity of all expressions of an age were argued.

Viennese scientism and cosmopolitanism, interpreted as instruments of an antinationalistic state ideology, were transformed into a theory of art in the service of a nation or a nation-state.

After the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic, Vienna-trained art historians Vojtech Birnbaum, Vincenc Kramář, Eugen Dostál, and their followers tried to use Riegl's scientism, specifically his search for regularities in history and his idea of the causal continuity of the evolution of art, to prove the relative independence or initiative of Czech art. Dvořák's pupils, Antonín Matějček above all, had trouble avoiding nationalistic spiritualism while applying Dvořák's cosmopolitan understanding of the history of art as history of ideas in the interpretation of national art. Both currents led them into a methodological skepticism as promulgated by Václav Richter.

In contrast to Prague, disciples of the Vienna school did not gain control over decisive posts in academic art history in Budapest. The department of art history at the university in Budapest was controlled for decades by the very conservative art historians László Gerevich and Antal Hekler. They revived a romantic spiritualist and nationalist interpretation of art as an expression of the spirit of a nation. The predominance of conservatism and spiritualism in the official Hungarian art history can be explained as a reaction to the loss of territorial hegemony over the Hungarian part of the former empire as well as a reaction against the Communist attempt to come to power after the First World War. Dvořák's disciples, such as Frederick Antal, in Budapest tried to reinterpret his history of art as a history of world views, *Weltanschauungen* in a Marxist sense, but then left Hungary for the West together with Johannes Wilde and Charles de Tolnay. The Vienna school doctrine also deeply influenced Polish art history. Through the Polish pupils of Riegl and Dvořák, ideas came not only to Cracow by way of Wojślaw Molé, but also to Poznań through Szczęsny Dettloff and to Lvov in Ukraine through Karolina Lanckorońska. Viennese influence predominated in Cracow; nevertheless, it is significant that not only Riegl's morphologism and Dvořák's spiritualism but also Josef Strzygowski's impressive ideas, strongly criticized by the Vienna school, were accepted by Polish art historians. They were not attracted by Strzygowski's critique of Eurocentrism, rather by his rehabilitation of the northern area as an independent cultural whole and above all by his belief in Slavic art as a particular art-historical phenomenon. It was just this idea that made a deep impact on the development of art history in the southern Slavic countries of Bulgaria and the former Yugoslavia.

Slovak Academy of Sciences, Institute of Art History, Comenius University,
Bratislava

Soros Visiting Senior Research Fellow, spring–summer 1993

PETER BETTHAUSEN

Joseph Anton Koch's Römische Ansichten in the History of the Printed Veduta

Although there has been extensive research on Joseph Anton Koch as a central figure of neoclassical painting, his contribution to printmaking still remains to be explored. Koch learned the technique of engraving at the Karlsschule in Stuttgart, where it formed part of the basic artistic training, but he did not employ his knowledge for a long time. In a letter of 26 July 1797 to Johann Friedrich Frauenholz (1758–1822), one of the foremost promoters of the graphic arts in Germany at the turn of the eighteenth century, Koch emphasized that he was a modern artist, that was to say, a painter, not a traditional printmaker. If he were to make prints at all, they would be *malerische* (painterly) etchings, which refers to the manner in which they were executed as well as to the *Maler* (the painter), who made the prints.

On arriving in Italy in 1795, Koch first traveled to Naples. At that time, the painter Jacob Philipp Hackert and his brother, the engraver Georg, were at the height of their careers there. The brothers' Italian *vedute* were highly esteemed by many contemporaries for their objectivity and serene clarity. For Koch, however, this way of representing reality, this *Prospectmalerei* was contrary to his artistic convictions.

Koch considered "historische und dichterische Landschaften" (historical and poetic landscapes) to be the very essence of his artistic endeavors. He nevertheless was aware that there was a strong market for the more traditional *veduta* type. He offered the publisher Frauenholz a number of realistic landscape studies drawn "from their diverse and picturesque aspects" during his two years in Switzerland between 1792 and 1794, in addition to the "historical and poetic" drawings and paintings. One senses from the letter that Koch was reconciled to such "realistic" *vedute* but not without some added artistic innovations. In the same letter he mentioned Italian views as well, which in my opinion may be the first hint of what would become the *Römische Ansichten*.

Between 1797 and 1803 Koch concentrated his energies on figurative compositions, such as the illustrations for Ossian and compositions reminiscent of his friend Jakob Asmus Carstens' (1754–1798) *Argonaut* series. In 1803 he turned his attention again to landscapes, and in the same year drew the first sketches for *Römische Ansichten*. In the spring of 1810, Koch had finished the first half of what would ultimately be a twenty-print set, completing the last ten prints by October of the same year. He intended to publish this series "auf Assoziation" (in cooperation). I understand this to mean that he would do so in association with a Roman publisher, who would assume the printing and sale of the series within Italy. Koch reserved the right to sell the *Römische Ansichten* in Germany and elsewhere, retaining ownership of the copper plates.

Koch set great hope in the German market, advertising his series by sending it to friends and acquaintances. Among the most helpful of these was Robert von Langer, who received one set of the prints in July 1811 and another twenty-four in March 1815. By 1815 Koch himself was living in Vienna; unable to sell anything in Rome "since the war," he had fled the "città dolente," taking with him many paintings, drawings, and copper plates, among them the *Römische Ansichten*. But even in Vienna he was plagued by financial worries, and for the time being he considered it unwise to print the *Römische Ansichten* ordered by Robert von Langer, since the printing costs seemed to him exorbitant.

It seems likely that these circumstances were among the reasons Koch made inquiries about the status of lithography in Vienna. He may have intended to produce his *Römische Ansichten* as a series of lithographs. Koch had gained experience with lithography in 1808–1809 in Rome, in the newly established lithography workshop of a certain Joseph Dall'Armi from Munich, and Dall'Armi published a landscape by Koch as a lithograph. Yet for whatever reason, Koch never produced any lithographs in Vienna.

The twenty sheets of Koch's *Römische Ansichten* are numbered consecutively: ten sheets depict views of Rome and ten depict the surrounding countryside. It is possible that Koch may have had in mind a much larger series following the example of the series *Mahlerisch radirte Prospekte von Italien* by Johann Christian Reinhart, Jakob Wilhelm Mechau, and Albert Christoph Dies, published in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Viewed in this way Koch's series would be unfinished. Although one is able to discern an aesthetic order within the series, it lacks a clearly imposed overall rational structure. Whether a larger series would have contained such a recognizable structure seems unlikely. Although earlier series of *vedute* by Giuseppe Vasi and Giovanni Battista Piranesi were conceived according to a topographical or thematic scheme, by the late eighteenth century such structure was deemed of less importance.

In Koch's hands the traditional type of *veduta* underwent a further transformation. No longer was topographical accuracy of primary importance; it rather served the artist as a point of departure for the creation of his own subjective and artistically rendered view of a place.

Identifiable landmarks allow us to recognize views of Rome more readily but even these could not be called *vedute* in the traditional sense. The earliest sketches made on site already show a high degree of abstraction. Koch transforms the amorphous, ruinous Roman architecture into the cube-shaped, sharp-edged architectural forms apparent in both the early sketches and the final prints. Buildings that sometimes can no longer be identified are reduced to their stereometric basic form. An example of this is apparent in a print Koch purposely gave the vague title *Veduta d'una Parte di Roma Antica*. On the left-hand side, cut off by the margin, it is possible to recognize the simplified shell of the Colosseum, but the identity of the surrounding cityscape disappears into a more abstract rendering. Koch presents us with an idea rather than a portrait of Rome. It is not surprising that Koch has been compared to Cézanne. Indeed, the stereometric

reduction of reality experienced in these sheets points as much to the past and Poussin as it does to the future and Cézanne.

The bold venture initiated by Koch had no followers. His attempt to make the *veduta* into something more than a travel souvenir remained an isolated instance in the nineteenth century.

Berlin

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1993



Antonio Bulifon, Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni, 1697. From Pompeo Sarnelli, *Guida dei forestieri curiosi di vedere e d'intendere le cose più notabili della Regal Città di Napoli e del suo amenissimo Distretto* (Naples, 1697)

ANDREAS BEYER

Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni and the Greek Renewal of Aragonese Naples

A longstanding fixation on the canonical centers of Renaissance art has led to a widespread neglect of Naples in that crucial period. Yet from the half century of Aragonese rule (1442–1496) there remains a small but significant number of fine buildings and monuments which document the prominent Neapolitan participation in the humanist renewal and bring into prominence the interaction of art and politics. Among these, the Palazzo Carafa di Maddaloni represents one of the very few examples of secular Renaissance architecture in southern Italy. While its advanced architectural features place it among the most interesting constructions of quattrocento architecture of the peninsula, the symbolic charge of the building and its decorative elements bind it to traditions surrounding the Greek origins of the city and reflect the Aragonese exploitation of that heritage.

In order to legitimize, both historically and ideologically, his own dynastic ambitions, Alfonso I reinvented Neapolitan history, returning to the city its original antique identity. Reviving the myth of the Homeric Siren and legendary foundress of Naples, Parthenope, the Aragonese conceived a political iconography that enabled them to place themselves within the tradition of their newly conquered territory. The king of Naples was not to be seen as a trans-Tyrrhenian satellite of the Iberian monarchy, but rather as the restorer of Neapolitan civic pride and the preserver of the city's legacy.

Initially this program was formulated in the sculptural decoration of the "Triumphal Arch" of the Castel Nuovo, which I read as the figuration of the nymph's legendary tomb. Antiquarian studies defined it as the nucleus of the Greek polis, in front of which Alfonso enters in triumph, as royal bringer of peace.

The iconography of Parthenope was then further developed on the façade and within the courtyard of the king's chancellor's palace, the Palazzo of Diomedea Carafa, erected in 1466 in the "Seggio Nilo." In this way the kingdom usurped an area that had been the center of the ancient city in its Greek times, and had long been the base of opposition to royal power. Many aspects of its design and decorative program can be shown to function as elements of a coherent humanist strategy for the rhetorical reclamation of the city's ancient origins. The iconographic patterns were determined by current antiquarian knowledge, while their specific expression drew on the famous collection of Diomedea Carafa, displayed both on the façade and the courtyard. Thus the palace embodies the nymph's "local habitat"; it even included a nymphaeum that is probably to be considered the first of this type in postantique times.

The syncretistic program of the Greek renewal found its most erudite and aesthetically accomplished expression in the Villa of Poggio Reale, the lavish commission of Alfonso II to Giuliano da Maiano at the end of the century.

Naples in the second half of the fifteenth century thus appears as a setting where the contemporary conventions of humanist thought and propaganda were adapted no less skillfully than in other parts of Renaissance Europe. Indeed, the Neapolitan situation gave rise to a more transparent expression of humanist rhetoric than was possible elsewhere; it was employed not to disguise political ambitions but rather to affirm and promote them.

Kunsthistorisches Institut
Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1993–1994

PATRICIA A. BOCHI

Ancient Egyptian Art at the Walters Art Gallery

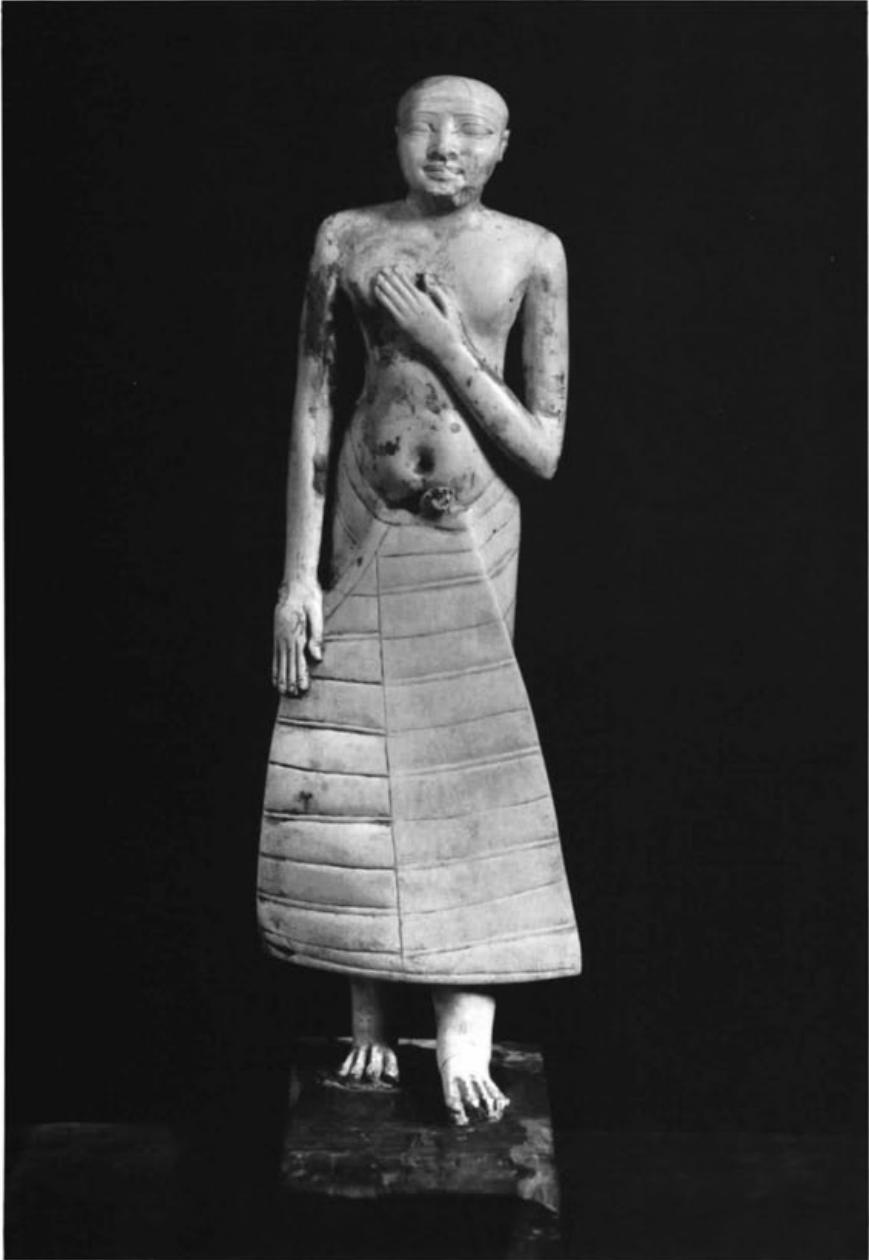
Much of my time in residence at the Center for Advanced Study was spent preparing a catalogue of the permanent collection of ancient Egyptian art at the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore. Although relatively well known to Egyptologists, the collection remains mostly unpublished, exceptions being a 1946 catalogue on sculpture by George Steindorff as well as articles by various authors.

In writing the catalogue, my aim was not to inventory each piece on display but to highlight those that I believe are significant in cultural or artistic terms, to give the interested reader—layman and specialist alike—an overall sense of the holdings. The uneven representation of the categories of artifacts throughout the dynastic periods (notably, works from the Late Period, sculpture in particular, represent the major part of the collection) and the fact that the objects derive mostly from the mortuary context seemed to warrant a chronological approach rather than a thematic one.

Spanning the Predynastic Period (c. 3000 B.C.) to the Greco-Roman Period (332 B.C.–395 A.D.), my entries cover objects as diverse as ivory figurines dating from the Predynastic Period; statues and statuettes, stelae, apotropaic objects, decorated pottery and faience vessels, canopic jars, artists' trial pieces, wall reliefs, all dating from the Old to the New Kingdom (2575–1070 B.C.); a mummy cartonnage from the Late Period (712–332 B.C.); and finally, from the Greco-Roman Period, the mummy portraits from the Fayum and an illustrated demotic papyrus. The challenge of this project lay in the fact that the objects span not only a very long time, about thirty-four hundred years, but also a wide range of media, each of which is expressive of particular issues.

While working on the catalogue, I became interested in a freestanding statuette (no. 71.509) made of ivory and dating from the Twelfth Dynasty (1991–1783 B.C.), whose provenance, albeit unknown, may be the site of Assiut in Middle Egypt. The statuette represents a male official striding with his left foot forward in the classic Egyptian position, his left hand held against his chest and his right hand resting flat on his garment. This unidentified individual is wearing a long skirt that wraps in front and a starched trapezoidal-shaped apron projecting forward. Perhaps the most striking feature about the piece is that the skirt displays an unusual pattern, one carefully carved in an alternating sequence of single and double horizontal lines, whose significance I discuss in an article.

Mentioned in passing in the Egyptological literature as essentially just another decorative pattern, such as cross-hatches, stripes, or even pleats, it is clear that the nature of this particular pattern remains to be identified more decisively. Furthermore, the fact that the pattern is not evident in any of the actual garments that survive raises the question of the degree to which it may have been culturally significant, assuming a specific function related to its mortuary context. As a result,



Ivory statuette of a man, Twelfth Dynasty (1991-1783 B.C.). Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

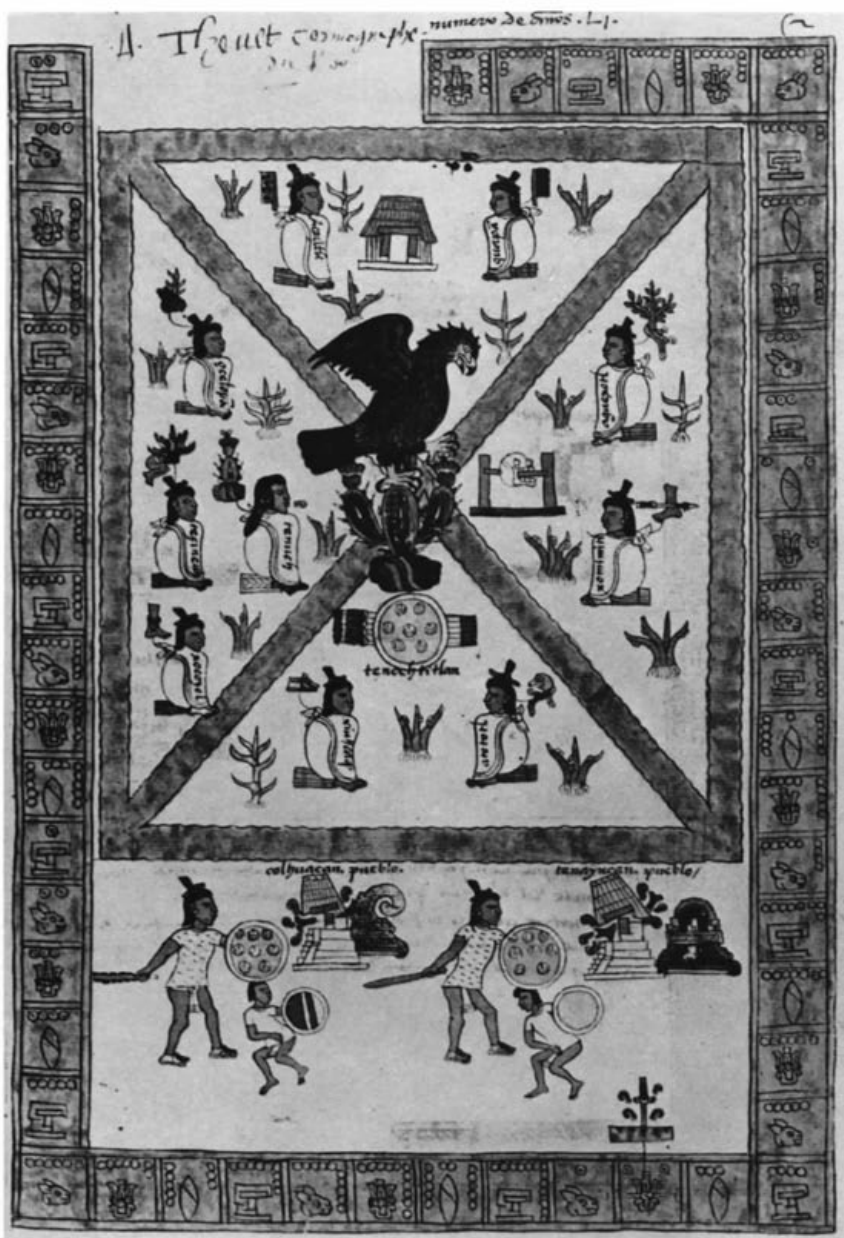
I have compiled a corpus of examples illustrating the pattern and some variants. On the basis of the archaeological and pictorial evidence, on the one hand, and the formal analysis of the pattern on the other, I suggest that the pattern derives from creases assumed by the linen cloth when folded and subsequently stored.

