Center 23
National Gallery of Art
Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Center 23
Record of Activities and Research Reports
June 2002–May 2003

Washington 2003
The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, a research institute that 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 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, the Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, the A. W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, and approximately twenty fellows at any one time, including Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, Research Associates, Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellows, and Predoctoral Fellows. In addition, the Center supports approximately twelve Predoctoral and Visiting Senior Fellows who are conducting research both in the United States and abroad. The programs of the Center for Advanced Study include fellowships, meetings, research, and publications.
Report on the Academic Year
June 2002–May 2003
Board of Advisors

Jonathan J. G. Alexander, chair
September 2000–August 2003
New York University,
Institute of Fine Arts

T. J. Clark
September 2002–August 2005
University of California, Berkeley

Cynthia Hahn
September 2002–August 2005
Florida State University

Michael Leja
September 2001–August 2004
University of Delaware

Margaret Cool Root
September 2002–August 2005
University of Michigan

Innis Shoemaker
September 2001–August 2004
Philadelphia Museum of Art

Philip Sohm
September 2001–August 2004
University of Toronto

Curatorial Liaison

Peter Parshall
September 2002–August 2005
Curator of Old Master Prints
National Gallery of Art

Special Selection Committees

Predoctoral Fellowship Program
for Travel Abroad for Historians
of American Art

Timothy Barringer
Yale University

David Lubin
Wake Forest University

John Wilmerding
Princeton University

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

Maryan Ainsworth
The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marjorie B. Cohn
Harvard University Art Museums

Joseph E. Fronek
Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Heather Lechtman
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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

Wu Hung
The University of Chicago

John Rosenfield
Harvard University (emeritus)

Joanna Williams
University of California, Berkeley
The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, in its twenty-third year, continued to sponsor the study of the visual arts in each of its four major program areas: fellowships, research, publications, and scholarly meetings.

The Center welcomed resident fellows to the National Gallery of Art from thirteen countries in the course of the past year. A significant number of these scholars dedicated their research to early modern European art, and their regular visits to the collection were a lively, informal addition to the life of the Center. Other fellows worked on topics ranging from Orissan rock art to ninth-century Apocalypse manuscripts, to the beginnings of Japanese painting history in the seventeenth century, to the question of sensibility in eighteenth-century France, to the aesthetics of aerial vision in twentieth-century America. Several fellows engaged in analysis of aspects of the history of collecting, including the Goncourt brothers’ assemblage of graphic images, Herman Goering’s appropriation of works of art for his personal collection, and the sequestration of Nazi art in postwar America. Museum architecture in Asia and the United States also received attention, including our own East Building. The Gallery and the Center will celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of I. M. Pei’s building throughout the coming year.

Among the various research projects sponsored by the Center, it is appropriate to single out for attention “The Accademia di San
Luca in Rome, c. 1590–1630,” directed by Peter M. Lukehart, associate dean. The initial transcription of archival documents has begun, and an advisory committee met for the first time this year to discuss the scope and procedures of the project. The committee includes Angela Cipriani of the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome, and other distinguished colleagues from Italy and North America.

In the program of publications, two volumes appeared in the course of the year. The first was a second edition of *The Mall in Washington*, edited by Richard Longstreth, which originally appeared in 1991 as the publication of a symposium held in 1987. Long out of print, this collection of essays has been much in demand, given its importance for the history of the nation's capital. The reedition was supported by a grant from the Cafritz Foundation, and includes an introduction by Therese O’Malley, associate dean. *The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished (2003)*, edited by Lyle Massey, in the symposium series of Studies in the History of Art, gathers papers delivered in the first Kress-Murphy Symposium dedicated to the memory of Franklin D. Murphy. Seven further volumes of Studies in the History of Art are in preparation.

The Center sponsored one major international symposium in the program of meetings. “Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe,” held on 7–8 February 2003, was designed to coincide with the installation of Robert H. Smith’s collection of Renaissance bronzes in the new sculpture galleries, and was supported by a grant from the Frese Foundation. The papers will be published in the National Gallery of Art's Studies in the History of Art series, with Eike D. Schmidt, research associate of the Center, serving as scholarly editor. CASVA also co-sponsored with the University of Maryland the thirty-third Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art.

Several incontri brought fellows together with scholars from neighboring institutions and members of the Gallery staff. Salvatore Settis, of the Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa, discussed the arguments of his book *Italia S.p.A.* concerning the Italian government’s current policy and legislation on the management and conservation of cultural heritage. Rudolf Preimesberger presented his research on Caravaggio, and Caroline Elam, Andrew W. Mellon Professor, gave a talk on the reception of Michelangelo’s architectural language in six-
Staff

Elizabeth Cropper, Dean
Therese O’Malley, Associate Dean
Peter M. Lukehart, Associate Dean
Helen Tangires, Center Administrator

Senior Research Associate
Sabine Eiche

Research Associates
Barbara Christen
Frances Gage
Carla Keyvanian
Elizabeth Pergam
Mary Pixley
Eike D. Schmidt

Program Assistants
Colleen Harris
Fellowships
Elizabeth Kielpinski
Regular Meetings
Kimberly Rodeffer
Special Meetings and Publications

Project Staff
Karen Binswanger
Project Manager for Publications

Francine Chip
Research
Laura Kinneberg
Research
Martha McLaughlin
Research

Lynn Shevory
Administrative Assistant
teenth-century Florence. A study day dedicated to the exhibition of the work of Ernst Ludwig Kirchner brought together a number of significant contributors to the field, several from Germany making their first visit to the National Gallery of Art.

The Center initiated a new seminar program this year. Building upon last year’s meeting on new interpretations of Dada, two seminars convened a group of scholars to discuss, prepare, and exchange papers that will be published as a volume by the Center in connection with the National Gallery’s forthcoming Dada exhibition. “The Dada Seminars” will be edited by Leah Dickerman, associate curator of modern and contemporary art. Further such seminars and publications will take up other topics of current interest, not necessarily in connection with an exhibition.

Another significant addition to the Center’s program of meetings was the Safra Proseminar, held in connection with the appointment of the Center’s first Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, Manfred Leithe-Jasper. The purpose of the professorship, established through a grant from the Edmond J. Safra Philanthropic Foundation, is to promote research in an area in which the National Gallery of Art has a significant collection, and to forge connections between the research of the curatorial staff of the Gallery and that of the Center. The three-day “Practicum on Renaissance Bronze Statuettes” was designed to give emerging scholars a “hands-on” experience of the most advanced technical analysis, and an understanding of the possibilities of connoisseurial expertise, all in consort with historical knowledge. The success of this meeting, and of others in the course of the year, relied on the collaboration of members of the curatorial and conservation staff, for whose indispensable contributions the Center is deeply grateful. Future Safra Visiting Professors will design meetings along similar lines.

Lectures for a scholarly audience included Natalie Boymel Kampen, Barnard College, Columbia University, on “Touching the Emperor: The Representation of the Ruler’s Body in Roman Imperial Art,” and Yiqiang Cao, Carpenter Foundation Museum Fellow, on “Nian Xiyao (?–1739) and His Study of Scientific Perspective.”

The fifty-second A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts were presented by Kirk Varnedoe of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton,
on the subject of “Pictures of Nothing: Abstract Art since Pollock.” Professor Varnedoe's lectures offered a boldly synthetic, yet highly personal, interpretation of abstraction and its critics over the last half century. They filled the East Building Auditorium to overflowing, attracting an audience from throughout the United States prepared to stand in line for hours. Those privileged to hear his passionate, provocative arguments will never forget the experience. Kirk Varnedoe's death, just three months after completing the Mellon Lectures, deprived us of a colleague and friend who gave so generously to the American people.

A full description of the fellowship program and a complete list of publications may be found at the end of this volume after the reports on the annual activities of the Center.

Elizabeth Cropper
Dean
Members

Wolf-Dieter Dube, formerly Staatliche Museen zu Berlin  
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 2002–2003

Caroline Elam, The Burlington Magazine  
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 2002–2004

Manfred Leithe-Jasper, formerly Kunstkammer, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna  
Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor, spring 2003

Kirk Varnedoe, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton  
A. W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 2003

Senior Fellows

Alfred Acres, Princeton University  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2002–2003  
Renaissance Invention and Christ’s Haunted Infancy

Hal Foster, Princeton University  
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 2003  
Primitive Scenes and Prosthetic Gods

Sheryl E. Reiss, Cornell University  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2002–2003  
The Making of a Medici Maecenas: Giulio de' Medici (Pope Clement VII) as Patron of Art

Cinzia M. Sicca, Università degli Studi di Pisa  
Frese Senior Fellow, 2002–2003  
Fashioning the Tudor Court: Florentine Commerce and the Image of the Modern English Courtier

Joanna Woods-Marsden, University of California, Los Angeles  
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2002–2003  
Portrait of the Renaissance Lady

Carla Yanni, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey  
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2002–2003  
The Architecture of American Insane Asylums: Victorian Psychiatry and the Environmental Cure
Wolf-Dieter Dube, Elizabeth Cropper, and Yukio Lippit


Nancy H. Yeide, Department of Curatorial Records
The Goering Collection

Podhorosky Guest Scholars

Nikola Theodossiev, Sofia University, Saint Kliment Ohridski
1 July–31 August 2002
Art Treasures in Northern Thrace from the Fourth to Early Third Century B.C.E.
Olga Pujmanová, National Gallery, Prague
September 2002
*Catalogue of Italian Gothic and Renaissance Paintings in the Czech Republic*

Stanko Kokole, Science and Research Center of the Republic of Slovenia, Koper
1 May–31 June 2003
*Classical Tradition in the Urban Centers of the Adriatic Rim: 1400–1700*

**Visiting Senior Fellows**

Alexandre Kostka, Centre allemand d’histoire de l’art, Paris
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow
1 May–30 June 2002
*German and French Art Propaganda during World War I in the Neutral Countries*

Gregory Maertz, Saint John’s University, New York
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow
1 September–31 October 2002
*The Invisible Museum: The Secret Postwar History of Nazi Art*

Sadasiba Pradhan, Sambalpur University
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow
1 September–31 December 2002
*Symbolism in Orissan Rock Art*

David R. Marshall, University of Melbourne
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow
1 November–31 December 2002
*The Villa Patrizi and the Recovery of the Roman Rococo, 1710–1740*

Dennis P. Doordan, University of Notre Dame
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow
1 January–28 February 2003
*Modern Architecture and the Cold War: The Curious Case of Frank Lloyd Wright and Post–World War II Italian Architecture*

Anita F. Moskowitz, Stony Brook University, State University of New York
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow
3 March–30 April 2003
*The Sculpture of Giovanni Bastianini and the Nineteenth-Century Reception of Renaissance Sculpture*

Barbara H. Berrie, National Gallery of Art
Louisa C. Matthew, Union College
Residency period: 1 November–31 December 2002
The Pigments of Venetian Renaissance Painters: Procurement, Process, and the Finished Picture


Elizabeth Childs-Johnson, New York City
Zhengyao Jin, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
Residency period: 1 November–31 December 2002
Stylistic and Scientific Studies of Early/Middle Shang Bronzes: Metallurgy, Material Sources, and Cultural Character


Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, National Gallery of Art
L M. Pei’s East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Context

Predoctoral Fellows

Guendalina Ajello [New York University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 2001–2004
The Afterlife of Rome’s Ancient Spectator Buildings

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

Kyung-hee Choi [New York University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 2001–2003
Illuminating Liturgy and Legend: The Missal of Saint-Denis and the Royal Abbey in the Fourteenth Century
Fellows’ tour of the exhibition

**Drawing on America’s Past**

Kevin Chua [University of California, Berkeley]*
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2001–2003
*Seeing Tears: Greuze and the Epistemology of Sensibility*

Sabina de Cavi [Columbia University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 2002–2005
*Spain in Naples: Building, Sculpting, and Painting for the Viceroy (1585–1621)*

Nina Dubin [University of California, Berkeley]
David E. Finley Fellow, 2002–2005
*Monumental Ruins: Hubert Robert, Paris Urbanism, and the Crisis of Revolutionary France*

Meredith Hale [Columbia University]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2002–2004
*Romeyn de Hooghe and the Birth of Political Satire*

Yu Jiang [University of Pittsburgh]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2002–2004
*Statecraft and Cemetery in Early Dynastic China: Yu Funerary Arts in the Zhou*
Jonathan J. G. Alexander and Caroline Elam

Jordan Kantor [Harvard University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 2002–2003
*Jackson Pollock’s Late Paintings (1951–1956)*

Kate Lingley [The University of Chicago]
Ittleson Fellow, 2002–2004
*Negotiating Identity: Social Aspects of Sixth-Century Buddhist Art Patronage*

Yukio Lippit [Princeton University]*
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2001–2003
*The Birth of Japanese Painting History: Authentication and Inscription in the Seventeenth Century*

Adnan Morshed [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]*
Wyeth Fellow, 2001–2003
*The Aesthetics of Aerial Vision: The Futurama of Norman Bel Geddes*

Teresa K. Nevins [University of Delaware]*
Mary Davis Fellow, 2001–2003
*Viewing Revelation: Text and Image in Ninth-Century Apocalypse Manuscripts*

Morna O’Neill [Yale University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 2002–2003
*“Art Is Born Again”: Painting as a Practice in the Work of Walter Crane, 1877–1902*

Leopoldine Prosperetti [The Johns Hopkins University]
*Jan Brueghel and the Landscape of Devotion: Spiritual Reform and Landscape Subjects in Antwerp Painting between 1595 and 1625*
Alison Syme [Harvard University]
Wyeth Fellow, 2002–2004
Hedgehorses, Wagtails, Cockatrices, Whipsters: John Singer
Sargent and His Coterie of Nature’s Artful Dodgers

Alice Y. Tseng [Harvard University]*
Ittleson Fellow, 2002–2003
Art in Place: Shaping the Imperial Museum of Japan,
1872–1969

Adriaan Waiboer [New York University]
Mary Davis Fellow, 2002–2004
Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667): Life and Work

Pamela J. 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 16 September 2002–29 August 2003

Predoctoral Travel Abroad Fellowship for Historians of
American Art, 2003–2004

Heidi Applegate
[Columbia University]

Peter Brownlee
[The George Washington University]

Mari Dumett
[Boston University]

Elizabeth Fowler
[University of Minnesota]

Angela George
[University of Maryland]

Amanda Glesmann
[Stanford University]

Eric Gollanek
[University of Delaware]

Katie Kresser
[Harvard University]
Meetings

Symposia

7–8 February 2003

COLLECTING SCULPTURE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The Business of Collecting

Moderator: Nicholas Penny, National Gallery of Art
Salvatore Settis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa
The Transition from Medieval Reuse to Quattrocento Collecting of Classical Marbles in Rome
Francesco Caglioti, Università degli Studi di Napoli Federico II
Fifteenth-Century Reliefs of Ancient Emperors and Empresses in Florence: Production and Collecting
Peter M. Lukehart, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Carving Out Lives: The Role of Sculptors in the Early History of the Accademia di San Luca (c. 1593–1610)
Fritz T. Scholten, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
The Larson Family: A Workshop for Reproduction of Sculpture in Seventeenth-Century Holland

Displaying Sculpture

Moderator: Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Nicholas Penny, National Gallery of Art
The Evolution of the Socle, Pedestal, and Plinth
Ian Wardropper, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
“Pied Destal ou Soubasement”: Displaying Sculpture in Renaissance France
Kristina Herrmann Fiore, Galleria Borghese
The Outdoor Exhibition of Sculpture on the Villa Borghese Façades at the Time of Cardinal Scipione Borghese
Guilhem Scherf, Musée du Louvre
Viewing Sculpture in Eighteenth-Century France
Olga Raggio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art
*Pope Clement XI's Interest in Sculptural Models: The Birth of the Albani Museum in the Vatican Palace*

**Collections and Galleries**

*Moderator: Salvatore Settis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa*

Stanko Kokole, Science and Research Center of the Republic of Slovenia, Koper

*From the Adriatic Rim of the Stato da Mar to the Southeastern Tip of the Holy Roman Empire: Collecting Ancient Artifacts, 1450–1530*

Eike D. Schmidt, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

*Ivory Sculptures in Seventeenth-Century Florentine Collections*

Jennifer Montagu, University of London, Warburg Institute

*Artists' Collections in Baroque Rome*

Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

*Bronzes in Two Eighteenth-Century Viennese Collections: Typical or Untypical?*
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art
*Collecting Renaissance Reliefs: A Pioneer and an Enlightenment Exemplar, in Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) and Boissel de Monville (1763–1832)*

**Houses and Gardens**

*Moderator: Olga Raggio, The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

Kathleen Wren Christian, National Gallery of Art

*Pietas and Instauratio: The Della Valle Hanging Garden of Ancient Sculpture and Its Roman Audience*

Betsy Rosasco, Princeton University Art Museum

*Two French Royal Sculpture Gardens: The Orangerie of Versailles and the Jardin Haut of Marly*

Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art

*A Marble Hunting Party: The Nymphs of Diana for Marly*

Tim Knox, The National Trust, London

*Sir Francis Dashwood of West Wycombe Park, Buckinghamshire, as a Collector of Ancient and Modern Sculpture*

Malcolm Baker, Victoria and Albert Museum

*"For Pembroke, Sculpture, Dirty Gods, and Coins": The Collecting, Display, and Uses of Sculpture at Wilton House*

---

4–5 April 2003

**Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art, Thirty-Third Annual Sessions**

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

**Evening Session**

*Introduction: Anthony Colantuono, University of Maryland*

**George Levitine Lecture in Art History**

Marc Fumaroli, Collège de France

*Cardinal Richelieu and the Problem of a French Style in the Arts (1614–1642)*
Morning Session

Moderator: Josephine Withers, University of Maryland
Introduction: Melvin Lader
Kristin Grubb [The George Washington University]
Jackson Pollock: His Western Persona and the American Cowboy Myth

Introduction: Steven Levine
Michael Jay McClure [Bryn Mawr College]
Anna’s Light: Barnett Newman, Declaration, and Trauma

Introduction: Richard Powell
Marissa Vincenti [Duke University]
Gurdjieffian Philosophy, Spiritualism, and Politics in the Art of Aaron Douglas

Introduction: Maurie McInnis
Ellen Daugherty [University of Virginia]
The Booker T. Washington Monument at Tuskegee University and the Imagery of Racial Uplift

Introduction: Ekpo Eyo
Christopher Slogar [University of Maryland]
Polyphemus Africanus: Reconsidering Southern Nigeria in European Visual Culture, c. 1500–1950

Introduction: Andrea Frohne
John Ritterbush [The Pennsylvania State University]
The Preservation of Decomposition: Displaying Objects of Senegalese Performance Art

Introduction: Michael Fried
Shannon Egan [The Johns Hopkins University]
Edward S. Curtis’ Nativism in The North American Indian

Afternoon Session

Moderator: Therese O’Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Introduction: James Farmer
Lee Ann Hurt [Virginia Commonwealth University]
The Huacas of Machu Picchu: Inca Stations for the Communion between Humanity and Nature
Introduction: Katheryn Linduff
Wu Xiaolong [University of Pittsburgh]
*Bronzes, Inscriptions, and State Politics of the Zhongshan State during the Warring States Period*

Introduction: Michael Meister
Tamara Sears [University of Pennsylvania]
*Worldly Ascetics and Spiritual Kings: Exchanging Architecture for Initiation in Medieval North India*

Introduction: Perry Chapman
Erika Suffern [University of Delaware]
*Paired Peeping: A New Context for Dutch Perspective Boxes*

Introduction: Mary Garrard
Bryna Campbell [The American University]
*A Renaissance Cassone Reconsidered: Chastity in a Different Voice*

Introduction: Jaroslav Folda
Ann Driscoll [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]
*Alberto, Spoleto, and 1187: The Umbrian Croce Dipinta as Reliquary*

**Seminars**

4 October 2002
**DADA I**

**Participants**

George Baker, *Purchase College, State University of New York*
Benjamin Buchloh, *Barnard College/Columbia University*
Elizabeth Cropper, *Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts*
T. J. Demos, *Maryland Institute College of Art*
Leah Dickerman, *National Gallery of Art*
Brigid Doherty, *The Johns Hopkins University*
Wolf-Dieter Dube, *Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts*
Uwe Fleckner, *Kunsthistorisches Institut, Freie Universität Berlin*
Hal Foster, *Princeton University*
Amelia Jones, *University of California, Riverside*
Hal Foster, Elizabeth Cropper, Benjamin Buchloh, David Joselit, and Brigid Doherty, “Dada I,” seminar, 4 October 2002

David Joselit, University of California, Irvine
Laurent Le Bon, Centre Pompidou
Marcella Lista, Centre Pompidou
Peter M. Lukehart, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Therese O’Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Jeffrey Schnapp, Stanford University
Michael Taylor, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Matthew Witkovsky, National Gallery of Art

2 May 2003

DADA II

Participants

George Baker, Purchase College, State University of New York
Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
T. J. Demos, Maryland Institute College of Art
Leah Dickerman, National Gallery of Art
Brigid Doherty, Princeton University
John Elderfield, Museum of Modern Art
Amelia Jones, University of California, Riverside
David Joselit, University of California, Irvine
Marcella Lista, Centre Pompidou
Judy Metro, National Gallery of Art
Helen Molesworth, Wexner Center for the Arts
Therese O’Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Jeffrey Schnapp, Stanford University
Michael Taylor, Philadelphia Museum of Art
Aurelie Verdier, National Gallery of Art
Matthew Witkovsky, National Gallery of Art

Study Day

26 February 2003

ERNST LUDWIG KIRCHNER

Participants

"Ernst Ludwig Kirchner," study day, 26 February 2003

Timothy Benson, Los Angeles County Museum of Art
Judith Brodie, National Gallery of Art
Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Colloquia CLXXVII–CLXXXIII

30 October 2002
Wolf-Dieter Dube, Samuel H. Kress Professor
The Collection Comes First: On the Display of Works in New Museums and Their Traditions

14 November 2002
Carla Yanni, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
The Architecture of Insane Asylums in the United States: Victorian Psychiatry and the Environmental Cure

12 December 2002
Alfred Acres, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
“Where Now Is the Devil?”: On Darkness Near the Christ Child

9 January 2003
Sheryl E. Reiss, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
A Portrait of a Renaissance Maecenas: Giulio de’ Medici (Pope Clement VII) as Patron of Art

