

# Center 21

National Gallery of Art

Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

**Center 21**



National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

## Center 21

Record of Activities and Research Reports

June 2000–May 2001

Washington 2001

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

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Gallery Archives, National Gallery of Art

Frontispiece: Study Center Interior, East Building, National Gallery of Art. Photograph by Rob Shelley

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## Preface

The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, a research institute which fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art, artifacts, architecture, and urbanism, from prehistoric times to the present, was founded in 1979 as part of the National Gallery of Art. The Center encourages study of the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences.

The resident community of scholars consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Professor, and the Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, in addition to approximately eighteen fellows, including Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, Research 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 2000–May 2001**

## Board of Advisors

Doreen Bolger, *Chair*  
September 1998–August 2001  
Baltimore Museum of Art

Jonathan Alexander  
September 2000–August 2003  
New York University,  
Institute of Fine Arts

Christiane Andersson  
September 1998–August 2001  
Bucknell University

Malcolm Bell III  
September 2000–August 2002  
University of Virginia

Rona Goffen  
September 1998–August 2001  
Rutgers University

Esther Pasztorj  
September 2000–August 2003  
Columbia University

Nancy Troy  
September 1999–August 2002  
University of Southern California

## Curatorial Liaison

Ruth Fine  
September 1999–August 2002  
Curator of Modern Prints  
and Drawings

## 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

Wu Hung  
University of Chicago

*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

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

Maryan Ainsworth  
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marjorie Cohn  
Harvard University

Joseph Fronck  
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Donald Hansen  
New York University,  
Institute of Fine Arts

Heather Lechtman  
Massachusetts Institute of  
Technology

## Staff

Elizabeth Cropper, Dean (from 31 December 2000)

Henry A. Millon, Dean (to 30 December 2000)

Therese O'Malley, Associate Dean

Faya Causey, Associate Dean

Helen Tangires, Center Administrator

### Research Associates

Barbara Christen

Giuseppe Dardanella

Björn Ewald

Mary Pixley

### Project Staff

Karen Binswanger

Project Head (Andrew W. Mellon  
Lectures in the Fine Arts Fiftieth  
Anniversary Volume)

Curtis Millay

Baroque Architecture Exhibition

Jennifer Rutman

Keywords in American  
Landscape Design

### Program Assistants

Casey Benson, Program of  
Fellowships

Elizabeth Kielpinski, Program of  
Regular Meetings

Kimberly Rodeffer, Program of  
Special Meetings and Publications

Nicole Anselona, Program of  
Research

Martha McLaughlin, Program of  
Research

Sara Morash, Program of Research

Jill Pederson, Program of Research

Amanda Mister, Secretary



Sarah Kennel and Louise Rice, West Building galleries

## Report of the Dean

### June 2000–May 2001

The annual report of the Dean on the activities of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts at the National Gallery of Art is, by convention, factual and brief. This is as it should be, for the purpose of the Center volumes is to serve as a record of accomplishments in each of four program areas—fellowships, research, publications, and scholarly meetings. This report on the twenty-first year of the life of CASVA cannot be quite so laconic, however, for it is the first not to bear the signature of Henry A. Millon. His retirement as Dean on 31 December 2000 was indeed a millennial event, marked in many ways by the staff and fellows of both the Center and the National Gallery, of which the Center is part. It must be recorded again here, however, as a piece of the Center's history, a history that has been shaped by Hank Millon. The first annual report, published in 1980, was a modest booklet. Research reports were in a separate volume, which also included an inventory of sponsored research in the history of art worldwide (a publication that had an independent existence for a while). That the report of activities at the Center itself now constitutes a book reflects Dean Millon's creative leadership over two decades. Illustrations of the East Building in the early reports show delicate trees outside the east façade, half-filled bookshelves, and fellows eating lunch in the lounge. Those trees are now grand, the library has become a remarkable resource for scholarship, and members of the

Center share their weekly meal in the seminar room. These are visual markers of a much deeper change. In 1974, as the Center for Advanced Study was being built according to I.M. Pei's design (which our cover recalls this year), John Walker, then director of the Gallery, predicted that "Washington will one day become a great center for art-historical scholarship." There is more work to be done, and past gains always need to be defended, but the last twenty years at the National Gallery have witnessed the realization of this prediction to a remarkable extent.

In the past year fellows in residence worked on topics ranging from the figures of technology in Dada to the relationship of art to power in Central Africa. Among the members of the Center, whose research reports follow, were scholars from Canada, France, Germany, Ireland, Italy, New Zealand, Pakistan, the People's Republic of China, and the United States.

Four research projects directed by the deans have reached various stages of completion. The first, the development of the National Gallery of Art's photographic archives of Italian architectural drawings made before 1800, has resulted in over 40,000 images of sheets and albums found in European collections. This archive continues to grow under the new title of the Italian Architectural Drawings Photograph Collection (IADPC). A second long-term project, "Keywords in American Landscape Design," is close to completion. This reference work will provide an illustrated glossary of landscape vocabulary in use in the United States from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century. A third project, funded by the Getty Grant Program and the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and also close to publication, is a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andes. The fourth research project is the creation of a bibliography of the technology and tools of luxury objects in the ancient world.

In the symposium series *Studies in the History of Art*, one volume, *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*, edited by Debra Pincus, was published during the year. Volumes of papers from other symposia are in preparation. John Golding's A.W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts for 1997, *Paths to the Absolute*, were published by Princeton University Press as volume 48 of Bollingen Series XXXV.

Princeton also issued a millennium edition of the paperback version of E. H. Gombrich's *Art and Illusion*, first delivered as the A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts in 1956, and published as Bollingen Series XXXV, volume 5, in 1960.

The Center sponsored two symposia during the year. "Circa 1700: Architecture in Europe and the Americas," held on 15–16 September 2000, was made possible by 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, with Henry A. Millon serving as scholarly editor. The second symposium, "Creativity: The Sketch in the Arts and Sciences," held on 23–25 May 2001, was organized jointly with the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton. The meetings in Washington and Princeton were made possible by support from the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, the J. Seward Johnson, Sr. Charitable Trusts, and Mrs. F. Merle-Smith. The Center expects to publish these papers as well. The Center also co-sponsored with the University of Maryland the thirty-first annual sessions of the Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art.

Various seminars and *incontri*, open to members of the Center, interested staff of the Gallery, and invited experts, were held throughout the year. In one, "Stradivarius, Cremona, and the Decoration of Instruments," co-sponsored with the National Museum of American History, conservation scientists and art historians discussed the meaning and materials of the ornamentation on a group of stringed instruments. The seminar concluded with a performance by the Axelrod Quartet on some of those same instruments. In connection with the Kress Foundation's Study of European Art in Context initiative, the Center organized a day of presentations by fellows, curators, and invited scholars, designed to consider the current state of the study and interpretation of works of art made in Europe before 1800. Four *incontri* were devoted to a wide variety of topics, ranging from ancient Peruvian palaces to the Masaccio/Masolino panel project of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence. The latter profited from the visit of conservators and scientists from Florence to examine panels in the Gallery's collection, and was intended to bring the research of the Opificio to

the attention of curators, conservators, and fellows. The important dialogue thus begun continues, with new information about the Masaccio/Masolino panels shared among conservation staffs in Florence, London, and Washington, and a number of other museums.

The fiftieth Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts were presented to the public by Salvatore Settis of the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa. Lectures for the wider scholarly audience included Nicolas Penny on “Ancient History and Mystery in Three Venetian Renaissance Paintings,” and Malcolm Baker on “‘Pretensions to Permanency’: Tradition, Innovation, and the Economy of the Eighteenth-Century Portrait Bust.”

Many other informal debates, reading groups, visits to the collections, and interactions among fellows and with members of the Gallery staff lie outside the terms of this report, but it is important not to omit them altogether. These opportunities provide daily stimulation to all of our programs in the unique context of the Center at the National Gallery. Details of all the Center’s programs follow, together with illustrated research reports by this year’s members. A full description of the fellowship program and a complete list of publications may be found at the end of this volume.

Elizabeth Cropper

*Dean*

## Members

Juergen Schulz, Brown University (emeritus)  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 2000–2001

Nicholas Penny, National Gallery, London  
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 2000–2002

Salvatore Settis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa  
Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 2001

## Senior Fellows

Matthew Biro, University of Michigan  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2000–2001  
*The New Human as Cyborg: Figures of Technology in German Dada Art*

Finbarr Barry Flood, Edinburgh  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Translated Stones: Tradition and Transculturation in Early Indo-Muslim Architecture*

Bruce Redford, Boston University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Men of Virtù: The Society of Dilettanti, 1734–1824*

Louise Rice, Duke University  
Frese Senior Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Thesis Prints and the Culture of Learning in Seventeenth-Century Rome*

Georges Roque, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 18 September 2000–  
12 January 2001  
*The Genesis of Abstraction in Western Art*

Joaneath Spicer, Walters Art Museum  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 18 September 2000–  
12 January 2001  
*The Significance of Drawing naer het leven, or “from life,” in Dutch Art of the Early Seventeenth Century*

Z. S. Strother, University of California, Los Angeles  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2000–2001  
*“Does a Leopard Eat Leaves? ”: The Relationship of Art to Power in Central Africa*

## **Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellows**

John Oliver Hand, Department of Northern Renaissance Painting  
1 September 2000–1 June 2001  
*The Paintings of Joos van Cleve*

Wilford W. Scott, Department of Education  
1 October 2000–1 June 2001  
*Avant-Garde Theater in Philadelphia*

## **Visiting Senior Fellows**

Catherine J. Allen, George Washington University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow,  
1 March–30 April 2001  
*Cultural Patterning in Andean Art*

Qing Chang, Research Institute of the Buddhist Culture of China,  
Beijing  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow,  
1 January–30 April 2001  
*Chinese Buddhist Art in North American Museum  
Collections*

Joseph Connors, Columbia University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 May–  
30 June 2000  
*The Architecture of Francesco Borromini, 1599–1667:  
Curiosity, Collections, and Borromini's Views on  
Architecture*

Fredrika H. Jacobs, Virginia Commonwealth University  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 July–31 August 2000  
*The Metaphoric Relationship of Art and Life: Aesthetics and  
Science in Sixteenth-Century Italy*

Pamela Gerrish Nunn, University of Canterbury, New Zealand  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 November–  
31 December 2000  
*Present and Incorrect*

Giuseppe Pucci, Università di Siena  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 June–  
31 July 2000  
*Archaeology and Visual Arts in Epic Movies*

- Cynthia M. Pyle, New York City  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 March–30 April 2001  
*Art as Science*
- Abdul Rehman, University of Engineering and Technology,  
Lahore, Pakistan  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, 1 June–  
30 September 2000  
*Symbolism and Decorative Motifs in Muslim Architecture of  
India: A Case Study of Makli Tombs*
- Pietro Roccasecca, Accademia di Belle Arti, Firenze  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 September–  
31 October 2000  
*Research on the Incisions for Perspective Construction in  
Italian Drawings and Panel Paintings from the Fourteenth  
and Fifteenth Centuries in the National Gallery of Art*
- Martin Schieder, Freie Universität Berlin; Deutsches Forum für  
Kunstgeschichte  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 March–30 April 2001  
*French Art in Postwar Germany—German Modern Art in  
France after 1945*
- Susan L. Siegfried, University of Leeds  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 July–31 August 1999  
*Ingres: Sex, History, and the Substance of Painting*
- T. Barton Thurber, Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 January–28 February  
2001  
*Publication and Publicity: Architecture and Print Culture in  
Renaissance Italy*

### **Samuel H. Kress Paired Fellows for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology**

- Debra Pincus, Washington, D.C.  
Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art  
Residency Period: 1 July–31 August 2001  
*Francesco Righetti: Establishing a Corpus and a Means for  
Identification of His Oeuvre*

**Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow,  
2000–2001**

Kathryn A. Tuma, National Gallery of Art  
*Time and the Art of Cy Twombly*

**Predoctoral Fellows**

Fabio Barry [Columbia University]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 2000–2003  
*Painting in Stone: The Symbolic Identity of Colored Marbles  
in the Visual Arts from Late Antiquity until the Age of  
Enlightenment*

Wendy Bellion [Northwestern University]\*  
Wyeth Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Mischievous Objects: Trompe l'Oeil in Early American Art*

Kathlyn Mary Cooney [The Johns Hopkins University]  
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2000–2002  
*The Cost of Art in New Kingdom Egypt: The Commission of  
Private Funerary Art in the Ramesside Period*

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

Nnamdi Elleh [Northwestern University]  
Ittleson Fellow, 2000–2002  
*Architecture and Nationalism at Abuja, Nigeria: A Study of  
the Ideologies of "Federal Character"*

Cheryl Finley [Yale University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Committed to Memory: The Slave Ship Icon in the Black  
Atlantic Imagination*

Arne Flaten [Indiana University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Niccolò Fiorentino and the Image of Humanism: Portrait  
Medals and the Florentine Art Market in the Late  
Quattrocento*

- Rachel Haidu [Columbia University]  
 Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Marcel Broodthaers, 1963–1972: From Forbidden Objects to Museum Fictions*
- Sarah Kennel [University of California, Berkeley]\*  
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Bodies, Statues, Machines: Dance and the Visual Arts in Paris, 1910–1925*
- 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*
- Graham Larkin [Harvard University]  
 Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Jacques Callot: Visions and Revisions*
- Sarah Linford [Princeton University]\*  
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1998–2001  
*The Disgrace of Representation: French Symbolism and the Third Republic, 1871–1910*
- Stella Nair [University of California, Berkeley]\*  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1999–2001  
*Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru, from Thupa Inca to the Spanish Occupation*
- Hajime Nakatani [University of Chicago]  
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2000–2002  
*Facing the Gaze: Portraiture, Physiognomics, and the Problems of Human Appearance in Late Imperial China, circa 1600–1800*
- 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*

Stella Nair



Stephanie Schrader [University of California, Santa Barbara]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 2000–2001  
*Jan Gossaert and Imitation at the Humanist Court of Philip  
IV of Burgundy*

Kristel Smentek [University of Delaware]\*  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1998–2001  
*Pierre-Jean Mariette: Art, Commerce, and Scholarship in  
Eighteenth-Century Europe*

Pamela Warner [University of Delaware]  
Paul Mellon Fellow, 2000–2003  
*At the Crossroads of Word and Image: Theories of the  
Pictorial in the Art Criticism of the Goncourt Brothers*

\* in residence 18 September 2000–31 August 2001

### **Predocctoral Fellows for Summer Travel Abroad for Historians of American Art, 2001**

Francis Chung  
[Northwestern University]

Brian Clancy  
[Rutgers University]

Amy Pederson  
[University of California, Los Angeles]

## Meetings

### Symposia

15–16 September 2000

CIRCA 1700: ARCHITECTURE IN EUROPE AND  
THE AMERICAS

#### *Morning Session*

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

Giles Worsley, The Daily Telegraph

*Wren, Vanbrugh, Hawksmoor, and Archer: The Search for the  
English Baroque*

Claude Mignot, Université François-Rabelais, Tours

*Paris 1700: A Green City*

Giovanna Curcio, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di  
Venezia

*The Birth of the Modern Prison at the Ospizio di San Michele  
in Rome*

#### *Afternoon Session*

*Moderator:* Dmitry Shvidkovsky, State Academy of the Fine  
Arts of Russia; Moscow Architectural Institute

Giuseppe Dardanella, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual  
Arts

*Drawings and Models, Structure and Openness: Modern  
Architecture in Turin*

Cesare de Seta, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II  
*Naples: A European Capital in the Age of Enlightenment*

Hellmut Lorenz, Institut für Kunstgeschichte der Universität  
Wien

*Architecture in Vienna around 1700: Currents and Patrons*

Marc Grignon, Université Laval, Quebec

*Architecture and Representation in Quebec City at the End of  
the Seventeenth Century*

### *Morning Session*

*Moderator:* Giuseppe Dardanello, Center for Advanced Study  
in the Visual Arts

Dmitry Shvidkovsky, State Academy of the Fine Arts of  
Russia; Moscow Architectural Institute

*The Foundation of Saint Petersburg and the Development of  
Style in Russian Architecture*

Mårten Snickare, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

*The Construction of Autocracy: Nicodemus Tessin the  
Younger and the Planning of Stockholm*

Konrad A. Ottenheim, Universiteit Utrecht

*Amsterdam 1700: Urban Space and Public Buildings*

### *Afternoon Session*

*Moderator:* Giles Worsley, The Daily Telegraph

Fernando Mariás, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

*From Madrid to Cádiz: The Last Baroque Cathedral for the  
New Economic Capital of Spain*

Walter Rossa, Universidade de Coimbra

*Lisbon's Waterfront as a Subject of Baroque Urban Aesthetics*

Francisco Stastny, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San  
Marcos, Lima

*From Fountain to Bridge: Hispanism and Baroque Projects  
between 1650 and 1746 in Lima*

6-7 April 2001

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY  
OF ART, THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL SESSIONS

Co-sponsored with the Department of Art History and  
Archaeology, University of Maryland, College Park

*Evening Session*

*Introduction:* Josephine Withers, University of Maryland,  
College Park

*George Levitine Lecture in Art History*

James Elkins, School of the Chicago Art Institute  
*The Unrepresentable: The Concept of the Sublime in  
Contemporary Painting, Physics, Genetic Art, and Astronomy*

*Morning Session*

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

*Introduction:* Renata Holod  
Anna Sloan [University of Pennsylvania]  
*Ornament and Identity in India's Sultanate Architecture*

*Introduction:* James Farquhar  
Tanya Jung [University of Maryland, College Park]  
*The Late Medieval Moveable Crucifix: Representation,  
Response, and Real Presence*

*Introduction:* Mary Garrard  
Katherine M. Poole [American University]  
*Apocalypse and the City: Botticelli and Savonarola in Florence  
circa 1500*

*Introduction:* Carolyn Wood  
Kimberly L. Dennis [University of North Carolina, Chapel  
Hill]  
*A Woman's Public Voice: Urbanism in Counter-Reformation  
Rome*

Introduction: Charles Dempsey  
Leopoldine Prosperetti [Johns Hopkins University]  
*The "Artifice of Greenery": A Pure Forest Landscape by Jan Brueghel*

Introduction: Jeanne Chenault Porter  
Scott Schweigert [Pennsylvania State University]  
*A Poussin for Cardinal Filomarino?*

#### *Afternoon Session*

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

Introduction: Barbara von Barghahn  
Margaret Xavier Myers [George Washington University]  
*Song of Songs: The Saint Teresa Altarpiece of Josefa de Óbidos*

Introduction: Nina Kallmyer  
Kevin Hatch [University of Delaware]  
*La Parisienne: Imaging Women in Nineteenth-Century France*

Introduction: Howard Singerman  
Andrea Douglas [University of Virginia]  
*Reclaiming the Fetish: Modernism, Cultural Nationalism, and  
Diaspora*

Introduction: Barbara McCloskey  
Sylvia Rhor [University of Pittsburgh]  
*New Deal Murals in Chicago Public Schools: The Censorship  
Case of Edward Millman's Outstanding Women in American  
History, 1938-1941*

Introduction: Kristine Stiles  
Laurel Fredrickson [Duke University]  
*Memory and Projection in Annette Messager's Early Work*

Introduction: Dale Kinney  
Eleanor Moseman [Bryn Mawr College]  
*Monumental Drapery: The Aesthetic Evolution of the  
Wrapped Reichstag*

Frank O. Gehry,  
"Creativity: The  
Sketch in the Arts  
and Sciences,"  
23 May 2001



23–25 May 2001

CREATIVITY: THE SKETCH IN THE ARTS AND  
SCIENCES

Co-sponsored with the School of Historical Studies, Institute for  
Advanced Study, Princeton University

*Architecture*

*Moderator:* Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in  
the Visual Arts (dean emeritus)

James Ackerman, Harvard University (emeritus)

*The Beginnings of Architectural Sketching*

Philippe Boudon, Ecole d'Architecture de Paris-la-Villette

*Kahn's Square and Kant's Square: Which Kind of "Intuition"  
in Architects' Sketches?*

Frank O. Gehry, Santa Monica, California

*Working Process*

Greg Lynn, Venice, California

*The Differential Calculus of the Sketch*

### *Literature and Prints*

*Moderator:* James Ackerman, Harvard University (emeritus)

Shane Butler, University of Pennsylvania

*Roman Rough Drafts and Literary Self-Consciousness*

Paul Saenger, Newberry Library

*From Compilatio to Cursiva: The Role of Media in the  
Genesis of Genius, 1400–1600*

Marc Fumaroli, Collège de France, Paris

*From Bees to Spiders: Essais, Pensées, Memoires, Streams of  
Consciousness*

Peter Parshall, National Gallery of Art

*The Unfinished Print*

### *Music*

*Moderator:* Edward T. Cone, Princeton University

Leo Treitler, City University of New York

*Writing Music, Sketching Music*

Lewis Lockwood, Harvard University

*Beethoven's Sketches: From Conceptual Image to Realization*

Robert Levin, Harvard University

*Experience, Discipline, Fantasy: Improvisation in Classical  
Music and Jazz*

### *Dance*

Twyla Tharp, New York City

*Sketching and Choreography*

### *Natural Sciences and Mathematics*

*Moderator:* Horst Bredekamp, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Jean Dhombres, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris

*Creation in Mathematics: The Question of the Sketch of a Proof*

Michael S. Mahoney, Princeton University  
*Sketching Science in the Seventeenth Century*

W. Bernard Carlson, University of Virginia  
*Sketching as Re-representation: Edison and the Development of the Telephone, 1875–1879*

### *Visual Arts*

*Moderator:* Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study

James Cahill, University of California, Berkeley (emeritus)  
*Uses of Sketches by Chinese Painters*

Horst Bredekamp, Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin  
*The Sketch in the History of the Visual Arts*

Irving Lavin, Institute for Advanced Study  
*Bernini's Sketches*

Kirk Varnedoe, Museum of Modern Art  
*A Modernity of Obsessive Calculations and Heedless Haste*

Gary Sturm,  
Shelley Sturman,  
and Virginia Clayton,  
"Stradivarius,  
Cremona, and the  
Decoration of  
Instruments,"  
23 February 2001



## Seminars

23 February 2001

### STRADIVARIUS, CREMONA, AND THE DECORATION OF INSTRUMENTS

Co-sponsored with the National Museum of American History,  
Smithsonian Institution

#### *Participants*

Robert Bein, Bein & Fushi, Chicago  
Faya Causey, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Virginia Clayton, National Gallery of Art  
Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Scott Odell, Smithsonian Institution  
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Mary Pixley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Harry Rand, Smithsonian Institution  
Duane Rosengard, Philadelphia Orchestra  
David Schoenbaum, University of Iowa  
Juergen Schulz, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Kenneth Slowik, Smithsonian Institution  
Kristel Smentek, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts  
Gary Sturm, Smithsonian Institution  
Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art  
Mel Wachowiak, Smithsonian Institution  
Shinichi Yokoyama, Nihon Art Plaza, Tokyo  
Rebecca Zorach, University of Pennsylvania

24 April 2001

THE ART OF EUROPE IN CONTEXT

Sponsored by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation

*Session I*

*Moderator:* Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study  
in the Visual Arts

Earl A. Powell III, National Gallery of Art

*Welcome*

Marilyn Perry, Samuel H. Kress Foundation

*Introduction to the Kress Seminar*

Juergen Schulz, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

*The Kress Professorship, an Intimate View*

Bruce Redford, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

*A Kress Fellow at Work: The Society of the Dilettanti,*

*1730-1820*

Dale Kent, University of California, Riverside

*The Patronage Oeuvres of Samuel H. Kress and Cosimo  
de' Medici*

Debra Pincus, Washington, D.C.

Shelley Sturman, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

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

Neal Turtell, National Gallery of Art

*Photographic Archives and Cicognara Library of the Vatican*

Gary Vikan, Walters Art Museum

*The Art of Europe in Context*

Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the  
Visual Arts

*Kress/Murphy Symposia on Illustrated European Books  
and Manuscripts*

*Session II*

David Alan Brown, National Gallery of Art

*Paintings in the Kress Collection*

Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art

*Problems of Reattribution of Sculpture in the Kress Collection*

Peter Parshall, National Gallery of Art

*Unfinished Prints*

## Colloquia CLXIII-CLXX

12 October 2000

Georges Roque, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow

*Good Vibes: Some Thoughts on the Genesis of Abstraction in Nineteenth-Century France*

26 October 2000

Juergen Schulz, Samuel H. Kress Professor

*The "Veneto-Byzantine" Palace*

30 November 2000

Joaneath Spicer, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

*Netherlandish Portraits of the Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century Described as naer het leven, or "from life"*

18 January 2001

Finbarr Barry Flood, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

*Looking at Loot: Spolia, Insignia, and the Visual Rhetoric of the Ghurid Sultans*

8 March 2001

Z. S. Strother, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

*When It's Time for an Image to Die: Iconoclasm in Africa*

22 March 2001

Louise Rice, Frese Senior Fellow

*Thesis Prints and the Festive Academic Defense in Seventeenth-Century Rome*

12 April 2001

Matthew Biro, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

*Raoul Hausmann's Revolutionary Media: Dada Performance, Photomontage, and the Development of the Cyborg in Germany*

26 April 2001

Bruce Redford, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow

*Milordi in Masquerade: Picturing the Society of Dilettanti*

## Shoptalks 92–98

2 November 2000

Kathryn Rudy, Samuel H. Kress Fellow

*Cloistered Nuns' Strategies for Taking Mental Pilgrimages in the Late Middle Ages*

7 December 2000

Kristel Smentek, David E. Finley Fellow

*Collecting and Connoisseurship in the Eighteenth Century: The Example of Pierre-Jean Mariette*

14 December 2000

David T. Doris, Ittleson Fellow

*Vigilant Things: Objectifying the "Bad Person" in Yorubaland*

11 January 2001

Wendy Bellion, Wyeth Fellow

*The Theory and Practice of Deception: Charles Willson Peale's Staircase Group at the 1795 Columbianum Exhibition*

1 February 2001

Stella Nair, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

*Time and Memory in Peru: The Architectural History of a Rural Highland Parish*

28 March 2001

Sarah Linford, Paul Mellon Fellow

*Puvis v. Cézanne, or the Crisis of Avant-garde Classicism circa 1900*

5 April 2001

Sarah Kennel, Mary Davis Fellow

*Archaic Rites, Modern Myths: Le Sacre du Printemps and Avant-Garde Culture in Pre-World War I Paris*

## Lectures

7 February 2001

Nicolas Penny, National Gallery, London

*Ancient History and Mystery in Three Venetian Renaissance Paintings*

Co-sponsored with the Archaeological Institute of America

21 March 2001

Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

*"Pretensions to Permanency": Tradition, Innovation, and the Economy of the Eighteenth-Century Portrait Bust*

Co-sponsored with the Washington Collegium in the Humanities

## Incontri

4 October 2000

Joanne Pillsbury, Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, University of East Anglia

*"The Dry and the Juicy": Uncovering Palaces for the Quick and the Dead in the Ancient Andes*

22 February 2001

Bernard O'Kane, The American University in Cairo

*Early Arabic and Persian Kalila wa Dimna Illustrations*

15 March 2001

Cristina Acidini Luchinat and Cecilia Frosinini, Opificio delle Pietre Dure, and Carl Brandon Strehlke, Philadelphia Museum of Art

*The Masaccio/Masolino Panel Project of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence*

23 March 2001

Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

*"The Marble Index of a Mind": Roubiliac, Newton, and the Perception of Sculpture*



Salvatore Settis

### **Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 2001**

Salvatore Settis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

*Giorgione and Caravaggio: Art as Revolution*

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| 20 May  | <i>Giorgione's Pensiero in Caravaggio's Painting</i> |
| 27 May  | <i>Venice, circa 1510: Exercises in Style</i>        |
| 3 June  | <i>An Adulteress: Giorgione and Titian</i>           |
| 10 June | <i>Caravaggio's Calling of Matthew</i>               |
| 17 June | <i>Giorgione and Caravaggio</i>                      |

## Lecture Abstracts

### *Ancient History and Mystery in Three Venetian Renaissance Paintings*

*Co-sponsored with the Archaeological Institute of America*

The lecture investigates the sources in ancient history and poetry and in ancient art (as described in modern and ancient literature) which inspired three sixteenth-century paintings in the National Gallery in London: Garofalo's *Ancient Sacrifice*, Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne*, and Veronese's *Family of Darius*. (The first of these is not a Venetian painting, but is considered together with the passage in a Venetian book, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, which it illustrates.) The lecture proposes possible answers to questions about the sources for the paintings and their audience.