The fact that the Egyptians wished to be represented for eternity and to be remembered as wearing garments showing incidental marks of folding, as opposed to having a pressed out surface, suggests that such folds had a specific and significant connotation. Whether based on the texts, the actual textiles, or the depictions in tombs, the evidence clearly attests to the importance of linen and clothing for the individual's well-being and the signaling of his socioeconomic status in this world. It also aids the deceased in passing the judgment of the dead and in continued existence in the next world.

By drawing attention to the fact that the garment had been folded, the Egyptian artist wished to convey more than an allusion to fashion or socioeconomic status. Garments with such patterns acted as a visual transmitter of the individual's hopes and aspirations for the afterlife; in other words, a visual metaphor for religious beliefs.

The remainder of my time at the Center was devoted to the final details of a forthcoming article on the images of time in ancient Egyptian art, written during the past academic year at the Center, and to developing my dissertation on the agricultural scenes depicted in the private tombs at Thebes into a monograph.

University of Pennsylvania and National Gallery of Art
Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1993–1994



Founding of the Aztec Capital, Tenochtitlan, Codex Mendoza, Folio 2R, c. 1541–1542. Bodleian Library, Oxford

Aztec Pictorial Histories

Within and beyond the borders of the Aztec empire in the century before Europeans set foot on Mexican soil, political leaders looked to historical manuscripts to locate themselves conceptually in time and space. Like their counterparts elsewhere in the world then unknown to them, they had histories recorded to explain how they reached their present situation and how their relations with other polities and peoples around them were established. The difference was that their painter-writers recorded the stories pictorially rather than alphabetically.

My project has been a book that recognizes the several different kinds of historical narratives the Aztecs and their neighbors developed and explains how the manuscript painters recorded these varied stories graphically. I have focused first on the kinds of information that compose and dominate the different types of histories, and then on how the painted documents work to encode, structure, and preserve this information pictorially.

Distinct narrative needs arose in the Aztec realm: the grand imperial stories of the Aztec capital were necessarily different from local dynastic histories of provincial towns. Rulers of relatively small city-states in the Mixteca held office because they were direct descendants of divine and local ancestors; their histories thus emphasize local origins and their genealogical lines. In contrast, the authority of imperial Aztec rulers rested on their people's arduous migrations, programs of conquest, and supernatural intervention; their histories naturally feature these events. The manuscript painters, for their part, developed quite different presentational forms to meet these needs, forms that in turn shaped the kind of story being told.

In understanding the pictorial histories in particular, it is important to see them first as histories, as stories about the past. Veracity is not an issue here. As histories they are created by the interplay of four basic informational classes or elements: participant, event, location, and time—the familiar “who,” “what,” “where,” and “when.” In the universal sense histories relate events or actions that affect individuals or groups, somewhere, and at some time. All four elements are required by a story, although one or more can be assumed or left ambiguous. One of these classes generally dominates the history and provides the foundation or structure around which the narrative is presented; the other three classes are then arranged to fit the format provided by the governing class.

Mexican pictorial histories are created of serialized, unmoving images—both pictures and glyphs—that have known conventional meanings. It is the particular arrangement of these images that forms the narrative and gives structure to the history. In late postclassic Mexico, I argue that history painters structured their stories around event, location, or time. Those in the Mixtec-speaking area of southern Mexico created event-oriented histories or *res gestae*, literally “deeds done,” to chronicle the significant events of the ruling dynasties. Such *res gestae*

narratives arrange time and place around the intersection of event and participant; they read from event to event, assigning place and date to these events. In central Mexico, Aztec manuscript painters developed the continuous year-count annals to document the progressing story of the imperium. In the annals, time is the organizing principle; all the years are painted in a sequence, with events painted around and attached to them. Spanning Aztec and Mixtec spheres and including neighboring peoples on the Gulf and Pacific coasts were the cartographic histories, which were ideally suited to presenting migration and foundation stories. In them, geography (or, more accurately, space) provides the organizational structure, with event and time arranged around location.

Each of these three historical forms has different strengths with concomitant weaknesses. I argue that the manuscript painters chose the presentational form that best fit the story they had to tell. The annals form fit the requirements of the Aztec imperial story, just as the *res gestae* history allowed the Mixtec rulers to document their lineage, their alliances, and their territorial claims, and the cartographic form accommodated migrations. The annals, with their temporal spine, excelled in demonstrating the continuity of the corporate body. The focus of the *res gestae* on named individuals and their deeds made that form especially suited to recording dynastic migratory movements over large geographic spaces. The kind of history being told was inseparable from the form used to tell it; the story and the discourse relied heavily on one another. Thus two fundamental aspects of my analysis, the storytelling function of the history and its presentational mode, come together.

Dumbarton Oaks

Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1993–1994

ALINE BRANDAUER

In the Beginning All the World Was America: The Surrealist Construction of Mexico or the Semiotic Unbound

Although twentieth-century French artists' relationships with African and Oceanic art have been discussed at length, their interest in the art of pre-Columbian Mesoamerica has not. My project concerns the surrealists' interest in Mexico during the 1920s and 1930s. The five chapters of my dissertation present a series of visual and institutional examples of French constructions of "Mexico" and of French reaction to Mexican representations of their culture. In each chapter a different type of argument exposes or constructs transpositions of meaning within these examples.

An issue in this project is "primitivism." Modernism and primitivism must be considered as a whole; it is not enough to talk about the primitive as already constructed without discussing its development as an interdependent form. Modernism concerns itself with creating perfectly descriptive self-referential systems, while primitivism is by definition about those cultures or parts of subjects that are unchanging. Both, in short, are without history; only by their coexistence and juxtaposition can the semblance of a dialectic be maintained. In fact, it is only a semblance—there is no possibility of change in these conceptual systems. This, I feel, is the trap into which writing about primitivism has fallen. To explain primitivism through psychoanalysis is to use a modernist economy to explain same—it is teleological. On the other hand, simply to reformulate what formal strategies of primitivism modern artists used to explain their work as great artists also begs the question. Only by looking at the mechanics of constructing a specific "primitive" by a group, government, or institution committed to a notion of modernism and to its reception among various audiences can ground be gained. This should lead to a plurilogical model in which the differences and similarities in constructions of the "primitive" will begin to sort themselves out.

What makes the Mexican case so interesting, both in itself and as a model for "primitivism" in French twentieth-century culture is that it was created and mediated during the first half of this century almost entirely by the Mexican intellectual elite rather than by an external colonial power. Mexico's so-called primitivism was packaged and sold as national culture, a situation that persists today. The French understanding, adaptation, and transformation of the official Mexican view broaden the discourse still further.

In the introduction Edouard Manet's group of paintings, the *Execution of Maximilian* (1867–1869), serves as a foil. The *Execution of Maximilian* has it all: the end of history painting (versus the 1930s variant—Kojève's Hegelian end of history itself) and the beginning of modernism; the complicated political relationship between France and Mexico; the media-determined construction and misinterpretations; distortion through Spanish sources, nationalism, revolution,

indigenism, and folklore; as well as sacrifice and the curious emptiness surrounding violence. In the 1860s Mexico did not yet have meaning as “primitive” in France. The “primitive” in the picture can be found elsewhere—in its style, that style which is the indicator of modernism. This picture sets up the inextricable bond between the “modern” and the “primitive”—and the fact that Mexico is different but not yet exotic clarifies the problematic in a way that avoids creating an essentialist view of Mexico itself.

In chapter two I discuss three different exhibitions of Mexican art in Paris (1926, 1928, and 1939) to demonstrate the confusion and conflation of ancient Mexico, modern Mexico, and the use of that country’s children’s art in a self-conscious attempt by the government and specific Mexican intellectuals to create propaganda based on primitivism. This is closely related to European discussions of this period in which recuperating tradition and the experience of the body across the political spectrum played a major part. As the *Execution* left us with the lack of exotic, the institutional discussion will lead us to ask what this body is and how it was represented.

Chapter three considers representations of the body, but particularly attempts to represent the *experience* of the body in visual examples (Giacometti, Picasso, Masson, Kahlo, Alvarez-Bravo). I then demonstrate how “Mexico” functions as *lieu de mémoire* for sacrifice: the open, violated body, the inchoate in the service of the state, previously irrecupable. This, I argue, involves a different kind of “primitivism,” one that has been discussed by scholars such as Rosalind Krauss and Hal Foster, but which explains why, in the face of strong evidence, scholars denied the relationship between pre-Columbian and modern art for many years. In turn, this leads to the question of where Mexico itself might be in all this elaborate transposition.

In chapter four I look at the way in which Mexico was “documented” during this period through photographs by Henri Cartier-Bresson, Lola and Manuel Alvarez-Bravo, and Pierre Verger as well as film footage by Sergei Eisenstein and Titaïna (Elisabeth Sauvy). By looking at this work, more clearly an iconographic reading similar to Breton’s vision of Mexico, the links between propaganda, the media, and politics stand still deeply involved with the “primitive,” a social democratic state in which the indigenous cultures and tradition are intentionally given a place. But there is tremendous slippage in what that place might be and, indeed, what and who constitute it. For postrevolutionary Mexico this relationship is a political and ideological problem. For Breton, the multiple links are the constant producers of “the marvelous” in a social and ideological realm. For Cartier-Bresson the result is a new view of the city and various exotic love affairs in the country. Titaïna saw desperate poverty, abiding cultural rituals, and the threat of modernism.

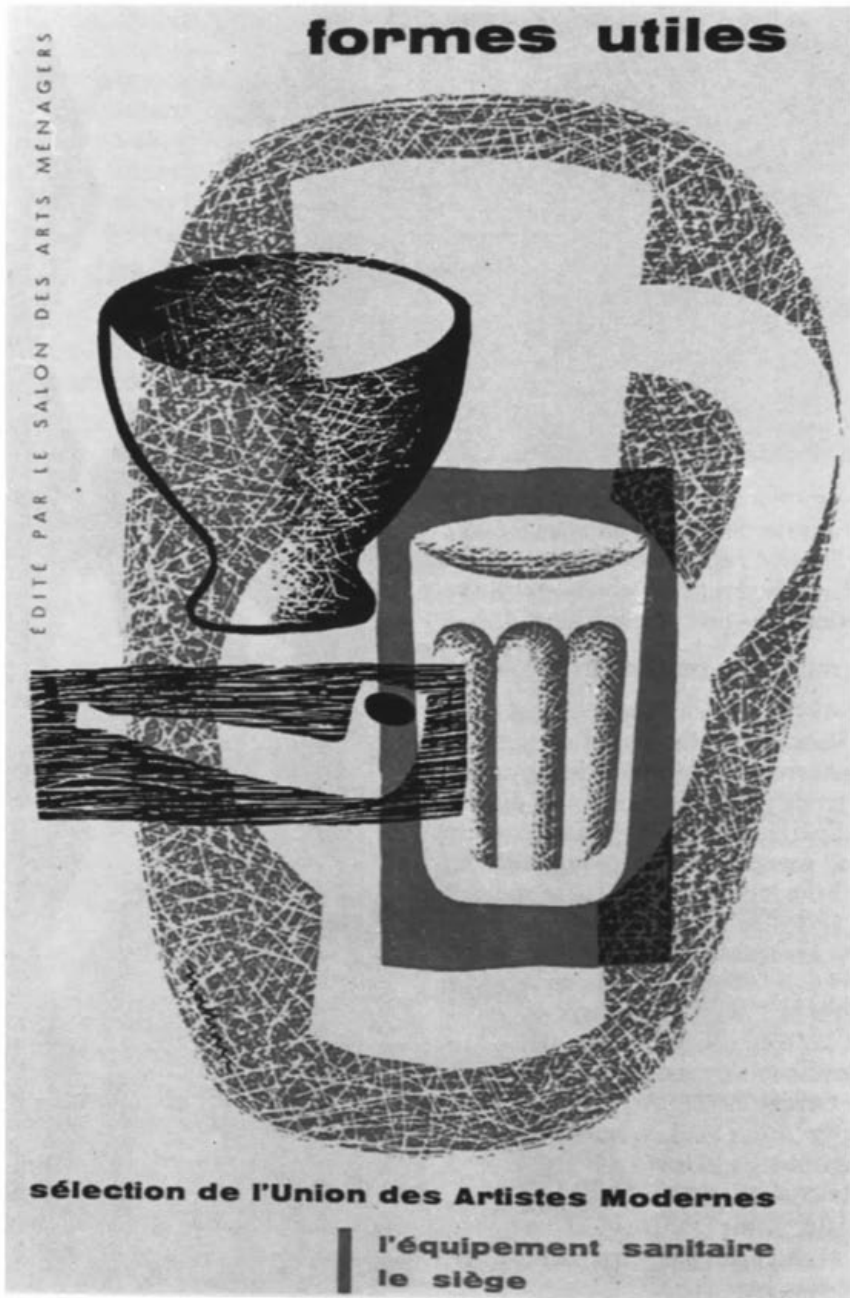
In conclusion, I will discuss whether the case of “Mexico” during the 1920s and 1930s does provide an example for refiguring contemporary and historical constructions of “primitivism” and “the primitive” and if so, how. It is my conviction that by considering a single historical example in various ways, the com-



Pablo Picasso, *Seated Bather*, 1930. Museum of Modern Art, New York, Mrs. Simon Guggenheim Fund

plexity of the situation belies a simple notion of the “imposition of the primitive” by one culture on another. This oversimplification is still present in much of the literature about “primitivism”—especially in the history of art—and has created a stalemate with implications not only for the past but for current art criticism as well.

[City University of New York, Graduate School and University Center]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1991–1994



Nathan-Garamond, Poster of the exhibition of the Union des Artistes Modernes, 1949. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

YVONNE BRUNHAMMER

The Decorative Arts in France in the 1930s

The term “decorative arts” pertains more or less to objects of daily life, useful as well as nonutilitarian. The concept probably emerged during the 1870s, at a time when these objects were known as “products of industry,” even if they were not mechanically manufactured but handmade. Industry was understood in its original sense, as skill applied to production. Interest in the products of industry was a consequence of the French Revolution, which challenged the privileged professional associations that dominated the crafts. Exhibitions of French products of industry were organized as early as the late eighteenth century, to bring craftsmen together and to make their works known to the public, and continued into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such fairs were also held in England, where the 1851 Crystal Palace exhibition was the first to be opened to all nations. Products of industry, also known as applied arts or arts allied to industry, became fashionable: museums dedicated to them were founded first in London, then in Lyon and Paris. Painters and sculptors became involved in the new mode of design: Paul Gauguin made pottery at the studio of Chaplet, Gustave Moreau encouraged the reproduction of his paintings in enamel, and Jean Carriès abandoned sculpture for ceramics, inspired by the techniques and way of life of the Japanese masters. At the turn of the century when the Nabis became involved with various decorative arts, such as tapestry, textiles, wallpaper, and furniture design, Maurice Denis wrote that the decorative arts were becoming a fad, a “snobisme” among artists and *gens du monde*.

The trend culminated in international fairs dedicated to the decorative arts, for example in Turin (1902, 1911) and Milan (1906). A French fair scheduled for 1915, delayed because of the war, opened in 1925 in Paris. The Exposition des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes provided an opportunity to evaluate art déco, a style that incorporated the contradictions of traditional values versus the avant-garde. A debate ensued about the traditional “decorative arts” and the avant-garde “industrial arts.” The debate focused on the interpretation of the term “decorative arts” by modern architects such as August Perret, who said in an interview: “Decorative art must be abolished. . . . When there is true art, one doesn’t need decoration,” and Le Corbusier, who stated, “Decorative art is a tool, a beautiful tool.” In place of furniture that symbolized “stored tradition and out-of-date customs,” Le Corbusier proposed to equip rather than furnish, using standard cabinets, mass-produced chairs and tables. By 1925, this language was understood by a public anxious to forget the nightmare of the war. The interior design promoted by Le Corbusier appealed to the intellect, and this new approach, this modern spirit, from 1927 on, gradually pervaded the Salons which opened to the decorative arts.

My research focuses on the second decade of the interwar period, beginning in October 1929 with the stock market crash in New York and ending in 1939. The

decorative arts in France as well as in the rest of Europe were at the heart of the debate between tradition and modernism: the former was associated with nationalism and order, the latter with internationalism as a synonym for disorder. The debate was not new. It began at the start of World War I and emerged among those who defended French values against foreign influences, that is to say German and Austrian—and the classical tradition against the international baroque represented by art nouveau. For painters such as André Lhote and Roger Bissière, the revival of tradition was necessary to “bring order out of chaos and to build.”

After the war, Europe was torn between the rise of nationalism and its ultimate consequence, totalitarianism, and the desire to build an ideal world based on universal peace, using the power of industry and new technologies to help society enter the modern period. In France, the dialectic of modernism versus tradition turned the members of the Union des Artistes Modernes (U.A.M.), who were open to contemporary trends, against the traditionalists belonging to the Société des Artistes Décorateurs (S.A.D.), which was rooted in French tradition, especially that of the eighteenth century.

Two key years during the decade were 1930 and 1937. The first was the year of the first U.A.M. Salon at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, and of the confrontation between two artistic tendencies at the annual Salon organized by S.A.D. The Société had invited the Deutscher Werkbund, an association created in 1907 in Munich with the idea “that a good industrial product depended on good design and realization.” The Werkbund, whose president was Mies van der Rohe, proposed a model for collective living, incorporating the latest sociological and technological discoveries into domestic architecture. In the S.A.D. section, however, luxury and high quality cabinet-making prevailed. The “high-tech” spirit of the German exhibit, based on the principles of functionalism in art and of collectivism, came face to face with the feeling of charm and intimacy of the French furnishings, which were meant to enhance individuality and humanism. The relationship between art and industry, which had been the obsession of the entire nineteenth century, was once more in question.

It was the goal of the U.A.M.’s program to create everyday objects whose forms would be well suited to their function rather than primarily decorative. Until 1937 the association held a Salon every year, inviting foreign architects and graphic designers to exhibit. Despite the success of these shows, U.A.M. had difficulty in realizing their designs commercially. The furniture designed by its members, architects and decorators, remained for the most part in the prototype state or was produced only in small series. The clientele was mostly the intellectual and financial elite. U.A.M. was criticized for “awful nudism,” which revived the debate for or against ornament.

The second important date in the decade was 1937. Scheduled two years earlier as a revival of the 1925 fair, an international exhibition evolved to reflect “art and techniques in modern life” and opened in 1937. It focused on crafts and “regionalism.” Man instead of machine was to be the center of the project. André Arbus, the interior designer and cabinetmaker who dominated decorative arts at

the fair, was the foremost representative of the return to French values. He advocated classicism and the revival of French crafts. A humanist, he was far removed from the “theatrical” trend that increasingly pervaded interior decoration until the last S.A.D. Salon held during the spring of 1939.

Union des Arts Décoratifs, Palais du Louvre
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1993–1994



Cambered (transverse) vaults and metal tie-beams. From Leone Battista Alberti, *Ten Books on Architecture*, translated into Italian by Cosimo Bartoli and into English by James Leoni (London, 1755), plate 9

Architectural Hermeneutics: The Typological Interpretation of Alberti

Recent studies of Leon Battista Alberti have changed from the established humanistic themes that dominated art history to more pessimistic and eschatological religious visions. The Renaissance world with its compromise between antiquity and Christianity presents us several Albertis in one universal man. Alberti himself is partly amenable to this division. Is there any unifying principle or method capable of reconciling those two worlds, to bring the two themes together? Would this principle, leading to a desired unity, allow multiplicity, plurality, and autonomy as well? The methodological shift from a secular approach to Alberti's work toward a Christian perspective seems to suggest a new emphasis on the historical text and interpretative discourse.

Some scholars seek to rediscover a unifying principle in Alberti's work. One, an aesthete, may see it in *beauty*, another, a moralist, in *virtue*. A social scientist experiences Alberti in social and economic activity; an art historian in art; an architect in architecture and the city. Each refers to the unity and multiplicity of *nature* which allow distinguishing three senses of *nature* in Alberti. First, nature is the providential goodness and excellence of all things. Second, it is an active basis of *virtue*. Hence human activity should be oriented to its appropriate use. Third, nature is the predisposition to dedicate oneself to those skills that *nature* possesses. *Nature*, therefore, is *virtue*. Practical and spiritual activity achieve *fortune*, which is related in Alberti's writing to *virtue*. *Virtue* prevails over *fortune*. The struggle between *virtue* and *fortune* is an indispensable condition for morals, ethics, and aesthetics. They characterize, constitute, and govern human activity and life. Alberti identifies *nature*, and consequently *virtue*, with God ("la natura, cioè Idio") as the unifying power of the universe. According to Alberti, man contemplates this unity-God, *nature*, or *virtue* through observation of *signs* (*signi*) and *indications* (*inditii*).

