

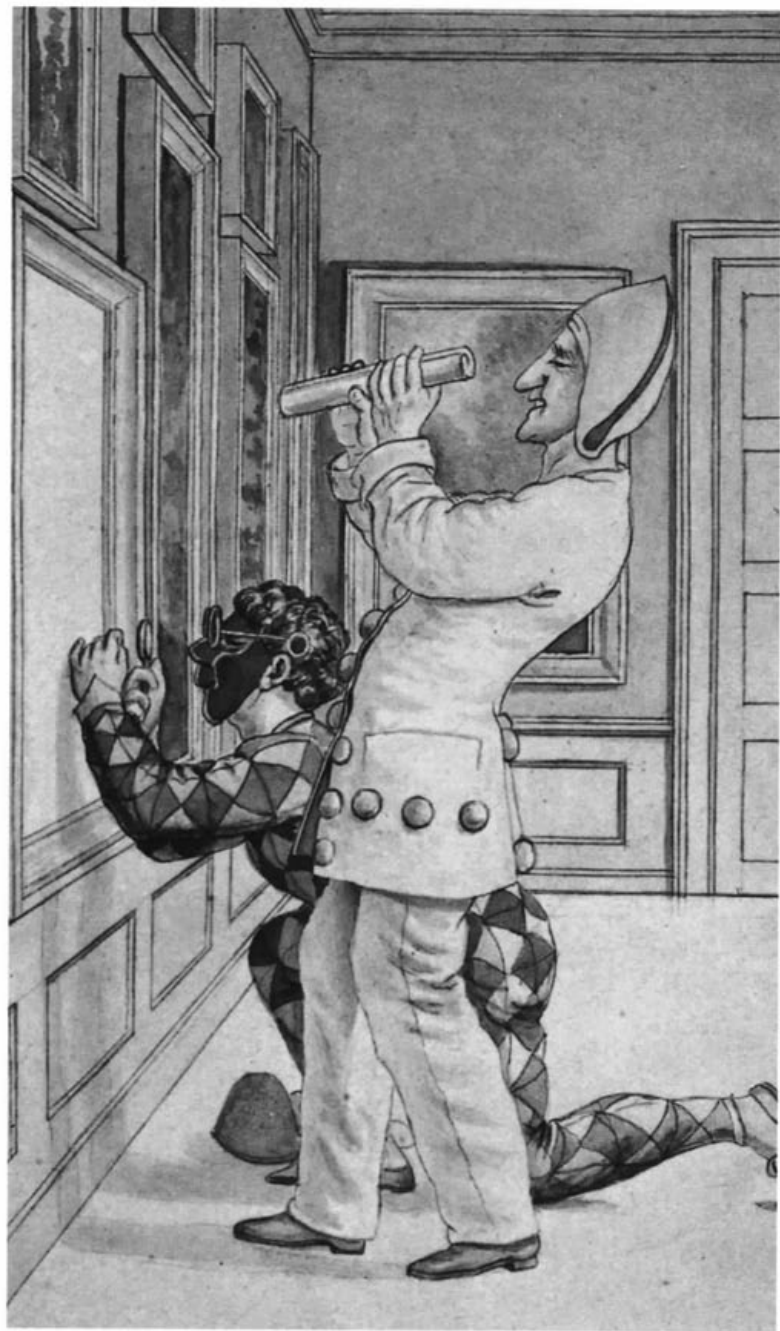
CENTER 20



ALLA SANTITÀ  
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE  
BENEDDETTO XIV  
PAPA  
E VESCOVO  
DI ROMA  
DISEGNATA DA GIULIO  
MONTANARI  
1743

CHRISTO SALVATORE

**CENTER 20**



National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

## **CENTER 20**

Record of Activities and Research Reports

June 1999–May 2000

Washington 2000



National Gallery of Art  
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## Contents

6	Preface
7	<b>Report on the Academic Year, June 1999–May 2000</b>
8	Board of Advisors and Special Selection Committees
9	Staff
11	Report of the Dean
15	Members
21	Meetings
36	Lecture Abstracts
38	Incontro Abstract
39	Research Projects
40	Publications
41	<b>Research Reports of Members</b>
173	<b>Description of Programs</b>
175	Fields of Inquiry
175	Fellowship Program
184	Facilities
184	Board of Advisors and Special Selection Committees
185	Program of Meetings, Research, and Publications
189	Index of Members' Research Reports, 1999–2000

## 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 1999–May 2000**

## Board of Advisors

Christiane Andersson  
September 1998–August 2001  
Bucknell University

Doreen Bolger  
September 1998–August 2001  
Baltimore Museum of Art

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

Ilene Forsyth  
September 1999–August 2000  
University of Michigan (emerita)

Rona Goffen  
September 1998–August 2001  
Rutgers University

William Loerke  
September 1998–August 2000  
Catonsville, Maryland

Nancy Troy  
September 1999–August 2002  
University of Southern California

## Special Selection Committees

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

John Rosenfield  
Harvard University (emeritus)

Joanna Williams  
University of California, Berkeley

Hung Wu  
University of Chicago

*Paul Mellon/Ailsa Mellon  
Bruce Predoctoral Fellowship  
Program for Summer Travel  
Abroad for Historians of  
American Art*

David Lubin  
Wake Forest University

Sally Promey  
University of Maryland, College Park

John Wilmerding  
Princeton University

*Samuel H. Kress/J. Paul  
Getty Trust Paired Research  
Fellowship in Conservation  
and the History of Art and  
Archaeology*

Maryan Ainsworth  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marjorie Cohn  
Harvard University

Donald Hansen  
New York University,  
Institute of Fine Arts

Heather Lechtman  
Massachusetts Institute  
of Technology



## Staff

Henry A. Millon, Dean  
Therese O'Malley, Associate Dean  
Faya Causey, Associate Dean  
Helen Tangires, Center Administrator

### Research Associates

Alexis Q. Castor, Research Associate to the Associate Dean  
Christine Challingsworth, Senior Research Associate (Baroque Architecture Exhibition)  
Barbara Christen, Research Associate to the Associate Dean  
Giuseppe Dardanello, Research Associate to the Dean  
Lisa DeLeonardis, Research Associate (Guide to Documentary Sources for the Andes)  
Sabine Eiche, Senior Research Associate (Architectural Drawings Project)  
Kirstin Noreen, Research Associate to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors

### Curatorial Liaison

Ruth Fine, Curator of Modern Prints and Drawings

### Program Assistants

Nicole Anselona, Assistant to the Program of Research  
Elizabeth Kielpinski, Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings  
Kathleen Lane, Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings  
Sara Morasch, Assistant to the Program of Research  
Jill Pederson, Assistant to the Program of Research  
Kimberly Rodeffer, Assistant to the Program of Fellowships

### Project Staff

Karen Binswanger, Project Head (Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts Fiftieth Anniversary Volume)  
Curtis Millay, Program Assistant (Baroque Architecture Exhibition)  
Amanda Mister, Secretary  
Jennifer Rutman, Intern; Project Assistant (Keywords in American Landscape Design)  
Lucia Santistevan, Project Assistant (Guide to Documentary Sources for the Andes)



## Report of the Dean

### June 1999–May 2000

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, in its twentieth 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 1999–2000 included individuals working on topics ranging from modern Japanese architecture to the building and decorating of late medieval abbey and cathedral towns. Among the members of the Center were scholars from France, Germany, Italy, the People's Republic of China, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Three 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 approximately 38,500 images gathered from European collections. A second project, "Keywords in American Landscape Design," a multi-volume reference work, is an illustrated glossary of landscape vocabulary in use in America from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century. The third project is a bibliography of the technology and tools of luxury objects in the ancient world.

The Center sponsored two symposia during the 1999–2000 academic year. The first symposium, "Large Bronzes in the Renaissance," was held on 15–16 October 1999. It was made possible

by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The Center expects to publish the symposium papers in the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art series. The scholarly editor is Peta Motture. The second symposium, "Tilman Riemenschneider: A Late Medieval Master Sculptor," was held on 3-4 December 1999 with support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. The papers from this symposium will also be published in the Studies in the History of Art series, with Julien Chapuis serving as the scholarly editor of the volume.

Among the informal meetings held at the Center in 1999-2000 were seminars entitled "Reports on the Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellowships for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology" and "The *camera lucida* in the History of Drawing." These meetings were complemented by lectures, including the forty-ninth Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts presented by Marc Fumaroli. Other lectures included topics on the history of perspective and the reconstruction of the historical and archaeological context of a looted treasure of Greek silver from Morgantina. One incontro, or informal presentation of research, was held on the subject of the English garden Great Dixter.

Two volumes in the symposium series Studies in the History of Art were published this past year, *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* and *Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica*. 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 by 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*



Mina Gregori, Malcolm Bell, Henry Millon, Philip Jessup





Martin Kemp, Arthur Wheelock, Ricky Jay, and Andrew Robison, "The *camera lucida* in the History of Drawing," 3 May 2000

## Members

- Mina Gregori, Università di Firenze  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1999–2000
- Malcolm Bell III, University of Virginia  
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1998–2000
- Marc Fumaroli, Collège de France  
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 2000

## Senior Fellows

- Barbara Abou-El-Haj, Binghamton University, State University  
of New York  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1999–2000  
*Building and Decorating in Late Medieval Abbey and  
Cathedral Towns*
- Anthony Cutler, Pennsylvania State University  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 1999; spring 2000  
*Objects of Desire: Gift Exchange between Byzantium and  
Islam*
- Stefan R. Hauser, Seminar für Vorderasiatische Altertumskunde  
der Freien Universität Berlin  
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 2000  
*Status and Ritual: The Social Structure of Ashur in the  
Neo-Assyrian Period*
- Linda Elaine Neagley, Rice University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1999–2000  
*French Flamboyant Architecture and the End of Gothic*
- Jonathan Reynolds, University of Southern California  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1999–2000  
*Constructing "Tradition": Modern Japanese Architecture  
and the Formation of a Viable Past*
- Georges Roque, Centre National de la Recherche  
Scientifique, Paris  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*The Genesis of Abstraction in Western Art*

## **Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow, 1999–2000**

Isabelle Dervaux, Department of Exhibition Programs  
*Arshile Gorky: From Armenian Folklore to Surrealism*

### **Visiting Senior Fellows**

Sergej Androssov, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*Italian Artists and Russian Patrons in the Eighteenth Century*

C. Edson Armi, University of California, Santa Barbara  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1999  
*First Romanesque Architecture*

Ivan Aseyev, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Siberia  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1999  
*Petroglyphs of the Northwestern Coast of North America and Their Interpretation*

Clifford Brown, Carleton University, Ottawa  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*The Art and Antiquities Collections of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga*

Louis Cellauro, Lyon  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*Vitruvius and British Architecture, 1563–1825*

Patrick Flores, University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, summer 1999  
*Philippine Colonial Painting and the History of Reconversion*

Alison Futrell, University of Arizona  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*Barbarian Queens: Paradoxes of Gender, Power, and Identity*

Elena Khodza, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000  
*Greek Terracottas of the Hellenistic Epoch*

- Albert Kostenevich, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000  
*Problems of Typology, Iconography, and Subject-Matter in European Painting of the 1890s*
- Sihui Meng, Palace Museum, Beijing  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1999  
*The Iconography of the Tejaprabha Assembly*
- Orietta Rossi Pinelli, Università di Roma “La Sapienza”  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000  
*The Fragment: Aesthetic Self-Sufficiency and “Responses” in the Restoration of Antiquities in the Nineteenth Century*
- Elena Sharnova, Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000  
*Catalogue Raisonné of French Paintings in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: From the End of the Sixteenth Century to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*
- Susan L. Siegfried, University of Leeds  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1999  
*Ingres: Sex, History, and the Substance of Painting*
- Marco Venturi di Este, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*Architecture and Urban Design: The Modern Era Reconsidered*
- John Wilton-Ely, University of Hull (emeritus)  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999  
*Perceptions and Applications of Antiquity: Adam and Piranesi*

### **Guest Scholars**

- Caroline Elam, *The Burlington Magazine*  
Alex Potts, University of Reading

**Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for  
Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology,  
1999–2000**

Susan Dackerman, Baltimore Museum of Art  
Thomas Primeau, Baltimore Museum of Art  
*The History and Technology of Renaissance and Baroque  
Hand-Colored Prints*

Eva Mendgen, Hochschule der Bildende Künste Saar; Stadtgalerie  
Saarbrücken  
Richard Ford, National Gallery of Art  
*German Expressionist Frames*

**Predoctoral Fellows**

Wendy Bellion [Northwestern University]  
Wyeth Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Likeness and Deception in Art of the Early American  
Republic*

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

David Doris [Yale University]  
Ittleson Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Vigilant Things: The Strange Fates of Ordinary Objects in  
Southwestern Nigeria*

Elizabeth Guenther [Princeton University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1999–2000  
*Albrecht Dürer's Narrative Style*

Mimi Hellman [Princeton University]\*  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1997–2000  
*The Hôtel de Soubise and the Rohan-Soubise Family:  
Architecture, Interior Decoration, and the Art of Ambition in  
Eighteenth-Century France*

Sarah Kennel [University of California, Berkeley]  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Bodies, Statues, Machines: Dance and the Visual Arts in  
Paris, 1910–1925*

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\* in residence 13 September 1999–31 August 2000



- Carla Keyvanian [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]  
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1999–2002  
*Charity, Architecture, and Urban Development: The Expansion of the Santa Trinità dei Pellegrini e Convalescenti in Counter-Reformation Rome*
- Andrew K. Y. Leung [University of Pennsylvania]\*  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1998–2000  
*Central-Pillar Cave Architecture in China and Central Asia during the Northern Dynasties, A.D. 265–581*
- 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*
- Susan Merriam [Harvard University]  
 Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1999–2000  
*Icons after Iconoclasm: The Flemish Garland Image, 1608–1700*
- Stella Nair [University of California, Berkeley]  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Chincheru: Change and Continuity under Thupa Inca*
- Annie Pedret [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]  
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1999–2000  
*Team X: Modernizing Modern Architecture in Postwar Europe*
- Stephen Pinson [Harvard University]  
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1999–2002  
*Enterprising Spectacle: The Art of L.J.M. Daguerre*
- Kathryn Rudy [Columbia University]  
 Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Northern European Visual Responses to Holy Land Pilgrimage, 1453–1550*
- Kristel Smentek [University of Delaware]  
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1998–2001  
*Pierre-Jean Mariette: Art, Commerce, and Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century Europe*

Kathryn A. Tuma [University of California, Berkeley]\*  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1998–2000  
*Cézanne, Lucretius, and the Late Nineteenth-Century Crisis  
in Science*

Leila Whittmore [Columbia University]\*  
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1996–1997; 1998–2000  
*Theory, Practice, and the Architectural Imagination:  
Filarete's Treatise on Architecture and Early Sforza  
Urbanism, 1450–1465*

**Paul Mellon/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Predoctoral Fellows  
for Summer Travel Abroad for Historians of  
American Art, 2000**

Robert Cozzolino  
[University of Wisconsin-Madison]

Ellen Daugherty  
[University of Virginia]

Rachael Z. Delue  
[Johns Hopkins University]

Amy E. Johnson  
[University of Delaware]

Mark D. Mitchell  
[Princeton University]

Akela M. Reason  
[University of Maryland, College Park]

Michael G. Schreyach  
[Northwestern University]

## Meetings

### Congress

4-6 November 1999

THE PRACTICE OF ADVANCED RESEARCH IN ART  
HISTORY TODAY

Cosponsored with the Association of Research Institutes in Art  
History and the Research Institutes in the History of Art

*Pre-Congress*

#### *Session I*

*Moderator:* Henry A. Millon, National Gallery of Art

Ján Bakoš, Institute of Art History, Slovak Academy of  
Sciences, Bratislava

Hans-Jörg Heusser, Swiss Institute for Art Research, Zurich  
and Lausanne

Vojtěch Lahoda, Institute of the History of Art, Czech  
Academy of Sciences, Prague

Alain Schnapp, Mission pour l'Institut National d'Histoire de  
l'Art, Paris

Eric Campbell Fernie, Courtauld Institute of Art, London

Piotr Paszkiewicz, Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences,  
Warsaw

Alessandro Bettagno, Istituto di Storia dell'Arte della  
Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Venice, and Istituto Nazionale di  
Archaeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome

Santiago Alcolea Blanch, Amatller Institute for Spanish Art,  
Barcelona

Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische  
Documentatie, The Hague

Elisabeth Kieven, Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome

Ernö Marosi, Research Institute for Art History of the  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Wolf Tegethoff, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich

## *Session II*

*Moderator:* Derrick R. Cartwright, Musée d'Art Américain  
Giverny

Thomas Gaehtgens, Centre Allemand d'Histoire de l'Art, Paris

George G. King and Barbara Buhler Lynes, Georgia O'Keeffe  
Museum, Santa Fe

Jay Gates, Phillips Collection, Washington

Jay Levenson, Museum of Modern Art, New York

## *Congress*

### *The Role of National Cultural Patrimonies*

*Moderator:* Kent Lydecker, Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
New York

Ján Bakoš, Institute of Art History, Slovak Academy of  
Sciences, Bratislava

*The Dilemmas of Communist-Era Monument Protection*

Hans-Jörg Heusser, Swiss Institute for Art Research, Zurich  
and Lausanne

*National Patrimony and International Art Research: The Case  
of Switzerland*

Elizabeth Broun, National Museum of American Art,  
Smithsonian Institution, Washington

*What Is American about American Art?*

Alain Schnapp, Mission pour l'Institut National d'Histoire de  
l'Art, Paris

*Creating the Notion of National Antiquities*

Ernö Marosi, Research Institute for Art History of the  
Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

*National Patrimonies or Regional Cultural Heritage?*

### *The Implications of Nationalism on the Structures of Scholarship*

*Moderator:* Joel Hoffman, Wolfsonian-Florida International  
University, Miami

Roman Grigoryev, European University at Saint Petersburg  
*Russian Art Studies between the Museum and the University:  
An Assessment of the Current Situation*

Vojtěch Lahoda, Institute of the History of Art, Czech  
Academy of Sciences, Prague  
*What Does Globalization Mean for Czech Art-Historical  
Studies?*

Piotr Paszkiewicz, Institute of Art, Polish Academy of Sciences,  
Warsaw  
*The Implications of Nationalism for Art-Historical  
Scholarship in Poland*

Eric Campbell Fernie, Courtauld Institute of Art, London  
*Scottish Nationalism and the Study of Early Medieval  
Buildings*

Toshio Yamanashi, Museum of Modern Art, Kamakura  
*Nationalism and History Painting at the Beginning of  
Japanese Modernization*

#### *The Changing Character of Funding*

*Moderator:* Amy Meyers, Huntington Library, Art Collections,  
and Botanical Gardens, San Marino

Deborah Marrow, J. Paul Getty Trust, Los Angeles  
*Patterns in International Funding for Art History*

John H. D'Arms, American Council of Learned Societies,  
New York  
*Public, Private, and In-Between: Recent Funding Trends in  
Humanistic Scholarship in the United States*

John Onians, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute,  
Williamstown  
*The Pathology of a Healthy Situation: The Intellectual  
Consequences of Recent Trends in the Funding of Art-  
Historical Research*

#### *The Nature and Consequences of the Globalization of Technology in the Conduct of Advanced Research*

*Moderator:* Hans-Jörg Heusser, Swiss Institute for Art  
Research, Zurich and Lausanne

Santiago Alcolea Blanch, Amatller Institute for Spanish  
Art, Barcelona, and Rudolf E.O. Ekkart, Rijksbureau voor  
Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague  
*Collaboration among Photo Archives: The Van Eyck Project*

Edward L. Keenan, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington  
*Surfing, Browsing, Serendipity, and the Organization of Knowledge*

John M. Unsworth, Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities, University of Virginia, Charlottesville  
*Art in Space and Time*

## Symposia

15–16 October 1999

### LARGE BRONZES IN THE RENAISSANCE

#### *Techniques, Materials, and Production*

*Moderator:* Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art

Regina Seelig-Teuwen, Gräfelting, Germany

*Large Bronzes in France during the Sixteenth Century*

Geneviève Bresc-Bautier, Musée du Louvre

*Paris Foundries in the Sixteenth Century*

Victoria Avery, University of Cambridge

*Public and Private Bronze Foundries in Cinquecento Venice:*

*New Light on the Alberghetti and Di Conti Workshops*

Peta Motture, Victoria and Albert Museum

*The Production of Firedogs in Venetian Foundries*

Judy Ozone, National Gallery of Art

*The Manufacture of the Mellon Venus and Bacchus*

#### *Reception and Collection*

*Moderator:* Charles Avery, Kent

Carol Mattusch, George Mason University

*Pre-Classical Is Pre-Renaissance*

Antonia Boström, Detroit Institute of Arts

*Ludovico Lombardo and the Taste for the all'antica Bust in*

*Mid-Sixteenth Century Rome and Florence*

Mario Scalini, Museo degli Argenti, Palazzo Pitti

*Original Settings of Nonreligious Bronzes in the Renaissance*

*Issues of Authorship and Attribution (Part I)*

*Moderator:* Peta Motture, Victoria and Albert Museum

Charles Avery, Kent

*The Atrium of the Four Winds at Lainate: Aeolus and His Companions Rediscovered*

Joseph Bliss, Cleveland

*Benvenuto Cellini's Satyrs for the Porte Dorée at Fontainebleau*

Alan Darr, Detroit Institute of Arts

*A Pair of Large Bronze Deities in Detroit: New Research and an Attribution to Danese Cattaneo*

Francesco Cagliotti, Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence

*Gli Spiritelli bronzei di Donatello*

*Issues of Authorship and Attribution (Part II)*

*Moderator:* Allison Luchs, National Gallery of Art

Joachim Poeschke, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster

*Still a Problem of Attribution: The Tomb Slab of Pope Martin V in S. Giovanni in Laterano*

Sergej Androssov, State Hermitage Museum

*A Pair of Unpublished Statues from the Collection of the Hermitage*

Michael Cole, Princeton University and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

*The Medici Mercury and the Breath of Bronze*

Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

*The Angel over the City*

3–4 December 1999

TILMAN RIEMENSCHNEIDER: A LATE MEDIEVAL  
MASTER SCULPTOR

*Defining the Oeuvre*

*Moderator:* Julien Chapuis, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Hartmut Krohm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Skulpturensammlung

Rudolphus de Scherenberg, Episcopus herbipolensis,  
Franciaeque orientalis Dux: *Effigy and Rhetoric*

Claudia Lichte, Mainfränkisches Museum, Würzburg  
*A Newly Discovered Virgin with Child by the "Master  
Sculptor" in Würzburg*

Rainer Kahsnitz, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich  
*Der Heiligblut-Altar in Rothenburg und seine Stellung im  
Werke Tilman Riemenschneiders*

### *Aesthetic Choice and Late Medieval Taste*

Till-Holger Borchert, Institut für Kunstgeschichte der  
Rheinisch-Westfälischen Technischen Hochschule, Aachen  
*Taste and Fashion in German Sculpture around 1515-1520*

Keith Moxey, Columbia University, Barnard College,  
New York  
*Tilman Riemenschneider: History and Fiction*

### *Sculpture in Context*

*Moderator:* Keith Moxey, Columbia University, Barnard  
College, New York

Thomas A. Brady, Jr., University of California, Berkeley  
*One Body, Two Souls: Lordship and Faith in the Diocese of  
Würzburg around 1500*

Susanne M. Reece, Ohio State University, Columbus  
*Riemenschneider's Holy Blood Altarpiece in the Pilgrimage  
Context*

Jeffrey Chipps Smith, University of Texas at Austin  
*A Fragile Legacy: Würzburg's Sculpture after Riemenschneider*

Iris Kalden-Rosenfeld, Berlin  
*The Bamberg Kaisergrab: Type and Program*

### *Technology and Materials of Sculpture*

*Moderator:* Hartmut Krohm, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,  
Skulpturensammlung

Bodo Buczynski, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,  
Skulpturensammlung  
*Die Steinbildwerke Tilman Riemenschneiders im  
technologischen Kontext zu Werken von Nicolaus Gerhaert  
von Leyden*



Eike Oellerman, Heroldsberg

*Polychromiert oder nicht polychromiert: das ist die Frage*

Michele Marincola, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

*Riemenschneider's Use of Punchwork in Unpolychromed Sculpture*

Axel Treptau, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich

*Two Reliefs from Riemenschneider's Early Passion Altarpiece*

*A Sculptor in Dialogue with Others*

*Moderator:* Jeffrey Chipps Smith, University of Texas at Austin

Timothy Husband, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

*Riemenschneider and the Tradition of German Alabaster Sculpture*

Fritz Koreny, Graphische Sammlung Albertina, Vienna

*Riemenschneider and the Graphic Arts: Originality and Models in Late Medieval Art*

Corine Schleif, Arizona State University, Tempe

*Sculpted Interfaces between Artist and Audiences: (Self-)Portraits that Give and Take*

14–15 April 2000

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY  
OF ART, THIRTIETH ANNUAL SESSIONS

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

*Afternoon Session*

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

*Panel Discussion: Theory and Art History for the Next  
Generation*

*Moderator:* Whitney Davis, Northwestern University

Susan Libby, Rollins College

Frances Connelly, University of Missouri, Kansas City

Gerald Silk, Temple University

Genevra Kornbluth, University of Maryland, College Park

Leslie Brubaker, University of Birmingham

### *Evening Session*

*Introduction:* Ekpo Eyo, University of Maryland, College Park

### *George Levitine Lecture in Art History*

Peter J. Ucko, Institute of Archaeology, University of London  
*A Face Is a Face: But When Is It a Human Face? An Inquiry into Archaeological and Art-Historical "Confusion"*

### *Morning Session*

*Moderator:* Genevra Kornbluth, University of Maryland, College Park

*Introduction:* Anne Weis  
Cornelie Piok-Zanon [University of Pittsburgh]  
*The Propylon to the Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon*

*Introduction:* Elizabeth Walters  
Denise R. Costanzo [Pennsylvania State University]  
*Power, the Palatine, and the House of the Griffins*

*Introduction:* Ann Kuttner  
Betsey A. Robinson [University of Pennsylvania]  
*Architecture and Imagination: Corinth's Fountain of Peirene in the Early Roman Period*

*Introduction:* Anthony Colantuono  
William Breazeale [University of Maryland, College Park]  
*Prudence, Rhetoric, and the Sketchbook: Girolamo da Carpi's Roman Drawings*

*Introduction:* Steven Levine  
Leo Costello [Bryn Mawr College]  
*A Difficult History and an Uncertain Future: Turner's Slave Ship and the Dynamics of the Sublime*

*Introduction:* Helen Langa  
Richard Sorensen [American University]  
*The Decadent Persona of Salomé as Pictured by Aubrey Beardsley*

*Afternoon Session*

*Moderator:* Therese O'Malley, National Gallery of Art

*Introduction:* Lawrence Nees

Meredith Soles [University of Delaware]

*Aura and Authenticity in Spirit Photography*

*Introduction:* David Bjelajac

Jennifer Duarte [George Washington University]

*A Vision of Empire: Winslow Homer's Searchlight on Harbor*

*Entrance, Santiago de Cuba*

*Introduction:* J. David Summers

Luanne McKinnon [University of Virginia]

*Picasso and the Lightbulb*

*Introduction:* Brigid Doherty

Bett Schumacher [Johns Hopkins University]

*About This: The Recuperative Photomontage of Aleksandr*

*Rodchenko*

*Introduction:* Annabel Wharton

Benedict J. Fullalove [Duke University]

*Death by Landscape and the Return of the Native:*

*Place, Memory, and Identity in Early Twentieth-Century*

*Canadian Art*

*Introduction:* Judith Rohrer

Suzanne Spencer [Emory University]

*"America Can't Have Housing": MoMA and the Campaign  
for Modern Housing in the Early 1930s*

*Introduction:* Carol Mavor

Laura M. André [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]

