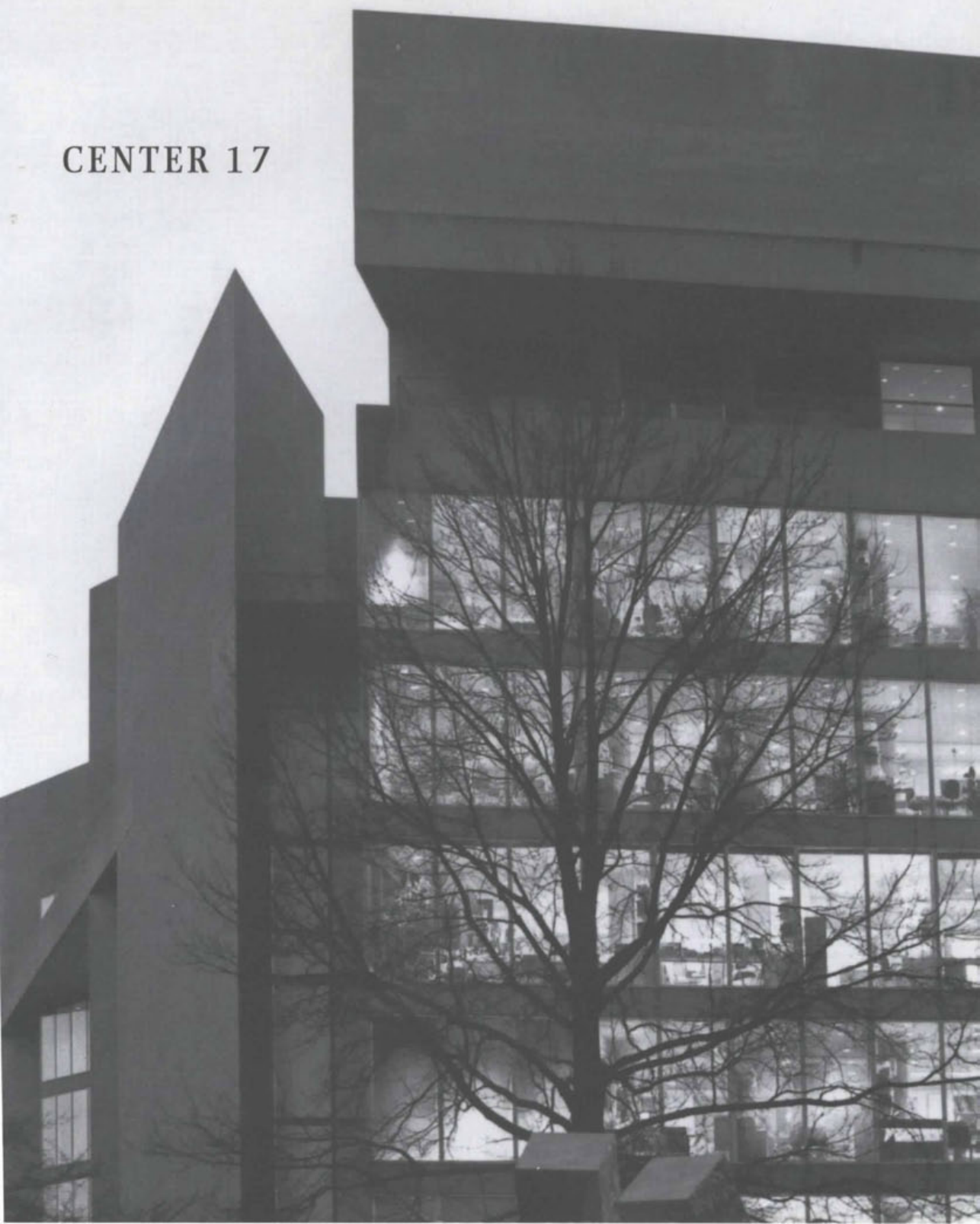
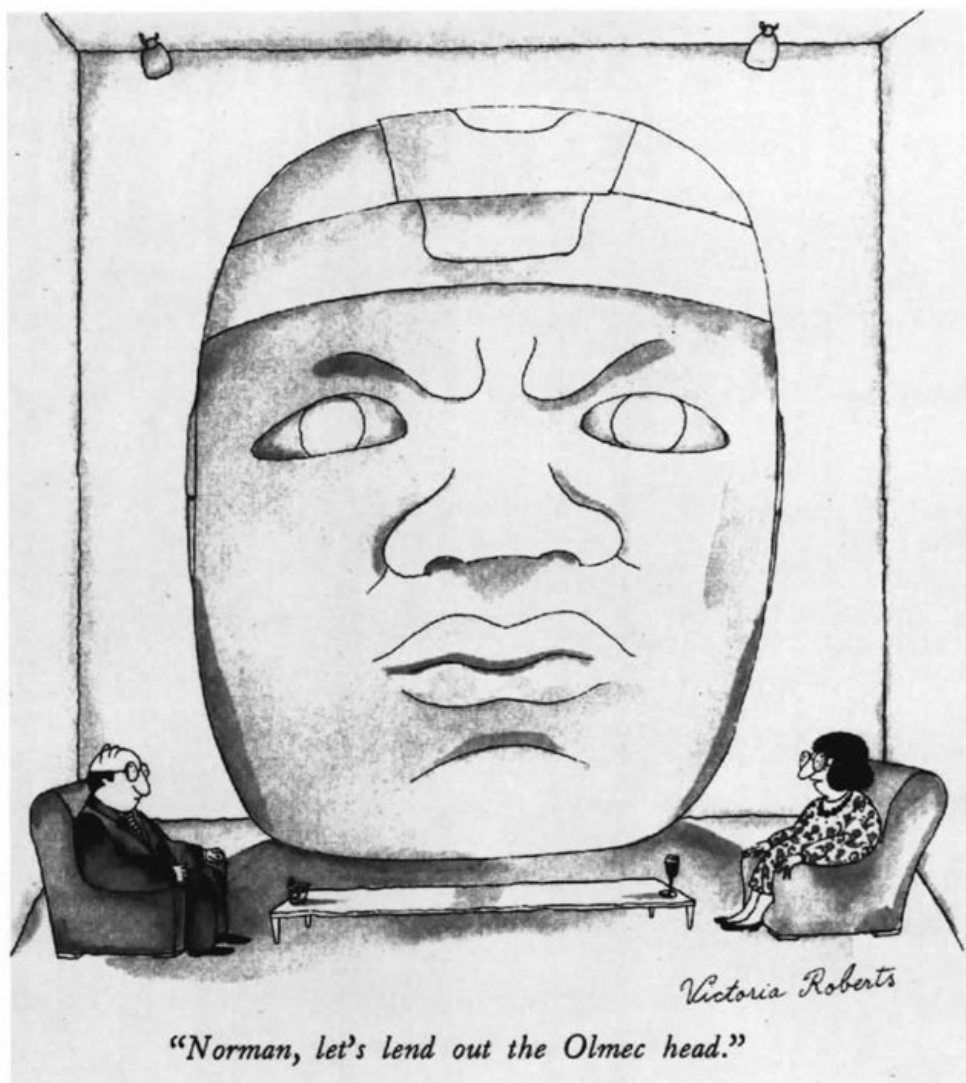


CENTER 17







Drawing by Victoria Roberts; © 1990 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

CENTER 17

Record of Activities and Research Reports

June 1996–May 1997

Washington 1997

National Gallery of Art

CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

Washington, D.C. 20565

Telephone: (202) 842-6480

Facsimile: (202) 842-6733

E-mail: advstudy@nga.gov

World Wide Web: <http://www.nga.gov/resources/casva.htm>

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This publication was produced by the Editors Office, National Gallery of Art, Washington

Designed by Susan Lehmann

Printed by Schneidereith & Sons, Baltimore, Maryland

Photographic credits

Dennis Brack/Black Star: cover, pages 14, 19, 29, 38, 152 (bottom), 155, 159, 162, 165

James Pipkin: pages 1, 6

National Gallery staff photographer: pages 152 (top), 156

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Preface

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

Report on the Academic Year
June 1996–May 1997

Board of Advisors

Malcolm Bell III
University of Virginia

Yve-Alain Bois
Harvard University

Keith Christiansen
Metropolitan Museum of Art

William I. Homer
University of Delaware

James Marrow
Princeton University

Marianna Shreve Simpson
Walters Art Gallery

Charles W. Talbot
Trinity University, San Antonio

Staff

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

Christine Challingsworth,
Research Associate (Baroque
Architecture Exhibition)

Lisa DeLeonardis, Research
Assistant to the Assistant Dean

Sabine Eiche, Senior Research
Associate (Architectural Drawings
Project)

Julie Ernstein, Research Assistant
to the Associate Dean

Anne Helmreich, Research
Assistant to the Associate Dean

Nina James-Fowler, Research
Assistant to the Associate Dean

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

Pauline Maguire, Research
Assistant to the Samuel H. Kress and
Andrew W. Mellon Professors

Steven A. Mansbach, Senior
Research Associate

Mary Pye, Research Assistant to
the Assistant Dean

T. Barton Thurber, Research
Assistant to the Dean

Deborah A. Gómez, Assistant to
the Fellowship Program

Elizabeth Kielpinski, Assistant to
the Program of Regular Meetings

Abby Krain, Secretary to the
Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W.
Mellon Professors

Stephanie Kristich, Secretary to
the Research Program

Kathleen Lane, Assistant to the
Program of Special Meetings

Curtis Millay, Program Assistant
(Baroque Architecture Exhibition)

Kimberly Rodeffer, Secretary to
the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W.
Mellon Professors

Helen Tangires, Staff Assistant

Curatorial Liaison

Philip Conisbee, Curator of
French Paintings

Report of the Dean

June 1996–May 1997

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

The resident community of scholars at the Center for Advanced Study in 1996–1997 included individuals working on topics ranging from neo-Babylonian seal impressions to futurism. Scholars focused on such issues as representations of elite and popular cultures in Precolumbian and colonial Peru, architecture and justice in nineteenth-century Paris, and painting and photography in colonial Tahiti, 1880–1905. Members of the Center included scholars from Brazil, France, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Peru, Poland, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The scholars from Latin America were funded by the Inter-American Development Bank, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Association of Research Institutes in Art History (ARIAH). ARIAH's fellowship program for Latin American scholars, now in its third year, is administered by the associate dean, who serves as chair of the organization. ARIAH fellows were funded by the Getty Grant Program, The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and the Lampadia Foundation. Additional support for advanced research programs was provided by the Bauman Foundation.

In the spring of 1997 the Center initiated a three-year program of paired fellowships for research in conservation and art history/

archaeology, supported by funds from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and by endowed funds for visiting senior fellowships from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. This fellowship is intended for pairs of scholars, one in the field of art history, archaeology, or another related discipline in the humanities or social sciences, and the other in the field of conservation or materials science. The fellowship, which includes funding for field research and a period of residency at the Center, is intended to foster the integration and cooperation of the two disciplines.

Three long-term research projects, under the direction of the deans, are currently underway at the Center. The first, the development of the National Gallery's photographic archives of pre-1800 Italian architectural drawings, has resulted in approximately 25,000 images gathered from European collections. A second project, "Keywords in American Landscape Design," has entered the final phase of preparation for publication. This multivolume reference work is an illustrated glossary of landscape vocabulary in use in America from the colonial period to the mid-nineteenth century. A third project, funded by the Getty Grant Program and the Center, is the creation of a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andes.

In conjunction with the exhibition *Olmec Art of Ancient Mexico* at the National Gallery, the Center for Advanced Study organized a symposium on 19–21 September 1996 devoted to recent research and emerging issues in scholarship on Olmec art and archaeology in Mesoamerica. The symposium was supported by the Cotsen Management Corporation, the Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. Papers from this gathering will be published by the National Gallery in the symposium series of Studies in the History of Art. In October 1996 the Center held a conference sponsored by the Washington Collegium for the Humanities on "Political Caricature and Satire," held just prior to the presidential election.

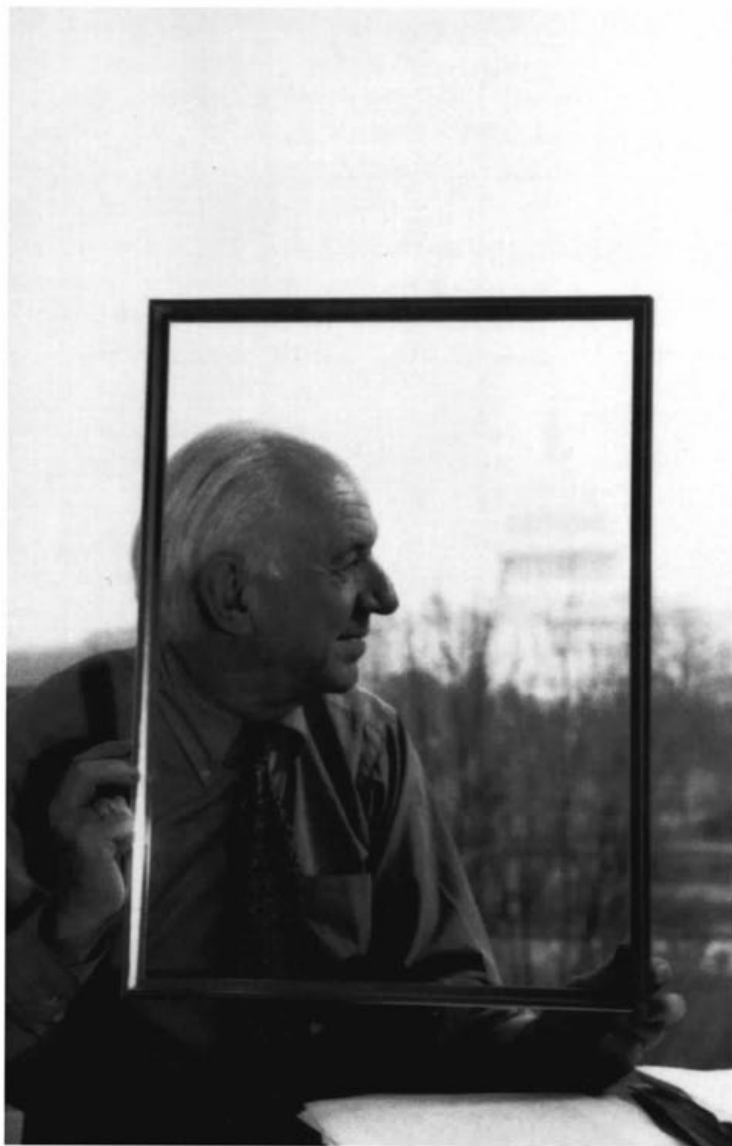
A number of informal meetings were held at the Center in 1996–1997. These meetings included seminars, usually day-long gatherings of a small group of scholars discussing a specific topic, and a curatorial/conservation colloquy, held over the course of several days.

Seminar topics included an examination of the work of nineteenth-century German painter Adolph Menzel, and issues of rulership and ornament in Precolumbian palaces. The seventh curatorial/conservation colloquy was held on the busts of *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano de' Medici* attributed to Andrea del Verrocchio. These meetings were complemented by lectures, including the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts presented by John Golding and several others on topics such as the art of African secret societies, designing sustainable landscapes in arid climates, and classic Maya architecture. Four *incontri*, or informal presentations of research, were held on subjects ranging from the drawings of Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui, an important early colonial Peruvian author, to Max Berg's Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau.

Several volumes were published this past year, including *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*, papers from a symposium held at the Center for Advanced Study in 1991; *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889-1910*, from a symposium held in 1994; and *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, from a symposium held in 1993. Also published this year was *After the End of Art: Contemporary Art and the Pale of History* (Princeton University Press), based on the Andrew W. Mellon Lectures delivered in 1995 by Arthur C. Danto.

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

Henry A. Millon
Dean



Hubert Damisch

Members

Hubert Damisch, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales,
Paris

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1996–1997

David Freedberg, Columbia University

Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1996–1998

John Golding, London

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1997

Senior Fellows

Alan Colquhoun, Princeton University

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1996–1997

Modern Architecture, 1890–1965

Bernard Frischer, University of California, Los Angeles

Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, spring 1997 and fall 1997

Horace's Sabine Villa

Iris Gareis, Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-
Maximilians-Universität München

Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1996–1997

*The Inca and the Spanish King: Representations of Elite and
Popular Cultures in Precolumbian and Colonial Peru*

Michael Ann Holly, University of Rochester

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, fall 1996 and spring 1998

The Melancholy Art

Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Stanford University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1996–1997

F. T. Marinetti, Futurist

Katherine Fischer Taylor, University of Chicago

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1996–1997

*Architecture and Justice in Nineteenth-Century Paris:
The Modernization of the Palais de Justice*

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow, 1996–1997

Franklin Kelly, Department of American and British Paintings

In the Realm of Landscape: Essays on Thomas Cole

Visiting Senior Fellows

- Lauro Cavalcanti, Paça Imperial, Rio de Janeiro
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow,
summer–fall 1996
*Architecture under the Good Neighbor Policy: Architectural
Relations between Brazil and the United States in the 1930s
and 1940s*
- Elizabeth C. Childs, Washington University in Saint Louis
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1997
*In Search of Paradise: Painting and Photography in Colonial
Tahiti, 1880–1905*
- Beth Cohen, New York City
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1997
*The Reinvention of the Bronze Portrait Bust “all’antica” in
Renaissance Italy*
- Edward S. Harwood, Bates College
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1997
*Association and Romantic Landscaping: A Study of the
Meanings and Contexts of John Constable’s The Cenotaph*
- Claudia Lazzaro, Cornell University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1996
*Visual Representations of Florentine Cultural Identity in the
Sixteenth Century*
- Michael J. Lewis, Williams College
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1997
*An Architectural History of Philadelphia (Philadelphia
Architects in Washington, D.C.)*
- Sonia Lombardo de Ruiz, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e
Historia, Mexico City
Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce
Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1996–winter 1997
*Documental and Bibliographic Research: Mexico City,
1759–1810*
- Jerzy Miziolek, University of Warsaw
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1996
*Italian Renaissance Domestic Paintings from the
Lanckoronski Collection at the Royal Castle, Cracow*

- Ricardo Morales Gamarra, Archaeological Project Huaca de la Luna and El Brujo, Universidad Nacional de Trujillo
 Inter-American Development Bank and Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Research Fellow, spring–summer 1997
Stylistic, Iconographic, and Technological Studies of Moche Mural Art
- Stanislaus von Moos, Universität Zürich
 Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1997
Ut pictura . . . Architecture and the Visual Arts, 1945–1955: Fragments of a Dialogue
- Svetlana Popovič, Greenbelt, Maryland
 Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1997
The Crossroads: Monastic Architecture in the Balkans, Fifth to Fifteenth Century

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1996–1997

- Julien Chapuis, National Gallery of Art, Department of Northern Renaissance Painting
Underdrawing in Paintings of the Stefan Lochner Group

Predoctoral Fellows

- Jenny Anger [Brown University]*
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1994–1997
Modernism and the Gendering of Paul Klee
- Erica Ehrenberg [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
 Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1995–1997
Archaism and Innovation in Neo-Babylonian Artistic Representation: Definition and Chronology
- Edward Eigen [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1996–1998
The Crucial Intermediary: Nature and the Architecture of the French Life Sciences, 1848–1898
- Marian Feldman [Harvard University]
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1995–1998
The Role of Luxury Goods in the International Relations of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age with Specific Reference to the Site of Ras Shamra-Ugarit

- Samuel Isenstadt [Massachusetts Institute of Technology]*
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1995–1997
"Little Visual Empire": Private Vistas and the Modern American House
- Branden Joseph [Harvard University]
 Wyeth Fellow, 1996–1998
"I'll Be Your Mirror": Robert Rauschenberg and Andy Warhol, 1952–1968
- Matthew Kennedy [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
 Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1996–1998
Terminal City: Urbanism and the Construction of Grand Central Terminal
- Pamela M. Lee [Harvard University]**
 Wyeth Fellow, 1995–1997
Object to Be Destroyed: The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark
- Stephen J. Lucey [Rutgers University]
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1996–1997
The Church of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome: A Contextual Study, Sixth through Ninth Centuries
- Catherine H. Lusheck [University of California, Berkeley]
 Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1996–1997
Studies in Rubens' Drawings: Mode, Manner, and the Problem of Stylistic Variety
- Richard Neer [University of California, Berkeley]
 David E. Finley Fellow, 1996–1999
The Marketplace of Images: Representation and Ideology in Attic Red-Figure
- Triân Nguyễn [University of California, Berkeley]*
 Ittleson Fellow, 1995–1997
Ninh-phúc Monastery: An Examination of Seventeenth-Century Buddhist Sculpture in Northern Vietnam
- Irina Oryshkevich [Columbia University]*
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1994–1997
Christian Reclamation: Rediscovery of the Catacombs in Counter-Reformation Rome
- Heghnar Watenpaugh [University of California, Los Angeles]
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1996–1998
The Image of an Ottoman City: Urban Space, Social Structure, and Civic Identity in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Aleppo

Gennifer Weisenfeld [Princeton University]*

Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1995–1997

*Murayama, Mavo, and Modernity: Constructions of the
Modern in Taishō Period Avant-Garde Art*

Leila Whitemore [Columbia University]

Paul Mellon Fellow, 1996–1999

*Theory, Practice, and the Architectural Imagination: Filarete's
Treatise on Architecture and Early Sforza Urbanism,
1450–1466*

Erika Wolf [University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1996–1997

*USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist
Aesthetics*

*in residence 16 September 1996–31 August 1997

**in residence 16 September 1996–20 December 1996



Jenny Anger

Meetings

Symposia

19-21 September 1996

OLMEC ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN MESOAMERICA: SOCIAL COMPLEXITY IN THE FORMATIVE PERIOD

Introduction: Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts

Landscape and Regional Settlement

Moderator: Barbara L. Stark, Arizona State University,
Tempe

Richard A. Diehl, University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa
*Olmec Realms: Politics in Olman during Early and Middle
Formative Times*

Stacey Symonds, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas,
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
*The Paleo-landscape at San Lorenzo, Veracruz, Mexico:
Settlement and Nature*

Philip J. Arnold III, Loyola University, Chicago
*Gulf Olmec Domestic Occupation and Residential Variation
at La Joya, Veracruz, Mexico*

Christopher A. Pool, University of Kentucky
From Olmec to Epi-Olmec at Tres Zapotes

Architecture and Monumental Sculpture

Moderator: David C. Grove, University of Illinois at Urbana-
Champaign

Rebecca B. González-Lauck, Centro, Instituto Nacional de
Antropología e Historia, Tabasco
*Clay, Sand, Stone, Wood, and Thatch: Olmec Architecture at
La Venta*

Ann Cyphers, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas,
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
San Lorenzo Sculpture

Ponciano Ortiz Ceballos, Instituto de Antropología,
Universidad de Veracruz
*Proyecto Manatí 1996: Sitio El Manatí, un espacio sagrado
olmeca*

Susan D. Gillespie, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

The Monuments of Laguna de los Cerros and Its Hinterland

Objects and Iconography

Moderator: Rebecca B. González-Lauck, Centro, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Tabasco

María del Carmen Rodríguez, Centro, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Veracruz

La Merced: Una ofrenda masiva de hachas, algunas ideas sobre el contexto arqueológico (presented by Ponciano Ortíz Ceballos)

Karl A. Taube, University of California, Riverside

Maize, Wealth, and the Middle Formative Olmec Economy

David C. Grove, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Faces of the Earth: Eclecticism in Chalcatzingo's Monumental Art

Richard Lesure, University of California, Los Angeles

Animal Representations and Cosmological Transformations in Early Formative Soconusco

Mary E. Pye, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Found in the Trash: Olmec Motifs on Ceramics and Associated Artifacts from the Pacific Coast of Mexico and Guatemala

Visual Arts and Social Complexity

Moderator: Ann Cyphers, Instituto de Investigaciones Antropológicas, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

Christine Niederberger, Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Centres d'Etudes Mexicaines et CentreAméricaines

Ranked Societies, Iconographic Complexity, and Economic Wealth in the Basin of Mexico toward 1200 B.C.