23 January 2003
Joanna Woods-Marsden, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Masculinities/Femininities in Titian’s Portraits

10 April 2003
Hal Foster, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
Torn Screens, or When Art Fails (or Refuses) to Tame the Real

8 May 2003
Cinzia M. Sicca, Frese Senior Fellow
Pawns of International Financing and Politics: Florentine Sculptors at the Court of Henry VIII

Shoptalks 105–111

17 October 2002
Adnan Morshed, Wyeth Fellow
The Aviator’s (Re)Vision of the World: An Aesthetics of Ascension in Norman Bel Geddes’ Futurama

21 November 2002
Kevin Chua, Samuel H. Kress Fellow
Painting Paralysis: Greuze in 1763
5 December 2002
Pamela J. Warner, Paul Mellon Fellow
*The Goncourt Brothers and the Pictoriality of History*

30 January 2003
Fabio Barry, David E. Finley Fellow
*Talismans to Cloud-Architecture: Reinventing Marbling in Baroque Rome*

2 April 2003
Teresa K. Nevins, Mary Davis Fellow
*The Valenciennes Apocalypse: New Revelations in the Early Ninth Century*

16 April 2003
Yukio Lippit, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow
*The Splashed Ink Mode and Painterly Subjectivity in Medieval Japan*

30 April 2003
Alice Y. Tseng, Ittleson Fellow
*The Museum as National Representation: Josiah Conder’s “Pseudo-Saracenic” Design for Japan*

**Lectures**

6 March 2003
Natalie Boymel Kampen, Barnard College, Columbia University
*Touching the Emperor: The Representation of the Ruler’s Body in Roman Imperial Art*

7 May 2003
Yiqiang Cao, Carpenter Foundation Museum Fellow, National Gallery of Art, Washington
*Nian Xiyao (?–1739) and His Study of Scientific Perspective*
Birgit Dalbajewa, Galerie Neue Meister
Leah Dickerman, National Gallery of Art
Wolf-Dieter Dube, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Hal Foster, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Günther Gercken, Universität Hamburg
Lucius Grisebach, Neues Museum, Staatliches Museum für Kunst und Design in Nürnberg
Reinhold Heller, The University of Chicago
Christiane Lukatis, Staatliche Museen Kassel
Peter M. Lukehart, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Peter Nisbet, Busch-Reisinger Museum
Therese O’Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Elizabeth Prelinger, Georgetown University
Gerd Presler, Weingarten, Germany
Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art
Norman Rosenthal, Royal Academy of Arts
Christopher With, National Gallery of Art
Wolfgang Wittrock, Ferdinand-Möller-Stiftung

Safra Proseminar
19–21 May 2003
PRAXICUM ON RENAISSANCE BRONZE STATUETTES

Participants

Fabio Barry, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Kathleen Wren Christian, National Gallery of Art
Elizabeth Cropper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
David Drogin, Harvard University
Robert Glass, Princeton University
Lisha Glinsman, National Gallery of Art
Carla Keyvanian, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Stanko Kokole, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art
“Practicum on Renaissance Bronze Statuettes,” Safra proseminar, 19–21 May 2003

Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art
Eleonora Luciano, National Gallery of Art
Peter M. Lukehart, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Donald Myers, Hillstrom Museum of Art
Christina Neilson, The Johns Hopkins University
Therese O’Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Nicholas Penny, National Gallery of Art
Eike D. Schmidt, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Shelley Sturman, National Gallery of Art

Kirk Varnedoe, Institute for Advanced Study

Pictures of Nothing: Abstract Art since Pollock

- 30 March: Why Abstract Art?
- 6 April: Survivals and Fresh Starts
- 13 April: Minimalism
- 27 April: After Minimalism
- 4 May: Satire, Irony, and Abstract Art
- 11 May: Abstract Art Now
Lecture Abstracts

Touching the Emperor: The Representation of the Ruler’s Body in Roman Imperial Art

The statue showing two pairs of emperors embracing stands beside the Church of San Marco in Venice as a reminder of the Roman past and its riches. At the same time, the reddish purple stone of the group and its angular and simplified forms seem at odds with the usual notion of Roman white marble and sleek classical bodies. In this lecture I examine one other element that is strikingly different from most Roman sculpture: the fact that the rulers embrace. The gesture has no precedent in Roman imperial public art, nor does it have any later imitators, and this in itself is unusual because so much of the depiction of the ruler is rooted in a traditional vocabulary, one easy for viewers to interpret and strongly conventionalized in meanings. Scholars have described the embrace as an indication of the links between older and younger rulers or, alternatively, as signifying the brotherhood and shared interests of the four rulers. The latter is most likely, but the interpretation only goes a little way to explaining why other rulers, or rulers and their heirs, never chose this form of representation to convey similar meanings.

I argue that the image of the emperors embracing was a kind of failed experiment, as in some ways was the regime of the Tetrarchy itself. The rule by two senior and two junior emperors, established by Diocletian at the end of the third century C.E., was an attempt to stabilize both the empire and the political situation, and the depiction of the four tetrarchs surely intended to show people that with such accord among them, these rulers would never permit civil war. Nevertheless, in just a few years, civil wars began again, and the end of the Tetrarchy came with Constantine’s victories over his fellow rulers and his sole possession of the throne.

The failed experiment comes not simply from the failure of the regime but also from the failure of the gesture of embrace to avoid contamination by a range of problematic associations. Representations of the emperor touching or being touched are extremely rare in Roman
art. He clasps the right hand of an ally, a wife, or an heir, but almost no other physical contact with another human sullies his godlike separateness. Only ordinary men touch and are touched, but when this happens outside of the hand-clasp or contact in battle, the touch is almost always erotic. This combination of visual precedents made the embracing Tetrarchs problematically unconventional and even inappropriate. The failed experiment comes from what must have seemed at first a perfectly legible gesture that soon revealed itself as far too fraught with troubling undertones to be repeated. The story of manly emperors, repositories of tradition and divine accord, must have become impossible to tell clearly with this kind of imagery.

Natalie Boymel Kampen, Barnard College, Columbia University
This talk will address the reception of Western theories of perspective in China during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In the 1660s, Emperor Kangxi admired the unity of science and art in Western (Latin) culture, promulgating the study of geometry and mathematics and their practical applications in fields such as surveying and topography. Outside the court, the Jesuit fathers were simultaneously encouraging Chinese painters to use scientific perspective in their work. Their library in China provided Nian Xiyao (?–1739) and his contemporaries with access to the treatises of Leon Battista Alberti, Daniele Barbaro, Jean Cousin, Andrea Pozzo, and Federico Zuccaro, among others. Although his paintings are all lost, Nian Xiyao's drawings testify to his knowledge and mastery of single-point perspective. Further, Nian's treatise, *Shi Xue* or Theory of Vision (1729; second edition, 1735), with illustrations based on those of Pozzo and Cousin, analyzes and critiques Western methods even as it presents them as alternatives to traditional practice in Chinese painting. This fascinating treatise remains an anomaly, however, since Chinese painters did not subsequently embrace Western perspective.

Yiqiang Cao, Carpenter Foundation Museum Fellow, National Gallery of Art, Washington
Incontri

5 February 2003
Salvatore Settis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa
Redefining Italian Governmental Policy and Legislation on the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage

9 April 2003
Rudolf Preimesberger, Freie Universität Berlin
“Pittura gobba?”: Conjectures on Caravaggio’s Deposition of Christ

Talk

22 April 2003
Caroline Elam, Andrew W. Mellon Professor
Tuscan Dispositions: The Reception of Michelangelo’s Architectural Language
Incontri Abstracts

Redefining Italian Governmental Policy and Legislation on the Management and Conservation of Cultural Heritage

My discussion will focus on the arguments of my book, Italia S.p.A (Einaudi, 2002), and on my current involvement in redefining Italian governmental policy and legislation on the management and conservation of cultural heritage.

Salvatore Settis, Scuola Normale Superiore, Pisa

“Pittura gobba?”: Conjectures on Caravaggio’s Deposition of Christ

This paper will discuss two texts from the corpus of biographical literature on artists that seem to have had a certain importance for Caravaggio’s Deposition of Christ in the Pinacoteca Vaticana: Pliny’s narrative of Apelles’ image of the one-eyed Antigonus, and Vasari’s famous anecdote concerning Michelangelo’s signature on the Pietà in Saint Peter’s.

Rudolf Preimesberger, Freie Universität Berlin (emeritus)
Research Projects

Four long-term research projects are in development at the Center. The objective of each project is to produce scholarly research tools. Elizabeth Cropper is currently directing a project, supported by a grant from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, which is building an extensive photographic collection of pre-1800 drawings of Italian architecture for the National Gallery of Art’s photographic archives. On deposit in the archives are 42,929 photographs and 278 manuscripts on microfilm. Photographs and microfilm were received this year from the following repositories: Braunschweig: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum; Florence: Archivio di Stato; London: British Library; Munich: Staatliche Graphische Sammlung; Oxford: Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library, Corpus Christi College; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana; Turin: Museo Civico d’Arte Antica; Venice: Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana. Elizabeth Cropper is also initiating a project dedicated to the translation of significant early modern art critical texts.

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, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology used in North America in the period between 1492 and 1852. Employing both texts and images from this period, the project traces the changing meanings of design terms as they were adapted from Old World sources and transformed into an American landscape vocabulary. A hundred terms have been identified as “keywords.” Over seven hundred images, ranging from reproductions of drawings, prints, paintings, and other garden images found in the context of correspondence, diaries, treatises, manuscripts, portraits, painted furniture, and needlework samplers have been selected for publication. This project nears completion as the text and images to be used in the manuscript were finalized and submitted to the publisher in June 2003.

The “Historiographic Guide to Andean Sources,” directed by former associate dean Joanne Pillsbury, is a three-volume reference work for the support of research on the Prehispanic and colonial periods
of the Andean region of South America. This resource is intended for scholars in anthropology, history, archaeology, art history, and other related disciplines. Currently in its seventh 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, researched and written by 122 scholars based in nineteen countries, consider the contributions, perspectives, and biases of authors who wrote on the Prehispanic and colonial cultures of this region. The English-language edition is in final manuscript; at the same time, the translation of the entries into Spanish will begin in the fall of 2003, in preparation for the publication of the guide in Latin America, supported by a grant from the Lampadia Foundation.

A fourth research project, under the direction of associate dean
Peter M. Lukehart, will gather a large number of new and previously unpublished documentary materials together with the secondary sources concerning the first four decades of the Accademia di San Luca, from c. 1590 to 1630. Working with the original statutes, the adunanze (records of the proceedings of meetings of the academy), ledger books kept by the treasurers, and references in the civil and criminal court records, the project aims to create the first documentary history of the Roman Academy. The project continues to gather bibliography, transcribe documents, and create biographical files on the artists who participated in the academy. In March 2003, the advisory committee for the project met for the first time to discuss the scope, procedures, and parameters of this study. The committee plans to meet on an annual basis in the spring of each year.
Publications

Research Reports of Members
A vast number of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century European images of Christ’s Infancy allude either to his death or to the devil, and sometimes to both. Although both kinds of allusions (and especially the former) were pervasive in painting, sculpture, and prints and are widely familiar to modern observers, neither has ever been systematically addressed in art-historical scholarship. At the Center I have been writing a book that aims not simply to fill a perceived gap in iconographic studies, but also to reflect on the nature of such a gap. Conceived as an essay on interpretation, it addresses some of the unmapped distances between Renaissance and modern approaches to “meaning” in religious images. While its first and last chapters will shape questions and partial answers about how and why such themes thrived as they did in this period, the heart of the study is given to close observation of an unusual variety of individual works — mainly Netherlandish, Italian, German, French, and Bohemian — and the ways in which they engineer representation to guide very particular kinds of thought.

Artists were endlessly inventive about articulating the elemental yet elusive ideas of the sacrifice for which the Incarnation was necessary and the evil poised to thwart salvation. Both involve efforts to convey things that are, at the same time, absent or suppressed in the moment pictured: a death not yet present for the Infant, and a menace resisted by his coming. To represent these matters of absence or im-
minence — dynamics not often attempted in earlier art — artists devised situations that demanded unaccustomed and flexible kinds of thought from an attentive viewer. Sometimes Christ's future could, for example, be detected in the sleep or body language of his infant self, or the scheming of the devil could be inferred from a trap being built in a room next to the one in which the Annunciation unfolds. Other works are less subtle, as when the Child embraces an enormous cross or a demon shows his face at the Nativity.

One reason for the generally tangential attention to such expressions, which are most often cited as details of works we discuss in other ways, is the fact that despite the many seeds of each theme in scripture and medieval writings, neither has a prime textual source. Another is that although they intrigued countless artists, from the most renowned to the most obscure, absence and imminence escape the systems by which we name and index iconography. Further, they are so basic to Christian thought that they resist interpretation in light of the more individual, contextual considerations that have guided much of modern scholarship; it is difficult to link foreboding of Christ's death or ambient evil at his birth with particular aspirations of a given patron or church. But the seemingly transparent theology of such ideas should not allow us to overlook their implications either for late medieval devotional thought or, as I am suggesting, for the increasingly self-conscious ambitions of fifteenth-century artists. It is also clear that these themes have evaded systematic focus because they are designed in many ways, and almost invariably within scenes we regard — sometimes too hastily — to be mainly about something else. The few studies that address either of them do so either in the context of a single tactic of expression (such as the sleeping Christ Child) or with regard to the meaning of a single painting.

Most of my time at the Center has been dedicated to finishing the longest portion of the book, on imagery of the Passion in the Infancy. After much travel to collections and library work elsewhere, this has been an opportunity to fortify research on individual works and corresponding threads of the discussion. Since a major practical challenge of the project is its deliberately uncentered scope, which reaches far in geography, time, and media, the array of colleagues at the Center and in the National Gallery of Art has been an especially ample and
generous resource for questions of material beyond my expertise. I have also addressed more Gallery objects than I had anticipated. The Florentine tondo reproduced here, for example, has deepened questions I had already been pursuing among several Netherlandish paintings that insinuate lurkings of evil among shadows at the Nativity. I addressed a number of these in my colloquium ("Where Now Is the Power of the Devil?: On Darkness Near the Christ Child") within a consideration of distinctly imaginative mechanisms for ideas of demonic ubiquity — which was as much a concern of daily life as it was of doctrine and devotion in the fifteenth century.

A wide-ranging pursuit of these familiar yet radically malleable concepts can exert new kinds of pressure not only on iconographic and symbolic taxonomies refined in recent generations, but also on the very idea of subject matter, which has developed a codifying character in recent centuries that it did not have in earlier ones.

Princeton University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2002—2003

*Alfred Acres will return to his position as assistant professor in the department of art and archaeology at Princeton University.*
Cold, brittle, but taking a high polish, marble was considered—from Aristotle’s *Meteorology* on—a subterranean fluid that had been frozen or hardened by the “dry exhalations” escaping the earth. Literary tradition went on to consolidate the associations enshrined in the Latin *marmor*, a word that indicated both marble and the sea’s shimmering surface. Ovid capitalized on the assonance when he described ships immobilized by the wintry sea, and the Byzantines christened an entire gulf “Marmora,” from whose islands they cut marbles with “ripple” veining. For early science, “living rock” was also no mere metaphor. From their watery cradle, stones grew to become animate, self-replenishing, and some were even gendered.

In the visual arts, marble’s perceived liquidity only sealed the reputation it held as a natural “species” of painting, thanks to its palette, brushlike veining, and the images that it figured, or which became legible in the Rorschachian symmetries of “book-matched” revetment. For classical authors such innate imaging evidenced “nature as artist,” for Christian rhetoricians it referenced *Acheiropoieta*, the miraculous and therefore licit images, “made-not-by-human-hands,” but by those of the Creator. For art theorists, it would come to represent the contest between natural art and artful nature.

Poets and pilgrims, even sultans, saw paradisiacal meadows, veils, water, and even bleeding flesh portentously encoded in marble revetments. Saints haunted dappled columns that wept curative oils.
baster windowpanes became as indexical of God’s actual presence as smoke is of fire; they seemed both to transmute internal illuminations and contain heavenly clouds. In a building like Hagia Sophia (a church dedicated to the Word-made-Flesh), the “image in the stone” became a metaphor for the Incarnation, and the building an elusively tangible divine body itself. For similar reasons, painters meticulously reproduced *all’antica* revetments in Renaissance Annunciations, though with nonclassifiable marbles that were both metaphors of the Incarnation and semblances of artistic process. Marble spoliation had become habitual, but painters also traded in its image, either as a cue to a vanishing, classical past or as a stimulus to visualizing intangible essences. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Botticelli (1446–1510), and Piero di Cosimo (1462–1521) looked to the spontaneous images of colored stones for inspiration, and marble’s errant veining would eventually figure the imagination itself in Laurence Sterne’s *Tristram Shandy* (1759).

The metaphor of painting in stone became so ingrained that, time and again, the medium would liberate itself from the constraints of the material to abet or challenge painting proper in the venues of mosaic, fresco, and intarsia from Hellenistic Alexandria to rococo Munich. Painters prospected the countryside for minerals that they ground into pigments on porphyry slabs with serpentine mullers; it is symptomatic of such materials that Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) begins his *Lives* with an archaeology of colored stones. Soon, artists painted on stones themselves, and eventually they chemically infused virgin slabs with figurative veining to replicate the processes as well as the effects of nature’s artistry. One painter, Niccolò Tornioli (1598–1651), even used the technique to conjure up the Holy Shroud in his book-matched marbling.

From its earliest artistic use, marble’s rainbow lucidity also made it a fugitive of earthly bonds. From the Middle Ages onward, it was regarded as assimilating the astral light of gems with the image of chthonic generation. Since Scripture declared gems the foundations of heaven, and serial lapidaries gave all stones thaumaturgic properties, marbles became the material of choice, east and west, for appointing the church interior a “heaven upon earth.” Lustrous marbles pushed beyond substantial boundaries, elevating the mesmerized observer
to the true images of the mind and, conversely, bringing the heavens to earth as the talismans of upper, sidereal virtues.

As the marbling of church interiors in “marmi mischi” was revived in the sixteenth century, and became widespread in the seventeenth, this appreciation of how they could reflect an upper heaven and a larger universe underwent a staged transformation. The perceptions of marble's physical substance, and its analogies with painting (whether expressed in *ekphraseis* or scientific treatises), induced artists slowly to discard the intarsiated, gemological, and talismanic symbolism of pioneering, papal chapels such as the Cappella Gregoriana, Saint Peter's (1572). Instead, Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and others would exploit marble's potential as a fluidic or vaporous medium to ground heaven in the supremely ambiguous form of “cloud-architecture” in works such as Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (1658–1672).

In this process, through “divine intervention” so to speak, the petrified pigments of the new “painted architecture” became a convenient loophole in the *paragone*, the age-old debate over the relative merits of painting and sculpture, and their respective mimetic properties. Bernini's nebulous marbling would become the governing metaphor behind rococo churches from Zurich to Prague, whose interiors artisans dissolved in a veil of *Stuckmarmor*. Neither marble nor paint, but a paste of powdered marble and stone chips smeared on with a spatula, one can justifiably say that these artisans truly painted their clouds in stone.

[Columbia University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 2000–2003

*In 2003–2004 Fabio Barry will remain at the National Gallery of Art as a curatorial intern in the department of sculpture.*
The painters of Renaissance Venice have been regarded as “colorists” since the sixteenth century. Part of this reputation was formed as contemporary commentators, most notably Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), sought to define the contributions of various schools of painting and to glorify the achievements of central Italian disegno. Even as Venetian colore became the foil for the apologists of central Italian practice, it simultaneously became the rallying point for defenders of the Venetian tradition. This model of two contrasting schools continues to guide contemporary characterizations about what Venetian colore was. As art historians, conservation scientists, and conservators have learned more about how Venetian artists painted during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the complexity and diversity of their working methods and their uses of color, not to mention the changing character of their paintings over time, have become more apparent. While colore is indeed important to any definition of Venetian painting, the meanings of the term need more study.

One important way of illuminating colore derives from recent findings in the Venetian state archives: the existence of a hitherto unrecognized profession in Renaissance Venice: the color-sellers. These vendecolori were specialists who appeared in Venice almost a century earlier than elsewhere in Italy. The discovery of several of their shop inventories has provided a new starting point for investigating uses of colorants in Venetian painting. During the grant period we used
the latest documentary evidence together with new technical analysis of Venetian pictures to begin to characterize colorants more accurately and to investigate how they were used. Extensive research into the technical literature, also made possible by the grant, has allowed us to expand our body of evidence. During the travel phase of the grant we consulted both with experts in the identification of pigments and dyestuffs and in the study of painting techniques at the National Gallery, London, the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, and other major European museums.

Our study of the amounts and types of colorants listed in a recently discovered 1534 inventory of the contents of the shop of a Venetian color-seller, combined with evidence gleaned from contemporary recipe books, manuals, and treatises, suggests that the *vendecolori* were providing pigments and dyes (and materials used to manufacture and process them), to other kinds of painters, as well as to glass-makers, dyers, plasterers, terrazzo floor-makers, and producers of glazed ceramics. These findings have prompted us to look for a wider range of materials when conducting scientific analysis on pigments. It has also led us to hypothesize that the shops of the *vendecolori* were a locus for cross-fertilization, both among numerous craft industries that used color and between them and the painters on canvas and panel.

In the short term we have concentrated on scientific analysis of paintings by the Venetian painters Lorenzo Lotto (1480–1556), Giovanni Battista Cima da Conegliano (c. 1459–1517), and Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516), dated between 1500 and the 1530s, for which samples were readily available. In addition to the above-mentioned inventory, which provides a significant point of reference, we have Lotto’s account book, which begins in 1538 and is the only extant record from a Venetian painter’s shop from the first half of the sixteenth century. Thus, we have found that these artists used a wider range of colorants and variants of the expected pigments than we anticipated. For example, the well-preserved green in the landscape of Cima’s *Madonna and Child* (c. 1500) in the National Gallery of Art is mixed from a copper green and a lead-tin white that has only begun to be studied. Reinvestigation of paintings by Lotto not only confirmed that he, like his contemporaries, employed a complicated
painting technique involving multiple glazes and scumbling, but also revealed a greater diversity of colorants than previously known. These include siliceous materials used in glass-making and ceramic decoration beyond the well-known blue smalt.

