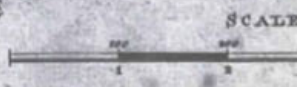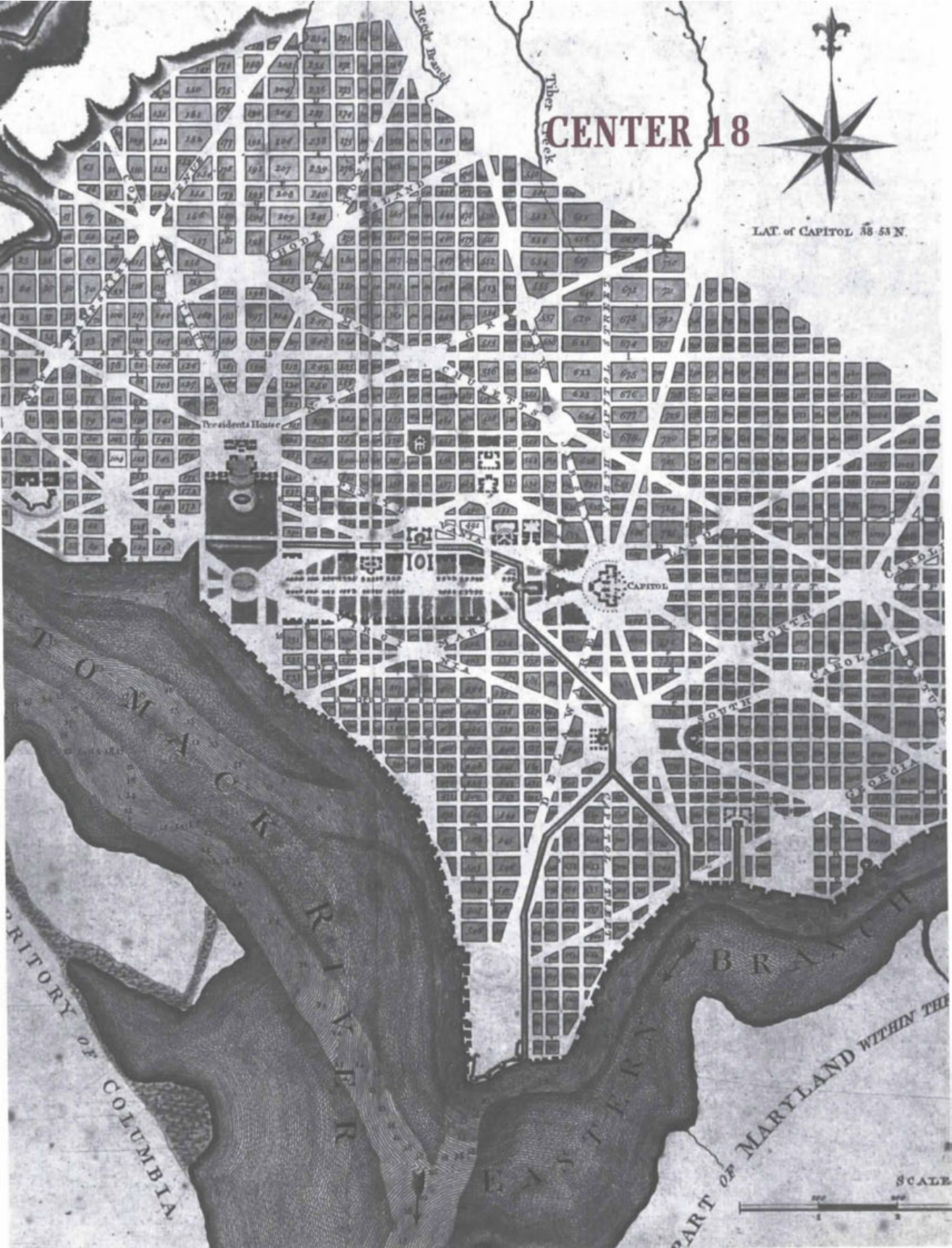CENTER 18

CENTER 18

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

CENTER 18

Record of Activities and Research Reports
June 1997–May 1998

Washington 1998

Contents

Preface

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts is a research institute which promotes study of the history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism. Founded in 1979, the Center is an integral yet independent part of the National Gallery of Art. The activities of the Center, which include fellowships, research, publications, and scholarly meetings, are privately funded.

Report on the Academic Year
June 1997–May 1998

Board of Advisors

Malcolm Bell III
University of Virginia

Yve-Alain Bois
Harvard University

Walter Cahn
Yale University

Keith Christiansen
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Vidya Dehejia
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

William I. Homer
University of Delaware

Charles W. Talbot
Trinity University, San Antonio

Special Selection Committees

Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship Program for Scholars from Latin America

Tom Cummins
University of Chicago

Richard Kagan
Johns Hopkins University

Edward J. Sullivan
New York University

Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellowships for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology

Molly Faries
Indiana University

Donald Hansen
New York University, Institute of Fine Arts

Heather Lechtman
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Joyce Hill Stoner
University of Delaware

Visiting Senior Research Fellowship Program for Scholars from East and South Asia

Wu Hung
University of Chicago

John Rosenfield
Harvard University (emeritus)

Joanna Williams
University of California, Berkeley

Staff

Henry A. Millon, Dean
Therese O'Malley, Associate Dean
Steven A. Mansbach, Acting Associate Dean
Joanne Pillsbury, Assistant Dean

Samuel D. Albert, Research Associate to the Acting Associate Dean

Christine Challingsworth, Research Associate (Baroque Architecture Exhibition)

Lisa DeLeonardis, Research Associate to the Assistant Dean

Sabine Eiche, Senior Research Associate (Architectural Drawings Project)

Julie Ernstein, Research Associate to the Associate Dean

Nina James-Fowler, Research Associate to the Associate Dean

Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, Senior Research Associate (Keywords in American Landscape Project)

Claudia Kryza-Gersch, Research Associate to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors

T. Barton Thurber, Research Associate to the Dean

Jamie Brindley, Secretary to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors

Deborah A. Gómez, Assistant to the Fellowship Program

Elizabeth Kielpinski, Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings

Stephanie Kristich, Assistant to the Program of Research

Kathleen Lane, Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings

Curtis Millay, Program Assistant (Baroque Architecture Exhibition)

Veronica Parcan, Program Assistant (Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Art History and Archaeology)

Kimberly Rodeffer, Secretary to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors; Assistant to the Fellowship Program

Helen Tangires, Staff Assistant

Curatorial Liaison

Philip Conisbee, Senior Curator of European Paintings

Interns

Christopher Slogar (Baroque Architecture Exhibition)

Fabiana Toni (Baroque Architecture Exhibition)

Flora Vilches (Guide to Documentary Sources for Andean Art History and Archaeology)

Reception in honor of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, Andrew W. Mellon Professor, and Members of the Center, 1997–1998

Report of the Dean
June 1997–May 1998

The Center, in its eighteenth year, sponsored the study of the visual arts in each of its four major program areas: fellowships, research, publications, and scholarly meetings.

The resident community of scholars at the Center for Advanced Study in 1997–1998 included individuals working on topics ranging from the exchange of luxury goods in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age to the issue of melancholy in art history. Among the members of the Center were scholars from Argentina, Belgium, Germany, Israel, Italy, Mexico, the Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The year 1998 marked the end of the Center's four-year special initiative for scholars from Latin America. This program, funded by the Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, was designed to foster sustained interest from Latin American scholars and their participation in the regular fellowship program. The Association of Research Institutes in Art History (ARIAH) continued with its fellowship program for scholars from Latin America. ARIAH fellows were funded by the Getty Grant Program, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Lampadia Foundation.

In the spring of 1998 following the Latin American initiative, the Center initiated a four-year program of visiting senior research fellowships for scholars from East and South Asia. This fellowship

is intended for scholars from those areas who hold appropriate degrees and/or possess an equivalent record of professional accomplishment in the field of art history, archaeology, or other related discipline in the humanities or social sciences. The fellowships provide a period of two months at the Center for research in Washington, followed by an additional two months of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. As with the Latin American initiative, this fellowship is intended to encourage sustained interest and participation on the part of scholars from East and South Asia.

Four long-term research projects, under the direction of the deans, are currently underway at the Center. The first, the development of the National Gallery's photographic archives of pre-1800 Italian architectural drawings, has resulted in approximately thirty-five thousand images gathered from European collections. A second project, "Keywords in American Landscape Design," a multivolume reference work, is an illustrated glossary of landscape vocabulary in use in America from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century. The manuscript is under review by a scholarly editor. A third project, funded by the Getty Grant Program and the Center, is the creation of a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andes. The fourth project endeavors to create a standard "template," to be used by collecting institutions in North America, to describe and assess the substantial number of posters and related printed ephemera produced in (or for) central Europe during the period 1918–1939.

As part of the Kress/Murphy Symposium Series on Illustrated European Manuscripts and Books, the Center sponsored a symposium on 7–8 November 1997 entitled "The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished." This gathering inaugurated the series established in honor of Franklin D. Murphy and intended to examine the history of the illuminated European manuscript and book. The series is supported by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. In celebration of the five hundredth anniversary of Hans Holbein's birth, the Center organized a symposium on 21–22 November 1997 to discuss the artist's paintings and prints. The symposium was supported by the Arnold D. Frese Foundation,

Inc. The papers from both symposia will be published by the National Gallery in the series Studies in the History of Art. In conjunction with the exhibition *Sculpture of Angkor and Ancient Cambodia: Millennium of Glory* at the National Gallery of Art, the Center for Advanced Study organized a conference on 26 September 1997 devoted to recent research and emerging issues in scholarship on ancient Cambodian art and archaeology.

Among informal meetings held at the Center in 1997–1998 were seminars, usually day-long gatherings of a small group of scholars discussing a specific topic, and a curatorial/conservation colloquy, held over the course of several days. Seminar topics this year included the display and meaning of Native American art, the architecture of the Counter Reformation, the architect's library in the Renaissance and the Baroque, and the art of Tiwanaku and the Peruvian Middle Horizon. The eighth curatorial/conservation colloquy was held in May and focused on Edgar Degas and his working methods. These meetings were complemented by lectures, including the forty-seventh Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts presented by Lothar Ledderose. Other lecture topics treated radar imaging and the ancient hydrology of Angkor, artistic stereotypes, computer imaging in the restoration of Trajan's forum, and the rise and fall of ancient Andean civilizations. Two *incontri*, or informal presentations of research, were held, one on the subject of the tools and techniques of Michelangelo and Bernini, and the second on Italian-inspired architecture in sixteenth-century France.

One volume in the symposium series of Studies in the History of Art was published this past year, *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*, papers from a symposium held at the Center for Advanced Study in 1994. Papers from five other symposia are in preparation for the series.

Details of this year's programs, in the next section, are followed by research reports of the members of the Center. A full description of the fellowship program, list of publications, and other information may be found in the final part of this volume.

Henry A. Millon
Dean

Bezalel Narkiss

Members

Bezalel Narkiss, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1997–1998

David Freedberg, Columbia University
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1996–1998

Lothar Ledderose, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1998

Senior Fellows

Thierry de Duve, Paris
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1997
Modernism in Painting: Toward a Reinterpretation

Bernard Frischer, University of California, Los Angeles
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring, fall 1997
Horace's Sabine Villa

Michael Ann Holly, University of Rochester
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1996, spring 1998
The Melancholy Art

Deborah Howard, University of Cambridge
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1997
*Venice and the East: An Investigation into the Impact of the
Eastern Mediterranean on Venetian Architecture*

Thomas A. P. van Leeuwen, University of Leiden
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 1998
Columns of Fire

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow, 1997–1998

Douglas Lewis, Department of Sculpture and Decorative Arts
*Andrea Palladio: The Villa Cornaro at Piombino Dese;
Longhena and His Patrons: The Creation of the Venetian
Baroque*

Paul Mellon Board of Advisors Sabbatical Fellow, 1997–1998

Therese O'Malley, Associate Dean
  The History of the Botanic Garden in America, 1700–1900

Visiting Senior Fellows

Mieke Bal, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis
  Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1998
  Quoting Caravaggio

Jesús Briceño Rosario, Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Trujillo, Peru
  Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, fall 1997
  Orígenes de los Relieves en Barro de la Arquitectura Prehispánica en el Norte del Perú

Matteo Casini, Università di Firenze
  Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997
  The Compagnie della Calza: Pageantry, Politics, and Courtly Manners in Renaissance Venice

Juan Castañeda Murga, Instituto Pedagógico Juan Pablo II, Trujillo, Peru
  Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, summer 1997
  El Vestido Indígena en la Provincia de Trujillo durante el Virreynato, Siglos XVI–XIX

Beth Cohen, New York City
  Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visting Senior Fellow, summer 1997
  The Reinvention of the Bronze Portrait Bust all'antica *in Renaissance Italy*

Tracy Cooper, Temple University
  Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997
  The Trials of David: Triumph and Crisis in the Imagery of Doge Alvise I Mocenigo (1570–1577)

Sheldon Grossman, Washington, D.C.
  Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997
  Caravaggio's Painting for the Chapel of the Pietà in the Chiesa Nuova and Its Historical Context

Suzanne Glover Lindsay, University of Pennsylvania
   Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997
   Embodying Modern Death: The Gisants *and* Transis *of Nineteenth-Century France*

Natalia Majluf, Museo de Arte de Lima
   Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellow, spring 1998
   The Politics of Description: Pancho Fierro and the Development of Costumbrismo *in Nineteenth-Century Peru*

María Lía Munilla Lacasa, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte "Julio E. Payró"
   Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, spring 1998
   Celebrating the Nation: Ephemeral Art in Revolutionary Festivals in the United States, Argentina, and Mexico

Ponciano Ortiz Ceballos, Universidad Veracruzana, Instituto de Antropología
   Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, fall 1997
   Proyecto Arqueológico Manatí

Giovanna Perini, Università di Roma II Tor Vergata
   Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997
   Sir Joshua Reynolds' Italian Sketchbooks in the United States

Svetlana Popović, Greenbelt, Maryland
   Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997
   The Crossroads: Monastic Architecture in the Balkans, 400–1500

Horst Vey, Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (emeritus)
   Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997
   Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Oil Sketches of Anthony van Dyck

The Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology, 1997–1998

Alexander Kossolapov, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
Boris Marshak, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
   Wall Paintings along the Silk Road: An Art-Historical and Laboratory Study

Carol Mattusch, George Mason University
Henry Lie, Harvard University
   Bronze Statues from the Villa dei Papiri: Ancient Production, Early Modern Restoration and Presentation

Predoctoral Fellows

Edward Eigen [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]*
   Mary Davis Fellow, 1996–1998
   The Crucial Intermediary: Nature and the Architecture of the French Life Sciences, 1848–1898

Marian Feldman [Harvard University]*
   David E. Finley Fellow, 1995–1998
   Luxury Goods from Ras Shamra-Ugarit and Their Role in the International Relations of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age

Jacqueline Francis [Emory University]
   Wyeth Fellow, 1997–1999
   "Racial Art" and African-American Artists in the Early Depression Years, 1929–1935

Max Elijah Grossman [Columbia University]
   Chester Dale Fellow, 1997–1998
   Architecture and Ideology in the Sienese Contado *from the Age of Frederick II to the Fall of the Nine*

Mimi Hellman [Princeton University]
   David E. Finley Fellow, 1997–2000
   The Object of Adornment: Architecture, Society, and the Decorated Interior in Eighteenth-Century France

Christopher Hughes [University of California, Berkeley]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1997–1998
Visual Typology in Medieval Art, 1160–1220

Branden Joseph [Harvard University]*
Wyeth Fellow, 1996–1998
"I'll Be Your Mirror": Robert Rauschenberg and Andy Warhol, 1952–1968

Matthew Kennedy [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1996–1998
Terminal City: Urbanism and the Construction of Grand Central Terminal

Julia Lenaghan [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1997–1998
Studies in Portrait Statues of Roman Women

Richard Neer [University of California, Berkeley]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1996–1999
The Marketplace of Images: Representation and Ideology in Attic Red-Figure

Lauren Nemroff [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1997–1999
The Figure Paintings of Tang Yin (1470–1523)

Heghnar Watenpaugh [University of California, Los Angeles]*
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1996–1998
The Image of an Ottoman City: Urban Space, Social Structure, and Civic Identity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Aleppo

Leila Whittemore [Columbia University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1996–1999
Theory, Practice, and the Architectural Imagination: Filarete's "Treatise on Architecture" and Early Sforza Urbanism, 1450–1466

Rebecca Zorach [University of Chicago]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1997–1999
The Figuring of Excess in Renaissance France

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* in residence 15 September 1997–31 August 1998

Meetings

Symposia

7–8 November 1997

THE TREATISE ON PERSPECTIVE: PUBLISHED AND UNPUBLISHED

Kress/Murphy Symposium Series on Illustrated European Manuscripts and Books

Leonardo da Vinci

> *Moderator*: Hubert Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales
>
> Claire Farago, University of Colorado, Boulder
> *Reconstructing the Earliest Known Plan for Publishing Leonardo da Vinci's Perspective Writings: What the Codex Leicester Can Tell Us about Authorship in the* Trattato della pittura
>
> Rocco Sinisgalli, Università degli Studi di Roma
> *Leonardo's Conical Sections and Commandino's Editions of Ptolemy's Sphere*
>
> Pauline Maguire, National Gallery of Art
> *Toward the Publication of Leonardo's* Trattato della pittura: *Some Omitted Chapters and Their Impact on Two Seventeenth-Century Artists Working in Rome*
>
> Janis Bell, Kenyon College
> *Zaccolini's Perspective Manuscripts: Why Should We Care?*

Piero della Francesca

> *Moderator:* Christy Anderson, Yale University
>
> Margaret Daly Davis, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence
> *Perspective, Vitruvius, and the Reconstruction of Ancient Architecture: The Role of Piero della Francesca's* De Prospectiva pingendi
>
> J. V. Field, University of London, Birkbeck College
> *Piero della Francesca's Treatise on Perspective*

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola and Sebastiano Serlio

  Moderator: Christy Anderson, Yale University

  Francesca Fiorani, University of Virginia
  Danti Edits Vignola: How Two Rules Became a Treatise

  Myra Nan Rosenfeld, Canadian Centre for Architecture
  *From Venice to Paris: The Publication History of Sebastiano
  Serlio's Books I and II* On Geometry and Perspective, *from
  His Illustrated Manual* On Architecture

The Perspective Treatise in France

  Moderator: Claire Farago, University of Colorado, Boulder

  Jean Dhombres, Centre François Viete
  *Shadows of a Circle: In Perspective Theory, the Figurative
  Discourses on Conics during the Seventeenth Century, or
  Two Analytical Ways, Descartes and Desargues*

  Hubert Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences
  Sociales
  *A Tale of Two Sides: Poussin between Leonardo and
  Desargues*

Lodovico Cigoli

  Moderator: Claire Farago, University of Colorado, Boulder

  Miles Chappell, College of William and Mary
  Unpublished But Not Unknown: Lodovico Cigoli's
  Prospettiva pratica

  Moderator: Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in
  the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art

  Christopher Wood, University of California, Berkeley
  The Perspective Treatise in Ruins: Lorenz Stoer, Geometria et
  perspectiva, 1567

  Christy Anderson, Yale University
  The Secrets of Vision in Renaissance England

  Daniela Lamberini, Università degli Studi, Florence
  *"Machines in Perspective": Technical Drawings in
  Unpublished Treatises and Notebooks of the Italian
  Renaissance*

  Lyle Massey, University of Southern California
  *Configuring Spatial Ambiguity: Tracing the Evolution of the
  Distance Point in Renaissance Perspective Treatises*

21–22 November 1997

HANS HOLBEIN: PAINTINGS, PRINTS, AND RECEPTION

Artistic Exchanges

Moderator: Joseph Koerner, Harvard University

John Hand, National Gallery of Art, Washington
Holbein in Basel: Attribution of the Portrait of a Young Man
in the National Gallery of Art

Oskar Bätschmann, Universität Bern
Holbein and Italian Art

Stephanie Buck, Freie Universität Berlin
*International Exchange: Holbein at the Crossroads of Art
and Craftsmanship*

Book and Print Production

Moderator: Pascal Griener, Université de Neuchâtel

Christian Müller, Kunstmuseum Basel
Holbein's Chiaroscuro Drawings of c. 1520

Peter Parshall, Reed College
Hans Holbein's Dance of Death *Cycle*

Conservation and Technical Studies

Moderator: Matthias Winner, Bibliotheca Hertziana

Susan Foister, National Gallery, London
*Holbein's Paintings on Canvas: The Greenwich Festivities of
1527*

Ashok Roy and Martin Wyld, National Gallery, London
The Ambassadors *and Holbein's Techniques as a Painter on
Panel*

Portraiture: Mimesis and Representation

Moderator: Oskar Bätschmann, Universität Bern

Mark Roskill, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Holbein's Lady with a Squirrel and a Starling: *Incursions of
the Figurative in His Portraits*

Joseph Koerner, Harvard University
Reformation: Representation and Redundance

Matthias Winner, Bibliotheca Hertziana
The Pilaster in Holbein's Portrait of Erasmus with a
Renaissance Pilaster

Jürgen Müller, Universität Hamburg
The Painter's Eye: Hans Holbein's Self-Portraits and the Problem of Artistic Representation

Historiography and Reception

Moderator: Matthias Winner, Bibliotheca Hertziana

Erika Michael, Seattle
The Cerebral Side of Holbein and His Impact

Till Borchert, Freie Universität Berlin
Hans Holbein and Literary Art Criticism of the German Romantics

Pascal Griener, Université de Neuchâtel
Alfred Woltmann and the Holbein Dispute, 1863–1871

3–4 April 1998

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART, TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL SESSIONS

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

Evening Session
Introduction: James Douglas Farquhar, University of Maryland at College Park

George Levitine Lecture in Art History

James Marrow, Princeton University
History, Historiography, and Pictorial Invention in the Turin-Milan Hours

Morning Session
Moderator: Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art

Introduction: James Meyer
Lisa D. Freiman [Emory University]
The Mythologization of Yayoi Kusama during Her New York Years

Introduction: William I. Homer
Sandra Cheng [University of Delaware]
Camp, Gay Stereotypes, and Queer Politics: The Art of McDermott and McGough

Introduction: Howard Singerman
Kim S. Theriault [University of Virginia]
Images of Women in Arshile Gorky's Art

Introduction: Josephine Withers
Wendy Grossman [University of Maryland at College Park]
Man Ray's Art of Chess: African Art and the Engendered Photographic Image

Introduction: Christine Poggi
Janine Mileaf [University of Pennsylvania]
The Object in Exhibition at the Galerie Charles Ratton, 1936

Introduction: Matthew Philip McKelway
Mikiko Hirayama [University of Pittsburgh]
Kojima Kikuo and the Restoration of Realism in Modern Japanese Painting

Afternoon Session
Moderator: Sandy Kita, University of Maryland at College Park

Introduction: Helen Langa
Suzanne Gould [American University]
Ambiguous Identities: John Sloan and Women in Greenwich Village

Introduction: Hans J. van Miegroet
James Bloom [Duke University]
Tapping the Local Brew: Reference and Audience in the Work of Hendrick Goltzius

Introduction: Christiane Hertel
Joanne M. Stearns [Bryn Mawr College]
(Re)Reading Jacob Burckhardt

Introduction: Carolyn Wood
Elizabeth Chew [University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill]
The Countess of Arundel at Tart Hall

Introduction: Brian A. Curran
Katherine M. Bentz [Pennsylvania State University]
The Collector under the Gaze: Identity in Vincenzo Giustiniani's Galleria Giustiniana

Introduction: Herbert Kessler
Morten Steen Hansen [Johns Hopkins University]
Armenian Church Patronage in Sixteenth-Century Ancona

Introduction: Philip Jacks
Camille Benton Shenouda [George Washington University]
The Portrait of Laura Battiferri: *Construction of a Tuscan Poet*

Seminars

3 October 1997

EXHIBITIONARY MOMENTS: THE DISPLAY AND MEANING OF NATIVE AMERICAN ART

Participants

Nancy Anderson, National Gallery of Art

JoAllyn Archambault, National Museum of Natural History

Kathleen Ash-Milby, National Museum of the American Indian

Janet Berlo, University of Rochester

Bruce Bernstein, National Museum of the American Indian

Diana Fane, Brooklyn Museum

Elaine Heumann Gurian, Arlington, Virginia

Russell Handsman, University of Rhode Island

Richard W. Hill Sr., State University of New York at Buffalo

Shephard Krech, Brown University

Dana Leibsohn, Smith College

Mary Jane Lenz, National Museum of the American Indian

Stephen Loring, National Museum of Natural History

Castle McLaughlin, Peabody Museum

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

Beatrice Medicine, Warrior Woman, Inc. and California State University, Northridge (emerita)

Jonathan Meuli, University of East Anglia

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

Ruth Phillips, University of British Columbia

Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Carla Roberts, Atlatl, Phoenix, Arizona

Dolores Root, New England Science Center

James Sims, Threshold Studio, Alexandria, Virginia

Michael Singer, Wilmington, Vermont

Jennifer Vigil, University of Iowa

Paula Wagoner, Juniata College

10 October 1997

ARCHITECTURE AND THE COUNTER REFORMATION: PERSPECTIVES, THEMES, AND STRATEGIES

Participants

Gauvin Bailey, Clark University

Samuel Cohn, University of Glasgow

Maria Ann Conelli, Cooper-Hewitt National Design Museum

Tracy Cooper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

David Freedberg, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Katherine Gill, Yale University Divinity School

Sheldon Grossman, Washington, D.C.

Deborah Howard, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Philip Jacks, George Washington University

Evonne Levy, University of Toronto

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art/Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Stuart Lingo, Duke University

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

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

Derek Moore, Columbia University

Erik Neil, Canadian Centre for Architecture

Marco Nobile, Università di Palermo

John O'Malley, Weston Jesuit School of Theology

Klaus Schwager, Universität Tübingen

T. Barton Thurber, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Carolyn Valone, Trinity University, San Antonio

19 December 1997

THE ARCHITECT'S BOOKSHELF: THE LIBRARY AS LABORATORY IN THE RENAISSANCE AND THE BAROQUE

Participants

Nicholas Adams, Vassar College

Christy Anderson, Yale University

Hilary Ballon, Columbia University

Georgia Clarke, Courtauld Institute of Art

Joseph Connors, Columbia University

David Freedberg, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Bernard Frischer, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Anthony Grafton, Princeton University
Deborah Howard, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Richard Kagan, Johns Hopkins University
Sarah McPhee, Emory University
Steven A. Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Alina Payne, University of Toronto
Ingrid Rowland, University of Chicago
William Sherman, University of Maryland at College Park
T. Barton Thurber, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Catherine Wilkinson Zerner, Brown University

13 February 1998

THE ART OF TIWANAKU AND THE PERUVIAN MIDDLE HORIZON

Participants
    Susan Bergh, Columbia University
    William Conklin, Washington, D.C.
    Anita Cook, Catholic University
    Lisa DeLeonardis, Center for Advanced Study in the
        Visual Arts
    Clark Erickson, University of Pennsylvania
    Robert Feldman, Field Museum of Natural History
    Joan Gero, American University
    Paul Goldstein, Dartmouth College
    William Isbell, State University of New York at Binghamton
    Gordon McEwan, Denver Art Museum
    Carol Mackey, California State University, Northridge
    Natalia Majluf, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
    Steven A. Mansbach, Center for Advanced Study in the
        Visual Arts
    Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the
        Visual Arts
    Michael Moseley, University of Florida
    Donna Nash, University of Florida

Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in theVisual Arts
Jeffrey Quilter, Dumbarton Oaks
Mario Rivera, Oak Creek, Wisconsin
Amy Oakland Rodman, California State University, Hayward
Constantino Torres, Florida International University
Gordon R. Willey, Peabody Museum
Patrick Ryan Williams, University of Florida
Margaret Young-Sánchez, Cleveland Museum of Art

Conference

26 September 1997

RECENT STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CAMBODIAN
ART

Participants
Kurt Behrendt, Temple University
Sarah Bekker, Arlington, Virginia
Sigrid Blobel, Bethesda, Maryland
Carol Bolon, Saint Mary's College of Maryland
Ang Chouléan, Phnom Penh
Louise Cort, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery
    of Art
Stanley Czuma, Cleveland Museum of Art
Janet Douglas, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery
    of Art
Nancy Dowling, University of Hawaii at Manoa
Natasha Eilenberg, Cornwall Bridge, Connecticut
Fausta Eskenazi, London
John Eskenazi, London
Ann Gray, Brooklyn Museum
Georgia de Havenon, New York
Michael de Havenon, New York
Helen Ibbitson Jessup, Washington, D.C.
Elizabeth Knight, *Orientations*, Hong Kong
Ruth Lee, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Sherman E. Lee, Chapel Hill, North Carolina
Leedom Lefferts, Drew University
Martin Lerner, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Stephen Little, Art Institute of Chicago
Wibke Lobo, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
Silvia Fraser Lu, Potomac, Maryland
Forrest McGill, Mary Washington College

Eleanor Mannikka, Ann Arbor, Michigan
Michael Meister, University of Pennsylvania
Jackie Menzies, Art Gallery of New South Wales
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Elizabeth Moore, School of Oriental and African Studies,
    University of London
Jean-Claude Moreau-Gobard, Paris
Yvonne Moreau-Gobard, Paris
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Lucia Pierce, Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and Freer Gallery
    of Art
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the
    Visual Arts
Amy G. Poster, Brooklyn Museum
Chandra Reedy, University of Delaware
Bertram Schaffner, New York
Martha Siv, Washington, D.C.
Donna Strahan, Walters Art Gallery
John Stubbs, World Monuments Fund
John Adams Thierry, Southeast Asian Art Foundation
Ashley Thompson, Royal University of Fine Arts,
    Phnom Penh
Marie-Hélène Weill, New York
Hiram Woodward, Walters Art Gallery
Thierry Zéphir, Paris

Colloquia CXLIV–CXLIX

30 October 1997
David Freedberg, Andrew W. Mellon Professor
*The Failure of Pictures: From Description to Diagram in the
Circle of Galileo*

6 November 1997
Deborah Howard, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Memories of Egypt in Medieval Venice

4 December 1997
Thierry de Duve, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
*People in the Picture/People before the Picture, or: How Manet
Constructed* A Bar at the Folies-Bergère, *with a Hint of the Why*

9 December 1997
Bernard Frischer, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
The Rediscovery of Horace's Villa in the Eighteenth Century from the Baron de Saint'Odile to Allan Ramsay

19 February 1998
Thomas A. P. van Leeuwen, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
Columns of Fire

7 May 1998
Bezalel Narkiss, Samuel H. Kress Professor
The Archaeology of the Ashburnham Pentateuch: Precursors of Its Illumination

Shoptalks 77–81

20 November 1997
Marian Feldman, David E. Finley Fellow
Ties That Bind: Luxury Goods and Royal Gifting in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East

8 January 1998
Edward Eigen, Mary Davis Fellow
From the Unseen to the Unseeable: Photographic and Other Ways of Envisioning the Coast and the Sea

20 January 1998
Matthew Kennedy, Samuel H. Kress Fellow
A Corporate "Court of Honor": New York's Terminal City in 1903

2 April 1998
Branden Joseph, Wyeth Fellow
White on White

30 April 1998
Heghnar Watenpaugh, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow
Ottomanizing Aleppo: Architecture and Empire in a Provincial Capital, Sixteenth to Seventeenth Century

Lectures

25 September 1997
Elizabeth Moore, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Radar Imaging and the Ancient Hydrology of Angkor
Cosponsored with the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and the Freer Gallery of Art

2 October 1997
Richard W. Hill Sr., State University of New York at Buffalo
Looking Beyond Artistic Stereotypes

3 December 1997
James E. Packer, Northwestern University
Restoring Trajan's Forum: A Three-Dimensional Approach for the Early Twenty-First Century

12 February 1998
Michael E. Moseley, University of Florida
Natural Disasters and the Rise and Fall of Ancient Andean Civilizations

Curatorial/Conservation Colloquy VIII

18–21 May 1998

EDGAR DEGAS AND HIS WORKING METHODS

Participants
    Arthur Beale, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
    Jean Boggs, Montreal, Canada
    Douglas Druick, Art Institute of Chicago
    June Hargrove, University of Maryland at College Park
    Richard Kendall, Broadbottom, England
    Anne Pingeot, Musée d'Orsay
    Theodore Reff, Columbia University
    George Shackelford, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
    Gary Tinterow, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Colloquy cochairs
    Daphne Barbour, National Gallery of Art
    Kimberly Jones, National Gallery of Art
    Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art

Staff participants
    David Bull
    Philip Conisbee
    Steven A. Mansbach
    Henry A. Millon
    Joanne Pillsbury

Incontri

12 November 1997
Peter Rockwell, Rome
The Tools and Techniques of Michelangelo and Bernini

9 April 1998
Jean Guillaume, Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)
Influences italiennes et manière nationale: l'invention d'une architecture nouvelle en France au XVIe siècle

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1998

Lothar Ledderose, Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg
Ten Thousand Things: Module and Mass Production in Chinese Art

1 March	*The System of Script: A Perennial Paradigm*
8 March	*Casting Bronze the Complicated Way*
15 March	*A Magic Army for the Emperor*
22 March	*Building Blocks, Brackets, and Beams*
29 March	*The Word in Print*
5 April	*Freedom of the Brush?*

Lecture Abstracts

Radar Imaging and the Ancient Hydrology of Angkor

Using data from airborne and spaceborne radar platforms, recent research has led to unexpected discoveries and interpretations of Angkor. We have been able to identify and assess natural and man-made water management features, and to image existing as well as unmapped temples. The radar imaging has provided insight into the way in which the ancient Khmer both exploited and overrode the slope of the floodplain in the engineering of dams, canals, and *barays* (large reservoirs). It has generated hypotheses on the presence of pre-Angkorean river courses in what was to become Angkor in the ninth through thirteenth centuries A.D. We have been able to verify the presence of mound sites and the alteration of the terrain far to the northwest of Angkor (to some 15 km south of the Thai border). Different hydrological zones have been defined, helping to explain apparent occupational shifts in relation to the early mound sites in the Puok valley northwest of Angkor, the ninth century A.D. capital of Hariharalaya southeast of Angkor, and the succession of ritual centers at Angkor from the tenth through thirteenth centuries A.D.