Nicholas Penny, National Gallery, London  
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 2000–2002

*“Pretensions to Permanency”: Tradition, Innovation, and the Economy of the Eighteenth-Century Portrait Bust*

*Co-sponsored with the Washington Collegium in the Humanities*

When Byron commented that having a bust done of oneself “looks like putting up pretensions to permanency,” he was referring to the memorializing function of the portrait bust in marble and articulating a commonly held assumption about this genre. During the eighteenth century, the independent bust had become a central mode of representation for a wide variety of patrons and sitters in Britain. Through its form and material, it had strong associations with the classical past and so was more suited than any mode of painting to serve as an index of those public virtues to which many of these sitters laid claim. But “imitation” of this sort was not simply antiquarianism, and like Pope’s *Imitations of Horace*, the portrait bust involved a traditional convention being given pointed contemporary meaning. Though in a sense a backward-looking genre, the bust was, in fact, taking on a new importance in a culture in which many of the key components of modernity were being formulated. For all its suggestion of “permanency,” the bust proved a remarkably effective register of many of the key concerns of the period. How did the portrait bust—a seemingly traditional and highly conventional genre—become modern? This issue is explored primarily through the work of the French-born, but London-based sculptor, Louis François Roubiliac.

Roubiliac was working in a society notable for its developing consumer culture as well as one in which notions of art and the artist were being reformulated. At the same time that the new empiricism of Locke and Newton meant the very act of looking was differently thought about, ideas of character and selfhood were being newly constructed, whether in the philosophy of David Hume or in the novels of Richardson. Many of those who might be regarded as the prime movers of what has recently been described by Roy Porter as the English Enlightenment—figures such as Newton, Handel, Pope, Chesterfield, and Garrick—were repre-

sented by Roubiliac. More than those of any other sculptor, his busts show a responsiveness to these new concerns, and the reworking of a traditional, in many ways highly conventional, genre so as to meet very different and essentially modern needs. The genre may suggest permanency, but Roubiliac's use of it plays with the immediate and transitory in ways only just beginning to be explored in eighteenth-century Britain.

Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

## Incontri Abstracts

### *“The Dry and the Juicy”: Uncovering Palaces for the Quick and the Dead in the Ancient Andes*

The archaeological site of Chan Chan has been the subject of scholarly inquiry since the arrival of the first Spaniards on the north coast of Peru. The city was built between the tenth and fifteenth centuries C.E., and served as the capital of the empire of Chimor, one of the last great empires to fall to the Inca armies in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Although the site has been studied systematically for two hundred years, there is surprisingly little consensus over the nature of the city. The site is, in many ways, an unusual example of an ancient urban center. It is large in terms of geographic extent (twenty square kilometers), yet its population was relatively small (perhaps 40,000 inhabitants). Unlike many other ancient cities, Chan Chan had no clearly definable central focus, no market place, and no apparent public ceremonial center.

The debate regarding the nature of Chan Chan has centered on the interpretation of nine monumental enclosures, known as *ciudadelas*, found in the urban nucleus of the city. These structures are characterized by restricted access, as demonstrated by perimeter walls of up to ten meters in height and a single entrance in the north wall. The *ciudadelas* range in size from 87,900 to 221,000 square meters of internal space. There has been little agreement on the function of these enclosures or their chronological sequence. Recent art-historical, archaeological, and ethnohistorical research, however, has begun to shed more light on the *ciudadelas*. These new data confirm and expand a model suggested earlier by Geoffrey Conrad and others, namely that the *ciudadelas* were a specific type of royal palace. These vast enclosures served as the administrative heart of the empire during the rulers' lifetimes, and upon their death, they became mausolea. Ultimately, *ciudadelas* played an important role in the maintenance of Chimú imperial power.

Joanne Pillsbury, Sainsbury Research Unit for the Arts of Africa, Oceania, and the Americas, University of East Anglia

### *Early Arabic and Persian Kalila wa Dimna Illustrations*

The book of *Kalila wa Dimna*, or *The Fables of Bidpai*, is a core document of early Islamic culture. It reached the Islamic world through the translation into Arabic from the Middle Persian by Ibn al-Muqaffa', a Persian secretary at the 'Abbasid court. Ibn al-Muqaffa' listed his objectives as follows: to make it attractive to young readers by employing birds and animals in the stories; to delight the hearts of princes by incorporating colored images of animals within it; to entertain both kings and common folk, thereby enabling the book to be preserved through the ages; and to provide the philosophers with a text for discussion.

Patrons and copyists took his words to heart, and six finely illustrated Arabic manuscripts survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The text was translated back into neo-Persian, and some ten Persian manuscripts survive from the same period, containing over six hundred images, among them masterpieces of the age. All of these manuscripts provide examples in abundance of subject matter taken not just from princely exploits but from all walks of life. This pictorial variety clearly contributed to the attractiveness of a text that also appealed through its variety of narratives.

Unlike other texts that were written in Arabic or Persian only, *Kalila wa Dimna* was frequently illustrated in manuscripts in both languages. The character of these manuscripts, Arabic and Persian, is assessed in their relationship to each other, and the following general questions addressed. Were Arab paintings of a well-known cycle used as models by Persian artists, or did they create their own? Did later Persian painting in its turn influence Arab painting?

Bernard O'Kane, The American University in Cairo

*The Masaccio/Masolino Panel Project of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure, Florence*

For the past five years, the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence has been collaborating with the National Gallery, London, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art on a technical study of the panel paintings of Masaccio and Masolino. A team from the Opificio delle Pietre Dure and the two museums has made special single-sheet X-rays and conducted infrared scans of almost every painting by these artists, also examining the support and paint surfaces of the panels.

Members of the team from the Opificio conducted a similar examination of the four works by these artists in the Gallery's collection, and presented some of their findings on Masaccio and Masolino's technique as well.

Carl Brandon Strehlke of the Philadelphia Museum of Art discussed the art-historical problems the group wished to resolve through technical examinations, and the new problems proposed by those examinations. Cecilia Frosinini of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure illustrated some specific results of the research, touching on Masolino's use of oil-based mediums, the reconstruction of the San Giovenale and Carnesecchi altarpieces, the wood support of the components of the Pisa altarpiece and the problem of its construction, and the unusual use of silver leaf in works by Masaccio and his followers.

Dr. Cristina Acidini Luchinat, Soprintendente of the Opificio, introduced the presentations. Roberto Bellucci, chief paintings restorer, Mauro Parri and Alfredo Aldrovandi, specialists in wood supports and X-ray examination, and Pasquale Poggi, the inventor of the portable infrared scanner from the Istituto di Ottica in Florence, answered technical questions from the audience.

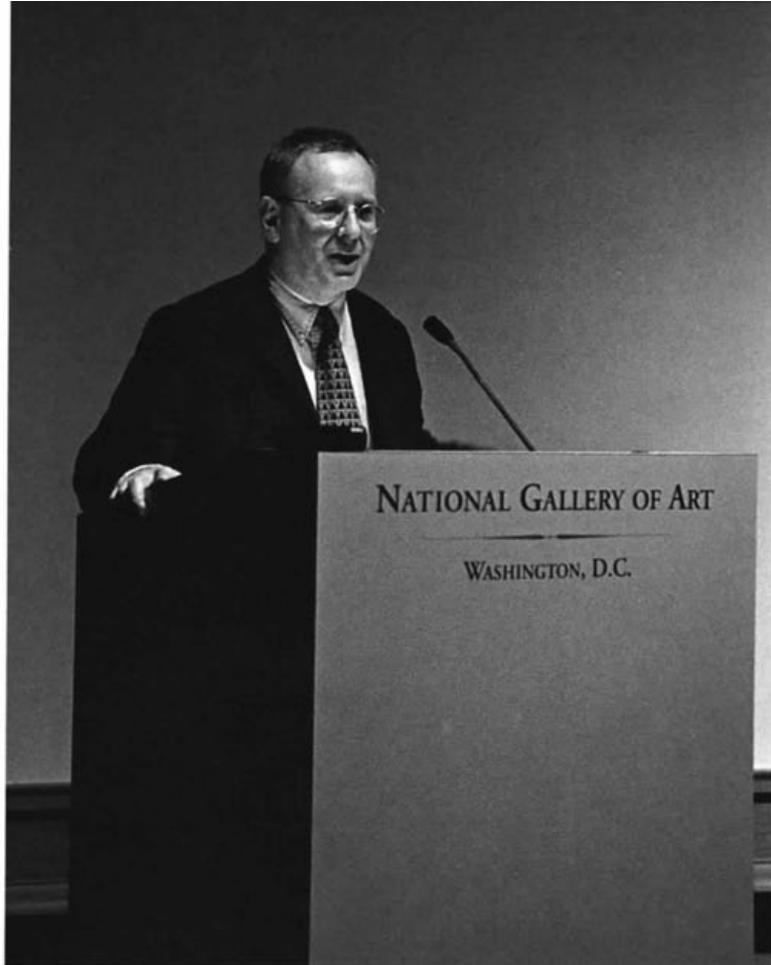
*“The Marble Index of a Mind”: Roubiliac, Newton, and the Perception of Sculpture*

When Sir Isaac Newton died in 1727, his place as an English “worthy” was already established. But later views of Newton and his achievement were largely shaped by the energetic efforts of John Conduitt—the husband of the scientist’s niece and effectively his chief executor—who not only gathered together Newton’s manuscripts, so ensuring their survival, but also assembled the information about his life and character that was to form the basis of all later biographies. Conduitt’s commemoration of Newton was far from merely literary, and (as Francis Haskell demonstrated) the visual images he commissioned range from tomb sculpture and medals to paintings by Hogarth and Pittoni. The way in which Newton was represented in portrait busts by Rysbrack and Roubiliac, in particular, may be mapped against those qualities that were emphasized by Conduitt as being unique to Newton.

My argument takes as its starting point that, of all the artists commissioned by Conduitt, Roubiliac was best able to represent that “intentness of thought” most esteemed by this patron. But how might this “intentness” and the very act of thinking be represented through the limited genre of a bust? One way was through Roubiliac’s carving of the bust in a subtly nuanced manner that assumes close and sustained attention on the part of the viewer. This, in its turn, involves that viewer in an “intentness of thought” which (albeit in an infinitely more modest way) mirrors Newton’s own. We might read Roubiliac’s sculptural representations of Newton in terms of Newtonian notions of perception.

An adaptation of the interpretative strategy employed by Michael Baxandall in the Chardin chapter of *Patterns of Intention*, allows us to read Roubiliac’s image in terms of Lockean or Newtonian viewing. This (admittedly speculative and somewhat hazardous) line involves arguing that Roubiliac’s facility for carving surfaces to suggest momentary effects was being used here to prompt the contemporary spectator into just that empiricist act of viewing made possible by Newton and Locke. It might also have been involved in Roubiliac’s later statue (celebrated by Words-

Malcolm Baker,  
“‘Pretensions to  
Permanency’: Tra-  
dition, Innovation,  
and the Economy  
of the Eighteenth-  
Century Portrait  
Bust,” 21 March  
2001



worth in *The Prelude*) which had indeed been commissioned by the man (Robert Smith) responsible for disseminating Newton's theory of optics. But, assuming (to adapt Baxandall) that the visual interest of sculpture might be related to the systematic thought of the culture from which it comes, the notion might have had wider applicability to the viewing of sculpture in the Enlightenment.

Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

## Research Projects

Three long-term projects and one short-term research project are underway 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 Henry A. Millon and now Elizabeth Cropper, supported by the Graham Foundation and endowed funds from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, has provided the National Gallery's photographic archives with a record of pre-1800 architectural drawings, primarily Italian. On deposit in the archives are 40,000 photographs and 220 manuscripts on microfilm. Photographs and microfilms were received this year from the following repositories: London: British Library, British Museum, Courtauld Institute; Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte.

A second research project, under the direction of Associate Dean Therese O'Malley, supported by the Getty Grant Program, the Graham Foundation, and the Terra Foundation of the Arts, 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 acquisition of photographs are proceeding in anticipation of submitting the final manuscript to the publisher in late 2001.

A third research project, directed by Associate Dean Faya Causey, is an investigation into the technology and tools of luxury objects in the ancient Mediterranean world. The data is being 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.

The "Historiographic Guide to Andean Sources," directed by former Associate Dean Joanne Pillsbury, is a three-volume reference work intended to inventory and discuss the principal textual

sources useful for the study of the art history, anthropology, history, and archaeology of the Andean region of South America. Currently in its fifth year and final publication phases, the Guide is supported by the Center with additional funding from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Getty Grant Program, and the British Academy. The entries include information about the present location of manuscripts, information on published editions, translations, and references to secondary literature. The essays and entries have been researched and written by 125 scholars based in seventeen countries. The Guide is scheduled for publication by the University of Oklahoma Press, with the English-language edition to appear in 2003, followed by the Spanish-language edition supported by the Lampadia Foundation.

## Publications

The papers of the symposium “Small Bronzes in the Renaissance” were published in May 2001 as part of the National Gallery’s Studies in the History of Art series. Papers of seven other symposia are in preparation for publication: “The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished”; “Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception”; “Italian Panel Painting in the Dugento and Trecento”; “Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru”; “Large Bronzes in the Renaissance”; “Tilman Riemenschneider: A Late Medieval Master Sculptor”; and “Circa 1700: Architecture of Europe and the Americas.” A complete listing of publications in the symposium series may be found on pages 188–189. Two publications appeared as part of the Andrew W. Mellon Lecture Series in the Fine Arts: *Paths to the Absolute* by John Golding and a reprint of *Art and Illusion* by E. H. Gombrich, which includes a new preface by the author.

## **Research Reports of Members**



CATHERINE J. ALLEN

## Cultural Patterning in Andean Textiles

Aesthetic strategies in Andean cultures must be understood with reference to fiber technology. Weaving has provided a cultural focus in Andean societies for over three millennia, deeply affecting other aspects of expressive culture. Prior to the Spanish invasion, Andean people encoded information using fiber-based media. Knotted cords and patterned cloth supplemented and preserved the spoken word, producing a distinctive mode of communication and evaluation. The cultural centrality of textiles and their intimate connection with language persists after five hundred years of colonization and cultural transformation, even in the current era of rapid globalization.

Cloth production remains a regular part of daily life in rural Quechua-speaking communities. While carrying out ethnographic fieldwork in the southern highlands of Peru, I became familiar with the basics of spinning and weaving, the classification of motifs and techniques, and criteria according to which textiles were judged. I learned that my Quechua informants experienced textile patterns in dynamic terms, as embodying the weaving process that created them. This suggests a new approach to the study of Andean artistic expression, which up to now has proved notoriously resistant to interpretation.

During my two months at the Center I worked on a book that explores Andean art through time and across media in order to illu-

Anonymous Inca weaver, Inca tunic with tocapu designs, c. 1435–1532. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington

minate enduring strategies for producing aesthetic effect and communicating cultural values. My book analyzes textiles as visual records of creative-technical *process*, and explores their relationship to other cultural performances like storytelling, ceremonial dancing, and ritual life in general. While at the Center I have concentrated on two aspects of this work. At a theoretical level, I explored the semiotic implications of an interactive stance, typical of Andean culture, toward the nonhuman as well as the human environment. This animistic worldview, developed in the context of a complex society, led to technological styles and management strategies quite different from those of the empires of Europe and the Near East. The reluctance of Euro-American scholars to take animism seriously has considerably constrained our understanding of these styles and strategies as they existed in the Andean past and continue to operate in the present.

The second aspect of my work at the Center was to explore available literature on Andean weaving and analyze it in terms of this interactive, or relational, framework. The weaver does not so much act upon, as *interact with*, her raw materials. Her loom is a field in which various kinds of interaction take place and her finished textiles contain an inner dialogue of animate being. She organizes the threads as interactive pairs which continually exchange places in order to produce a pattern. Her shawls and ponchos consist of two parts, mirror images that fold in around the central axis or heart. The fields within these halves are themselves organized in terms of interactive contrasts. Empty spaces (*pampa*, the unmarked plain) contrast with filled spaces (*pallay*, the picked over or cultivated land). Dark bands contrast with light, mediated by intermediate shades. Darkness is the “mother,” female and fecund, while light bands have a male valence.

This research has helped me appreciate how Heather Lechtman’s analysis of Andean technological style in Andean metallurgy applies to the fiber arts as well and, furthermore, can be extended to other modes of Andean cultural expression. According to Lechtman, Andean technologies accommodate themselves to the material world rather than acting upon it; manufactured objects serve communicative purposes. Minimal tools are used to create com-

plex products; structural rather than superstructural techniques are emphasized, and structure itself is a bearer of information. These characteristics follow from the relational mentality, for within this framework all form, even the most abstract, manifests a reciprocal interaction, giving rise to a powerfully charged aesthetic geometry. This explains the Incas' intense aesthetic interest in building walls and working stone. To bring out the straight edges inherent in a stone and place stones together so that they encounter each other truly to form an organic whole were deeply expressive acts. I have come to view Andean visual art as a kind of action art that embodies the interactive relationships that brought it into being. The next phase of my work will be to integrate ritual action and performing arts like dance and storytelling into this context.

George Washington University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 March–30 April 2001

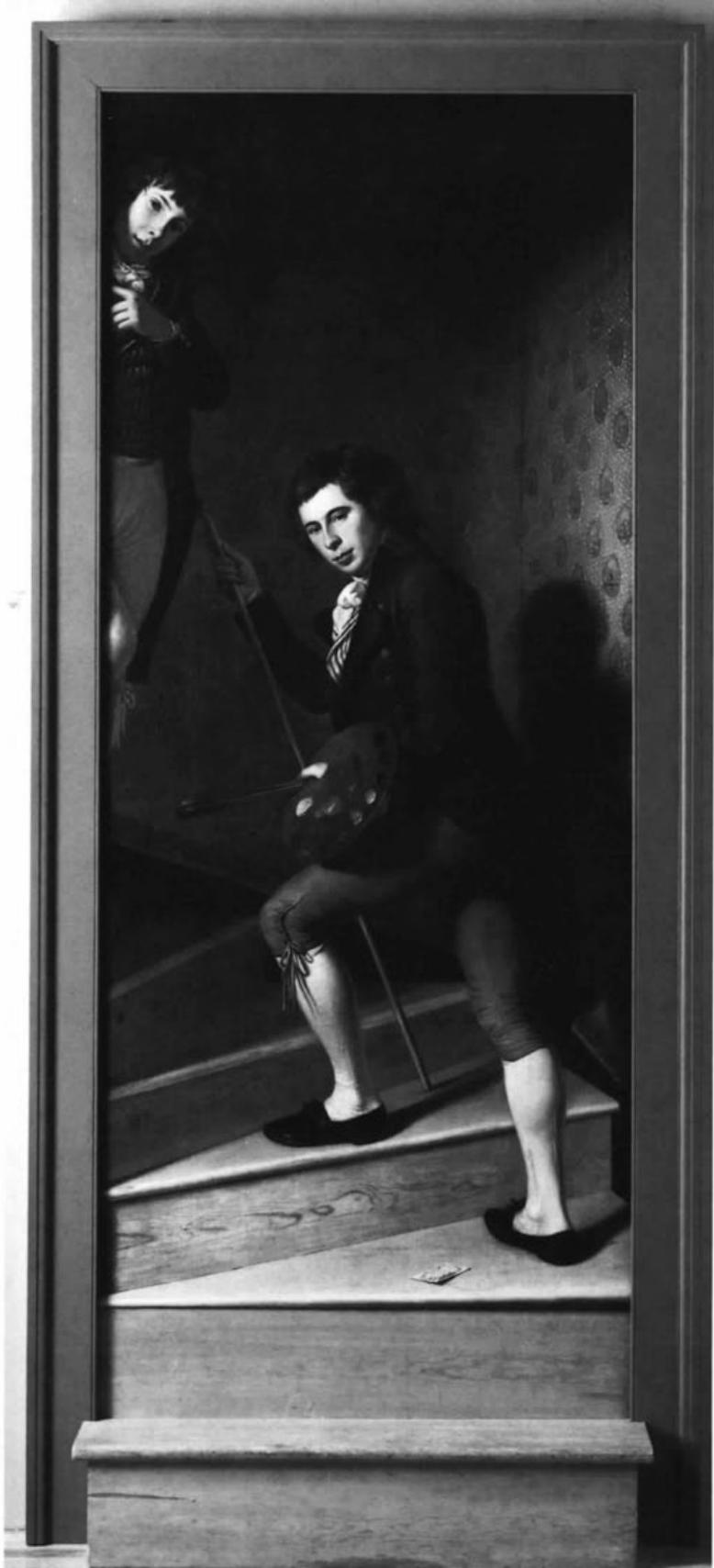
*Catherine J. Allen has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship for 2001–2002 to work on her book, provisionally entitled "The Enveloping Word: Intimacy and Aesthetics in the Andes."*

WENDY BELLION

## Mischievous Objects: Trompe l'Oeil in Early American Art

Trompe l'oeil was an anomaly in early American art. Extant works and archival records suggest that approximately fifty trompe l'oeil paintings and watercolor drawings were created between the mid-1790s and the late-1830s. Nearly all were made in Philadelphia, the cultural and political center of the early American republic. Most were explicitly entitled "A Deception" or "An Imitation" and displayed in the nation's earliest exhibition spaces, such as the Peale Museum, the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, and commercial galleries. Several of the pictures now figure prominently in the canon of American art history, namely Charles Willson Peale's *The Staircase Group: Raphaelle and Titian Ramsay Peale* (1795), Raphaelle Peale's *Venus Rising from the Sea: A Deception* (c. 1822), and Charles Bird King's *Poor Artist's Cupboard* (c. 1815). The majority, however, are unfamiliar works by lesser-known individuals, including the immigrant British architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe; the cartographer and drawing master Samuel Lewis; and the sign painter John Archibald Woodside.

This dissertation is the first to study these objects collectively and to account for their appearance in early national America. Support from the Center enabled me to complete the research and writing for this project. During my first year as a fellow, I conducted research in archival collections and drafted three chapters. My work was greatly facilitated by the concentration of relevant



Charles Willson Peale, *The Staircase Group (Portrait of Raphaëlle Peale and Titian Ramsey Peale)*, 1795. Philadelphia Museum of Art, The George W. Elkins Collection

primary materials in mid-Atlantic institutions. I located evidence for the creation and exhibition of trompe l'oeil pictures in a range of textual sources, including the personal papers of artists and collectors; exhibition and auction catalogues; and the records of art academies and professional organizations. Study of extant paintings and drawings, most of which are housed in public collections, informed my understanding of the technical aspects of trompe l'oeil and the ways in which it predicated its illusionistic feints upon particular spatial and temporal configurations. I found a wider aesthetic and intellectual context for trompe l'oeil in eighteenth-century art theory, perspective manuals, and optical treatises. Similarly, I drew upon contemporary broadsides, novels, and journals to relate the matter of pictorial deception to early American preoccupations with incidents of social and political deception, such as counterfeiting, ventriloquism, and demagoguery. As a resident member of the Center for Advanced Study during the second year of my fellowship, I revised the existing chapters of the dissertation, completed another two chapters, and drafted a plan for preparing the manuscript for publication.

Working from the methodological premise that a small but extraordinary set of art objects can illuminate the logic of a representational system, the dissertation argues that “deceptions” constituted a wry metapictorial dialogue about the contingencies of making and seeing art in the new republic. The textbook thesis of early American art holds that federal era images were the products and proponents of postrevolutionary politics, shaped by Enlightenment ideals of rationality and dedicated to advancing the sober principles of republicanism. But the existence of trompe l'oeil during the federal period within this artistic field bespeaks the agency of artistic self-interest and a taste for the unsanctioned pleasures of dissimulation. In the absence of any developed critical discourse on the arts within Philadelphia, trompe l'oeil painters and draftsmen employed self-referential motifs and strategies to publicize their emergent professional status, to explore the nature of artistic imitation, and to engage spectators in gambits of pretense and perceptual discovery.

The dissertation is structured to explore the various ways and ends to which artists staked this dialectical ground between deceiving and “undeceiving” (a favorite term of early modern discourse). Chapter one concerns the earliest surviving Philadelphia “deception,” a picture that was in many ways paradigmatic of early American trompe l’oeil: the *Staircase Group*, painted for the 1795 exhibition of the Columbianum art academy in the Pennsylvania State House. Within this space, the painting functioned as both trompe l’oeil and portrait, at once masquerading as a natural part of the room and signifying as a coded allegory of the Columbianum. Chapter two establishes the theoretical ground for the dissertation by tracing the changing meanings of “deception” between the mid-seventeenth and late-eighteenth centuries, and chapter three supplies a historical and geographical parameter by explaining why Philadelphia emerged as the locus for trompe l’oeil art. Chapter four analyzes key illusionistic devices and iconographical tropes—*cartellinos*, maps, portraits, and signs—in the extant trompe l’oeil images and suggests how these elements worked to assert authorial presence and make visible the nascent artistic field of painting and display. Finally, the pictures are situated within the extended visual culture of federal America in order to clarify trompe l’oeil’s unique epistemological and phenomenological transactions. Whereas other popular forms of visual deception, namely, optical contraptions and perspectival paintings, encouraged a durational state of perceptual wonder and absorption, trompe l’oeil laid bare its ontological status instantaneously, inviting critical inquiry of the methods of artifice.

[Northwestern University]  
Wyeth Fellow, 1999–2001

*After completing her Wyeth Fellowship, Wendy Bellion will be the National Endowment for the Humanities Fellow at the Winterthur Museum, Library, and Gardens for 2001–2002. Her essay on silhouettes in Jeffersonian America will appear in the forthcoming anthology “New Media, 1750–1914.” She will be in the fall a research assistant, department of American and British paintings, National Gallery of Art.*

MATTHEW BIRO

## The New Human as Cyborg: Figures of Technology in Dada Art in Germany

During my year at the Center, I worked on the second and third chapters of my book “The New Human as Cyborg: Figures of Technology in Dada Art in Germany.” These chapters focus on the artists Raoul Hausmann and Otto Dix respectively. My book examines the cyborg—or figure of the “new human” as a synthesis of organic and technological elements—as it appears in Dada art in Germany between 1919 and 1923. In part, the sign of an anxious response to the destruction brought about by World War I, the cyborg was, paradoxically, also a form upon which the Dada artists could project their utopian hopes and fantasies. By examining the cyborg in Dada art, I point to a set of artistic subjects and practices that were not completely understood by the Dada artists and their initial audiences and that, today, are often overlooked. The partially grasped subject matter of the Dada artists was modern human identity—understood (however inchoately and incompletely) in terms of Western Marxist and psychoanalytic conceptual frameworks. Obscured in part by the concept of avant-garde art, Dada’s transformation of the “object” of art did not simply and reflexively critique aesthetic traditions and institutions. By producing heterogeneous forms of art, the Dada artists attempted to provoke their audiences into critically investigating the flux of drives and forms, individual and collective elements,

that constituted the modern subject in the process of its personal and social history.