Although the motifs of *signs* and *indications* are found in all of Alberti's work, they first appear in his treatise *On Painting* in connection with perspective. While perspective and proportions establish historical relativism, the colors create *species* corresponding to the four elements. These traces of philosophical and historical theologies, to use Schleiermacher's terms, lead Alberti from gnosiological observations toward the anthropological, historical, and social conclusions of his later works. Either by a direct interpretation of *nature's species* through *signs*, or by abstract knowledge elaborated by philosophers and geometers, Alberti addresses man's spiritual, practical, and historical activity. The unity of thought, spirit, and act finds its resolution in art and architecture.

In my research, unity becomes *ontological unity* which may, within the limits of analysis, be separated into *types*; integrated, through *typology*, they become the original *whole*. The second important methodological issue of this research—the

inner relationship between *typology* and *hermeneutics* proper—reveals itself in the correspondence between two *hermeneutical canons* suggested by Emilio Betti in his *Teoria generale della interpretazione*. The concept of *type* as an ontological category underlies all aspects of human existence, and is a concept immanent in any specific thought and activity, specifically in architectural thought and in architecture as a relatively autonomous discipline.

Since the function of hermeneutics cannot be reduced to the propaedeutic function of a historical discipline, there arises the question of its application. The unity between *subtilitas intelligendi* (understanding) and *subtilitas explicandi* (interpretation) established in romantic hermeneutics is supplemented by Hans-Georg Gadamer with the third element—*subtilitas applicandi* (application), upon which the original integrity of *theological*, *juridical*, and *philological* hermeneutics—or the unity between *Scripture*, *Law*, and *Text* is based. This religious/mythological, phenomenological, psychological, sociological, historical, and cultural totality or, in other words, *ontological unity* constitutes a stable and vigorous model. This unity is constantly externally manifested and internally develops, reproduces, comprehends, and interprets itself through man's spiritual experience and practical mind. It transcends Alberti's work.

The dual relation of Alberti's work—in its humanism and autonomy—to architecture analyzed from hermeneutical perspective allows us to distinguish between *archetypal*, *institutional*, and *conventional* aspects of this unity. The study of three concrete architectural types of *Holy Scripture*—temple, house, and city—which occur in Alberti's work in their archetypal, institutional, and conventional meanings together with aspects of family, state, governor, or God, illustrates this methodology. The synthesis of these notions—*archetype*, *institution*, and *convention*—in the concept of *type* in its twofold modality helps the study of architecture both in its relative autonomy as well as in terms of aesthetics, ethics, politics, economy, power, and faith.

Russian Academy of Architecture and Building Sciences; Institute for Architectural and Urban Theory, Moscow
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1994; Soros Visiting Senior Research Travel Fellow, summer 1994

MEREDITH CLAUSEN

The Pan Am Building and the Collapse of Modernism

When the Pan Am Building was completed in 1963, it was heralded as the biggest, most complicated structure of its kind anywhere in the world. Designed by Walter Gropius and Pietro Belluschi, both highly respected modernist architects at the peak of their careers, it is a well known, if not beloved, landmark in New York City. It figures prominently in twentieth-century architectural history, although it has been little studied and no major publication on it exists. My aim in working on the Pan Am Building has been to make available vital documentation before it is lost, addressing specifically such basic issues as site acquisition, the architectural program, how and why the two architects were chosen, and the nature of their collaboration; as well as facts about the building itself, the materials, structural system, and construction process used.

A second aim has been to analyze the impact of the building, both physically on the city and conceptually on attitudes about modernism. In my view this building, which encountered bitter opposition from the start because of its view-blocking mass and the traffic it threatened to generate in an already highly congested area of Manhattan, marks a critical moment in the history of modernism. My sense is that the Pan Am Building, designed in 1958 and opened in 1963, raised profound ethical as well as urbanistic concerns, calling into question modernist social ideals and underscoring its naive utopianism. It served as a lightning rod for the growing discontent with modernism that gradually mounted in the 1950s and appears to have been a major factor in galvanizing the broad reaction against modernism in the later 1960s.

The controversy about the Pan Am Building had begun well before Gropius and Belluschi were retained. In the mid-1950s, developers interested in utilizing the air rights over the Grand Central railroad tracks on Park Avenue had proposed demolishing the old Beaux-Arts terminal of 1913, which, after decades of neglect, had finally become recognized as a national historic monument. The proposal, calling for replacing the terminal with a new, sixty-story corporate tower, drew scores of letters in protest from architects and other professionals throughout the country. After several further attempts, including a proposal by I. M. Pei for the real estate mogul William Zeckendorf, the project was picked up by Erwin Wolfson, one of the largest developers in the city. He retained Emery Roth & Sons, an architectural office known for their reliable but ordinary buildings. Their proposal, which placed the tower behind the Grand Central Terminal, thus preserving it, was denounced as yet another low-cost Miesian derivative. To ward off further criticism, Wolfson brought in two prominent architects: Walter Gropius, former director of the Bauhaus in Weimar, Germany, and head of the architecture department at Harvard University, and Pietro Belluschi, dean of architecture and urban planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



Pan Am Building, New York City, 1958–1963. Photograph: Emery Roth & Sons

Gropius had longed to design a skyscraper ever since the Chicago Tribune competition in the 1920s; he envisioned the building, initially called Grand Central City, as not only the largest privately owned office tower in the world, but as a symbol of the city. Serving as a major transportation hub, with its complicated network of below-grade trains to and from Idlewild Airport, it was to be a monumental image. Rising fifty-nine stories above a ten-story base and spanning the full width of Park Avenue just behind the old Grand Central Terminal, it was to embody the new spirit, economic might, and political power of progressive post-war New York.

The proposal Gropius and Belluschi unveiled in December 1958, less than five months after they received the commission, prompted heated debate. Seen as a “dam-like impediment” to city streets, a “symbol of the greed of real estate speculators in dark collusion with city hall,” and “a moral lapse” on the part of the architects—both longstanding advocates of the need for public-spirited, humane architecture—in short, a low-cost, aesthetically indifferent building simply too big for the site, the Pan Am Building triggered a backlash against the shimmering glass and steel skyscrapers lining Park Avenue. As Jane Jacobs put it in *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, published in 1961, such buildings deprived the city of human scale, robbed its sunlight, exacerbated its traffic problems, and divested it of vital diversity. The controversy provoked by the Pan Am Building focused on what were to become key moral issues of the decade: public versus private interests, or the responsibility of the architect to the broader urban context versus the right of the developer to do as he pleased.

Because of the building’s problematic reputation, other aspects such as its structure have not been studied. The Pan Am Building is one of the most complex buildings of the time, with its futuristic, multileveled transportation system, much of it dating back to 1913, on top of which was erected the massive steel-framed, precast concrete-paneled tower complete with heliport. Little is known of the construction process, carried out by a construction management company rather than a traditional contractor; this proved highly successful, and the method has since become conventional.

One other aspect of the project I have been working on relates to the work Gropius and Belluschi did with the United States Department of State. In his book, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (1983), Serge Guibaut discusses the role of abstract expressionism in the political and cultural context of the cold war. Guibaut focuses solely on developments in art and does not include architecture, arguably the most public, hence political, of all the arts. Architecture played a powerful role in the cold war, mainly through the auspices of the Foreign Buildings Operation, which was responsible for the design of United States embassies and residences throughout the world. Belluschi was the key professional advisor to the United States Department of State and principal author of their architectural policy; Gropius received one of their commissions, the design of the United States Embassy in Athens. This was in the late 1950s, coin-

ciding exactly with the work on the Pan Am Building. That both men were not native-born Americans (ironically, they fought on opposite sides in World War I) is a related issue I think important. The political overtones of their work, if any, bear investigating.

University of Washington, Seattle

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1994

A. A. DONOHUE

Studies in the Historiography of Classical Art

All postantique histories of classical art are ultimately founded on the body of ancient texts that deal, to varying extents, with artists, works of art, and the history, theory, and criticism of art. From the sketchy outlines offered by Renaissance writers such as Lorenzo Ghiberti, Antonio Manetti, Leon Battista Alberti, and Giorgio Vasari, through the first comprehensive history of the art of antiquity by Johann Winckelmann in 1764, and even into the present day, every history of classical art depends on the ancient literary tradition for its conception of development, periodization, and chronology, and for guidance in interpreting the surviving monuments.

Of the disparate Greek and Latin texts that make up what is conventionally termed the "literary tradition," among the most important are the encyclopedic *Natural History* of Pliny the Elder; Pausanias' guidebook to Greece; Vitruvius' treatise on architecture; rhetorical works by Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Quintilian; philosophical works; and miscellaneous references in poetry, drama, history, and medical treatises. Lost texts on works of art, artists, and technique that are known only by author or title have also left their mark on the extant sources.

Because the physical remains of classical antiquity are so fragmentary, scholars have necessarily relied heavily on texts, but too often have failed to consider them except as carriers of information to be accepted or reclaimed as documentation. Thus, commonplaces of classical historiography such as the notion of "the origins of sculpture" have been incorporated into modern histories of Greek statuary, despite their contradiction of the evidence of the extant monuments, and obvious literary conceits such as artists' production of animated statues have generated rationalizing explanations that distort rather than clarify the record of the surviving works of art. While some attention has been paid to the question of how we are to deal with the two bodies of evidence, material and textual, for the most part such concerns do not systematically inform past or current approaches to the history of the visual arts of classical antiquity. Study of the subject is hampered at both the synthetic and the specific levels by the continuing insistence on interpreting the monuments in terms of a literary tradition that is in many respects simply not applicable.

The root of the difficulty is the understandable desire to establish a documentary base for classical art. Scholars regularly dissect the Greek and Roman literary texts in order to extract information from which such a base may be reconstituted. Since the seventeenth century, collections of testimonia for classical art have consisted of excerpts taken out of context and arranged under the rubrics of specific artists' names and works. A similarly fragmented approach is fostered by the strong nineteenth-century philological tradition of *Quellenforschung* (study of

sources), which in its least helpful but most popular form concentrates on identifying, reconstructing, and tracing the influence of lost sources at the expense of examining the texts as they exist. The assumption underlying these approaches is that the information represents elements from a lost ancient tradition of art-historiography that was both accurate with respect to the practice of the visual arts and coherent as a discourse. Demonstrable inaccuracies tend to be explained by postulating flaws in textual transmission, outright error, or conceptual failure on the part of specific authors.

There is every reason to think that the historiographic situation was very different and far more complex. The visual arts appear to have been marginal or at best ancillary elements in a wider tradition of "arts" histories, chief among which was the highly public and political art of rhetoric. The incorporation of material that seems genuinely specific to the visual arts has served to disguise the fact that in conception, structure, and even some major aspects of content, the ancient testimony for the history of art is governed by an intricate combination of political history, social thought, and theories of knowledge, expression, and education.

This study focuses on some of the major organizing themes and structures that shaped the ancient literary treatments of the visual arts. Among the most significant are notions of individual competition, serial succession, and logical development, which shaped the lists of masters, pupils, rivals, and contemporaries that form the backbone of artistic chronology. Another key element is the persistent classical conviction that cultural institutions are linked to the state of politics; the strands of discourse relating to the arts intersect with the discourse of political history. For example, the association of specific artists with major political figures is a commonplace in the long tradition of literature on tyrants. One such case, the connection of Alexander the Great with the sculptor Lysippus and the painter Apelles, was decisive for accounts of the development of the arts.

Conceptions deriving from unrelated traditions of discourse, especially from political history, gave rise to the analytical and interpretive structures that have permitted the visual arts of antiquity to be conceived in historical terms. By placing the ancient literary sources in their intellectual context, we may reach new answers to one of the most difficult of the questions that face our field of study: why do we subject classical art to the historiographic process?

Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1993–1994

KAREN FISS

"Deutschland in Paris": The 1937 German Pavilion and Franco-German Cultural Relations

My dissertation concerns the participation of Nazi Germany at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale within the context of Franco-German cultural politics. It focuses on the French response to the National-Socialist exportation of German culture and on the relationships that developed between the Third Reich and French intellectual groups before the establishment of the Vichy regime. The 1937 German pavilion serves as a useful heuristic device, because it links a number of issues surrounding Franco-German politics, the fine arts and popular culture, and the formation of national and collective mass identities before World War II. With the widespread attempts to "reintegrate" the artist and the masses in the 1930s, cultural producers became increasingly interested in the expressive possibilities of mass cultural forms. The political exigencies of the period also encouraged intellectuals to collaborate across media and movements. My study therefore encompasses related developments in the traditional arts, cinema, and literature. The contemporaneous critical discourse of the Frankfurt school on the fascist appropriation of aesthetic production for political purposes, in particular the work of Walter Benjamin, Theodor Adorno, and Siegfried Kracauer, functions both as a methodological point of departure and as historical commentary for my study.

The German pavilion at the 1937 Paris exposition was the most elaborate manifestation of German culture in France during the interwar period. Designed by Albert Speer, Hitler's chief architect, the pavilion was the tallest and most imposing structure at the world's fair, occupying a central position near the Eiffel Tower and facing the Soviet pavilion. It contained a carefully orchestrated program of conservative official art, juxtaposed with the most advanced products of German technology. The Germans installed several other industrial and art exhibits in the international pavilions provided by the French government, and German and French officials cooperated in organizing a "German Culture Week" featuring German films, concerts, dance, and opera performances.

The Nazi pavilion also housed a cinema with an oversized screen, where over one hundred German documentary and dramatic films, including Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*, premiered for a French audience (both Speer and Riefenstahl were awarded gold medals for their creations). Many of the German films shown at the pavilion and at the exposition's main theater, Ciné-37, were "multiversion" films. During the 1930s, the government-controlled film company Universum Film AG (UFA) often produced two versions of the same film—one in German and one in French—using the same script, sets, and camera crew but different casts. UFA hired well-known French directors, producers, and actors to make these French-language films in their Berlin and Munich stu-



German Pavilion (left) and Soviet Pavilion (right) at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale, from the terrace of the Trocadéro. Architect of the German Pavilion: Albert Speer, 1937. From *Art et Decoration* 6, 1937

dios. The productions were distributed throughout France, where the audience remained largely unaware of the films' German origins.

The 1937 Paris exposition was realized in a particularly charged political climate. Léon Blum and the Popular Front had finally won the 1936 national elections by unifying around the issues of republicanism, class interest, and antifascism. Yet the Popular Front government turned to a policy of rapprochement, of appeasement and nonaggression, with regard to Germany, and thus worked intensively at securing the participation of the Third Reich at the 1937 fair. While the Popular Front perceived the Paris exposition as a showcase for their new populist social and economic reforms, their plan for the fair was marked by parallel aesthetic and political contradictions. Determined to link the Popular Front with "progress" and "modernity," Blum and his allies commissioned modern architects and artists to design numerous pavilions at the exposition. Other government officials, however, rejected the "cosmopolitanism" of modern art and sought instead the security of *la France éternelle* in a return to naturalism and pastoral subjects. They created a large regional section at the fair with provincial architecture and nationalistic folklore festivals, which prefigured the conservative values of Pétainist politics. They also established competitions to rejuvenate the *fête nationale* as an "art form," citing the Nuremberg rallies as a viable model.

Despite the Popular Front's aspirations for the exposition, Léon Blum resigned one month after its official inauguration, effectively marking the beginning of the end of the Popular Front. Within the context of France's continued political instability, the layout of the fairgrounds was interpreted symbolically by the French press: the Eiffel Tower, as seen from the steps of the Trocadéro, stood between the German and Soviet pavilions and thus served as a metaphor for France's political position in 1937. The tower, representing the outdated republicanism and the gridlocked parliament of the Popular Front, stood in sharp contrast to the newly invigorated totalitarian states that framed it.

For French nonconformist and right-wing intellectuals, fascism came to represent a viable "third" path. Fascism maintained a communal, utopian dimension which, fed by strong nationalist sentiment, was seen as a new means of collective revolt and rejuvenation, competitive with Marxism. French nonconformists voiced nostalgia for a preindustrial France and a romantic autochthonal culture, but they also called for the formation of a political and social order that could match those of the totalitarian states. The creation of "organic" societies demanded a new means of expression that could accommodate a mass aesthetic. Nazi Germany was admired by many French intellectuals for having successfully produced a national culture for the masses, precisely because it fused an antimodern primitivism with technological mediation. Nazi cultural production appeared simultaneously as eternal and avant-garde. Furthermore, the totalizing aesthetic of National Socialism worked to camouflage the internal paradoxes of Nazi ideology. Worldwide the propagandistic success of the Nazi pavilion at the 1937 exposition contributed greatly to legitimizing Nazism as a viable political movement.

[Yale University]

Mary Davis Fellow, 1992-1994



Lippo. From Giorgio Vasari, *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architetti* (Siena, 1791)

GABRIELE GUERCIO

The Identity of the Artist: Theory and History of the Monographical Approach in the Literature of Art

My dissertation investigates the modern metamorphosis of one of the earliest forms of literature on the visual arts: the writing about the life and works of an artist. The first concern is to trace the shift from the *vita*, or life, of the artist to the art biography and compilation of a catalogue raisonné. Accordingly, I am studying a tradition among writers that, although originating with the chronicles of the early Florentine artists and having models in classical antiquity, found its first modern interpreter in Giorgio Vasari and seems to have culminated in Johann David Passavant's book on Raphael (1839). Focusing on nineteenth-century monographical studies of old masters, I explore the distinct modes of art-historical thinking that inspired them (for example, the German tradition of the critical historian, the practice of connoisseurship, and the aesthetic evaluations of romantic writers). The turn of our century was marked by the diffusion of new methods that challenged the tendency of the monograph to consider the artist as the main focus of the art-historical inquiry. The final part of the thesis therefore may be devoted to probing to what extent these new trends in art history either transformed or made completely obsolete the idea of authorship that had been at the basis of the art-historical monograph and much of the literature of art.

Since beginning the fellowship, I have been working on two distinct moments of the theory and history of the monographical approach. First, I drafted a chapter devoted to the idea of author in Vasari's *Lives*. Drawing out of that influential text the themes, concerns, and literary strategies that may be seen at the very basis of the monographic approach to the visual arts, I have sought to show Vasari's way of writing about the artist and to define those elementary notions that can be illuminating when studying the art-historical monograph through the end of the nineteenth century. The *Lives* can be read as a compilation of descriptions wherein the assessment of the artist and the work of art is made by the adoption of exemplary procedures ranging from the narration of the life of the artist to the recognition of the irreducible linguistic properties of Vasari's work. I discuss how and why the artist is or becomes an author in the *Lives*. In this connection I have undertaken four directions in my reading that foreshadow the making of the art-historical monograph, such as: the actual chronicling of the life and works and the portraying of the persona of the artist; the appraisal of the sole works as well as the explicit connection of works and persona of the artist; the identification of the artist within the genealogy of master and pupil; and, finally, the almost paradigmatic status that the life of Raphael seems to assume in Vasari's text.

Second, I have sketched a chapter devoted to the volumes on Titian and Raphael by Joseph Archer Crowe and Giovanni Battista Cavalcaselle that appeared between 1877 and 1885, as well as the book on Lotto published by Bernard

Berenson in 1895. Through a close reading of these monographs, I consider the ambitions and methods of the three writers, as well as the respective formulas they adopted in the discussion of the lives and works of the painters. Passavant turned the catalogue raisonné of the artist into a genuine epistemological tool in the history of art. For Crowe, Cavalcaselle, and Berenson, the acquisition of a thorough knowledge of the oeuvre of the artist not only seemed paramount but a necessary aid to both the dating and critical evaluation of particular works of art; it also encouraged more detailed analysis of the formation of the lexicon of the artist. One of the critically suggestive features of these volumes is that, insofar as the artistic identity was experienced as a dynamic visual lexicon made out of parts continuously shifting within the whole, it often assumes almost the status of autonomous existence, separate from the biographical identity of the artist. Reclaiming a narrative of its own, this identity functions as a virtual principle of organization and unity; it generates a system of global reference paralleling that offered by the chronology of the life. This principle is virtual more than factual, because it favors the discovery of stylistic relationships among pictures made by the artist throughout the chronological span of his or her life and allows the connoisseur to move back and forth in time whenever the analysis of a painting requires a diachronical overview. Furthermore, it implies the adoption of criteria of constancy and change that point not so much to the life as to the oeuvre of the artist as the ultimate source of reference for the writer. Already announced by Passavant, but evidently applied only in part because of the neat division he created between the description of the life and works of Raphael and the catalogue raisonné proper, the oeuvre as a virtual principle of unity in the writing of the monograph might provide a valuable key to exploring the new formulations of the dialectics between life and works as found in the volumes of Crowe, Cavalcaselle, and Berenson. For instance, it might explain why, in retrospect (notwithstanding the extreme care devoted, especially in the book on Titian, to the compilation of the biography of the artist), Crowe and Cavalcaselle seem to have been at the same time extremely concerned with envisaging the authorial place of a picture either by means of the description of its technical procedure or through the recreation of its genesis. It might equally explain why Berenson, who thereafter combined lexicon and temperament, morphology, and psychology, would consider the reconstruction of what he defines as the "artistic personality" of Lorenzo Lotto the chief purpose of his monograph.

