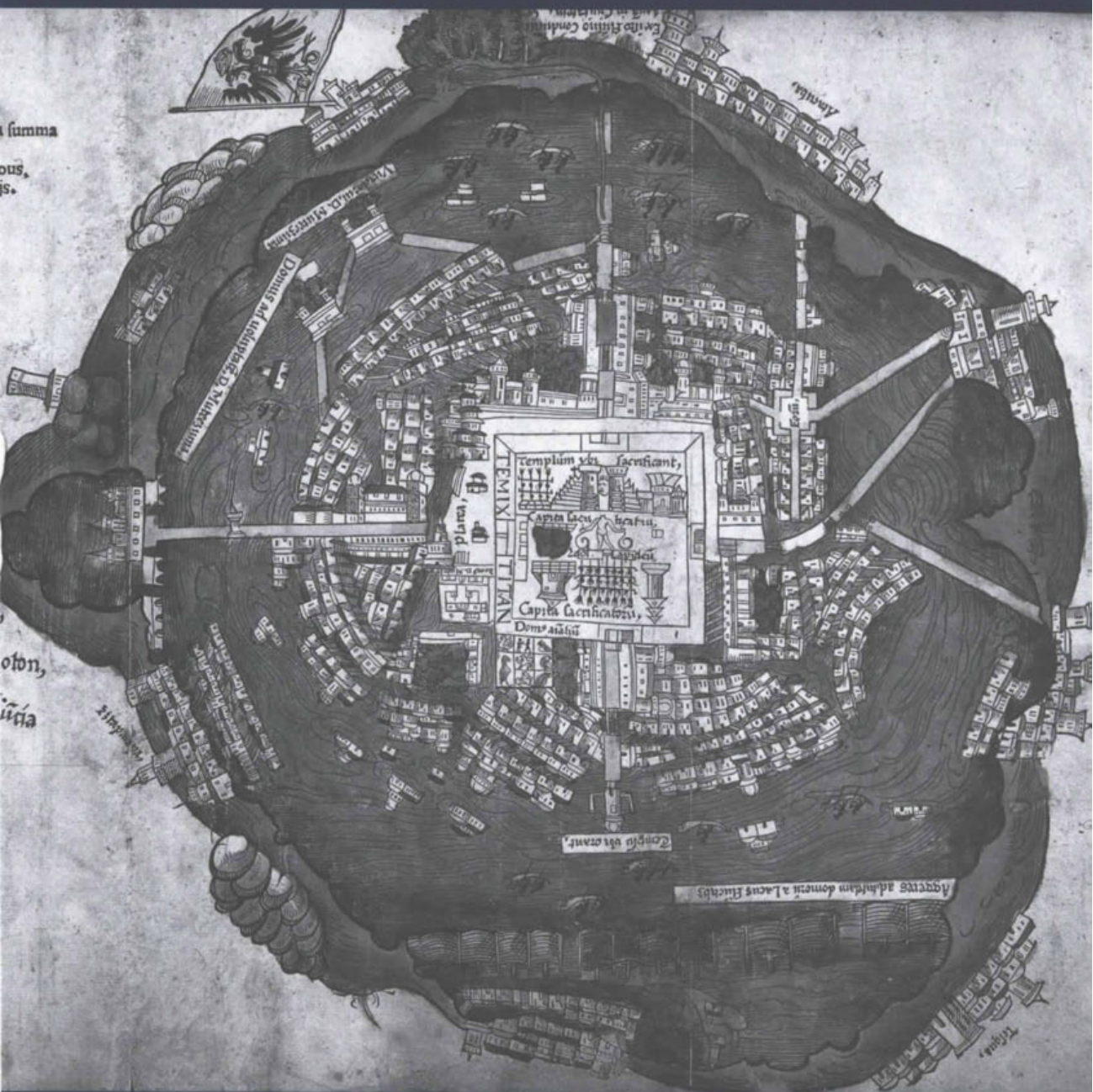
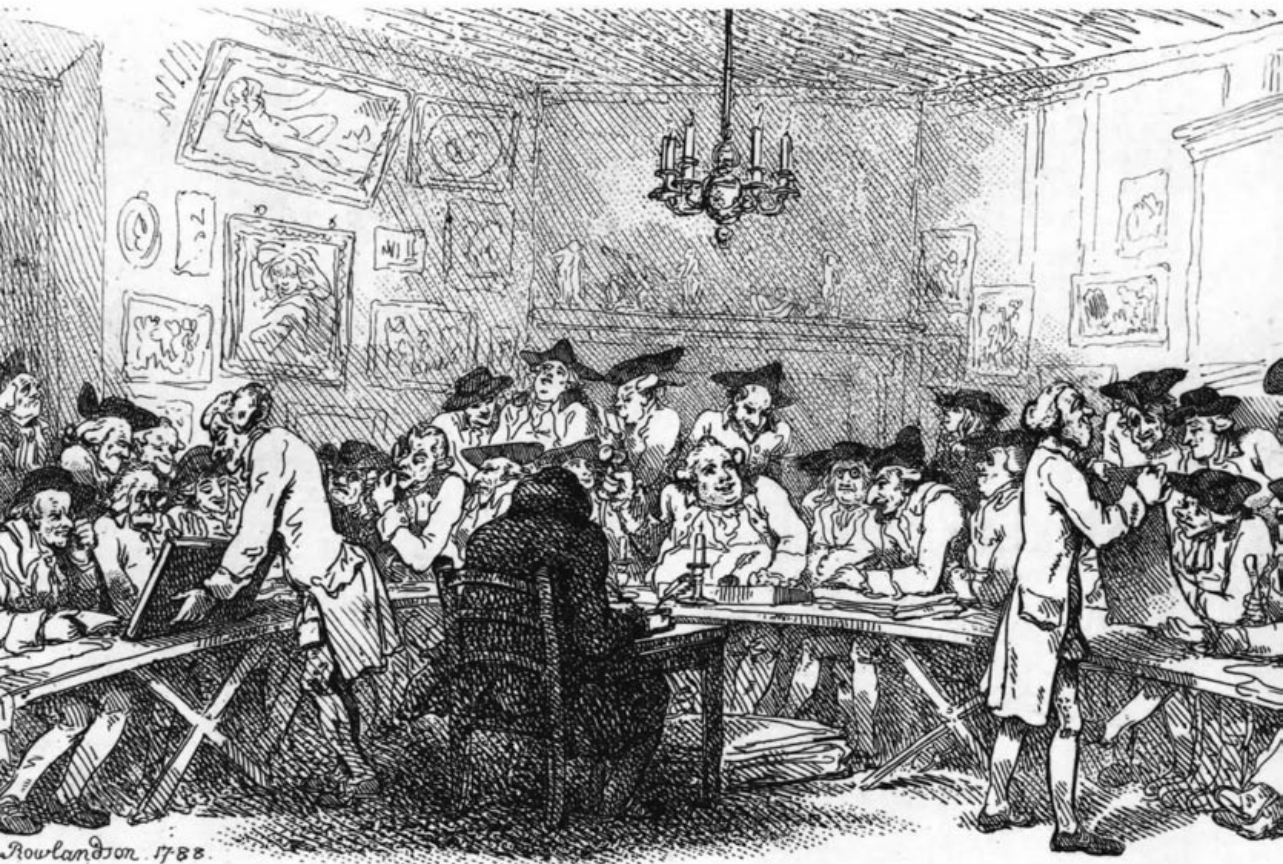


# CENTER 19



## **CENTER 19**



Rowlandson. 1788.

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

## **CENTER 19**

Record of Activities and Research Reports

June 1998–May 1999

Washington 1999



THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED TO THE MEMORY OF PAUL MELLON

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Frontispiece: Thomas Rowlandson, *A Print Sale*, 1788.  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection

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## Preface

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, a research institute which fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, and urbanism, from prehistoric times to the present, was founded in 1979 as part of the National Gallery of Art. The Center encourages study of 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.

The resident community of scholars consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Professor, and the Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, in addition to approximately eighteen fellows, including Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, Associates, Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellows, and Predoctoral Fellows. The programs of the Center for Advanced Study include fellowships, research, meetings, and publications.

**Report on the Academic Year  
June 1998–May 1999**

## Board of Advisors

Christiane Andersson  
September 1998–August 2001  
Bucknell University

Yve-Alain Bois  
September 1996–August 1999  
Harvard University

Doreen Bolger  
September 1998–August 2001  
Baltimore Museum of Art

Walter Cahn  
September 1997–August 1999  
Yale University

Vidya Dehejia  
September 1997–August 2000  
Arthur M. Sackler Gallery and  
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution

Rona Goffen  
September 1998–August 2000  
Rutgers University

William Loerke  
September 1998–August 2000  
Catonsville, Maryland

## Special Selection Committees

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

Molly Faries  
Indiana University; University of  
Groningen

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;  
Senior Research Associate (Central European Poster Project)

Joanne Pillsbury, Assistant Dean

Samuel Albert, Research Associate  
to the Acting Associate Dean;  
Research Associate to Senior Research  
Associate (Central European Poster  
Project)

Christine Challingsworth,  
Senior Research Associate (Baroque  
Architecture Exhibition)

Barbara Christen, Research  
Associate to the Associate Dean

Giuseppe Dardanella, Research  
Associate to the Dean

Lisa DeLeonardis, Research  
Associate to the Assistant Dean

Sabine Eiche, Senior Research  
Associate (Architectural Drawings  
Project)

Teodoro Hampe-Martínez,  
Project Associate (Guide to  
Documentary Sources for the Andes)

Kirstin Noreen, Research  
Associate to the Samuel H. Kress and  
Andrew W. Mellon Professors

Jamie Brindley, Program Assistant  
(Guide to Documentary Sources for  
the Andes)

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 and  
Publications

Curtis Millay, Program Assistant  
(Baroque Architecture Exhibition)

Sara Morasch, Secretary to the  
Program of Research

Jill Pederson, Assistant to the  
Program of Research

Kimberly Rodeffer, Assistant to  
the Program of Fellowships

Alexandra Roosa, Program  
Assistant (Baroque Architecture  
Exhibition)

Helen Tangires, Staff Assistant

## Curatorial Liaison

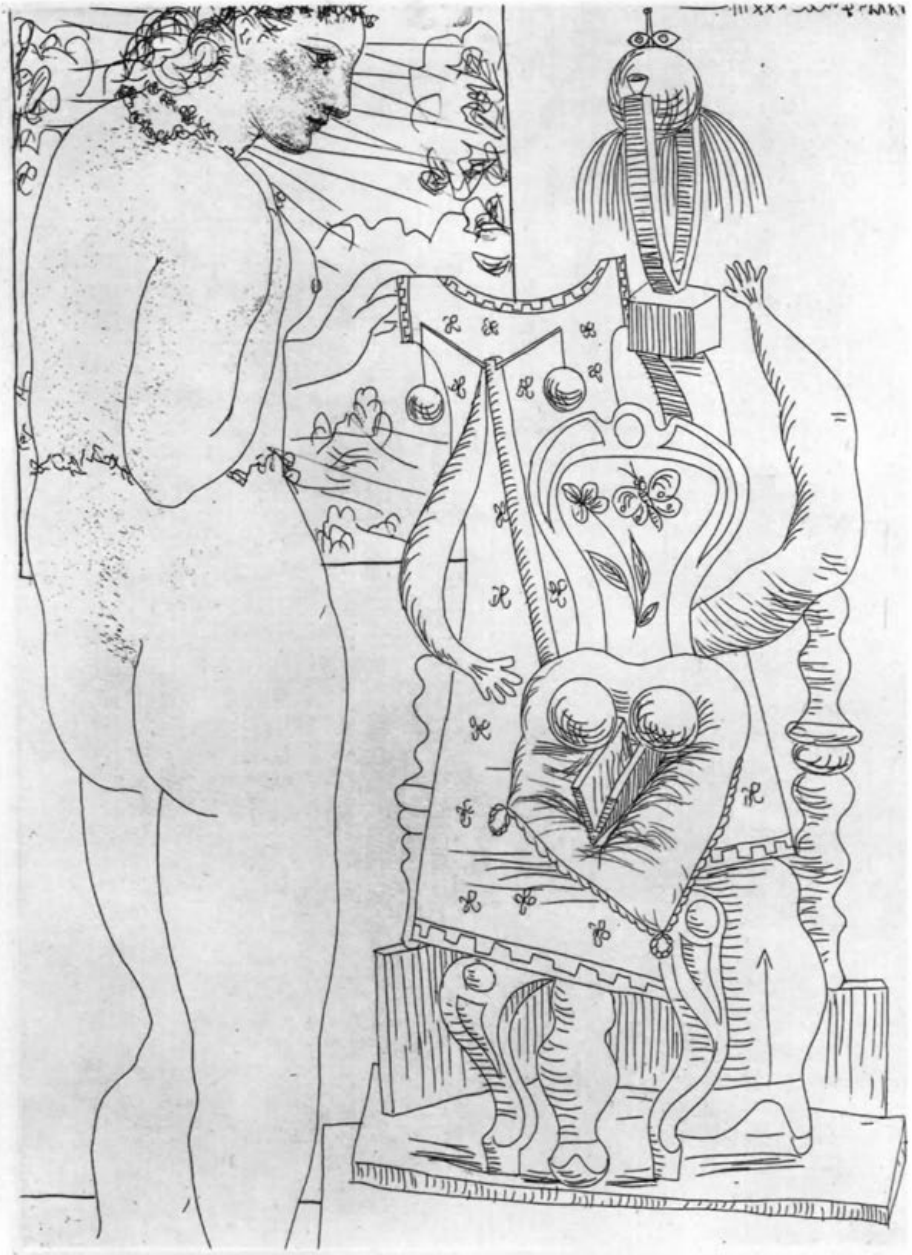
Philip Conisbee, Senior Curator of  
European Paintings and Head of the  
Department of French Paintings

## Interns

Doreen Montag (Guide to  
Documentary Sources for the Andes)

Lucia Santistevan-Alvarez  
(Guide to Documentary Sources for  
the Andes)

Flora Vilches (Guide to  
Documentary Sources for the Andes)



Pablo Picasso, *Model and Surrealist Sculpture*, 1933.  
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Rosenwald Collection

## **Report of the Dean June 1998–May 1999**

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, in its nineteenth 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 in 1998–1999 included individuals working on topics ranging from scribal traditions in ancient Mesoamerica to Picasso's working methods. Among the members of the Center were scholars from Australia, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, the People's Republic of China, Poland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The year 1999 marked the end of the first year of the Center's four-year special initiative for scholars from East and South Asia. This program, initially funded by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and currently by the Starr Foundation, is designed to foster sustained interest from East and South Asian scholars and their participation in the regular fellowship program. 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.

Four long-term research projects, under the direction of the deans, are currently under way at the Center. The first, the development of the National Gallery of Art's photographic archives of pre-1800 Italian architectural drawings, has resulted in approxi-

mately thirty-nine 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. 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.

The Center sponsored three symposia during the 1998-1999 academic year. The first symposium, "Italian Panel Painting in the Dugento and Trecento," was held on 16 October 1998. It was made possible by the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations. The Center expects to publish the symposium papers from the meeting and from a related symposium held at the Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia dell'Arte (Dutch Institute for Art History, Florence) in the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art series. The second symposium, "Small Bronzes in the Renaissance," was held on 4-5 December 1998 with the support of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation. The final symposium, "Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru," took place on 5-6 February 1999 and was sponsored by The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The papers from these symposia will also be published in the Studies in the History of Art series. Joanne Pillsbury, the Center's assistant dean, will serve as scholarly editor of the Moche volume, and Debra Pincus will edit the papers on small bronzes.

Among the informal meetings held at the Center in 1998-1999 was a daylong seminar entitled "Ancient American Architectural Models." These meetings were complemented by lectures, including the forty-eighth Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts presented by Carlo Bertelli. Other lecture topics included the veneration of saints and their relics, urban studio artists in Late Imperial China, and modernist conceptions of the sculptural ob-

ject. One incontro, or informal presentation of research, was held on the subject of the inventory of the *Kunstammer* of the dukes of Bavaria.

One volume in the symposium series of Studies in the History of Art was published this past year, *Vermeer Studies*. These papers were developed from a symposium held at the Center in 1995 and at the Royal Cabinet of Paintings Mauritshuis, The Hague, in 1996. Papers from seven 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*





Ilene H. Forsyth

## Members

Ilene H. Forsyth, University of Michigan (emerita)  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1998–1999

Malcolm Bell III, University of Virginia  
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1998–2000

Carlo Bertelli, Università della Svizzera Italiana  
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1999

## Senior Fellows

Sylvain Bellenger, Château de Blois  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1998–1999  
*Girodet: A Detailed Biography*

Anthony Cutler, Pennsylvania State University  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 1999  
*Objects of Desire: Gift Exchange between Byzantium  
and Islam*

Whitney Davis, Northwestern University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1998–1999  
*The Transcendence of Imitation: Homoeroticism in the Visual  
Arts, 1750–1920*

Hanns Hubach, Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität  
Heidelberg  
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1998–1999  
*Parnassus Palatinus: Studies of the Arts at the Palatine Court,  
1400–1630*

Andrew Morrogh, University of Oregon  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1998–1999  
*The Churches of Guarino Guarini: Inspiration and  
Development*

Javier Urcid Serrano, Brandeis University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1998–1999  
*Silent Voices on Tumbled Megaliths: Narratives of Power at  
Monte Alban*

## Visiting Senior Fellows

Heliana Angotti Salgueiro, Comitê Brasileiro de História da Arte,  
Universidade de São Paulo

Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow,  
summer 1998

*The City as Artifact: Representations and Realities*

Felipe Cárdenas-Arroyo, Universidad de Los Andes, Bogotá  
Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W.  
Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, summer  
1998

*Decorative Patterns on Archaeological Pots: Considering the  
Symbolism of Art Styles in Ancient Southwestern Colombia  
and Northern Ecuador*

Louis Cellauro, Lyon

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

*The Muses, Mount Parnassus, and Renaissance Gardens*

Albinia De La Mare, University of London (emerita)

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

*Bartolomeo Sanvito of Padua: A Man of the Renaissance*

Julian Gardner, University of Warwick

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1998

*Giotto di Bondone: The Kress Madonna and Related Paintings*

Sharon Hirsh, Dickinson College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1998

*The Symbolist City: Perspectives of Late-Nineteenth-Century  
Art and Urban Society*

David R. Marshall, University of Melbourne

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

*The Representation of Architecture: Mausoleum, Triumphal  
Bridge, Pyramid, from Raphael to Soane; and Catalogue  
Raisonné of the Paintings of Gian Paolo Panini*

Jerzy Miziołek, University of Warsaw

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

*The Origins of Domestic Painting in Florence*

Lauren M. O'Connell, Ithaca College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1998

*Viollet-le-Duc and Russian Architecture: A Study in the  
Politics of History*

Yan Zheng, Shandong Provincial Museum  
The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research  
Fellow, fall 1998 and winter 1999  
*Stone Workshops of the Han Dynasty*

**Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for  
Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology,  
1998–1999**

Gene A. Ware, Brigham Young University  
James E. Brady, California State University, Los Angeles  
*Multispectral Imaging for Conservation and Analysis of the  
Naj Tunich Inscriptions*

Marilyn McCully, London  
Ann Hoenigswald, National Gallery of Art  
*Reworking and Working in Series: An Art-Historical and  
Technical Analysis of the Development of Images in Picasso's  
Work, 1900–1915*

**Predoctoral Fellows**

George Baker [Columbia University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1998–1999  
*Lost Objects: On Surrealism, Consumption, and Modernity*

Rachel DeLue [Johns Hopkins University]  
Wyeth Fellow, 1998–2000  
*George Inness: Landscape, Representation, and the Struggle  
of Vision*

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

Aneta Georgievska-Shine [University of Maryland at College  
Park]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1998–1999  
*The Poetics of Quotation in Rubens' Versions of Myths  
(1610–1620)*

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

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\* in residence 14 September 1998–31 August 1999

- Andrew Leung [University of Pennsylvania]  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1998–2000  
*Central-Pillar Cave Architecture in China and Central Asia during the Northern Dynasties (265–581 A.D.)*
- Sarah Linford [Princeton University]  
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1998–2001  
*The Disgrace of Representation: French Symbolism, 1870–1910*
- Melissa McCormick [Princeton University]  
 Ittleson Fellow, 1998–2000  
*Tosa Mitsunobu's "Small Pictures": Forms and Functions of Small-Format Handscrolls in the Muromachi Period (1333–1573)*
- Richard Neer [University of California, Berkeley]\*  
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1996–1999  
*The Marketplace of Images: Representation and Ideology in Attic Red-Figure*
- Lauren S. Nemroff [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]\*  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1997–1999  
*The Figure Paintings of Tang Yin (1470–1524)*
- Andrew Shanken [Princeton University]  
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1998–1999  
*From Total War to Total Living: American Architecture and the Culture of Planning, 1939–1960*
- Kristel Smentek [University of Delaware]  
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1998–2001  
*Pierre-Jean Mariette: Art, Commerce, and Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century Europe*
- Kathryn Tuma [University of California, Berkeley]  
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1998–2000  
*Cézanne and the Philosophers: The Paintings of Paul Cézanne and the Positivist Controversies in France during the Third Republic*
- Leila Whittemore [Columbia University]  
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1996–1998, 1999–2000  
*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*



## Meetings

### Symposia

16 October 1998

#### ITALIAN PANEL PAINTING IN THE DUGENTO AND TRECENTO

##### *Session I*

*Moderator:* Julian Gardner, University of Warwick  
Victor Schmidt, Istituto Universitario Olandese di Storia  
dell'Arte, Florence  
*The Lunette-shaped Panel and Some Characteristics of Panel  
Painting*

Hayden B. J. Maginnis, McMaster University  
*Everything in a Name?: The Classification of Sienese  
Dugento Painting*

Luciano Bellosi, Università degli Studi di Siena  
*The Function of the Rucellai Madonna in the Church of  
Santa Maria Novella in Florence*

Lars Jones, Harvard University  
*Visio Divina? Donor Figures and Representations of  
Imagistic Devotion: The Case of Bernardo Daddi's Vergine  
da Bagno*

##### *Session II*

*Moderator:* Hayden B. J. Maginnis  
Michel Laclotte, Mission pour l'Institut national d'histoire de  
l'art  
*Observations on Polyptychs and "Altaroli" by Ambrogio  
Lorenzetti*

Miklós Boskovits, Università degli Studi di Firenze  
*The Baptistery Mosaics and the Painters of Florence*

David G. Wilkins, University of Pittsburgh  
*Transformations in Images for Domestic Devotion in  
Tuscany, 1250 to 1500*

Julian Gardner, University of Warwick  
*Giotto in America (and Elsewhere)*

4–5 December 1998

SMALL BRONZES IN THE RENAISSANCE

*Reception and Collection*

*Moderator:* Jeremy Warren, London

Peter Fusco, J. Paul Getty Museum

*The Connoisseurship of Renaissance Bronze Statuettes:  
A Historical Perspective*

Anthony Radcliffe, Fitzwilliam Museum

*Renaissance Bronzes Mistaken for Antiques, and Their  
Rehabilitation*

Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

*Some Eighteenth-Century Frameworks for the Bronze  
Statuette: Making, Material, Authorship, and Historiography*

Volker Krahn, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

*Goethe as a Collector of Bronzes*

Carolyn C. Wilson, Houston

*Leo Planiscig and Percy Straus, 1929–1939: A Cross-Sectional  
Window on Collecting and Historiography*

*Techniques, Materials, and Production*

*Moderator:* Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

Richard E. Stone, Metropolitan Museum of Art

*Bronze Casting in Quattrocento Florence: Conventional and  
Experimental*

Shelley G. Sturman, National Gallery of Art

*Comparison of Some Small Bronzes by Giambologna*

Francesca G. Bewer, Harvard University Art Museums

*Adriaen de Vries (c. 1556–1626) and Lost-Wax Casting:  
A Technological Study of His Bronze Sculpture*