Our grant was the beginning of what has now been defined as a larger project. In addition to the short-term investigation, the results of which are being prepared for publication, we have been able to define more clearly issues requiring further exploration. For example, we would like to extend analysis of pigment samples to include painted furniture, glass, and textiles, widening our view of painting as an industry in which the easel painters represented only a small part. We also will further study relationships between the artisanal industries that used colorants, from the perspectives of technology and taste. Inventories from 1556 and 1594 will enable us to expand this study through the later part of the century. We intend to look at the role of the vendecolori in establishing and promoting Venetian colore, and perhaps arrive at further definitions of what colore meant in sixteenth-century Venice.

National Gallery of Art/Union College

Barbara H. Berrie will return to her position as senior conservation scientist at the National Gallery of Art.

Louisa C. Matthew resumes her associate professorship of art history in the visual arts department at Union College, Schenectady, New York.
Recent discoveries in China have revolutionized our thinking about the evolution of bronze art during the early Shang period (c. 1700–1300 B.C.E.). Among these is the detection of the presence of highly radiogenic lead in ores from mines in the southwest Yunnan province of China and in ritual bronzes of the early Shang period, from both northern metropolitan centers and southern regional ones along China’s southern Yangtze river valley. These discoveries demonstrate that bronze-working was not limited to the northern Yellow river valley, traditionally identified as China’s cradle of civilization. The focus of our research is to employ new scientific, archaeological, and art-historical data to help explain the contribution of the southern Yangtze valley to the cultural foundation of the Shang bronze age.

We have taken small metal samples from bronzes, including those newly excavated in 2002 at Jinsha (near Sanxingdui in Sichuan). Other samples were taken from Xichang in Sichuan, from Zhengzhou excavations, and from early Shang bronzes that reportedly came from Huixian near Luoyang in Henan, now housed in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto. We await the results of isotope and metal composition tests from the Berkeley Geochronology Center. We expect these findings to fit the large database of samples from over five hundred bronzes (mostly Erlitou and late Shang through western Zhou vessels or their fragments) that have been categorized by date, provenance, metal composition, and lead isotope ratios. These data make it pos-
possible to distinguish sources of ores for early to middle Shang bronzes, as opposed to sources of bronze ores dating earlier to Xia or later to the late Shang and western Zhou eras. Thus far, the scientific data confirm that the source of lead, and probably of tin and copper (bronze being an alloy of all three, with copper the largest component) in metropolitan and regional Shang bronzes of the early through middle period is in Yunnan. Trade and cultural contact between the Yellow and Yangtze river valleys was brisker during this time than heretofore understood. Archaeological and art-historical findings indicate that the sites of Panlongcheng and Xingan belong within the fold of “nuclear Shang,” whereas Sanxingdui was outside Shang cultural hegemony. Sanxingdui, which we currently associate with people known as “Shu” in Shang oracle bone inscriptions, evidently functioned as an independent yet interactive early Chinese bronze-working center.

Our purpose in examining the bronzes from the Royal Ontario Museum was to understand them from scientific, technical, and art-historical points of view. W. T. Chase made arrangements for x-radiography of twelve of the bronzes from the museum that we tentatively identify as dating to the early to middle Shang period. He also made ultraviolet fluorescence photographs that we have used to identify modern repairs. Our study confirms that all twelve ritual bronzes belong to the early to middle Shang period and to “nuclear Shang.” In all cases the bronzes were found to be heavily used and repaired. Thick, burned layers of charcoal and an outer casing of a second bronze casting around the legs and the base of the large museum tripod ding indicate that this flesh-offering vessel was restored in early Shang times, evidently to render it suitable for continued use in ancestral spirit worship. Examination of the museum bronzes and other excavated examples confirms earlier findings that these vessels were sacred utensils used specifically in worship by the highest aristocracy, primarily the king, but also royal kin. This heavy use and frequent evidence of repair also help to confirm our hypothesis, based on late Shang oracle bone evidence, that bronzes were actually employed in specific food sacrifices offered to dead royalty. Because the large-scale ding type is found in southern Panlongcheng and in northern Zhengzhou, it is evident that these “city-states” were comparable in aristocratic sensibility. Similar sacrificial rites involving the potent
religious symbol of the large-scale ding were evidently enacted at metropolitan centers in the Yellow river valley and contemporaneously in the centers of Panlongcheng and Xingan. Clearly, the Shang had influence in the southern Yangtze river valley during the dynasty’s formative era.

The large tripod ding was not cast for use at the southwestern Sichuan Yangtze river valley site of Sanxingdui. Nonetheless, the bronze alloy of Sanxingdui vessels, represented by zun container types of metropolitan Shang style and by their indigenous casts of bronze masks, appears to be from the same ore source in Yunnan, as are other early Shang bronzes, including, as anticipated, those from the Royal Ontario Museum. Thus far we have assembled a novel combination of illuminating data that underscores a much more profound interaction between northern and southern early Shang cultures than previously understood by archaeologists and art historians. Questions still loom: Did the Sanxingdui culture arise owing to contact with the northern Shang Chinese? Did the Shang expand south to control the rich source of bronze alloys, or is the question more complex? Finally, we hope to answer remaining questions about the relatively unknown Yangtze culture by continuing to quantify art-historical and scientific data from ritual bronzes. We plan in the future to examine more early Shang bronzes at excavated sites, particularly at Panlongcheng and Xingan, but also from tomb finds of other regional sites elsewhere in Shang China.

New York/Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Elizabeth Childs-Johnson will continue research on the Shang bronze age as a recipient of an American Council of Learned Societies/Social Science Research Council/National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship. For the remainder of 2003 she will return to China as a research fellow at Nanjing University and the International Center for Liangzhu Culture Studies in Hangzhou, Zhejiang.

Zhengyao Jin resumes his professorship at the Research Institute of World Religions, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, Beijing.
Though "sensibility" has been in common usage in literary studies of the eighteenth century, it has rarely been adopted in art histories of the period. The seeming literariness of the term, however, comes up against numerous counterevidentiary instances of excessive emotion and sentiment in eighteenth-century art. Furthermore, the equivalent French term *sensibilité*, used in that period to denote a kind of innate feeling and responsiveness to others, cuts across disciplinary boundaries that would only appear later, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. "Sensibility" was deployed in literary and artistic discourse, moral and economic treatises, even (and especially) in medicine and science, functioning as a bridging device across these disparate areas of social activity. Not only, then, could one communicate with others because of the intrinsic mobility of the word, "sensibility" itself also functioned as a kind of emotional place-holder which allowed such interpersonal transactions and negotiations to occur. The relevant question here concerns the historicity of sensibility as a social phenomenon: why it emerged as a kind of social salve or glue at the very moment when an anti-hierarchical notion of "society" was coming into being, at the very moment when countries like France and Britain were beginning to modernize—to put up factories, to enclose land, to discipline workers. In France, the emergence of the concept of sensibility from the late seventeenth century onward took place well before the onset of the French Revolution. While much ink has
been spilled on the politics of the Revolution, very little work has been done on the contribution of sensibility to an understanding of politics and political action.

Any study on eighteenth-century sensibility in the visual arts has to begin with Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805). His oeuvre has been alternately praised and denigrated in the art-historical literature: immensely popular and brought to widespread acclaim during his lifetime, praised by important figures such as Denis Diderot and the physiocrat Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, he was all but reviled during the Revolution—his work consigned to the gutter of excessive pre-Revolutionary sentimentality, which the avatars of Reason now dismissed. Greuze’s work was only taken seriously again in the later nineteenth century by the literary critics Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, who championed a more decadent, even frivolous aspect of his work. That revaluation, however, led to a misreading of his painting in the century to follow as merely (read: cheaply) sentimental, as though the Goncourts’ ambiguous account of the eighteenth century and its art could only be taken literally—denying in his painting the traces of deathly mortality that shadowed the near side of effusive sentiment. Social historians of art of the 1970s and 1980s, such as Anita Brookner and Thomas Crow, would take up the artist again, in an effort to understand the social embeddedness of art in the French Revolution and in the public sphere, but only to deride the “sentimental,” decadent side of his art. In any case, Greuze himself became bound up with the critical reinterpretations of his oeuvre—the man had become mythified. His work was seen as a by-product of his difficult, proud personality, and his falling out with Diderot and the French Academy in 1769 became more than an instance of painting gone wrong—it became the stuff of legend. Accordingly, academic French history painting in the 1770s and 1780s pulled itself up by its bootstraps after summarily rejecting a “mere” genre painter; the aesthetic high road was now, seemingly, paved for the artist Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825).

My study approaches the problem of “Greuze”—both his painting and its historiography, both their manufacture and reception—by focusing on what I see as a structural split in his oeuvre: that between his “moralizing” family paintings on the one hand, and his “licen-
tious” paintings of swooning girl-women on the other. The split did not adhere to a strict public-private categorization: both family paintings and swooning women pictures were displayed at the public Salon, for example, and both types of imagery entered into private collections. Instead, I argue that this cleavage articulated a contradiction at the heart of the emerging bourgeois family and society with its values of simplicity, transparency, and autarchic selfhood. Sexuality, for one, had become individualized and biologized—grounded in the human body and its occult pleasures—and could not easily be fitted into the nuclear family. Sensibility and sentiment within the family—the glue that held its members together—was now, in turn, tested by new economic forces pressing from without; marriage and the transference of family property became clouded by the silvery veil of capital. Through a close reading of his most important paintings in what I see as the hinge decade of the 1760s—when these contradictions of self and society, knowledge and matter became most pressing in his art—alongside medical, moral, and economic discourses, I argue that sensibility as a social phenomenon was complex and contradictory, perhaps at times even blind to the consequences of its razing of the ground of morality in and for the decades to come. In the art of Jean-Baptiste Greuze, sensibility shed bitter tears, and took its place as both mirror and foil to a deeply troubled time.

[University of California, Berkeley]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 2001–2003

Kevin Chua will be returning to the University of California, Berkeley in 2003–2004 to teach and to finish his dissertation.
Modern Architecture and the Cold War: The Curious Case of Frank Lloyd Wright and Post–World War II Italian Architecture

My case study of architectural and design criticism during the Cold War is part of a larger, year-long sabbatical project entitled “The Triumph of Modernism: Design Criticism and the Cold War” that examines the impact of the Cold War on architectural and design criticism between the end of the Second World War and the emergence of architectural postmodernism.

To this end, the significance of a comprehensive retrospective of the work of Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959) entitled Sixty Years of Living Architecture was organized. The exhibition opened in June 1951 in the Palazzo Strozzi, Florence. The checklist included over nine hundred architectural drawings and photographs of Wright’s work. Also on display were fifteen architectural models, including an enormous model of Wright’s design for Broadacre City. In July, Wright toured Italy and received an honorary degree from the school of architecture in Venice. Although originally conceived as an exhibition for Italy, the Palazzo Strozzi was not the first or only venue for Sixty Years of Living Architecture. A preview exhibition had been staged at Gimbel Brothers Department Store in Philadelphia in January 1951, and, after closing in Florence, the exhibition traveled to Zurich, Paris, Munich, Rotterdam, Mexico City, New York City, and Los Angeles.

While Sixty Years of Living Architecture receives passing mention in monographs devoted to Wright’s career, the political significance
of the exhibition has yet to be recognized. The exhibition was the result of efforts by two different constituencies—one Italian and one American—with different agendas. For the Italians, the exhibition presented a model of comprehensive, integrated planning, ranging from the domestic to the regional, and based on modern and democratic values. For the Americans, the exhibition constituted an early effort at Cold War cultural diplomacy. It served as a vehicle for countering anti-American propaganda in Europe by celebrating the creative accomplishments of a world-renowned American architect. Although the exhibition drew upon material from Wright’s entire career, the selection and arrangement of buildings and projects emphasized Wright’s concept of Usonia, a neologism for architecture based on his vision of economically integrated, decentralized communities as articulated in Broadacre City and his formula for domestic living embodied in his design paradigm for houses.

The two leading Italians responsible for the exhibition and Wright’s triumphal tour of Italy were the art historian and critic Carlo Ragghianti and the architect, historian, and critic Bruno Zevi. In addition to their scholarly credentials, both had actively participated in the anti-fascist resistance and, as a result, enjoyed close ties with the emerging democratic leadership of postwar Italy. Zevi’s role in promoting Wright in Italy is particularly important. In 1945, Zevi founded the Association for Organic Architecture and was a tireless promoter of Wright’s organic architecture abroad. Similarly, two Americans headed the other contingent involved in preparing the exhibition: Arthur Kaufmann and Oscar Stonorov. Kaufmann was the president of Gimbel Brothers department store in Philadelphia and the cousin of Edgar Kaufmann Sr. (who commissioned Fallingwater from Wright). Stonorov was a Philadelphia architect associated with several Kaufmann-sponsored projects. Kaufmann funded the project and Stonorov curated the exhibition in consultation with Wright.

In August 1951, Ragghianti wrote: “We shall install Wright like a bolt in the brain of the artistic culture of Italy.” The appropriateness of Wright’s model of organic architecture for the situation confronting Italian architects was not obvious, and Wright’s appeal for Italian architects in the late 1940s and early 1950s was as complex as it was improbable. This ambivalence renders Wright’s impact on develop-
ments in Italy particularly apt as a case study. Many, including Zevi, saw the variety inherent in Wright’s organic architecture as a viable design alternative to the normative rationalism characteristic of European modernism. While Wright’s model of Broadacre City was completely alien to Italian settlement patterns and urban traditions, his democratic idealism was an attractive, indeed inspirational, alternative to the totalitarian philosophies of both the political right and left. But this is a story of resistance as well as enthusiasm, and it is important to recognize that the “brain” of Italian artistic culture was not as easy to operate on as Ragghianti had hoped. The Italian art historian and critic Giulio Carlo Argan argued that the Wrightian model of organic design was uniquely American and could not be applied in an Italian context. A central premise of my project is that a detailed analysis of critical commentary offers a valuable window not only into the ways fundamental patterns of thought and frames of reference are established within a design culture but, equally important, into how and why sustained efforts to establish new patterns, frames, and paradigms can, on occasion, fail.

University of Notre Dame
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 January–28 February 2003

Dennis P. Doordan returns to the University of Notre Dame, where he has a joint appointment in the school of architecture and the department of art, art history, and design.
My topic for work at the Center concerned a new project entitled "The Collection Comes First: On the Display of Works of Art in New Museums and Their Traditions." Since arriving, I have visited several of the newer museums in the United States. These examples belong to the phenomenon of museums for a new century—or even for a new millennium—and have been under discussion in a growing number of publications for some years. On closer review, however, the features that could be called "new" in these museums are primarily the façades and entry halls. Behind them we find conventional exhibition spaces, their only distinction being whether they are intended for historical or for modern and contemporary art. Occasionally the simple fact has been overlooked that all art begins at one point by being contemporary, and that it all will eventually become historical—a critical issue for museums, which are meant to endure the test of time. The "container" structure with its unlimited use of flexible partitions has not turned out to be a satisfactory solution, but represents instead something like a declaration of architectural bankruptcy. Even the Centre Pompidou in Paris is no exception, and has had subsequently to be remodeled. Exhibition spaces, universally painted white, with movable walls that made any spatial configuration possible, offered all the freedom evidently required by an art claiming to need no context. Yet these spaces no longer reflected what museums looked like up through the end of World War II, including those for
contemporary art. In these new exhibition galleries even works of art specifically created for museums could not find a place for self-representation or self-assertion, and the viewer correspondingly could not find a location from which to approach the works. Pointless anonymity was celebrated and declared desirable as the ideal neutral ground. Dimensions and proportions—still the summa of architecture for Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886–1969)—no longer play a significant role all too frequently, since they can be altered by the client at any time. The artificial, unvaried illumination created by countless cans of spotlights prevents us from experiencing any sentiment for the space. This tradition has prevailed without interruption especially in the United States, up to the recently opened Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, designed by Tadeo Ando, which is a great disappointment in this regard.

The inadequacy of such sterile concepts has long been recognized, especially for the presentation of historical art, as demonstrated, for example, by the historicizing installations of impressionist painting at the Metropolitan Museum of Art or the installations of decorative art at the J. Paul Getty Museum. They suggest that historical works of art can only or can best be viewed in an “original” context, a precept one should follow with caution. These examples, among many others, demonstrate how decisively the configuration of exhibition spaces—their dimensions and proportions, their lighting, choice of surface treatments, color, and attention to detail—determines both the appearance of the works and their perception by viewers. For historical art, these factors have been commonplace since the nineteenth century. The expansion of the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, is one such example. The new addition, designed by Rafael Moneo, has now become the main part of the museum, not only because of its size but also because of the expectations raised by the exhibition spaces: they are traditional galleries with overhead lighting, museum galleries intended for the permanent display of a permanent collection that also includes modern art from the twentieth century. Opening the ceilings to let in overhead, central daylight should allow for the appropriate perception of the galleries. The paintings, however, have to be illuminated with spotlights since the architect, in constructing the ceiling, followed his artistic impulse without any regard for light.
technology—or he followed an ideology of lighting, rare in Europe, but widely applied only in the United States: using a central overhead skylight for natural light, where the bars point north, which results in a gray light that is always combined with the yellow artificial light generated by the spots.

On opening day it became clear that Houston had another conceptual problem, namely, that of integrating modern art into a historical collection. Art of the second half of the twentieth century, becoming more historical with every passing day, has found no place in the new building, which means that an additional expansion will have to be planned. But in what form? The cycle continues, and one assumes that by the time this new addition is built, a considerable number of works will have been collected that by then will have become historical.

The Museum of Modern Art in New York realized these obvious concerns when planning its expansion, making provisions for three different types of spaces: one for historical art, one for contemporary art, and one for changing exhibitions. This solution, novel as it is, raises the question of which time period can be considered “contemporary.” Depending on this decision, the preference will be either for a historical structure or a derivation of the White Cube. Specific precedents can be found in the Menil Collection and its Cy Twombly Gallery in Houston.

Frequently such new museums convey a lack of presence or identity that contemporary architecture cannot always alleviate. Consequently, museums sometimes look for sites for their collections that are, or have been, more closely tied to real life: old factories, train stations, power stations, military camps, hospitals, and so forth. In Los Angeles this issue is tangible: the former factory that was used as temporary, provisional quarters for the Museum of Contemporary Art was seen by many visitors as a more suitable and appropriate space than the subsequent new building.

Museums constructed in the decades after World War II reflect the then-common perception that the goal was to rebuild the world—to build it anew in the tradition of the Bauhaus—such that the idea of reconstruction was rendered less important. In doing so, they overlooked the fact that the work of the avant-garde was then, and
still is today—especially in Europe—created and exhibited in buildings conceived before or during World War I, and fully in the style of the traditional museum: Amsterdam, Baden-Baden, Basel, Bern, and Eindhoven, to name only a few examples. The reason could simply be that these edifices fulfill the expectations expressed by the painter Georg Baselitz (b. 1938): “Vier Wände und Oberlicht, oder besser kein Bild an der Wand” (Four walls and a skylight, or preferably no picture on the wall).

Berlin
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 2002–2003

Wolf-Dieter Dube, formerly director of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, will continue the work he began at the Center in Berlin.
CAROLINE ELAM

Roger Fry and Italian Art

The English painter and critic Roger Fry (1866–1934) is best known as a champion of Paul Cézanne (1839–1906) and postimpressionism, a proponent of “formalism” and an advocate of the arts of nonwestern civilizations. (Kenneth Clark wrote of him: “In so far as taste can be changed by one man, it was changed by Roger Fry.”) However, in the years before the organization of the postimpressionist exhibitions in London in 1910 and 1912, Fry’s reputation was largely as a writer and lecturer on Italian Trecento and Renaissance art, an aspect of his work that remains little known, apart from the celebrated essay on Giotto reprinted in his volume of essays, Vision and Design, in 1920. Fry himself observed in retrospect that his taste for the Italian “primitives” prepared him for his discovery of Paul Cézanne (1839–1906), Henri Matisse (1869–1954), and Georges Seurat (1859–1891), rather than the other way around. He continued to write on Italian art throughout his career.

Fry was also among the inner circle who founded The Burlington Magazine in 1903; he almost single-handedly saved the magazine from bankruptcy in 1903–1906, served as its coeditor from 1909 to 1919, and continued to proffer articles and advice to his successors until his death in 1934. On becoming editor of the magazine in 1987, I rediscovered Fry not only as a revered predecessor, but also as the author of outstanding articles on fifteenth-century Italian artists, some of which belied his reputation as a proponent of pure formalism. The
idea of putting together an anthology of his writings on early art gradually took shape, and was then given further impetus by the exhibition curated by Christopher Green at the Courtauld Institute Gallery in 1999, to which I contributed an essay on “Roger Fry and Early Italian Painting.” Preliminary forays into the Fry papers at King’s College, Cambridge, revealed that there was much rewarding unpublished material, including a series of superb lectures on fifteenth-century Florentine painters, delivered for the Cambridge University extension system in 1901. In addition, Fry’s notebooks, in which he recorded sketches and impressions of works of art in the museums, galleries, and monuments of Europe, provide glimpses of his ability to sum up the qualities and significance of a work of art in a few telling phrases or lines.

My first year as Andrew W. Mellon Professor at the Center has made it possible to carry out much of the research needed to situate Fry’s approach within the historiography of Italian painting in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Since Fry worked as a curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and advised collectors such as Henry Clay Frick and J. G. Johnson of Philadelphia on the purchase of paintings in the years 1905–1911, there is also much revealing documentary material in the archives of the respective museums. The library of the National Gallery of Art, whose founding collectors also play a part in this story, is the perfect place in which to follow up Fry’s connections with J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, Giovanni Morelli, Bernard Berenson, and other important proponents of what Fry liked to call “scientific criticism” rather than “connoisseurship,” while the library’s outstanding holdings of monographs and periodicals also make it possible, with ease, to test out Fry’s hypotheses against those of more recent art historians.

As a scientist by training, and a painter by vocation, Fry had a very close and informed interest in the technique and media of early paintings, and played a part in the revival of the tempera technique. Like Cavalcaselle and the nineteenth-century director of the National Gallery, London, Sir Charles Eastlake, but unlike Morelli and Berenson who were largely indifferent to such questions (likened by Berenson to “cookery”), Fry was fully aware of the importance of understanding an artist’s technique in order to resolve problems of authorship
and chronology. One of his most brilliant attributions was of the profile portrait of a woman in the National Gallery, London, on the basis of the extremely unusual and idiosyncratic stippled technique, to Alesso Baldovinetti (c. 1425–1499); it had previously been given to Piero della Francesca (1416–1492) or Paolo Uccello (1397–1475). His discussion of Piero della Francesca in two of the unpublished lectures of 1901 also includes a pioneering account of the change in Piero’s technique from tempera to oil painting, which Fry uses as a key to understanding the artist’s development in a way that finds no parallel in the extensive literature on Piero before the 1960s.