John E. Clark, New World Archaeological Foundation, Brigham Young University

The Olmec Presence in the Soconusco

Esther Pasztory, Columbia University

The Mask and the Portrait: A Hypothesis about the Artistic Process Through the Example of Olmec Art

Barbara L. Stark, Arizona State University, Tempe

Framing the Olmec

5 April 1997

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

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

Morning Session

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

Introduction: John Yiannias

Gretchen Krehling McKay [University of Virginia]

*"And the Ancient of Days Took His Seat": The Emergence of
the Image in Byzantine Manuscripts*

Introduction: Barbara von Barghahn

Jamie Smith [George Washington University]

*Memory and Majesty: Decorative Boxes Made by Wenzel
Jamnitzer and the Goldsmiths of Nuremberg and Augsburg in
the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*

Introduction: Elizabeth Cropper

Frances Gage [Johns Hopkins University]

*Hans Holbein's Thomas More in Giulio Mancini's Theory of
Painting*

Introduction: Mary Pardo

Carolyn Allmendinger [University of North Carolina at Chapel
Hill]

*Philippe de Champaigne's 1667 Conférence on Titian's
Entombment*

Introduction: Kirk Savage

Medha Patel [University of Pittsburgh]

*Pun Intended: Blythe's Prospecting and the Ideology of
Progress in Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Painting*

Introduction: Claudia Swan

Cheryl Snay [Pennsylvania State University]

Monumental Politics: Jules Dalou's Triumph of the Republic

Afternoon Session

Moderator: Meredith J. Gill, University of Maryland at College
Park

Introduction: Jane A. Sharp

Jennifer Krzyminski [University of Maryland at College Park]

*Diego Rivera and "la raza cósmica": Mestizaje and Mexican
National Identity in Chapingo Chapel, 1926-1927*

Introduction: Norma Broude

Melissa Caldwell [American University]

Marcel Duchamp and/as Rose Sélavy: Gender and the Ideological Conditions of Art after World War I

Introduction: David B. Brownlee

Nancy Miller [University of Pennsylvania]

On the Frontier of the Future: Material Innovation and Symbolism in Eero Saarinen's General Motors Technical Center, 1945-1956

Introduction: Wayne Craven

Kelly Baum [University of Delaware]

The Politics of Pleasure: Gender, Desire, and the Situationist International, 1957-1972

Introduction: Steven Z. Levine

Isabelle Wallace [Bryn Mawr College]

Jasper Johns and the Task of Signification

Introduction: Floyd Coleman

Tosha Grantham [Howard University]

"Further Resistance to the Nation of Law and Justice": The Visual Language of Jean-Michel Basquiat

Introduction: Richard Powell

Andrea D. Barnwell [Duke University]

Black Skin, Metal Masks: Contextualizing the Art of Sokari Douglas Camp

Seminars

13 December 1996

ADOLPH MENZEL

Participants

Faya Causey, National Gallery of Art

Philip Conisbee, National Gallery of Art

Hubert Damisch, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Marion Deshmukh, George Mason University

Brigid Doherty, Johns Hopkins University

Françoise Forster-Hahn, University of California, Riverside

Michael Fried, Johns Hopkins University

Christiane Hertel, Bryn Mawr College

Michael Ann Holly, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Robert Jensen, University of Kentucky
Claude Keisch, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin
Karen Lang, California Institute of Technology
Beth Irwin Lewis, College of Wooster
Vernon Lidtke, Johns Hopkins University
Steven A. Mansbach, American Academy in Berlin
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Elizabeth Prelinger, Georgetown University
Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Peter-Klaus Schuster, Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin
Elizabeth Streicher, Washington
Christopher With, National Gallery of Art

7 February 1997

ANCIENT AMERICAN PALACES: RULERSHIP AND ORNAMENT

Participants

Elizabeth Benson, Washington
George Cowgill, Arizona State University
William J Conklin, Textile Museum, Washington
Anita Cook, Catholic University of America
Susan Evans, Pennsylvania State University
Adam Herring, Dumbarton Oaks
Stephen Houston, Brigham Young University
Takeshi Inomata, Yale University
Colin McEwan, Museum of Mankind, British Museum
Gordon McEwan, Denver Art Museum
Carol Mackey, California State University, Northridge
Simon Martin, Dumbarton Oaks
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Jerry Moore, California State University, Dominguez Hills
Susan Niles, Lafayette College
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Joanne Pillsbury, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts

John Pohl, Fowler Museum
Mary Pye, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Jeffrey Quilter, Dumbarton Oaks
Dorie Reents-Budet, Dumbarton Oaks
Eugenia Robinson, Catholic University of America
Patricia Sarro, Youngstown State University
Emily Umberger, Arizona State University
David Webster, Pennsylvania State University
R. Tom Zuidema, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Observers

Barbara Conklin, Washington
Lisa DeLeonardis, Catholic University of America
Erica Ehrenberg, Center for Advanced Study in the
Visual Arts
Iris Gareis, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Charles Golden, University of Pennsylvania

Conference

17-18 October 1996

POLITICAL CARICATURE AND SATIRE

Cosponsored with the Washington Collegium for the
Humanities

Screening: *The Great Dictator*, directed by Charles Chaplin

Introduction: Ingrid Merkel, Catholic University of America

Antiquity

Moderator: Kurt Raaflaub, Center for Hellenic Studies
Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, Wesleyan University, and Miranda
Marvin, Wellesley College
Typing and Stereotyping in Ancient Literature and Art

Renaissance and the Eighteenth Century

Moderator: Adele Seeff, Center for Renaissance and Baroque
Studies, University of Maryland at College Park
Linda A. Charnes, Indiana University
*From Hyperbole to a Satire: Shakespeare and Virtual
Monarchy*
Ronald Paulson, Johns Hopkins University
The Aesthetics of Caricature

Nineteenth Century

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

James Cuno, Harvard University Art Museums

Metaphor and Meaning in French Caricature: 1793–1835

Roger Fischer, University of Minnesota, Duluth

Nast, Keppler, and the Mass Market

Twentieth Century

Conversation

Moderator: Prosser Gifford, Library of Congress

Maud Lavin, New York University

David Levine, *New York Review of Books* and Forum
Gallery, New York

Colloquia CXXXIX–CXLIII

24 October 1996

Hubert Damisch, Samuel H. Kress Professor

*Piero della Francesca's Madonna del Parto: Constructing a
Childhood Memory*

26 November 1996

Michael Ann Holly, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow

Melancholy Art: The Viennese School of Art History

9 January 1997

Jeffrey T. Schnapp, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Crash

4 February 1997

Iris Gareis, Frese Senior Research Fellow

*The Inca and the Spanish King: Visualizing Elite and Popular
Cultures in Colonial Peru*

27 February 1997

Alan Colquhoun, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Art Nouveau

Shoptalks 70–76

17 October 1996

Pamela M. Lee, Wyeth Fellow

Object to Be Destroyed: The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark

31 October 1996

Jenny Anger, David E. Finley Fellow
Modernism and the Gendering of Paul Klee

5 December 1996

Irina Oryshkevich, Paul Mellon Fellow
Christian Reclamation: Rediscovery of the Catacombs in Counter-Reformation Rome

12 December 1996

Gennifer Weisenfeld, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow
Mavo Artist as Social Critic: Cultural Anarchism in Interwar Japan

16 January 1997

Triân Nguyễn, Ittleson Fellow
Ninh-phúc Monastery: Aspects of Imperial Patronage and Patrons' Sculptured Portraits

3 April 1997

Samuel Isenstadt, Mary Davis Fellow
The Production of Spaciousness

24 April 1997

Erica Ehrenberg, Samuel H. Kress Fellow
Late Babylonian Glyptic Old and New

Lectures

19 September 1996

Beatriz de la Fuente, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas,
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México
Olmec Sculpture: First Mesoamerican Monumental Art

20 November 1996

Cesare Poppi, University of East Anglia
"They Look But They Can't See; They Listen But They Can't Hear": Belonging, Exclusion, and the Political Economy of the Senses in an African Secret Society

6 December 1996

Ismail Serageldin, World Bank
Designing Sustainable Landscapes in Arid Climates

6 February 1997

Stephen D. Houston, Brigham Young University
When Is a Temple? Concurrency and Pragmatics in Classic Maya Architecture

Curatorial/Conservation Colloquy VII

8-11 July 1996

THE BUSTS OF LORENZO AND GIULIANO DE' MEDICI ATTRIBUTED TO VERROCCHIO

Participants

Andrew Butterfield, Christie's, New York
Dario Covi, University of Louisville
James Draper, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Giancarlo Gentilini, Università di Lecce
James Larson, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art
Alison Luchs, National Gallery of Art
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Günter Passavant, Kunsthistorisches Institut, Florence
Anthony Radcliffe, Victoria and Albert Museum
Richard Stone, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Incontri

10 February 1997

R. Tom Zuidema, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
The Drawings of Pachacuti Yamqui and Their Importance for Studying the Meeting between Inca and Colonial Art and Culture

4 March 1997

Juan Ossio Acuña, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú
In Search of the Third Version of Murúa's History of the Incas

6 March 1997

Matthias Winner, Bibliotheca Hertziana
Raphael's Parnassus

15 April 1997

Kathleen James, University of California, Berkeley
Max Berg's Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1997

John Golding, London

Paths to the Absolute

- 6 April *Mondrian and the Architecture of the Future*
- 13 April *Malevich and the Ascent into Ether*
- 20 April *Kandinsky and the Sound of Color*
- 27 April *Pollock and the Search for a Symbol*
- 4 May *Newman, Rothko, Still, and the Reductive Image*
- 11 May *Newman, Rothko, Still, and the Abstract Sublime*

San Lorenzo Monument 61. Olmec culture, Early Formative Period (Museo de Antropología de Xalapa, Universidad Veracruzana)



Lecture Abstracts

Olmec Sculpture: First Mesoamerican Monumental Art

The term “Olmec” has been used since the late 1920s to refer to a previously unknown Mesoamerican artistic style. Identified belatedly, this style gained renown as one of the most powerful and harmoniously-proportioned sculptural traditions of the Precolumbian world. This monumental stone sculpture from southern Veracruz and western Tabasco, Mexico, vigorously expresses the centrality of the human figure, as is evident in the seventeen colossal heads that have been uncovered to date. Through analysis of form and iconography, local and regional variations are considered in an attempt to define a core or “metropolitan” style. Finally, thematic issues in Olmec art are addressed. In particular, a specific mythological concept, that of the hero twins, originates in formative times. This subject becomes a major concern in later Mesoamerican styles.

Beatriz de la Fuente, Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas,
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México

*"They Look But They Can't See; They Listen But They Can't Hear":
Belonging, Exclusion, and the Political Economy of the Senses in
an African Secret Society*

An emerging trend in the study of the visual arts, and especially in the growing field of performance and ritual studies, privileges experience over meaning, the sensorial over the cognitive and—at a wider theoretical level—phenomenological over semantic/symbolic approaches. This lecture critically assesses such trends in the light of ethnographic field data on the Sigma secret society of masks in northwestern Ghana.

At various stages during the performances of the Sigma *sacra*, deliberate communicative acts are produced in order to create a chasm between “looking” and “seeing,” “listening” and “hearing.” These ambivalent revelations at once reveal and conceal society’s “secrets.” This in turn produces a “political economy of the senses” coherent with the construction of “belonging” and “exclusion” and the consequent hierarchy of social power within the social formation.

It is argued that the analytical distinctions of looking/seeing and listening/hearing articulate a local, emic system of *gnosis*. Finally, it is proposed that the current reevaluation of the “sensorial” over the “cognitive” must nevertheless take into account that the former is not “immediately given” to experience (and therefore to emotional perception), but is in turn mediated by cognitive/gnoseological structures of meaning on which social power is predicated.

Cesare Poppi, University of East Anglia

When Is a Temple? Concurrency and Pragmatics in Classic Maya Architecture

For most of the first millennium A.D., the Classic Maya built, maintained, and modified an elaborate variety of architectural forms, ranging from pyramids to ballcourts and palaces to plazas. Often scholars interpret such buildings according to questions of chronology, patronage, and function—when were structures made, who commissioned them, and for what purpose? Another, far more neglected dimension of Maya architecture is its involvement with time. In this paper, I concentrate on two ways in which time informs and helps explain Classic buildings. The first theme concerns architecture in use, or, to borrow a term from linguistics, the “pragmatics” of architecture. Abundant evidence from iconography and recently deciphered hieroglyphic texts reveals the intentions of the designers as they shaped experiences for visitors passing along stairways and through doorways, corridors, and rooms. Seen in this manner, Classic Maya architecture interacts kinetically with people performing certain predetermined roles. Architects and patrons projected meanings and channeled human movement in carefully composed ways, although they could not always possess total confidence that their “architecture of expectation” would achieve its desired level of kinetic control. The second theme is that of “concurrency,” or how a single place can also evoke—indeed, can be—another place through rich confluences of meaning and distinct frames of time, some of them mythological. I contend that discussions of “pragmatics” and “concurrency” acquire depth from comparisons with the anthropological and philosophical literature on time.

Stephen D. Houston, Brigham Young University

Incontro Abstracts

The Drawings of Pachacuti Yamqui and Their Importance for Studying the Meeting between Inca and Colonial Art and Culture

Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua's early seventeenth-century drawing of the Inca cosmological system is a rather late colonial interpretation of the prehistoric past, organized by way of Spanish religious ideas about retables, kinship, and hierarchy. Nonetheless, an interest in the distortions carried out helps us also to recover elements of Inca culture and especially of their art. This talk explores how the Spanish use of kinship diagrams changed the colonial representation of Inca myth, ritual, art, and social practices.

R. Tom Zuidema, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

In Search of the Third Version of Murúa's History of the Incas

This talk concerns the recent discovery in Dublin of a version of Father Martin de Murúa's manuscript on Inca history, *Historia del origen y genealogia real de los Reyes Incas del Perú, de sus hechos, costumbres, trajes y manera de gobierno* (1590). Although the existence of the Dublin manuscript has been known for some time via a sales offer discovered in the National Library of Lima, its whereabouts remained a secret until this past September. The Dublin manuscript differs substantially from the Wellington manuscript (now in the collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum), which has been published. The Dublin version contains 150 folios (11 ¾ x 8 ¼ in.), with 112 watercolors, 13 of which are maps. Of the 112 images, 97 are full-page illustrations. The paper bears the watermark of a hand surmounted by a flower, with the letters "PD" on the palm of the hand; a second watermark shows a cross set within a pear form, with the letters "MA" beneath. The recent examination of the Dublin manuscript allows for deeper understanding of Murúa's important work, and of this author's relationship with Guaman Poma, the author of the other great early illustrated manuscript concerning Inca culture, the *Nueva Coronica y Buen Gobierno* (c. 1615).

Juan Ossio Acuña, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

Raphael's Parnassus

The figures of Homer, Virgil, and Dante were identified by Giorgio Vasari and Giovanni Pietro Bellori on the peak of Raphael's *Parnassus* in the Stanza della Segnatura (1509–1512). Beyond Petrarch and Sappho, who points out her own name on a scroll of paper, the identity of the lower row of poets on both sides of the window is much disputed. Gustav Friedrich Waagen observed in 1839 that Raphael's *Flaying of Marsyas* in the spandrel above the figure of Dante is a precise quotation from Dante's invocation of Apollo in the *Divine Comedy*.

It is shown that Raphael's *Parnassus* is loaded with previously unnoticed, visible quotations from Homer, Hesiod, Sappho, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Dante, and Statius according to the philological knowledge of the early sixteenth century. The retrieval of these associated texts assists in the identification of the figures of the poets heretofore unidentified. Moreover, the identification of the literary quotations in Raphael's fresco clarifies that the laurel tree plays a significant role in the *Parnassus*.

Matthias Winner, Bibliotheca Hertziana

Max Berg's Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau

The Jahrhunderthalle in Breslau, designed by Max Berg and dedicated in 1913, is a familiar monument in the history of reinforced concrete construction. This paper reaches beyond the engineering of the building to consider its relationship to other monuments commemorating the German defeat of Napoleon in 1813 and to a tradition of innovative southern German buildings in concrete. Arguing that its conjunction of naked form and nationalist function coincided with a particular liberal, even democratic, political position, I retrieve the meaning that the building's abstraction had to its contemporaries. Finally, the story of the controversy surrounding the pageant staged during the opening ceremonies is related. Written by Gerhart Hauptmann and staged by Max Reinhardt, the pageant's pacifist content attracted the ire of the crown prince. Although not necessarily intended by Berg, the displacement of the building's allegorical content to this theatrical performance provided an important precedent for later expressionist architecture.

Kathleen James, University of California, Berkeley

Research Projects

Three long-term projects intended to produce scholarly research tools are in preparation at the Center for Advanced Study. One project, under the direction of the dean and with the support of the Graham Foundation and endowed funds from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, will provide the Gallery's photographic archives with a record of pre-1800 architectural drawings, primarily Italian. To date this project has generated approximately 25,000 photographs from repositories including, among others, Berlin: Kunstbibliothek; Bologna: Biblioteca Universitaria; Florence: Biblioteca Marucelliana, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Biblioteca Nazionale, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Uffizi; London: British Library, British Museum, Royal Institute of British Architects, Sir John Soane Museum; Madrid: Biblioteca Nacional; Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe; Turin: Archivio di Stato, Biblioteca Reale, Museo Civico; and Venice: Biblioteca Marciana.

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

A third research project, directed by the assistant dean and with support of the Getty Grant Program, is the creation of a guide to documentary sources for the art history and archaeology of the Andean region of South America. The guide will cover relevant illustrated and nonillustrated textual sources from the sixteenth to nineteenth century, crucial for the study of Prehispanic and colonial visual traditions. The region to be covered is defined by the extent of the Inca empire: Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, northern Chile, northwestern Argentina, and southwestern Colombia. The guide will consider the contributions, intentions, perspectives, and biases of these key sources through a series of essays and an annotated, illustrated bibliography.

Publications

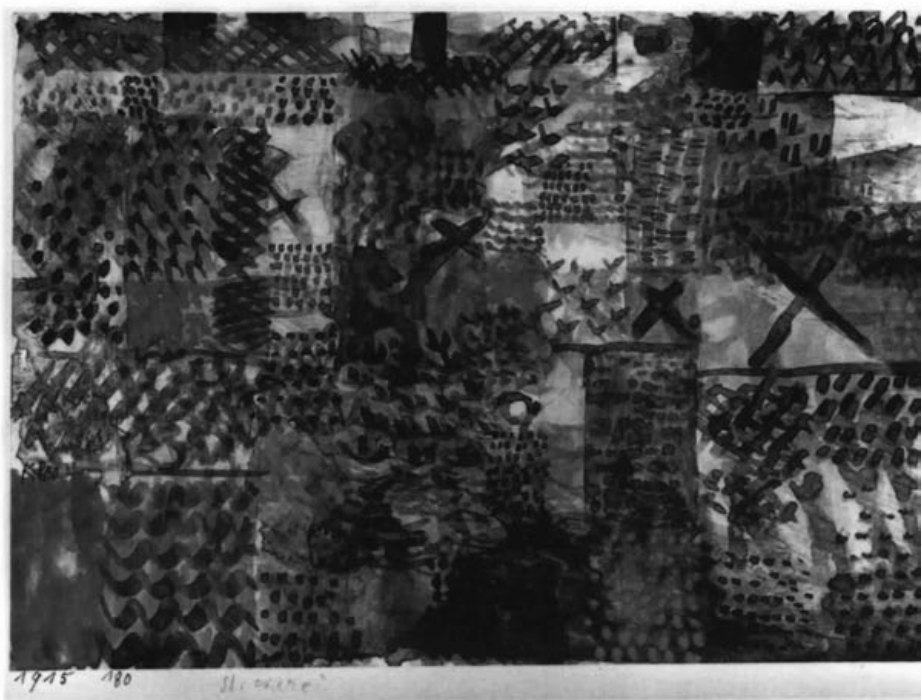
The papers of three symposia, *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology*; *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910*; and *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome*, were published in 1996 as part of the symposium series of the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art. Papers of four other symposia are in preparation for the series: "Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals"; "Vermeer Studies"; "The Art of Ancient Spectacle"; and "Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period." A complete listing of publications in the symposium series may be found on page 163.

Gennifer Weisenfeld, Samuel Isenstadt, and Michael Ann Holly with Caravaggio's *The Cardsharps*, c. 1594 (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth)



Research Reports of Members

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts who were in residence during the period June 1996 to May 1997. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1997. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1997 will appear in *Center 18*.



Paul Klee, *Embroidery*, 1915. Private collection. Photograph: Kunstmuseum Bern, Paul-Klee-Stiftung

JENNY ANGER

Modernism and the Gendering of Paul Klee

In 1920, Paul Klee and his supporters launched an antidefamation campaign, a campaign so successful that it erased most traces of itself and the circumstances that had elicited it. The “defamation” consisted in accusations of a generalized femininity and feminine decorativeness. Critics had issued these condemnations for the better part of a decade, but by 1920 it had become imperative to dispel this impression of Klee and his work. Klee, after all, had lost his first opportunity for a teaching post at the Stuttgart Academy in 1919, because, as Oskar Schlemmer had reported to Klee, the academics found him too “feminine.” If this accusation could prove to be so ruinous, one wonders why there had not been concerted effort to shift public opinion before 1920. An examination of Klee’s exhibiting record from the 1910s reveals that while he and his art were associated with the decorative/feminine throughout these years, it was not always an incrimination. In fact critics responded most positively to what they collectively, cumulatively identified as the ornamental. When Klee was denounced, it was within the same rubric.

Klee’s exhibitions during the 1910s highlighted ornamental effects, such as frames, miniatures, and formal and titular allusions to embroidery and rugs, as, for example, in Klee’s typically tiny (15 x 21 cm) watercolor *Stickerei* (Embroidery) from 1915. Klee inscribed the title directly on the mount, not labeling the image a

representation of a particular embroidery, but rather signaling the conceptual parallels between this abstract web of crisscrossing graphic marks and stitches joined in fabric. Indeed, in Klee's personal records, known as the *Oeuvre Catalogue*, he entered this watercolor under the title *Composition halb gemalt halb gestickt* (Composition Half Painted Half Stitched).