Finally, I am currently engaged in a thorough investigation of the origin and development of the concept of oeuvre and a complementary survey of the function of the catalogue raisonné.

[Yale University]
Chester Dale Fellowship, 1992–1993

KATHLEEN HOWE

Egypt Recovered: The Photographic Surveys of Maxime Du Camp, Félix Teynard, and John Beasley Greene, and the Development of Egyptology

My project relates the then-new technology of photography to the scholarly traditions that dominated the study of Egypt in nineteenth-century France. I consider three photographers, Maxime Du Camp, Félix Teynard, and John Beasley Greene, and explore the connections between their photographic oeuvres and the emerging science of Egyptology. Despite the clear association of the early photographic exploration of Egypt with the scholarly study of Egypt, these photographs have generally been treated as elements of the history of travel photography. Two opposed views of photography, one a history of technological and formal progression and the other a critical reading of political impact, regard nineteenth-century photography in Egypt as defined by region and technique, a treatment that has blurred distinctions of purpose and reception.

This dissertation is an attempt to recover a brief moment in the history of photography, when the intense scholarly debate and exploration of Egyptian antiquity compelled the attention of three photographers, and to plot the complex traffic between different aesthetic, cultural, and scientific elements in nineteenth-century France. It is informed by Hayden White's *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (1973). Using White's approach, the study of the nineteenth-century literature of history as a verbal structure or, as he would define it, "a narrative prose discourse that purports to be a model, or icon, of past structures and processes in the interest of *explaining what they were by representing them*," I consider the work of Du Camp, Teynard, and Greene as visual narratives, constructed for publication and dissemination, and as part of the contemporaneous scholarly project of recording and explaining Egyptian antiquity. My aim is to reconstitute a chapter in the history of nineteenth-century photography of Egypt as a form of intellectual activity that was at once poetic, scientific, and philosophical.

My investigation begins with the *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–1822), the massive publication of Napoleon's Commission of Egypt that inaugurated the modern study of Egypt. Publication had scarcely been completed when Jean-François Champollion's *Lettre à M. Darcier* (1822), proposing a phonetic basis for hieroglyphic writing, launched the wave of philological studies that superseded the *Description's* catalogue of monuments and antiquities. I situate photography within a continuum of pictorial representations of Egypt and reprise the scholarly investigation of Egypt in the first half of the nineteenth century. Thereafter the projects of Du Camp, Teynard, and Greene, and their relationship to scholarly and cultural establishments are examined.

The first systematic photographic survey of Egypt was undertaken by Maxime Du Camp in 1849; one hundred and twenty-five photographs were published as *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine, et Syrie* (1852). Du Camp's self-identification as a writer



Maxime Du Camp, Ibsamboul, Colosse Médial du Spéos de Phrè. From *Egypte, Nubie, Palestine, et Syrie*, ed. Gide and Baudry (1852), plate 106. University Art Museum, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, Gift of Eleanor and Van Derzen Coke

and an amateur orientalist and the guidance he received from the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres were central to his photographic campaign, which was strongly influenced by philological research. Photographs made by Félix Teynard in 1851 and 1852 were published as *Egypte et Nubie* (1858), subtitled “a photographic atlas serving to complement the Great Description de l’Égypte.” *Description de l’Égypte* and related publications are tied to the provincial antiquarian tradition. Teynard’s approach, grounded in the topographic bias of late eighteenth-century scholarship, exposes the deeply conservative nature of much of the early amateur photographic efforts in France.

John Beasley Greene made a series of photographic expeditions to Egypt and North Africa between 1853 and his death in 1856. A protégé of Viscount Emmanuel de Rougé, the conservator of the Egyptian collection at the Louvre from 1849 to 1860, he conducted excavations at Medinet-Habu at Thebes and deposited sets of photographs documenting his researches with the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. As a member of the Société française de photographie, an organization formed to promote photography as an art form, Greene’s photographic praxis was balanced between archaeological field notes and fine art exhibition prints.

In France at mid-century, the pursuit of archaeological enterprises existed within a scientific culture in the process of transformation. The photographic representation of Egypt could not be a neutral effort. Rooted in a rich visual tradition, early photographs of Egypt reveal the conflict between cultural, philosophical, and political constructions of history in the recapitulation of the deep past.

[University of New Mexico]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1993–1994

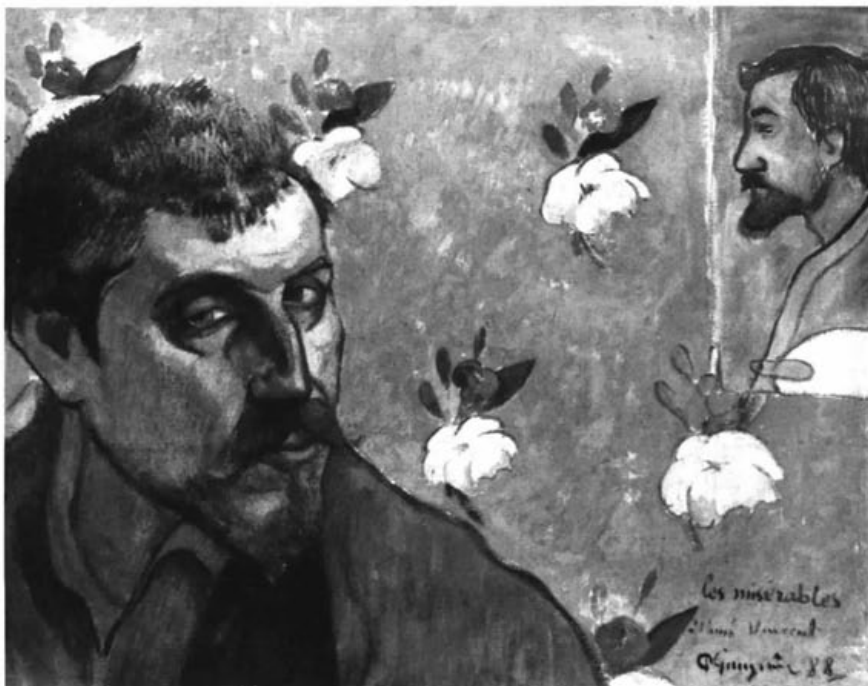
Studies in the Painting Procedures of Paul Gauguin, 1873–1891

Travers Newton, an independent painting conservator, and I recently completed the first draft of a book-length study of Paul Gauguin's painting techniques and preparatory procedures between 1873 and 1891. It is based on collaborative research begun in 1983. We pay particular attention to the artist's response to impressionism and to his development of a "postimpressionist" approach, called synthetist by contemporary critics. We used technical data to understand Gauguin's painting procedures and to relate them to the practice of his contemporaries. We also tried to gain understanding of the original appearance of the paintings by studying unrestored examples. During my two-month stay at the Center for Advanced Study, I revised the text and developed an introductory chapter on methodology.

Gauguin began as a self-taught Sunday painter in 1873, in the modern plein-air tradition. Over the next few years, he emulated the technique and subject matter of artists such as Edouard Manet. In April 1879, he joined the impressionist exhibiting society and began purchasing the work of Camille Pissarro. No documentary evidence suggests that Gauguin had contact with the group before this date: analysis of *Market Gardens at Vaugirard* (Smith College Museum) shows that he adopted Pissarro's technique and palette shortly after he joined the impressionists. He also followed Pissarro's preference for matte paint surfaces, eschewing varnish and painting on thin, often absorbent (chalk) grounds. Gauguin engaged actively in the debate among the impressionists about studio as opposed to plein-air painting. He expressed a clear preference for the finished tableau rather than the rapidly executed study.

Beginning in 1886, after the last impressionist exhibition, Gauguin worked to establish himself as an independent artist. He produced carefully designed, monumental figure paintings such as *Four Breton Women* (Bavarian State Collections), using squared-up or full-scale drawings to prepare the figures, a method employed by Pissarro, Edgar Degas, and Puvis de Chavannes among his contemporaries. In 1888, interaction with Emile Bernard and Vincent van Gogh stimulated further technical experimentation. In paintings such as *Self-Portrait, Les Misérables* (Vincent van Gogh Foundation) and *Portrait of Vincent van Gogh Painting Sunflowers* (Vincent van Gogh Foundation), Gauguin used coarse or unprimed canvas supports, varied grounds, and new methods of applying paint in order to produce "primitive" images. By 1889, Gauguin had fully established his preparatory procedures and painting techniques. He taught younger artists such as Paul Sérusier, and his methods are reflected in their letters and writings.

Focusing on one artist in a chronological study of his technique, we have embedded our discussion of the issues associated with authorship and biography, such as stylistic development and creative procedures, in a search to recover historically grounded meanings for Gauguin's technique. The visual signs of a paint-



Paul Gauguin, *Self-Portrait with Portrait of Bernard, Les Misérables*, 1888. Collection Vincent van Gogh Foundation/Van Gogh Museum, Amsterdam

ing are carriers of meaning that have significance in specific historical contexts. Technical analysis of his paintings, especially of those that have survived unrestored, has allowed us to identify and describe the visual signs of Gauguin's technique quite precisely. By studying the paintings and the art criticism of his contemporaries, we have been able to situate his technical choices in the specific art-historical and cultural context of Paris in the late 1880s. For example, Gauguin produced paintings characterized by matte, dry-looking, and subtly textured surfaces; lean paint on thin, absorbent grounds; coarse supports; and lack of varnish. Gauguin was aware of the cultural associations evoked by his technique. The paint surfaces reminded contemporaries of pottery and fresco rather than oil painting and seemed to hark back to an earlier phase of European art, before the triumph of oil painting in the sixteenth century. As Félix Fénéon and Albert Aurier have pointed out, they carried the cultural association of "archaism" and "primitivism."

Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1994

Greek and Roman Chryselephantine Statuary

Chryselephantine statuary was the most acclaimed art form of classical antiquity. *Chrysos* is Greek for gold—dazzling, radiant, incorruptible—“the child of Zeus” according to the Greek poet Pindar. *Elephas* is ivory—warm, lustrous, glowing: it was the whitest and most valuable organic substance on earth, and according to the Elder Pliny, it was also the most fitting material for statues of the gods, so closely did it approximate the ethereal complexion of divine flesh.

In the ancient Near East gold and ivory were long combined to produce expensive horsetrappings, luxury furniture, and toilet objects, but composite statues of these and other precious materials came to provide the classical world with centerpieces for religious and civic life. The Greek traveler Pausanias, writing in the mid-second century after Christ, mentions more than forty chryselephantine statues or groups in the temples and sanctuaries of mainland Greece alone: a number of these were the works of antiquity’s most celebrated artists, Polykleitos, Alkamenes, Leochares, and of course Pheidias, whose colossal Zeus Olympios was ranked among the Seven Wonders of the World. A few of these individual works have been the subject of detailed scholarly analysis, but chryselephantine statuary as a class, from the exquisite statuettes of Minoan Crete to the majestic temple images built by classical Greek poleis and Roman emperors, has hitherto remained unstudied. The intrinsic value of the material of which they were constructed is understandably responsible for the loss of most of these statues over the centuries, but a number of surviving chryselephantine works have been overlooked by scholars. Little attention, moreover, has been paid to many of the lost works known from ancient copies, coins, and literary sources.

In my doctoral dissertation, completed at the Center for Advanced Study this year, I gathered the evidence for Greek and Roman chryselephantine statuary from a variety of sources in order to explore the origins and development of the technique, analyze the functions of chryselephantine works, and evaluate the iconography of the precious in antiquity.

Ivory in Greece and Rome was, quite literally, an exotic imported material. The earliest ivory to reach Greece seems to have been that of hippopotami, rather than elephants, but Cretan craftsmen were producing exquisitely carved composite statuettes of both materials in combination with gold, rock crystal, stone, and wood by the middle of the second millennium B.C. Recent excavations at Minoan sites in eastern and central Crete have produced the remains of anthropomorphic chryselephantine figures adding to the corpus of statuettes first unearthed by Sir Arthur Evans at the palatial site of Knossos. These and the neglected remains of still more figures from other sites, now in Greek museums, shed light on the techniques of chryselephantine production and testify to the widespread distribution of composite ivory statuary in the Aegean Bronze Age. They also serve as a con-



"Varvakeion" Athena, second to third century A.D., marble copy after Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena Parthenos, 447-438 B.C. National Archaeological Museum, Athens

trol for several unprovenanced "Minoan" chryselephantine statuettes in non-Greek collections, some of which appear to be the products of forgers known to have been active in the early years of this century. For Evans' discovery of the germ of Pheidian art created a market for Minoan ivories which Cretan workmen and European art dealers were eager and, apparently, able to exploit.

The bulk of my study, however, has focused on chryselephantine statues of the historical period, rather than their Bronze Age antecedents. Following the Dark Ages of the eleventh to ninth centuries B.C., Greeks gradually reestablished contacts with the advanced civilizations of Egypt and the Near East. Ivory heads and limbs excavated in Greece in eighth-, seventh-, and sixth-century contexts are technically and stylistically related to Near Eastern composite figures. The use of ivory for human flesh and gold for clothing, however, appears to have been a Greek idea. Ancient literary sources attribute the earliest chryselephantine works to traveling Cretan and Lakonian craftsmen who also worked in wood. This craft tradition underlies the basic difference between Greek and Near Eastern chryselephantine statuary. While Easterners typically constructed entire figures of ivory or wood, and then gilded them, Greeks used expensive imported ivory

only for exposed faces, arms, and feet. These were carved separately and attached to a wooden core or other armature which was hidden under clothing rendered in gold and other precious materials. Thus, in later years, the satirist Lucian wrote of the larger statues: "If anyone looks at them from the outside, he sees a Poseidon or a magnificent Zeus, made up of ivory and gold, holding a thunderbolt or lightning or a trident in his right hand; but if you duck down and look inside you see beams and nails, bolts and wedges driven clear through and pitch and clay and lots of unpleasant sights established in residence—not to speak of mice and rats who sometimes conduct their civic business there."

While Greek chryselephantine statuary of the Archaic period seems to have employed traditional techniques of luxury furniture making, its monumentalization in the fifth century B.C. required unprecedented technical innovation. The face or limbs of a statue life-size or smaller could be carved from a large tusk and attached to a hidden core, but the production of a monumental composite statuary necessitated new techniques of manipulating ivory. With the evidence of ancient authors, medieval recipes, and nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ivory workers and scientists, I have reconstructed the techniques of unscrolling and softening ivory by which elephant tusks could be cut into long thin sheets and then molded to desired shapes, thus forming the exposed flesh of the monumental divine statues of Pheidias and his followers. Such works, glimmering in the half-light of temple interiors, became the standard by which all others were judged. Pheidias' Zeus was so awesome that one ancient author asserted that bulls, could they but glimpse the statue, would willingly submit themselves to sacrifice, and according to Quintilian, it "seems to have added something to the received religion, so fitting to divine nature was its grandeur." Other Greek states quickly commissioned monumental chryselephantine statues to compete with those of Pheidias, and as early as the fourth century B.C. men as well as gods came to be represented in gold and ivory. Chryselephantine production continued into the Hellenistic period, and the Romans not only transferred Greek masterpieces from their original locations but also commissioned new works for their own purposes.

[University of California, Berkeley]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1991–1994



Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca, MSS 46–50, Folio 32R, c. 1550. Photograph from *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*, ed. Paul Kirchhoff et al. (Mexico City, 1976)

DANA LEIBSOHN

The Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca: Recollecting Identity in a Nahua Manuscript

During my fellowship I completed my dissertation, which focuses on a set of Nahua annals now known as the *Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca*. The relationships that prevailed between indigenous historical records and constructions of identity in the central Mexican community of Cuauhtinchan after the Spanish conquest of 1521 are addressed. I examine how, in the first two generations after the conquest, Nahua identity drew sustenance from and lent structure to local historical accounts.

When the Spaniards subjugated the inhabitants of Cuauhtinchan, most of the vanquished were Nahuatl speakers, or Nahuas. The primary language of the Aztec empire, Nahuatl became the indigenous lingua franca for the colony of New Spain. In examining constructions of Nahua identity, then, I assess the historical writings and pictorial images of people whose cultural traditions were sometimes co-opted, other times suppressed by their foreign colonizers. Analysis of the *Historia* indicates that Nahuas braided European practices together with those of prehispanic origin. Produced outside Spanish purview, the annals were set down on European paper in the mid-sixteenth century by a Nahua scribe writing in his own language. Taking the form of a European codex, the *Historia* uses the indigenous cycle of years: reed, flint knife, house, and rabbit, to document events from the mid-twelfth through the mid-sixteenth centuries. The annals also contain an elaborate cycle of paintings. These, too, intertwine European graphic techniques with prehispanic elements: toponymic glyphs appear interspersed with landscape motifs from European images, and warriors dressed in preconquest costumes descend from the sky like Renaissance putti. By attending to both the visual appearance and written narrative of the *Historia*, my study demonstrates that, from a Nahua perspective, negotiations with other Nahuas took precedence over interactions with Spaniards in the mid-sixteenth century. By the time the *Historia* was created, Nahuas in Cuauhtinchan were aware of the changes wrought by European conquest. The themes that dominate the manuscript, however, focus on the prehispanic past. The Spanish conquest of the community, an event of considerable importance to us, is covered in only two or three sentences. Moreover, the Spanish victory is not accorded any special attention or description. Rather, the *Historia* represents the Spanish conquest as only the most recent—not necessarily the most consequential—setback in a series of defeats. According to the annals, in the mid-sixteenth century transformations resulting from prehispanic conquests were more significant than the coming of the Spaniards. Indeed, the Spaniards appear as bit players in a narrative scheme that concentrates on daily interactions and negotiations among the Nahuas of Cuauhtinchan and nearby communities.

I also show that the meanings evoked by the annals rest only partially on their

content. No less important is the *Historia's* visual complexion, for Nahuas understood that the physical appearance of a written document shaped its effectiveness. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Nahua records had been both oral and pictorial. After 1521, Nahuas initially came into contact with books and alphabetic writing through friars: required to attend mendicant-run schools, the male children of indigenous nobles learned the virtues and vices of Christian practice as they learned to read and write in Spanish, Nahuatl, and Latin. Because it transcribes oral recitations into written texts and relies heavily on painted images, the *Historia* emerges as a hybrid document. It partakes fully of neither prehispanic nor European modes of record-keeping, but rather bridges the transition. I believe that the manuscript's persuasiveness among Nahuas depended precisely on its status as a transitional document.

In sixteenth-century Cuauhtinchan, Nahuas fashioned multiple historical records for local use. Although these books and paintings overlap with the *Historia* in content, none are visually similar. Thus, at the center of the dissertation lies a discussion of how indigenous political ends and claims to identity were served by the *Historia's* anomalous form. I argue that the *Historia* was wielded by one of Cuauhtinchan's most distinguished leaders to document and buttress his claims to prestige. In local contests for position and privilege, the manuscript's visual anomalies enabled don Alonso de Castañeda to distinguish himself from other local leaders and, at the same time, to align his lineage with the most powerful people and institutions in postconquest society. From our perspective, it appears that in producing a European-style book with alphabetic writing, the *Historia* scribe willfully associated his manuscript with the very documents used to dominate Nahuas throughout New Spain. I maintain, however, that from a Nahua vantage, this alignment was about the negotiation of power and status within the community rather than domination by outsiders. The dissertation concludes by assessing the implications of an indigenous discourse centered on Nahua history and identity rather than relations between colonizer and colonized.