Synthetic aperture radar (SAR) offers a new tool for the mapping of Angkor. Radar, a method of microwave remote sensing, does not stand in isolation from optical imaging. It does, however, provide a unique perspective using cutting-edge technology, for interpreting the landscape. Angkor, with its immense alteration to the terrain, particularly in the hydrology of the low-sloping floodplain, offers an excellent test case for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration's Jet Propulsion Laboratory's AIRSAR instrument. The data from the 1996 airborne AIRSAR platform has complemented data gathered from the spaceborne SIR-C/X-SAR carried on the Space Shuttle Endeavor. The correction and expansion of previous maps have been possible through the spatial (5–10 m) and elevational (0.5–2 m) resolution of images processed from the AIRSAR data. Data were acquired at different radar frequencies (68 cm, 24 cm, 6 cm), with multiple polarizations (horizontal and ver-

tical combinations). The TOPSAR instrument has allowed us to generate high-resolution topographic maps using the technique of radar interferometry. Collaborative research on Angkor with colleagues at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, in particular A. Freeman and S. Hensley, has resolved many of my earlier inquiries and generated new issues and goals. We have begun the mapping of Angkor in an unprecedented manner, interpreting its position on the floodplain. The project addresses underlying aims of reconstructing the prehistoric landscape of the Siem Reap plain and the role of hydrological alteration in the urban evolution of Angkor.

Elizabeth Moore, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London

Looking Beyond Artistic Stereotypes

The Plains Indian is a national cliché in the art world. Yet behind the complex and convoluted images are living cultures and people who identify with the expressive culture of their communities. There has been such difficulty in getting past the stereotypes about Indian cultural, spiritual, and artistic traditions that we seldom see the creative process for what it is. This lecture shares with you my own experiences in thinking about the Plains Indian archetypes and how they affect the work I have done in the art world, museums, and education as well as in our own world as Indians.

The focus of my presentation will be to dismantle some of the more common misconceptions about the Plains Indians and suggest ways in which museum curators can deal with issues of cultural sensitivity. The lecture shows how museums tend to focus on the objects, and inadvertently, lose the sense of humanity that produced the objects. We will examine how contemporary Plains Indian artists confront stereotypical image-making in their own work and how we might learn from their insight and satire.

We will also begin to understand that Plains Indian art is about transformations and change, as new ideas are introduced and adapted within the Plains Indian world views. Rather than approach these changes as damaging to a "classical" culture, we will look at the underlying creativity that allows the cultures to add to their artistic bag of tricks. In this presentation we look at how museums present Plains Indian clothing, especially the war bonnet, the tomahawk, the pipe, the tepee, and a few totem poles for good measure. While I do not claim to be an expert on Plains Indian cultures, I used to play being a Plains Indian in my backyard. I slept in a tepee at Woodstock, and I spent my summer at Crazy Horse Monument in South Dakota, drinking Crazy Horse Malt Liquor, driving my Dodge Dakota to the hobbyist powwow. Besides, I saw "Dances with Wolves" twice.

Richard W. Hill Sr., State University of New York at Buffalo

Restoring Trajan's Forum: A Three-Dimensional Approach for the Early Twenty-First Century

In antiquity, the forum of the emperor Trajan (A.D. 98–117) was one of the most famous architectural ensembles in Rome, a monument characterized by Ammianus Marcellinus, an historian of the late fourth century A.D., as "a gigantic complex. . . beggaring description and never again to be imitated by mortal men." Unfortunately, after two large-scale excavations (1811–1814, 1928–1934) and a series of smaller ones, the visible remains of Ammianus' "gigantic complex" are today reduced to two adjacent pits that house rows of fragmentary reerected columns and piles of broken marble sculpture and architecture. How do these battered remains relate to Trajan's original buildings? Analysis of archival documents and archaeological materials on the site and in museums suggested the visual reconstructions and verbal interpretations of the excavated buildings briefly summarized here and fully published in my recent monograph on the site, *The Forum of Trajan in Rome: A Study of the Monuments* (Berkeley, 1997).

Unfortunately, these two-dimensional reconstructions had necessarily left a few "rough spots." However, for a display on the Forum of Trajan at the opening of the new J. Paul Getty Museum, the museum decided to make a three-dimensional computer model of the restored site. As this model allowed clear visualization of all parts of the forum, my collaborator, architect Kevin Sarring, and I were able to revise and improve our restorations of its buildings in the various important areas discussed and shown on the Getty computer model. These changes have not only resulted in a more tightly organized, coherent reconstruction of Trajan's forum, but they have also created a three-dimensional artifact. As has not been possible for the last fifteen hundred years, viewers can experience more directly the splendors of Trajan's elegant buildings and can understand why this "gigantic complex" so impressed Ammianus and taxed the descriptive powers of his contemporaries.

James E. Packer, Northwestern University

Natural Disasters and the Rise and Fall of Ancient Andean Civilizations

Ancient civilizations in the Andean Cordillera were sustained by rainfall farming in the high mountains and by canal irrigation along the Pacific coastal desert. Highland and lowland societies were vulnerable to many types of natural disaster. The most consequential were severe, prolonged droughts when rainfall dropped by more than 10 percent for decades or centuries. These catastrophes were often associated with the rise or spread of mountain civilizations and the contraction or fall of desert civilizations.

Drought stress and economic, political, and ideological responses are examined for the highland Inca and their coastal adversaries of Chimor between A.D. 1100 and 1500. During this time rainfall decreased by 10 to 15 percent, and mountain farming was depressed proportionally. Desert irrigation dependent upon runoff from the highlands, however, was disproportionally depressed by 30 to 50 percent owing to upland soil moisture absorption.

Chan Chan, the capital of Chimor, was initially surrounded by irrigated lands which contributed moisture to the urban aquifer that supplied water to the metropolis' wells. When drought curtailed irrigation, the aquifer dropped, wells dried, and inland urban growth ceased. The city then contracted toward the coast where wells could reach the water table. Chan Chan's contraction was offset by political expansion along a thousand kilometers of the coast, which set the stage for confrontation with the Incas.

In the mountains, highland populations compensated for drought by expanding farming to wetter lands at high elevations and along the eastern tropical watershed. In addition to reclaiming new farmland, the Inca engaged in large-scale food storage to mitigate shortages, and they facilitated the movement of people, produce, and information with sophisticated roads and highways. Thus the Incas were significantly better adapted to drought than was Chimor, which fell to conquest. It is likely that adaptations to episodic aridity initially arose in pre-Inca times during the course of several severe, century-long droughts.

Michael E. Moseley, University of Florida

Incontro Abstracts

The Tools and Techniques of Michelangelo and Bernini

This informal discussion focuses on the changing techniques and approaches toward manipulation of stone—Michelangelo and Bernini representing two ends of the spectrum. Specific pieces of sculpture are examined from the standpoint of carving techniques, with consideration of both preparation of the stone and its finishing. The tools used by Renaissance and baroque sculptors, and the ways in which the tools were used to produce different effects, are considered in detail.

Peter Rockwell, Rome

Influences italiennes et manière nationale: l'invention d'une architecture nouvelle en France au XVIe siècle

Une architecture nouvelle, inspirée par l'Italie antique et moderne, s'impose très vite en France entre 1540 et 1550. Comment comprendre les créations de cette époque: Ecouen, le Louvre, Anet, Vallery. . . ? Les bâtisseurs ont-ils simplement reproduit avec quelques fantaisies des modèles, comme tend à le faire croire, une conception "italocentrique" de l'histoire de l'art? Ou bien ont-ils apporté des réponses originales aux problèmes posés par la rencontre de deux cultures architecturales? Pour répondre à ces questions, il faut identifier les particularités de la "manière" française, qui persistent à travers le changement de style, et analyser de façon précise le résultat des "influences." On s'aperçoit alors que l'art du milieu du XVIe siècle est la forme Renaissance de l'architecture française et non la variante française d'une architecture de la Renaissance idéale.

Jean Guillaume, Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)

Research Projects

Four long-term projects intended to produce scholarly research tools are in preparation at the Center for Advanced Study. One project, under the direction of the dean and with the support of the Graham Foundation along with endowed funds from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, will provide the Gallery's photographic archives with a record of pre-1800 architectural drawings, primarily Italian. To date this project has generated approximately thirty-five thousand photographs from repositories including, among others, Berlin: Kunstbibliothek; Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria; Florence: Biblioteca Marucelliana, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Biblioteca Nazionale, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Uffizi; London: British Library, British Museum, Royal Institute of British Architects, Sir John Soane Museum; Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional; Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe; Turin: Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Reale, Museo Civico; and Venice: Biblioteca Marciana.

A second research project, under the direction of the associate dean and with the support of the Getty Grant Program and the Graham Foundation, will result in the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth century have been compiled, with the intention of tracking words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of an American landscape vocabulary.

A third research project, directed by the assistant dean and with support of the Getty Grant Program, is the creation of a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andean region of South America. The guide will cover relevant illustrated and nonillustrated textual sources from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, material that is crucial for the study of Prehispanic and colonial visual traditions. The region to be covered is defined by the geographical extent of the Inca empire: Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, northern Chile, northwestern Argentina, and

southwestern Colombia. The guide will consider the contributions, intentions, perspectives, and biases of these key sources through a series of essays and an annotated, illustrated bibliography.

A fourth project, under the direction of the acting associate dean, will lead to the creation of a catalogue of and introduction to central European posters and printed ephemera from 1918 to 1939 currently held by North American collections. In response to requests from the Library of Congress and other North American repositories, this project endeavors to develop a cataloguing "template" that collecting institutions will be free to use or adapt to individual institutional needs. A published volume of selected items—including but not limited to art and advertising posters and broadsides—from several collections, with accompanying cataloguing criteria and historical essays is envisioned.

Publications

The papers of the symposium *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals* were published in 1997 as part of the symposium series of the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art. Papers of five other symposia are in preparation for the series: "Vermeer Studies"; "The Art of Ancient Spectacle"; "Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period"; "The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished"; and "Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception." A complete listing of publications in the symposium series may be found on page 199.

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 1997 to May 1998.

Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1998. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1998 will appear in *Center 19*.

MIEKE BAL

Quoting Caravaggio

In an age of electronic media, virtual reality, and an overload of visual stimulation, New York-based artist David Reed, simply and obsessively, paints. To date his oeuvre consists of hundreds of paintings, all colorful depictions of curls and folds. His quite typical painting #261 of 1987–1988 demonstrates why critics would want to call his work abstract, and also why that label is misplaced. This painting is full of three-dimensional figures. Its mode is utterly illusionistic.

Rather than producing the illusion of depth by means of linear perspective, the curls and waves push forward and upward: forward in the bottom row, upward in the middle left section. The disks on the upper right stand oblique to the picture plane, and, countering the other movements, the section next to the disks pushes down. On the upper left, one would expect to see brush strokes, so as to undercut the illusionism. But even these have volume, shadow, and, at the bottom left of that small section, the stroke, all by itself, moves upward.

The incongruity of this image, the impossibility of seeing it coherently, the way it makes me see mutually incompatible perspectives as well as illusion and its artificial construction at the same time (*pace* Richard Wollheim) allowed me to see aspects of Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio's work in a new light. The spatial confinement that pushes his figures forward, right into the

viewer's space, as in the *Crucifixion of Saint Peter* (Cerasi Chapel, Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome), is echoed in the satin ribbons that overcrowd Reed's space. The flow of the red garment of the *Saint John the Baptist* (Kansas City Art Institute) functions as a visual footnote to the texture of the nude youth's skin. Like his eyes, his body is out of reach. Thus the folds of the garment come to stipulate the limits of the viewer's freedom as the tactile quality of Reed's thick ribbons are "protected" by the sharp disks. Caravaggio's light, merging surface into depth, as in *The Calling of Saint Matthew* (San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome), vertically divides the calves of the boy seen from behind just as sharply as the line between Reed's disks and at the border of his satin waves. Across four centuries and an ocean, these artists are linked.

After seeing an astonishing number of contemporary works of art that seemed related to baroque art, and quite a few of those to Caravaggio, it occurred to me to examine whether the current interest in the baroque might act out what is itself a baroque vision. It does. This vision integrates an epistemological view, a concept of representation, and an aesthetic, all three anchored in an inseparability of mind and body, form and matter, line and color, image and discourse. Relating to this integrated vision, then, the art I was examining, in all its diversity, can be said to "quote" Caravaggio.

I wanted to deploy this insight as a form of art analysis, exploring its consequences for both contemporary and historical art, as well as for contemporary conceptions of history. This inquiry raises theoretical issues representing aspects of "quotation" as a

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recasting of past images. The problems of knowing the baroque all characterize contemporary understandings in the cultural disciplines as well as baroque philosophy: the problems, respectively, of being "enfolded" in what one is studying, of embodying it as a way of grasping fully, of deciding the relative importance of unpresuming elements, of articulating engagement as a way of knowing, and, finally, of understanding the self-other dialectic (thematically represented by explorations of the mirror) that threatens to conflate subject and object of knowing.

Quotation in visual art is, first, a form of taking up or responding to, as well as representing, aspects from past art and thought that is not iconographic. Second, it is a form of manipulation: changing the past. Quoting Caravaggio changes his work forever. Art is inevitably engaged with what came before it, and that engagement is an active reworking. It specifies what and how we see. Hence, the work performed by later images obliterates the older images as they were before that intervention and creates new versions of old images in their place. Third, this process demonstrates an engagement of contemporary culture with the past that has important implications for the ways we conceive of both history and culture in the present.

In all these conceptions of quotation, the relation with what is quoted is established from the vantage point of the quoting text that is situated in the present. Whether the quoted artifact is enshrined or abducted, dispersed or unreflectively absorbed, the resulting (complex) text is both a material object and an effect. Quotation, then, is situated beyond individual intention, at the intersection of objecthood and semiotic weight.

Such re-visions of baroque art neither collapse past and present, as in an ill-conceived presentism, nor objectify the past and bring it within our grasp, as in a problematic positivist historicism. They do, however, demonstrate a possible way of dealing with "the past today." This reversal, which puts what came chronologically first ("pre-") as an aftereffect behind ("post") its later recycling, is what I would like to call a "preposterous history."

In the context of an exhibition of just such contemporary baroque art, Irving Lavin wrote recently that drapery, that icon of

baroque art, was a device to create "the almost hallucinatory relationship between past and present that is a hallmark of the period." The hallucinatory quality of that relationship—a quality which, like a drapery, deprives perception of its object—is, in my view, a compelling feature in rethinking the relationship of the present time to history.

I wish to suggest that such works can be construed as "theoretical objects" (in Hubert Damisch's words), that "theorize" cultural history. Instead of classifying and closing meaning as if to solve an enigma, this study of what Sigmund Freud would call *Nachträglichkeit* (belatedness) attempts to trace the process of meaning production over time (in both directions: present/past and past/present) as an open, dynamic process, rather than to map the results of that process. Instead of establishing a one-to-one relationship between sign or motif and meaning, I will emphasize the active participation of visual images in cultural dialogue, the discussion of ideas. It is in this sense that I claim art "thinks."

Such an inquiry necessitates a bracketing of earlier interventions and conventions if it is to develop into a complex account of past art as it is folded into the present that constructs it. As a specification of the simpler idea of self-reflection, I contend that this "wavering" view is in touch with baroque culture, so much so that its very "presentism" makes it eminently suitable to serve as the historical paradigm through which to study Caravaggio and his times: it is plural—then and now.

University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam School for Cultural Analysis
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, spring 1998

JESÚS BRICEÑO ROSARIO

Orígenes de los Relieves en Barro de la Arquitectura Prehispánica en el Norte del Perú

Para entender y explicar la organización y el poder político, religioso y social del Perú prehispánico, la arquitectura se perfila como una de las mejores fuentes para brindarnos información, independientemente de si posee carácter monumental o no. En efecto, es a partir de las evidencias arquitectónicas existentes que, en buena parte, se han formulado las propuestas teóricas para caracterizar las sociedades precolombinas.

Por razones todavía no explicadas, es en la costa norte del Perú donde se concentra la mayor cantidad de construcciones de adobe, que cronológicamente abarcan desde el Horizonte Temprano (1,500 años A.C.) hasta el Intermedio Tardío (1,470 años D.C.). Dichas estructuras no sólo sobresalen por su tamaño, sino también por el tratamiento de sus muros, en muchos casos decorados con pintura mural o relieves en barro. Lamentablemente, aun no se cuenta con evidencias suficientes que permitan correlacionar dichas decoraciones en términos cronológicos, tecnológicos o culturales específicos.

La pintura mural y relieves en barro presentan una amplia diversidad de temas. En la mayoría de los casos están relacionados con conceptos ideológicos, religiosos o de poder, de las sociedades que los ejecutaron, quienes siempre mostraron, por lo demás, una preocupación por desarrollar esta técnica decorativa. Desde esa perspectiva, no es extraño que en algunos casos tanto la pintura
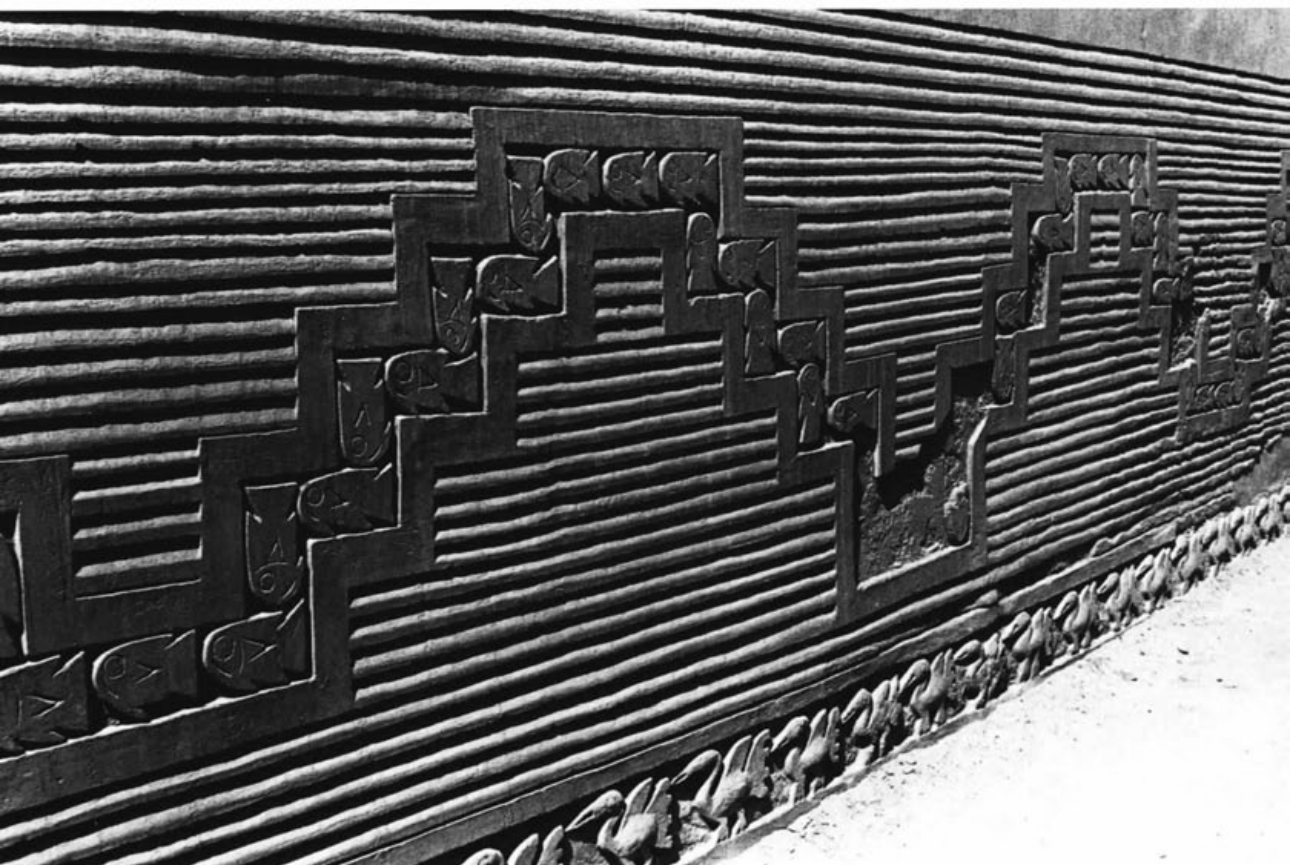
El Corredor de Aves y Peces,
Palacio Tschudi, Chan
Chan, Perú. Siglos XIII-XV

mural como los relieves, sean más importantes que la misma construcción en la cual han sido representados. Una de las manifestaciones más sobresalientes en lo que se refiere al tratamiento decorativo de los muros es, sin lugar a dudas, la policromía. Al interactuar con el volumen, los colores permiten resaltar mejor los temas representados.

Las razones que llevaron a realizar este tipo de decoración es una de las preguntas que necesitan ser respondidas. Del mismo modo, un análisis a nivel intra sitio así como de su contexto geográfico mayor, es de vital importancia para conocer el proceso de desarrollo y evolución de los relieves en la arquitectura de la costa norte del Perú. En los últimos tiempos, sin embargo, el descubri-

miento de nuevos sitios como Huaca Verde, Tomabal y Santo Domingo (todos correspondientes a los períodos más tempranos del desarrollo cultural de la región), ha permitido aproximarse a una respuesta en lo que se refiere al nivel tecnológico, concepción religiosa, política o social de las sociedades que confeccionaron los relieves.

Sobre la base de la información existente estamos tratando de responder una serie de interrogantes como: ¿Por qué surge la necesidad de representar en la arquitectura, a través de relieves, diversos temas del pensamiento del hombre prehispánico? ¿Por qué no fue suficiente la representación de estos temas en una pintura mural? ¿Son los relieves una forma distinta de representar los temas y, por lo tanto, un mero estilo diferente en el arte; o es que tienen otro significado cultural, como por ejemplo, dar mayor poder al mensaje que se quiere transmitir? ¿La existencia de sitios que contienen sectores con pintura mural, por una parte, y sectores con relieves, por otra, puede estar indicando diferencias cronológicas, funcionales o de status? ¿La manera de representar los relieves en la arquitectura, tiene que ver con la caracterización de una determinada sociedad?

La respuesta a estas diferentes interrogantes, finalmente, nos llevará a reforzar o desechar la hipótesis que señaláramos en un principio: la decoración con relieves en la arquitectura de la costa norte del Perú, surge como una necesidad de transmitir, principalmente, el pensamiento religioso de la época, para lo cual fue necesario imprimirle mayor poder al mensaje a través del volumen, del tamaño y, en algunos casos, del color.

Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Trujillo, Perú
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, fall 1997

MATTEO CASINI

The Compagnie della Calza: Pageantry, Politics, and Courtly Manners in Renaissance Venice

In Renaissance Venice, the Compagnie della Calza were brigades formed by adolescent patrician males for staging feasts, games, and spectacles. Each *compagnia* was created by a select group for a particular occasion, such as an important wedding or to welcome a foreign dignitary or a prince arriving in Venice. Once established, the various young *compagnia* members would meet regularly for up to four or five years, and in that period the favored activity was to stage games and spectacles. Sources show that in Renaissance Venice the Compagnie della Calza organized jousts, banquets, commedias, boat races, popular games, and ceremonial welcomes.

The Compagnie existed from the first half of the fifteenth until the end of the sixteenth century. Manuscript and printed sources, such as chronicles, laws, ambassadors' reports, books promoting the "myth of Venice," histories of chivalric orders, and the statutes of the Compagnie themselves provide details of Compagnie life. As is clear from the word *calza*, or stocking, the companies were identified through their dress, notably a particular type of colored and embroidered stocking. Iconographic sources thus are important as well. Wonderful examples include details from paintings in the Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice, such as Carpaccio's *Return of the Ambassadors*, *Reception of the Ambassadors*, *Leavetaking of the Betrothed Pair*, and *Healing of the Possessed Man at Rialto*; Giovanni Mansueti's *Healing of the Daughter of Ser Benvegnudo of San Polo*; and Jacopo Bellini's *Procession in Saint Mark's*

Square. The companies were also important patrons for artists such as Pietro Aretino, Tiziano Minio, Giorgio Vasari, Andrea Palladio, and Giovan Antonio Rusconi.

The formation of *compagni* reveals several aspects of Renaissance Venetian society: the attempt of the state to educate the young for political careers; the search for chivalric behavior recalling that of European courts; the desire of patrician families for pageantry and the display of courtly manners; and a passion for

antiquity as demonstrated through performance and spectacle. The Compagnie expressed Venetian ideals about the phases of life of a patrician from childhood to maturity. Typically, one became a Compagno della Calza from adolescence, with the average age of members being between eighteen and twenty years old; that is, the period immediately preceding the start of a political career.

Study of the Compagnie della Calza provides an opportunity to link the political and social history of adolescence with anthropological and iconographic concerns, as well as the issues of patronage and the history of aristocratic culture. Such a study is intended to contribute to understanding of the changing manners of elites and of the circulation of a "social culture" among republics and courts—both so typical of the Renaissance.

Previous research revealed how the conduct of young Venetians was influenced by similar phenomena elsewhere in Italy and Europe. From the late Middle Ages, bands of young aristocrats called *masnade* traveled the continent in quest of jousts and tournaments. Even fifteenth-century Republican Florence was fascinated by chivalric culture, a culture regarded by the youth as an expression of older aristocracies of northern Europe. According to Richard Trexler, for example, the Florentine brigade closely followed the feudal model. In Venice, the *calzaioli* never completely assimilated chivalric ideals only because the military element was absent. Nevertheless, they organized jousts and *armeggerie* (military maneuvers), dressed in golden garments like the knights of many Italian chivalric orders, elected their own *signore* (leaders), and in their constitutions stated the need for a strong bond.

Within a larger study on the manners of the youth of Europe, iconographic sources are essential to investigate the attraction of outside models for adolescent Venetians. Thus my research at the Center has concentrated on a variety of visual material—illuminated manuscripts, paintings, frescos, and drawings from Burgundy, Florence, Ferrara, Milan, and Mantua, dating from the end of the fourteenth to the end of the fifteenth century. Many examples reveal that the stockings and dress of the Venetian Compagnie were copied from visual representations of European and Italian youth garbed in military or chivalric style; and, second,

that they adopted other visual examples of court culture from the late Gothic period.

Colored stockings and other court clothing, borrowed from French examples and often bearing emblems, are found in the Visconti Book of Hours of the late trecento and in many Italian iconographic sources of the quattrocento. Ludovico Zorzi has analyzed Carpaccio's reproduction of the emblem of the Compagnia de' Zardinieri in the painting *Leavetaking of the Betrothed Pair*. In the emblem one notices the strong influence of medieval myths such as the search for an Earthly Paradise, represented by a garden in which a woman with a French coiffure cultivates the virtues under the rays of the divine sun. Another heraldic garden is found on a young man's sleeve in Carpaccio's *Return of the Ambassadors*. The emblem may recall the one of the Orti family of Verona, a city where the imperial tradition was strong, and brings to mind the Compagnia degli Ortolani, which, according to a manuscript source, was designated simply by a badge on the sleeve.