My dissertation addresses why Klee pursued a decorative aesthetic, especially since it became anathema in the art world. I discovered that much theorization of modernist abstraction, to which Klee was committed, actually stemmed from the articulation of ornament in turn-of-the-century decorative arts journals, particularly in Munich, Klee's home from 1900 to 1921. These connections became problematic, however, owing to the association of the decorative with the commercial. Critics projected these perceived ills still further onto "Woman," in part as a reactionary response to women's rights movements and to major demographic shifts that placed thousands of women in the urban work force. The violent, misogynist rhetoric of the First World War and the German Revolution effectively destroyed feminized decorativeness as a positive aesthetic.

These social and cultural factors, however, provide only part of the equation. Exploring the modernist aesthetic as elaborated in Immanuel Kant's analysis of the apprehension of ideal form, I argue that artists' and critics' abandonment of the decorative was perhaps implicit in the logic of this aesthetic from the outset. The coincidence of this aesthetic with the commercialized and strictly-gendered cultural field at the beginning of the twentieth century, compounded by the misogyny of the years of war and revolution, necessitated the expulsion of the feminine, the decorative, and the commercial from modernism. A survey of this field shows that the suppression of ornament—occasionally at first and then increasingly vehemently by the end of the second decade—has obscured the extent to which the discourse of abstraction was partially grounded in the discourse that it suppressed.

If ornament is thus an invisible linchpin in the articulation of modernist abstraction, it is not surprising that its association with Klee became the fulcrum of debates surrounding his potential ap-

pointment at Stuttgart in 1919. The very constitutiveness of ornament no doubt has shielded it from scholarly investigation. In Klee's case, an additional factor has obscured ornament's decisive role, namely, the public relations campaign that Klee and his supporters waged in 1920. The success of the campaign can be measured not only by the artist's appointment to the Bauhaus in November 1920, but even more significantly by his ensconced reputation, purged of decorative associations, since that time.

The pivotal restaging of Klee's work and his persona included a huge "retrospective" with 387 works at Hans Goltz' gallery in Munich in May and June 1920. The size of the exhibition alone produced its effect as a "retrospective" view of Klee's production, but the selection of works varied considerably from those shown regularly during the previous decade. The exhibition also erased traces of the decorative by changing titles and omitting ornamental frames in catalogue reproductions. In addition, the first three monographs on Klee appeared in 1920–1921: Leopold Zahn's *Paul Klee: Leben/Werk/Geist*, Hermann von Wedderkop's *Paul Klee*, and Wilhelm Hausenstein's *Kairuan, oder die Geschichte vom Maler Klee*. Together these foundational texts created the now-familiar story of Klee's heroic transformation into an abstract colorist during his two-week trip to the "Orient," that is, Tunisia, in 1914. Largely untenable, the story nevertheless has had tremendous staying power in the literature. The Oriental provided many of the aesthetic bonuses of the decorative while seeming to escape the latter's inherent logic and troubling contemporary prejudices. In conclusion, I address the contemporary desirability of this masculinizing orientalization and the stakes of its displacement of the ornamental in the history of modernism.

[Brown University]
David E. Finley Fellow, 1994–1997

Architecture under the Good Neighbor Policy: Architectural Relations between Brazil and the United States in the 1930s and 1940s

“The eyes of the world were first focused on Latin America during World War II. By 1942, when the Museum of Modern Art held its exhibition *Brazil Builds*, it was evident that the previous five years had seen the creation of a new national idiom within the international language of modern architecture,” observed Henry-Russell Hitchcock. The architectural history of the 1930s and 1940s, when the modern style was implemented in Brazil and the United States, has often been described in terms of the influence of European architects in the Americas, especially Le Corbusier in Brazil and Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius in the United States. While this approach is valid, it ignores a critical exchange between the United States and Brazil. This exchange was highly important in the Brazilian case, both for the internal consolidation of the modern style and for the reaffirmation of its autonomy and development vis-à-vis the initial European models.

During the 1930s in Brazil there was lively dispute among modernists, neocolonialists, and academics who vied for the privilege of defining the shape of numerous ministerial and other public buildings, for Brazilian president Getúlio Vargas (in office from 1930 to 1945 and 1951 to 1954) intended to change the face of the national capital. As Brazil was undergoing an economic boom, Rio de Janeiro attracted the interest of architects such as Alfred Agache, Marcello Piacentini, and Le Corbusier, who had not found an op-

portunity to build on a large scale in Europe (because of the war).

While no European of established reputation, such as Mies, Gropius, or Marcel Breuer, had settled in Brazil, it was among those countries where official French taste in architecture had dominated since the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that initially, modern Brazilian architecture had a French accent. This French accent was reinforced by Le Corbusier's several brief visits to Brazil, such as when he was a consultant to the Ministry of Education in Rio de Janeiro.

The influence of the United States, however, became significant. With the Good Neighbor Policy in effect, the Office of the Coordination of Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA) was founded in 1940. Under Nelson Rockefeller, this organization aimed at extending

Brazilian committee for the construction of the pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair. Photograph: Fundação Getúlio Vargas/Centro de Pesquisa e Documentação de História Contemporânea do Brasil



United States political, economic, and cultural influence throughout Latin America, with special attention to countries that had trade partnerships with the Axis powers, such as Brazil.

For Brazilians, the results of this campaign were most evident in the support of Carmen Miranda's budding Hollywood career and Walt Disney's fifteen-day visit to Rio de Janeiro. Disney's visit resulted in three films and a new character: Joe Carioca, a stylized parrot that began to appear with Donald Duck, the two of them "personifying" what "good neighbors" were expected to be. In 1943 RKO Pictures sent Orson Welles to film *It's All True*, a feature documentary on Brazil, which ultimately was not completed. In the same year the Museum of Modern Art inaugurated the traveling exhibit, *Brazil Builds*, which offered a panorama of Brazilian architecture. *Brazil Builds* differed from other initiatives promoted by the OCIAA in that it was neither a kitschy stylization of stereotypes of Brazil such as the Carmen Miranda and Walt Disney films nor did it remain unfinished, like Welles' film.

The research for *Brazil Builds* was completed in 1942 during a six-month visit to Brazil by architect Philip Goodwin, codesigner of the original Museum of Modern Art building, and photographer G. E. Kidder-Smith. Fascinated by Brazil's architectural modernism, Goodwin highlighted the unique link between revolutionary forms and the discovery and preservation of buildings of the past. *Brazil Builds* accelerated the victory of Brazilian modernists over other styles: back in Brazil, a report on the exhibition from *The New York Times* was widely read and discussed: "New Yorkers who pride themselves on their skyline will have an opportunity to see some of the outstanding architectural accomplishments of another great nation of the Western Hemisphere." Meanwhile, the architecture department of the Museum of Modern Art was gaining worldwide prestige as a forum for discussion and diffusion of architectural innovations: echoes of *Brazil Builds* reached Europe, where critics and architects alike turned their attention to the sophisticated production of a country whose image had always been associated with tropical folklore.

The theme of the 1939 New York World's Fair, "Building the World of Tomorrow," stressed the contrast between the democratic

world of the Americas and totalitarian, strife-ridden countries of Europe. Latin American nations were represented at the fair; the Venezuelan Pavilion, a daring glass-cased project by the American firm Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill, housed the "Altar of the Good Neighbor," a structure containing a lock of George Washington's hair that Lafayette had given to Simón Bolívar. But there was much dissent over the architecture of the fair as the first organizing committee was composed of proponents of the modern style, most notably Lewis Mumford. A negative reaction from the American Institute of Architects led to the formation of a more conservative committee and a compromise position: "revivalist" styles would be permitted in the state pavilions but forbidden in the international section of the fair.

In Brazil, beginning with the Independence Centennial Fair in 1922, the neocolonial style was considered the national style par excellence and invariably was used to represent the country abroad. Thus the position taken by the New York World's Fair in keeping "revivalist" styles out of the international sector was a major triumph for the Brazilian modernists. The Brazilian government-sponsored competition for the design of the Brazilian Pavilion was won by Lucio Costa. Oscar Niemeyer, who placed second, had presented a project utilizing innovative curves in concrete, and Costa, aware of the virtues of Niemeyer's plan, invited him to be his partner. Both architects spent nearly a year in New York, designing what became one of the most important buildings of Brazilian modern architecture.

Despite its use of the basic vocabulary of the international movement, the Brazilian Pavilion foretold future trends with the freedom of its ramp, the flexibility of its volumes, and the use of *brise-soleils*. Costa and Niemeyer established a language of their own, already independent from that of Le Corbusier. Together with the Finnish and Swedish pavilions, the Brazilian Pavilion pleased architecture critics such as Sigfried Giedion, who wrote: "It is a fact of utmost relevance that our civilization no longer develops from a single center, and that creative work emerges in countries which would otherwise remain provincial, like Finland and Brazil."

Unlike the architecture of other South American countries at this

time, which approached Gropius' ideal of an impersonal, anonymous architecture, Brazil was then, in the words of Hitchcock, "the center of activity of the most intensely personal talent in architecture, Oscar Niemeyer," whose style exerted considerable influence on his peers. Niemeyer began the process of creating a national stylistic language, freed from the constraints of rational-functionalism.

In many of its technical aspects, Brazilian architecture owed a great deal to the United States (such as standards of plumbing and elevators in tall structures), but the fundamental contribution of the United States was that it encouraged Brazilian architects to keep a distance from European canons. The United States recognized the importance of Brazilian architects, giving them worldwide stature.

There are stylistic similarities among the projects of Brazilian and North American architects of the 1940s and 1950s, but building a national or pan-American language was not a goal of either group, as had been the case for the neocolonialists. Brazilian and North American architects engendered, if not a language, at least a common accent in the modernism of both countries. From the early 1950s on, the modernism imported from Europe to the Americas became a more pluralistic style, and traveled the Atlantic in the reverse direction.

Paça Imperial, Rio de Janeiro

Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, summer-fall 1996

The Sculpture of Tilman Riemenschneider

The sculpture of Tilman Riemenschneider, active in Würzburg from c. 1483 until 1531, stands at the threshold of two eras. Throughout his career his formal language, solidly anchored in the late Gothic tradition, remained impervious to the Italianism of Augsburg or to Albrecht Dürer's principles of Renaissance art theory. Yet his works strike us as astonishingly daring. Riemenschneider was indeed one of the first sculptors to abandon polychromy on occasion, taking a conscious aesthetic stance toward his favored material, lindenwood. His contemporaries did not always approve of this innovation, however: in 1503 the Nuremberg sculptor Veit Stoss was commissioned to paint and gild the monumental altarpiece that Riemenschneider had delivered a decade earlier, uncolored, to the parish church of Münnerstadt. Striking a rare balance between formal elegance and expressive strength, Riemenschneider's works are among the most appealing of the late Middle Ages.

Although extremely popular in Germany, Riemenschneider is little known in other countries. Only one exhibition in the United States, held in Raleigh in 1962, was devoted to the sculptor. Its organizer was Justus Bier, a German refugee who became director of the North Carolina Museum of Art and the leading authority on Riemenschneider. I am currently organizing an exhibition of Riemenschneider's works, to be held at the National Gallery of Art and the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This will be the first op-



Tilman Riemenschneider,
Saint Burchard of Würzburg,
detail, c. 1510/1523.
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, Samuel H.
Kress Collection

portunity in recent years for the American public to become acquainted with the artist.

Taking as a point of departure the sixteen works by Riemenschneider in American collections, the exhibition sets out to present a broad survey of his oeuvre. It will include representative work from all the periods of Riemenschneider's career and will illustrate the scope of his work by showing fragments of altarpieces, cult pieces, objects for private devotion, and models for assistants. It will also illustrate his range of materials.

These sixteen works allow a broad chronological presentation of his oeuvre. Proposed loans from Europe will complete the

chronology, so that every period of Riemenschneider's career will be represented by a major work. The European pieces also illustrate aspects of Riemenschneider's work that are not represented in American collections, such as reliefs, works with a secular iconography, and sculpture made specifically for the collector's *Kunst-kammer*. The nature of the oeuvre does impose certain loan restrictions, however. Most of the large stone sculpture in Würzburg is probably too delicate to travel, and although it is out of the question to transport any of the large altarpieces from Rothenburg, Creglingen, or Maidbronn, fragments of dismantled altarpieces, now divided among German museums, can be exhibited.

Of all the works in American collections, only the figures of *Saint Lawrence* and *Saint Stephen* in the Cleveland Museum of Art have retained their original polychromy. The other sculpture was never painted or was stripped bare in the nineteenth century. Since the question of polychromy, or lack of it, is so important for understanding the innovative nature of Riemenschneider's art, efforts will be made to secure a few polychrome works from Europe.

Essays in the catalogue, to be written by American and European scholars, will explore, among other issues, the social milieu of the artist, the organization of his workshop, and the critical reception of his works, both in his lifetime and in later centuries.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Northern Renaissance Painting
Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1996–1997

ELIZABETH C. CHILDS

The Perishing Dream: Painting and Photography in Fin-de-siècle Tahiti, 1880–1905

In the wake of the age of exploration, Tahiti played a central role in the European construction of utopian paradise. Literary and artistic representation figured the island in the Eurocentric terms of Rousseau idealism, celebrating its natural resources as bountiful and inexhaustible, and its inhabitants as beautiful, indolent, sensual, and gentle. These notions are central to the expectations and perceptions of both exoticists living in Europe and travelers to Polynesia. Imperialism and missionary initiatives throughout the nineteenth century brought European influence to the island as France, England, and America competed to assert their economic and cultural interests. My study focuses on representations of Tahiti by European and American artists and authors in the era following the annexation of the island as a French colony in 1880.

In this era, much of what Europeans had come to regard as the “authentic” Tahiti described by travel accounts and idealizing images had changed, or disappeared, if indeed it had ever existed at all. The imposition of colonial government brought an encroaching European presence and a process of change that threatened to efface the seemingly timeless and authentic culture of the “primitive.” The fin-de-siècle generation shared a conviction that the exotic was an imperiled realm, doomed to collapse and dissipate in the wake of contact with the European culture of progress and modernity. In fact, Tahiti had changed greatly after a century of

contact with Europe. Traditional religious practice and its related art forms moved underground in the face of colonial suppression. Commercial enterprise transformed Papeete into a heterogeneous site of exchange, where European language, business, and products mixed openly with indigenous Tahitian culture. As a result, travelers seeking a pure or allegedly real Tahiti were inevitably disillusioned by their encounter with the culture of colonialism. The artist's experience of Tahiti in the fin-de-siècle was commonly tinged with a sense of regret and nostalgia for a world that appeared to be on the very cusp of vanishing. Representation was often a task of poetic recuperation of an elusive world that had once flourished but was now believed to remain only in fragments and echoes. Art permitted the reconstruction of that original dream of primitivism—the hope of refreshing oneself through the encounter with cultural alterity.

In this milieu, the first professional colonial artists were the photographers, who established businesses to serve both distant European and local colonial clientele in the 1880s. My study explores the links between typological views of the island and its culture, produced for travel albums and official naval reports, with the developing trade in tourist images in the fin-de-siècle. Figures central to this discussion include the naval photographer Gustave Viaud (brother of exoticist author Loti), who, in the 1860s, was the first European to photograph Tahiti; and the subsequent generation of colonial photographers Madame Hoare, Charles Spitz, Henri Lemasson, Jules Agostini, and Lucien Gauthier. Drawing on a century of idealizing imagery, these photographers constructed views of Tahitian inhabitants and nature that often effaced the presence of European culture, and offered a reassuring view of a pristine, Edenic, and changeless world. Their photographs framed Tahitian culture to suit the expectations of the traveling European. In their search for an authentic Tahiti, painters La Farge and Gauguin turned to such external sources to validate their vision. On the one hand, Gauguin sought out “authentic” indigenous artifacts to inspire his art; on the other hand, both La Farge and Gauguin relied occasionally on the empirical authority of the staged ethnographic photograph. Although these artists worked in



John La Farge, *The Entrance to the Tautira River, Tahiti. Fisherman Spearing a Fish*, c. 1895. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Adolph Caspar Miller Fund

extremely different styles, both found in colonial photography a compensatory view that could assist their visualization of the idealized Tahiti they sought, but could know only through what seemed a mere approximation in the colonial present. John La Farge's *Entrance to the Tautira River, Tahiti. Fisherman Spearing a Fish* is just one example of such a composition, based closely on a posed ethnographic photograph of traditional fishing.

My work at the Center has focused on three particular areas of research for this study: on the connection between Gauguin's art and the sculpture of Easter Island; on the relationship of Gauguin's oeuvre to colonial photography; and on the ethnographic work undertaken by Henry Adams in 1891.

Disillusioned with the lack of flourishing native arts tradition in Tahiti, Gauguin sought out Polynesian artifacts to help visualize a lost, traditional Tahiti he believed he had arrived too late to experience. In the process, he re-exoticized his Tahitian experience through his contact with objects from Easter Island, the Marquesas,

and Vanuatu. As a result of commerce between the Polynesian islands, Easter Island material culture was readily available to Gauguin in Tahiti in the 1890s. In many works from the first Tahitian trip (1891–1893), Gauguin invented motifs inspired by what he regarded as the more authentically “primitive” culture of Easter Island to further exoticize his representations of the rituals, cosmogony, and art of a vanishing Polynesia.

Photography became an integral component of Gauguin’s response to the exotic, in part because it offered a surrogate world of empirical experience in a colonial Tahiti that had disappointed him in its heterogeneity and modernity. The camera enabled the primitivist to engage in a decidedly modern and Western manipulation of the visible world. The photographic image assumed three important roles for Gauguin during his Polynesian sojourn: as an essential document that facilitated communication with the distant Paris art world; as a stimulating vehicle of art reproduction; and as an ethnographic image that authenticated views of the vanishing world of the other. Photography was a distinctly modern medium of the civilization that Gauguin disowned but never fully abandoned.

A final area of inquiry has been the American historian Adams, who drafted an extensive history of a royal Tahitian family in 1891, and engaged in a mission of documentation that was comprehensive and ethnographic in its ambitions. His salvage activities embraced material as well as oral culture: the deposed queen of Tahiti gave him an impressive collection of Polynesian artifacts (previously unidentified in the Adams scholarship). Adams valued in particular those objects that reflected monarchical culture and traditional ritual. And while he mourned present day Tahiti as sad and listless, his historical imagination conjured a violent Tahiti of old, riddled by the chaos of warfare and human sacrifice. His vision was significantly less paradisiacal than that of many photographers, Gauguin, and even Adams’ own companion La Farge, all of whom shared a dream of Tahiti as a perishing world of beauty, luxury, and harmony in a utopian, primitive world.

Washington University in Saint Louis
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1997

Antico's Bronze Busts: Precious Metal and the Invention of Renaissance "Antiquities"

Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico, was the renowned sculptor employed by Gonzaga courts in Mantua and its territory from the late quattrocento until his death in 1528. His nickname derived from the classicizing nature of his work as a restorer of antiquities and as a goldsmith and bronze sculptor. Antico undoubtedly understood the preeminent position of bronze in Greek and Roman sculpture recorded in literary sources. His best-known preserved works, meticulously crafted bronze statuettes, are often miniature reflections of extant, famous ancient statues: both bronzes such as the *Spinario* (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome) and, more frequently, marbles such as the *Apollo Belvedere* in the Vatican. Significantly, in the final decades of his life, Antico also fabricated life-sized bronze portraits of classical personages, which were normally based on ancient marble prototypes and included some of the earliest Renaissance works to imitate the form of a Roman bust.

My preliminary study of Antico's bronze portraits, for the Acts of the Thirteenth International Bronze Congress in the *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, has been concerned with the nature of this court sculptor's knowledge of preserved bronze antiquities, and its influence on his aesthetic and technological translation of ancient marbles into what might be termed Renaissance reconstructions of classical bronzes. His finest works are enhanced by details in once-gleaming precious metals, inspired by the ancient use of inlays and



Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi), portrait bust, the so-called *Young Marcus Aurelius*, c. 1520-1528. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

gilding to enliven the surfaces of bronzes both large and small. The starting point of my investigation has been one telling detail (often overlooked because of the current state of preservation)—the colorful handling of eyes on Antico's large bronzes. The eyeballs are cast as an integral part of his portraits' heads, and variations in color are achieved through surface treatments. For example, golden-hued unpatinated irises and inlaid silver whites occur on the bust of *Antoninus Pius* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), which is crowned with a gilt wreath. Two other busts, the *Young Man* (Collection of the Princes of Liechtenstein, Vaduz) and the so-called *Young Marcus Aurelius* (J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles) have eyes with both whites and irises covered by thin sheets of silver. The rarity of silvering in the Renaissance underscores the necessity for scientific analysis of such details in any final appraisal of Antico's sculpture.

In general, the striking spectrum of metallic coloristic effects on the eyes of Antico's bronze portraits can best be understood in light of this Renaissance craftsman's intimate knowledge of ancient sculpture. Antico was readily familiar with classical small bronzes enlivened by eyes inlaid in silver. As is well known, in commonly employing inlaid silver eyes on his own statuettes, for example, on reductions of the *Spinario*, he departed from other Renaissance

masters of small bronzes *all'antica*, such as Andrea Riccio. Antico's familiarity with large ancient bronzes was limited to the surprisingly few, famous specimens known in Italy by roughly the first quarter of the cinquecento. The large bronzes, extant in the Renaissance, display the following: (1) eyes cast as part of the head, as on the gilt *Marcus Aurelius Equestrian* (Capitoline Museum, Rome); (2) eyes inlaid with sheet silver, of which the primary preserved example appears to have been the *Camillus* ("Zingara") (Palazzo dei Conservatori, Rome); (3) empty eye sockets that originally had naturalistic inset eyes composed of nonmetallic materials, such as ivory or marble for the white and colored stones for iris and pupil.

Antico evidently understood that the missing inset eyes of large ancient bronzes would once have contrasted with the faces, but based on well-preserved small bronzes, he must have thought the lost eyes, such as those of the *Spinario*, were made of precious metal. In assessing the impact of Antico's attentive observation of antiquities on his oeuvre, it is also important to bear in mind that he still could have seen traces of paint defining the eyes of some ancient marbles, and that like all Renaissance artists, he incorrectly presumed the original surface of classical bronzes to have been intentionally patinated rather than a natural golden hue.

Thus, beyond a knowledge of classical texts, Antico's fabrication of bronze pseudo-antiquities depended on his intense study of real antiquities in bronze as well as in marble. Yet in creating Renaissance works he believed comparable to ancient bronzes, Antico actually invented his own distinctive aesthetic. By contrasting patinated and unpatinated surfaces, silver and gilding, he created opulent visual effects with an economy of technical means worthy of his sophisticated, indirectly cast bronzes, the likes of which had been unknown since classical antiquity. Antico's resplendent bronzes are archaeologically antiquizing in a way Renaissance sculpture usually is not, yet they were conceived neither as simple copies nor as intentional fakes, but rather as objects suitable for display directly alongside meticulously restored genuine antiquities in courtly humanist settings.