This is only one of the aspects of Fry’s writings to be explored in the introduction to the anthology, which will also consider such topics as the sources of his critical terminology, and the fluctuations in his approach to problems of form, content, and expression in art, which continued to concern him throughout his career.

The Burlington Magazine
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 2002–2004

In the coming year, Caroline Elam will continue her term as Andrew W. Mellon Professor at the Center, completing her book on Fry and moving on to a book entitled “The Urban Face of Renaissance Florence.” In 2003 she was awarded the Agnes and Elizabeth Mongan Prize by the Villa I Tatti, Florence.
Our study concerns the craft of cutting fifteenth-century woodblocks intended for the printing of woodcuts. It is predicated on the conviction that artistic invention is the materialization of an idea—that much can be learned from analyzing both the physical techniques of making, as well as the intellectual processes of conceiving, works of art. Study of the evolution of the fabrication of woodblocks alongside artistic invention is virtually uncharted territory and for us an appealing aspect of this project. With the exception of the detailed handbook by Jean Michel Papillon (1766), all subsequent studies of the history of the woodcut, including those by Joseph Heller (1823), C. F. von Rumohr (1837), Constantin Karl Falkenstein (1840), and the dozens of publications by Wilhelm Ludwig Schreiber (1891 through 1937) and his contemporaries, have paid scant attention to the technical aspects of early blocks. Late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century descriptions of various collections of blocks by Christoph Gottlieb von Murr (1776), Rudolph Zacherias Becker (1808), and August von Essenwein (1874 and 1892), although still valuable for their documentation, similarly did not consider the development of the craft of cutting. The only modern contributions to these paired themes have been highly focused, short monographic studies by Erich Römer (1927), William Ivins Jr. (1929), Franz Winzinger (1950), and Klaus-Dieter Jäger and Renata Kroll (1964). Finally, there remain, all but untouched, the knotty problems of authenticity.
During our fellowship, we first set for ourselves the task of compiling a list of surviving fifteenth-century blocks. After painstaking preparation, we visited institutions in Basel, Bautzen, Berlin, Boston, Cambridge, Leipzig, London, Manchester, Munich, New York, Nuremberg, Paris, Princeton, Stuttgart, Vienna, and Washington. Disappointingly few of the blocks were documented in any fashion. With the exception of seven Dürer woodblocks, we have discovered only three or four other fifteenth-century blocks from which “early” impressions survive; only one of these blocks may be dated prior to the last decade of the century. The more woodblocks we examined, the less certain we became about the dating of many that had traditionally been accepted as fifteenth century. We now believe a number are probably sixteenth century, several are unquestionably products of the eighteenth century, and a few might be outright forgeries. Lastly, we did not uncover a single fifteenth-century example of that most precious commodity—a block that both preserved its original drawing and had also been partially cut. It became evident that we needed to cast a
much larger net in order to understand the craft of cutting, its history, and relevant workshop practices. In order to compile a list of the earliest blocks, we would need to become thoroughly familiar with cutting techniques practiced as late as 1800.

The decision to look more carefully into sixteenth-century cutting praxis has been aided by two great caches of blocks. The first, in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina, consists of over seven hundred blocks from the projects of Emperor Maximilian I (among them, the Triumphal Arch, Triumphal Procession, Weiβkonig, and Hapsburg Saints). Not only were the images designed by Albrecht Altdorfer (c. 1480–1538), Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531), Leonhard Beck (1480–1542), Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), Hans Leonhard Schäufelein (1480/1485–1538/1540), and Hans Springinklee (active 1512/1522), but many of the blocks were signed by their cutters (Formschneidern), affording unique insights into the extent of their personal contributions. The second cache, that of Hans Albrecht von Derschau in the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, spans the entire breadth of the sixteenth century. Many of these blocks once formed part of a large Nuremberg workshop, which developed its own post-Dürer techniques of cutting. Of the more than five hundred blocks we have handled, however, the most revealing were the two partially cut blocks by Altdorfer (Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich) and Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525/1530–1569) (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). More than any other evidence, these blocks permitted us to develop an understanding of the manner in which the Formschneider went about his task. We believe that much the same process of cutting was responsible for virtually all the blocks we encountered. Differences observed from one block to the next were more a matter of style and complexity than changes in technique.

Briefly, that process began with an ink drawing on the block. It was the cutter’s responsibility to follow that drawing assiduously, not to “translate” it. His first step was to incise shallowly that part of the design on which he intended to work, very much as the fresco painter prepares only a day’s work at a time. These “scribing” lines are very fine and do not show up in the printed woodcut (as white lines). They serve both to define contours and to act as limits or stops for subsequent inner lines—hatchings, shadings, textures, and so
on. All of these lines are cut with just one instrument—the knife—just as Papillon described in his treatise. Gouges and chisels are used only to evacuate lower areas that do not print; the burin is virtually never encountered.

We have begun to devise a vocabulary of terms to describe the different kinds of cutting needed to replicate the drawn (and undrawn) line. For example, “division cuts” are incised lines that separate different areas of shading. These cuts, which result in a white line on the print, correspond precisely with the blank spaces between areas of shading drawn by the artist on the block. We have also begun to compile graded lists of fifteenth-century blocks. While it is still too soon to set forth a rationalized chronology of the development of the cutter’s craft, we do feel justified in advancing the working hypothesis that the materials (woods), tools (knife, gouge, and chisel), and techniques (the manner and sequence of cutting) have remained surprisingly constant over the first four hundred years of the history of the woodcut, from 1400 until 1800. Nevertheless, there remains a daunting amount of further research that will permit us to date and authenticate specific blocks. Last, but hardly least, we are anxious to visit other collections, particularly those in Italy (Venice and Modena), Belgium (Antwerp), and France (Lyon), where new perspectives on the old craft of block cutting surely await discovery.

Yale University Art Gallery/National Gallery of Art
Samuel H. Kress Paired Fellows for Research in Conservation and Art History and Archaeology, 1 April–31 May 2002 and 1 September–31 October 2002

Richard S. Field, curator emeritus of prints, drawings, and photographs at the Yale University Art Gallery, continues his association with the National Gallery of Art for its forthcoming exhibition of fifteenth-century woodcuts.

Shelley Fletcher returns to her position as head of paper conservation at the National Gallery of Art.
During my stay at the Center I completed the book "Prosthetic Gods," which consists of eight interconnected chapters concerning the role of origin myths and primal fantasies in the life and work of several key modernists, mostly in the period 1890 to 1930. In the first chapter, "Primitive Scenes," I examine the primitivist fictions of Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) and Pablo Picasso (1881-1973) through the psychoanalytical notion of the primal scene; that is, the story that each of us is said to contrive in order to narrate the riddle of our own origin. "Proper Subject" complements the first chapter with a particular study of the purist obsessions of the Viennese architect Adolf Loos (1870-1933), most famous for his antiprimitivist diatribe "Ornament and Crime." In the third chapter, "Prosthetic Gods," I turn to the technological fantasies that underwrite the images and texts of the Italian futurist F. T. Marinetti and the English vorticist Wyndham Lewis. "Bashed Ego" parallels the third chapter with a particular study of the scabrous representations of dysfunctional machine-men that Max Ernst (1891-1976) produced in his dadaist period.

These chapters are written almost as case studies, with emphasis on critical moments in each artist's career. My purpose, however, is hardly to psychoanalyze these figures. On the contrary, I see them as self-conscious models of different types of the modernist artist, indeed of the modern subject, in a historical moment of imperial expansion, technological transformation, and political revolution (World War I
marks an obvious crux of all these careers). This project of subject-fashioning is patent in Marinetti and Lewis, who write explicitly of "new egos" needed for new times, but it runs through the production of the others as well, who advocate subject-positions of very different kinds—rationalist and irrationalist, thrown forward into technological futures, or thrown back into imaginary beginnings. It is for this reason that I have chosen a variety of artistic practices (painting, architecture, photography, for example), ideological positions (from the soon-to-be-fascist Marinetti to the one-time anarchist Ernst), and national affiliations.

The second part opens up the optic of the book and pushes it toward the present. "Blinded Insights" examines the art of the mentally ill as represented in the famous "Prinzhorn Collection" and its attendant publication, The Artistry of the Mentally Ill; a great provocation to artists such as Paul Klee (1879-1940) and Jean Dubuffet (1901-1985), this work was misread in ways that reveal the fundamental assumptions of these modernists. The sixth chapter, "Veiled Phallus," concerns the obsessive topos of surrealist photography, the manipulated image of the female body, and so extends the concerns of the fifth chapter as well as complementing the "bashed ego" of the male psyche outlined in the fourth chapter.

The final two chapters make a leap toward the present. "Torn Screens" concerns the fantasy that representation might somehow be pierced, the conventionality of art somehow dissolved, so that "the real" might shine through in all its awful intensity. Manifest in some art of the mentally ill, this ambition is once more evident in some recent art for very different reasons. The final chapter, "Missing Part," sketches another interrupted genealogy, in this case the image of the body-part as an enigmatic figure of trauma and loss, mourning and melancholy, from the surrealists to Robert Gober (b. 1954).

I would characterize the basic themes, methods, and goals of this project according to two principal elements: thematically, it concerns the mutual transformations of modernist aesthetics and masculine subjectivity during a period of rapid change in all aspects of modern life; methodologically, it uses psychoanalytic concepts to open up art objects, but it does not impose these concepts. Rather, it works to draw these concepts out of the objects—to perform a different kind
of “biography” of art. A primary goal of this book is to flesh out the epistemological field of modernist art; that is, to see the ways in which modernist art occupies a place in a historical field alongside psychoanalytic thought (as well as linguistic theory and so on). Another basic purpose is to clarify the gropings at new beginnings—social as well as subjective—that are so central to this art.

Princeton University
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 2003

Hal Foster will return to his position as Townsend Martin Class of 1917 professor of art and archaeology at Princeton University. His book “Prosthetic Gods” is forthcoming.
The Influence of Berlin on Outdoor Zinc Sculpture in Northern Europe and the United States

Statues made of zinc during the nineteenth century were painted or otherwise treated to imitate bronze or stone, effectively rendering the metal invisible. Partly for this reason, silvery white zinc is generally unfamiliar as a sculptural material and is frequently misidentified as lead or cast iron. In some instances, the reverse is true, as was the case with a bust of *Ennuius Quirinus Visconti* given by the sculptor Pierre-John David d'Angers (1778–1856) to his hometown of Angers in 1820, which he himself identified as zinc. Our analyses prove it was actually made of lead.

Despite the oversights and misidentifications of materials, zinc was extensively used for sculpture, fountains, and architectural decoration after smelting had been perfected in Europe by the early nineteenth century. The first artistic use of zinc occurred in Berlin, and an important advocate was the architect Karl Friedrich Schinkel (1781–1841), who delighted in the metal’s modernity. His Nicolas Church in Potsdam incorporated zinc decoration produced in 1835 by Moritz Geiss. After converting his father’s iron foundry to zinc manufacture, Geiss became the most famous producer in Berlin. His zinc sculptures were placed in prestigious locations, such as the pediments of the New Guard House and Royal Opera House and the grounds of the royal summer palace, Sanssouci.

Our paired fellowship explored Berlin’s influence on works of art in zinc made elsewhere in Europe and the United States. Travel to
Munich, Vienna, Budapest, and Oslo supported our hypothesis that production proliferated in German cities or those under German influence during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Zinc production in Vienna, for example, was directly affected by a partnership that Geiss formed there in 1839. Another Viennese founder trained in Berlin at the Royal Iron Works was responsible for casting Anton Dominik Fernkorn’s *Guardian Angel Fountain* in zinc in 1846. In Budapest, imitation-marble pedimental sculptures and architectural metalwork at the Hungarian National Museum (1837-1846) were imported from M. Geiss & Förster in Vienna. Even cities that lacked art foundries, like Oslo and Helsinki, initially purchased zinc items from Berlin. After being advised by Schinkel, for example, the architect of the Royal Palace (1849) in Oslo imported zinc capitals and ballroom candelabra from Geiss, and other items were bought for the University of Oslo (1838-1853).

In contrast to bronze, it is relatively easy to make statues in zinc, and the metal was inexpensive in the nineteenth century; zinc can be readily joined with ordinary lead/tin solder, enabling a sculpture to be cast in many pieces to minimize molding. Moreover, solder seams and flaws were generally hidden by surface coatings. Probably because of the ease of fabrication, local foundries and artists soon took over from outside producers. The Norwegian Hans Mikkelsen (1789-1859) modeled statues cast in zinc for Oscarshall, the royal summer house: four bronzed kings (c. 1850) for the salon and a memorial to Count Hermann Wedel Jarlsberg (1845) for the grounds. Hungarian foundries produced sixteen polychromed kings for the domed hall of the Houses of Parliament (1885-1904), four imitation-stone evangelists for the drum of Saint Stephen’s Basilica, capitals and column bases for the entrance to the famous Széchenyi Baths, and anthropomorphic light fixtures for the New York Café (1891).

Munich’s zinc production was extensive but showed little direct influence from Berlin, probably because of the tenacity of their own artistic traditions. Ferdinand von Miller (1813-1887), for example, was world famous for the colossal bronze *Bavaria* (1845-1848) cast at the Royal Art Foundry. Not surprisingly, he used bronze techniques when he cast Max Widmann’s (1812-1895) *Family Attacked by a Tiger* (1855) in zinc for the terrace of his country house, Villa Quell-
lennheim. The backmost leg of the standing figure, for instance, was cast whole instead of in two parts, which is more typical for zinc.

Production of zinc sculpture in the United States followed the immigration of German sculptors and founders after 1848, and we found new evidence of German-American zinc production. We discovered unusual copper plating on zinc statues from the Green-Wood Cemetery's City of New York Civil War Monument (1869) in Brooklyn. Since the German immigrant M. J. Seelig was the only founder known to be experienced with electro-chemical techniques, it is now almost certain that he produced the statues in question. Measurements and comparison of details also established that an American-made Amazon (1895) in Shelton, Connecticut, was likely cast from molds of a Geiss Amazon, possibly one found in Hartford.

Surveying zinc sculptures in Europe led to a fresh appraisal of American production. The uniqueness of monuments like the Academy Hill Civil War Monument (1889) in Stratford, Connecticut, became clearer. Measuring thirty-five feet in height and made entirely of zinc, its size is unequaled by zinc monuments in any other country. The shunning of zinc by mainstream American sculptors now stands in stark contrast to its more common employment by well-known sculptors in Europe. The vast majority of American zinc sculptures were modeled by unknown artists, cast in replicate in New York, and sold through trade catalogues. Rather than appearing in sophisticated capital cities, they are found in smaller towns, where they filled a demand for inexpensive statuary. While many artists initially copied antique and German zinc sculptures, homegrown Indians, firemen, soldiers, and boys with leaking boots ultimately dominated the zinc market.

Smithsonian Institution/Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Berlin

Carol A. Grissom resumes her position as senior objects conservator at the Smithsonian Center for Materials Research and Education. She expects to complete her book on zinc sculpture in America in 2003.

ALEXANDRE KOSTKA

German and French Art Propaganda during World War I in the Neutral Countries

In an article published in September 1918 in the pacifist expressionist magazine *Die weissen Blätter*, based in Switzerland, one of the leaders of the Berlin Secession, the art dealer Paul Cassirer, described a strange scene: “Out on the front, they cover cannons and tanks with many colors, so that the pilots cannot recognize them. They transform cannons into paintings... Are the paintings in the exhibitions, perhaps, also cannons covered with paint? Shall the paintings be—cannons? The neutral countries don’t want their countries to be battlefields. So the nations at war shoot with books—songs—statues—concerts and paintings... Rodin threatens Hildebrand. Cézanne and Marées start a terrible duel.” Cassirer was here referring to the many propaganda exhibitions France and Germany held in the neutral countries: in Switzerland in 1917, there were six exhibitions, including a major show of the German Werkbund, and a huge retrospective of French painting. These undercover activities were largely sponsored by special propaganda organizations, such as the Zentralstelle für Auslandsdienst in Berlin or the Service des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Their financial means were considerable: in Switzerland alone, the almost bankrupt German Reich spent no less than three million marks between 1916 and 1918. The French, with less money, achieved major results. They earned badly needed foreign currencies with lavish “saisons françaises,” which attracted investors to Paris to buy works of art. Ambroise Vollard in his *Souvenirs of an Art Dealer* discreetly refers to these propa-
ILLUSTRIRTE ZEITUNG
ZUR DEUTSCHEN
WERKBUND-AUSSTELLUNG
BASEL 1917

VERLAG J. J. WEBER/ LEIPZIG
PREIS 1 MARK
ganda trips, which were profitable both for the Republic and for himself.

The intentions lying behind “art propaganda” (a term that the participants only used among themselves, never in public, and if they did, only to mark their distance) were different at the beginning and at the end of the war, depending on the networks that organized them, and also differing from country to country according to the unique state of public opinion. Artistic propaganda almost invariably resulted from a blend of pragmatism and “ideology” (concretely: long-term diplomacy). The inconstant nature of public opinion of the neutral countries—including Switzerland, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries such as Denmark, Sweden, Norway—regularly had to be convinced that commercial ties should be maintained with the Germans and the French: this was particularly important for the Germans, who, without Swiss and Dutch industry, would have had to give up the war much earlier. The Germans also had to rid themselves of the reputation of being a nation of “barbarians,” which they owed to the brutal attack on Belgium (destroying the library of Leuven) and the north of France (including the bombardment of Reims cathedral). Rather, the Germans had to show that they were fighting for a “new order,” hence, for a “new culture” that necessarily included modernist approaches that were not always well established at home, such as expressionism or Werkbund architecture. As in the years before the war, and especially in the Brussels exhibition in 1910, they put special emphasis on the integration of “high” and “decorative” arts. The French, on the other hand, had an easier role as “patrie des arts”—but they were feeling ill-at-ease, especially in the domain of the applied arts, where the Germans had started to be a serious competitor.

My fellowship in Washington focused on pursuing difficult art-historical documentation. Indeed, it is not easy to research an activity that, once the war was over, seemed to be an ethical anathema, that is, the surrender of art to politics. After the fact, the participants did their best to minimize their role and hide the evidence. Paul Cassirer himself, who, in the article cited above, qualifies art propaganda as a “sad, stillborn idea of politics,” is one example: at the time he wrote the text, he was (unofficially, of course) contributing to a German
exhibition of modern painting in Switzerland whose aim was to show that the Reich was much more “liberal” than its foreign detractors contended. And there are many reasons to think that the Die weissen Blätter, one of the major organs of “independent thought” in a time of nationalist paranoia, owed the ability to emigrate to Switzerland and the financial means to continue its activity to the benevolence of high-ranking propaganda officials among the German diplomats.

Earlier, I spent considerable time in the Berlin Bundesarchiv and the archives of the Quai d’Orsay identifying the players in art propaganda by means of looking for financial benefits received by state officials. The time in Washington was therefore dedicated to using the resources of the library of the National Gallery of Art in order to trace the impact of the exhibitions on the art press of neutral and belligerent countries. The results confirm the richness of the different activities deployed by modernist networks in Germany, which to some extent anticipate the culture of the Weimar Republic, and the more conservative stance exhibited in the activities of the French, who generally encountered greater public support.

Université de Cergy-Pontoise, Paris/Centre allemand d’histoire de l’art, Paris
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 May – 30 June 2002

Alexandre Kostka is currently associate professor of German history at the Université de Cergy-Pontoise (near Paris) and research associate at the Centre allemand d’histoire de l’art, Paris. He recently published Das moderne Deutschland (Paris, 2002) and will deliver the Frankreichstudien lectures at the Freie Universität, Berlin, in summer 2003.
Painting in early Japan was never circumscribed as an object of knowledge. Woven into the fabric of elite daily life, it was one among many crafts mobilized toward the stratification of social space and the proper observance of ritual. Painting operated at numerous registers (architectural, mortuary, religious, auspicious, literary) without necessarily being conceptualized as a technology separable from the various ensembles in which it functioned and acquired meaning. Paintings were, therefore, appendages of the architectural interiors they adorned, inextricable from the texts they accompanied, coequal to the tea bowls and lacquer objects with which they were displayed.

Painting’s discursive nondistinction from other crafts would end in the seventeenth century. During this period a variety of historical phenomena converged to distinguish painting as both a technology and a medium, and to spotlight the painter as a social subject worthy of attention. Foremost among these phenomena were the social reordering inaugurated by the Tokugawa shogunate at the beginning of the Edo period (1615–1868), the spread of the tea ceremony (a cultural practice in which the display of paintings played a prominent role), and the growth of a market for old paintings. Amidst this increased visibility enjoyed by painting, the vertical hanging scroll in particular emerged as a privileged format for the projection of an owner’s status and a painter’s genealogical assertions. Knowledge concerning the craft and its history was produced in many different forms, mostly
driven by the lineal self-awareness of professional painting houses attempting to establish their coordinates within the new Tokugawa order. These forms included the compilation of lineage charts and compendia of Japanese painters' biographies, the spread of elaborate signatorial practices, and the inscription of authentication certificates to accompany old paintings circulating on the art market. The aggregate effect of such texts and inscriptions was the emergence of “Japanese painting” as a conceptual entity and the generation of a historical awareness of painting in the Japanese archipelago. This consciousness would subtly infuse the surfaces of a wide variety of seventeenth-century paintings.