How does one explain this migration of iconographic and behavioral models? In fact, much evidence shows that the Calza was generally composed of youths from the most prominent and wealthiest families of the city. Organizing festivals in the Venetian Republic was costly, and a company member could incur great expense in funding the necessary pageantry. The commercial and diplomatic ties of their fathers also probably gave these young men direct contact with the culture and manners of Florentine and other courts, leading to the adoption of foreign dress and customs. In spectacles, for example, the Compagnie della Calza had the important duty of bringing to Venice the *commedia plautina*, and later the subjects of Il Ruzzante and the *commedia pastorale*. For ceremonial welcomes they introduced ephemeral structures called *teatri del mondo*, a tradition largely employed for the triumphal entries of Italian princes. Princely banquets and other forms of Renaissance feasting and manners were also adopted in Venice through the efforts of the Calza.

Università di Firenze
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997

JUAN CASTAÑEDA MURGA

El Vestido Indígena en la Provincia de Trujillo durante el Virreynato, Siglos XVI–XIX

Fernand Braudel afirmaba que la historia del vestido es menos anecdótica de lo que se cree, pues lleva una serie de problemas que van desde la materia prima, el proceso de fabricación, costos, hasta fijaciones culturales de moda, prácticas comunes, costumbres personales de los individuos y jerarquías sociales. Es una de las manifestaciones más importantes de la cultura material, la vida cotidiana y a partir de la cual se puede reconstruir el funcionamiento social de una época.

Es así que nuestra investigación ha explorado los sectores de la sociedad indígena que continuaron usando sus atuendos tradicionales bajo la dominación española, los factores que intervinieron en la continuidad de su uso, y como desapareció. La ausencia casi total de fuentes pictóricas para nuestra área de estudio, nos condicionó a consultar informes de cronistas, viajeros y la documentación existente en los archivos de la ciudad de Trujillo.

La información recogida en los archivos trujillanos señala la amplia distribución del uso de anaco y la lliclla en las mujeres y en el caso de los hombres de la manta y camiseta. Con el establecimiento del nuevo orden, los indios debían pagar parte del tributo a su encomendero en ropa. La ropa de tributo era comprada entonces a los encomenderos por mercaderes quienes la vendían a otros españoles que la necesitaban para pagar a tributarios indígenas como parte de su salario. Todo este proceso permitió la con-

Acuarela de la obra del
Obispo Martínez
Compañón,
c. 1780–1790. Biblioteca
del Real Palacio, Madrid

tinuidad del uso de los vestidos tradicionales hasta la segunda década del siglo XVII.

Durante el virreynato los indios continuaron usando como materia prima en la fabricación de sus vestidos algodón y lana, aunque también agregaron telas occidentales. Fue común por ejemplo que los indios usaran mantas, camisetas y llicllas de ter-

ciopelo, tafetán, ruán. Por otro lado en los museos norteamericanos (Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum) tuvimos la oportunidad de registrar ponchos y mantas indígenas que contenían diseños occidentales como flores, sirenas, el águila bicéfala de los Habsburgo, o el símbolo de la Orden de Santo Domingo.

Cuando los indios dejaron de pagar el tributo en especie se perdió la ropa indígena en el uso diario. El atuendo tradicional sólo va a quedar reservado para ocasiones especiales como las fiestas y desfiles. Así lo demuestran las pinturas en el sur andino, que presentan a los indios con su vestuario tradicional en las procesiones del *Corpus Christi*, en los matrimonios así como en las pompas fúnebres en honor a los monarcas.

Nuestra única fuente pictórica disponible para la costa norte peruana, las acuarelas del Obispo Martínez Compañón (c. 1780–1790), corroboran lo anteriormente dicho, pues nos presentan a los indios con sus trajes típicos en danzas, que se ejecutaban probablemente al recibir a esa autoridad eclesiástica durante la Visita Pastoral que realizó.

La rebelión de Túpac Amaru (1780) llevó a la administración virreynal a prohibir el uso del vestuario tradicional especialmente los que identificaban a la nobleza indígena, marcando con ello el final de su uso. Pero el escaso efecto político que tuvo en la costa norte, permitió la tolerancia del uso de trajes indígenas. No sería sino hasta los últimos tiempos del virreynato que las Cortes de Cádiz, prohibieran la ejecución de danzas durante las procesiones religiosas. Estas disposiciones motivaron la protesta de los indios de la provincia de Trujillo alegando que se preparaban durante todo el año para ejecutar la Danza del Chimo. Este último punto nos lleva a considerar la importancia del vestuario tradicional como parte de la identidad, al perder los indios ese último espacio (la danza) para usarlo, trajo como consecuencia la resistencia de los indios para asistir a la doctrina, motivando la petición de un sector del clero para que se levantara la prohibición.

Instituto Pedagógico Juan Pablo II, Trujillo, Perú
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, summer 1997

BETH COHEN

The Reinvention of the Bronze Portrait Bust *all'antica* in Renaissance Italy

As bronze gained the status of a preferred sculptural medium in quattrocento Italy, it was employed in the permanent commemoration of human beings. A portrait cast in bronze—an expensive and technologically complex medium—enhanced the increasingly potent association of contemporary life and death with the irretrievable golden age of classical antiquity. Two primary types of Renaissance portrait came to be rendered with the curved (or slanted) truncation typical of Roman busts: the classicizing portrait of a modern individual and the historical portrait of an ancient personage. With this antiquizing genre the very nature of likeness was reinterpreted by Italian sculptors. Employing a different vocabulary than contemporaneous painting, sculpted portraits *all'antica* were fashioned for wealthy and powerful patrons, such as the Medici family in Florence and the Gonzaga in Mantua. At the dawn of the High Renaissance, newly fabricated images of famous men and women of antiquity once again united classical content with ideal form in the bronze bust.

Significantly, the reinvention of bronze portrait busts *all'antica* in Renaissance Italy entailed a sophisticated translation of an ancient prototype, then known essentially from literary sources and battered marble specimens, into modern metal sculpture. Monumental ancient bronzes were preserved less frequently than marbles, and a disembodied bronze head was far more likely to

have survived than either an entire statue or a complete bust. Thus Renaissance busts in bronze, as opposed to those in marble, were interpretive reconstructions of a classical (Roman) genre that had been largely lost to the modern world before the excavation of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

My residence at the Center for Advanced Study has been devoted to laying the groundwork for a book that will illuminate both the physical creation and the historical development of Renaissance bronze portrait busts, while examining their diverse roles in central and northern Italy from the fifteenth to the mid-sixteenth century. This study grew out of an earlier project at the Center in 1996: an investigation of the Renaissance sculptor Antico's embellishment of his bronze portrait busts with inlaid silver eyes and partial gilding, and its association with the nature of his knowledge of bronze antiquities.

As a scholar of ancient art, beyond reconsidering the evidence of classical texts and the corpus of antiquities known to the Renaissance, my approach involves both exploring the aesthetic and technological impact on Italian sculpture of the imperfect state in which antiquities were preserved and investigating the technical history of Renaissance bronzes with an objects conservator to shed new light on issues traditionally approached primarily through connoisseurship, such as attribution, dating, and authenticity. Shelley Sturman, head of objects conservation at the National Gallery of Art, enabled the examination of several key works in the Gallery's collection, including the self-portrait *all'antica* preserved on a bronze relief plaque traditionally attributed to Leon Battista Alberti and dated to the 1430s, and *The Emperor Hadrian*, a north Italian bronze bust of c. 1550, attributed to Lodovico Lombardo.

Early steps toward conceiving sculpted portraiture and portrait-like heads in a classicizing manner were taken by quattrocento Florentine masters. Although no bronze portrait busts by his hand survive, Donatello's extraordinary contribution may be traced through related phenomena in his extant oeuvre: reinterpreting the gilt bronze reliquary bust (*San Rossore*, 1422, Museo di San Matteo, Pisa), inventing the pseudo-antique bronze head "fragment" (*Cantoria*, 1433–1439, Museo del Opera del Duomo,

Lodovico Lombardo, *The Emperor Hadrian*, c. 1550. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Stanley Mortimer

Florence), and fashioning the first bronze equestrian monument since classical antiquity (*Gattamelata*, 1440s, Piazza del Santo, Padua).

As is well known, the type of portrait bust popular in quattrocento Florence was a laterally cut form including at least the subject's shoulders rather than an abstracted ideal, a curved or slanted shape. But ideal classical features such as nudity and togalike drapery occasionally appeared on life-sized Florentine busts, which generally were executed in marble or terracotta. A rare preserved bronze example is the *Bust of a Youth Wearing an Antiquizing Cameo* in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence, sometimes attributed to Donatello. The popular Italian tradition of taking death masks and life casts fostered a naturalistic portraiture that could readily be cast in bronze.

Pisanello's invention of the Renaissance medal in Ferrara in 1439 led to the widespread popularity of antiquizing metal portraiture on an intimate scale throughout Italy. But the notion of fashioning a contemporary full-sized bust in an abstracted classical form appears to have flourished first in the humanist environment of quattrocento Mantua. There Andrea Mantegna (d. 1506) represented striking images of classical busts in his paintings for the Gonzaga court, and his sculpted laureate self-portrait in the antiquizing form of an *imago clipeata* was cast in bronze for his tomb in Alberti's church of Sant'Andrea.

Although best known today for indirectly cast small bronze statuettes, Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, the Gonzaga court sculptor and goldsmith called Antico (d. 1528, Mantua), should receive equal recognition for creating the historicizing bronze portrait bust *all'antica*. Antico's technical mastery surely facilitated the fashioning of bronzes after ancient marbles, and his own monumental bronze portraits, such as the *Bust of Antoninus Pius* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, are idealized, synthetic pseudo-antiquities originally intended for courtly display among ancient marbles Antico may have restored himself.

The vogue for large bronzes based on marble antiquities may have reached Venice through the agency of Tullio Lombardo, another Renaissance sculptor who restored ancient marbles.

Certainly Pomponius Gauricus' influential treatise *De sculptura* (1504), which promoted the practice of bronze sculpture, praised Tullio highly. Bronze busts have been attributed to other members of the Lombardo family, including Tullio's father Pietro and his brother Antonio as well as his nephew Lodovico.

In the sixteenth century, sculptors active in northern Italy commonly supplied bronze portrait busts—both large and small, both contemporary and historicizing—for a growing audience in the Veneto, particularly in the university town of Padua. Yet the climax of the Renaissance practice of aggrandizing a contemporary individual with a bronze bust *all'antica* might well be found in Florentine cinquecento sculpture: Benvenuto Cellini's colossal portrait of Cosimo I de' Medici of 1545–1547 in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence. The bronze bust's auspicious modern debut during the Renaissance contributed to the subsequent popularity of this antiquizing mode of portraiture, until it became an academic commonplace in Western culture.

New York City
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997

TRACY COOPER

The Trials of David: Triumph and Crisis in the Imagery of Doge Alvise I Mocenigo (1570–1577)

The position of the doge in Venice was an anomalous one; it took
significant political influence to be elected, yet true executive power
remained under the control of a select number of councils formed
from the Senate and Maggior Consiglio. While the scope for inde-
pendent excercise of power was deliberately curtailed to ensure that
the doge remained only "first among equals" (*primus inter pares*),
the position retained immense symbolic import. The sacral charac-
ter of the Venetian dogeship is amply testified to in an excerpt from
the State Ceremonial, in which Doge Alvise I Mocenigo was paral-
leled to the biblical figure of King David, and the populace of Venice
stricken by the plague to the people of Israel: ". . . and imitating the
example of the aforesaid King David who took unto himself this
scourge for expiation of his [God's] just wrath (the words of whom
His Serene Highness deemed himself unworthy to utter), [the Doge]
promised to erect by public decree a church titled with the name
of the Redeemer" (Archivio di Stato, Venice, Ceremoniale I, 48, 8
September 1576). This was more than oratory, for in addition to a
commitment to build a votive church, Doge Mocenigo undertook to
enact the biblical role in public ceremony. The choice of this partic-
ular iconographical character was evocative of its earlier appearance
in the Venetian narratives of history, when different circumstances
prompted the adoption of imagery of the victorious David, after the
great naval victory of the Holy League at Lepanto in 1571.

Alvise I di Tommaso Mocenigo was doge of Venice from 1570 to 1577, a period that can be characterized as decisive for Venice's entry into the modern era. The last quarter of the sixteenth century saw a shift in the fortunes of Venice, from triumph to crisis management, epitomized in the visual imagery associated with Doge Mocenigo. Expression ranged from celebration, with the victory over the Turks at Lepanto, to propitiation, with raging plague leading to the doge's vow to build Andrea Palladio's church of Il Redentore. Disastrous fires in the Palazzo Ducale destroyed major works by Venetian artists; new works were created to honor the visiting French prince, Henri III, with all the pomp and splendor of this ritual-minded republic. My study of the imagery of Doge Mocenigo and the projects associated with his reign is part of a larger book project centered on Palladio's religious architecture and the state in early modern Venice. During the fellowship period I concentrated on one of the major works to depict the doge, Jacopo Tintoretto's *Doge Alvise Mocenigo and Family before the Madonna and Child*, (National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection).

The large scale of the painting (2.161 x 4.165) is commensurate with the great official votive portraits that were commissioned by elected doges for the government rooms of the Palazzo Ducale; Doge Mocenigo's hangs in the Sala del Collegio together with those of his contemporaries. While it would not have been unusual to find portraits of patrons adoring the Virgin and saints in grand altarpieces in sixteenth-century Venice, the horizontal composition and provenance of the National Gallery painting identify it as a domestic commission, one of only a limited number of private group portraits by Tintoretto. The painting has been associated with one described by Carlo Ridolfi in his life of Tintoretto (1648): ". . . in the house of Signor Toma Mocenico is. . . a long canvas in which is represented the same [Doge Mocenigo] with his wife adoring the Queen of Heaven, with other portraits of the senators, and children of the same family shown as angels at the feet of Our Lady, playing on instruments" (*Catalogue of the Italian Paintings*, Washington, 1979). The date of the painting has been given as "probably 1573," based on Rodolfo Pallucchini's (1954) case for the figures who are represented: on the left, the kneeling doge, and

behind him his brother Giovanni; on the right, his wife Loredana Marcello, and behind her two of Giovanni's three sons, Alvise and Tommaso. Pallucchini had reasoned that the death date of Giovanni's third son, Leonardo, sometime in 1572, provided a *terminus post quem* for the composition, since it included portraits of only two younger men (the doge and his wife were childless). His general dating has been accepted, although the *terminus ante quem* has since been revised by Paola Rossi to December 1572 when Loredana Marcello died, as her portrait seems to be taken from life. I would propose a still earlier date, based on what I think the function and iconography of the painting demonstrate when viewed in the context of imagery associated with Doge Mocenigo.

It is my belief that the work represents a statement of dynastic magnificence, that of the *ramo*, or branch, of the Mocenigo *a* San Samuele, and that this is sufficient explanation for the inclusion and exclusion of members of the family from the painting. If, for example, it is Leonardo's death that prevents his inclusion, no such rationale can be applied to the missing third brother of the doge, Nicolò (who would outlive his older brothers; a fourth brother was already deceased), but rather the fact that he and his sons initiated a new *ramo* of the Mocenigo *a* San Stae that supports such an absence if the purpose of the painting was to proclaim the lines of inheritance of Alvise I Mocenigo. (Both brothers appear in Doge Mocenigo's later official votive painting, for example, expressing the unity and importance of the larger *casa* of this numerous and prominent Venetian family.) I think that Pallucchini's identification of Giovanni's sons is tenable and that their presence can be similarly explained, as the elder Tommaso inherited as primogenitor of his father, Giovanni, whereas Alvise (fondly called "Alviseto" by his uncle) was designated as the primary heir of Doge Mocenigo. Tintoretto's painting thus symmetrically aligns the future disposition of the family's patrimony. An allusion to the Mocenigo *stemma*, as well as a dedication to the Madonna may be seen in the roses that tumble below her feet and between the kneeling figures; the family coat-of-arms bears two quadrilobe roses.

Simona Savini-Branca attempted to identify the provenance of the painting mentioned by Ridolfi as being in the house of Toma

Jacopo Tintoretto, *Doge Alvise Mocenigo and Family before the Madonna and Child*, probably 1573. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

Mocenigo with a son of Marcantonio di Nicolò (brother of Doge Mocenigo) who had established the San Stae branch. It is not necessary, however, to go further afield than the "casa vecchia" at San Samuele to provide a provenance, for the primary heir of the line of the doge's brother Giovanni by his son Tommaso, a great-grandson named Alvise I (b. 1608) di Giovanni, was called "Thoma" (no doubt to distinguish him from his numerous cousins all named Alvise, all also known by other names, as can be determined through reading wills). This Thoma Mocenigo was himself a prominent statesman and was made a *procurator de citra*, a life appointment, in 1649 (a year after the publication of Ridolfi's *Le maraviglie dell'arte*). The background of the painting itself may further confirm a preoccupation with property. The figures are arranged as on a portico, with a lush *terra ferma* landscape stretching in the distance to Alpine peaks seen between columns on either side of the cloth of honor that forms a backdrop to the Virgin's throne. The landscape possesses a moralizing character, with a thatched peasant's hut on the dexter side, and the classical ruins of a circular temple on the sinister side. As an exhortation to virtue,

here instructing the younger generations to live worthy of their inheritance, this seems almost a commonplace of Venetian pastoral imagery. I think it can be even more directly linked, however, to specifics of property. In addition to the improved family properties at San Samuele (Alviseto also received the doge's property on the Giudecca), the two young men similarly inherited shares in a substantial property on the *terra ferma* at Villabona, which continued to form a significant part of the patrimony.

The pastoral background also tends to confirm an early date for the painting, for depictions of Doge Mocenigo subsequent to the Battle of Lepanto on 7 October 1571 allude to the victory, until superseded by imagery referring to his plague vow of 1576. An interesting aspect of Tintoretto's technique in the painting is also consistent with an earlier date; four of the portrait heads (those of Giovanni, Loredana, Tommaso, and Alviseto) were painted separately on a finer weave of canvas and attached. A reasonable assumption has been that this practice allowed Tintoretto to execute their faces from life, outside his studio. Why then would not this also apply to the doge and putti? If we move the date of the painting closer to the date of the doge's election (May 1570) as a *terminus post quem*, it would be near contemporary to a bust portrait of the doge that Tintoretto executed for the Procuratia de Ultra (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice), which would obviate the need for another study so soon. If the putti are, as I think, unborn souls, Tintoretto probably used studio *garzoni* to provide lifelikeness. Tintoretto seems to have had more empathy with the characters whose age and experience can be read in their faces: he supplies a rather candid depiction of Loredana in one of his rarer female portraits; Giovanni's character is penetrating and grave; the burden of the ducal *corno* seems to add extra weight to the doge's portrait. The sixty-four-year-old doge was accounted handsome but the deep-ringed eyes that look out from the canvas show a visage noble enough to bear both the victories and tragedies when, like King David, he would lead the chosen people of Venice during the seven tumultuous years of his reign.

Temple University
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THIERRY DE DUVE

The Notion of Artistic Convention in French Avant-garde Painting in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

During my first two stays at the Center for Advanced Study, in the summers of 1995 and 1996, I concentrated on gathering evidence enabling me to test three working hypotheses: (1) the peculiarity of the French Salon, with its juried entry on the side of the artists and its unrestricted access on the side of the public, accounts, at least partially, for the fact that the pictorial avant-garde was born in France; (2) the avant-garde becomes necessary, as the only viable way of maintaining the quality standards of high art, when one no longer precisely knows to whom art addresses itself, such as the situation set up by the Salon; (3) the avant-garde artist is the one who understands that when the audience for art is uncertain, then aesthetic judgment can no longer bear on the beauty of a picture within set technical and aesthetic conventions, but must bear on the legitimacy of those conventions themselves. Among the three topics having emerged at that point—(1) the social composition of the Salon public, (2) the strategies of address, (3) the either/or structure of institutionalized aesthetic judgment—I chose to concentrate on the second.

New strategies of address inevitably emerge against the background of the existing conventions purporting to codify the way a painting should address its audience. Those conventions, as it turns out, were neither simple nor stable in the period that prepared and then saw the birth of the avant-garde. They present the

student of that period with a number of difficulties that are theoretical as well as historical. For example: should one be searching for conventions there where painting looks the most conventional—in a conventional sense of the word "conventional"—that is, in academic painting? Or instead, are the conventions not paradoxically the most visible there where they are abandoned or transgressed, that is, in the most advanced painting of a given time? Or still, is it not there where conventions are closest to their meaning of *conventions*, that is, of social pacts, that they are most actively playing their role? All three approaches are heuristically rich, but only if used in conjunction with one another. The first one, in isolation, is certainly the least promising, because it begs the question of what constitutes academic painting. The third one nourished my reflection during my first two stays at the Center, when I was speculating on the notion of juste milieu painting, first in Albert Boime's, then in Léon Rosenthal's sense. I now find it unsatisfactory because it presupposes that juste milieu means consensus and that the broader the consensus, the stronger the social pact or bond. As for the second approach, it is really fruitful only when one realizes that it tells only half the story. Never would the avant-garde painters of the nineteenth century have taken upon themselves to maintain the ambitions of high art (and never would we be justified in saying that they produced the *best* art of the period), if all they had done was abandon, transgress, destroy or deconstruct the conventions of their medium. The time has come to shift the emphasis away from the negativity of the avant-garde and toward the legislative drive behind it: whenever avant-garde artists break a convention, this means both that they consider this convention to have lost its legitimacy and that they are seeking legitimation elsewhere, in a new pact. By definition, the new pact is not yet a shared one, and it is thus not yet a convention in the collective and social sense. Thus avant-garde painting (especially in the early years of the avant-garde) necessarily seeks to establish a pact with the beholder on a one-to-one basis, in the hope, of course, of seeing collective agreement build up over time. Because they are invested with legislative value, the beholder's aesthetic judgments acquire unprecedented importance, and thus the logical place to look

Edouard Manet, *The Dead Toreador*, probably 1864. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Widener Collection

for changes in the strategies of address is the one-to-one relation between individual painting and individual beholder.

The one-to-one relation between painting and beholder is precisely what Michael Fried has relentlessly investigated in his three books: *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (1980), *Courbet's Realism* (1990), and *Manet's Modernism, or The Face of Painting in the 1860s* (1996). The last book on Manet covers the "prehistory" of the avant-garde in France. Fried's twin notions of absorption and theatricality, and their dialectics over time, represent in my opinion the most intuitive and economical way of describing the fate and transformation of the strategies of address for that period, and I have adopted them. But Fried deliberately refrained from linking the emergence of absorptive strategies in French painting from the 1750s onward to its possible historical causes and conditions. One aspect of my project is to supply such a link and to defend the idea that, starting around 1750, French painting began to register the impact of the new viewing conditions set by the Salon and responded with absorption—in Fried's analysis the name given to a paradoxical aesthetic strategy that addresses the beholder by denying his pres-

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ence in front of the canvas. As readers of Fried know, absorption—or antitheatricality—became increasingly more difficult to uphold as time went on, and the actual birth of the pictorial avant-garde (or of modernist painting—I use both expressions interchangeably) is signaled by a sudden reversal in the strategies of address: a new kind of theatricality, which Fried aptly calls facingness, replaces absorption in the works of the "generation of 1863," among whom Edouard Manet is of course the most prominent figure.

I started writing during this most recent stay at the Center. Previously time spent reading and taking notes was a humbling experience. As a scholar of twentieth-century art, I had initially hoped to take advantage of the wonderful facilities of the Center to teach myself the nineteenth century. Of that initial goal, I think I have achieved barely enough to convince me that real historical expertise in nineteenth-century art history was beyond my reach. Yet none of the historical evidence gathered had put my initial working hypotheses in jeopardy, and so I decided to trust them. The kind of work I do is theoretical; I am thus reconciled to the idea of a book that would be more speculative than demonstrative, and that is based much less on primary sources than on present-day interpretations. This is perhaps the main reason why I am so deeply indebted to Michael Fried: his work offered me the mediation I needed between the art of a time I cannot inhabit and the concerns of ours. Why him more than other historians? His intuition is better and more fruitful, probably because he was an art critic before becoming a historian. Although I do not share many of his judgments as a critic, I do share his concerns and a way of looking at the past informed by a certain anxiety about the future. The question of address is crucial in my present work not only because I think it was crucial for the first modernist artists, but also because it is crucial to the debate that I, as an art historian, have with myself and hope to have with my colleagues. The bottom line is: for whom do we write art history? And my personal answer is: for tomorrow's artists.

Paris
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1997

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EDWARD EIGEN

The Crucial Intermediary: Nature and the Architecture of the French Life Sciences, 1848–1898

In mid-June 1841, the naturalist Armand de Quatrefages lit out for the coast. Quatrefages had begun his researches in Paris on the microscopic organisms he collected in the garden basins of Versailles, the ponds of Plessis-Piquet, and even the standing water in the ruts left in the road by wagon wheels. Desirous of studying the larger forms of these lower-order beings, whose simplicity of organization and innate transparency allowed the observer to follow their vital activity in all of its successive stages, he turned his attention to marine invertebrates. He traveled first by diligence to Caen, lamenting that "the magic velocity of the locomotive" had not yet (as many argued it would) collapsed the distance between Paris and the coast. From that provincial capital he proceeded to the port town of Granville, where he first "made the acquaintance of the ocean." There, the dramatic tide revealed to the naturalist the alien territory of the sea's floor and the vast array of bizarre organisms stranded there during the reflux. After being ferried on a coast guard ship to the Grand-Ile of the Chausey Archipelago, the island's surface barely equal to that of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, Quatrefages unpacked his bottles, his instruments, and a straw mattress in a rude hamlet, the island's sole habitation, and set to work.

In fact, Quatrefages was faithfully following an itinerary that zoologist Henri Milne-Edwards and his friend and colleague, the

"La constitution de la craie indiquée par la mer," illustration to Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, *Histoire d'un dessinateur* (Bibliothèque d'Education et de Récréation, Paris [1879])

entomologist Jean-Victor Audouin, established in their *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire naturelle du littoral de la France* (1832). A richly composite text, the two-volume *Recherches* was an account of the three voyages they took together along the coast of Normandy between 1826 and 1829. In it the authors presented not only the zoology, anatomy, and physiology of marine fauna, but described in terms of topography, political-economy, and even sociology a whole tableau of seaboard life. For unlike the great scientific circumnavigations of the period—against which Milne-Edwards and Audouin compared their own efforts—the

Recherches was the product of punctual visits to a nearer shore; it was intended to provide the basis for an intensive survey of the French littoral. But it accomplished a goal beyond that of recording and analyzing what the two naturalists surveyed. The book described the mise-en-scène of a possible science at the sea, one in which the coast and its inhabitants figure both as a place of study and as an object of study.

But while Milne-Edwards and Audouin argued that it was imperative to leave behind spaces such as natural history cabinets to study organisms "à l'état de vie," there were no facilities on the coast to accommodate them. During their trips to the Normandy coast, they (with their wives, whom they brought along as traveling companions and as able assistants) often made do with the most primitive habitations. Appropriately enough, often these were structures used seasonally by laborers exploiting the diverse natural productions of the coast. Occasionally, at sites where tourism had already extended, they converted a hotel room into a makeshift laboratory, the kitchen sink serving as an aquarium, the dining table serving also for dissections. Theirs was a science based on principles of domestic economy, mirroring, in parts, what they perceived to be the economy of nature itself. The naturalists described their working goal as the mastery of location, circumstance, and *temps* (in French, the word connotes both time and season). This involved carefully modifying conditions in the field. In this, I argue, lies the blueprint for what would become a series of research outposts, or stations, established along shore. These structures were as distinctive in their planning as the buildings of the same name which arose during this period to meet the demands of an expanding railroad network.

The object of my dissertation is the stations, established from 1862–1890 principally by the students of Milne-Edwards, which provided permanent establishments from which to study the sea. Considered annexes of immured urban research centers, the stations built along the English Channel, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean incorporated living space for scientists, aquaria and vivaria for specimens, small ports for research vessels, libraries, laboratories, and dissecting rooms. The stations were veritable

large-scale instruments for investigating life along the shore and for encountering the depths for which it was the foyer. Far from the academic center of Paris and even from the regional academies, and answering to a set of specific practical demands, the stations lacked the conventional character of public structures, especially those with such urban and symbolic importance as the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris. Instead, they adopted an idiom of economy and simplicity which was not merely the result of the infamous penury of the French scientific budget, but which responded to a perceived need for mobility and flexibility. This, I argue, was in part the residue of a brand of science which began in the hamlets occupied by seasonal workers as well as in hotel rooms.

Having spent the first year of my fellowship touring the extant marine stations, I analyze in the dissertation several which were dependencies of notable Parisian institutions; this was done in part to complicate the rubric of center and periphery which is often employed to organize studies of French academia. The pairings are the Sorbonne and its two annexes at Banyuls-sur-Mer on the Mediterranean, and Roscoff in Brittany; that of Concarneau, also in Brittany, belonging to the Collège de France; and the Muséum d'histoire naturelle's Ile Tatihou, in the Bay of the Seine. In addition, the stations at Endoume, Villefranche, Cette, and Wimereux serve as case studies for how architectural concepts of distribution and decoration were adapted for buildings which often took few pains to respond to traditional concerns for finesse of design. I look at how these structures were occupied by the naturalists who patronized them, and how they made visible a previously opaque sea by channeling it into their very confines.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1996–1998

MARIAN FELDMAN

Ties That Bind: Luxury Goods and Royal Gifting in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East

The Late Bronze Age, in particular the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E., represents a period of intense cultural interaction in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East and is characterized by a wide array of luxury goods that exhibit a shared repertoire of formal properties termed an "international style." While often explained as a natural outcome of international contacts, the precise articulation of and socio-political context for such a "style" have not been closely examined. The dissertation, which has been the focus of my research fellowship, has addressed both of these fundamental concerns. A close formal analysis determines a principal category of international pieces, as well as identifying additional works as divergent forms of internationalism. Then, textual and archaeological documentation suggest a distinct international network of kings as the socio-political context for the main group.