[University of California, Los Angeles]
Ittleson Fellow, 1992–1993

PAULINE THAYER MAGUIRE

Seventeenth-Century Studies

During the past year as curatorial fellow, I have focused on four projects. The first of these, with Diane De Grazia, curator of southern baroque painting, involved the preparation of a proposal for an exhibition of Roman baroque art. The project necessarily called for a summary of the current state of scholarship relating to each of the artists to be included in the exhibition as well as an assessment of the state of baroque studies in general. Scholarly contributions to the field over the past decades have pointed toward a thorough rethinking of the way in which baroque art has been viewed since the influential works of Heinrich Wölfflin (1888), Erwin Panofsky (1924), Denis Mahon (1947), and Rudolph Wittkower (1957). The challenge of the project has been to develop a concept for an exhibition which, while aspiring to make a contribution to this current redirection in baroque art studies, will have at the same time a maximum appeal for the general public. Another exhibition project, again with De Grazia, is for a monographic show of the Venetian-born artist Carlo Saraceni (1579/1583–1620), who was active in Rome in the first decades of the seventeenth century. The exhibition, which would originate in Rome, is to be undertaken jointly with Anna Ottani Cavina, author of a monograph on the artist and the exhibition's organizer. Saraceni's works are striking in their use of large areas of deeply saturated colors and brilliant chiaroscuro effects. The exhibition would include works of the artist's immediate followers: the Pensionante del Saraceni, Jean Le Clerc, and Guy François. The related catalogue would provide an occasion for considering the ways in which these artists interpreted and assimilated the art of Caravaggio, as well as Saraceni's role in the dissemination of dramatic lighting effects among artists north of the Alps.

A third project has been the drafting of entries for four works in the National Gallery of Art's collection attributed to Nicolas Poussin for the systematic catalogue of French paintings, under preparation by Philip Conisbee, curator of French paintings. Three of the works, the *Nurture of Jupiter*, the *Assumption of the Virgin*, and the *Holy Family on the Steps*, pose problems of attribution. The *Holy Family on the Steps* (1648) and the *Baptism of Christ* (1641–1642) are more directly related to work undertaken for my dissertation, which involved a close examination of paintings executed by Poussin in the 1640s. The *Baptism of Christ*, at first glance rather pale and muted in its general effects, becomes a far more striking work when viewed in the context of the artist's apparent intentions. The painting, I believe, exhibits the results of the artist's interest in and study of the as-yet-unpublished theoretical treatises of Leonardo da Vinci and Matteo Zaccoloni, which were available to him through his Roman patron Cassiano dal Pozzo, and the treatises on optics of Alhazen and Witelo. Such an interest in optics on Poussin's part is confirmed by his contemporary biographer André Félibien (1685). The *Holy Family on the Steps* was the subject of a two-day curatorial col-



Nicolas Poussin, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1641/1642, National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

loquy organized by the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. The two versions of the subject, one from the Cleveland Museum of Art and the other at the National Gallery, were brought together for comparative study for the first time in over fifty years. It was the conclusion of those present that the National Gallery painting was not consistent enough in handling to have been executed by Poussin, though exhibiting a similar technique and of remarkably high quality. Evidence may suggest that the National Gallery version was executed in close proximity to the original by an artist who possessed intimate knowledge of Poussin's working methods. In my own opinion, the artist may well have been the young Charles Le Brun. Le Brun spent five years (1642–1646) in Rome with Poussin working closely with the latter and copying works of Raphael. The slight difference in handling between the two versions and the slightly more general treatment in the National Gallery painting of the subtle effects of light and shadow that are visible in the Cleveland version, may be explained by the fact that while Le Brun apparently was aware of Poussin's intentions in this aspect of the painting, lacking a comparable depth of theoretical understanding, he only approximated a like result in his own work.

The fourth project has been the reworking of my dissertation into two separate book-length publications, "The Israelites Gathering Manna in the Wilderness: A Painting for Chantelou" and "Poussin in France: Chantelou's Collection."

National Gallery of Art, Department of Southern Baroque Painting
Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1993–1994

LYLE MASSEY

The Gamble of the Gaze: An Investigation of Visual Illusion through the History of Anamorphosis

Anamorphosis is a type of artificial perspective that was developed along the same geometrical and optical principles as *costruzione legittima*. The term itself, from the Greek *ana* meaning “again” and *morphē* meaning “shape,” seems to have been coined in the seventeenth century by Athanasius Kircher’s protégé, Gaspar Schott. But the development of anamorphic perspective occurred much earlier as a response to the technical difficulties engendered by artificial perspective. Leonardo da Vinci had observed that objects in the line of sight become distorted at the edges of the visual field. This in turn led him to suggest that artificial perspective poses a problem because those images in the picture plane closest to the viewer and to the side of the proposed central viewing point will inevitably appear distorted. In order to correct this problem, Leonardo proposed marginal images that could be viewed from an oblique vantage point even as the central viewing point for the rest of a picture remained the same. Thus one could reverse the optical distortion by distorting the marginal images themselves, thereby producing a picture that conforms to central perspective in all respects if the viewpoint is fixed exactly. Accordingly, Leonardo created two images in the *Codex Atlanticus* (c. 1478–1518) that appear elongated and flattened but are meant to be seen from very close and from the right side. Thus anamorphosis initially was constructed as a technique of foreshortening. The idea that this radical distortion, using the principles of artificial perspective, could be employed to generate a special kind of picture that must necessarily be viewed from a fixed, oblique vantage point was not at issue until the sixteenth century. The technique was then discussed in many treatises on optics, geometry, and painting, and was used for a number of images, especially in Germany. The most famous example of anamorphosis, the skull in Hans Holbein’s *The French Ambassadors*, also dates from early in this century.

What I am concerned with, however, is the revival of interest in anamorphosis that occurred in Paris during the seventeenth century among members of the Minim order. During my fellowship I explored the relationship between René Descartes and two Minim friars who wrote on anamorphosis, Marin Mersenne and Jean-François Niceron. Taking up Jurgis Baltrušaitis’ suggestion that there is an important connection to be made between the theory and practice of anamorphosis and Descartes’ association of sensual doubt with metaphysical certainty, I have sought to define and interpret this connection as a paradigmatic relation. The *co-gito* has been linked with perspective for a number of reasons, not the least of which is Descartes’ vision of the physical world as “extended substance.” The association of Cartesian philosophy with perspective, however, has long been assumed to be illustrative: that is, the viewing subject of perspective is generally understood

as the quintessential illustration of the rational, mind-centered, Cartesian subject. I believe this is a misconception, and I have argued instead that perspective prefigures the Cartesian subject, but not as a rationalization of a punctiform viewer/knower. Rather, the Cartesian cogito might be better described as a defense against the *dissemination* threatened by perspective, particularly anamorphosis.

Descartes' famous method is a systematic attempt to eliminate all doubt so as to arrive at a point of certainty which he then calls direct knowledge or the one truth with which to start his larger project of accumulating knowable things. He refers to the painter's perspective as proof of how vision can be manipulated (for example, in perspectival painting squares turn into rhomboids, circles into ovals). Paradoxically, however, the deceivability of the senses provides the basis for the cogito. The only thing Descartes can not doubt is that he is doubting. He is assured that while doubting, he does indeed exist. Thus perspective, in making doubt tangible, provides proof of the cogito's resolution.

But what does anamorphosis have to say about Cartesian doubt when all forms of perspective seem paradigmatic? Hubert Damisch has suggested that at the moment of its origin artificial perspective did not produce the centralized, punctiform subject with which it has been credited. Rather, the Brunelleschi experiment produced a decentered viewer, split off from the viewing point, from the eye, and from the image itself. Ostensibly Leon Battista Alberti's *costruzione legittima* took the Brunelleschi experiment and created a rational framework that reinscribed the viewing subject in an ideal center. But what anamorphosis shows is that *costruzione legittima* contains within it the possibility of its own derationalization. Taking the same basic horizon and distance point construction that Alberti proposes, Nicéron describes a similar process for anamorphic perspective, except that the horizon and distance points are raised above the "normal" viewing height and brought very close together. The distance point, the horizon, and the viewing point are purposefully collapsed together, requiring the viewer to move very close to the image while striving to attain and hold the resolved picture in view from a severely oblique angle. Thus, in its technical construction anamorphosis literally throws into uncertainty the viewer's visual angle and position in space. It questions the viewer's visual acuity and corporeality, enacting a moment of fundamental ontological doubt.

[University of California, Los Angeles]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1993–1994

CHARLES R. MORSCHECK, Jr.

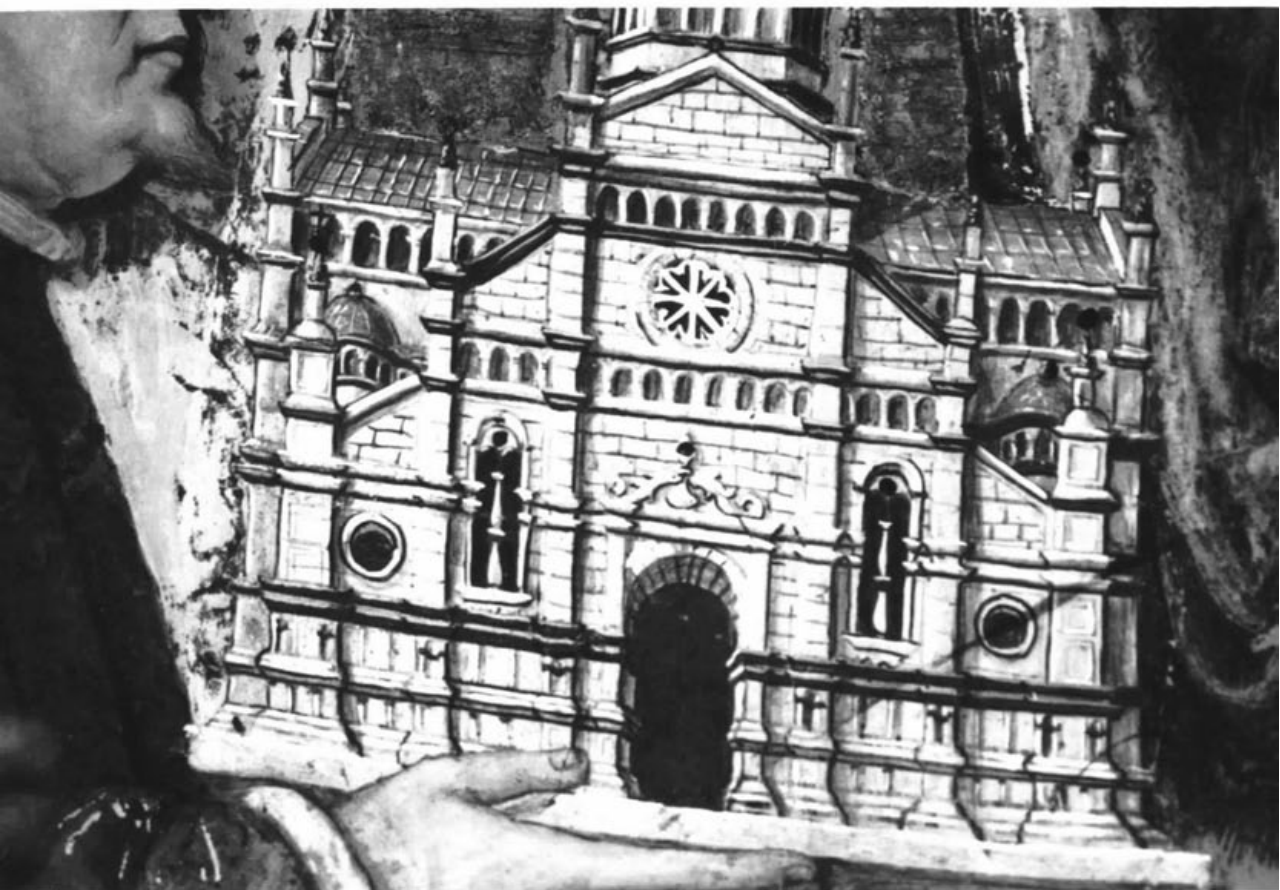
Ingenium quasi hereditarium: *The Solari Family of Milanese Renaissance Artisans*

Marco da Carona was an early architect of Milan cathedral and patriarch of a dynasty of Milanese artisans. Approximately four thousand documents on over eighty descendants of Marco da Carona will be published as a result of the Solari project. Nearly all Solari documents previously published plus many never before edited will be included. Explanatory notes for many of the documents have been composed, containing interpretations, linkages between documents, and references to publications. Transcriptions of long documents, prepared by the English and Italian collaborators, Richard Schofield and Grazioso Sironi, will be added. We will need about three more years to bring the project to publication.

There are several advantages to undertaking a documentary project on this scale. First, it will multiply the documentation on the Solari about tenfold. Second, such an extensive body of documentation generates a context for each document, and patterns and relationships become apparent. We have constructed a family tree showing exactly how the descendants of Marco da Carona were interrelated. We can identify relatives through the female line who are not named Solari, as well as neighbors, friends, and artistic and business associates, and reconstruct their professional, social, and familial world with a high degree of detail. Another advantage might be called taxonomic, for the documents fall into classes: account book entries, receipts, rental agreements, contracts, dowries, apprenticeships, testaments, ducal letters, arbitrations, estimates, appointments of procurators, and more. Where there are many documents of a particular class, it becomes possible to read between the lines, to state what is typical and what is peculiar, and to document trends over time. Based on twelve Solari dowries, we were able to characterize the typical Solari marriage alliance (daughters were frequently married to other important families of artisans), and we can trace over time the family's rise in wealth and social status.

Some important discoveries and ideas emerged during my residency. The thesis that the Solari were at the heart of the Milanese building industry has been considerably strengthened. Sironi's discovery that the three sons of Marco da Carona, Alberto, Pietro, and Giovanni Solari, built the Collegiata church at Castiglione Olona in the 1420s will require a reevaluation of the design tradition represented by the following churches: the Carmine in Pavia, the Certosa di Pavia, the Collegiata in Castiglione Olona, the Carmine in Milan, and S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan. It is likely that Giovanni Solari and other Solari made sculpture for Castiglione, which in turn will require a reexamination of Milanese sculpture in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Our increased documentation shows that the connections between the Solari and the dukes were more important than has been realized. This will require a



Ambrogio da Fossano, called Bergognone, *Gian Galeazzo Visconti Presenting a Model of the Certosa Church to the Virgin*, Certosa di Pavia, apse fresco, c. 1492–1494

more sophisticated definition of ducal patronage. Furthermore, many unpublished notarial documents show that the Solari were more active as civil engineers, or engineers of the commune of Milan, than has been realized. The new documents also shed light on the Solari as architects of the duomo of Milan and on the kind of work they did there.

Our expanded documentation will correct errors in the earlier literature; for example, the confusion between the two Giovanni Solari or between Pietro, son of Marco, and Pietro Antonio, son of Guiniforte. Revisions to chronology will result; for example, Pietro Antonio left for Russia a year or two earlier than previously thought, and in the spring of 1488 probably went to Venice with his

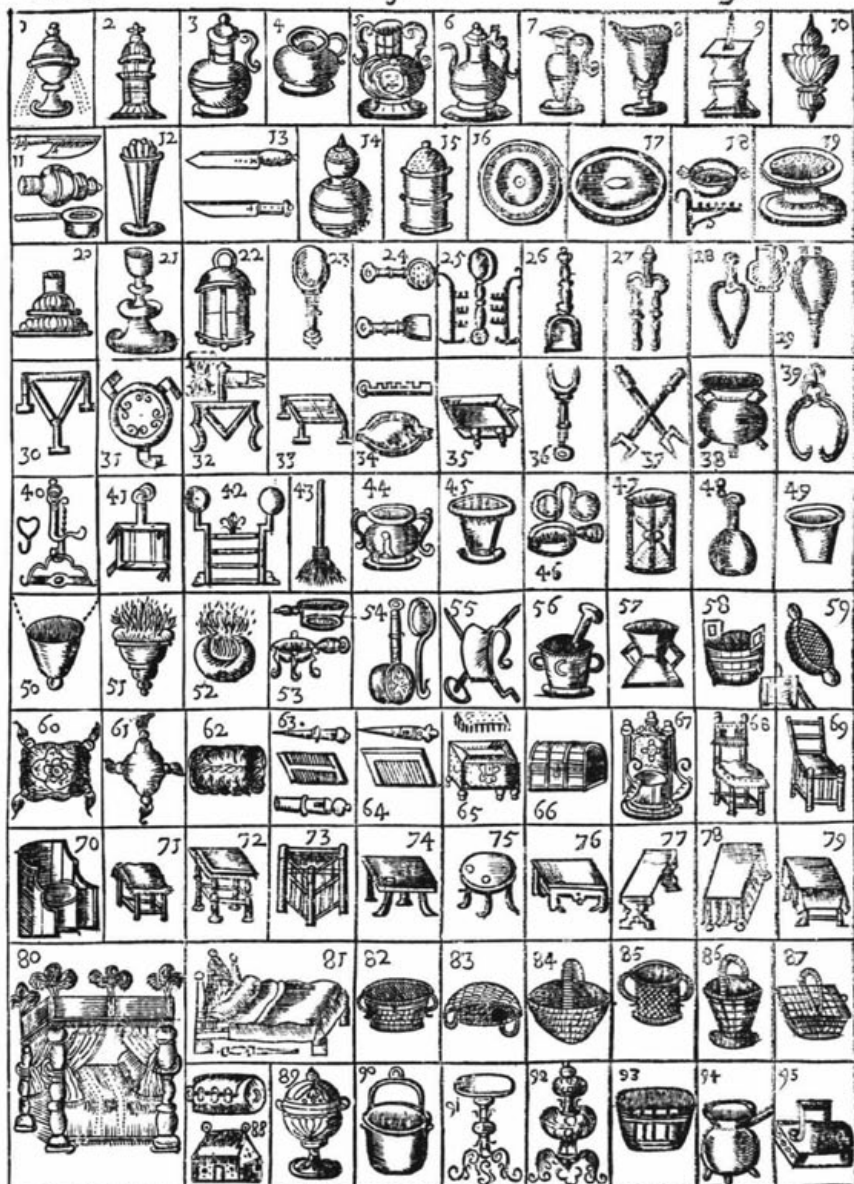
younger cousin and apprentice, Cristoforo, aged about twenty-one. His other cousin, Andrea, aged about twenty, probably joined them later in the year. Moreover, Cristoforo died in 1524, not in 1527 as is often stated.

An analysis of the familial aspects of the Solari shows that they were quite as patriarchal and concerned with agnatic inheritance as were the Florentines. The literature on the family in Tuscany provides insights for the interpretation of the Solari documents. The bourgeois, working-class Milanese shared many of the same conceptions of the family as did the aristocratic Florentines.

A list of some of the artists with whom the Solari were associated represents the artistic leadership of Renaissance Milan, but it is incomplete without the names of Marco, Giovanni, Guiniforte, Francesco, Pietro Antonio, Cristoforo, and Andrea Solari.

Drexel University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1993



Domini Mathei Ellis de Overlegh Gen:

Randle Holme, "Household Goods" from *An Academy of Armory, or a Storehouse of Armory and Blazon*, vol. 2, 1649. BM Harl MSS 2026-35, reproduced in facsimile by I. H. Jeayes (Roxburghe Club, London, 1905). Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington

LENA COWEN ORLIN

The Domestic Environment in Early Modern England

From 1570 to 1640 England experienced what W. G. Hoskins has called a "great rebuilding." Absent the great royal and ecclesiastical building projects of the Continent, this was a transformation of private households. The phenomenon has also been termed a "great remodeling," in reference to the development of new living standards that cut across many geographic, social, and economic lines. Although my point of departure is sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English domestic architecture, my aim is to explore the meanings of architecture, and especially its meanings for the formation of modern Western notions of individual identity, personal comfort, privacy, status, family tradition, gender hierarchies, and the relationship of persons and possessions. My sources thus include wills, inventories, building accounts, correspondence, political tracts, household manuals, popular pamphlets, and play texts from the period. I was also able to visit 130 surviving houses before the term of my fellowship.

This work had been intended as a chapter in a recently completed book on private life in the English Renaissance. But my interest in the subject outgrew the bounds of that book. I came to the Center for Advanced Study with a first draft of the aborted chapter and the need for time to reflect on how to proceed. In my two months there, as I read in the theory and philosophy of art history and as I consulted the National Gallery of Art's photographic archives, I began to find the working outline of a book on the topic.

The first chapter will review the system of signification represented in the medieval great hall, the baseline from which the changes of the Renaissance proceeded. The hall was a communal cooking, eating, living, and sleeping space, but this essentially unified domestic experience gave way to one with more rooms, rooms with specific purposes, and rooms with greater status than the hall. As they grew smaller, these spaces scaled themselves to the human figure and served as a stage for the performance of private life. In the second chapter I will argue that the multiplication of rooms created a more complex taxonomy of domestic life. The difference resulted in hierarchies, including those of public and private, owner and worker, male and female, leisure and labor, and other distinctions of status and behavior. The third chapter will deal with the early modern proliferation of possessions and the development of increasingly specialized furnishings. An English preoccupation with the use and control of personal possessions predated the "great rebuilding": the "property fetish" of English common law is medieval, and *inventories post mortem* were first required by law in 1529. It may have been the expanded trade in household goods that inspired the need for more domestic spaces in which to display, store, and tally them.