The discussion of Hausmann's poetry and performance practices of 1918–1919 demonstrates how they prepared the ground for the cybernetic imagery that became prevalent in his caricatures, photomontages, and assemblages of 1920. Hausmann's opto-phonetic poetry and performance practices reflect his theoretical commitments to social, sexual, and aesthetic revolution, and in addition, they reveal an interest in exploring the way human beings are constructed through various systems of convention and control. Confrontational and improvisational, Hausmann's poetry and performances caused their audiences to reflect on the basic materials of language as well as on the voice as a medium of affect. By defamiliarizing language, Hausmann's performances shocked their audiences and, at times, led them to reflect on the social embeddedness of both art and selfhood. In Hausmann's art, although it is never named as such, the cyborg becomes a visual symbol for a radically open and transformational form of modern identity: the spectacle of a new human who was slowly emerging out of the destruction of the old monarchical and bourgeois orders in Germany. Although early examples of Hausmann's cyborgs date from 1919, in 1920 the cyborg emerges as the primary symbol of the Dada movement when he uses it in photomontages and assemblages to represent both the Dada artist and his or her various (bourgeois, militarist, and expressionist) "others" or antipodes. In numerous photomontage works from 1920, Hausmann uses the cyborg to represent and explore the ways in which society and the media construct human identity in the context of the modern world. Hausmann's cybernetic representations encouraged their spectators to think of both Hausmann and themselves as hybrid and multiply-determined creatures—identities formed in collaboration with others and in accordance with often conflicting drives and values. Through photomontage, which simplifies certain forms of bourgeois aesthetic practice, and the figure of the cyborg, which represents modern identity as an ongoing process of transformation, Hausmann produced a type of allegorical representation

Otto Dix,  
*The Skat Players*  
(*Die Skatspieler*),  
1920. Bildarchiv  
Preussischer Kul-  
turbesitz, Berlin



through which artist and audience could achieve a new state of equality or similitude.

The third chapter examines the representation of vision and images of the cyborg that appeared in the art of Otto Dix between 1918 and 1922. During my time at the Center, I wrote an essay that will form the basis of this chapter. It examines Dix's politically charged *Dada Triptych*, a conjunction of three different oil-and-mixed-media canvases—*The Skat Players*, *Prague Street*, and *The Barricade*, all painted separately in 1920—that Dix exhibited

as a loosely-joined single work at the Berlin Secession in 1921. I argue that Dix's *Dada Triptych*, which was immediately dismantled after its first and only exhibition, anticipated Walter Benjamin's models of dialectical imagery and historical materialist critical practice, the type of cultural criticism that was supposed to apprehend and transmit the dialectical types and settings that Benjamin discovered in the literature, art, and urban material culture of nineteenth-century France. By integrating montage into its formal, material, and semantic structures, Dix's heterogeneous *Dada Triptych* potentially produced an experience of his time in which the "present" was exploded and analyzed in relation to a constellation of interrelated historical precursors. In this way, Dix's art anticipates Benjamin's critique of strictly linear notions of historical development.

University of Michigan  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2000-2001

*Matthew Biro will become director of graduate studies in the department of the history of art at the University of Michigan in September 2001. His article, "History at a Standstill: Otto Dix, Walter Benjamin, and the Question of Stratigraphy," is forthcoming in RES.*

QING CHANG

## Chinese Buddhist Art in North American Museum Collections

After the Opium War in 1840, many Chinese Buddhist art objects entered collections in Japan, Europe, and the United States. Although the collections of this material in Japan have been well published and have become an important resource for Chinese, Japanese, and Western scholars, relatively little work has been done on Chinese Buddhist art in American and European collections. Even the few works that are published merit further investigation. During my fellowship, I began to study Chinese Buddhist objects in the United States as part of a larger project of organizing and publishing this material for a pan-museum catalogue. This, I hope, will promote further research into the chronological, stylistic, and iconographical development of Buddhist art generally.

One of the important classic examples of Chinese Buddhist sculpture in the United States is a late Zhao dynasty bronze Buddha in the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco. Made in the fourth year in the reign of Jianwu (A.D. 338), it bears the earliest known inscription in Chinese Buddhist art. Unfortunately, most Chinese scholars do not have the means to travel to the United States to examine a work such as this, and if they miss significant works in foreign museums, the result may be unresolved issues of dating or reconstruction of sites. For example, key pieces from Buddhist cave temples, now in the United States, carry important information concerning dating and iconography.



Unknown artist,  
Three Luohan,  
Song Dynasty,  
eleventh or  
twelfth century.  
Metropolitan  
Museum of  
Art. Author  
photograph

The sculpture of a Tang dynasty Buddhist triad dated to the first year of the Long Ji era (A.D. 889) in the collection of the Freer Gallery of Art is another example. I found it to contain certain stylistic elements that appear in the later Song dynasty (A.D. 960–1279). Another important but little-known work in the Freer collection is the large stone relief made in the Northern Qi dynasty (A.D. 550–577) that comes from Cave Two of Southern Xiangtang-

shan in the Hebei Province of China. It is the earliest known depiction in Chinese art of Western Paradise, but many Chinese scholars are unaware of it. A further aspect of my study has been to identify objects that have been reworked or are outright forgeries. In fact, the Chinese have been producing forgeries since the Song dynasty, so these pieces can be hard to identify, and many have made their way to the United States

During my fellowship, I visited five cities and examined ten museum collections, including the David and Alfred Smart Museum of Art, the Oriental Institute Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Field Museum of Natural History, the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Center for Visual Arts, the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery. At these institutions, I examined every major piece and studied the museum records on the object. Whenever possible, I attempted to assign provenance. I took copious photographs, recorded inscriptions, measured the works, and transcribed available documentation in the museum files. My findings suggest that numerous sculptures derive from the grottoes at Longmen, Yungang, Tianlongshan, and Xiangtangshan, but none were well documented. In the future, I hope to identify the specific caves or grottoes from which the pieces came.

The Research Institute of the Buddhist Culture of China, Beijing  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, 1 January–30 April 2001

*As an outgrowth of his project, Qing Chang is at the Freer Gallery of Art, preparing an article on Buddhist sculpture.*

JOSEPH CONNORS

## The Apprentice Years of Francesco Borromini, 1619–1634

Francesco Borromini arrived in Rome as a twenty-year-old Swiss stonecarver in the summer or autumn of 1619. He missed the great drama, some would say crime, of the early seventeenth century, the demolition of the nave of old Saint Peter's, which had been carried out under Carlo Maderno in 1606. Maderno built his new façade and nave in 1606–1612. Then, in a second moment, he was ordered by Pope Paul V to add tall belltowers at either side of an already gargantuan façade. In 1612–1617, he built the north belltower on the right, and in 1618 he began the foundations of the belltower on the south. Here the ground was notoriously unstable. Excavations carried out day and night for a year passed through Roman levels and even through the stratum of clay laid down in Noah's flood to profound depths and caused the vaults of nearby buildings "to open up like a pomegranate," but still Maderno found no solid ground. Finally he managed to construct foundations that would float on almost liquid soil to support a towering structure he had not initially wanted.

It was by peering into the deep pit of the foundations in the first days after his arrival in Rome that Borromini formed his heroic image of Maderno, one that he would never abandon. In 1650, after years of criticism of Maderno from the Bernini camp, he still spoke proudly of "that structure that is never praised as much as it deserves, the façade and nave of Saint Peter's." Borromini

knew that if these magnificent but unstable towers were ever to be overloaded they would not be the “strong shoulder” the façade needed but its enemy. But he also learned from Maderno’s experience of having to widen a façade that was already built, and in many works of his maturity—the Oratory, S. Agnese, the Propaganda Fide—he would become the master of the expanding façade.

Apart from Saint Peter’s, the most important Roman church project of the period of Borromini’s apprenticeship was S. Andrea della Valle. Borromini arrived in Rome in time to help Maderno build the dome and design the lantern. The patron, Cardinal Peretti-Montalto, the grand-nephew of Sixtus V, was a grand Maecenas who held a Renaissance court in his palace and sponsored music and masques that attracted distinguished visitors like Vincenzo Giustiniani and Inigo Jones. His patronage at Villa Montalto was instrumental in changing Bernini from a sculptor of individual statues to a designer of larger environments. Montalto was a votary of art, a man who delighted in the excitement caused by competition between artists. Just at the point when Maderno and Borromini were about to begin the façade of S. Andrea, he toyed with the idea of giving the commission to Domenichino, a painter-turned-architect who had taken all Rome by storm in the early 1620s. Domenichino produced a series of innovative façade designs, but Borromini responded with a brilliant drawing, now in Oxford, that was meant to convince the cardinal that he, too, was an artist, not a mere builder or technician. The cardinal died unexpectedly and the façade was not finished for forty years. But Borromini would cling to his self-image as artist for the rest of his career.

When he was twenty-five Borromini met Bernini, and there began the relationship that Virgilio Spada would later describe as a “love that turned to mortal hatred.” Bernini was only a few months older than Borromini, but had been a prodigy cultivated since childhood by popes and cardinals. He occupied a totally different place in the Roman art world from Borromini, still a modest Lombard immigrant. Borromini collaborated closely with Bernini on the architectural dimensions of the baldacchino, but like the sculptors employed by Bernini—François Duquesnoy, Fran-

Francesco Borromini, Cappella del Sacramento, Saint Peter's, Rome, 1629, cherub volute. Author photograph



cesco Mocchi, and Giuliano Finelli—he felt his talents were being absorbed into Bernini's enterprise without recognition or recompense. The great blow came in 1629, when Maderno died and Urban VIII appointed Bernini as architect of Saint Peter's, a position Borromini had hoped to inherit. Borromini nevertheless remained in Bernini's service for three more years, and in 1632 was appointed architect of the Sapienza on Bernini's urging. A decade later this would lead to the commission for S. Ivo, but at the time it seemed one of those promises that, in Passeri's words, "confused poor Francesco, who could no longer tell which was the promise and which the fulfillment, seeing that the enticements were prodigal and the carrying out miserly."

Borromini's apprenticeship with Maderno and Bernini offered him his first taste of archaeology. He excavated in the necropolis of Saint Peter's when he laid the foundation of the baldacchino, and he found a slab of the precinct wall of the Ara Pacis during the construction of Palazzo Peretti. The sad episode of the dismantling of the bronze beams of the Pantheon porch put Borromini in an

almost surgical relationship to that building, but the Pantheon left almost no stamp on Borromini's subsequent work. On the other hand, he learned much from Hadrian's Villa, explored under Barberini patronage in 1634–1636 by his friends Francesco Contini and Gaspare Berti. Borromini, master of the melon vault and the curved façade, reinterpreter of Roman brickwork and devotee of the reverse curve, can be said to be the most Hadrianic of postantique architects. S. Ivo in its early phases looked like nothing so much as a “tempietto” from Hadrian's Villa, and S. Andrea delle Fratte was the design that allowed the oculus-pierced cupola of late antiquity to enter the bloodstream of late baroque architecture.

Borromini studied antiquity not only on the site but in the Renaissance sketchbooks that were abundant in Roman collections. The great *Libro* of Giuliano da Sangallo left a profound stamp on his work, but he also sought out the drawings of Baldassarre Peruzzi and read Pirro Ligorio's published work with care. Through his friend Giovanni Battista Soria he had access to the drawings of Giovanni Battista Montano, which gave him many examples of curved façades, plastically molded wall masses and space conceived according to the laws of perspective. More than any other antiquarian Montano taught Borromini to revere “antiquity, source of our best things, fecund in nature..., ingenious in art, so much so that the moderns cede to the ancients in every profession.”

When in 1634 he received his first independent commission, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Borromini had formed his distinctive graphic style of architectural drawing, knew ancient architecture like no one else in the profession, and was ready to show the world what an artist-architect, who combined erudition and imagination, could do.

Columbia University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 May–30 June 2000

*Currently, Joseph Connors is chairman of the department of art history and archaeology at Columbia University. In September 2002, he will assume the directorship of the Harvard Center for Italian Renaissance Studies at Villa I Tatti in Florence.*

DAVID T. DORIS

## Vigilant Things: The Strange Fates of Ordinary Objects in Southwestern Nigeria

For the Yoruba people of southwestern Nigeria, aesthetics is inextricably linked with ethics. But the objects that have been discussed under the privileged banner of Yoruba art history cannot contend with the full range of Yoruba aesthetic practice. In Yoruba culture the beautiful object is a visual guidepost of moral excellence, proffering in form the attributes and rewards of good behavior and fine character. Conversely, there are other objects—*made* things, intended to be seen and understood—that offer no such recourse to the beautiful. Constructed of the most ordinary materials, objects called *ààlè* have scarcely been noted in art-historical literature. Yet *ààlè* are as essential to our understanding of Yoruba aesthetics as any museum-quality Yoruba objet d'art. Indeed, *ààlè* constitute a Yoruba “antiaesthetic”—that is, they depict in clearly articulated symbolic form those persons who have radically deviated from Yoruba moral and ethical ideals.

Yoruba farmers, ritual and medicinal specialists, market-women, and property-owners create *ààlè* to protect their properties—farms, gardens, market goods, piles of collected firewood—from the ravages of thieves. *Ààlè* are embodiments of personal power, annexes of the self that remain in the person's absence. In order to generate such a powerful transformation, the individual enters into a set of constitutive, combinatory relationships with the institutional forces that precede and exceed both subject and object.

Babaláwo  
Adérémi Fágbadé,  
*Ààlè Isé*  
(*Poverty*), 1998,  
Òkèigbó, Ondo  
State, Nigeria.  
Author photo-  
graph



These collective, historical forces—divine, social, familial—authorize all utterances of power in Yoruba culture, sanctioning a person to act on their behalf. In affirming dialogue with these forces of Law, the person comes to interiorize them, and reproduces this relationship in the creation of *ààlè*. Consequently, the *ààlè* object—its interior activated by the generative power (*àse*) of empowering words (*òrò*), its surfaces displayed as articulate form—also becomes an index of power, a conscious subject capable of discernment and action. *Ààlè*, like Yoruba sculpture more generally, are indexes (*ojú*) of the presence (*ojú*) of power; they are its eyes (*ojú*) and its face (*ojú*). Transformed from object into social actor, the *ààlè*, like a person, is able to detect, warn, capture, and punish thieves.

*Ààlè* are intended by their creators to compel moral identification through acts of vision, and they do so forcefully through metaphor and visual analogy. The symbolic *ààlè* (*ààlè àmì*, sign *ààlè*) communicates power by describing in visible form the consequences of theft, displaying coded, but recognizable, common objects that are often ruined or broken, or that signify in some way such a diminished condition of being. All symbolic *ààlè* threaten suffering as the consequence of transgression: disease, loss, barrenness, paralysis, accident, madness, fruitless labor, or death. *Ààlè* objects are often the useless residues of things that were once positively valued—they index the histories of their own depletion. Such objects have already been made to suffer—made subject, as it were, to righteous intentions, and exhausted through use. In their uselessness, the objects analogize the lawful power of the *ààlè*'s creator to that of the person who wore the old shoe, who dragged the broom through dirt and waste, who tore whole cloth into useless rags. As these objects have been transfigured, so too will the “authority” behind *ààlè* reveal the thief's transgressions. The thief will be separated from the community as painfully and inexorably as a comb separates strands of hair from each other.

The very name *ààlè* is a moral injunction: “We must not,” or “Do not steal.” An *ààlè* is a warning, and must be seen in order to be effective, to be registered in the consciousness of the *potential* thief before he or she becomes an *actual* thief. *Ààlè* are projective “descriptions” (*àpèjúwe*) of the thief, an important term because it suggests not written *inscription*, but a visual process of call-and-response. Spectacularized and objectified in *ààlè*, the thief—who acts in silence and invisibility beyond the realms of a Yoruba ideology of reciprocative intersubjectivity—sees a fragmented, emblematic *portrait* of him- or herself stripped of the qualities that constitute ideal personhood in that society.

[Yale University]  
Ittleson Fellow, 1999–2001

*David T. Doris has been awarded a Smithsonian Post-Doctoral Fellowship for 2001–2002 and will be in residence at the National Museum of African Art.*

CHERYL FINLEY

## The Slave Ship Icon

Without a doubt, the leading visual image associated with the memory of the Middle Passage is the schematic engraving of the cargo hold of a slave ship. The original illustration, *Plan of an African Ship's Lower Deck with Negroes in the Proportion of Only One to a Ton*, was conceived in England by the Plymouth Committee of the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in January 1789. The novelty and immediate success of this image as abolitionist visual propaganda lay in the fact that it made visible for the first time in printed form a widely accepted commercial practice that nevertheless had become shocking, immoral, and unimaginable. Printed as handbills and broadsides or as folding plates in tracts and books, this image was easily copied, reproduced, and circulated by the tens of thousands around the Atlantic rim by the end of the eighteenth century.

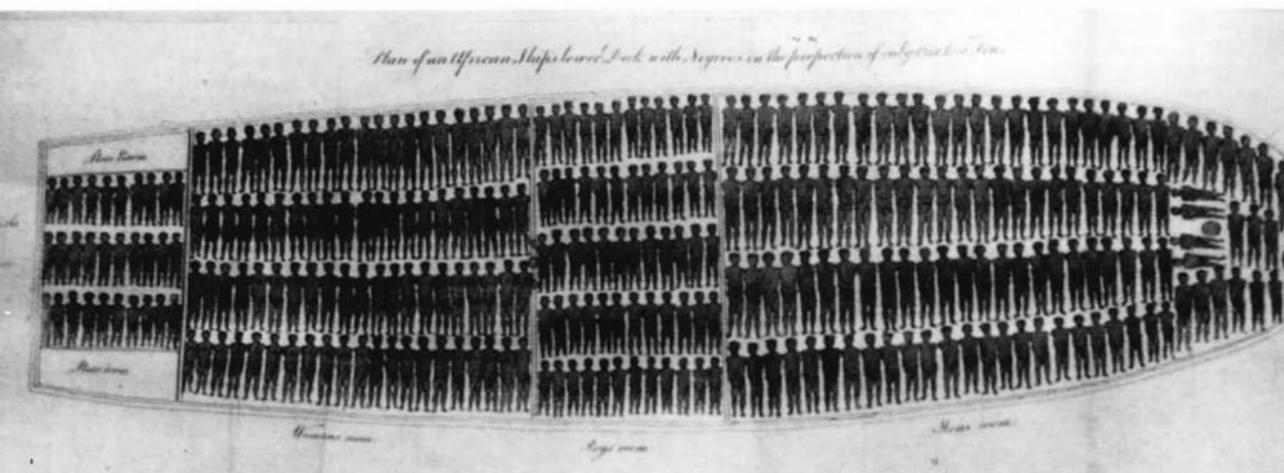
By 1795, British, American, and French abolitionists had designed at least ten different engravings representing the tightly packed hold of a slave ship, each with a distinct format and varying degrees of descriptive text. These are the earliest examples of what I call the slave ship icon. For the dissertation, I have been looking at this image in three distinct areas of inquiry. First, I have been tracing the history of the slave ship icon in print culture from 1789 to 1860. Second, I have examined the emergence of the slave ship icon in the work of black Atlantic artists in the twentieth century.

Third, I have studied how the slave ship icon has become a model for public history exhibitions about transatlantic slavery in the United States, England, the Caribbean, and Ghana. Overall, I have tried to understand the aesthetic, historical, and theoretical mechanisms by which this image remains so important today.

During the last year, I have unearthed several different early variations of the slave ship icon designed and printed prior to 1860. Through the process of charting a critical genealogy of these prints, I have discovered the ways in which they are related to each other and how the different abolitionist groups interacted with one another. Indeed, the slave ship icon was at the center of forging a coalition of abolitionist groups in Europe and America that focused their energies on putting an end to the slave trade. Nevertheless, there were translocal and transnational struggles between these different groups over the control, design, meaning, and dissemination of this powerful image. As a result, the slave ship icon was also used to reference both the need to abolish chattel slavery and the concurrent movement for African colonization.

The initial disagreements between abolitionist groups over the rendering of the slave ship icon centered upon questions of how realistic the portrayal of the situation in the hold of the slave ship should be. The first engravings to be printed in England and the United States did not show the male figures bound by iron shackles, a universal signifier of enslavement, even though these devices of domination and brutality were elaborately detailed in the accompanying explanatory text. Consequently, some scholars have called these initial engravings primitive. But I argue that the lack of shackles required the active participation of the viewer to imagine them, and through the process of imagination the image was made immediate, urgent, and memorable. The subsequent variations of the slave ship icon show a general trend toward a more realistic rendering of the hold of the slave ship, relying upon the drafting techniques used by naval architects to render space in three dimensions.

By the twentieth century, the slave ship icon had become an historical artifact, and the people it helped to free rediscovered the radical potential of this symbolic image. In the able hands of visual



Unkown artist,  
*Plan of an African  
 Ship's Lower  
 Deck with  
 Negroes in the  
 Proportion of  
 Only One to a  
 Ton, 1789.*  
 Society of Friends  
 Library, London.  
 Photograph by  
 Joy Gregory

artists, the slave ship icon was transformed—it became a way for members of the African Diaspora to reassert their shared identity, evoking an ordeal and an originary moment shared by their ancestors. Not simply works of gratuitous commemoration, these artists related the slave ship icon to the pressing issues of their own historical moment.

Public historians and exhibition designers also have relied upon the architectural realism of the slave ship icon to design monuments and museum spaces that commemorate the history of the slavery. Many of these actually aim to recreate the sensorial experience of being in the hold of a slave ship. Still an indelible presence today, the slave ship icon is widely interpreted as a creation image that signals the birth of the African Diaspora through the transatlantic slave trade.

[Yale University]  
 Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001

*Cheryl Finley will be an assistant professor in the department of art at Wellesley College, Massachusetts, and adjunct curator at the Davis Museum and Cultural Center.*

## Niccolò Fiorentino and the Image of Humanism: Portrait Medals and the Art Market in Late Quattrocento Florence

Portrait medals arguably constitute the most focused visual embodiment of humanism in Renaissance Italy: they glorified the individual in indelible materials—thereby ensuring immortality—while harking back to the precedent of classical Roman numismatics and medallions. Recording more than the physical self, medals fused image, allegory, and text into powerful tools of personal and political propaganda. Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli, called Niccolò Fiorentino (1430–1514) is considered the greatest of the Florentine medalists, and the best portraitist of the Renaissance medalists. Yet, with the exception of a brief exploratory article in the 1960s, the present inquiry is the first to address the artist in over seventy years. My dissertation examines how the implicitly personal nature of the portrait medal clashed with explicitly impersonal production techniques to address the demands of late quattrocento patrons, particularly in Florence. The group of medals by Niccolò Fiorentino in the Kress Collection at the National Gallery of Art is the finest and largest in the country, and provides an invaluable resource for this project. Archival work has uncovered unpublished tax declarations, letters, and notarial documents in the State Archives in Florence illuminating the prosperous family of goldsmiths, painters, and jewelers in which Niccolò Fiorentino lived and trained.



Niccolò Fiorentino, obverse: *Lorenzo de' Medici, Il Magnifico*, 1449-1492; reverse: *Florence under a Laurel (?) Tree, Holding Three Lilies*, c. 1490. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of the Circle of the National Gallery of Art

The medals by Niccolò Fiorentino, his workshop, and related circle, of which over one hundred and fifty survive, reflect the interests and attitudes of a wide range of citizens, including the Medici, Strozzi, and Tornabuoni families, as well as the core of the Platonic Academy in Florence: Marsilio Ficino, Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, and Angelo Poliziano. If attributed workshop medals are included, Niccolò Fiorentino's influence reached far beyond the banks of the Arno, for distinguished patrons such as King Charles VIII of France and Pope Innocent VIII sought Niccolò's medals for commemorative purposes. One might reasonably conclude that Niccolò Fiorentino's medals reflect an intimate relationship between patron and artist. Contrary to the brilliance of his portraits, however, Niccolò's noncommemorative medals often indicate production techniques preoccupied with more pragmatic issues of workshop efficiency. Only rarely do the reverses of Niccolò's medals show the same careful modeling found on their obverses, and they are recycled frequently.

Niccolò Fiorentino's medals are symptomatic of a larger condition of assembly-line production in art, both as a division of workshop labor, and as inherently reproducible commodities. The numerous repetitive reverses to his medals indicate that they were culled from a collection of "stock" compositions, routinely modeled by assistants, and possibly cast elsewhere. Compositions

depicting Fortune, the Three Graces, an Eagle, and Hope, for example, were repeated from two to fifteen times, often for completely unrelated patrons. Niccolò's repeated compositions seem not to have bothered his patrons, and may well have been requested. Indeed, stock reverses might have allowed Niccolò to offer his medals at various price points: original compositions and new inscriptions required significantly more time, and would cost more. The medals with repeated reverses, and the many uniface portrait plaquettes attributed to Niccolò's workshop, suggest that the perceived function of the medal itself was changing or expanding. A personalized reverse, and the reverse in general, had evidently lost much of its importance in Florence; scores of uniface portraits from Venice, Ferrara, Mantua, and Milan in the late quattrocento confirm that Florence was not alone (as does the popularity of uniface casts in Tuscany and Emilia in the following century).

Niccolò Fiorentino's medals indicate collaboration between artists of varying levels of sophistication, particularly evident when comparing obverse and reverse. His workshop may have included the design or modeling skills of Lorenzo di Francesco Cigliamocchi, or those of Niccolò's slightly younger brothers Piero and Jacopo, a goldsmith and a painter respectively, or his cousins Antonio and Zanobi, both of whom were goldsmiths. Niccolò may also have collaborated with gifted contemporary artists in varied media, or worked from supplied drawings. A number of his portraits and reverse compositions reflect an exchange of ideas and compositions, whether contractual or otherwise, with artists such as Domenico Ghirlandaio, Antonio Pollaiuolo, and Benedetto da Maiano. Not surprisingly, these artists also served the same clientele.

Only recently has scholarly attention turned to the so-called "open" market for art in Renaissance Italy, where objects were reproduced on speculation by the artist's workshop, or ordered in large quantities and sold. Paintings from the Bellini and Lippi-Pesselino workshops, the numerous Madonna and Child reliefs in various inexpensive materials, and the Della Robbia family terracottas point to speculative venture, as do certain categories of portrait medals. Medals depicting famous Florentine *litterati* and

*religiosi*, some of which maintain the general stylistic tendencies of Niccolò's workshop, were apparently available in shops, markets, or fairs without a specific commissioning contract.

Niccolò Fiorentino's workshop cast an exquisite, and invaluable, gallery of Italy's finest in the final years of the fifteenth century. His methods shed light on the evolving purposes of medals themselves, and reveal a complex exchange of artistic impressions, social attitudes, religious belief, and popular taste.

[Indiana University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001

*For 2001–2002, Arne R. Flaten will be visiting assistant professor and research fellow at Sweet Briar College, Virginia. He also received a fellowship from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation to complete his book, "The Middelorf Collection: Medals and Plaquettes."*

## Translated Stones: Rewriting Indo-Muslim Monuments

This project reflects a long-term academic interest in the reconfiguration of visual idioms that occurs at cultural interfaces. It offers a revisionist interpretation of a key group of early Islamic monuments in India and Pakistan, constructed in the wake of the Muslim conquest of northern India in the last quarter of the twelfth century C.E. During this period, most of northern India was brought under the control of the Ghurids, a Muslim dynasty based in what is now central Afghanistan. Although the Ghurid Empire was short-lived, for three decades (roughly between 1175 and 1205) the extension of Muslim suzerainty to most of northern India created an empire stretching from eastern Iran to the Bay of Bengal. Conjoining the various Hindu kingdoms of northern India with some of the most important cultural centers in the Iranian world, the conquest produced a polity that was in many ways unique.

In the wake of the conquest, a vibrant hybrid visual culture emerged in South Asia, in which craftsmen familiar with the north Indian temple tradition reinterpreted architectural forms and motifs from eastern Iran. Conversely, that same tradition exerted a demonstrable influence on eastern Iranian architecture during the same period. Although the efflorescence of the Ghurid dynasty was brief, its architectural legacy is therefore of singular importance as a link between the traditions of Iran and Central Asia on the one hand, and those of northern India on the other.