New York City
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996

ALAN COLQUHOUN

Modern Architecture: Chicago, 1890–1910

In a lecture entitled “Modern Architecture,” delivered in Schenectady, New York, on 9 March 1884, the journalist and architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler set out what he saw to be the ideological problem facing American architecture. Schuyler presents his argument in the form of a thesis and an antithesis. He asserts the need for a universal architectural culture such as existed in Europe, lacking in America due to a dearth of good models to follow. The beaux-arts system, he says, might provide the basis for such a culture—one that would inculcate the qualities of “sobriety, measure, and discretion”—were it not for the fact that it fails to produce an architecture adequate to modern life. Architecture, he says, is the most reactionary of the arts: “Whereas in literature the classical rules are used, in architecture they are copied . . . in architecture alone does an archaeological study pass as a work of art. . . . It is not the training that I am depreciating, but the resting in the training as not a preparation but an attainment.”

Schuyler sees the achievement of American architects, particularly those working in Chicago, to be the adaption of architecture to such technical problems as the elevator and the steel frame, unhampered by too many scruples about stylistic purity. Yet he feels that the problem has not been fully solved. “The real structure of these towering buildings—the ‘Chicago construction’—is a struc-

ture of steel and baked clay, and when we look for the architectural expression of it, we look in vain." Such a solution, "being the ultimate expression of a structural arrangement, cannot be foreseen, and the form . . . comes as a surprise to the author." Schuyler thus clearly favors his antithesis. Yet he does not explicitly deny his thesis. Rather he leaves it dangling, an irritant that continues to sow doubt. Do we have to sacrifice "sobriety, measure, and discretion" on the altar of literal expression? Reject Europe? We are not told, and in spite of his preference for the second alternative, one has the feeling that the first is never completely disposed of. Schuyler seems to hesitate between two incompatible views of the architect: as the manipulator of a visual "language" ("classicist") and as a *tabula rasa*, receiving the imprint of the modern age ("organicism"). These and similar oppositions were to appear again and again in the architectural debates of the early twentieth century, often as conflicting values within the avant-gardes. But in America, more transparently than in Europe, these conflicts tended to be connected with problems of high national policy. It is in Chicago that this tendency manifests itself most clearly.

The historiography of modern architecture has, since the late 1920s, been heavily biased toward a triumphalist interpretation of the modernist project of the 1890s in Chicago. It was not until *The American City*, written by four Italian authors (Giorgio Ciucci et al.), when Marxian techniques of historical analysis were being applied in Italy to the historiography of the modern movement, that a new tone of "objectivity" entered into historical writing on the Chicago school. From a historiographic perspective, the canonic writers on American modern architecture, Fiske Kimball, Lewis Mumford, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and Sigfried Giedeon—whatever their considerable merits—suffered from their inability, or unwillingness, to put all their historical cards on the table. What historical writing is supposed to explain—the conflict of hidden forces—was presented as already solved by the inevitable march of history itself. Such a historiography concealed the fact that the architects of the Chicago school were driven by the need to reconcile the conflicting aims of technology and of technological transparency as taught by Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc on the one

hand, and a tradition of architecture as cultural representation on the other. Their various attempts to solve this problem cannot be understood as a linear process, as if they were part of a scientifically controlled experiment. The holistic, idealist philosophy of organicism, in which architecture was defined, *a priori*, as a lost unity waiting to be rediscovered beneath layers of historical masking, was itself a mask concealing a confused process in which the architect was faced with a heterogeneous mixture of new and already internalized demands—technical, aesthetic, political, social, and ideological.

As a result of these complexities, values associated with organicism and classicism tended to transgress the conceptual boundaries that separated them. For example, we find that the drive toward anonymous, standardized, and repeatable forms typical of a classical-conservative position becomes increasingly indistinguishable from the social reformers' desire for architecture to represent and foster social equality, and their denigration of the individualism that had characterized the architecture of the previous decade. The collective ideals that began to surface in the 1890s as an antidote to the excesses of *laissez-faire* capitalism, were, in their rhetorical expression, sometimes identical with those associated with the rising spirit of nationalism and imperialism.

In the light of the doubts implied in his lecture, Schuyler now appears as the prophet of these ambiguities and contradictions lying at the heart of the cultural upheavals in the America of the 1890s, and no longer simply as the prophet of a triumphant and unproblematic modernism. It is no longer possible to ignore the "reactionary" tendencies of the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition and the City Beautiful Movement, or the anti-urbanism and ruralism of the organic school, when studying the work of Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright and their links with the modern movement in Europe. In *fin-de-siècle* America, organicism and classicism, nostalgia and modernity were implicated in a larger pattern of cultural, political, and technical change that was sweeping the Western world at the end of the nineteenth century.

Princeton University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1996–1997

Toward a Graphic Archaeology

When I first came to the Center in the fall of 1982, I intended to write a book on a topic I had been researching and lecturing on for several years. The topic concerns a graphic device that was and still is in use in most parts of the world: the grid; more specifically, a variant of it, the checkerboard or chessboard. I aimed to develop a sort of "graphic archaeology," in the way Georges Dumézil and Michel Foucault developed an archaeology of ideology. As American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce used to put it, there is no way of thought, unless diagrammatic. And this is true in social terms as well: every culture, every civilization makes its own use of certain basic graphic devices, related as they are to gestures that answer definite needs or aims. Grids and checkerboards go back to a very remote past, and one finds them all over the world, with a few exceptions. Their ubiquity suggests some sort of "universal," thus providing ground for a comparative approach.

Such devices or patterns have been used or displayed for different purposes, from ritual to merely decorative. In terms of play, the checkerboard provided the ground for different types of games, starting in the second or third millennium B.C., long before the game of chess took its classical form in the sixth or seventh century A.D. Starting in India, the game and the chessboard traveled west, first to Persia and then to Europe, via Arabs and Venetians. But it also traveled east, toward China. This is where comparative

graphic archaeology starts: the way in which different cultures or civilizations appropriated the game with its rules, its set of pieces, and the checkerboard is revealing of fundamental choices or gestures that are characteristic of these cultures. Whereas in the West the pieces are placed in their own square, *a suo luogo*, as Leon Battista Alberti used to say, the Chinese place them at the intersections of the lines along which they move. This includes external lines, which in the West we regard as a limit, a frontier (remember that Romulus killed Remus for having jumped over the line the founder of Rome had just traced with the plow). Chess has always been considered, in the West as well as in the East, as a model for the course of history, the functioning of society, and the ways of war. Grids were regularly associated with the idea and rituals of foundation, either of a city or of an entire empire, as was the case with the Roman surveyors' grid, or a country, as with Thomas Jefferson's 1784 map of the United States.

How does this relate to the history of art? In the Renaissance, the medieval idea of the checkerboard as a model of the strictly delimited field (the "champ clos") in which history was supposed to take place, was traced in perspective in order to provide the floor for the representation of the *istoria*: the scene in perspective, with its checkered pavement. I thus understood that I could not master the topic without dealing first with the history and theory of perspective. This led me to write what I consider a first step in my current enterprise: *The Origin of Perspective* (MIT Press, 1994), to better understand the multiple implications of the tracing of the grid in three dimensions, as the basis or the ground for perspective construction.

My main concern during this year had been both with the first appearances of checkered patterns in the Middle East, Egypt, and Greece, as well as in India and China, in relation to divinatory procedures and rituals of foundation, and with the fortune of the grid in modern and contemporary art. Why have twentieth-century artists, whether or not they consider themselves abstract artists, been so interested in checkered forms, orthogonal diagrams, and grids? What is the aim, the purpose of such an activity if not to move closer to the question which art alone today seems to be able

to ponder: namely, how to test the power—not to mention the validity—of quasi-divinatory forms or, more to the point, of forms that rely on the same givens, the same configurations, the same devices, and the same processes that once characterized divinatory thinking and foundation rituals? The meaning of what Westerners refer to as “history” is not restricted to the word’s various standard usages. It reveals itself in all the practices, productions, performances, and games that obstinately keep posing the question anew, because individuals, like human societies, can survive as such only under the strict condition of respecting the question: how to deal with history?

Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1996–1997

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

At the end of my first two-month stay at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts in the summer of 1995, I attained a rough confirmation of the three working hypotheses I started with: (1) the peculiarity of the French art institutions in the nineteenth century, especially the Salon, with its jury entry on the side of the artists and its unrestricted access on the side of the public, accounts, at least partially, for the fact that the pictorial avant-garde was born in France; (2) the avant-garde becomes necessary, as the only viable way of maintaining the quality standards of high art, when one no longer precisely knows to whom art addresses itself; such is indeed the situation set up by the Salon; (3) the avant-garde artist is the one who understands that when the audience for art is uncertain, then aesthetic judgment can no longer bear on the beauty of a picture within set technical and aesthetic conventions, but must bear on the legitimacy of those conventions themselves. Three topics emerged at that point, each deserving further investigation: (1) the social composition of the Salon public, (2) the strategies of address, and (3) the either/or structure of institutionalized aesthetic judgment.

For my second two-month stay at the Center, I decided to lay aside the first of these topics, partially because the sociological sources concerning the Salon public are better found in France, and partially because I had enough empirical data to start the in-

terpretive work. Last year's approach to the third topic, the either/or structure of institutionalized aesthetic judgment, was in need of closer examination. I remain convinced that the modern "all or nothing" paradigm ("art" versus "nonart") emerged, if only symbolically, with the Salon des Refusés, from within the gray zone dubbed under Louis-Philippe the *juste-milieu*. However, whereas I previously tended to adopt Albert Boime's view of the *juste-milieu* painters as a transgenerational category (Jules Bastien-Lepage is to the impressionist generation what Ary Scheffer was to the romantic generation), further readings (Léon Rosenthal, of course, who introduced the expression *juste-milieu*, but also Boime's book on Thomas Couture, which unwittingly undermines some of the claims he had made for the *juste-milieu* in his book on the Academy), convinced me that the political-aesthetic category of the *juste-milieu* should not be extended beyond the boundaries of the July monarchy. For the painters whom Michael Fried calls "the generation of 1863" something new was at stake, which their contrast to the contemporary "middle-of-the-road" painters (some, like Alphonse Legros, very much part of the generation of 1863) does not explain.

The novelty lay in the new strategies of address these painters developed—precisely the second of my three topics. Edouard Manet is the key figure, and *Olympia*, whose gaze meets the spectator's head-on, is the embodiment of the simplest of these strategies. Almost two decades later, the *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* is the most complex one. Somewhere in the middle, both timewise and in terms of complexity, the *Gare Saint-Lazare* is a pivotal work. It is too soon to develop what I mean by "strategies of address," but I trust that the novel way the characters in those three paintings address the viewer *before* the paintings is evident. Michael Fried's twin notions of absorption and theatricality are obviously strategies of address, although he does not use that word. I am deeply indebted to Fried's pioneering work in this field, and his latest book on Manet, which came out toward the end of my stay at the Center, is likely to be a strong foundation for the present research. I would like to conclude this report by sketching the relation between the notion of address and that of artistic convention, and



Edouard Manet, *Gare Saint-Lazare*, 1873. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Horace Havemeyer in memory of his mother, Louisine W. Havemeyer

hinting at an explanation of why the avant-garde became a necessity for the survival of high art in the conditions set by the Salon.

When painters exhibit in conditions where they address themselves to anybody and everybody without distinction, what becomes of the conventions of their trade? To understand this, the accent must be laid on the convention not as a technical-aesthetic rule, but as a social pact. If the partners in the pact are vague, the pact is uncertain, and the artists are not responsible. The painters all have to deal with the indeterminate public of the Salon; none of them can hope to please everyone at once; all paint with an anonymous, unpredictable crowd looking over their shoulders. For a Salon artist (and they are all Salon artists in the nineteenth century, moderns as well as academics), the public is always present, even when he would like to totally forget it and paint for himself. The

painters cannot avoid dealing, very concretely, with the momentary state of aesthetic consensus embodied in the conventions of their medium. But they can no more avoid receiving the contradictory expectations of the Salon crowd as broken consensus, lack of unanimity, and dissolved conventions. They are faced with demands to which the answer, inevitably, starts with a demand in return, which is the painting's address to the viewer. Indeed, the address is a demand for a pact. Not only must a demand be addressed for it to be one, but every address is already a demand. To address one's speech is to demand that someone listen. As listening is a recognition of the other—the most basic pact—it follows that the address is already a demand for a pact.

Here the pact has a precise meaning, that of *convention of painting*. The academic painter, and certainly the *juste-milieu* painter in Rosenthal's sense, knows the conventions of his trade, which means that he knows with whom he wants to sign a pact. He knows where his immediate social interests lie, and subordinates his technical and aesthetic means to them. His strategy of address is selective, even when he cloaks it in a universalizing discourse. The addressee is by the same token a receiver, at the end of a chain of communication. What characterizes a work of the avant-garde, I would argue, is that it refuses to cater to the known taste of a determinate clientele, signaling instead that it addresses itself, as a matter of principle, to anyone and everyone. Not that it reaches—I mean, is understood by—anyone and everyone: the actual receivers do not coincide with the addressees. De facto, a constituency for avant-garde art is built up, which has of course precise sociological boundaries—an elite among the ruling class. De jure, however, the art lover to whom avant-garde art addresses itself is indeterminate and universal. It is in the nature of the avant-garde's striving for high art that it should ignore empirical sociology in favor of an "abstract" one, which it did in treating the public of art as art's addressee rather than as its receiver.

Paris

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1996

Retrieving Late Babylonian Art: Seal Impressions from the Eanna Archive at Uruk

In 626 B.C., Nabopolassar seized the throne of Babylon, clenching victory in a struggle for independence from Assyria. By capturing Nineveh fourteen years later, Nabopolassar shattered what remained of the once invincible Assyrian kingdom and initiated the so-called Late Babylonian era. The empire he forged grew nearly as great in extent as the Assyrian empire it replaced, and the dynasty he founded oversaw the final flourishing of ancient Babylonian civilization. During its brief heyday as the imperial capital before succumbing to the Persians in 539 B.C., Babylon blossomed into the celebrated city immortalized by Herodotus. This majestic center boasted towering fortification walls, stately royal residences, resplendently ornamented gates and processional way, imposing temples, and a grandiose ziggurat, the famed Tower of Babel.

Owing to the efforts of classical authors who recorded memories of Babylon, and to modern philologists who translate cuneiform documents, a good deal of sixth-century Babylonian political, military, economic, and social history can be reconstructed. Unlike the sociopolitical histories that treat the age as a lively one that continued to exert influence after its demise, the art histories portray the age as little more than a postscript to the story of Mesopotamian art, a coda to a native tradition uprooted by a foreign one. Descriptions of Late Babylonian art tend toward the de-



Seal impression on a clay tablet from the Eanna Archive at Uruk, sixth century B.C. Yale University Library, Babylonian Collection. Author photograph

risory or point to its derivative character. Part of the problem with appraising the art lies in its dearth. Few monumental works are known, and despite the extent of the Babylonian empire, the number of excavated sites containing sixth-century material is quite low, with most artifacts coming from the single center of Babylon itself.

The glyptic arts serve as the primary source, quantitatively and iconographically, around which to formulate an art history of the period. Actual seals often lack archaeological provenance and hence context and date. Seal impressions on tablets, however, carry supplemental associations gleaned from the texts. In the most informative cases, the content of the tablet reveals the seal's owner and office, and the date of the seal's employ. The relevance of the seal's imagery and conventions of sealing choice thus can occasionally be deduced. The sealings investigated in this dissertation come from economic tablets that once belonged to the sixth-century archive of

the Eanna temple of Ishtar at Uruk. At that time, Uruk was southern Babylonia's foremost city and the Eanna its major temple. Although now scattered among numerous museums in the United States and abroad, and mostly without documented archaeological context, the Eanna tablets can be reassembled into an archive based on internal evidence.

This dissertation presents a thematically arranged catalogue of 220 seal impressions from Eanna tablets. A description of each sealing and the tablet that bears it is given, along with a line drawing and a photograph. The dissertation text delineates the Late Babylonian setting, the Eanna temple, and its archive. Sealing iconography in both the archival and greater Babylonian context is then investigated. A worshiper before divine symbols is the most common motif, perhaps reflecting the piety so pronounced in Late Babylonian royal inscriptions. The contest scene of a hero combating animals, a theme well-rooted in Mesopotamia, also figures prominently. Observations on sealing usage reveal an apparent lack of systematic practices that obtained in other periods of Mesopotamian history. Finally, the influence on the sealings of the Babylonian and Assyrian heritage of the early first millennium is documented, as is the Persian acceptance of Babylonian intellectual precedence. Implicit in the evaluation of the extent and rate of glyptic change is an assessment of the effects of political reconfiguration on material culture.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1995-1997

The Inca and the Spanish King: Visualizing Elite and Popular Cultures in Colonial Peru

In 1532, a group of Spaniards under the command of Francisco Pizarro set out to conquer the Inca empire of Peru. The Spanish conquest of this largest state in ancient America led to the merging of two complex, hierarchically structured societies. As a consequence, the different social strata of both societies had to define their places in the newly formed, hybrid colonial state. In both cultures, Hispanic and Andean, the elite groups used a variety of means to constitute and express their high social rank. Visual representations, such as masterly woven textiles, paintings, or the staging of public ceremonies, played important roles as indicators of social status. These also provide a way of visualizing the specific sociopolitical configuration of these societies. Within the complex new sociopolitical organization in the colonial state, the encounter of both cultures eventually led to the transformation of their respective artistic and visual manifestations.

In addition to their traditional Andean indicators of social status, colonial Andean elites also turned to European modes of visualizing high rank. Of these, portraiture is particularly interesting, because the Andeans did not merely adopt the European portrait tradition, they used it for their own purposes. By the second half of the seventeenth century, indigenous and mestizo (mixed-blood) artists had formed their own workshops and developed a distinctively Andean style of painting, which synthesized European and

THE INCAS OF PERU



Series of imaginary Inca portraits with an Inca queen and the Spanish conqueror Francisco Pizarro, early nineteenth century. Denver Art Museum

Amerindian traditions. Like Spanish and colonial Spanish nobles, the Amerindian elite commissioned portraits to document their social standing and noble descent. In these paintings the sitter often exhibited a combination of the European and Andean styles of clothing, drawing on the visual codes of both societies. In addition the Andean nobles assimilated the different portrait types to their own purposes: as donors of religious painting, they placed their portraits in churches next to the holy images. In narrative painting, they demonstrated their prominent position in both societies, as indigenous leaders and as members of the colonial elite. Finally, they used formal, personal portraits to prove their Inca ancestry, thus claiming descent from the native kings.

In addition to paintings of living persons, imaginary portraits representing former Inca rulers proliferated, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Given the great importance ascribed to portraits in Spanish and colonial Peruvian culture, it is not surprising that Andeans, Spaniards, and Creoles all tried to picture the former Inca sovereigns. Inca kings were depicted in full and half figure and in roundels, as on coins or medals. Compositions showing numerous Inca rulers became popular in colonial Peru. There are examples of such imaginary portraits in oil paintings, murals, prints, and watercolors. Frequently, the Incas were arranged in a quasi-genealogical succession, sometimes together with Spanish kings, thereby linking the Andean elite to the Spanish elite and suggesting that the Spanish king was the rightful heir to the Inca throne. All these portraits are purely fictional, as no Precolumbian depictions of Incas are known. Since no such tradition existed in precolonial times, the artists had to decide how to portray an Inca. The fact that every sector of the society could project its own visions into these imaginary portraits, and that they could serve so many purposes, accounts for their immense popularity throughout the colonial and republican eras.

While in the colonial period Andean elites stressed their individuality by means of portraiture, indigenous commoners were forced into the colonial tributary system, thus becoming "indios," a faceless mass of tribute-payers. In Precolumbian times, and even more so in the colonial era, Amerindian commoners had no voice in the

historical records, and they are almost entirely absent from visual sources. If depicted at all, they were not shown as individuals. Only the person of the Inca ruler, evoked in the numerous imaginary portraits of Inca sovereigns, could fill the gap between Andean elite and popular cultures and provide a figure of integration and identification acceptable to all layers of Amerindian and even Creole society.

Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik, Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität
München
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1996–1997

Architecture in Rome during the Pontificate of Alexander VI: Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, Bramante, and the Antique

The central foci of the study are the urban strategies and architectural works in Rome promoted by Pope Alexander VI Borgia (1492–1503). This investigation reveals that the pontificate of Alexander VI represented a fundamental bridge between the fifteenth-century “Renovatio Urbis” and the ideal complexity of the sixteenth-century “Roma Triumphans.”

This research follows from my recent studies of the transformations of the Rocca di Cività Castellana, executed by Antonio da Sangallo the Elder. There exists a close connection between the realization of the Cortile d’Onore *all’antica* that characterized the Cività Castellana fortress and some other urbanistic and architectural undertakings, all promoted by Pope Alexander VI Borgia in Rome. This relationship displays the use of the so-called “classical language” of architecture with the aim of using architecture to contribute to the edification of the new “Res Publica Christiana.”

From the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the sixteenth century, Rome became a field of experimentation for the classical language of *all’antica* architecture. Thus *all’antica* architecture itself became an efficient instrument of the “Renovatio Urbis Romae” that was desired by several popes after their return from exile in Avignon. In particular, the courtyard of the Cività Castellana fortress during Alexander VI’s pontificate initiated the urban and architectural transformations that characterized the high Roman

Renaissance. If, far from Rome, the Cività Castellana courtyard evoked the memory of the Colosseum's magnificence, then another initiative promoted by the pope, in anticipation of the Jubilee of 1500, reached the sense of a true *all'antica* gesture. It involved the opening of a new street in the heart of the Città Leonina, the future Via Alessandrina. This was a type of "Via Triumphalis," which was capable of re-creating the magnificence of the ancients and the grandeur of an imperial enterprise—but now under the pope's auspices.

In the Consistory of 26 November 1498 it was decided, precisely in relation to the jubilee, to rationalize the area's streets between Saint Peter's Basilica and Castel Sant'Angelo. One reason was to avoid crowds of pilgrims, which had already caused incidents during the Jubilee of 1450. As a result, Cardinal Raffaele Riario was entrusted with the task of consulting various experts and with the definition of a complete plan. Following earlier analogous initiatives (Nicholas V, Sixtus IV), Alexander VI focused on the area between two great topographic and symbolic urban points of Rome: Saint Peter's and Castel Sant'Angelo. The Via Alessandrina presented not only a processional link (such as the Via Borgo Vecchio, between the Sant'Angelo bridge and the basilica) but more importantly, it served as a privileged connection between *Castrum* and *Palatium*, in obvious relation to humanistic and architectural literature of the period (for example, relevant passages from Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria*). Thus a new public path was realized parallel to the private papal "passetto di Borgo," restructured by Alexander VI with a new level added to the existing defensive wall.

The debate concerning such an undertaking expanded in many directions involving both humanistic scholars and architects (among the latter Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, and perhaps Donato Bramante, too). Thus the urban plan assumed various symbolic, celebrative features, in addition to the functional aspects related to improved traffic movements. In fact the new artery responded to diverse exigencies. For example: (a) it provided a new portal access to the *Palatium*—a type of "porta santa" that celebrated both the beginning of the new century and the definitive

transfer of the popes from the Lateran to the Vatican; (b) in addition, the portal access established a perspective view of the triumphal arch at the end of the Via Alessandrina, and a corresponding view from the "porta santa" to the Castel Sant'Angelo new gate on the opposite side of the street (thus the *Castrum's* original function as an urban link between the Romans' city and that of the popes was reaffirmed); and finally (c) between these urban points of interest the new artery also gave precedence to a third point (the so-called *Meta Romuli*, or the legendary pyramid that supposedly contained Romulus' remains).