The fourth chapter will be devoted to domestic ornament and to the opportunities it provided for self-expression and self-celebration. This is again a topic with

resonances that were peculiar to England, where color and representation were largely emptied out of reformed churches and where the contents of monastic treasuries found their way into private hands. As inventories reveal, all classes enjoyed the visual enrichment of their surroundings; poor families may not have been able to afford tapestries, but they had wall hangings of painted and stained cloths. In the fifth chapter, I will survey contemporary documents for how people referred to their houses, what their primary associations with the house were, what recurrent anxieties they expressed, what ideals they held, and what moral, political, and cultural meanings the domestic environment thus assumed.

Because I am interested not only in how early modern men and women shaped their spaces but also in how their spaces shaped them, the particular challenge will be to approximate the early modern *experience* of architectural space. Toward this end, I have slightly retheorized Michael Baxandall's call for the development of a "period eye." Baxandall refers to the interpretive "equipment"—that is, among other things, the available frames of reference, habits of categorization, and perceptual skills—that viewers will inevitably bring to an object and that will inflect both what they see there and their response. To paraphrase Le Corbusier, however, the experience of architecture is a matter not only of "the eye that sees" but also of "the foot that falls" and "the head that turns": a supravisual, multisensory, fully corporeal, temporally sequential experience. What is required in the instance of spatial analysis is a "period percept."

Attention to the period percept has helped me rediscover the extent to which a history of early modern domestic space is a history of human movement and its ceremonialization. The long gallery, a room invented in the Tudor years, was dedicated to it. While the functions of most rooms in the early modern house were defined by their furnishings, the purpose of the gallery was evident structurally: long and narrow for walking in inclement weather. It had little furniture to interrupt the falling foot, but a celebratory note was struck by the paintings and wall hangings placed to entertain the seeing eye and turning head. The long gallery was built on an upper level, reachable by another sixteenth-century innovation, the great stairs. Like the gallery, the staircase required a prodigal use of space and attracted lavish decorative attention. The two were mutually reinforcing, the gallery giving the staircase a sense of purpose, the staircase giving the gallery a sense of climax. These were among the spaces that successfully competed with the hall for prestige. As the hall became little more than an overbuilt passageway to the great stairs, the long gallery and other reception rooms above it, too, became a channel for human motion.

The medieval great hall had been dedicated to the long view. That of the visitor was filtered and fixed by selected openings in the hall screen. More important, that of the lord, from his position on the dais opposite the entry, was panoramic. This defensive posture was to change in the early modern years. Many of the innovations of the "great rebuilding" were anticipated by Henry VIII in the early sixteenth century. At Nonsuch, he dispensed with a great hall altogether. At Bridewell, he posed at the bottom of his great stairs to receive a papal legate. His

principal objective, in other words, was not to look outward, scanning for possible threats. Instead, in a significant moment for the development of a Cartesian self-conceptualization, he looked at himself as if from the outside, imagining himself as he appeared to others and fashioning his appearance to impress them. Over the years of the “great rebuilding,” many other householders shared in this phenomenon. The critical fact that this self-exteriorization occurred within the domestic setting made “others” even of household fellows, further disintegrating the old communal society of the house and further authorizing a modern subjectivity. Changes such as these were to prove far more long-lived than the specific architectural transformations that helped provoke them.

Folger Shakespeare Library

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1993



George Inness, *The Monk*, 1873. Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, Gift of Stephen C. Clark

SALLY PROMEY

"To Cultivate the Spiritual": The Art of George Inness and the Religious Philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg

In a time committed to the artistic and cultural reassessment of the "great masters" of American art, the work of George Inness (1825–1894) has received little attention. He is distinct in this regard from his contemporaries Winslow Homer, Thomas Eakins, and Albert Pinkham Ryder, despite the fact that toward the end of his life many acknowledged Inness as the country's greatest living artist. What Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr. claimed in his impressive monograph of 1971 and reiterated, along with Michael Quick, in the exhibition catalogue of 1985 still holds true: Inness is "one of the most neglected" of major American artists.

By the same token, the dissemination and interpretation on American shores of the religious philosophy of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772) is often mentioned but seldom examined in depth. Ultimately, the substantial writings of Swedenborg gave rise to a new religious institution. More significant, however, was the radical reassessment of traditional concepts of the spirit world suggested in his texts. Connecting the visible world with the invisible ontologically as well as metaphorically, Swedenborgianism, in both its institutional and philosophical expressions, attracted a disproportionate number of painters and sculptors. Even so, the influence of Swedenborg on such prominent literary figures as Ralph Waldo Emerson and members of the James family has been more widely acknowledged than the corresponding impact of the philosopher on American visual arts.

This fellowship year provided the opportunity to explore, in a focused and sustained fashion, the relationship between George Inness' painting and his involvement with the religious philosophy of Swedenborg. For the last thirty years of his life Inness adhered zealously to his own version of the teachings of the eighteenth-century scientist, philosopher, and theologian. In images and words, Inness constructed an aesthetic that depended at its very base on what he called the "cultivation of the spiritual" in both artist and civilization. Inness' effort to locate the aesthetic sphere in relationship to the spiritual rather than the moral nature of humanity represents his signal contribution to the longstanding conversation between American art and American religion.

Over the course of this year, I have grounded my research, examining many works of art and assimilating a comprehensive bibliography of published and unpublished materials on both the painter and the visionary. In addition, I have tentatively organized a book into four chapters with an introduction and an epilogue. While the book generally follows chronological sequence, each chapter hinges on examination of a single image or group of images. The introduction, on Swedenborg and the visual arts in America, sets the stage for the formal and cultural analysis of Inness' landscapes and for consideration of the Swedenborgian factor among critics and patrons of Inness' art. The first chapter deals with the years at

Eagleswood, New Jersey (1864–1867), when Inness, encouraged by William Page, turned his full attention to Swedenborg's writings. The relationship of Inness to Fourierist Marcus Spring and to prominent congregationalist Henry Ward Beecher as well as the larger community of artists at Eagleswood in these years also deserves attention. The second chapter covers the decade of the seventies and the shifting focus of Inness' energies with respect to the exploration of artistic form and "imagination," which he understood as "the life of the soul." Indeed, for Inness, artmaking itself constituted a spiritual exercise. The expression of spirit resided not in the literal imitation of nature but in the formal interpretation of nature in such a way as to communicate divine truth. The third chapter examines in detail the last decade of Inness' career (1884–1894), the years of "synthesis," when the painter sought to combine and conflate the material and the spiritual, form and content, in relationship to his convictions regarding the configuration of the cosmos and the human soul and the correspondences between them.

In the fourth chapter the discussion of synthesis is expanded to examine the late nineteenth-century intersection of aesthetics and spirituality in America. The book on Inness not only will deal directly with this painter's art, but will place his production in relationship to larger cultural currents in art and religion (as well as the "new" discipline of psychology, with the association of mind, imagination, soul, and mood in Inness' own thinking and in the work of his onetime sketching partner, William James). In the book's epilogue, I intend to comment on the appropriation of Swedenborg by artists connected with the theosophical movement, and thus on Swedenborg's continued influence on American art into the twentieth century.

During my year at the Center for Advanced Study, in addition to making significant progress on my book research, I have completed two essential and quite specific aspects of the Inness project. First, after consulting the resources of various archives, I have constructed a detailed *institutional* history, documenting the participation of Inness and his family in Swedenborgian concerns and Swedenborgian congregations from the mid-1860s to the mid-1890s for the artist and into the twentieth century for his family. Second, and partly as a consequence of establishing this institutional frame, I have been able to identify the Swedenborg Inness knew. In other words I can, with some confidence, connect Inness' knowledge of Swedenborg with particular interpreters on this side of the Atlantic. This information will be useful in my attempt to discern connections between the texts Inness read and cited and the artist's practice with regard to individual paintings. Finally, I have completed an article titled "'Soul Language': George Inness on the Correspondences of Color."

University of Maryland at College Park
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1993–1994

ANTHONY RADCLIFFE

*The Bronze Sculpture of Andrea Riccio as a Visual Expression of Ideas
Current in the University of Padua in the Early Sixteenth Century*

My work on this topic during my period at the Center for Advanced Study has been the final stage in my researches toward a monograph on the Padua sculptor Andrea Riccio (1470–1532), the text of which I hope to bring to completion in the next year. I developed a special interest in the work of Riccio some thirty years ago, and in the course of my study of him, pursued intermittently over the years, my primary focus was the establishment by traditional methods of connoisseurship, later to be aided by technical examination, of a definitive oeuvre-catalogue. The substantial monograph on Riccio published by Leo Planiscig in 1927 had proposed an immense and heterogeneous oeuvre for the sculptor, of which little sense could be made, and I began, at first by a study of the work of his contemporaries, especially that of the prolific Severo Calzetta of Ravenna, with which his work had become confused, to whittle down his catalogue. It emerged not only that Riccio's oeuvre was much smaller than had been believed, but that it had a remarkable consistency and a distinct intellectual spine.

To make sense of Riccio's work it was clearly necessary to come to terms with the intellectual climate that informed it. Riccio's working career was pursued in the milieu of the University of Padua at a time when it was the leading center for philosophical and scientific research in Europe. His first major commission came from the Venetian philosopher and diplomat Girolamo Donato, a close friend of Ermolao Barbaro, his later important commissions from scholars of the University of Padua, Giambattista de Leone and the brothers della Torre. Planiscig in his monograph did not determine how the thinking of his patrons and their circle might have informed the program of his work and inspired its hermetic imagery; but an article of 1938 by Fritz Saxl provided an opening for exploration of this question through a study of the writings by members of the circle of Riccio's patrons, and another by Ragna Enking of 1941 (vitiating in part by a too-inclusive conception of Riccio's oeuvre) contributed valuable insights into his classical sources. Following the clues provided by these two writers, I was able to begin my own investigation into the meaning of Riccio's work, but because of my work as a curator this was perforce pursued in a piecemeal manner. Dieter Blume elucidated almost completely the complex program of Riccio's major work, the great Paschal Candelabrum of the Basilica of the Santo (in a perceptive essay in the catalogue of the exhibition *Natur und Antike*, 1985) and confirmed and developed my own published observations about the program of his mature masterpiece, the Della Torre tomb. His work provided a useful foundation for my work in Washington.

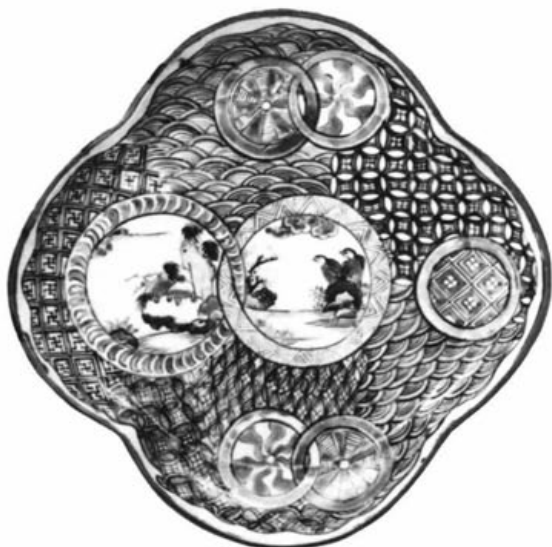
My invitation to the Center afforded the opportunity to pull together previous scattered studies and to pursue a concentrated program of reading which had never before been possible. I arrived with a lengthy reading list, the greater part



Andrea Briosco, called Riccio, *The Dead Christ Carried to the Tomb*, c. 1520–1530. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

of which I have been able to work through with the resources available, and this has inevitably led to further reading and further lines of inquiry. I have been able greatly to expand my knowledge of Riccio's patrons and the personalities who composed the circle to which they belonged, and of the structure, disciplines, and fortunes of the University of Padua in Riccio's day, as well as the intellectual climate of the Veneto. For the first time I have been able to inform myself about Renaissance epigraphic hieroglyphs and to consider their relationship to the hieroglyphic symbols that recur in Riccio's work, leading to the realization that Riccio's symbols do not invariably carry the same connotations as do the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*. I have pursued in depth an earlier line of inquiry into the understanding of Riccio's work afforded by the treatise *De Sculptura* of Pomponius Gauricus. A significant preoccupation has been the application of the new understanding of Riccio's major works to the interpretation of his minor works, to his bronze statuettes and vessels, and especially to his allegorical plaquettes, of which until now I have had a very poor comprehension (the National Gallery of Art possesses the only complete set of his plaquettes in existence). I have also had the opportunity to reflect on the nature of the syncretism in Riccio's work, and in particular on the role of the Egyptian element in this, and to consider the question of the extent to which Riccio was, or was not, a naturalistic artist. Gratifyingly, most of these studies have afforded some unexpected new insights, to the extent that, were I to be called upon to repeat the talk that I gave at the first colloquium in my early days at the Center, I would have to revise it substantially.

Victoria and Albert Museum (keeper emeritus)
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1993–1994



Japanese adaptation of Chinese *shonzui* ware dish, Edo Period (1640s), underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze polychrome enamel on porcelain. Private collection



Chinese *shonzui* ware dish made for the Japanese market, Transitional Period (1630–1640), underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze polychrome enamel on porcelain. Tokyo National Museum

Vessels of Influence: Early Japanese Porcelain and Its Production in Northern Kyushu

My dissertation centers around the reception of design motifs on porcelains. Analysis shows that the motifs used in the early Japanese porcelain repertoire, and the methods of depiction employed, form a visual vocabulary of symbols, a morphology that denotes, refers to, and symbolizes a set of encoded ideological messages that were comprehensible to a Japanese audience of the day.

The inception of porcelain production in Japan falls at an important moment in East Asian history which interrelates three countries: China was witnessing the slow fall of the Ming Dynasty and the rise of the foreign Qing Dynasty; the Korean peninsula was recovering from the devastation of Japan's two invasions of 1592 and 1598; and in Japan, decades of internecine warfare were coming to an end. A new power structure arose with the Tokugawa military government which officially took over Japan in 1603. The unification was made possible in part by the rapid monetization of the economy that increased economic growth. The competition between the regional lords in Japan (about 280 of them in the early Edo period) had helped to establish marketing and distribution centers, the organization of large military forces, and the construction of castles and castle towns.

The high quality of the bullion mined in Japan also attracted many trading partners during this period, including not only Chinese, but Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Dutch, and stimulated trade to an extent never experienced before. It is out of this milieu that the production of porcelain began in Japan.

Porcelain manufacturing was late to arrive in Japan, and during its initial stage of production was considered to be a Chinese product (*karamono*). Porcelain had been made in China since the ninth century and in Korea at least by the tenth century, but only began in Japan in the Arita district of Hizen Province in northwestern Kyushu around 1610. By 1655, Japanese porcelain had reached a high level of sophistication. From the mid-seventeenth century onward, porcelain production diversified outward not only for the domestic market, but also for the growing export markets to Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Europe. It is in the pre-export period when the porcelains were being created for the Japanese domestic market that I situate my analysis.

The first section of my dissertation is a historiography of the research involving early porcelains and a discussion of the formation of the porcelain industry in seventeenth-century Japan. Concepts of style and their relation to methods of production are introduced, followed by a detailed study of early porcelain production in Japan. I confine my analysis to the years 1600–1660 and focus on the Kan'ei period. There are no primary documents that directly pertain to ceramic production during this period, except for an entry in a diary describing the 1637 Nabeshima edict that confined and limited the kilns to the Uchiyama section of

Arita and specified that only artisans of Korean descent could produce porcelain. Here I relied mostly on archaeological materials, including kiln, merchant, and residential sites, as well as secondary sources.

The second section involves a comparative study of contemporary Chinese and Korean porcelain production techniques and an exhaustive analysis of the Kama-no-tsuji kiln, excavated by the Arita Town Educational Board in 1984. The question of the origins of Japanese porcelain technology, commonly believed to be Korean in origin, is addressed, and analysis reveals problems with assigning a Korean origin to Japanese porcelain. Manufacturing techniques and kiln technology show a close affinity to southern Chinese coastal kilns. The last chapter in this section investigates early Japanese porcelain through the examination of a representative kiln.

I chose the Kama-no-tsuji kiln not only because it was one of the first kilns to produce porcelain exclusively but also because its production was restricted to about twenty years (1620–1640). I have created a motif database of the kiln, with the help of Koji Ohashi of the Kyushu Ceramic Museum, using every excavated potsherd and recording the design elements, location on the vessels, and shapes of the vessels (over 20,000 potsherds).

The last part of my study details the reception of the products of Arita by the Japanese, beginning with the expanded vocabulary of motifs: how and why the design elements employed on the ceramics were chosen. Comparisons are made to the Chinese wares that were being imported in large quantities to Japan during this period, especially the *kosometsuke* and *shonzui* type wares, which were designed especially for the Japanese market. I base my assessments in this section on art-historical and archaeological data, focusing particularly on how these design motifs were employed elsewhere in Japan in other media. Many similar motifs and combinations of motifs were employed in the wall and panel paintings adorning many of the castles and temples built during the Kan'ei period (for example, Nagoya Castle and Toshogu in Nikko), as well as in textiles and lacquerware. I show that these motifs, and the way they were depicted and combined, contributed to a visual vocabulary that could be read by the contemporary viewer. To test this hypothesis, I worked with early Edo period Kano school screen paintings (the orthodox style). In the final chapter, I define the concept of a Kan'ei period stylistic vision, which signals the beginning of an early modern Japanese design vocabulary.

[Harvard University]

Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1992–1994

VADIM SADKOV

Catalogue Raisonné: Dutch and Flemish Drawings of the Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts

This year I completed a catalogue raisonné of the Dutch and Flemish drawings, sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. The collection, as catalogued, consists of 480 drawings central to the history of Dutch and Flemish art. My study of the drawings, begun in 1983, has led to the discovery of hitherto unknown works by Dirck Pietersz. Crabeth, Otto van Veen, Tobias Verchaecht, Jacob van Swanenburgh, Pieter Lastman, Gerit Pietersz., Aert de Gelder, and Gerard Ter Borch the Elder. I also came to new conclusions about the authorship of many drawings, including the work of an Antwerp master at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the so-called Pseudo-Bles, as well as that of Cornelis Troost and Jacob Cats of the eighteenth century. The manuscript includes discussion of the draftsmanship of Dutch and Flemish artists, a history of collections, and critical entries on the drawings with complete references to provenance, the literature, and exhibitions. It also contains drawings of the watermarks.

There are many problems surrounding the reattribution of old master drawings, and the work of Rembrandt provides a good example. Some thirty-five years ago, a comprehensive catalogue of Rembrandt drawings was compiled by Otto Benesch. However, scholars recently have reconsidered Rembrandt in light of new methods and technological evidence. As a result not all drawings that Benesch catalogued as by Rembrandt himself are still attributed to him. The difference of opinion between the pre-World War II generation and today's scholars becomes evident in statistical comparison. Of the eighty-six drawings in the Amsterdam print room that Benesch accepted as works by Rembrandt, Pieter Schatborn—author of a recent scholarly catalogue of drawings by Rembrandt and his school in Amsterdam—retained only fifty-eight; in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum, Rotterdam, Benesch accepted seventy-four drawings as Rembrandts, which Jeron Giltay has reduced to thirty-six. In the Pushkin Museum's collection of Rembrandt drawings, a statistical comparison is even more damaging. Benesch accepted six drawings as Rembrandts, but I presently believe that only two are those of the master. The identification of original drawings by Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, Adriaen van Ostade, Jan van Goyen, and others poses no less difficult problems.

While at the Center for Advanced Study I had the chance to research drawings in American museums and private collections that relate to those at the Pushkin. In completing my project I have also checked recent literature not available to me in Russia. As a result, in some cases I revised my opinions about attributions and dates. For instance, through the kindness of Maida and George Abrams, I had the opportunity to study drawings by Jacques de Gheyn II from



Here attributed to Jacques de Gheyn III, *Head of a Youth*, c. 1620, pen and brown ink. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow

their collection. As a result, the drawing *Head of a Youth* in the Pushkin Museum (pen and brown ink, 142 x 146 cm, inv. no. 20723), which was acquired in 1988 as a work by an unknown Dutch artist of the seventeenth century, can now be attributed to Jacques de Gheyn III (c. 1596–1641), who was the son and a pupil of Jacques de Gheyn II. It is closely related to a sheet by the younger De Gheyn in Leiden, *Two Studies of the Head of a Child with Abundant Curls*, in the modeling of the nose, eyes, and hair, as well as in the ample use of stippling (pen and brown ink on paper prepared in gray, 147 x 194 cm, print room of the Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, inv. no. A.W.140-I.Q.). In another case, a drawing in the Pushkin Museum, *The Three Figures*, formerly attributed to Andries Both (black chalk on vellum, 230 x 188 cm, inv. no. 7031), is, in my opinion, a typical example of the manner of Pieter Jansz. Quast (1606–1647).