Despite their potential to offer unique insights into intercultural exchange at a formative period in South Asian history, the surviving Indo-Ghurid monuments have been generally ignored by art historians. The only monograph on any of the Indo-Ghurid monuments (the Qutb Minar and ‘Quwwat al-Islam’ Mosque in Delhi) was published over seventy years ago, and is largely descriptive rather than analytical. The neglect of the material evidence for a rich cultural exchange between eastern Iran and India has led to a largely text-based approach to the period. An often uncritical reliance on Arabic and Persian histories, with their sometimes pejorative references to the Hindu “other” and their frequently lurid rhetoric of “idol destruction,” has led to academic writing on the period being dominated by three interrelated tropes: temple desecration, image destruction, and the seizure of booty.

Challenging these paradigms of rupture, my research looks to the surviving art and architecture of this period to highlight the degree of cultural continuity in South Asia between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. My work at the Center has concentrated on three interrelated facets of the project: on Ghurid looting practices in relation to those of contemporary South Asian rulers; on the reuse of architectural material; and on the nature, scope, and meaning of Ghurid iconoclasm.

Drawing on both medieval texts and surviving objects, my research on Ghurid looting practices suggests that the meaning of the Indian booty listed in medieval Arabic and Persian sources is not always reducible to its economic value. On the contrary, there are instances where we appear to be dealing not with a case of generic plunder, but with a careful selection and display of artifacts which functioned as homologous royal insignia within the discourses of medieval Persian and Indian kingship.

My work on the reuse of certain kinds of architectural material also indicates that these two seemingly incommensurable modes of kingship were characterized by a degree of hybridity, which the privileging of courtly narratives over contemporary visual “texts” has served to obscure. This is particularly evident in the re-erection of pre-Islamic victory pillars (*jayastambhas*) in Ghurid and post-Ghurid mosques. Although this practice has often been assumed



Tomb of Shaykh Dadan Shahid, Near Muzaffargarh, Pakistan, detail of base moldings incorporating Indic and Eastern Iranian designs and Arabic epigraphy. Author photograph

to reflect the trophy value of the pillars, my research suggests that the recontextualization and reinscription of these antique pillars was a common practice among medieval Indian kings, which continued right up until the eve of the Ghurid conquest of Delhi. The expropriation and re-erection of such columns by medieval Muslim rulers therefore represents continuity in the characteristic practices of pre-Muslim Indian kings.

The third area of the project on which I have been working at the Center is the issue of iconoclasm. Many of the congregational mosques built in the wake of the Ghurid conquest of north India in the last decades of the twelfth century make extensive use of richly

carved components from Hindu and Jain temples. The images with which these elements were originally carved are frequently mutilated. As a result, it has been taken as axiomatic that these mosques bear witness to the culturally determined expression of a monolithic iconoclasm.

My work on iconoclasm seeks to challenge such a reductive approach to early Indo-Muslim religious architecture by demonstrating that the monuments reveal a complex range of responses to the image, ranging from mutilation to emulation. Based largely on empirical evidence, it posits a relationship between the nature of what is represented on reused material and the treatment of the representation in secondary contexts. It also highlights the diverse range of practices subsumed and elided under the rubric of iconoclasm.

Although focused on a particular moment in South Asian history, the study necessarily addresses broader methodological and epistemological issues such as the representation of hybridity in art-historical analysis, and the relationship between cultural identity and architectural form. The work endeavors to refigure the surviving Indo-Ghurid monuments as products of a process of cross-cultural visual translation that sought to simultaneously appropriate and transform the past through a transfiguration of its architectural traces. In effect, the work comprises an attempt to retranslate the monuments, conceptualizing the hybridity to which they bear witness as a product of the construction of meaning rather than an accidental by-product of intercultural conflict.

Edinburgh  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2000–2001

*As of September 2001, Finbarr Barry Flood assumes the position of assistant professor in the department of fine arts at New York University. He will be on leave for the 2001–2002 academic year to be a Smithsonian Senior Fellow at the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington.*

RACHEL HAIDU

## Marcel Broodthaers, 1963–1972: From Forbidden Objects to Museum Fictions

My fellowship this year coincides with a singularly rich, historical opportunity for studying the work of the Belgian postwar artist Marcel Broodthaers. Occupying all of the galleries of Brussels' vast Palais des Beaux-Arts is its first retrospective of Broodthaers' work since the one-man exhibition that followed his death in 1976. The Palais played a significant role in Broodthaers' life: he worked there as a gallery lecturer and as a critic for its biweekly journal in the 1960s; he negotiated with its administrators on behalf of the artists occupying its buildings in the spring of 1968; and he mounted his works in its galleries in several group shows. In the retrospective are not only Broodthaers' objects and films, but his very precise installation strategies. A number of works, such as the second version of his gallery-sized *Jardin d'Hiver* (1974), are installed in the same rooms for which Broodthaers initially conceived them. The exhibition curator, Corinne Diserens, has also reclaimed his specific installation strategies to display documentation and rarely seen works.

These strategies are a crucial aspect of the work of an artist frequently credited as the progenitor of installation art and an innovator of institutional critique, two of the most crucial artistic developments since 1960. Over the course of several weeks while studying the retrospective, my initial skepticism toward these now-common rubrics has deepened into a conviction: not only are



Marcel Broodthaers, *Moules*, 1967. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Tob H., Antwerp

“institutional critique” and “installation art” inadequate as descriptive terms, but Broodthaers’ work renders their fundamental presuppositions deeply problematic. The institutional framework of the art museum, generally taken to be the object of “institutional critique,” is formulated as an object of Broodthaers’s critique insofar as it plays into his constant unraveling of the question of authorship. One striking aspect of his work is the manner in which Broodthaers reuses his own previous works within shifting discursive frameworks. These displacements function as “installation”

strategies even before the museum itself becomes the site that Broodthaers invests with meaning.

One early example of such a displacement is found in *Moules*, a photographic impression on canvas (100 by 80 centimeters) from 1967. The grainy, black-and-white photographic image is of one of Broodthaers's own works from 1965–1966, in which he fills casseroles of the type typically used for steamed mussels—a signifier for his country's national identity—with mussels that have been emptied, glued together, and sometimes painted. In *Moules*, a dangling string connects the “o” of the legend “Moules” to the casserole's lid. It clearly invokes René Magritte's *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* of 1926, a work whose complex significance Broodthaers explored throughout his artistic career. But Broodthaers' work involutes the relationship Magritte sets up between a textual legend and its figurative double. In *Moules* the textual term appears to explicitly name its visual corollary, but the fragile thread, whimsically knotted and lacking gravitational tension, formally undercuts any conceptual relation of equivalence. Magritte's painted “blackboard,” whose pedagogic implications Broodthaers investigated throughout his early work, is replaced by a white canvas, whose stark photographic transfer sets up a critique of mechanical reproduction. This critique, while wittily unraveling the strictest law of denotation, is particularly potent in relation to the notion of the artist's name and claims to authorship.

As Broodthaers once pointed out, the artist's name today has become synonymous with what he does. In 1967, Broodthaers' name was synonymous—for the limited public to which his name meant anything at all—with his constructions made of mussel or egg shells. Where Magritte's legend had referred to the cleavage between linguistic and figurative representation, and thus to the status of representation *in toto*, the legend “Moules” within the 1967 work enters into and announces a realm of already doubled representation where the casserole that was first produced (by Broodthaers) as an art object returns as a photographic transfer. The actual referent becomes not the “mussels” the legend names, but the artist's identity, forever evacuated by and subsumed in the culture's reifying cycles of mass reproduction and distribution.

In other words, the legend “Moules” is a proxy for Broodthaers’ “name.”

Magritte himself made a similar move in 1966, when he painted *Les Deux Mystères*, a reprise of his 1926 work that floated a second pipe in ambient space above the “original” painting. Similarly, Marcel Duchamp’s 1918 *Tu m’* and 1941 *Boîte en valise* both reproduced his own previous works. But by allowing a textual legend to slip from the denotative function into various extralinguistic operations (including that of derisive self-advertisement), Broodthaers articulates a critique aimed with decided precision at the function of authorship as a social, historical, and political institution. It is Broodthaers’ singular manipulation of concepts such as author, œuvre, and institution—concepts that would become fallaciously opposed in the subsequent historicization of his generation’s work—which has become strikingly apparent to me in the current retrospective at the Palais.

[Columbia University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001

*Rachel Haidu has been awarded a Dedalus Foundation Fellowship to continue her work on Marcel Broodthaers.*

JOHN OLIVER HAND

## The Paintings of Joos van Cleve

Active from about 1505/1508 until 1540/1541, Joos van Cleve was one of the most accomplished, important, and influential artists working in Antwerp. Joos' success as an artist is indicative of much that is unique to Antwerp and would even include the fact that he was drawn to this dynamic city from the Lower Rhine, probably by way of Bruges. In terms of patronage his clientele reflects the cosmopolitan atmosphere of Antwerp, and his works include commissions from patrician families in Cologne and for altar wings for the Brotherhood of Saint Reinhold in the Hanseatic city of Gdansk. I have begun to question whether Joos himself ever went to Italy, but there was a large Italian community in Antwerp, and from the most numerous group, the Genoese, Joos received commissions for altarpieces in San Donato, Santa Maria della Pace, and San Luca d'Erbe, not to mention altarpieces exported to a Genoese merchant living in the Canary Islands. It is equally evident that prominent citizens of Antwerp such as the merchant Joris Vezeleer and his wife, as well as Netherlanders from other cities such as The Hague and Delft, had their portraits painted by Joos or commissioned altarpieces from him.

Joos van Cleve's creations had considerable impact upon his contemporaries. In Cologne this can be seen in the work of his friend Bartholomäus Bruyn, that city's leading painter. In Antwerp, the Master of Frankfurt is indebted to Joos, as was Quentin



Joos van Cleve,  
*Joris Vezeleer*,  
c. 1518. National  
Gallery of Art,  
Washington, Ailsa  
Mellon Bruce  
Fund

Massys in certain of his mature works. The influence of Joos van Cleve's paintings is quite evident in Genoa, a city with strong ties to the Netherlands, particularly in the works of Pier Francesco Sacchi, Antonio Semino, and Teramo Piaggio.

Given his importance, it is somewhat surprising to learn that the only monograph on Joos van Cleve was written by Ludwig Baldass in 1925, and this was followed in 1931 by the ninth volume of *Die altniederländische Malerei* which dealt in part with Joos. It has been my aim to produce a monograph and catalogue of the paintings of this excellent artist, and I have made substantial progress toward its completion. While I have drafted a textual discussion, the greater part of my time was spent researching and writing the catalogue. I have produced over 120 entries, which include works by Joos alone and by Joos in conjunction with his workshop, in addition to a separate section devoted to problematic or doubtful attributions and compositions known only through workshop versions. The number of entries is somewhat deceptive, for it should be noted that Joos had an active workshop and his compositions were often emulated by others, and so under individual entries I have also included workshop replicas and copies. For example, the *Madonna of the Cherries*, based on a Leonardesque prototype by Giampietrino, must have been extremely popular, for I was easily able to list 28 paintings that seem to emanate from Joos van Cleve's workshop or were close copies. A particularly vexing problem was the question of what Joos painted in the last decade of his life. Friedländer attributed a substantial number of portraits to Joos and dated them to the 1530s. Many of these pictures are no longer extant, and attributions must be attempted on the basis of photographs. First-hand examination is, however, vital. After studying the *Portrait of a Man* (Petworth, The National Trust), dated 1537, I concluded that it was not by Joos while deciding that another portrait in the same collection is possibly a late work by Joos that has suffered repaint and abrasion. It also became evident that further research is needed into the larger question of Netherlandish portraiture during the 1530s and 1540s.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Northern Renaissance Painting  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,  
2000–2001

*After completing a monograph on Joos van Cleve, John Oliver Hand will resume his responsibilities as curator of Northern Renaissance painting at the National Gallery of Art in the fall.*

FREDRIKA H. JACOBS

## The Metaphoric Relationship of Art and Life: Aesthetics and Science in Sixteenth-Century Italy

With its more than one hundred and sixty artists' lives, multiple prefaces, technical treatises, introductory letters, and concluding remarks, Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (1550; revised and expanded second edition 1568) has long been considered the seminal text defining the history of art. Indeed, as an amalgam of fact and fiction, panegyric and prescriptive, aimed at both shaping early modern perceptions of works of art and fashioning concepts about those who made them, Vasari's *Lives* did much to promote the notion that an artist is a privileged creator of Promethean proportions. Accordingly and with undeniable purpose, Vasari filled his corpus of artists' lives with phrases that subtly yet effectively underscore the notion that artists create (*creare*) rather than simply make (*fare*) works of art. His choice of critical terms and phrases, rife with philosophical and theological implications, should not be dismissed as mere hyperbole. During the course of the sixteenth century, academicians, including Vasari, employed the ontological model of biological propagation to artistic production. Art, man's handiwork, was said to imitate Nature, the handiwork of God, by following what was deemed to be essentially the same process of coming into being. The recognized likeness of the *divino artista* with the *Deus artifex* prompted critics and theorists to employ verbs such as *partorire* ("to give birth to"), *generare* ("to procre-

Andreas Vesalius,  
*De humani corporis fabrica*,  
 title page (Basel,  
 1543). Harvard  
 University, Francis  
 A. Countway  
 Library of Medi-  
 cine, Boston



ate”), and *nascere* (“to be born”) to convey the essence of the artistic process itself. Not surprisingly, the perceived likeness also gave rise to a plethora of descriptions of inanimate images and objects as having “motion and breath” and “sight in their eyes.” As has often been argued, antique epigrammatic, Petrarchan, and ekphrastic traditions informed this type of language. But does the

humanist theory of painting signified by the aphorism *ut pictura poesis* tell the whole story? In this study I argue that it does not. Pairing images and sculpted objects with descriptive texts, I consider phrases such as *veramente viva viva* and *più vivo che la vivacità* within the context of nascent positivism and against the protean views of anatomical and medical science.

Renaissance medicine, like the visual arts of this period, was characterized by a mixture of text-based theories, practical experience, hybrid pedagogical genres, new information, new techniques, and new technologies. But the new never lost sight of the old. Ancient texts and canonical classical forms both informed modern visions and supplied teleological programs to emulate. Anatomists and physicians no less than painters and sculptors were concerned with “the form of the perfect human body,” specifically one exhibiting the perfection of “the statue of Polykleitus.” Predictably, dissection became an integral part of an artist’s training. For example, within the first six months of its founding, Florence’s Accademia del Disegno passed statutes mandating attendance at an annual dissection at Santa Maria Nuova. Additionally, collaborations between anatomists and artists increased. Although that of Realdo Colombo and Michelangelo is perhaps the most famous of these, it is by no means unique. Artists, including Giorgio Vasari, document in word and image not only an interest in the body’s hidden structure but their dependence on physicians in securing access to it. Ultimately, however, it is difficult to tie these practices to a critical language that recognizes life in an inanimate object. The best one can say is that dissection as a step in the creative process participates in the revered Zeuxian method of composing a figure from the most beautiful parts taken from disparate models. But, as Vasari’s description of Leonardo da Vinci’s *Mona Lisa* makes clear, to end the inquiry here would be premature.

The passage in Vasari’s *Lives* detailing the *Mona Lisa* has been called “a lover’s lyric,” a *descriptio personae* that evokes Petrarch’s lyric verse, including his sonnets on Simone Martini’s now lost portrait of the poet’s beloved Laura. The parallels are undeniable. Yet Vasari’s reference to the visibility of a beating pulse (*battere i polsi*)—as opposed to the effects of the lady’s mysterious smile and

penetrating eyes—demands reconsideration if for no other reason than its singularity. In the context of mid-sixteenth-century Italy, the reference was topical and, as concerns the pictorial naturalism and lifelikeness, potent. Leonardo, who referred to the heart as the “*strumento mirabile*,” understood the heart as a contracting muscle regulating the “flux and reflux of the blood.” The beating of the heart can be palpably measured by “the beating of the pulse... in any part of the living body.” More than a hundred years later, William Harvey would continue to argue that the essence of life is the spirit (*anima*) that is pumped through the cardiopulmonary system and measured by a beating pulse. Midway between the time Leonardo performed and recorded his dissections and the publication of Harvey’s *An Anatomical Exercise on the Motion of the Heart and Blood in Animals* (1628), the *quaestio de anima* raged. If one traces the meaning of the word *anima* through sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dictionaries, including Lodovico Dolce’s *Modi affigurati e voci...* (1564) and Filippo Baldinucci’s *Vocabolario toscano dell’arte del disegno* (1681), it is clear that the concept of *anima*, as something “endowed with breath” and life, was deeply entwined with concepts of the human potential for creation. When, therefore, iconic images like the *Mona Lisa* are considered in concert with early critical texts, it becomes readily apparent that what sixteenth-century viewers saw was something more polyvalent than “a lover’s lyric.” It has been argued, rightly I believe, that the extraordinary cultural accomplishments of the Renaissance rest on the appearance of the radical and modern belief in human creativity. The vocabulary with which works of art were described, artists defined, and the creative process detailed reflects the aesthetics of an era Vasari termed *la moderna*.

Virginia Commonwealth University  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 July–31 August 2000

*Fredrika H. Jacobs resumed her position as an associate professor of art history at Virginia Commonwealth University.*

SARAH KENNEL

## Dance and the Visual Arts in France, 1910–1930

During the first three decades of the twentieth century, dance emerged as one of modernism's most striking achievements. Exploring the fluid exchange between artists and choreographers and between representations of the body and representations through the body, my project argues that neoteric forms of dance practice furnished early twentieth-century artists with new modes of conceiving and expressing relationships between embodiment and image.

An intensified interest in the body's capacity to signify through movement emerged out of widespread disenchantment with intellectual culture in *fin-de-siècle* Europe. Marked by aggressive campaigns against rationalism and multiple challenges to the epistemological authority of language, this *mal du siècle* coincided with the spectacular rise of interest in silent modes of communication such as pantomime, acrobatics, early film, and dance, all of which emphasized the body's capacity to signify through non-verbal, material means. At the same time that artists and writers looked to dance as an ideal model for artistic production, the formal and thematic concerns of a number of early modern dancers, such as Isadora Duncan, Vaslav Nijinsky, Ruth St. Denis, and Mary Wigman, incorporated contemporary aesthetic developments in the visual arts.

Manipulating the forms and associated meanings of classical art as a strategy to elevate the status of her choreographic practice, Isadora Duncan offered a revitalized version of classicism at a moment when the classical tradition in the visual arts—and especially in sculpture—seemed to have lost its bearings. Infusing ancient forms with modern subjectivity, Duncan’s dancing body served as template for a mode of artistic production which promised to integrate the Greek and Roman past with the present, the physical with the spiritual, and the individual with the collective. As Duncan appropriated classical art’s bodily and cultural ideals to invest dance with aesthetic and social values it had lacked in the nineteenth century, her choreography and performances shaped contemporary artistic practices.

Among the many artists who attempted to give visual form to Duncan’s body in motion was Emile-Antoine Bourdelle, who executed over two hundred drawings of the dancer between 1909 and 1913. This corpus of drawings formed the basis for Bourdelle’s decorative frieze for the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in Paris, designed by the architect Auguste Perret. Tracing the complex passage from dance to drawing to sculpture in this four-year project reveals Bourdelle’s engagement with Duncan’s dance as part of his broader attempt to forge a new language for public sculpture. Bourdelle’s dance imagery on the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées represents the sculptor’s attempt to create a viable *art social* in which the antinomies of public and private, classical and modern, were resolved.

The first two chapters of my dissertation focus on the relationship between dance practice and debates surrounding the fortunes of classicism in the visual arts; chapters three and four examine the explosive combination of modernism and “primitivism” in Nijinsky’s choreography for *Afternoon of a Faun* (1912) and *The Rite of Spring* (1913). Invoking references to both the archaic and the modern, Nijinsky’s choreography situated the body between a pre-social atavism and a fragmented, automatistic modernity. In both theme and form, these ballets responded to the increasing fragmentation of individual and national identity in prewar French culture.



Emile-Antoine  
Bourdelle,  
*Isadora Duncan*,  
1911–1912.  
Musée Bourdelle,  
Paris

Nijinsky's choreographic innovations—which include stylized non-dance movements, deployment of stasis and repetition to break up movement phrases, a predilection for twisted or asymmetrical positions, and a general disregard for both the established canons of grace and conventional narrative structures of ballet—consistently invoked critical comparisons to contemporary movements in painting and sculpture, in particular fauvism, cubism, and abstract painting.

A conjunction between choreographic and pictorial aesthetics is evident in a number of works exhibited at the Salon d'Automne and the Salon des Indépendants between 1910 and 1913. Henri Matisse, Gino Severini, Jean Métzinger, Robert Delaunay, Wynd-

ham Lewis, Alexander Archipenko, and Francis Picabia, for example, exhibited images of dance. In an extended analysis of Matisse's *La Danse* and its reception at the Salon d'Automne in 1910, I suggest that the staging of corporeality in Matisse's painting, as in Nijinsky's choreography, reveals deep fissures in the concepts of Self, History, and Nation which had emerged out of nineteenth-century social thought and, in particular, the disciplines of anthropology, biology, and psychology. As the traditional image of the classical body and, by extension, the modalities of signification which were entrenched in French culture began to fall apart, both modern dance and its representations in the visual arts served as metaphors for the tenuous position of the individual in prewar French culture.

The dissertation concludes with an investigation of dance in the articulation of the postwar body. Fernand Léger's costume and set designs for the Ballets Suédois' 1923 performance of *La Création du Monde*, a work inspired by an African creationist myth culled from Blaise Cendrars' *Anthologie Nègre*, depicted a stylized "cubist" prehistoric world populated by giant, insectlike figures whose movements and costuming conflated the "primitive" with the mechanical. As a specific response to the colonialist and pro-natalist rhetoric and imagery prevalent in 1920s France, *Création* participated in a wider postwar project of cultural reconstruction in the face of the multiple traumas enacted by war, industrialization, and the rise of mass culture. Léger's configuration of bodies into machinehood in the designs for the ballet was also directly shaped by his fascination with both ethnographic and popular dance, thus underscoring the complex role that dance played in the visual culture of early twentieth-century modernism.

[University of California, Berkeley]  
Mary Davis Fellow, 1999–2001

*In 2001–2002, Sarah Kennel will be a research assistant in the department of modern prints and drawings at the National Gallery of Art. She will continue the work begun as a fellow in preparation for the Romare Bearden exhibition.*



L. 214 (A)



L. 215 (A)

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L. 448

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L. 214 (B)



L. 215



## Jacques Callot: Visions and Revisions

My dissertation investigates the printed oeuvre of Jacques Callot (1592–1635). I begin with the premise that longstanding traditions of emotional projection and biographical contextualism have distracted us from the most interesting aspects of his work. It is therefore time to stop tinkering with his life story and begin re-describing his art.

The chapter “Collecting Callot” examines the artist’s early reception. Many seventeenth-century authors, including Georges de Scudéry, John Evelyn, and La Bruyère, present Callot as the epitome of the collectible artist. In the following century E. F. Gersaint endorses this tradition by selecting his oeuvre as the subject for the first catalogue raisonné of any artist. Callot was also one of the most frequently copied printmakers throughout these centuries. To account for this fame we need to understand the dynamics of print collecting in a highly competitive milieu, at a time when most serious collections were arranged into albums. When examining this evidence I distinguish between the ideal collection, as exemplified in the expert compilations of the dealers Gersaint and P. J. Mariette, and the many mongrel albums filled with copies and Callotisme. In either case, the compiler usually aimed to acquire as many works as possible, to distinguish authentic works from copies, and to arrange the works in a coherent manner. Because

Jacques Callot,  
*Capricci*, c. 1617.  
Pinacoteca Nazionale,  
Bologna,  
Collection of  
Benedict XIV

Callot's oeuvre presented unusual pleasures and anxieties on all three of these levels, it became an exemplary challenge for compilers.

"Paradoxes of a Sterile Genius" treats the pictorial dynamics of the *Capricci*, a set of fifty diverse scenes which the artist describes as "the first flowers that I have gathered in the field of my *sterile ingegno*." This sterile talent, or genius, inheres most forcefully in the richly redundant "drawing-exercise" prints, which show a figure both in outline and in shaded form against a blank background. I consider these images under the rubric of various paradoxes (random order, inimitable exemplars, simultaneous succession, and original replicas, for example). This investigation of pictorial multivalence serves as an introduction to many aspects of Callot's art, and challenges the fashionable antiformalist notion that art historians can, and should, engage in something more important than "mere" description.

The chapter on "The Printed Self" continues to unpack the "drawing-exercise" prints by construing their figural displacement as a form of pictorial irony. This is not the so-called stable irony, or sarcasm, that one finds in the art of William Hogarth, Barbara Kruger, or Mark Tansey—the kind that the knowing interpreter can "get" with a roll of the eyes. It is, rather, "irony [as] the form of paradox," in Friedrich von Schlegel's famous formulation. The drawing-exercise prints exemplify the paradox of self-differentiation by intimating fantasies of existential displacement. After considering the connection between irony and technologies of inscription (writing, drawing, printing), I locate Callot's displaced figures within a broader tradition of uncanny doubles. This leads to the section "*Corpus Mobile*," which treats the theme of bodily and printerly instability in Descartes and Callot. Whereas Descartes makes every effort to sidestep irrational perturbations when constructing his printed persona, Callot openly embraces unreason, turning it to aesthetic and economic advantage. Hence, in the eyes of their contemporaries, these two men come to personify transcendent wakefulness and grotesque imagination, respectively.

The final chapter, "Difference, Indifference," broadens the investigation with a selective survey of pictorial libertinage in the rest of Callot's oeuvre. I examine his continual switching of the

codes under two main headings, “Inflecting the View” and “Marginal Differences.” The first of these sections treats various forms of spatio-temporal distortion in Callot’s printed views, while the second explores manipulation of images’ outer edges. Pointing to remarkable variations in both domains, I conclude that Callot’s style resides not in any single direction within his work, but rather in a succession of seemingly erratic transformations.

[Harvard University]  
Chester Dale Fellow, 2000–2001

*In the coming academic year, Graham Larkin plans to complete his dissertation and prepare it for publication.*

SARAH LINFORD

## The Traditional Avant-Garde: French Symbolism, 1871–1910

The sum of formal innovations advanced by French painters of the late nineteenth century is heralded as the origin of nonfigurative art. The term postimpressionism—encompassing both neoimpressionism and symbolism—was forged in just such a teleological perspective. This term, however, posits a history of the *fin-de-siècle* avant-garde which excises the so-called “artists of the soul” altogether. More, painters such as Emile Bernard, Paul Sérusier, and Maurice Denis are but fractionally included since only some of their works fit postimpressionism’s high modernist narrative. Postimpressionism’s formal criteria, in other words, prevent a rigorous explanation of symbolism’s inception and development, its fundamental coherence, or its historicity.

Whether or not pictorial symbolism may be called a movement, those artists who defined their projects in reaction to realism and impressionism shared a commitment to aesthetic essentialism. Since the ideal nature of things and abstract ideas are not the province of brute empirical fact or appearance alone, painting’s material “essence” is made to function by analogy and the artwork as equivalence. This radical approach to the age-old problem of representation is no *tabula rasa*, however. On the contrary, in both theory and practice symbolists sought to salvage what they perceived to be the highest aims of Western art—aims neglected by the “naturalisms” corrupting French art and morals and trivial-

ized by academic painting. Tradition is, in this way, esteemed both as a repository of artistic value and as the locus of national identity.