In particular, this last aspect revealed the pope's intention to build a "new" Rome, recalling the magnificence of its ancient past. The presence of the *Meta Romuli* along the path of the Via Alessandrina emphasized the symbolic significance of its construction. In the same way that Romulus founded Rome by plowing a furrow on the ground, Alexander VI wanted to leave an initial and decisive landmark for the construction of a new papal Rome. The bull featured in the Borgia's coat-of-arms (already represented in pictorial programs as a prosperous bull, the *Apis* golden bull) drove the pope's plow in tracing the furrow of the new Rome. The future "Roma Triumphans," beginning with the Jubilee of 1500, would be built as Romulus had originally done.

Università degli Studi di Roma Tre
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1996

John Constable's *The Cenotaph* and the Origins of His Late Style

From John Constable's most famous early utterance (1802), berating himself and other artists for "running after pictures" instead of studying nature at first hand, to his comment just over two decades later that he wanted to "*saturate* [himself] with art" in order to make himself "much more an artist," there is an apparent contradiction at the heart of his art and thought. This contradiction is characterized on the one hand by his steadfast commitment to an originality rooted in fidelity to nature and, on the other, by a clear-eyed recognition rooted in academic theory of the necessity of building on the insights and achievements of the great artists of the past. Constable was always a self-reflective artist, and this tension was a significant and conscious element in his approach from early in his career. By the mid-1820s an ever-deepening conviction—that a dialectical interplay between the established and the new offered the only route to the enduring achievement and recognition he anxiously sought—began fundamentally to inform both his mature commentaries on art and his canvases.

In his last decade, Constable saw himself as charting a hazardous course between the paired dangers of what was often viewed by his contemporary critics as a gratuitous search for originality (seen primarily in his efforts to capture the effects of light by means of broken brushwork and white paint) and a self-effacing dependence on tradition (seen primarily in his more traditionally picturesque sub-

ject matter). This balancing act defines his late style.

That Constable's major works from 1826 on differ in significant ways from his previous production is now generally recognized. But explanatory attention has not focused sufficiently on what the artist himself described as the epochal event of his life: his six-week stay in the autumn of 1823 at Coleorton, Sir George Beaumont's Leicestershire estate. I am convinced that the visit to Coleorton was the experience that ultimately triggered the evolution of Constable's late style. Research during my two months at the Center has been devoted to recovering the mixture of intellectual, literary, and artistic components in which Constable was immersed at Coleorton and to tracing their reappearance in his subsequent work. In particular, I have focused on building the case that he left behind an explicit testimonial to the impact of his Coleorton visit in his 1836 painting, *The Cenotaph*.

Sir George Beaumont was, of course, a preeminent figure in the world of the arts in Britain from the 1790s until his death in 1827. He was an important art collector and patron, a founder of the British Institution, and a talented amateur actor, painter, and poet. Moreover, he maintained close ties with a wide circle of other cultural cynosures including Sir Joshua Reynolds, Uvedale Price, David Garrick, and William Wordsworth. Finally, he was an important supporter, though never a patron, of John Constable's, and he had a profound impact on the painter's artistic thinking and production. Constable was fully cognizant of this influence and acknowledged it repeatedly in his correspondence and, in his great 1828 *Landscape: Dedham Vale*, in paint. In the 1830s, he even planned to write a biography of Beaumont, but this seems never to have progressed beyond early stages.

Though Constable spent much of his painting time at Coleorton copying Claude Lorrain's *Landscape with a Goatherd* and otherwise immersing himself in Sir George's collection, his visit was comprised of much more than hours in the studio. He and Beaumont rode out daily into a surrounding landscape which Constable found very much to his taste, though it was considerably more rugged than his native Suffolk. He particularly admired the associatively rich medieval ruins at Grace Dieu and Ashby, which is interesting given



John Constable, *The Cenotaph at Coleorton*, 1836. National Gallery, London

the role that ruins play in his later work. Closer to the house, Constable developed an appreciation for the landscaping of Coleorton itself, perhaps because he was introduced to the design by the owner. He commented very favorably upon it, though he had previously been skeptical of what he saw as the artificiality of landscape estates. And, of course, many of these excursions were working, as well as pleasure, outings. Among the sketches Constable made on the grounds of Coleorton was a drawing of a monument erected in 1813 to the memory of Reynolds, which bore an inscription by Wordsworth.

Of equal importance, to my mind, in redirecting Constable's sense of how best to achieve his artistic goals were other aspects of his visit. In the evenings there were recitations of poetry and plays, ranging from Wordsworth to Shakespeare. And there were clearly lengthy discussions about art. Beaumont was, as already noted, a close friend of Uvedale Price, and it is apparent from Constable's correspondence that Price's writings on the picturesque figured prominently in both the reading and conversation at Coleorton. Unquestionably, Constable left Coleorton with a far more nuanced appreciation of picturesque theory and its relationships to those artists he profoundly admired, such as Claude and Richard Wilson, than he had before. Thus when Constable writes of Claude's *Landscape with a Goatherd*, that it "contains almost all that I wish to do in Landscape," we must be prepared to take this assertion, and its potential ramifications for his post-Coleorton work, seriously.

Early in 1833, Constable began a large painting based on his drawing of the Reynolds memorial. Given the painter's sensitivity to the signal moments in his own past, the idea that he might have been consciously noting the passage of a decade since his Coleorton visit cannot be ignored, but he apparently put the painting aside after only a couple of months' work. Three years later, however, he returned to the canvas, determined to finish it for the valedictory Royal Academy exhibition at Somerset House that May. This painting of a dedicatory monument, honoring that British artist whom Constable admired above all others for his contributions to his profession, was itself explicitly commemorative. The painter noted in a letter that he "preferred to see Sir Joshua Reynolds' name and Sir George Beaumont's once more in the catalogue, for the last time in the old house." Thus the public face of Constable's testimonial to Beaumont and Reynolds is clear. But there is more to it than this. As with virtually all of Constable's major paintings after 1826, the readily accessible "public" imagery of the painting is infused with quite specific personal references. Let me note a telling example of this.

The most striking element in *The Cenotaph* is the fallow deer which stands before the memorial and glances up, as if alerted to our footfall coming down the garden avenue. In one of his letters from Coleorton, Constable had written his wife, Maria, of how af-

fectingly Beaumont had read the famous passage from *As You Like It* on Jaques and the wounded stag. Beaumont himself had painted this Shakespearean subject in the late 1810s, and Constable devoted himself to a planned illustration of the subject shortly before his death. There is, therefore, persuasive circumstantial evidence for correlating the deer in *The Cenotaph* with one of Constable's most moving memories of Beaumont at Coleorton. But the deer carries more than Shakespearean overtones: in the writings of Price and other picturesque theorists, deer were the quintessentially picturesque animals, just as the most picturesque season was autumn, the time of year represented in the painting. Constable, in other words, has created an image that is insistently—one might even say, for this painter, peculiarly—picturesque. In this way the painting, which is well-stocked with such literary and theoretical references, clearly and intentionally encapsulates the memories and the transformative stylistic experiences that Constable took with him from Coleorton in 1823.

Bates College

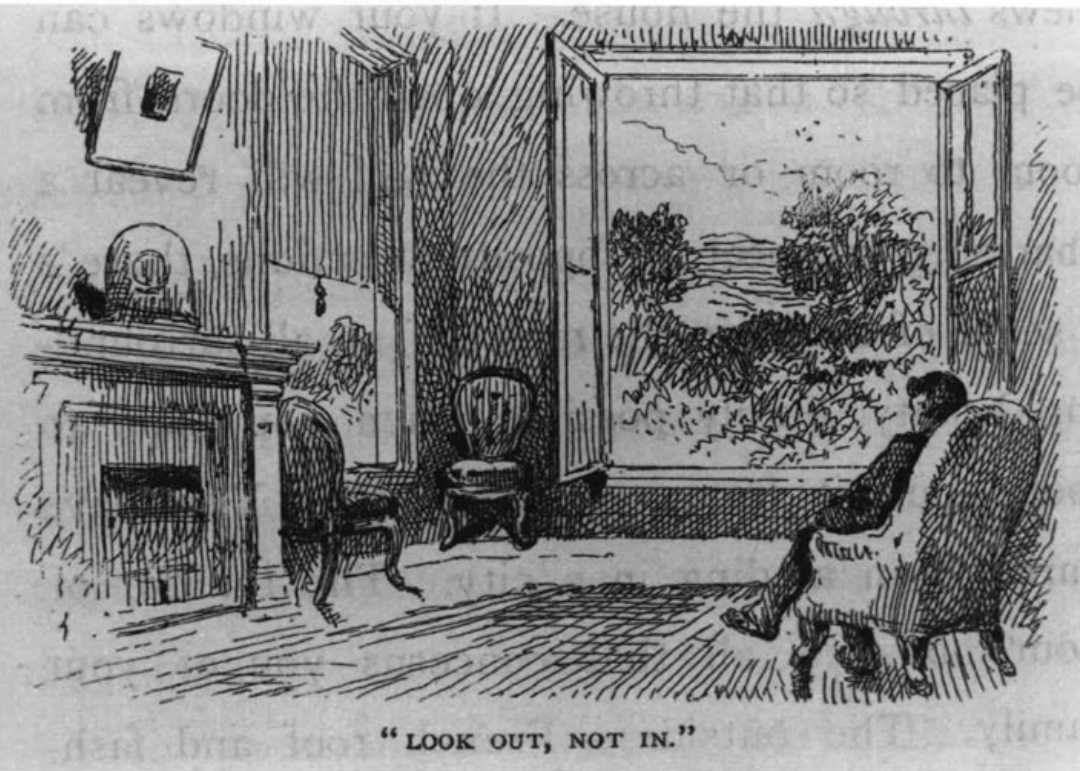
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1997

“Little Visual Empire”: Private Vistas and the Modern American House

A distinct emphasis on the view—a private, typically pastoral prospect—became by the mid-twentieth century a defining characteristic of modern American house design. My dissertation, completed during the course of my fellowship, investigates the historical emergence of this emphasis on private landscape views, and attempts to define the chief characteristics by which they may be distinguished from earlier manifestations. I discuss the varied forms in which this interest was pursued, its effects on house design, intersections with issues in real estate and land management, and the positive values landscape views were felt to embody as well as the social ills they were thought to remedy.

Views came at this time to dominate many design discussions: houses were described as being organized or “built around” a view, or “reversed” or “elevated” for one. They were even compared to cameras both in appearance and function. Magazines described windows framed on new sites and houses built around the views from them. Longstanding and fundamental distinctions such as “façade” and “rear” were often redesignated as “street side,” even “blind side,” and “view side.” The reorientation of the single-family house, from the public street front to the private rear yard, was itself applauded as part of the effort to secure and to privatize an experience of landscape.

Other aspects of house design, which had formerly enjoyed more



“Look Out, Not In,” illustration to Eugene Clarence Gardner, *Homes and How to Make Them* (James R. Osgood and Co., Boston, 1874)

or less independent value, now began to be incorporated within a prevailing logic of the view. Mirrors, for example, began to be placed opposite views to reflect them deep within the house. Exterior lighting, to take another example, had previously been placed at the house entry for the safety of approaching friends or to display the house to the street. By the 1950s, no better use of domestic exterior lighting could be imagined than exhibiting the view. Night lighting made the view as durable a feature of the interior as the furniture. Although antedated by the nineteenth-century “landscape window,” the picture window was also thought to guarantee a satisfying view. A metonym for the suburbs, the picture window became a lightning rod for sociological as well as architectural criticism precisely because it so often failed to produce an agreeable prospect. Even the open planning characteristic of modernism came to rely

in the popular consciousness on a view. For the most part, an open plan meant little in a closed setting.

Among the chief benefits of having a view were an expanded sense of space and an intimate relation with nature. Spaciousness was a keynote of contemporary design, for large homes and small, and was pursued in a variety of ways that included the use of color, mirrors, scenic wallpapers, and underscaled furniture and details. Professional and popular periodicals of the era celebrate the possibilities for misreading perceptual cues and instruct readers on how to find deep space in the otherwise shallow spaces of their homes. More than anything else though, views through walls of glass were the favored means to expand the sense of space. The view was effective, however, only when privacy remained intact. In other words, views were best when they were both broad and unpopulated. Great attention was dedicated toward maintaining this condition even in relatively dense suburban settings. In this way, the intimacy with nature that glass walls were believed to foster was very much part of an urban critique, as were the suburbs themselves. Views of the landscape were felt to remedy a range of ills that included economic pressures on the middle class and threats to human physiology posed by advancing mechanization, as well as social disruptions caused by urban decline. In essence, views performed a therapeutic function. Consequently, many architects made a kind of landscape therapy central to their design practice.

Views, of course, figure prominently in the history of architecture. Typically though, they were more or less commensurate with ownership of the land surveyed. This was especially true for picturesque-era landscapes, from which much of the American discussion of views drew its inspiration. What is most distinct about the twentieth-century interest in views is that they are advocated for relatively small sites. Indeed, the benefits provided by a broad vista are most needed precisely when they are most unlikely. In such instances, views of the landscape are private, but unowned. They are a kind of optical property. This corresponds to the gradual isolation of "scenic easements," or viewing rights, from the bundle of rights that comprise the legal concept of property, a process that largely began in the nineteenth century. The development of tools for the estima-

tion of a view's economic value and the mechanisms for its commercial exchange may be traced through real estate periodicals and the classified section of many metropolitan newspapers. In the literature of both real estate and architecture, views were made more regular and more permanent. Their stability was eventually protected by adjudication and legislation, which couches protection of the landscape in terms that echo these earlier discussions. Today, "view protection" has become a distinct area of land management policy, which routinely seeks to quantify the value of a view in order to assess trade-offs with other marketable resources. In several recent instances, views of the landscape have even been subject to taxation. A central task of my dissertation has been to outline architecture's contribution to this visual commodification of landscape.

[Massachusetts Institute of Technology]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1995-1997

In the Realm of Landscape: Essays on Thomas Cole

My research this year at the Center has been for a book of essays on American landscape painter Thomas Cole (1801–1848). Each essay is centered on a specific painting (or pair of paintings). Recent major publications on Cole by other scholars have thoroughly discussed the details of his life and patronage, so my focus in the essays is on interpretation, with particular attention given to the ways in which Cole used landscape as the means for conveying highly complex ideas about man and nature. Although I necessarily give considerable attention to his allegorical and imaginary works such as *The Course of Empire* and *The Voyage of Life*, my particular interest has been with Cole's imaginative transformation of pure landscape and the strategies he employed in making it the bearer of meaning. Although Cole's approach to landscape, and his attitudes toward it, changed considerably over the course of his career, my thesis is that from his earliest wilderness pictures to the late paintings he pursued a remarkably consistent, and highly ambitious, program.

In the essay, "New World Dawn," I discuss *Sunrise in the Catskills* (1826, National Gallery of Art, Washington). Cole's most important early landscapes depicted the wilderness of the northeastern United States, and this particular example was perhaps his first fully formed expression of the special character of that landscape. Drawing on well-established conventions from European art



Thomas Cole, *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains (Crawford Notch)*, 1839. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Andrew W. Mellon Fund

(especially the work of Salvator Rosa and Richard Wilson), Cole created a work that not only faithfully reproduced the actual look of the American wilderness, but also invested it with rich symbolic meaning. The interpretative key to this work lies in understanding the way Cole used nature's forms (especially trees, rocks, and a mullein plant) to tell a story about a previously untouched, raw landscape now in its earliest stages of transformation as civilization begins to interact with it (both physically and intellectually).

The essay "Old World Decay" examines *Italian Coast Scene with Ruined Tower* (1838, National Gallery of Art). When Cole first traveled abroad in 1829–1831 his goal was not only to see

great works of art and architecture, but also to see the places that had inspired such artists as Claude Lorrain and Rosa to paint their famous landscapes. Accordingly, his visit to Italy was virtually an aesthetic pilgrimage, and his experiences there provided a well-spring of inspiration. Among the many subjects that Cole would investigate over the next decade, the ruined tower held special associations, serving for him as a potent symbol of the achievements of the past, but also of the follies of ambition. Of the half dozen or so paintings he created of ruined towers, this recently discovered example offers particularly rich opportunities for interpretation. Its highly complex evolution, involving inspiration from at least two different poetic sources, taxed even Cole's fertile imagination.

"Arcadia versus Wilderness" investigates the relationship between two identically-sized paintings that Cole most likely considered "informal" pendants: *Dream of Arcadia* (1838, Denver Art Museum) and *Schroon Mountain, Adirondacks* (1838, Cleveland Museum of Art). The former is a wholly imaginary confection in which Cole gave pictorial form to the concept of Arcadia, while in the latter he took an American wilderness area that was already being changed by civilization and returned it to its primeval state, complete with Native Americans as its inhabitants.

"The Instability of Nature" discusses *A View of the Mountain Pass Called the Notch of the White Mountains* (1839, National Gallery of Art). Cole first visited Crawford Notch in 1827, but his major depiction of it did not appear until twelve years later. While Cole portrayed specific places only rarely, in this case the wide-ranging associative meanings of the site gave it a special appeal. The result was a multilayered statement on man, nature, and the ultimate uncertainties of America's investing national symbolism in the New World landscape. The meanings of the painting are brought out more clearly by comparison to its pendant, which Cole had painted several years earlier: *Landscape Composition: Italian Scenery* (1832, Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester).

"Nostalgia for the Domestic" examines *The Van Rensselaer Manor House* (1840) and *The Gardens of the Van Rensselaer Manor House* (1841; both Albany Institute of History and Art). In 1839 Cole was commissioned to paint a pair of pictures of the

manor house and gardens of the Van Rensselaer family in Albany, New York. The commission was occasioned by the fact that the family was giving up the property and wished to have "some representation of the home scenes with which they have become so familiar and which are so endeared to them." The resulting pendants have been accorded scarce attention in Cole scholarship, no doubt in part because of their high degree of topographical accuracy. They transcend the limits of pure realism, however, by evoking a palpable mood of nostalgia and loneliness, making them among Cole's most movingly eloquent landscapes.

"Myth, Allegory, and Science" considers Cole's several paintings of Mount Etna, such as *Mount Etna* (1842, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond). The highlight of Cole's second visit to Italy in 1841–1842 was his ascent of the great Sicilian volcano. From that experience a number of paintings resulted, making Etna one of the subjects that Cole investigated most thoroughly. As in the case of Crawford Notch in the White Mountains, the landscape of Mount Etna embraced many meanings, ranging from ancient mythology and ancient history to the revolutionary scientific theories about the age of the earth espoused by the great geologist Charles Lyell. Although Cole's *Mount Etna* at first appears to be nothing more than a topographical view of a famous site, it was deliberately constructed to refer to all of these deeper meanings.

National Gallery of Art, Department of American and British Paintings
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,
1996–1997

Jan Steen's Models

This research concerns the use of borrowed and recurring motifs in the oeuvre of Dutch artist Jan Steen (1626–1679). The recurrence of the same dogs, children, chairs, and such in the work of this prolific artist has often been pointed out, though no investigation of this phenomenon has been undertaken. Steen's repetitions are sometimes very evident, at others they are concealed. Steen often used his repetitions in mirror image; this applies to figures, sections of compositions, and even entire compositions. In all probability Steen did not use cartoons, for the motifs almost always reappear in a different scale.

That Steen never repeated himself literally, as proposed by Lyckle de Vries, is true on one level, but the variety of reused compositions and motifs means that such a claim should be made with the utmost care. In showing that Jan Steen often borrowed from other artists, the occurrence of specific motifs and their chronological sequence is of particular importance. A careful comparison between different versions of compositions provided a solution for the chronological sequence in some cases, as well as their ultimate source in the work of earlier artists. Steen not only found inspiration in his family and at the inn, but he also appropriated motifs from his contemporaries as well as old masters. The concept of Steen as a learned painter, already mentioned by his eighteenth-century biographer Jan Campo Weyerman, can be confirmed not



Jan Steen, *The Feast of Saint Nicholas*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

only by Steen's considerable knowledge of literary sources, but also by his repeated borrowing of the most diverse visual material, ranging from Raphael and Paolo Veronese to Pieter Bruegel and Rembrandt van Rijn.

The artist must have kept a collection of drawn heads, arms, and legs to consult at will. This brings to mind Carel van Mander's advice for the young artist to look to older masters and steal bodies, arms, and legs. Steen applied this advice not only in relation to older masters but also within his own oeuvre. The methods by which he achieved his repetitions remain rather mysterious. Only one drawing survives, but it is probable that a collection of red

chalk drawings and their rubbings may have been employed. Schematic heads probably also were at his disposal. In *The Feast of Saint Nicholas* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) not only are the heads of the two laughing and crying boys based on the same model, but also the heads of two girls are derived from one schematic model, here used in mirror image.

A similar method was employed for the numerous faces that have been recognized as self-portraits. Many of these are based on the same schematic model, which Steen could have completed with his own traits. This evidence is of importance for Perry Chapman's theory that Steen used his own image and those of his family members as a means to create a persona for himself and the Steen family through his paintings. *The Feast of Saint Nicholas*, for example, has been seen as a depiction of the Steen family. Steen's use of models, however, brings this into question. The children indeed resemble other children in Steen's paintings, all supposedly Steen's offspring. In this painting, however, while the younger girl with the many gifts belongs to the family celebration, the older girl, holding the shoe with the switch, is a young servant. The conclusion can only be that Steen indeed kept a keen eye on his kin, but that his use of his wife and children as models does not mean that his compositions are literally autobiographical.

Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1996

Ideas of Italy: Renaissance State and Fascist Nation

Italy has been a nation for little more than a century, but coherent ideas of Italy had long been in currency, both among inhabitants and foreigners. In the Renaissance, according to the new cultural geographies and published histories, an idea of Italy emerged as a geographical entity but, above all, as a cultural one whose integrity derived from a common history in classical antiquity. Already in the sixteenth century, Italy claimed a cultural supremacy based on her artistic and cultural patrimony, vaunted civility, beauty and natural abundance, and military prowess; the “queen of all the world,” as she is personified in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* of 1603. This idea of Italy was sustained by a patrician class united by its possession of a shared cultural capital—classical learning and a common language, which provided the basis for the unification of Italy in the nineteenth century. But the history of the peninsula in the intervening centuries is also one of independent states, with their own pasts, traditions, and cultural identities, in perpetually changing alliances and conflicts, and of foreign occupation, not only politically, but also metaphorically, through tourism and various other means of possessing Italian culture. In the efforts of forging a nation and a national culture first during the Risorgimento and most emphatically under Fascism, the idea of Italy as a repository of culture with a common history in ancient Rome was reclaimed from the foreign occupiers.