*Spacesuits and Go-Go Boots: Fashioning the Strange*

*Territories of the New Frontier*

## Seminars

13 March 2000

REPORTS ON THE SAMUEL H. KRESS/  
AILSA MELLON BRUCE PAIRED FELLOWSHIPS IN  
CONSERVATION AND ART HISTORY/ARCHAEOLOGY

### Participants

James E. Brady, California State University, Los Angeles  
Susan Dackerman, Baltimore Museum of Art  
Richard Ford, National Gallery of Art  
Ann Hoenigswald, National Gallery of Art  
Alexander J. Kossolapov, State Hermitage Museum,  
Saint Petersburg  
Henry W. Lie, Harvard University Art Museums  
Boris I. Marshak, State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Carol C. Mattusch, George Mason University  
Eva Mendgen, Hochschule der Bildende Künste Saar  
Thomas J. Primeau, Baltimore Museum of Art  
Gene Ware, Brigham Young University

3 May 2000

THE CAMERA LUCIDA IN THE HISTORY  
OF DRAWING

### Participants

Malcolm Bell, National Gallery of Art  
Judith Brodie, National Gallery of Art  
Faya Causey, National Gallery of Art  
Chuck Close, New York  
Philip Conisbee, National Gallery of Art  
Charles Falco, University of Arizona  
Ruth Fine, National Gallery of Art  
Michael Fried, Johns Hopkins University  
Margaret Grasselli, National Gallery of Art  
David Graves, London  
David Hockney, Los Angeles  
Ricky Jay, Los Angeles  
Martin Kemp, University of Oxford  
Henry A. Millon, National Gallery of Art  
Therese O'Malley, National Gallery of Art  
Peter Parshall, National Gallery of Art

Earl A. Powell, National Gallery of Art  
Charlie Ritchie, National Gallery of Art  
Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art  
Richard Schmidt, Los Angeles  
Gary Tinterow, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Jeffrey Weiss, National Gallery of Art  
Lawrence Weschler, New York  
Arthur Wheelock, National Gallery of Art

### Colloquia CLVI–CLXII

7 October 1999

Mina Gregori, Samuel H. Kress Professor  
*Two Works by Caravaggio*

28 October 1999

Jonathan Reynolds, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow  
*Tange Kenzō and the Construction of a “New Tradition”  
for Postwar Japan*

6 January 2000

Linda Elaine Neagley, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow  
*Measured Time and Metered Space: Quantification and the End  
of Gothic Architecture*

20 January 2000

Barbara Abou-El-Haj, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow  
*Reims: Cathedral, Coronation, Commune*

10 February 2000

Anthony Cutler, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow  
*The Empire of Things: Gift Exchange between Byzantium and the  
Islamic World*

16 March 2000

Stefan R. Hauser, Frese Senior Research Fellow  
*“I sealed the door of the tomb with heavy copper bands and  
made the tags secure”: Keeping the Dead in Place in the  
Neo-Assyrian Period*

27 April 2000

Malcolm Bell III, Andrew W. Mellon Professor  
*The Agora of a Hellenistic Royal City*

## Shoptalks 86–91

21 October 1999

Leila Whittemore, Paul Mellon Fellow

*The Architectural Image between Theory and Practice:  
Early Illustrations of Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*

2 December 1999

Kathryn A. Tuma, Mary Davis Fellow

*Philosophie à perte de vue: Allegories of Visibility and Invisibility  
in Cézanne's Le Rocher rouge, c. 1895*

27 January 2000

Melissa McCormick, Ittleson Fellow

*Crying over Spilled Ink: Lessons from a Narrative Handscroll for  
a Fifteenth-Century Shogun*

23 March 2000

Andrew K.Y. Leung, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

*Central-Pillar Cave Architecture in China and Central Asia during  
the Northern Dynasties, A.D. 265–581*

13 April 2000

Rachael Z. DeLue, Wyeth Fellow

*"All is light and flat as a fog of vapor that obscures everything":  
George Inness and the Science of Landscape*

4 May 2000

Mimi Hellman, David E. Finley Fellow

*"Embellir Leur Princerie": Decoration and Social Strategy in the  
Bedchamber of the Prince de Rohan, 1735–1749*

## Lectures

20 October 1999

Lyle Massey, Northwestern University

*Perspectives on Perspective: Art History's Hermeneutical Paradox*

9 February 2000

Malcolm Bell III, University of Virginia

*The Hiding and Finding of a Treasure of Sicilian Greek Silver*  
Cosponsored with the Archaeological Institute of America

## **Curatorial/Conservation Colloquy IX**

19–21 June 2000

ANTONIO POLLAIUOLO'S BATTLE OF THE NAKED  
MEN

### Participants

Suzanne Boorsch, Metropolitan Museum of Art  
Marjorie Cohn, Fogg Art Museum  
Susan Dackerman, Baltimore Museum of Art  
Patricia Emison, University of New Hampshire  
Theresa Fairbanks, Yale University Art Gallery  
Jane Glaubinger, Cleveland Museum of Art  
Shelley Langdale, Cleveland Museum of Art  
Annette Manick, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston  
Innis Howe Shoemaker, Philadelphia Museum of Art  
Moyna Stanton, Cleveland Museum of Art

### Colloquy cochairs

Peter Parshall, National Gallery of Art  
Shelley Fletcher, National Gallery of Art

### Staff participants

Henry A. Millon  
Therese O'Malley  
Andrew Robison

## **Incontro**

17 November 1999

Charles Hind, Royal Institute of British Architects

*An Architect and His Client: Mr. Lutyens, Mr. Lloyd, and the  
Building of Great Dixter*

## Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 2000

Marc Fumaroli, Collège de France

*The Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns in the Arts,  
1600–1715*

- 30 April     *The Italian Paragoni and the French Querelle*
- 7 May        *Oculus eruditus: Ancient Art Viewed from  
Amsterdam, Paris, and Rome*
- 14 May      *Latin, Italian, French: The Question of Language  
and the Rise of French Art Literature*
- 21 May      *Drawing and Color, Ancients and Moderns, from  
Félibien to Roger de Piles*
- 28 May      *The Quarrel of Homer and the Shield of Achilles*
- 4 June       *Enlightenment Taste and the Antiquarian:  
Caylus versus Diderot*





Shelley Langdale, Marjorie Cohn, and Shelley Fletcher, "Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Battle of the Naked Men*," 19–21 June 2000

## Lecture Abstracts

### *Perspectives on Perspective: Art History's Hermeneutical Paradox*

The history of perspective and the many attempts to interpret and explain its philosophical, moral, and scientific significance, reveal an inherently problematic relation between image and viewer. As a figure that is both overly familiar and curiously strange, perspective and its long history of development have held a crucial place in twentieth-century debates about the nature of representation. At issue in these debates is whether or not perspective presents us with an insurmountable contradiction that is inherent to the enterprise of illusionism—a rift between ontological certainty and epistemological clarity. For those of us who deal with perspective and its ambiguous history, archival and textual research not only does not clarify the matter, it destabilizes the supposedly solid foundations of our explanations. In short, this paper is intended to provide some sense of how the visual materials of perspective, the graphs, demonstrations, and written explanations, create a sense of disorder, disruption, and contingency in the enterprise of interpretation.

In its most orthodox employment, perspective reveals a fundamental fracture between subjective viewpoint and the representational field. This paradoxical split is acutely demonstrated in the problematic history of the distance point, that highly rationalized feature of the linear grid which accounts for the geometric diminution of space in two dimensions. Egnatio Danti's publication of Vignola's *Le due regole* in 1583 gives us some sense of how the distance point creates a confusing contradiction between seeing or understanding the viewpoint and inhabiting or seeing through it. This confusion is rendered more explicit by Jean François Nicéron in his seventeenth-century demonstrations of anamorphosis. By foregrounding the problematic issue of the viewpoint, I hope also to reveal the equally problematic issue of art-historical interpretation.

Lyle Massey, Northwestern University

### *The Hiding and Finding of a Treasure of Sicilian Greek Silver*

Since 1955 the Sicilian archaeological site of Morgantina has been excavated by scholars and students from the United States. In the early 1980s rumors circulated of the clandestine discovery of a “silver service,” of what the archaeologist would call a silver treasure. A group of sixteen remarkable pieces of Greek silver was purchased in this same period by the Metropolitan Museum of Art and attributed to southern Italy or Sicily. The silver in New York corresponds to descriptions of the clandestine discovery, with which it can be assumed to be identical.

On the basis of evidence provided by the Italian police, the American excavators of Morgantina were recently asked by the local authorities, who would like to see the silver returned to Italy, to investigate the spot where the treasure had presumably been discovered. Excavation in 1997 and 1998 revealed an unusual Greek house of the fourth century B.C., which has both shed light on the origin of the silver and, less expectedly, led to a new understanding of the origin of Morgantina’s city plan. Evidence was also found indicating that the house was thoroughly looted by clandestine diggers about the year 1980.

The silver in New York has many formal and stylistic parallels in early Hellenistic Sicily. The recent excavation suggests that it was buried in a secure place in time of war. It was at this moment that inscriptions seem to have been scratched on several of the most important pieces. A new interpretation of these indicates that they refer to the owner of the silver, whose name is known at Morgantina in the Hellenistic period. The owner must have been a victim of the Roman capture of the city. His valuable possessions remained hidden for more than two millennia, until they were found twenty years ago and emerged in New York.

Malcolm Bell III, University of Virginia

## Incontro Abstract

### *An Architect and His Client: Mr. Lutyens, Mr. Lloyd, and the Building of Great Dixter*

Great Dixter is today known as one of the most famous gardens in England, created by Christopher Lloyd since the 1950s, but the bones are those made by his father, Nathaniel Lloyd (1868–1933), and the latter's architect, Edwin Lutyens. The house is generally thought of only as a picturesque backdrop to the garden, but the recent rediscovery in outhouses and attics of the papers dealing with the restoration, enlargement, and furnishing between 1910 and 1912 of the important but much-altered medieval house on the site reveals new insights into Lutyens' working methods. The Lutyens enlargements account for most of the family domestic parts of the house and are the architect's last essay in picturesque architecture before he turned irrevocably to classicism and the building of New Delhi. The newly-found papers not only reveal the occasionally strained relationship between architect and client, but they also show how Lloyd, who had made enough money as a master printer to retire at the age of forty-one, was so inspired by the experience that he reinvented himself as a professional architect, architectural photographer, journalist, and historian, writing the (still) standard texts on *English Brickwork* (1925) and the *History of the English House* (1931). Rarely has an architect had such a radical effect on a client and so dramatically changed his life. The lecture is illustrated with a large number of drawings by Lutyens and early photographs of the house and its contents, which include fine seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century furniture. Great Dixter is still a remarkably untouched and very little-known example of an Edwardian country house.

Charles Hind, Royal Institute of British Architects

## Research Projects

Two long-term projects and one short-term project are in preparation at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. These projects are intended to produce scholarly research tools. 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 the archives are 38,286 photographs and 214 manuscripts on microfilm. Photographs and microfilm were received this year from the following repositories: London: British Library, British Museum, Courtauld Institute; Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Biblioteca Corsiniana, Bibliotheca Herziana, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

A second research project, under the direction of the Associate Dean 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 fall 2001.

A third research project, directed by the Acting Associate Dean, is an investigation into the technology and tools of luxury objects in the ancient Mediterranean world. The data will be organized into five broad categories: artifacts, tools, ancient sources (including lexicographical material as well as more extensive ancient primary and secondary sources), other visual sources such as representations in wall-paintings or vases, and the modern bibliography. Another important component of the project will be the collection of detailed photographs of artifacts that reveal tool traces.

## **Publications**

The papers of the symposia “The Art of Ancient Spectacle” and “Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period” were published in September 1999 and April 2000 respectively, 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 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”; “Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru”; “Large Bronzes in the Renaissance”; and “Tilman Riemenschneider: A Late Medieval Master Sculptor.” A complete listing of publications in the symposium series may be found on page 187.

## 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 1999 to May 2000. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 2000. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 2000 will appear in *Center 21*.



## Architects of Violence: The Building Clergy of Vézelay, Santiago de Compostela, Reims, and the Commune of Amiens

The twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches of Vézelay, Compostela, and Reims have been studied largely in isolation from their local environments, except for events that may have impacted building campaigns. The transregional visitors sought by their clergy are the assumed audiences for their ambitious church designs and building technology, competitive scale, and expansive decoration. Such an institutional approach excludes local populations who, seeking communal liberties, periodically launched deadly assaults on their clerical lords, themselves engaged in tense standoffs with lay and ecclesiastical competitors. In such volatile environments, three of the four churches in my study were built and decorated. The targets of this violence, abbots and archbishops who survived assassins or were forced into lengthy exiles, responded in equal measure, spiritually, judicially, in texts and in astonishingly explicit images directed at their enemies.

While recent scholarship on Vézelay has recognized the mix of coercive and consensus-building images directed at the abbey's resistant tithers, Santiago and Reims remain bound to their transient audiences—long-distance pilgrims and the coronation cortege. Amiens, on the other hand, whose commune had been established by town and bishop allied against their count a hundred years before the chapter built the tallest and most refined



Detail of Last Judgment, raising of the dead witnessed by angels on archivolt, Reims Cathedral, north transept, left tympanum, c. 1236–1238. Author photograph

cathedral of its day, has been understood as a cooperative venture undertaken in a benign environment.

The cooperative model generally applied to medieval church building has selectively reproduced texts written by medieval authors who themselves were tidying up real and imagined histories. Narratives of divine provision and voluntary, penitential labor were circulated to one audience, complaints of insolvency and bankruptcy to another, and scathing attacks on adversaries to yet another. If we begin with the towns rather than their churches, standard readings of texts and images are less persuasive. These texts and images, produced in the face of an internal critique of luxury, and in defiance of the civil strife accompanying communal movements, represent the interests of builders and therefore can not be so easily elided into an assumed reception by undifferentiated audiences, whether hostile or indifferent locals or enthusiastic transients. The consensus implicit in a cooperative model can be understood, then, as the aim rather than the premise for these

projects, whose architectural design and decoration offer evidence for the volatile conditions of their creation and function at specific times and in particular places.

These four premier towns, in which lavish churches were built and decorated with the most advanced architectural technology and elaborate artistic traditions of their day, provide a rich body of polemical documents spanning a representative variety of social and ecclesiastical institutions: monastic and episcopal, seigneurial and communal. In each case, they furnish the critical sources for recognizing how local struggles and disputes were visualized in stone and glass. Abbots fought to preserve Vézelay's claim to absolute independence from its comital and episcopal superiors. Archbishops possessed undivided secular and ecclesiastical authority in Santiago and Reims. Bishops disputed overlapping jurisdictions with the mayors and city councils of Amiens.

When completed, the portal sculpture of Vézelay projected a perfect inversion of disputed privileges and obligations. Tithers offer first fruits together with the pilgrims whom they were obliged to house and feed beneath the central narthex tympanum, which invokes Vézelay's foundation under direct papal authority on the Feast of Pentecost at the Court of Charles the Bald. Linked to the Mission of the Apostles, the abbey appropriated an event that marks the origin of episcopal privileges while simultaneously rejecting the authority of its own episcopal lord. An astonishing range of terrorizing capitals featuring huge swords depicts the abbots' claim to both the swords of anathema and justice. At Compostela, Gelmírez' ecclesiastic and political posture informed each of his artistic projects, principally the design and decoration of his cathedral and palace, which he repaired after they were burned and looted during the first rebellion. A huge transept declares Compostela's apostolic pretensions with regard to Rome. Unusually aggressive and intensely painful figurations of urban vices, lust (male and female), and avarice tortured by fire and hanged as a criminal, marked Gelmírez' route through the north transept to the sanctuary altar. Avarice was the crime of Judas, with whom Gelmírez' chronicle repeatedly excoriates his rebel burghers and canons as "Isariots," "allies of Judas," and "traitors."

In the thirteenth century, terrorizing imagery gave way to appeals for consensus, although local environments were equally hostile. Reims represented the extreme coordination of artistic ambition and political clout. Twice, the town drove its archbishop and chapter into exile, which ended only by means of armed troops, liturgical subordination, and huge reparations. When cathedral construction resumed, the east end decoration responded explicitly to the events of the first commune and its defeat: figures of episcopal authority and penitential submission on the canons' retrofit processional entrance surround Satan exulting over Job, who visualizes Gregory IX's comparison of the burghers to "sons of Satan" and the chapter to Job tormented and despoiled of his goods. In the sanctuary glass, Archbishop Henry had himself portrayed with all the signs, real and fantastic, of the spiritual office he had been unable to exercise in four of the previous six years. The suffragan cathedrals, the unique feature of the glass, were the principal churches of the archdiocese, in which groups of communards were ordered to perform multiple public penances on the liturgical feasts that celebrated the prelate as a type for Christ. Reims' celebrated coronation imagery, the next stage in its decoration, was not so much triumphal as it was a determined response to Saint-Denis' persistent representation of its own entitlement to royal coronation long after the privilege had been awarded to Reims. Accordingly, artistic programs of the two churches can be matched chronologically and ideologically throughout the thirteenth century.

The bishop and chapter of Amiens were in no position to compete with their metropolitan, despite the obvious similarities between the two extraordinary cathedrals. Amiens' communal charter effectively enclosed the chapter within the episcopal precinct with few urban jurisdictions, in stark contrast to the sweeping monopolies possessed by the archbishop-count of Reims. While Reims was finished with an ensemble of sculpture unmatched in quantity and quality, at Amiens ambitions collided with constraints, producing a patchwork of high-level, innovative architecture, and short-circuit summary sculpture that enabled the chapter, within the constraints of its political economy, to build the most advanced cathedral of its day, but not with the cooperation of the

commune, which remained largely indifferent except for repeated property and jurisdictional disputes documented in the municipal and episcopal cartularies. It acted aggressively to foreclose reparations owed to the bishop for violating his jurisdiction over five clerks or students summarily executed in the municipal belfry (three leading burghers were accused of stealing the chapter's charters and seals under cover of arson) and to interdict episcopal encroachments upon municipal land by prohibiting a parvis that had to wait six hundred years for the *Monuments Historiques* and *Viollet-Le-Duc*.

Epilogues address the modern invention of each church, the construction of national identities and patrimonies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, foreign and domestic policies in the twentieth.

Binghamton University, State University of New York  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1999–2000

## Italian Artists and Russian Patrons in the Eighteenth Century

During a two-month residence at the Center, I made progress on three projects. The first is a book dedicated to the history of the relations between Italian artists and Russian patrons in the eighteenth century. Based on documents recently uncovered in Russian archives, in Saint Petersburg and Moscow, I tried to reconstruct biographies of two sculptors, active in Russia from the late seventeenth century, but who are today practically unknown. Franz Ludwig Ziegler (or Zingler) arrived in Moscow about 1692 and worked there for ten years as a woodcarver, possibly for the construction and the decoration of ships. In 1702–1703, on orders from Peter the Great, he visited various European countries, returning with three sculptors and a painter. Later we find Ziegler in Saint Petersburg as the sculptor and stonemason of the Chancellery of Constructions. In 1723 he was sent to Moscow, possibly for the preparations for the coronation of Catherine I, and he worked on an imperial palace. He died on 6 February 1728.

The life of Giovanni Francesco Rossi, master of decorations in stucco (*stuccatore*), in Russia is similar to that of Ziegler. He arrived in Moscow about 1698 and is recorded as working from 1705 to 1707 on the stucco decoration of the Catholic church in Moscow, including statues of Saint Francesco Saverio and Saint Ignazio in stucco. Later, he went to Saint Petersburg where he is documented as working on the stucco decoration for the Second

Winter Palace (1713) and for the Italian Palace (1722–1723). In 1724, Giovanni Francesco signed a contract, with his sons Ignazio Lodovico and Giovanni Gioacchino, for the decoration of the church in the Alexander Nevsky monastery, but he died soon after.

With the help of the National Gallery's library, I was able to learn much more about Ziegler and Rossi. The two masters, in fact, were not from Italy but Switzerland: Ziegler from Solothurn and Rossi probably from Sessa. Further, it is now possible to propose new attributions to Ziegler and to Rossi. Rossi seems to have decorated two orthodox churches in Moscow and the church of the Virgin in Dubrovizy (near Moscow), a building especially important for the history of Petrine-era art in Russia.

My second project centered on Jacopo Amigoni (c. 1685–1752) and his activity in England from 1729 to 1739. During this time he had good contacts with Prince Antiokh Cantemir, the Russian ambassador in London (1733–1738) and later in Paris (1738–1744). In England Amigoni executed no less than four paintings for Cantemir. Two of these represented Peter the Great with Minerva and are on display in the Hermitage and in the Great Palace of Peterhof. Two more, *Portrait of Czarina Anna of Russia* and *Portrait of Prince Cantemir*, seem to be lost, though they are known from etchings by Joseph Wagner. It is possible that Amigoni taught Cantemir painting. In the National Library, Saint Petersburg, is a miniature of Cantemir, which could be a self-portrait executed under Amigoni's supervision.

Among the papers of Cantemir preserved in archives in Moscow are twenty-nine letters of Amigoni. In Washington, I was able to prepare a commentary on these letters which contain important information about the musical and intellectual life in London during the decade 1729 to 1739.

My third project was the completion of an article, "A Pair of Unpublished Statues from the Collection of the Hermitage," which was originally presented at the symposium "Large Bronzes in the Renaissance" at the National Gallery in October 1999.

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999

## First Romanesque Architecture

First Romanesque churches number in the hundreds and spread in a wide arc across the Mediterranean littoral from northern Italy to the Alpine regions, the valleys of the Rhône and Saône rivers, Provence, and Catalonia. First Romanesque buildings were constructed from approximately 950 to 1050, during a formative period when churches began to blanket the Continent. Some of these churches, such as Cluny II, Saint-Philibert at Tournus, and Saint-Bénigne at Dijon, were among the largest and most significant buildings of the time.

Leading abbots often chose the First Romanesque style to construct churches in important abbeys along great natural routes, like the Aosta and Susa passes, that united southern Europe. For example, Oliba, abbot of Cuxa, bishop of Vich, and friend of Pope Benedict VIII, built the abbey of Ripoll on a major road through the Pyrenees and made it one of the leading centers of its age, with a large library and a school illustrious for works of history, poetry, astronomy, and mathematics. Many First Romanesque churches also had crucial ties to the Cluniac monastic order, which by 1050 under Abbots Odo and Odilo had acquired major abbeys in southern France and northern Spain and Italy, and had rebuilt them in the First Romanesque style.

In two months at the Center, I began a book about First Romanesque churches. Over the years I have crisscrossed south-





Saint-Philibert,  
Tournus, lower  
narthex.  
Author photograph

ern Europe in an effort to document, collect, confirm, and synthesize observations on the texts, construction, structure, articulation, and decoration of these buildings. The point of this journey has been to try to come to a new overview and understanding of the formation of European architecture in the eleventh century.

One of the purposes of my research at the National Gallery has been to reexamine and revise the current theory that dismisses as repetitive folk art works of great architectural importance and inventiveness. As part of this research, I looked at two specific issues hardly broached for these churches: labor organization and design process. This new approach, emphasizing creative people at

work, depends on a concrete understanding of two other, under-explored areas of First Romanesque architecture: construction and support. Almost no texts survive describing the organization, hierarchy, and social context of the artisans who created these buildings, and, therefore, by observing carefully how masons made and laid building blocks and placed them in strategic structural locations, I have begun to appreciate the intent and procedures of the creators.

University of California, Santa Barbara  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1999

## Rock-Painting as a Historical Source in Eastern Siberia and North America

A complex of problems arises in the study of rock paintings: their typology, the chronology of the local variants of the monuments investigated, the connection of rock paintings with particular peoples, and the correlation of the iconography of the petroglyphs in comparison to the traditional cultures of the local contemporary peoples.

In the last few decades, rock art has become of great interest to scholars internationally. Those involved in the study of petroglyphs tend to cooperate in their efforts, all for the benefit of the larger picture of prehistoric art.

A number of rock paintings recently discovered have added considerably to our knowledge. For example, the petroglyphs in the Angara River area in Siberia are assumed to be five to six thousand years old. Also in Siberia are the impressive monuments of the Bronze Age Okunev culture, widespread in the Khakass-Minusinsk trough in the Yenisei River valley. The figures depicted on huge boulders combine human and animal features. These three-eyed mask-faces most probably personify patrons of the herding tribes. There are also numerous figures of oxen as well as solar and fertility symbols.

In East Siberia, closer to the North American continent, are petroglyphs that reveal new elements of ruprestrian art: stone stelae on which deer with birds' heads and antlers are rendered

with anthropomorphous sculpture of human warriors. They look very primitive with their conventionally rendered bodies and sword belts. This sculpture belongs to the Early Bronze Age (4,000–3,000 B.C.).

No similar sculpture has been found in North America dating either to the Bronze or Early Iron Age. However, archaeological assemblages containing human figures on warrior clubs made of whalebone and bronze date undoubtedly to the Bronze Age. The pommels of many clubs and handles resemble human and birds' heads. This sort of club was also found in the Georgia Strait area.

Fine art developed in strikingly similar ways on the two continents separated by the Pacific Ocean. In the Transbaikal area over two hundred locations with rock depictions—some of them painted—are known.

In the first ages of our era, what can be called the “Great Migration of the Peoples” took place. Following them, the Turks came to the steppes of Central Asia and Siberia and formed states in these regions during the second and third centuries A.D. The main occupation of the population was cattle breeding. The constant wars and internecine conflicts of the time are reflected in this art: numerous marble and granite sculptures of warriors were erected all over the territories of Siberia, Mongolia, and the Altai. Some of them were hewn with open eyes, some with eyes closed.

A group of sculptures bearing a great resemblance to these images was discovered in the north coast area between Vancouver Island and Portland, Oregon. The remarkable similarity between the prehistoric rock art of the Bronze and Iron Ages in North America and in North Asia is evidence not only of common roots of origin but also of continuous contact over thousands of years.

The investigation of rock painting, sculpture, and their decorative motifs is rather promising for the solution of many problems connected with the history of petroglyphs, ethnographic contacts, the migrations of ancient communities, and their social structures. A broad-based study of the petroglyphs can be used in further paleoethnographical studies, in the development of theories about evolution, and in a practical vein, in the protection of these rock monuments.

At the Center I was able to complete the first draft of an article on the project. For the travel portion of the fellowship, I visited museums in Alaska (Juneau, Anchorage, Nome) and Idaho and petroglyphic sites in Idaho, Washington, Alaska, and Canada. I was able to see unpublished material in the Alaskan museums and along the Snake River.