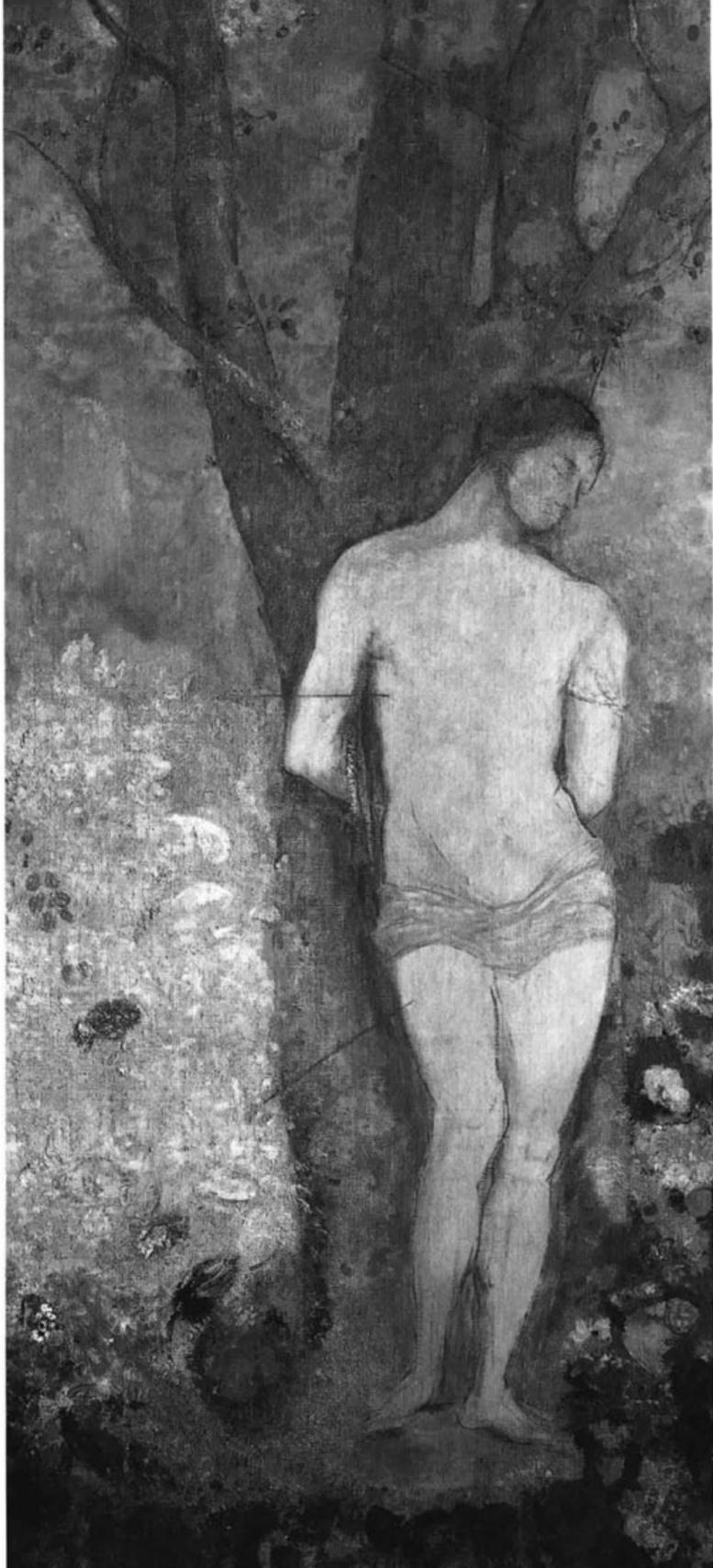
Symbolism's constitutive neotraditionalism favored three thematic and stylistic domains: an avant-garde classicism, a syncretic medievalism, and a hieratic primitivism. My research has largely focused on this triptych and its implications for symbolism's historical context, the Third Republic.

What I call avant-garde classicism refers not only to the espousal of antique myths and legends by symbolist painting but also to the belief that "synthetism"—whether in the work of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Paul Gauguin, Emile Bernard, the Nabis, or the "artists of the soul"—is the classical intellectual process *par excellence*. Intimately tied to those debates about history painting, allegory, and symbol spurred by the *désastres* of the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune, a "synthetic classicism" holds the symbolists in sway through the 1890s. From the turn of the century onward, however, the difficulty of negotiating nature and tradition, of guaranteeing the truth of an ideal leads these artists to turn increasingly to Raphael and French seventeenth-century models. Avant-garde classicism is embodied in a variety of pictorial solutions on the eve of the First World War. All rely on an identification of the classical with a cultural, and increasingly racial, "genius."

From the 1880s on, symbolist artists additionally relied on a mysticized image of the Middle Ages. Brittany's supposedly untainted religiosity provided countless subjects, as did feudal myths and legends, while rough-hewn crucifixes and quattrocento figures supplied stylistic standards. This medievalism participated in the larger Catholic revival that magnetized the Parisian intelligentsia at the turn of the century. Symbolist spiritualism also found complementary sources for its religious syncretism in archaic or "primitive" cultures yoked to serve as both racial foil and the ostensible expression of sincere faith.

More generally, the classical, the medieval, and the primitive form the terrain of a veritable cultural struggle waged on a national level. Even after the Third Republic achieved constitutional strength, for France to be synonymous with *république* required that the Republicans either debunk or, better yet, appro-

Odilon Redon,  
*Saint Sebastian*,  
1910–1912.  
National Gallery  
of Art, Washing-  
ton, Chester Dale  
Collection



priate and rework the political right's claims to tradition, race, and religion. In this way, symbolism is the Opportunist Republic's language of conservative compromise, a traditional avant-garde in every sense. Public and institutional uses of symbolist art by the Third Republic certainly support this argument: witness the decorative program of the Paris city hall and neighborhood *mairies*, or the promotion of symbolist artists through official honors, posts, and world fairs.

There are two immediate consequences to such arguments. First, the relation between impressionism and Republicanism is recast—whether or not one champions the *bourgeois* Republic. Second, the Return to Order between the World Wars reveals itself to be the second—and not the first—moment of “reactionary modernism” in the history of French pictorial avant-gardes, and largely an extension of symbolism's most conservative face.

[Princeton University and Université Blaise Pascal Clermont-Ferrand II]  
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1998–2001

*Sarah Linford will be a research assistant in the department of French painting, National Gallery of Art, in 2001–2002. She has also been awarded a Smithsonian Institution Baird Fellowship, and will organize an international colloquium on the “Limits of Iconography” for a section of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and Institut National d’Histoire des Arts, to be held in 2002.*

STELLA NAIR

## Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru, from Thupa Inca to the Spanish Occupation

For two hundred years after the Spanish invasion of 1532, the conquerors enacted a vast building project in the New World. They and their descendants built a New World that closely followed European models. To date, most studies of Peruvian colonial architecture have focused on these European models. There are two problems with this approach: the methodology encourages the perception that colonial architecture is largely, if not completely, derived from European sources; and most of the work focuses on “great” or monumental architecture. By contrast, no comprehensive scholarly work has been conducted by architectural historians on highland colonial architectural complexes that were built by and for native people. This is, in part, because native colonial sites have been defined as a type of “lesser” architecture. The result is a divided architectural history, which creates a false dichotomy: one encompasses native architecture from its inception to the Spanish invasion; the second details the architecture of the conquerors and their descendants to the present day. Both histories cover the vast scope of Peruvian architecture, yet they remain separate and distinct.

My dissertation argues to more fully embrace the native experience. Moving beyond a formal and isolated context, I propose a methodology that investigates the broader cultural landscape, eroding the artificial dichotomy between high and low design as



Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, Chinchero, Peru, short façade showing original Inca and colonial Inca-Spanish masonry construction. Author photograph

well as between pre- and postconquest architecture. A cornerstone of my research is the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat, located in a rural highland Parish in Chinchero, Peru, the architecture of which reflects the complex process of transculturation that occurred in the Andes during the colonial period. The church was built upon an Inca *kallanka*, or great hall, and set within an elaborate Inca site that was part of a larger ritualized and sacred landscape. Full understanding of the architecture of the church depends on analysis of native history, landscape, and memory.

From the beginning of his reign in 1471, the king Thupa Inca tripled the empire's area (extending the borders to present-day Ecuador, Bolivia, and Argentina), assimilated tens of thousands of newly conquered people within his domain, and accommodated a rapidly growing, powerful nobility. Toward the end of his reign, Thupa Inca built Chinchero at 3,762 meters above sea level in south-central Peru. Writing in 1551, the Spanish chronicler Juan de Betanzos states that Thupa Inca served as patron and architect of Chinchero. The site was planned and served both as a private estate of Thupa Inca and an imposed summer residence for the nobles of Cuzco.

According to Betanzos, Thupa Inca wanted the design of Chinchero to commemorate his rule. By mandating that the restless and powerful nobles come and live with the king for several months of the year, Thupa Inca used the architecture at the site to send forceful messages of power and control. By measuring and mapping Chinchero and related satellite sites, I found evidence that suggests Thupa Inca used a multilayered architectural typology to express hegemony over the landscape and the conquered populace. For example, *tambos*, or way stations, restricted movement along roads leading to the site; shrines forced royal travelers to pay homage to the king and the royal pantheon; and an elaborate and prominently displayed storage complex proclaimed the power of the Inca over basic food supplies. At the center of this complex was Chinchero, with its impressive plaza and elaborate *kallankas* from which the king presided over ceremonies and gave royal decrees. One of these impressive *kallankas* became the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat.

The transition from Inca royal palace to colonial occupation was dramatic and reflected the change in use and inhabitants at the site, as well as the shifting status of Inca elites. During the early years of the Spanish occupation, Inca nobility, who continued to build in Chinchero, created a hybrid new architecture and town plan that reflected both Inca and Spanish architectural traditions. This is most evident in the façade of the church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat where the base of an Inca *kallanka* was enlarged to create a colonial Inca façade celebrating the Inca past and the Christian present. The church of Nuestra Señora de Montserrat is a testament that traditional Andean architecture did not end with the European invasion of 1532, but continued to evolve and develop in a dynamic new context.

[University of California, Berkeley]  
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1999–2001

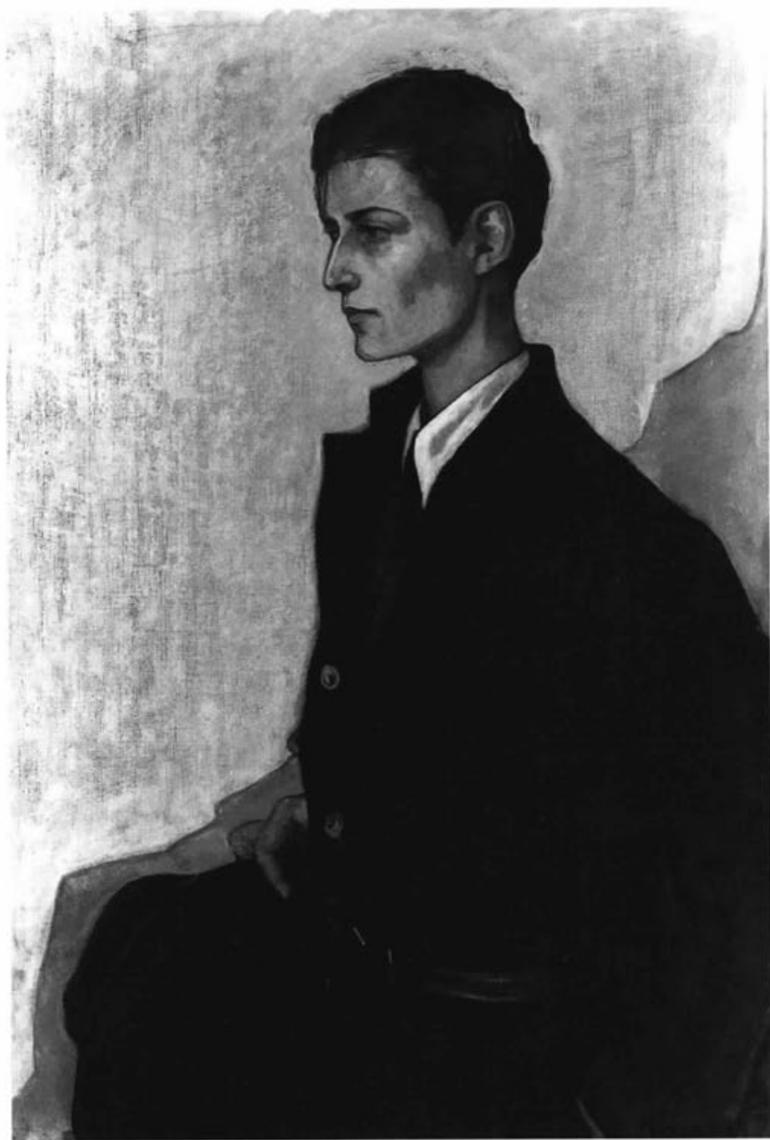
Stella Nair has been awarded the Paul W. McQuillen Memorial Fellowship at the J. Carter Brown Library (Brown University) and will be a research assistant in the department of academic programs, education division, National Gallery of Art, in 2001–2002. She has a series of articles at press regarding her research on Andean architecture in Bolivia.

## Present and Incorrect

I worked at the Center on research toward a book on the presence of female artists in Europe in the first decades of the twentieth century. The title indicates the proposition that the identities the female artist possessed in this epoch were controversial, and the most disruptive was that of the lesbian, seen by some as the definitive embodiment of the modern woman. In the period 1900–1930, issues of gender, sexuality, and women’s emancipation were amongst the most pressing in Europe and interacted with the vexed question of how a modern culture would be generated. Feminism as well as psychoanalysis identified an independent woman that presented Western society with complex social and cultural problems that seemed to be fundamental to determining the character of modern life and its identifying culture.

Before I came to the Center, the key figure in my study seemed to be the American artist Romaine Brooks (1874–1970), whose works are kept in Washington, and who was during my fellowship the subject of a solo exhibition sponsored by the National Museum of Women in the Arts. I expected Brooks, who espoused a lesbian lifestyle and produced what could arguably be termed “lesbian art,” to form the linchpin of my study. Her work and person offer themselves as a benchmark, model, and exemplar of a woman-centered art (or rather, culture) which moved the discourse beyond the gendering genres that still dominated debate at the end of the

Romaine Brooks,  
*Peter (A Young  
English School  
Girl)*, 1923–1924.  
Smithsonian  
American Art  
Museum, Gift of  
the artist



nineteenth century. Her apparent attempt to create an art of difference in Paris—where everything was imagined permissible that in other urban centers was still proscribed or circumscribed—seems to illustrate the key questions for determining the meaning of the “new woman” as a marker of early twentieth-century culture.

Just before my Washington fellowship, I completed a period of study at the Courtauld Institute, during which I researched the artistic situation in London where Brooks lived and worked in 1902–1904, focusing on the allegedly crucial year of 1910, when Brooks' first exhibition took place in Paris. This work built up a context for my key questions of identity and visibility, and led me to think less in terms of a single artist (Brooks), or a generation of artists (born with Brooks in the 1870s), and more in terms of a layered constituency of artists, some in the last part of their careers in the early twentieth century, others in their prime, and still more in their apprenticeship. This formulation of the territory would allow for some pointed and novel juxtapositions, such as that between Henrietta Rae (b. 1859), Laura Knight (b. 1877), and Vanessa Bell (b. 1879), between Romaine Brooks, Louise Breslau (b. 1856), and Mary Cassatt (b. 1844), and between Romaine Brooks, Gwen John (b. 1876), and Marie Laurencin (b. 1883).

Though some of these artists have attracted recent scholarly attention, the careers of many others have still to be assembled; and the task of interpretation is, in respect to all these artists, still far from mature. I developed both the documentary and the interpretive aspects of my study while at the Center, deciding as I proceeded to restrict it to London and Paris. It also became clear that the imagery generated by male artists, within popular culture and elsewhere in the public domain, is a necessary aspect of my study. For instance, Brooks has to be considered in relation not only to J. M. Whistler, but also to Charles Conder, J. S. Sargent, and Robert Henri. In addition, her work should be examined in the framework of contemporary cultural events: the publication of Victor Marguerite's *La Garçonne*, the Ballets Russes' production of *Les Biches*, and the obscenity trial of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*.

The shaping of my project was also affected by contact with other scholars while in Washington. In conversation with contributors to the Brooks exhibition and its related activities, I was able to reformulate more exactly what my own territory could and should be. Seeing the trends in their projects made me realize that rather than duplicating work on Brooks herself, it would be more valuable for me to orchestrate around her the various actors on the

London and Paris stages that formed the backcloth to her (relatively autonomous) activities; and confirmed my preference for a densely worked fabric of individuals, events, and trends rather than a monograph by default. In particular, it became evident that my own work contrasts with the current flurry of research in its insistence that London (including Australian and New Zealand artists there) was instrumental in the making of modern European culture.

University of Canterbury, New Zealand  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 November–31 December 2000

*Pamela Gerrish Nunn has an essay in the forthcoming book "Decorative Excess: Women Artists in the Early Modern Era" and is planning an exhibition on early twentieth-century British women artists. She has returned to her post at the University of Canterbury.*

## Archaeology and Visual Arts in Epic Movies

High forms of artistic creation were vulgarized through popular spectacles like cinema and, previously, circus shows. Klaw and Erlanger's American production of *Ben-Hur* (1901), for instance, "realized" the painting *The Chariot Race* by Leopold von Wagner (1893), whereas Barnum's *The Charioteers* (1905) enacted the painting *Faithful unto Death: Christianae ad leones* by Herbert Gustave Schmalz (1888). D. W. Griffith, the great American filmmaker, used paintings as a source for archaeological accuracy as early as 1913 (*Judith of Bethulia*). In *Intolerance* (1916), the authority on the Romano-Jewish costumes was, according to Griffith himself, the French painter Jean-Jacques Tissot (1836–1902). In *Intolerance's* Babylonian episode, at least three paintings can be identified as "archaeological" sources: the *Fall of Babylon* by Georges Rochegrosse (1891), *Belshazzar's Feast* by John Martin (1821), and *The Babylonian Marriage Market* by Edwin Long (1875).

The first visualization of the ancient world on the screen at the very beginning of the twentieth century largely relied on nineteenth-century historical painting. Guazzoni's 1912 *Quo Vadis?* appears to depend on Gérôme's *Pollice verso* (1872) for the scene of the gladiators saluting Nero. Victorian neoclassical artists such as Alma Tadema, Edwin Long, and Lord Leighton were often "quoted," sometimes through the mediation of operatic decor.



From  
D. W. Griffith,  
*Intolerance*,  
1916. Museum of  
Modern Art, New  
York, Film Stills  
Archive

Spontini's *La Vestale*, Bellini's *Norma*, and Berlioz' *Les Troyens* were regularly staged, and Giordano's *Giove a Pompei* of 1921 proves that the taste for operas set in antiquity continued into the post-World War I period.

As a classical archaeologist, I am particularly concerned with the use of ancient monuments in epic movies, but in the course of the research I found that visual arts of contemporary date to the films played an even more significant role. In Italy, where archaeological inspiration might be expected to be predominant, the first

silent movies appear, on the contrary, to be influenced by contemporary art. In *Mark Antony and Cleopatra* (1913), for instance, the influence of *art nouveau* is evident. In the celebrated masterpiece *Cabiria* (1914) the Moloch reconstruction depends on Roggion's illustrations (1900) of Flaubert's *Salammbô*, whereas the interior sets suggest the floral style of the leading architect and designer Ernesto Basile. The same is true for the very rare 1915 version of *Salammbô*.

Under Fascism, cinema found obvious inspiration in the myth and symbols of *romanità*. The most outstanding example is *Scipio Africanus*, by Carmine Gallone (1937). But again, instead of a philological concern for monumental evidence, one that appears to have been shared only by a few scholars and intellectuals, the producers hired the architect P. Aschieri as set designer. Aschieri was one of the authors who collaborated with the more famous Piacentini of the Piazza della Romanità, built in the same year around the great archaeological exhibit *Mostra della Romanità*. The movie sets reflect the same overwhelming magniloquence of his contemporary Fascist buildings, conceived to convey the ideology of the regime.

Even in the 1950s and 1960s, the golden age of Roman epic movies, it is arguable that the representation of antiquity depends more on the established visual habits of the public than on archaeological evidence. And if epic, as a genre, relies on formulae and repetition, it is worth ascertaining to what extent the visual *topoi* of epic movies originate in the high arts.

Università di Siena  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1 June–31 July 2000

*Giuseppe Pucci is professor of archaeology and the history of Greek and Roman art at the University of Siena. His essay "Salammbô nell'immaginario moderno. La civiltà punica tra letteratura e arte," will be published in the proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies.*

## Art as Science in Joris Hoefnagel and Teodoro Ghisi

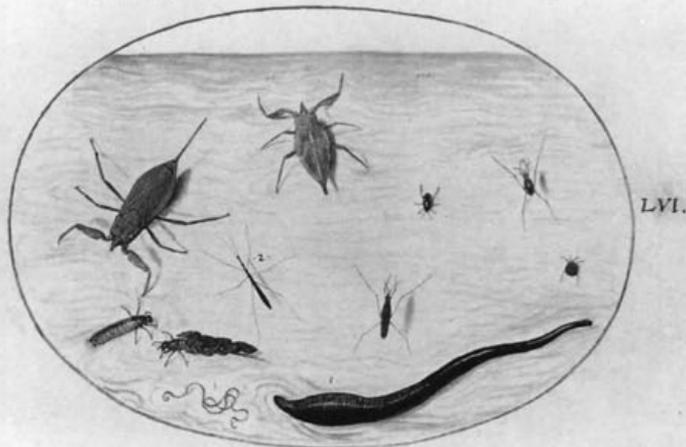
Pursuant to earlier work on art and science in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, my current research is concerned with drawing as a tool of scientific understanding. During my fellowship, the research project has been greatly aided by contact with members of the National Gallery's department of prints and drawings. The curator of old master drawings, Margaret Morgan Grasselli, drew my attention to the four-volume manuscript of Joris Hoefnagel in the Gallery's collection, "The Four Elements." It soon became evident that Hoefnagel's animal miniatures and their sources bore a strong resemblance to the late sixteenth-century animal illustrations of a manuscript in the Vatican (Vatican MS Urb. lat. 276), which I edited in facsimile (*Das Tierbuch des Petrus Candidus*, 2 vols., Zurich, 1984; *Codices e Vaticanis Selecti*, LX).

The Vatican book is unusual in spanning three centuries of work in natural history. The text was composed by the Lombard humanist, Pier Candido Decembrio in 1460. Decembrio based his work on the thirteenth-century encyclopedia of Thomas of Cantimpré, whose Latin he rewrote in humanist style, and whose moralizations he eliminated. He presented his text to Marchese Ludovico Gonzaga of Mantua, who asked that a fair copy be made and that spaces be left at the bottoms of the folios for pictures of the animals, so that he might better understand the text (a significant request).

A presentation copy was made, and corrected by Decembrio. A miniature of the Gonzaga arms was added by the Maestro d'Ippolita Sforza of Milan, and initials were illuminated and colored throughout. However, no illustrations were added until Teodoro Ghisi of Mantua, brother of the engraver Giorgio, and himself a painter and natural history illustrator sometimes in the service of Ulisse Aldrovandi of Bologna, took up the task 130 years later, in the 1590s.

While the Hoefnagel wash and gouache drawings are finer than those of the artist of the Vatican manuscript, both artists resorted to the same principal source, the woodcuts in Conrad Gessner's *Historiae Animalium* (Zurich, 1551–1587). The fact that Ghisi adopted Gessner's illustrations was puzzling, both since Gessner was a Protestant and Ghisi was in close touch with Aldrovandi. (Aldrovandi, at work on his own encyclopedic natural history, was allowed to own works by Gessner only by special dispensation from the Church of Rome.) However, Ghisi had spent the years 1587–1590 as court painter to Eleonora Gonzaga's brother, Archduke Charles II in Seckau and Graz, where he painted a *Symbolum Apostolorum* in 1588 (Alte Galerie am Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz). There, he must have had direct or indirect contact with the work of Joris Hoefnagel, painter to Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria (Charles II's brother-in-law), and later to the Emperor Rudolf II. Ghisi appears to have picked up both his principal source in Gessner's volumes and his technique of painting animal miniatures from Hoefnagel.

Ghisi's technique seems to be based closely on Hoefnagel's, including the use of shadows, even in the painting of the smooth roundworm (either an ascarid or a horsehair worm; at fol. 201v of Vatican MS Urb. lat. 276), which is illustrated here in Hoefnagel's version (vol. III, fig. LVI of the National Gallery's manuscript). Ghisi's unsegmented worm is painted in a knot extremely similar to the one shown here, whereas Gessner's illustration for the same parasite is of a shorter segmented worm, in another configuration. Furthermore, the Vatican folio also bears an illustration of a leech to the right of the worm. The Vatican leech is depicted in the reverse of the Hoefnagel, because it is probably based on folio 10



Joris Hoefnagel,  
*Animalia Aquatilia et Cochiliata (Aqua)*: plate LVI,  
1575–1580.  
National Gallery of Art, Wash-  
ington, Gift of  
Mrs. Lessing J.  
Rosenwald

of Pars Prima of the printed edition, *Archetypa studiaque patris Georgii Hoefnagelii* of 1592, by Jacob Hoefnagel, Joris' son, in keeping with Ghisi's preference for printed sources. (Both artists, in fact, exhibit this trait, testifying to a significant movement from the printed to the manuscript tradition.) This is one of only six illustrations (of over five hundred) corresponding to those in Aldrovandi's great natural history volumes already underway in the 1590s. It now seems likely that Ghisi transmitted the form to Aldrovandi, rather than the other way around; and a date for the later illustrations in the Vatican manuscript (Urb. lat. 276) can now be postulated at or after 1592, the date of the edition.

These findings, to be elaborated with further archival, manuscript, and theoretical research, aided by consultation of the dissertation by M. L. Hendrix, and published work by her and T. Vignau-Wilberg, among others, will be incorporated into articles and a book currently in preparation.