*Issues of Authorship and Attribution (Part I)*

*Moderator:* Anthony Radcliffe, Fitzwilliam Museum

Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art

*The Bargello Platonic Youth as a Paduan Small Bronze by  
Donatello*

Andrew Butterfield, Christie's, New York

*Verrocchio and the Bronze Statuette*

Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art

*The Winged Female Holding a Torch, Attributed to Vecchietta*

Ann Allison, Johns Hopkins University  
*Anticana*

*Issues of Authorship and Attribution (Part II)*

*Moderator:* Peter Fusco, J. Paul Getty Museum

Jeremy Warren, London

Pan Listening to Echo and a Group of Bronzes Associated  
with Riccio

Dorothea Diemer, Munich

*Small Bronzes by Hubert Gerhard*

Ian Wardropper, Art Institute of Chicago

*An Attribution to Ammanati*

Claudia Kryza-Gersch, National Gallery of Art

*The Reproduction of Artistic Ideas in Venetian Foundries:*

*Tiziano Aspetti's Mars in the Frick Collection—A Case Study*

5–6 February 1999

**MOCHE: ART AND POLITICAL REPRESENTATION IN  
ANCIENT PERU**

*Settlement Patterns and the Cultural Landscape*

*Moderator:* Joanne Pillsbury, National Gallery of Art

Tom Dillehay, University of Kentucky and University of  
Chicago

*Regional Political Processes and Changing Landscapes:  
A View from Zaña and Jequetepeque Valleys*

César A. Gálvez Mora, Instituto Nacional de Cultura, La  
Libertad; Jesús G. Briceño Rosario, Instituto Nacional de  
Cultura, La Libertad

*Los Moche en el Chicama: Expresiones y Uso del Espacio*

Brian Billman, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill  
*Region, Community, and Household: Deciphering Moche  
Strategies of Political Control and Finance*

Claude Chapdelaine, Université de Montréal

*Behind Adobe Walls: The Growing Power of a Moche Urban  
Class*

### *Architecture and Mortuary Practice*

*Moderator:* Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, Pontificia  
Universidad Católica del Perú

Santiago Uceda Castillo, Museo de Arqueología, Universidad  
Nacional de Trujillo

*Investigaciones en Huaca de la Luna, Valle de Moche: Un  
Ejemplo de Arquitectura Religiosa Moche*

Steve Bourget, University of East Anglia

*The Art and the Arts of Sacrifice: Its Praxises at Huaca de la  
Luna and Its Representations in Moche Iconography*

Walter Alva, Museo Nacional Bruning de Lambayeque  
*Los Entierros Reales de Sipán: Arte y Poder en la Sociedad  
Moche*

John Verano, Tulane University

*War and Death in the Moche World: Skeletal Evidence and  
Visual Discourse*

### *The Production of Visual Arts*

*Moderator:* Claude Chapdelaine, Université de Montréal

Glenn S. Russell, Fowler Museum of Cultural History,  
University of California, Los Angeles; Margaret A. Jackson,  
University of California, Los Angeles

*Representations of Ideology at Cerro Mayal: Political  
Economy and Patronage in Moche Ceramic Production*

Izumi Shimada, Southern Illinois University

*Late Moche Urban Craft Production and Sociopolitical  
Organization*

Julie Jones, Metropolitan Museum of Art

*Invention and Resplendence: Metalwork for Moche Lords*

Christopher B. Donnan, University of California, Los Angeles  
*Moche Ceramic Portraits*

### *The Interpretation of Moche Art and Archaeology*

*Moderator:* John Verano, Tulane University

Alana Cordy-Collins, San Diego Museum of Man, University  
of San Diego

*Las Capullanes: Female Aristocrats among the Eighth-Century  
Moche*

Jeffrey Quilter, Dumbarton Oaks

*Representing Moche*

Garth Bawden, Maxwell Museum of Anthropology,  
University of New Mexico

*The Symbols of Late Moche Social Transformation*

Luis Jaime Castillo Butters, Pontificia Universidad Católica del  
Perú

*The Last of the Mochicas: A Perspective from the  
Jequetepeque Valley*

30 April–1 May 1999

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

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

*Evening Session*

*Introduction:* June Hargrove, University of Maryland at  
College Park

*George Levitine Lecture in Art History*

Thomas Crow, Yale University

*Painting and Its Doubles in a Mediated Era: Richter, Bleckner,  
Wool*

*Morning Session*

*Moderator:* Geneva Kornbluth, University of Maryland at  
College Park

*Introduction:* Eric Varner

Katrina Dickson [Emory University]

*Agrippina Minor as Auctrix of Nero's Imperium*

*Introduction:* Sharon E. J. Gerstel

Monika Hirschbichler [University of Maryland at College  
Park]

*The Crusader Paintings in the Gatehouse of Akronauplia,  
Greece*

*Introduction:* Marion Roberts

Sarah Glover [University of Virginia]

*Illustrations of Marian Miracles in the Bohun Hours*

*Introduction:* Lawrence Nees

Teresa Nevins [University of Delaware]

*Church Architecture in Seventh-Century Northumbria:  
A Reappraisal*



Introduction: John Williams  
Therese Elliott [University of Pittsburgh]

*Queen as King: Urraca's Patronage of San Isidoro, León*

Introduction: Elizabeth Cropper  
Elena Calvillo [Johns Hopkins University]  
*The Collaboration of Giulio Clovio and Eurialio d'Ascoli:  
The Impresa de l'Aquila and the Roman Maniera*

*Afternoon Session*

*Moderator:* Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in  
the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art

Introduction: Michael Meister  
Pika Ghosh [University of Pennsylvania]  
*Two Storeys to Tell: Ratna Temples in Seventeenth-Century  
Bengal*

Introduction: Arthur Marks  
Adera Scheinker [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]  
*Buried in the Mounds: A View of Nineteenth-Century America*

Introduction: Lilien Robinson  
Kristen Shepherd [George Washington University]  
*The Careful Balance: Commercial Success and Self-Expression  
in Marie Spartali Stillman's Pre-Raphaelite Portraits*

Introduction: Carmen Lord  
Catherine Reed [Pennsylvania State University]  
*Wyndham Lewis: Tyros and Portraits*

Introduction: Norma Broude  
Alejandra Gimenez [American University]  
*The Quest for Self-Knowledge: Gurdjieffian Thought in the  
Art of Remedios Varo*

Introduction: David Cast  
Allison Levy [Bryn Mawr College]  
*Southern Discomfort: Race and Gender Performance within  
the New Orleans Jazz Funeral*

Introduction: Kristine Stiles  
Noah Rosenblatt-Farrell [Duke University]  
*Countenances from Institutions*

## Seminar

7 May 1999

### ANCIENT AMERICAN ARCHITECTURAL MODELS

#### Participants

Elizabeth Benson, Washington  
Kristi Butterwick, University of Colorado  
John Carlson, University of Maryland at College Park  
William Conklin, Textile Museum  
Anita Cook, Catholic University  
Lisa DeLeonardis, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts  
Joan Gero, American University  
Richard Kagan, Johns Hopkins University  
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts  
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts  
Jean-Pierre Protzen, University of California, Berkeley  
Lucia Santistevan-Alvarez, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts  
Andrea Stone, Dumbarton Oaks  
Karen Stothert, Dumbarton Oaks  
Jeffrey A. Stvan, University of Chicago  
Richard Townsend, Art Institute of Chicago  
Javier Urcid Serrano, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts  
Flora Vilches, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

## Colloquia CL–CLV

22 September 1998

Ilene H. Forsyth, Samuel H. Kress Professor  
*Reading Images in the Romanesque Cloister*

29 October 1998

Hanns Hubach, Frese Senior Research Fellow  
*Concepts of Self-Representation at the Palatine Court, 1400–1630*

14 January 1999

Whitney Davis, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow  
*Desire in Limbo: William Beckford's Fonthill Abbey, c. 1800*

4 February 1999

Javier Urcid Serrano, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow  
*Silent Voices on Tumbled Megaliths: Narratives of Power at Monte Alban*

18 February 1999

Sylvain Bellenger, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow  
*Anne-Louis Girodet de Roussy-Trioson and the Portrait*

6 May 1999

Andrew Morrogh, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow  
*Guarino Guarini in Paris*

## Shoptalks 82–85

1 October 1998

Richard Neer, David E. Finley Fellow  
*Pamphikilos: Representation, Style, and Ideology in Attic Red-Figure*

8 October 1998

Jacqueline Francis, Wyeth Fellow  
*Modern Art, "Racial Art": The Work of Malvin Gray Johnson and the Challenges of Painting (1928–1934)*

25 February 1999

Rebecca Zorach, Mary Davis Fellow  
*Copies after Copia: The Curious Styles of René Boyvin and Leonard Thiry*

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Lauren S. Nemroff, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow  
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## Lectures

3 November 1998

Hendrick William van Os, University of Amsterdam

*A Holy Man from The Netherlands: On the Veneration of Saints and Their Relics*

2 December 1998

James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley (emeritus)

*Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Urban Studio Artists in Late Imperial China*

3 March 1999

Alex Potts, University of Reading

*The Sculptural Imagination—from Modernist to Minimalist*

## Incontro

8 December 1998

Peter Diemer, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte

*Publishing Munich's Oldest Museum Catalogue: The Inventory of the Kunstkammer of the Dukes of Bavaria*

## Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1999

Carlo Bertelli, Università della Svizzera Italiana

*Transitions*

11 April *The Bible and the Gospel According to Sixtus*

18 April *Stories Made Visible*

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## Lecture Abstracts

### *A Holy Man from The Netherlands: On the Veneration of Saints and Their Relics*

In 1996 I was asked to commemorate one of the few individuals from the Netherlands to be beatified by the Catholic Church. Titus Brandsma, born in 1901, was killed in the Dachau concentration camp in 1942. He was one of the most prominent heroes of the Dutch Resistance during World War II. Meditation on his life and death has given me an unusual perspective on my own study of medieval saints and their relics. In my lecture I first relate two tall tales about medieval saints. Then I briefly consider the veneration of saints during the Reformation and the Enlightenment. In conclusion, I discuss whether there exists such a thing as a profile of a “modern” saint.

Hendrick William van Os, University of Amsterdam

*Pictures for Use and Pleasure: Urban Studio Artists in Late Imperial China*

This lecture presents a few of the most interesting paintings and issues discussed in a book in progress of the same title. The artists under consideration worked in Yangzhou, Nanjing, and Suzhou, the great cities of the Yangtze Delta region, in the early to middle Qing dynasty (the late seventeenth to the eighteenth century). They were contemporaries of the more famous artists known as the Individualists, the Orthodox landscapists, and the Strange Masters of Yangzhou. Highly proficient and versatile, these painters produced work for a diversity of uses, such as pictures for hanging or presentation on holidays, birthdays, and other auspicious family occasions; portraits, including family group portraits; narrative illustrations; and “beautiful-women pictures” and erotic albums.

As their work was functional in nature, not intended primarily for aesthetic contemplation, and because these painters worked in the highly finished styles derived from Song painting that were not aimed at displaying the artist’s personality or familiarity with older styles, their works went more or less unnoticed by writers on painting. Nor were they included in prestigious collections, except when misattributed to older masters. They have survived only haphazardly, and the accretions of misidentification must be stripped away before even a provisional art-historical account can be constructed for them. When seen afresh, many prove to be not only absorbing and moving works of high quality but also new sources for understanding the society and popular culture, as well as gender issues, in this period.

The “small masters” from the Jiangnan cities, along with a smaller number of northern artists, largely staffed the imperial painting academy in Beijing. Virtually all of them made creative use of the new techniques for rendering space and form that were adopted from European pictures introduced by the Jesuits or through other channels.

James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley (emeritus)

### *The Sculptural Imagination—from Modernist to Minimalist*

This lecture addresses a modern preoccupation with sculpture that began during the late Enlightenment, the moment when a systematic aesthetic distinction began to be made between the sculptural and the painterly and when sculptures, like paintings, were self-consciously staged as autonomous works in a gallery setting. Since then, attitudes toward sculpture have often been deeply ambivalent, encompassing both a fascination with sculpture as embodying some basic sense of plastic form and an unease over its inert literalness and the way its presence in a gallery space interrupts a painterly mode of viewing. The latter response is summed up nicely by Ad Reinhardt's quip, "Sculpture is what you bump into when you back up to see a painting."

This sculptural problematic, while still pronounced in the years of high modernism, has recently been losing its grip. A new emphasis on installation brought with it a questioning of previous categorical distinctions between sculpture and painting. By focusing on the shift from modernist conceptions of the sculptural object to minimalist and postminimalist understandings of sculpture as something staged in a gallery space, I wish to raise two main issues. The first concerns the phenomenology of sculptural viewing—how a viewer's apprehension of a freestanding three-dimensional work differs from, yet is also caught up in, modes of viewing specific to paintings and two-dimensional imagery. This is not a purely formal matter, for practices of viewing and displaying works of art are socialized rituals. The second issue concerns the forms of subjectivity active in modern conceptions of sculpture and sculptural viewing. I mean by this both the subjectivity associated with the work itself as some kind of presence and the constitution of the viewer's own subjectivity. Modern sculptural viewing, more insistently than painterly viewing, dramatizes a pervasive tension between a relatively distanced contemplation of a work as a fixed, clearly defined entity and a potentially destabilizing and shifting engagement with it at close quarters—between a work's wholeness or autonomy and its dissolution or fragmentation.

Alex Potts, University of Reading

## **Incontro Abstract**

### *Publishing Munich's Oldest Museum Catalogue: The Inventory of the Kunstkammer of the Dukes of Bavaria*

The *Kunstkammer* established by Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (1550–1579) was one of the great collections within the Holy Roman Empire of the sixteenth century. It can be compared with the collections of Archduke Ferdinand II at Ambras near Innsbruck and the slightly later *Kunstkammer* of Emperor Rudolph II at Prague. Although the Bavarian collection was later dispersed, two copies of a detailed 1598 inventory with more than 3,300 entries have survived and are in the collection of the Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Cgm 2133 and 2134). The inventory is now in the process of being published. This lecture concerns the intention and dimension of this publication project.

Peter Diemer, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte



## Research Projects

Four long-term projects intended to produce scholarly research tools are in preparation at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. One project, under the direction of the dean and supported by the Graham Foundation and endowed funds from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, will provide the National Gallery's photographic archives with a record of pre-1800 architectural drawings, primarily Italian. On deposit in these archives are 39,205 photographs, including 1,928 that were added this year, and 206 manuscripts on 126 rolls of microfilm. Photographs and microfilm were received this year from the following repositories: Berlin: Kunstbibliothek; Chatsworth: Devonshire Collection; Florence: Archivio di Stato; London: British Library, British Museum, Society of Antiquaries; Oxford: Ashmolean Museum; Rome: Accademia di S. Luca, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica.

A second research project, under the direction of the associate dean and supported by the Getty Grant Program and the Graham Foundation, will create an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century have been compiled to track words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of the American landscape vocabulary. Editing and photograph acquisition are proceeding in anticipation of publishing the dictionary in the winter of 1999.

A third research project, directed by the assistant dean and supported by 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 that is defined by the geographical extent of the Inca empire: Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, northern Chile, northwestern Argentina, and southwestern Colombia. The guide will cover illustrated and unillustrated textual sources from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, material that is crucial for the study of Prehispanic and colonial visual traditions. It will consider the contributions, intentions, perspectives, and biases of these key sources through a series of essays and an annotated, illustrated bibliography. The project staff is currently verifying sources and

preparing the manuscript with the authors. It is scheduled to be ready for the publisher in summer 2000.

A fourth project, under the direction of the acting associate dean, will develop a cataloguing “template” to describe central European posters and related printed ephemera held by North American libraries, museums, and historical societies. These items will also be made available electronically to scholars, curators, and other researchers. The project is divided into four discrete phases. Each is designed to achieve an independent goal while also serving as a foundation for succeeding phases.

## **Publications**

The papers of the symposium “New Vermeer Studies” were published in 1998 as part of the symposium series of the National Gallery’s Studies in the History of Art. Papers of seven other symposia are in preparation for the series: “The Art of Ancient Spectacle”; “Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period”; “The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished”; “Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception”; “Italian Panel Painting in the Dugento and Trecento”; “Small Bronzes in the Renaissance”; and “Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru.” A complete listing of publications in the symposium series may be found on page 157.

## **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 1998 to May 1999. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1999. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1999 will appear in *Center 20*.

## The City as Artifact: Representations and Realities

Attempts to interpret the visual and aesthetic aspects of a city depend on a consideration of the history of its economics, politics, materials, technology, institutional policies, and social practices. This project focuses on Belo Horizonte, Brazil, as a case study in the creation of a “cultural biography” of a city.

A complex tension always occurs when art history and urban history are combined to study a city. Continually undergoing change, the city generally is not classified by traditional definitions as a work of art. A city is a fragmented collection of artifacts—even in cities where design is strictly controlled. Indeed, both the city and its history can be seen as artifacts in an ongoing process of construction and deconstruction. The idea of the city as a visual artifact acknowledges the discourses and representations of architecture, its creation and arrangement in the cityscape. Local experience of images and the limitations and possibilities related to the appropriation of models must be historicized together.

Particular canonical categories of art applied to a planned city are either reinterpreted or abandoned as meaningless at each stage of a city’s visual transformation. Permanence and renovation are crucial issues for architectural historians, as is the degree of *laissez-faire* regarding urban cohesion and aesthetic appearance. Any analysis of the visual aspects of a cityscape also requires special attention to how it has changed historically in terms of scale, pro-

portion, and style. These categories are implicit or explicit in urban legislation as deliberate attempts to shape projects independent of stylistic changes. Despite planning and legislation, chaotic design characterizes the environmental shapes of the last few decades.

It took less than one generation for Belo Horizonte, created in 1894 as the capital of the state of Minas Gerais, to become a metropolis. The disjointed skyline of the city today denies its natural frame of mountains, which gave it its name. Throughout its history, Belo Horizonte pursued the stylistic ideal of a modern city that was current at the time: Beaux-Arts, neocolonial, art deco, and international style. The modern was achieved through demolition, rebuilding, and juxtaposing forms. A simple report on morphology and building types does not reflect the struggle between dynamics and aesthetics.

Proportion and scale are key issues in the shaping of Brazilian architecture. The design of Belo Horizonte in the nineteenth century, for instance, had little to do with the monumentalism of its Beaux-Arts model, Paris. Buildings placed at the intersections of avenues were isolated and in a small scale. The city's physical artifacts, from the first railroad stations to the later skyscrapers, prompted questions of scale—an inherent problem in the shaping of a Brazilian urban image.

The architectural chaos of cities was denounced by the nineteenth-century generation that planned Belo Horizonte. Complaints about aberrations of style were followed by guides suggesting how to apply classical elements in good proportion on the tiny façades of Rio de Janeiro. Principles of proportion, however, cease to be an issue in the discourses of engineers and architects following the height of these City Beautiful ideas. Cohesion of masses in the urban ensemble was no longer a virtue by the late 1940s. The sight of a few skyscrapers amid the horizontal constructions of Belo Horizonte seems not to have provoked any negative criticism; contrasts of scale, height, and style began to disrupt the city's panorama. Today, architecture struggles against the horizon, showing that cities always escape from the hands of their planners.

My research at the Center for Advanced Study and elsewhere in the United States during the traveling period of the fellowship has



Postcard, Praça Sete de Setembro, Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais, Brazil, c. 1946. Photograph: Collection Otávio Dias Filho

helped broaden my view of cultural diversities, relationships between local and international urban design practices in the Americas, and the connection of visual forms to historical experiences. The complexity of tensions in cities today requires new abilities from planners and architects and new sensibilities from historians—they are all dealing with cities as living artifacts. Adjusting for this multishaped growth and reconsidering categories of analysis do not mean dismissing visual aesthetics. A transhistorical philosophy has to be capable of responding to current situations without relying on outdated, historicist criteria.

In addition to this project on the city as artifact, I have also worked on a book and an exhibition on the relationship between



Honoré Daumier's "Robert Macaire" lithographs and the play *A Lanterna Mágica*, written in Rio de Janeiro in 1844 by Manuel de Araújo Porto Alegre. The play is illustrated with caricatures that, like those of Daumier, capture the world of the city. Various professional types—doctors, singers, lawyers, journalists, businessmen, politicians, and so forth—are engaged on the streets in such timeless human practices as corruption and speculation.

Although the two projects are independent, they both examine cultural relationships in the field of urban art. In the first project, cities may show great differences in their three-dimensional forms as a result of specific historical and geographic factors. In the second, two cities—Paris and Rio—are stages for people to play out their daily comedy. The themes and codes of behavior appear to be very much alike from one to the other. The differences in the prints are mostly restricted to the background details of each city and to the quality of Daumier's caricatures, irrelevant matters in an analysis of the transfer of cultural models. Both projects permit us to think about the articulation of a society and its space, a point where the complexity of research on the city lies. The transnational nature of the themes inherent in each project speaks to the richness of the interrelations connecting art history and urban studies, and it leads to a broader understanding of cultural affinities between countries.

Comitê Brasileiro de História da Arte, Universidade de São Paulo  
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, summer 1998

GEORGE BAKER

## Lost Objects: On Surrealism, Consumption, and Modernity

In April 1934 Walter Benjamin delivered a now famous lecture in Paris at the Institute for the Study of Fascism in which he called for the necessity of a “productivist” art. The call came too late. First of all, the Soviet productivist model upon which Benjamin based his pronouncements had been outlawed by Stalin in 1932. Moreover, in France critical thought and avant-garde activity had recently taken a somewhat perverse turn. Working against the central assumptions of both hegemonic modernism and productivist art, a body of work and ideas had begun to emerge that focused not on productivity but on the nonproductive; not on utility but on waste; not on industrial rationality but on the everyday actuality enforced in the sphere of consumption. This dissertation argues that during the 1920s and 1930s in France, a concern with consumption did arise within philosophical thought and avant-garde cultural practice, a concern whose ideas, objects, and activities have remained marginal, even invisible, to a modernist art history blinded by its productivist bias.

To open up such a concern to analysis, my dissertation weaves together two narratives. First, it establishes genealogical relationships between various ideas that contributed to the challenging of a hegemonic “production model” of philosophical and cultural thought by a “consumption model” during the interwar years in France. Key figures in this reorientation are the dissident surrealist

LA JEUNE FILLE

BRACELET DE LA VIE



FRANCIS PICABIA

DÉTOUR PAR LE CIEL

enfant trame un désespoir de perles  
s'inspire des boîtes qu'il a reçues pour sa communion  
se pose le problème de la naissance sous forme d'une jolie

ENTRE VOLEURS

Mais le jeu de l'archet  
sur les trois bougies allumées  
magnétise le coffre aux jetons...  
Un gagnant  
puis vient une ballade en lambeaux  
Le baladin est mort  
au bout de sa chanson  
*Céline ARNAULD.*

ÉCRIRE ENCORE

Tous les mots tournent et se pincet l'oreille vite  
A l'affût on mâchonne une herbe trop amère  
Ce qu'on cherchait on le trouve au porte-manteau  
Le couvert d'argent écrit l'excuse de ma visite  
La lampe offusque enfin la fausse gloire du jour  
*Paul DERMÉE.*

Pour lire les 22 manifestes

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37, Avenue Kléber (XVII<sup>e</sup>)  
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Francis Picabia, *La jeune fille*. Published in *Proverbe* 4 (c. March-April 1920). Author photograph

Georges Bataille and the philosopher Henri Lefebvre. At precisely the same moment, during the early months of 1933, Lefebvre and Bataille began to elaborate ideas that, in different ways, shifted critical attention toward the sphere and mechanics of consumption. For Lefebvre, this philosophical project entailed a turn away from the central Marxist category of production and toward the spaces of what he came to call "everyday life" (*la vie quotidienne*). These spaces were the potential spheres of alternative practices of consumption that were not to be compared to rationalized pro-

ductive activity. Similarly, Bataille elaborated an alternative economy of consumption under the name of what he called *dépense*, roughly translatable as “expenditure” or “nonproductive waste.”