Luxury goods from Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), on the Mediterranean coast of Syria, present a particularly informative point of departure for exploring issues of status negotiation, exchange, and artistic internationalism during this time. A group of ten ivory and gold pieces encompasses a myriad of artistic expressions in circulation during the Late Bronze Age. An analysis of the formal relationships of the Ras Shamra objects, with respect to each other and to the artistic production of other regions, establishes three artistic categories. The first category consists of those pieces that belong to

the indigenous tradition of Ugarit. In the second, the majority of objects are associated with a specific form of artistic internationalism connected with the royal palaces. The last category consists of two pieces that are manifestations of alternative forms of internationalism. That three different forms of internationalism have been identified within a single socio-political entity and a roughly contemporaneous time period (fourteenth and thirteenth centuries) raises questions of how varying combinations of social factors can produce different artistic manifestations. Among its broader implications, the articulation of coexistent manifestations of internationalism challenges art-historical and archaeological notions concerning stylistic sequence and serves as a caution for the use of "style" in large-scale, regional-identity correlations.

The second category, generally referred to as the "international style," constitutes the main focus of the study. Based on a shared repertoire of iconography, composition, material, technique, object type, and archaeological context, a coherent artistic tradition can be postulated for these pieces. In addition, the distribution over a wide geographic area, including sites in the modern-day states of Egypt, Israel, Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Cyprus, and Greece, warrants the term *koine* (shared communication system). While derived from the various artistic traditions of these regions, the motifs and themes are universalized in their intermixture, and thus the tradition can be considered international. Previous scholarship has concentrated on, with limited success, determining the specific places of manufacture of individual pieces based on the directionality of artistic influence as manifested in common motifs. The failure to establish origin, coupled with the general trend in art history to privilege the creation of a specific work of art rather than its history of use, has led to an impasse in studies of luxury goods fabricated in this "international style." In some instances the pieces, despite their material value and sophisticated workmanship, have been dismissed as merely imitative or hybrid. Rarely has their function in the larger socio-political environment of the period been taken into account.

A critical mass of textual documentation and archaeological remains, in particular letters exchanged among rulers, serve to re-

Offering bearer with mace and leashed lion, detail of ivory furniture panel, from Ras Shamra (ancient Ugarit), Syria. National Museum, Damascus. Author photograph

construct the socio-political environment for these luxury goods as one dominated by centralized palaces connected to one another by a network of royal rulers. The international correspondence describes a structured set of sophisticated and formalized behavioral conventions based on the reciprocal exchange of luxury gifts. At the apex of the network, the "great kings" expressed their diplomatic relations through the metaphor of kinship and brotherhood. Beneath the apex, a constellation of smaller territories vied with one another, taking their cues from the great powers. The coexisting constituent parts—both "great" and lesser—maintained an equilibrium that created a stable whole in which changes occurred by degree rather than kind. Nevertheless, this equilibrium constantly realigned itself in response to the waxing and waning of real and perceived power of individual states. Inherent tension between the ideal of filiation and the reality of desired status drove the political expressions of the period. Both dominant and lesser polities engaged in a continuous process of status negotiation played out in the verbal and visual realms, as well as in more decisive modes such as warfare.

It is argued that the international *koine* luxury goods functioned as objects of exchange among a cohort of kings in whose best interest it was to suppress cultural affiliations by emphasizing "brotherly" links that bound them together as a single family. Two key concepts, drawn from the disciplines of social history and anthropology, underlie the interpretative model for this study. First, symbolic cultural significance invests inanimate material goods with a value perceived in human terms. These animating qualities interweave with the identities of the possessors, each one contributing to the other in a continual dialectic. In other words, people and material objects validate each other through the process of exchange and possession. Thus the circulation of culturally nonspecific luxury items signaled membership in the highest ranks of political status. If one accepts "style" as a marker of identity, these luxury goods established the rulers not as kings of specific regions, but as equal "brothers" in an international family. Indeed, the use of these objects as royal gifts helps explain why their place of manufacture cannot be precisely located.

Second, while systems of reciprocal exchange are based on an ideal model of stable equality, at the same time they encapsulate an inherent element of contradiction in that manipulation and deviation within the system over time diverts real parity. These factors are critical in the negotiation of individual (or a polity embodied in an individual) status and identity, which are relative and continuously shifting for both people and objects. Although the Ras Shamra luxury goods are comparable to the highest level of prestige goods found elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, the textual evidence indicates that the rulers of Ugarit never attained the highest level of status within the international hierarchy. This suggests the need to reevaluate the schema of international interactions to allow for fluidity and movement between levels and across boundaries. The kingdom of Ugarit, situated in a highly desired and contested geographic area that controlled critical trade routes, was in a unique position to negotiate its status despite a lack of military power. This process of negotiation, documented in other regions such as the neighboring kingdom of Amurru, was possible because the Late Bronze Age world system was not based solely on martial strength, but on less tangible aspects of status and prestige, which were partly determined by participation in the gift-exchange network. The luxury goods from Ras Shamra must be viewed within the context of political ambition and potential mobility of rank. In fact, an element of ambiguity surrounds the identification of objects as gifts, a classification based on an ephemeral act rather than on properties intrinsic to the object. The mutability of an object's identity, in turn, permits the redefinition of the relationship that it symbolizes. Thus, at Ugarit, a process of emulation through the consumption of international *koine* luxury goods could elevate the kingdom's status vis-à-vis other states.

[Harvard University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1995–1998

DAVID FREEDBERG

The Failure of Pictures

My two years at the Center for Advanced Study enabled me to bring to near-completion a project on which I had been working for over twelve years. The colloquium I presented on it at the Center in the autumn of 1997 seriously subverted one of its central theses; but it did so in a most beneficial way.

In 1985 and in the immediately following years I rediscovered—chiefly in Windsor Castle and in the Institut de France—the natural history drawings commissioned and occasionally made by the earliest members of what has often been regarded as the first modern scientific society, the Academy of Lynxes, founded in Rome in 1603. Although some of these drawings had been known to come from the famous Paper Museum of Cassiano dal Pozzo (1585–1657), the importance of their earlier provenance from the circle of the Lynxes, and chiefly from their founder, Federico Cesi (1585–1630), had not generally been recognized.

These drawings, about which practically nothing had been written until I organized the international team to catalogue them in 1985, provided the evidence for the natural historical investigations pursued by the Lynxes at the time of their involvement in Galileo's most famous cosmological discoveries. All the while they were encouraging and defending his great discoveries in the heavens, they also kept their eyes trained on the things on and in the earth below. The Windsor and Paris drawings testify to their in-

tense researches into the fields of botany, zoology, paleontology, and mycology. They also bear striking witness to the important and little-known fact that Cesi and his fellow Lynxes were the first ever to have drawings made with the aid of a microscope.

Inherent in the Lynxes' researches were several preoccupations. First, their studies of both Old and New World botany lent mas-

sive support to their awareness of the inadequacy and insufficiency of traditional Dioscoridean and Aristotelian knowledge. Second, they believed—Cesi above all—that the vast abundance of nature, much greater than the ancients had ever imagined, could be ordered and classified more systematically than had previously been the case. And third, they realized that the basic clues to order lay not in the superficial appearance of things, but rather in the essential processes and organs of reproduction. In this they anticipated the discoveries of Linnaeus over two hundred years later. This approach also explains Cesi's sustained interest in ferns, fungi, and fossils. How do ferns and fungi reproduce? How is one to distinguish whether fossils are animal, vegetable, or mineral, unless one can determine what their origins are and how they are generated?

When I came to the Center one of the central theses of the book I planned to write was that under the influence of Galileo in the *Assayer* (which the Lynxes helped prepare for publication in the years between 1618 and 1623), Cesi and his colleagues came to be skeptical about the possibility of pictorial representation as a way of understanding the world. Galileo had made them intensely aware of the fact that the subjective world of appearance and sensation could not be a reliable guide to the understanding of nature, and that one had to search for what one might call the more objective qualities of things—in Galileo's case, of course, of number, mass, weight, and so on. Despite their massive campaign to document everything in the natural world by visual means, the Lynxes, I came to believe, lost their faith in pictures. Instead—or so my thesis ran—they turned to the diagram, to geometry and number, as a means of understanding and documenting nature. This could be seen in Cesi's great attempts to present all of the natural world in tabular form, or in the form of a grid, often accompanied by recommendations in favor of the diagrammatic and geometric representation of both objects and order. Additionally, his and his friends' use of the microscope made them ponder the actual geometric structure of things below their surfaces (just as Robert Hooke and Nathaniel Grew would do many years later), as well as made them realize that since there was always something below one could never be content with what one saw on the surface.

My central thesis, then, was that the Lynxes gradually lost their faith in the possibilities of visual reproduction as a means of understanding the natural world, and that this led to their realization of the superiority of geometry and diagram in doing so. But under intense questioning from colleagues at the Center following the presentation of my project, I realized that this thesis could not be sustained. Instead, these questions led me to the realization that the two possibilities I have just described were conceived by the Lynxes as complementary ways of understanding the world, and not sequential ones. In other words, geometry and diagram did not follow densely pictorial description (as in the drawings I found); rather, the two processes went hand in hand.

Columbia University
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1996–1998

BERNARD FRISCHER

The Rediscovery of Horace's Villa in the Eighteenth Century

One of the greatest poets of the Augustan age, Quintus Horatius Flaccus—known to us familiarly as Horace—had an estate in the Sabine territory northeast of Rome. He came into possession of the property sometime in the 30s B.C. and found it a place to which he could escape for extended holidays and about which he could write poetry. Over twenty poems survive in which the villa features as a setting or theme, some of which are quite long and seemingly informative (for example, *Satires* II.6; *Epistles* I.16).

The location of the villa had been forgotten by the Middle Ages, at least in centers of learning such as Rome. Local traditions placed it at Tivoli and perhaps elsewhere in the Roman Campagna. Renaissance antiquarians and cartographers, starting with Flavio Biondo in the mid-fifteenth century, were predictably eager to find the villa, and it was finally identified and excavated in the eighteenth century at a site in the Licenza River valley about thirty-five miles northeast of Rome in the vicinity of Vicovaro. Scientific excavations have taken place on several occasions in this century (most notably in the period 1911–1916), but no final excavation report has been published.

At the Center for Advanced Study, I have been involved in three interrelated research projects connected with the villa: a general survey of the villa in Horace's poetry and of its rediscovery and interpretation since the Renaissance; a study of the work undertaken

there in the eighteenth century by Italian and foreign antiquarians, ranging from works by members of the Accademia degli Arcadi, to the Baron de Saint'Odile (the Tuscan ambassador to Rome), and the Scottish painter Allan Ramsay; and new excavations of the site long identified as Horace's villa. The excavations started during the summer of 1997 and will continue for three more years.

The common thread running through these three projects is the relationship between Horace's poetic descriptions of the villa and the actual place. If we can determine this relationship with any precision, then we will have a standard by which we can judge the more general relationship between the world Horace actually inhabited and the poetic place he created in his poetry. Since the controversy between the competing claims of *Dichtung* (poetry) and of *Wahrheit* (truth) in Augustan literature has been raging among classicists with no sign of abatement since the 1950s, and since so little besides Horace's villa survives from the Augustan age that might serve as a standard of measurement, this project may have implications that range beyond the sometimes narrow antiquarian problems that it must perforce confront. These arise because before we can use the remains of the villa as a frame of reference for Horace's poetry, we first must reconstruct its very fragmentary remains on the basis of what can be found both in and on the ground at the site today but also in archives, photographs, and works of art documenting its state of preservation from the 1700s to the first scientific excavations of 1911–1916.

I have three working hypotheses: (1) the site in question in the Licenza valley was Horace's estate; (2) apart from farming, the site was largely neglected between late antiquity and its rediscovery in the eighteenth century, so that the first, poorly documented studies of the mid- to late eighteenth century are of importance to our understanding of the villa; and (3) as the early building phase of the complex found there dates to Horace's age, we can use the site as a basis for comparison between Horace's description of an object in his world and the object itself. My main, still provisional, conclusion is that Horace's descriptions of his property are accurate with regard to its location but are otherwise unreliable or frustratingly (but, from a literary point of view, intriguingly) vague. The

place that he frequently describes as "my little place in the country" and which is often called his "farm" in the scholarly literature turns out to have been a seigniorial villa which, judged by the standards of the Late Republic (for example, the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum), represented, if not the height of luxury, then one of the nearby peaks.

Allan Ramsay, *Map of the Licenza River Valley*, September 1755, penciled sketch on paper derived from Diego de Revillas, *Dioecesis et Agri Tiburtini Topographia . . . Delineata*, 1739. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh

In the eighteenth century, Ramsay, who was George III's Painter in Ordinary, emerges as a central figure because his still-unpublished treatise on the villa gives a balanced synthesis of earlier work and also provides us with tantalizing clues about ancient structures, now vanished, that were still to be seen in his age. The treatise is entitled *An Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace's Sabine Villa*. Two copies of the text survive, illustrated with watercolors by Jacob More, which were to have been made into engravings to accompany the published text. While at the Center, I edited the text, assembled photographs of the More watercolors, and put together a small team of Scottish and American scholars who will join me in writing a long introduction to Ramsay's work. The edition is forthcoming.

My area of responsibility in the introduction to the *Enquiry* is the antiquarian context in which Ramsay was working and the significance of his work for archaeologists today. Research on Horace's villa in the eighteenth century properly concentrated on identification of the site, which in the previous three centuries had been located in several widely distant areas of the Roman Campagna. Since the posthumous publication in 1666 of Vatican Librarian Lucas Holstenius' notes on Philipp Clüver's *Geography of Ancient Italy*, the Licenza River valley had emerged as the prime candidate because Holstenius linked an inscription (*CIL* XIV.3485) found at the hill town of Roccagiovine to the shrine of the goddess Vacuna which Horace tells us was near his villa (compare *Epistles* 1.10.49). The maps of Innocenzo Mattei (1674) and Guillaume Del'Isle (1711) were the first to locate the villa near Roccagiovine, but they did so with great imprecision. The first cartographer to represent the villa and its ruins with any accuracy was Diego de Revillas in 1739. On Revillas' map, there is even a plan of the villa, which is rectangular and oriented roughly on a north-south axis.

In a recently published letter to Sir Alexander Dick, Allan Ramsay describes the first trip he took to the site in 1755 during his second visit to Italy. That Ramsay set off on his two-day jaunt from Tivoli with so much certainty that he would find Horace's villa in the Licenza valley can only mean that he had a source of information, and this was the map of Diego de Revillas, for it is

without doubt the source of Ramsay's own crude map. Key for identifying Revillas as Ramsay's source are several features that they uniquely share among mid-eighteenth-century maps, including, for example, the Rio Cupo south of Roccagiovine. Oddly, the only thing missing on Ramsay's map is the villa of Horace itself, which on Revillas' map is just to the south of the Fons Digentia. Given Ramsay's Enlightenment respect for empirical science and for autopsy, this omission is perhaps significant, indicating that Ramsay approached the Revillas site with an open mind.

Be that as it may, Ramsay's visit in 1755 whetted his appetite to learn more about Horace's villa, and as he did, he came to believe that it was indeed located at the Licenza valley site. His chance to pursue research there in depth came after his retirement from painting in 1773. From 1775 to 1784 he was able to return to the Licenza several times, and the result was his *Enquiry*, which was just about ready for the printer when Ramsay died unexpectedly in Dover in 1784.

In the middle of his project, Ramsay gave a progress report, recorded by James Boswell: "Allan Ramsay talked much of Horace's villa. Johnson, the Bishop, and Cambridge joined with him in recollecting the lines in Horace applicable to it. [Ramsay] said he had put his observations in writing. [I replied:] 'Pray put them in the press and let them come out again. Let us have them!'" As noted, poor Ramsay perished before he could publish his study. But it is clear from Boswell's account that Ramsay's treatise had an exciting contribution to make toward understanding Horace's villa and the poems that mention it. New research on the *Enquiry* and related eighteenth-century documents suggests that it is no less exciting today, and may, indeed, even help us to find some major new structures on the site when we return there for the 1998 season.

University of California, Los Angeles
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring, fall, 1997

MAX ELIJAH GROSSMAN

Architecture and Ideology in the Sienese *Contado* from the Age of Frederick II to the Fall of the Nine

At the height of its power, roughly coinciding with the government of the Guelf regime known as the Nine (1287–1355), the Sienese commune controlled a vast territory. Bounded by unfriendly and often aggressive neighbors on all sides, especially Florence to the north and the Aldobrandeschi fiefdoms to the south and west, this territory, or *contado*, encompassed several hundred villages, castles, parish churches and monasteries, each having its own set of political and cultural links to Siena. In spite of its nearly landlocked geographical position—there was neither a navigable river nor a permanent seaport—and the lack of defensible strong points along its frontiers, which seemed to be constantly in flux, the Sienese state enjoyed a remarkable surge in prosperity. In the aftermath of the 1268 defeat of the last of Frederick II's successors in Italy, and the sudden collapse of the Ghibelline cause, the Guelf families, many returning from exile, capitalized on their new autonomy and overhauled the government. Under the Nine they expanded their commercial interests and agricultural holdings on the peninsula and beyond, greatly augmenting the wealth of both the city and the lands subject to it.

Paralleling the economic expansion was the development of a new civic ideology, reinforced and perpetuated in part by the government, but also by literary tradition, local legend, and historical experience. The Sienese, proud of their accomplishments and in-

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creasingly aware of the uniqueness of their civilization, began to see themselves as a world power. In time, they imagined their city as both a New Rome and a New Jerusalem, imbued with the dignity and *romanitas* of the ancient past, and guided by the benevolent Virgin Mary, patron saint since the military victory over the Florentines at Montaperti in 1260.

This exalted vision came to be expressed within the framework of a complex civic iconography, generated by some of the greatest artists of the late Middle Ages, including Giovanni Pisano, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Simone Martini, and Duccio di Buoninsegna. Under the patronage of the Guelf regime, civic monuments were constructed on a scale not seen since antiquity. The greatest of these, the Palazzo Pubblico was begun in 1297 to house the administrative branches of the commune. Its rich sculptural program, extensive fresco cycles, and sophisticated architectural vocabulary were the embodiment of the Sienese civic ideal. Classicizing travertine and marble revetment, decorative brickwork, acanthus ornament, and other details alluded to the city's glorious Roman past (albeit, unlike Florence and other Tuscan cities, the Sienese could point to no physical ruins of such a past). The adjacent Torre del Mangia, vying with the campanile of the Duomo for symbolic dominance of the cityscape, was the icon of communal authority. The Piazza del Campo, designed and created over a period of several decades, framed and completed the civic ensemble.

In the course of these ambitious projects, concluded by the mid-fourteenth century, the government coordinated its legal and executive machinery and legislated the renovation of the entire city. The type of building materials employed, the design of windows and doorways in public spaces, the height of towers, the width of streets, and the form of city gates and walls were all regulated by exacting statutes. A powerful new architectural language evolved, insistently Sienese in character and distinct from the idioms of neighboring city-states. The new aesthetic was characterized in particular by large surfaces of exposed brick, recalling the massive, deteriorating structures one saw in Rome, such as the Baths of Caracalla and the Basilica of Maxentius. As early as the late twelfth century, the government was financing the construction of

a new brick wall circuit in conscious imitation of the Aurelian
walls of the ancient capital, the first verifiable use of the material
in Siena. Beginning in the 1220s, the Dominicans and Franciscans,
along with the canons of the Hospital of Santa Maria della Scala,
began the first monumental brick buildings in the city. The Sienese
Mendicants preferred mammoth but austere barnlike structures

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designed for preaching, which symbolically recalled the great brick early-Christian basilicas in Rome. By "citing" antiquity in this manner, they associated themselves in a rather general yet conscious way with the apostolic era of Christian poverty. The Guelf project for the construction of the mostly-brick Palazzo Pubblico, with its complement of classicizing motifs, represented a new interpretation of the Roman past in terms of an explicit political ideology, which insisted on the antiquity and, hence, legitimacy of the Sienese state.

As the commune reached aggressively beyond its walls, strengthening its hold over the economic and administrative infrastructure of the *contado*, it financed the construction of fortifications, civic palaces, and public works, often quite distant from Siena. The Palazzo Pretorio of Buonconvento and that of Sinalunga are the most important provincial Sienese public buildings whose medieval aspect is still intact. As a matter of strategy, it founded towns in frontier areas, where enemy incursions were a frequent problem. Castelfranco di Paganico is the best-surviving example of such a *terra nuova*, complete with Sienese-style gates, a rectangular wall circuit, and a central piazza. In my dissertation I argue that these projects, executed according to a standardized architectural code, announced the identity of the mother city and its lordship over subject communities while giving palpable form to its ideological pretensions. The classicism of the new architecture conveyed the antiquity of the capital—a necessary invention—and added dignity and legitimacy to the central government. The commune effectively imprinted itself wherever it intervened architecturally or urbanistically in its territory, often obscuring or completely displacing long-entrenched regional styles with its own canon. Teams of specially-trained masons were sent out from the city to insure that provincial public buildings resembled Sienese prototypes. Brick, the principal medium of the official state architecture, was often transported to distant sites at great expense, even when there was an abundance of good local building stone. The "Sienese arch," consisting of a round arch framed inside a Gothicizing pointed arch, was the ubiquitous sign of communal authority. Thin brick crenelated battlements, impractical militarily

but symbolically representative of Sienese rule and prestige, were made to crown communal palaces and city gates from the Chianti to the Maremma. Both the homogeneity and recognizability of the official style gave the impression that the Sienese state was a stable political unity, in spite of the persistent intransigence of dozens of semi-independent seigneurs, religious institutions, and rural communities, many of which sympathized with Siena's enemies and rebelled at every opportunity.

In the course of my research I have observed that the Sienese commune imprinted itself visually in the *contado* in a very selective manner, directing its resources to where they would make the most psychological impact. Sienese architectural and urbanistic activity was concentrated along certain highly visible roads, so that the less visited communities in the spaces between them were imbued not by the official Sienese style, but by older, more local stylistic idioms. In this way funds were spent as effectively as possible. The Via Francigena, which crossed the *contado* from north to south, was for a long time the most important route between northern Europe and Rome, and was thus a receptacle for much official Sienese architecture. The fortified granary of Cuna, the mill and hospital of Monteroni d'Arbia, the city gates of Lucignano d'Arbia, and the civic palace, walls and surviving gate of Buonconvento, all located along the road, are among the main subjects of my study. Interestingly, the Sienese authorities often opted to modify only portions of preexisting structures instead of constructing *ex novo*, thus transforming them at minimal expense. I have come across many such examples of adaption and revision, of which the main gate to the town of Porrona, with its obvious traces of a Sienese *coronamento*, is a prime example.

The conspicuous absence of Sienese architecture in certain Sienese-controlled towns is a revealing and significant fact within the context of my study. I hypothesize that the Sienese commune refrained from imposing its architectural style in towns that were overtly hostile to Siena. The Palazzo dei Priori in Montalcino, on which the date 1285 was legible on a dedicatory plaque until recently, was built in a clearly non-Sienese style, perhaps not to antagonize the local inhabitants, who had been brutally and repeat-

edly forced into submission in the preceding decades. Only when Siena had consolidated its control there in the following century was a Sienese-style loggia built in the piazza next to the palace.

Few scholars have ventured beyond the walls of a major Italian city to explore the architecture of the territory on which it depended. Any investigation of the architectural patronage of a city-state is necessarily incomplete without taking account of its contributions *infra comitatum*.

[Columbia University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1997–1998

SHELDON GROSSMAN

Caravaggio's Painting for the Chapel of the Pietà in the Chiesa Nuova and Its Historical Context

In 1984, I wrote two essays for a pamphlet entitled "Caravaggio, the 'Deposition' from the Vatican Collections," which was published by the National Gallery of Art when it borrowed Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio's famous painting, usually dated to around 1602–1604, for a two-month exhibition of this one altarpiece. The first essay, called "Caravaggio's *Deposition*," was written as a general introduction to Caravaggio's art, but included a brief analysis of the picture's contemporary context, that is, the commission within the Oratory of San Filippo Neri, as well as some indication of related antecedents in Italian art of the cinquecento. The second essay, "The Chapel of the Pietà in the Chiesa Nuova," contained material new to the subject. These two essays form the basis of the present research project, an expanded study of phenomena relating directly and indirectly to Caravaggio's commission in the Chiesa Nuova, particularly in the context of contemporary historical developments.

It has been possible to understand Caravaggio's painting and the decoration of the Chapel of the Pietà in the Chiesa Nuova as significant artistic events that are clearly linked to larger questions of European history during the last part of the cinquecento and the first years of the seicento. Connections are made to such major events of the time as the peace between France and Spain embodied in the Treaty of Vervins in 1598 (mediated by Pope Clement

VIII), the devolution of Ferrara to the papacy in the same year, and the Treaty of Lyons in 1601 in which Clement VIII was able to negotiate peace between Henry IV of France and the Duke of Savoy over the matter of Saluzzo. As in the original essay, connections have been made to numerous key figures of the period, many post-Tridentine reformers who were active in the church and who were very much involved in the world of San Filippo Neri and the Oratory. Particular attention has been paid to the critical roles played in contemporary events by the dukes of Savoy, especially Emanuele Filiberto and even more critically, his son and successor (in 1580) Carlo Emanuele I. As owners of the Shroud of Turin, the dukes of Savoy were critical forces in support of Rome and Catholic orthodoxy. The appearance of a representation of their relic in the Chiesa Nuova is seen in terms of the dynastic aspirations of the House of Savoy, even at this early date, as are certain other contemporary events which connect Piedmont to Rome, the center of the Catholic world, as well as to other centers of Italy and Europe. The shroud had the potential, certainly in the eyes of Catholic reformers in the late cinquecento and early seicento, of being the quintessential Christian relic: purporting to be the real emblem of all of Christ's final sufferings and containing the bloody impression of his very own body, it was testimony to his earthly existence and can only have confirmed the truth of the notion of the real presence and, therefore, of the Eucharistic nature of the Catholic religion. Only the actual presence of Christ himself could have surpassed the magnitude of the divine revelation implied by the shroud.

In the larger context of Italy and Europe during the period of the Counter Reformation, one phenomenon is investigated at length for its great historical as well as art-historical relevance: Peter Paul Rubens' employment by the Duke of Mantua, Vincenzo II Gonzaga, and especially the commission for the triad of paintings for Santissima Trinità, the Jesuit church in Mantua. The central picture from this group, *The Gonzagas in Adoration of the Holy Trinity*, is the focus of the investigation. The commission is first placed in its historical context with a discussion of the rivalry between the dukes of Savoy and Mantua over two issues: the primacy

Chapel of the Pietà, Santa Maria in Vallicella, Rome. Author photograph

of one or the other as the ideal Catholic prince and the potentially bloody conflict over the matter of the Marchesate of Monferrato. The Shroud of Turin is discussed as a particularly meaningful Christian emblem in Catholic Europe, one that appears to have influenced certain types of Counter-Reformation imagery such as the Gonzaga painting. As a Catholic artist who journeyed between northern Italy and Rome on more than one occasion in the early years of the seicento, Rubens would certainly have been aware of the growing significance of the shroud, by now a near-official relic, not to mention his knowledge, by virtue of his own commission there in 1606, of the developments in the Chiesa Nuova. An important aspect of the shroud's growing popularity in the period under study is its appearance in the literature having to do with art theory, specifically painting.

Regarding the subject matter of Caravaggio's altarpiece for the Chiesa Nuova, it is suggested, based in part on new evidence, that the image be understood as a Pietà rather than as a Deposition or Entombment. Seen purely and simply as a devotional image in the strictest sense, that is, as an *Andachtsbild*, it is proposed that the subject be left without further qualifying titles, a proposal that accords especially well with the dedication of the chapel to the Pietà. Historical, art-historical, and theological matters are brought to bear on the question of the subject of Caravaggio's picture. They are also used to reexamine in depth the other elements of the chapel's decoration. While findings in this area were introduced in the original second essay of 1984, particularly the relationship of the chapel's program to Holy Saturday, they were limited to a consideration of the painted decorations in the vault of the chapel. Further study has revealed that the relief sculpture executed in stucco in the adjoining spaces of the vault has bearing on the meaning of the program of the chapel as a whole, particularly the centrally surmounting motif whose subject is probably best described as the Exaltation and Triumph of the Cross. Appearing at the apogee of the chapel, it is seen as an attempt by the designers of the iconographic message to adapt early Christian art to the needs of the Roman Catholic Church after the endured rigors of the Protestant Reformation and the early years of Catholic reform

following the Council of Trent. It is further suggested that a common iconographic antecedent may be reflected in a work such as Annibale Carracci's *Pietà* from Parma of 1585, a kind of pictorial equivalent of the chapel in the Chiesa Nuova where the subject of the Pietà is crowned by that of the Cross Triumphant. It may be worth noting in this context that Pietro Vittrice, majordomo and later master of the wardrobe to Pope Gregory XIII, was the original patron of the chapel of the Pietà in the Chiesa Nuova and was from Parma.

Caravaggio's monumental paintings, which began to develop in Rome, cannot be understood solely in the context of central Italian painting but must be seen as inextricably related to contemporary, rather than earlier, Lombard painting. In fact, it is stressed that Caravaggio is at heart and in his roots a Lombard first and foremost and that his art is the art of Lombardy, containing elements of central Italian traditionalism that sometimes seem overwhelmingly powerful and decisive. The concentrated and highly focused quality of Caravaggio's art, especially that of his later religious pictures, finds important parallels in the paintings of his Lombard contemporaries, and this phenomenon is, I believe, particularly relevant to an artist such as Giulio Cesare Procaccini. It is especially in Procaccini's paintings having to do with San Carlo Borromeo that one can see how the intense religious emotionalism of Lombard art, the impulse toward direct, uncompromising Christian spiritual experience, must have influenced Caravaggio. It hardly seems fortuitous to be able to mention in this context that the growing popularity of the Shroud of Turin at the end of the cinquecento was due in no small measure to San Carlo Borromeo, that paragon of Counter-Reformation virtue who had so much to do with the rebirth of Roman Catholicism, not only in northern Italy but in much of Europe as well.

Washington, D.C.
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997

MICHAEL ANN HOLLY

The Melancholy Art

As an historiographer, I am interested in the historical developments and critical constructions of the discipline of art history. I take it as axiomatic that all written histories are narratives of desire, full of both manifest and latent needs that necessarily exceed the professional mandate to find out what happened and when. In my research project at the Center, I have been concentrating on melancholy as the central trope, perhaps even the "deep language," of art history writing. Given that the focus of our historical labors is always toward recovering that which has been lost, such a primal disciplinary desire must be labeled melancholic, or what Sigmund Freud called "unresolved mourning." Exploring what might be thought of as the methodological unconscious of the discipline, I have been approaching this topic in the philosophy of art history from a variety of directions, most of them derived from contemporary theoretical reflections in psychoanalysis, deconstruction, phenomenology, and cultural critique. Critical analysis of both contemporary and historical writings on the topic is certainly crucial to my study.