Italia, from Cesare Ripa,
Iconologia (Rome, 1603)

While pursuing two independent studies, both related to cultural identity—one on the visual representation of the state of Florence under the Medici in the sixteenth century and the other on the uses of the past in Fascist Italy—I have found the scholarship on nationalism (Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Ernst Gellner) and Fascism (George L. Mosse, Victoria De Grazia, Jeffrey Schnapp) illuminating of the sixteenth-century material. Numerous similari-

ties have emerged, for example, in the positing of ancient Roman origins for both the Florentine state and the Fascist nation in the construction of a continuous "national" history: the parallels established between the Roman Emperor Augustus and both Duke Cosimo I and Mussolini; the invention of rituals with evocations of the ancient past; the codification of a "national" language (Tuscan in sixteenth-century Florence, standardized by the Accademia della Crusca; and Italian under Fascism, from which foreign terms and dialects were prohibited); and the founding of academies, Florentine in the sixteenth century and Italian in 1926, to repossess a "national" culture. I considered merging both projects into a single book with thematically related individual essays, but for the moment they remain independent: a dense article which had already been long underway, with the working title, "Italianness in Fascist Italy and the Italian Garden Tradition: The Uses of the Past and the Influence of Ideology on Scholarship," and my principal project, a book tentatively called "Representing the State: Cultural Identity in Sixteenth-Century Florence."

Historian Eric Hobsbawm has noted that nation-building involves the construction of a usable past that legitimates the present, which is, of course, based on "real" history: selected (or obliterated), emphasized, popularized, or institutionalized. The Medici actively participated in the invention of a usable past by commissioning histories of Florence and also by commissioning a visible history in painting, sculpture, and the ephemera of festivals. In these histories the Medici duchy emerged as the logical outcome of two principal, prior stages of Florence's past, its founding by the ancient Romans and the prominence of the Medici in the fifteenth-century oligarchic republic. In the monumental wall paintings of the Palazzo Vecchio, for example, history is collapsed into a continuous past in the principal narrative scenes (the founding of Florence and the battles of Pisa in the fourteenth century and Siena in the sixteenth) through a variety of strategies, such as the juxtaposition of ancient and modern dress and types of warfare. A visible history of Florence was also constructed through portraits of the Medici, in which types and features were repeated across generations and family lines, and of Florence's cultural heroes,

represented as a single lineage through a homogeneous and archaizing style.

As with the idea of Italy, the idea of Florence that coalesced in the sixteenth century involved the flourishing of both nature and culture. Florence's gifts of nature were already implicated in the stories of her founding in a field of flowers and subsequent naming as Fiorenza (from *fiore*, or flower). Florence was thus personified as Flora, goddess of flowers, whose figural representation proclaims her ancient origins through the evocation of classical prototypes and her fertility through the nudity and round, full bodies of the models selected (unlike, for example, Venice, figured as a patrician woman in contemporary garb).

Florentine patricians had a much more extensive role in the court society of the Medici duchy than earlier (under the republic). Through the portraits they commissioned, their collections, cultural organizations, and preoccupations with nobility, they contributed to the fabrication of both a past and an "imagined community" in the present (in the words of Benedict Anderson). For example, the portraits of Florentine patricians share with those of patricians in other regions of Italy some signifiers of social class and the classical culture that distinguished it, but also represent the distinctive cultural identity of Florence through the depiction of particular books, objects, sculpture, furniture, and architectural settings.

Cornell University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1996

PAMELA M. LEE

Object to Be Destroyed: The Work of Gordon Matta-Clark

My dissertation considers the work of the American artist Gordon Matta-Clark (1943–1978), best known for his sculptural transformations of abandoned buildings. Active in the United States and Europe, Matta-Clark produced his art by cutting into various parts of each structure, scrupulously documenting the work before the sites were later demolished. Along with a substantial number of photographs, films, drawings, and plans—the materials from which I conducted my research—the architectural fragments Matta-Clark preserved from each site might be claimed as the only extant art objects.

My research poses a fundamental question about the peculiar nature of Matta-Clark's process: that is, what does the gesture of cutting up a building, and then allowing for its destruction, suggest about the conditions of art-making in the 1970s? And how does one reconcile the greater paradox of his work's making—that the very *production* of the object is contingent upon the *ruination* or loss of its principal medium? The dialectical turn implicit in this line of inquiry is central to my account. Because Matta-Clark's art was fashioned from outmoded buildings, it is understood as a critique of production and the narratives of progress that in turn are staked on it.

To such ends, Matta-Clark's art is framed through the rhetoric of a "sacrificial economy," drawing principally upon the reception

of Hegelian dialectics by the figure of Georges Bataille, among others. However speculative this model might seem, the thesis broadly argues that Matta-Clark's art engages the notion of "production as loss" in acutely historical and local ways.

Roughly chronological in its organization, the dissertation begins by treating the thematics of "place" for Matta-Clark, specifically, his formative place. Matta-Clark's involvement in the installation of the *Earth Art* exhibition at Cornell University in 1969, and his meeting with Robert Smithson, who was an enormous influence on the younger artist, are considered. Readings of site-specificity and Smithson's theories of entropy are invoked to analyze certain assumptions about the notion of influence and site-specific art.

Matta-Clark's early work in New York is then discussed in terms of political and philosophical debates surrounding the constitution of property. Situating his interests in relation to other artists working on critical issues of real estate and the critique of institutions, I consider his involvement with the nascent artist's community of SoHo, and his broader relation to the politics of property rights in New York. A genealogy of the idea of property and personhood within modern thought, particularly Georg Friedrich Hegel's theorization in the *Philosophy of Right*, is occasioned to reflect on Matta-Clark's thematization of property.

The question of violence in the production and reception of Matta-Clark's first building-cuts is subsequently explored. The experience of the spectator and the formal character of two of his most important projects (*Days End*, *Circus: the Caribbean Origin*) are described at length through the philosophical and art-historical rhetoric of phenomenology, on the one hand, and the sublime on the other, two bodies of thought widely appropriated by art criticism in the late sixties and seventies. Relating this to the example of minimalist sculpture, I suggest that the violent experience of Matta-Clark's art offers a critique of the phenomenological model through its acute plays of scale and the "cut."

If Matta-Clark's work engenders such a violent reception, what might this suggest about the status of the spectator's subjectivity, that is, his or her capacity to act? Matta-Clark's projects in Paris

(*Conical Intersect*, *Sous-sol de Paris*, *Descending Steps for Batan*) are evaluated in regard to such questions, particularly as they relate to notions of community. Set against the controversy surrounding the sweeping demolition that took place around the district of Les Halles, Matta-Clark's Parisian-based work is read as providing a political critique: an exposition on the annihilation of historical sites and communities.

In conclusion, I think about the historiographic implications that arise in the reception of Matta-Clark in recent art and current art history. What emerges from this is a larger reading of the paradox embedded in the notion of contemporary art history—what it means to produce a history of the present about something that is necessarily historical, because it is lost or destroyed.

[Harvard University]
Wyeth Fellow, 1995–1997

MICHAEL J. LEWIS

Philadelphia Architects in the National Capital

In late 1874 A. B. Mullett, the supervising architect of the United States Treasury, resigned, leading to a fierce struggle for the opportunity to design every post office, custom house, and appraiser's store in the country. Architects across the country competed, including such luminaries as William LeBaron Jenney and P. B. Wight. But the contest was dominated by the architects of Philadelphia, who had shaped Washington architecture since its founding. Among the prominent Philadelphians were Samuel Sloan, James Windrim, and, most remarkably, Frank Furness, a Civil War cavalry hero who had intimate links to the Republican establishment in Washington. In the end, the post was offered to Philadelphian John McArthur Jr. (1823–1890), the only time in history that this sinecure was ever to be offered unsolicited.

At the Center, I gathered material for an architectural history of Philadelphia, which also shed light on the relationship between the architectural cultures of the Quaker City and the capital. In particular, this project suggests how Washington disentangled itself from Philadelphia classicism, a protracted episode in which McArthur's response to the offer proved a critical moment.

Philadelphia's relationship to Washington architecture was not merely fortuitous, a prosperous city lending its architects to a newer neighbor. It was a fertile interaction during which Philadelphia architects were given an opportunity to make profoundly un-

Philadelphian buildings. By 1800 Philadelphia had formed one of the country's most vigorous architectural cultures, realized in institutional buildings that were monumental in conception and yet vernacular in construction. The Quaker idealism of the eighteenth century spawned a battery of enlightened civic institutions, including, among others, America's first humane prison, public hospital, and public library. Essentially Georgian structures, these were domestic in character, respecting the Philadelphian covenant against pomp and display. The result was an architectural culture of great idealism and vigor, but which was restricted from expressing this idealism in monumental terms. Constrained by patronage and custom, Philadelphia classicism was only allowed to flower under tight control, in bonsai fashion.

John McArthur Jr., *New City Building, Philadelphia*. View in Court Yard, perspective of Philadelphia City Hall (1869-1901), rendering by George Pearson, December 1872. History Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia



Washington's tradition of monumental classicism was established by the plan of Pierre Charles L'Enfant and the buildings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, both from Philadelphia. An English immigrant, Latrobe founded in Philadelphia a lineage of classicists that passed through at least three successive generations, whose work was stamped by a level of formal sophistication and spatial control that was unprecedented in America. From Latrobe to Robert Mills to T. U. Walter, Philadelphia classicists built Washington's preeminent monuments, creating that radically chaste quality that remains the characteristic attitude of Washington architecture.

By the Civil War, however, federal architecture had become more schematic and conventional, as architects such as Ammi Young and A. B. Mullett dominated the office of the Supervising Architect of the United States Treasury. Philadelphia's influence receded, pushed by a constellation of three factors. First, the lack of interest in classicism and the willingness of government patrons to entertain eclectic architecture; second, the Civil War and the highly politicized patronage of the Grant administration; finally, the belated development of an architectural culture in the capital. Lacking the schools, institutions, and stable patronage to support a strong artistic culture, Washington, D.C. persistently imported its architecture, a consumer rather than a generator of architectural ideas. Not until the Civil War did the city develop an indigenous architectural culture, when immigrants such as Adolph Cluss and Paul Smithmeyer adapted the eclecticism of Germany's polytechnical schools to the climate and materials of Washington.

John McArthur was a pupil of T. U. Walter, and a Renaissance classicist of deep conviction. He was known in Washington as the principal architect of army hospitals during the Civil War, which were models of rationalized design, based on the panopticon principle of Philadelphia-plan prisons; he also designed Jay Cooke's Washington bank, out of whose vault the Civil War was funded. Had he accepted the post of Supervising Architect, Latrobe's dynasty would have extended into its fourth generation, giving to Washington architecture a living continuity unprecedented in any national capital. Astonishingly, McArthur turned it down, preferring to devote the rest of his life to completing Philadelphia's City

Hall. His refusal suggests that the prestige of the federal sinecure had eroded, and that municipal and private patronage now offered more lucrative and ambitious commissions. In the end, the position passed to William Potter, whose torrid Victorian imagination ill-suited federal buildings. There began a quarter-century of mediocre tenures in this position, until a series of efficient and sober classicists again filled the post.

Philadelphia's eclipse from preeminence after the Civil War was in the nature of things, an indirect consequence of Washington's success but also of Philadelphia's shift from financial and cultural leadership to industry. Nonetheless, the Philadelphia legacy remained an active force in shaping the new architecture of the city. Much of the success of Washington as monumental city is owed to the successive Philadelphia classicists of this Latrobean dynasty, an unparalleled architectural hitting streak for a country with a knack for building quickly and shoddily. And Philadelphia's conservative architectural and social climate has continued to be an incubator for thoughtful and scholarly classicism, as the Washington buildings of Philadelphia architect Paul Cret have shown in this century.

Williams College

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1997

Architecture and Urbanism in Mexico City (1750–1810)

Urbanism and architecture in Mexico City during the second half of the eighteenth century concerned Enlightenment principles of order, hygiene, and beauty, principles seen as symbols of civilized societies. Inherent in this inquiry is the transformation of the ancien régime city to one of modern urbanism and a liberal economy. Spain, struggling to maintain its overseas dominions and to contain the commercial expansion of England, initiated a program to increase revenues from the colonies. These economic and administrative reorganizations, or Bourbon reforms, allowed Charles III a monopoly over the treasuries, tobacco, and gunpowder. This study examines the urban and architectural manifestations of these reforms.

As part of the reforms, Charles III reorganized the administration of the Real Hacienda (Royal Treasury), which included the control of all the duties and the Indians' tribute. For this purpose, the Crown built a system of customs houses, whereby the city was enclosed by the *sanja cuadrada* or "square ditch," with access in and out of the city via a system of causeways and gates. Other important buildings were constructed, including the mint, the tobacco and the gunpowder factories, and the Royal Mining School. These royal institutions, which became the most important buildings of the age, were built in the new official style, inspired by the classical orders that were used as emblems of modernity. Their

magnificence corresponded to the absolute power of the monarchy, and they stood out in the mainly baroque city.

The reforms also altered the social structure of the country, and this was reflected in the use of urban space as well as in official city policies. Traditionally, the urban population was organized and controlled by the Catholic parish system, with the clergy controlling the Indians' tribute for the king. As the government wanted to collect all the duties, however, it restructured the city, dividing it into quarters. Civic authorities were established for each quarter, and they were charged with carrying out a census. To that end, the civic authorities had to number blocks and houses, and create a register of the rent for each house and the size of its façade. These actions were to assure the payment of two duties: one for the land and the other for paving the streets, the latter having become an important element in the new concept of the city.

The city plan was transformed in order to extend the grid plan of the central city, with some streets along the edges being straightened, and a model plan regulated the construction of new buildings. Two great boulevards were opened and the public garden was enlarged. Before the reforms, the streets had multiple uses: people could work, eat, and sell their wares on a street. One could find homes, workshops, gambling houses, candle, and chocolate stores, and *pulquerias* (bars where fermented agave juice was served) in the same street, or even in the same building. The most common housing pattern was a guild system, with living, learning, and work activities carried out in the same space. Under the reforms, each activity was assigned a separate area. People were to live in one place, learn in another, and work somewhere else, which is why the streets assumed new importance, and needed to be paved and free of obstacles.

According to the new conception of the city, the buildings were to have sober, elegant lines, inspired by the classical orders. To develop this new architecture, the San Carlos Royal Academy of Fine Arts was founded, and artists from the Spanish academies came as teachers. But the academy went even further: its task was to eliminate the guild system of the artisans—this system, in the eyes of the economists, impeded development of free commerce.



José Joaquín Fabregat after Rafael Jimeno y Planes, *View of the Plaza of Mexico*, 1797. Museo de la Ciudad de México

The reforms regulated architectural work in that all architects had to register with the Policy Council and obtain permission for the creation of every building. Later, architects were required to pass an examination in order to obtain a degree from the academy. Architects left the guild system of teaching, and through the academy, they became members of a newly constituted liberal profession.

According to Enlightenment beliefs, the city was to be beautiful and healthy; the streets would be wide and straight to create harmonious perspectives and to allow the wind to clear the atmosphere. The city would be clean, with the streets free of debris and cemeteries located beyond the city gates. Although not all the reforms were successful in the late colonial period, these principles served as a model through the first half of the nineteenth century, thereby establishing the foundation of the modern city.

Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, Mexico City
Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1996–winter 1997

STEPHEN J. LUCEY

The Church of Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome: A Contextual Study, Sixth through Ninth Centuries

The church of Santa Maria Antiqua, a converted imperial building located in the Roman Forum, is best known for its extensive mural decoration that dates to the sixth through ninth centuries—a period from which little monumental painting has survived. In my research, I seek to challenge the persistent tendency in art-historical studies to limit approaches to monuments to analyses of the style and iconography of individual decorative programs. By considering the various frescoes in physical and methodological isolation, most scholarship to date continues to support the notion of the church as an anomaly, with little concern for furthering our understanding of the monument through study of its geographical, cultural and political milieu. My focus is the recognition and interpretation of the structural and artistic evolution of the building over four hundred years as it relates to changes in ritual use, patronage and intended audience. My approach is interdisciplinary, combining material and documentary evidence in order to answer crucial questions concerning the position of Santa Maria Antiqua within early medieval Roman culture and within the development of church decoration.

A study of the organization and decoration of the subdivided spaces in the church reveals the multiple functions that they served. On one hand, such areas separated societal groups during the performance of the mass and made clear the distinction between sacred and secular space. For instance, a portrait of a male lay donor

appears in a frescoed panel directly above the transom blocking the entrance to the sanctuary. The donor's gender suggests that this area of the church functioned as the "senatorium"—the prime area reserved for high-ranking men. His portrait also underscores his right to be near, but not in, the sanctuary that was reserved for the clergy. A thorough reexamination of the original excavation drawings by the architect Antonio Petrignani brings to light short barrier walls in the west aisle that not only aid in the establishment of a more precise chronology of the internal structure of the church, but also prove the degree to which the church was subdivided. The inclusion of focal cult images, separate altars, or donor images in these spaces reveals that they had a private function distinct from the performance of the primary liturgical rite. Yet, given the limited space in the church as a whole, these areas would need to serve a dual purpose: as standing room for the lay congregation during the mass and perhaps as chapels for private devotion during the remainder of the week. The epitome of this trend was the conversion of the prothesis chapel—a restricted space for the preparation of the Eucharistic elements—into a private funerary chapel of a high-ranking lay ecclesiast, Theodotus, and his family (c. 741).

This proliferation of spaces adorned with private images lends a local character to the church. Theodotus—also a patron of other churches in the area of the forum—was the uncle of Pope Hadrian I (772–795) who also commissioned fresco decoration at Santa Maria Antiqua. Similarly, Pope John VII (705–707) was reared on the nearby Palatine Hill and was responsible for a major redecoration of the church. It is likely that other donors and papal patrons had some personal link with this area of the forum. While private images on the whole survived unaltered throughout the church's history, the frescoes in the public liturgical areas were destroyed and repainted a number of times. The difference in treatment is explained by the way in which the frescoes were used: the preservation of private/memorial images reflects the immutability of personal piety and the continued attendance of the donors' families while the modifications in the official programs reflect changes in liturgical practice and church dogma.

The links between public and private commissions reveal more



Church of Santa Maria
Antiqua, Rome. Photograph:
Alinari/Art Resource, New
York; Anderson

than decorative convention; the programmatic associations in private contexts are informed by the venerability and functionality of the primary decorative programs in the church. The so-called Theodotus Chapel is particularly interesting because its decorative program quotes that of the main sanctuary of the church. For instance, the iconic images of saints—some of which included the donor and his family—mimic the position of icons painted in the velum zone on the lateral walls of the sanctuary. This provides evidence for the liturgical purpose of such icons that primary source texts fail to describe. During private memorial services in the chapel, the family portraits provided visual cues for the reading of the names of the deceased. Likewise, the icons of saints in the sanctuary most likely corresponded to the reading of the litany of saints during the mass.

Similarly, a specifically papal and "Roman" motivation for the public images in the church is evident in the references to two venerable basilicas in the city, Old Saint Peter's and Santa Maria Maggiore, which provided the source material for the disposition of narrative cycles and the form of the titular image respectively. The use of these sources is in direct opposition to the commonly cited hegemony of Byzantine style or iconographical/liturgical sources. Furthermore, the use of Greek and Latin inscriptions at Santa Maria Antiqua during the period relates to a broader trend in the Roman church that appealed to a cultural need: a large majority of the population was Greek-speaking, and this marked an association with the original language of the early Christian church. Indeed, the mid-seventh-century baptismal rite at Old Saint Peter's was conducted in both Greek and Latin. Too often the changing style of the frescoes at Santa Maria Antiqua—described subjectively as a degeneration from Byzantine classicism to Roman linearism—is projected upon the historical position of the church. Rather, the continued papal sponsorship, the pronounced anti-imperial sentiments evident in the decoration, and the liturgical disposition of the church confirm that Santa Maria Antiqua was part of a specifically Roman culture.

[Rutgers University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1996–1997

Studies in Rubens' Drawings: Mode, Manner, and the Problem of Stylistic Variety

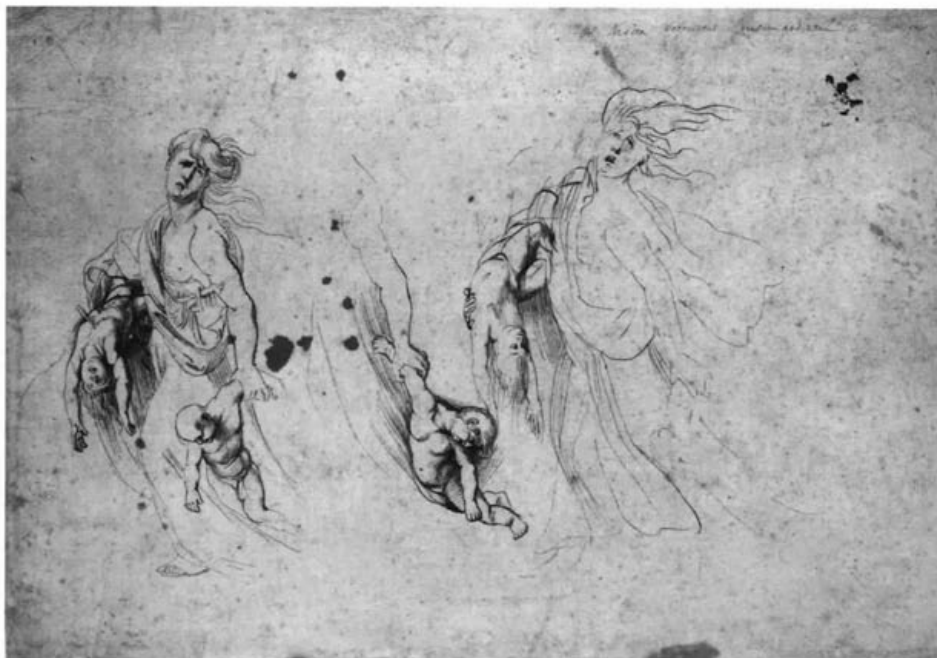
The drawings of Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), as much or more than those of any other draftsman of the early modern period, exhibit a profound interest in the mastery of various styles and stylistic forms. Indeed, the copiousness of Rubens' graphic language poses certain difficulties not only for those who would attribute his drawings, but for those who attempt to understand the nature of, and motivations behind, his stylistic approach. As recently as 1986, Julius Held wrote of the "bewildering variety" in Rubens' drawing style, adding that his graphic vocabulary "is surprisingly flexible . . . distinguished by variety rather than consistency. A student who knew only Morelli's methods would have a hard time demonstrating that one artist did all the different pieces." The project of understanding Rubens' motivations in adopting a stylistic stance that appears to renounce artistic singularity is complicated by the artist's participation in an artistic milieu that prized originality and the discrimination of individual artistic manners. Why would Rubens, who placed the highest premium on viewer recognition of his hand in a work of art, embrace a practice of drawing that may have jeopardized this interest? For an erudite artist with a developed instinct for business and a desire, in his words, "to be confused with no other artist," the rationale for cultivating a stylistically diversified approach must have been compelling.

My research has focused on the nature of Rubens' commitment

to eclecticism in drawing and the ways in which particular stylistic forms, considered contextually, would have played a functional role for the artist in the expression and ordering of his ideas, as well as a corresponding signifying role for contemporary viewers. Underlying my dissertation is the contention that the artist was not only often highly conscious of his varied stylistic choices, but that he habitually exercised “appropriate modes of expression” (a phrase Rubens used on occasion) to communicate most suitably certain ideas or themes in drawing. Sharing the humanist cultural attachment to what Marc Fumaroli has termed “le style d’une pensée,” Rubens used graphic manner as one important tool in the expression of a drawing’s “argument”; a means to help craft, as well as to define for the viewer, the artist’s greater subject. Usually thematic in nature, these “arguments” include, for example, the representation of remarkable strength, beauty, elegance, triumph, horror, and pitiful tragedy.