Both bodies of thought were articulated in dialogue with the innovations of the French avant-garde of the period. The second narrative of the dissertation subsequently articulates new interpretations of specific objects and activities of this avant-garde that similarly escaped the limits of a productivist model for an engagement with consumption, broadly conceived. The incredible explosion of avant-garde practices during the interwar period, a proliferation that exceeded the traditional limits of creative activity (for example, the aesthetic media of painting and sculpture), still awaits an adequate explanation. My dissertation argues that there is an implicit connection between this explosion of activities—many of which have slipped between the cracks of an object-oriented art-historical canon—and the dispersion of the production model of thought. As understood by Bataille, for example, rationalized productive activity—in its orientation toward abstract exchange value—entails the holding off of consumption, the delay of the full use of any given object for as long as possible. Such a model runs parallel to the traditional model of aesthetic activity, which similarly seeks—in its modern orientation to the contextless space of museum display—to hold off the possibility of use as well. Against such a model, and against the traditional correlation of artistic activity with productive “making,” this dissertation imposes a new interpretative grid seeking to isolate a series of cultural “operations,” similar to Michel de Certeau’s elaboration of everyday “tactics” of “making do”: activities that open onto use rather than exchange; onto consumption rather than production; onto destruction—to the point of loss—over preservation.

During the course of archival research in Paris last year, I found a drawing by Francis Picabia that can stand, emblematically, for the theoretical and historical argument of this dissertation. The drawing was literally lost to contemporary scholarship—it received no mention in any of the major monographs devoted to the artist. Not coincidentally, Picabia’s work takes “loss” as its paradoxical (impossible?) subject—procedurally, formally, literally.

Entitled *La jeune fille*, the drawing appeared in 1920 in a crucial but largely forgotten dada periodical edited by Paul Eluard called *Proverbe*. It was reproduced as a literal hole cut through the single broadsheet that made up that issue of the journal. How to deal with a work of art that is a hole, that paradoxically becomes an object through a procedure of subtraction, that makes drawing itself a function of destruction? How to understand a work that was not made merely to be examined visually and preserved indefinitely but was intended to be used (Picabia employed the piece as a literal stencil)? Bataille's notion of *dépense*—along with its cognates sacrifice, the gift, the sacred, the sovereign, the erotic—provides a bridge to these concerns. Opposed to both the capitalist commodity object and the traditional aesthetic object, Bataille's ideas have allowed me to rethink dada not as a movement engaged in simplistic, wayward, even nihilistic gestures of destruction but as part of a larger (anti-) project devoted to an aesthetics of consumption, to an enactment of loss that was procedural and was posed logically against the formal system of modernism. This is part of the revision of the history of the avant-garde that my dissertation proposes, and that it traces from dada, in the work of Marcel Duchamp, Man Ray, and Picabia, into the surrealist activities of the 1920s and early 1930s.

[Columbia University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1998–1999

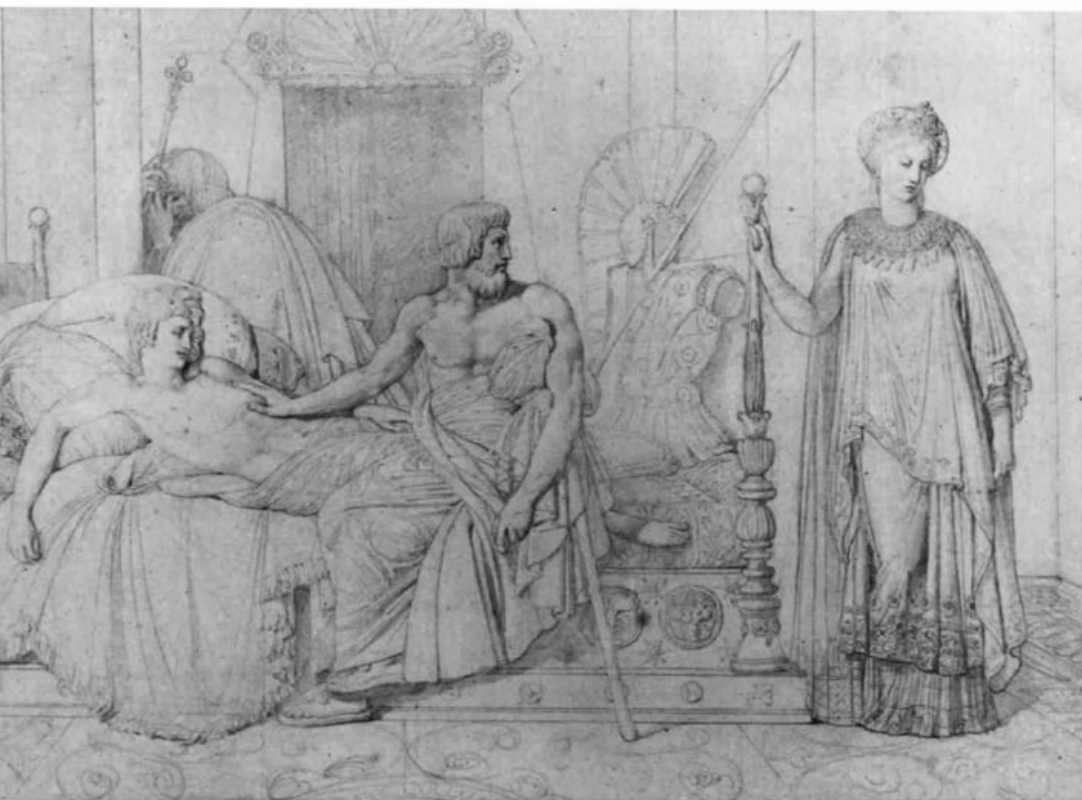
## Le girodisme d'Ingres

Dans la conférence que je donnais en février dernier à Center for Advanced Study sur les portraits de Girodet, je tentais de montrer un certain "girodisme" d'Ingres dans le domaine du portrait. L'exposition *Les portraits d'Ingres* montrée cette année à Londres, Washington, puis New York me semble confirmer cette hypothèse en l'étendant au delà des questions stylistiques. Ingres et Girodet accordent à l'accessoire dans le portrait une importance comparable. Naturellement ce n'est pas une rareté pour les peintres de portraits, en particulier quand ils ont une formation de peintre d'histoire, de recourir à l'accessoire pour éclairer l'identité ou la personnalité du modèle. David même, en dépit de son radicalisme résumant le portrait à l'essence, recourt aussi à l'appui de l'accessoire dans certains portraits majeurs. L'essence c'est bien sûr le visage et l'expression. Chez Girodet comme chez Ingres, plus que chez tout autre élève de David, l'accessoire prend une place considérable qui, parfois même, prédomine sur le visage. Ils en font cependant l'un et l'autre, un usage fort différent. Chez Ingres, l'accessoire indique surtout l'aisance sociale, ou le lieu de la pose, quand il s'agit des portraits romains. Mais c'est une définition superficielle. Quand il n'est pas géographique, l'accessoire se confond avec les tissus, les décorations, les bijoux. Il appartient ainsi à la surface de l'œuvre, à l'équilibre chromatique et à la composition. Chez Girodet, l'accessoire ne joue pas un rôle de surface mais



Jean Dominique Ingres,  
*Antiochus and Stratonice*,  
before 1806. Musée du  
Château, Boulogne-sur-Mer

apporte un sens presque occulte qui suppose une véritable érudition. Le portrait de *Mademoiselle Lange en Danaë* est, par des accessoires qui ont fonction d'attribut, transformée en allégorie au point de ne plus appartenir complètement au genre du portrait. Cette similarité, même nuancée, dans la conception du portrait rattache les deux peintres à une même famille d'esprit. Est-ce un effet de l'influence de Girodet sur Ingres? C'est ce que peut-être peut montrer la confrontation des oeuvres consacrées au sujet tiré de Plutarque, *Stratonice et Antiochus* où le médecin Eristrate découvre les causes de la maladie d'Antiochus dans son amour pour Stratonice, épouse de son père. Ingres traita le sujet plusieurs fois: vers 1801 d'abord, dans un dessin conservé au musée de Boulogne-sur-mer, puis vers 1807 dans un dessin (Delaborde 188) conservé



Jean Dominique Ingres,  
*Antiochus and Stratonice*,  
c. 1807. Musée du Louvre,  
Paris

au Louvre, et enfin pour le tableau du Duc d'Orléans commandé en 1834 et terminé en 1840 pour lequel une esquisse est conservée au musée de Cleveland. Plus tard, il réalisera plusieurs autres versions comme celle réduite de Philadelphie. Girodet lui-même réalisa deux compositions de Stratonice. L'une est documentée par Coupin, le biographe de Girodet, comme un tableau perdu datant de l'année 1793: "on ignore ce qu'est devenu ce tableau donné par Girodet au docteur Cirillo de Naples." Girodet, ayant fui les émeutes et manifestations anti-françaises de janvier 1793, s'était réfugié à Naples. Il y restera jusqu'en septembre 1794. Il tombe malade au printemps 1793 et, son état s'aggravant, il consulte dit-il un "médecin, très instruit et fort honnête, et qui jouit d'une très grande réputation." Ce médecin qui le reconnaît attaqué de la





Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, *Antiochus and Stratonice*, c. 1793. Museo Mario Praz, Rome

poitrine, est le docteur Domenico Cirillo. Professeur à l'université, médecin à l'hôpital des Incurables de Naples, Cirillo enseigne la philosophie et l'horticulture, et soigne une large partie de l'aristocratie et la famille royale. Ses écrits médicaux sont traduits à Paris et à Leipzig. Franc-Maçon, marqué par l'humanisme rousseauiste, il n'adhère semble-t-il à aucun de club jacobin qui font florès à Naples pendant la Révolution française. Peu après la conquête de Naples, au début de l'année 1799 par le corps d'expédition du général Championnet, le gouvernement des Bourbons est aboli et la République Parthénopéenne est déclarée. Les autorités françaises procèdent à la formation d'un gouvernement républicain où Cirillo fera partie de la commission législative. Après le départ de l'armée



Etienne Loche,  
lithographer, and  
François Le Villain, printer,  
*Stratonice*, c. 1827,  
after Girodet-Trioson.  
Bibliothèque Nationale,  
Paris

française et l'écrasement de la République, il est traduit en haute cour et exécuté comme tous les acteurs de la République Parthénopéenne. Il est pendu le 29 octobre 1799. Sa maison est pillée et incendiée par les lazzaroni. Le tableau que Girodet lui avait donné en remerciement de ses soins aurait disparu dans ce pillage. S'il s'agissait, comme le dit le biographe de l'artiste, d'une composition à trois personnages, il est possible qu'Ingres en ait vu l'esquisse, également à trois figures sur papier, numéro 91 de la liste de la vente après décès de Girodet dressée par Pérignon. Un dessin, conservé dans la collection Mario Praz au palais Primoli à Rome, montre exactement cette composition. Par ses dimensions, il ne peut correspondre à l'esquisse signalée ci-dessus. Une certaine

raideur du trait et l'inscription, *Gt invt*, peuvent faire penser à une copie. Malgré ce doute, ce dessin est certainement l'œuvre qui se rapproche le plus du tableau de *Stratonice* de Cirillo.

Quand il arrive à Paris en 1797, Ingres entre dans l'atelier de David. Il a treize ans de moins que Girodet, alors un peintre accompli et célèbre. Dès son retour de Rome, Girodet avait obtenu un logement au Louvre et un atelier dans l'ancien couvent des Capucines où il voisinait avec Gros, Granet, et le sculpteur florentin Bartolini. Ingres ne pouvant bénéficier de son premier Grand Prix de peinture de 1801 les rejoignit jusqu'en 1806, date où il partit enfin pour Rome. Malheureusement la correspondance entre Ingres et Girodet n'a pas été retrouvée, mais on sait à quel point l'avis de Girodet comptait pour Ingres, en particulier par la lettre qu'Ingres envoie le 26 mai 1814 à Marcotte d'Argenteil à propos du tableau *La Chapelle Sixtine* qu'il avait peint après son portrait. Les deux tableaux sont conservés à la National Gallery de Washington. C'est dans cette communauté artistique qu'il put voir les portefeuilles de Girodet et pourquoi pas l'esquisse de *Stratonice* où il puisa son inspiration. La deuxième *Stratonice* de Girodet ne figure ni dans Coupin ni dans Pérignon. Elle est connue par la lithographie d'Etienne Loche, élève de David et de Gros, lithographiée après la mort de Girodet si l'on s'en réfère au dépôt légal en 1827. Un dessin préparatoire à cette lithographie, qui montre cinq personnages, est conservé au musée Bonnat à Bayonne. Bien que rien n'indique qu'Ingres ait pu connaître cette œuvre non documentée par les contemporains de Girodet, il est visible que les deux dessins de *Stratonice* d'Ingres tiennent par de nombreux points aux deux *Stratonice* de Girodet. Le dessin du musée de Boulogne, par une commune sensibilité davidienne, se rattache à celui de Mario Praz, alors que le dessin du Louvre doit être comparé au dessin de Bayonne, ainsi que le montre Daniel Ternois dans son édition de *l'Atelier d'Ingres* d'Amaury-Duval. Dans ces deux dernières œuvres, la figure nue et allongée d'Antiochus vient d'une des plus célèbres images de la fin du dix-huitième siècle le *Sommeil d'Endymion* (1791).

Juste après la mort de Girodet, Ingres, récemment revenu de Rome, écrit à Gilibert, son ami de Montauban, combien celui-ci

lui avait manifesté de sympathie. Il se flatte aussi que Girodet ait possédé dans ses collections deux dessins de lui. L'un d'eux était celui de *Stratonice*, nous dit Amaury-Duval. Voilà le paradoxe: Girodet influence Ingres, mais c'est chez Girodet que se trouve un dessin d'Ingres. C'est bien une manière de Girodet que d'avoir acquis et conservé le dessin d'une œuvre d'un artiste qu'il avait lui-même inspiré. Le paradoxe rebondit car les *Stratonice* d'Ingres et de Girodet appartiennent à un domaine de sensibilité souvent appelé l'Ingrisme mais qu'Ingres avait puisé chez Girodet.

Château de Blois

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1998–1999

## Decorative Patterns on Archaeological Pots: Considering the Symbolism of Art Styles in Ancient Southwestern Colombia and Northern Ecuador

Pottery is perhaps the most widely studied archaeological material of all, as it is one of the most ubiquitous and enduring materials. Past human behavior can be inferred from clay pots or even from small pottery fragments found in ancient floors, houses, trash pits, tombs, and ceremonial places. Pottery yields information about such matters as trade and exchange, eating habits, social hierarchies, art, religion, and ideology. My work at the Center stems from an interest in trying to understand the symbolism behind the painted decorations on archaeological pots from the northern Andes, more specifically from southwestern Colombia and northern Ecuador.

The art of the Prehispanic societies in this region can be broadly classified as either figurative or nonfigurative. It is not my intention to discuss whether the designs found on archaeological ceramics and other material culture are art in a Western sense. From an anthropological perspective, such a consideration is highly subjective. My aim, rather, is to gain an understanding of the ancient societies in the northern Andes through a study of their iconography. Leaving aside the discussion of aesthetics, these works of pottery can yield insights about the religious and political ideologies of the region.

Two approaches to the study of the visual arts of these ancient societies can be identified. One, a positivist approach, argues that

subjects such as religion, belief systems, and ideology are difficult to interpret and understand because such data are difficult to quantify. The second, a cognitive approach, emphasizes the importance of understanding neurophysiological phenomena for explaining the archaeological material. The latter offers better possibilities for the study of the symbolic world behind decorative patterns. It is strengthened by the use of comparative ethnography, which provides additional ways of “seeing” and “reading” codes within designs. By studying contemporary societies, we can gain much information about the meaning and function of objects.

A fundamental assumption in this study is that part of the prehistoric iconography of the northern Andes is closely related to religious thinking. James Ackerman has pointed out that studies of iconography often must consider mythology, religion, and politics. In order to be transmitted, social beliefs, such as myths and ideas of the supernatural, must be materialized in language or objects. They then become a truly collective force. They become tangible, real. Myths, for example, can be materialized in rituals in the form of songs and chants. Religion materializes aspects of the supernatural in objects of ceramic, wood, metal, and other materials.

In Amazonia, hallucinogenic substances are used as catalysts through which the supernatural world can be encountered. Many times a part of the hallucinogenic experience is represented through abstract geometric designs.

As Robert Layton has noted, geometric motifs have both less visual resemblance to the things they portray and more power to portray several things at once. Abstract motifs on archaeological pots seem to have no visual connection with the objects and ideas they symbolize (for example, ideas about cosmology and the origins of the world); at the same time a single motif might represent many things.

Using an ethnographic analogy, I suggest that some figurative and most nonfigurative decorations in ceramics from the northern Andes, specifically those known as the Piartal and Tuza complexes, resulted from the consumption of hallucinogens in ritual contexts similar to those that still occur in Amazonia. In addition, although no direct visual relationships between the images and their mean-

ings are apparent, enough ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and archaeological evidence is available to establish connections.

I have found that many formal elements in the archaeological record continue to be used today and are seen in religious settings. Furthermore, ethnographic studies in Amazonia and archaeological studies in the southwestern United States indicate a close relationship between decorative patterns and the neurophysiological phenomena of hallucinatory experiences. The continuity of certain iconographic elements suggests that various religious and ideological aspects of ancient Amerindian societies are still current and are valuable for understanding past human behavior.

Universidad de Los Andes, Bogotá  
Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation  
Visiting Senior Research Fellow, summer 1998

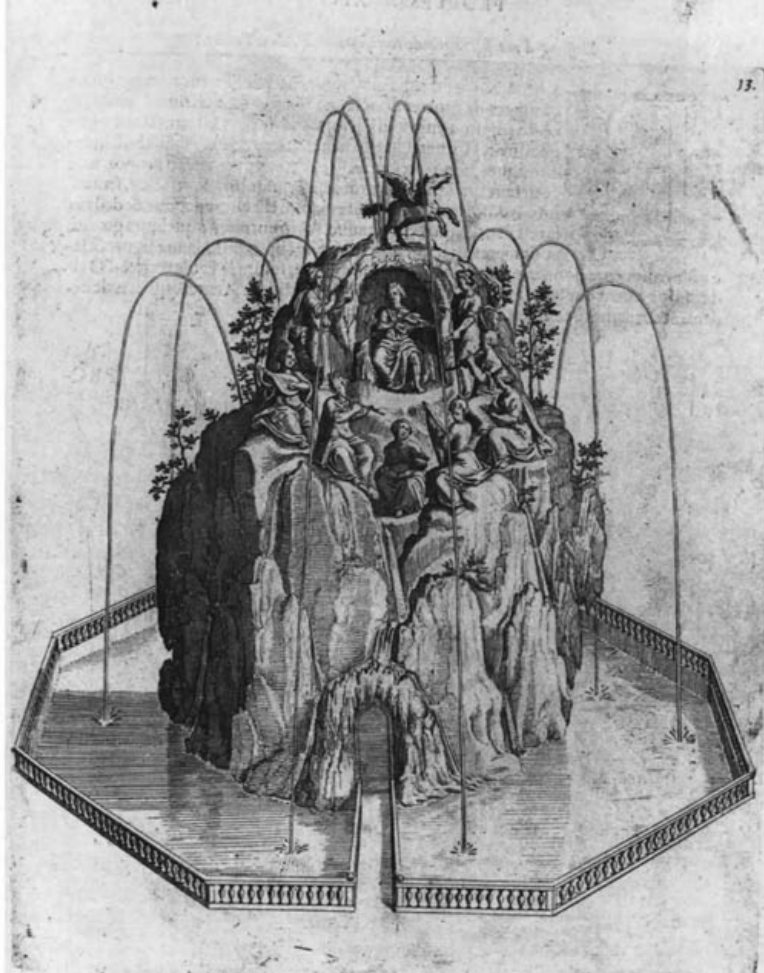
## The Muses, Mount Parnassus, and Renaissance Gardens

During the Renaissance, literary and philosophical groups traditionally gathered in gardens near murmuring springs and fountains. The Orti Oricellari in Florence and the literary gardens of Angelo Colocci, Johann Goritz, and Blosio Palladio in Rome at the beginning of the sixteenth century are well-known examples. Many surviving Renaissance poems were written in praise of water, gardens, and fountains. A general survey of Renaissance gardens shows that Apollo, the Muses, Pegasus, Mount Parnassus, and Mount Helicon are the most frequent iconographical subjects, especially in Rome. My research assesses the extent to which the literary function of Renaissance gardens influenced the site selection, design, and iconographical program.

The association of natural hills and hillside gardens with Mounts Parnassus and Helicon, the homes of the Muses, occurs in Renaissance writings about the Mons Vaticanus in the Vatican, the site of the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, the garden of the Villa Barbaro at Maser, and the Giardino Giusti at Verona. In a garden, plants alone could contribute to this association. For a garden project in the mid-sixteenth century, for example, Cosimo Bartolio suggested planting laurel trees—sacred to Apollo, the leader of the Muses—on a natural hill to signify Mount Parnassus. Sometimes a garden could include artificial Mounts Parnassus and Helicon.

The garden of the Villa Medici at Pratolino near Florence had





Salomon de Caus, from  
*Les raisons des forces  
mouvantes*, book 2, pl. 13  
recto. Photograph:  
Dumbarton Oaks,  
Washington

artificial mounts. No longer in existence, the garden is depicted in a lunette painted by Giusto Utens, in drawings by Giovanni Guerra and Heinrich Schickhardt, and in an engraving by Salomon de Caus. Artificial mounts are also found in Rome at the Giardino del Bufalo and at the Villa Medici, where Ferdinando de Medici created a tree-shaded Mount Parnassus some fifteen meters high in the existing garden of Cardinal Ricci on the Pincian hill. At the Villa d'Este in Tivoli, a fountain on top of a small artificial hill shows Pegasus about to leap from Mount Helicon, in accordance with the classical myth that a stroke of his hoof created the fountain of the Muses, or Hippocrene spring. The planting on the hilltop, a laurel grove, was designed to support the iconography. The so-called *Montagna di San Giorgio*, built by Duke Alfonso II

d'Este in the second decade of the sixteenth century at Ferrara, may also have been designed to evoke Mounts Parnassus and Helicon.

The Hippocrene spring is often evoked in Renaissance poetry and gardens by a fountain. Adorned with a statue of Pegasus, who was a symbol of poetry in both antiquity and the Renaissance, this type of fountain appears at the Villa d'Este at Tivoli, the Sacro Bosco at Bomarzo, the Villa Medici on the Pincian hill, the Villa Medici at Pratolino, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, and the villa of Gian Vincenzo Imperiale in Genoa.

Statues of Apollo and the Muses are common in Renaissance gardens. They allude to the garden owners' patronage and to the literary function of the gardens. From the mid-fifteenth century until the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, Apollo and the Muses primarily appeared in connection with *studioli* and libraries. Beginning in 1513, when Pope Leo X commissioned frescoes of Apollo and the Muses for the dining room of the papal hunting lodge in La Magliana, they appeared almost exclusively in connection with villas and their gardens and grottoes, which were placed under the mythical figures' protection. Such works are found at the Villa Madama, the Giardino del Bufalo, the Villa d'Este on the Quirinal in Rome, Paolo Giovio's Musaeum near Como, the Casino of Pius IV, the Villa Lante at Bagnaia, the Villa Medici at Pratolino, the Sacro Bosco of Vicino Orsini at Bomarzo, the Ninfeo della Pioggia in the Orti Farnesiani, and in the garden of the Villa Mattei in Rome.