In addition to the project mentioned, I began to compile materials for a book on Dutch seventeenth-century drawings in the context of attribution practice. This research will include the history of collecting and connoisseurship of Dutch drawings from the eighteenth to twentieth centuries; problems of combining material scientific analysis with stylistic analysis for identifying authorship; and the differentiation of works by a master and by his workshop, followers, and impostors.

Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, Soros Visiting Senior Research
Travel Fellow, fall 1993

VICTOR SCHMIDT

Panels for Private Devotion in Sienese Painting, 1250–1450: Form, Content, Function, Production

My research project concerns the study of small-scale panel paintings for private devotion that were made in Siena from the second half of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fifteenth century. Such small-scale panels represented an important part of the production in painting in Siena from the end of the thirteenth century onward. Study of the panels was intended to provide a deeper understanding of their function and creation, and has led to a correction of the general view of painting in the period, which tends to be seen in terms of large-scale altarpieces and mural paintings.

A serious problem in the study of small-scale panels is the almost total lack of information about their patrons and provenance, though plausible suggestions can be made for three of the many small-scale panels by Duccio di Buoninsegna (active 1278, died 1319) and his shop. The triptych in the National Gallery, London, shows the Virgin and Child flanked by Saint Dominic and the rarely represented virgin martyr Aurea of Ostia. This particular combination of saints suggests that the painting was commissioned by the Dominican cardinal-bishop of Ostia, Niccolò da Prato (died 1321), who would have had good reasons to venerate both the founder of his order and the saint of his titular church. He is known to have owned three small altarpieces, and perhaps Duccio's Crucifixion triptych in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, belonged to the same set. It is a twin of the London picture in all but its iconography and includes the cardinal's name saint on the wings. Another work for which a patron can be suggested is a triptych from Duccio's shop, in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena (no. 35), with a kneeling king in the central panel. Three of the eight saints shown below him are Dominicans: Saint Dominic, Saint Peter Martyr, and the Blessed Ambrogio Sansedoni. Because of these strong Dominican ties, the king may well represent Charles II of Anjou (1254–1309), whose zealous support for the order is well attested. Moreover, the Kingdom of Naples was a fief of the papal state, the two patron saints of which, Saints Peter and Paul, are introducing the king to the Virgin.

In this context the relation between Duccio and the French miniature painter Jean Pucelle (active 1320, died 1334), which is the subject of my first paper, opens up a new perspective. As is well known, Pucelle took over a number of compositions from Duccio, particularly in the so-called Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (in the Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). To account for this influence most scholars have argued that Pucelle traveled to Italy. Since no such sojourn is documented, it is more plausible to suggest that Pucelle had access in France to small-scale, and hence portable, panels by Duccio and his shop. The presence of Italian panel paintings in France during Pucelle's lifetime is documented, and Jeanne d'Evreux is known to have owned several panel paintings. In combination



Workshop of Duccio, Triptych with Royal Suppliant. Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. Fototeca: Soprintendenza B.A.S., Siena

with the evidence for the three triptychs mentioned above, it would seem that Duccio had a high-ranking clientele outside Siena itself. If that is true, the perception of Duccio's art as a Tuscan phenomenon needs revision.

There is scant evidence not only about the patrons and provenances of small-scale panels but also about their function. Generally it is assumed that such small panels were for private devotions, but that does not tell us much about their actual use. The aim of the second paper I finished during my stay at the Center is to map the various possibilities on the basis of concrete examples. Presumably the general purpose of these small-scale works was to serve as a visual aid in meditation and prayer. As they were owned by clergy, religious, and laity alike, they would have been set up for that purpose in cells and domestic interiors; however, the inclusion of adorants indicates that some such panels may have been commissioned for specific intentions, such as supplicatory prayer for the redemption of the adorants, some of which may have been deceased. Although portability was a natural consequence of the panels' shape and size rather than the prime intention, some were probably commissioned with a journey in mind, as in the case of a triptych by the Florentine painter Niccolò da Tommaso (active c. 1343–1376) in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; on the outer shutters it depicts Saint Christopher, patron saint of travelers, and Saint Anthony Abbot, who in the accompanying inscription is explicitly referred to as "a master and traveler of admirable moral simplicity." In other instances, such as the three triptychs by Duccio or his shop mentioned before, the paintings may have served as altarpieces in private chapels. The common denominator of all these panels is that they are religious in subject and were privately owned. These very factors apparently allowed for a rather broad spectrum of functions.

Certainly the most surprising result of my study of early Siennese paintings in various collections was that the typology of these small-scale panels is far richer than generally acknowledged. As an example, in the second half of the fourteenth century a type emerged that is considerably larger than the average small-scale painting of earlier in the century, but also clearly distinct from an altarpiece in shape and size. Examples include Giovanni di Paolo Fei's *Assumption of the Virgin* in the National Gallery of Art, his *Virgin and Child with Angels, Eight Saints, and Eve* in the Robert Lehman Collection, and Andrea di Bartolo's *Virgin and Child with the Four Evangelists* in the Walters Art Gallery. The paintings have no traces of hinges, so presumably they were single panels. Interestingly, the Lehman panel shows the remains of an original hanging device for a cord. As a working hypothesis it may be assumed that such panels, while serving a devotional purpose, became so large as to be permanently displayed on a wall. In other words, they developed from small-scale, portable objects into objects with a clear position in domestic interior decoration.

Rijksuniversiteit, Groningen, Instituut voor Kunst-, Architectuurgeschiedenis
en Archeologie

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1993



Pieter de Hooch, *The Bedroom*, c. 1660. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection

DAVID SMITH

Privacy and Civilization in Dutch Art, 1650–1700

The book on which I have been working this year represents an attempt to tie the formal and thematic imperatives of seventeenth-century Dutch realism to its social milieu. In the process I intend to reestablish the essential modernity of at least some aspects of this art. To nineteenth-century critics like Théophile Thoré-Bürger and Eugène Fromentin, the analogies between Dutch realism and that of their own day seemed self-evident, as they did to most scholars in the field until a few decades ago. In the past generation, however, this idea has come to be considered anachronistic, as art historians have focused increasingly on emblematic meanings, thematic conventions, and humanistic patterns of thought that have their roots in medieval and Renaissance traditions. That such connections exist cannot be denied. But in pursuing iconographical problems so single-mindedly, these scholars often seem to have lost sight of the novelty of much of this art. The priority they give to textual evidence also has meant less attention to visual analysis of the pictures themselves, which are always the primary texts. It is not a matter of choosing between symbolism and description though, as some would have it. I would argue that it is the very nature of realism to engage multiple levels of allusion and meaning; for the experience of reality is never wholly visual. Some of these levels of meaning involve symbolism; but more important for my purposes are those involving time and narrative, elements that have been badly neglected, particularly in regard to genre painting. My central thesis is that after 1650 the emergence in Dutch art of themes that grew out of the new social phenomenon of privacy profoundly changed the relationship between appearance and reality and, with it, the character of realism itself.

The roots of the private forms of sociability that began to take shape in early modern Europe lie, first of all, in the rise of the nuclear family, the child-centered character of which led it to turn in upon itself and to nurture more intimate, affective emotional bonds than did the older, dynastic forms of family life. But as historical sociologists such as Norbert Elias and Richard Sennett have shown, the growth of privacy carried with it a need for ever more refined and articulate social conventions by which to bind together the social fabric. The result was a complex dialogue between the values of domesticity and civility, between the personal and the normative. It is to this dialogue that the title "Privacy and Civilization" refers, and the book's argument turns on the frictions and intervals between the two.

Inevitably the dialogue took various forms, which conflicted to some degree. Important currents in the art of the period reflect conservative attitudes or more traditional, "public" forms of sociability. They are not always the same. Thus, in one chapter of my book the work of artists such as Jan Steen is discussed in terms of the communal forms of traditional popular culture and the opposition these often carnivalesque paintings sometimes express to the withdrawal from the com-

munity implicit in values of upper-class private life. In this context I see some forms of Steen's humor in particular as a comic celebration of older social values rather than as the negative social satire it is often taken to be. On the other hand, other artists deal with attempts to order and clarify the ambiguities of privacy and family life by creating *exempla*, based on closed rhetorical, allegorical, or anecdotal formulas. These are especially apparent in the dominant conventions of family portraiture and in the genre imagery of the Leiden school.

The book chiefly focuses, however, on the ways in which the more "progressive" painters of the period—Jan Vermeer, Pieter de Hooch, Gerard Ter Borch—probe the intervals between visual appearances and invisible realities. These intervals are most readily apparent in subjects such as the letter-writer theme, which was generally avoided by Leiden artists. But they also are virtually implicit in the domestic interior as a setting, which does not lend itself to theatricality and rhetoric. The narratives that take shape there tend to be novelistic, not only because of their prosaic character, but because they are necessarily internalized. As both a milieu and a formal motif, moreover, the domestic interior carries an implicit awareness of a larger, unseen world, which involves a tension between art and reality as well. For these small spaces both accommodate themselves to the enclosure of the frame and remind us of its inadequacy by the presence of windows and doorways, at which pensive figures are often placed.

There is a corollary to this interplay between picture and illusion in the way elegance and aesthetic contrivance so often coexist with domestic naturalism. With their displays of exquisite costumes and refined behavior, so-called "high-life" scenes embody the theme of privacy and civilization especially clearly. But in them this social dichotomy is also an artistic one that I suggest looks forward to modernity. For just as one of their chief themes is the way social elegance can mask private, often immoral thoughts, so the pictures themselves often function as a veneer, their shimmering surfaces presenting an alternative frame of reference to the ambiguous narratives and illusionistic spaces they depict. I would argue that this aesthetically sophisticated realism heralds the breakup of the classical synthesis of form and content, art and reality, which like the cleavage between the public and the private self constitutes one of the chief undercurrents in the modern tradition.

University of New Hampshire
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1993–1994

VICTOR STOICHITA

Painting and Vision in Spanish Art of the Golden Century

Around 1580, when El Greco painted *Saint John's Vision at Patmos* (now in the Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo), the iconography of the Immaculate Conception had not yet reached its full development. The most important feature of this painting is the position of Saint John's half-length portrait in the left foreground. The perceptive habits of Western beholders lead them to start decoding a painting at precisely that point. This has two important consequences. On the one hand, the viewer is asked to see the vision through Saint John's eyes, and on the other, John himself is presented as a beholder, or rather as an integrated beholder. He is an ambivalent figure, as he plays both the part of the viewer and that of the "visionary." In this perspective, El Greco's painting seems to propose a complex relation between the painting and the vision. The beholder sees a painting (El Greco's) representing a vision (Saint John's), which is itself nothing else than an image sprung from the "divine paintbrush."

Forty years later, Velázquez painted his *Saint John* (National Gallery, London). The iconography of this painting is not new. It draws on a solution that was fairly common in the Netherlands and which Velázquez could have known through various engravings. If we compare the painting with its probable models, however, we can easily see the new elements introduced by the Spanish painter. Jan Sadeler's engraving of the same subject, on which Velázquez probably drew, is divided by a powerful diagonal into halves: the right one is filled by the visionary, the left one by the vision. In Velázquez' work, Saint John dominates the painting, whereas the vision is confined to one side. The saint is monumental, the vision is minute and almost illegible.

If Sadeler's engraving (or a similar one) can be considered as a starting point for Velázquez' work, it is reasonable to question what led Velázquez to such obvious changes. One answer emerges: Velázquez reduced the vision because he developed it in another painting, *The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*. Fortunately, the two paintings, both from Seville, are today in the same museum (National Gallery, London) and can be contemplated together, as the painter no doubt meant them to be.

I do not know of any other case in which Saint John's vision in Patmos and the Immaculate Conception are represented in two juxtaposed paintings. The explanation for this must take into account the artist's tendency toward double representation, which he displayed as early as his Seville period and which would lead to justly famous results. I would even go so far as to say that the London "diptych" is a result of Velázquez' confrontation with one of the main representational problems of his time, namely the relation between the vision and the painting. The theme of this double work is the passage from one representation to the other.

The framing of the great sign is tantamount to a process of visual and conceptual



Diego Velázquez, *The Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, c. 1620, National Gallery, London

clarification: the Virgin emerges from the clouds surrounding the apocalyptic woman, the “sign” becomes “image.” We could even say that with this passage Velázquez monumentally staged the whole problem of the relationship between the apocalyptic vision and the devotional image of the Immaculate Conception. The attentive beholder has the privilege to indirectly watch the making of an image. The “making” takes place in the interstice between the two “volets.” The painting of the Immaculate Conception fills up, as it were, the blank page on which Saint John only had time to mark two lines: “A great sign appeared in the



Diego Velázquez, *Saint John the Evangelist on the Island of Patmos*, c. 1620. National Gallery, London

sky." The great painting is a hypotyposis, that is, a visualization of the text (Revelation 12:1): "A woman! The sun is shrouding her, the moon is at her feet, and twelve stars crown her head." I would like to suggest that Velázquez became familiar with the rhetorical concept of hypotyposis in Seville at the studio-academy of his teacher and father-in-law Pacheco.

University of Fribourg

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1993



Jacques de Gheyn II, *Portrait of Carolus Clusius*, 1601. University of Amsterdam Library, Department of Rare Books

CLAUDIA SWAN

Jacques de Gheyn II and the Representation of the Natural World in the Netherlands, 1585–1629

Under the weight of a prejudice held over from the eighteenth century against images that engage cognitive as well as aesthetic forms of attention, it is difficult to conceive of an art history that can incorporate scientific pictures as more than mere illustrations. My research on the natural scientific works by the Flemish-born artist Jacques de Gheyn II (1569–1625) has been largely informed by an effort to recuperate a history of images made in the primary interest of knowledge, images instrumental in a culture—that of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—in which it was no longer possible to know the natural world if not by “seeing it and making it seen.” The concession Leonhart Fuchs made in 1554 to illustrated natural history opens an extraordinary chapter, and I have sought to locate De Gheyn within it by investigating instances of the interaction between naturalists and artists throughout the European scholarly community of the late sixteenth century, and by focusing on the ways in which the practice of scientific exploration informed artistic production at the time.

In order to situate De Gheyn’s endeavors within the context of natural scientific investigation around the turn of the seventeenth century, mostly in the Netherlands, I researched several individual instances of the production of images of the natural world from c. 1550 to 1620 in the Netherlands and, for comparative purposes, in Germany, Italy, and at the court of Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. To trace the conditions under which such images were made, I have studied the priorities of artist and scientist in such endeavors, the result in some cases of scientists taking pen in hand, and the division of labor within publishing houses—the triangular relations between author, publisher, and draftsman or printmaker. The work of Conrad Gessner and Leonhart Fuchs provides the backdrop for consideration of the Netherlandish natural scientific (primarily botanical) field, leading to Rembertus Dodonaeus, and from Dodonaeus via his publisher Cristoffel Plantin to Carolus Clusius, whom Jacques de Gheyn knew in Leiden. Another line of inquiry has involved a “higher” form of scientific illustration, represented by the work of Joris Hoefnagel, Hans Verhaegen, and Anselm de Boodt. Jacques de Gheyn’s album of animals, insects, and flowers in the Lugt Collection, Paris, is a fascinating example, framed in gold and signed in an elaborate monogram.

While the historical focus of this dissertation is the intellectual and pedagogic climate in which De Gheyn worked when he lived in Leiden from 1596 to 1603, an attempt also has been made to develop a theoretical analysis of the reciprocity between visual representation and scientific exploration of the natural world. De Gheyn’s images—drawings of a bat, dragonflies, houseflies, mice, sprawled frogs, an album of watercolors of flowers and insects—are traces of that world as it appeared to an early seventeenth-century observer, as well as of the epistemolog-

ical practices with which nature was presented, collected, catalogued, and cultivated. The images were made, self-consciously or not, under the rubric of a quasi-scientific model of working from nature or life, *ad vivum*. The one-to-one relation of image to imaged (of the pictorial record to what is recorded) that is implied by this mode of working—in Dutch, *naer het leven*—is a fundamental premise of much natural scientific representation of the later sixteenth century. In a world in which specimens were imported from the New World as fastidiously as they were gathered closer to home and cultivated in botanical gardens throughout Europe, this approach promises that what we see, transported and disseminated pictorially, exists. Throughout the later sixteenth century and into the seventeenth, the visual record is a primary means by which the natural world is assimilated to the organizing principles of zoological or botanical handbooks, private and public collections (“theaters” of knowledge, among them botanical gardens), and the market. This dissertation offers a new schema for the evolution of the term *naer het leven*; although Carel van Mander introduced the term into early seventeenth-century art theory in the Netherlands, its function in relation to scientific endeavors has long gone unremarked.

As a corollary to the experience of nature mediated by natural historical collections, botanical gardens, and related publications, an attempt has also been made to account for the awkward experience of the natural world posited in De Gheyn’s landscape imagery. His many drawings recount a variety of interactions between city dweller and highway robber, or gypsy fortune-teller, or milkmaid—that are also the subjects of contemporary literature and historical accounts. Unlike other contemporaneous images of a largely unpeopled landscape, these pictures chart in sometimes unsettling ways the range of man’s tenuous control over the natural world. The domestication of nature essential to scientific endeavors—and in full evidence in De Gheyn’s diagrammatic drawing of a blowfish, complete with descriptive text—threatens to backfire in the landscapes constructed by De Gheyn, as also in his images of witches and anthropomorphic studies of tree stumps.

In 1630, De Gheyn’s friend and neighbor in The Hague, Constantijn Huygens, wrote that had De Gheyn lived longer, he certainly would have produced an engraved book of drawings of “the tiniest things and insects,” as seen through Cornelis Drebbel’s microscope, and titled it *The New World*. “For indeed,” Huygens wrote, “this [seeing through Drebbel’s lenses] is taking part in a new theater of nature, a new world!” The larger aim of my research has been to examine aspects of the pictorial exploration and construction of this new world, and to investigate the ways in which, in the case of De Gheyn, painstaking attention to nature at one’s fingertips opened up the vistas onto a natural world hardly capable of being domesticated.

[Columbia University]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1992–1993

T. BARTON THURBER

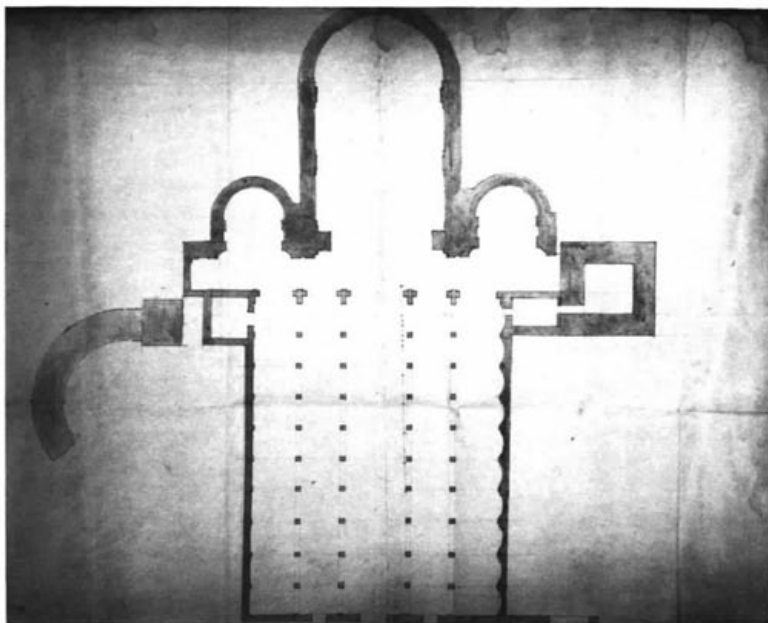
*Architecture and Religious Conflict in Late Sixteenth-Century Italy:
Pellegrino Tibaldi's Reconstruction of the Vercelli Cathedral*

The travel portion of my fellowship allowed me to visit and study religious buildings, archives, and drawing repositories in several Italian cities, while my residency at the Center for Advanced Study enabled me to write most of my dissertation.

In particular, I had the opportunity to examine unpublished visual and written documents concerning several late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ecclesiastical works throughout northern Italy. These materials helped me to uncover complex disputes over financial responsibilities, programmatic criteria, and aesthetic guidelines in a number of instances. Indeed, during the fifty-year period after the conclusion of the Council of Trent in 1563, there were intense conflicts surrounding many proposed religious projects, including those by well-known architects such as Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi. Frequently, these controversies coincided with bitter debates between the local bishops and clergy over the extent of the new religious reforms, which tended to limit traditional privileges and established customs. I found that opposition to the construction of new churches and the renovation of old cathedrals was generally linked with resistance to the application of Catholic Tridentine reforms. Proposed building projects often exacerbated the already tense relations between the bishops and clergy, which led to the protracted realization or even abandonment of many religious works.