The origins of Japanese painting history can be mapped most productively against the activities of the Kanō school, the official painting house to the Tokugawa shogunate. Led by Kanō Tan'yū (1602–1674), its energetic head, the Kanō would form an extensive network of related studios that developed both a visual idiom and a menu of classical and auspicious painting subjects for the military elite. Early in the seventeenth century, the Kanō responded to the lineal self-
fashioning of competing houses (the Hasegawa and Unkoku) by imagining their own lineage as a national genealogy of painting, with roots in the styles of prestigious Chinese masters of bygone eras. Five visual and textual artifacts from the seventeenth century provide revealing perspectives onto this process: one, the landscape screens of Unkoku Tōgan (1547–1618) and Tōeki (1591–1644), which strain to signify stylistic descent from the prestigious monk-painter Sesshū (1420–1506); two, Tan’yū’s late Mount Fuji paintings, which recodify a traditional poetic and mythological topos into the signature subject of the Kanō school; three, modal painting albums by Kanō artists that visualize the legendary Ashikaga collection of Chinese painting, thereby marking Kanō mastery of continental painting traditions; four, Tan’yū’s authentication sketches, which allow one to glimpse the inner mechanics of the seventeenth-century old painting market and Kanō discursive inscription; and five, History of Japanese Painting (1693), Kanō Einō’s six-volume compendium of Japanese painters’ biographies. By codifying a Kanocentric narrative of painting history, Einō’s text marks one point of arrival in the emergence of painting as a discursive object, and provides a foundation for all future interpretative communities of Japanese painting. While it is tempting to articulate this process in linear terms, however, the origins of Japanese painting history are more usefully figured as a Möbius strip: a complex and continuous surface of events that does not necessarily lead to a single resolution, but in which old and new paintings intertwine in ways that lead to reconceptualizations of both.

[Princeton University]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 2001–2003

Yukio Lippit will assume a position as assistant professor of art history at Harvard University in the fall.
The absence of Nazi art from our cultural gaze (and the canon of twentieth-century art) is, perhaps, the central mystery of post–World War II cultural history. Aside from repressing unpleasant reminders of the Nazi regime’s exploitation of our common cultural heritage, the sequestration of art produced during the Third Reich served, as my research has revealed, American and German strategic interests during the Cold War.

In 1951, as the Korean War reached a bloody stalemate, United States Army officials were eager to curry favor with the newly sovereign Federal Republic of Germany and to rehabilitate the postwar incarnation of Adolf Hitler’s military machine. As a result, 1,626 works of Nazi art, which formed slightly less than a quarter of the total number of works seized by United States Air Force Captain Gordon W. Gilkey, leader of the Army’s “German Art Project” (1946–1947), were selected, categorized with revisionist ingenuity as “non-military war art,” and repatriated. America’s cold warriors were so intent on placating Germany, whose tanks and troops blocked the Red Army’s invasion route into Western Europe, that the return of art properties to which the defunct Third Reich had an undisputed legal claim (the Merkers old masters which had hung in Berlin and the contemporary German art rounded up by Gilkey) took precedence over efforts at repatriating the so-called Linz paintings, to which the Nazi claim to ownership was, in most cases, illegitimate.
Far from grateful, the embarrassed government of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer let the entire shipment of Nazi art lie unclaimed on a pier in Bremerhaven for two years before every sketch, painting, and print was deposited in the cellar of the Bavarian Principal State Archives.

Thirty-five years would pass before the United States government would make a similar gesture of reconciliation to its former foe: in 1986, after decade-long negotiations between a succession of German and American leaders, President Ronald Reagan authorized the transfer of 7,100 pieces of confiscated Nazi art to West Germany. This little-known American effort to speed up the process of Vergangenheitsbewältigung (overcoming the past) was preceded, in 1985, by President Reagan's highly controversial wreath-laying at a military cemetery in Bitburg. The media firestorm that accompanied the president's visit only grew after he made the infamous statement that the German soldiers buried there (regular Wehrmacht troops as well as members of the notorious Waffen-SS) "were victims, just as surely as the victims in the concentration camps" (18 April 1985).

Meanwhile, in West Germany, the 1987 publication of the authenticated diaries of Joseph Goebbels provoked an intensive reexamination of Nazi atrocities committed during World War II. Consequently, the political mood in Bonn in the late 1980s was no more receptive to the repatriation of Nazi art than it was in the early 1950s. Exhibiting the 7,100 tainted works, returning them to surviving artists, or releasing them to the art market was clearly out of the question. Not wishing to exacerbate Cold War tensions or to incite further social unrest, Chancellor Helmut Kohl consigned the 1986 shipment of Nazi art to a fortress depot in Ingolstadt, where access is rigorously controlled.

Surviving documents indicate that the West Germans had no monopoly on cynicism and hypocrisy in their negotiations with the United States for the return of Nazi art. President Reagan's visit to Bitburg and the return of the bulk of the United States Army's collection of Nazi art were, of course, calculated to win German support for the "Star Wars" missile defense program and the installation of Pershing nuclear missiles on German soil.

My book, "The Invisible Museum," will illuminate previously
hidden chapters in American cultural history: the United States Army’s recovery and confiscation of German art properties (works of art produced during the Third Reich located by Captain Gilkey at Zwiesel, Frauenau, and the Munich Collecting Point, as well as the old masters found in the Merkers salt mine and exhibited in the 1948 National Gallery of Art show, “Masterpieces from the Berlin Museums”), the controversial repatriation of German art (the old masters in 1949–1950 and Nazi art in 1951 and 1986), and the postwar collection and exhibition of Nazi art in the United States and Europe. In addition, this study will disclose the intersections and divergences in American and German policies concerning the largest extant fragment of the cultural patrimony of the Third Reich and place these policies in the context of Cold War and post–Cold War politics.

My fellowship at the Center permitted me to accomplish a number of important objectives related to the work I had previously done at the Vivian and Gordon Gilkey Center for Graphic Arts at the Portland Art Museum, the United States Army Center of Military History in Washington, and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. To research the sections of my book that will compare and contrast the recovery, shipment, conservation, legal status, and repatriation of all German art properties—art tainted by ideology as well as canonical masterpieces coveted by the Nazis and American authorities—I examined the personal papers of National Gallery of Art directors David Finley and John Walker and the papers of “Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives” (MFAA) officers Walter I. Farmer, E. Parkley Lesley Jr., Charles Parkhurst, Craig Hugh Smyth, Edith Standen, and S. Lane Faison Jr.

The most persuasive evidence that Captain Gilkey’s “German Art Project” dovetailed with the MFAA recovery effort was discovered by archivist Meg L. Melvin. In a search of the Ardelia Hall photographs of works of art deposited in the Munich Collecting Point, she found negatives of paintings that Gilkey selected for confiscation and shipment to the United States. That the United States Army’s MFAA recovery team, which salvaged the national patrimony of Nazi-occupied countries, operated side by side in the Führerbau with Gilkey is a fact not previously established. Moreover, it is now possible to tell a more complete story concerning American involvement in the
restitution and custody of German art properties during the period following the Second World War.

Saint John's University, New York
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 September—31 October 2002

The Villa Patrizi stood just outside the Porta Pia in Rome until it was destroyed in 1849 during the defense of the Roman Republic. It was built for Cardinal Giovanni Battista Patrizi by Sebastiano Cipriani between 1716, the year after Patrizi was created Cardinal by Clement XI Albani, and 1727, when Cardinal Patrizi died in Ferrara, where he had been papal legate since 1718. The appearance of the exterior is known from a number of views, but little has hitherto been known about its interior arrangements. There is, however, extensive documentation for the villa in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, consisting of building accounts, inventories, and, most importantly, the letters of Cardinal Patrizi then in Ferrara to his brother Mariano in Rome. My project began as an attempt to use this documentation to reconstruct the interior arrangements of the villa, and for many of the most significant rooms it has been possible to do this to a high degree of detail, with measured drawings of the wall elevations that show both the hang of the paintings and the location of the furnishings, and the way these change over time. In some cases enough of the paintings or furnishings survive to enable a fairly detailed representation of the interiors; in other cases it is possible to draw on comparative material as a guide.

This process of visualization prompts a shift in historical perception; that is, one may now consider the Villa Patrizi as an exemplary whole that brings together the architectural and decorative concerns
of the Roman nobility at a period centered on the reign of Innocent XIII Conti (1721-1724), and thus ask questions about the nature of the style of the period. Style in this context needs to be understood not as a coherent system of forms, but as the sum of a series of choices made from a range of possibilities. The letters of Cardinal Patrizi give us an unusually detailed insight into the nature of these choices. Regarding the frescoes, for example, it was essentially a matter of the choice of painter, which was conditioned by cost, availability, the cardinal’s preference for young Bolognese quadraturisti over established Roman artists, and Mariano’s support for Gian Paolo Panini (1691/1692-1765). The cardinal’s first preference for the walls of the galleria was for painted mirrors like those in the Galleria Colonna, although cost and practicality dictated the use of paintings by Raffaele Vanni already owned by the family. An anteroom was to be decorated with copies of murals then supposed to be by Dosso Dossi (active 1512-1542) that the cardinal knew in Ferrara.

The sight of mirror pilasters in a palazzo in Bologna during an idea-hunting expedition with his nephew Patrizio, resulted in a full-blown mirror cabinet. The sourcing of japanned decorative panels from Venice resulted in what was probably the first chinoiserie room in Rome. The ground floor was frescoed with theme rooms like those painted a few years earlier at Palazzo Ruspoli. The great staircase facing the Via Nomentana developed the baroque interest in articulated space as a “teatro” and anticipated the Scalinata di Spagna. The garden was to be laid out with parterres de broderie and perspectival allées like contemporary French gardens, in “good taste,” unlike the retardataire late baroque of the Conti family’s Villa Catena at Poli, which shocked Mariano because it was outdated, and made Giovanni Battista uncomfortable because his own villa outshone that of his pope’s family. Antiquarianism, however, took a back seat: antiquities found in the garden were readily exchanged for modern statues.

These choices, in the end, were controlled not only by the personal inclinations of the patron, but also by the social needs of a long-established and conservative Roman family, which required a building for balls and rinfreschi, but which also served some of the functions of a town palace. Following Cardinal Patrizi’s death, the villa passed to his elder brother, but only came alive with the succession of his...
nephew Patrizio, and especially Patrizio’s daughter, Maria Virginia, in whose character, despite her reputed ugliness, Charles de Brosses detected a Parisian liveliness. The Villa Patrizi participated fully in the rococo culture of the Roman nobility of the 1730s and 1740s, and was in part redecorated by Maria Virginia in the 1750s in a more full-blown rococo style. Maria Virginia was part of the set that frequented the Villa Albani, under construction from the 1750s, which faced the Villa Patrizi across the Vigna Capizucchi. This confrontation serves to emphasize how the Villa Patrizi should be considered the signature building of the Roman barocchetto and rococo in the same way that the Villa Albani is considered to be the signature work of early neoclassicism.

University of Melbourne
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 1 November – 31 December 2002

David R. Marshall returned to his position as associate professor in art history at the University of Melbourne. Two articles on the Villa Patrizi and an article on "Piranesi, Juvarra and the Triumphal Bridge Tradition" are scheduled for publication in 2003 in the Journal of the History of Collections and The Art Bulletin.
I have devoted my time at the Center to transforming my dissertation into a book manuscript that is about the early twentieth-century avant-garde’s aestheticizing of a new vision occasioned by the advent of powered human flight. In particular, the book focuses on the works of three pioneer designers who best reflect this vision: the Franco-Swiss architect Le Corbusier (1887–1965), the New York architect and illustrator Hugh Ferriss (1889–1962), and the New York industrial designer Norman Bel Geddes (1893–1958). I examine their design projects in the context of utopian ideas prevalent among urbanists, architects, artists, novelists, and science-fiction writers during the 1920s and 1930s. This so-called “golden age” of aviation was marked by the fantasy that viewing the world from above would somehow facilitate the process of designing the ideal future city. I seek to demonstrate that the avant-garde’s enthusiasm for aerial vision evinces a remarkable affiliation between aviation and a modernist logic of looking at the world. That logic, simply put, implied that if the viewer saw the total picture with all the linkages, separations, and relations among its various parts and components, then he or she would know how to order or even discipline that picture. Take, for example, the labyrinth; if the labyrinth’s terror lies in its inescapable interiority, then ascending above it means to collapse its very meaning and to see its complex internal routes resolve into a mere optical game.

Le Corbusier viewed the burgeoning early twentieth-century
metropolis as nothing less than an incarcerating spatial maze and, consequently, the subtitle of the French edition of his book *Aircraft* (1935) — *L'avion accuse*— suggested the heroic role of the “airplane eye” in reordering that confusion into a utopia of aesthetic clarity, order, and hygiene. During the interwar period, popular aviation, science, and city design magazines such as *Aviator, Flying, Popular Mechanics*, and *American City Magazine* frequently published laudatory articles on the contributions of the aviator’s viewpoint in planning the city of the future.

The aestheticization of aerial vision, I argue, gave rise to a new kind of aviator/hero whom the modernist planner, intent on rebuilding the world from an elevated ideological perch, could be seen to resemble in significant ways. By demonstrating that the three designers’ valorization of aerial viewing in their utopian projects became enmeshed in broader conceptualizations of twentieth-century modernist visuality, my study also reveals the crucial presence of what could be called “an aesthetics of ascension” in the avant-garde imagination. Le Corbusier’s “viaduct” plan for Rio de Janeiro, Ferriss’ “Metropolis of Tomorrow,” and Bel Geddes’ “Futurama” echoed those modernist utopias that writers such as Friedrich Nietzsche and H. G. Wells visualized through the eyes of an ascending protagonist. This new protagonist’s aesthetic experience of altitude appealed to the encyclopedic ambition of the modernist planner, particularly in light of modernism’s prescriptions of rationality, clarity, and order as a panacea for social problems. The self-aggrandizing gaze of the modernist planner, now masquerading as an aviating hero, worked to dispel the various social anxieties of the interwar era; at the same time, this gaze also rendered most effectively the fantasy of an ideal world of tomorrow.

The book contains five chapters. The introductory chapter explains the development of the aesthetics of ascension in the wake of the advent of powered human flight and demonstrates the conceptual difference between such an aesthetics and that informing earlier historical occasions in which cities were perceived and represented from imagined or real aerial viewing points. Whereas Jacopo de’ Barbari’s *View of Venice* (1500) simulated a then-impossible aerial gaze on the illustrious city and nineteenth-century balloonists like Félix Nadar marveled at Paris from above, never before had human flight so broadly
captured the popular imagination and offered the avant-garde an operational vantage for imagining the ideal future city. This chapter presents the theoretical framework for examining what I call the twentieth-century aviator’s vision—or rather revision—of the world as the locus classicus for the construction of a modernist spectatorship.

The second chapter concerns Le Corbusier’s urban design for Rio de Janeiro in 1929. I demonstrate that rather than simply proposing the trajectory of future urban planning, the Corbusian project combined ideas about the very nature of seeing, and eventually of spatial organization, with a complex amalgam of geographical, technological, and moral questions stemming from aerial themes.

Thereafter, I turn to Hugh Ferriss’ aerial fantasies, which pervaded his chiaroscuro drawings of a future New York in the guise of a “Metropolis of Tomorrow.” By exploring the 1920s American cultural phenomenon of “air-mindedness” and its broad visual reflections through the emergence of aerial photography, I contend that Ferriss’ “Metropolis” was conceived through the eyes of a solitary superhero often airborne between the canyons of a vertical city.

The fourth chapter examines Norman Bel Geddes’ so-called “number one hit show” at the 1939 New York World’s Fair: the Futurama. I argue that the Futurama spectator’s voyage extraordinaire over the huge scale model of an American utopia by means of a suspended conveyor belt replicated the same visual supremacy that lent ideological potency to modernist planners. The popular superhero theme of the 1930s—especially that of the American icon Superman—offers a historical and theoretical vantage from which to explore the Futurama’s utopian aspirations.

The final chapter seeks to reposition not only the works of these designers, but also, more generally, our understanding of interwar modernist visual culture as one in which the aesthetics of ascension and its associated revisions of geography, culture, and even morality played a central role.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]  
Wyeth Fellow, 2001–2003

In 2003–2004 Adrian Morsbed will be a Verville Fellow at the National Air and Space Museum, Washington, during which time he will continue working on his book manuscript.
One of the most gifted imitators of Renaissance sculpture was the Florentine Giovanni Bastianini (1830–1868), best known for his terracotta bust of the sixteenth-century poet Giralomo Benivieni. Although purchased by the Louvre as a Renaissance masterpiece for an unprecedented sum, word soon came out concerning its true origins. Other portraits by Bastianini include a Savonarola (1452–1498) and numerous beautiful female busts initially attributed to Mino da Fiesole (1429–1484), Desiderio da Settignano (1428–1464), and Antonio Rossellino (1427–1479). Were his Renaissance-style sculptures not subsequently labeled “forgeries,” many would today be considered outstanding works. Although he also executed sculptures in a contemporary style, these works have drawn almost no scholarly attention. My goal is to produce a comprehensive study of Bastianini that places his work within the context of nineteenth-century Italian sculpture and the cultural and economic milieu that encouraged the acquisition of Renaissance-style art during the latter part of that century.

During the fellowship I limited myself both to obtaining and reading most of the vast but dispersed publications concerning Bastianini and to exploring the complex issue of forgeries versus imitations and replicas. At the National Gallery of Art, I examined the celebrated bust of Giovanna Albizzi and the related archival entries as well as other works that have been associated with his name. Discussing these objects with curators sharpened my eye to the stylistic and
iconographic subtleties that often distinguish an authentic work from an imitation or forgery.

From about 1870 on, discussions concerning Bastianini tend to repeat one another but sometimes embellish information given in two contemporary accounts, which alone form the initial basis for establishing his secure works and biography. Raffaello Foresi’s 1858 essay in the journal Piovano Arlotto, which recounts the writer’s visit to the sculptor’s studio, describes and praises the works he saw, and provides information about some of Bastianini’s patrons. Another Foresi, named Alessandro, in his 1868 booklet, Tour de Babel (written after the revelation that the Benivieni bust was by a living artist), strongly defended Bastianini against French critics who, maligning and insulting the Florentine, refused to accept his authorship. The tract includes letters from Bastianini and documentation from contemporaries who had witnessed the modeling of the bust. Neither of these early authors considered Bastianini a forger, but shortly thereafter writers began to accuse him (posthumously, as it turned out) of deliberately deceiving his patrons. Indeed, the notion of Bastianini as one who deliberately produced “Renaissance” works for profit gathered momentum and, as in a game of “telephone,” the earliest evidence was slightly, then increasingly distorted. To cite one example: in 1868 during the “Benivieni Affair,” Bastianini was asked by the then-owners of the Savonarola bust whether he was its author, and the sculptor readily replied, “Yes.” In the retelling of the incident, the purchasers claimed that Bastianini “surprisingly confessed” (italics mine) to being its author (thus implying acknowledgment of guilt), and this was repeated and amplified by others, including John Pope-Hennessy in his 1974 Apollo article on forgery. Citing Alessandro Foresi’s Tour of 1868 and in the same footnote an article of 1911 (which in fact was written by a third Foresi, whose name was Mario), Pope-Hennessy claims that “Foresi” was taken in by the bust and, then, “to atone for his mistake, conducted an angry polemic against Bastianini.” Pope-Hennessy seemed unaware that the citations refer to two different Foresis. Furthermore, far from an “angry polemic,” Alessandro’s Tour was a fierce defense of Bastianini while Mario Foresi’s 1911 article (I have not yet discovered the relationship between Mario and the brothers Raffaello and Alessandro) concentrates on
the sculptor's extraordinary and unprecedented talent. Finally, Pope-Hennessy writes, “What blew the carefully constructed edifice sky-high” was the revelation concerning the Benivieni bust. But the evidence for a “carefully constructed edifice” of deceit does not appear in any early source, nor in the 1911 article by Mario Foresi. This type of embellishment was not unique to the Savonarola but occurred as well regarding the National Gallery of Art’s *Giovanna Albizzi*.

The question of whether Bastianini produced work deceitfully and for profit remains to be more fully explored. Account must be taken of the history and “theory” of imitations, the tradition of copying, and artists’ training in the Florentine academy; one might recall that Francesco Carradori (1747–1825) wrote his sculpture manual in the hope of producing new “Donatellos and Buonarottis.” A more nuanced approach to the ethics of imitation is required; but given what we now know, the evidence suggests that Bastianini was not a deceptive individual. He received modest remuneration and lived no better than most artisans, considerably below the standard of well-known contemporary sculptors, while those who acquired and sold his works profited enormously.

Beyond the question of forgeries, a major task, only begun, is to establish the sculptor’s oeuvre, for he has become a convenient tag for numerous works initially believed to be Renaissance but now assigned to the nineteenth century. These will be rigorously examined and compared to the handful of secure examples by Bastianini’s hand. Employing traditional methods of connoisseurship, combined with laboratory reports when available, I hope to provide a plausible catalogue of his sculptures as well as a reappraisal of his oeuvre and the context in which it was produced.

Stony Brook University, State University of New York
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, 3 March–30 April 2003

Anita E Moskowitz returns to her position as professor of art history at Stony Brook University. She has received a National Endowment for the Humanities fellowship for 2003–2004 to continue her work on the Bastianini project.
The production of illuminated manuscripts, like so many other aspects of Carolingian culture, has traditionally been treated by scholars as part of a Carolingian "renovatio," or revival of Roman classicism generated by Charlemagne and his court. Fundamental to this view is the notion that Carolingian cultural renewal was uniformly embraced throughout the empire, manifesting itself through artistic emulation of the "court style," that is, the luxurious, classicizing style associated with Charlemagne. Despite recent multidisciplinary challenges to this monolithic model, the prevailing paradigm for manuscript studies adheres to the former notion, perpetuating a process of evaluating manuscripts that privileges those artistic productions deemed either "classicizing" or clearly derivative from antique prototypes or from "court school" models. Thus, established manuscript categories, which are founded upon the traditional philological focus on origins, filiations, and stylistic definitions, often exclude or marginalize manuscripts that do not fit neatly into one of the above categories. Manuscripts such as the Trier Apocalypse (Stadtbibliothek, Trier, MS 31), viewed as an accurate stylistic and iconographic reproduction of its antique pictorial prototype, met the classicizing expectations of scholars; however, manuscripts exhibiting overtly Insular qualities or those incorporating both insular and continental elements, like the Valenciennes Apocalypse (Bibliothèque municipale, Valenciennes, MS 99), were problematic and were frequently marginalized, reflecting their
perceived intellectual or geographical distance from the classicizing court influence. The belief that Valenciennes’ immediate predecessor was an Insular intermediary, not a late antique “original,” restricted the amount of attention paid to this manuscript, which did not conform to the prevailing expectations of Carolingian “renovatio.”