The frequent use of Apollo, the Muses, Pegasus, and Mounts Parnassus and Helicon in the iconography of Renaissance gardens identified these places as centers of literary activities in the style of ancient Rome. The choice of hillside sites for many sixteenth-century villas and gardens reflects the interest in establishing a link with Mounts Parnassus and Helicon. These mounts, so frequently represented in Renaissance art and described in both ancient and Renaissance literary sources, appear to have been fundamental in the selection of sites of Renaissance gardens and in their articulation.

Lyon  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

WHITNEY DAVIS

## The Transcendence of Imitation: Male Homoeroticism and the Visual Arts, 1750–1920

This year I completed several chapters of the book I am writing, “The Transcendence of Imitation: Male Homoeroticism and the Visual Arts, 1750–1920.” The work deals with the way in which Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s prescription that modern artists should imitate the art of the ancients embedded a homoerotic recommendation: to restore the art of the ancients would also be in part to restore the erotic and ethical institutions in which that art was understood to have been produced. I argue that Winckelmann’s recommendation was quickly grasped by a circle of like-minded readers; that several generations of artists, critics, and art theorists considered how it could be realized; and that a substantial, though submerged, homoerotic “tradition” in modern art can be said to derive from it. This tradition was not wholly stable. It was full of tensions and contradictions, partly because of the fervent social condemnation of its more overt or explicit expressions. To explore the richness and diversity of this history, I investigate a range of artists, critics, and art theorists who took up Winckelmannian ideas—whether positively or negatively, whether directly or at considerable remove—and attempted to relate them to contemporary situations. This year I have been particularly interested in artists and writers who sought privately or more openly to reconcile homoeroticism with a traditional and often deep Christian faith.

In the case of William Beckford (1760–1844), an art collector, a

patron, and a builder, surviving correspondence and other papers leave no doubt that this important British romantic writer (author of *Vathek*, written in 1782) perceived himself to be a “poor honest sodomite” at odds with the surrounding society, especially after a sexual scandal in the mid-1780s led to his ostracism. Considerable work remains to be done on the nature and significance of Beckford’s collections and other projects, especially the building of his fantasy residence, Fonthill Abbey, near Salisbury, Wiltshire, between 1793 and 1814.

I propose that Fonthill Abbey was a platform or theater where Beckford staged his vision of a homoerotic history extending from earlier times (for example, a history of sodomy among previous inhabitants of the site) into the far-distant future, when an imagined apocalypse and transfiguration might eradicate human hypocrisy and absolve the sodomite of his supposed sins. In addition to engineering lines of sight or vistas in which a viewer could “see” this history as it might actually have occurred or come to occur at the site, Beckford installed numerous paintings and other works of art that provided an artistic imagination of the different stages of the overall eschatology. The most well known are a series of family portraits and Benjamin West’s six designs for a “revelation chamber” at the abbey, but many other items were probably integrated into a complex and often idiosyncratic program. My chapter reconstructs it with as much precision as the surviving materials allow.

Beckford cannot really be regarded as a neoclassical Winckelmannian. In fact, he is important for my larger project because he pursued independent interests (instead of classicism, “Gothicism”; instead of enlightenment, secularism, and materialism, a kind of apocalyptic spirituality) and he can be regarded as a limited case of an attempt to build a homoerotic culture expressing individualized quasi-religious concerns lying outside the mainstream of nascent “gay” emancipation.

Like Beckford, British painter Edward Burne-Jones (1833–1898) developed an individual spirituality—in his case deeply indebted to the Tractarian movement and to Catholic revivalist antiquarianism. In drawings and paintings of the 1850s and 1860s, he explored the



tension between Christian (and contemporary bourgeois) ideals of matrimonial domesticity and potentially competing institutions of heterosexual sensuality and adultery and of male fraternal comradeship. Unlike many Victorian artists, he did not reduce the possibilities of the latter to those of the former; he believed that human affections and desires run in several directions and thus potentially lead to unresolvable personal and social conflicts. To

imagine these situations, he often used classical myths and medieval legends, such as the Arthurian romance. This year I have completed studies of several of Burne-Jones' works. The *Merciful Knight* (1863), for example, visualizes the relationship between male comradeship and Christian good-heartedness and presents Burne-Jones' earliest—but perhaps most intricate—portrayal of the knight as the personification of these twinned species of altruism. Burne-Jones' effort to update a long-past institution (in this case, knightly chivalry) in contemporary terms (the English soldier or athlete) was essentially, if not directly, a Winckelmannian enterprise.

I have also laid major groundwork for other chapters in the book. One deals with Spanish-American philosopher George Santayana (1863–1952), author of *The Sense of Beauty* (1896), still a classic text in aesthetics, and several other important works of art and literary criticism and theory. While a student and then professor at Harvard University, which he left in 1912, Santayana worked out an elaborate form of naturalism intended to integrate his highly cultivated, cosmopolitan tastes—largely shaped by classical and Winckelmannian aesthetics and an attraction to contemporary homoerotic aestheticism—and his inherited Catholic faith. Another chapter considers the aesthetics and architecture of Ludwig Wittgenstein (1889–1951). Often considered exclusively in terms of Anglo-American logical positivism and analytic philosophy, Wittgenstein's *Logisch-philosophische Abhandlung* (1921) and other works also expressed strong (even mystical) views about human, personal, and cultural values and about ethical and aesthetic insight. In a detailed investigation of the house he designed and built for his sister in Vienna in 1927–1929, I try to show how his philosophy in practice involved a recognition of differing human “forms of life,” including possibilities of gender and (homo)sexual variation personally known to him and his family.

Northwestern University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1998–1999

John Martin (engraved by Thomas Higham), “Fonthill Abbey: View of the West and North Fronts from the End of the Clerk’s Walk,” from John Rutter, *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey* (London, 1823). Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington, Photographic Archives

## Words and Images in the Romanesque Cloister

The rich historiation of the cloisters created during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries ensures their art-historical interest, yet the cloisters' figural narratives are still little understood. They are particularly complex when linked with inscriptions that sometimes accompany the narratives on adjacent impost blocks or that are embedded within the dramatic scenes of the capitals, intermeshing with the carved figures. Although modern viewers might expect inscriptions to clarify iconographies, such *tituli* often confound our understanding by appearing in unexpected locations, following inverted or fragmented sequences or referring to seemingly nongermane subjects, as is the case in a number of examples from the cloister of Saint Peter at Moissac. Textual counterparts often seem irrelevant or only distantly related.

Despite their central location within the courtyard at the hub of monastic life, the Moissac capitals present themes that were apparently elusive even in their own time (for example, Bernard of Clairvaux's "To what purpose are those . . . fierce lions . . . [and] fighting knights . . . so many and so marvelous . . . ?"). Like Bernard, Meyer Schapiro provided insightful but enigmatic clues to their meaning. In 1931 his analyses stressed the expressive dynamics of the forms of the capitals but gave little attention to iconography. Students continued to ponder the problem of the capital-narratives' discontinuities, what Schapiro termed their end-



Daniel in the lion's den  
(capital of the cloister),  
Cloister, Saint Pierre,  
Moissac, c. 1100.  
Photograph: Hirmer Verlag

lessly intriguing indeterminacy. Assigned the riddles of the sequences of both the letters of the script making up the inscriptions and the progressions of the stories carved near them, the author pursued this conundrum many years ago and returns to the subject here. It is argued that the sequences were purposefully ambiguous, that they used to advantage the difficulties presented by the four-sided surfaces of the carvings atop the freestanding files of columns, and anticipated the consequently compounded challenges of the interpretative experience.

Recent developments in narratological studies and concern with reception have productively focused current art-historical discussion on the primary audiences for this sculpture, normally the religious living in community. Drawing on the thinking of Hans Robert Jauss and others, particularly regarding “horizons of expectations,” younger scholars such as Leah Rutchick have fruitfully applied Jauss’ question-and-answer method. Study of the “an-



swers” (the sculptured narratives themselves) sharpens our search for the questions and the motives that led to them, and also avoids some pitfalls that have plagued past attempts at interpretation of the images. Study of contemporary exegetical texts has been helpful, but even more promising is the recent emphasis on monastic context, particularly pursued by Kirk Ambrose, drawing on Peter Mauss, Ray Birdwhistell, and Diane Ahl, which has led to new lines of research. Consideration of the coenobitic culture from which the capitals issue indicates need for a more flexible approach to the solution of relationships between words and images on the capitals and the sequences that order them. Karl Morrison’s wisdom that “meditation focuses” attention and “exegesis widens it” is a helpful distinction, but both activities must be kept in mind in the search for solutions to the capitals’ enigmas.

Building on the work of such recent students in the field, my study discusses a group of cloister narratives which have particularly vexing characteristics: those which present seeming incoherent series of dramatic episodes, involving disjunct thematic juxtapositions, extensions, or interpolations within otherwise conventional iconographies; combinations of themes for which the linkage is obscure; and disruptions of the narrative’s expected order, with reversals of its course, shuffling of chronologies, and leaps or skips through time causing temporal confusion for unskilled viewers. Deranged (Schapiro’s “vagrant”) inscriptions are also considered. The viewing experience is given special attention.

Primary viewers in the early twelfth century were, of course, monks. In their firmly ordered lives, they were required to spend many hours daily in the cloister, in the presence of the capitals, for their regular activities of reading, study, and meditation. Contemplation of a small group of carved narratives might have been a fact of life for observant and intellectually inclined monks for most of a lifetime. Viewing under these conditions meant that enigmatic forms, presented on four-sided surfaces, could not be studied in toto at any one time. Also, viewing was often secondary to regular prescribed movements through the cloister, in both formal ways (in processions and other group rituals) and in informal passage to and from conventional activities. As a consequence, cu-

rious arrangements of forms in oddly linked sequencing, for both script and images, required intellectual effort and reliance upon well-trained visual memories. With close analysis of the forms themselves along with intensive study of the importance of them in monastic cultural practices and in exegetical and paraenetical literature, fresh readings of the sequences become apparent.

In the *Saule Paule* inscription of the Peter and Paul capital, play between the words and the images is particularly noetic. Sequences are nonlinear and multidirectional, leading to differing interpretations and calling up separate lines of inheritance and association. In the psalm and alphabet inscriptions, the acrostic play is also complex. The capital representing King David as psalmist reveals a rich interlineation of *tituli* and figures. Most interesting in the current study is the play of subjects and letters in the Daniel capital. It comprises several obvious themes, the den of lions, a pair of she-goats seeking high pasture, and two pastoral episodes, one of which resembles the Annunciation to the Shepherds in Christological cycles. Detailed study of the varied contemporary texts undergirding this combination of themes and the seemingly disjunct or vagrant interpolations of the letters reveals a monastic ideal that links animals (varying in degree and kind from wild to domestic), with visionaries, petitioners, and celibates, holding reward for the astute in a cluster of loosely associated, playful permutations of meanings.

University of Michigan (emerita)  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1998–1999

JACQUELINE FRANCIS

## Modern Art, "Racial Art": The Work of Malvin Gray Johnson and the Challenges of Painting (1928–1934)

Like many African-American artists after the Harlem Renaissance (1920–1929), Malvin Gray Johnson (1896–1934) sought to represent black lives and experiences. During his brief career, Johnson produced nearly one hundred oil paintings, watercolors, and drawings. That Johnson's art could be compared in 1928 to Albert Pinkham Ryder's, in 1932 to Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot's, and in 1934 to Paul Cézanne's dramatizes the shifts in his aesthetic decisions and in the accepted markers of artistic accomplishment and taste. My dissertation is not meant to position Johnson as an unrecognized virtuoso or a groundbreaking modernist, for he was neither. Rather, I have chosen to study Johnson's surviving work—about half of his total production—because it is representative of the strategies employed by American artists who retained respect for the authority of academic conventions and realist modes while cautiously trying out the possibilities of modernist abstraction and new subject matter.

In identifying three principal and overlapping modes of Johnson's known production, I document his understudied work and argue that it illuminates the ways in which School of Paris modernism gradually affected the American realist tradition. Early pieces bear the impress of the National Academy of Design, where Johnson studied in the 1920s. His landscapes, still lifes, and interpretations of African-American spirituals show debts to the dark

naturalism and romanticism of the nineteenth century. However critical to the narrative, the figures in the spiritual paintings are small-scale, summarized, and quite different from Johnson's more confidently rendered genre portraits of the 1930s, such as *Girl Reading* (1932, Hampton University Museum) and *Postman* (1934, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture). The angular bodies in these later paintings are dominating focal points, posed in oblique environments. As a whole, the genre portraits confirm Johnson's reported interest in Cézanne and, I suggest, in the American admirers of the French painter. Johnson's last group of paintings and watercolors, completed in the summer of 1934, are even more abstract. The most successful pieces are energetically colored, even more figurally abstract, and stylistically expressionist. These final landscapes and portraits are measures of his sustained commitment to academic genres and of his evolving modernist sensibility. The art is less beholden to naturalism, and as period critics asserted, it is imbued with great expressive force and simply stated. By drawing attention to the strategies that Johnson—a marginalized painter desperate to succeed—chose to make his art appealingly *au courant*, I demonstrate the way a middle tier of artists developed and made use of modernism.

Experimentation carried special risks for African-American artists. More than a decade after the Armory Show, United States art critics remained a generally conservative body that deemed modernism foreign, mechanical, and antihumanist. Modernism's visual tack, veering toward abstraction and exaggeration of the human form, ran opposite black cultural nationalist goals of rehabilitating a commonly debased black figure. Reflecting the conservative tastes of the overall populace, the African-American press denigrated art that was "cubist," "modernist," "grotesque," and "meant to bewilder and mystify the poor patron." Realism was preferable, especially representation that idealized its black figural subjects and challenged racist visual stereotypes. Johnson's art earned positive reviews in these circles, and I argue that he had found a "middle" way: he gradually worked black figures into his compositions and looked for subjects that would be read as black as he edged toward a modernist legibility.



Malvin Gray Johnson, *Self-Portrait*, 1934. National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington

Johnson's self-conscious negotiations with the shrinking Depression-era art market were further complicated by the emergent rhetoric of "racial art." The African-American cultural critic Alain Locke articulated the notion of a "racial art" in a 1925 essay, "The Legacy of the Ancestral Arts." Locke encouraged black artists to study African sculptural aesthetics, which, he noted, had productively influenced School of Paris modernism. Yet, if Locke's

nationalist program married cultural reclamation and intellectual appropriation, other contemporary observers—among them art critic Edward Alden Jewell of the *New York Times* and collector Albert Barnes—defined “racial art” merely as an intuitive performance, a perceived emotional release translated into an unmediated, realist practice. Certainly, European-American artists of the time faced similar pressures. Critics challenged painters such as Edward Bruce (1879–1943) and Maurice Sterne (1878–1957) to make art that simultaneously expressed the collective (that is, national) and the individual (that is, the artist’s personality). These intersections in the criticism demand consideration, and in my dissertation, I examine the imbrication of expectations for particularist modes and the primitivist discourse of the early twentieth century.

To an unrecognized extent, the philanthropic Harmon Foundation’s all-black exhibitions in 1928 to 1931, 1933, and 1935 created the conditions for “racial art.” While these events provided welcome opportunities for the artists to display their work, attending audiences expected to find something aesthetically different in these spaces. The interracial Harmon juries, largely composed of liberal-minded New York art school instructors and cultural observers, rewarded art that signified an essence of race. Johnson’s spiritual painting *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot* (1928, private collection), for example, was held up as a suitably “racial” paradigm. Tellingly, on several occasions when Johnson exhibited his art in non-Harmon, integrated settings, critics did not consider whether it was racial. Jewell, for instance, likened Johnson’s genre paintings to Corot’s, finding a comparable weightiness. By the mid-1930s, some African-American artists were advancing the idea of distinct practice. In this group of advocates were the painter William Henry Johnson (1901–1970) and the sculptor Sargent Claude Johnson (1887–1967), both well-traveled cosmopolites whose knowledge of European, African, and folk art practices informed their work. (The three Johnsons are not related.) Nonetheless, the Harmon shows and the ensuing “racial art” discourse shaped both African-American art production and reception, contributing to the exclusion of this painting and sculpture from most discussions of modernism and “American art.”

My dissertation presents Malvin Gray Johnson's art as a case study of the period's style trends and the shifting terms of the art market in which he functioned. In the modest body of literature about Johnson, writers have read his art symbolically, treating it principally as the realization of black cultural nationalist ideals. In contrast, I begin with a formal analysis of his oeuvre, identifying his influences and innovations. Subsequently, I examine period criticism of his work and the work of his European- and African-American contemporaries to present the differences in forms of address and developed vocabularies. I also use Johnson's correspondence and other papers for their framing statements about his ambitions and descriptions of his art.

[Emory University]  
Wyeth Fellow, 1997-1999

## Panel Paintings Attributed to Giotto in American Collections

In general the subject matter of Giotto's altarpieces has been neglected. The starting point for my research was the *Madonna and Child* in the National Gallery of Art, which is related to a panel of Saint Stephen in the Museo Horne, Florence, and panels of Saint Laurence and Saint John the Evangelist in the Musée Jacquemart-André. The most plausible reconstruction of the pentaptych would be Saint Stephen and Saint Laurence at the extremities and Saint John the Evangelist and another lost saint flanking the *Madonna and Child*. The Tosinghi Spinelli Chapel in Santa Croce in Florence, which is dedicated to Saint Stephen and Saint Laurence, has been suggested as the original location of the altarpiece. It would therefore precede the frescoes of the martyrdoms of Stephen and Laurence by Bernardo Daddi. This hypothesis, however, is open to severe objections. The pentaptych is almost certainly too wide for the choir chapel in Santa Croce, as the surviving altar blocks confirm. Secondly, the normal convention in mendicant altarpiece programs was to place the order's saints at the sides. There is no convincing evidence for a mendicant saint (or, more likely, saints) related to the National Gallery's *Madonna*, and thus the Santa Croce provenance becomes highly unlikely.

A second significant aspect of the National Gallery panel is its precocious use of the iconography of the Madonna holding a rose. The iconography of the Madonna and the rosebush first appears





Giotto di Bondone,  
*Madonna and Child*,  
probably 1320/1330.  
National Gallery of Art,  
Washington, Samuel H.  
Kress Collection

to have been developed on a monumental scale for the choir screen of Strasbourg Cathedral in the mid-thirteenth century, although the Passion symbolism of the rose undoubtedly goes back even earlier. The iconography was probably transferred to Florentine panel painting via small-scale objects, perhaps ivories, where the motif was already popular. Giotto, however, enormously strengthens the psychological and compositional dynamic of the motif.

The National Gallery panel is stylistically connected to the frescoes in the Cappella Bardi in Santa Croce, although scholarly opinion remains divided on the dating of the fresco cycle. One hitherto unconsidered aspect of the panel is the extent to which it displays the impact of Sieneſe painting, in particular that of Duccio di Buoninsegna. The presence of Sieneſe paintings in Florence, which began with Duccio's *Rucellai Madonna*, was more widespread than has generally been recognized.

The iconography of a remarkable polyptych in the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, also has never been adequately discussed. Correctly rearranged, the altarpiece shows the deesis flanked by Saint John the Evangelist on the left and Saint Francis on the right. The central half-length Savior, an ancient theme, is rare in Florentine panel painting. Its only substantial precedent is the panel of 1271 by Meliore now in the Uffizi. The presence of Saint Francis at the extreme right is good evidence for an original Franciscan setting, but no plausible provenance has so far been suggested.

Exceptionally for a Gothic pentaptych, the Raleigh altarpiece is painted on horizontal planks. This is not unprecedented in the Giotto circle. Paintings with a horizontal format, such as the *Dormitio Virginis* from Ognissanti, naturally adopted a horizontal panel construction. Yet very early Giotto adopted vertical panels for the high altarpiece that he painted for the Gothic Badia. However, the important early double-sided altarpiece for Santa Reparata is constructed from horizontal planks, and its relationship to the Raleigh polyptych requires further examination.

In the Putnam Foundation Collection (Timken Art Gallery), San Diego, is the apex from the signed *Coronation of the Virgin* polyptych, which still stands in the Cappella Baroncelli in Santa Croce. This altarpiece was mutilated toward the end of the quattrocento and placed in a rectangular Renaissance frame. The apex has a remarkable program of God the Father surrounded by six angels. Two of the angels fluttering around the Godhead shield their eyes with a dark glass, taking up the famous image of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians (13:12). While the authority of Giotto's *Coronation* prompted a multitude of copies throughout the tre-

cento and beyond, the apex composition does not appear to have had a comparable impact.

The other panels securely attributed to Giotto in the United States are the *Epiphany* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the *Presentation in the Temple* in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. They formed part of an unusual horizontal ensemble, which has recently been convincingly reestablished. Iconographical and patronal problems remain, however, as does the question of the painting's original provenance. The presence of a central donor group—which has a precedent in the double-sided Vatican triptych—still requires a compelling identification.

University of Warwick

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1998

## The Archaeology of Fable: Visual and Poetic Memory in Rubens' Versions of Myths (1610–1620)

Any survey of the voluminous literature on Peter Paul Rubens inevitably leads to a persistent theme—the role of tradition in his pictorial language. Each new volume of the still incomplete catalogue of his work—the *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard*—seems to confirm the received knowledge about Rubens as one of the most erudite practitioners of painting in the history of art. Nonetheless, the study of his artistic *ingenium*, shaped as it is by his profuse references to antiquity and the Renaissance, often does little more than establish specific visual or poetic passages incorporated in his pictorial inventions.

This study aims to provide a more discriminating reading of Rubens' use of visual and textual “quotations” through an analysis of four paintings: *Juno and Argus* (c. 1611, Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne), *Prometheus Bound* (c. 1612–1618, Philadelphia Museum of Art), *The Finding of Erichthonius* (c. 1616, Collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz), and *The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus* (c. 1615–1617, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). In my choice of these works, I have been largely guided by two criteria. The first is their chronological place after Rubens' sojourn in Italy and establishment in Antwerp—that is, within the decade in which his pictorial idiom is most explicitly structured around the issue of artistic originality. The second criterion is their status as representations of ancient myths, which



Peter Paul Rubens, *Pan Reclining*, c. 1610.  
National Gallery of Art,  
Washington, Ailsa Mellon  
Bruce Fund

inherently concerns the question of a source image or text and its interpretive variants.

Well known and much admired both for their subtle learnedness and sheer visual power, these paintings have seldom been explored in terms of structural similarities. A notable exception is an article by Svetlana Alpers written more than thirty years ago, which stressed that even by the standards of Rubens' learning, these mythologies are self-consciously innovative, as well as pointedly allegorical.

For all their astuteness, Alpers' observations have failed to generate much scholarly discussion. In a certain sense, this was the

impetus for my dissertation. I began by trying to provide a more theoretically grounded interpretation of the visual and poetic richness of this group of paintings. In this process, I focused on one particular aspect of Rubens' pictorial language essential to his negotiation between the "manner" and the "meaning" of these paintings—the contemporary discourse on proper imitation.

My consideration has involved a series of questions. Is Rubens' fusion of various ideals of painting merely a demonstration of his mastery as an artificer or an attempt at a more complex theoretical and artistic statement? Is this synthesis of sculptural and pictorial *exempla* of excellence merely a matter of style, or does it reach into the meaning of the pictorial subjects represented to the beholder? If these images aim toward a sophisticated contemplation of the interpretive potential of ancient myths, what do they tell us about their "ideal" beholder?

The dissertation is organized around the case studies of the four paintings. I begin with *Prometheus Bound*, a work most manifestly concerned with the question of originality and imitation. By exploring the formal scaffolding of this painting, the "quotations" of Michelangelo and Titian, I seek to refine our understanding of Rubens' views on the debates around *disegno* and *colore*, ancient versus modern examples of excellence, and the concomitant notion of progress in the arts. To this end, I reassess the long-recognized relationship between *Prometheus Bound* and a lost work of antiquity, Euanthes' *Prometheus*, to highlight both Rubens' sense of kinship with this prototype and his acknowledgment of historical distance.

The second chapter, on *The Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, expands upon these concerns by analyzing Rubens' appropriation of Michelangelo's and Titian's versions of an "ideal female form." With this painting, however, I show even more explicitly how formal synthesis of various "quotations" leads to a pictorial exegesis akin to an antiquarian commentary.