Of course, I am far from the first to emphasize what has been regarded by many as the quintessential postmodernist predicament. The "rhetoric of mourning" that has engendered and connected so many late twentieth-century studies in the humanities is one devoted to the incomplete and the missing: fragments, allegories,

Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I* (detail), 1514. Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington

ruins, retreats from definitive meanings. Yet the practice of art history provides an interesting twist on this characterization. The very materiality of the objects with which we deal presents historians of art with an interpretive paradox absent in other historical inquiries, for the works are both lost and found, both present and past, at the same time. About this predicament, psychoanalysis—especially object-relations theorists, such as D. W. Winnicott, Melanie Klein, even Jacques Lacan—have much to contribute.

In general, I am intrigued by the connections between objects and subjects, works of art and their interpreters on the other side of time. As Walter Benjamin recognized, melancholia is a discourse about the futility of discovering and possessing objective meaning, at the same time that it is a testimony to the subject's absolute necessity of doing so. What is the magnetic field that binds subjects to objects, and vice versa? Why is the relationship perpetually unfixed, always on the move? Can such insights provide a compelling critique of the foundationalist claims of objectivity in the practice of art history? And how might melancholy, as both a metaphor and a concept, help us, as practitioners, to come to terms with the elegiac nature of our disciplinary transactions with the past? Where can scholarly consolation be found? In order to address these vexing issues, a good part of my project requires focusing on several historiographic case studies from the past century.

The Viennese school of art history provided an essentially apt example with which to begin, not only because its development was concurrent with the evolution of Freudian psychology, but also because the fin-de-siècle ambivalence about the grip of the past on the present (perhaps reminiscent of the meaning of history at the end of this century) was so deep and profound. The 1900 controversy over Gustav Klimt's murals commissioned for the University of Vienna involved many sectors of the population, but the Secessionist painter's defense by Franz Wickhoff, the "founder" of this particular school of art history, is especially revealing. The aesthetic debates in the art world about what constitutes "beauty," "art," "meaning," "historical consciousness," and so on provide complementary, and sometimes contradictory, insights into the psychic toll exacted when a culture, or a scholarly

discipline, tries to forsake the past without acknowledging how present it always remains.

A second essay considers Michael Baxandall's collected works as a powerful exercise in the art of melancholy. As is the case with many of the scholars of the Warburg Institute, his writing is grounded in an acknowledgment of loss, in the recognition of time's passing. Among many other things, Baxandall's scholarly career has been a sustained reflection on the impossibility of closing the gap opened up between words and images in the practice of art history which he inherited, the discipline that supposedly exists in order to bring the two realms into some sort of congruency. The sage conscience of the discipline of art history, the intelligent voice that has for a long time tempered critical excess, put interpretive issues into historical perspective, and reminded us all of how we should and should not proceed when it comes to the historical explanation of works of art, is nevertheless philosophically committed to an act of renunciation, to the futility of ever actually being able to write the history of art. In this sentiment, Baxandall's is a fundamentally postmodernist point of view.

Other essays will compare the rhetoric of mourning exercised over "lost" visual meaning in specific writings of Roland Barthes, Adrian Stokes, Jacques Derrida, Martin Heidegger, Meyer Shapiro, Erwin Panofsky, and Aby Warburg. But a return to Immanuel Kant seems above all in order. Aesthetic presence provided the justification for the craft of detecting meaning, the rationale for a thousand and one acts of iconological uncovery that have collectively come to constitute the methodological rigor of the discipline of art history in the past century. While practicing art historians rarely employed Kant's ideas directly, his commitment to certain interpretive principles provided the bedrock upon which their labors were enacted. Kantian aesthetics, I want to argue, is predicated on refusal to recognize absence, a reluctance to acknowledge the abdication of the world of objects by the perceiving subject. And in this conviction, of course, it reveals Kant's powerful commitment to overcoming loss. What I would like to consider is the melancholic rhetoric of *The Critique of Judgement*, especially as it lends itself to reconsiderations of absent presences in the work of Heidegger's

"The Origin of a Work of Art" and Derrida's *The Truth in Painting*. Comparisons will be made between Panofsky's uses of Kant for detecting meaning and Derrida's confidence, after reading Kant, that meaning can never be found. The principal question I want to address is: what are the implications of this lost Kantian rhetoric of loss for the present practice of art history? Not until challenges to the ability to uncover meaning began to erupt from outside the discipline, most notably perhaps in essays by Heidegger and Derrida, did art historians begin to acknowledge that meaning may not always be so gracefully located in the places where we had always hoped to find it: in iconographic precedents, sociohistorical contexts, stylistic patterns, even in philosophy itself. This unsettlement necessarily trails in its wake a desire to return to Kant in order to see where the philosophical justifications of disciplinary commitments once rested secure and where they might now need to be relocated. I am well aware, of course, that this entire project is itself an exercise in melancholic historiography.

University of Rochester
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Fellow, fall 1996, spring 1998

DEBORAH HOWARD

Venice and the East: An Investigation into the Impact of Islam on Venetian Medieval Architecture

In the medieval architecture of Venice the Western spectator rec-
ognizes a distinctly orientalizing exoticism. Apart from towns that
were once under Islamic domination, no other Western city dis-
plays such a rich array of references to the visual traditions of the
Muslim world—not even Venice's main rivals in the Levantine
trade of the later Middle Ages, Genoa and Pisa.

The first stage in this research project concerns the identification
of specific Levantine allusions in the city's built environment be-
tween about 1100 and 1500. In its urban form and texture, Venice
evokes the dense, labyrinthine qualities of the Islamic city, offering
glimpses into private courtyards and hinting at the mystery of gar-
dens hidden behind crested walls. The city's *fondaci,* or trading
centers, replicate the building type common to all the ports and
markets of the Eastern Mediterranean, variously known as the
han, funduk, wakala, khan, or *caravanserai.* Both Saint Mark's and
the Doge's Palace are rich in explicit references to Islamic monu-
ments. Even the apparently Gothic visual language of late medieval
Venetian palaces is overlain with Islamic allusions.

The interpretation of this orientalizing language is a more com-
plex task. How were architectural ideas transported across the seas
in the age before printing? As far as is known, no architect or
mason traveled from Venice to the Islamic world before the Fall of
Constantinople in 1453, nor do we have evidence of Muslim

builders working in Venice. Thus the mechanism of importation depends on three main channels: verbal descriptions, portable visual evidence, and memory. In the medium of written language, narratives conveying the experience of the visual "otherness" of the Orient are to be found in travel accounts, letters, diplomatic reports, and mercantile and notarial archives. Although oral description is more elusive, the documented involvement of many nontravelers—such as women and older men—in the financing of trading voyages attests to their personal interest in the oriental end of the mercantile spectrum. The examination of the role of portable objects focuses particularly on luxury goods such as carpets, ivories, ceramics, woodcarving, and illustrated books. The possibility that working drawings and plans of Islamic architecture could have reached Venice has also been explored. Finally, the dependence on memory can easily be underestimated. Since medieval memory systems commonly used images of buildings as a framework for remembering, the educated traveler was practiced in the recall of architectural forms. Nonetheless memory, like any other system of communication, involves a process of mediation and transformation.

Access to oriental visual sources did not automatically result in imitation or emulation. Whereas Venetian penetration of the Silk Route by Marco Polo and others is well documented, Chinese architecture exerted no detectable influence in Venice, in contrast to the legacy of Islam. The most complex and challenging aspect of my research, therefore, considers why Muslim visual traditions aroused such fascination and what was intended in their adoption in Venice. What groups in Venetian medieval society might have been expected to recognize the appropriation of Islamic characteristics? Were foreign visitors expected to grasp the ideological intentions?

In palace architecture the motivation seems to concern the creation of a distinguishing identity for the emerging mercantile elite. In the Doge's Palace itself, this intention is entwined with the desire to evoke a Solomonic imagery of Justice, underlining the newly evolving constitutional authority of the patrician oligarchy. References to Jerusalem could result in the unwitting importation of Islamic elements, as medieval travelers erroneously believed the

Inside the mosaic: ϾϾϾΛΡIℎORRЄΛЄϾΥ᛫ SЄ᛫
PT
†?

Joseph Filling the Granaries with Corn, thirteenth century. Saint Mark's, Venice, North Atrium, Third Joseph Cupola

Dome of the Rock and the Al-Aqsa Mosque to be the original Temple and Palace of Solomon.

In the religious context, the use of elements from an alien creed requires careful interpretation. The attitudes of medieval Venetian travelers to the Islamic faith are vividly illustrated in travel narratives. Although there is evidence of close friendships with Arabs, even involving religious discussions, most Venetian merchants remained loyal to Catholicism. Hence many of the borrowings involved a process of appropriation, rather than emulation. Just as one might display the spoils of war, the treasury of Saint Mark's contains Islamic precious objects refashioned as Christian relics. The strongest impact of Islamic visual traditions is to be found in

the architecture, sculpture, and mosaics of Saint Mark's, where the principal motivation is the evocation of Alexandria, the site of the Apostle's martyrdom. Although in its typology and decoration Saint Mark's adheres closely to Byzantine artistic traditions, in the wake of the Fourth Crusade of 1204 Venice's growing cultural independence and self-confidence allowed the incorporation of other idioms into its artistic expression. While the Crusades sought to recapture the East for Christianity, the representation of biblical lands on Venetian soil conveyed this ideology to a wider audience with less cost and effort. By emulating the Alexandria of antiquity, as it was known from classical texts as well as from the Egyptian city itself, Saint Mark's could absorb elements from a familiar trading emporium reinterpreted within the Christian frame of reference.

By focusing on the interaction with one single alien tradition, this project seeks to unravel the complex interweaving of visual allusions in Venetian architecture. The strong impact of the visual cultures of both western Europe and Byzantium is not denied, but these influences have already received considerable scholarly attention. The concentration on the process of adoption of motifs from the Islamic world has allowed me to explore the mentality of Venice's mercantile society, and to study the process of ideological transfer across a religious divide—one that preoccupied all European cultures in the age of the Crusades.

University of Cambridge
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, fall 1997

CHRISTOPHER HUGHES

Typology and the Visual Arts, 1140–1240

Typology, or the exegetical method, inaugurated by Christ himself, that discovers formal analogies among the events and personages of the Old and New Testaments, fueled a burst of highly innovative exegesis in the early Christian period. It settled, however, into an unadventurous middle age as early medieval commentators dutifully perpetuated patristic findings. By the twelfth century, typology had ossified into a predictable repetition of clichés, and lost ground to such new exegetical currents as dialectic and historicism. Yet it was precisely at that moment, in the early Gothic period, when the textual tradition of typology had reached its nadir, that patrons and artists in great numbers began to devote the most ambitious and prestigious masterpieces of metalwork, stained glass, and manuscript illumination to this venerable subject matter. Typological art therefore had its golden age between 1140 and 1240, but not because its message was fresh—by that point everyone knew the Sacrifice of Isaac prefigured the Crucifixion. Rather, medieval viewers felt that *seeing* typology unfold before their eyes was spiritually efficacious and perceptually pleasurable. Furthermore, the habit of mind encouraged by the typological exegesis of scripture, one that worked by means of deep structural analogies and metaphorical substitutions, contained within itself a useful model of visual inquiry. The great works of typological art, including the Klosterneuburg Altar (1811), the "anagogical" and

Nativity, *Stammheim Missal*
(MS 64, fol. 92), c. 1160.
J. Paul Getty Museum,
Los Angeles

Exodus windows at Saint Denis (c. 1140), and the *Bible Moralisée* (c. 1235), not only reminded the medieval viewer of spiritual or moral truths but, more important, demonstrated a range of techniques for a more generic mode of visual investigation. This interest in visual interpretation bespeaks a confidence in the power of looking in a culture usually known for its subservience to the written word.

To bring out the complexities of the issue, I treat typology less as a familiar form of iconography and more as a way of ordering experience, contextualizing it within the cognitive horizons of viewers and artists. To medieval viewers, typology served as a flexible interpretive mode or a grammar of thought; Augustine calls it a *forma intelligendi*, or a structure of knowing. In fact, typology could fairly be called the medieval epistemology par excellence. To make this point clear, I argue that viewers of typological art drew on mental resources imported from other areas of thought. For example, typology and rhetoric have a common Latin vocabulary: the word *figura* denotes both a "type" and a figure of speech. As Quintilian explained, *figura* also signifies an image, so the concept has a pictorial dimension. From the rhetorics, along with the influential manuals for the reading of scripture (including Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* and Hugh of Saint Victor's *Didascalicon*) and theories of vision and memory, emerges another period interest which can be related to typology: attention. According to Augustine, figurative difficulties such as typology and allegory engage the attention in specific ways. Figurative works of art, by analogy, engage and hold visual attention. My research reveals that much of the attentional richness of typological art is due to the special kind of visual knowledge, or pictorial intelligence, that artists have. For instance, along with an expertise in the champlevé enamel technique, Nicholas of Verdun counted among his professional skills an intuitive understanding of how the workings of visual attention complement the discipline of typology.

Innovative Mosan liturgical objects of the later twelfth century, including the Stavelot Portable Altar, the Saint Omer Cross-Foot, and the Alton Towers Triptych, depict familiar typologies. Despite much overlap in subject matter, each object proposes a unique and

ingenious visual system for framing typological readings, involving visual rhymes, paired images, quasi-architectural arrangements, diagrammatic organizations—and sometimes all of the above. Like the smaller Mosan works just mentioned, the Klosterneuburg Altar is best understood as an expression of Augustinian formulations of figurative variety, novelty, and difficulty; visual attention, and typology, all of which were thought to be interrelated in the twelfth century. Nicholas developed a series of pictorial triads embodying figurative principles advocated by the intellectual patrons of Klosterneuburg, Augustine and Hugh. Monastic patrons may have commissioned these sumptuous and conceptually sophisticated typological artworks as part of an effort to revitalize a time-honored exegetical method threatened by the new dialectical treatment of theology.

Medieval writers never used the word "typology"—their term is *allegoria*. Where typological metalwork contents itself with discreet pairings of Old and New Testament images, around the year 1200 major stained glass windows display ambitious narrative cycles with strongly implied allegorical dimensions. Suger's lancets in the Saint Peregrinus chapel at Saint Denis inaugurate this trend by presenting Exodus scenes inscribed with allegorizing texts next to a series of eccentric visualizations of Pauline typology. This abstruse yet uncontroversial method gives way to the narrative and allegorical sweep of a group of windows illustrating New Testament parables, themselves a form of allegory. The designer of the Good Samaritan window at Sens Cathedral (c. 1180) places Old and New Testament micro-narratives in typological accord with a central row of scenes depicting the gospel parable. Later windows at Bourges and Chartres mount the same program with even greater complexity. "Prodigal Son" windows, conceived in a similar vein, are also found at Sens, Bourges, and Chartres. This aspect of my work shows how typology informs the great narrative experiments of Gothic art and how the mode was affected by the demands of viewing in an architectural context.

The *Bible Moralisée*, with its fifty-four hundred roundels matching biblical scenes with pictorial glosses or "moralizations," represents the ultimate fulfillment of the medieval desire to see the alle-

gorical sense of Scripture. Throughout, typology determines the basic form of the manuscript's exegesis. Given its scale and novelty, a system of restraints or guidelines was required to shape one's experience of the work: pictures and texts are paired in a similar way, the imagery is shaped by accepted conventions for viewing, and the texts are governed by common rhetorical conventions. Yet within this regular procession of well-ordered texts and images, an array of options gradually becomes apparent to the viewer. Images reach beyond the established binarism and gesture to other images nearby; nonconforming micro-programs emerge; individual pictures of startling originality catch the viewer up short; and pictures often stray from their textual counterpart. With each reconfiguration of the various scenes comes the possibility of a new understanding of Scripture. In a manuscript so concerned with the detection of heresy, the freedom accorded to freewheeling and undogmatic visual activity—which leads directly to a highly personal scriptural analysis that is transformed anew with each glance—is bracing. Surely intended for a royal patron, the *Bible Moralisée* shows that the typological mode was not restricted to a clerical audience.

There is no general account of typological art in the Middle Ages, a category that includes a major exegetical method and many of the period's acknowledged masterpieces. The art history written about the early Gothic works tends to treat typology as a self-evident iconography unworthy of much attention per se. My work aims to address these issues. After all, the creators of the Klosterneuburg Altar, the windows at Bourges and Chartres, or the *Bible Moralisée* trusted that this ancient religious idea, when revitalized by pictorial means, long after its written form had succumbed to mental arthritis, was worth the enormous expense of producing those works and would grip the attention of its intended audiences.

BRANDEN JOSEPH

"I'll Be Your Mirror": Robert Rauschenberg and Andy Warhol, 1952–1968

In the course of research at the Andy Warhol Archive in Pittsburgh, I turned up a previously unremarked object of Warhol's manufacture. It was a small, translucent box about one inch square on which Warhol had silk-screened a portrait of Robert Rauschenberg, and inside of which he had carefully deposited a large clump of what appears to be the artist's hair. This object—half devotional reliquary, half malevolent fetish—succinctly and uncannily symbolized the ambivalent nature of Warhol's personal relationship to the older artist, in which envy and ambition mixed uneasily with respect and awe. Beyond a purely biographical account, my dissertation investigates the artistic and theoretical issues that arise from the related but contrasting projects of these two artists.

That Warhol's art has connections to Rauschenberg's has long been acknowledged. Commentary on this relationship, however, has been confined to the implicitly teleological trope of artistic influence according to which Warhol is seen to adopt and develop certain stylistic aspects of Rauschenberg's art. Yet an understanding of the relationship of these two artists' work necessitates going beyond such a linear stylistic analysis to examine the opposition between the social and political project informing Rauschenberg's work, and the highly critical response represented by Warhol's oeuvre. By approaching the material in this way, the dissertation becomes a case study of a foundational moment in the postwar,

Andy Warhol, *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men (Rauschenberg Family)*, 1963. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Howard Adams

neo-avant-garde articulation of aesthetics and politics. While Rauschenberg revived a wide range of avant-garde practices from the early twentieth century—including the monochrome canvas, the ready-made and found object, and the techniques of collage and photomontage—the manner in which he adopted these artis-

tic strategies and, more important, the implications this had for the radical political agenda of the avant-garde have never been adequately investigated.

The first section of the dissertation examines the manner in which Rauschenberg transformed the avant-garde's project of class revolution into one of individual liberation. The motivation behind this transformation was a desire to counteract the increasing standardization of postwar American consumer culture and the concomitant social conformity fostered by it. Throughout the 1950s, Rauschenberg's work, particularly that arising from his decade-long collaboration with John Cage, formed part of a project to promote and model the viewer's individual freedom in the face of social and ideological standardization. This, for example, can be seen to motivate Rauschenberg's liberation of collage from compositional order. In the 1960s, Rauschenberg attempted to extend his liberationist project directly into the social sphere by focusing his energies on the integration of art and technology. While this attempt has almost universally been dismissed as a failure, this work and the assumptions behind it foreground the inherent limitations of Rauschenberg's idealism. Although Rauschenberg can be seen to have prefigured early "post-modernist" positions that sought to subvert overarching social power structures, his own project was ultimately compromised in that it did not take into account the emergent, decentralized forces of control that began to characterize late-capitalist society at precisely this time.

The second part of the dissertation explores Warhol's cynical reaction to Rauschenberg's project. The essential insight Warhol brought to bear on the older artist's work was that the centralized, hierarchical forms of social control Rauschenberg attempted to subvert were already being superseded in an era of increasing commercialism and mass media. Thus, to characterize these two artists' relationship by the traditional trope of artistic influence is to misunderstand and artificially limit the very scope and nature of their work. It is more accurate to see Warhol's work as a trenchant critique of Rauschenberg's liberationist project, and an investigation into the diffuse and insidious forms of control that permeate late-capitalist society.

Many examples of Warhol's skeptical undermining of Rauschenberg's aspirations can be found: beginning with his earliest pop paintings, Warhol explicitly embraced the repetition and standardization of the commodity form that Rauschenberg had so opposed; in expressing his desire to be a machine, Warhol cynically extended Rauschenberg's goal of eliminating the role played by personal taste in artistic composition; and in *A, a novel*—in which superstar Ondine was recorded continuously for a twenty-four-hour period—Warhol integrated art and technology, but only to turn them explicitly toward issues of surveillance. The dissertation examines these and other subversions of Rauschenberg's position and describes the manner in which Warhol incorporated strategies of social control into his paintings, films, video- and tape-recording projects, and the life he fostered among his entourage. The site of these activities was the Factory, a highly controlled laboratory in which autonomy and private existence were eliminated for all save Warhol himself, an arena of surreptitiously exercised control and the unmitigated encroachment of the media into lived experience. In Warhol's multimedia "happening," *The Exploding Plastic Inevitable*, the characteristic elements of life at the Factory were publicly displayed: narcotics, paranoia, voyeurism, perceptual control, and the threatening forms of supposedly "deviant" sexuality. The result was a model of society as a dystopian *Gesamtkunstwerk* (synthesis of the arts), a perceptual laboratory that contradicted nearly every aspect of Rauschenberg's optimistic, liberatory project.

This aggressive phase of Warhol's work ceases abruptly in 1968 with the closing of the Silver Factory and Valerie Solanas' subsequent near-fatal shooting of Warhol. In so closely approaching death, Warhol's aura of invulnerability seems to have been destroyed along with the separation of his private existence from the public world of the Factory. With this, the relation between apparent freedom and covert control that lay at the very basis of both his art and life at the Factory suddenly and spectacularly collapsed.

[Harvard University]
Wyeth Fellow, 1996–1998

MATTHEW KENNEDY

Terminal City: Urbanism and the Construction of Grand Central Terminal

Between 1903 and 1913 the New York Central Railroad replaced its outmoded Grand Central Station, at Forty-second Street and Park Avenue in New York City, with the slightly renamed, comprehensively rebuilt Grand Central Terminal. Though a remarkable accomplishment in its own right, the terminal building was but the focus of a visionary urban development called Terminal City. Comprising the wholesale reconfiguration of Grand Central's midtown environs and of Park Avenue north to Fiftieth Street, Terminal City rose as an unprecedented mixed-use, multiple-building development, the prototype for later integrated urban complexes such as New York's Rockefeller Center and Montreal's Place Ville-Marie. Terminal City's urbanistic impact extended far beyond its own borders: it ranks alongside the 1811 "Commissioners' Plan" (in which Manhattan's street grid was established), Central Park, and the island's early bridges and elevated trains in its profound effect upon the shape of the greater city, altering fundamentally the form and character of midtown and the Upper East Side.

Terminal City ultimately comprised some two dozen buildings including hotels, apartment houses, office blocks, clubs, exhibition and showroom buildings, and a post office. Little wonder, then, that the complex was celebrated at the time of its construction as the largest enterprise ever undertaken by a single corporation. The

stage for this endeavor was set in 1902, when the City of New York compelled the railroad to convert the old Grand Central facility from steam to electric traction, and to replace the station's sprawling surface track yard with a new yard built entirely below grade. This action freed an enormous area of the blight of surface trains and permitted the repair of a decades-old rupture in the street grid. Thereafter came the realization that the airspace over the sunken trackyard could be exploited for architectural development, thus creating from scratch almost forty acres of "new" real estate in a neighborhood itself newly attractive to luxury building. Terminal City would rise within this air-rights envelope.

As the architects of Grand Central looked to French Beaux-Arts principles and American City Beautiful ideals in the functional and aesthetic planning of the terminal, so was Terminal City conceived as a City Beautiful set piece. Though fully integrated into New York's unrelenting street grid, Terminal City stood apart from the surrounding urban sprawl, distinguished by the new buildings' commanding and consistent scale, their strict adherence to a restrained neoclassical articulation, and their uniform orientation toward Park Avenue. Below ground, many of the buildings were linked to each other, and to an assortment of transportation alternatives, via a network of pedestrian tunnels. Terminal City's Beaux-Arts incarnation, however, was short-lived: after World War II most of the precinct's august hotels and apartment blocks were brought down and replaced by modern office towers, obliterating forever the visual character and coherence of the original project. As a technical and functional entity, however, Terminal City remains fundamentally intact.

Terminal City has not received focused scholarly consideration. The prevalent historical narrative of the project reflects this fact: framed and propagated by one of the endeavor's chief protagonists, it is a streamlined and compact tale of heroic, individual inspiration backed by enlightened, resolute corporate action. Here Terminal City is isolated both from its physical surroundings and from the myriad forces—economic, political, cultural—that contribute to the shaping of urban space; the project is positioned as an almost incidental (if economically fundamental) accessory to

the terminal construction itself. This powerfully entrenched histo-
riography is a subject in its own right of the dissertation; one chap-
ter concerns the manner in which this narrative was fashioned and
disseminated and its canonical primacy actively, indeed obses-
sively, defended. The greater part of the thesis, then, comprises an
attempt to reach beyond this rooted narrative, and to reframe the
project's history in light of the very sorts of contextual issues ab-
sent from earlier considerations. A consolidating theme is the way
in which changing patterns of competition and cooperation be-
tween vested interests—be they governmental entities, local
landowners, corporations, the press, or the public—served to cat-
alyze Terminal City's genesis and to shape its development.

Certain antecedent conditions central to Terminal City's forma-
tion (urbanistic, political, and technological) are treated in the dis-
sertation's opening section. The city's 1811 street grid, for exam-
ple, lent Terminal City its fundamental rectilinear structure; the

massive breach of the grid that accompanied the construction of the first Grand Central (1869) prepared the ground both for an impending urbanistic crisis at Park Avenue and for an increasingly antagonistic relationship between the railroad and the city, public and press. As entrenched political corruption was largely to blame for this construction of the first Grand Central atop Park Avenue, and for the station's perseverance as an atmospheric nuisance in the city center, so does Terminal City owe its existence in a large part to a momentary, indeed fluke, upheaval in the local political condition. The pivotal events—the 1902 ouster of Tammany from city hall and a reform administration's efforts to rein in the untrammeled powers of franchise corporations—are treated in the dissertation's second chapter.

Architectural issues, which played little explicit role in the above political discourse, came to the fore in the following year with a series of ambitious, if informal, schemes for a rebuilt Grand Central Terminal. The interplay of architecture, corporate public relations, and the consolidation of New York's City Beautiful movement is addressed in the dissertation's third chapter, as part of a broader consideration of these architectural-urban schemes and their traditional association with the so-called terminal "competition" of 1903. The subsequent chapter treats the conception of the multiple-building urban scheme and its gradual transformation from a commodious City Beautiful stage set to an increasingly dense, increasingly remunerative commercial complex. This evolution went hand in hand with the development of the terminal design itself. A series of unpublished terminal schemes by the associated firms Reed and Stem and Warren and Wetmore, also analyzed in this chapter, demonstrate how essential the issue of urban integration was to the determination of Grand Central's architectural form. The dissertation concludes with a consideration of Terminal City's completion in the 1920s, and the concurrent development of economic and political conditions which, already by 1929, foretold the eventual destruction of the project's Park Avenue buildings and their replacement by modern office towers.

ALEXANDER KOSSOLAPOV

BORIS MARSHAK

Wall Paintings along the Silk Road: An Art-Historical and Laboratory Study

The caravan routes connecting China with the Near East, the Mediterranean, and India are usually referred to as the "Silk Road" in modern literature. In the fifth through the eighth century, wall paintings were a prominent feature of the architecture in the Central Asian oases along the Silk Road. This project concerns wall paintings from Sogdia, Tokharistan, Ustrushana, Kucha, and Dunhuang.

Among the best-known wall paintings are those of Sogdia. These are found in the palaces of local rulers in Panjikent and Varakhsha, in the houses of the nobility in Panjikent and Samarkand (Afrasiab), and in the local Zoroastrian cult temples in Panjikent and Zhartepa. These structures, the subject of archaeological research over the past fifty years, have provided important new data on the development of architecture and painting of medieval Central Asia.

In neighboring Tokharistan (Bactria) and in the valleys of the Hindu Kush mountains, Buddhist paintings (Bamiyan, Kakrak, Adzhinatepe) were discovered, along with those pertaining to the local cults. In the modern village of Shahristan, the princely residence of Ustrushana, a region northeast of Sogdia and populated by Sogdians, mural paintings of the eighth or perhaps ninth century have been found. These relate very closely to the paintings of Sogdia. One particular artist in Shahristan painted in a style related to the Chinese pictorial tradition.

"Ambassadors?" Afrasiab wall paintings, room nine, western wall, detail, seventh century A.D. Museum of Foundation of Samarkand on the Afrasiab. Author photograph

The style and iconography of the art of Sogdia, Tokharistan, and Ustrushana (all inhabited by Iranian peoples) are much closer to one another than to the predominantly Buddhist murals of the Kucha oasis (Kizil, Duldul-Akhur, Kizil-Kargha, and others). Nearer to China, Kucha was populated by the Tochars, an Indo-European but non-Iranian people. The Kuchaen wall paintings are dated to the fourth through early seventh century.

In Dunhuang, the most westerly of the Chinese artistic centers, there are numerous paintings of interest to this project. Buddhist grottos reveal the ties with the art of India, Tokharistan and Kucha. In the second third of the seventh century, the Chinese expansion to Central Asia and the conquest of Kucha in particular brought a Chinese influence to the art of the area that is now Xinjiang and, to a lesser degree, that of the area of modern Kazakhstan and Kirgizia. The Chinese influence in Sogdia, however, is only seen in imagery depicting Chinese people.

Although the color schemes in different regions varied greatly, red and blue backgrounds may be encountered in places rather remote from one another. These red and blue backgrounds stem from an ancient Near Eastern painting tradition, such as those seen in Urartu, on the murals of Erebuni (in modern Armenia). The backgrounds of the Sogdian murals are more or less intense sky blue, bluish-gray, or neutral red, a red without any tint of blue or yellow. The murals of greater social importance often have blue backgrounds while the less important ones have red backgrounds. At first glance, both types produce an impression of richly decorated flat walls. On closer viewing, however, the background begins to create an illusion of greater spatial depth. Other shades of red, such as an "aurora-red," a bright, saturated red (relatively rare), a dark red, and a red that is almost brown, were used extensively for the figures. Colors contrasting the background hue are used to render details of clothes, rugs, animals, and other objects associated with the figures. Two types of light yellow, white, and ivory were commonly used on the figures of the Sogdian murals. These four colors were often separated from the background by dark red outlines, while other colors were distinguished by black outlines.

Green was extremely rare: even such details as the green leaves of tulips were rendered in yellow with black outlines. The absence of green, however, does not give the impression of a poor palette as the artists used all three primary colors. They simplified the color interplay to achieve a harmonious result with local unmixed colors. It is possible that the artists could not find the correct corresponding greens to the complementary reds available, and therefore avoided green in general. It is also possible that they did not want to diminish the effect of the blues by placing a green (with its mixture of blue) near them.