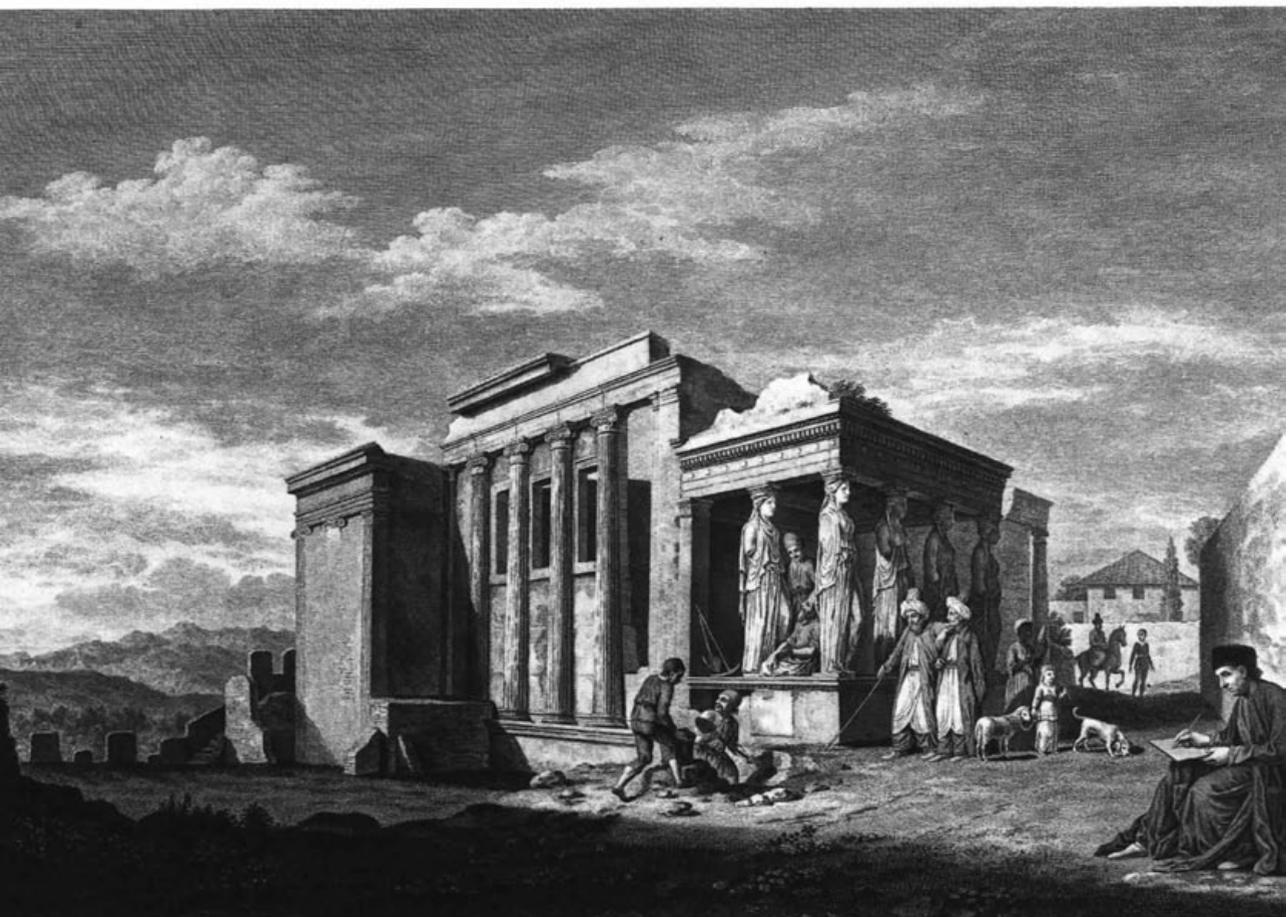
New York City  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 March–30 April 2001

*This fall Cynthia Pyle will continue to work on her book at the Institut d'Histoire de la Réformation, Geneva. In 2002–2003, she will be a fellow in residence at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study.*

BRUCE REDFORD

## The Society of Dilettanti, 1730–1820

Horace Walpole, eighteenth-century England's most acerbic amateur, did not think much of the Society of Dilettanti. "The nominal qualification," he told Sir Horace Mann in 1743, "is having been in Italy, and the real one, being drunk." Certainly the Dilettanti, like the claret they consumed in such quantities, took time to mature: from the early 1730s to the early 1750s, the society devoted itself to antic, quasi-Masonic meetings that commemorated exploits on the Grand Tour and celebrated a heady blend of artistic and sexual connoisseurship. Three mottoes captured both the matter and the manner of their proceedings: "Viva la Virtù," "Seria Ludo," and "Grecian Taste and Roman Spirit." By the middle of the century, however, a sober commitment to advancing "Grecian Taste" came to the fore when the society sponsored James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, whose trip to Greece produced *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1794). Later in the century, that same commitment led to the expeditions whose discoveries filled the successive volumes of *Ionian Antiquities* (1769, 1797). The reputation of the Dilettanti as arbiters of taste and authorities on classical antiquity reached its peak with the publication in 1809 of *Specimens of Ancient Sculpture Selected from Several Collections in Great Britain*. Not long thereafter, the society's authority suffered irreparable damage when Richard Payne Knight, the most prominent member of the third generation, opposed the acquisi-



James Stuart,  
*James Stuart*  
*Drawing the Erechtheion* from *The Antiquities of Athens* (London, 1787). National Gallery of Art, Washington, The Mark J. Milard Architectural Collection

tion of the Elgin Marbles on the mistaken grounds that the sculptures were Roman copies and not Athenian originals.

During my eight months in residence at the Center, I explored the society's first century by concentrating on enterprises that exemplify its varied interests and phases of growth. In the fall term I analyzed a group of twenty-three oil half-lengths painted by George Knapton (1698–1788), the first official “Limner” to the Dilettanti. These unusual portraits, most of which portray the sitter in fancy dress, both reflect and define the society's close connections to the Grand Tour. Careful study of their composition and iconography allows us to reconstruct the eclectic array of mod-

els—models both artistic and organizational—that gave the first generation of the Dilettanti its distinctive character. In addition, the decoding of Knapton's sophisticated exercise in ensemble portraiture prompts us to explore the nature of visual parody and to interrogate the role of portraits that explicitly acknowledge each other as well as the presence of an audience.

After drafting a chapter on the Knapton portraits, I turned my attention to the activities of the Dilettanti in the Levant, 1750–1770. During these two decades the society sponsored expeditions and expedited publications that created a new genre, the protoarchaeological folio, which reaches back to seventeenth-century models and forward to the establishment of archaeology as a rigorous scholarly discipline. Such folios are characterized by three discourses: a quasiscientific discourse that stresses empirical exactitude; a nationalistic discourse that contrasts the private British gentleman with the dependent of the French state; and an anti-picturesque discourse that deprecates theatrical exaggeration in favor of clarity and precision. The Mark J. Millard Architectural Collection at the National Gallery of Art contains superb copies of almost all these publications, whose plates combine etching and engraving in the service of a new exactitude. James Stuart, second official “Limner” to the society, illustrates his devotion to this ideal by capturing himself in the act of drawing the Erechtheion for *The Antiquities of Athens*.

While pursuing their interests in the Levant, the Dilettanti turned to Magna Graecia as well. Galvanized first by Sir William Hamilton and then by Richard Payne Knight, the society also broadened its scope from the archaeological to the anthropological—witness the publication in 1786 of *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus*. This pioneering investigation into “the worship of the generative powers” extrapolates from the discoveries at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Isernia: vaulting across continents and centuries, it adopts a syncretic and synthesizing approach that links it to such enterprises as Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*. With a striking combination of intellectual boldness and ironic finesse, the *Discourse* exemplifies the ways in which the Dilettanti had entered the mainstream of late Enlightenment culture. At the same

time, they cultivated their national identity by forming collections and compiling catalogues that permanently enriched the cultural life of Great Britain. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the society had long shaken off such dismissive comments as Walpole's: while remaining true to their ludic origins, the Dilettanti showed how rewarding, for both the individual and the nation, was a life of *virtù*.

Boston University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2000–2001

*Bruce Redford will hold the J.P.R. Lyell Readership in Bibliography at Oxford University in 2001–2002. His Lyell Lectures, "Designing Boswell's Life of Johnson," are scheduled for publication in 2002.*

ABDUL REHMAN

## Makli: A Case Study in the Formation of a New Indo-Pakistani Architectural Vocabulary

During the early years of its territorial expansion, Islam, the youngest of the major world religions, came into contact with other cultures, religions, and faiths. Although the design vocabulary resulting from this contact remained in the larger Muslim tradition, it also carried forward the indigenous design traditions of different areas, in effect promoting the development of regional styles. Motives assimilated from local cultures continued to be effectively used. Among them, it is somewhat baffling to find that figural art was practiced by the Muslims as a decorative device in their architecture. The philosophy behind such figural decoration has not been analyzed comprehensively in terms of Islamic concepts. While a number of studies have thrown light on the subject, their relevance to the architecture of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent remains unclear.

One fine example of how the interaction between several cultures resulted in the formation of a new architectural vocabulary may be found at the World Heritage site of Makli Hill at Thatta in Sind, Pakistan. The site consists of a series of monuments built between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries. These monuments employ a wide range of decorative vocabularies making use of geometric patterns, arabesques, the human figure, and jewelry.

The site of Makli is spread over an area of about six square miles, forming one of the biggest necropolises of the east. Along

Tomb of Jam  
Nizam ud-Din,  
Makli, Sind,  
Pakistan, 1508,  
projecting mihrab  
from the western  
façade. Author  
photograph



the curve of the hill, the mausolea are arranged roughly in a chronological order. The site houses more than one hundred large and small tombs, two mosques, two madrasas, and innumerable graves built in stone and brick. Most of the larger tombs belong to the rulers of Sind and their relatives. They vary in size from small, canopylike structures to larger and more complex structures incorporating tombs surrounded by various rooms and galleries, as well as mosques. The most significant monuments are the tombs of Jam Nizam ud-Din, Tughral Beg, Isa Khan Tarkham I and II, Baqi Beg, Jani Beg, Diwan Shurafa Khan, and Sultan Ibrahim.

The profusely decorated tombs have square, hexagonal, or octagonal plans and either symmetrical or asymmetrical elevations. These buildings were constructed with two different techniques. In the majority of cases a rubble core was faced with carved slabs of yellow, gray, or red sandstone. Some of this stone is local, from Jangshahi, and the rest was imported from Rajputana and Gujarat. The remaining buildings were executed in brick and either clad in tile work, both polychrome and mosaic, or built in courses alternating with glazed bricks whose edges are recessed and glazed white to simulate a mortar joint about 1.5 centimeters wide. The glazes are generally white, cobalt, and turquoise. The brick buildings are set on stone bases to withstand the rise of moisture charged with destructive saltpeter.

The Makli monuments are among the most outstanding examples of Islamic architecture in the region and show strange affinities with the Hindu architecture of Gujarat. One of the most important examples of cultural interaction at Makli is the tomb of Jam Nizam ud-Din. Because of the miniature spire (*shikara*) in the mihrab balcony and a frieze of geese on a part of the western façade, Henry Cousens and others believed that *spolia* from a Hindu temple had been used in the construction of the tomb. In addition, since scholars generally believe that figural decoration was rejected in Islamic architecture, the presence of figurative art at Makli has led to the assumption that this material came from a non-Islamic culture. My studies undertaken at the Center, however, indicate that the architecture of the Makli monuments represents the continuity of a long and uninterrupted tradition within

the Indus Valley. The monuments do not derive their particular style from any outside source but develop from a decorative tradition which was widespread in the province of Sind and beyond. This style involved the use of different patterns on each façade, while maintaining a single design theme. Apart from Makli, another fine example of such variation exists in the tomb of Sadan Shaheed in the Lower Punjab, whose decorations were inspired by Central Asian, Arab, and local Indus Valley sources. In Makli, and elsewhere in Sind, most of the figurative work results from the interaction of the Zoroastrian tradition of Baluchistan with Arab and Hindu traditions.

The decorations of the Sind monuments were initially restricted to traditional local designs but later on were refined and extended to include reliefs resembling filigree work. By the middle of the seventeenth century the refinement and consistency in concept and detailing reached its height of excellence. Some of the tombstones from the region feature representations of jewelry similar to those found on female graves in other Muslim countries. There is a distinction between male and female graves, with the male graves bearing images of Baluchi turbans and riders on horses with arrows or other weapons of war. In the case of the figures that appear on the Makli tombs, there is a pronounced rejection of naturalistic representation, with little or no effort being made to depict individual characters. Some of these designs have persisted from the days of Indus Valley civilization and continued uninterrupted down to modern times. Many of the carvings represent the same designs seen in the jewelry, textiles, woodwork, and pottery of today. The Makli monuments, therefore, offer a most original and independent contribution to Islamic sepulchral architecture and the monumental art and craft tradition of the Islamic world.

University of Engineering and Technology, Lahore, Pakistan  
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, 1 June–30 September 2000

*In addition to serving as professor of architecture at the University of Engineering and Technology and director of the Habib ur Rehman Research Foundation, Abdul Rehman has been appointed head of conservation at Aitchison College, Lahore. His book, "Earthly Paradise: The Garden in the Time of the Great Muslim Empire," is due to be published this year.*

LOUISE RICE

## Thesis Prints and the Culture of Learning in Seventeenth-Century Rome

Thesis prints—prints commissioned to decorate the thesis broadsheets of students undergoing a public defense at a college or university—constitute a major category of baroque engraving. The genre originated in Italy shortly before 1600, and from there spread throughout Catholic Europe, enjoying a vogue that lasted into the second half of the eighteenth century. The earliest thesis prints were simple devices (coats of arms or academic emblems) placed at the top of the broadsheet above a dedicatory inscription. But devices soon evolved into narrative scenes, which grew in size, complexity, and artistic virtuosity until often they overshadowed the texts they were meant to accompany. Designed by many of the leading artists of the day and engraved by skilled printmakers, thesis prints survive in large numbers. Their fascination lies, above all, in their rich iconography. Considered collectively, they form a mine of baroque imagery, a veritable *OED* to the visual vocabulary of the period. The subject matter tends to be intricate and arcane, as indeed one might expect of an art created for a university setting; themes from classical literature are blended with heraldic and emblematic elements to yield fanciful allegories of praise. Thesis prints are, in essence, visual riddles designed to challenge and delight a learned audience. As such, they exemplify baroque *concettismo* at its most inventive and erudite, and provide an ideal



Simon Vouet and  
Johann Friedrich  
Greuter, *Hesperus  
Crossing the Sea*,  
c. 1628. Biblio-  
thèque Nationale,  
Paris

point of departure for examining a range of interpretive issues of central importance to the study of baroque art in general.

Italian thesis prints have been little studied, and the origins and evolution of the genre in seventeenth-century Rome have never before been investigated. I have spent my year at the Center writing chapters of a book and related articles intended to address this lacuna. The book is a typological and cultural history of the Roman baroque thesis print, which examines the production, function, and meaning of these images and uncovers the broader social and cultural context within which they flourished. It is aimed first and foremost at providing an introduction to this intriguing but largely forgotten chapter in seicento visual culture and thereby making accessible to future study a large body of graphic art of considerable artistic quality and iconographic curiosity.

In more general terms, the book has to do with the connections between aristocratic education and the arts in early modern Rome. It looks at seventeenth-century educational practices, exploring, among other things, the social and economic background of the students, and the networks of friendship they formed while at school; the role of the sponsor, often a cardinal or prince with family ties to a student, who arranged for his admission and vouched for his performance; the curriculum; and the rich cultural life for which the colleges and seminaries of Rome were renowned. It examines the festive academic defense and its place in the ceremonial life of the city. The defense was an important occasion in the life of a young man, for this was his first opportunity to demonstrate his skill and learning in public and to establish his credentials with those who would have a hand in shaping his career. Its origins can be traced back to the medieval university, but by the seventeenth century it had evolved into a sophisticated entertainment, staged with all the trappings of baroque spectacle. The book examines the role of the thesis print in the pageantry surrounding the defense and the close relationship of the image to the poetry and music commissioned to accompany it. Issues of meaning and interpretation are also addressed. The subject matter of thesis prints is extraordinarily various, yet at their core they share a common theme, the celebration of ties and alliances—with family, sponsor, and school—that would determine the student's place in the society he was about to enter. In this respect, few art forms reflect more palpably than do thesis prints the social aspirations and cultural values of those who commissioned them. The book concludes on a more speculative note, with an essay on baroque allegory and the role of invention, interpretation, and wit in the rhetoric of praise.

Duke University  
Frese Senior Fellow, 2000–2001

*Louise Rice will return to her position as associate professor in the department of art and art history at Duke University.*

Gentile da Fabriano, *A Miracle of Saint Nicholas*:  
A Rigorous Nonperspective Spatial Representation

Students of fifteenth-century European art traditionally attribute the invention of perspective to a single protagonist operating in a specific period of time and at a precise place. This approach has not understood, or has chosen to ignore, the multiplicity and complexity of spatial representation techniques adopted in the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the theory and techniques used to represent space (in perspective or not) that developed during the crucial years of the 1400s can be investigated through a study of the “working marks” left by artists on the support materials of paintings on wood.

Pictorial representations of architecture rendered in perspective, that is, lines incised on painting supports, can be studied as material evidence of the history of perspective procedures. For this reason I have looked at construction lines incised on the gesso layer of fifteenth-century Italian wood panel paintings preserved in the National Gallery of Art. Out of the thirty paintings I examined, twenty-six were found to contain compass marks and lines incised with a metal stylus. These marks were made to create architectural spaces of varying complexity; delineate decorative elements; trace the outline of round arches and, with appropriate instruments and techniques, pointed and dropped arches. An initial visual examination of the panels was followed by a more in-depth look at the related reports and X-rays contained in the conservation depart-



Gentile da  
Fabriano, *A  
Miracle of Saint  
Nicholas*, 1425.  
National Gallery  
of Art, Washing-  
ton, Samuel H.  
Kress Collection

ment files, and a laboratory analysis of the incised lines and dots in Gentile da Fabriano's *A Miracle of Saint Nicholas* (1939.1.268), one of the panels from the Polittico Quaratesi altar predella of 1425. The results of this research exceeded all my expectations.

The incised architectural profiles found on the panels in the National Gallery of Art present varying levels of accuracy in the definition of outlines and modulation of perspective, and this is not necessarily due to the greater or lesser importance of architecture as a subject. For example, we may note the care that is taken

in defining the perspective foreshortening of the embrasure of the window in the background of Botticelli's *Giuliano de' Medici* (1952.5.56), where incised orthogonals intersect on the priming and thin lines are traced on the primary layer of painting, the beginnings of which are marked by pinpricks in order to establish their precise position. In *The Adoration of the Magi* (1937.1.22) by the same artist, the attention to the quality of the linear definition of the architecture is such that, after incising the outline of the perspective, Botticelli also reworked lines and defined the foreshortening of other objects added afterward.

The spatial construction adopted by Gentile da Fabriano in the painting *A Miracle of Saint Nicholas* can now be understood. The panel contains a series of incised lines visible to the naked eye used to outline the architecture. Some of the lines have been emphasized on the first layer of paint. The position of the observer has been shifted slightly to the right, as is evidenced by the different visual angle in which the two series of arches in the colonnade are shown. Gentile was especially careful in incising the lines that establish the position of the columns, the uprights, and the corresponding arches that span the nave (whose arc is not a section of a circle). The corners of the walls visible beyond the colonnade on the left and the outlines of the arches in the side naves and their supporting pillars are also incised. In contrast, the arches of the colonnade and the cross-vaulting in the nave have not been incised.

All the incisions are accurate, even though the left-hand columns have double lines which seem to be the result of a change of mind. The three left-hand columns are along a diagonal line incised along a tangent to the internal outline of the column of the central nave and at a midpoint from the farthest one. On the right-hand side is an incised line that cuts the base of the central column without following the composition of the colonnade.

In the group carrying a sick man on their shoulders, the right foot and left heel of the figure nearest to the altar are crossed by an oblique line that ends with a point. This suggests that the positions of the human figures were based on incised lines and possibly in relation to the architectural composition. The outline of the stair that leads up to the saint's sarcophagus was also incised. Here we

find that the stair treads reduce in size according to arithmetical proportions and not those of perspective. The lines that can be considered right-angled converge on points that are not marked. For example, the lines of the cornices above the arches of the colonnade would, if continued, meet on the lid of Saint Nicholas' sarcophagus and thus in a place accorded important symbolic value, but which has not been marked by an incised point.

Despite this, the spatial composition of the painting has its own rational organization which can be seen in the material marks left during the working procedure. The painting is approximately 35.5 centimeters square. The height of the nave's arch measures slightly less than 5.1 centimeters (just under 2 inches). This length is repeated seven times in the height and width of the painting and thus appears to be a standard module of measurement. The composition seems to be divided into two areas: that of the arches of the naves, a rectangle measuring one module by seven, and that of the human figures, which occupy an area measuring six by seven modules. Two short oblique lines are visible on the priming: one at the height of the neck of the figure in red wearing a white hood and the other slightly above the left shoulder of the figure in blue near the left-hand corner of the arch. If extended, the two lines would touch the impostes of the arches of the nave, at the height of the first module, and at the base of the columns and would cross in a two-millimeter space marked on the shoulder of the figure in red. This point is located on a median line that divides the six-by-seven-module painting horizontally, but is shifted slightly to the left of the midpoint of the painting, though equidistant from the two uprights of the first aisle and thus in the "center" of the nave. The point is therefore determined by the internal elements of the painting and not by the point of view of an observer. The width of the first intercolumniation once again seems to have been based on the 5.1 centimeter (2 inch) module (definitely on the left-hand side and with some degree of uncertainty for the right-hand side, where the first incised line is not clearly visible). The second space between columns is reduced, but it is not easy to establish with certainty if it is according to a proportional ratio, owing to the material condition of the painting. The height of the columns also

appears to be based on the same module. The ones nearest to the observer measure about four modules (20.5 centimeters, approximately 8 inches) and the columns in the background, three modules (15.2 centimeters, approximately 6 inches). It is harder to establish the measure used for the central columns—again owing to the condition of the painting—but it seems they correspond to about 3.7 modules (18.9 centimeters; approximately 7.4 inches). Of particular interest is the way in which Gentile da Fabriano has resolved the somewhat difficult graphic and geometric problem of the design of the portion of noncircular curve in the arches of the nave. These, one should note, are similar to those that actually exist in the basilica San Nicola in Bari. The surface of the support bears no marks of the instrument used to trace the lines and, for this reason, in all probability was not a special compass but a template. The three curves of each arch in the nave are drawn cleanly, with no mistakes in the distances between the corners, except for a slight shift in the inclination of the last curved incised line.

The foreshortening method used by Gentile follows an arithmetical ratio, which differs from linear perspective because it does not depend on the distance of the observer; rather, it is entirely linked to the ratio between the existing architectural elements. Gentile places the observer slightly to the right, but does not fix his gaze on a point where all the orthogonals converge. Instead, he chooses another point whose position is determined by the geometric relations between the internal elements in the composition. Thus he represents space that is not only chronologically in advance of that described in *De pictura* by Leon Battista Alberti in 1435, but is also different from it in concept, means, and aims.

Accademia di Belle Arti, Firenze

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 September–31 October 2000

*Pietro Roccacaccia has been awarded an Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowship and will be at the Center in 2002 to continue his project on perspective in the Italian Renaissance.*

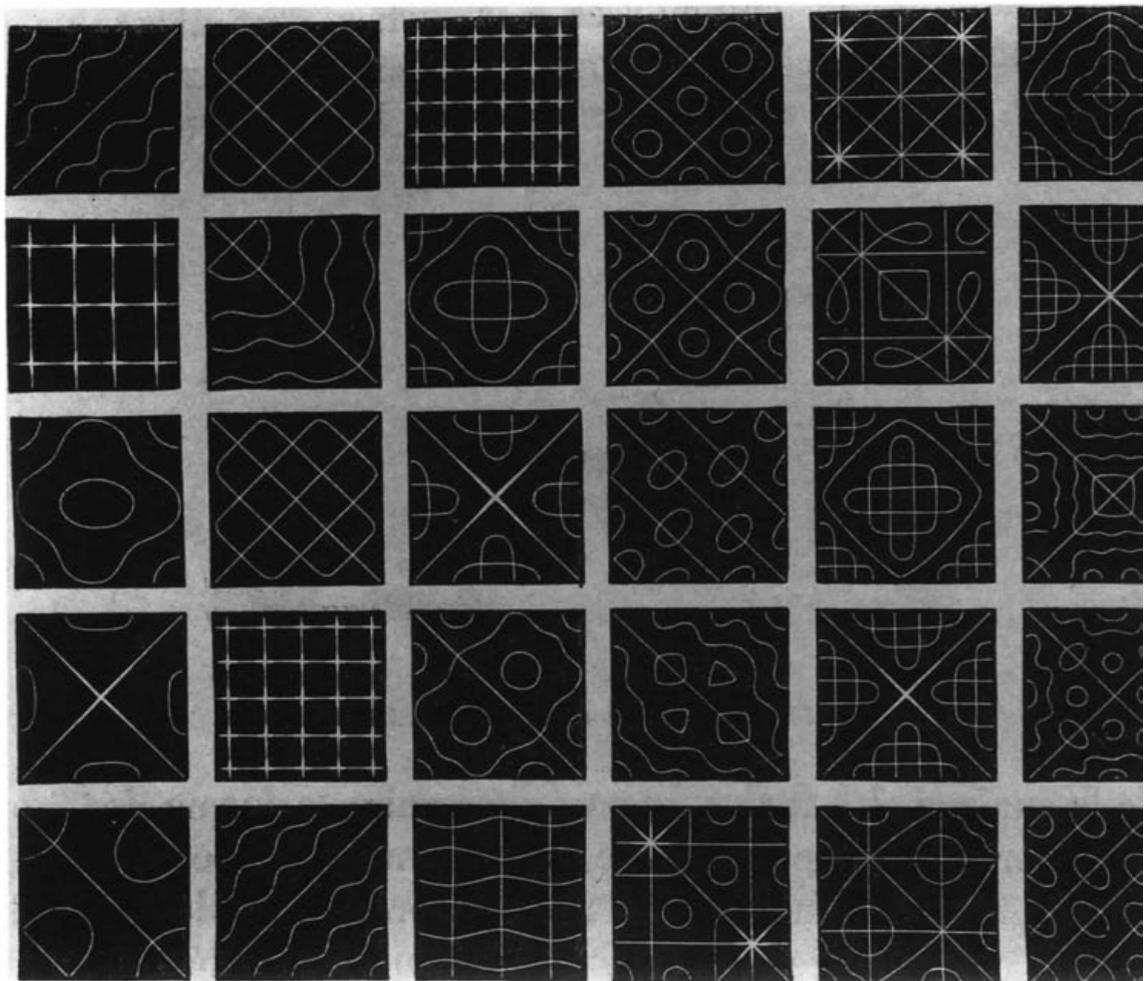
GEORGES ROQUE

## The Genesis of Abstraction in Western Art

It is generally acknowledged that the emergence of abstraction is one of the major events of the twentieth century, even if today it does not play the role it once did. Yet despite its importance, comprehensive study of what made abstraction possible is still lacking.

The two main accounts of the emergence of abstraction, formalism and spiritualism, are both unsatisfactory: the former because it presupposes the so-called “autonomy” of art, and the latter because spiritualism is just one among many tendencies that eventually led to abstraction. Despite their strong opposition, both are essentialist interpretations, even if opposed by the definition of what the essence of art is or should be. On the one hand, abstraction is seen as dematerialization, as if the essence of art were purification *from* form in order to get the essence of the idea. On the other, essence is seen as a purification *of* forms, in order to free them from all that is seen as alien to the medium.

My own position is that the path toward abstraction was prepared slowly by several generations of artists and theorists from the second half of the nineteenth century onward. Without denying the importance of the spiritual, it seems to me that other factors must be taken into account in order to explain the genesis of abstraction. This is why I suggest examining it within a larger cultural frame that also includes science and philosophy. The concept of “abstraction” has been widely discussed in philosophy and aes-



Camille Flammarion, *Harmony of Vibrations from Astronomy populaire* (Paris, 1880; ed. C. Marpon and E. Flammarion)

thetics, mainly in the context of Locke's empiricism. Abstraction has also always been important to science. Chevreul (1786–1889), for example, promoted it as the main cognitive tool to be used in the process of scientific research.

It is striking that in the second half of the nineteenth century many artists, aestheticians, and scientists shared the idea that pure lines and colors produce visual pleasure, free from any association with representational features. Looking at lines and colors independently from their relationship to representation led in the 1880s to

the development of numerous *grammars* of lines and colors which played an important part in the advent of abstraction and may be conceived of as a kind of semiology, since lines and colors are broken down into single elementary strokes that form a complete sign (plastic sign) independent of, although related to, the iconic sign. This is a crucial point, for the elaboration of an autonomous system of signs made abstraction possible.

If scientists set artists an excellent example by focusing on certain properties of objects and neglecting others—which was properly called “abstraction”—it is even more important to note that, far from being “conservative” as regards art, many scientists provided arguments against the faithful imitation of reality, in particular when considering that artistic creation is always a process of abstraction from reality. Some (such as Helmholtz) would go so far as to assume that the artistic imitation of nature is impossible. If abstraction in art is generally seen as a process of getting rid of representation, a parallel concern for qualifying the concept of representation also occurred in the scientific field.