In the subsequent chapters, I turn to the role of visual and poetic memory in more narrative compositions, focusing on *The Finding of Erichthonius* and *Juno and Argus*. Unlike *Prometheus Bound*, whose meaning is generated through parallels and antithe-

ses that concentrate in a single figure, the “quotations” in these paintings involve a comprehensive reordering of the standard iconographic elements associated with the respective subjects. By drawing out the visual and literary density of *The Finding of Erichthonius* and *Juno and Argus*, I point to the similarity between the structure of these works and the contemporary mythographic treatises, where new meaning is developed through a collation of existing interpretations.

I also examine the manner in which the artist uses multiple visual and textual allusions to define the epistemological value of pagan fables. In both of these compositions, Rubens embraces the interpretive variants of myths, recognizing that this multiplicity also allows for a Christian commentary on antiquity. That said, these paintings on classical subjects are never reducible to moralizing treatises. Rather, they are poetical responses to philosophical problems, fully consonant with the Renaissance reading of ancient myths.

Throughout this dissertation, I show that the formal redeployment of antique or modern motifs and the visual recollection of earlier images are invariably instruments of hermeneutics. An abundance of visual sources almost necessarily points to a profusion of literary variants, many of which have been reconciled in the artist’s treatment of a certain story. Most important, even as I have pursued the stylistic and semantic cornucopia of these mythologies, I have tried to preserve the balance between their two essential aspects, Rubens’ consummate antiquarianism and his pictorial and poetic license.

[University of Maryland at College Park]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1998–1999

SHARON HIRSH

## The Symbolist City: Perspectives of Late-Nineteenth-Century Art and Urban Society

The topic of my research—the views of urban society offered in late-nineteenth-century symbolist art—proposes a point of departure for the study of symbolist images, which in the past have been read as the singular expression of an inner world of ideas and ideals. From the time of Charles Baudelaire's *Correspondences*, the symbolists have been perceived as escapists who studied nature, not humanity, who walked through forests, not cities. Such escapism is certainly one aspect of the symbolist response to society, and as is most evident in the actual example of Paul Gauguin's flight from France to Tahiti, it implies a criticism of the European life that they were "leaving." Most symbolists, like Gauguin, avoided living in Paris; unlike him, however, they continued living, working, and exhibiting in major western European cities such as Brussels, Berlin, and Oslo. These cities, while not as big as London and Paris, were nonetheless undergoing changes. Following the models of the two larger cities, all of them were being reconstructed to accommodate an unprecedented expansion of population, particularly of the middle class. To consider the symbolists mere escapists—from life in general and from the city in particular—is to assume that they never addressed the new metropolis, and the urban society, in which they lived. It is my thesis that the escapism embraced by the symbolists was only half of their perspective. The other was an analysis of their immediate real lives.



When Hugo von Hofmannsthal wrote in 1893 that the very notion of modernism was the concurrent conflict between two oppositional factors, he might have been speaking for the symbolists: “Today, two things seem to be modern: the analysis of life and the flight from life. . . . Reflection or fantasy, mirror image or dream image.” (James McFarlane, “The Mind of Modernism,” in *Modernism: 1890–1930*, ed. Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane [Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1978]). The symbolists were perhaps most modern in their efforts to accomplish both: to study their own reality “up close, like a primitive,” as the poet Emile Verhaeren said of the painter Fernand Khnopff, and yet to evoke in their work the inner ideal world that they sought to maintain. Thus the two opposing forces—introspection and negative views of contemporary society—were not only compatible for the symbolists but are also essential to an understanding of the development of symbolism as a fin-de-siècle movement.

In the mid-1880s, symbolists moved from their early work—usually, and significantly, social realist in nature—toward personalized and mood-imbued scenes. Critiques of these early “decadent” works, from G. Albert Aurier’s article on Vincent van Gogh through reviews of Edvard Munch’s *Night* (1890, National Gallery, Oslo), reveal a common acclaim for the hypersensitive artist who refuses to be one of the crowd. Notably, these artists’ works coincided with late-nineteenth-century descriptions of modern society as having no character of its own, spawning bureaucracies and impersonality. The symbolists present a visual generational response to the city that can be directly related to the analyses provided by the new urban sociology being propounded at that time by Emil Durkheim, Georg Simmel, and others. They most closely echo both the concerns and hopes of Simmel, a keen observer of the multitudinous changes wrought in the new metropolis. Simmel identified the “metropolitan type of man” who would, he hoped, adopt a new code of detached, civil behavior, uniform dress, and anonymous relationships while strengthening, because of the freedom of this public anonymity, his own inner identity.

While the symbolists abhorred the depersonalization around them, they remained ever the hypersensitive artists themselves. As



Edvard Munch, *Tingel Tangel*, 1895.  
National Gallery of Art, Washington,  
Rosenwald Collection

these early symbolist works developed from what Maurice Denis termed in 1909 “subjective distortion” (which I relate to the autobiographical mood of decadence) into “objective distortion” (which I term the universal, lesson-oriented imagery of symbolism), views of fin-de-siècle society never changed. Themes range in imagery from the “sick city,” with its visual codes of disease and degeneration that were often blamed on city life, to the “ideal city,” which was found in towns like Bruges, presumably so medieval and untouched by modernity that it was called “the dead city.”

My research at the Center for Advanced Study focused on two aspects of the symbolist view of urban society: images of the “destructured city” itself and views of the “city woman, or the

should-be mother.” In their scenes of the city, symbolist artists struggled with the novel points of view established by higher buildings, newly crowded avenues and boulevards, and increasingly complex commercial spaces on the city street, all changes that made the city almost impossible to read by traditional standards. Unlike cities before the Industrial Revolution, which were smaller and formed by various ordered plans around single monuments such as a cathedral, the city of the symbolists had undergone radical shifts in morphology because of two factors. The first was increased segregation of the city according to race, labor, and class. The second was a massive and nearly incomprehensible expansion of the idea of the city resulting from the development of new technology. With these two changes, the city was no longer physically ordered, let alone enclosed by physical means. New transportation and communications extended the city into the countryside, while the urban sprawl could be understood only in segments. What Baron Haussman and others had imposed upon the new modern city model was spatial proximity without communication proximity. People could readily find the boulevards but could not readily relate to them and to others on them. Already in 1887 Verhaeren, in a sensitive assessment of Khnopff entitled “A Symbolist Painter,” wrote about Paris as “an immense algebra the key to which was lost”; symbolist paintings present this phenomenon in visual ways. In Jan Toorop’s *The Young Generation* (1892, Museum Boymans-van Beunigen, Rotterdam), countryside nature is posed as a dying realm. A baby girl in a high chair and her mother are in front of a cottage overgrown with plant life yet surrounded by encroaching technology. A railway and electric poles in the foreground form both a frame and a barrier to the scene, effectively trapping the child and her mother in the world of nature while simultaneously preventing viewers from entering that world from their location on the other side of the frame—the city. In Munch’s *Evening on Karl Johan Street* (1893, Rasmus Meyer Collection, Bergen), the artist for the first time paints a street scene, adopting a head-on view of a new boulevard in Oslo. The viewer is confronted by faceless modern bourgeois urbanites walking on a dark, long, and almost hallucinatory street.

Similar reactionary responses to changes in urban society are seen in symbolist views of the new woman. In works like Munch's *Tingel Tangel*, the urban display of woman as sexual commodity is made both banal and bitterly crude. Many symbolist depictions further chastised this city woman not only for her rejection of domesticity but especially for her refusal of motherhood. Restriction of women to domestic decorum began to be evident in visual arts precisely with development of capitalist towns in the early Renaissance. The most severe regulation of women to the domestic sphere, in other words, has in the West historically accompanied the growth of the city. By the time of the symbolists, however, the assumption of a separate sphere for women was being questioned, while the "new women" who eschewed any domestic and especially maternal duties—by means of singlehood, abortion, abandonment of children, or infanticide—became a societal threat. Giovanni Segantini devoted a series of works to the perfect mother, but he also painted *The Evil Mothers* (1894, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), portraying those women who deserve to be tortured for having abandoned their maternal roles. Eugene Laermans, modeling his work after Felicien Rops' *Sataniques*, produced a work now called *After Fleurs de Mal* (1891, private collection), in which a skeletal, haggard woman sits atop the towers of Notre Dame, identifying her as the waste of the city woman. In one hand she holds both a mask to conceal her aged face and a breastplate replicating full, firm breasts with protruding nipples to disguise her sagging empty breasts. With the other hand, she pinches one of her own "wasted" breasts. A symbol of modern sterility, she reigns over the city, the should-be mother who is no longer a fruitful part of urban society.

With such images, the symbolists represent the first generation to address antimodernism as specifically antiurban ideas, calling at once for a reform of the city's ills and a return to personal, inner ideals.

Dickinson College  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1998

HANNS HUBACH

*Parnassus Palatinus*: Studies of the Arts at the Palatine Court, 1400–1630

The focus of my research has been Heidelberg Castle, the ancestral seat of the count palatine of the Rhine and elector. One of the most splendid of all German residences, it served as both a monument of and stage for rituals of statecraft and sovereignty. My study concerns the period from 1400 to 1630, when Heidelberg Castle expanded from a medieval fortress into a cosmopolitan Renaissance residence. I chose this time frame for two reasons. First, only a few minor pieces of art indisputably belonging to the court remain from the time before 1400. Second, the iconographic traditions celebrating the virtues of the palatine rulers, developed over two centuries, ceased following the destruction of the castle in the Thirty Years' War and the subsequent loss of its prestigious electorate.

In the literary realm, the palatine court's leading role as a pioneer of German humanism has long been acknowledged. Because of the repeated destruction and pillaging of the castle, which resulted in the loss of most of its furnishings, our knowledge about the art patronage of the electors palatine at Heidelberg is limited. Finding little evidence of the castle's splendor, many researchers mistakenly assume that the electors did not support the arts. Statements such as the one given in the most recent *Dictionary of Art* (1996, 11:731) claiming that "the Electors Palatine were not noted patrons, in contrast to many contemporary princes," unfortunately is as typical as it is untrue. This widespread assumption is

usually based on the belief that the elaborate sculpted figurative programs on the façades of two palaces, one built by Duke Ottheinrich (1556–1559) and the other by Friedrich IV (1592–1610), are the only surviving evidence. This assumption explains why relatively few studies broadly address the development of the artistic milieu at the Heidelberg court in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Only the reign of Duke Ottheinrich in Neuburg and Heidelberg has been researched in detail.

Ottheinrich was a great admirer of the arts and a well-known Maecenas. Studies show that from the middle of the fifteenth century onward the electoral court was a leading proponent of the Renaissance in Germany. This supportive role is often underrepresented in publications concerning the court culture of the Renaissance period in Germany because of art historians' failure to consider the preserved artistic corpus associated with the electors as a whole. This corpus includes a number of major works. The *Gedechtnus der Churfuersten und Pfalnzgraffen bey Rheyne*, a painted gallery of the electors and counts palatine of the Rhine and their wives, was initiated about 1470 to decorate the walls of the great hall of the Ruprechtsbau, and it continued until the beginning of the seventeenth century. The corpus also comprises the famous Ottheinrich tapestries and the *Kurpfälzische Städtebilder*, a sequence of more than fifty paintings of the most important and splendid towns of the Palatinate that was intended as a visual display of the flourishing country's wealth. Add to the corpus the spectacular fountains and flower beds of the Hortus Palatinus, embodying an ingenious iconography, as well as prints and drawings documenting ephemeral triumphal architecture, and one is confronted with striking examples of the former splendor of the court.

The palatine rulers, in order to most conspicuously and advantageously portray their wealth and power, strove to emulate the style not only of the Burgundy courts but also of the Italian courts. A long-standing and close relationship with the northern Italian courts of Mantua, Ferrara, and Venice was particularly influential. Significant consequences include the styling of Friedrich I the Victorious (1449–1476) into an invincible Hercules Palatinus and the construction in 1549 of the so-called Gläserner Saalbau, a



1. Zum Pfälzer zu Pfälz und Herzog zu Rheinl. Rhod.



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2. Zum Kurfürsten zu Mainz



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30. Zum Kurfürsten zu Bamberg



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Renaissance palace that owes its name to the decoration of the ballroom a *Pitaliano* with exorbitantly expensive mirrors from Venice. Even the *bucintoro*, the Venetian doge's ship of state, served as a model for the elector's galley, a vessel used solely for short excursions on the Neckar River.

Ottheinrich self-consciously distinguished himself as an outstanding patron and collector of art. Owing to a predilection for contemporary Italian art, developed during numerous travels that took him as far as Jerusalem, he became one of the main proponents of the Renaissance in Germany. Following the introduction of the Lutheran Reformation into his territories, he succeeded in transforming traditional iconographic patterns that had been developed in the Catholic milieu of Italy into a kind of Protestant pictorial theology. His aim seems to have been to protect his beloved art, especially in the ecclesiastical domain, from any suspicion of idolatry, which had often given rise to the pillaging of churches. Unfortunately, his Calvinist successors from the house of Pfalz-Simmern did not share his concern for art. They instead suppressed, as evidenced by the murals of the castle chapel in Neuburg (1543), the earliest extant Protestant picture cycle, and by the figurative program of the façade of the Ottheinrichsbau at Heidelberg Castle. But even these rulers realized how to use unusual models and concepts in art to promote their official state image. Friedrich IV and Friedrich V (1610–1632) deserve special mention in this regard. Their patronage gave us not only the sculpted line of ancestors decorating the façade of the Friedrichsbau and the *Kurpfälzische Städtebilder* series but also the ephemeral settings erected for triumphal celebrations and various other rituals of statecraft, drawings, and descriptive commentaries of which were published shortly after the events themselves. The most eminent of these publications is the *Beschreibung der Reyss*, which documents the spectacular wedding of Friedrich V and Elizabeth Stuart in London and their voyage back to Heidelberg in 1616. Salomon DeCaus' design for the famous Hortus Palatinus is another important example of this tradition.

Given the wealth of material and the broad spectrum of questions related to it, only a compilation of case studies of the arts at

*Gedechtnus der Churfuersten und Pfalnzgrafen bey Rheyn*, 1593. Composite image by Allison Needle, Department of Imaging and Visual Services, National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1999



the palatine court is possible at this time. Nevertheless, one can foresee that the reconstruction of the artistic milieu in Heidelberg will constitute a significant contribution to the discussion of the court culture of the Renaissance north of the Alps.

Kunsthistorisches Institut der Universität Heidelberg  
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1998–1999

MARILYN MCCULLY  
ANN HOENIGSWALD

## Picasso's Practice: The Development of Still-Life Compositions in 1908—An Art-Historical and Technical Study of the Artist's Work in Progress

This collaborative study focused on a number of Pablo Picasso's still lifes and projects for figure compositions of 1908, at the time the artist was developing and exploring his revolutionary cubist language.

Picasso frequently made alterations while he worked on compositions in oils, and determining what these were and how they functioned is essential to establishing the nature of his formal discoveries. To trace these changes, different types of evidence may be considered, beginning with what can be seen both on the surface of the canvas with the naked eye and below the surface in x-radiographs and infrared photographs. The artist himself also photographed some works in his studio, both as a record of his production and also as a reference while he was developing certain compositions. The relationship between Picasso's practice of drawing, particularly in sketchbooks, and the development of compositions in oils is especially relevant to following formal development and to establishing chronological sequences or groupings of individual works, as well as to identifying works in progress. Picasso made color notations on some drawings, and their function in his artistic practice must also be taken into account.

During the spring and summer of 1908, Picasso filled a sketchbook (21 x 13.5 cm), known as *Carnet 16* (Musée Picasso, Paris), with a variety of handwritten notations and over fifty pencil, char-

coal, and Indian ink drawings. He noted ideas for single- and multiple-figure paintings, some of which, including *Woman with a Fan* and *Three Women* (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg) and *L'Offrande* (Musée Picasso, Paris), were in progress during that period. Among others was a little-studied two-figure composition, for which the artist wrote a description and created a drawing: “dos mujeres una tiene en la mano una copa de vino y en la otra un ramo de flores. La otra mujer una sabana en medio una mesa con una taza y un gran vaso con ojos. Detras de la mesa una chimenea de salon sobre la chimenea un globo de cristal con un reloj dentro detras un espejo.” The drawing for this particular composition (68 V) shows two standing nudes on either side of a cloth-covered table, in front of a fireplace; the still life on the table includes a circular object (possibly fruit) before a large, wide-mouthed pot, a wineglass (held by the figure at the right), and what appears to be the clock under a dome (as described above by the artist) on the mantelpiece. This composition was apparently never realized in oil, although ideas for the central still life inspired several canvases that heretofore have not been considered in the context of the Carnet 16 projects, including *Pot, Wineglass, and Book* (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg) and *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon* (Philadelphia Museum of Art).

Examination of *Pot, Wineglass, and Book* reveals that Picasso had changed his mind about the positioning and shapes of the different still-life objects during work on the canvas. Strokes of paint visible on the surface, unrelated to the definition of the objects in the final composition, suggest that earlier forms had preceded them. In addition, the ocher of the foreground appears to be painted over another color (blue-green) in certain areas, and portions of the pot (also an ocher) appear to have been scraped off at some stage. Laboratory examination, including x-radiography, reveals that indeed an earlier still-life composition was envisioned. By this technical evidence in conjunction with his description and other drawings in Carnet 16, it is possible to follow the development of Picasso's ideas as he worked on the painting. The x-radiograph shows a much larger pot, with a handle and its neck extending to the top of the canvas at right. In front and to the left, another pot

resembles the one that Picasso decided to paint in the final version. Below these two vessels is what appears to be a cloth rising up between them. In addition a circular form hovers above the pot at the left. He may have considered depicting the glass globe mentioned in the Carnet description but decided to eliminate it at a later stage. It is difficult to determine when the book (lower right) was painted, but it does not appear in the description or in related drawings and paintings of this period.

The wineglass in the final version, however, can be deciphered in the x-radiograph within the contours of the earlier pot at the left. The central placement of the glass within the pot—as if the artist were deliberately testing the visual impact of an angular form within a curved one—recalls another of the Carnet sketches (62 R), which is close in several respects to the earlier composition. In the drawing a pot with a small handle appears in front of a larger pot, whose neck reaches the top of the sketch sheet, like the jug with a handle seen in the x-radiograph. This larger pot has curved sides but no handle in the drawing, though the angular lines drawn within it suggest that the artist was considering how to convey the geometry of its internal structure.

The Carnet description cited indicates that Picasso was also interested in experimenting with different visual effects, including transparency (glass) as well as the depiction of one object (the clock) within another (the globe or dome). In the final version of *Pot, Wineglass, and Book*, he created the effect of refraction by juxtaposing the wineglass and the ceramic pot. The disjunction and exaggerated size of the left-hand contour of the pot as seen through the glass is startling and, unexpectedly, has the effect of emphasizing the fragmentary view of the book at the right. The fragmentation of objects and transparent effects are aspects of Picasso's developing cubism, and as pictorial concerns are particularly evident in the still lifes that he would work on over the winter of 1908–1909.

The related *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon* reveals similar issues of representation and visual effects, and a drawing for it, which immediately followed the drawing associated with *Pot, Wineglass, and Book*, includes a color key written by the

artist. Apart from the green at the top center, the color notations in the Carnet describe the final palette fairly accurately: “gris que parezca lila verde Blanco rojo de pozoli siena negro amarillo citron amarillo citron.” The lilac gray corresponds to the upper left; the green has been covered with a dark gray; traces of white can be found at the left of the compotier; red, sienna, and black are used in the foreground; and lemon yellow is used for the fruits in the compotier and the single lemon in the left foreground.

Before this period Picasso had from time to time noted colors in his sketchbooks for certain compositions. Sometimes he made the notations in conjunction with preliminary drawings for compositions not yet begun, and on other occasions he made a record of a work in progress. In this case the drawing must have been done before the composition attained its final form since the green, noted in the central area above the two vessels, is no longer visible. Nonetheless, microscopic analysis of the picture surface reveals that traces of green can be detected in all areas of the canvas beneath the top layer of paint. Picasso had uniformly applied this color (possibly the same green that predominated in the paintings he did at La Rue-des-Bois in August 1908) to cover an earlier composition, the x-radiograph for which was published at the time of the *Picasso & Things* exhibition (Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Paris, 1992). Further analysis of the paint might help to clarify the sequence of works done in the summer, either before or after the stay in La Rue-des-Bois.

The changing relationship of figures and still life objects becomes a feature of cubism, in works such as *Bread and Fruitdish on a Table* (1909, Kunstmuseum Basel), in which Picasso transformed figures seated around a table into still-life objects, and in *Queen Isabeau* (1909, Pushkin Museum, Moscow) of the same year, in which the still life of an earlier version became the pattern of the woman's dress. This type of transformation finds a precedent in *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon*: the x-radiograph reveals beneath the still life a frontally positioned nude figure with arms outstretched (but close to the body at either side). The three-quarter figure is cut off at the bottom edge above the knees. In her catalogue entry for the work, Jean Boggs related the figure to a



Pablo Picasso, *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon*, 1908. Philadelphia Museum of Art, A. E. Gallatin Collection

female nude that Picasso painted on a wooden panel in the spring of 1908. She concluded that when Picasso decided to paint over the figure, he consciously repainted the area of the womb symbolically with a bowl. However, the x-radiograph does not definitively confirm that the underpainted figure was female.

Drawings in Carnet 16 (56 R, 58 R, 59 R, 60 R . . . 73 R, 74 R, 75 R; the drawings that interrupt the sequence include the two still lifes) refer to a male nude, shown frontally and whose body ends just above the knees. In all of these drawings the arms are crossed in front of the body, yet when Picasso completed a painting based on this idea (traditionally dated several months later), *Naked Man*

(Musée d'art moderne, Villeneuve d'Ascq), the figure was painted with arms close to the body and outstretched. Not only does the x-radiograph of *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon* show the figure in this position, but a raking-light photograph reveals that the hairline on the forehead is also similar to the *Naked Man*. If, in fact, the underlying figure is male, the female associations with the still life would have no meaning. In any case, the genital area of either a male or female figure would correspond to the corner of the table in the final composition.

During the course of one morning or afternoon in his Paris studio, Picasso photographed a sequence of paintings, including *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon*, on an easel in front of *Three Women*. He may have wished to record works to show prospective buyers, including Sergei Shchukin, the buyer of *Pot, Wineglass, and Book*, but the artist's own photographs also raise tantalizing questions about how he used photography, perhaps like drawings as a working tool. At the time of this session some of the works were unfinished. The photograph of *Vase, Two Bowls, Compote, and Lemon* shows areas to the upper left and in the foreground in progress.

One unexplained aspect of the Philadelphia painting is why a ceramic bowl is stacked on top of the jug at the left. In the Carnet 16 drawing for the two-figure composition with a still life, the centrally placed pot has two curved lines at either side projecting from its lip. These lines correspond to the position of the second ceramic pot that appears in the oil painting, suggesting that the drawing may be the source for the resulting juxtaposition. Related works of this period, such as *Carafe and Bowls* (State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg), show similar juxtapositions. That forms could be manipulated, transformed, or even superimposed upon each other is one of Picasso's principal concerns in cubism, in which the three-dimensionality of forms depicted is represented in a space that derives from the artist's imagination.

London

National Gallery of Art

Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology, 1998–1999

DAVID R. MARSHALL

Gian Paolo Panini: A New Catalogue Raisonné  
From Pons Triumphalis to Ponte Trionfale:  
Antiquarian Topography and the Architectural  
Imagination

My research has dealt with two interrelated projects concerned with depicted architecture inspired by the monuments of ancient Rome. The overarching project is the preparation of a new study and catalogue raisonné of the work of Gian Paolo Panini, the leading Roman painter of ruins, architectural caprices, and topographical views in the mid-eighteenth century. Associated with this project, but exploring slightly different issues, is a study of certain themes in representations of imaginary architecture from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century.