With its extensive pictorial cycle, mixture of styles, and distinctive iconography, the Valenciennes Apocalypse is an ideal candidate with which to examine anew the complex world of manuscript production during the reign of Charlemagne, highlighting both the limitations and strengths of traditional methodologies. My dissertation attempts to expand and build upon the traditional questions in order to explore issues of reception, function, and purpose, as well as the relationship between text and image demonstrated by this manuscript.

In light of recent scholarship, reinterpretation of longstanding conclusions about the manuscript suggests that the seemingly incompatible places of origins proffered for the Valenciennes Apocalypse—Saint-Amand, Salzburg, Liège, Mainz, and the Middle Rhine—actually shared a number of important features. All were important political and religious centers in the Carolingian empire, and were therefore closely connected to Charlemagne, with key positions of power in each locale occupied by trusted members of the ruler’s inner circle. In all of these locales, insular and continental culture intersected, interacted, and intermixed, and this cultural blending found visual expression in many media, especially manuscripts. Manuscripts of mixed character, such as the Valenciennes Apocalypse, were thus being created in centers closely affiliated with the king and members of his court, who repeatedly visited there. These individuals were, I suggest, well aware of the close association of the court style with Charlemagne, and deliberately avoided exact replication of it in their own manuscript productions, which differed both from court productions and from each other on many levels—style, ornament, figural illustration, text, and layout.

I undertook the first comprehensive study of all aspects of this manuscript—paleographic and textual analyses (including examination of the layout and articulation of the text) combined with a complete reevaluation of the miniature cycle and its accompanying captions, including the placement of miniatures in relation to text and the manipu-
lation of color in the manuscript—and relevant comparative materials. This analysis revealed a previously unrecognized connection between the Valenciennes Apocalypse and Bede's *Expositio Apocalypsis*, an early eighth-century commentary on the Apocalypse written in Northumbria. The miniatures themselves reinforce this Northumbrian connection, while the nature of the textual relationships and intriguing alterations to specific iconographical elements in a number of the miniatures, such as the King of Kings, reflect ideas and concerns centered on the Book of Revelation current among some of Charlemagne's closest advisors, particularly the circle of Alcuin of York.

Preliminary findings indicate that the Valenciennes Apocalypse is a Carolingian creation, a book constructed from carefully selected parts: the picture cycle most likely was adapted from a Northumbrian illustrated Apocalypse or commentary, while the text appears to originate in a separate, unillustrated version of the Apocalypse that circulated during the late eighth century among the imperial network in the region of Champagne, Burgundy, and the Rhine. These elements were combined and arranged purposefully to refer to a specific text, Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse. The Valenciennes miniatures, however, do not simply illustrate the Apocalypse text. These miniatures and their carefully selected captions appear to mediate between Apocalypse text and Apocalypse commentary in a manner that is, to the best of my knowledge, unique among early Carolingian manuscripts. As a working hypothesis, I propose that the complex relationship between text, image, caption, and external interpretative text embodied by this manuscript not only offers a fascinating view into the intellectual and political concerns of a specific segment of Charlemagne's court, but also is suggestive of a specifically educational function and purpose: the education of *scolastici*, the elite category of advanced students who learned the mysteries of the scripture, including exegesis, literally "at the knee of the master."

[University of Delaware]
Mary Davis Fellow, 2001-2003

*Teresa K. Nevins will return to the University of Delaware, where she will teach a course on medieval art and finish her dissertation.*
When Pietro Belluschi was asked to advise the trustees of the National Gallery of Art on choosing an architect for the East addition, he admitted it was a daunting task. In his response, he pointed to a critical challenge: how to construct a modernist monument in the midst of the predominantly neoclassical national Mall exactly at the time when the modernist legacy was so seriously in question? The fraught moment in which the building was commissioned—the summer of 1968—and the symbolism embedded in its prominent location at the foot of Capitol Hill, added further dimensions to this challenge. Indeed, the costly and laborious period of design and construction lends itself to a reading of the East Building as a cultural field through the design of which the cultural elite articulated its notion of American identity.

My postdoctoral research, a joint venture between the Center for Advanced Study and the Gallery Archives, has been dedicated to situating the East Building in its historical context. Collaboration with Maygene Daniels and the staff of the archives culminated in an exhibition for the twenty-fifth anniversary of the East Building, which will be on view until May 2004. Based on the archives’ rich collection, including I. M. Pei’s donation of the building design package, correspondence and minutes, oral histories, visual documentation, and an interview with the architect, the exhibition explores the patronage and commission of the building within multiple frameworks: the
I. M. Pei, East Building of the National Gallery of Art, detail of ceiling coffers (above); and fir wood molds for coffers being prepared for concrete pour (below). National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gallery Archives. Photograph (below): Stewart Bros., Inc.

postwar architectural elite; the impact of the turbulent 1960s on Washington urbanism and on conceptualizing the role of the museum; and the design process in relation to the contemporary architectural scene.

Current research further situates the East Building in the art, architecture, and politics of its time. Between fall 1968 and early 1969, Yann Weymouth and Bill Pederson helped Pei to develop the conceptual design of the building. The sketches documenting this process illustrate the team's familiarity with contemporary architecture, with which they experimented freely—adopting, rejecting, and refining different paradigms. This process exemplifies Pei's stated inclination toward "ideas that were seriously tested." Identifying himself as more Matisse than Picasso, Pei developed his ideas through subtle refinement rather than dramatic breakthroughs. This tendency befit his self-positioning as a second-generation modernist, a position he shared with colleagues and friends such as Barnett Newman and Louis Kahn. Such acquaintances provided him insider knowledge of abstract art, which was always given a prominent place in his buildings. Of interest here is the formative role that abstract art played in his own architecture.

From this second generation of modernists emerged a call for a "new monumentality," for imbuing modern architecture with a sense of symbolism and permanence that would represent the people and their democratic values rather than absolute power or sovereignty. This professional climate sheds light on Pei's efforts to make a timeless monument on the Mall, an example of which is his ingenious use of materials. Pei stripped the most aristocratic material—the ubiquitous marble of the Mall—of its neoclassical attire, and simultaneously elevated to novelty the most mundane material—the concrete of low-cost construction. He detailed expanses of smooth marble and specified single, uniform pours of concrete for huge areas. The effect, according to Time, was "cool, prismatic, with the containment and elegant definition of a quartz crystal." By emulating the enduring qualities of a natural phenomenon such as crystal in marble and concrete combined with marble dust, Pei communicated the desired sense of monumentality and permanence. This use of materials radically defamiliarized his edifice, disassociating it from any particular building type, including the museum. The approach demanded of
visitors that they constantly reinterpret the monumental presence of the new edifice on the Mall.

The most symbolic dimension of the design emerged from the East Building’s relationship to the city. Central to my research is, therefore, the affinity between the building’s scheme, particularly the isosceles triangle of the main public area, and the original city plans of Washington, which symbolize the democratic notion of balancing powers. The atrium’s nonperspectival space most clearly addresses this notion by eliminating a privileged focal point that could indicate a single, centralizing power. The triangular directionality, which is echoed in the building’s paving, space frame, and furnishings, continually activates the design. It leads the visitor’s gaze, through numerous transparent slots, onto the city from whose order these directions emerge. Movement in space becomes the building’s prime representational technique. According to the building’s advocates, such an experience has transformative power. It provides a protected place where American citizens can perform an act of pilgrimage through which they are initiated into a particular conception of a modernist, democratic, beautifully ordered and enduring United States. Ultimately, Pei’s consolidation of modern architecture presented it as part of a collective heritage capable of expressing American identity on the national Mall during the Cold War.

National Gallery of Art

Alona Nitzan-Shiftan will be a senior lecturer in architectural history, theory, and criticism at the Israel Institute of Technology, Haifa.
Rock art encompasses many types of artistic expression by prehistoric humans, such as painting, engraving, and pecking on the natural rock surface of caves, rock shelters, and boulders. It is a global phenomenon with its antiquity ranging from the upper Paleolithic to the early historic period. In human history no other work of visual art has such wide distribution lasting over such an extended time. Study of the subject is fascinating as well as challenging: fascinating because it provides an unexpectedly rich, realistic, and colorful insight into cultures of which we would otherwise have only skeletal remains or a few bone or stone tools and implements; and challenging because it is not easy to define rock art, as “art” or “images,” a question that leads to all sorts of speculative identification and interpretation.

India, Australia, and South Africa have the largest concentration of rock art. Recent field work conducted by this author brought to the fore a rare assemblage of rock art documented in fifty-five sites in the Indian state of Orissa. While much of its subject matter, material, style of execution, date, and, above all, symbolism resembles the art of other continents, internal evidence suggests that rock pictures in Orissa constitute a separate, distinct art form. Orissan petroglyphs, unlike those elsewhere on the Indian subcontinent, coexist with pictographs. Although complementary, each exhibits unique traits in composition and style. The subject matter is largely nontematic and nonfigurative, with abstract symbols juxtaposed with animal forms.
The bewildering symbols are both geometric and nongeometric, such that no definite name or meaning can easily be given to them. They include myriad parallel vertical, horizontal, or wavy lines within or without a geometric format: criss-crosses, zigzags, grids, curvilinear, bisected triangles or triangles with a dot at the center that resemble vulvas, honeycombs, rhomboids, harpoons, denticulate and curvilinear shapes, diamond chains, spirals, concentric circles, series of dots, cupules, palm and foot prints, and so forth. Of these, female genitalia remain the hallmark of all representations, appearing in rich display in prehistoric symbols. The symbols are so complex and enigmatic in their given context that they continue to present the researcher with an array of questions concerning their production, date, and meaning. The purpose of my study is to conduct a survey of rock art symbols in a global context in order to find their counterparts in Orissan rock art and to study the various interpretive frameworks of different authors and schools.

Symbolism is central to all rock art from the upper-Paleolithic caverns of the Franco-Cantabrian region to the early historic rock art in India, Africa, and the Americas. Appearing throughout the
long epoch of primeval art, symbols originate from the abstraction of natural forms. Abstraction is basically the separation and isolation of characteristic elements, through signs, from a totality, with the elements so abstracted that they in turn give a sense to the whole from which they are derived. Hence, symbols are meaningful and forceful expressions for the initiated, yet are meaningless "doodling" to the unenlightened. To this day, for example, a Native American mother might sew a hawk’s wing on the clothing of a baby to give the child speed, a fox tail to impart cunning, a sea bird’s skin for luck in fishing, or a squirrel’s foot to make a good climber, and so forth. Similarly, the primitive Sauras of India, who live in a world of spirits, practice a great deal of symbolic ritual painting on their house walls to appease the spirits for a good harvest, good health, even for recovery from sickness, for easy childbirth, and for averting disasters.

A century of studies on prehistoric symbolism offers many explanations of its sources: magic, sympathetic hunting, totemism, rites of fertility and procreation, eroticism and sexual fantasies, initiation rites, aesthetics, sign language, and so forth. All these studies, however, recognize that a unified system of signs appeared with surprising simultaneity in the earliest prehistoric art in Africa, Europe, Asia, and Australia, as well as in North and South America. Although there is no standard or universally accepted method for the interpretation of rock art symbolism, the fact remains that within the symbolism lies some real and absolute truth, despite the difficulties we may encounter in discerning it.

Sambalpur University
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, 1 September – 31 December 2002

Sadaiiba Pradhan returns to his position as professor of history at Sambalpur University, India.
For many years I have been compiling a corpus of Gothic and Renais-
sance paintings (c. 1350–1550) in the Czech Republic. When I began,
their quantity and distribution were unknown. Most had reached
Czech lands only at the end of the nineteenth century, passing into
public institutions from aristocratic collections. For example, the
Italian Renaissance paintings now in Brno and Opava were given to
the local museums by Johann II, count of Lichtenstein.

Some, to be sure, had found their way to Czechoslovakia at the
time of their production, such as two important paintings by Tom-
maso da Modena (c. 1326–c. 1379), a diptych and a triptych, which
were commissioned by Charles IV (1316–1378), king of Bohemia
and Roman emperor. There must have been many more such imports
from Italy at that time, as may be assumed by Italianate features
found in Bohemian Gothic paintings. It is highly probable that among
these was the portable altar from the Moravian Gallery in Brno,
which was made at the Anjou court in Naples and possibly reached
Moravia with Blanche de Valois, first wife of Charles IV, at the time
margrave of Moravia.

From the Middle Ages, Olomouc played an important role in the
cultural relations of Bohemia and Moravia. The Olomouc bishops,
who in 1777 became archbishops, employed several Italian artists
and thus significantly contributed to the development of regional art
that owed a good deal to Italy. Olomouc church dignitaries also re-
ceived various works of Italian art, beginning in the Renaissance, as demonstrated by the large canvas *The Dead Christ* of 1583 by Alessandro Allori (1535–1607). Together with a painting of Susannah that has since been lost, this work was commissioned for Olomouc from the workshop of the Florentine artist, an event mentioned in Allori’s memoirs.

In the seventeenth century the collection of the Olomouc bishops was one of the most important in Europe, and although only a fraction remains, it still contains works of exceptional significance such as *The Madonna del Velo* by Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547), which was for many years on loan to the National Gallery, Prague. Together with Titian’s much admired late work *Apollo and Marsyas* (1545), it came from the estate of Lady Arundel. This work, housed in the Gallery of Kroměříž Castle, the summer residence of the bishops, has always been the focus of great interest.

The majority of the other Italian Renaissance paintings were unknown until 1986, when I published an exhibition catalogue in Czech of Italian Gothic and Renaissance paintings in Czechoslovakian collections. In 1998, after the separation of the Czech and Slovak Republics, I organized a second exhibition of works in Czech hands; this catalogue was published in Italian. Neither of these catalogues included paintings belonging to, or exhibited at, the National Gallery, Prague. My present project brings together for the first time the complete corpus of Italian Gothic and Renaissance paintings in Bohemian territories.

During a month at the Center, I was able to finish the entry as well as an essay on a panel representing the Virgin and Child from a private collection in Prague. My earlier research suggested that the traditional attribution of this painting to Correggio might be correct. Initial hesitation in this regard resulted from the deformed expression of the Virgin, a consequence of craquelure that is also present on the face of the Infant. Such craquelure is relatively frequent on Correggio’s paintings of the 1520s, however, and it may be assumed to be the result of the artist’s experimentation with different media or techniques. This defect aside, the condition of the painting is very good. Not only the original composition but also its rendering are Correggio’s. The exceptional quality of the brushstrokes and the soulful content
of the work rule out, in my view, the authorship of a minor master who simply copied his model.

Most of the comparisons I have cited elsewhere are from the mid-1520s. The Prague picture, which in many ways foreshadows Correggio's later work, was painted at about that time, or possibly a little later. It exists in several versions. Among the paintings, there are two Madonnas in English collections: a panel in Oxford (Christ Church) attributed to the late sixteenth-century Parma school, that is, from the period of Bartolomeo Schedoni, but not by him, and a mirror copy at Ickworth (Bristol collection), that was traditionally attributed to Guido Reni (1575–1642). As far as one can judge from reproductions, the quality of these two pictures bears no comparison to the Prague panel. Chronologically, they are closer to it than the earliest known graphic copies: an engraving by Nicholas Edelinck (c. 1680–c. 1768) and one engraving by Carlo Orsolini (c. 1704–1784). Among the graphic copies is a particularly interesting lithograph by Auguste Bourdet (Paris, first half of the nineteenth century) with an inscription in the left lower corner, “Peint par Corrège.” In the lithograph the painting has a frame decorated with figural and ornamental motifs reminiscent of frames found with Byzantine icons. The presence of the frame may prove important for establishing the origin of our picture. In view of the frame's fate, it is most likely that Bourdet's lithograph is a reproduction of the painting as it arrived in Prague. The picture was brought to Czechoslovakia during the Russian Revolution by émigrés who reported that it was originally in a richly decorated frame, which did not survive the mishaps of travel.

National Gallery, Prague
Podhorsky Guest Scholar, September 2002

During my fellowship at the Center I worked on completing a book provisionally entitled “The Making of a Medici Maecenas: Giulio de’ Medici (Pope Clement VII) as Patron of Art.” The intention of this monograph is to demonstrate the very considerable role that one sixteenth-century Italian patron, Giulio de’ Medici (Pope Clement VII, reigned 1523–1534), played in determining meaningful aspects of works he commissioned. Using the visual arts, this fascinating patron crafted his self-image, expressed his ambitions, and proclaimed his status.

Giulio de’ Medici, the posthumous and illegitimate son of Giuliano the Magnificent de’ Medici was the second Medici to ascend the papal throne, taking the name Clement VII. Perhaps because of the political disasters that plagued his pontificate—most notably the Sack of Rome in May 1527—Giulio de’ Medici’s activities as patron and collector have, until recently, often been neglected. Yet he was an outstanding patron who initiated or, acting on behalf of his cousin, Pope Leo X, supervised several of the best known Roman and Florentine artistic undertakings of the early sixteenth century. These include the Villa Madama in Rome, Raphael’s (1483–1520) Transfiguration and Sebastiano del Piombo’s (1485–1547) Raising of Lazarus intended for the cathedral of Narbonne in southern France, the never-realized façade of San Lorenzo in Florence, as well as the New Sacristy and Laurentian Library there. Giulio de’ Medici was also a major patron
of Giovanni da Udine (1487–1561), Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560), Valerio Belli (c. 1468–1546), and Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), and, shortly before his death, it was Clement who first extended the commission for Michelangelo’s (1475–1564) Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel.

In this book, I examine Giulio de’ Medici’s cardinalate and pontificate, since, taken together, they provide the most compelling portrait of him as an ambitious, keenly intelligent, and deeply engaged patron. As cardinal and pope, he was what I call a “hands on” patron—a sophisticated and demanding Maecenas who visited artists’ studios and building sites and who expressed opinions on a range of artistic issues, including color, style, iconography, and the durability of materials. Perhaps the most striking facet of his personality as a patron was his concern with practical details.

I am especially interested in how Giulio de’ Medici used art and architecture to establish his place in the family hierarchy, in the Curia, and on the world stage. For this bastard member of one of Italy’s most illustrious families, lavish support of the visual arts identified him with his kinsmen and became a vehicle for self-fashioning. Giulio de’ Medici was, first and foremost, a political creature with a profound sense of self-awareness—both of his lineage and of his position in the church. Moreover, he was profoundly aware of the near-mythical reputation the Medici family had achieved as patrons of culture and, for him, patronage of art served as a form of self-validation. In other words, to be a great patron was to be a Medici and vice-versa.

At the Center, I have worked extensively on the introductory chapter, which frames the historical material that follows. The introduction considers broad issues such as the interdependence of mecenatismo (public patronage) and clientelismo (private patronage); classical precedents for, and humanist constructions of, patronage; the play between public, politicized uses of art and private aesthetic delight; the social and intellectual nexus of papal Rome; and the differing patronage obligations of cardinals and popes.

Thereafter, the book is thematic, exploring in several shorter chapters varied aspects of this exceptional patron’s involvement with the visual arts. Topics include Giulio de’ Medici’s role vis-à-vis Leo X and the familial and political motivations of his patronage; his con-
cerns and temperament as a patron, including a taste for *fantasia* and what Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) called "bizzarie"; his use of images and ephemeral events as propaganda and the importance of diplomatic gift-giving; his dealings with artists and the role of intermediaries in the implementation of his patronage; his use of drawings and preliminary sketches; and his growth into an engaged and knowledgeable Maecenas. In the conclusion, also written at the Center, I address André Chastel's positing (in his *Sack of Rome, 1527* of 1983) of a "Clementine style" in the art of the 1520s. I suggest that the notion must be reassessed and reinterpreted with greater flexibility and that we may need to entertain the possibility of a multiplicity of "Clementine styles" appropriate to different functions, settings, and locations.

Cornell University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2002–2003

Sheryl E. Reiss will return to her position as senior research associate at Cornell University. Her forthcoming publications include an article on Pope Adrian VI as patron, which will appear in a collection of essays she has coedited with Kenneth Gouwens entitled "The Pontificate of Clement VII: History, Politics, Culture" (2004).
In a series of scattered passages, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) testifies to the commodification of Florentine art outside Italy at the hands of Florentine merchants, indicating that the range of luxury exports went beyond traditional textiles. In the life of Pietro Torrigiano (1472–1528), Vasari associates the sculptor's move to England with the Florentine mercantile community in London, stating that Torrigiano's small bronzes and marbles had been acquired by Florentine merchants, who backed his move into a foreign market. It is significant that commercial interest could have focused initially on small, portable works cast in bronze, a luxury material that combined exorbitant cost with a powerful cultural identity connected to antiquity.

The contract for Torrigiano's first documented English work—the tomb of Lady Margaret Beaufort—was vouched for by two “merchants of Florence,” Leonardo Frescobaldi and Giovanni Cavalcanti. Vasari mentions Cavalcanti in two further instances connected with artists working for the English market. First, in the life of Baccio Bandinelli (1493–1560), he reports that, on the instruction of the Papal Datary, Cavalcanti commissioned from Baccio a wooden model with wax figures for the tomb of the king of England. Subsequently, he states that Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540) painted for Cavalcanti a panel representing Rebecca at the Well that was sent to England.

During my residence at the Center, I have worked on a book that relies chiefly on the archival evidence provided by the ledgers of the
London company of Pierfrancesco de’ Bardi and Cavalcanti, covering thirty-five years of activity. The book examines the way in which imports of artifacts and luxury wares, as well as artists in person, shaped the image that the king and his courtiers wished to project on the wider international stage.

I first concentrated on the import of textiles, and drafted a chapter in which I used specific entries in the ledgers concerning acquisitions of fabrics and jewels by courtiers who were contemporaneously depicted by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497–1543). The analysis of the portraits and the links I have been able to trace with the clothes worn by sitters in other famous portraits of the period (for instance Raphael’s [1483–1520] Portrait of Guidobaldo da Montefeltro in the Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence, and Holbein’s Sir Brian Tuke in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) have enabled me to discuss textile patterns, international concepts of fashion design in sixteenth-century Europe, and the way in which these elements were combined by the continental painter to fashion a modern image of the English court. The chapter argues that the courtiers’ choice of Holbein was the inevitable consequence of the introduction into England of realistic Florentine sculpted portraiture, combined with the artist’s likely knowledge of painted portraiture from the north of Italy, specifically Lombardy and the Veneto.