The color schemes of the Hindu Kush and Tokharistan Buddhist paintings are sometimes very close to the Sogdian. More intense reds are found there than in Sogdian painting; however, green is more common in the Hindu Kush and Tokharistan Buddhist paintings, and also in Ustrushana painting.

In Kucha, artists used color compositions similar to the Sogdian

schemes, but the local artists strove for different effects. Kucha artists were less interested in the figure-ground relation than in the interplay of separate color areas comprising the figures. These artists generously used an intense red, and apparently liked the juxtaposition of deep blue and bright green.

In Dunhuang, in the fifth and sixth centuries, the figures appear to drown in an intense red background. By the seventh to eighth century, however, the Chinese color system came into use, signaling a distinct change.

Analyses of pigments used on murals of Panjikent, Afrasiab, Bamiyan, Kizil, and Dunhuang were performed by R. J. Gettens, V. Kononov, A. Abdurazakov, and M. Kambarov, Xu Wei-ye, Zhou Guo-sin, and Li Yun-he. The examination of painting materials from Panjikent, Afrasiab, Shahristan, Adzhinatepe, Kakrak, Duldul-Akhur, and Kizil-Kargha during the course of this project allows one to assume that the color schemes of the different centers were determined by the specific mineral ores/pigments available in each region. The following pigments were discovered on murals throughout the region, Sogdia through Dunhuang: red/orange pigments (hematite or red ocher, minium, vermilion, realgar); yellow pigments (ocher, orpiment, litharge); green pigments (malachite, atacamite/paratacamite, celadonite [green earth]); blue pigments (mineral lazurite, azurite); whites (lead white or hydrocerussite/cerussite and different chlorinated derivatives of those, basic lead sulfate, gypsum and anhydrite, calcite, and kaolin); blacks/grays (carbon black, burnt bone, and sometimes lead compounds containing black/brown, lead oxide-plattnerite, and usually lead chlorides [laureonite]). In some cases, owing to formation of the black/brown lead oxide-plattnerite in the process of chlorination of the original lead pigments (basic lead carbonate, minium), certain colors (white or red originally) may also appear black/dark brown. The blackening of hydrocerussite and red lead oxides has been described in literature (O. Lelekova, M. Dneprovskaya). Several explanations of the process had been offered, but none was generally accepted. The fact is nevertheless that the lead choices (hydrochlorides) like laureonite or blyxite are always present in the darkened lead paint.

In northwest Sogdia, vermilion was rare as that pigment was evidently manufactured in China. At the same time, lazurite originating from Badakhashan was used there more extensively than anywhere else. Minium (lead oxide) was used, but mostly the red color was rendered with hematite (red ochers). The copper-based pigments (azurite and malachite) were absent in Sogdia, but malachite was found in the neighboring Shahristan (Ustrushana). Azurite was used extensively in Dunhuang, notably for painting on a textile or paper base. In contrast, on murals, imported lazurite, along with azurite, is present in all periods. From Bamiyan to Dunhuang, the green pigment found most often is atacamite/paratacamite. There are reasons to believe that atacamites were not originally used by the artists, but formed on the murals as a result of the chlorinating of copper carbonate pigment initially used. This process could have been accelerated by the very high content of soluble chlorine salts in the clay plaster in the presence of water.

The transformation of blue azurite into green malachite (the crystalline lattice of the latter is more stable) is a well-known effect that takes place on some paintings. From this point of view the discovery of malachite and azurite present together in some greens in Dunhuang is possibly indicative that such transformation took place. Given the possible rapid transformation of copper-based pigments due to the presence of chlorine, it is reasonable to conclude that Sogdians might have avoided using such pigments intentionally as the high chlorine contents in *loess* (plaster) and the relatively high humidity of their region would further the undesirable effects. In Dunhuang and Kucha, where it is much less humid, the copper-based pigments were applied extensively. Even in these drier places, the mentioned chemical transformations could have been occurring over the course of centuries after the creation of the murals.

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg
Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology, 1997–1998

THOMAS A. P. VAN LEEUWEN

Columns of Fire

I intend to continue my tetralogy on architecture and the four elements with a study of the element of fire. "Columns of Fire: Metaphors of Destruction and Creation" follows, *The Skyward Trend of Thought: Metaphysics of the Skyscraper* (1988) and *The Springboard in the Pond: An Intimate History of the Swimming Pool* (1998), and precedes "Underground World: Metabolics of the Earth." In "Columns of Fire," the effects of fire and destruction on our built environment are studied in a context of religion and myth, politics and war, aesthetics and creativity. In most early civilizations, fire was regarded as a purifying element that, unlike water, cleansed through destruction.

When crossing the desert, Moses followed a pillar of dust during the day and a pillar of fire during the night. "Columns of Fire" translates fire, whether it is inspirational as in the biblical sense, or poetic, practical, or theoretical, into architectural, sometimes constructional, terms. This study is primarily interested in the specific Shivaesque relationship between fire, destruction, and creation. Fire is gluttonous, it eats anything. "La flamme est en quelque manière l'animalité à nu, une manière d'animal excessif. Elle est le glouton par excellence" (Gaston Bachelard, *La flamme d'une chandelle*, Paris 1961). Yet, just as fire eats anything, it means anything. Fire is predominantly metaphorical, even in its own diet. The great city fires of the past have always been meaningful, often

"A Family Terribly Perish on the Roof of a House, in View of the Multitude Below," from E. J. Goodspeed, *History of the Great Fires in Chicago and the West* (Chicago, 1871)

to mythical degrees: Sodom and Gomorrah, Rome, London, and Chicago.

There are various kinds of fire and just as many kinds of destruction. Fire can be punishing, purifying, purging, poetic, vital, and energetic. The small flame of the candle inspires the poet, whereas the column of fire that devoured London inspired the architect. The Chicago conflagration was mythologized as the beginning of modern architecture. These fires were considered metaphors of purgation and renewal. Of a different kind are the fires that destroyed our theaters. Theaters, to follow our culinary line, belonged to fire's daily diet. At the end of the nineteenth century, the *Handbuch der Architektur* (1898) recorded over twelve hundred major theater fires. The name of Venice's La Fenice stands as the metaphor's metaphor. The flame that destroys the theater is

a unique one. It is both the source and death of its very existence.

The theater is nothing but a box with a flame inside, a dark box lit from within. It is the flame of entertainment and enlightenment that eventually will destroy it. But the flame of the theater is more than just a light by which we can see, it is a light by which we can dream. The theater is a dream machine. The poet dreams before a candle, the audience dreams before the proscenium lights.

There are many ways to write the history of the theater. One method could be to write a history in terms of an ever-dominating fear, a history of anxiety. The theater's entrance is elaborate, alluring, ceremonial, and above all, unhurried. Its egress is the opposite: as fast as possible and without much ado. The first theater of the Enlightenment was the Théâtre de L'Odéon, by Charles De Wailly and Antoine Marie Peyre (Théâtre de France at that time). It was published in the *Encyclopédie* of 1777–1779 as the model of modern architecture.

Denis Diderot—who was a theater reformer as well as an important architectural theorist—wrote the accompanying text. He proudly stated that the architects had made it possible to evacuate the entire Salle in less than six minutes by means of a lucid system of staircases and a dozen or so exits through the arcades that encircled the building, which immediately gave access to the streets and surrounding squares. Etienne-Louis Boullée designed his competition entry for a theater on the site where there are now subterranean "catwalks" for the Parisian fashion shows. Boullée wrote: "I first pondered on the fatal events that have occurred in almost all large cities of Europe, and which were caused solely by the manner in which our theaters are built. One glance at our theaters is sufficient to convince us that they are gruesome funeral piles and that a spark is sufficient to set them on fire and see them burn out in an instant. . . Should the public fear for its life in a place devoted to pleasure? What dreadful confusion, what dire calamities when panic takes hold of people because they apprehend some catastrophe, as happened to the old Italian Theater! Such thoughts made me shudder, and I told myself that I would not build a theater unless I could find a way to make it fireproof. I thought that I should first arrange for the Public the fastest possible escape, and I think

I have succeeded" (*Essai sur l'art/Architecture, Essay on Art*, ed. Helen Rosenau, in *Boullée & Visionary Architecture*, 1976).

To enable the public to leave the building as quickly as possible, Boullée conceived a system in which both drama and personal safety were magically combined. In case of fire, the forty-two doors opening onto the peristyle would be arranged in such a way that at the slightest alarm, a simple pull on a cord would suffice to open them all at the same time so that the whole auditorium would be nothing but open doors. Large water tanks became standard equipment in metropolitan theaters, such as the series of tanks in the basement of the most majestic theater of all, Charles Garnier's Paris Opera. Boullée's plan provided for a tank as long as the entire building.

A more explosive part of "Columns of Fire" is situated within the contemporary debate on ephemerality and duration. Ephemerality was a key word in modernism. Modern architecture, we were led to believe, grew out of the nonpermanent structures of the great exhibitions. Most were intended to last only as long as the exhibition. Sometimes, however, they were purchased by entrepreneurs who had them disassembled and put together again elsewhere, to serve as temporary domiciles for various sorts of family entertainment, circuses, and flower shows. But it never took long before flames came. The London Crystal Palace burned after it was re-erected at Sydenham. The New York and the Amsterdam Crystal Palaces, despite their iron and glass structures, were brought down by fire.

When buildings show signs of fatigue—which presently seems to be the case with an increasing number of buildings in New York City—do we have to "help" them out of their misery or do we have to keep them alive? (*New York Times*, 11 January 1998, 22). There are two opposing points of view: one is born of nostalgia and is inclined to collecting and restoring; the other is more of a "creating-space-by-cleaning-up tendency." Baron Haussmann called himself an "artiste démolisseur." I intend to write the book that we missed on our bookshelves: next to all the studies on artists and architects, creators of all sorts of beautiful things, the one study on famous demolishers.

Demolishing a building is nothing but the undoing of the construction process. More and more, architecture has been given an economical duration, the same way other "durable" goods have been determined to live as long as they are not in the way of new products. Automobiles end up in the crusher, but where does a building go? Artistic demolishers, such as the Loizeaux family of Phoenix, near Baltimore, Maryland, who work with finely dosaged explosives, prepare their victims in the manner of a Philippine chicken: carefully removing all critical structural elements before placing the charges. When the blast comes, gravity is allowed to do the rest, bringing down the building in an elegant fashion, quietly imploding it, burying it under its own dust. Demolition is nothing but terminating the life cycle of buildings with dynamite and gravity. Columns of steel, created by fire, riveted or welded with fire, then protected against fire, are finally brought down with fire. The spark of a small fuse sets off an explosion in which the long-lasting fires of destruction of the past are compacted into a brief but infinitely more devastating blast of dynamite. Buildings the size of cities can be brought down in seconds. The first, and still the tallest, building ever to be imploded was the thirty-two-story Mendez Caldera Building in São Paulo. In 1975, it was leveled with the help of a mere thousand pounds of charges in a few seconds.

A plea for selective artistic destruction will engage "Columns of Fire" in popular debate. Does not the fire of the forest fertilize the earth for new growth? Why are we made to believe that architecture is permanent, that matter is forever, and that the old is like a bridge not to be burned? From an aesthetic point of view the removal of architectural eyesores by selective destruction should be regarded as an act of artistic creativity. As for now, we still have to wait for the first Grand Prix de Rome to be awarded to the creative genius that will dynamite the Paris Tour du Montparnasse.

University of Leiden
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 1998

JULIA LENAGHAN

Studies in Portrait Statues of Roman Women

During the Roman Empire outstanding individuals were commemorated in public and in private with portrait statues. These statues or monuments consisted of three fundamental elements: an inscribed base, a body, and a portrait head. The inscribed base named the honorand and generally announced his or her social position or virtues. The head and body illustrated the information provided by the written text: the head identifying the named honorand, and the body clarifying social position or virtues.

Roman monuments to men show a limited and easily comprehensible repertoire of four bodies: togate, cuirassed, himation-clad, or, less frequently, nude. These bodies reflected what men considered their public roles to be. A togate statue referred to Roman citizenship; a cuirassed statue indicated military affiliation; a himation-clad statue established a link with Greek culture; and a nude statue suggested a divinity whose qualities the portrayed wished to evoke.

The bodies of female statues, in contrast, are far more complicated and have often been dismissed by modern scholarship. Above all, women did not have easily distinguishable garb corresponding to specific public roles, and their dress in any case was limited. Basic dress for women consisted of two or three garments, tunica, palla, and stola. The tunica, an undergarment, reached to the ankles. The palla, a large rectangular piece of material, was worn as a mantle and could be draped in various ways. Between

Statue base and statue of Claudia Antonia Tatiana. Bouleterion, Aphrodisias.
Photographs: Aphrodisias Archives

the tunica and palla, the stola (a long overgarment also reaching the ankles) was often worn, particularly by Roman matrons.

Although a Roman woman generally wore only one type of dress, a palla could be wrapped to produce completely different appearances, ranging from an enveloped, modest presence to an exposed, sexy image. Moreover, a palla could conceal or reveal other elements of dress; for example, belting of the tunica or stola. This element differs from both the cuirass, which varies only slightly in appearance, and the toga, which has a standard form.

Two considerations contribute to the complexity of understanding Roman female portrait statues. The first is that women did not have established public roles. A Roman senator with a fine military career may be shown in a cuirass; a male citizen with a civic career would appear in a Roman toga; a teacher or philosopher would appear in a himation. By contrast, the principal role of woman in the Roman world was to continue the family line; thus, she was viewed as a daughter, wife, or mother. Even if a woman held a public position, such as priestess or local liturgist, this was generally motivated by family concerns.

Second, well-known statue types were often adopted for the portraits of women. Not only were the bodies of famous works from classical Greece used to show women in the guise of goddesses but also numerous set models were used to depict women in traditional roles. Some of these set models remained popular throughout the Roman era; others had definable periods of popularity. In any case, the wide range of set models simply did not exist in male portraiture.

For these reasons it can be difficult to interpret the bodies used in portrait statues of Roman women and thus to grasp the full intent of the monument. Until we can comprehend the whole portrait monument, we remain unable to understand fully how Roman women were perceived in antiquity.

To attain understanding it is necessary to establish the repertoire of portrait body types available to women. Therefore, I have compiled a catalogue of approximately 275 entries, including all known portrait statues of Roman women. Primarily statues which preserve the body and the head or the body and the base have been

included. Several statues, however, which have neither head nor inscribed base, are discussed on the basis of strong contextual evidence. Important relief representations, especially those with portrait heads and those of the imperial family, are also considered.

The catalogue shows four general options for portrait statues of women: women modestly shielding themselves from the eyes of the viewer; women piously sacrificing or making a gesture of reverence; women in special dress to indicate a role such as priestess; and women with attributes that associate them with divinities. Although none of these options is surprising, the variation within them as well as the comparative usages are interesting. For instance, the first option, which corresponds to the traditional literary and epigraphical portrayal of the ideal Roman woman, was apparently the most popular, for it comprises almost half of the statues in the catalogue.

From this catalogue evidence of chronological, geographical, social, and contextual tendencies emerges. For example, a broad chronological pattern in the development of the "modest types" can be noted, as well as details concerning specific individual types within this category. Biases in the evidence are also noted.

Against this backdrop, scrutiny of those monuments for which substantial contextual information (bases, location, surrounding statuary) exists leads to a general understanding of the specific constraints for each case; and thus we can comprehend the reason for the choice of a specific body and imagine how the Roman viewer perceived it.

Honorific statuary dedicated to women was present in all cities of the Roman Empire. These statues, which outnumber those erected to women in any other period in Western history, bear testimony to women's roles in society, as revealing as any epigraphical or literary evidence, and are useful in understanding the position of women in the Roman world.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1997–1998

DOUGLAS LEWIS

The Drawings of Andrea Palladio; and Palladio's Villa Cornaro at Piombino Dese, 1551–1553

My sabbatical work has focused on the preparation of two books, both on the Italian Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580). A monographic catalogue that I had written in 1980 to accompany an international traveling exhibition, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio* (1981), is being revised and expanded for a projected second edition. The architect's graphic oeuvre consists of some 330 sheets, including studies after antique and earlier Renaissance prototypes, site plans, project sketches, finished presentation drawings, designs for woodcuts and engravings, theoretical reconstructions after antique texts, and miscellaneous images of architectural and sculptural details such as altars and tombs.

This extensive corpus of images is almost unparalleled among the surviving graphic materials of Renaissance architects; its relationship to Palladio's famous treatise, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (published late in the artist's life), is complicated and problematical enough to warrant a special study on the drawings (mostly of the 1540s and 1550s) as compared to the published woodcuts (of 1570). But my own principal interest in Palladio's drawings is in the degree to which they relate to his architectural commissions, both projected and executed. Palladio's buildings (like those of any architect) represent a series of compromises—with patrons, sites, budgets, contractors, decorative collaborators, later expansions or contractions (or even demolitions), and cases of "mistaken iden-

tity" in the attributional censuses of modern art historians. On almost every commission, certain of Palladio's surviving drawings offer new evidence about several such open questions.

The expanded revision will include a chronology that incorporates data on the paper and watermarks, graphic media and techniques, handwriting, subjects, documentary connections, and relationships to datable buildings. The identification of several typological and technological phases in Palladio's graphic oeuvre, each relatively datable, was also a development of this research.

Discussed in the first edition of this book was the identification and attribution to Palladio of an important sheet in the Devonshire Collections (now Royal Institute of British Architects, London, "Chiswick 37"), a finished presentation/working drawing for the projected execution of decorative fresco paintings in the great hall of Palladio's Villa Godi at Lonedo. A long-recognized documentation recorded that the villa's owner, Pietro Godi, had in fact paid Palladio "today, 4th July [1550], for the drawing of the Hall, one Hungarian crown"; but no drafted image had previously been connected either with that payment or with eight others, for the eight remaining rooms on the villa's main floor; and the very reason for those nine small payments (at a house then already twelve years old) had been much disputed. The firm connection of that document with this drawing, however, and of the project drawing with Giambattista Zelotti's subsequent execution of its fictive "architectural framework" in fresco (which corresponds almost precisely to the drafted scheme, with just enough tiny variations to demonstrate Zelotti's creative dependency on Palladio's design), proves beyond question that Palladio designed the entire fictive apparatus of illusionistic frescoed frameworks throughout the main floor of the Villa Godi (in his nine drawings for that campaign of 1549–1552). Furthermore—and far more importantly—since Palladio's fictive frameworks at Lonedo are identical in type and detail to those also painted to his order in the Villa Barbaro at Maser (1561–1562) by Veronese, as well as in the Villa Foscari at Malcontenta (after 1560/1561) and in Villa Emo at Fanzolo (mid-1560s) by Zelotti, the conclusion is inescapable that all the fictive illusionistic architectures of Palladio's interior fresco cycles were in

Andrea Palladio and Giambattista Zelotti, *Salone of Villa Foscari ("la Malcontenta")*, Mira, near Venice, construction c. 1550–1555, painting c. 1562–1565; an example of the collaboration of Palladio (for the illusionistic architectural framework) and Zelotti (for the execution in fresco) for the interior decorative schemes of Palladio's buildings. Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington; courtesy of Phyllis Dearborn Massar

fact designed by himself, and executed (in a uniform style) by a variety of his painter-collaborators. A wider realization of this fact will involve a reassessment both of Palladio as a designer of illusionistic interiors, and of the more integrated, coloristic complexity of his buildings, whose decorative paintings he thus organized with the same care as he did their long-studied plans and façades.

My second sabbatical project has been to complete the manuscript for a monograph on the Villa Cornaro at Piombino Dese (near Castelfranco), which Palladio designed and built for the naval commander Giorgio Cornaro, and his wife Elena Contarini, in 1551–1553. My discovery of several hundred bundles of documents from the private archive of the Cornaro family—from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, with a particular concentration on their principal country estate at Piombino—permitted a fifteen-year anticipation of the date of the Palladian palace (previously misdated to the mid-1560s), as well as a detailed investigation of the creative tension between Palladian universalities of design (which appear at Piombino in unusually perfected form) and the specific program requirements of a rich and socially prominent couple (whose private household, for example, consisted of at least seventeen staff members permanently in attendance). An intricately maintained daybook of 1553—as one instance of this unique documentation—permits not only an extraordinarily complete image of a construction campaign on the point of completion, but even a diplomatic guest list, and a series of menus offered in the palace's inaugural year. Comparable material exists for almost every one of the next 250 years, until the extinction of the Cornaro family in 1802; as a result, a picture of the life, use, maintenance, and embellishment of one of Palladio's principal works is here available in exceptional detail. The Villa Cornaro monograph will present a planning and structural study of the palace at Piombino, as well as of its dependencies, gardens, and relationships with its outlying farms.

SUZANNE GLOVER LINDSAY

Embodying Modern Death: The *Gisants* and *Transis* of Nineteenth-Century France

My time at the Center enabled me to clarify the key premises of a
book underway on two types of funerary sculpture in nineteenth-
century France, the *gisants* and *transis*. I approach this topic from
two very different perspectives: as a mimetic idiom adopted in
France, unlike other countries, after prolonged disuse and wide-
spread hostility; and as active ritual elements within the culture of
nineteenth-century France. I focus primarily on the earliest among
the eighty examples found thus far, as they set some defining pat-
terns, and because the problems that concern me—points debated
immediately before and after the Revolution—emerge when these
"haughty," "barbaric," or "macabre" revival types are used in a
telling variety of prominent and highly charged projects.

The book aims to explore issues governing the entire corpus and
to suggest the extraordinary congruence of historical, cultural, and
formal factors in key examples. Following an opening which con-
siders some overarching topics, the book proceeds with an exami-
nation of two case studies: one presenting the first known com-
pleted nineteenth-century French *gisant*, Pierre-Jean David's
demi-gisant of General Bonchamps (1818–1825, Church of Saint-
Florent-le-Vieil, near Angers) and the other, perhaps the first com-
pleted *transi* in Europe in two centuries, François Rude's *Godefroy
Cavaignac* (Montmartre Cemetery, Paris).

As formal language, these funerary types were symbolically linked
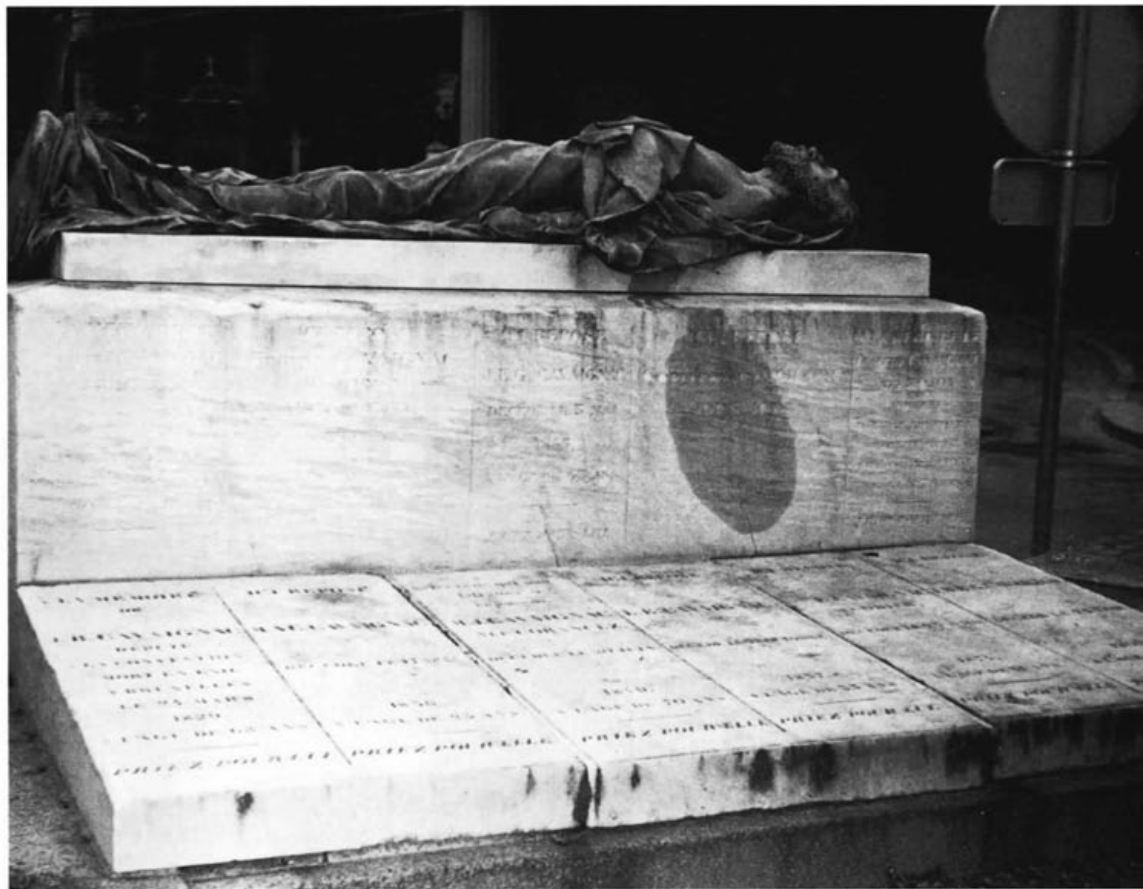
François Rude, *Godefroy Cavaignac*, 1845–1856, Montmartre Cemetery, Paris.
Author photograph

to their spatial frames, and were at times given political readings
that are not immediately obvious. The Cavaignac *transi* was a social
and artistic paradigm for the antimonarchist bloc that commis-
sioned it during the July Monarchy. In its tactful beauty (no decay
or incisions), accessible human scale, and democratic site (the pub-
lic cemeteries mandated by Napoleon to the near-exclusion of
churches), this tomb was applauded by its patrons and spokes-
men—Cavaignac's journalist colleagues—as an improvement upon
its counterparts at Saint Denis: the Valois tombs, whose *transis* of

disemboweled royalty were seen to attract only gawking foreigners into the dark, confining spaces of tyranny.

Several of these projects, moreover, were major centers of cultic activity. The Cavaignac tomb, conceived as an ideal zone of democratic harmony, became a potent site of political protest on the Jour des Morts, leading to arrests and trials for sedition in the 1860s. Though most tombs of the time enjoyed some commemorative attention, the heightened ritual focus on these life-size, three-dimensional images signals their special critical value. They embody a convergence of somatic languages, resulting in a coherent, multidimensional entity that confronted modern life in the forum of modern death. Its constituents were a full-length simulacrum of the deceased in death; the buried remains; a public ritual space; tombside orations that addressed the corpse, particularly with oaths concerning the political future and the metaphysical beyond; and visitors in ritual movement around the tomb.

Drafting the case study of the Cavaignac project helped to identify the major topics of the opening section: (1) the history of these effigy types in light of their complex critical fortunes, beginning with their hiatus during the eighteenth century, (2) the links between revolutionary and postrevolutionary cult, particularly where exhibited corpses or their simulacra are involved, and (3) eighteenth- and nineteenth-century debates about the role of the body in sensibility, a prominent human ideal at that time.

One theme that spans them all emerged in Jean Jacques Rousseau's ideal language of signs discussed in *Emile*, his influential manual for progressive education. His praise for Mark Anthony's silent exposition of the murdered Caesar as powerful rhetoric—eschewing the word for the beholder's imagination—suggests a positive role for, and means of reading, these body-centered funerary forms. In broadest terms, the strategy encourages the documented catharsis triggered by effigies in gentle sleep-death, such as the *gisant* of the duc d'Orléans by Ary Scheffer and Henri de Triqueti (1843; Notre-Dame de la Compassion, Paris), shown in supple collapse after his fatal accident in 1842. Its impact differed markedly from the coldness expressed toward its hieratic successors in the family Chapelle Royale at Dreux, which invoked the problematic medieval bodies-

of-power, reinforced by emblems of rank and dynastic pride. Political martyr programs of the time more closely mirrored Rousseau's figurative model, though liberal examples typically supplemented it with verbal didactic prompts. Revolutionary funerals featured the martyr-hero's body (or effigy), yet often framed it with a sarcophagus, ritual stations, and a cortege loaded with epigrams and allegories. Their postrevolutionary heirs were more subtle. In the Cavaignac project, the bronze simulacrum of the buried corpse was presented as a public democratic manifesto to be intuitively "read" by the sensitive beholder in close proximity— a strategy outlined in the patrons' newspapers that perhaps directed the process at that time, not just documenting it post facto for us. The adoption here of a fictive corpse for a *tomb*, rather than for a funeral, is important, given the critical resistance to the *transi* in France. By the 1790s Renaissance *transis* were acclaimed as superb artistic patrimony to be protected, but were rejected as models for modern tombs. In 1790, Aubin-Louis Millin invoked Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's classical paradigm as a defense, but for reasons of a mentality shaped by public health concerns. For this generation, the rotting corpse was toxic, not just loathsome. Its representation through the *transi*, viewed as a portrait in actual death rather than as a moral symbol, triggered the same fear as the cadavers that then spilled from overcrowded burials, releasing gases that allegedly harmed, if not killed, the living nearby. A decade later, Alexandre Lenoir's published paeans to the Valois *transis*, then housed in his Musée des Monuments Français, urged the viewer to feel empathic tenderness before these superb figures, but supported classical architectonic types for new projects, such as his sarcophagi for national heroes in the Musée's Jardin Elysée.

These various points suggest that facets of sensibility link my chosen rubrics. Key advocates of sensibility (notably Jean Jacques Rousseau, Charles Bonnet, Louis Sébastien Mercier, and the abbé Delille [Jacques Montanier]), claimed its qualities drew upon the sentient body, mediator between the phenomenal world and the soul, imagination, and memory. Unlike most areas of life where for these intellectuals rationality tempered experience, sensibility was crucial for commemoration. The pivotal factor, the sentient

body—in progressive collective motion within a charged place—is prominent in texts on ideal ritual by this contingent of intellectuals, notably Rousseau and later Jules Michelet. Those views are remarkably congruent with arguments in Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of Perception* and current studies of commemoration, empathic archaeology, and early Christian pilgrimages, such as the work of Edward S. Casey, C. Nadia Seremetakis, and Gabriel Josipovici. That cognitive value given to the body subverts the dominant hierarchy of the senses. The powerful but "gullible" eye falls from favor before the allied senses governed by touch (the haptic), which for the comte de Buffon, abbé de Condillac, Rousseau, and the abbé Delille is the richest and most physiologically extensive sense, guide to all others, and arbiter of the arts. The recent scholars cited above apply similar views in their arguments for the loaded physicality of material culture and collective ritual. One especially charged aspect of that physicality, distinguishing funerary cult from other commemorative rites, centers on the buried corpse. For a society marked by revolutionary upheaval, accessible remains were sources of *praesentia* that once again anchored it, and more often affirmed moral greatness and social continuity than saintliness. Thus the "tombness" of these projects is integral to their meaning and social function.