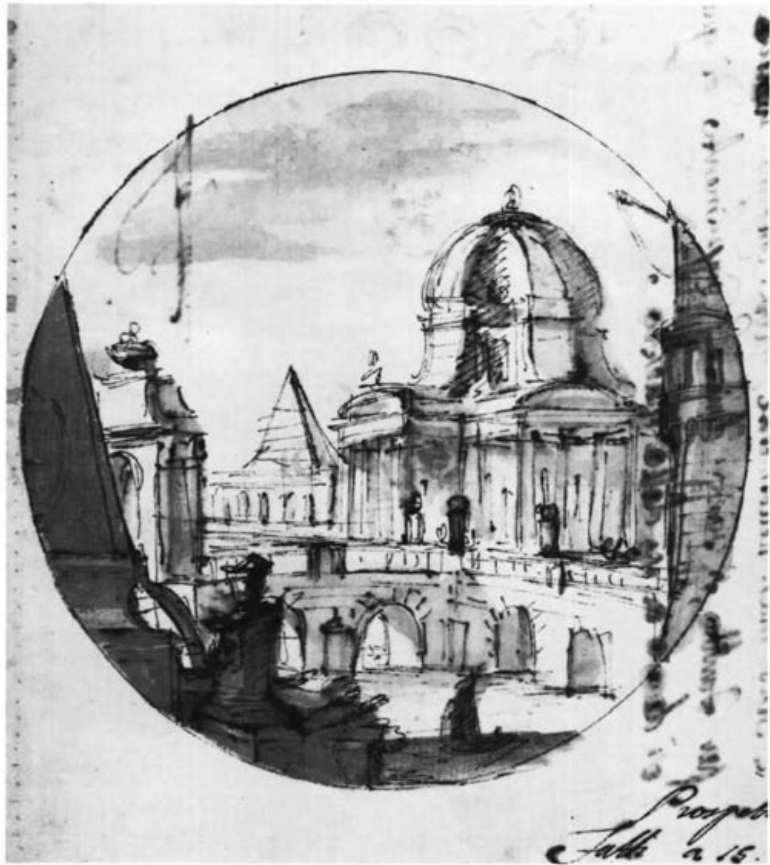
This second project, emerging from my earlier work on Viviano Codazzi, concerns what I see as the problematic nature of the relationship between topographical fact and architectural imagination in the genres of architectural painting. If the straightforward topographical representation of architecture, such as Panini's *Interior of the Pantheon, Rome* (c. 1734) and the *Interior of St. Peter's, Rome* (c. 1754) in the National Gallery of Art's collection, seems to cause spectators few problems of interpretation, they do present problems of evaluation. Are these ruled lines, this passivity toward a physical structure, hard and geometric, inferior as art to the organic forms that are the subject matter of the landscape painter or to the expressive manipulations of scale and lighting by means of which Giovanni Battista Piranesi assertively takes control of architectural fact? At the other extreme, the rococo capriccio—



an architectural representation, usually ruined, weed-encrusted, and devoid of explicit topographical reference—is a genre that today seems to repel attention. What are we to look at? What is it that is represented? Is it—to use a term commonly employed to signal inattention—merely decorative? And what are we to make of a genre of architectural fantasy that employs a nonpictorial mode of expression? Piranesi's large reconstruction of the ancient Roman Campus Martius in his *Campo Marzio* of 1762 employs for entertainment and self-delusion a genre—the iconographic plan—normally used for objective accounts of what is or was. To the archaeologist it is delusion, while for the art lover it lies inaccessibly embedded in a genre foreign to entertainment.

These examples suggest that we need to learn to read the genres of imaginary architecture in ways that differ from those required by other pictorial genres. One way of doing this is to build upon the disjunction between topography and fantasy that is inherent in them. We must follow these disjunctions and intuit the mental leap that prompted the artist to create them. We must allow ourselves to discern visual connections between works by artists when we have no evidence for such connections other than that of similarity. In doing so, we may well uncover demonstrable historical relationships. We might be able to see these works best when, as in night vision, we do not look directly at them. But this remains incidental to our primary goal, which is to restore into our imaginative life this lost world of architectural imaginings.

How can this goal be accomplished? In the spirit of our subject, we should give rein to our imagination and consider methodologies as transgressive and as speculative as those employed by Piranesi in designing his *Campo Marzio*. We might, for example, suppose that the possibilities of baroque architectural design were not exhausted by baroque architects. Are there any formal possibilities that were only adumbrated or not developed at all during the period in question? If so, it may be worthwhile to give an account of these inventions, directed less at a contextual understanding than at a typological one, by arranging ideas within a grid that maps the formal possibilities. Having exhausted the historical material, one is left with a mosaic containing the unfilled squares



Filippo Juvarra,  
*Architectural Fantasy with  
Temple, Pyramid, and  
Triumphal Bridge* (detail),  
1704. National Gallery of  
Art, Washington, Ailsa  
Mellon Bruce Fund

that represent those possibilities that might have been—but were not—explored during the baroque period. Or perhaps we should be aiming to produce something like a Renaissance treatise on the architectural orders, replacing them with architectural themes derived from particular monuments but addressing in the same systematic way similar issues of geometry, metaphor, and historical example. Or perhaps our project should be to recover an architectural tradition from within a pictorial tradition, in which case its ideal outcome would be a series of models, made with the white geometrical purity of the Jefferson Memorial, describing variations in architectural ideas that start in topography but end as exercises

in pure architectural form. Or, if this approach seems to push topography too much to the background, perhaps our project should be to create a bird's-eye view of those other imaginary Romes that weave like ghosts around the visionary topographical maps of ancient Rome by Fabio Calvo, Pirro Ligorio, and Piranesi.

If these speculations do not resolve the problem of identifying the genre to be adopted in writing of this architecture of the imagination, they may indicate the nature of the problem as one in which the polarity of topography–fantasy is most emphatically established. The architecture of fantasy needs memorable motifs, iconic images that the mind may easily retain. While architects may have pored over the remains of the functionally mysterious buildings at Hadrian's villa for formal ideas to misunderstand for their own architecture, it was the unusable but unavoidable monuments to which the fantasy tradition kept returning: buildings such as the pyramidal *Meta Romuli*, destroyed in 1500 but persistent in cultural memory, the wedding-cake Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo), and the spanning *Pons Aelius* (Ponte Sant'Angelo). These monuments were not situated in memory as isolated entities. They were recalled as forms in certain spatial relationships, clustering around the tightest corner of the Tiber bend. Such depictions would persist throughout the fantasy tradition. Associated with these were monuments that had only a fictive existence in the Renaissance but that were recreated in forms with comparable iconic memorableness, such as the Tower of Maecenas, the *naumachiae* of Nero and Domitian, and the *Pons Triumphalis*.

A theme that has proved particularly fruitful to investigate has been the *Pons Triumphalis*, the Triumphal Bridge. It had a topographical reality, being identified with the remains of the *Pons Neronianus* a little downstream of the Ponte Sant'Angelo, yet this could be overridden if other ideas seemed better, as they did to Piranesi, or simply ignored. It had certain forms associated with it, sometimes appropriated from the *Pons Aelius*, but there was nothing to prevent the invention of new forms. Its existence was largely a creation of Renaissance antiquarians from Flavio Biondo onward, including Ligorio, Onofrio Panvinio, Giacomo Lauro, and

Alessandro Donati. Its finest flowering was in some of the most avowedly imaginative nontopographical architectural designs of the eighteenth century such as those of Sir John Soane.

My main concern has been with the way, in the first half of the eighteenth century, artist-architects of the caliber of Filippo Juvarra, Piranesi, and Paolo Posi drew on the antiquarian tradition in order to transmute it into the visionary tradition, turning Pons Triumphalis into Ponte Trionfale.

University of Melbourne

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

## The Origins of *Cassone* Painting in Florence

The historiated *cassone* (wooden chest) is an important genre of domestic painting produced in early Renaissance Florence. The majority of *cassoni* were commissioned for weddings. Presented to brides in pairs, *cassoni* included both the bride's and the groom's coat of arms, although today they are often illegible. A narrative was painted on the two chests, beginning on the long front panel of one and ending on the second. Only rarely are both chests (or their detached panels) preserved or housed in the same collection.

Historiated *cassoni*, in contrast to religious paintings produced at the same time for churches or private houses, have received little scholarly attention. As a result, it is still often mistakenly believed that they were first produced in the early quattrocento, and that classical subjects were not introduced until the 1430s or 1440s. In another study (*Soggetti classici sui cassoni fiorentini alla vigilia del Rinascimento*, 1996), I discussed the earliest *cassone* panels inspired by mythology (Ovid, Statius, Hyginus) and ancient history (Livy, Valerius Maximus). These depicted the Story of Lucretia, the Rape of Europa, the Youth of Achilles, and the Myths of Meleagros and Actaeon. I argued that these panels were painted from the 1380s through the first decade of the quattrocento and that they showed a possible direct or indirect influence of the teaching of early humanists on art objects produced for domestic settings. My present research focuses on the earliest *cassone*

panels and complete chests adorned with decorative motifs and narrative paintings inspired by the Bible and the writings of Guido delle Colonne, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, among others.

While in *Soggetti classici* I concentrated mainly on the iconography of the paintings, in this research I have also investigated the way in which these chests were made. Using these technical data, as well as documentary and iconographical sources, it is possible to produce a tentative chronology of the pieces produced before 1420.

The five oldest marriage chests preserved are not historiated. The techniques used in their construction and decoration are the same as the ones described by Cennino Cennini in *The Craftman's Handbook*. These chests, called *forzieri* because of the metal strapwork reinforcing them, recall those depicted in paintings by Giotto, Simone Martini, and other fourteenth-century painters. Three of them are decorated with alternating red and blue bands onto which have been applied figures in pastiglia: a horseman with a hawk on his wrist, related to the themes of the Hunt of Love, and lovers at a fountain, referring to the Garden of Love. The remaining two chests are covered with a fleurs-de-lis motif on a blue ground. A study of costume dates the former group to the mid-fourteenth century. From evidence in written sources it appears possible that the chests with the fleurs-de-lis motif were commissioned in 1361 for the marriage of a Florentine couple, Bernardo Nozzi and Bartolommea di Francesco Becchi. Several lines of evidence suggest that all five chests are Florentine rather than Siense, as is often maintained. Three were housed until the second half of the nineteenth century in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, Florence, and a fourth near Florence, at the Castello di Vincigliata. The latter bears the coat of arms of two well-known Florentine families, the Capponi and Larioni.

From visual and archival studies, it appears almost certain that in the last decades of the fourteenth century, two types of *cassoni* were fashionable. The first type comprises those adorned with an all-over repeated pattern consisting of falcons, leopards, griffons, and floral and fleurs-de-lis motifs. They are entirely coated with gilt gesso to look as though they were made of solid gold.



Master of the Siege of  
Naples (?), *Torello*  
*Departing for Holy Land*  
*and Receiving Ring from*  
*His Wife, Adalieta*, c. 1390.  
Museo del Bargello,  
Florence. Photograph:  
Kunsthistorisches Institut,  
Florence

Historiated *cassoni* constitute the second type. Their abundant gilt pastiglia decoration, surrounding small paintings in three quatrefoil or quatrefoil-like compartments, gives them an appearance somewhat similar to the first type. The best preserved and most beautiful of these is a chest with the Story of Torello and Saladin (*Decameron* 10:9) on its front (Museo del Bargello, Florence; formerly in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, Florence). The ornamented metal straps that wrap around the corners, the decoration on the back, and the very fine white gesso on the lid and sides show clear connections with the oldest group of *forzieri*.

The earliest surviving representation of a biblical story is on an unpublished *cassone* front (private collection, Italy). The panel shows the first part of the Story of Susanna; the happy ending was undoubtedly shown on its now lost pendant. The shape of the quatrefoil, emerging from abundant pastiglia decoration surrounding all three small paintings, recalls the first two bronze doors of the Baptistery of Florence and numerous panels by Taddeo Gaddi derived from a large cupboard produced for the church of Santa Croce. Given the slightly undulating line of Susanna's clothes, this *cassone* panel dates to c. 1400. The panel demonstrates that biblical subjects were depicted on the earliest historiated *cassoni*. Both sacred and secular stories were used in domestic paintings, according to the lessons they taught.

A *cassone* with the Expedition of the Argonauts (c. 1390, Museo del Bargello, Florence) is undoubtedly one of the earliest chests adorned with a unified narrative over its entire front. The main literary source of the panel appears to be an Italian version of Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae*. A copy of this book (Biblioteca Laurenziana), illustrated in Florence in 1356, provides comparative material for most scenes shown on the *cassone*. I was only recently able to recognize the companion piece for the Bargello chest in a heavily repainted panel in the Stibbert Museum, Florence. While numerous early *cassone* panels are close in style to frescoes by Agnolo Gaddi and Nicolo di Pietro Gerini, the two Argonauts panels show similarities with some works of the Cione brothers and their followers. The same can be said about two almost identical panels in private collections depicting the



Triumph of Fame as described by Boccaccio in *Amorosa visione* (6:75). Their lost pendants may have represented the Triumph of Genius or the Triumph of Love, more suitable subjects for marriage chests. Because there are nearly identical representations of specific themes (the Triumph of Fame, the Story of Torello and Saladin, and the Story of Lucretia) appearing on these early *cassoni*, it seems likely that the *cassoni* were stock items in workshops active at the end of the fourteenth century.

Giorgio Vasari is a reliable source of information on the matter of the origins of domestic painting in Florence, although he may be wrong on chronology. He writes that the youthful Donatello assisted Dello Delli in *cassone* production, creating “with stucco, gesso, glue, and pounded brick, some stories and ornament in low-reliefs, which, being afterward overlaid with gold, made a beautiful accompaniment for the painted stories.” Donatello was born in 1386, however, precluding this assistance to Dello Delli, who was born in 1404. There appears to be a missing person in this story, a *cassone* maker living at the end of the fourteenth century whom Donatello might have assisted. This unknown artist ran a workshop in which numerous chests were produced. As for subject matter, Vasari is correct: “. . . the citizens of those times used to have in their apartments great wooden chests in the form of a sarcophagus . . . and the stories that were wrought on the front were for the most part fables taken from Ovid and from other poets, or rather, stories related by the Greek and Latin historians, and likewise chases, jousts, tales of love, and other similar subjects, according to each man’s particular pleasure.”

University of Warsaw  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1998

## Stylistic, Iconographic, and Technological Studies of Moche Mural Art

One of the most remarkable Prehispanic artistic traditions of South America is that of the Moche culture. This desert society flourished on the north coast of Peru between the first and eighth centuries A.D., long before the Inca empire held sway over the Andean region.

The study of Moche art began with the pioneering work of Max Uhle at the turn of the century. Moche pottery, long admired for its assumed verism, has received the most attention. The contributions of scholars such as Rafael Larco Hoyle have been significant, adding to our understanding of the chronology of north coast archaeology. The fine-line paintings on Moche ceramic vessels have also received much attention, and the depictions of ritual scenes on the pottery have been instrumental in attempts to reconstruct Moche ceremonial practices.

Until recently, comparatively little research has been devoted to Moche monumental painting and architectural sculpture. Our research at the sites of Huaca de la Luna (Moche Valley) and Huaca Cao Viejo (Chicama Valley) has provided an opportunity to analyze and document such works of art in their original contexts. By examining murals and architectural reliefs in situ, we are able to gain a better sense of how these works functioned within the urban complexes. This research has also resolved some persistent problems in the study of materials that Uhle excavated in Peru and



Close-up of polychrome adobe frieze revealed during the archaeological excavation of Platform I at the site of Huaca de la Luna, Peru. Author photograph

brought back to the United States. For example, fragments excavated from Cerro Blanco, near Huaca de la Luna, and now housed in the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology at the University of California, Berkeley, can be more completely understood when examined against the broader context of architectural sculpture now known from this region.

Moche artists drew upon a long artistic tradition in the Andes. Connections between the Moche and earlier cultures of the north coast and elsewhere in Peru can be established with some certainty. Moche artists used imagery similar to that seen at the Preceramic period site of Huaca Prieta and the Initial period–Early Horizon period sites of Caballo Muerto and Chavin de Huantar. Moche artists were the direct inheritors of these earlier traditions, and in turn they became the sources from which later Chimu art sprang.

The architectural complexes of Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo were brightly ornamented. The columns were covered in plaster and painted blue, the floors were white, and the walls and ceilings were covered in polychrome painting and relief sculpture. My research suggests that the characters represented in Moche monumental art are closely linked with Chavin de Huantar and the earlier cultures of the north coast of Peru. Changes evident in the Moche corpus are more a matter of stylistic variation or transformation. One major figure seen in Moche art is a mountain deity, represented as an anthropomorphic figure with feline attributes, including interlocking fangs. This imagery is abundant along the walls of what are presumed to be ritual spaces within the architectural complexes of Huaca de la Luna and Huaca Cao Viejo.

Much work remains to be done at these two sites, but the preliminary results are promising. The study of the architectural ornament will provide an important counterpoint to the Moche chronologies and other studies that are based solely on ceramic assemblages. Through the analysis of architectural reliefs and paintings in their original contexts, we can gain greater insight into the nature of ritual behavior in the Moche culture. For example, we may be able to determine what imagery was intelligible to small groups and what imagery was intelligible to potentially vast numbers of people. These observations, in turn, will help us develop hypotheses about the ideological and political organization of the Moche state.

Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Instituto Nacional de Cultura, Peru  
Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation  
Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1996

## The Church Projects of Guarino Guarini: Inspiration and Development

Guarino Guarini aimed to achieve a degree of originality in his church projects that has no parallel in the baroque era. After a period of travel, he settled in Turin in 1666, where his best-known works were built. He is chiefly famous for the Chapel of the Shroud and the church of San Lorenzo, both distinguished by their extraordinary domes, and for the Palazzo Carignano. Many of his unexecuted church designs are also highly significant for their spatial fluidity and lively, light-filled domes.

In 1998 I published an article in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* on certain of Guarini's late church designs. My research at the Center this year has been devoted primarily to Guarini's formation as an architect, as a means to understanding his remarkable ideas. I have found it helpful first to supply a context for the ideas by tracing their sources and then to determine the nature of his contribution. Through his travels, his acquaintance (I believe) with Francesco Borromini and François Mansart, and the growing portfolio of his own work, Guarini acquired a fund of unusual source material. From this he would pick ideas for elaboration, aiming always for greater originality.

More than any of his contemporaries, Guarini absorbed the lessons of Borromini's architecture. In particular, the plan of Sant'Ivo showed Guarini how a few manipulations with a compass and ruler could produce an extraordinary result. It surely provided



Guarino Guarini, Dome,  
San Lorenzo, Turin, design  
c. 1668, construction  
1678–1679. Author  
photograph

him with a model of movement and unexpectedness for his church planning. Yet, whereas Sant'Ivo stands out in Borromini's work for its paradigmatic quality, Guarini aimed to achieve a comparable degree of originality over and over again in his church plans.

I have been particularly concerned with the implications of Guarini's stay in Paris from 1662 to 1666. He had been sent there by the Theatine order, to which he belonged. Within two months, he was building the Theatine church in Paris, Ste.-Anne-la-Royale (never completed, it is now demolished). Here, for the first time, Guarini stated some of the key themes of his later work: the diagonally set piers, which promote spatial fluidity; and the tiered, partly ribbed domical structure, showing already a great interest in lighting and in strongly characterized levels. In my view, his sources at this point were almost entirely Italian; it is too soon to look for significant French influence.

At first it might seem that the French taste in architecture was almost totally alien to Guarini's. Yet in France his nose for the unusual was to serve him well. More surprisingly, Guarini must have gained the respect of Mansart and the young Christopher Wren, who visited Paris in 1665–1666; he seems also to have participated in discussions with them on architectural theory.

Guarini looked at French architecture with the eye of a “talent scout” for the baroque and with a predisposition to ideas that had something in common with his own. From Mansart and Philibert de l’Orme, he took up a type of planning based on intersecting circles or ovals, which produced a spatial fluidity similar to that of Ste.-Anne but allowed for more imaginatively related spaces. The same type of planning favored the use of three-dimensional arches (that is, arches that curve not only in elevation but also in plan). Guarini later developed such arches to produce remarkable spatial complexities.

Discussions about Gothic architecture, pursued in French intellectual circles, must have shown Guarini the potential of rib vaulting. At Ste.-Anne, following Borromini’s example, he had employed ribs, but these had been no more than decorative strips without structural function. Somewhat later, at San Lorenzo, Guarini gave the ribs a structural role, which he emphasized by cutting away the severies between them. As in Gothic architecture, the ribs permit large windows at the base of the vault. His Gothic-inspired structural bravura anticipates that of Germain Soufflot at Ste.-Geneviève one hundred years later.

Guarini had a key role in the invention of the so-called cut-off dome. This type consists of at least two shells. A large opening in the lower shell permits a view into the upper shell, which is lit by windows concealed from the spectator. With hindsight, the type’s invention seems almost inevitable, for several architects were working along similar lines. Nonetheless, Guarini’s dome for Ste.-Anne represents an important stage in the evolution, since it influenced the crucial development seen in Mansart’s drawings for the Bourbon Chapel at St.-Denis. From there, it was but a short step to Jules Hardouin-Mansart’s Dôme of the Invalides in Paris.

If Guarini’s subsequent work is unthinkable without his experience in France, his emphasis on originality, combined with his Italian background, contributed to making Paris in the 1660s the liveliest architectural center in Europe.

University of Oregon  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1998–1999

RICHARD NEER

## Communicating Vessels: Style and Politics in Athenian Vase-Painting, c. 520–470 B.C.E.

My work at the Center for Advanced Study has been devoted to Athenian red-figure vases of the late Archaic and early Classical periods. I am interested in how these objects conveyed meaning in a social field: how the marks laid down on vases functioned as images and how those images were implicated in the social life of the city-state. More specifically, my work focuses on a striking—and largely neglected—aspect of Athenian vase-painting: the way in which it plays on the psychology of seeing pictures, on the tension between an image and its material support, between the sense of depth and the sense of surface. The best vase-painting evinces a sustained involvement with the act of depiction itself, a fascination with iconicity as such. In some cases, this thematic comes down to a kind of visual punning, whereby identical sets of marks—iterated shapes, patterns, sets of lines—are juxtaposed in such a way that they depict, literally represent, different things. In other instances, a single contour line comes to stand for a multiplicity of different objects, with the result being a constant, duck-rabbit oscillation between incommensurate alternatives. The Greek word for such effects was *poikilia*, “shimmering sheen and shifting movement”: a term that, as it happens, Pindar actually used to describe Athenian vases.

In my dissertation, I track this aspect of the imagery through three domains: the development of naturalistic techniques like





Euphronios, volute-krater  
(detail), c. 500–490 B.C.E.  
Museo Archeologico,  
Arezzo

foreshortening and chiaroscuro; the “moment of self-portraiture” at the end of the sixth century, when vase-painters came to depict themselves; and the treatment of overtly political subject matter. The overall aim is to show how a single thematic subtends all of these categories: how, for example, uncertainty about depiction could also be uncertainty about the meaning of Athenian democracy, about the relation of a craftsman to his products, about the distinction between “citizen” and “slave.”

The discussion begins with an account of the function of Athenian pottery. It is a mistake to treat vases as though they were easel paintings that just happen to be on curving clay surfaces. They are functional objects—cups for holding wine, jugs for pouring it, bowls for mixing it with water—and they cannot be understood without reference to their functions. Attic vases were, for the most part, made for use at a distinctive and highly ritualized form of drinking party known as the *symposium*. I take it as a guiding

principle of method that the poetry of the symposium (elegy, iambus, and skolion) can provide a set of terms, a working vocabulary of sorts, with which to approach the pottery. A key feature of symposium literature is its emphasis on puns, wordplay, and riddles. Such verbal gaming is the correlate of sympotic pastimes that include masquerade, role-playing, and self-transformation. In each case, there is a certain fluidity to normative categories: words become polyvalent, social roles become changeable. This fluidity is central to the Greek symposium: the drinking party is a place to work through social and linguistic uncertainty.