As a case study, I have been examining the issue of vibration. The concept of “vibration” is a scientific abstraction elaborated to explain the physical nature of light and colors, one that quickly became a model for art historians and artists. Artists as different as Delaunay, Kupka, Vantongerloo, and Larionov, all of whom belonged to the first generation of abstract painters, took a personal understanding of the idea of vibration as a point of departure for shaping abstract relationships of colors. As “vibration” is a scientific abstraction as well as a concrete means for painters’ access to abstract art, a parallel exploration of the phenomenon in science and in art might prove useful to challenge the traditional accounts of the emergence of abstraction.

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 18 September 2000–12 January 2001

*Georges Roque resumed his position as researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris.*

## Fragments of a Mental Journey to a Passion Park

Herr Mathäus Dambeck, upon returning from the Holy Land in 1505 following a church-imposed pilgrimage, built a chapel of the Holy Cross in front of the Parchimer Gate in Perleberg in memory of his pilgrimage. Around 1530, after his pilgrimage, Johann Bartels commissioned a monument in Saint Catherine's in Lübeck that represented the most important places of the Holy Land. Following a family tradition, Anselmo Adorno, an Italian living in Bruges, went to Jerusalem in 1470–1471; when he returned to Bruges he commissioned the Jeruzalemkerk, a free copy of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem. George Emmerich, mayor of Gorlitz, who went to the Holy Land in 1465, erected a miniature model of the Holy Sepulcher in his home town upon his return; to that were added a chapel of Calvary and other monuments, each the same distance from the Holy Sepulcher as the originals. Veteran Holy Land pilgrims imparted their experiences to nonpilgrims through architectural structures that created a new phenomenon: Passion parks. Votaries desiring to go on pilgrimage could now walk through an ersatz Jerusalem built in the local landscape, pausing at each of several chapels commemorating events from the life of Christ, sometimes represented as *tableaux vivants*. There were, however, a number of modifications made to the Flemish examples to correct physical and political impediments encountered in the Holy Land. The actual stations in Jerusalem were hard to follow, because build-



Anonymous  
German miniaturist, *The Buffeting of Christ*, c. 1515.  
Sam Fogg Books, London. Photograph by James Marrow

ing and construction obscured the *via crucis*, so that walking from the Judicial Gate to Calvary required a circuitous path. Moreover, the Muslims in Jerusalem prohibited Christians from pausing in the streets to pray in front of shrines. The European stations by contrast allowed the devout to pray, halting and reflecting where

desired, and to proceed in a more-or-less direct route. As Mitchell Merbach has described in his analysis of images of Calvary, the hyperrealism of Passion parks inspired a level of participation higher than that of real pilgrims visiting shrines in the Holy Land.

Passion parks, like guidebooks to mental pilgrimage, brought the experience of Jerusalem to the nontraveling pilgrim in a form once-removed from actual experience. The Passion park guidebook—which survives in a single fragmented copy—brought home the experience twice removed. In other words, it provides a mental guide to an ersatz Jerusalem, a meditation on a constructed Passion park, itself a replica of Jerusalem's highlights for the pilgrim-tourist.

During my time at the Center, I have studied six loose vellum leaves (now in London, Nuremberg, and Enschede) from an early sixteenth-century illustrated German manuscript that led its reader through a mental pilgrimage to a Passion park. (I am grateful to James Marrow for alerting me to these images and providing slides of them.) Each surviving leaf bears an image on its recto and Latin text on its verso. The images are drawn in a bold, naïve technique and painted with thick pigments in a limited palette, topped with heavily burnished gold haloes and decoration. They depict events from the lives of Christ and Mary juxtaposed with representations of small brick chapels. Several of these chapels are labeled to identify them as sites in the Holy Land known to have been visited by contemporary pilgrims and subsequently reconstructed locally.

On one folio, the Buffeting of Christ takes place in a chapel such as those represented above; these are labeled “House of Herod,” “House of Pilate,” and “House of Caiaphas” (trimmed). Three guards wearing the garb of sixteenth-century officials slap Christ, who is blindfolded, at the center of the image. One of the tormentors, a portly man, wears a large, blue, wide-brimmed hat that obscures his eyes, a reference to Christ's blue blindfold below, emphasizing the tormentors' shortsightedness as they strike their placid victim. The event takes place in an interior made of stone blocks and mortar, the same substance as chapels represented in the background. In fact, the round-arched doorway represented on the back wall reiterates the entranceways of the chapels above;

furthermore, a portion of roof—made of the same blue tiles as those represented in the chapels—surmounts the cross-section of the room, and indicates that the chapels contain or commemorate the events from the Passion. The Virgin and John the Evangelist watch in grief and horror, from a position that may be read as outside and looking in. They seem to stand behind a wall, from which vantage point they witness the thugs with their raised hands about to bring them down into Christ's bound body.

Pilgrimage is the fulfillment of a desire to bear witness. Passion park chapels, as well as the miniatures depicting them, structure and give access to vision, even as they privilege the pilgrim as one who has seen, and one to whom visionary experience is available. In the miniatures Mary and John play a compassionate and instructive role: because they desire to see Christ, they peer through the chapel windows to witness his torments. They also underscore a contrast between those who are blindfolded and those who see.

[Columbia University]  
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1999–2001

*Kathryn Rudy will be a Mellon Fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies at the University of Toronto in 2001–2002.*

MARTIN SCHIEDER

## French Art in Postwar Germany — German Modern Art in France after 1945

The Second World War and the National Socialist art propaganda program created a deep caesura in the more than two-hundred year-old cultural relationship between Germany and France. Despite the emigration of numerous German artists such as Max Ernst, Wols, and Hans Hartung to France, the contact between the two countries was abruptly terminated. Yet following the war, both countries attempted to reestablish old ties and promote a *réconciliation franco-allemande*. The project *French Art in Postwar Germany—German Modern Art in France after 1945* examines the theme of intercultural transfer between Germany and France. At its core is the intensive artistic relationship between the two countries from 1945 to 1955.

French modern and contemporary art had great importance for the development of art in Germany in the postwar period. The first step is to show that Germany, a defeated country, was in search of new values, striving for Western integration and readmission into the international community, reestablishing the affiliation with French art as an efficacious means for emerging from the long artistic isolation. Some of the questions I have addressed are: which styles and artists were the focus of mutual artistic, critical, and historical interest; why Germans ascribed the role of *magistra mundi* to French modern art; and why it needed to be rediscovered. Did German artists believe that by reforging the link with modern art

**PEINTURES  
ET  
SCULPTURES  
NON FIGURATIVES  
EN  
ALLEMAGNE  
D'AUJOURD'HUI**

**CERCLE VOLNEY**

**PARIS 1955**

*Peintures et sculptures non figuratives en Allemagne d'aujourd'hui* (cover), exhibition catalogue, 1955. Cercle Volney, Paris

they would reconnect with the pre-1933 world? Was the premise that modern art was the result of a logical and autonomous aesthetic development that even the Third Reich could not permanently disrupt? Or did the French orientation offer the possibility of expressing the European, antinational character of German art succeeding the Nazi period?

The second step is to ask what possibilities existed after 1945 for German artists and critics—and the German people in general—to once more view original works of modern art and to develop their own *views* of the French avant-garde of the first half of the century? In this regard, it is of primary importance to investigate those exhibitions staged by the Allies in their respective zones of occupation. In line with their program of *rééducation*, it was the French military government, in particular, that organized exhibitions showcasing French modern art. The analysis of these exhibitions is informed by the question as to whether they were in fact cultural exchanges bereft of a political agenda — as repeatedly stressed by French officials — or whether they were manifestations of cultural superiority once again, continuing the *rayonnement culturel* of the 1930s. My stay in Washington was of great value in drawing a comparison to American cultural policy in postwar Germany.

The cultural and artistic cooperation between both countries was organized from the political side, but it fell to the collectors, gallery owners, and artists to carry it out. After the war, gallery owners like Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler recognized the potential that the German art market held for French artists. In the same way, figures such as Klaus Franck, Jean-Pierre Wilhelm, and Alfred Schmela played important roles in the spread of tachism and the acceptance of abstraction in Germany. The collector Ottomar Domnick also played a pivotal role in the promulgation of abstract art. For 1948–1949, he organized a great exhibition of French modern art which traveled to nine German cities. On the French side it was René Drouin, among others, who helped stimulate an interest in contemporary German art by staging exhibitions like *Peintures et sculptures non figuratives en Allemagne d'aujourd'hui* in 1955. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, many German artists

such as Willi Baumeister and Karl Otto Götz made pilgrimages to the capital of the European avant-garde. In Paris they sought not only international contacts and inspiration for their work, but contacts with galleries, collectors, and critics.

The interchange that followed through cultural-political measures, exhibitions, individual activities, and contacts manifested itself in art criticism and art history, in the daily and specialist press, in catalogues, and biographical documents. From this standpoint, my time in Washington was enhanced by the holdings in the vertical files in the photographic archives. I found there many rare catalogues of individual and group exhibitions of both German and French artists in the 1940s and 1950s.

Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte, Paris  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 March–30 April 2001

*Martin Schieder returned to his positions as deputy director of the Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte in Paris and assistant professor of art history at the Freie Universität Berlin.*

## Jan Gossaert, Humanist Imitation, and the Play of Style

The paintings and drawings Jan Gossaert (c. 1478–1532) made for Philip IV of Burgundy (1465–1524) and for Philip's friends at court demonstrate the crucial roles the artist played in weaving classicism and ancient themes into Netherlandish culture. My dissertation, "Jan Gossaert, Humanist Imitation, and the Play of Style," situates the artist's hybridization of Italianate and Netherlandish art within the cultural and historical matrix surrounding its reception. To study how Gossaert appropriated and reworked his sources, I focus on a representative group of nudes and portraits he executed between 1508 and 1524. By analyzing primary sources such as diplomatic treatises, historical texts, official biographies, inventory records, letters, and court poetry, I aim to reconstruct both the environment in which Gossaert's work functioned and its reception.

Building upon the thinking of the ancients, sixteenth-century humanists understood creativity to be based on the imitation of art or nature. Artistic imitation embraced not only mimesis but also emulative transformation of earlier artistic models. One of the ways Renaissance writers theorized this transformation was the concept of "historical decorum." For Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536) and Giovanfrancesco Pico della Mirandola (1469–1533), historical decorum addressed the fundamental changes to the social structures and aesthetic habits between pagan times and their own.

They demanded that a writer reformulate models to fit within the changed circumstances of his own cultural context.

Historical decorum and other imitative strategies at Philip's court were central to the reception of Gossaert's work. Gerard Geldenhauer (1482–1542), a humanist author employed by Philip, used texts by Tacitus and Pliny to construct his *History of Zeeland*. Geldenhauer's imitation provides a parallel to Gossaert's; in fact the artist and author also frequently collaborated on projects at Philip's behest. In one instance, Geldenhauer wrote poetic inscriptions on the removable frames of Gossaert's mythological paintings, explaining that they allowed viewers to observe paintings "silently," or with the aid of poetry. This juxtaposition of poetry and painting not only suggests a play upon Horace's ancient dictum *ut pictura poesis* (as a painting so is a poem), but it also points to the intersection of textual and visual imitation at court.

In the first chapter, I provide a general overview of rhetorical imitation theory in relation to Gossaert's mimetic skills, and argue that Gossaert's paintings were central to the display, construction, and exercise of power at the Burgundian court. Like his illustrious predecessor Jan van Eyck (c. 1390–1441), Gossaert renders expensive fabrics and accoutrements with painstaking realism in his portraits of Burgundian nobles. In his praise of Gossaert's illusionistic technique, Geldenhauer associates the artist with his ancient predecessors and identifies him as the "Apelles and Zeuxis of our age." The importance and prestige of Gossaert's imitative skills can further be explored by discussing how members of the Burgundian court actively used material splendor to enhance their status. I argue that Gossaert's portraits of Burgundian nobles were central to the display, construction, and exercise of their power. The second chapter is a study of the drawings Gossaert made in Rome. I maintain that the drawings commissioned by Philip IV of Burgundy in 1509 functioned as a means for Philip to fashion himself as a humanist scholar. Gossaert's syncretistic incorporation of classical elements into the Netherlandish tradition was instrumental to Philip's assertion of Burgundian independence from the papal church. In the third chapter, I examine the portraits Gossaert made of Jean Carondelet (1469–1545), a member of Philip's court



Jan Gossaert, *The Spinario*, 1509. Prentenkabinet der Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden

circle. Gossaert's portraits of Carondelet demonstrate a calculated recapitulation of local pictorial traditions and thereby validate Netherlandish heritage.

In the fourth chapter, I discuss Gossaert's mythological paintings Philip commissioned when he was bishop of Utrecht (1517–1524). Philip's correspondence reveals that he gave paintings such as *Hermaphroditus and Salamacis* as gifts to his humanist friends. I explore how the circulation of Gossaert's works in the classicizing style helped Philip to create an elite community of Bur-

gundian humanists. Gossaert's mythological paintings also had a more titillating function, as Philip hung small paintings of Venus in the rooms where he entertained young women. Gossaert's eroticized treatment of mythological themes also related to the Bishop's Reformationist beliefs and his vehement opposition to clerical celibacy. Thus Gossaert's paintings for Philip may be seen as a conflation of his patron's humanist and Reformationist convictions.

Taken as a whole, my dissertation characterizes the multiple balances Gossaert struck between Netherlandish and classicizing styles. By examining Gossaert's imitation in conjunction with scholarly and political pursuits of his patrons, I explicate how the artist's work navigated the cultural differences between the ancient world and the sixteenth-century Burgundian court.

[University of California, Santa Barbara]  
Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 2000–2001

*Stephanie Schrader received fellowships from the Walter Read Hovey Foundation, the American Association of Netherlandic Studies, and a dissertation fellowship from the University of California, Santa Barbara to continue her work on Jan Gossaert.*

Sculpture at Ca' Loredan; Titian at the Fondaco dei Tedeschi; Giambattista Albrizzi's *Forestiere illuminato* and *Teatro delle fabbriche più cospicue*; and Still More ...

I came to the Center in September 2001 with a backlog of notes for unwritten articles. The subjects I confronted ranged from late medieval Venetian sculpture to sixteenth-century Venetian painting, units of measure illustrated in an architectural treatise published in sixteenth-century Venice, and a pair of eighteenth-century publications illustrating the city of Venice. In short, my work concentrated not on a single problem, period, or medium, but on a single center—Venice—a city and a civilization that have fascinated me for all my working life.

First in order of time, I launched into an article concerning the anachronistic sculptural decoration on the façade of a Veneto-Romanesque palace, Ca' Loredan. The decoration wants explanation in several respects: its meaning is obscure, the date of its sculpture (late fourteenth century) is later than the building, the date of its installation is later still (first half of the fifteenth century). It turned out to have been meant as an exaltation of the justice and might of Venice and the close ties between the Republic, the building's owners, and the kingdom of Cyprus, to whom the owners owed, respectively, the reacquisition of their palace and the restoration of their fortune in the early fifteenth century. The figural elements of the cycle are *spolia* from a medieval government building, demolished in the early fifteenth century; the armorial elements were executed at the time of installation.

Next I took up an anonymous view of the Rialto Bridge, engraved in the first years of the seventeenth century. A proof of

the print showed a detail that the engraver had seen fit to erase in the finished engraving: a mural of a nude figure painted on the Fondaco dei Tedeschi. Early sources speak admiringly of the fresco cycles painted on the outside of the Fondaco by Giorgione and Titian, of which only scraps survive today. The figure visible in the proof stage of the print is part of Titian's portion of the scheme according to early descriptions. Here, finally, is a visual record of the once-famous work, showing that the figure had been elaborated from a pair of much-admired ancient statues, a recognition that enhances one's knowledge of the young Titian's sources and artistic aims.

I turned thereupon to two books printed by a celebrated publisher of the Venetian settecento, Giambattista Albrizzi: an illustrated guidebook to Venice (*Forestiere illuminato intorno le cose più rare, e curiose ... di Venezia*) and an album of views of the city (*Teatro delle fabbriche più cospicue ... di Venezia*). They were put on the market in the 1740s and kept in print, with revisions and additions, for many decades thereafter. The problems in this case were to establish the publishing history of the two works and to determine the sequence and nature of the changes they and their illustrations underwent over the course of time. The article that resulted is accompanied by a table of over two hundred prints appearing in the two books, prepared by Mary Pixley, research associate. Taken together, the history and this table finally allow one to determine the full set of prints pertaining to each publication (only partially present in any individual copy), the dates at which they were introduced, and the successive states they assumed. With this, the books and their views become accessible to scholars as sources for the appearance of Venice and its monuments at fixed moments in the eighteenth century.

The fourth essay is on the units of measure reproduced at full size in the sixteenth-century treatise on architecture by Sebastiano Serlio: the *braccio*, *palmo*, and *pie**de*. Use of these units lapsed with the introduction of the metric system in the nineteenth century. Historians interested in their respective sizes have thus far had at their disposal only the tables of equivalencies published at the time of the conversion. Serlio's illustrations make it possible to

introduce another source and, more importantly, to compare the sizes generally accepted today with those current in his own day. It is possible in consequence to describe the difficulties that attend any effort to express the exact dimensions of an old building in units of measure used at the time of its construction.

Brown University (emeritus)  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 2000-2001

*Juergen Schulz's book "The Beginnings of Palace Architecture in Medieval Venice" is forthcoming.*

WILFORD W. SCOTT

## Avant-Garde Theater in Philadelphia, 1915–1917

During the period of my dissertation research I encountered evidence of a number of theatrical events having sets and/or costumes designed by Philadelphia artists associated with the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. All of these artists were primarily painters, and all had been exposed to the latest avant-garde art of Paris. Most had, in fact, spent some time in Paris and had personal contact with leading modernists, including Matisse and Picasso. Following the return of these Philadelphia painters to their native city, they experimented with abstraction, and some undertook numerous projects intended to introduce the aesthetics of modern art to local audiences. Their theatrical productions were but one aspect, although an especially original element, of their attempts to generate enthusiasm for modern art.

My sabbatical has been spent studying the history of the avant-garde theater as it evolved in Europe and America in the early twentieth century. I have focused on the search for additional original documentation of the specific theatrical events discussed in my earlier work and have drafted an article for publication. Numerous exhibitions and books published since the completion of my previous research have contributed much to my understanding of the theatrical works of Picasso, members of the Russian avant-garde, and the Italian futurists. I can now say with confidence that a set designed by Morton Schamberg for a drama entitled *Three*

*Women*, which was presented at the Philadelphia Stage Society in December 1915, was one of the earliest cubistic stage sets constructed. Only the slightly earlier backdrops and costumes of Malevich's *Victory Over the Sun* in 1913 and sets designed by Alexandra Exter for the Kamerny Theater in 1915 are dominated to a similar or greater degree by angular, geometric forms. It is, however, unlikely that Schamberg was aware of the Russian experiments, and thus his work stands as the earliest known example of cubism on the American stage, and as an entirely original production without a direct source in the European theater. Unfortunately, I have discovered to date only limited material about costuming, plot, and dialogue of the play.

Fourteen months after the production of *Three Women*, H. Lyman Sayen guided the production of an elaborate spectacle entitled *Saeculum*. Incorporating abstract backdrops, unconventional costumes (including cubistic masks for some characters), rhythmic movements of the actors, innovative lighting, and an original musical score, *Saeculum* was unlike anything seen previously by Philadelphia audiences. While the performance was praised by most contemporary commentators, there was nothing with which to compare it.

In fact, *Saeculum* now seems to me to be inspired by the celebrated work of Adolphe Appia, in particular his production of *Orpheus and Eurydice* at the Festspielhaus Hellerau in Dresden in 1913. This internationally acclaimed performance introduced Appia's unique combination of eurhythmics, a new type of movement developed by Appia and Emile Jacques-Dalcroze, as well as innovative lighting, music, and simplified stage sets which established a new form of modern stagecraft. Sayen's production of *Saeculum* displayed a similar combination of elements for the first time on an American stage. Sayen, who lived in Paris between 1906 and 1914, had become a student and close personal friend of Henri Matisse. The importance of dance in his master's art and the fame of Appia's work at the Festspielhaus Hellerau are reason enough to suggest that Sayen was familiar with the much-discussed events there. Specific elements of *Saeculum* described in newspaper accounts of the performance, as well as details of

the plot, make the connections clear. There are also aspects of *Saeculum* that indicate familiarity with Gordon Craig's theory of the *ubermarionette* as the perfect embodiment of the actor in a modern theatrical event, as there were few spoken lines in *Saeculum* and the "actors" moved rhythmically through patterns tied to the musical score.

Schamberg and Sayen brought modern stagecraft to Philadelphia in the second decade of the last century. Their productions, made possible by knowledge of contemporary developments in Europe, were unsurpassed in originality by any contemporary American producers or designers, an aspect of their modernism that has been overlooked. My publication will illuminate Schamberg's and Sayen's contributions to American theater, providing a basis for their reevaluation and interpretation.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Education, Adult Programs  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,  
2000-2001

*Wilford W. Scott will resume his position as docents coordinator at the National Gallery of Art.*

SUSAN L. SIEGFRIED

## Complexity and Contradiction in Ingres' Drawing Processes

Ingres' working processes were the object of my research in Washington, representing one aspect of a larger study of the artist that attends to the disjunctions within his work. Paying attention to the disjunctions between his drawings for Pope Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel, for example, changed my view of the related painting. This genre-like canvas is usually regarded as an exercise in reportage owing to its depiction of a contemporary ceremony and emphasis on the setting, which are both unusual in his work. Bearing witness to an event was less a priority of the drawings, however (nor is it the painting's effect), than a nostalgic search for religious experience.

Most of Ingres' studies for the Sistine Chapel are morsels and snippets of people and things. These tiny drawings, often delicately colored, show the artist immersed in the material fabric of religion, preoccupied with bits and pieces of liturgical furnishings, decor, costumes, and the customary attitudes of celebrants. There is a willful blurring of past and present in the costume studies, and the documentary value of drawings made on the spot was unstable, or at least inconsequential to him. Their accuracy was vulnerable to the self-referential nature of his working method, which literally assembled groups by tracing and combining separately drawn figures and motifs; liturgical symbolism got lost and portrait identities faded in the process.



Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, *Pope Pius VII in the Sistine Chapel*, 1810. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

The sketches Ingres made of the site are just as fragmentary as the little drawings, and equally subjective in depicting cropped and partial views of protruding structures and interstices of space. Their viewpoints are wholly contingent on the physical location of the draftsman and assume none of the idealized objectivity or distance of the witness. Although the setting dominates to an exceptional degree in the Sistine Chapel—it is one of the few paintings by Ingres where the whole composition is made to bear an expressive weight—his drawings of the site tend to be overlooked. One sketch, which approximates the final composition, is centered, oddly enough, on an empty corner, between the papal throne and the altar. The corner is filled by nothing more than a slice of Michelangelo's *Last Judgement*—corresponding to Ingres' state-

ment that he was planning a painting in which the *Last Judgement* took up “nearly half the space”—and by blocked-out masses of light and shadow, denoting an atmospheric effect that he annotated on the sheet, and captured in paint, as “very faded, soft, and somber, vaporous and [dull?].” His evocation of atmosphere and art in this drawing recalls his response to the service he attended in the chapel during Holy Week, when, as the pope prostrated himself before the altar, the singing of the *Miserere* in the gathering dusk made Michelangelo’s *Last Judgement* seem terrifying. The highly aestheticized terms of Ingres’ description of this service were typical of the period and may represent the closest he came to a sense of the spiritual.

If an expression of this emotional experience is what he was after, he did not seem to know whether to latch onto the papal ceremony or the *génie* of the place. One composite watercolor study represents the pope without the setting; another represents the setting without the pope. Rather than wishing this disjunction away, by positing the existence of a lost ensemble study, we should accept it as symptomatic of Ingres’ uncertainty about his subject, which persisted even after he received a commission for the painting. Removing the expectations of reportage, with their emphases on an event and portraiture, would allow for reconsideration of his elaborate watercolor of the setting as the “remarkable design” that prompted Marcotte’s commission. In many ways, the fragmentation and miniature scale of the preliminary drawings left their imprint on the painting and determined the syntax of its composition. The result is a disparity between the grandiose pretensions of the subject and the modest proportions of the painting, which critics such as Stendhal found troubling and others like Gautier admired.

We are left with a blankness at the center of the Sistine Chapel that is one of its most arresting features. It is the sort of off-center composition that Degas would have understood, with an oblique view into the corner that makes it look as though it lacks a center. As the drawings indicate, through their study of empty spaces and bits and pieces of ceremony and decor, this blankness subtends Ingres’ conception of the subject. It represents the truth of his alien-

ated experience of a lost religiosity, which he bitterly regretted: “In churches I often admired the sentiments of affection and love that animated the faces of pious people. The devotion they feel before Madonnas or preferred saints must be extremely satisfying for the heart. I admit that I envy their state. I curse to the core of my being this [Enlightenment] philosophy which, with its coldness and insipid triumphs, leaves us in a sort of stoic apathy and annihilates the sweetest emotions in us.”

His historical take on the subject evinces an attempt to overcome such feelings by stressing the continuities of ritual and of art, but nevertheless a hole remains in the painting where faith ought to be.

University of Leeds

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 July–31 August 1999

*Susan L. Siegfried returned to her position as professor of art history at the University of Leeds.*

## Pierre-Jean Mariette (1694–1774): Art, Commerce, and Scholarship in Eighteenth-Century Europe

Pierre-Jean Mariette is the quintessential eighteenth-century French collector and connoisseur. Since the eighteenth century, he has been recognized for his important contributions to print history and for his treatise on engraved gems, the *Traité des pierres gravées*. His manuscript notes on art and artists, published posthumously as the *Abecedario*, and his extensive collection of annotated eighteenth-century pamphlets on art, now known as the Deloynes collection, have established Mariette as a principal source for scholars of the eighteenth-century art world. Yet despite his acknowledged significance for the history of art, existing studies of Mariette have focused almost exclusively on his collection of drawings. By attending to issues of attribution and aesthetic value and by isolating the drawings from other objects in Mariette's collection, scholars have assimilated the historical figure of Mariette to twentieth-century models of collecting and connoisseurship. In the process, the historical specificity of Mariette's connoisseurial practice has been obscured.

Through an investigation of Mariette's commercial activities, collections, and art-historical scholarship, my dissertation seeks to move beyond such modernist accounts. Although eighteenth-century collector-connoisseurs were unquestionably concerned with issues of authorship and quality, for Mariette, as for many of his fellow amateurs, these problems were not the principal

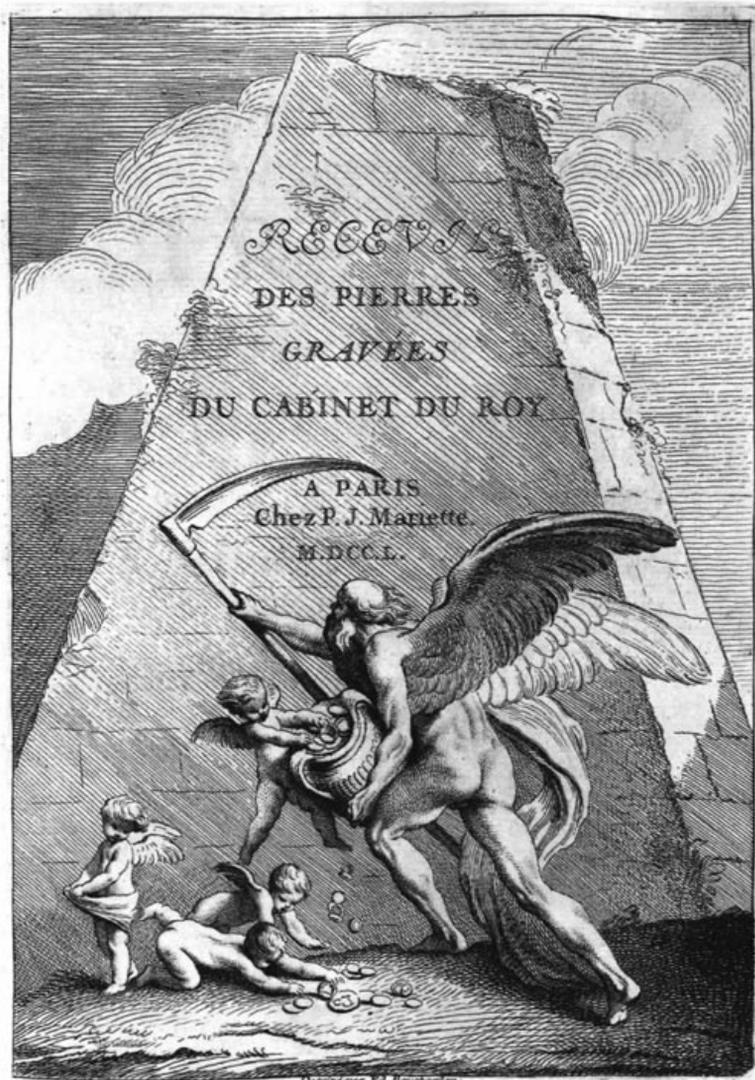
impetus for amassing drawings, prints, or engraved gems. Rather, they understood the power of such artifacts to document the past. Objects were the essential foundation of an enlightened, empirical history of art, one based on the analysis of visual evidence rather than on biographies in the Vasarian tradition.