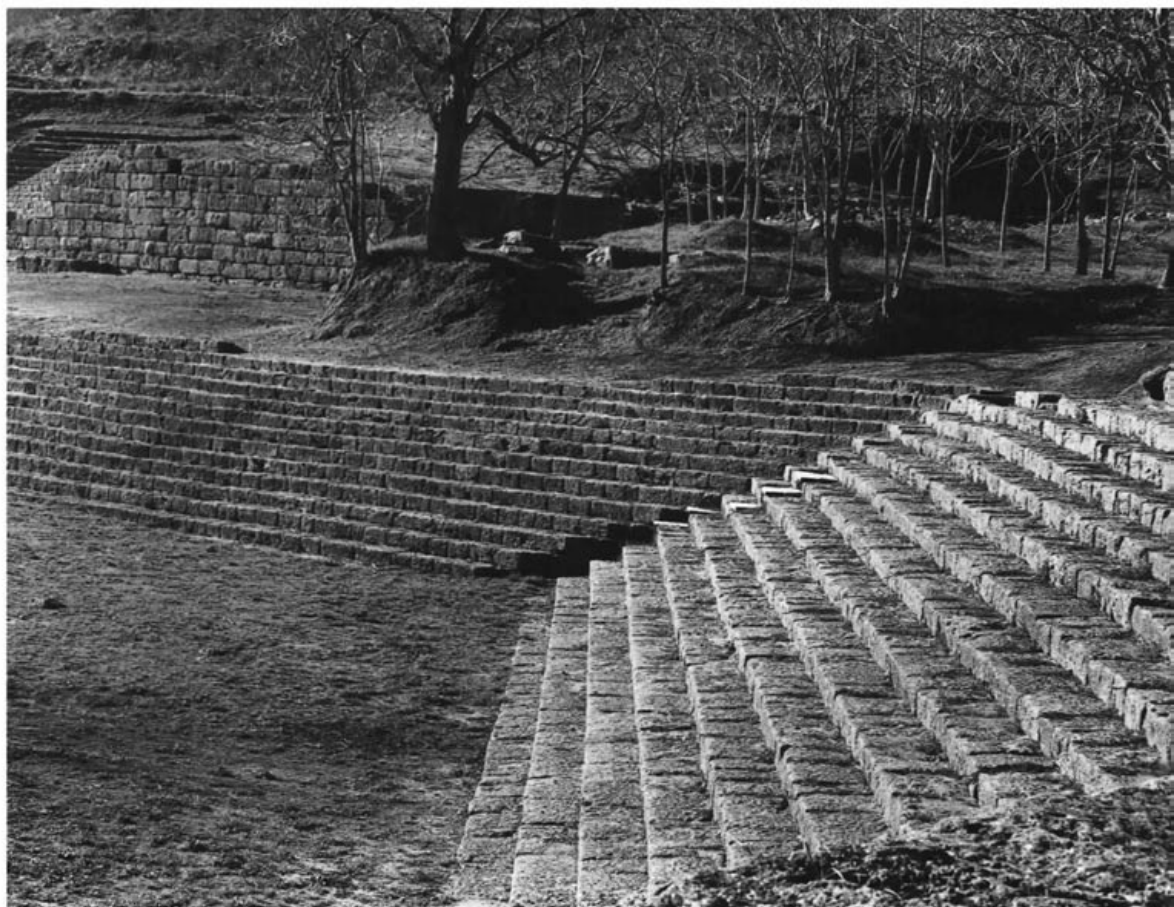
Institute of Archaeology and Ethnography, Siberia  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1999

## A Royal Agora in Hellenistic Sicily

At the end of the fourth century B.C., Morgantina found itself under the sway of the coastal metropolis of Syracuse. Citizens of the central Sicilian town had given crucial support to Agathokles, a demagogic condottiere who succeeded in establishing himself first as tyrant, then as king of Syracuse. The archaeological record revealed by the American excavations at Morgantina shows that there were local consequences: a public granary and market were built in the early third century, and the town adopted Syracusan coinage, closing its own mint. The right to coin is a sign of autonomy, and by yielding it Morgantina appears to have accepted Syracusan hegemony.

After the rise of Hieron II (c. 305–215 B.C.), a military leader who was named king of Syracuse in 269 B.C., the tie with the coastal metropolis became stronger. Once again the evidence is provided by the excavations. It includes close parallels in the major and minor arts, continued reliance on metropolitan coinage, and the construction of a much larger granary, probably now intended to contain the tithe of local agricultural production owed the king (we learn about the Syracusan tax law from Cicero's detailed description of the *lex hieronica*, the Roman adaptation of the Greek legislation).

The likelihood is that the city and territory of Morgantina were now an integral part of the Hellenistic kingdom of Syracuse. This



Morgantina.  
Author photograph

hypothesis allows us to explain the extraordinary growth of the city during the fifty-year peace that followed Hieron's treaty with Rome of 262 B.C. Apparent in the rapid expansion of the residential quarters, such growth can also be seen in the metamorphosis of the city's agora, which was now rebuilt according to the specifications of a comprehensive plan, probably the work of a single architect. Three-hundred-foot-long stoas framed three sides of the space, while the open fourth side was a terrace above a stepped assembly place, whose three flights met at obtuse angles. From this point the viewer/citizen could look out to the wheat fields that produced the city's prosperity. The open-sided design relates the built

environment to the distant view, a juxtaposition found in contemporary planning at Syracuse and Pergamon, and absorbed into the later development of Hellenistic architecture (sanctuaries at Kos and Praeneste). The new plan included a theater, fountain house, and the larger granary. The components were carefully sited in relation to one another, and all can be dated to the middle years of the third century B.C.

This plan was carried out in stages, and also some adjustments were made. The original design for the stepped meeting place of the assembly was only completed as the population grew to fill it, and on the west side a large, two-story stoa of Pergamene type replaced the smaller building initially projected for the same site. Had it been completed, the new West Stoa would have doubled the amount of commercial space in the agora, but when Morgantina was captured by the Romans in 211 B.C., the great building was left unfinished.

In addition to the granaries, two other public buildings tell us of Morgantina's political and economic ties with Syracuse. At the south end of the East Stoa, a limestone sculpture of a woman was set up in an exedra. We can identify the subject as a benefactor of the city, possibly a member of the court of Hieron II, in which the most prominent figure was certainly Philistis, the queen. At about the same time a new building, called the Public Office, was added south of the East Stoa, consisting of a peristyle court surrounded by offices. One contains features suggesting it served as a bank. These include counters with narrow vertical windows giving on the court, centered on deep basins cut into the blocks of the counter. This curious arrangement finds close parallels in houses of the second century B.C. at Soluntum on the Sicilian north coast, which may have been dwellings of Roman moneylenders and tax collectors.

A public bank at Morgantina in this period may have been a branch of the royal bank of Syracuse, an institution whose existence we can infer with some confidence on the basis of the known royal bank in contemporary Ptolemaic Egypt—a country with which Hieron of Syracuse had close and cordial relations. At Alexandria the central bank acted as a sort of treasury department, and



the Public Office at Morgantina may thus have served as the local administrative center of Syracusan political and economic authority, the two inseparable aspects of Hellenistic royal government. The rebuilding of the agora in this period was probably funded at least in part by the reinvestment of tax monies raised by the Hieronian agricultural tithe, and the Public Office is the probable administrative center for carrying out such a program. The significance of the Public Office on the local scene is revealed by the careful alignment of the front door with the speaker's platform in the assembly place below: the king's representative was placed directly behind the speaker, in a planning relationship unlikely to be casual.

The agora at Morgantina is an early example of Hellenistic coordinated planning. The designer required a relatively free hand, sufficient open space in which to project his design, and adequate funding. It seems likely that the ultimate patron was the king of Syracuse.

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

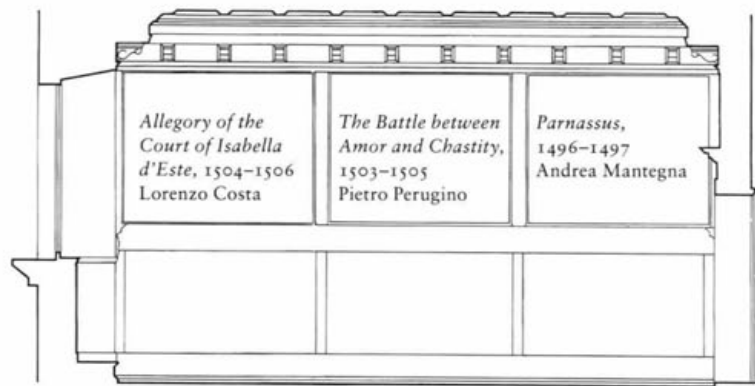
CLIFFORD M. BROWN

## The Art and Antiquities Collections of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga

My fellowship at the Center coincided with the completion of the final phase of my archaeological work in Isabella d'Este's first and second *studioli* in the Ducal Palace in Mantua.

During the two months in residence in Washington, I was able to complete one of two projected volumes, “‘Lo insaziabile desiderio nostro de cose antique’: The Antiquarian Collections of the Marchesa of Mantua” on Isabella d'Este to be published in the *Europa delle Corti* series. The focal point of volume one is the transcription of a critical commentary for the relevant letters in her correspondence files (in manuscript numbering some two hundred pages), and the National Gallery library proved indispensable in resolving issues related to the introductory essays. In regard to the marchesa's *all'antica* bronzes by Antico, I was able to profit from the presence in Washington of several experts on the artist. This book will provide a full account of one of the most famous collections of Greco-Roman art of the late quattrocento and the early cinquecento. It is hoped that the documents published here will be useful in understanding related issues and other contemporary collectors.

I made further progress on a draft of volume two, on the decorative ensemble of the *reggia isabelliana* in the *castello* and the Corte Vecchia. Whereas others have focused on specific aspects of her collection and the spaces in which they existed, I have sought



Palazzo Ducale,  
Corte Vecchia,  
Mantua, *studiolo*,  
reconstruction of  
right-hand wall.  
Author drawing

to place them in the larger context of the overall decoration of her suites, the first set in the *castello* of San Giorgio and its successor in the Corte Vecchia.

During a trip to Mantua immediately preceding my fellowship, it was possible to resolve a number of problems concerning Isabella's castle *studiolo* and its subsequent re-creation in the Corte Vecchia. The study in the castle is now 5.35 meters in length, and scholars have assumed that the room was designed to house only five pictures, these being the ones by Andrea Mantegna, Pietro Perugino, and Lorenzo Costa in the Musée du Louvre.

By overlooking a key phrase in an otherwise well-known document and by misreading the situation along the rear wall of the room, it was not previously realized that in c. 1530 the rear wall was moved forward some 2.6 meters. In Isabella's day the study was actually 6.63 meters in length (not 5.35 meters), which would allow for three pictures to be displayed on one wall (as they were subsequently hung when the study was recreated in the Corte Vecchia), two on the wall with the door, and one on the rear wall. This means that there were six works of art, not five as scholars have assumed.

Recognizing the true dimensions of the room also helps in understanding other aesthetic and iconographic issues. Not the least of these is why, after Andrea Mantegna had begun work on the fifth and presumably final picture, Isabella made contact

with Giovanni Bellini, then with Francesco Francia, and finally with Raphael. This must have been because there was room for six paintings, not because she was seeking a replacement for Perugino's *Battle*. To modern eyes his *Battle* is the weakest of the group, and Isabella herself expressed only guarded praise for Perugino's efforts. However, to conjecture from these observations that Isabella sought to relieve herself of a work by one of the most celebrated artists of the day seemed drastic even before the question of the measurements of the room had been resolved.

In being able to discuss these and related ideas with members of the Center and the Gallery staff, I was able to further refine my thinking. At the same time, a trip to New York City to consult with the restorer of the Gubbio Studiolo provided me with important hints about how to deal with the anomalies in the 1930s reconstitution and restoration of the woodwork now in the second set of *studioli* in the Corte Vecchia.

Carleton University, Ottawa  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999

LOUIS CELLAURO

## Vitruvius and British Architecture, 1563–1826

The renewal of British architecture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from the time of the emergence of the revolutionary architecture of Inigo Jones to the Greek Revival, is thought largely to be the consequence of a new interest in ancient architecture and especially in Palladio. The contribution of the great Vicentine architect to British classical architecture has been the subject of numerous studies and is well documented. Vitruvius' legacy, by contrast, has been little studied, although his treatise on architecture, *De architectura libri decem*, was well known to Inigo Jones, Christopher Wren, and John Webb in the seventeenth century (in Italian or French translations), although many English editions were published from 1692 onward. The great respect in which Vitruvius was held in Britain appears clearly in the characterization of Inigo Jones by John Webb as the "British Vitruvius" (rather than as the "British Palladio") and in the titles chosen for major publications such as the "Vitruvius Britannicus" of Colen Campbell and the "Vitruvius Scoticus" of William Adam.

My principal work at the Center has been the analysis of the content (text and illustrations) and the study of the publishing history of the various English editions of Vitruvius that appeared from 1692 to 1826. For this, I used the English editions in the collection of the Johns Hopkins University, which has most of them and which are available on microfilm at the National Gallery of



Charles Perrault,  
*An Abridgment  
 of Architecture  
 of Vitruvius*,  
 frontispiece/title  
 page (London,  
 1692). Johns  
 Hopkins Univer-  
 sity, John Work  
 Garrett Library

Art. The publishing history of Vitruvius' treatise in England is well known in its general outlines, but a comprehensive and detailed study is lacking today. The first attempt to publish an English translation of Vitruvius' *De architectura* took place at the end of the seventeenth century, some one-and-a-half centuries after the publication of the earliest vernacular editions in Italian, French, German, and Spanish. It was in 1670 (prior to the French translation of Vitruvius, which Claude Perrault published in a handsome folio in 1673) that Christopher Wase (1625–1690), a Latin scholar, started translating the Latin text into English. He was able to complete a manuscript by 1671 and to print a specimen of the preface and first chapter along with "Certain Humble Propositions" for its publication. Evidently the financial support that Wase sought from subscribers was not immediately forthcoming, and in 1673 he was forestalled by Perrault's publication.

An abridged English version of Vitruvius' *De architectura* first became available in print as late as 1692, when Claude Perrault's *Abrégé* of 1674 was translated into English by an unknown

translator and published in London. However, this translation of Perrault's epitome did not satisfy scholars, connoisseurs, and architects, and in 1703 the publishers Thomas Child and Abel Swall, having acquired the plates and copy of Joseph Moxon's *Vignola*, conceived the idea of publishing it along with the *De architectura* to attract practical readers to Vitruvius' text. This new, abridged translation was made by the Huguenot Abel Boyer (1667–1729), author of the popular *Dictionnaire royal français et anglais* (1702). In 1729, the book was reissued.

In 1728 proposals were published for "Printing by subscription the works of Vitruvius in Latin and English" translated by Robert Castell (d. 1728), the author of the *Villas of the Ancients*, with the notes of Inigo Jones to Daniele Barbaro's 1567 edition (now preserved at Chatsworth) and "a great number of engravings," but Castell died six months later and the book was not published. There were no further attempts to produce an English translation of Vitruvius until 1771, when the architect William Newton (1735–1790), a relative of Isaac Newton, published the first five books of the Latin author with extensive commentaries and twenty-two plates containing fifty-two illustrations. The text of the second part of Vitruvius' *De architectura* (books six to ten) was completed by Newton by 1780, although it was not published until 1791. He was also the author of *Commentaires sur Vitruve*, written in French but published in London in 1780.

An important new English edition of Vitruvius was published in the period of the Greek revival by the architect William Wilkins (1778–1839). The introduction contains a historical review of Greek architecture written by Lord Aberdeen, and the text covers only books three to six on civil architecture and includes forty-one engravings. It is the earliest edition in which Vitruvius is studied in the context of Greek architecture rather than in the context of Roman architecture. In 1826, a translation of all ten books of Vitruvius, without commentary, and ten plates was made by Joseph Gwilt (1784–1863).

The second part of my research at the Center has been to trace the influence of specific building types described by Vitruvius in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British architecture. Particu-

larly influential were the Etruscan temple, which was the model for Inigo Jones' church of Saint Paul at Convent Garden, Vitruvius' Basilica at Fano, used by Wren for several churches in London (such as Saint Bride's, Fleet Street), and the *oecus aegyptius* or Egyptian hall. This last was particularly influential in British architecture, being the model for Lord Burlington's assembly rooms at York (1731–1732), William Kent's Holkham Hall in Norfolk (built after 1734), John Wood's Exchange at Bristol (1734), Alderman Beckford's Fonthill of about 1755, James Paine's design for a workshop (1763), Robert Adam's Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire (c. 1772), and John Dashwood's church at West Wycombe Park of 1761. Isaac Ware, who belonged to the Burlingtonian circle, also incorporated an Egyptian hall in 1734 into his design for the Mansion House, London, and George Dance adopted the idea for the Mansion House that was actually built. The great success of the Egyptian hall—although in its Palladian interpretation known only through a reconstruction in the *Quattro Libri*—represents the climax of the development of Vitruvius' influence on built architecture in Britain, and is a major example of the combined influence of Vitruvius and Palladio on British architecture. It is an influence that can be charted not only in surviving buildings, but also in the publishing history of the English editions of Vitruvius, and in the presence of printed editions of *De architectura* in Italian, French, or English in the libraries of British architects, known today from surviving catalogues.

Lyon

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999

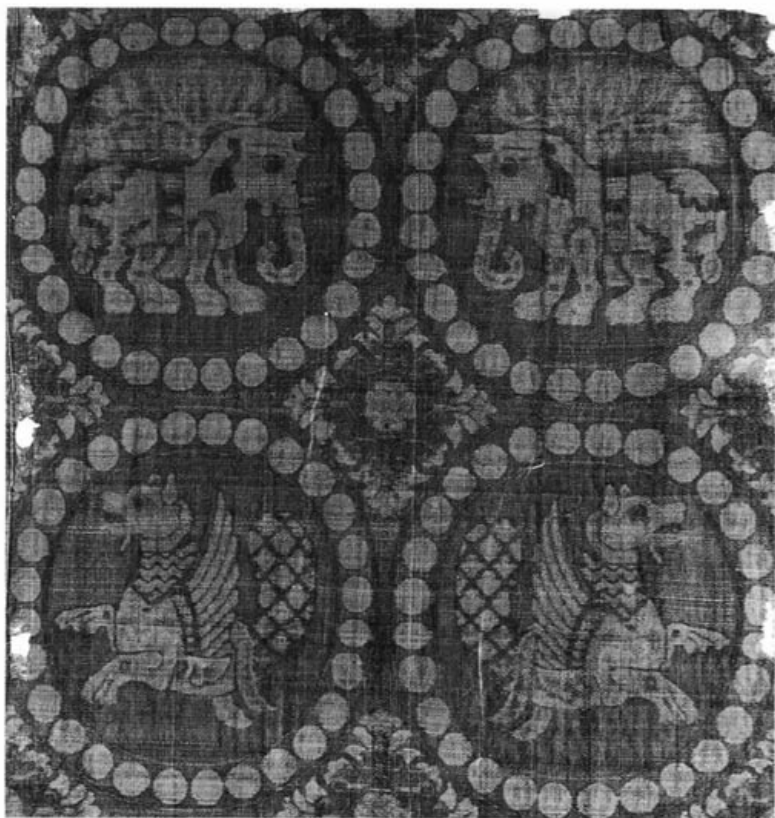


ANTHONY CUTLER

## The Empire of Things: Gift Exchange between Byzantium and the Islamic World

The “empire of things” is that vast invisible net of material goods (artifacts and natural substances) thrown over the Mediterranean between the fall of Rome and that of Constantinople a millennium later. On the one hand, it is effectively denied by art historians worried by the fact that there survives hardly a single object verifiably the gift of one ruler to another in determinate circumstances; on the other, it is affirmed by a huge number of sources (Arabic, Greek, Latin) that record immense bodies of gifts moving between cultures divided by politics, social organization, religious beliefs, and artistic traditions.

Which is the better account? To my mind there is no doubt that the textual record, even while shaped by the desire to astonish or delight, offers the truer picture. But how to retrieve this lost world, ceded by default to anthropologists more concerned with the rituals of giving than the things that were given, and economic historians intent on contrasting commercial and cultural exchange? This can be done by overcoming the positivist preoccupation with verifiability, by recognizing the relation between items specified in the sources and types of surviving objects; by treating both as functional expressions of the societies that created them; and by paying as much attention to the materials as to the motives of gifts. These strategies, all within the legitimate domain of the art historian, allow us not only to reconnect a Byzantium and an Islam separated



Byzantine (?),  
animal silk (detail),  
c. tenth century.  
Cooper-Hewitt,  
National Design  
Museum, Smith-  
sonian Institution/  
Art Resource,  
New York

by medieval polemic and modern discipline, but also to recover the affinities between the natural world and that of things made by human hands, taken as a given in the Middle Ages but disconnected by modern distinctions between art and nature.

Chronologically continuous with, but functionally distinct from, the Roman practice of paying tribute to Persia and other polities, the mutual exchange of gifts is first reported extensively in the time of the emperor Maurice (582–602) and becomes a feature of the Arab and Byzantine diplomatic landscape in the tenth and eleventh centuries. The facts that such exchanges are most often attributed to “weak” emperors, caliphs, and sultans and that our fullest descriptions of gifts date from these periods are no coincidence. Consistent with this reading, gifts themselves have been

seen, on the basis of models set out by Bronislaw Malinowski and Marcel Mauss, as covert acts of aggression. Yet however appropriate this interpretation may be to the ethnographic sphere, it is contradicted by the evidence we have for the careful selection of offerings; by their often loving reception and meticulous evaluation; by a concern for parity rather than hostile gestures such as potlatch; and by the roles that gifts played within larger and elaborately orchestrated patterns of exchange that may represent societies gingerly dancing around each other but at the same time suggest that they were seeking modes of accommodation with those who have been historiographically and almost invariably cast as their foe.

The resolution of difference is apparent in the judicious research and apt decisions that went into the choice of presents. Emblematic here are textiles that, whether they are regarded from the material and technical viewpoint or considered in the light of their designs, are essentially indistinguishable in terms of their place of origin. Thus, for example, a silk today in the Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum in New York is normally attributed to tenth-century Byzantium. But the animal devices (elephants, *senmerus* or bird-dogs, and griffins) that it displays were part of a zoological lexicon common to both the Greek and Arab worlds, one that involved many other creatures, both natural and fantastic, collectively exhibited by both "sides" and found alike in their literature, folklore, and artistic production. This silk, in other words, could as well be Islamic as Byzantine, and although the choice of gifts can sometimes be recognized as "culture-specific" (for example, furs from Slavic territory exported via Constantinople, or rubies from Afghanistan making their way west via Arab traders), there are as many examples of goods all but identical in their substance, ways of working, and perceived effects, as there are discrete products that announce their alterity. It is this shared body of techniques (in enameling, weaving, gem carving, and metalworking, for example) that is at least as worthy of our attention.

Although the inscriptions on, and letters that accompanied, gifts often proclaim the god-given majesty and authority of the sender, no less remarkable is the absence of religious signs that

could alienate the recipient and of books in languages that would be largely useless at their destinations. Products of the natural world, while clearly regional and therefore expressive of the regime that held power in that region, were not only widely desired but lavishly distributed. Thus aloeswood, the origin of which is always said to have been India, was treasured as a material for construction and carving as well as for its fragrance throughout the Mediterranean. Yet this material, normally offered in rare sections, was on at least one occasion (a gift of Saladin to Isaac II Angelos) replaced by a living tree—complete, as the chronicler specifies, with leaves and roots—so that its imperial recipient could propagate his own supply.

If the ostriches, lions, giraffes, and elephants that regularly made up parts of gifts normally met a speedy end, their likenesses became the *lingua franca* of decorated textiles and sculpture in precious metals. True, such motifs were designed to provoke no offense. But it may be that offense, political, ideological, or military, is not the only lens through which medieval civilization should be viewed, and that objects can offer a counterbalance to the conventional picture of societies dedicated to contestation if not mutual destruction.

Pennsylvania State University  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 1999; spring 2000

SUSAN DACKERMAN

THOMAS PRIMEAU

## Renaissance and Baroque Hand-Colored Prints

During the Renaissance and baroque periods, the application by brush of washes, body color, and precious pigments to engravings, etchings, and woodcuts was a common aspect of print production. Although painted prints were highly prized in their day and artists such as Albrecht Dürer, Pieter Bruegel, and Hendrick Goltzius produced hand-colored impressions of prints, this subject has not been addressed in the art-historical literature. Archival documents indicate that the artists engaged in coloring prints were professionals, obligated to belong to the painters' guild, the Guild of Saint Luke. The first biographer of Netherlandish artists, Karel van Mander, states in his *Het Schilderboeck* of 1604 that the well-known painter Quentin Matsys began his career by painting prints.

Recent scholarship has brought to light new information about the marketing and consumption of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century hand-painted prints. Besides being presented by artists and dignitaries as gifts, colored prints were a standard offering of print publishers and sellers. More expensive than their black-and-white counterparts, they were sold in a variety of formats depending on the use intended by the patron. Colored prints were bound into albums, mounted on linen for wall display, pasted into books and Bibles, and tacked to walls. As such, they were far more affordable



Dirck Volkertsz  
Coornhert,  
*The Triumph  
of Patience*,  
1559. Baltimore  
Museum of Art,  
Blanche Adler  
Memorial Fund

than paintings on canvas or panel and were available to a larger audience.

Hand-colored prints are now considered anomalies in the history of prints for several reasons. The most significant is the prevailing aesthetic of fine art prints as black-and-white objects. In nineteenth-century France, distinctions between fine art and commercial or journalistic art were formalized, and color was designated an aspect of commercial printmaking. Because of their everyday uses and the fragility of paint on paper, a large percentage of the hand-colored prints produced in the fifteenth to the seventeenth century has deteriorated or been destroyed. Only those safeguarded in albums or print cabinets survive in good condition,

leaving a somewhat limited number of objects for modern scholarly investigation.

Uncertainty about the vintage of the coloring also has obscured the appreciation of the prints. For the last two centuries, scholars have underestimated the number of prints painted during the Renaissance and baroque periods, assuming the practice to have been undertaken by amateur painters and collectors later in the life of the print. It is known that nineteenth-century dealers and collectors often “enhanced” worn or damaged impressions of prints to increase their appeal or marketability, and so scholars believed that the majority of hand-colored prints were the result of modern embellishment. Technical and scientific analyses of the pigments on hand-colored prints demonstrate, however, that the coloring is often characteristic of the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, not the nineteenth century.

The conservation/technical component of this research attempted to establish criteria for distinguishing contemporary from later coloring on Renaissance and baroque prints. Analytical examination in collaboration with conservators and conservation scientists at several institutions included the National Gallery of Art, the British Museum, the Netherlands Institute for Cultural Heritage, and the Winterthur Museum. The data and observations gained have allowed us to make suggestions regarding the authenticity of coloring on prints and to study the significance of print colorists’ palettes and application techniques.

Various methodologies were used to identify materials employed in the coloring of prints as well as to observe the manner in which these materials were handled. Binocular microscopes and close-up photography aided in visual analysis of the prints and allowed for detailed viewing of paint stratigraphy and application techniques. It became apparent that approaches to the coloring of prints varied from individualized, brush-applied colors to high production, stencil-applied colors.

In situ, nondestructive analysis of the elemental components of the colors on prints was achieved through energy-dispersive X-ray fluorescence spectrometry. More than thirty prints from various

periods in five American and European print collections were studied with this qualitative analytical technology. The data allowed us to identify the inorganic pigments that were typically used. The characteristic palette of the northern Renaissance print colorist included eleven inorganic pigments: chalk white, lead white, red lead, vermilion, iron oxide red, lead tin yellow, iron oxide yellow, copper blue, copper green, silver, and gold. Prints colored after the mid-sixteenth century also often included the dark blue pigment, smalt. XRF identification of pigments that were only available after 1800 (for example, lithopone, zinc white, titanium white, chrome oxide green, and cobalt blue) was a determinant for eliminating certain examples from our study.

Inconclusive elemental identification for certain colors, particularly yellows, blues, and reds, suggests frequent use of organic or lake pigments. This is not surprising given the presence of a thriving textile industry in northern Europe during the early modern period. Dye-based colorants obtained directly from dyers or indirectly from textile cuttings were plentiful and less expensive than most of the mineral-based pigments available at the time. From a technical standpoint, lakes also were desirable for coloring prints because of their brightness and transparency. Applied to prints in pure formulations, they did not obscure the printed lines beneath. Speculation on the chemical composition of these lake pigments is informed by surveying the documentary sources for the history of painting materials. Study of early texts on the materials and methods of artists and craftsmen also provides a context for understanding the information derived from the technical analysis.

Baltimore Museum of Art  
Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for Research in  
Conservation and Art History/Archaeology, 1999–2000



## George Inness: Landscape, Representation, and the Struggle of Vision

George Inness (1825–1894) was a contemporary of the landscape painters Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900), John Frederick Kensett (1816–1872), Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823–1880), Jasper Francis Cropsey (1823–1900), Worthington Whittredge (1820–1910), and Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902). His landscapes, however, hardly resemble the minutely detailed and highly polished paintings for which these artists were known, and nineteenth-century critics frequently described them as a departure from this norm. In fact, throughout his career, even after Inness had achieved critical and commercial success and was heralded as the new and great leader of the American landscape school, commentators characterized his paintings as perplexing, difficult, impossible, unaccountable, and strange.