In this context, one focus of my research has been to understand Rubens’ relationship to the humanist culture of sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Antwerp, which was not only highly sensitive to a variety of rhetorical stylistic forms and meanings in speech and writing, but which created a significant outlet for these interests in the writing of personal letters, an activity then considered parallel to drawing. Particularly, I am reevaluating Rubens’ approach to drawing in light of the stylistic philosophy advanced by neo-Stoic humanists who argued for a variety of modes of expression as the most potent means of appropriately communicating a range of thoughts and ideas. Chief among these was Rubens’ intellectual mentor, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), who advocated stylistic variety as a healthy corrective for language; judging words to be “apt” and eloquent when they evoked the thing the author was attempting to signify. Underlying Lipsius’ stylistic philosophy was Erasmus’ appeal in *De Copia verborum ac rerum* (Paris, 1512) to a generative, superior “abundant style,” in which he asserted that meanings could be manipulated and expressed with elegant variety through stylistic differentiations (*modo variato*) and appropriate, decorous applications (*apte dicere*).

Significantly, both Erasmus (*De conscribendis epistolis* [Basel,



Peter Paul Rubens, *Three Sketches for Medea and Her Children* (verso), c. 1600-1604-c. 1611-1612, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

1522]) and Lipsius (*Epistolica instituto* [Leyden, 1591]) took up the rhetorical mantle of stylistic variety in their support of the personal epistolary genre. A less official locus for treating innumerable subjects in an infinitely varied and erudite way, personal letters—like drawings, and unlike spoken rhetorical address—could be consulted repeatedly, increasing the potential for the expression and reception of multiple, pregnant meanings. Rubens, himself a prolific, erudite letter writer, adopted Lipsius' approach, often altering rhetorical style and even language, based on a letter's subject matter as well as its intended recipient. As in Franciscus Junius' *De pictura veterum* (The Painting of the Ancients) (Amsterdam, 1637), which Rubens highly admired, *judicio* (judiciousness) and *ingenium* (innate wit or talent) were prized as the foundations for all successful aesthetic choices. If the epistolary genre was for Rubens an important locus for the appropriate expression of a variety of written stylistic forms, then drawings were for him their counterpart in art.

Within the context of such broader cultural and rhetorical con-

cerns, my dissertation treats specific instances in Rubens' drawings where I argue that the artist takes an unusually conscious and judicious approach to the denotation and connotation of form. Namely, I maintain that Rubens frequently mobilizes various modes of drawing—considered here any graphic unit of sense which is recurrent in his oeuvre and which, given a contextual understanding, shares like function—to meet specific rhetorical or expressive ends. These include, but are not limited to, the use of *sprezzatura*, serialized forms to suggest various sorts of physical and spiritual movement; the appeal to heavy, flexed chalk contours in certain male nude studies as a part of Rubens' project of "enlivening" copied antique models; the creation of pen-and-ink graphic distillations to picture visual ideas, then understood as linear impressions on the mind; the use of selective color in drawn portraits and some landscape sheets to signal *ad vivum* (after life) drawing, or a wish to depict "natural" subjects; and the application of the concept of *brevitas*, or the condense, laconic style, for the metaphoric, pregnant depiction of tragic or erudite subjects. Through these studies, I hope to demonstrate that *judicio*, *ingenium*, and a desire for *apte dicere* in drawing often provided the underpinnings for Rubens' remarkable, and otherwise "bewildering," variety of graphic approaches.

[University of California, Berkeley]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1996–1997

Italian Renaissance Domestic Paintings from the Lanckoronski Collection at the Royal Castle, Cracow

Count Karol Lanckoronski (1848–1933), a Polish writer, amateur art historian, and eminent art collector, spent his life in Vienna. His magnificent collection, amassed in the last quarter of the nineteenth century (among Viennese private collections only those of the Harrachs and the Liechtensteins could compare), included a great number of Italian Renaissance paintings. These consisted of thirty domestic pieces deriving from *cassoni* (chests), a *desco da parto* (a birth salver), *spalliere*, *cornici* (wainscotting), and *lettucci* (daybeds) depicting mostly mythological and secular subjects. In 1939 these were stolen by the Nazis, and three of the panels were destroyed during or soon after World War II. That part of the collection which had been preserved was deposited shortly after the war in a bank in Switzerland. In 1994, the collection was donated by Karolina Lanckoronska, the only living member of the Lanckoronski family, to the Royal Castle in Cracow. The donation included twenty-six domestic panels and about sixty other paintings depicting religious subjects. The Lanckoronski domestic paintings, even in their incomplete state, are among the largest collections of this genre in the world.

The Lanckoronski paintings are known through Karol Lanckoronski's *Einiges über italienische bemalte Truhen* (1905) and Paul Schubring's *Cassoni* (2d ed. 1923), although they have never been properly studied, and some are unpublished. My monograph on



Florentine, *Hercules with Nemean Lion*, mid-fifteenth century. Formerly part of the Lanckoronski collection, now destroyed. Photograph: National Gallery of Art, Washington

the Lanckoronski domestic paintings will include data on the paintings in Cracow, paintings now in other collections, and lost works. Paolo Uccello's *Saint George and the Dragon* was sold in 1959 to the National Gallery, London.

Negatives of two Lanckoronski domestic panels, *Hercules with Nemean Lion* and *A Youth Sitting among Ruins*, both destroyed in a fire in 1946 and never published, were located in the photographic archives of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. The two negatives were discovered together with about five hundred others depicting various objects from the Lanckoronski collection. These negatives were produced in 1945 at the famous Collecting Point in Munich, where collections stolen by the Nazis were catalogued by the United States Army.

The research at the Center concerned three major areas: the history

of the Lanckoronski collection, the history of domestic painting in Italy, and the attribution and iconography of the Lanckoronski panels. The section on the history of the collection treats both Count Lanckoronski as a collector of domestic paintings and the creation of the collection against the backdrop of the developing fashion for this genre in the latter nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The Lanckoronski panels, from central and northern Italy, show great variety and generally high quality. They depict often sophisticated subject matter such as the *Garden of Love*, the *Legend of the Dead King*, the *Childhood of Paris*, the *Story of Scipio the Elder*, two versions of the *Story of Orpheus*, *Virgil in the Basket*, and *Portrait of Virgil with Siringa*. These works are considered in light of the history of the development of the genre and of their contexts in Renaissance Italy. Finally, the study details the authorship, dating, and iconography of all the count's domestic panels.

University of Warsaw

Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1996

Architecture and the Visual Arts, 1945–1975: Fragments of a Dialogue

In asserting that it is “only in the twentieth century that painting and to some extent sculpture have influenced architecture,” Alfred H. Barr Jr., in the preface to Henry-Russell Hitchcock’s *Painting toward Architecture* (1948), may have overextended the point, but the relationship that links architecture to its sister arts has doubtlessly been more topical for architecture since the early twentieth century than before. In more recent decades, the magnetic field that links architecture to the visual arts has become a prime condition of form giving, at least in the context of building tasks where such cross-pollinations are most likely to occur and to find the support of patrons, such as in museum architecture.

Eloquent examples may lie literally at one’s doorstep: to the distracted visitor, the configuration of geometric shapes rising from the ground across the street from the main entrance to the East Building of the National Gallery of Art may appear to be a sculptural installation somewhat in the manner of Tony Smith. More careful observation reveals these shapes to be the clerestory of the museum cafeteria located below street level. What may look like sculpture turns out to be the birth pangs of the pyramid in the Grande Cour du Louvre, designed, as was the East Building, by the architect Ioh Ming Pei.

That painting and sculpture possess a natural affinity with architecture is of course not specific to modern architecture, especially

if it is narrowly defined as the architecture of the modern movement. Peter Collins traces the affinity back to John Ruskin, but today one would have to go further back to the notion of *Gesamtkunstwerk* (baroque or romantic), where the arts were brought together and mixed in order to overwhelm the spectator with the help of scenographic effects. With art nouveau however, the arts were subjected to a notion of “design” that started to undermine the traditional autonomy of the artistic genres more decisively than before, subjecting everything to the *Kunstwollen* or reprocessing of the artist-architect. In fact, when Adolf Loos insisted that “the house has nothing to do with art” and that “architecture should not be ranked among the arts” (*Architektur*, 1910), he was reacting above all against what appears to have been a general consensus in “progressive” design theory around 1910: the unity of the arts.

Shortly, around 1920, the close formal affinity between architecture and the arts became radicalized once again, but under different premises: while the more radical spokesmen of functionalism followed Loos in antagonism to the idea of architecture as “art,” their choice of ergonomic efficiency and structural economy as the main determinants of form in a sense offered carte blanche to unreflective aesthetic prejudice in design. As a result, architecture became applied abstract art—a paradox that has often been commented on. This is underlined by the fact that some of the leading form givers of the modern movement (such as Theo van Doesburg and Le Corbusier) had themselves been painters, as had Peter Behrens and Henry van de Velde before them.

By the end of the 1920s, the issue of art was raised again by the increasingly numerous opponents of “straight” functionalism. When the academic “reaction” insisted on the necessity of “art” in architecture (in the name of a political agenda that could oscillate between Fascism to Stalinism to Liberal Democracy), art was in general understood in terms of the separation of the genres handed down by the classical tradition. Yet by the early 1930s, the modernist avant-garde itself had produced certain antidotes to the utilitarianist anti-art dogma. Even before the fourth congress of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) in Athens,



Tony Smith, *Wandering Rocks*, 1967. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of the Collectors Committee

which was to culminate in the ill-famed “Charte d’Athènes,” CIAM was shifting toward a position that made it possible for Sigfried Giedion, José Luis Sert, and Fernand Léger to formulate, as early as 1941, their “Nine Points on Monumentality.” The aim was to reconquer for the avant-garde some of the territory already lost to the academy.

America’s rise as a world power in search of a style that would be emphatically *other* than that of the dictatorial 1930s served as the ideological underpinning of the operation. As a result of this conjunction of events and interests, the former modernist avant-garde ended up as the cultural establishment, and its doctrine of the “synthesis of the arts” turned out to be one of its most influential cultural legacies, shaping architectural education, decision making, and practice for decades.

This overview serves as a backdrop to the more recent developments, and helps examine the ways in which the generation of post-World War II architects enacted the dialogue between architecture and the visual arts, both in theory and practice. The project does not attempt to arrive at a panoramic overview; rather, it proceeds by case studies, focusing on the work of a limited number of

architects, chosen subjectively, but in such a way as to acknowledge the variety of positions that constitute the European and American architectural scene since 1950. So far, the research has focused primarily on architects such as Le Corbusier, Max Bill, Alison and Peter Smithson, Robert Venturi, and Santiago Calatrava.

Looking into these diverse stories, the problem of “art” in architecture reveals a wide range of often surprising perspectives, depending on whether it is approached as an issue of theory, an aspect of the architect’s (or his patron’s) quest for cultural legitimation, or “merely” as an issue of design. The latter problem raises intricate questions, quite apart from the practical difficulties, which are themselves charged with theoretical implications, of integrating mural art or sculpture into an architectural composition. Architects, to begin with, inevitably adopt and modify rules of more traditional artistic genres, as they produce sketches, renderings, didactic diagrams, and models.

Seen in a more general perspective, the formal affinity that may exist between finished buildings and certain aesthetic paradigms of painting and sculpture is therefore only one among many relevant aspects of the problem. Yet it is the one aspect that relates most directly to a general condition of the contemporary “market” of architectural ideas, at least in the realm of “high” architecture, where “variety” has become a key issue. Rather than being the actual subject of my investigation, this affinity serves as a springboard for the various essays that will reframe the problem in terms of the individual positions under examination. For some, such as Le Corbusier, Sigfried Giedion, and other ideologues of the CIAM such as Alfred Roth, the issue of the “synthesis of the arts” is part of an explicit cultural agenda, whereas for others, such as Aldo van Eyck, Max Bill, and Carlo Scarpa, the dialogue with the visual arts is an aspect of their professional practice that is more randomly accompanied by theoretical reflection and may even be in conflict with it. The paradoxical aim is to arrive, with the help of these inevitably diffuse case studies, at a more focused understanding of some important changes in the architectural culture since 1950.

Universität Zürich
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1996

Ninh-phúc Monastery: An Examination of Seventeenth-Century Buddhist Sculpture in Northern Vietnam

The seventeenth century was a time of great creative activity in Vietnamese history, owing to renewed patronage of Buddhism and manifested in the visual arts by a vital tradition of wooden sculpture with Buddhist themes. This sculpture is remarkable for its naturalism; its extraordinary refinement and realism reflect a cultural renaissance in both literature and art. My study investigates how Buddhist art and architecture functioned within the larger religious, political, and social conditions of the time.

The project addresses the seventeenth-century phenomenon of sudden artistic innovation combined with conservatism. Why, for example, was there a great interest in monastery restoration and rebuilding when the country was engaged in a civil war? Why did Buddhist sculpture from this period display a more naturalistic style of representation than before? Why did the radically new subject matter depicted in the sculptured forms of the *Buddha in the Himalayas* (*Ascetic Buddha*) and *Avalokiteśvara Holding a Baby* become two of the most common images at that time? The answers to these questions do not lie in a passive acceptance of Chinese influence, as has been assumed, but instead in an examination of the works of art in their historical and social contexts. Several powerful factors underlay the flourishing sculptural tradition and the restoration and construction of new monasteries. These included royal and aristocratic patronage, theological doctrines expounded

by Buddhist monks with their probable influence on the iconography of religious artifacts, and new literary genres which were being popularized during the time.

The Ninh-phúc Monastery, also known as Bút-tháp, located in Thuận-thành district, Hà-bắc province, serves as an ideal historical and religious setting because the region where the monastery is located was once the cradle of Buddhism. Here, in the second century A.D., Buddhism was first introduced by way of the sea trading route from India. The district was the port-of-call, and Indian Buddhist missionaries often disembarked from the merchant ships. The birthplace of the Lý dynasty (1010–1225) with its dynastic temple, dedicated to the eight great emperors, is nearby. There are also several ancient monasteries in the Thuận-thành district, such as Dâu Temple, where assimilation of Buddhist doctrines and Vietnamese indigenous beliefs is evident. At Ninh-phúc Monastery the wooden sculpture includes Buddhist deities, Zen patriarchs, patrons, patronesses, and indigenous gods and goddesses, and numerous inscriptions on stone stelae and bronze bells give detailed information about the monastery patriarchs, donors, and property. The sculpture in this monastery can be seen as a sign of contemporary religious practices: the Nine Storied Lotus Tower illustrated with scenes from Pure Land Sutras (attached with Buddha and Bodhisattva images), for example, reflects and constitutes the practice of Pure Land Buddhism which was popular during the medieval period.

Research on this project involves library and archival work, as well as first-hand study of the works of art in the various Buddhist monasteries. In addition to documents and materials dealing directly with the works of art, there are many contemporary textual sources against which one can compare transformations of iconography, subject matter, style, and meaning in the visual arts. During the seventeenth century, a new literature came into existence comprising folklore, national epics, and poetry in both Chinese and *Nôm* (the Vietnamese national language). These works were composed by distinguished monks and by secular writers. Although there has been some systematic treatment of these vernacular sources by Vietnamese literary historians, this body of knowledge



Ninh-phúc Monastery, Bút-tháp village, Đình-tổ commune, Thuận-thành district, Hà-bắc province, Vietnam. Author photograph

has not been adequately utilized in the study of the Buddhist sculpture in seventeenth-century Vietnam. The literary genres of hagiography and drama, liturgical and nonliturgical, are also sources for investigating Buddhist imagery, particularly in popular lacquered sculpture of then-new members of the Buddhist and non-Buddhist pantheon.

After discussion of the history of the Ninh-phúc Monastery and of the form of the temple as a whole, I examine the various figures of the Buddhist pantheon, focusing on wooden sculpture, its social and historical setting, and the seventeenth-century Vietnamese literature on which it is based. The renewal of the Buddhist movement is considered together with the lives and works of eminent monks, in particular Huyền-Quang (thirteenth century), who initiated the Pure Land practice with the creation of the Lotus Tower, Chuyết-Công, and Minh-Hành (seventeenth century), who re-

stored the temple and expanded it to its present complex form. The role of patrons and the relationships between monks and the laity are also explored.

By the combined study of texts and works, I hope to contribute to the understanding of Vietnamese Buddhist art: both substantively, through treating an important body of previously neglected material, and methodologically, by expanding the sociohistorical and religious approach and combining it with more traditional forms of art-historical analysis.

[University of California, Berkeley]
Ittleson Fellow, 1995-1997

Christian Reclamation: Rediscovery of the Catacombs in Counter-Reformation Rome

On 31 May 1578 miners accidentally broke into a richly decorated catacomb outside the walls of Rome. The discovery attracted much attention and was viewed as an act of divine intervention, for it occurred at the height of the Catholic defense of sacred imagery. Lutherans and Calvinists had been attacking the cult of images since the outset of the Reformation, claiming that the practice had been sanctioned by neither the Scriptures nor the early Church Fathers. Indeed, before the discovery of 1578, there were no known pre-Constantinian Christian images, a condition that forced polemicists on both sides of the debate to base their arguments on ambiguous and scanty patristic texts. With the fortuitous reemergence of paintings and reliefs in the catacombs, however, the Catholic contingent secured the physical evidence it needed to prove that images had been produced since the dawn of Christianity. The cult, therefore, was fully justified.

The discovery had repercussions that extended well beyond the question of images. It enhanced interest in the history of the primitive Church and its martyrs, reminding Romans of the labyrinth of subterranean cemeteries embracing their city, and encouraged further exploration. The inestimable number of tombs—presumed at the time to belong exclusively to saints—confirmed Rome's hegemony over Christendom. Although medieval sources revealed that the remains of recognized martyrs had long since been trans-

ferred into urban churches, the cemeteries were stripped by relic hunters. Sealed loculi were broken and the bones salvaged—often at the cost of the murals and reliefs decorating them. Consequently the very art that justified the cult of images was destroyed under the auspices of ecclesiastical dignitaries. The newly established orders—the Jesuits and Oratorians—also drew attention to the catacombs in order to graft the heroic legacy of the city onto the imagination of the public. They likened the catacombs—the true treasures of Rome—to the gates of heaven, and urged antiquarians and scholars to abandon secular for Christian studies.

The catacombs thus came to play a crucial role in the propaganda of the Roman Church. In apologetic texts such as Cesare Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici* (1588–1607), Ottavio Panciroli's *Tesori nascoti nell'alma città di Roma* (1600), or Giovanni Severano's *Memorie sacre delle Sette Chiese* (1630), they invariably served as springboards for eulogies on martyrdom, the supremacy of Rome, or the cult of images. Nevertheless such authors rarely addressed the intrinsic value of the sepulchral paintings and reliefs. As much as the images were invaluable in the battle against iconoclasm, they were too crude, too contrary to the Renaissance aesthetic, to draw much attention to themselves. Moreover their iconography was unconventional—even unorthodox—and thus useless as a model for the post-Tridentine reform of sacred art. No doubt this was one reason why no attempts were made to restore the murals or convert the catacombs into public pilgrimage sites.

There were, however, several scholars who studied catacomb art more scrupulously, and in a spirit decidedly different from that of the official spokesmen of the Roman Church. The group included the Spanish Dominican Alfonso Chacón, the Flemish antiquarian Philip Van Winghe, his compatriot Jean L'Heureux, and Pompeo Ugonio. All possessed a solid background in humanist studies, classical philology, and ancient history. Their understanding of the catacombs was much indebted to that of Onofrio Panvinio, the prolific historian who had composed a treatise on early Christian burial rites (*De ritu sepeliendi mortuos apud vetere christianos et eorundem coemeteriis*, 1568), shortly before his death. Panvinio based his work on textual sources (pagan and Christian), and pro-

vided the historical context for the empirical research conducted by this later circle of antiquarians. He examined the relationship between Christian and pagan funereal rituals, and demonstrated that the catacombs had been legal burial grounds in the Roman Empire. Thus he undermined the long-held belief that they had served as hideouts during persecutions—a myth that had contributed much to the heroic view of the primitive Church propagated throughout the Counter-Reformation.

Like Panvinio, this circle of scholars used early Christian artifacts as tools with which to examine late antiquity. They sketched catacomb murals and sarcophagi reliefs and inscriptions, and compared pagan and Christian motifs, attempting to trace continuity and change in the development of iconography. To them, as to humanists in general, Christian antiquity fell within the perimeters of the classical world. Their attraction to the catacombs, therefore, was not inspired by a desire to extol martyrdom or pontificate on the evils of paganism. Their priorities lay elsewhere.

The scientific foundations of Christian archaeology were laid by these scholars; yet their work had little contemporary impact. It was too erudite and esoteric to appeal to a mass audience, and too detached from Counter-Reformation polemics to feed into Catholic propaganda. Their drawings and notes proved useful, however, to Antonio Bosio, the author of *Roma sotterranea* (1632–1634), the definitive work on the catacombs. Bosio, in fact, conducted his initial expeditions under the guidance of Chacón and Ugonio, though he belonged to a later generation of scholars, whose view of Christian antiquity was shaped by Baronio's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, the official and often reactionary Catholic history of the Church. In many ways, *Roma sotterranea* was Bosio's attempt to synthesize the empirical approach of his earlier mentors with the ideology of the Counter-Reformation. Although he spent over thirty years preparing his book and commissioned countless drawings of catacombs, he died before completing the project, leaving behind no chapter on early Christian imagery. His manuscript was quickly appropriated by Francesco Barberini, who handed it over for completion to Giovanni Severano, an Oratorian priest. Severano edited the work with a heavy hand, rewriting portions of the text and



Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (1632-1634), frontispiece. Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington

deleting “irrelevant” material (for example, a significant section of Bosio’s discussion of the Jewish catacombs). He also composed the entire chapter on images—the shortest one in the book, and ironically the only one without illustrations. In it he dealt with early Christian art and iconography in the broadest sense, with few references to specific monuments. Above all he seemed anxious to

deny any points of contact between early Christian and pagan works of art, either in terms of meaning or function.

In the two centuries following Bosio's death, little work was done on the catacombs. Discussion of the cemeteries was limited to debates over the authenticity of recently discovered relics. Thus the art of the catacombs gradually receded from human memory, until it was once again rediscovered in the nineteenth century—this time, fortunately, by a more appreciative audience.

[Columbia University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1994–1997

Crash

This morning, F. T. Marinetti was heading down Via Domodossola in his car with a twenty-three year-old mechanic at his side. An evasive maneuver was required by the sudden appearance of a bicyclist and resulted in the vehicle being flipped into a ditch. Driver and passenger were immediately rescued by two couriers from the Isotta-Fraschini factory. The poet was transported to his apartment and received little more than a scare. The mechanic was treated for minor wounds.

This October 1908 accident, reported in a Milanese daily, resurfaces four months later in the *Founding Manifesto* of futurism recast as the scene of the movement's birth. It is this event and the transformative impact ascribed to it that serve as the springboard for my study "Crash." Before the accident, Marinetti and his peers appear shackled to a shadowy fin-de-siècle world of mosque lamps and oriental carpets; after their baptism in the "good factory muck," they are reborn as metallic men with light-bulb hearts.