I then turned my attention to all the entries in the bank ledgers documenting the importation of sculpture from Italy into England. In addition to writing on the taste for sculpture in a variety of materials and subject matter, I have reconstructed the story of the tomb of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon, placing it within its wider political and economic context. The artists were both pawns of diplomats and financiers and protagonists in their own right. Although they were not entirely free from the system of institutional or princely patronage, they understood that by dint of enterprise they could cautiously jockey for position on the international stage.

The episode of the tomb offers an unusual insight into the workings of Medici patronage at a very delicate moment in that family’s fortunes. After the death of Leo X, the tomb project continued to move forward thanks to the intervention of Medici intimates, Cavalcanti and his business partners de’ Bardi and Zanobi Girolami, who
wanted to preserve both Florentine and Medici interests at the court of Henry VIII. Each of the partners bought financial shares in the models prepared by a number of artists and sent to London in 1521–1523. In so doing, one, if not all, of these investors had to exercise some aesthetic judgment in selecting the sculptors to make the models. This realization has prompted me to undertake an in-depth investigation of Cavalcanti's background. I can now identify him as the author of some letters, addressed to Luigi Guicciardini in 1506, on the Laocoön and on the discovery of Etruscan antiquities in the area of Castellina, near Tolfa.

Cavalcanti's choice of sculptors generally associated with unorthodox aesthetic ideals, previously marginalized by the two Medici popes, is indicative of the idiosyncratic visual culture of Florence in the 1520s and may also reflect the tastes of the oligarchy that by the end of the decade would find itself in opposition to the Medici family.

Cinzia M. Sicca is the recipient of a Getty Collaborative Research Grant for work on "John Talman's Collection of Drawings as an Historia of Art from Antiquity to Christianity." She will resume teaching at the Università degli Studi di Pisa in 2004.
Art Treasures in Northern Thrace from the Fourth to Early Third Century B.C.E.

In recent decades numerous silver and gold Thracian treasures have been discovered in Bulgaria and Romania that have allowed us to reconsider the legacy of Thrace and to revise many previous conclusions. Study of the iconography of northern Thracian metalwork, for example, is producing important results concerning the origin and development of the local style, traditions, and innovative subject matter; the identification of various personages depicted; and the creativity and influences that underlie this indigenous art. Some images of the Great Goddess and the king-hero remain without parallel beyond Thrace, and seem to belong to local tradition. Other representations, however, show strong foreign influence, and must have originated in Greek, Anatolian, Iranian, and Scythian art. Special attention must be given to the images of Kybele, Artemis (Potnia Theron), Herakles, and Bellerophon, appearing on Thracian vessels and appliqués of the early Hellenistic age. The presence of these characters may testify to the Hellenization of local craftsmen and the aristocracy, who were aware of Greek myths. The strong syncretism evident in the iconography, especially the Thracian elements, however, may also suggest that some local deities and heroes had been represented in the form of Greek and Anatolian personages. Other figures, such as Lamassu, originated in Iranian art and may show cross-cultural contacts just at the beginning of the Hellenistic age—after the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great. The study of iconography, particularly features
of style and subject matter, when compared with other archaeological data, allows us to determine the approximate location of some artistic workshops.

Second, it is possible to revise the chronology of the treasures either in the context of the recent finds in Bulgaria and Romania or through reinterpretation of old ones. Most important here are the well-dated Greek imports which were found alongside the Thracian material. Another way to define chronology is to compare the Greek, Anatolian, and Iranian personages represented on the northern Thracian metalwork with their iconographical prototypes. Thus it becomes clear that many of the dates proposed in former studies are either too early or too broad; most of the finds belong to the last decades of the fourth to early third century B.C.E.

Third, many scholars are challenged by the semantics and religious symbolism of Thracian art. The main problem here is that the ancient Thracians were nonliterary people; consequently, all information on their religion is indirect, provided by Greek and Roman authors. Although written sources are usually scarce, some of the representations could be related to ancient texts describing Thracian beliefs. Many of the images show the Great Goddess, known by different local names, and her male companion—the Thracian king-hero. The Thracian king was usually depicted as a rider hunting, while the images of the Great Goddess show more diversity. Processions of animals are often represented also. Important parallels might be found in other mythological traditions and imagery (Greek, Iranian, Scythian, Celtic) that may help us to understand the religious meaning of Thracian art.

Finally, it is possible for the northern Thracian art treasures to be examined in their historical and social context. During the fourth to early third centuries B.C.E. the tribes of Triballoi and Getai inhabited extensive regions in the lower Danube valley, where most of the works have been discovered. Whereas several local kings of that period are known from historical sources, the numerous gold and silver artifacts clearly show the political power and economic stature of the Thracian aristocracy as a whole. At the beginning of the Hellenistic age, Triballoi and Getai became dependent on the Macedonian kingdom, and archaeological data testify to the Hellenization of local dynasts who
persisted in the highest positions in their tribal society. Some members of the Thracian aristocracy participated in the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great, and upon their return they brought new syncretic cultural ideas. The process of Hellenization in these regions, however, was quite superficial and touched only the high circles of society. After the Celtic invasion (c. 280–270 B.C.E.), the Hellenization of the northern Balkans weakened and these lands became closely connected to the La Tène culture in the middle Danube valley.

In conclusion, it is clear that a period of cultural diversity and free exchange of ideas between different ethnic communities led to innovations at the local level that characterize northern Thracian art. Obviously, Thrace was closely related to the rest of the ancient world, much more than we had imagined, and therefore Thracian metalwork cannot be considered as an isolated phenomenon; rather, it shows syncretic cultural processes and various interactions in the northern Balkans just prior to, and during, the first decades of the early Hellenistic age.

Sofia University, Saint Kliment Ohridski
Podhorsky Scholar, 1 July–31 August 2002

Nikola Theodossiev was awarded a Mellon fellowship at the Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study in the Humanities and Social Sciences in Wassenaar, where he was in residence from February to June 2003. Currently he is working on a book entitled “The Tholos Tombs in Ancient Thrace.”
The formation of the Imperial Museum of Japan in the second half of the nineteenth century came in direct response to burgeoning museum and exhibition activities in the Western world. The Japanese museum grew in tandem with the nation’s stature in the Eurocentric world arena, serving as an index of the emergent nation-state’s rapid process of immersion into the global power structure. The years covered by my dissertation, 1872–1909, mark the formative period of the Imperial Museum. I examine the representation of Japan through the museum during this time as a process of self-definition heavily informed by a dominant foreign (that is, Western) lens. Central to the examination are the visual modes of presentation—with an emphasis on the purpose-designed architecture—that were crucial to the construction of a Japanese national image as equal to, yet distinct from, Western civilization.

While the temporal scope of this study spans roughly the length of the reign of Emperor Meiji (1868–1912), the specific dates mark a period that begins with the coining of the neologism “art” (bijutsu) in 1872, and ends with the opening of the nation’s first permanent “art museum” (bijutsukan) in 1909. During the approximately four decades under consideration, the central government erected four major structures to form the museological constellation of the Imperial Museum. I propose that the representation of the nation through art was structured by the following matrix of factors: who defined
Unknown artist, *The Imperial Museum at Ueno*, Tokyo, 1881. Tokyo National Museum

...the category of art, *what* fell into that category, and *where* and *how* it was displayed. Existing scholarship on the Japanese museum has considered the first and second factors, but mostly overlooked the last pair that examines the *place* and *placement* of art. I believe the conveyance of meaning at the Imperial Museum was ultimately dependent on the visual framing and configuration of the chosen objects. My aim has been to interpret the framework that resulted from the interplay between the museum buildings and the respective object collections, sites, and regional cultures.

During my time at the Center, I have given much thought to the place of the Imperial Museum within the synchronic span of international exhibition culture, with specific attention to key issues of cultural definition and interchange in the late nineteenth century. First, because the museum was conceived in conjunction with the nation's participation in international expositions, it reflected the same imperative to place Japan in a global context. Having recently been forced out of isolation in 1853, Japan was facing the new reality of needing to define itself within the nineteenth-century world order as mapped by the Western powers. Both at the fair and the museum,
European and American (pre)conceptions of non-Western nations in general and of Japan in particular fundamentally affected the method and structure of Japan's self-definition. One reason to study the representation of Japan during this period of renewed contact with the outside world is that it allows for an understanding of the construction of self-imagery as a relative rather than a solipsistic process.

Second, as a non-Western nation that remained independent, Japan falls outside of the dichotomy of the colonizer and the colonized posited by extant scholarship on the global power structure of the nineteenth century. The Japanese government's decision to modernize in order to resist foreign domination gave rise to questions about the appropriate balance between learning from Western paradigms and affirming indigenous methods and forms. In the framework of the museum, these tensions were played out most prominently in the choice of architectural style for purpose-built structures.

Third, my investigation of Japan's engagement with the West through the museum reveals an "other" perspective on the perception and evaluation of cultures during the nineteenth century. The relationship between Japan and the Western powers, for example, though grossly imbalanced at the outset, nevertheless did not render the former powerless or voiceless. The establishment of the Imperial Museum should be seen as one of several deliberated strategies of the central government to extract the "essence" of Western success for its own application. By analyzing the original circumstance and terms of the Japanese appropriation of the Western museum, this study locates the historical roots of a cross-cultural dialogue between Japan and the West that extends to the present day.

[Harvard University]
Ittleson Fellow, 2002–2003

For the 2003–2004 academic year, Alice Y. Tseng has been awarded a Harvard University Graduate Society fellowship and an Edwin O. Reischauer Institute dissertation grant. She expects to complete her dissertation during this time.
PAMELA J. WARNER

Word and Image in the Art Criticism of the Goncourt Brothers

Edmond (1822–1896) and Jules (1830–1870) de Goncourt circulated with both the literary and artistic elites of the nineteenth century. As authors and amateur artists, the brothers earned a reputation for refined elegance, precious dandies living in a rarefied world dedicated purely to art and its sensual appreciation. Despite the brothers' ubiquity in the Parisian art world, their aesthetic ideas are perhaps less well known than their *Journal* and novels, which betray an often elitist, racist, and misogynist set of attitudes. Part of an oeuvre that numbers in the hundreds, their art criticism spanned an array of periods and modes, from the modern school of French landscape painting to eighteenth-century rococo, praising the Italian primitives and also including Japanese art. Recognized as innovators in the genre of the naturalist novel, the Goncourts nevertheless perplexed later observers by not fully endorsing the impressionists, often considered to have made advances in the visual arts that paralleled those the generation of Gustave Flaubert, the Goncourts, and Emile Zola had made in literature.

My fellowship at the Center afforded the opportunity to research the Goncourts' engagement with issues of word and image as they moved across the spectrum of their art criticism. Tracking the relationships they alternately constructed and destroyed, my research demonstrates the extent to which the play of the verbal and the visual unifies the Goncourts' otherwise disparate oeuvre. The theme was first re-
revealed in their reviews, *Salon de 1852* and *La Peinture à l’Exposition Universelle de 1855*, where they argued that artists should leave the depiction of contemporary life to novelists, refusing to accept any correlation between the modern school of painting and literary production. “We are partisans of realism in painting,” they wrote, “but not realism sought exclusively in the ugly.” Directed at Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), the Goncourts’ attacked what they saw as an unfortunate pictorial trend and also accused photography for generating a taste for “nature as it is.”

The Goncourts reversed this position when they wrote about eighteenth-century social and cultural history, however, and I used the Widener collection of French prints at the National Gallery of Art in order to analyze their praise of such images as the best source for information about daily life during their preferred century. Not appreciated in this body of writing as highly precious and aestheticized objects, prints here acted as “witnesses for memory,” replacing the more traditional textual sources sought by historians. The Goncourts’ reformulation of documentary evidence rested upon their eroticization of the print-making process, which they saw as uniquely equipped to capture the essentially erotic spirit of the rococo age they so admired and desired. I link their conceptualization of history to the larger framework of historiography of the nineteenth century, showing how they combine both Hegelian and historicist methodologies in their history books.

The fine arts lost their documentary edge in *L’Art du Dix-Huitième Siècle*, the Goncourts’ most famous (and much maligned) contribution to art history, first published as a series of essays between 1859 and 1875. Here, works of art became the occasion for imaginative rhapsodies, which, detached from the burden of representing daily life, gave free reign to flights of visual pleasure. Based on meticulous observation of the minutest technical effects of the handling of artistic media, the Goncourts’ observations in this book collapsed the boundaries that normally divided positivist, scientifically oriented accounts of visual phenomena from a poetic, sensory perception of that same evidence.

The fellowship also gave me the opportunity to examine a number of primary documents and archives in Paris relating to the Goncourts’
collection of eighteenth-century European and Japanese art, as well as its display in their house in Auteuil. My analysis of Edmond Goncourt's book *La Maison d'un Artiste* (1881) uses his personal photograph album (Fondation Custodia, Institut Néerlandais, Paris), not as mere illustrations to be taken as archaeological records of the house, but rather as participants in the construction of the aestheticized interior as a site of identity construction. In both text and images, the thematics of light, mirrors, and reflection became the underlying metaphor for the play of objects and individual identity within the circumscribed space of the home. I also analyze portraits of Edmond by Félix Bracquemond (1833–1914) and Jean-François Rafaëlli (1850–1924), which reveal the deep interpenetration of the objects and the man, and aroused the anxiety of contemporary viewers for their reversal of standard relationships between humans and objects in portraiture. The tension between the ability to know and to represent reality, whether as lived in contemporary society, as historically bounded material remnants of the past, or as a highly aestheticized retreat, fuelled the Goncourts' *danse macabre* in which word and image framed a palindromic motion between past and present, reality and fantasy, and art and life.

[University of Delaware]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 2000–2003

*Pamela J. Warner will be a resident fellow at the Deutsches Forum für Kunstgeschichte in Paris next year, researching two additional chapters for her book on the Goncourt brothers' art criticism.*
In 1884 Alfred Stieglitz (1864–1946), then twenty, was asked what period of history he would have preferred to live in, and answered, "in mythical times." His favorite authors at that time included Shakespeare, Byron, and Edward Bulwer-Lytton, who wrote that, "The lover of wisdom is a sort of lover of myths, for the subject of myths is the astonishing and marvellous." Even as a science student in Germany, Stieglitz was attracted to the late nineteenth-century topic of comparative religion and myth propagated by Madame Blavatsky, who was also influenced by Lord Lytton. Forty years later, Stieglitz, then sixty, married Georgia O'Keeffe (1887–1996). His typological portrait of her, begun in 1917, was the prelude to the period of his work with the clouds, 1922–1937. His theme was Woman, he said, meaning the relation between woman and man throughout the ages. This theme, I argue, was extended in his cloud photographs.

There are some 365 different cloud photographs in the form of some 500 prints at the National Gallery of Art. Hold them in their mats at a distance of twelve to fourteen inches from the eyes; allow as many seconds to elapse; and Gestalt forms begin to emerge. One can also do it almost as well (but not quite) with the recent monograph Alfred Stieglitz: The Key Set (2002), in which all the images are very well reproduced.

Taken more or less on the diagonal, Stieglitz had the option of presenting the images either in the vertical or the horizontal, and
often did both, as if he himself had not finally decided which orientation meant most to him. Sometimes he offered both lighter and darker prints, as if to see how much or how little contrast was needed to bring out the forms. He may have intensified the negatives as well as toned some prints, which he often varnished and waxed to deepen the blacks.

The forms extracted by Stieglitz from the *prima materia* of the clouds were not “abstract,” but intended as recognizable forms. Backlit or sidelite by the sun but often rendered so coolly in the print as to simulate the moon, certain anthropomorphic and theriomorphic cloud shapes may be perceived in terms of myth and fairy tale, literature and drama. If, at twenty, Stieglitz acknowledged as his heroines Joan of Arc, Shylock’s Portia, and Zola’s Nana, we need not be surprised to discover in his clouds Goethe’s Gretchen and Wagner’s Isolde, or the Egyptian Sphinx, the Greek Athena, and the Jewish Shekhina. There are also male presences—of Dionysus and Satan, for instance—and animal motifs of the serpent and the Leviathan.

Several important influences converged in Stieglitz’s mind at this point in his life: the reception of Gestalt psychology in America beginning in 1922 with the translation of the writings of Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Köhler; the *Seven Arts* group’s adoption of Carl Gustav
Jung’s concept of the collective unconscious in the period 1916–1924; and the idea of the equivalent or indirect symbol, absorbed via Maurice Denis (1870–1943) from the art theory of Georges-Albert Aurier. Rejecting naturalism (nature seen through a temperament) for equivalence (consciousness projected in forms drawn from nature), this was an indeterminate version of the correspondence theory of Jakob Boehme and Charles Baudelaire. But what Stieglitz figured in his cloud forms is only capable of being figured out by us if we possess an appropriate set of cognitive resources approximate to them. As an example, one might consider the photograph reproduced here. Reading from right to left, a slender vertical veil of cloud against a solid black mass of sky suggests the figure of a young woman, related to a detached and haloed head to the left of the image. This scene correlates well with the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, the head prefigured as decapitated at the very sun-struck moment he turned back to gaze upon his beloved. But reversing the figure-ground relationships, this time foregrounding the dark sky rather than the clouds, we perceive the strong black vertical with its horizontal bar in terms of a graphic sign as possibly related to the Hebrew alphabet; very tentatively, to its second letter, Hey, symbolized in the Kabbalah as the womb; and, even more provisionally, relating the “head” to the third letter, Vau, symbolizing the head of a nail, and not unrelated to the tenth letter, Yod. Such a Blavatskian interpretation would suggest that the basic structure of this image represents Yahveh, the letters of whose name contain male and female shapes, with the Orphic myth syncretically related to it in an image celebrating the idea of the sacred marriage in the context of the Fall.

For lack of exhibition, Stieglitz’s cloud photographs have been more or less legendary—obscure and inaccessible—for more than half a century. Perhaps we can now make a start to figure them out mythically, as I believe he intended them to be understood.

Linacre College, Oxford
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, May–June 2002

In 2002 Mike Weaver was awarded the J. Dudley Johnston Medal of the Royal Photographic Society for his contribution to the history of photography. His current ambition is to curate an exhibition of Stieglitz’s cloud photographs.
ADMODVM ILLVSTRI ET GENEROSO VIRO DOMINO LVCÆ VÆFÆL
PATRÔNO SVO Æ.TÈRNVM, COLENDÔ OPVS HOC À ŠCÆÆ. CÆ.SÆÆ.
MAJESTATIS SCVLPÒTRÆ A.GIDIO SÆDELÆR A.RÆ INCÆÆM MARCVS
SÆDELÆR OBSERVVNTÆ ERGO DONAT DEDICAT
Cov. printt. S.C. M°
Marcus Sadeler fecund.°
Surprisingly, given the current flood of scholarship on issues of gender, independent likenesses of the Italian Renaissance lady have never been made the subject of a book—much less theorized as a group. Focusing on the period extending from the invention of autonomous portraiture around 1430 to the end of the sixteenth century, my study addresses the typology and evolution of the female painted likeness. Primary texts and the work of social and cultural historians are being used to reintegrate the lady’s visual fashioning into Renaissance convictions about, and modern theories of, gender difference.

What were the prevailing ideological imperatives regarding gender to which the entire culture, including the women themselves, subscribed? In the West the notion has always prevailed that women were naturally inferior to men and therefore subject to their dominion, and the Renaissance was as vir-centric as other periods. The primary quality demanded of the aristocratic female was “virtue,” which translated as chastity but also included the qualities of obedience, modesty, and silence. It is my working hypothesis that, since female identity resided with the father or husband who was responsible for her conduct and demeanor, the lady’s portrait must have embodied the period’s social construct of the patrician feminine ideal.

One of the over-arching themes of my book is the issue of female self-determination—whether expressed in life or in visual images. While the Quattrocento female sitter was still too constrained by
convention, both societal and artistic, to influence the forms of her likeness, can it be said that some of the portraits produced by the end of the Cinquecento were informed by such female agency as that manifested in the literary production of contemporary women writers? Whatever our answer, we must acknowledge how difficult it would have been for any female sitter, even a widow, to perform outside the pervasive patriarchal ideology that governed her world.

Having already published on independent portraits of the Quattrocento Florentine lady, I devoted this fellowship year to researching the book’s Cinquecento chapters. One chapter will consider likenesses in which the lady appropriates the guise of another, whether a name saint (for example, ladies embracing lambs were surely baptized Agnese), a favorite saint (for example, Mary Magdalen or Saint Margaret, patron saint of childbirth), or a heroine from classical myth or biblical history (for example, Venus, Lucretia, or Jael). Vested with the attributes of the exemplar with whom she sought to identify, the sitter unabashedly presented the self as possessed of the saintly or antique heroine’s virtues. It is my hypothesis that the role-playing involved in such “impersonation portraits” corresponded to a wider cultural interest in impersonation of the period.

Another chapter will explore the representation of the consort, analyzed in relation to the visual self-fashioning of the ruler. Considering portraits by Titian for the della Rovere, Este, and Gonzaga courts of Urbino, Ferrara, and Mantua, respectively, in the 1520s and 1530s (including his wonderful image of Laura de’ Dianti, Alfonso I d’Este’s mistress), I shall compare Titian’s visual articulation of the conventions of feminine submission, chastity, and silence to the imperatives of dominance, virility, and potency that governed the construction of normative masculine identity. Dynastic self-interest and honor would not have been well served by portraits of, say, the duchess of Urbino or the marchesa of Mantua that visually celebrated the extent of their autonomy and their political and administrative authority.

Another focus is images of the pregnant lady, embodying as they do the dangers and fears surrounding childbirth, not to mention the intense genealogical concerns, of the time. In Italy and Spain the desire to figure the self as heavily pregnant seems to have been specific to courts, and to have been limited to the period around 1590–1630.
This chapter will explore developments in medical knowledge and shifts in court ideology that may have encouraged the commission of such compelling and poignant images.

The study will also consider issues pertaining to the genre of portraiture. Contemporary comments on Cinquecento likenesses consistently praise them for their verisimilitude, and the highly idealized naturalism of most female images was certainly part of their attraction. Drawing on antique sources, some sixteenth-century writers also concluded that the “lifelike” appearance of the physical self (il corpo or il fuori) disclosed the inner being (l’animo or il dentro). Such formulations have led modern scholars to conclude that the primary function of Renaissance portraiture was to reveal the sitter’s distinctive personal subjectivity or “individualism.” In so doing, they interpret Renaissance identity in the same terms as the present-day conception of the person in the West. Anthropologists, such as Clifford Geertz, define this modern self as “a bounded, unique, more or less motiva[ted], cognitive universe . . . [and] center of awareness . . . [that is] organized into a distinctive whole, set against other such wholes.”