I believe critics responded with puzzlement to Inness' landscapes because his work made unconventional claims about the nature of seeing. Writers discussed his pictures in terms of perceptual capacity—what they could see, what was difficult to see, what kind of seeing his paintings seemed to require, what his looking distorted, what appeared impossible or incomprehensible with regard to what was considered normal vision—as if they understood these works as not just pictures of the natural world but as models of vision as well. This is not surprising, for Inness' practice was shaped by an intense interest in questions concerning visual

function. In letters, interviews, and an unpublished manuscript entitled *The Mathematics of Psychology*, Inness alluded directly and indirectly to a tradition of scientific and philosophical inquiry concerned with the properties of perception, one that originated in the seventeenth century and was manifest in both artistic and scientific circles in nineteenth-century America. Many of the artist's friends, critics, and colleagues described him as a "metaphysician" and a "philosopher," and Inness himself once said that he would have preferred a career in philosophy to one in painting. His interest in perception, and his involvement in this philosophical tradition, have gone largely unexplored and are the main subjects of my dissertation.

What did it mean in nineteenth-century America to call a landscape painter a metaphysician, and for a landscape painter to consider himself to be one? My study presents a new interpretation of Inness' career in its entirety, and I set out to answer these questions by focusing on a set of abiding concerns, including Inness' preoccupation with perception, and on motifs, modes of facture, and compositional configurations that were repeated in landscapes throughout his career: prominent but emptied-out foregrounds; centrally located stands of trees; figures placed in positions analogous to that of the beholder; effects of scraping, overlapping, and encroachment; a deliberate confusion between the drawn and the painted; exuberant color; a disregard for finish. My work builds on recent scholarship that examines landscape painting through the lens of historical context. However, by shifting attention toward problems of representation, specifically vision and viewing, I have been able to present Inness' pictures, and the landscape genre in general, as something more than an intersection of nationalist discourse, identity politics, and ideology independent of historically specific experiences of intention and response. By examining the material characteristics of Inness' landscapes in relation to what he and his critics had to say about them, and by examining this network of relations within the context of and with regard to the vocabularies and aims of nineteenth-century science, philosophy, aesthetic theory, natural philosophy, nature writing, spiritualism, and art criticism and pedagogy, I offer a systematic and historically



George Inness,  
*The Coming  
Storm*, c. 1879.  
Addison Gallery  
of American Art,  
Phillips Academy,  
Andover, Massa-  
chusetts

specific account of the deepest structures and preoccupations of Inness' art, those that persisted throughout a fifty-year career.

I also attend to issues that have not received the attention they demand, including Inness' transformation of the theologian Emanuel Swedenborg's mode of exegesis into an aesthetic system; the relation of Inness' art to the writing of his friend the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher; his own endeavors as a poet and a writer; the poetic captions he attached to the frames of pictures he exhibited in 1878; his experiment in the early 1880s with figure painting; his tendency to paint most of his pictures from memory; his ardent dislike of impressionism; his admiration of Eugène Delacroix, Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps, and Jean-Baptiste-Camille

Corot; his understanding of the relation of his practice to the art of the past; the significance of his experiment with allegorical landscape in the 1860s within the context of his project as a whole; his idiosyncratic technical strategies, including his tendency to scrape the surfaces of his late works with a brush handle or fingernail; his interest in number theory and mathematics, geometry in particular; and the place of his practice within nineteenth-century art-critical writing and theory.

My dissertation concludes that, collectively, Inness' landscapes represented an ongoing investigation of the problems of perception, one motivated by a wish to improve and expand vision's power and reach, and it explains how his various activities and involvements can be conceived of as part of this larger project. Inness understood his art to be a cognitive practice means by which to explore the workings of the eye and mind. He developed a set of pictorial strategies, including those techniques and experiments described above, that in his view constituted a science of landscape utilized in exploring the processes by which knowledge of the world was acquired, reasoned about, and described. In my view, the aim of Inness' art, what he called his "struggle," was the construction of a model of spiritual sight, the ability to perceive and see with God, so as to teach the world, as he put it, "to see reality in a new light." In order to describe in paint a mode of vision that penetrated the surface of things and discerned the divine, Inness said he had endeavored to fashion a "scientific formula of the subjective of nature." It was this formula, and its combination of scientific method and Swedenborgian-inspired spiritual reverie, its incorporation of empiricism's claim that sensory experience constituted the basis of knowledge and Inness' own claim that knowledge also originated in the obscuring effects of memory and the dream, that made his landscapes and the model of vision they presented appear unthinkable to some of his contemporaries.

An examination of Inness' practice demonstrates that landscape painting was understood by its nineteenth-century audiences as engaged in exploring the same questions, and employing the same methods, as other fields of inquiry, namely philosophy, psychology, psychophysiology, and theology. A study of Inness' land-

scapes in relation to the cultural and scientific fabric of which they were a part also illustrates how in nineteenth-century America landscape representation came to be a site where disparate discussions of human perceptual capacity converged. Looked at in this way, Inness' pictures suggest how landscape imagery, as a means of exploring the relation of self to world established in the act of vision, might be understood as part of a broader nineteenth-century discourse concerning the nature of seeing and the role of perception in the social realm.

[Johns Hopkins University]  
Wyeth Fellow, 1998–2000

## Arshile Gorky: From Armenian Folklore to Surrealism

In 1926, Arshile Gorky published under his own name a poem by the young Armenian poet Siamanto, who had been killed by the Turkish government on the eve of the Armenian genocide in 1915. In doing so, Gorky identified himself with the revolutionary Armenian writers of the first decade of the century, whose work mingled modernism—notably the influence of French symbolism—and ancient Armenian folkloric traditions, to express national feelings and the love of their country. Later on, Gorky turned to surrealist poetry as source of inspiration, plagiarizing poems by Paul Eluard and André Breton in his letters. The focus of my study this year has been to determine to what extent Gorky's deep interest in poetry, which ranged from traditional Armenian songs to Lautréamont's *Chants de Maldoror* and the latest surrealist experiments, could illuminate his art. Perhaps a relationship to poetry could explain why Gorky's abstractions of the 1940s are always described as "poetic" and "lyrical."

Gorky's art changed drastically during the winter of 1942–1943 in a group of paintings of a waterfall. Not only was water the subject, it also inspired the fluid, transparent style, a contrast to the thickness and opacity of earlier work. This approach culminated in the washes and drips of such 1944 masterpieces as *One Year the Milkweed* (National Gallery of Art), in which organic shapes appear to float and drift on the surface of the canvas. The



Arshile Gorky,  
*One Year the  
Milkweed*, 1944.  
National Gallery  
of Art, Washing-  
ton, Ailsa Mellon  
Bruce Fund

watery appearance of Gorky's abstractions belongs to a paradigm of liquidity in surrealist art that includes Miró's *Birth of the World* and Dalí's melting watches, and is predominant in André Breton's poetry—as indicated by the titles of his books: *Poisson Soluble*, *L'Air de l'eau*, *Les Vases Communicants*. As Gaston Bachelard demonstrated, matter has greater power over the imagination than form. This is particularly true of water, fluid bodies, and soft substance, which, having no finite shape, suggest infinite formal possibilities to the imagination. For Breton, fluids participate actively in the process of transformation that is the essence of poetry, a process he compares to alchemy.

Gorky and Breton met in New York in the winter 1943–1944, a time when Gorky was creating some of his most original paintings, inspired by nature. The following summer Breton wrote *Arcane 17*, a poetic meditation based on the observation of nature. A comparison of the two men's approach reveals several resemblances. In *Arcane 17*, the manuscript of which opens significantly with a photograph of a waterfall, Breton's analogic mind proceeds from one image to another, weaving together observation, myth, legend, modern history, and private memories. A similar process governs Gorky's transformation of natural elements into suggestive forms intended to stimulate the viewer's imagination. "Certainly we all dream," Gorky said, "and in this common denominator of everyone's experience I have been able to find a language for all to understand." In *Arcane 17* the poet's meditation is launched by the evocation of a dream. The combination of dream or reverie, nature, and personal recollection plays a similar role in the creative process at work in Breton's poetic prose and in Gorky's paintings.

The theme of water also links Gorky's art to his Armenian origins. Gorky grew up on the shore of Lake Van, a place possessing a mythical dimension in Armenian literature as a symbol of Armenia itself. Metaphors of fluidity abound in Armenian poetry, in two contexts especially. In poems of suffering and exile, water is associated with sorrow and death, the aquatic imagery mingling with the evocation of other liquids such as tears and blood. (Typically, the poem by Siamanto that Gorky appropriated was entitled *Thirst* and dealt with the theme of exile.) Gorky, who was once described as bearing "the sadness of the world permanently upon him," created with his fluid abstractions a visual equivalent of this melancholy theme—an interpretation supported by such titles as *They Will Take My Island* and *Agony*. In the more positive context of love and hope, water appears as a symbol of fertility. Armenia at the beginning of the twentieth century was an agricultural country, in which pagan fertility rites were still commonly practiced in villages. Gorky's paintings, with their repertoire of motifs suggesting organs of sexuality and reproduction, here again share their imagery with that of Armenian literature. His series *The Plow and the Song*, for instance, echoes Daniel Varoujean's long poem, *The*



*Song of the Bread*, a hymn to harvest and fertility unfinished at the time of the poet's brutal death in the genocide of 1915.

Gorky's debt to painters from Ingres to Picasso, Miró, and Kandinsky has been well studied. But to account for the originality of Gorky's mature abstractions one also needs to consider his love and knowledge of poetry. Gorky, who named himself after a writer, was inspired in his elaboration of a visual language by the imagery and processes he admired in Armenian and surrealist poetry. Central to Gorky's art is the surrealists' concept of poetry, which stressed that words and phrases be chosen for their intrinsic power of suggestion rather than according to a logical or narrative thread, thus allowing the reader to derive interpretation from a personal set of associations. Gorky's imagery has thus given rise to a wide range of interpretations. My purpose is not to offer yet another one, but to explore how and why Gorky's paintings can elicit so many different readings.

National Gallery of Art  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,  
1999–2000

PATRICK FLORES

## Philippine Colonial Painting and the History of Reconversion

Reflecting on Philippine colonial art lodges the Philippines in the memory of the Hispanic empire and its history of conquests, a history that would endow what was claimed as “islands” with an identity as colony at the time of the emergence of New Spain in the Americas, as postcolony at the end of the nineteenth century. This process entails a theoretical elaboration as it implicates the intervention of “art” in entitling objects and subjects regarded as aesthetic agencies to a contested sense of progress through the discrepant discourses of Enlightenment, civilization, cooptation, and revolution.

The project proposes to readdress the problematic of coloniality and modernity by exploring a kind of engagement that enables the history of Philippine colonial painting to inscribe conditions of conversion, art-ness, and social movement in the very political economy and performance of the practice. I regard painting as an idiom of both colonial pedagogy and folk/popular visuality. In fleshing out this idea, I turn to two works: Esteban Villanueva’s *Basi Revolt* (1821), consisting of fourteen panels that depict the failed rebellion in the northern Philippines against the Spanish government’s regulation of sugarcane wine; and Juan Luna’s *Spoliarium* (1884), winner of a gold medal at the 1884 Madrid Exposition, a painting that allegorizes the oppressive Philippine colonial condition through a dramatic scene at the *spoliarium*, the part of the

Roman coliseum where dead or mortally wounded gladiators were despoiled in the presence of wailing relations.

Underwriting this project is the aesthetic of suffering that I believe is key to the visuality of transformation and the salvific vision to be discerned in the pain of bearing the colonial cross and the sacrifice of pursuing its redemption. Both the works of Villanueva and Luna reveal a similar calvaric affect of terror and grief, but gesture toward different trajectories.

Villanueva's iconography supplements a conflicting devotional imaginary as it ambivalently projects to chronicle and document an "actual" event fourteen years past, and seeks to confront potential insurgents and traitors to colonial rule with the dread of retribution. I say devotional because the fourteen panels tend to cohere with the *via crucis* iconography that stages the passion of Christ. The artist's *historia* preaches contradictory catechisms in light of its portrayal of the spectacle of execution as the rebels are finally hanged and decapitated: to preserve the colonial order from its own violence, on the one hand, and on the other save the body politic through the collective redemption to which the colonial faithful aspires through the Passion. Villanueva, unlike Luna, had no academic training and did not practice in Manila, the site of Asia's first design academy.

Luna's *allegoria*, in contrast, taps into modern imaginary to the degree that it transcends literal recording; it references the rhetoric of the canonical historical narrative as an exercise of the right to protest and at the same time as the privilege to meet the norms of the Madrid Exposition and, by extension, of the European art world. This is a strategy that sustains the expatriate artist's political practice as *ilustrado* (pertaining to the European-enlightened Philippine elite who demanded reforms from *Madre España* and disapproved of the mass and millenarian revolution) and as *hijo del país*, son of the (mother) country. Luna's colleagues would be led to construe his portrayal of suffering as the suffering of the Philippine people at the clutches of Spain, which is paradoxically evoked by the Roman Empire—the empire that in fact had named the peninsula Hispania and that evoked a nostalgia for its antiquity that would partly condition the catholic culture of Hispani-



Juan Luna,  
*Spoliarium*, 1884.  
Philippine National  
Museum

dad. Luna's participation in post-1880 Salon competitions and the 1889 Paris Universal Exposition was an attempt to invest the Philippines with sovereignty as a distinct culture, not as a colony, as well as with a certain self-worth deserving of the aesthetic attention of the world and the free market of art. Luna's conquest of the art world would in a way revoke his colonial identity, aesthetic knowledge being the end(s) of the civilizing mission and the means to a nationality, modernity, and citizenship as Filipino.

The research fellowship, both the residency at the Center and travel to the Southwest, allowed me to explore further connections between Philippine colonial art and the viceregal traditions of New Spain and Peru, building on the work of George Kubler and Pál Keleman. It also led me to sift possible influences informing Philippine colonial painting such as prints from Christophe Plantin's *Officina Plantiniana* in Antwerp and Leiden that reached the colonies, folk art such as reliquaries and votive artifacts, European painting from the Renaissance through the baroque, *costumbrismo*, medieval and post-Tridentine iconography, mission aesthetics, and

Spanish painting. For instance, we note that as a comet heralds the revolt in Villanueva's series, so does one appear in the Codex Durán before Mesoamerica's Montezuma to presage the European invasion.

The fellowship also allowed me to plot out some provisional parameters of a new colonial theory and historiography, reckoning with the tension between local religious performance and resistance in the form of penitential rites and other expressions of piety and bereavement in contrast to the modernity made possible by Catholic Reformation, public execution, and the formation of art academies. The other forms of Philippine colonial painting, like icons, portraits, albums of costume and manners, martyr scenes, and religious works, may be caught in the dialectic cast by the project's theoretical net. The issues foregrounded by these forms include the rise of middle-class patronage, the imagination of a national biography of heterogeneous ethnic and class types, the formation of capital and state, and the establishment of a Eurocentric fine arts system.

I was challenged to posit that colonialism is a modern moment that instead of solely sustaining the idea of progress also undermines its condition of possibility, and so signals the emergence of a postcolonial modernity beyond the pale of empire and its representations.

University of the Philippines, Diliman, Quezon City  
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ALISON FUTRELL

## Zenobia and the Zenobio: Gender, Identity, and the Barbarian Queen

On a stairway landing in the National Gallery of Art hangs a large painting by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, in which a woman in breastplate and coronate helmet gestures rhetorically toward an audience of Roman-era soldiers. The painting has been identified with an early cycle by Tiepolo featuring Zenobia, the third-century queen of Palmyra, commissioned by the Zenobio family of Venice for whom Zenobia might have been imagined as a noble progenitrix. It was not unusual for Venetian patrician families to claim a connection to the prestigious Roman past, and to present ancient heroes as moral paradigms and as ancestral alter egos. A patron thus could assert an idealized personal identity and draw a historic connection between the Republic of Venice and the Roman *res publica*. Zenobia is not an obvious choice for the didactic and/or self-aggrandizing directive of history painting. Zenobia was a non-Roman female, and therefore held a tenuous claim to the cultural cachet and public authority typical of this genre of painting. The Zenobio family likewise departed from the norm as relative newcomers to the patriciate, having purchased a position among the Venetian elite in the mid-seventeenth century. Tiepolo's innovative cycle depicting four significant moments in the life of Zenobia might be seen as constituting the "meaning" of Zenobia. The choice might also emphasize the situation of the Zenobio house in the period.



Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, *Queen Zenobia Addressing Her Soldiers*, c. 1725/1730. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

Zenobia dominated Palmyra at a time when the Roman Empire was under constant pressure both from invasion and from internal disunity. The inability of the central power to respond to these pressures allowed a number of regional lords to gain extraordinary authority. Zenobia's efforts, directed at first toward shoring up the Roman-Sassanid border, then turned toward the expansion of Palmyrene hegemony over the other Roman provinces of the east. The *Historia Augusta*, the primary ancient textual source for Zenobia, describes her success as dependent on the feminized incapacity of the weak emperor, Gallienus; her submission to the stronger Aurelian as less the result of her own military failure than the restoration of a normative gender hierarchy. The *Historia Augusta* does not assess the structural problems of the imperial system, but

rather projects causality onto a supposedly seamless link between virility, moral leadership, and political order. Post-Roman authors such as Boccaccio, Chaucer, Petrarch, and Christine de Pisan focus on the moral values of Zenobia's story, but disassociate it almost entirely from historical context. Zenobia becomes discursive, either gendered as an exemplar of feminine virtues, or as a transcendent from the feminine sphere, bespeaking a human vulnerability to fame and fortune. Tiepolo's cycle reflects his incorporation of the shifting meanings of the Zenobia created in literature. The different statuses and social positions Tiepolo presents can also be read in relation to her invented descendants, the Zenobio.

Two narrow canvases now in Milan (Crespi collection) can be read together as the earliest chapters in this imagined Life, the forest setting providing a dislocation from human geography that matches, metaphorically, the social movement of the Zenobio away from their origins in Verona. *Hunter on Horseback* and *Hunter with Deer* are connected to Zenobia's first appearance in the *Historia Augusta*, the moment when she joined her husband, Odenathus (possibly to be identified with the horseman) in the hunt. This is Zenobia's entrance into public life, where she demonstrates some of the regal strengths necessary to rule, her facility with weapons, and her extraordinary physical abilities. Her body is not that of a weak woman. In Chaucer's version, for example, the hunt frames his description of Zenobia's similarly extraordinary chastity. The hunt removes Zenobia from the typical constraints of femininity and prepares her for rule. Her capacity for controlled violence and readiness for combat point toward the next scene in the cycle.

*Queen Zenobia Addressing Her Soldiers* (National Gallery of Art) refers to a major feature of the Zenobia story; her activity as a military leader, which set her apart from gender norms and established her in opposition to Rome. The moment selected is unusual; Zenobia is not in the midst of battle, but is addressing her troops in an *ad locutio* stance, a formula standardized in Roman art and meant to convey the essential relationship between emperor and legions as the basis of Roman imperial-political authority. The artist's familiarity with Roman material culture, demonstrated by his activity as an illustrator for Scipione Maffei, grounded him in the



Roman imperial repertory and the importance of the *ad locutio*. Zenobia here is clothed in the accoutrements of a Roman general, thus embracing the external signs of an assumed Roman identity. War booty lies on either side of the podium, the symbols of successful command and the base of the compositional pyramid of which she is the apex. Her son, the future carrier of the Zenobia tradition, stands behind her, but in her shadow.

*Zenobia before Aurelian* (Prado, Madrid) is the most generically treated of the pictures in the cycle. A scene such as this, of ancient magnanimity, of personal virtue transformed into public benefit, was a regular feature of European history painting, one that would be taken up again by Tiepolo in his celebration of the generosity of Alexander and of Scipio Africanus. Typically, such scenes presented a gendered ethical stance, male sexual self-control, as central to the demonstration of ancient authority. In the Prado picture Zenobia plays a distinctive role. She is not the usual passive beneficiary of male virtue, but a coparticipant. Still wearing her breastplate, her son at her side, Zenobia reaches toward Aurelian, in negotiation rather than in supplication. The meeting of Aurelian and Zenobia is prominent in the *Historia Augusta*, as an event key to the reestablishment of appropriate authority. Zenobia justifies her actions as beneficent, as necessitated by Roman failure, and in protection of Roman interests; Aurelian acknowledges her claims and resumes his rightful role, thus supplanting Zenobia's leadership. This is a moment of reconciliation of a number of Zenobia's statuses and roles as mother and ruler, as warlord and woman, and of Rome yet not within it. The simultaneous occupation of multiple identities may have been a familiar position for the Zenobio family as well.

*The Triumph of Aurelian* (Sabauda Gallery, Turin) is the artist's visualization of a spectacle richly described in the *Historia Augusta*, one not infrequently recreated in earlier dramatic and painted representations. Her military regalia now absent, Zenobia walks with eyes downcast, wearing golden chains and jewels, markers of her feminized submission to male rule and Roman domesticity. Zenobia becomes a Roman matron, her children incorporated into the Roman nobility.

This consideration of Tiepolo's Zenobia cycle is part of a larger project on the barbarian queen as an archetype of Roman historiographical tradition, one that carried significant symbolic weight in the Roman effort to justify political ends as demonstrations of *romanitas*, of the essential cultural and political values that authorized Roman hegemony. The power of this trope transcended the fall of Rome, as these barbarian queens became stock characters in the canonical catalogue of Roman representations, sites of social meaning meant to reaffirm or challenge contemporary values.

University of Arizona

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999

## Giovanni da Milano

Our knowledge of Giovanni da Milano, born in Caversaccio, near Como in Lombardy, is based on his activity in Tuscany. He is documented in Florence in 1346, in 1363, and once again, in connection with the frescoes of the sacristy of the church of Santa Croce, in 1365–1366. His signed works are in Prato—a polyptych in the Pinacoteca from the Ospedale della Misericordia; and in Florence—the *Pietà* in the Accademia, dated 1365. His most important works in Florence are a polyptych for the church of Ognissanti, now in the Uffizi, and the cycle of frescoes in the sacristy of Santa Croce. The last documents relating to Giovanni place him in Rome in 1369 together with other painters from Florence and elsewhere, working in the Vatican Palace.

During the 1960s and 1970s I began a monograph on the painter, incorporating much new documentation. In the manuscript, to which I have only recently returned, I provided firm evidence for the Lombard painter's presence in Pisa, and made the connection not before noted between Giovanni da Milano and the religious order of the Umiliati. It was the Umiliati who commissioned him to paint a polyptych for their Florentine church of Ognissanti, probably as a replacement for Giotto's *Madonna*. This association probably lay behind Giovanni's first known work, the frescoed lunette in Mendrisio (a town in the territory of Como, now part of Switzerland), in a building formerly owned by the

Umiliati. Having recognized this, one can now make several other observations: the Umiliati owned the church of Santa Maria di Brera in Milan, which was subject to the mother house of the order, and the Abbey of Viboldone. In the latter church, the oldest decoration comprises the dedicatory lunette, dated 1349, with the Virgin, Saints, and Donor in the crossing, and the frescoes on the other walls with the *Last Judgment* by Giusto de'Menabuoi, as identified by Roberto Longhi, and executed, I believe, with the participation of the author of the lunette fresco. I identified Giusto's presence in the abbey in an initial phase of the decoration in the first bay on the left, which displays evidence of his training in the circle of Maso di Banco. The paintings at Viboldone acquire further significance if one considers that Giovanni da Milano, whose artistic kinship with Giusto has always been recognized, was associated with the Umiliati for many years.

One of the chapels in Santa Maria di Brera contains some fragmentary frescoes by Giusto and the painter of the 1349 lunette, and I wonder whether this church, now radically transformed, was also decorated by Giovanni da Milano during the late 1340s or early 1350s, after his documented sojourn of 1346 in Tuscany.

My period at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts allowed me to examine firsthand the National Gallery of Art's magnificent collection of Florentine trecento works. This has reinforced my belief that during Giovanni da Milano's first sojourn in Florence, he frequented the workshop or circle of Bernardo Daddi, and there learned the technique of panel painting, which seems not to have existed in Lombardy.

During Giovanni da Milano's second stay in Tuscany, a profound change occurred, brought about by the Orcagna brothers and defined by a ritual solemnity which seems to look back to earlier trecento painting. While I was writing my manuscript, the echo of Millard Meiss' *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death*, published in 1951, was still resounding. During the last few months I have been reviewing the responses, both dissenting and favorable, to his argument—that the great plague of 1348 was the most significant event in the change in painting in the mid-fourteenth century. The various reactions by scholars to

Meiss' ideas may be considered as part of an ongoing process, although the body of evidence, mainly stylistic, suggests that a substantial transformation did indeed take place, reflected above all in the negation of a Giottesque sense of space. For Giovanni da Milano, much of whose work reflects the stylistic climate of the Orcagnesque painters, there is nonetheless an enduring perception of space; this probably had its counterpart in the art of Giusto de' Menabuoi and may have owed its presence to older Lombard traditions, setting Giovanni within a trend that distinguishes northern Italian painting in the latter half of the trecento, before the Paduan works of Giusto and Altichiero.

The last few decades of study on trecento artists have gone beyond the tendency to consider their oeuvres only within the schools to which they belonged. The reconstruction of the great and complex artistic personality of Giovanni da Milano, which in publications has been limited to his Lombard origins and to documented links with Florence, may now be seen within a broader point of view. This would allow for a better appreciation of how artists of different styles moved from one city to another, and of how they encountered and reacted to one another on shared projects, as is documented in the frescoes painted in the Vatican, now unfortunately lost.

I have found further confirmation of my initial belief that Giovanni da Milano's gothicizing tendencies cannot be understood without considering his encounters with the most advanced currents of the Gothic style in Tuscany, as represented by Sienese painting, leaving aside the explanations based on exclusively northern sources that have been given thus far. Giovanni da Milano's presence in Pisa would have granted him awareness of a particular school of painting in the form of a polyptych by Simone Martini and Lippo Memmi, one of several important altarpieces by artists in that city. It should be emphasized here that the figure of Lippo has now gained greater definition thanks to the reattribution to his workshop of the frescoed cycle of New Testament stories by the hypothetical "Barna" in San Gimignano (the native city of the Memmi family). This redesignation has enabled the frescoes to be dated notably earlier. In Pisa, Giovanni da Milano would also have

been able to see the work of the Avignese school in the works of Francesco Traini and in those of the miniaturists associated with him. There may also be a certain significance, in this context, in Erling Skaug's observation that Giovanni da Milano shared the same punchmarking tools as the Sienese painter known as the Ovile Master, that is, Bartolomeo Bulgarini. One should note here that among the painters named in the Roman documents of 1369, alongside Giovanni da Milano and others of different origin, is a certain Bartolomeo da Siena, whom years ago I supposed was Bulgarini, a painter documented to 1378.

Another area now better illuminated is that of Giovanni da Milano's training. In the lunette in Mendrisio, an awareness of Giottesque painters active in Lombardy has been noted, but I believe it is much more important to point out the obvious affinities between the expressive qualities of the Gothic figures and the oeuvre of early trecento painters working in Como whose activity has been recently redated to a period earlier than hitherto believed. It seems to me very likely that Giovanni da Milano was trained before 1346 in one of the workshops flourishing in Como.