Having established a basic set of terms, the second part of the dissertation discusses depiction and the fundamental role of pictorial ambiguity in vase-painting. It addresses one of the master narratives of the history of art: the story of the “Greek miracle,” of the (supposedly) deliberate and progressive mastery of naturalistic modes of depiction in Greek painting. This story, I feel, begs all the interesting questions. What distinguishes early Greek craftsmen is, precisely, the fact that they had no knowledge of naturalistic painting. When they began to experiment with foreshortening and chiaroscuro, they could not have been striving after a pictorial style they had never seen. What, then, were they up to? On the vases themselves, naturalistic passages are routinely undercut by extravagant displays of painterly technique. By combining symposium literature with close readings of individual vases, I argue that the aim of early foreshortening and chiaroscuro was not to suggest a coherent or convincing spatial envelope but to create a tension between flat and not flat, realistic and fantastic. Naturalistic techniques develop as a means of effecting ever more extreme pictorial tension, of creating depictive paradoxes and ambiguities that are analogous to the puns and wordplay of symposium poetry. Naturalism was, I suggest, a way of thinking about difference: a way of conceptualizing it and, ultimately, domesticating it.

The third section of the dissertation explores how, at the end of the sixth century, this distinctly ironic and playful mode of picture making confronted the problem of depicting a specific individual — the problem of portraiture, and more specifically, of *self*-portraiture. A series of vases painted in the late sixth and early fifth

centuries B.C.E. depicts vase-painters in the guise of aristocrats: they recline at luxurious drinking parties, exercise alongside the *jeunesse dorée* in the gymnasium, and so on. These images are for the most part well known, but they have never before been collected in one place. They are somewhat puzzling, since vase-painters were near the bottom of the Athenian social scale: what are they doing in the company of the city's noble youth? A clue is provided by the fact that these images were painted by the same craftsmen who first explored the destabilizing possibilities of foreshortening and chiaroscuro. A similar thematic is at work in the portraiture. Here, however, *poikilia* acquires a new ideological valence: pictorial ambiguity becomes an ambiguity of social position, as the artisans take on the trappings of the aristocracy. In short, the pictorial and literary tropes of the symposium provided a ready-made set of tools for artisans to reimagine the class structure of the Archaic polis, and to reimagine themselves in the process. It is no coincidence that these vases are roughly contemporary with the democratic revolution in Athens.

The final section extends this model to cover the representation of the city. Through an examination of overtly "civic" iconography—scenes of voting, of historical and mythic figures—it argues that the complex and ambiguous nature of vase-painting proved particularly useful in a time of great social upheaval. In the aftermath of the democratic revolution of 508/507, the most basic ingredients of Athenian identity were unstable. Who was a citizen? What were the privileges of rank? Who could vote? Who could hold office? Red-figure provided a useful way of working through such questions. The new civic heroes all shared a certain polyvalence, an openness to conflicting views. This polyvalence, I suggest, was precisely what made the heroes attractive to the new democracy. They provided a way of papering over ideological contradictions latent in the new constitution, contradictions that would manifest themselves throughout the fifth century in the form of low-level factional strife. Symposium ware extended its characteristic doubleness to the representation of Athens itself and, in so doing, opened up a space in which it was possible to negotiate new political categories.

In short, my goal is to describe a formal property; to show how it was political; and to use it to rethink certain aspects of Greek naturalism and political life. The basic point is that the slippery, uncertain aspect of vase painting was at once a *formal* and an *ideological* property. *Poikilia* was “good to think with.” It provided vase-painters and their audiences with a uniquely supple matrix in which to work out new conceptions of Athenian civic identity.

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## The Figure Paintings of Tang Yin

Tang Yin (1470–1524), one of the “Four Masters of the Ming” (*Ming si jia*), has long been recognized for his paintings and calligraphy. Within and beyond the walls of his native city of Suzhou, the great commercial and cultural center of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), he was also a celebrated personality among the cultural elite. After being falsely accused of cheating on the civil service examinations and cashiered from the imperial bureaucracy in 1499, he worked as a professional painter and belletrist until his death in 1524. During these years he produced numerous large-scale and small-scale figure paintings, which were to have a profound impact on the development of the genre. Indeed, Tang’s contemporaries and Ming critics acknowledged him as one of the premier painters of figures, or *renwu*, of his day. His images reveal the vibrancy, refinement, attitudes, and values of Ming society.

Although modern scholars have devoted much attention to Tang Yin’s landscape paintings, they have made only occasional forays into this contiguous area of his work. As a result, our picture of his artistic aims and practices has remained incomplete. Tang’s representations of scholars, courtesans, immortals, and historical characters evince a visual horizon not simply dominated by mountains and rivers but populated with human actors. My dissertation presents an analysis of the artist’s figure paintings within the socio-economic and cultural contexts of early-sixteenth-century China.



Tang Yin, *Journey to Nanjing* (detail), c. 1505. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington

Tang Yin's figure paintings appear in various formats, including vertical hanging scrolls, horizontal handscrolls, and album leaves. Although many of his signed works present challenging problems of connoisseurship, several securely attributed paintings and close copies from the Ming and Qing periods provide sufficient evidence for the reconstruction of his pictorial themes, styles, and motifs. These extant visual materials are supplemented by figure paintings documented in a largely untapped corpus of literary materials. In the artist's collected writings and personal letters, connoisseurs' painting catalogues, and literati collections of miscellaneous jottings (*biji*), I have located records of the original inscriptions and beholder's colophons on scores of lost works.

Using this body of visual and textual evidence, I reconstruct and interpret the thematic repertoire of Tang Yin's well-known representations of beautiful women, a traditional subgenre of Chinese

figure painting called *meiren* or *shinu tu*. His images of courtesans, concubines, and immortals are easily situated in the nexus of the urban demimonde of Suzhou with which Tang and many literate men associated. The impressive scale of his production and the widespread circulation of his *meiren* subjects precisely parallel the rapid development of Suzhou's fashionable courtesan culture in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. I examine the subjects and inscriptions on these often large-scale, single-figure paintings in light of Tang's poetry on similar themes, especially his set of eight verses entitled "In Praise of Women." Careful readings of these poems and pictorial inscriptions demonstrate that Tang deliberately chose as his subject matter readily identifiable historical and legendary heroines linked by a common tragic fate. These female personae—known for their beauty and accomplishments—suffered rejection and alienation at the hands of their husbands and patrons. I argue that Tang invoked these feminine voices in both painting and poetry to allude to his dismissal from the court in 1499 and to express indirectly his feelings of discontent. This dual strategy constitutes an expanded use of the ancient literary trope of the neglected or abandoned woman, which had traditionally been relegated only to the realm of poetry. For the swelling ranks of scholars who were not absorbed into an already bloated imperial bureaucracy, Tang's underlying reference to his personal disappointments may have been particularly relevant. Unprecedented numbers of these men were compelled to parlay their education into salable skills and services in the urban marketplace. Herein lies an implicit connection between the professionalized scholar and the accomplished courtesan.

Tang Yin also drew upon a variety of male historical and legendary figures, which were familiar to Ming audiences from popular plays and stories. Like his *meiren* paintings, these representations of male heroes appear to have functioned as thinly veiled forms of self-portraiture and as critical sites for social and political commentary. My examination of Tang's paintings of scholar-beggars, famous libertines, and other identifiable characters suggests a heretofore unrecognized response to popular literature and the dramatic arts. Moreover, their accompanying in-

scriptions demonstrate a conscious effort at self-mythologizing. Tang's apparent desire to inscribe himself within a pantheon of legendary romantic figures finds further expression in the role-playing exploits involving himself and his coterie of friends so often described in Ming apocryphal tales; these stories curiously dovetail with his pictorial subjects. Such a practice would have provided many advantages, among them an increased visibility within Suzhou's constellation of recognizable cultural figures. In a crowded and competitive marketplace, the benefits of celebrity would have been considerable.

In both form and content, many of Tang Yin's *gongbi* (meticulous style) figure paintings show close affinities with those of his contemporaries, particularly the Nanjing artist Du Jin (c. 1465–1509). Common to their works is a highly finished rendition of costly furnishings, screen paintings, antiques, textiles, and other collectible objects. The ways in which subject and style interact within these representations of objects and their pleasurable consumption situate the paintings within the context of the expanding sixteenth-century marketplace for luxury goods, particularly in Suzhou. It appears to be no coincidence that at the very time these paintings were created, the city was emerging as the empire's great center for silk weaving and handicraft production.

This dissertation also draws attention to the role of small-scale figures in Tang Yin's landscape paintings. Often overlooked as secondary motifs, these actors are fundamental to the visual structures they inhabit. I explore the figures' functions and meanings within a series of landscape typologies. For example, these works include figures traveling across familiar routes, occupying architectural structures, and situated in nature. Furthermore, I analyze the relationship between the compositional structure in Tang's landscapes and the poetic structure in his accompanying inscriptions. In a broader sense, this research seeks to address the relationship of figures to the general production of pictorial images during the middle Ming period.

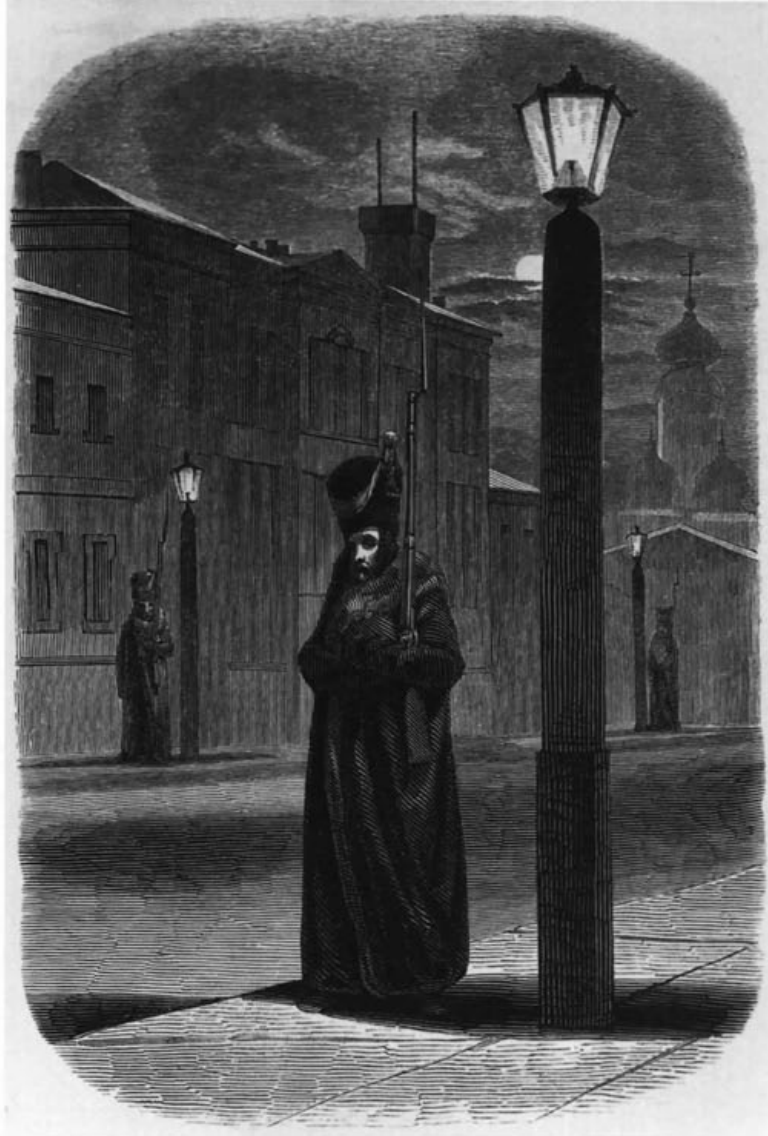
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## Viollet-le-Duc in Context: French Readings of Russian Architecture in the Nineteenth Century

When Viollet-le-Duc undertook to publish his account of the history of Russian architecture in 1877, he might have drawn upon writings about Russia by several compatriots, among them such well-known literary figures as Théophile Gautier, Honoré de Balzac, and Alexandre Dumas. The content of his *L'Art russe* suggests that he did not consult these works or those of Lacroix, Le Cointe de Laveau, Custine, or Marmier, who even earlier recorded their impressions of Russia for the French audience. Locating Viollet's work within this context, however, clarifies the scope of his contribution to knowledge about Russia in nineteenth-century Europe. In particular, such analysis yields new insights about the nature and function of European representations of Russia, an "other" that by virtue of its hybrid Eurasian identity was not entirely alien. On a broader scale, abstracting from the particularities of this historical moment permits reflection on several intractable anthropological issues that also relate to the writing of history, including the screening effect of representational practices, such as travel writing and architectural illustration, and the resistance of subjects to knowability.

Comparative readings of Viollet's *L'Art russe* and Gautier's *Trésors d'art en Russie ancienne et moderne* (1861) challenge current theoretical models concerning European orientalism and its Russian counterpart, *vostokovedenie*, and extend insights emerg-



"Sentries Guarding Streetlamps," from Frédéric Lacroix, *Les mystères de la Russie* (Paris, 1845). Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington, Photographic Archives; courtesy of the Library of Congress

ing in postcolonial theory. In the methodological vanguard of their day, Viollet and Gautier made use of the new representational medium of photography. Both writers pitted the international "modernity" of Petersburg classicism against the identity-reinforcing forms of a Muscovite past. Taking their readings from across the conceptual divide that separated the European observer from his non-European other, Viollet and Gautier orientalized their subjects, noting and promoting the strongly Asiatic cast of the favored

Moscow monuments. They deployed the orientalist trope differently, however, and used opposite anthropological methods. Viollet, the armchair orientalist, staked his claim to objectivity on “scientific” analysis and an accumulation of scholarly reference. His rational method rehabilitated “exotic” forms whose logic escaped earlier writers. Gautier, seeking to submerge his subjectivity in the soul of an “other” culture, traveled to Russia and relayed his impressions, in participant-observer style, back to his Parisian readers. His was an admiring and nostalgic orientalism. Gautier’s *daguerriotype littéraire* appreciated in the rawness of Russian life a precivilized, halcyon version of his native France.

Most tellingly, both Viollet and Gautier wrote at the behest of Russian sponsors seeking to promote Russian art in western Europe, and both agreed to the stipulation that their work be vetted by Russian scholars before publication. This stipulation had clear political implications. It ensured that the histories to be written—from the selection of monuments to the manner of their interpretation—would coincide with the patrons’ visions of Russia’s identity. On a theoretical level, it presents us with two unusual instances of an internationally negotiated art-historical identity—one that is neither solely self-representation nor solely other-observation. Postcolonialist critiques of orientalist theory have focused on the distorting effect of its binary categorization of texts and subjects in terms of self and other, metropole and colony, Europe and Orient, and on the collapsing effect of such oppositions on distinctions and alternative voices within categories. Viollet’s and Gautier’s cross-cultural books comport subtly transacted images of Russia’s cultural past and thus elude simple definition within the terms of available conceptual models.

Similar analyses of the conceptual perspective and content of Le Cointe de Laveau’s *Guide du voyageur à Moscou* (1824), Custine’s *La Russie en 1839* (1843), Marmier’s *Lettres sur la Russie, la Finlande et la Pologne* (1843), Lacroix’s *Les mystères de la Russie* (1845), and Dumas’ *Voyage en Russie* (1858) promise to shed further light on the issues discussed here, as well as on the distorting conventions of the travel account genre, to which only Viollet-le-Duc’s book is an exception.

This project builds upon my earlier studies of Viollet-le-Duc's Russian book: as a contribution to architectural theory that proposed a means of reconciling the will to express a "national" identity in historically based form with the rational dictates of modern structural methods; as early evidence of the tension between drawing and photography in nineteenth-century architectural education and historical research; and as the linchpin of an ideologically motivated program to market Russian art abroad.

Ithaca College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1998

## From Total War to Total Living: American Architecture and the Culture of Planning

In 1944 Howard Myers, the publisher of *Architectural Forum*, looked down from his Time, Inc. perch at Rockefeller Center and formulated a grim outlook for the architectural profession. After struggling through the Depression, architects found their hopes of having a viable practice further dimmed by the rationing and building restrictions of war. Were this not enough, architects had been defending their “professional monopoly” for years, first against engineers, then contractors, then the “brotherhood of streamliners, the industrial engineers.” “And now a fourth threat appears,” Myers wrote, “in those mystical gentlemen known as city planners.” Myers only observed the surface ripple of a much deeper disturbance.

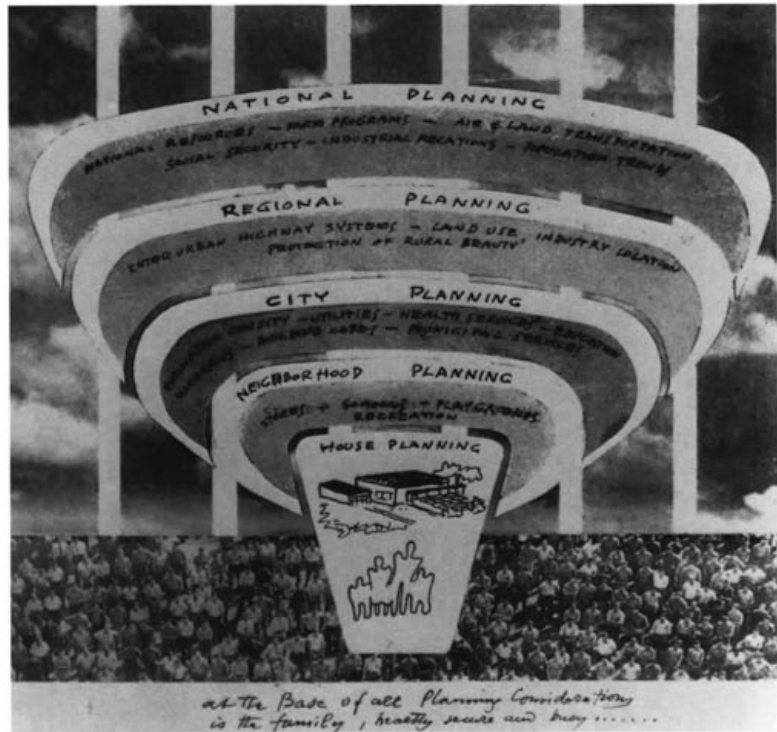
During the war, planning in a variety of forms worked its way into every crevice of American society. It expanded beyond its normative usage—house planning and urban planning—to new domains. Different forms of planning coalesced into a gestalt, which Louis Kahn expressed in graphic terms in a diagram of planning he drew during the war. For Kahn, the kernel of planning began with the family, which he drew as an interconnected mass of bodies. From there, the forms of planning expanded through neighborhood, city, region, and nation, pressing a visual argument for a comprehensive scheme that embraced all of them together.

The very word *planning* allowed cultural currents to flow from

the top chambers of government through the boardrooms of corporations to the living rooms of the home front and back. Planning was malleable and easy to manipulate. It simultaneously stood for a contribution to the war effort, a patriotic act, a form of delayed consumption, and a quasi-religious expression. A culture of planning emerged during World War II that left little of American society untouched. Architects found in planning a new model for professional practice and a means of meeting Myers' "fourth threat."

My dissertation unravels the rhetorical underpinnings of the culture of planning, especially as embraced by architects, finding in their metaphors a penetrating critique of American society. One of the most important sources of the American culture of planning was the absorption of the ideas of British economist John Maynard Keynes. As the Depression deepened in 1937–1938, many of the top American economists came to believe that it was much more than a temporary downturn in the business cycle. America had reached a plateau, and the Depression was a natural correction for the extravagant overspeculation of the 1920s. Unlike previous depressions, this one would be permanent. A group of younger economists led by Alvin Hansen at Harvard called this the mature economy. They held that the main industries that had driven the American economy to such great heights—steel, the railroad, and the automobile—seemed to be static, with little hope of future growth. These industries were mature, meant in the pejorative sense of having lost the vigor of their youth. Moreover, no new industries appeared on the horizon ready to take their place as driving forces in the economy.

Under these conditions there were two main opinions. The committed industrialist or capitalist would search in vain for new industries to take the place, for instance, of the flagging automobile industry. A second option was to reconfigure the economic system, to restructure industry to accommodate a relatively unchanging population, and through an infusion of government funding, reinvigorate the economy: in short, to plan. Even as the wartime economy ended the Depression and production soared, the mature economy theory thrived, mostly out of fear that depression would return after the war, as it had after World War I.



Louis I. Kahn graphically represents comprehensive planning, c. 1944-1945. University of Pennsylvania and Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Louis I. Kahn Collection

While few scholars have treated the mature economy theory at any length, none to my knowledge has looked at the wider cultural reception and response to the theory. In particular, the question of a mature economy, as an extension of Frederick Jackson Turner’s “Frontier Thesis,” had vast consequences for how Americans constructed their national identity in a moment of tremendous flux. For instance, linking mature economy rhetoric to the planning urge, Myers wrote: “With population stabilized, with few new frontiers to open and with millions of decrepit structures,” Americans had reached maturity “as a people.” The rhetoric of the mature economy filtered into the larger culture, suggesting a nation tapped of its energy and power, a middle-aged or senescent body “beyond the point where homeopathic remedies can cure the ill[ness].” The widespread metaphor of disease allowed architects to attach the economic and social problems of the day to the city,

using the city as a figure for social disorder. The implications were immense, providing architect-planners with a moral argument for the destruction (understood as surgery) of the city (understood as a diseased body). Architects seized on planning as their primary tool, and long-standing organic and biological metaphors for buildings and cities gained new power.

Mature economy rhetoric made its way into architecture rather directly. Hansen himself presided over a 1942 Conference on Urbanism at Harvard. Here he described the city in familiar terms: "Like trees decaying at the core but spreading their branches wider and wider, [cities] have long been sick . . . and we have at last come to realize that unless they are cured many of them will undergo something analogous to disintegration if not to death." This sort of rhetoric permeated wartime writing by architects such as Walter Gropius, José Luis Sert, and Eliel Saarinen. Sigfried Giedion delivered his influential series of lectures, "Space, Time, and Architecture," at Harvard in the same years that Hansen developed his mature economy theory. Walter Gropius and a number of other architects attended the Harvard conference. Gropius came away quite altered, writing to Giedion immediately after the conference that "one has to attack all the problems from a new angle."

As against any strong cultural force, detractors lined up to discredit planning. A number of companies launched advertising campaigns debunking its more fanciful expressions. As early as 1943 legislators successfully quashed the National Resources Planning Board, the only significant central planning body in the United States, and Hansen's main organ for disseminating the ideas. By the end of the war, the realities of reconversion to a peacetime economy had submerged the more visionary culture of planning. The United States dove headfirst into the Cold War, and any program that resembled the Soviet system had to disguise itself. Planning—and one might claim utopian thinking in general—went underground in these decades, suggesting one reason for the infamous failures of postwar planning.