University of Pennsylvania
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997

NATALIA MAJLUF

The Politics of Description: Francisco "Pancho" Fierro (1807–1879) and the Development of *Costumbrismo* in Nineteenth-Century Peru

One of the most radical transformations to affect the visual arts in Latin America after independence was the development of a new kind of pictorial practice, involving a change in the purpose and function of images. Defined by a new empiricism, a supposedly objective tradition of visual description emerged to supplant the fictional spaces of colonial painting. Known as *costumbrismo*, this genre also developed in literature, and formed part of a social project that helped frame the construction of national identities.

While the boundaries of Creole patriotism during the colonial period had been undefined, the establishment of separate nation-states after independence forced Creoles to define the nation within more limited borders. *Costumbrismo* was perhaps the most important medium through which early republican society confronted this moment of self-definition. The genre allowed elites to embrace European fashions and customs while simultaneously preserving an untouched Creole culture in images and texts. My project attempts to trace the development of this process through an investigation of the work of the central figure of Peruvian *costumbrismo*, the watercolorist Francisco "Pancho" Fierro (1807–1879). Fierro has held an important position in accounts of the emergence of a Creole identity in Peru, and his work, which spans almost five decades, offers a particularly valuable case through which to address many of the issues arising from the study of the genre.

Costumbrismo in general, and Fierro's work in particular, has been interpreted as a spontaneous form of expression that is based on direct observation. The documentary value of his watercolors of the types, customs, and dresses of urban Lima, is founded on the idea that they are the expression of the painter's "natural vision" in the depiction of his surroundings. Fierro's style, characterized by the fluidity of his brushstroke, has thus become a sign of the painter's spontaneity, sustaining the illusion that his watercolors are immediate registers of street life in nineteenth-century Lima.

The study of the numerous collections of Fierro's works in Chile,

France, Peru, and the United States shows that the painter repeatedly depicted the same figures, reproducing a fixed repertoire of types. Far from being a direct record of everyday life, *costumbrismo* functioned through a necessary repetition of typical motifs. In fact, the images of types that had been defined by the late 1830s continued in circulation until the end of the century. Fierro's works thus must be understood as handmade multiples, created for the modest market of local collectors and foreign visitors to Lima. The fact that the watercolor gained precedence over the lithographic print in the reproduction of *costumbrista* images is significant, as it suggests that already for his contemporaries, the figure of Fierro as an artist helped validate the truth-value of his images. The tremendous impact of *costumbrismo* derived precisely from this combination of a rhetoric of description and the repetition of ideal types.

Framed within self-contained nationalist narratives, discussions of *costumbrismo* have generally obscured the manner in which the genre developed in a broad field of international exchange. While it contributed to the formulation of the idea of culturally discrete national units, its development was founded on the increasing permeability of national frontiers. A dynamic European editorial market allowed unprecedented circulation of printed works throughout Latin America at the turn of the nineteenth century. By this time, the typologies developed in encyclopedias of travel, costume books, and the printed series of tradespeople and street peddlers had become the dominant international framework for the representation of the character and customs of the different nations of the world.

While Fierro framed his images through these visual traditions, European and North American editors and artists relied frequently on his works for the production of their images of Peru. Fierro's watercolors also had a double market, serving both Creole intellectuals and foreign residents and travelers to Peru. These facts suggest the need for a new interpretation of the genre, one that avoids the pitfalls of dependency theory, where local elites barely serve as filters for European capital or an imperialist European gaze, and the nationalist accounts that view it as a natural and intuitive manifestation of identity.

A series after Fierro done by the workshop of the Chinese painter Tingqua (Library of Congress, Washington) has permitted the identification of numerous other collections of *costumbrista* images created for the Chinese export trade. This parallel and apparently rather large-scale production of handmade copies of *costumbrista* watercolors points to an expanded market for this kind of work and signals the extent to which the dissemination of these images early escaped national confines.

An acknowledgment of the conventional nature of these representations and the international commercial networks from which they emerged can help in reconsidering the significance of *costumbrismo* and its functions in nineteenth-century society. Forged in the exchange between Creole Americans and foreign observers, and between European and local popular imagery, *costumbrismo* created a space for the construction of national traditions in nineteenth-century Latin America.

Museo de Arte de Lima
Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellowship, spring 1998

CAROL MATTUSCH

HENRY LIE

Bronze Statues from the Villa dei Papiri: Ancient Production, Early Modern Restoration and Presentation

Sixty-two large-scale bronze statues and busts were found in the tunneling excavations of the 1750s that revealed the Villa dei Papiri at Herculaneum. Before being placed on exhibition in the Museo Ercolanese at Portici, the bronzes were restored in a local foundry. The curator of the museum, Camillo Paderni, reported that the statues were pieced together, and that their missing parts were replaced. He said that some ancient bronzes were melted down so the bronze could be reused, and that some scrap metal was bought in Naples. Tin, plaster, and marble powder were also used for restorations, and a new patina was applied. Paderni was particularly pleased to see that old and new pieces of metal became indistinguishable except for the line of solder between them. J. J. Winckelmann, who visited Portici in 1762, complained that the ancient bronzes were being subjected to fire to remove rust before new patina (quite unlike the original color) was applied. He also found it difficult to see the statues, and he felt that scholars should be allowed to take notes, but they were not.

When the statues were first published in 1767, the engraved illustrations showed them to be whole, with no indication of the restorations that had been carried out. It is thus that the sculpture from the Villa dei Papiri has always appeared in the scholarly literature, and thus it helped to shape early modern tastes in classical sculpture. The antiquities from Herculaneum were transferred

Bronze bust of Dionysos
from Villa dei Papiri,
Herculaneum, first century
B.C.–first century A.D.
Archaeological Museum,
Naples, no. 5618. Author
photograph

to Naples in 1778. In 1860, the museum in which they were
housed became a public institution, after which time the ancient
bronzes were easily accessible. They were also copied extensively.

These works provide a rare opportunity to study a large group
of bronzes that were originally housed in a single context and that
were rediscovered as a group. Scholars have traditionally sought to
assign names to the individual bronzes and to discover a unified,
planned program for the decoration of this ancient villa. We have
asked more objective questions: are the bronzes uniform enough in
alloy and in production techniques to justify the notion of a pro-
gram? Did the owner of the villa purchase his bronzes from one or
many sources? With the permission of the Soprintendente of
Napoli and Caserta, it was possible to spend three weeks studying
the production techniques and alloys of these bronzes, record the
modern restorations, and outline their early restoration history.

We examined both exterior and interior surfaces of the bronzes,

using a video-probe equipped with a camera. We took detailed photographs of the exteriors and the interiors of the bronzes, and transferred those photographs to CD's for further work, and we took parallel measurements on similar bronzes. We drilled 30- to 50-mg samples from all of the bronzes so as to make quantitative analyses of major, minor, and trace elements by means of both electron probe microanalysis (EPMA) and inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (ICP-MS). Most of the bronzes were x-radiographed (at 300 kv), yielding additional information about ancient joins and repairs, and about modern restorations.

The data that we have recovered provide the first information of this type about a group of large-scale ancient bronzes found in one context. We now know how the bronzes were cast, and we can show how they were pieced together in antiquity. We also can illustrate the exact nature and extent of the eighteenth-century restorations. We shall make computer-generated drawings of the statues based on observations, x-radiographs, and photographs. These will distinguish the original surfaces of the statues from the Villa dei Papiri at the time of excavation from the final repaired surfaces of those bronzes. We can correct early modern misconceptions, such as the belief that the Herculaneum patina was brown (it was green, like the bronzes from Pompeii), that corrosion products were removed by fire (as Winckelmann thought), and that the eyes were cast bronze (they are modern colored plaster inserts; the surviving ancient eyes are made of bone and stone). Bronzes that can be grouped by stylistic similarities may also have the same alloy (three over-life-size busts of Hellenistic rulers), though two statues that are almost exactly alike (runners) have entirely different alloys. Though the fifteen fountain-statues from the villa have been neglected by modern scholars, there can be little doubt that they were purchased from one workshop, for many of them are pieced together from identical series of body parts, and many have matching alloys.

George Mason University
Harvard University
Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology, spring 1998

MARÍA LÍA MUNILLA LACASA

Celebrating the Nation: Ephemeral Art in Revolutionary Festivals in the United States, Argentina, and Mexico

Interest in commemorative celebrations and their pedagogic function in the establishment of new political systems has grown since studies of the French Revolution first considered this topic twenty years ago. Despite the importance of subsequent work by scholars in Europe, the United States, and Mexico, studies of festivals did not draw significant attention from Argentinean scholars.

In view of this, my goal is to carry out a study of the commemorative celebrations that were organized in Buenos Aires after the outbreak of the revolution against the Spanish empire in 1810. The analysis is twofold. On the one hand, my research examines the way in which commemorative festivals contributed to the creation and promotion of Argentina as a new nation, as well as to the construction of national identity. On the other, my study approaches the issue of artistic displays—which were erected temporarily in the city—as privileged tools in spreading the new revolutionary ideals.

From the beginning of the revolution in Argentina, patriotic celebrations played a fundamental role in social, cultural, and political life. As a consequence of the collapse of the colonial regime, the celebrations offered the citizenry a framework of identity and a sense of belonging to the new, emerging order. In the commemorative celebrations that took place in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Argentine state was celebrating its heroes and victories and was growing into a new, independent and sovereign nation. In
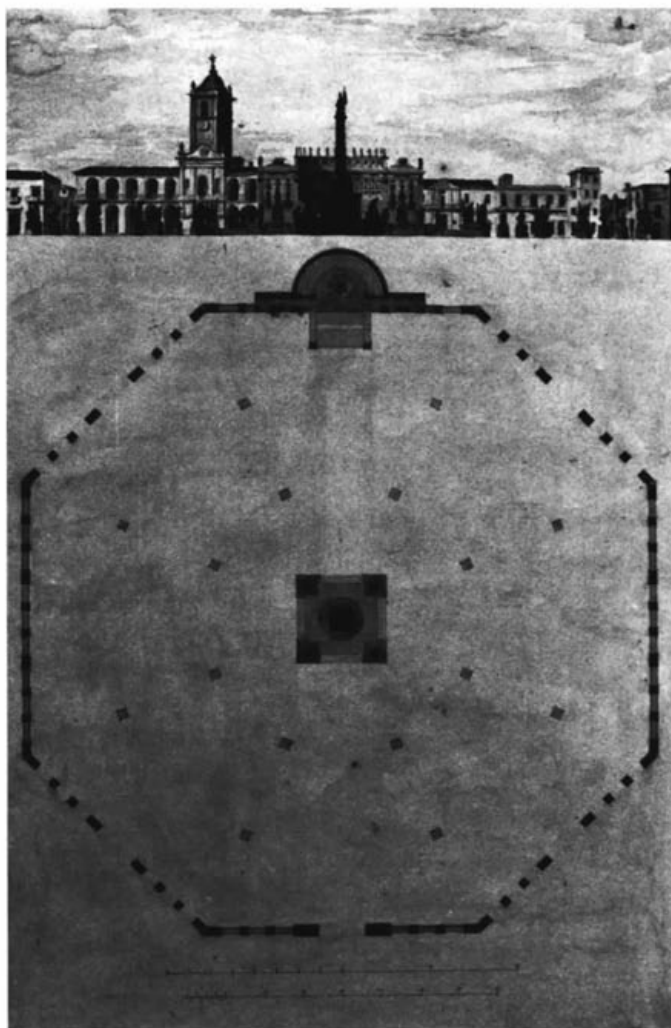
this context, ephemeral artistic expressions, such as temporary architecture, paintings, and sculpture, had an important role in the diffusion of new ideas. They represented, in a symbolic way, discourses about the new social and political order, as well as the agenda of the ruling elite for the future of the nation and the city.

Argentina, Mexico, and the United States underwent similar revolutionary processes almost simultaneously—the United States be-

tween 1775 and 1788, Argentina between 1810 and 1816, and Mexico between 1810 and 1821. The focus of my research during the fellowship period was the similarities and differences in the way such commemorative celebrations helped to bring about the transformation of these countries from colonies into independent states. A critical aspect of this was the comparison of various ephemeral artistic constructions in the cities' public spaces. Questions to be addressed included how the ornamental displays celebrated the historic deeds of each country; and what kinds of architectural and artistic languages were chosen for the construction of the ensembles of triumphal arches, fireworks, winged victories, and national trophies that adorned patriotic celebrations. Moreover, I considered the creators and designers of the ornamental displays. Were they acknowledged artists who created symbolic images of power, glory, and freedom? Or were they craftsmen who followed exisiting iconographic programs? If this was so, who designed those programs? Further, what was the role of skilled artists in the diffusion of new ideas about revolution and independence? What was their role in the construction of the first images of the national heroes, and how did the patriotic festivities contribute to the circulation of these portraits? Was the state an active agent in the promotion of a so-called "national" art, or did art gradually gestate through individual endeavors?

These are some of the questions that arose during my research, and which I will attempt to resolve by means of the extensive bibliography and documentation that I consulted during my stay at the Center.

Universidad de Buenos Aires, Instituto de Teoría e Historia del Arte "Julio E. Payró"
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, spring 1998

BEZALEL NARKISS

The Sources of the Ashburnham Pentateuch:
Precursors of Its Illumination

My research during the past year concerns the illuminations of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, also known as the Pentateuque de Tours, now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (MS NAL 2334). One of the richest early Christian illuminated manuscripts, it has been badly mutilated over the last fifteen hundred years. Of seventy-two original, full-page miniatures, only eighteen and the frontispiece survive, and the entire Book of Deuteronomy is missing. It is the earliest extant Latin illuminated Pentateuch, with a unique text and illustrations, and neither its date nor provenance is known. Probably it was produced in a monastic scriptorium in the Mediterranean region between the early fifth and early seventh century, by three collaborators: a scribe and two artists. The artists inserted captions to help identify the images.

Many of the illustrations and captions are not strictly biblical and include noncanonical, even heretical, iconography. The sources of this iconography, pertaining both to theology and gesture, prove to be diverse. While the illustrations show principally late Roman elements, some iconographic motifs show Greek, Syrian, and Jewish origins. These elements suggest diverse models or precursors of the Pentateuch's illumination, and may help establish the origins of early Christian Bible illustration in general.

The main question that preoccupied me this year was how the diverse iconographic components came together in the illumina-

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tions. Although the text of the Pentateuch was written in Latin by a Christian scribe, its illuminations consist of Christian as well as Jewish iconographic elements. It is unlikely that the artists had diverse models to consult. More plausibly, they followed one illuminated manuscript containing elements from different periods.

It seems that Jewish midrashic (homiletic interpretations) elements were the earliest sources incorporated into a Syriac version, possibly of heretical nature. The latest exemplar must have been a Latin manuscript based on a Syriac or Greek illuminated Pentateuch.

As many Jewish elements were misunderstood, they most likely pertain to the earliest version. Folio 76 shows the story of the Israelites accepting the Law on Mount Sinai, when God forced them to do so by "placing the mountain over them like a bucket." This midrashic story was not mentioned by the early Christian fathers, but is known from numerous later midrashic exegeses and from Hebrew illuminated manuscripts, such as the illustration in the Regensburg Pentateuch of c. 1300 from south Germany (Jerusalem, Israel Museum, MS 180/52, fol. 154v). Other Jewish midrashic illustrations in the Ashburnham Pentateuch may indicate that artists copied images without understanding their meaning, such as in the illustration of the separation of land and sea on the third day of creation (fol. 1v). According to the midrash, the waters did not comply with God's command, as they liked covering the entire earth. God asked for help, and the hovering mountains volunteered to enclose the waters and separate them from the land. The illustration in the Pentateuch shows a patch of water, a rectangular piece of land, and three mountain ranges above it. The inscription identifies the mountains as separating the land from the waters, indicating the artist's exemplar contained an inscribed illustration. As said, the artist could not have known the scene from literary sources because the early Christian fathers did not mention this midrash.

In another illustration of a Jewish midrash, two Egyptians are bowing to a throne in adoration of a deity. This scene appears at the bottom of a full-page miniature illustrating the story of Joseph and his brethren (fol. 44). The caption inscribed on either side of
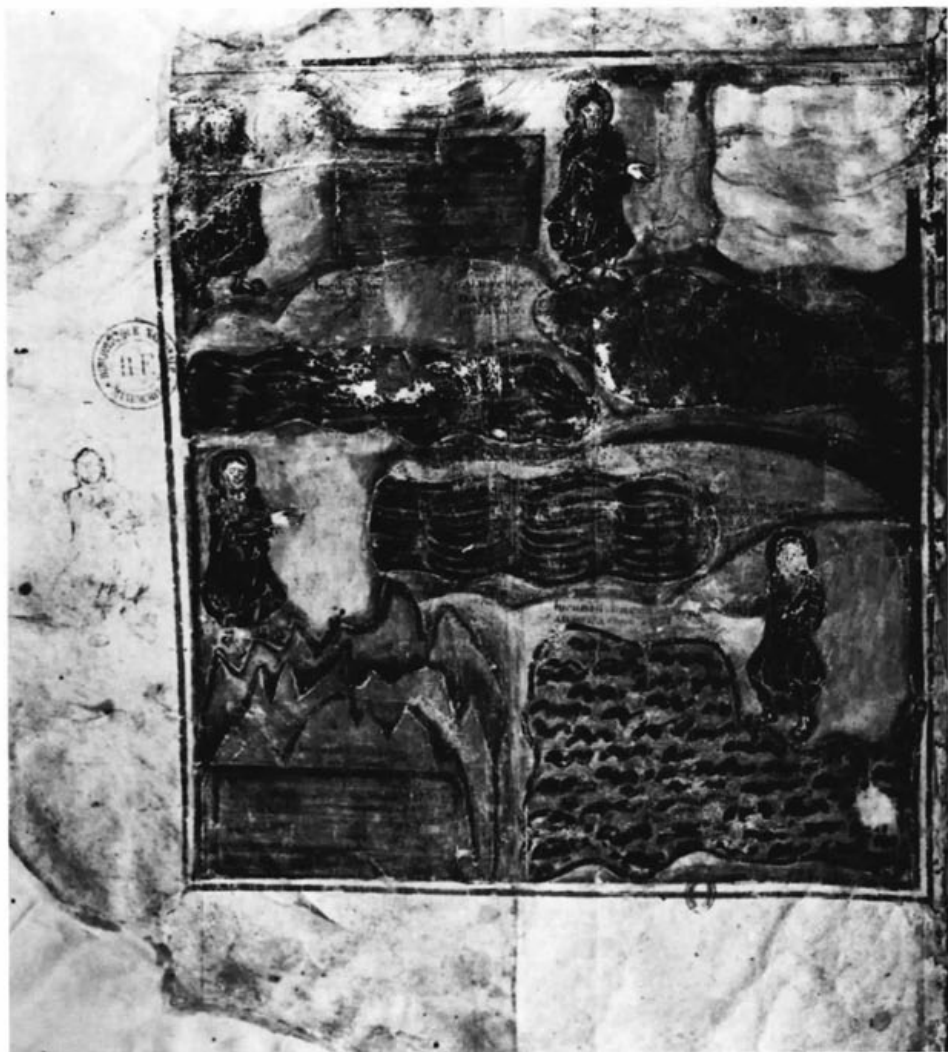
Illumination of the state of pre-creation of the world, creation of light in the first day, separation of waters above and below the firmament on the second day, and separation of waters and land on the third day of creation, fifth century, East Mediterranean, MS NAL 2334 (Ashburnham Pentateuch), folio 1v. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

the throne reads: "Here are the Egyptians adoring their *pigella*." The term *pigella* stems from a misunderstanding of a biblical term. According to the Bible, and as illustrated on this page, the Israelites, namely Joseph and his brothers, are eating their meal separately from the Egyptians. The Bible explains this custom by stating that the Egyptians, unlike the Hebrews, would not eat *kine*, as cows were regarded as gods. Partaking of a meal with the Israelites is, in the words of the Bible, "an abomination to the Egyptians." On the other hand, an image of a deity is an abomination to the Israelites, and *to'evah* or *pigul* are the biblical terms for abominations. Thus depicting Egyptians adoring their deity turns the meaning of the biblical verse: the Israelites' meat becomes the Egyptians' god. The artist of the Ashburnham Pentateuch probably did not understand the term *pigul* nor its Aramaic translation *pigula*. He copied the illustration from his model together with its caption, not realizing their implications.

It seems plausible, therefore, that the Jewish midrashic elements were illustrating an Aramaic paraphrase of the Pentateuch not codified in the Bible. Most Aramaic paraphrases, known as *targum* (translation), originated in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine during the first through third centuries A.D. The use of Jewish elements in the illustrations of the Ashburnham Pentateuch can be compared to the mid-third-century wall paintings of the synagogue at Dura Europos on the Euphrates. Both include midrashic elements in their paintings as well as Aramaic and Greek inscriptions within the panels. These midrashic elements, once part of an oral tradition, must have been incorporated into an Aramaic Jewish paraphrase which was illuminated. Aramaic illustrated paraphrase served both as a model for the Dura Europos wall paintings and for the illustrations of the Christian Syriac Pentateuch.

The Syriac heretical elements can be detected in the first surviving miniature of the manuscript, depicting two images of God creating the world (fol. 1v). Despite deliberate effacement, there is no doubt that the Father and Son "through whom all things were created," are depicted four times on this page. The initial idea of the creation of the world by *logos*, the "word of God," is based on an allegorical idea of the second century A.D. Egyptian Jewish

philosopher Philo. The early Christian fathers, mainly the Apologists, adopted the term *logos*, using it throughout their interpretations. However, during the third century, the relation between God the Father and God the Son was debated among the Christian fathers mainly in regard to the preexistence of the Son and his connection with the birth of Jesus of a woman. The depiction of two Gods, a bearded man and a youth next to each other, both inscribed *Omnipotens*, may represent a heretical idea: that these gods are two separate entities, not of one substance. It is possible that the Nestorians and their Syriac teachers were responsible for this kind of heresy. The heretical element in the first precreation scene is underlined by the fact that the Spirit of God is depicted as an angel rather than a dove, which was the common iconography for the Spirit of God. Most early Christian fathers objected to the idea that angels existed before creation, and connecting their creation to that of light, in the first day. The Jewish midrash explains that angels existed before creation, to help God in creating Adam in "our image" as the Bible states.

There are other Syriac heretical depictions in the manuscript, such as three chalices and three loaves of bread on the altar of Noah and Moses, placed as they would be in the Nestorians' celebration of the Eucharist. The Syriac version of the Bible, the *peshita*, was translated in the second century and spread throughout Mesopotamia during the third and fourth centuries. As Jewish Aramaic is similar to Syriac, the Syrian artists could have adapted the earlier illustrated Aramaic version. These artists did not have to consult the text, and could have used only the illustrations and captions to produce their own illuminated Bible. Numerous Syriac stylistic elements in the Ashburnham manuscript may support the suggestion of Syriac and Aramaic precursors. An example of this is the depiction of women, whose highly decorated hairstyles, earrings, and bracelets resemble Palmirene women, such as those depicted in funerary art and inscribed in Palmirene-Aramaic.

It is not known how, where, or when the Syriac version was used as a model for the Latin Pentateuch. If not copied directly by the artist of this manuscript, it could have been copied by artists of an intermediary manuscript. It is also possible that there was a Greek

intermediary between the Syriac and the Latin manuscripts, as there are several Greek terms in the captions of the miniatures. However, Greek terms may have been included in the earliest Jewish sources or in the Syriac exemplar.

The problems of the origin of this Pentateuch, the monastery in which it was produced, and its date, will be the next step of my research. These data may help us understand the artists' minds and their surroundings, and why Jewish and heretical Syrian elements were allowed to survive within this Latin manuscript.

Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1997–1998

THERESE O'MALLEY

The Botanic Garden in America

During the period of my fellowship I wrote a monograph on the development of the botanic garden in America during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with an emphasis on the colonial and early republican periods. My focus is on the confluence of art and science in the evolution of the botanic garden as a principal expression of garden aesthetics.

This study is concerned with the shaping of landscape taste that resulted from the increasing desire for new plants and from the interest in sponsoring expeditions, collecting, and publishing among the most powerful political and cultural elite. It was, in part, to "bring home," or to simulate, the experience of the artist/naturalist/explorer that the re-creation of more natural environments in the garden or landscape would become the preferred mode of display or design in the eighteenth century. Garden design was greatly influenced by several factors, including the arrival of imported exotic plants; empiricism in the botanical sciences; the impact of exploration; and the increasing cultural significance of natural history. The botanic garden, a collection of living plants that emphasized the scientific aspects of plants, became increasingly popular in the eighteenth century. It was as innovative and expressive of a new garden aesthetic as the English landscape garden, although the latter has received the greater attention of historians.

The first section of this book deals with the establishment of
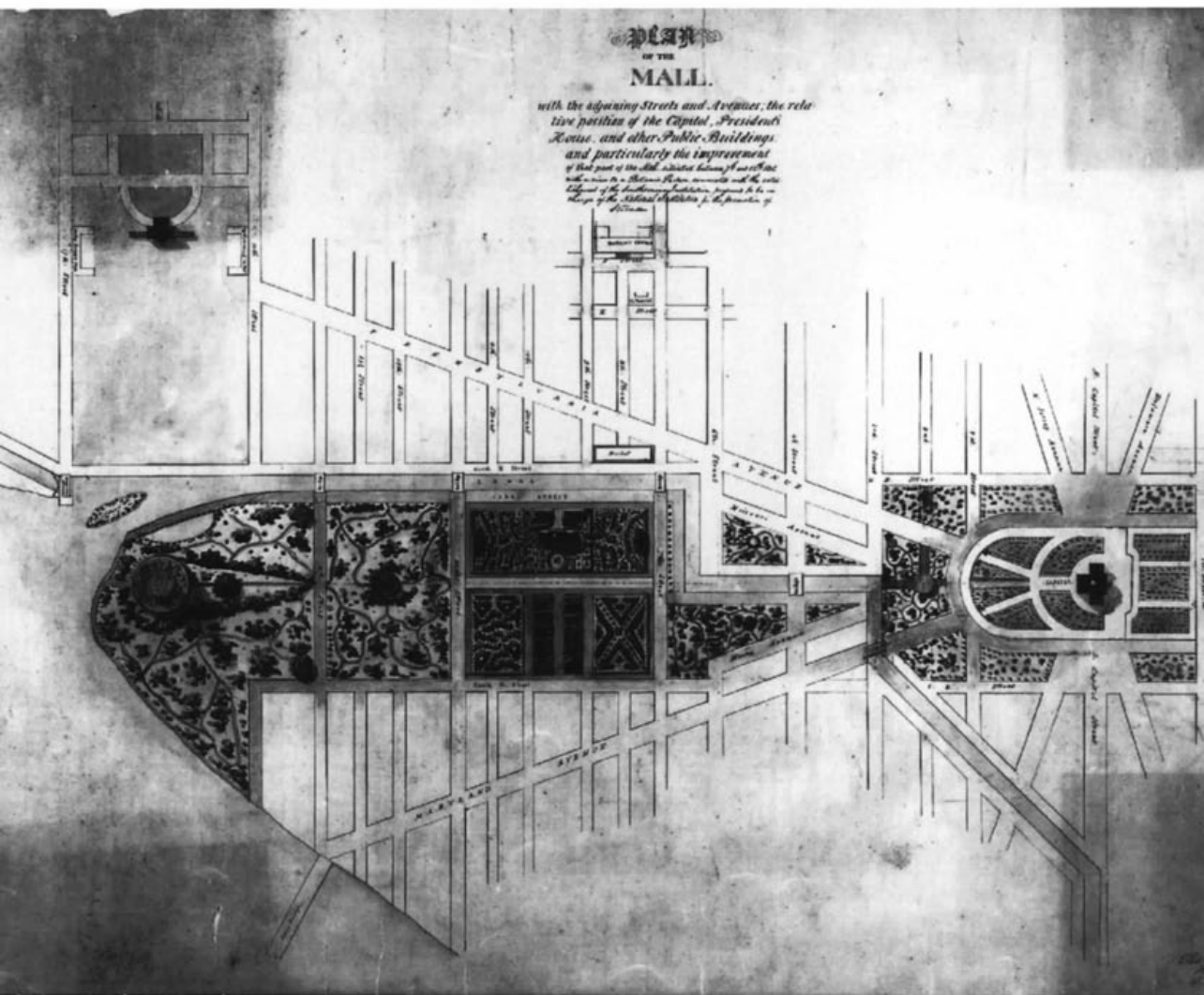
Robert Mills, *Plan of the Mall*, 1841, Civil Works File, Cons. 90.1, Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77. Photograph: National Archives, Washington

botanic gardens during the colonial period. A fundamental impetus behind the movement of, and experimentation with, plants as well as the sponsorship of gardens, both domestic and colonial, was to make European nations independent of each other—each country wanted to be self-sufficient. In order to break those monopolies held by foreign powers, to be able to harvest seeds at optimal times, and to avoid the pitfalls of sea transportation, it was

critical to control gardens of essential plants. The founding of colonial botanic gardens was vital because it allowed for the acclimatizing of plants that would ultimately render the colonies self-sufficient. Such regional self-sufficiency would secure resources of food and wood for ships as they sailed the world, providing sources of supplies for crew and naval materials. Therefore, the creation of botanic gardens in the colonies received the endorsement and support of both private and public interests.

During the colonial period, the art and science of early botanic gardens were influenced by a transatlantic gardening culture. A passion for plant material was shared by collectors on both sides of the Atlantic, and its successful pursuit was fully interdependent and collaborative, an important yet still understudied aspect of the history of gardens. European collectors sent agents to the New World to establish botanic gardens as well as to send specimens back to Europe. These gardens, such as John Bartram's garden in Philadelphia (1730), and André Michaux's gardens in New Jersey and Charleston (1785), acted as collecting sites for native plants as well as centers for the introduction of plants new to America.

After the American Revolution, the botanic garden became a tool of the newly independent republic. Often coupled with a museum or a natural history collection, the botanic garden was promoted as an essential "national object" by such figures as Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and John Quincy Adams. In this section, I consider how the botanic garden achieved this status and why these cultural and political leaders found it useful for their purposes. A succession of botanic gardens was planned for the national Mall in Washington, D.C., because it was the quintessential expression of both garden art and scientific inquiry and was particularly useful during the formative decades of American nationality. The ruling elite was trying to establish superiority over Europe and to create a national identity celebrating the natural richness of the new continent as well as achievements in the sciences and the arts. The belief that social and moral benefits were conferred by this garden type contributed to the desire to create not only a botanically ornamented seat of government but also a model didactic environment where one would be taught the prin-

ciples of botany and landscape art. In addition to the educational function of these botanic gardens, the naturalization and cultivation of useful plants was recognized as essential to the welfare of the national economy.