Università di Firenze  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1999–2000

ELIZABETH GUENTHER

## Albrecht Dürer's Narrative Style

Albrecht Dürer's narrative print cycles are outstanding among his accomplishments as a printmaker, yet there has been no comprehensive study devoted exclusively to them. Dürer greatly expanded the artist's role not only in the design and execution of the majority of his narrative prints, but also by commissioning texts to accompany the cycles, which he then published as books. Scholars have persisted in locating these highly inventive compositions and pictorial sequences within an assumed linear pattern of stylistic development, and measuring this development in terms of the influence of Italian art. Thus the dramatic differences between Dürer's early prints for the *Large Passion* (1497–1499) and those for the *Small Woodcut* and *Engraved Passion* (1508–1512) have been reduced to a matter of stylistic development. My dissertation attempts to understand Dürer's later prints as an aesthetic refinement of earlier work. Expanding beyond the traditional framework of connoisseurship and chronology, I address the print cycles as a distinct body of work with unique formal and thematic imperatives. The analyses progress from a definition of narrative style as a deliberate organization of experience into a coherent and meaningful view of the world. My central thesis is that the differences in scope, selection of episodes, and compositional type between Dürer's early and late narrative cycles reflect his abandonment of a medieval understanding of narrative as liturgy, and his gradual discovery



Albrecht Dürer,  
*Pilate Washing  
His Hands* (from  
*The Passion*),  
1512. Sterling  
and Francine  
Clark Art Institute,  
Williamstown,  
Massachusetts

of an essentially novelistic narrative form expressing an earth-bound and personal relation between the beholder and the biblical subject.

The illusionistic power and expressiveness of the figures and settings in the *Large Passion* prints were unprecedented when Dürer published them in 1499. The uniformly self-contained prints, however, uphold the principles of symmetry and hierarchy that governed fifteenth-century arched altarpieces. They present a sac-



ramental image of the events of Christ's Passion, and imply a normative beholder with a fixed point of view. While appropriate to the ecclesiastical function and public setting of the altarpiece, such a beholder seems oddly suited to the hand-held print. By contrast, the prints in the *Small Woodcut* and *Engraved Passion* are conceived as very earthly and human experiences. These later prints tend to be asymmetrical, spatially open, and occupied by fewer, more individualized figures. Dürer's early and late Passions express different conceptions of time and of the relation between heaven and earth, and reflect a gradual transformation of his narrative style from the realm of ecclesiastical ritual to that of prose. I suggest that the real turning point in Dürer's narrative style is the *Life of the Virgin*, where he realized the greater possibilities of a graphic narrative cycle.

Dürer produced the first seventeen woodcuts for the *Life of the Virgin* in the fertile years from 1502 to 1504. The prints are richly descriptive, and have a genre-like character that transforms heavenly events such as Mary's birth into thoroughly everyday kinds of experiences. Dürer achieved more than greater naturalism in these woodcuts: he recognized the disorderliness of everyday time and experience, and its capacity to subvert the conventions of symmetry and hieratic order which structure the earlier *Large Passion*.

The *Life of the Virgin* encompasses an unprecedented range of settings and compositional types as well as conspicuous differences in framing, figure scale, and point of view, features that have caused scholars to question the narrative coherence of the cycle. The asymmetrical woodcuts for the *Life of the Virgin* establish a strong left to right directionality that draws the viewer through the cycle. The active participation of the beholder is most powerfully elicited, however, through Dürer's manipulation of the unifying motif of the arch, which appears in all of the woodcuts. Functioning variously as a picture frame and as an architectural or symbolic threshold within the scenes, the arch at once articulates the narrative and defines a mobile viewer who experiences the story from shifting and eccentric points of view.

The variety and openness of these woodcuts allow them to flow from one to another, so that the story unfolds with a sense of the

dynamic continuity of the viewer's experience. This is part of the cycle's naturalism, but it is also a new way of experiencing the Christian message. Free of the stasis of symmetry and ritual that governs Dürer's "medieval" narrative style in the *Large Passion*, the *Life of the Virgin* is anchored in a prosaic, earthly time that is fundamentally personal in character and quite modern. The center of the religious experience has shifted from the work of art to the beholder; the passive observer of the mass has become the private individual reading the Bible. In both the *Small Passion* and the *Engraved Passion*, Dürer's emphasis on the witnesses and their problematic acts of beholding reveal the value he placed on experientiality itself. The witnesses' presence in the *Engraved Passion* introduces an inward, psychological dimension of reality absent in the typed figures in the *Large Passion*. Pontius Pilate, an ambivalent character in the Passion narrative, receives special prominence. The corollary to these complex personalities is the viewer, whose own relation to the subjects is contingent and often psychologically charged. Both have an intriguing counterpart in Dürer's drawn portraits of c. 1500–1505. The unstable poses and fugitive expressions of these subjects suggest a conception of selfhood and identity that is entirely opposed to the normative beholder Dürer's *Large Passion* assumes, and is surprisingly akin to the beholder of the *Engraved Passion* and *Life of the Virgin*, which Dürer was creating just as he was drawing the portraits. My exploration of this connection is one way in which I aim to resituate Dürer's narrative work in the context of his other artistic activity, and in relation to contemporary religious experience.

[Princeton University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1999–2000

## Status and Ritual: The Social Structure of Ashur in the Neo-Assyrian Period

The historical period of the Neo-Assyrian empire (c. 1000–612 B.C.) is exceptionally well documented, ever since archaeological exploration in Mesopotamia began in the 1840s, uncovering the enormous royal palaces of its kings. Miles of reliefs vividly illustrate its imperialist expansion in the name of the god Ashur, one based on brutal conquests and mass deportations. The decipherment of cuneiform shortly after the first excavations has enabled detailed reconstructions of the political history of the empire which, as forerunner of the Neo-Babylonian and the Persian empires, encompassed the entire region of today's western Iran to Palestine and, for some time in the seventh century, even Egypt. Excavated libraries and private archives housed tens of thousands of cuneiform texts that furnish insights into belief systems, rituals, omens, incantations, and also marriage agreements and all kinds of purchase and loan contracts. Comparatively little modern research has been concerned with the social history of the period, and it is here that the present study on Neo-Assyrian burials from Ashur attempts to contribute to a deeper comprehension.

Burials, as the archaeologically retrievable part of funeral rituals, offer immediate access to individuals. Even though burials should not be seen as directly mirroring the social organization of past societies, they still embody significant ideological representations of social relations and status-related meanings. The evalu-

ation of Neo-Assyrian burials is especially promising as there is hardly any other ancient society where such a rich amount of textual information about belief systems and distinct burials with archaeological information on mortuary practices survives.

In Assyrian belief, the corpse had to be buried properly to enable its ghost, *eṭemmu*, to leave for the netherworld. Proper burial included washing, oiling, and dressing the body, providing food and beverages to the deceased and offerings to the gods before closing the tomb. But the interdependence between the dead and their living relatives did not stop with the burial itself. To make sure the deceased led a satisfying life in the underworld, the living had to provide regular offerings, pouring water and calling the names of the ancestors. When a father passed away, the oldest son would replace him as head of the family, and his inheritance was ultimately tied to the performance of the proper rites. If he became derelict in his duties, the ghosts could cause harm until exorcised by professional magicians. Even worse, the ghost of an unburied body became restless and haunted its relatives. Thus royal burials were ravaged and bones scattered after conquests by the Assyrians and their enemies.

Fortunately, this fate was not the case for most private burials in Ashur, which form the core of my study. Large-scale excavations by the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in 1903–1914 exposed city walls, a great number of temples, palaces, and many private houses, establishing a detailed architectural history of the city. In the course of these excavations, more than a thousand individuals buried during the Neo-Assyrian period were unearthed. Nearly all are interments of entire bodies, most of which were placed beneath the floors of family houses. This made the tombs easily accessible for ritual offerings as well as for additional burials and at the same time provided protection from illicit disturbances.

The tombs display a variety of forms and receptacles, as well as a wide array of furnishings and grave goods. My project aims at explaining the differences in burial practices in regard to their synchronic and diachronic significance. This, as a first step, has required dating the tombs and the approximately ten thousand objects found within them, a task largely facilitated by the fact

that the stratigraphy of many tombs can be closely dated by their relation to buildings dated by building inscriptions. Therefore, the Ashur burials are not only indicative of social structure but also are the best available source for dating neo-Assyrian artifacts. One of my aims while at the Center has been to establish the precise stratigraphical contexts of the burials and to find chronological anchors for the tomb seriation. One result of the findings is that most of the burials belong to the seventh century B.C. This emphasizes gender, age, and status-related differences instead of changes in burial customs over time.

Early in the study, it became clear that the typology of the receptacles for burial, provided in preliminary publications that became the standard classification of burial types in Mesopotamia, was seriously flawed. Another result of my work at the Center is a new tomb classification based on the entire set of drawings and descriptions provided by the excavators. These allow new assessments to be made about chronology, status, and ritual.

Nearly all interments were accompanied by a standard set of two bowls or jars. Slightly more than half the skeletons display necklaces, bracelets, rings, or earrings, the latter two often of gold. The actual value of objects can partly be judged by marriage agreements and sale contracts. The interpretation of status is aided by the habit of burying the dead beneath the houses, which allows us to compare them to private architecture, another area of display of wealth and status. In some examples it was possible to combine parallel developments in the family's history, such as death, inheritance, and business with changes in the building.

Still many questions remain. Why, for example, are certain individuals buried in single inhumations while others are not? What treatment, if any, did slaves receive? How is the small number of children's burials to be explained? But in general we now have a much clearer picture of behavior surrounding the burial of the dead for several levels of society.

Seminar für Vorderasiatische Alterumskunde der Freien Universität Berlin  
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 2000

MIMI HELLMAN

## The Hôtel de Soubise and the Rohan-Soubise Family: Architecture, Interior Decoration, and the Art of Ambition in Eighteenth-Century France

The Hôtel de Soubise has long been considered an important example of domestic architecture and interior decoration in Paris during the first half of the eighteenth century. From 1700 to 1787, it was the principal residence of the Rohan-Soubise family, a relatively new branch of the old, noble dynasty of the Rohan whose members played prominent roles in court society under both Louis XIV and Louis XV. It became the site of the National Archives in 1808, and is now partly restored and open to the public as a museum of French history.

The *hôtel's* art-historical reputation is based on two major renovations commissioned by the Rohan-Soubise. In 1705–1709, Pierre-Alexis Delamaire transformed the exterior of the building by adding an entry gate, a vast colonnaded courtyard, and a new façade. The ensemble also incorporated a sculptural program executed by several artists, including Robert Le Lorrain. In 1735–1739, Germain Boffrand significantly altered the interior by reorganizing and expanding the plan and redecorating the principal social spaces in the rococo style. In addition to stucco cornices, carved *boiserie* punctuated by mirrors, and hundreds of pieces of new furniture, the renovated interior included works by seven prominent painters and sculptors, including François Boucher, Charles-Joseph Natoire, and Jean-Baptiste II Lemoyne.



Germain Boffrand (architect), Charles-Joseph Natoire (painter), and unidentified decorative sculptors, Hôtel de Soubise, Salon of the Princesse de Rohan, Paris, 1735–1739. Author photograph

The histories of both the Hôtel de Soubise and the Rohan-Soubise family are well documented by a wide range of visual and textual primary sources, including published plans and elevations, accounts in guidebooks and memoirs, and building contracts and family papers conserved at the National Archives. Four inventories, made in 1727, 1739, 1745, and 1749 provide a wealth of information about the furnishings, and permit comparative analysis of the interior before and after the Boffrand renovation. Nevertheless, the relationship between the design of the building and the social identity of its owners has remained largely unexplored. Also, scholars generally have isolated individual aspects of the *hôtel*, such as the contribution of one artist or a certain pictorial theme, without considering their roles within the monument as a whole. Moreover, the ubiquitous presence of the *hôtel* in survey texts has positioned it as a typical monument, despite the many features—from the col-

onnaded court to the typology of the rooms to the scope of the painted decoration—that make it very unusual compared to other ducal residences of the period.

This dissertation examines the renovations by Delamaire and Boffrand in terms of two kinds of contexts: the dynastic and cultural context in which the Rohan-Soubise undertook these transformations, and the formal context of the *hôtel* itself as a three-dimensional, multimedia composition in which diverse elements worked together to produce visual and spatial effects and social meanings. I argue that the renovations both expressed and actively contributed to a problematic social project that was particular to the Rohan-Soubise family and undertaken during the same period: an effort to attain the status of *princes étrangers*. This was an unusual and prestigious rank within the hierarchy of court society, granted at the discretion of the king to families who were, or had once been, rulers of sovereign territories. The Rohan-Soubise were technically unqualified for this privilege, and their pretensions were vigorously disputed by other court nobles. Nevertheless, they successfully sustained it through numerous forms of social strategy, such as manipulating genealogical history and nomenclature, claiming special honors during social rituals at court, and cultivating royal favor through both political positions and personal bonds.

The dissertation considers the two refigurations of the Hôtel de Soubise as architectural and decorative manifestations of the family's social ambition to be recognized as *princes étrangers*. The Delamaire renovation established their public presence within the urban fabric of the neighborhood, and introduced multiple features—from a public fountain to the coupled columns ringing the courtyard to allegorical figures representing qualities such as Glory and Magnificence—that suggested a princely domain. A generation later, the Boffrand renovation literally internalized this dynastic persona by making the layout and decoration of the principal apartments more insistently magnificent, and using a wide range of figurative imagery—including emblems, allegory, portraits, and mythological scenes—to conjure a multifaceted picture of a family with princely sensibilities.



In addition to providing contextual analysis of a major monument, this study champions a synthetic approach to the decorated interior as an environment that produces meaning through a complex interplay of visual, spatial, and social dynamics. The Hôtel de Soubise emerges not as a typical *hôtel* or a collection of separable elements, but as something much more interesting: an eloquent, multivalent engagement with the social preoccupations of a uniquely positioned family.

[Princeton University]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1997–2000

## Two Terracotta Representations of Alexander the Great in the Hermitage

The iconography of Alexander the Great may be one of the most complicated issues in the history of Greek and Roman portraits, and Arrian's words in his preface to the *Anabasis* of Alexander, that "There is no one about whom more has been written, and more in disagreement with each other," could become the epigraph for any research on this subject. Still, many interesting and important publications by R.R.R. Smith, Andrew Stewart, Jiří Frel, Paolo Moreno, Bente Kiilerich, Anne Marie Nielsen, and others have appeared in recent decades. My two-month stay at the Center enabled me to work on my topic using these studies as well as several other fundamental books devoted to the development of Hellenistic art. My research focused particularly on two Hellenistic terracottas in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum (Saint Petersburg) that can be considered representations of Alexander the Great.

In my attributions I proceed from the proposition that we cannot assume that any of the king's portraits conveyed his true appearance. Various sculptors followed different styles, presenting Alexander's *ēthos* and *arete* in their own ways.

The first, a statuette of the nude youth (inv. G. 82), reproduces the support (masked by the cloak), near his right leg, evidence that it is a copy of a marble. The treatment of the body also indicates that the coroplast knew the language of the monumental sculpture.



*Alexander the Great*, terracotta, c. late fourth to third century B.C. State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg

The short hair with an articulated *anastolē*, an essential detail of Alexander's iconography, and the physiognomic features are very close to the so-called Dresden type (the best Roman copy of the type is in the Skulpturensammlung, Dresden). As established by Smith in his *Hellenistic Royal Portraits* (1988) and by Stewart in *Faces of Power: Alexander's Image and Hellenistic Politics* (1993), the original of the Dresden type, ascribed to Lysippos, was one of the best contemporary portraits of the young Alexander.

To judge by the posture, the body is related to the Alexander-Doryphoros type, itself a Hellenistic remaking of the famous Achilles with a lance by Polykleitos and the statue of Diomedes, also created in Argos, around 420 B.C. Taken together with the miniature bronzes of c. 330 B.C. with which it has much in common, the terracotta conveys a sense of monumental representations of Alexander that have not survived. The closest stylistic parallel may be made with a magnificent bronze in the J. Paul Getty Museum.

The dense, fine, and highly micaceous fabric of the orange-colored clay, as well as the careful modeling of the back of the piece, allows the statuette to be identified with a workshop in Smyrna—an important center for the production of terracottas in the Hellenistic epoch.

The large terracotta head (inv. G. 522) once belonged to Peter Sabourov, a Russian ambassador to Greece and a collector of Greek art. The Hermitage acquired the head in 1884 together with the rest of his collection of classical terracottas. The preparation of a new catalogue of this collection—the 1883–1887 catalogue by Adolf Furtwängler must now be corrected on many points—is a part of my larger project, which explores the terracottas and their significant role in the history of Hellenistic art. I consider this head to be a fragment of a rather large figure of Alexander, presumably intended for a private shrine dedicated to him, similar to those that existed in prosperous houses of Alexandria.

Comparison of the terracotta head with representations of Alexander in the battle scene with Darius on the famous Pompeian mosaic (which reproduces a mural painted close to the time of Alexander's death); with the small ivory portrait head of the king from the Royal Tomb II of Vergina; and with his image on the silver tetradram issued by Ptolemy I, c. 318–315 B.C., reveals important parallels.

There is no doubt that the creator of the terracotta was drawn to monumental sculpture, and it is possible that this terracotta head was a preliminary model for a larger marble. The coroplast's conception of Alexander's portrait approaches the same antibaroque tendency as noted in the Alexander portraits in the National Museum of Athens (Erbach type), in the Getty Museum (report-

edly from Megara), and the so-called Alexander Guimet in the Louvre. In their calm restraint and self-confident strength, all of these contrast with the official, very emotional Lysippan image. It was also a possible way of “bridging the inevitable gap between the king’s actual and ideal nature” (Smith).

Stylistically, the terracotta head from the Hermitage corresponds with neoclassicism of the early and middle second century B.C., the “early” or “free” neoclassicists (J.J. Pollitt), who aspired to imitate the forms of sculpture of c. 480 and 340 B.C. Pheidias was especially attractive to them, and they tried to recreate his style. A comparison of the terracotta head with that of one of the hydriaphoroi on the north frieze of the Parthenon (British Museum) illustrates this point.

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000

ALBERT KOSTENEVICH

## The Typology, Iconography, and Subject-Matter of European Painting in the 1890s

The art of the late nineteenth century has been explored more thoroughly than that of any other period, as witnessed by the torrents of publications, especially monographs. Most scholars have been preoccupied with a comparatively small segment of late nineteenth-century painting, however, and ignored many artists important at the time.

Nineteenth-century aesthetics were for the most part based on the typological approaches of all the European art academies, with history painting at the top, followed by landscape, portrait, genre, and still-life painting. The victory of impressionism and the following trends brought not only freedom to use new pictorial techniques, but also the rejection of the academic hierarchy. Any attempt since then to study the art of the period typologically has been renounced as a very harmful endeavor.

The need for a typological approach became apparent some years ago. For example, in the exhibition "The Origins of Impressionism" (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1994), the works were organized into genre divisions and subdivisions, paradoxically an approach detested by the impressionists. Now the Metropolitan has rearranged its impressionist galleries with one dedicated to the impressionist still life.

The more remarkable example of typological reconsideration is that of the exhibition *1900: Art at the Crossroads* (Royal Acad-



Henri de  
Toulouse-Lautrec,  
*A la Bastille*  
(*Jeanne Wenz*),  
1888. National  
Gallery of Art,  
Washington,  
Collection of Mr.  
and Mrs. Paul  
Mellon

emy of Art, London, and Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, 2000), which included not only the cornerstones of modern art but also a large number of works well known a century ago, now forgotten. The organizers followed the plan of the famous Expositions Universelles at the turn of the century and divided the show according to standard genres. Also included were distinctive topics such as nationalism and rural nostalgia. In addition, the Guggenheim show traced the impact of technology and psychology in counterpoint to official and avant-garde art. The art of the

period was presented not as something built on black-and-white contrasts, but as a considerably more complex structure.

My work at the Center this year, part of a much longer-term research project, has been to study the paintings of many European schools in order to discern commonalities within continental production, as well as differences between artists within some national schools. The work is based on the conviction that the major issues are geographical, not historical. To my mind, the artists of any period are usually closer to each other, even if they live in remote regions, than to artists of the same school of earlier generations.

Consequently, I focus on the activity of the leading art centers—Paris, London, Munich, Vienna, and to a lesser extent Berlin and Rome. Paris, which attracted artists from all over the world, was the most fruitful source. Here the interdependence of official and unofficial art is especially notable, as demonstrated by the activities of the Salons (including the Salon des Artistes Français, the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, the Independants) and the avant-garde.

One aspect of this project has been to trace common motifs. For instance, waterlilies are a distinctive motif found in some of Claude Monet's later pictures, but realists, such as Albert Roelofs, painted them earlier. Auguste Renoir painted many variations of two young girls playing at the piano; but before him, Jacob Maris painted such scenes. Artists who painted a lone woman in a café include Edouard Manet, Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Edouard Vuillard, Pablo Picasso, and also Fernand Toussaint, a lesser known artist today.

If artists as different as Emile Friant and Paul Gauguin painted struggling boys (a subject treated by several artists in the period), it provokes us to ask why the motif was so attractive at the time. The answers are interesting not only iconographically, but also for the social history of art. James Ensor was certainly not the first to play with masks. We can go back to the eighteenth century and even antiquity to find this subject. But it is Ensor who used the mask in an especially meaningful way in a self-portrait, as did Carl Larsson.



The Nabis, Pierre Bonnard and Vuillard in particular, loved intimate scenes such as a group of people sitting outdoors at a table with only a country house wall and a few bushes as setting. Ernest Duez and Julie Delance-Fergard, now forgotten artists of the early 1890s painted similar compositions. The works of Alfred Roll, who was much better known in his time, have been looked at again by art historians, but not Roll's *Enfant avec sa bonne* (1890), a parallel to Bonnard's and Vuillard's canvases.

In 1894 at the Salon de la Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, George Binet exhibited *Les Usines*. It is difficult to imagine that Binet might have been interested in Cézanne, but his picture is a realist parallel to Cézanne's constructive landscapes painted in Auvers. Three years before at the same Salon, Anatole Hillairet showed *Ma table*, a work that brings to mind Cézanne's *Nature morte avec l'amour plâtre* of 1895, now in Stockholm. Had Cézanne seen Hillairet's painting? Or did they have a common source of inspiration?

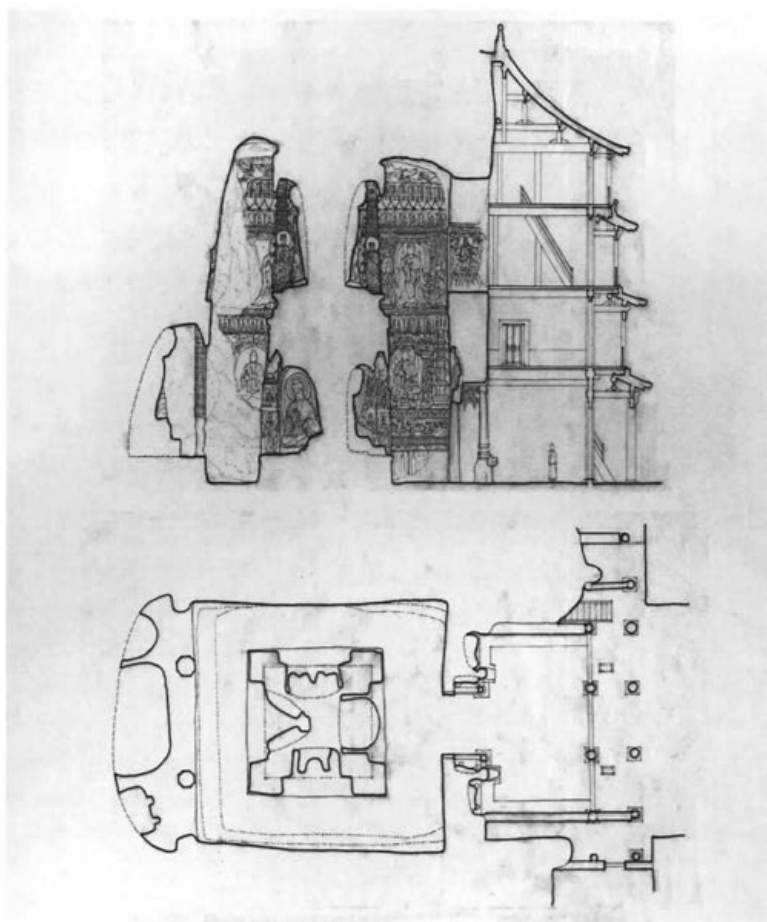
The late nineteenth century was marked by a steady decline in state-supported art and an extraordinary eruption of avant-garde energy, which eventually resulted in the destruction of official rules and considerations. But if the avant-garde overturned the bastions of official art, this does not mean that the two camps did not have some things in common. Art in this watershed period of the later nineteenth century was not hermetic.

State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000

## Central-Pillar Cave Architecture in China and Central Asia during the Northern Dynasties, A.D. 265–581

With the eastward expansion of Buddhism from India into central Asia and China, a remarkable phenomenon began to take shape: the appearance and proliferation of Buddhist cave temple complexes along the ancient Silk Routes. Among these excavated structures, the type of cave generally referred to as “central-pillar cave” is perhaps the most important in the early formation of Buddhist cave temple architecture in these areas. This type usually features a quadrangular standing element as the dominant design component at the center of a highly decorated, excavated interior.

During the course of my research, I have identified more than two hundred extant central-pillar caves. These monuments are mostly distributed in four geographical regions: Afghanistan, especially in the district of Jelalabad; Chinese central Asia or Xinjiang; the Gansu corridor and its immediate vicinities; and north-central China. The dates of these cave temples range from the latter half of the third century A.D. to the seventh century A.D. The great majority, however, were excavated during the fifth century, corresponding to the middle and late periods of the Northern Dynasties Period (A.D. 265–581). Although scholars have long acknowledged the importance of the central-pillar cave in the study of Buddhist art and architecture, they have consistently failed to elucidate the significance of these monuments within the larger context of medieval Buddhist China and central Asia. Despite the tremen-



Plan and longitudinal section of Cave 6, Yungang, near Datong, Shanxi, People's Republic of China, second half of fifth century A.D. Author drawing

dous differences that the architectural and decorative layouts display, previous research conveys the impression that these excavated structures are more or less homologous. This has led to a fundamental misunderstanding of the function and significance of this cave type.

In my dissertation, I aim to address the significance of the central-pillar cave as a religious and cultural phenomenon in medieval Asia. To accomplish this goal, I have adopted a threefold methodological approach: first, analysis of the architectural remains; second, the interdependent relationship between rock-cut architecture and the art that comprises the decorative program within this

tradition; and third, the examination of relevant textual evidence. My architectural analysis of these monuments shows that the existing typology is in fact a problematic amalgamation of two distinct cave types—the true central-pillar type and one that we might call a temple-shrine type. While true central-pillar caves are found mostly in the areas of Afghanistan, the Gansu corridor, and north-central China, the other group is found exclusively in Chinese central Asia. The misidentification of the temple-shrine type is the result of a misinterpretation of the spatial configuration of the interior. In a true central-pillar cave, the central shaft always extends the full height from floor to ceiling, creating an ambulatory of even width and height on all four sides of the central core. This layout clearly indicates that the central pillar is an integral component of this particular design. In a typical central Asian temple-shrine cave, the interior is divided into three separate spatial zones: main chamber, side corridors, and rear chamber. The main chamber, primarily a barrel-vaulted space, is always the largest part of the interior. The two tunnel-like passageways, located on either side of the back wall of the main chamber, lead to the rear room. Architecturally, the two corridors function as transitional spaces for access and egress between the front and rear chambers. In the light of this analysis, the so-called central pillar is in fact a *poché* area or dead space.

The logic of the highly standardized iconographic program in a typical central Asian cave corresponds closely with its spatial sequence. While the front chamber always depicts the deeds and teachings of the historic Buddha, Sakyamuni, the rear chamber features the iconography of the *Parinirvana*, which shows the great demise of the historic Buddha. In essence, this program can be interpreted as the biography of Sakyamuni, as it expresses the core teachings of foundational monastic Buddhism, often called Hinayana Buddhism. This decorative scheme contrasts greatly with that of the Gansu and mainland Chinese central-pillar caves, which feature only the iconography of the more inclusive Mahayanist doctrine.