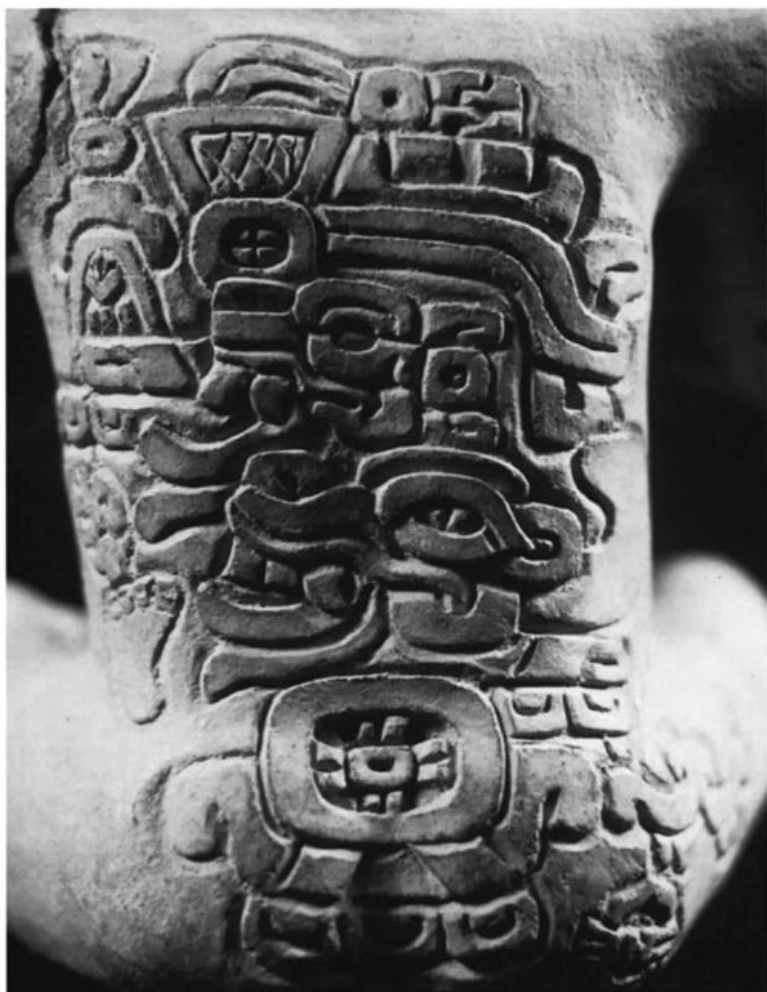
[Princeton University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1998–1999



## Silent Voices on Tumbled Megaliths: Narratives of Power at Monte Alban

Overlooking the largest expanse of alluvial floodplains in southwestern Mesoamerica, the site of Monte Alban sits on top of a series of reshaped hills that rise some four hundred meters above the surrounding valley floor. Once a busy and vibrant city, Monte Alban is now in ruins, a skeletal testimony to past glories. Soon after Monte Alban was founded, about 500 B.C., it acquired urban proportions. By about 800 A.D., the time of its political and economic demise, the settlement extended over eight square kilometers and contained its peak population of approximately thirty thousand. The urban core was dominated by a daring and majestic architectural layout with monumental platforms, plazas, temples, and palaces, the construction of which required large-scale modifications of the hills' natural landscape. Yet, to the millions of people who visit the site each year, its grand architecture now looks static, ankylotic, and barren.

Numerous carved monoliths that recount episodes in the history of Monte Alban are found in restored structures, tumbled amidst partially exposed edifices, or even buried under piles of rock from long abandoned pyramids. These monoliths were once the stelae, orthostats, friezes, lintels, jambs, and steps that embellished the built environment of the city's ceremonial precinct. Many of these have imagery accompanied by as yet undeciphered hieroglyphic inscriptions. The scribes who left these records are thought to have



Zapotec inscription on the back of a hollow ceramic effigy, probably from Monte Alban, c. A.D. 400–600. Museo Frissell, Oaxaca. Author photograph

been Zapotecs, Amerindian peoples of the Otomanguan linguistic family. Zapotec writing remains poorly understood, in part because of the overall paucity of documented inscriptions and because of the lack of a bicult source that could provide a key in the decipherment. Yet, from the available repertoire of signs—most of which are pictographs depicting aspects of the natural and cultural realms—the formats and structures of the few available

texts, Zapotec writing appears to be a mixed logo-syllabic script. The way glyphs are combined to form compounds suggests that the encoding of speech was based on homophonic and acrophonic principles.

The disarray of inscribed megaliths at Monte Alban is not exclusively due to the inexorable passage of time and the detrimental effects of natural forces. Archaeological explorations conducted there during the twentieth century suggest that because of continual building activity over more than a millennium, many structures were dismantled and the elements constituting the narrative programs were reused as construction material in other edifices. Numerous thematic configurations were thus obliterated. While messages carved on individual stones might be self-contained, added layers of meaning will remain hidden unless the inscriptions can be linked to their original architectural contexts and viewed as they would have been by the native peoples themselves.

The various obstacles in understanding Zapotec forms of visual communication can be partially overcome by a semiotic approach to image, text, and architecture. Focusing on the syntagmatics throws light on the structure, content, and significance of the narrative programs at Monte Alban. The number of carved surfaces on a single stone, the disposition of the inscriptions, and the orientation, size, and relations of glyphs and images provide clues for rendering hypothetical reconstructions of original narratives. As five large compositions dating to the major phases in the long occupational history of Monte Alban are assembled to varying degrees, it will be possible to trace a significant portion of the evolution of the Zapotec script.

Despite the hypothetical nature of these reconstructions, some of the short texts appear to exhibit a standard reading sequence. This in turn leads to the identification of particular functions of signs—the position of a sign in the epigraphic format dictates its function. It is now possible to characterize signs according to word order (subject, verb, object). The arrangement of carved surfaces in their architectural context guided readers to move in specific directions. Kinetics, therefore, was crucial in the process of reading text and image. Narrative programs seemingly present multiple

layers of meaning. In some instances the relationship between image and text prompts complex temporal relays, combining in a single narrative several events that took place at different times. Individuals, including rulers, are named using a system common to other Mesoamerican cultures, implying that the monumental narratives recount actual events couched in a frame of sacred propositions. The exaltation of rulers and their genealogical links, as well as the boasting about military deeds and the recording of ritual practices of human immolation, self-sacrifice, and ancestor veneration, served to legitimize access to wealth and political power.

The reuse of monuments at Monte Alban was not always ad hoc. Some were employed to mark sacred space several hundred years after their carving, suggesting that while the meaning of the original narratives may have been lost, the stones were still deemed significant. The dismantling of monumental compositions cannot be explained in purely pragmatic terms, however. Although in some cases the reuse of carved stones might have been dictated by the need of construction material, the reuse of others could be the result of internal upheavals, dynastic struggles, and the rewriting of history. Viewing carved stones at Monte Alban as narrative compositions is now bringing specific chapters of Zapotec historiography into sharper focus, revealing the identity of the main actors in the arena of one of the most ancient Mesoamerican civilizations.

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Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1998–1999

GENE A. WARE  
JAMES E. BRADY

## Multispectral Analysis of Ancient Maya Pigments: Implications for the Naj Tunich Corpus

As progress in deciphering Maya hieroglyphic writing continues, archaeologists are increasingly interested in discovering inscriptions in contexts where the writing may contain information beyond the more commonplace dynastic histories found on stelae, palaces, and tombs. Painted texts on the walls of caves are rare; only five sites are known. These texts are particularly valuable because caves were considered sacred features in the ancient Maya landscape. At the time of the Spanish conquest and presumably earlier, caves were important pilgrimage destinations. The inscriptions in them may deal with fundamental tenets of Maya religion.

Naj Tunich, a cave located in the remote hill country of southeastern Guatemala, stands alone among the caves with inscriptions because its corpus of texts and paintings exceeds that of the other four combined. To improve readability and to document the physical characteristics of the inscriptions as completely as possible, we used digital multispectral imaging.

Digital multispectral imaging has been used extensively for remote sensing from space. Its application to archaeology, however, is recent. Multispectral imaging has a precise technical definition, but for our purposes it is multiple images of the same scene, with each image taken at a different wavelength (or color) of light.

We obtained images of the Naj Tunich paintings at wavelengths throughout the visible range and extending into the near-infrared

range at 950 nanometers. The system we used consisted of a Kodak Megaplug digital camera, selected optical filters (each with a nominal bandwidth of 40 nanometers), strobe lighting, a camera control computer, and associated support equipment.

Digital multispectral imaging offers significant advantages over conventional photography. They include (1) improved contrast, (2) greater depth of focus, (3) greater tonal range, (4) image linearity, (5) digital image storage, (6) availability of multispectral enhancement techniques, and (7) sensor calibration. A film-based imaging system can be configured to provide some of these advantages, but it is limited by the nature of the recording medium.

The limited spectral bandwidth created by the optical filters improves contrast. Consider, for example, a primarily red scene against a gray background. An image including wavelengths from the entire visible spectrum places greater emphasis on the background than one with only the red wavelengths. The narrow optical bandwidth also provides greater depth of focus, since an exact focus of a lens can be obtained only at one wavelength. Conventional lenses are coated to minimize this characteristic, but they do not eliminate it.

Improved tonal response and linearity occur because of the silicon detector array used in the digital camera. The camera produces images with a tonal range approaching 1000:1, corresponding to a density of 3.0. In addition, the linearity of the detector array allows the entire tonal range of the scene to be captured. Linearity is an especially important property when recording scenes with unusual tonal characteristics. Finally, the digital output of the camera can be easily stored and copied without loss of detail.

Many image enhancement techniques, using the multispectral images as a set, are available. For example, one technique compares pixels from the pigment locations with pixels from the nearby background. Such comparisons can be made over a range of wavelengths, producing a spectral signature of the pigment contrast with the background.

Some of the enhancement techniques are currently being applied to the Naj Tunich data, but the final results are not yet available. The spectral signature technique is identifying differences in the



**550 nm**

**750 nm**

**950 nm**

Multispectral images of a face profile (bottom row, drawing 62) and a dwarf (top row, drawing 83) at Naj Tunich. Author photograph

pigments at Naj Tunich. The preliminary data suggest that at least three pigments were used there. The presence of different pigments, discovered by using multispectral images, reveals more complexity in the Naj Tunich corpus than previously appreciated.

In *Images from the Underworld: Naj Tunich and the Tradition of Maya Cave Painting* (Austin, 1995), Andrea Stone assigns each image a drawing number. Drawing 62, a profile of a human face, has a uniform dark paint in the visible range (550 nanometers) and hence appears dark both to the eye and to conventional photography. Portions of the face, however, show significant fading in the near-infrared range (950 nanometers), perhaps because of the use of a mineral-based pigment. By contrast, the pigment of drawing

83, an image of a dwarf, remains dark well into the near-infrared range, a characteristic of carbon-based pigments. The presence of two pigment compositions in drawing 62 suggests that the profile was overpainted at the time of creation or, more likely, touched up at a later date.

Stone suggests that ten artists worked at Naj Tunich. While it is entirely possible that an artist used different paints at different times, we have approached the problem with the assumption that an artist used the same pigment each time. This assumption can then be tested against the results of the stylistic analysis. At the very least, the spectral signatures for the pigments provide objective data to help inform a stylistic analysis.

Digital multispectral imaging provides new methods for examining the Naj Tunich inscriptions. The spectral analysis of pigment composition has revealed examples of overpainting, textual additions, and basic relational differences and similarities. This information has led to an increased understanding of both the temporal and artistic complexity of the inscriptions themselves and their setting. As additional imaging procedures are applied, we expect that new descriptive techniques will emerge and form the foundation for the further analytical study of ancient Maya cave inscriptions.

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and Art History/Archaeology, 1998–1999



YAN ZHENG

## Stone-Engraving Workshop Practice in Han Dynasty China (206 B.C.–A.D. 220)

About ten thousand pictorially engraved stone slabs from Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) offering shrines, gate towers, memorial pillars, and tomb chambers have been found in Shandong, Jiangsu, Henan, Shaanxi, and Sichuan provinces in China. Such a large corpus must have required mass-production workshops. Although archaeologists have not yet discovered any workshop sites, they have found formulaic inscriptions on shrines that suggest the workshops did exist—for example, “Choice stone is quarried from [location], and select craftsmen are hired from [name of town].” About twenty craftsmen’s names have been identified in the inscriptions.

Current scholarship holds that the rise of engraved stones during the Han period resulted from economic prosperity. Extravagant burials served as a display of wealth and social status. The earliest Han stone engravings were recently discovered in the region overlapping the border of Shandong and Jiangsu provinces. All of them, however, come from tomb chambers indicative of their occupants’ humble origins. In fact, even when pictorial stone engraving reached its apex in the last years of the Han dynasty, the imperial mausoleums and tombs of princes were not adorned with engraved stones. The patrons of these engravings were mostly petty officials, merchants, and landed gentry. The engravings primarily concern local beliefs and values rather than official ideology.



Anqiu Tomb, Dongjia Village, Anqiu City, Shandong Province, late second century A.D. Photograph: Eugene Yuejin Wang

A general picture of the distribution pattern and dates of the Han engravings has emerged from typological studies by Chinese scholars. A basic assumption underlies their approach: works from the same region display an identical style. This is true only in a general sense. Local complexities are apparent. Even within a small territory such as a district, there are a variety of styles. The engravings in the Yinan Tomb in Shandong province, for example, are strikingly distinct from the predominant style in the area. In fact, they are stylistically akin to those in a tomb in Bo county,

Anhui province. The Yinan Tomb engravings may have been made by craftsmen from south China. The style in the Jiexiang region—more specifically, the Wuzhaishan, Songshan, and Nanwushan areas—seems to have extended its influence over places such as Liangshan, Yanggu, and Dong'e far to the north. From inscriptions, we now know that a stone lion in Shandong province was made by a craftsman from Luoyang; that a stone pillar in the suburbs of Beijing came from the hands of craftsmen from the Lu region of Shandong; and that a shrine in Dong'e county in western Shandong was constructed by craftsmen from other places, including Gaoping and Shanyang in the Lu region. We can only trace the base and itinerary of a few workshops, but the evidence is compelling. To reach a more nuanced analysis of style, we must consider the role of workshops.

The study of workshop practice sheds light on the relationship between images and words and between iconographic programs and their accompanying inscriptions. Workshop production involved a division of labor, as indicated by the titles that appear in the inscriptions: worker (*gong*), mason (*shigong*), master (*shi*), painter (*huashi*), and distinguished craftsman (*liangjiang*). Cartouches were left unfilled in the compositions of finished engravings; literate craftsmen proceeded to inscribe the words. The occasional disparity between iconography and accompanying inscriptions may have resulted from this division of labor.

Kinship played a role in workshop practice. Many workshops were linked to one another simply by virtue of blood relationships. Even now, many traditional workshops perpetuate techniques by master-apprentice instruction within the family.

Issues of economic activity and patronage also emerge in the study of workshop practice, often with surprising implications. Many inscriptions on shrines and memorial pillars specify the sum of money spent in their construction. Some of these sums were apparently exaggerated to publicly flaunt the patrons' meritorious acts of filial piety. These inscriptions also reveal the transactions between patrons and craftsmen. In addition to the money for construction, some inscriptions also mention an amount of money for food. The practice of patrons providing meals for craftsmen still

exists in China. Craftsmen are honored guests to be treated well, as they probably were in Han times. We often mistakenly assume patrons lorded over their hired craftsmen. Some inscriptions actually mention that the patrons “attended [the craftsmen] from dawn to dusk for fear of losing their favor.”

Some pictorial programs were designed with strong influence from the patrons, as exemplified by the stone engravings in the Yinan Tomb, which show a tightly coherent iconographic scheme. Others merely drew on the traditional repertoire of the workshop involved in the project. The decorative scheme of the Anqiu Tomb in Shandong province, for example, appears to be a *mélange*.

Shandong Provincial Museum

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1998  
and winter 1999

## The Figuring of Excess in Renaissance France

My dissertation focuses on the connected themes of abundance and excess in the visual culture of sixteenth-century France. Abundance was a central preoccupation of François I (1494–1547), the first “Renaissance” king of France, and of his Valois successors. With the same single-mindedness he displayed in his ultimately unsuccessful attempts to conquer Italy, François pursued the luxury arts, both for sheer hedonism and as a way of presenting his royal power and prestige to his own subjects and to an international audience. He brought artists and artisans from Italy and from the Netherlands to France, inviting a kind of cultural colonization. But because of their contributions, and because of the cultural authority accorded Italian Renaissance art, art historians have been slow to consider the art of Fontainebleau in relation to a French social context. I seek to understand the relationship between place, identity, and aesthetics for artists working outside their native countries and practicing a mutable classicism that could be adapted to the needs of their patrons.

In the sixteenth century, art was conceived as “enrichment,” and it had immediate associations with wealth and power. Writers on aesthetics generally favored abundance, variety, magnificence, and license. I argue that these discourses had a particular valence in France. The relationship of classicizing style to national identity posed a problem for the visual culture and political ideology of the



René Boyvin, after Léonard Thiry (after Rosso), the goddess Ceres in a grotesque frame, c. 1550. Photograph: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

period: How could a specifically “French” identity be constructed from borrowed materials?

For French artists and writers, the ornamental vocabulary of fruit and flowers is directly related to a conception of the French land as particularly rich. In addition to masters such as Francesco

Primaticcio, Rosso Fiorentino, and Benvenuto Cellini, many of the artists working at Fontainebleau were *ornemantistes*, ornament designers whose work crossed media from interior decoration to objets d'art to prints. In the ornamental styles they favored, François and his successors sought depictions of fertility focused on the natural agricultural abundance of France. Abundance is expressed visually through specific allegories (for example, women's breasts spurting liquid) and through related figures such as the cornucopia and highly detailed cascades of fruit. In this respect, the theme of abundance can be thought of as the content of visual representation. But it also characterizes the form: French viewers in the sixteenth century encountered a novel abundance in the dense ornamentation of cheap and plentiful prints that publicized the prestige of Fontainebleau. Previously, most French subjects had only seen this kind of visual richness in churches. This association contributed to the development of a "secular sacred" in the person of the monarch, directing affect and loyalty toward the nation rather than the Church—a necessity for a monarchy that, later in the century, found itself squeezed between the opposing forces of the Huguenots and the radical Catholics supported by Spain and the Guise family. In 1531 a Paris edition of Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* was subtitled "containing the false credence of infidels and Gentiles, who through their errors and unfounded superstitions believed in and supposed a plurality of gods." A few decades later, such a disclaimer would have been inconceivable; the gods had been naturalized as representatives of the monarchy.

The prevalence of female allegorical figures raises the issue of the relationship of femininity to the French nation. In looking at artistic creativity and the productivity of the land, I am particularly concerned with the metaphors of gender and sexuality that were used to explain "generativity." I work from the assumption that it is possible to look at different kinds of production—the production of objects, of crops, of wealth, and of beings (that is, in sexual reproduction)—in conjunction with one another. This assumption is supported by the sixteenth-century interest in Aristotle's theory that all things derive from the conjunction of form and matter, a pairing often homologous with mind and body, male and

female. Boundaries between species, categories, and the organic and the inorganic were perceived as more fluid than they are thought to be today; many sorts of hybrids were “conceivable.” Even the idea of wealth had sexual connotations, and concerns over usury (which seemed to make gold “breed”) could be compared with concerns over sodomy (which in the thinking of Paracelsus and his followers could be productive). Prints were imagined, metaphorically, as products of biological reproduction and, because of their widespread circulation, as promiscuous.

The transformability of matter into any imaginable form—as well as its promiscuity—was particularly prevalent in Protestant thought. Protestants, who figured prominently among artists in Paris and even at court, worried about the absolute economy of created matter, fearing a Catholic tendency to blur boundaries between the material and the spiritual. Transformability was a solution to the problem of artistic creation, but it evoked concerns; one Protestant thinker compared matter’s constant shape changing to prostitution and to the rapid changing of fashions.

Prints and printed books conveyed knowledge of fashionable styles for objects of all kinds; they also conveyed the peculiarly erotic imagery associated with national ideology and national allegory. Style was no longer the exclusive prerogative of royalty and was less able to mark rank distinctions. Recent economic theories argue that European consumption (as opposed to imports of silver from the Americas) drove the inflation of the latter part of the sixteenth century that caused financial ruin for France. Whatever the cause, by the 1570s many French writers were criticizing what they saw as excessive quantities of coins, books, and prints, among other things. The quantity of items circulating seemed to dissipate their value, and buyers appeared to seek superficial beauty rather than substance. What began as laudable abundance became problematic excess, returning to haunt later Valois monarchs.

[University of Chicago]  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1997–1999





Andrew Morrogh and Craig Hugh Smyth

## **Description of Programs**



Thomas Schumacher and William Loerke

## 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.

## 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, Samuel H. Kress, and Frese Foundation Senior Fellowships*

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards are usually made for the academic year. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. The Center is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual



Jacqueline Francis and  
Andrea Kirsh

needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center. Individuals currently affiliated with the National Gallery of Art are not eligible for the Senior Fellowship program.

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 microfilm. 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.

*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 two to six 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.

*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. For appointments of less than one academic term during the period March through August,



Sylvain Bellenger and  
Walter Cahn

the application deadline is 21 September. For appointments of less than one academic term during the period September through February, the deadline is 21 March. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

*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 application 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. 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.

*The Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowships  
for Scholars from East and South Asia*

The Visiting Senior Research Fellowships for Scholars from East and South Asia include a period of two months at the Center for

Symposium on  
"Moche: Art and  
Political Representation  
in Ancient Peru"







Lauren S. Nemroff and  
Joanne Pillsbury

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 advanced 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 period A (September through February) and 21 September for period B (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 Starr Foundation 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 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. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs during the summer prior to the fall 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



Seminar on "Ancient American Architectural Models"

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. Fellowship information is also available on the World Wide Web ([www.nga.gov/resources/casva.htm](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. Lunch is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

## **Board of Advisors and Special Selection Committees**

A Board of Advisors, composed 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 a 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 exchange among the mem-

bers 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 1998–1999 may be found on pages 19–27.

### *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 32–33.

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 35–143 for reports written by members in 1998–1999).

### *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-two 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*



Philip Conisbee and  
Ann Hoenigswald  
during construction of  
the National Gallery of  
Art Sculpture Garden

*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); *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals* (Volume 54); and *Vermeer Studies* (Volume 55). The papers of seven additional symposia are in preparation for the series: “The Art of Ancient Spectacle,” “Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period,” “The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished,” “Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception,” “Italian Panel Painting in the Dugento and Trecento,” “Small Bronzes in the Renaissance,” and “Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru.”

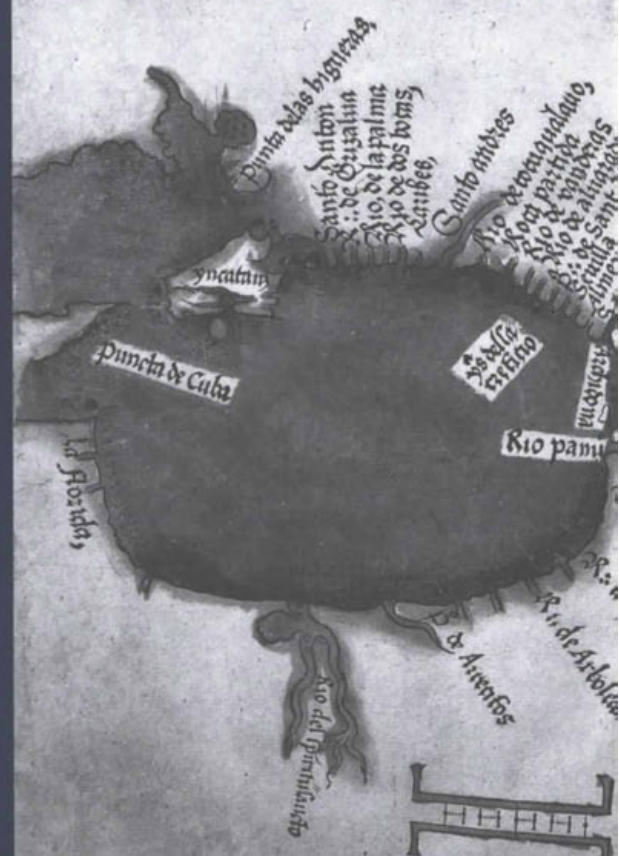
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Res fuerat quondam præstata  
Orbis subiectus Cæsaris I  
Hic longe præstat, cuius nunc  
Et Nouus, atq; alter pand



Quilibet punctus magnus continet le  
cim est dimidia, ita q duo magni puncti  
viginti quinque leucas, Continet autem le  
Italica miliaria, ita q omnes puncti qu  
continet centum leucas.