By the late nineteenth century, the botanic garden came to be seen as a tool of civic improvement, as an essential urban ornament, and as an integral part of the public park movement that was overtaking the country. The third section of the book examines how the botanic garden was seen as a public institution offering orderly recreation and instruction while beautifying cities.

PONCIANO ORTIZ CEBALLOS

Proyecto Arqueológico Manatí

En Mayo de 1988 el Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia y la Universidad Veracruzana inició un proyecto de rescate arqueológico en El Manatí, estado de Veracruz, México, con la finalidad de confirmar y contextualizar el hallazgo de un conjunto de elementos culturales correspondientes a la cultura Olmeca. Estos objetos fueron localizados al costado oeste del Cerro Manatí, al pie de unos manatiales. En tan solo un mes de trabajo se logró obtener información que permitió verificar el hallazgo y comenzar a entender el contexto cultural, conocimiento que se ha ido ampliando con los trabajos subsiguientes.

El estudio de la ubicación, geografía y ecología del lugar comenzó a dar pistas sobre la posibilidad de que estábamos ante un lugar de ofrendas especiales relacionadas con rituales a los elementos naturales. Desde entonces nuestras primeras preguntas fueron y continúan siendo: ¿por qué este lugar aparentemente desolado, con la virtual ausencia visible en la superficie de adoratorios, estructuras ceremoniales o domésticas, fue seleccionado para efectuar tan importantes rituales? ¿Se trató de una ofrenda en la que se vieron involucradas varias comunidades? ¿Se trata de un evento propiciatorio debido a prolongadas sequías o al contrario para evitar fuertes inundaciones? Y por supuesto, ¿cuál fue su significado y cómo se pueden interpretar sus mensajes simbólicos a partir de la comprensión recuperada?

El Cerro Manatí es un domo salino rodeado por un conjunto de lagunas comunicadas entre si (Laguna del Manatí y La Colmena) que emerge de la planicie costera. Junto con el Cerro del Mije y La Encantada son los únicos que destacan en toda la cuenca baja del Río Coatzacoalcos. Si bien no alcanza a tener una gran altura—apenas cien metros sobre el nivel del mar—debió funcionar muy bien como referencia geográfica, pues se puede ver con claridad incluso desde la meseta de San Lorenzo.

Los resultados obtenidos en las posteriores investigaciones permitieron postular de manera hipotética que posiblemente estábamos ante la presencia de un espacio sagrado, en el que definitivamente el Cerro Manatí y sus manantiales de agua fresca debieron jugar un papel relevante en la selección del lugar para efectuar importantes prácticas religiosas. Desde esa perspectiva, la parafernalia asociada debería tener una carga semiótica o simbólica muy importante dentro de esa sociedad, especialmente en relación al culto a las montañas sagradas, al agua y, en general, a los elementos naturales.

Actualmente sabemos que el sitio fue utilizado como espacio sagrado por varios milenios y que dicho uso fue variando a través del tiempo. Los datos indican que las primeras ofrendas se remontan al año 1600 A.C. y consistieron básicamente en hachas labradas en piedras verdes como la jadeita, serpentina, y esquistos. Correspondiente a esta época hemos encontrado también pelotas de hule, sobresaliendo el hallazgo realizado en la última temporada (1996) consistente en un impresionante conjunto de siete pelotas de varias dimensiones (la mayor es de cuarentiún centímetros de diámetro) asociadas a más de cuarenta hachas, todas de piedras finas y de excelente acabado.

En este mismo contexto se han recuperado restos cerámicos y morteros. Es interesante notar la virtual ausencia de obsidiana y de figurillas. Los tipos cerámicos y sus formas no son muy variados; los morteros se encuentran siempre fragmentados y muestran una especial decoración íntimamente ligada con prácticas rituales más que con un habitat doméstico común o profano. Este complejo cerámico es similar al encontrado en Chiapas correspondiente a las fases Barra y Locona, considerados allí como preolmecas. Igual de

Busto antropomorfo de madera, El Manatí, Veracruz, México. 1200 A.C.

relevante ha sido la recuperación de una gran variedad de semillas (coyol redondo, anonáceas, jobo, nanche, semilla del diablo), así como varios tipos de vainas (coapinole, probables granos de maíz, copal, una variedad de resina que sospechamos proviene del coapinole).

Por el año 1200 A.C., tiene lugar otro importante evento, mucho más complejo aún y de una gran riqueza en parafernalia. Se trata

del enterramiento masivo de bustos antropomorfos de madera, cuya localización denota un plan preconcebido. En efecto, se presentan en variadas posiciones siguiendo un eje Norte-Sur, ya sea en conjuntos de dos, tres o individualmente, junto a diferentes elementos asociados. La mayoría de ellos se encuentra boca arriba, con bastones de madera de forma lanceolada y serpentiforme a cada lado, así como con ramos de plantas atados con hilo de dos cabos. Sobresalen, además, aquellos especímenes acompañados por restos óseos humanos de infantes recién nacidos—y quizás neonatos—en su mayoría desmembrados. También se encontraron bolas o piedras de hematita especular y conjuntos de hachas de piedra verde incluyendo la jadeíta, pero de forma y acabado mas burdo, es decir, muy diferentes a las de los ofertorios más antiguos.

La relevancia de este impresionante evento sacro es notable no solo por la cantidad de bustos sepultados, sino por la complejidad que se infiere dada la parafernalia asociada. Tan solo el proyecto ha rescatado dieciocho piezas completas en contexto y dos fragmentos, que sumadas a las trece entregadas por los campesinos hacen una cantidad considerable. No se debe dejar de mencionar las ofrendas de una serie de bloques de arcilla fina de color blanco en cuyo centro se incrustó una pequeña hacha con el filo hacia arriba y que también guardaron patrón simétrico y sistemático, pues fueron colocadas en su mayoría siguiendo un eje Norte-Sur. Estas datan de la misma época de los bustos.

Como dijimos en un principio, es a partir del estudio y caracterización de la geografía local que se puede comenzar a comprender el carácter sacro de este singular paraje, pues su elección estamos ahora seguros obviamente no fue fortuita. De hecho, pensamos que obedeció a su especial configuración, pero no solo mediante la comprensión de los elementos naturales, pues también refleja una importante ideología y cosmogonia religiosa fuertemente estructurada ya desde las épocas mas tempranas Olmecas. En consecuencia, consideramos que estamos ante la presencia de un sustrato religioso y cultural que sentó las bases de las culturas posteriores como La Teotihuacana, Maya, Mixteca, e incluso la Azteca. En este bagaje cultural destaca el culto a los cerros como montañas sagradas y axis mundi, a los manantiales y mantos

acuíferos, cuevas y, en general, a la naturaleza y a la agricultura como base del sustento. Del mismo modo, destaca el culto a los ancestros y a los niños deificados y sacrificados asociados al agua y la fertilidad; así como a las piedras finas como el verde jade (símbolo del agua, la siembra, cosechas y la perpetuidad), el hule y la hematita (símbolos de la sangre y del movimiento). En suma, pareciera tratarse de ofrendas y cultos efectuados para perpetuar la especie y guardar el equilibrio de la humanidad, elementos que fueron ejes conductores y cuya validéz simbólica persiste hasta la actualidad.

Universidad Veracruzana, Instituto de Antropología
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, fall 1997

GIOVANNA PERINI

The Publication of Sir Joshua Reynolds' Sketchbooks

Anyone who should judge Sir Joshua Reynolds as a draftsman by
the extraordinary pastel and charcoal female portrait in the collec-
tion of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, might develop an
inaccurate and far-too-favorable impression of his ability. While
the traditional attribution of this drawing has never been discussed
or challenged in writing, the work is baffling because of its mod-
ern, almost impressionistic, post-Gainsborough style, and because
of the difficulty in relating it to any known painting. If the attri-
bution is tenable (according to National Gallery records, it was
challenged verbally by Andrew Wilton in 1980), then the only pos-
sible dating is the late 1780s, after Reynolds' trip to Flanders and
Holland, when he developed a comparable style in portrait paint-
ing. While unparalleled in his graphic oeuvre (and in that of con-
temporaries such as Thomas Gainsborough and immediate fol-
lowers such as George Romney, Thomas Lawrence, or John
Hoppner), this drawing fits the painterly mood fostered by
Gainsborough, which became fashionable in the late 1780s
(Romney, Henry Raeburn, and the young Lawrence offer cases in
point, aside from Reynolds himself). This "mood" was widely im-
itated by late-nineteenth-century British forgers, which may have
fueled Wilton's suspicions, and prompted his tentative suggestion
of a late-nineteenth-century dating for the National Gallery of Art
drawing. Pen sketches of the same period in London (Royal

Academy of Arts), Oxford (Ashmolean Museum), and New Haven (Yale Center for British Art) belie Reynolds' late complaints about his poor draftsmanship and lack of adequate academic training in his youth, but other than these, no comparable graphic work of his can be currently listed to support the attribution. It must be added, that no systematic investigation of his graphic work has ever been attempted, the only partial exceptions being an article by Luke Herrmann (*Burlington Magazine*, 1968) and a remarkable exhibi-

tion at the British Museum in 1978, where Reynolds shared show-cases with his rival Gainsborough.

The artist's early sketchbooks are now in London (British Museum, Sir John Soane's Museum); England (Dr. M. Copland-Griffiths); New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art, J. Pierpont Morgan Library); Boston (Fogg Art Museum); and New Haven (Yale Center for British Art). In addition, sketches were pasted into various albums such as those in the Royal Academy, London, and the Beinecke Rare Book Library (Yale University). These record his studies after the old masters and provide an important, consistent starting point for the study of his art in general and his drafts-manship in particular. The notes accompanying the sketches are al-ready known through the partial and imprecise transcriptions of James Northcote, William Cotton, Charles Robert Leslie and Tom Taylor, Laurence Binyon, and others (including myself), but the sketches are largely untrodden ground.

My main objective in Washington has been the study and full transcription of the texts in the two New York sketchbooks, one of which (recently acquired by the Morgan Library from Mrs. Gertrude Dennis) is virtually unknown, despite the generosity of its previous owner who lent it to the 1973 Reynolds exhibition, or-ganized by Frederick W. Hilles at the Yale Center for British Art. Excerpts of this sketchbook were published by Charles Robert Leslie and Tom Taylor in their classic study of Reynolds (*Life and Times of Sir Joshua Reynolds, with Notices of Some of His Contemporaries*, London, 1865), which supplied the name of its owner at the time, Robert Gwatkin, who owned also the two sketchbooks now in the British Museum and the two currently in the Copland-Griffiths collection.

Further evidence in favor of a Gwatkin provenance is supplied by internal elements: the written notes correspond closely to sketches in the larger Copland-Griffiths sketchbook, to the point that the latter often illustrates works mentioned in the former, and occasionally (such as in the portrait of Francesco Maria della Rovere after Federico Barocci) the same work is sketched in both. Further, a note in the handwriting of Joshua Reynolds Gwatkin can be found on folio 38v of the Morgan Library sketchbook and

is the same handwriting found in the British Museum sketchbooks. Moreover, the Morgan Library sketchbook is not complete. The page between folios 18 and 20 (nineteenth-century numeration: the correct numeration should be 73 and 72 respectively) is missing. It was cut out most likely by one of the Gwatkins, who would present friends with sketches. One of the British Museum sketchbooks has been particularly wounded by this, causing the loss of text written on the backs of sketches. It is therefore possible that the lost notes on Genoa transcribed by Northcote in his *Life of Reynolds* were made on the now-missing pages of the British Museum sketchbook, rather than belonging to an untraced and otherwise unknown sketchbook.

Study of the Morgan Library sketchbook makes it possible to reassess the history and attribution of individual sketchbooks proposed by Ellis Waterhouse in 1973 and already partially amended (in my 1988 article, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*). In fact the Morgan Library sketchbook was part of the same lot in the Lady Thomond sale of 1821 as was one of the two sketchbooks in the Copland-Griffiths collection. The sale number in ink in the upper left corner of its cover (64/3) provides conclusive evidence for this, and for the final exclusion of the Ashmolean Museum sketchbook from that lot as well as from Reynolds' oeuvre—a conclusion already reached by Nicholas Penny and myself on stylistic and circumstantial grounds.

The format of the text in the Morgan Library sketchbook seems to suggest that Reynolds' notes and sketches were not only a private record of what he saw, but possibly evidence of a soon-abandoned project to supply foreign travelers with an updated version of Jonathan Richardson's Italian guidebook. This hypothesis awaits verification, but offers interesting new avenues for research. It might help explain the uncommonly high ratio of drawings after the antique in this particular sketchbook, for instance. Moreover the emphasis on Flemish and Dutch masters studied in Roman collections may help clarify the unexpected paths of Reynolds' self-training in Rome and why, paradoxically, his first works in England soon after his return from Italy show northern rather than Italian traits. The Morgan Library sketchbook also supplies vital

information for the recharting of his Italian travels: it makes abundantly clear, for instance, that before arriving in Rome in April 1750, Reynolds had already spent some time in Tuscany, most notably Florence. Therefore the notes in the British Museum sketchbook marked "201 A 10" and referring to his return journey do not bear witness to his first contact with Tuscany.

This refinement of his Italian years may further lead to a reconsideration of his later activity as the president of the Royal Academy, masterminding the education and training of the new British artists. At the National Gallery of Art, microfilms of the minutes of the general assembly and private council meetings at the Royal Academy for 1768 through 1792 have allowed comparison of these archival materials with Reynolds' theoretical statements in the *Discourses*, his letters, private notes, and sketches from his youthful years. The image of Reynolds emerging from these studies is more nuanced than the largely correct, but drier picture currently prevailing.

Università di Roma II Tor Vergata
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997

SVETLANA POPOVIĆ

The Crossroads: Monastic Architecture in the Balkans, 400–1500

Christianization of the Balkan peoples from two ecclesiastical centers, Rome and Constantinople, marked the starting point for ecclesiastical disputes which persisted for centuries. The Byzantine heritage in some of the Balkan countries was a significant component of their medieval tradition. In certain respects, they formed a specific broader community related to Byzantium. On the other hand, some of the territories were closely dependent on the Latin world and Roman cultural circles. These various cultural and religious contexts were mirrored in the monastic developments of the region, and are important for later Balkan history.

Church architecture, as the most important artistic achievement of the monastic religious milieu, has often been analyzed. Usually monastic churches are studied as independent buildings and rarely have been related to their respective monastery contexts. This study examines the planning of a medieval monastery and its architectural iconography, both of which were shaped not only by the specific demands of religious life, but also by secular sources. In my book, the monastery is analyzed as a specific spatial structure uniting religious buildings and secular architecture, both of which constituted integral parts of a medieval society.

There are significant differences between the architectural-spatial concept of the monastery layout in the Byzantine sphere of influence and that of monasteries under the patronage of the Latin

Studenica Monastery,
twelfth century, Serbia.
Author photograph

church. Those differences affected applied architectural solutions. In regions such as the Balkans, the two overlapping spheres of influence produced atypical features. These peculiarities include the development of rural rather than urban monasteries; circular rather than rectangular monastic plans; the mostly fixed position of the main entrance to the enclosure on the west side; and placing the church in the center of the monastery as a freestanding building, rather than incorporating it within the other building structures. An important aspect of each monastery, especially of those that had developed in rural areas, was their internal organization and layout. The settlements included provisions for water supply, sanitary areas, heating, lighting, and everyday activities. On the

basis of material remnants of infrastructure of these settlements, the standard of living in a medieval monastic environment of the Balkans can be reconstructed.

During my stay at the Center for Advanced Study, I focused on the *prolegomena* to early monasticism in the Balkans as documented in architecture. No other aspect of early Balkan history is as vaguely documented as monasticism. Fortunately, recent archaeological excavations have brought to light several early monastic sites in the Balkans, including three in the hinterland of Salona (Klapavice, Rizinice, Crkvine), and three on the Dalmatian islands (Ciova, Stipanska, Majsan). In the eastern Balkans, monastic settlements were excavated at Dobrudja and Salava Rusa, and in the southern Balkans at the Sinxy complex in Thrace. The archaeological remains indicate that the monasteries were organized as *coenobia* (communal life) and were of moderate size (accommodating between ten and twenty members), unlike the earlier Pachomian (Egyptian) foundations of huge dimensions and enormous populations. Typologically, the early Balkan monastery was a small *coenobium* resembling similar settlements of Palestine. Each monastery was surrounded by a wall with a gatehouse. Monastery buildings included a church, a dining hall for all the monks, a kitchen, a bakery, storehouses for food, a dwelling for the monks, and water supply by means of conduits or cisterns. Monastic life was conducted in accordance with strict rules, and there was no room for freedom of choice or individuality. Yet in many respects the standard of living in these monasteries seems to have been higher than that of most people in the Balkans. In their physical appearance, the smaller monasteries are reminiscent of late Roman agricultural villas, built around a closed inner courtyard. The cultural and political changes that took place in the course of the Slavic invasion of the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries led to a drastic decline of Christianity, and the disappearance of many of the monasteries. This was the turning point that led to formation of the "new monasteries" within the emerging medieval society of the Balkans.

Greenbelt, Maryland
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1997

HORST VEY

Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings and Oil Sketches of Anthony van Dyck

In 1954, the National Gallery of Art acquired a large number of photographs of paintings and drawings by, or attributed to, Anthony van Dyck (Antwerp 1599–London 1641). The collection was assembled by Gustav Glück, author of a monograph on the artist's paintings, *Van Dyck. Des Meisters Gemälde*, published in the "Klassiker der Kunst" series in 1931. The value of the collection lies in the inclusion of photographs of lost pictures, as well as variants and copies of known pictures. This collection, in addition to related materials in the Witt Library (London), the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (The Hague), the Rubenianum (Antwerp), and the Frick Library (New York), expands the known Van Dyck corpus.

Glück's collection contains photographs from firms such as Alinari, Anderson, and Bruckmann that are often clearer than recent museum photographs. Even if one knows the originals, it is frequently instructive to reexamine details in the photographs with a magnifying glass for several reasons: much time may have elapsed since the encounter(s) with the original; pictures look different in the light of subsequently gained experience; viewing conditions in churches and collections are sometimes less than satisfactory (the portrait of Gaston d'Orléans at the Musée Condé, Chantilly, hangs so high that even after scrutiny with a pair of binoculars last summer, I was grateful to find a large photograph

Anthony van Dyck,
Portrait of a Lady, c. 1634.
Location unknown.
Photograph: National
Gallery of Art, Washington

of it in Glück's material and to be able to verify some tentative ob-servations I had then made); pictures may also have changed ap-pearance after cleaning. The Glück collection also includes pho-tographs of paintings that are mentioned in the literature but are illustrated poorly or not at all. One cannot hope to see in the time available every one of the hundreds of pictures by Van Dyck as they are scattered across the globe; therefore, occasional judgment on the basis of an adequate reproduction seems admissible if it is based on a wide knowledge of originals.

There are numerous photographs in the Glück collection of works that passed through the trade in the 1930s and 1940s and were submitted to Glück for authentication. For obvious reasons, most dealers' photographs are made to show the pictures in the best light, literally as well as figuratively, permitting reliable deci-sions about their character and attribution. Most of these paint-ings have remained unpublished, and some indeed may be lost for-ever. It seems that Glück always asked for two prints. On one print he would draft the text of his evaluation with a soft pencil and keep this print. The other print carried a copy of the evaluation in ink and was given to the dealer or collector. Sadly, it became obvi-ous to me that even a scholar of Glück's standing did not hesitate to ennoble apocrypha; I cannot imagine that Glück would have seen fit to publish such pictures in a scholarly journal.

My findings will be incorporated into the forthcoming catalogue raisonné of Van Dyck's work, which will be completed in collabo-ration with Susan Barnes, Oliver Millar, and Nora De Poorter. In a work of connoisseurship such as our catalogue raisonné, of course, photographs may only be used with great caution to sup-plement a body of firsthand knowledge of originals. Nonetheless photographs are successors to the reproductive engravings of ear-lier times, and the compiler of a catalogue raisonné will take them into consideration in order to explore the artist's oeuvre as com-prehensively as possible.

Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe (emeritus)
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997

HEGHNAR WATENPAUGH

Configuring the Empire: Urbanism, Architecture, and Mercantile Space in Ottoman Aleppo

In 953/1546, at the time of completion of Hüsrev Pasha's architectural complex, which included a mosque, a *madrasa* or college for the study of law, and a caravanserai, there was nothing visually similar to it in Aleppo. The distinctive Ottoman silhouette of the mosque, with its low hemispherical dome and graceful pencil-shaped minaret, was novel to the city, as was the spatial configuration of the complex, featuring a low fence around the structures that isolated the monumental ensemble and ensured its visibility. In addition to its form, the siting was also deliberate: it occupied a portion of the parade ground of the previous ruling group, the Mamlūks, and was positioned across from the gate of the citadel, last rebuilt in the thirteenth century by the earlier Ayyūbid regime.

This complex figures on the list of works attributed to Sinān, the *mi'mār başi*, or chief imperial architect, from 1538 to 1588. Rather than seeing it as an early work by an architect known for later masterpieces, this study considers the complex in the context of architectural activity at the center and the periphery of the Ottoman empire. At a time when Ottoman officials established a large number of institutions in newly conquered territories, the Office of Imperial Architects in Istanbul, headed by Sinān, faced the challenge of formulating a recognizable "Ottoman" design that could be efficiently replicated in the provinces. A large number of *külliyes*, or institutional complexes, where the mosques tended to follow a standard-

ized design, appeared in the major cities of the empire. This centralized system of architectural production awaits systematic investigation, as does the question of why the now-canonical "Ottoman" style was not always chosen by the Ottoman officials who built in the provinces, particularly in provinces previously ruled by Islamic dynasties with strong local building traditions. This study suggests, based on Aleppo's example, that the answer to the latter question partly lies in the specific urban contexts of the structures, and in the spatial relationships they created with existing buildings that were allowed to remain.

In the process of Ottomanization of provincial cities, architectural forms were inseparable from the institutions and functions they housed and orchestrated. In Ottoman architecture the provincial complexes were the means to export the institutions that supported the Ottoman version of the Islamic way of life. Locating such complexes in cities was critical, of course, as cities were the nodes of provincial government and the conduits for the dissemination of cultural influence from Istanbul. While the Ottoman tool of intervention, the institutional complex, was standardized, it produced unique results in each context, as each city absorbed and transformed the forms sent from the center.

A city with a long history as a major urban center, Aleppo was in a period of unparalleled economic and cultural growth in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The capital of an important Ottoman province, encompassing parts of what are today northern Syria and south-central Turkey, its location on the confluence of trade routes made it a magnet of long-distance commerce and textile manufacture. It quickly emerged as the third city in the empire after Istanbul and Cairo.

Following Hüsrev Pasha's lead in the first century of Ottoman rule, the sixteenth century, officials from Istanbul established a series of institutional complexes in the economic heart of the city. The legal means deployed in this accretive process was the charitable endowment, or *waqf*. In addition to the complexes, the entire length of the market axis was lined with shops, and vaulted, effectively turning this area into one of the empire's largest covered marketplaces. The institutional complexes included a large number of commercial structures, such as caravanserais, *qīsāriyyas* used as workshops or warehouses, and shops. Ottoman officials lent prestigious public support to the economic development of Aleppo, as the city was important to Istanbul for long-distance trade. Indeed, the structures they built promoted trade and reoriented urban functions, thereby rendering obsolete the urban centers of the Mamlūks. The skyline of the city was also redefined through the distinctive Ottoman silhouettes of the mosques.

While the mosques consistently looked "Ottoman," other components of the complexes were subject to a different kind of

Ottomanization. The façades of the caravanserais on the main market axis of Aleppo imitate Mamlūk conventions for this type of building in this particular location, and seem to compete with the preexisting Mamlūk façades. The formal aspects of the Mamlūk caravanserais, incorporated in these Ottoman structures of the same type, in this part of the city and not elsewhere, suggest a localized urban memory. Further, these structures seem to have become sites for Ottoman appropriation of the Mamlūk past. Clearly, local forms with local referents had become part of the Ottoman architectural idiom, at least for this location.

This study places Aleppo within its imperial context, while dominant scholarship tends to conform to the boundaries created by contemporary national borders. Once this leap is made, it can be seen that different kinds of knowledge were fostered in different places to reckon with the city: biographical dictionaries and historical topographies of Aleppo were produced locally and in Arabic; universal histories, universal geographies, books of etiquette, and accounts of imperial journeys illustrated with city views were produced in Istanbul and in Ottoman. This study also makes use of sources often cited but rarely critically read, including archival documents such as endowment deeds and travelogues by western and central Europeans, and Ottomans. The key piece of evidence, however, is the city itself, a repository of cultural meaning. I spent an important part of my two and a half years of field research doing footwork in Aleppo.

The reshaping of Aleppo's monumental corridor in the Ottoman period is but one aspect of the phenomenon of dissemination of imperial architecture. Rather than the mere imposition of hegemonic forms and institutions, it represents a flexible process of imposition as well as one of absorption and transformation of imperial models: an interchange between the center and the periphery. As it is both typical and unique, Ottoman Aleppo serves as a case study for the dissemination and appropriation of imperial architecture in the provinces.

[University of California, Los Angeles]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1996–1998

Description of Programs

Seminar on "Architecture and the Counter Reformation: Perspectives, Themes, and Strategies"

Fields of Inquiry

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, and urbanism, from prehistoric times to the present. The Center supports research in 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.

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. Traditionally the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

Andrew W. Mellon Professorship

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select biennially a distinguished academic or museum professional as Andrew W. Mellon Professor, a position created in 1994. Scholars are chosen to serve two consecutive academic years and are free to pursue independent research.

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. Individuals currently affiliated with the National Gallery of Art are not eligible for the Senior Fellowship program. Awards usually are made for the academic year. The Center will consider dividing the fellowship period into single terms to be held in two consecutive calendar years. 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

David Freedberg and Thomas A. P. van Leeuwen

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 for Advanced Study.

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; and a research allowance for photographs, slides, and microfilms. 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, photocopies of two offprints, 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 may be preparing a *Habilitationsschrift* or pursuing a career in a museum or a historic monuments commission in Germany. A Frese Senior Fellowship will be awarded annually for an academic year, early fall to late spring, and may not be postponed or renewed. The fellowship is for full-time research. Ten sets of all materials, including an application form, a project proposal, copies of selected pertinent publications, and three letters of recommendation in support of the application, 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 up to sixty days during the year, in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit five sets of all materials, including an application form, a financial statement, and photocopies of one article or chapter of a book. Two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed.

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 from the Gallery for six to ten months in the succeeding academic

year 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

Richard W. Hill Sr.

Michael Holly, Keith Moxey, and Heghnar Watenpaugh

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/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellowships for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology

Applications are invited from teams consisting of two scholars: one in the field of art history, archaeology, or another related discipline in the humanities or social sciences, and one in the field of conservation or materials science. The fellowship includes a two-month period for field, collections, and/or laboratory research, followed by a two-month residency period at the Center for Advanced Study, National Gallery of Art. Fellows will have access to the notable resources represented by the collections, the library, and the photographic archives of the Gallery, as well as the Library of Congress and other specialized research libraries and collections in Washington. Laboratory facilities in the Washington area may be made available on an ad hoc basis. Each team is required to submit an application with seven sets of all materials, including ap-

Matthew Kennedy and Branden Joseph

plication form, proposal, a tentative schedule of travel indicating the site(s), collection(s), or institution(s) most valuable for the proposed research project, and copies of selected pertinent publications must be forwarded by the application deadline. In addition, each team member must ask two individuals to write letters of recommendation in support of the application. Applications are due by 21 March 1999 for 1999–2000. The fellowship is supported by funds from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and from endowed funds for visiting senior fellowships from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Visiting Senior Research Fellowships for Scholars from East and South Asia

The Center is pleased to announce a program of Visiting Senior Research Fellowships for Scholars from East and South Asia. The fellowships include 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. These fellowships for ad-

vanced study are open to scholars from East and South Asia who hold appropriate degrees in the field and/or possess an equivalent record of professional accomplishment. Knowledge of English is required. The application deadlines are 21 March for the period September through February and 21 September for the period March through August. A complete application includes the following: a two- to four-page research proposal, a tentative schedule of travel in the United States, a curriculum vitae, and two letters of recommendation. Two Visiting Senior Research Fellowships will be awarded annually.

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 the Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship. Kress and 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 or museum in the Washington area, 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, and general or preliminary examinations. Students must have certification in two foreign languages. 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

Beth Cohen

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

Individuals 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 from the completion of the fellowship. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply three years after the completion of the fellowship. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply five years after the completion of the fellowship. 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. In addition, fellowship information is available on the World Wide Web (http://www.nga.gov/resources/casva.htm).

Facilities

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center for Advanced Study are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over two-hundred thousand volumes. The National Gallery's collections, photographic archives of over 7.5 million images, 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.

Board of Advisors and Selection Committees

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. A member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. In addition, a separate selection committee, composed of scholars in the field, is appointed for each special initiative fellowship program. Recommendations for appointment are forwarded to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

Program of Meetings, Research, and Publications

Meetings

The Center for Advanced Study 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 new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery of Art, 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 1997–1998 may be found on pages 20–32.

Stephanie Kristich and Kimberly Rodeffer

Research

In 1982–1983 the Center initiated a program of long-term research projects. Each of the four deans directs a project designed to produce a research tool of value to the scholarly community. One project, completed in 1994, was the creation of *A Guide to the Description of Architectural Drawings*, edited by Vicki Porter and Robin Thornes. The work was the result of a collaboration between the Getty Art History Information Program, the Architectural Drawings Advisory Group, and the Foundation for Documents in Architecture. This work is intended to promote and establish standards for the description of architectural drawings. For current research projects, please see pages 40–41.

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 43–186 for reports written by members in 1997–1998).

Publications

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. Thirty-one symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *Michelangelo Drawings* (Volume 33); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); *The Pastoral*

Landscape (Volume 36); *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37); *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); *Van Dyck 350* (Volume 46); *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Volume 47); *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy* (Volume 48); *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (Volume 49); *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review* (Volume 50); *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910* (Volume 53); and, *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals* (Volume 54). The papers of five additional symposia are in preparation for the series: "Vermeer Studies," "The Art of Ancient Spectacle," "Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period," "The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished," and "Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception."

Index of Members Research Reports 1997–1998

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