My research has led me to believe that the true central-pillar caves were originally products of early fifth-century Gansu, when this region was under the control of the short-lived northern Liang

state (A.D. 401–439). The visual focus of a Gansu cave is always the multitiered central pillar containing clay or plaster Buddhist images arranged in registers on all four sides. Based on the circumstantial evidence provided by contemporary northern Liang Buddhist canonical texts, I surmise that this group of cave temples is related to the religious doctrines of the *cakravartin*, or the supreme ruler, as the defender of the *Dharma*, or the Truth. After the region of Gansu was absorbed by the northern Wei court (A.D. 386–535) in 439, this cave type was subsequently introduced into China proper. Although the Chinese central-pillar caves retain the simple architectural layout of the Gansu caves, the interior decorative program is decidedly different. The most significant change was the introduction of a pagoda, or other recognizable Buddhist structures or objects, as the focus of worship within the excavated interior. This iconographical shift can be understood as the result of the intensified production and worship of Buddhist pagodas or icons as the ultimate representation of the Buddhist ideal that is attested by contemporary Buddhist and secular writings during the fifth to sixth centuries in northern China.

[University of Pennsylvania]  
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1998–2000

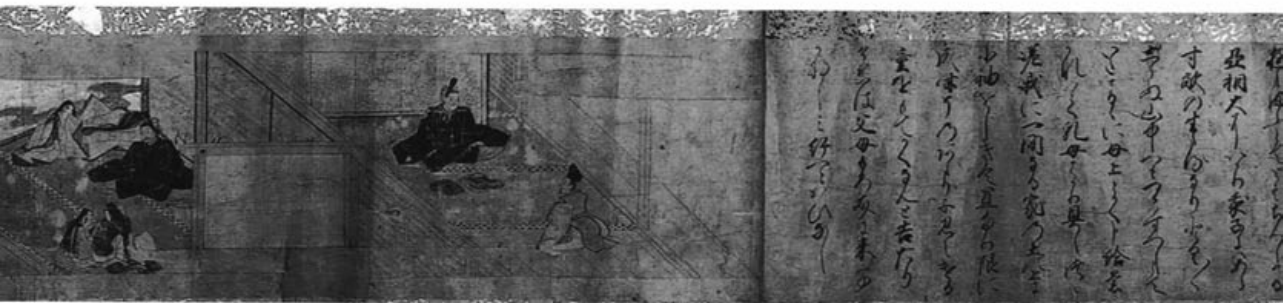
## Tosa Mitsunobu's *Kō-e*: Forms and Functions of Small-Format Handscrolls in the Muromachi Period, 1333–1573

Sometime during the fourteenth century, a new type of Japanese narrative handscroll emerged that was dramatically smaller than the standard format, which typically measured thirty centimeters in height. At half the standard height (between ten and eighteen centimeters), small-format handscrolls, which medieval diarists called *kō-e* (literally “small pictures”), are physically striking. Looking as though they would fit comfortably within one’s hands, their diminutive size practically elicits the touch of the viewer, while their shorter length (frequently just a single scroll) promises a relatively quick read and easy scrolling experience. In contrast to many larger scrolls from this period, which were often commissioned by religious institutions to illustrate official histories, small scrolls were made for private use by individuals. As such, they provide rare insight into the construction of reading and viewing subjects in the medieval period, while as examples of a painting category new to the fourteenth century, they raise important questions concerning the formation of pictorial and literary genres in the Muromachi period.

Despite their potential to illuminate these aspects of medieval art and life, small scrolls have received minimal scholarly attention. Studies of Japanese narrative handscrolls tend to concentrate on the same group of famous examples from the Heian and Kamakura periods, dismissing Muromachi-period handscrolls in general

as simply derivative of earlier works, while characterizing small scrolls in particular as objects probably made for “children of the imperial court and the shogunate.” The idea that children formed an exclusive viewership for *ko-e* is not only inaccurate (adults, including an aging emperor, also owned, viewed, and commissioned them), it fails to address the widespread popularity of the format in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the negative connotations about their aesthetic value that such a view carries, furthermore, have prevented small scrolls from receiving the scholarly attention they deserve. Scrolls have yet to be examined on an individual basis and in historical context, leaving important questions unanswered, including how small scrolls differ from other forms of narrative painting, both in terms of their formal characteristics and their functions in medieval society.

My dissertation seeks to answer these questions and contribute to an understanding of the conceptualization of *ko-e* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by examining three small scrolls by the artist Tosa Mitsunobu (active c. 1462–1521). Mitsunobu, “Director of the Painting Bureau” from 1469 until 1521, is arguably the best-documented and most prolific artist of the Muromachi period. His extant handscrolls, which include multiple examples of both standard and small-format works, provide a unique opportunity to examine one artist’s (as well as his patron’s and collaborator’s) conception of the small format and its functions in the late medieval period. Mitsunobu was a member of a circle of courtier-scholars in the capital who, in the aftermath of the Onin War (1467–1477), took it upon themselves to systematically preserve the literary past. These aristocratic men of letters copied, collated, and created digests of classical texts on a nearly daily basis, all the while using these materials as the springboards for new works of poetry, Noh plays, and hybrid short stories that were longer than didactic tales (*setsuwa*) and shorter than traditional prose narratives (*monogatari*). This preservation and recuperation of the classical canon thus brought about its transformation as well, as previously distinct literary categories were mixed together to create highly intertextual genres whose genesis derived from this culture of transcribing and annotating classical works. Because



Tosa Mitsunobu,  
*Breaking the Inkstone* (detail),  
1495. Hosomi  
Museum, Kyoto.  
Author photograph

works of literature in premodern Japan were often appreciated in the form of horizontal handscroll paintings, Mitsunobu played a key role in this production of hybrid literary forms. In particular, he can be credited with realizing the potential of the small format to serve as an ideal vehicle for the cultural production of his circle. Under Mitsunobu, small scrolls both stemmed from and served as a crucial prerequisite for vanguard literary experiments of the age.

As the three case studies in my dissertation demonstrate, Mitsunobu and his collaborators viewed the small format as a narrative space within which they could experiment with the blending of literary and pictorial genres taken from a variety of classical sources. Thus Mitsunobu's version of *Breaking the Inkstone* (*Suzuriwari sōshi*) interweaves the classical *setsuwa* with the features of the popular acolyte (*chigo*) tale; *Brief Slumbers* (*Utatane sōshi*) juxtaposes the classical courtly romance with the tradition of miraculous tales of the bodhisattva Kannon; similarly, *The Jizō Hall* (*Jizōdō sōshi*) cross-pollinates the famous folktale of the Dragon Palace, derived from the *Lotus Sutra*, with elements of the *ōjōden*, or miraculous tales of rebirth into the Pure Land. The small format itself, being relatively new to the fifteenth century, was unencumbered by prior associations and provided an ideal representational framework for such novel literary forms, namely the Muromachi-period short story.

Rather than a limitation, the radical abbreviation and condensation required of tales illustrated in the small-format scrolls allowed their producers to employ a richer, nuanced, more intertextual and intergeneric visual language. The minimization of motifs and visual devices required of *ko-e* illustration encouraged the



painter to forge a new kind of visual language for handscroll narration. Thus Mitsunobu's *ko-e* typically stripped well-known narratives down to their core elements and recombined them with elements from different genres, intertwining word and image into a symbiotic relationship ultimately mediated by the viewer.

This mixing of genres was, however, always in response to the needs of a particular viewer and the social context of the scroll's production. In the case of *Breaking the Inkstone*, for example, where the intended viewer was the shogun Ashikaga Yoshizumi (whose signature appears at the end of the scroll), I argue that Mitsunobu employed the pictorial and literary features associated with acolyte tales in order to relate this story of a young boy's self-sacrifice and loyalty toward an older male figure. The representation of the features is shown to have had political importance, not only to Yoshizumi, but to those who made up the intimate community of readers around him. All three case studies in the dissertation use a similar methodology: I examine both the literary and pictorial aspects of the scrolls to arrive at new interpretations concerning the genres they represent. The functional aspects of these genres are then linked to the historical circumstances of their intended viewers.

Far from being a minor art form exclusively for children, small scrolls were the repository for a great deal of erudition and wit, the perfect counterpart to contemporary trends in literature. The small-format handscroll was a medium in which its producers felt free to use their imaginations, and whose pictorial and literary content gestured to the actual lives of the intended viewers. Not only do small scrolls represent a significant but previously neglected aspect of the painter Tosa Mitsunobu's oeuvre, but they open a window onto a crucial phase of Muromachi cultural practice in aristocratic and warrior circles. Small scrolls also constitute an important chapter in the ongoing development of the Japanese pictorial handscroll format and speak eloquently of the richly complex relationships that these handscrolls mediated between image and text, artist and patron, depicted object and viewing subject.

[Princeton University]  
Ittleson Fellow, 1998–2000

EVA MENDGEN

RICHARD FORD

## German Expressionist Frames

The practice of cropping picture frames in the reproduction-filled world of art history has done a great disservice to German expressionist artists who designed and finished unique moldings for their paintings. Our technical and historical study concerns original frames by artists of Die Brücke, Die Blaue Reiter, and Die Blaue Vier groups from 1905, the date of the formation of Die Brücke, to 1937, the date of the infamous degenerate art exhibition. Studying the previously undocumented frames of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, Emil Nolde, Wassily Kandinsky, Lyonel Feininger, Paul Klee, and others reveals a more complete picture of each artist's oeuvre. Their frames, as a group, represent an important step in the history of artist-made moldings. Understanding the importance of framing to the expressionists is the first step toward greater appreciation, preservation, and perhaps accurate reproduction of their frames by museums, collectors, historians, and conservators.

By the end of the nineteenth century, impressionist, postimpressionist, and secessionist artists designed their own frames in harmony with their paintings. Unfortunately, many of them were later reframed with elaborate French moldings. Expressionists' solutions to framing their own art can be seen as a continuation of those *fin-de-siècle* innovations. The frames of the expressionists stand intentionally, radically apart from the mainstream taste of



Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, *The Visit*, 1910.  
Frame: carved pine with bronze and aluminum paint.  
Staedtische Kunstsammlungen  
Chemnitz

their time as exemplified by heavily ornamented, gilt, academy and dealer frames. Their success and survival relative to their predecessors, is due to largely to the support of critics and collectors like Karl Ernst Osthaus, Henry van de Velde, Rosa Schapire, Rosy and Ludwig Fischer, and Martha and Paul Rauert.

Design ideals of the expressionists are incorporated in the surfaces and cost-effective construction methods and materials chosen by the artists for their frames. Pine, often profiled and assembled by carpenters, was coated with bronze, aluminum, and other paints in a manner that eschewed refinement and high craft. Their inspiration came from folk art and collections of recently discovered “primitive” crafts. Each artist designed frame types, profiles, and surface coatings to complement the colors, techniques, and compositions of their paintings. Framed artwork was an integral part of the handmade design elements and decorative arts that filled their own studios, houses, and exhibitions—particularly those of Kirchner, Nolde, and Kandinsky.

Die Brücke artists Nolde, Kirchner, and Schmidt-Rottluff were the most prolific framemakers of our study. The fact that they spent their entire careers framing as well as painting underscores how important proper presentation was for the public and their self-images. Creating their own frame styles may have begun as part of exhibition and marketing strategies of Die Brücke.

Like other expressionists Nolde first experimented with flat profiles and used red, white, and gray finishes. Around 1910 he began producing wide black borders, varying the profiles slightly each time within roughly four-by-two-inch parameters. He varied the dark surfaces using matte, glossy, black-painted and brown-stained finishes. He also carved folk art-inspired ornaments on some frames. Near the end of his career he oversaw the mass reframing of many works in dark-brown-stained and black, rectangular-profiled borders that when hung on the red, yellow, and blue walls of his house-museum, Seebüll, resembled the bars of a Mondrian painting. Nolde's wide, dark borders unified his displays, contrasted and contained his vibrant, colorful art, and symbolized the seriousness of his spiritual and creative endeavor.

Ernst Ludwig Kirchner produced the greatest variety of frame styles with the most colorful, subtle finishing touches of the expressionists. His moldings are coated in most cases with bronze paint over lead red, with many hues of translucent matte glaze on top. He chose up to four colors from a painting and applied them thinly on the steps and angles of his profiled moldings. His frame designs, some of which can be found in his sketchbooks, developed step by step: from flat to flat with inner step, to flat with angled edges, to double flat with angled edges, to even more complex profiles later on. Kirchner's constant reevaluation and refinement of his framing parallels his experimentation with painting styles. His restless search for ever-better expressive solutions led to paintings remarkable in themselves and for the harmony between frame and picture.

Karl Schmidt-Rottluff also used many different profiles, some with bronze or aluminum paint and colored glazes like Kirchner's. While he eventually devised a standard flat with half-round style, the surfaces of his moldings bear a far greater range of materials: including black, blue, gray, dark red, a range of mixed metallic

pigments, intentional abrasion and toning. He also carved frames with geometric and curvilinear, polychromed, incised patterns. Schmidt-Rottluff's frames feature his uniquely abstract adaptation of South Sea and other crafts that relate to a suite of furniture he created for collector and critic Rosa Schapire and a series of decorative wooden boxes.

The Blaue Reiter artists Kandinsky and Klee, and the Blaue Vier member Feininger, all of whom taught at the Bauhaus, produced an interesting array of frames that includes many with triangular profiles. The contrast between Kandinsky's early, colorful folk art-influenced *Hinterglasmalerei* frames and later borders made during the Bauhaus period parallels similar transformation in his art. Crystals, cubism, and the shapes of sailboats are suggested by Feininger's spiky, faceted frames. His meticulously drawn angular profiles and reflective aluminum and bronze leaf surfaces have an air of precision and clarity found in his art as well. Klee's simple, rounded, triangular and rectangular profiles are sometimes painted, sometimes waxed, and provide a carefully colored monochromatic refuge that insulates his intimate pictures from the harsh white walls where they now mostly hang.

Hochschule der Bildende Künste Saar; Stadtgalerie Saarbrücken  
National Gallery of Art  
Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellows for Research in  
Conservation and Art History/Archaeology, 1999–2000

## An Iconographical Study of the Paintings of the Tejabrabha Buddha

The paintings of Tejabrabha Buddha constitute important iconic material of Esoteric Buddhism (Tantrism) from the late Tang dynasty (847–906) to the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The worship of Buddha Tejabrabha (in Chinese, Chishengguang Fo), the “Buddha of the Luxuriant Fiery Glow,” flourished in the high Tang period (705–780) when believers invoked this Buddha’s intercession to counter malign celestial or stellar influences. However, few paintings of Tejabrabha Buddha are extant. Here, I present an iconographical study of the antecedents, the cultural significance, and importance in Chinese art history of the thirteen examples of the paintings of Tejabrabha Buddha known today, found in the form of silk or paper scrolls, and as murals.

In these works Tejabrabha Buddha is variously depicted with supporting bodhisattvas, generally one to either side, accompanied by celestial officials, who could number five, seven, nine, or eleven, or with the celestial houses, the twelve signs of the zodiac, or the twenty-eight constellations. These stellar or celestial officials-cum-deities were drawn from various native and introduced traditions. The astronomical and astrological concept of the five planets and twenty-eight constellations originated in China. The Taoists later established various systems of correlation between the positions of the stars and planets, the seasons and musical notes, within a cyclical sequence of fixed progression. This system could be used

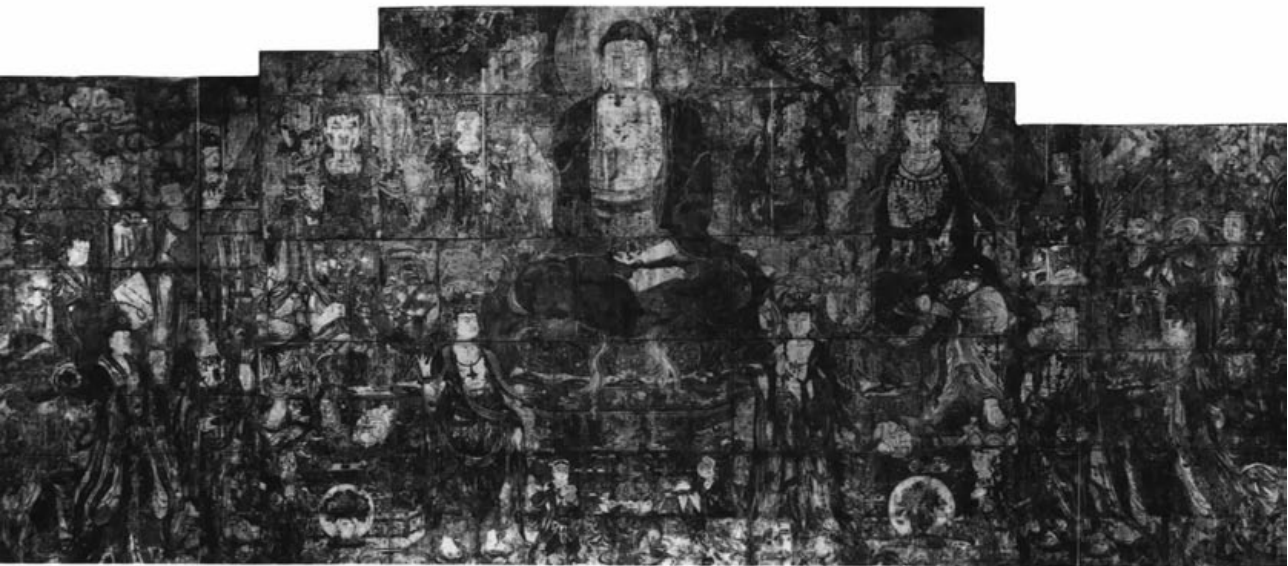
to order events, overcome malign influences, and augment benign forces within such contexts as healing and expulsion. As a mode of thinking about the universe, it exercised a direct influence on Taoism, and an indirect influence on Buddhism, especially the Esoteric Buddhism of the Tang dynasty.

An increase in the number of stellar deities in the paintings of Tejaprabha Buddha can be regarded as a reflection of an enhanced belief in the scope and sway of that Buddha's powers.

Relevant archaeological finds include the following: a painting on the lid of a lacquer casket excavated from the tomb of Marquis Yi of Zeng; illustrations on Han dynasty (206 B.C.–A.D. 220) astrological divinatory slips excavated at Wuwei Mozuizi and Fuyang Shuanggudui; and painted murals found in western Han tombs at Luoyang. However, these representations do not include portrayals of stellar deities or officials, who are only represented symbolically or through the inscription of their names.

Some hint of what these ancient paintings of stellar deities and stellar phenomena must have been like is contained in a record from the Song dynasty (960–1279), the *Huashi* (History of Painting) by the artist-connoisseur-calligrapher Mi Fu. I suggest that his work was probably similar to the “esoteric paintings and precious illustrations” referred to in the ninth century by Zhang Yanyuan, and that stellar deities had not yet been depicted in human form. The significance of this painting was astrological rather than “scientific.”

Laing Lingzan, who flourished in the Kaiyuan era (713–741) of the Tang, is said to have been closely associated with Yixing, the astronomer and Esoteric Buddhist teacher and translator, with whom he is said to have cooperated in designing an armillary sphere. Yixing is said to have been one of those, like Amoghavajra, whose works fostered the development of belief in Tejaprabha Buddha. We can compare the representation of the planets in Liang Lingzan's folio with a work by Yixing, *Fantian Huoluo Jiuyao*. I believe that Liang Lingzan's folio was based on a native Chinese system of astrology, and that there was a direct line of pedigree running from Yan Liben in his *Portrait of the Five Stars and Twenty-eight Constellations* down to Liang's folio, which can



Unknown artist,  
*The Paradise of  
Tejaprabha  
Buddha Assembly*,  
after 1319. Nelson  
Atkins Museum,  
Kansas City

be clearly seen in the representations of Venus and Saturn. The images of the stellar deities in these works laid the foundation for the later portrayal of deities accompanying Tejaprabha Buddha.

The early artists who depicted Tejaprabha Buddha in murals and scroll paintings, such as Wu Daozi, Gao Yi, Sun Zhiwei, and Cui Bai, were also well known for their portrayals of stellar deities. For example, in the Song dynasty, when restoring faded murals on the eastern corridors of Xiangguo-si, Cui Bai repainted the “nine luminaries” of Gao Yi as “eleven luminaries,” indicating a later increased accommodation with Taoism. In the late Tang period, Tejaprabha Buddha also became a subject of sculptural representation. A large number of paintings of the stellar deities and constellation deities of the Tang, Five Dynasties (907–960), and Song dynasty found their way into the Song palace household collection of Taoist and Buddhist paintings.

The development of the format of the depictions from fixed murals to portable hangings, and then the later resurgence of mural paintings on the Tejaprabha Buddha theme saw changes in the composition and arrangement of the work. In the earliest works Tejaprabha Buddha is depicted on a journey; in later works



he is at the center of a static assembly. There was an increase in complexity and detail, and a mastery of perspective and narrative in the five hundred years from the Tang to the Ming dynasty.

The Buddha Tejaprabha was held to be a master of the heavens and tamer of the heavenly bodies, vanquishing all misfortunes. The patrons or donors of the paintings (scrolls and murals) aimed to avoid all possible misfortune emanating from the planets. The depiction of the deity of any planet, which the supplicant saw as an instrumental influence on his or her life, would ensure the elimination of any evil emanating from that planet. It was this protective role of scrolls and murals, and their links with horoscopes, that made Tejaprabha worship so popular in the late Tang, Song, Tangut, Yuan, and Ming periods. Indeed, there were special temples devoted to the Tejaprabha assembly at Dunhaung, Ningxia, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, and at one site in south China.

By comparing the Tejaprabha assembly images from the late Tang to the Ming and the relevant records in histories and sutras, we can observe not only how the centrality of the Pole Star in traditional Chinese cosmology was usurped by Tejaprabha Buddha and the latter's image gradually displaced that of the Pole Star, but also the accumulation of old iconography, the patron's or donor's demands, the reflection of the viewers, and the artists' rich imaginations.

Palace Museum, Beijing  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1999

SUSAN MERRIAM

## Icons after Iconoclasm: The Flemish Floral Garland Image, 1608–1700

“There is no in point saying anything about the image enclosed in the garland,” wrote Cardinal Federico Borromeo, an art collector and Catholic reformer, in 1625, “for like a lesser light it is outshone by all the splendors surrounding it.” Borromeo is referring here to a “garland painting,” in which the “lesser light” is a picture of the Virgin and Child in the center, and the “splendors” are a profusion of fruits, flowers, vegetables, and animals in a wreath encircling the figures. Borromeo’s remark is interesting, not least because he denigrates a devotional picture, a surprising move for a man who had dedicated the greater part of his life to relegitimizing the cult of images in the wake of the Reformation. But Borromeo’s interest in, and valuation of, the wreath to the exclusion of the image of the Virgin and Child in the garland painting was shared by other seventeenth-century viewers. This reception of the devotional image with still-life garlands has been my central concern in researching and writing my dissertation this year. Specifically, I examine three questions: how this type of image developed; what purposes it served in the Catholic Reformation; and how the devotional center and the still-life framing elements related to one another, and to still-life representation in general.

Garland pictures first appeared in the early seventeenth century, and quickly gained widespread popularity. They were usually collaboratively produced: a still-life specialist executed the framing



Daniel Seghers and Erasmus Quellinus II, *A Garland of Flowers with the Education of the Virgin*. Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts

elements, while the central image was painted by an artist whose metier was the human figure. The most influential practitioners of the genre, and the artists on whom I focus the most attention, were the still-life specialists Jan Bruegel, Daniel Seghers, and Jan Davidsz. de Heem.

The first garland pictures, executed by Bruegel and his collaborators, represent a framed painting of the Virgin and Child—a painting of a painting, or a kind of replicated icon—within a floral wreath. The icons from which these early garland pictures derive

had been the focus of intense debates about the role images could play in the Christian cult; among the vigorously contested issues were the purported divine creation of icons, and the belief that they possessed supernatural powers. Thus for many contemporary viewers, the represented icon in the early garland paintings would have suggested not simply a picture they had seen somewhere before, but a type of image that spoke in fundamental ways about issues of representation and belief. The garlanded Madonnas also would have evoked the iconoclasm sparked by the Protestant Reformation when large numbers of images of the Virgin and Child were violently destroyed. Indeed, the first garland paintings were in part motivated by a need to reassess the status of religious icons in the wake of such violent attacks. But the representation of an icon within another image radically altered the terms in which this type of painting could be understood. I argue that this change suppressed the notion of presence—that is, that an element of the holy person is present in the image—and emphasized instead the doctrinal and historical aspects of the devotional picture.

I first consider this transformation of the devotional image by examining the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Flemish devotional paintings to which the garlanded Madonnas refer. In contrast to earlier paintings of the Virgin and Child, the viewer's access to the Madonna and Child in the garland paintings is mediated and distanced by a series of frames, stressing aspects of the image as representation, emphasizing its status as a ritual and institutionalized object.

The floral frame also acts as a tribute to the Virgin, for at the time, real garlands often adorned devotional objects, as memorials—thereby emphasizing that the icon has a history and exists in time.

The process of eliminating the presence of the holy figures occurs in somewhat different ways in the work of Bruegel's pupil, Seghers, and his follower, de Heem. Seghers and his collaborators replaced the icon with a grisaille cartouche, into which they often painted a statue in grisaille. Unlike a picture of a picture, which to some extent maintains the fiction that the image is a view onto a second world, a painting of a sculpture makes no claims to represent the actual holy person.

I look at the changes made to the devotional image within the context of Catholic reformers' attempts to revive and control the cult of images in two ways. I relate what could be termed the documentary aspect of the pictures to a practice in which reformers marshaled textual and material evidence to prove the legitimacy of the Catholic church in the face of Protestant attacks. In following the command of the Council of Trent that the revival of the cult of the Virgin was to be a priority, it was perhaps natural that Catholic reformers would first turn to the pictures they knew best—that is, the kinds of devotional images produced in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. But with these earlier pictures, Catholic reformers were faced with two problems: for one, the seductiveness of the figures was in part what had made Protestant reformers edgy about images in the first place; and two, the free visual access to holy images had encouraged extra-liturgical devotion and break-away cults. By emphasizing the historical and doctrinal aspects of the devotional representations in the garland pictures, the formerly problematic aspects of the ritual imagery were kept in check.

The seductiveness of the ornate still-life wreaths also played a role in this process, by drawing intense looking from the center to the periphery. Viewers' responses to the still-life elements of the frames should be interpreted in relationship to the culture of curiosity, one characterized by the consideration of hybrids and the examination of difference through juxtaposition. I conclude by showing how the power the devotional image had lost through the exclusion of the presence of the holy figures was reinvented or found by other means in this context.

[Harvard University]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1999–2000

LINDA ELAINE NEAGLEY

## Measured Time and Metered Space: Quantification and the End of Gothic Architecture

By the late fifteenth century, following the recovery of France after the Hundred Years War, most urban centers in Normandy and northern France experienced an unprecedented rejuvenation of building. In places such as Rouen, the construction of parish churches and civic buildings, the completion of cathedrals with façades and chapels, and the multiplication of monastic structures all contributed to a burgeoning building industry that began to transform the medieval urban landscape into the early modern city. While the style of these new structures is characterized as the late phase of Gothic architecture, the architectural language of ecclesiastical buildings in design, spatial configuration, architectural detail, and use of ornament is distinctly different from the formula established in the era of thirteenth-century French cathedral building. Scholarship has traditionally focused on an articulation of the formal qualities of late Gothic or French Flamboyant architecture, with little attention paid to the dynamic developments in late medieval culture and cognition that contributed to this change. This period witnessed a profound shift in concepts of time and space, represented symptomatically by the appearance of the mechanical clock in masons' workshops and the replacement of the *mappa mundi* with the more reality-based maps inspired by Ptolemy's *Geography*. This shift from abstract to rational concepts of time and space had a direct bearing on both the production or making



Collegiate Church of Notre-Dame, Louviers, begun 1506. Photograph: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg

of medieval buildings and the reception or experience of medieval space. By focusing on a number of case studies, this project seeks to examine the relationship between late Gothic architectural form, practice, and meaning, and the late medieval–early modern quantification of time and space.