In contrast, Cinquecento artists and sitters inhabited a pre-Cartesian world for which the modern distinction between self, on the one hand, and the role, on the other, did not exist. In the Renaissance, identity and agency were still essentially social rather than personal. Exploration of self was made in conscious relation to the groups to which a person belonged, and into which she or he was embedded: household, kinship, neighborhood, guild, confraternity, political institutions, cultural networks or, in the case of rulers, dynasty, territory, and state. Thus, one of the basic arguments of the book is that the actual function of Renaissance portraits was to construct political—and, in the case of women, social—identity. In short, the identity expressed in Renaissance likenesses signified the sitter’s cultural role or mask rather than her/his personal subjectivity.

University of California, Los Angeles
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 2002–2003

Joanna Woods-Marsden will return to her position as professor of Renaissance art history at the University of California, Los Angeles.
The stately towers of insane asylums were once a common sight at the edge of American towns. For much of the nineteenth century doctors believed that ninety percent of insanity cases were curable, but only if treated outside the home. Ranging in appearance from Greek temples to medieval castles, these six-hundred-bed hospitals once communicated a message of optimism and civic pride. My forthcoming book, “The Architecture of Insane Asylums in the United States,” will demonstrate that nineteenth-century psychiatrists considered architecture, especially planning, to be one of the most powerful tools for the treatment of the insane.

The medical superintendents who promoted the establishment of state hospitals used the same rhetoric as social reformers and park enthusiasts: that nature was curative, exercise therapeutic, and the city a source of vice. They believed that the physical environment, including architecture, shaped behavior. Alienists assumed that mental derangement was caused by environmental factors, which in turn suggested that a changed setting might alleviate psychic pain. The Quaker reformers who promoted this moral treatment, as it was called, argued that patients should be unchained, granted respect, and allowed to stroll the grounds with an attendant. While the moral treatment could, with difficulty, be employed in an old mansion or in an adapted almshouse, this situation was considered a sad compromise. Old buildings, therefore, would not do; newness counted.
In the 1840s, Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride devised a widely applicable set of planning principles that ensured classification by type of illness, ease of surveillance, and short wards for good ventilation. After the Civil War, Calvert Vaux (1824–1895), Samuel Sloan (1815–1884), Frederick Clarke Withers (1828–1901), and H.H. Richardson (1838–1886) designed sophisticated Kirkbride-plan hospitals in high Victorian Gothic, Second Empire baroque, and Romanesque styles. During the same postwar period, however, some doctors argued that monolithic asylums had not lived up to their expectations. Psychiatrists did not immediately abandon their faith in the therapeutic environment; instead, they argued for a different therapeutic environment. Clinging to a belief that architecture shaped behavior, they proposed smaller, detached structures to augment or replace the linear hospitals. These cottages were to be clustered as in a village, modeled on the Belgian town of Gheel, where citizens looked after mentally ill people who for centuries gathered there to worship at the shrine of Saint Dymphna, the patron saint of lunatics.

I have attempted to place my architectural studies in the context of the disciplines of the history and sociology of madness. My starting point has been that the architecture of asylums can best be understood by using methods that occupy a liminal space between deterministic social control theories (in which the doctors malevolently incarcerated deviant people) and meliorist explanations (in which the doctors' good intentions overrode their curative and custodial failures). The surviving sources pose the usual methodological problems: those in authority, the doctors, left behind most of the archival evidence. Even the architects made only sporadic comments. Sadly, but not surprisingly, the patients' and families' reception of the buildings remains elusive.

Even the best-designed and most carefully managed asylums from the 1840s had deteriorated into human warehouses by the 1890s. With the ascent of neurology, a medical discipline that focused attention on insanity as resulting from physical causes, the environment ceased to seem like either an important cause or a likely cure, and a new generation of doctors regarded architecture as irrelevant to the practice of psychiatric medicine.

During the course of my research, I have become increasingly
aware of the relevance of a historical study for current debates about the care and housing of the seriously mentally ill. After a public lecture I delivered, a social worker invited me to visit her place of employment, Green Door, a renovated Victorian house that serves as a clubhouse for people attempting to make the transition from a psychiatric hospital to society. The clubhouse model is a contemporary architectural response to the problems of the mentally ill. In spatial terms, the patients live in one neighborhood and have a provisional office—a place to go—elsewhere in the city. This represents a significant improvement over the nineteenth-century spatial arrangements of the insane hospital, where, whether in a linear building or a cottage, the patient spent most of his or her time in the same few rooms. As one Victorian critic wrote, "He will breathe the same air, occupy the same space, and be surrounded by the same objects, night and day.” My visit to Green Door generated great enthusiasm among its members, and it has inspired me to write an epilogue about the clubhouse model to conclude my study.

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 2002–2003

Carla Yanni returns to her position as associate professor of art history at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey.
In order to explore the history of taste and its relationship to the perception of art, research strategies beyond those of traditional art history have been required. The concepts employed in historical, sociological, political, and economic research are instructive in considering factors that affect the assembly and disassembly of collections, and thus the changing nature of collecting and taste. Whereas historians have examined the symbolic, political, and economic importance attached to the collecting of art and cultural properties by Nazi leaders, a critical evaluation of these activities within an art-historical framework has not been previously explored.

In this regard, the art collection of Reichsmarschall Hermann Goering, second in command in Nazi Germany, is an ideal candidate for such analysis. Goering's art collection has never been considered as a whole, perhaps because no definitive inventory has been discovered, and commentary on the collection has been simplistic, general, unsubstantiated, and, at times, erroneous. My time at the Center has allowed me to examine the disparate archival records that provide the basis for reconstruction of the Goering painting collection. This, in turn, will serve as the foundation for an interpretive monograph on its contents.

Discoveries made this year concerning the size and scope of Goering's assembly of paintings have challenged the cynical preconceptions scholars harbor about its nature. For example, while Goering's sup-
posed distaste for the art of the impressionists is often noted in the literature, this view is not supported by the contents of the collection itself, which included works by Alfred Sisley, Vincent van Gogh, Camille Pissarro, and Claude Monet. Enthusiasm for the annual Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung, acquisitions from sanctioned Third Reich artists, and a love of nineteenth-century German painting form the core of the mythology of Nazi art theory; Goering, however, subscribed to this mythology only superficially, acquiring such objects sparingly and, more telling, not including them among the majority of the collection that was evacuated from threatening Allied bombing and Russian advances in early 1945. Most important is critical scrutiny of the perception that the collection was based primarily on looted private property from occupied countries. While Goering greedily availed himself of this rich acquisition source, it was surprising to learn that the majority of his paintings were purchased outright from willing dealers and collectors.

Recently discovered documentation, both written and photographic, concerning the display of the paintings at Carinhall, Goering’s elaborate country estate (lugubriously named for, and dedicated to the memory of, his deceased first wife) has enabled me to pursue a hypothesis concerning the collection as a protomuseum. Goering intended, in fact, for his collection to become a public museum on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, which would have occurred in 1953.

The archival finds that allow us to reconstruct the Goering collection also raise new questions about its interpretation. To what extent does the Goering collection correspond to the taste of his time, reflecting mainstream tendencies in collecting practices and European art history of the early twentieth century, and to what extent does it reflect personal preference, or more cynically, represent merely an unconsidered trophy of war? My argument is that to investigate the motivations of Nazi collectors such as Goering is to understand those cultural processes, formed in Europe at the turn of the twentieth century, that provided the intellectual basis for such collections. Not simply an extension of Hitler’s ideology, Nazi taste was highly influenced by the retrospective tastes and studies that reigned in the important art-historical schools of Berlin and Vienna at the beginning of the twentieth century. The collections assembled by Hitler and Goering
reflect, in fact, the structure of taste and understanding of the history of art promoted by Heinrich Wölfflin and Wilhelm von Bode. The questions now to be posed are: to what extent the crimes of the Nazi as collector are the crimes of Nazi ideology, and to what extent they might be interpreted as crimes motivated by conservative art history.

While the very suggestion of serious historical consideration of a leading Nazi collection, stripped of political meaning, may be offensive to some, I consider it vital to view and interpret content and motivation beyond traditional boundaries. Immoral and opportunistic, Goering was a man of vast power and means, which provided him the chance to realize his dream: the creation of the "universal museum," a museum that would serve to reconstruct the history of art. The virtual recreation of the Goering collection, therefore, offers a singular opportunity to evaluate a museum-quality collection assembled with few monetary, geographic, and practical limits.

National Gallery of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,
2002–2003

Nancy H. Yeide returns to her position as head of the department of curatorial records at the National Gallery of Art. She has been appointed to the advisory boards of the Getty Provenance Index and the American Association of Museums’ Nazi-era Provenance Internet Portal.
The international taste for Chinese bronzes has made them among the most highly prized objects by Western art museums and connoisseurs. With the growing economic and political power of the United States following the First World War, American museums and individual collectors purchased thousands of Chinese bronzes, principally from the Shang period (c. 1600–1100 B.C.E.), many of which came from southern China.

Several American universities have conducted pioneering research on southern China’s bronzes and have identified differences between Southern bronzes and those produced in Anyang, the last capital of the Shang dynasty; however, few studies clarify the points of origin of these works. As a result, many questions remain. My project at the Center was to expand upon these observations and to enrich understanding of bronzes unearthed in southern China, including the Sichuan, Jiangxi, Hunan, Anhua, and Hubei provinces. Using the library of the Freer Gallery of Art, I researched catalogues of public North American museums and auctions for works that might be of southern origin. I then studied the style and casting techniques of these works in order to summarize their characteristics.

During the travel portion of the fellowship, I visited over twenty institutions, including the Royal Ontario Museum, the Minneapolis Museum of Art, the Field Museum, the Art Institute of Chicago, the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, the Arthur M. Sackler Museum, the
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Brooklyn Museum of Art. I also spent time at the Freer and the Sackler galleries, which have some of the largest collections of Chinese bronzes in North America. Touring and researching at these museums provided an excellent opportunity to exchange ideas with other scholars.

I discovered that local bronze industries flourished beginning in the Anyang period, and that although they were widely distributed, southern bronzes share common characteristics of shape, decoration, and casting, even while maintaining their individuality. Several oval You wine containers in the collection of the Freer Gallery, the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, and the Arthur M. Sackler Museum are decorated with animal masks that have eyeballs with large pupils. In each case the animal’s lower stomach swells abruptly; the container’s swing handle passes along the shorter axis of the container’s body instead of the longer axis, as is seen in the metropolitan style of works produced in the capital city of Anyang. The Sackler’s You container is filled with jade, similar to buried vessels found in the Hunan and Sichuan provinces that were also jade-filled. These related features suggest that the aforementioned You containers all may have come from the Hunan province of southern China.

A variety of remarkable objects also has been found in Hunan, such as Nao bells, that differ from those found in Anyang. There are several Nao bells in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Royal Ontario Museum, and the Freer Gallery that are lavishly ornamented with large animal masks; their overall size and heavy weight are similar to those from Hunan.

Zoomorphic creatures, such as birds, elephants, tigers, rams, dragons, and even humans, shown separately or in combination, are the most distinctive motif of southern bronzes of the Shang period. Several works in the Freer exhibit these southern features, such as a human head of Pan, and a lid decorated with three coiling tigers that form a lid. Another good example is a four-legged Gong wine container. The vessel’s lid is shaped like a tiger, or other animal, with coiling ram’s horns at the front and fish-shaped horns at the back. The remaining surface of the lid is covered with naturalistic animals, such as fish, elephants, and tigers. Fish or eels appear to swim along the
vessel's body, and the profile of a bird with a hooked beak juts out of the front. The vessel's back legs are those of tigers and humans; the handle takes the form of a bird. The Freer objects appear to have been cast in the southern region.

Since most of the southern bronzes were cast as local variations of an Anyang prototype, it is difficult to ascertain the particular local features of southern bronzes. In 2001, a Lei wine jar, which was reputed to have been discovered in the Hunan province, sold for a record price at Christie's. With the exception of its hook-shaped flange, the Lei wine jar is nearly identical to others of the metropolitan type. Such easily confused identifications point to the fact that there is still a good deal of research—including scientific analysis—to be done on southern Chinese bronzes.

Hubei Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics
Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellow, spring 2002

Changping Zhang will return to his position as vice-director of the Hubei Provincial Institute of Archaeology and Cultural Relics, China. Concurrently, he will assume a new post as vice-director of the Hubei Provincial Museum.
Description of Programs
Fellows' hard hat tour of the Old Patent Office Building
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.

Professors in Residence

Samuel H. Kress Professor

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

Andrew W. Mellon Professor

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

Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professor

The Edmond J. Safra Visiting Professorship was established in 2002 through a grant from the Edmond J. Safra Philanthropic Foundation. For the next four years, through 2007, a Safra Visiting Professor, selected by the National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, will serve for up to six months, forging connections between the research of the National Gallery's curatorial staff and that of visiting scholars at the Center. At the same time, Safra Professors will advance their own research on subjects associated with the Gallery's permanent collection. Safra Professors may also present seminars or curatorial lectures for graduate students and emerging scholars, including curators from other institutions.
Fellowship Program

Paul Mellon, Ailsa Mellon Bruce, Freise, 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, 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.

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowships

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
Manfred Leithe-Jasper, Joanna Woods-Marsden, and Elizabeth Cropper

leave from the Gallery for two to nine months in the succeeding academic year to pursue independent research unrelated to Gallery projects. The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to those for a Senior Fellowship.

Associate Status
The Center may appoint associates who have obtained 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 sixty 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 Fellowships for Research 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 fellowship includes 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 letters. Applications are due by 21 March. The fellowships are supported by funds from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the J. Paul Getty Trust.
The Starr Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowships for Scholars from East and South Asia

These fellowships 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 or possess an equivalent record of professional accomplishment. Knowledge of English is required. For appointments during the period September 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

Both the Samuel H. Kress and the Mary Davis Predoctoral 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, architectural history, and archaeology 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
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 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 department chairs.

**Predoctoral Fellowship Program for 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 art-historical experience beyond the candidate's major field, not for the advancement of a dissertation. Preference will be accorded to those who have had little
opportunity for professional travel abroad. Application may be made only through the chair of graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, who should act as sponsor. Applications must be received on or before 15 February 2004 for the period June 2004 through May 2005.

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. 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, 20008 South Club Drive, Landover, Maryland 20785. Further information about these fellowships may
be obtained from the Assistant to the Fellowship Program: (202) 842-6482. Fellowship information and applications are also available on the World Wide Web (www.nga.gov/resources/casva.htm).

Facilities

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center for Advanced Study are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. These facilities are available to Center members, 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 fellowship applications received by 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.
Program of Meetings, Research, and Publications

Meetings
The Center for Advanced Study sponsors 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 the 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, in-contri, 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 2002–2003 may be found on pages 22–37.

Research
Each of the deans directs a project designed to produce a research tool of value to the scholarly community. For current research projects, please see pages 39–41.

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (beginning on page 43 for reports written by members in 2002–2003).
Publications

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ART
as published by the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

10 Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times
   Beryl Barr-Sharrar and Eugene N. Borza, editors
   1982

13 El Greco: Italy and Spain
   Jonathan Brown and José Manuel Pita Andrade, editors
   1984

14 Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium
   Pamela Askew, editor
   1984

16 Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages
   Herbert L. Kessler and Marianna Shreve Simpson, editors
   1985

17 Raphael before Rome
   James Beck, editor
   1986

19 James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination
   Ruth E. Fine, editor
   1987

20 Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions
   1989

21 Italian Medals
   J. Graham Pollard, editor
   1987

22 Italian Plaquettes
   Alison Luchs, editor
   1989
25 The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House
   Gervase Jackson-Stops et al. editors 1989

26 Winslow Homer
   Nicolai Cikovsky Jr., editor 1990

27 Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts
   Susan J. Barnes and Walter S. Melion, editors 1989

29 Nationalism in the Visual Arts
   Richard A. Etlin, editor 1991

30 The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991

31 Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times
   Doris Meth Srinivasan and Howard Spodek, editors 1993

32 New Perspectives in Early Greek Art
   Diana Buitron-Oliver, editor 1991

33 Michelangelo Drawings
   Craig Hugh Smyth, editor 1992

35 The Architectural Historian in America
   Elisabeth Blair MacDougall, editor 1990
36 The Pastoral Landscape
John Dixon Hunt, editor
1992

37 American Art around 1900
Doreen Bolger and Nicolai Cikovsky Jr., editors
1990

38 The Artist’s Workshop
Peter M. Lukehart, editor
1993

43 Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown
Ann Reynolds Scott and Russell T. Scott, editors
1993

44 Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen
William Tronzo, editor
1994

45 Titian 500
Joseph Manca, editor
1994

46 Van Dyck 350
Susan J. Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock Jr., editors
1994

47 The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology
Gwendolyn Wright, editor
1996

48 Piero della Francesca and His Legacy
Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, editor
1995
49  The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome  
Diana Buitron-Oliver, editor  
1997

50  Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review  
J. Carter Brown, editor  
1995

53  Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910  
Françoise Forster-Hahn, editor  
1996

54  Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals  
Clifford Malcolm Brown, editor  
1997

55  Vermeer Studies  
Ivan Gaskell and Michiel Jonker, editors  
1998

56  The Art of Ancient Spectacle  
Bettina Bergmann and Christine Kondoleon, editors  
1999

58  Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica  
John E. Clark and Mary E. Pye, editors  
2000

59  The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished  
Lyle Massey, editor  
2003

60  Hans Holbein: Paintings, Prints, and Reception  
Mark Roskill and John Oliver Hand, editors  
2001

61  Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento  
Victor M. Schmidt, editor  
2002
62  Small Bronzes in the Renaissance  
Debra Pincus, editor  
2001

63  Moche: Art and Archaeology in Ancient Peru  
Joanne Pillsbury, editor  
2001

FORTHCOMING VOLUMES:

64  Large Bronzes in the Renaissance  
Peta Motture, editor

65  Tilman Reimenschneider, c. 1460–1531  
Julien Chapuis, editor

66  Circa 1700: Architecture in Europe and the Americas  
Henry A. Millon, editor

67  Creativity: The Sketch in the Arts and Sciences

68  Nationalism and French Visual Culture, 1870–1914  
June Hargrove and Neil McWilliam, editors

69  The Art and History of Botanical and Natural History Treatises  
Amy Meyers and Therese O’Malley, editors

70  Collecting Sculpture in Early Modern Europe  
Eike D. Schmidt, editor

SEMINAR SERIES:

1  The Dada Seminars  
Leah Dickerman, editor  
forthcoming
“Practicum on Renaissance Bronze Statuettes,” Safra proseminar, 19–21 May 2003

ANNIVERSARY VOLUMES:

Elizabeth Pendleton Streicher, editor
1995

The A. W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts: Fifty Years
Introduction by Elizabeth Cropper
2002

RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS:

Sponsored Research in the History of Art, Volumes 1–13
Claire Richter Sherman, editor
1981–1994

A Guide to the Description of Architectural Drawings
Vicki Porter and Robin Thornes, editors
Published on behalf of the Getty Art History Information Program
1994

Historiographic Guide to Andean Sources
Joanne Pillsbury, editor
forthcoming
Index of Members’ Research Reports
2002–2003

Acres, Alfred, Renaissance Invention and Christ’s Haunted Infancy 45

Barry, Fabio, Painting in Stone: The Symbolic Identity of Colored Marbles in the Arts from Antiquity until the Age of Enlightenment 49


Childs-Johnson, Elizabeth, Early Shang Bronze Art and Highly Radiogenic Lead 57

Chua, Kevin, Greuze and the Epistemology of Sensibility 61

Doordan, Dennis P., Modern Architecture and the Cold War: The Curious Case of Frank Lloyd Wright and Post–World War II Italian Architecture 65

Dube, Wolf-Dieter, The Collection Comes First: On the Display of Works of Art in New Museums and Their Traditions 69

Elam, Caroline, Roger Fry and Italian Art 73

Field, Richard S., The Craft of the Fifteenth-Century Woodblock 77

Fletcher, Shelley, The Craft of the Fifteenth-Century Woodblock 77

Foster, Hal, Prosthetic Gods 81

Grissom, Carol A., The Influence of Berlin on Outdoor Zinc Sculpture in Northern Europe and the United States 85

Hierath, Sabine, The Influence of Berlin on Outdoor Zinc Sculpture in Northern Europe and the United States 85

Jin, Zhengyao, Early Shang Bronze Art and Highly Radiogenic Lead 57

Kostka, Alexandre, German and French Art Propaganda during World War I in the Neutral Countries 89

Lippit, Yukio, Painting as Object: Kanō Artists and the Origins of Painting History in Seventeenth-Century Japan 93

Maertz, Gregory, The Invisible Museum: The Secret Postwar History of Nazi Art 97


Moskowitz, Anita F., *Authentic Deception or Deceptive Authenticity? The Sculpture of Giovanni Battistini and the Nineteenth-Century Reception of Renaissance Sculpture* 109

Nevins, Teresa K., *Viewing Revelation: Text and Image in Ninth-Century Apocalypse Manuscripts* 113

Nitzan-Shiftan, Alona, *Toward a Modernist Monument: The East Building of the National Gallery of Art* 117

Pradhan, Sadasiba, *Symbolism in Orissan Rock Art* 121

Pujmanová, Olga, *An Unknown Correggio Painting in Prague* 125

Reiss, Sheryl E., *The Making of a Medici Maecenas: Giulio de’ Medici (Pope Clement VII) as Patron of Art* 129

Sicca, Cinzia M., *Fashioning the Tudor Court: Florentine Commerce and the Image of the Modern English Courtier, 1509–1544* 133

Theodossiev, Nikola, *Art Treasures in Northern Thrace from the Fourth to Early Third Century B.C.E.* 137

Tseng, Alice Y., *Art in Place: The Display of Japan at the Imperial Museum, 1872–1909* 140

Warner, Pamela J., *Word and Image in the Art Criticism of the Goncourt Brothers* 143

Weaver, Mike, *Alfred Stieglitz’s Photographs of Clouds* 147


Yanni, Carla, *The Architecture of Insane Asylums in the United States, 1770 to 1920* 155

Yeide, Nancy H., *The Goering Collection* 159

Zhang, Changping, *Southern Chinese Bronzes of the Shang Period in the Museum Collections of North America* 163