After investigating a number of cases, I focused my attention on the planned reconstruction of the Vercelli Cathedral. The earliest accounts of the rebuilding of the cathedral clearly refer to conflicts between the canons and Cardinal Guido Ferrero, who was also the bishop of Vercelli. But the scope and design of the architectural project were not the only issues debated: the cardinal's program of religious reform, which followed closely the Roman—that is, papal—interpretation of the decrees of the Council of Trent, was continuously challenged by the local clergy. In addition, the cathedral's canons opposed the cardinal's intention to replace the diocese's ancient liturgical rite with the newly reformed Roman rite. In the light of Cardinal Ferrero's reform initiatives, it was hardly surprising to discover that the canons vehemently objected to the building scheme by Pellegrino Tibaldi based on Rome's chief religious structure, Saint Peter's. Ultimately, in large part due to the canons' firm opposition, only the eastern portion of the Vercelli Cathedral was rebuilt in the late sixteenth century according to Tibaldi's design.

Through the study of contracts, unpublished drawings, and existing building remnants, it was possible to reconstruct the original appearance of Pellegrino Tibaldi's overall design for the Vercelli Cathedral. The evidence indicated that the centralized plan consisted of a Greek cross inscribed within a square, a central dome raised above four large piers, four barrel-vaulted branches with semicircu-



Vercelli Cathedral, plan of Tibaldi's new choir and presbytery, and the old nave, c. 1680.
Archivio di Stato, Turin

lar apses, and four minor domes at the corners of the cross. The basic "quincunx" plan clearly reflected the well-known layout of the world's most important Catholic church, the new Saint Peter's at Rome. The documentation was also examined in relation to late cinquecento church design, and in particular to Michelangelo's scheme for the Roman basilica. In addition, the specific architectural elements employed by Tibaldi were considered in relation to his other works, with special reference to his contemporary projects for the sanctuary at Caravaggio and the church at El Escorial.

For over one-hundred and fifty years, the new choir and presbytery executed according to Tibaldi's reconstruction scheme stood alongside the old nave of the Vercelli Cathedral. It was not until the mid-eighteenth century, when Benedetto Alfieri completely rebuilt the entire cathedral, that the building once again appeared as a unified structure. The clear division between the two parts, shown in several late seventeenth-century survey drawings, illustrates the intensity of the conflicts and disputes that prevented the complete realization of Tibaldi's reconstruction better than any single historical document. In this case, as in many others, architecture played a central role in the religious debates of the Counter-Reformation.

[Harvard University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1992-1994

Arte y Sociedad en las Antillas Precolombinas

Nuestra investigación se ha basado en la idea de que la decoración artística en vasijas, objetos de uso cotidiano y ritual en las sociedades precolombinas antillanas pertenecientes al período agrícola (300 A.C. a 1492, D.C.) proviene de ideas estéticas que son comunes a muchos de los momentos en los que aparece la alfarería por vez primera en América. Por ejemplo, los temas modelados e incisos de las alfarerías del año 3000 A.C. en el norte de Colombia y la costa pacífica de Ecuador, se repiten en alfarerías muy tardías en la zona del Caribe isleño. Sitios como Valdivia, en Ecuador y como Monsú, Canapote, y posteriormente Malambo, en la costa norte colombiana, tan tempranos como 3000 A.C., presentan los motivos básicos, las combinaciones y cierta secuencia de combinaciones que son encontrables en lugares mucho más tardíos de la selva orinoco-amazónica, ya hacia el 1200 A.C. y luego en las Antillas Mayores y Menores del 300 A.C. en adelante. Nuestro estudio se ha basado en las investigaciones arqueológicas que han sido producto de secuencias seriadas de decoración para poder seguir con una cronología basada en radiocarbono, cómo han variado, ya dentro del ámbito antillano, los motivos, combinaciones y secuencias, relacionando éstos con el tipo de sociedad que los ha ejecutado.

Las sociedades precolombinas antillanas del llamado "Período Agrícola" fueron en su mayoría sociedades tribales, por lo tanto realizaron un arte que está ligado profundamente a las identidades de los grupos familiares. Sin duda muchos de los motivos decorativos fueron utilizados con diversos contenidos a través de un espacio-tiempo poco estudiado hasta el momento. Ciertamente el análisis de los objetos de arte viene a confirmar que algunos de ellos fueron usados en un máximo de ritualidad cuando las sociedades pasaron del sistema de organización cacical (chiefdom), fenómeno que se definió claramente en los estudios arqueológicos a partir del siglo X de nuestra era, cuando comenzaron aparecer en las Antillas Mayores (Cuba, La Hispaniola, Puerto Rico y Jamaica) distribuciones del espacio relacionadas con pueblos de un índice demográfico que superaba a veces las mil personas por poblado, como bien puede comprobarse con las afirmaciones de cronistas españoles de la época tales como Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Pedro Mártir de Anglería. El arte del período cacical no cambió el sistema decorativo tradicional, pero dio importancia capital al modelado, a la escultura, al trabajo en madera y hueso, y a la talla pétreo. Por lo tanto el elemento cualitativo es el que hay que tomar en cuenta cuando se trata de estudiar la creciente complejización de las formas artísticas del período. Un análisis hecho sobre las alfarerías de los sitios del Orinoco Medio, trabajados por Mario Sanoja e Iraida Vargas, permite establecer que muchas culturas que luego se ubicaron hacia comienzos de la era cristiana en la desembocadura del río Orinoco alcanzaron importantes grados de desarrollo artístico, pudiéndose establecer que en algunos momentos hubo un alto índice decorativo, hasta un

ocho por ciento de los tios de uso cotidiano y ritual. Sin embargo estas culturas, que precedieron a los primeros pobladores del Caribe agrícola, no alcanzaron a desarrollar el cacicazgo (chiefdom), e iniciaron un proceso de decadencia en su arte hacia el siglo V o VI de nuestra era, mientras, que mecanismos productivos tales como los llamados "montículos agrícolas," cierto regadío y el uso de recursos como la siembra en los depósitos dejados por ciertos ríos, aumentaron la productividad en las islas, generándose entonces una sociedad más compleja, que al producir más debía establecer los patrones de distribución de lo producido. Los Caciques vinieron a ser un elemento importante de la sociedad, y la crónica revela cómo la alta producción ritualiza la sociedad, creando divisiones y estamentos en el proceso productivo de la misma. Esto se refleja en un alto índice de la calidad artística. En algunos casos la cantidad de objetos decorados es menor que en las sociedades no cacicales, es decir tribales, pero el uso de los recursos decorativos va a crecer en complejidad, produciendo en las Antillas Mayores lo que se ha llamado "arte laberíntico" constituido por una entretrejida gama de motivos básicos, combinaciones y antiguas secuencias, tratadas ahora de un modo mucho más complicado. El crecimiento de ciertos ídolos que durante la etapa tribal simple eran pequeños, coincide con el aumento de una temática decorativa, puesto que también las expresiones y representaciones antropomorfas, zoomorfas, fitomorfas y antropozoomorfas tienen variadas maneras de sugerir las creencias de una sociedad animista, en la que numerosos dioses personales y cacicales se manifiestan a través de un arte tan variado como lo es la ideología social del medio que los produce. En su *Relación Acerca de las Antigüedades de Los Indios*, el religioso Fray Román Pané, enviado por el propio Cristóbal Colón a estudiar las costumbres de los aborígenes del centro de la isla de Santo Domingo, describe la variedad de dioses y señala que muchas representaciones eran personales, siendo las de los caciques las de mayor prestigio.

La beca Ailsa Mellon como visitante en Center for Advanced Study en enero y febrero de 1994, me ha permitido hacer énfasis en un tema que ya había tratado en mi libro *Arte y Economía Indígenas en Santo Domingo*. He podido obtener el catálogo completo de los fondos arqueológicos antillanos en el Museum of Natural History, y he utilizado con mucho éxito las bibliotecas de Washington, y la de Center for Advanced Study, obteniendo un material de gran importancia que me permitirá terminar el libro que titularé precisamente *Arte y Sociedad en las Antillas Precolombinas*.

Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez Ureña, Santo Domingo
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1994

PHILIP HOTCHKISS WALSH

The Atelier of Gustave Moreau at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts

"In the midst of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts a hotbed of revolt has been ignited. All the insurgents against routine, all those who intend to develop their powers according to the dictates of their individuality, have grouped themselves under the aegis of M. Gustave Moreau." The progressive critic and art administrator Roger Marx offered this description of the Atelier Moreau in 1896. Gustave Moreau (1826–1898) was named one of the three professors of painting at the Ecole in 1892; his atelier soon became prominent in the Paris art community. Countless students sought entrance to the studio, and approximately 250 young painters were admitted during the six years of his tenure.

Students from Moreau's atelier indeed had a major impact on the art of the twentieth century: the future Fauves Henri Matisse, Albert Marquet, Charles Camoin, and Henri Manguin all studied there. Yet the Atelier Moreau also formed artists committed to perpetuating the academic tradition, such as Edgar Maxence, Fernand Sabatté, and Georges Desvallières, all of whom later won election to the Académie des Beaux-Arts. In addition, the alumni of the atelier include painters who worked with varying degrees of independence from the avant-garde-academic split, including Georges Rouault, Eugène Martel, and Simon Bussy.

The dissertation analyzes three interlocking elements that shaped the experience of students in the Atelier Moreau. It opens with a consideration of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, its particular history, institutional structures, and priorities. The central element is the content of Moreau's teaching itself, discussion of which forms the middle section of the dissertation. No less important, however, were exchanges between students in the atelier, which are charted in the closing section.

The Ecole des Beaux-Arts was the dominant school for the visual arts in France during the nineteenth century; however, it was far from static. Like many of their predecessors, the political leaders of the Third Republic were intensely concerned with art education as a means of furthering France's economic interests. As a result, successive waves of reforms were initiated at the Ecole. The character and impact of these reforms have received little scholarly attention to date. My dissertation assesses their role in shaping student experience at the Atelier Moreau. Ultimately, state initiatives subtly encouraged students to produce work that diverged from the conservative norms previously supported by the Ecole. The Prix de Rome, for example, was undercut by the Concours Chenavard, a grant that provided substantial funding for students to produce large-scale work intended for a Parisian audience no longer interested in academic classicism.

Moreau himself had trained at the Ecole. His own experiences as a student, and his subsequent career, informed his later work there as a teacher. The dissertation examines both Moreau's work and his theory of art to recover the content of his instruction. Moreau offered his students a synthetic approach to the visual



Atelier Moreau, 1894. Private collection, Lyon

arts, which emphasized the abstract, expressive nature of painting over considerations of subject matter or style per se.

Finally, my dissertation examines the relationships students formed with each other and with other factions of the Paris art community, and how these linkages inflected their individual development. Art students formed a distinct subculture within the student community in Paris, which, from the 1870s onward, grew rapidly as the Third Republic proceeded to reinvent higher education in France. The traditions and rituals of student culture shaped the attitudes of students in Moreau's atelier. These students had a wide range of contacts beyond the Ecole, and within its precincts they exchanged enthusiasms ranging from Toulouse-Lautrec's posters to Italian primitive art, from café ballads to Wagner overtures, from Baudelaire's poetry to anarchist politics. The alliances formed within the atelier influenced decisions about where to exhibit work, where to travel for subject matter, and indeed, what sort of paintings to produce. The atelier thus functioned as a vital force in shaping developments in painting beyond the four walls of the studio.

[Harvard University]

David E. Finley Predoctoral Fellow, 1990–1993

DOROTHY WONG

Chinese Buddhist Steles of the Northern and Southern Dynasties (386–581)

Chinese Buddhist steles differ from most other types of Buddhist art because they combine Buddhist imagery with a native Chinese form—the rectangular stone tablet traditionally inscribed with a funerary or commemorative inscription, a political edict, or Confucian classical texts. They therefore epitomize the close interaction between indigenous Chinese traditions and Buddhist traditions (introduced from India via Central Asia) on many levels—religious, social, and artistic. The phenomenon of Buddhist steles lasted about a century, from the late fifth to the late sixth century, although there are also rare examples dating before or after this time. More than 150 Buddhist steles have been documented; they come from vast areas in northern China and one region in the southwest.

During my year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, I investigated a number of issues: the origins of these steles; the social and cultural forces that brought about their flourishing; the visual statements these monuments made to their creators, patrons, and viewers; the relationship between Buddhist doctrine and visual representation; and the significance of the steles.

The two earliest examples date to the 420s. Originating in widely separated locations, they indicate the simultaneous beginnings of a new visual form. Their differences in character (the static, iconic northern type versus the pictorial southern type), however, point to different sources of influence, and the fact that the artistic synthesis of Buddhist and native traditions in each instance drew heavily on existing local traditions, both secular and religious.

While Buddhist steles first occurred as a sporadic and apparently spontaneous phenomenon, their flourishing in the late fifth century was brought about by a confluence of social and cultural forces. State sponsorship of Buddhism under the Northern Wei (386–534), a Turkic stock, saw the apogee of the spread of the religion to all levels of society, which in turn facilitated a gradual process of social and racial integration. Meanwhile, sinification of the court and the move of the capital in 494, from Pingcheng in the northeast to Luoyang in central China, led to an intensified period of interaction between Buddhist and Chinese traditions. Created under these circumstances, Buddhist steles took on new meanings. Direct copying of sculptural embellishment from imperial rock-cut caves of the Northern Wei onto the stele faces suggests the assertion of the religious and artistic identity of the Northern Wei over a Chinese form. But the borrowing of the Chinese stele form for Buddhist imagery also suggests the appropriation of symbolic values and cultural associations invested in the traditional monument to create a cultural and political identity that legitimates the patron. In religious terms, native Chinese ancestral worship intermingled with the Buddhist belief in salvation in the next world. Artistically, the volumetric, iconic, Indian mode and the linear, pictorial, native Chinese mode gradually modified each other and gave rise to a harmonious,



Stele of Maitreya Bodhisattva, 520. Kyoto National Museum

synthetic visual style. Except for a small number of steles dedicated by individual members of the aristocracy, the majority were commissioned by devotional groups called *i*. Such devotional groups were organized alongside the Chinese agrarian social unit; their social and racial mix further demonstrates the success of Buddhism as a unifying agent. Designed to stand in public spaces—in temple courtyards, in open fields, or by the roadside—Buddhist steles were visual emblems that eloquently articulated a new sense of a collective, communal identity.

Around the mid-sixth century, significant developments in iconography and representation indicate a major change in religious attitude and devotional practice. Through reconstruction of the intellectual environment in which Buddhist steles were created in conjunction with examination of the monuments' iconographic programs, I explored how concepts and visual representation may have been forged at particular moments in particular places. In some instances, the existing vocabulary of motifs was drawn on to express new ideas by changing the subject's identity; for example, by changing the names of Buddhas a different doctrinal emphasis is expressed even though the representation of the images remains the same. In others, inspiration came from new visual stimulation, especially from Gupta India.

If the stele form is considered a frontier where Buddhist and indigenous traditions meet, then the relative absence of Buddhist steles in certain regions—such as Nanjing, capital of the Southern court, and Shandong, the birthplace of Confucius—becomes significant. Was it because of the strong attachment to the traditional values associated with the stele in these regions that Buddhist appropriation was resisted? This perspective may also offer a clue as to why Buddhist steles underwent a transformation during the Tang dynasty (618–907), by which time Buddhism was fully integrated into Chinese society and institutions. Steles with Buddhist content made in the Tang dynasty typically contain commemorative texts by famed calligraphers, and they were treasured not only for their content but also for their literary and calligraphic merit. Certainly many other factors contributed to the development as well as the demise of Buddhist steles, but no doubt these monuments testify to the momentary Buddhist victory over the native form, transforming its content and visual expression.

[Harvard University]
Ittleson Fellow, 1992–1994



Parmigianino, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror*, 1524. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna

JOANNA WOODS-MARSDEN

The Construction of Artistic Identity: Self-Portraiture and the Social Status of the Artist in the Renaissance

While at the Center for Advanced Study, I continued my study of the genesis and development of autonomous self-portraits in Renaissance Italy, as these can be said to have constructed their creators' aspirations for a change in the status of their craft—and hence their own personal social standing—from that of a “mechanical” trade to that of a “liberal” profession. The study, in short, will interpret the self-portraits as works of art specifically designed to mediate between the self and society.

At the beginning of the fifteenth century, art was defined as a manual activity and therefore one of the mechanical arts, and the artist as a mere craftsman with a concomitant low standing in society. Of the two components underlying the creation of a painting or sculpture, conception and execution (characterized at the beginning of the fifteenth century by Cennino Cennini as *fantasia* and *operazione di mano* and by Giorgio Vasari, in the mid-sixteenth, as *il mio pensiero* and *le mie mani*), society focused exclusively on the *ars*, the skill of hand required to execute the work, whereas the creators themselves emphasized the *ingegno*, the creative power needed to conceive the work in the first place. Leonardo, for example, stated that *pittura e' cosa mentale* (painting is a mental activity), and Michelangelo, *si dipinge non colle mani ma col cervello* (we paint not with our hands but with our brains). So tenacious was the artists' long campaign for acknowledgment that by the end of the sixteenth century the artistic community had succeeded dramatically in renegotiating the standing and the value of both artifact and maker. The artisans reinvented themselves as creators to be venerated for their godlike powers, while the artifacts, taking on a heightened aesthetic character and a mystique of greatness, were redefined as “art.”

It can be argued that the artists' self-images during this period of transition reflect this long and persistent struggle, in that there was an inverse relationship between the extent of self-revelation as a practicing artist and the degree to which the case for the intellectual foundation of art had been won. It was not until the late cinquecento that artists such as Alessandro Allori, Titian, Palma Giovane, and Annibale Carracci had sufficient confidence in their standing in society to acknowledge that they were indeed skilled manual workers for whom execution played as great a role as conception, and for whom easel, palette, and brush therefore represented attributes to be embraced with pride. As Annibale Carracci stated, *habbiamo da parlare con le mani* (we must speak with our hands). Previously, the very few artists who created independent self-portraits in the quattrocento had offered a vision of the artistic self as a Roman hero, while those (still very few) in the cinquecento constructed themselves as *Eques Caesaris*, imperial knights—princely courtiers from the pages of Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier*—ennobled

by swords, gloves, fine clothes, and other Renaissance signs of elevated rank.

The study will also address the late cinquecento discourse of gender as embodied in the work of the few contemporary practicing female artists. Ironically, the earliest surviving Italian self-portrait to reveal its creator seated unpretentiously at the easel was painted by a woman, Sofonisba Anguissola. Any Renaissance female who achieved competency in a cultural endeavor was considered a prodigy or freak of nature. Sofonisba's self-image in the act of painting thus was understood as embodying *two* "marvels": the curiosity of a work created by a female *and* a portrait of its freakish creator. Ironically, the manual expertise that the culture had perceived as base when undertaken by its male practitioners was nonetheless seen as valuable on those rare occasions when performed by *female* hands.

Overwhelmingly, those artists who made self-portraits either worked at courts—in the quattrocento, Leon Battista Alberti, Filarete, and Andrea Mantegna at Ferrara, Milan, and Mantua; in the cinquecento, Raphael and Parmigianino at the papal court; and Giorgio Vasari, Bartolommeo Bandinelli, and Benvenuto Cellini at that of Cosimo I de' Medici—or, like Titian, Leone Leoni, and Zuccari, for the Hapsburg dynasty. Clearly, the court culture of competition encouraged these astute observers jostling for a foothold at the periphery of power to develop social aspirations beyond their perceived place in society. As it happens, those court artists tended to further mimic their lords by indulging in such activities as designing or decorating their own houses, building their own tombs, writing autobiographies, seeking ennoblement through titles, and taking on the role of pious donor in a work destined for a church altar.

Self-portraiture and autobiography are claimed as phenomena exclusive to Western civilization, initially stimulated by the "reawakened" interest that Italians took in themselves and their terrestrial world in the early modern period. Just as the rise of portraiture and biography in the early Renaissance is said to correspond to the Western person's new sense of self-worth, so the contemporary emergence of self-portraiture and autobiography may be said to reveal humankind's developing self-consciousness at this moment, the dawn of our modern world. Thus the study will also use the self-portrait to explore the artist's experience of his or her own subjectivity, as well as the symbiotic links, as it were, between that same self and Renaissance society. Considering these self-portraits together as a genre should lead to a better understanding of the moment in Western culture when individual self-awareness began to seek definition in art and literature.

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