Part one of this book project will consider how the commodification of time impacted the craft of masonry and the cost and duration of building projects; how the appropriation of the past was affected by a new sense of historical authenticity; and how

meaning and design were affected by the medieval understanding of space. The second half of the book will focus on issues of reception and how parish church architecture functioned as an active agent in the religious and sociopolitical experience.

The church fabric accounts and chapter deliberations of the cathedral of Rouen and a number of local parish churches, including Saint-Maclou, Saint-Vincent, and Notre-Dame at Louviers, reveal an increasing concern on the part of patrons over the regulation of labor costs and duration of work. The surplus of craftsmanship characteristic of late Gothic ornament was at odds with concerns for efficiency and economy of production. In addition to costs, the duration of a project could be controlled through the management of time, and the prestige for the completed project could be granted to the living patron rather than credited to him after death. The control of time also permitted the control of outcome and the association of the project with a single master mason. Professional identity, essential for the emergence of the architect from the ranks of the master mason, was linked to completed and aesthetically homogeneous projects.

Along with a rationalization and measurement of time comes the emergence of an accurate sense of historical past. The recovery or reclaiming of past architecture takes on a historical authenticity and precision not possible before the fifteenth century. The appropriation of the past, specifically thirteenth-century cathedral architecture by late Gothic parish churches, has frequently been cited as a distinguishing characteristic of French Flamboyant. Saint-Pierre and Coutances Cathedral, Saint-Vincent and Rouen Cathedral, Saint-Severin and Paris Cathedral, Saint-Gervais and Amiens Cathedral are all examples of the imitative quality of late Gothic. Historical quotation in the late fifteenth century coincides with the emergence of a French national identity that is unique to late Gothic and deserves closer examination.

Another chapter will consider how churches were designed using a medieval map of space derived from the twelfth-century writings of Hugh of Saint-Victor and visualized in the *mappa mundi* of the Gothic period. These world maps provide a visual analogue for the experience of space and form the underlying



vision for the inscription of meaning into the design of buildings such as the abbey of Saint-Ouen. The relationships between design, spatial allocation, and the inscription of meaning become key concerns for the medieval master mason and provide the basis for the theoretical discussion that took place between builder and patron.

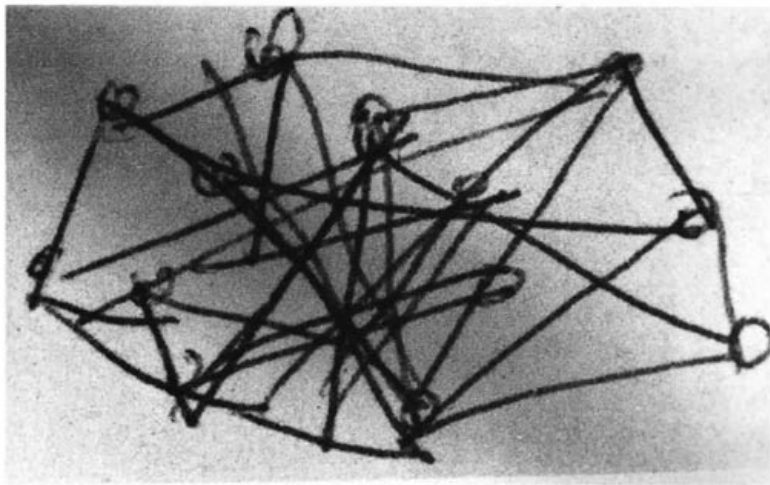
Medieval time, like medieval space, was vertical and simultaneous, resonating with notions of the past, present, and future. Spaces within churches were carefully sequenced to structure a hierarchy that was at one time, sacred, social, and political and that was essentially liminal and transformational. I would like to explore how movement through a parish church could structure both mental and local pilgrimage. Private and liturgical devotion in the fifteenth century is more clearly articulated by a geography of salvation, and the afterlife (evinced by the emergence of notions of Purgatory, the Stations of the Cross, or the Four Last Things); this explicitness is reflected in the distinct character of layered late Gothic spaces and framing and decorative elements. By focusing on late Gothic buildings where pilgrimage was either explicit due to the possession of important relics such as at Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, or implicit due to themes presented in its sculpture and glass as at Saint-Maclou in Rouen, I will explore the role that architectural space, design, and ornament play in salvation and fifteenth-century religious experience.

Rice University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1999–2000

ANNIE PEDRET

## Team 10: Agents of a Cultural Shift in Post-World War II Europe

Team 10 changed the terms of debate for modern architecture after the Second World War and made an important contribution, on the part of architecture, to a larger intellectual and cultural shift that was occurring in Europe. This shift affected the whole of architecture. Team 10 (1954–1981) was a loose association of CIAM members (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) who entered into an intergenerational debate regarding the future course of modern architecture in the mid-1950s. Asked to prepare the agenda and program for the tenth CIAM congress—hence Team 10—this group of intellectually alert architects had, at the CIAM 9 Congress, already recognized the similarity in their approaches. The key members of the group, in the years when the group's intellectual agenda was being developed, were Alison and Peter Smithson and John Voelcker (England), Jacob B. Bakema and Aldo van Eyck (The Netherlands), Rolf Gutmann (Switzerland), and Georges Candilis (France and Morocco). In the late 1950s they were joined by Giancarlo de Carlo (Italy) and Shadrach Woods (France), among others. This heterogeneous group was held together by their commitment to the theoretical premises of modern architecture and their shared dissatisfaction with the analytical and rationalist planning strategies that they had inherited from CIAM. Team 10 is known both for its role in dissolving the institution of CIAM, the most influential organization promoting



Peter D. Smithson, Ideogram of net of human relations. A constellation with different values of different parts in an immensely complicated web crossing and recrossing, n.d., "Team 10 Primer, 1953-1962," *Architectural Design* 32 (December 1962): 589

modern architecture since 1928, and for its agenda and projects of the 1960s and 1970s.

I have focused on what Peter Smithson has referred to as "old Team 10 thinking." The years between 1953 and 1956 were ones of an intense, rich, and messy debate. My research during the fellowship year has been devoted primarily to describing the details and complexity of the emergent discourse during this time as a case study for understanding how discourses emerge, and how important cultural shifts occur. Previous accounts of Team 10 have isolated certain themes as a means of explaining the group's theoretical agenda. This approach is effective in representing only certain parts of this complicated discourse and is accurate, perhaps, in describing Team 10's position as it was codified by Alison Smithson in the 1960s. I have attempted to include some of the forces that influence the development of such a discourse: the power dynamics within the institution, the personalities of the players, the various individual agendas, and the contexts—institutional, architectural, social, and historical—at the moment this important intellectual shift occurred.

Some personal agendas were consciously favored over others, and commission reports prepared by various "younger" members were often not included in documents circulated to delegates or

incorporated into CIAM publications. I have examined archival material that was deliberately ignored in the official representations of CIAM and which lay *between* things. The most crucial period of the shift occurred in the small meetings between the ninth and tenth congresses. And unlike the declarations and proclamations of their “elders” in the prewar CIAM, Team 10’s agenda was hammered out through correspondence between “younger” members.

The shift did not occur with the suddenness of a revolution, as portrayed by journalist and critic Reyner Banham, but evolved in three stages over several years. The theoretical turning point for CIAM had occurred at a meeting in Sigtuna, Sweden in 1952, much earlier than has been acknowledged. The architectural shift occurred at the CIAM 9 Congress in 1953 where the “younger” members presented architectural designs which manifested their theoretical position. In 1954, precisely at the point when the “youngsters” were able to articulate their position for the first time, Sigfried Giedion, secretary-general of CIAM, realized that the institution was in a “crisis.” The institutional turning point for CIAM followed in 1955, after which the major topic of discussion became the reorganization and dissolution of CIAM. The intellectual and cultural shift within CIAM had been achieved by 1956, several years before Alison Smithson published the key text about the group, the *Team 10 Primer*, in which she took the interrelated web of ideas generated by this debate and categorized them into a few simple key concepts.

The radical aspect of Team 10 was their attitude. The group’s antiauthoritarian and environmental approach formed the basis of their discussion about a new methodology for town planning. The group challenged the universalizing methods of CIAM-planning methods by advancing a more pragmatic approach and replaced hierarchical notions by those which favored an overall system. Team 10 proposed a more “environmental” approach by which they expected modern architects and planners to relate the dwelling to its context, loosely defined in social, physical, and historical terms. They changed the role of the architect from expert to facilitator, and redefined the role of the client from one of mere accep-

tance to involvement in the process of planning their environment. Team X's town planning initiatives demonstrated a fundamental change in attitude characterized by a growing concern for "relations" between things (Bakema), taking into account the "particular" physical and social conditions of a site (Smithsons and Voelcker), and examining towns and cities as "totalities" (Dutch-CIAM).

Team X's contribution to the practice of architecture was to distinguish between modernism as an attitude and modernism as formal expertise. They demonstrated that to be truly modern, architects had to rigorously and uncompromisingly adhere to the principles of modernism even if that meant addressing the notion of identity which we now associate with critical postmodernism. In this respect, Team X also made an important contribution to the larger intellectual and cultural shift occurring in the postwar period.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 1999–2000

## Constructing “Tradition”: Modern Japanese Architecture and the Formation of a Viable Past

The architectural profession in Japan has been firmly based in modern technology and closely linked to Western architectural practices since it began to take shape in the early Meiji period (1868–1912). Architects had to contend with the problem of how to absorb a flood of new ideas without being engulfed by them, of how to appropriate aspects of Western culture without erasing their sense of their own distinct cultural identity. In order to do this, architects struggled with Japan’s complex architectural past, inventing and reinventing new visions of “tradition” to meet contemporary needs. As Raymond Williams has argued, “tradition” should be viewed as an ongoing cultural process, as “a selective tradition: an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a preshaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification.” This project examines constructions of Japanese “tradition” in Japanese architectural discourse from the late nineteenth century to the present. Five case studies analyze the relationship between shifting cultural and political forces in Japan and the production of different “version(s) of the shaping past” within the field of architecture.

Josiah Conder (1852–1920) was an English architect hired by the Japanese government in 1876 to train Japanese students in European architectural practices. The academic program in architecture at the Imperial Engineering College that Conder helped



Itō Chūta, Great  
Kantō Earthquake  
Memorial Hall,  
Tokyo, 1930.  
Author photograph

to establish was an essential institution for the formation of a modern architectural profession. The irony is that Conder, who was invited to Japan to forward the government's westernization policies, became deeply engaged with Japanese culture. He studied and wrote extensively on premodern Japanese architecture, gardens, clothing, flower arranging, and painting. What was Conder's understanding of Japanese "tradition" and how did his understanding of "tradition" effect his own designs? What significance should this "tradition" have for contemporary Japanese architects?

Itō Chūta (1867–1854) was a central figure in the formation of the field of Japanese architectural history. He was involved in efforts to restore or replicate numerous historic buildings, and became an effective advocate for the development of a new archi-

tectural style that would reconcile contemporary building methods with premodern Japanese architectural forms. I analyze Itō's ground-breaking study of the seventh-century Buddhist temple Hōryūji of 1893, and the connections between Itō's architectural history—his archaeological vision of “tradition”—and his architectural practice. Itō was able to make Japanese “tradition” an object of study, because as a modern, university-trained architect, he had a degree of distance from the institutions and intellectual frameworks that had produced the premodern Japanese architecture from which he then fashioned his understanding of “tradition.”

Intense nationalism from the 1920s until the end of World War II led to growing pressure within the architectural profession to create distinctively “Japanese” architecture. Architects appropriated forms drawn from Japan's architectural past into modern structures, especially for conspicuous public commissions, such as the Tokyo Imperial Household Museum (1931–1937). This hybrid style, known as *Nihon shumi* (Japanese for taste), rankled many in the profession, especially modernists who professed respect for Japanese “tradition,” but who saw these designs as artificial or even dishonest. The controversy over this style revolved around competing definitions of “tradition”—a debate made all the more salient because it was unfolding at a time when the Japanese government was trying desperately to redefine Japan's relationship to the world politically, militarily, and culturally.

The war badly tarnished many of Japan's symbols of national unity. The burgeoning of the extraordinary career of Tange Kenzō (1913–) coincided with Japan's dramatic reconstruction and economic recovery. In a series of pivotal articles from the 1950s, Tange interpreted Japanese architectural history in terms of a tension between what he called a Jōmon aesthetic and a Yayoi aesthetic. Jōmon refers to an early prehistoric period hunter-gatherer society that Tange saw as energetic and plebeian. The Yayoi society, which followed the Jōmon, relied on wet-rice agriculture. Yayoi material culture was characterized by Tange as restrained and aristocratic. He used this dialectical framework to analyze not only premodern designs such as the Katsura Palace and Ise Shrine, but his own work of the period as well. Tange introduced these vague



concepts to reform a sense of national identity by reaching back before the war to reaffirm belief in continuity with Japan's artistic past. Tange's ideas resonated with contemporaries, and his writings had a significant impact on how a whole generation has understood modernist architectural design.

Kurokawa Kisho (1934–) is a prodigiously productive architect and prolific author. His work is eclectic and cosmopolitan. Kurokawa asserts that culture is inherently hybrid by nature, and he is careful to disclaim that any culture is superior to another. Yet he sets up a polarity between what he characterizes as the rationalism and reductionism of much of Western art and philosophy and what he sees as the ambiguity and multiple meanings inherent in Japanese cultural production. He identifies with the later mode, as he makes clear with his analysis of the concept of “Rikyū gray,” which he describes as his “personal symbol and label for the multiple meanings and simultaneous possibilities of things.” Kurokawa's argument projects an image of Japanese culture rooted in “tradition” that is strikingly discrete, coherent, and consistent. In the process, Kurokawa attempts to project a vision of cultural identity that can absorb and neutralize the onslaught of international postmodern popular culture.

Over the last century leaders in various fields have addressed the wrenching dislocations wrought by the modernization by delineating an “imagined community” of “the Japanese” through the strategic deployment of the concept of “tradition” in public discourse. Architecture and the arts have played a crucial role in this process by contributing to a sense of national unity through the affirmation of cultural identity.

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## The Fragment: Self-Sufficiency and “Responses” in the Restoration of Antiquities in the Nineteenth Century

“Une belle chose en ruine est plus belle qu’une belle chose” affirmed Auguste Rodin, and his sculpture often exemplified this aesthetic axiom. Beyond Rodin’s own artistic production, the fragmented image, imbued with aesthetic autonomy, came to assert itself throughout the nineteenth century. Intellectuals attributed an aesthetic presence to the fragment and, by extension, to the abbreviated, rapidly sketched image. Friedrich Schlegel at the beginning of the century theorized the value of fragmentary thoughts because of their capacity to stimulate the mind. Hegel believed that lyrical poetry, based on its “intense concentration” which cannot be anything but “fragmentary,” should not “go beyond the dimensions of a song or simple excerpt.” In 1844 Schopenhauer widened the range of aesthetic meanings to take in the sketch, praising small illuminations in contrast to the great paintings of history. Thus, from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, in painting as in poetry, the fragment as an expressive module—abbreviated and essential—gained ground. Poets and writers such as Wordsworth, Novalis, and de Volney stressed the density of communication of the unfinished state, the abbreviation, the fragment, in poetic as well as in visual language.

In the visual arts, solutions halfway between the celebration of the unfinished and the acceptance of the fragment as compositional system gained favor. From George Romney to Jean-Auguste-



Three Fates from  
the east pediment  
of the Parthenon,  
438–432 B.C.  
British Museum,  
London.  
Photograph:  
National Gallery  
of Art, Washing-  
ton, Photographic  
Archives

Dominique Ingres and Théodore Géricault, the temptation was to concentrate on the head as the only finished part of a painting, just hinting at the background and the body, to extrapolate a single part of a complex composition and use it in a new work; and to accept as complete little more than a sketch.

The theory and history surrounding the restoration of antique sculpture tended to favor the self-sufficiency of the fragment. A number of events in the course of the nineteenth century indicated that in addition to the traditional restoration of marbles, backed by a well-established historicism, an opposite tendency was cautiously beginning to make its presence felt. Among the general public, private collectors, and art dealers, who continued to give priority to integrated Greek or Roman works, another sensibility was developing that began to condition the thinking of intellectuals, museum curators, conservators, and restorers. Two other questions intrinsic to the work of art itself emerged: those of the unity and the authenticity of the image. Inevitably the field of restoration was the most delicate area in this dispute.

Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the main argument for the restoration of marbles was to be able to know these works better and to learn from them. But it was precisely those lined up in favor of integration who were shaken by an event that seriously undermined the certainties on which integration was based. I refer to the well-known international discussion of 1815 and 1816 on the restoration of the Parthenon fragments, which had been carried off to London by Lord Elgin some years before. On this occasion, the artists and scholars who were consulted (Antonio Canova, Quatremère de Quincy, and Quirino Visconti, among others), even those who considered restoration a necessary practice, found themselves agreeing that no intervention was possible. The visual power of Phidias' originals undermined faith in the correctness of integrating old and new. The principles of both unity and authenticity were at the core of this aesthetic epiphany: no artist, it was felt, would be able to re-create the style of Phidias. A breach had been opened. Antonio Canova, who had been able to see these sculptures in London, returned to Rome and, as curator of the Vatican Museums, issued an edict that overturned the laws of the market and of tradition. From that moment in 1816 onward, the only works to be bought for the Vatican collections were "...those monuments which are preserved in their antique originality, without restoration." Authenticity was becoming "antique originality," I believe, for the first time. But this was not yet to be a definitive decision. Canova, Quatremère de Quincy, and Quirino Visconti all praised the integrative restoration that Bertel Thorvaldsen had carried out on the marbles from Aegina, bought by King Ludwig for his new museum in Munich. Thorvaldsen's style was a perfect imitation of archaic Greek sculpture. The apparent ambiguity did not lie in the different attitudes of these three intellectuals, but in the changing meaning of the term "original" itself. In regard to the Elgin marbles, Canova used the words "untouched in their antique originality."

During my research at the Center, I concentrated on two topics: the first was the theme of authenticity and originality and its connection with the problem of artistic heritage. The second was the installation of ancient sculpture in the most important museums

of the nineteenth century. From old photographs, paintings, and prints, it is possible to document the slow change to the nonrestoration of sculpture. It emerges as a coherent enough process, especially in the Louvre and the British Museum, where the curators decided not to restore the very significant Greek statues that had arrived from numerous excavations in Greece and Asia Minor. The most famous examples, other than the Elgin Marbles, were the Phygaleian Marbles, also at the British Museum, and the Venus de Milo and the Nike of Samothrace at the Louvre. During the course of the century, in museums everywhere it became increasingly customary to exhibit marbles without restoration. By the beginning of the twentieth century, it was rare to find an integrated marble. In fact, a trend had begun in the opposite (and very dangerous) direction: the removal of previous, inauthentic restorations.

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## A Catalogue Raisonné of the French Paintings in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: From the End of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts includes about five hundred French pictures, dating from the end of sixteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. For my period of research at the Center, I worked on several groups of paintings that present similar problems of connoisseurship. The first group consists of pictures either by unknown artists or with misattributions; *The Toilet of Venus*, which was long ascribed to Jean Hugue Taraval, is a good example. An eighteenth-century masterpiece, it came from an old Russian collection, that of count Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin and was originally considered to be by François Boucher. The attribution to Taraval, proposed in the 1960s, was a rather arbitrary choice, but it can be explained by the fact that the picture was acquired in the mid-eighteenth century. Indeed, the artist was influenced by rococo painting, but at the same time there are many details suggesting a later date, and pointing to a painter already marked by neoclassical taste. This peculiar blend of rococo and neoclassical style suggests that the picture was painted by an artist of the neoclassical generation early in his career. Recent years have witnessed a turn of interest toward all things neoclassical, to those artists of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries who were precursors, contemporaries, and followers of Jacques-Louis David.

A number of comparisons make it now possible to reattribute the *Venus* to Jean-Baptiste Regnault, best known for his ambitious neoclassical, historical, and allegorical compositions. In the 1780s Regnault had devoted his talents largely to less serious subjects than did his contemporaries. He preferred the genre *gracieux* to the moral commitment of David. *The Toilet of Venus* is a fine example of this kind of picture. No other painter of the time treated the female nude as successfully as Regnault, and he did not lack buyers for this specialty. But these graceful works were ignored until very recently.

Another painting with a traditional but incorrect attribution is *The View of Naples*, previously attributed to Jean-Baptiste Isabey. The picture bears the artist's signature, which is evidently false, as it was painted over craquelure. Views of Naples were so popular and fashionable in the first half of the nineteenth century that it was believed to be almost impossible to find the real artist. However, one clue to the painter's identity is the marked combination of a naive manner, close to the works of nonprofessional artists, with a keen observation of details, as for instance, in the representation of costumes and ships. The picture resembles in many details works by Louis Garneray, who came from the family of painters but had no professional education. During his lifetime Garneray was considered one of the most important marine painters in France. Later, he was completely forgotten, and only after the publication of a monograph by Laurent Manoeuvre in 1997 was his oeuvre recognized. *The View of Naples* belongs to a large series of pictures by Garneray representing European seaports, executed in the 1820–1830s. Among the engravings in the monograph is a view of Naples by Théophile Hamel after the painting in the Pushkin Museum.

The second group of pictures I worked on during my residence are landscapes, influenced in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France by Nicolas Poussin, Claude Lorrain, and Gaspard Dughet. For a long time, all the pictures in this group were considered to be French. The dispersal of "ideal" or "classical" landscapes throughout Europe by painters active in Rome resulted in a pan-European

phenomenon. Ideal landscape found favor in France, Italy, and perhaps most strongly in England. The Flemish and Dutch schools also had their own traditions. The collection of the Pushkin Museum includes several examples by various European artists, demonstrating diverse conceptions of the ideal landscape.

One of the pictures, ascribed to Francisque Millet, has now been reattributed to Cornelis Huysmans, whose work has often been confused with that of Dughet and Millet. The choice of view, type of foreground, spatial and chromatic suggestion of depth, the coloring—all are close to the oeuvre of this Flemish painter. It is quite understandable, however, that the landscape was considered to be by Millet, who was of Flemish origin but belonged to the French school. Another landscape, a small and delicate picture painted on copper, was also ascribed to Millet but is closer to the works of Pierre Antoine Patel the Younger, who carried on the artistic heritage of Claude Lorrain in the first half of the eighteenth century. Two classical landscapes with architectural settings attributed to Etienne Allegrain seem closer to the more painterly manner typical of Millet than to the elaborate classicizing architecture, crisp coloring, and smooth handling of Allegrain's signed pictures. In the case of the last two landscapes, they will be catalogued with a question mark. Both the oeuvres of Millet and Allegrain are still insufficiently studied to make the attributions certain.

Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 2000



## Cézanne, Lucretius, and the Late Nineteenth-Century Crisis in Science

Paul Cézanne began his career at the apex of French faith in science as the most reliable mode to secure accurate, objective knowledge about the world. Strict adherence to what is directly perceived, the notional coordination of the immediate data—“*les données immédiates*”—of vision with a nonprejudicial (in the impressionist idiom, “spontaneous”) representational form, and a staunch resistance to aprioristic or metaphysical systems of explanation—such theoretical and practical proposals served as early catechism for Cézanne and the impressionist generation of painters. “The painter must consecrate himself entirely to the study of nature,” Cézanne repeatedly insisted, underscoring the core tenet of what art historians take to signal his “positivistic” attitude toward pictorial practice. A work like the National Gallery’s *Maisons en Provence* appears indeed to emphasize what positivist philosophy espoused: a tenacious attention to the observed phenomena of the natural world, the rigorous standardization of method and technique, and the reduction of representational means to its most basic and neutralized form.

Yet even *Maisons en Provence* gestures somewhat antithetically toward those dispensations of pictorial abstraction we see embraced by and elaborated in twentieth-century modernist art. On the one hand, we cannot help but note the regularized applications of paint in discrete, uniform marks suggestive of the “reg-



Paul Cézanne,  
*Maisons en  
Provence—la  
vallée de Riaux  
près de l'Estaque*,  
1879–1882.  
National Gallery  
of Art, Washing-  
ton, Collection of  
Mr. and Mrs. Paul  
Mellon

istration” of visual “sensations.” But what about that branchy wattle of marks midforeground—are these, too, meant to denote the sense-data of visual experience? How are we to account for the strange way the house nearest the picture plane appears doubled in warped inversion, as the structure casts a kind of materialized “shadow” on the rocky patch of the incline over which it towers? Positivism has served to frame Cézanne’s practice historically, to account for his formal innovations and explain the motives for his practical method. Particularly emphasized has been what is called the “constructive stroke,” a feature of brushwork conspicuous in *Maisons en Provence*. This feature, however, all but disappears in Cézanne’s canvases after the mid-1880s, the same time Cézanne began to articulate his “theory” of art.

During the final decade of Cézanne’s career, positivist science was broadly perceived by both professional scientists and the

public as suffering from a grave epistemological “crisis.” Science’s negative *fin-de-siècle* reputation was a far cry from its rhetorical triumphalism of the 1850s and 1860s. The critical debate turned on the status of “realism” in advanced scientific theory: can scientific theories accurately represent nature? Do scientific models offer “realistic” descriptions of the world, or do they serve merely as “metaphors” for, or “abstractions” of, it? If key scientific terms denote entities not verifiable experimentally, can they count as anything more than the “artifices” of representation?

The terms traditionally used to describe modernist painting’s evolution outline the transformation of a pictorial mode certain of its ability to see, know, and accurately represent nature shifting toward another mode strident in its emphasis on the artifice of representation’s means. We move—so the story goes—from the pictorial world of Gustave Courbet to analytic cubism and beyond. Cézanne has long served as this narrative’s transitional figure, but the reasons his work concluded in an increasing emphasis on the materiality of representation’s means—in other words, in pictorial abstraction—have not until now been provided an explanatory historical framework.

The premise of my study has been that the formal concerns of Cézanne’s painting, and in particular those of his late work (1890–1906), are productively elucidated by comparing them with the theoretical concerns underlying the crisis in science at this time. As my dissertation frames it, the “crisis of science” was at base a crisis of “realism” catalyzed by the increasingly central role played in the sciences by atomic theory during the second half of the century.

As philosophers of science debated the “question of the atom,” Cézanne was reading Lucretius’ *De Rerum natura*, the key classical treatise on atomistic philosophy. This text figured centrally in scientific debates about realism. Many scientists considered it a foundational text of “modern” scientific theory. Two contemporary sources testify that during the 1890s Cézanne was deeply engaged with reading Lucretius. But my research has uncovered evidence that Cézanne was almost certainly familiar with the poet by the late 1850s. Scholars have noted Cézanne’s attachment to

classical literature, yet his interest in Lucretius has been neither documented nor explored for its historical significance or for the ways his engagement with the poet may help explain certain lingering questions about Cézanne's art.

My study offers specific historical parameters for the interpretation of Cézanne's pictorial innovations—especially the “constructive stroke”—at the intersection of this period's conflict between positivism and atomism. I hope thereby to provide another way of seeing Cézanne's art, and also perspective on the transformations of avant-garde painting during the nineteenth century's last decades. Earlier, the objectivity and accuracy of scientific theory had been taken as matters of course by painters who sought theoretical “assurance” (as Camille Pissarro put it) in the new theories of optics, color, and psychology. These had a powerful impact on avant-garde painting, but they became deeply embroiled in the atomic debates toward the century's close. My work also considers Cézanne's early critical reception and how it has been formative for later interpretations of his art. The generations of painters following Cézanne—the symbolists in the 1880s and the Nabis in the 1890s—rejected science as a vain and hubristic enterprise that offered, in the end, little elucidation about the world's true nature. From these generations come voices that contributed to the enduring vocabulary used to interpret Cézanne's work and establish the canonical trajectory of modernist art. This shift in attitude toward science therefore becomes all the more exigent for understanding the history of modernist painting.