My study explores such issues as the relationship between graphic arts, connoisseurship, and antiquarianism. For example, I investigate the impact on connoisseurship of the emerging science of diplomatics, a branch of paleography focused on the dating and authentication of written documents. I also consider social aspects of collecting and connoisseurship in the Enlightenment by examining the ways in which Mariette's reputation as an exemplary art expert facilitated his social advancement.

The strongest evidence that Mariette did not subscribe to modern conceptions of connoisseurship and, indeed, of the artwork itself, is his practice of completing old master drawings—the most surprising outcome of my systematic study of drawings collected by Mariette. His creative restorations ranged from the simple extension of drawn lines to the recombination of fragments of drawings into a single composition to the splitting of recto-verso sheets. His interventions, in tandem with his elaborate presentation of the drawings in framelike mounts, can be related to eighteenth-century academic theory and its concern for narrative legibility in works of art. For eighteenth-century theorists, narrative clarity was ensured by framing and dimension as much as by composition, lighting, and color. Mariette's mounts demonstrate the practical application of academic theory and the connoisseurial discourse inflected by it. Like the painter, the connoisseur strove to present his graphic works as carefully composed tableaux, restoring the legibility of these fragments of the past by completing, cleaning, or even dismembering them when necessary.

That Mariette, like many of his contemporaries, viewed drawings and other art objects as historical documents clearly emerges in his publications and manuscripts. Mariette's two-volume treatise on engraved gems, the *Traité des pierres gravées* (1750), indicates his debt to Enlightenment encyclopedism and his commitment to an Enlightenment project of civil history. In the *Traité* and

After Edmé Bouchardon, frontispiece for Pierre-Jean Mariette's *Traité des pierres gravées*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1750). National Gallery of Art, Washington, David K.E. Bruce Fund



in other texts, Mariette responds to contemporary debates about the nature of historical evidence. In an era of radical skepticism about the reliability of written texts, objects were construed as unbiased testimonials of past cultures and practices. Close readings of artifacts rather than textual philology provided an antidote to historical Pyrrhonism. In the *Traité*, Mariette explicitly relies on

the empirical study of engraved gems and the comparative analysis of gems with other related objects to verify or dispense with past texts. He theorizes his observations regarding style, subject matter, and quality by explaining those observations historically.

As an exemplar of early art-historical method, one that predates Winckelmann, Mariette's *Traité* has important historiographical implications. The *Traité*, like Mariette's connoisseurial practice in general, suggests that art history originated with no single author but emerged out of a particular constellation of Enlightenment methods of intellectual inquiry employed by the eighteenth-century connoisseur.

[University of Delaware]  
David E. Finley Fellow, 1998–2001

*Kristel Smentek has been awarded a Jane and Morgan Whitney Fellowship in the department of drawings and prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for the coming year to continue her work on Mariette.*



IMAGO · ERASMI · ROTERODAMI · AB · ALBERTO · DVRERO · AD · VIVAM · EFFIGIEM · DELINIATA ·

ΤΗΝ · ΚΡΕΙΤΤΟ · ΤΑ · ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ · ΑΙΞΕΙ

· M D X X V I ·

AD

JOANEATH SPICER

## The Significance of Drawing *naer het leven*, or “from life,” in Netherlandish Art in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The Dutch phrase *naer het leven*, “from life” or “to the life” (as the English translated it in the seventeenth century), has often been treated by scholars as a commonplace at the heart of Netherlandish art of the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries, and most particularly of Dutch painting, drawing, and printmaking of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This phrase might appear to offer little room for interpretation. However, within the framework of the larger European project of the imitation of nature, a study of the shifting meaning and role of this little phrase and the related Latin *ad vivum* offers insights into the development of Western art.

My initial interest in the phrase was prompted by its frequent use by Roelandt Saverij with regard to the nature and figure drawings he produced during the decade 1603 to 1613 when he was painter to Emperor Rudolf II. In Carel van Mander’s contemporaneous *SchilderBoeck*, or Painter’s Handbook, of 1604, the word *leven* in the phrase *naer het leven* means physical reality, things that occupy space—thus animate nature and people (even dead ones), but also houses, ruins, or sculpture. In the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the phrase is often associated with the verb *counterfeiten*, to make something that comes close to its model, or the noun *counterfeitsel*. Working from a concrete source

Albrecht Dürer,  
*Erasmus of Rotterdam*, 1526.  
National Gallery  
of Art, Wash-  
ington, Rosenwald  
Collection

is distinguished from working from a mental image, *uyt den geest*. It is also distinct from Nature as a creative force.

Originally, I had intended to compare the use of the phrase by sixteenth-century naturalists in the characterization of observed natural phenomena to its broader use around the beginning of the seventeenth century by Netherlandish artists, and then to contrast this to the ways chosen by Italian artists and writers to characterize their relationship to reality. However, during the months just prior to my fellowship, I became more aware of the issues surrounding Northern European portraits made “from life” in the process of preparing an exhibition on Northern European portraits at the National Gallery of Art. And once immersed in research at the Center, I concluded that the commemorative function of portraiture must have had an impact on the significance of the subject being described as “from life.” I began to investigate the implications of acknowledging a living model for commemorative portraits, especially those of northern Christian humanists of the first half of the sixteenth century, for whom the preferred inscription was the Latin *ad vivum*, which invokes a living model.

The relationship between word and image forged in northern Christian humanist circles was critical for the future development of portraiture in the Netherlands. Though portraits of Erasmus by Quentin Massys, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Holbein, for example, have been the subjects of countless studies, a study of the word-image relationship seems to offer new avenues for interpretation. Massys’ *Portrait Medal of Erasmus* of 1519 and Dürer’s better-known engraved portrait of Erasmus dated 1526 declare in the Latin inscription that the portrait was made *ad vivam effigiem*, from the living effigy, thus calling attention at once to the living mortal body as the artist’s model and to the notion of this corporeal body as but an effigy or physical surrogate of the man’s true nature or soul. In Dürer’s portrait, the accompanying inscription in Greek, “The better picture will his writings show,” completes the conceit.

The use of *ad vivum* to call attention to the fact that the model was studied from life, was exploited variously by Netherlandish portraitists in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

including Hendrick Goltzius and Anthony van Dyck. However, by the 1670s, when Samuel van Hoogstraten's instructive text would finally be devoted to portraiture in the Netherlands, the issue of working "from life" was passé. The excitement of what the naked eye can perceive and the moral issues of earthly decay henceforth only rarely concerned the leading artists.

Walters Art Museum

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 18 September 2000–12 January 2001

*In addition to returning to her position as the James A. Murnaghan Curator of Renaissance and Baroque Art at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Joaneath Spicer was awarded a Getty Curatorial Fellowship to study the drawings and paintings of Roelandt Saverij in German museums.*

“Does a Leopard Eat Leaves?”  
The Relationship of Art to Power in Central Africa

Since first formulated by J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough* (1890), “divine kingship” has played an integral role in the representation of Africa. Although scholars have refuted and resurrected the concept many times over, no satisfactory paradigm has been offered as an alternative, despite a voluminous literature. In this study, I am arguing that Frazer’s covert mission to discredit Christianity by demonstrating its historical evolution led him to focus on the distinguishing tenets of Christianity: God became man and God had to die in order to reconcile himself to humanity. This is the heart of the distortion of “divine kingship” in African studies: a real confusion over “divinity” and an overemphasis on violence. Frazer pointed to the widespread accounts in sub-Saharan Africa of regicide (usually by strangulation) of elderly rulers as evidence of the divine nature of the king. Like Christ, the ruler undergoes sacrifice in order to recover his full power.

Field experience in the Democratic Republic of the Congo has confirmed Frazer’s intuitive understanding that intricate investiture ceremonies outline a discourse on power and rulership; however, that discourse is far more interesting than his Christological model would allow. Among the Pende, for example, six months of ritual seclusion transforms the chief-elect into a classificatory cadaver. The beauty of this metaphor lies in the fact that the body is still present, lingering in the world of the living, while the spirit

is at a pivotal stage, able to cycle between worlds. Significantly, field associates were uninterested in the strangling issue, regarding it as simple euthanasia. Instead, they stressed the process of transformation by which the chief becomes a walking cadaver, able to intercede between the living and the dead. Pende critics argue that the chief is not divine, creative, or all powerful; he is dead!

Typically, many of the clues to this transformation lie within the realm of visual representation. The candidate's very body must be reshaped, or sculpted, through manipulation of his diet, exercise, and skin lotions. As ritual cadaver, dressed in his burial shrouds, he becomes the owner of all art objects and the center of an elaborate architectural program.

Another major argument of this study is that power can never be reduced to a single metaphor. The investiture does not transform the chief into a cadaver alone. He is also a "mortar," a "drum," and most significantly, a "leopard" who cannot survive on "leaves." The multiple metaphors of sovereignty explain how power is both promoted and contained through specific modes of visual representation, including power objects, masquerades, and public statuary. The chief is there to protect his people and he will not have the ability to do so unless he, too, controls spirits. Nevertheless, he must be prevented from turning his resources to personal ends. The statuary on and surrounding the chief's house warns about the abuse of knowledge and privilege. Significantly, it is addressed as much to him as to the public.

During the course of my work this year, a chapter on the life history of power objects has spun off to form a major new project on iconoclasm. Inspired by the work of Elisabeth Cameron on the Sala Mpasu, I have begun to think about the purposeful destruction of images in Africa. Pendeland is swept every ten to fifteen years by movements intent on destroying all naturalistic sculpture (with the exception of village masks). Sculptures associated with the chief's house often become targets. Figuration has become so explosive that the mounting of a rooftop statuette even provoked a riot in one case. In a very different context, the initiation to the men's fraternity (*mukanda*) closes with a great conflagration scheduled for a moonless night, all the better to appreciate the drama



Pende peoples,  
*Cap mask*, early  
twentieth century.  
National Museum  
of African Art,  
Smithsonian Insti-  
tution

of the leaping flames. In the first case, iconoclasm protects society from amassing too many powerful objects, which might fall into unscrupulous hands. In the latter, masks and other paraphernalia associated with the initiation are destroyed in order to free sculptors to invent new forms without suffering from undue “anxiety of influence.” There are many parallels across the continent. For example, R. Poynor has pointed out that the golden stool, the most

important symbol of the Asante confederacy in Ghana, includes pieces or ashes taken from the destruction of insignia from all the participating groups. The varied practices in Africa (and elsewhere) support the argument of anthropologist Alfred Gell that iconoclasm is to be understood less as an act of destruction than as an act of reinterpretation.

University of California, Los Angeles  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2000–2001

*Z. S. Strother assumes her position as assistant professor of art history at the University of California, Los Angeles.*

## Publication and Publicity: Architecture and Print Culture in Renaissance Italy

Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616) was one of many late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century writers who recorded the importance of the close connection between publication and publicity. At the beginning of his treatise, *L'idea dell'architettura universale*, published at the author's own expense in 1615, he noted the value of prints and books in establishing the reputation of a number of architects. Scamozzi listed the leading exponents of his profession, with special emphasis given to those who had disseminated images and descriptions of their building projects and theoretical ideas. He stated that there were other architects who had designed significant structures, but that they remained "unknown to the world, and without fame," because they chose not to publish their designs and theories. Scamozzi's statement clearly described the conscious use of widely disseminated prints and texts by Renaissance architects to achieve notoriety and influence.

Historians regularly analyze publications by a single Italian Renaissance architect, as well as engravings related to a particular project. Yet, in spite of occasional references to the significance of the nascent print culture to the field of architecture, it is surprising to find few studies that have examined systematically the production, use, and circulation of these works. Typically, these books and prints are treated the same as individual letters, unpublished documents, and other nonreproducible materials. There is often



Domenico Fontana, Natale Bonifacio, and Giovanni Guerra, *The Lowering and Transportation of the Vatican Obelisk*, 1586. Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal

little consideration of the labor and expense invested in the production of these objects, let alone the insights they provide into the codification of techniques of representation, the dissemination of architectural models and motifs, and the evolving relationship between texts and images in early modern European print culture.

Drawing on an established body of research in the field of Italian Renaissance reproductive prints after figural works of art, the first section of the present study focuses on engravings of architectural designs. Specifically, these include plans, sections, elevations, and perspectives of either planned or partially realized structures. Although prints after buildings and purported schemes by deceased architects—prepared by their followers or close associates—are considered, the main emphasis is on those produced directly by, or under the supervision of, the principal designer or patron. Similarly, in several publications describing specific public ceremonies and celebrations, architects sometimes exploited the popularity of these events to record and publicize their own ephemeral structures. (Since the intentions of the original designer of the works being shown are often absent from the selection of the format and content of certain prints, such as those representing ancient buildings and topographical views, they are not considered.) Moreover, documented and extant print collections supply invaluable information about the culture of collecting in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Italy.

During the fellowship, I focused my attention primarily on a series of elaborate prints and an elegant illustrated book produced in Rome by Domenico Fontana (1543–1607). These published works were commissioned to record what the architect described as a “memorable enterprise,” the lowering and transportation of the Vatican obelisk in 1586. In one of the greatest engineering feats of the Renaissance, Fontana was entrusted with moving an ancient monument the distance of approximately seven hundred feet to the center of Saint Peter’s Square in Rome. Weighing nearly seven hundred thousand pounds and measuring almost eighty feet, the obelisk was moved successfully only after a yearlong project employing over eight hundred men and more than one hundred horses. Capitalizing on popular interest in the vast undertaking, Fontana’s publications consciously celebrated his design and promoted his fame. In all of these works the architect’s portrait was prominently displayed, reinforcing a direct link between personal identity and artistic accomplishment.

The preservative power of prints seemed ideal for the implementation of the recommendation by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) on behalf of Renaissance architects, which he expressed in his handwritten, mid-fifteenth-century treatise *De re aedificatoria*: “In view of the delight and wonderful grace of [architects’] works, and of how indispensable they have proved, and in view of the benefit and convenience of their inventions, and their service to posterity, they should no doubt be accorded praise and respect, and be counted among those most deserving of mankind’s honor and recognition.”

More than one hundred thirty years later, Fontana realized the importance of the printing press in heightening the recognition of individual achievement and utilized it for his own self-promotion.

Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College  
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 January–28 February 2001

*T. Barton Thurber has returned to the Hood Museum of Art, and is coediting a forthcoming volume for Word and Image on printed and medallion portraits in early modern Europe.*

KATHRYN A. TUMA

## Time and the Art of Cy Twombly

Between 1966 and 1971, Cy Twombly executed a series of large-scale canvases composed primarily of chalk-white marks of crayon on charcoal-gray grounds. In some, great looping scrolls trail horizontally across the picture plane; in others, marks slide blithely across surfaces seeming to slip down in liquefying sheets; in yet others, wefts of arcs and figure-eights appear to weave through lines coursing from the top of the picture edge toward the bottom in a torrential downpour of tracery. And in some of the very last of the series, the marks are more diversified, their overall visual effect eliciting the appearance of unknotted filaments of thread, or loosely reticulated mesh. These and related paintings from this period have come to be known as Twombly's "gray paintings."

The first aspect of my interest in these works concerns their formal and conceptual relationship to minimal art. Twombly initiated the series following encounters with the minimalist artistic practice he saw in New York in the early 1960s. Twombly had moved to Italy in 1957, and by 1960 he had established his primary residence abroad. There, during the early years of the 1960s, Twombly's work developed largely outside the main currents of advanced American painting. The artist returned to New York in 1964 for an exhibition of his most recent work: canvases featuring exuberant bursts of bright and saturated color, the paint applied so thickly in areas that it appears to bleed down the canvas surface.

Cy Twombly,  
*Untitled*, 1971.  
Private collection,  
San Francisco



With its almost baroque pictorial extravagance and its themes of violence and passion, his work was conspicuously out of step with current artistic trends. Yet the gray paintings that followed, and that visually set themselves apart in Twombly's pictorial oeuvre, do not signal as radical a shift in artistic direction as they might appear. On a deeper level they qualify both as a continuation of Twombly's previous concern with certain formal problems of abstraction—specifically the ways his work in that mode relates to the question of time—and as a complex commentary on minimalism's own, very different efforts to wrestle with the problem of temporality in art.

My second interest in these paintings pertains to how their formulation of the relationship between time and abstraction speaks to issues in Twombly's sculptural work. In addition to the painting for which he is better known, Twombly has been making sculpture since 1946. With the exception of a lengthy hiatus between 1959 and 1976, Twombly's engagement with sculpture has been a consistent aspect of his artistic practice. At various points in his career, sculpture has been crucial to his artistic practice. Unusually coherent for a body of work spanning more than a half-century of production, Twombly's sculpture consists in assemblages of found objects often augmented by more traditional materials of sculpture,

the objects distinguishing themselves especially by the way most are coated in white paint. The formal consistency is a fundamental, if uncanny, feature of the work and seems to propose a curious motive: almost as if over the long course of a life's work the artist sought, through work extraordinarily personal and imbued with deepest affection, to defy the logic of chronology, and thereby to vanquish time.

My argument regarding the relevance of the gray paintings to understanding the sculpture turns perhaps counterintuitively on the fact that they figured centrally in his pictorial practice during his break from making sculpture. While scholars of Twombly's art have noted more direct relationships between his painting and sculpture in work from other periods—shared motifs and titles, for instance, or the inscription of the same fragments of verse on the surfaces of both—I think it exigent to answer questions about that period of his art-making during which such relationships are either absent or unsustained by simultaneous work in each medium. What was it about the two-dimensional work Twombly executed during this seventeen-year period that seems to have precluded work in sculpture? What was it about his work of the 1970s that motivated his return to work in three dimensions?

Until the recent traveling retrospective *Cy Twombly: The Sculpture*, little of Twombly's sculptural work has been available for study. With time and greater exposure, a more expansive exploration of the sculpture may well spur a critical revision of certain established interpretations of his pictorial project. My current research on the gray paintings and their relationship to minimalism, on the one hand, and to Twombly's own sculpture, on the other, seeks to contribute in this way to the already substantial body of scholarship on this artist.

National Gallery of Art  
Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 2000–2001

*Kathryn A. Tuma will take up an appointment as curatorial assistant in the department of painting and sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art, New York.*



Kathryn Rudy  
and Björn Ewald  
in the Library

## Description of Programs



Fellows' tour of *The Triumph of the Baroque: Architecture in Europe, 1600–1750* exhibition, with Henry Millon, 6 October 2000

## 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 annually select 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 biennially select 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, Frese, 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, although 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 no more than one-half the applicant's annual salary up to a maximum of \$40,000, 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.

#### *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 for Senior Fellowships. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes support for travel, research, and housing. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit 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.



Juergen Schulz  
and Elizabeth  
Cropper

*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 an equivalent 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.



Manfred  
Leithe-Jasper  
and Richard Ford

### *Associate Status*

The Center may appoint associates who have obtained fellowships and awards from other granting institutions apart from the applicant's own institution. 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 (for residency up to 60 days) and Senior Fellowships (for residency for the academic year or one term). The application deadline for Associate appointments for the full year

or one term is 1 October. The procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. For appointments of up to sixty days during the period September through February, the application deadline is 21 March; for appointments of up to sixty days during the period March through August, the deadline is 21 September.

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

Applications are invited from teams consisting of two professionals, 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 fellowships include a two- to three-month period for field, collections, and/or laboratory research, followed by a two-month residency period at the Center. Each team is required to submit an application with nine sets of all materials, including application form, proposal, a tentative schedule of travel indicating the sites, collections, or institutions most valuable for the proposed research project, and copies of selected pertinent publications. In addition, each team member must provide two letters of recommendation in support of the application, for a total of four recommendation letters. Applications are due by 21 March 2002 for 2002–2003. The fellowships are supported by funds from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Trust, respectively.

*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 two-month period 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 who reside in East and South Asia and hold appropriate degrees in the field and/or possess an equivalent record of professional accomplishment. Knowledge of English is required. For appointments during the period Septem-

ber through February, the application deadline is 21 March; for appointments during the period March through August, the deadline is 21 September. 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 the Samuel H. Kress or the Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellow. Kress and Davis Fellows may apply for the 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.

### *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 languages other than English. 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. Nominees 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 nomination deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not



Finbarr Barry  
Flood

renewable. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs during the summer prior to the fall deadline. After the deadline, all inquiries about the status of nominations should be made by the departmental chair.

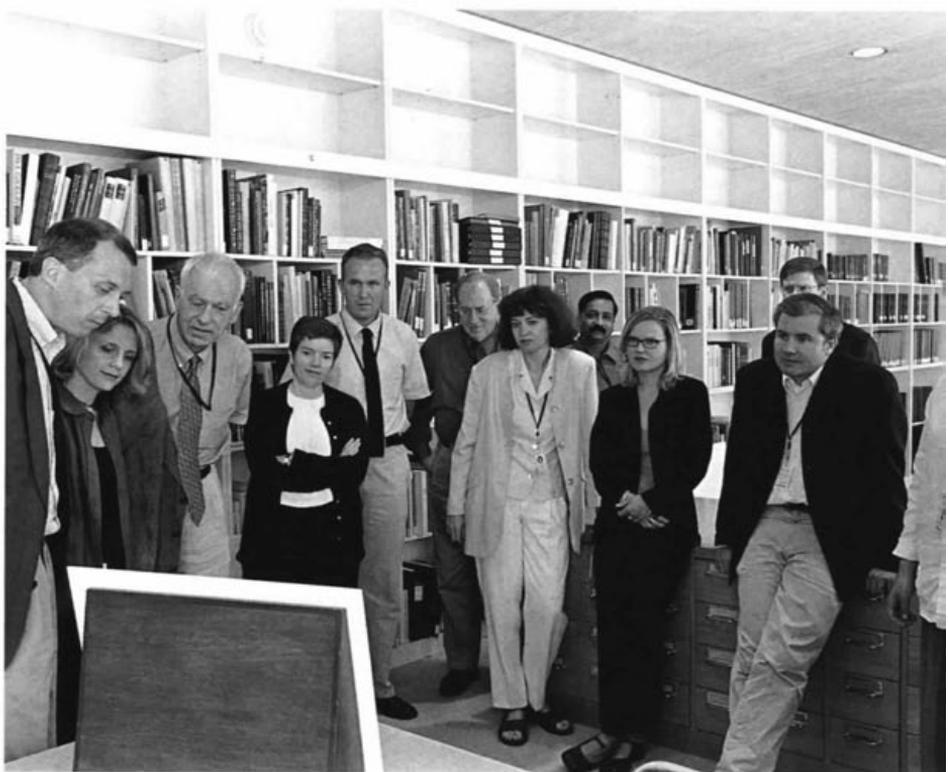
*Predocctoral Fellowship Program for Summer Travel Abroad  
for Historians of American Art*

The Center awards up to ten fellowships to doctoral students in art history who study aspects of art and architecture of the United States, 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 a 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 2002 for the summer of 2002.

#### *Further Information about Tenure and Application*

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. Individuals may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or while holding a fellowship. The fellowships are not renewable and may not be postponed. Appropriate application forms for fellowships and associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Sixth Street and Constitution Avenue, NW, 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)).



Members of the  
Center in the Print  
Study Room

## 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.

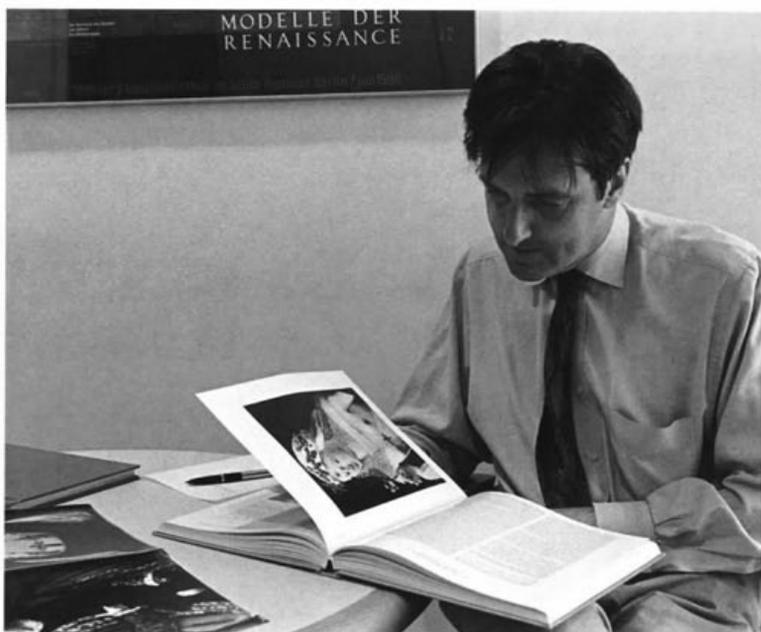
## Board of Advisors and Special Selection Committees

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 usually 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.

## Programs 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 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 casual and more formal exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. A list of the meetings held at the Center in 2000–2001 may be found on pages 21–32.



Nicholas Penny

### *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 Architecture. This work is intended to promote and establish standards for the description of architectural drawings. For current research projects, please see page 12.

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (beginning on page 45 for reports written by members in 2000–2001).

Richard Ford,  
Bruce Redford,  
Martha McCrory



### *Publications*

Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often published in the National Gallery's *Studies in the History of Art* series. Thirty-five symposium volumes have appeared to date:

- 10 *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*
- 13 *El Greco: Italy and Spain*
- 14 *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium*
- 16 *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*
- 17 *Raphael before Rome*
- 19 *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*
- 20 *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions*
- 21 *Italian Medals*
- 22 *Italian Plaquettes*

- 25 *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*
- 26 *Winslow Homer*
- 27 *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts*
- 29 *Nationalism in the Visual Arts*
- 30 *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991*
- 31 *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times*
- 32 *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art*
- 33 *Michelangelo Drawings*
- 35 *The Architectural Historian in America*
- 36 *The Pastoral Landscape*
- 37 *American Art around 1900*
- 38 *The Artist's Workshop*
- 43 *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown*
- 44 *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen*
- 45 *Titian 500*
- 46 *Van Dyck 350*
- 47 *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*
- 48 *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy*
- 49 *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*
- 50 *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review*
- 53 *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910*
- 54 *Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals*
- 55 *Vermeer Studies*
- 56 *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*
- 57 *Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica*
- 62 *Small Bronzes in the Renaissance*



Kristel Smentek,  
Matthew Biro,  
Wendy Bellion,  
and Faya Causey

The papers of eight 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”

“Moche: Art and Political Representation in Ancient Peru”

“Large Bronzes in the Renaissance”

“Tilman Riemenschneider: A Late Medieval Master Sculptor”

“Circa 1700: Architecture of Europe and the Americas”

“Creativity: The Sketch in the Arts and Sciences”

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