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## Architecture and Urban Design: The Modern Era Reconsidered

Academic literature on the history of modern urban design is increasingly vast and constantly covers new fields and new problems. At the same time, the choice of projects and personalities studied seems paradoxically to be narrowing. Although the theoretical and methodological perspectives of architectural historians differ radically, it appears problematic that particular subjects of inquiry have been singled out to the exclusion of others. Why is a canon, fixed in an earlier period, still unquestionably accepted without further discussion in later times?

To address this question, it is necessary to understand the reasons behind the consensus that selects a canonical architect or work of architecture and, more important, to understand the reasons for omitting other examples and personalities. My research suggests that some choices were casual ones, perhaps due to a lack of documentation. Filling this gap is particularly crucial in the case of important theoreticians such as Camillo Sitte, Patrick Geddes, Walter Gropius, Ernst May, and even Le Corbusier. Their writings are well known and thoroughly examined. In contrast, their professional practice, which could and should contribute an “authentic” interpretation to some of their more controversial hypotheses, has been neglected as a source of information.

In other cases, however, our ignorance of important works is largely due to the increasing specialization of scholars, trained to

research either theories or plans, but seldom both. Problems of copyright, of accessibility, of financing, and so on also play a role. At any rate, it is time to study the professional practice of some of the most prominent urban designers of the modern era, to publish scarcely known materials, and to use them for a clearer understanding of architects' theoretical writings.

I have applied this approach in several instances, and my research has proven fruitful. The work of Camillo Sitte is easily accessible from the archives, and it is possible to demonstrate how, when confronted with a real problem, he adopted flexible and innovative schemes that often diverged from his famous published models and the current practice of his academic followers. His projects at Olmütz, Marienberg, and along the North Sea are especially revealing. Similarly, the writings of Patrick Geddes are considered to be among the most influential and seminal in modern urban design history. Although some of his work in Scotland and India has been published, his plans for sites in Israel, especially Tel Aviv, are almost entirely unknown. The Tel Aviv work shows a fresh and highly innovative conception of the garden city schemes in a new context. Walter Gropius' housing complexes are well known, but not his activity in Hagen, in the Ruhr Valley; unpublished drawings of this work show the ways he attended to vistas, site layouts, and landscape use, in significant contrast to his later work. The plans and projects of Ernst May in Germany need no further documentation, but his activities in the Soviet Union and Kenya are poorly studied. Similarly, important designs for *Siedlungen* by members of the *Werkbund*, created during the Nazi years, have been ignored since then for political reasons. Le Corbusier's third plan for Algiers, dated 1943, as well as other less important projects, also remains unpublished and shows an interesting evolution both technical and political. (The plan was approved and countersigned by Maréchal Pétain.) Materials on the first phase of the planning of Chandigarh are available, but seem nonetheless to remain little known. The same could be said of urban design projects of the 1930s and 1940s in Turkey, where political developments made the redaction of modernist plans by European architects possible but not their publication in accessible sources abroad.

The relevance of Theodor Fischer, Josef Stübben, and Willi Baumeister as founders of urban design as an academic discipline is beyond question, but far less known are the actual projects upon which their theoretical writings are predicated.

According to my research, similar conditions appear to apply in the United States as well. While at the Center, I was able to study the connection between the writings and the professional practice of Werner Hegemann, Lewis Mumford, and Clarice Stein.

My book-length study will examine twelve cases. Residence at the Center provided me with access to English publications and plans (at the Library of Congress, the libraries of the National Gallery of Art and the National Building Museum, and the Avery Architectural Library) and also allowed consultation with colleagues.

Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999

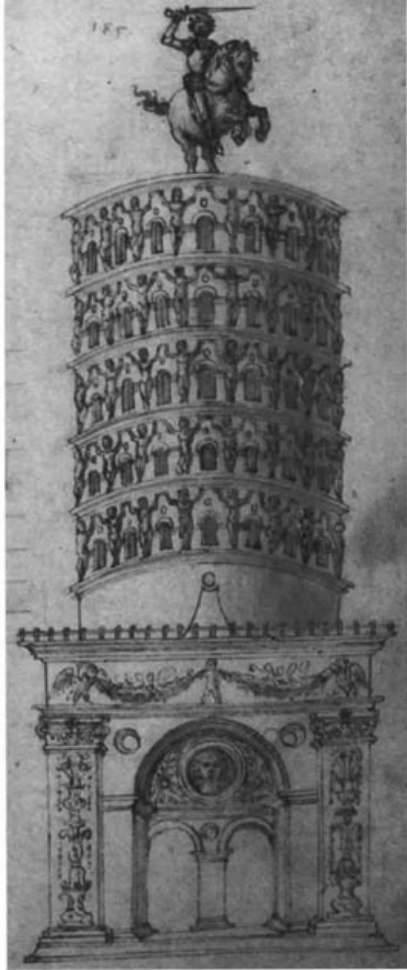
LEILA WHITTEMORE

## Theory, Practice, and the Architectural Imagination: Filarete's Treatise on Architecture and Early Sforza Urbanism, 1450–1465

Between 1460 and 1464, the Florentine architect and sculptor Antonio Averlino composed what may be the most singular of all Renaissance architectural treatises. Writing under the pen name Filarete—an Italicized Greek name signifying “lover of excellence,” but suggesting in Italian “spinner of traps or devices”—Averlino recounted the building of two cities, Sforzinda and Plusiapolis, for an anonymous patron transparently modeled on his employer, Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. The treatise, which Averlino called his “libro architetonico,” has a peculiarly hybrid form. Part Platonic dialogue, part mythologizing narrative, it oscillates between classical paraphrase, outright fantasy, and exceptionally detailed discussions of architectural practice—labor costs, the nature of materials, the means of laying out plans. This eclecticism has puzzled readers and scholars ever since Giorgio Vasari first characterized it as “perhaps the most stupid book ever written.”

My dissertation research has not sought to impose a spurious unity on these idiosyncrasies, but rather to examine how the treatise serves as both a document of its time and place and as an inventive literary and theoretical work. This double perspective sheds light on many of the text's peculiarities: its relation to classical and humanist sources, its conception of Milan as both actual and idealized city, its picture of the patron-architect relationship. If I have found a leitmotif among these elements, it is Filarete's conception





Anonymous  
fifteenth-century  
copyist of Filarete,  
*Project for a  
Revolving Tower  
in "Plusiapolis"*  
(detail), c. 1465,  
ms. Magliabec-  
chiano II.I.140,  
f. 172r. Biblioteca  
Nazionale Cen-  
trale, Florence  
(by permission of  
the Ministero per  
i Beni e le Attività  
Culturali)

of architecture as a representational art. This has led me to one of the least-studied aspects of the work: its status as the earliest Renaissance treatise to have survived in illustrated form.

By his own admission "neither learned in writing nor in speech," and explicitly addressing his work to the layperson, Filarete nevertheless shows himself alive to humanist culture's prestige and utility for the seigneurial patron. He further draws upon a specifically Milanese tradition of urban description, from Ausonius to Galvano Fiamma, that had emphasized, albeit abstractly, the city's double heritage of classical and Christian urban form. His appeals to the authority of antique building, to the nascent culture of Platonic reading, and his selective use of precedents all contribute to an unusually broad conception of architectural practice. A suggestive and well-known instance occurs in Book 7, where Filarete

revises the Vitruvian account of the architectural orders, making the Doric the tallest and most elaborate and the Ionic the humblest, corresponding to the social distinctions of the seigneurial state. Without the architect's technical expertise, he suggests, such built meanings will remain illegible.

To perhaps a greater degree than any of his contemporaries, Filarete ties the practice of architecture to that of statecraft, and depicts the architect and patron mutually shaping each other's identities. The treatise initially presents their bond as an explicitly conjugal one (Book 1), begetting buildings like children. As the narrative-cum-dialogue unfolds, the architect not only presents plans and elevations to the patron and his family, but orchestrates the ceremonies dedicating Sforzinda's walls (Book 4) and the cornerstone-laying at the hospital (Book 11). This pairing of action and representation had a special resonance for Sforza, a mercenary captain who had skillfully maneuvered to capture the duchy of Milan in 1450, and used every means at his disposal thereafter to consolidate his legitimacy.

Scholars have long viewed this picture of architect-patron relationships as idealized, but I would argue that it has a very real basis in Averlino's Milanese experience. I have examined documents pertaining to the ducal projects on which Filarete worked—the Castello di Porta Giovia, the Duomo, and the Ospedale Maggiore, as well as the abortive projects for a triumphal arch in Cremona and the ducal residence in Venice. These suggest that, at least early in their relationship, Sforza indeed looked to Averlino to give appropriate symbolic expression to ducal urban intervention. But after the rebuilding of the *castello* in 1452–1454—a process marked by financial scandal, dissidence within the workshop, and adverse political reactions among the city's residents—Sforza tended to approach later projects through intermediaries, with a greater eye to building consensus. Nowhere was this more true than at the Ospedale Maggiore, which Sforza viewed as the centerpiece of his urban policy—and where his caution directly affected Averlino's ability to carry out his designs.

All of these concerns frame my analysis of the treatise's illustrations and their persuasive and instructional roles within the text.

Although no original drawings survive, the evidence of copies from different recensions of the manuscript (preserved in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, and the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice) implies their dependence on a common visual prototype, identifiable as Averlino's own. These illustrations suggest an effort to translate the technical drawing of the workshop—the conventions of plan, elevation, and section—into a more allusive, quasi-ideographic visual language that would increase both their appeal and comprehensibility for the patron. As such, they mark an important moment in the evolving fifteenth-century vocabulary of architectural and presentation drawings. Although the treatise was never published, it was copied and reedited during the fifteenth century for a number of distinguished patrons, including Piero de' Medici, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary, and the cardinal of Aragon. But the drawings also found an audience among artists: later copyists include Buonaccorso Ghiberti, Pietro Cataneo, and several anonymous designers of *all'antica* ornament.

A crucial passage in Book 14 describes the finding of a “golden book,” written in Greek, at the site of the new port; when deciphered, the book tells the history of the site and predicts that a new metropolis will rise there in the future. The drawings in the golden book are to serve as the template for those in the new city. This elaborate fiction allows Filarete to confer a double authority upon the new designs: not only do they represent antique building practice, but they are in fact *drawn* as the ancients drew. We have evidence from Averlino's earlier sculptural works—the bronze doors of Saint Peter's and his surviving plaquettes—of his extended study of ancient coins and reliefs for architectural and figural images. In the treatise, such sources, especially Roman imperial coins depicting buildings, help the architect to shape a visual vocabulary both familiar to his patrons and carrying its own brand of eloquence.

Averlino/Filarete, architect and writer, remains a figure *sui generis* in quattrocento architectural theory. Few practicing architects of the period had the humanist abilities of an Alberti; few showed Francesco di Giorgio's application in investigating Vitruvius and Roman monuments. Filarete evinces none of the depth of

culture or acquired learning of either of these men. Yet he may be more typical of practitioners as an “end-user” of humanist culture, and his concerns were certainly consonant with the cultural and urban climate of Sforza’s Milan. It is precisely because he reflected so tellingly on the social and patronage conditions of architecture that he could claim so broad a purview for its visual and symbolic power.

[Columbia University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1996–1997; 1998–2000

## An Electric Revolution: Robert Adam and the Phenomenon of Style

“The light and elegant ornaments, the varied compartments in the ceilings of Mr Adam, imitated from the ancient works in the baths and villas of the Romans, were soon applied in designs for chairs, tables, carpets, and in every species of furniture. To Mr Adam’s taste in the ornaments of his buildings and furniture, we stand indebted, inasmuch as manufacturers of every kind felt, as it were, the electric power of this revolution in art.” Thus the leading regency designer Sir John Soane in a lecture of 1815 to the Royal Academy, London, characterized the unique significance of a recent phenomenon in British architecture and the decorative arts, one now widely accepted as marking a considerable landmark in European design. By that time, however, the Adam achievement was at particularly low ebb, both in professional opinion as well as in public taste. Since neoclassical design in Britain had entered a more doctrinaire phase in theory and was following a stricter reproduction of archaeological motifs, the fanciful and highly ingenious adaptation of antiquity in the Adam style was totally out of fashion. Of the four Adam brothers (three trained as architects under their father, and the youngest became a building contractor for the firm), Robert had died in 1792, followed by James, his younger brother and close collaborator, in 1794. By 1806, when appointed professor at the academy, Soane himself had developed a radical and highly eccentric style of his own in his masterpiece,



South end of the East Room, White House, Washington, showing carpets made in 1994, with motifs derived from the Adam-style plasterwork of the ceiling (1951) together with other forms and colors derived from original Adam designs. Photograph: White House, Washington

the Bank of England, begun in 1788. Passionately dedicated to promoting imaginative design, he was in a strong position to evaluate the pioneering work of the Adams.

My work at the Center involved a close examination of the sources, principles, workings, and impact of the Adam style in architecture and the decorative arts. A highly opportune case study was provided by the ways the Adam influence was manifested in North American design within the Federal style, particularly in the years to either side of the Revolution. Indeed, to a considerable degree, the Adam style was the Federal style until the search for a national expression led to the increasing adoption of the Greek revival as a style from about 1810. One notable example close to hand in Washington is no less than the White House.

The second half of the eighteenth century saw an unparalleled increase of source material from antiquity as inspiration for design-

ers, published as well as directly uncovered largely by British scholars and architects. This rapidly accumulating material challenged and seriously undermined for the first time in Europe the centrality of Roman and Vitruvian monumental classicism, presenting a range of stylistic choices between diverse cultures (for example, Greek, Etruscan, and Egyptian, in addition to Roman domestic design uncovered in the Vesuvian cities). This historicist cast of mind inevitably led to a growing desire for a contemporary style, unique and closely related to the requirements of its time (the term “modern” being used to distinguish this attitude). The realization that the whole of antiquity offered a vast store of formal complexity and diversity in expression led the architect and engraver Giovanni Battista Piranesi to propose a system of design based on the widest possible assimilation of material from the past in his polemical work *Parere su l'architettura* (1765); this in marked contrast to Johann Joachim Winckelmann's writings advocating the austere principle of Greek simplicity as inspiration for designers.

Robert Adam, and subsequently James, encountered Piranesi and his catalytic ideas when studying separately in Italy between 1755 and 1763, developing through his critical impact on them a highly original vocabulary and approach to design over the next three decades of their practice, based mainly in London. They were backed by a well-organized and strictly controlled office, which produced a formidable range of specialized drawings (many of them colored and surviving among the nine thousand Adam designs in Soane's own collection), and their style promoted by sophisticated publicity campaigns. Although deriving many ideas from the work of predecessors, like William Kent, and rivals, like James Stuart and James Wyatt, the Adams placed a far stronger emphasis on qualities such as “novelty,” “variety,” and “convenience.” During the 1760s they set out to capture major country house clients, while moving the focus of their operations to town house and urban design in London by the 1770s, and went on to undertake an ambitious program of public buildings and castle-style country houses in Scotland, mainly in the 1780s. They were quick to discern the growing shift from aristocratic patrons to a more professional and bourgeois client base and adapted their style

accordingly. In response to economic pressures, they exploited the mass-production techniques (for example, using cast iron and more refined metalwork like ormolu) and synthetic materials (stucco, artificial stone, scagliola, and so on) provided by the emergent Industrial Revolution, to evolve a style applicable to all areas of the decorative arts (for instance, Matthew Boulton in metalwork; Thomas Chippendale and George Hepplewhite in furniture; Thomas Moore in textiles; Josiah Wedgwood in ceramics). Given these new reproductive processes, a coherent vocabulary of widely selected and simplified classical motifs was thus readily applied to a range of media, scales, and contexts in architecture and interior design. In total, it would not be too anachronistic to talk of a “consumer-led style” insofar as the Adams’ designs, swiftly adopted by other designers, deliberately encouraged a demand for the fashionable and the marketable.

In *The Works in Architecture* the eighty large plates, engraved to the highest standard, included not only conventional plans, sections, and elevations but also emotive perspectives and a vast range of decorative motifs from façade reliefs to designs for ceilings, entire wall schemes, and fittings right down to intricate door furniture. Notwithstanding the significance of the text, however, the plates were to act as the chief agents in the diffusion of the Adam style, both in Britain and in America. Already by the 1770s, before the Revolution, Adam planning forms, elevational compositions, and decorative vocabulary had reached the colonies.

Perhaps more than anything else, the various revivals of the Adam style right up to the present day in interior design can be partly explained by the way such a systematized vocabulary of diverse classical forms lent itself to schemes integrating not only walls, ceilings, and floor surfaces but fittings and movable furnishings. This is clearly demonstrated in the East Room of the White House where a set of three carpets, made in 1994 after designs by Robert Adam in the Soane Collection, incorporates Adam motifs from the ornamental plaster ceiling created in 1951, during the Truman renovation. Moreover, these recent textiles, woven in New York, use colors from Adam carpet designs of 1769–1775, including



tones responding to the “rouge antique” of the marble chimneypieces. In the words of the first president’s nephew, Lund Washington, referring to the Adamesque work at Mount Vernon, the result is “light and handsome.”

University of Hull (emeritus)  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1999



Hans-Jörg Heusser, "The Practice of Advanced Research in Art History Today,"  
4-6 November 1999

## Description of Programs



Jonathan Reynolds and Andrew Leung

## Fields of Inquiry

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, and urbanism from prehistoric times to the present. The Center supports research in the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences.

## Fellowship Program

### *Samuel H. Kress Professorship*

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the National Gallery in 1965. Traditionally the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

### *Andrew W. Mellon Professorship*

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

### *Paul Mellon, Ailsa Mellon Bruce, and Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellowships*

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess an equivalent 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 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 twelve sets of all materials, including an application form with a project proposal, photocopies of two offprints, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

### *Frese Senior Fellowship*

The Frese Senior Fellowship is intended for research in the history, theory, and criticism of sculpture, prints and drawings, and the decorative arts. The Frese Senior Fellowship is intended for those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess an equivalent record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Frese Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of the applicant. One Frese Senior Fellowship will be awarded annually for an academic year, early fall to spring.

The fellowship is for full-time research. Fellows are expected to reside in Washington throughout the academic year and participate in the activities of the Center. A Frese Senior Fellowship award is limited to one-half of the applicant's salary, up to a maximum of \$30,000.

The application deadline for the Frese Senior Fellowship is 1 October. Twelve sets of all materials, including application forms,

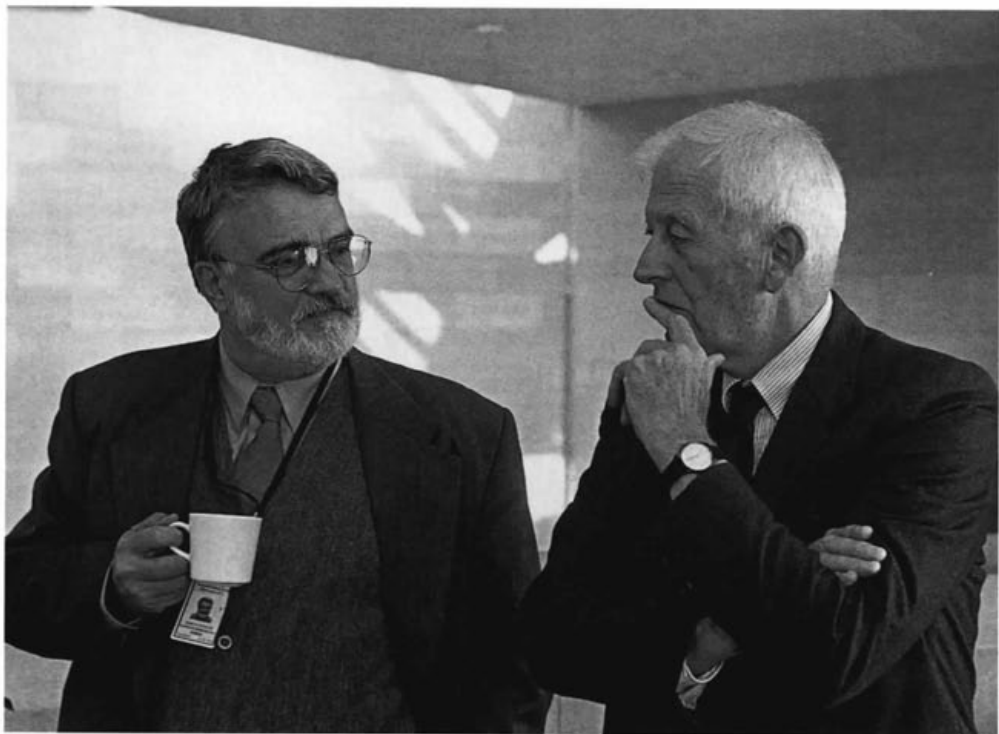


Sergej Androssov

proposals, and copies of selected pertinent publications must be forwarded by the application deadline. Three letters of recommendation in support of the application are required.

*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



Marco Venturi  
and Henry Millon

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 seven 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 required.

*Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical  
Curatorial Fellowship*

Two fellowships are reserved for qualified art historians who have served at least three years in a department of the National Gallery and who hold 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 nine 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 those 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 up to sixty days during the period March through August, the application deadline is 21 September; for appointments up to sixty days 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.

#### *Samuel H. Kress/J. Paul Getty Trust Paired Research Fellowship in Conservation and the History of Art and 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 in the Visual Arts. Fellows will have access to the notable resources represented by the collections, the library, and the photographic archives of the Gallery, as well as of 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 eight 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 pro-

posed 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 2001 for 2001-2002. The fellowship is supported by funds from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Trust.

*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 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 the period September through February and 21 September for the period March through August. A complete application includes the following: a two- to four-page research proposal, a tentative schedule of travel in the United States, a curriculum vitae, and two letters of recommendation. Two Starr Foundation fellowships will be awarded annually.

*Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship*

One Samuel H. Kress 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 Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship if the dissertation has been approved by 1 June of the second fellowship year. Certification of approval is required. 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.



Leila Whittemore,  
Peter Parshall, and  
Kirsten Noreen

### *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 residency 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.

*Predoctoral Fellowship Program for Summer Travel Abroad for Historians of American Art*

The Center awards up to ten fellowships to doctoral students in art history who study aspects of art and architecture of the United States before 1980, including native and pre-Revolutionary America. The travel fellowship is intended to encourage a breadth of geographical and historical experience beyond the candidate's major field. The fellowship is not intended for advancement of a dissertation. Preference will be accorded to those who have had little opportunity for professional travel abroad. The award is dependent on the travel plan, with a maximum of \$3,000 for the summer. Application may be made only through the chair of graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, who should act as sponsor. The application must include seven sets of all materials, including a 500-word proposal outlining the objectives of the projected travel plan, a detailed itinerary, one letter of recommendation from a professor, and a curriculum vitae. A letter of nomination from the chair must also accompany the application. Applications must be received on or before 15 February 2001 for the summer of 2001.

*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 fellowships are not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years from the completion of the fellowship. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply three years after the completion of the fellowship. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply five years after the completion of the fellowship. Appropriate application forms for fellowships and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to



Anthony Cutler  
and Holger Klein

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.



Victoria Avery and  
Shelley Sturman

## **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 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



Richard Ford and  
Barbara Christen

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 both formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1999–2000 may be found on pages 21–34.

### *Research*

In 1982–1983 the Center initiated a program of long-term research projects. Each of the 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 Archi-



ecture. This work is intended to promote and establish standards for the description of architectural drawings. For current research projects, please see page 39.

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 41–171 for reports written by members in 1999–2000).

### *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-four symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *Michelangelo Drawings* (Volume 33); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); *The Pastoral Landscape* (Volume 36); *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37); *The Artist's Workshop* (Volume 38); *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (Volume 43); *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (Volume 44); *Titian 500* (Volume 45); *Van Dyck 350* (Volume 46); *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Volume 47); *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy* (Volume 48); *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (Volume 49); *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review* (Volume

50); *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910* (Volume 53); *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals* (Volume 54); *Vermeer Studies* (Volume 55); *The Art of Ancient Spectacle* (Volume 56); and *Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica* (Volume 57). The papers of seven additional symposia are in preparation for the series: "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," "Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru," "Large Bronzes in the Renaissance," and "Tilman Riemenschneider: A Late Medieval Master Sculptor."

## Index of Members Research Reports, 1999–2000

- Abou-El-Haj, Barbara, *Architects of Violence: The Building Clergy of Vézelay, Santiago de Compostela, Reims, and the Commune of Amiens* 43
- Androssov, Sergej, *Italian Artists and Russian Patrons in the Eighteenth Century* 48
- Armi, C. Edson, *First Romanesque Architecture* 50
- Aseyev, Ivan, *Rock-Painting as a Historical Source in Eastern Siberia and North America* 53
- Bell, Malcolm III, *A Royal Agora in Hellenistic Sicily* 56
- Brown, Clifford M., *The Art and Antiquities Collections of Isabella d'Este Gonzaga* 60
- Cellauro, Louis, *Vitruvius and British Architecture, 1563–1826* 63
- Cutler, Anthony, *The Empire of Things: Gift Exchange between Byzantium and the Islamic World* 67
- Susan Dackerman, *Renaissance and Baroque Hand-Colored Prints* 71
- DeLue, Rachael Z., *George Inness: Landscape, Representation, and the Struggle of Vision* 75
- Dervaux, Isabelle, *Arshile Gorky: From Armenian Folklore to Surrealism* 80
- Flores, Patrick, *Philippine Colonial Painting and the History of Reconversion* 84
- Ford, Richard, *German Expressionist Frames* 124
- Futrell, Alison, *Zenobia and the Zenobio: Gender, Identity, and the Barbarian Queen* 88
- Gregori, Mina, *Giovanni da Milano* 93

- Guenther, Elizabeth, *Albrecht Durer's Narrative Style* 97
- Hauser, Stefan R., *Status and Ritual: The Social Structure of Ashur in the Neo-Assyrian Period* 101
- Hellman, Mimi, *The Hôtel de Soubise and the Rohan-Soubise Family: Architecture, Interior Decoration, and the Art of Ambition in Eighteenth-Century France* 104
- Khodza, Elena, *Two Terracotta Representations of Alexander the Great in the Hermitage* 108
- Kostenevich, Albert, *The Typology, Iconography, and Subject-Matter of European Painting in the 1890s* 112
- Leung, Andrew K. Y., *Central-Pillar Cave Architecture in China and Central Asia during the Northern Dynasties, A.D. 265–581* 116
- McCormick, Melissa, *Tosa Mitsunobu's Ko-e: Forms and Functions of Small-Format Handscrolls in the Muromachi Period, 1333–1573* 120
- Mendgen, Eva, *German Expressionist Frames* 124
- Meng, Sihui, *An Iconographical Study of the Paintings of the Tejaprabha Buddha* 128
- Merriam, Susan, *Icons after Iconoclasm: The Flemish Floral Garland Image, 1608–1700* 132
- Neagley, Linda Elaine, *Measured Time and Metered Space: Quantification and the End of Gothic Architecture* 136
- Pedret, Annie, *Team 10: Agents of a Cultural Shift in Post-World War II Europe* 140
- Primeau, Thomas, *Renaissance and Baroque Hand-Colored Prints* 71
- Reynolds, Jonathan, *Constructing "Tradition": Modern Japanese Architecture and the Formation of a Viable Past* 144

- Rossi Pinelli, Orietta, *The Fragment: Self-Sufficiency and "Responses" in the Restoration of Antiquities in the Nineteenth Century* 148
- Sharnova, Elena, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the French Paintings in the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: From the End of the Sixteenth Century to the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* 152
- Tuma, Kathryn A., *Cézanne, Lucretius, and the Late Nineteenth-Century Crisis in Science* 155
- Venturi di Este, Marco, *Architecture and Urban Design: The Modern Era Reconsidered* 159
- Whittemore, Leila, *Theory, Practice, and the Architectural Imagination: Filarete's Treatise on Architecture and Early Sforza Urbanism, 1450-1465* 162
- Wilton-Ely, John, *An Electric Revolution: Robert Adam and the Phenomenon of Style* 167