Two questions stand at the core of the present inquiry: first, why the choice of a speeding automobile as the vehicle for this metamorphosis; and second, why the emphasis on traumatic birth (or why must a crash resolve the initial clash)? The answers that I provide are necessarily speculative but place futurism's founding myth at the culminating point of an *anthropology of speed and thrill*



F. T. Marinetti's four-cylinder Fiat Cabriolet after his 15 October 1908 accident. Photograph: Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles, Resource Collections, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti Papers

that evolved over the course of one and one-half prior centuries. This is an “anthropology” inasmuch as it envisages accelerated motion not as a neutral physical event that leaves the traveler and the context traveled through untransformed. On the contrary, the transportation revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries created the conditions for a distinctive experience of velocity that helped precipitate fundamental perceptual and psychic changes in human subjects and fantasies that governed their modes of interconnection with landscapes traversed and viewed. These changes suggest a tight linkage between the history of transportation technologies and that of optical devices, from phantasmagoria to moving pictures. Such changes so blur the distinction between the categories of realism and the hallucinatory or the fantastic that they demand a rethinking of the commonplace notion that modernism marks a revolt against naturalism.

The protagonists of this story are an unlikely lot: the blasé cabriolet-driving speed demons denounced in Jean-Claude Delisle de Sales's 1771 *Lettre de Brutus sur les chars anciens et modernes*;

Obadiah Elliot, inventor of elliptical springs for carriages, thanks to which passengers could be insulated from roadway irregularities; John Loudon MacAdam, developer of the macadam, the first modern paved road; the poet Thomas De Quincey, whose hallucinatory experience of landscape atop an English mail coach prefigured his later opium-induced imaginings; the thrill-seeking amateur coachmen of the mid-nineteenth century whose exploits were celebrated in *The Sporting Magazine*; caricaturists such as Cham, Robert Seymour, and George Cruikshank, and countless circus painters, designers, and engineers, indirect progenitors of the futurist iconography of multiplied man; the father of the modern roller coaster, La Marcus Thompson; the film magicians Georges Melies, Cecil Hepworth, and R. W. Paul, codifiers of accidents as a generative comic device; Ernst Jünger, theorist of peril as mechanism of psycho-political release; the Andy Warhol of the early 1960s, whose silk-screened *Car Crashes* coincide with his first icons of Elizabeth Taylor; and, finally, Vaughn, the hero of J. G. Ballard's novel *Crash* (1973), whose life of auto crashes culminates in "his only true accident": the automotive masterpiece for which he has been rehearsing his entire life—a crash landing atop the same movie actress.

This chain, however improbable, is strung around five complementary hypotheses: first, that a fundamental bifurcation occurs by the beginning of the nineteenth century between modes of mass transit and individual transportation, whether in the experiences and fantasies to which they give rise or in the sorts of discourses that are elaborated in order to regulate and represent them; second, that once technology devised a sufficient buffer between the surface traveled, the force of propulsion, and the individual traveler, it became possible to envisage speed—be it the speed of a carriage, a train, or an automobile—as a kind of drug, an intensifier, an *excitant moderne* (like Honoré Balzac's sugar, tea, tobacco, distilled spirits, and coffee); third, that the human subject of speed, *the kinematic subject*, once reshaped by repeated experiences of this stimulant, finds himself/herself caught in an addiction loop, threatened, on the one hand, by monotony and, on the other, by the need for ever new stimuli in order to maintain the same level of intensity; fourth, that the crash becomes a necessary feature of

this loop structure, at once vouching for its legitimacy (by crystallizing the very intensity for which it stands), serving as a regenerative device (by initiating a new cycle of hyperstimulation), and marking an absolute limit (death); and fifth, that every accident requires a viewer or, better, a *voyeur* to relay its stimulus out into the world.

The accident, in short, will emerge as the locus of a form of trauma that, contrary to certain prevailing psychoanalytic and neo-Marxian accounts, engenders neither psychic blockage nor new surefire forms of regimentation or alienation. Rather, in the works I am here examining, trauma thrills. The thrills in question may be cheap or expensive, private or public, humble or exalted, but, whatever their nature, they represent a distinctively modern redaction of the sublime. In the eighteenth century the sublime transported spirits enclosed in motionless bodies; in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it spirits away bodies that are themselves transported. In both cases it plays the key role in giving rise to modern forms of individualism. It is these forms that I will be tracking in the course of this brief monograph, particularly as the conquest of modern individuality becomes identified with the possession and mastery of wheels.

Stanford University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1996–1997

KATHERINE FISCHER TAYLOR

Architecture and Justice in Nineteenth-Century Paris: The Modernization of the Palais de Justice

This project builds on my previous book, *In the Theater of Criminal Justice*, to examine the architectural representation of justice formulated in Paris during the nineteenth century, through the protracted modernization of its historic Palais de Justice. The new role that justice assumed in the postrevolutionary French state carried major representational implications. With the separation of powers, justice lost its former identification with the personal power of the divine right monarch; in a secularized state founded on the notion of a reign of law expressing the general will, it developed new legitimizing functions and practices. Central to this reformulation was the codification of existing law completed under Napoleon. Meant to make law newly accessible and instrumental in the lives of its subjects, the codification exemplified a larger program of rationalization in French life. Its most visible impact was on the landscape itself, remapped into administrative *départements*, each to be equipped with its own set of reconceptualized public buildings. The neoclassical courthouse type propagated across the country emerged as the prime product of the new administrative system for producing public architecture and survived the demise of a neoclassical norm in other building types.

Yet when the case of the old Paris courthouse was belatedly taken up in the mid-1830s, modernization according to that standard was deemed inadequate. Central to this reconsideration was the

critical impact of historicism on an Enlightenment culture predicated on stable universal laws (as epitomized by the Napoleonic codes). A philosophy of history concerned with the evolution of social institutions was taken up within different professional spheres, including the architectural and juridical. In this climate, buildings assumed a new cultural importance not only as material witnesses to the past, but as formative and informed agents in social development. France was rife with building complexes expropriated from the *ancien régime* to house new and reformed institutions, a constraint the historicist imagination converted to advantage.

Nowhere did that project come into clearer focus than at the Palais de Justice of Paris, whose palimpsest of buildings from every epoch resisted appropriation by the streamlined hierarchy of law courts. Yet here the institution's origins were specifically identified with the history of its buildings, and they shared a central place in the symbolic and physical geography of Paris. The first royal palace of France had as its most celebrated resident Saint Louis, who epitomized the royal attribute of justice; in the fourteenth century, the monarchy left the Palais to its law courts, recognizing them as a distinct institution. Here Parlement emerged as a cornerstone of centralized government but also as a critic of royal excess which proved instrumental in the French Revolution. Thus the postrevolutionary Palais could claim to have been a birthplace for a culture of law and order founded on a new principle of sovereignty. The narrative potential of these buildings was attractive to the architects charged with their modernization, to the judiciary, and to a historical preservation movement emerging in the 1830s, which established its pilot project at the Palais in the Sainte-Chapelle of Saint Louis.

The building project produced in this situation was an urbanistic synthesis of selective restoration and preservation, renovation, and rebuilding and expansion, both a microcosm of the kind of transformation undergone by nineteenth-century Paris and one of its central exhibits. Spanning the July Monarchy to World War I and absorbing four chief architects, from Jean-Nicolas Huyot, Louis Duc, and Honoré Daumet to Albert Tournaire, this enter-



Louis Duc and Honoré Daumet, *Project for a New Place du Palais de Justice*, 1869, bird's-eye view looking east. Engraving from Félix Narjoux, *Monuments élevés par la ville, 1850-1880*, vol. 1 (Veuve A. Morel, Paris, 1880-1883). Collection of the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris

prise offers a controlled opportunity to study how four generations reconceptualized current issues of modernization, historicism, and institutional representation for a common institution and site. Because the nineteenth-century Palais encompassed some seven subinstitutions (legal jurisdictions, the prefecture of police, several prisons) of national to municipal rank, it also engaged an unusual range of public authorities and architectural administrations. My account of their production of the present-day Palais focuses on the question of institutional representation.

Institutionally, the courts occupied a critical position in the Parisian map of power. Neither a service institution with a low profile nor an outright agency of political power, the courts assumed a peculiar status as a kind of public sphere administered by gov-

ernment. For decades, they seemed merely to apply the stable codes, anchoring the volatile powers of executive and legislative government. Justice necessarily lacked an overt policy and seemed beyond history, except for its originating triumph over ancien régime inequities. The courts' position as the legitimizing source of a new political cosmology brought to the fore a problem in the visual representation of power affecting public buildings and social space at large: the shift in the style of power that accompanied the shift from personal to representative government. If the king had asserted his absolute power through visual representation, the bourgeois citizen demonstrated the norm of self-government by self-restraint in an apparently voluntary curtailment of display. The coercive aspect of that ethos was of course a major concern of Michel Foucault, whose work has inspired recent study of institutions of confinement as opposed to more representational institutions such as the courthouse. And yet the latter participated in a continuing history of visual representation in the altered framework of the modern state, addressing the problems of imaging collective power persuasively, even seductively, and of asserting individual power within and also against the new political system. My premise is that the civil law courthouse is key for this history because of its peculiar originary status; indeed, the modernization of the Palais indicates how the universalizing architectural image of order came to signify as rigid and oppressive, giving rise to a more effusive mode.

A major methodological challenge has been the disjunction between the way the nineteenth-century architecture of the Palais and the public's engagement with its judicial proceedings imply a social history of practice, and the persistent doctrine of an ahistorically stable justice fixed under Napoleon. New sources indicate that the architects were so concerned with the institution's roles and the history of its site that they characterized each component jurisdiction (supreme, penal versus civil, and so on) distinctively. In so doing, they and their clients engaged current debates on the history and reform of justice and contributed to a lively discourse on the aesthetic styles of power, participating in a social history of modern French justice that has itself only recently begun to gain atten-

tion. Its most important transformation, however, was attested by contemporaneous jurists who played a part in it: a late nineteenth-century shift in emphasis away from the codes to allow a larger role for jurisprudence and interpretation, enabling a more explicitly social practice. That change of emphasis from code to equity broadly corresponds to a change in the character of the architectural work, and to changes in expectations and perceptions of it, as well as in the behavior in its chambers. The book samples that more unselfconscious history by conceptualizing the building's history around particular incidents—judicial, political, administrative—that integrated its form into its use and meanings. Through a social biography of building simultaneously in use and transformation, I hope to illuminate some of the ways that architecture participates in the performative aesthetics of power.

University of Chicago
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1996–1997

Murayama, Mavo, and Modernity: Constructions of the Modern in Taishō Avant-garde Art

Many Japanese intellectuals coming of age in the dynamic yet chaotic late Taishō era (1912–1926) were troubled by the socio-cultural implications of Japan's trajectory of modernization. Often described as a new breed of socially-concerned youth, they sought to mediate and redirect this development through word and deed. The focus of my dissertation is the Western-style artists' group Mavo, formed in June 1923 and active until the end of 1925. Mavo artists launched strategic attacks on the art establishment (*gadan*), public taste, and conventional morality, consciously representing themselves as an avant-garde, or a group of cultural rebels in advance of their time. Vocal representatives of this late Taishō generation, Mavo members recast the artist as social critic, playing a central role in illuminating and critiquing the powerful institutions and societies that propelled the modern Japanese art world and leaving an indelible mark on the art criticism of the 1920s.

The group's original membership consisted of five artists: Murayama Tomoyoshi, Ōura Shūzō, Yanase Masamu, Ogata Kamenosuke, and Kadowaki Shinrō. After its founding, Mavo quickly expanded to include Shibuya Osamu, Kinoshita Shūichirō, Sumiya Iwane, Okada Tatsuo, Takamizawa Michinao, Yabashi Kimimaro, Toda Tatsuo, Katō Masao, and Hagiwara Kyōjirō, among others. Generally considered the group's leader, Murayama Tomoyoshi conceptualized his own artistic theory called *Ishikiteki*



Cover pages of *Mavo* magazine, nos. 1–6 (July 1924–July 1925). Author photograph

Kōseishugi (Conscious Constructivism), which was concerned with constructing a nonrepresentational image of modernity that would be pertinent to the reality of daily life.

All the artists affiliated with Mavo shared Murayama's "constructivist inclination," and they collectively implemented it as part of a more general project to "revolutionize" artistic practice. This agenda was facilitated by the presence of a sizable literate and culture-consuming middle class, a mass audience to whom they could express and promote their experience of the modern. With the support of newspapers, publishing companies, and department stores, Mavo artists were able to gain access to a newly developing public arena in which they endeavored to transform the relationship between art practice, art production, and the everyday conditions of modernity. By the time of the group's dissolution, Mavo had engaged in a great diversity of artistic activity including art criticism, book illustration, poster design, dance and theatrical performances, and architectural projects. They also produced seven issues of the magazine *Mavo*, several cover illustrations of which are shown here.

In order to assess Mavo's contribution to the development of Japanese Western-style art (*yōga*) and Japanese culture more generally, the dissertation begins with consideration of the meaning and significance imputed to *yōga* in relation to issues of representation, individualism, and the establishment of the Japanese nation-state from the Meiji Restoration in 1868 to the early 1920s when Mavo appeared. Chapter two details the prehistory of the Mavo movement and includes an explication of the *Miraiha Bijutsu Kyōkai* (Japanese Futurist Art Association) out of which most of Mavo's membership emerged. This history is integrated with abbreviated biographical accounts of all relevant artists and a consideration of the personal relationships between them. This not only illuminates the underlying reasons for the association of these diverse individuals, but also identifies many of the aesthetic and theoretical foundations of Mavo in the ideas and activities of Japanese futurism.

Having situated Mavo in relation to the broader discourses concerning Western-style art, I then construct a narrative of the formation of Mavo and the group's activities, interweaving this history with the contemporary critical responses to the group's work. Also

included is discussion of Mavo's demonstrations against the art establishment and collaboration with other artists' groups, such as the founding of Sanka (the Third Section).

The following chapters elaborate on Mavo's distinctive contributions to the development of Japanese art and design. The group's aesthetic and sociopolitical strategies, as evidenced formally in the members' art works and textually in their theoretical writings, are analyzed. I begin with Murayama's original theorization of "Conscious Constructivism" and demonstrate how his largely philosophical approach was transformed into a more socially and politically engaged movement through Mavo's collective activities. I demonstrate how the group self-consciously constructed its rebellious identity, which was characterized by a bellicose tone and incendiary verbiage. I address Mavo artists' active participation in the construction of a Japanese mass and consumer culture and how their engagement with commercialism and consumerism was a defining factor in their strategy to integrate art and daily life. I argue for a fluid boundary between fine art, commercial design, and the new consumer spaces of modern Japan.

The final chapter concerns the inherently theatrical and performative nature of Mavo's artistic activity, particularly the strong connection between Japanese modern dance and theater, and the group's public "happenings," demonstrations, and theatrical performances. Mavo artists prized the ability to manipulate reality in the theater and sought to transfer this control over perception by theatricalizing other arenas, particularly the public forums of the popular press and the street. This section revisits previous themes by considering the relationship between theatricality and the modern Japanese artist's cultivation of a public persona for consumption. I also contend that the group's theatrical expressionism was significant socially and politically, because it served as a means for asserting desire and the quest for self-satisfaction, deemed by critics as symptoms of a rampant hedonism. The study concludes with the ideological implications of this labeling in the context of Japanese national politics.

[Princeton University]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1995-1997

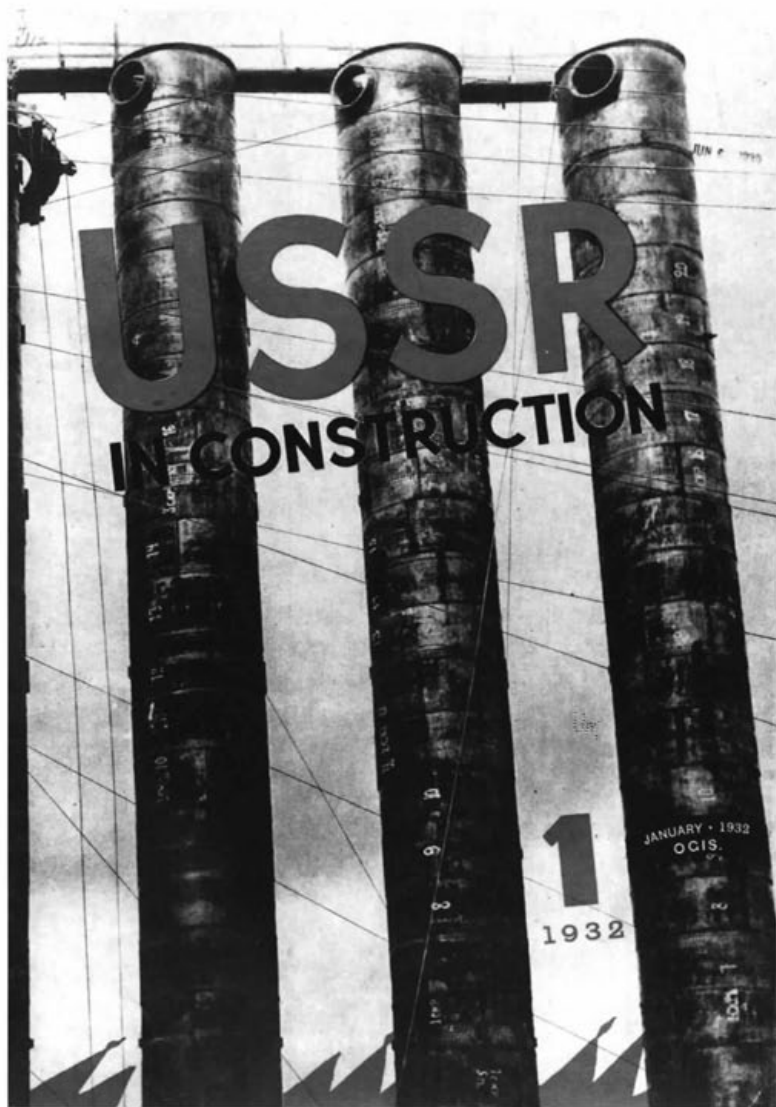
USSR in Construction: From Avant-garde to Socialist Realist Aesthetics

I have devoted this year to my dissertation: an examination of the persistence, modification, and transformation of Soviet avant-garde representational practice in light of the emerging Stalinist aesthetic of socialist realism during the 1930s, through a study of the photographic magazine *USSR in Construction* (1930–1941, 1949). With contributions by avant-garde innovators and proponents of more traditional cultural practices, *USSR in Construction* provides a unique opportunity to clarify the nature and scope of the cultural transition from the avant-garde ideals of the 1920s to socialist realism in the ensuing decade. The magazine was published monthly to propagandize the transformation of the Soviet economy, society, and culture during the industrialization drive that began in 1928. With editions in Russian, English, German, French, and Spanish, the magazine addressed domestic and international audiences.

The study begins with analysis of critical writings on photography and the institutional sites of photographic practice in the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and early 1930s, based on archival sources and the magazines *Sovetskoe kino*, *Fotograf*, *Sovetskoe foto*, and *Novyi lef*. Consideration is given to the debates over photography, art, and formalism that were sparked in 1928 by an anonymous attack on Aleksandr Rodchenko for plagiarism of Western modernist photographers and again in 1931, when members of the

photo section of *Oktiabr'* were accused of formalist distortion of Soviet reality. While previous studies of these theories and debates have focused largely on the work of Rodchenko, my project maps out the diverse range of photographic practice in Soviet photography at the end of the 1920s, from art photographers to left photographers to photojournalists to the mass photo-amateur movement. This research reveals the highly problematic nature of Rodchenko's exhibition of his work as photojournalism in 1928 and the validity of attacks by professional left photo-reporters on Rodchenko's tenuous identity as a photojournalist. The attacks on the photo section of *Oktiabr'* which occurred in 1931 and led to Rodchenko's expulsion from this group in 1932 are seen in the context of the leadership of the worker photography movement and the formation of the Soviet photo press agency *Soiuzfoto*.

Building on this critical and institutional context, my study provides an organizational history of *USSR in Construction*, including its origins, aims, audience, editorial structure, and daily operation. This history begins in 1928 with the Soviet pavilion at *Pressa*, an international exhibition of the press in Cologne, Germany. Many of the editorial and creative contributors to the magazine collaborated on this pavilion. The correspondence of the writer Maksim Gorky with Stalin and Artemii Khalatov, the director of the State Publishing House of the Soviet Union, reveals that the publication was initially conceived as one of a group of periodicals devoted to the representation of the achievements of the Soviet government's economic and agricultural programs. The international dimensions of the magazine are viewed through its connections with the German Communist media empire of Willi Münzenberg, including John Heartfield's impact on it. Heartfield's 1931 visit to Moscow at the invitation of *USSR in Construction* brought about design innovations and led to the addition of El Lissitzky, Rodchenko, Varvara Stepanova, Sergei Tret'iakov, and other vanguard figures to the creative staff. Prior to Heartfield's visit, the magazine's contributors were largely aligned with "proletarian" cultural organizations that viewed avant-garde experiment as decadent formalism. Given the arrest of many editors and contributors in 1937, the impact of the Stalinist terror on the publication and its contents is examined.



Nikolai Troshin, cover of
USSR in Construction, no. 1
(1932). University of
Michigan Library, Ann Arbor.
Author photograph

Having outlined its history, I establish the position of *USSR in Construction* within the context of Soviet photography and documentary expression, and cultural conflict between proponents of realism and formalism. From its inception as the preeminent Soviet photographic periodical, the magazine played a central role in crit-

ical discussions concerning Soviet photography, photomontage, and documentary expression. *USSR in Construction* was the primary site of development of a new Soviet genre, the narrative photoessay (*fotoocherk*), which transformed its contents from dull collections of photographs to striking visual narratives. "Twenty-four Hours in the Life of a Moscow Worker Family," the first extended Soviet narrative photoessay, was published in the German illustrated magazine *Arbeiter-Illustrierte-Zeitung* in 1931. This essay, with photographs by Maks Al'pert and Arkadii Shaikhet, was met with critical acclaim in the Soviet press. Shortly thereafter, Al'pert executed "Giant and Builder," the story of the Magnitogorsk steel plant and one of its builders, for *USSR in Construction* (no. 1, 1932). In addition to analyzing these essays and their critical reception at the time of publication, I explore the development of the *fotoocherk* from both "proletarian" and formalist representational practice.

The extent to which avant-garde photographic and photomontage practice persisted in the Soviet Union beyond the confines of *USSR in Construction* is established by means of a comparative analysis of thematic content. The representation of the Dnepr Hydroelectric and Industrial Complex, the subject of four issues of the magazine, is compared to its treatment in other Soviet media, establishing this magazine's influence. The content and design of the magazine in this analysis are correlated to shifting government policies and programs. Finally, the dilemma of the Soviet avant-garde after 1932 is addressed through a case study of Rodchenko's contributions to *USSR in Construction*.

[University of Michigan, Ann Arbor]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1996-1997

Description of Programs



Alan Colquhoun

David Freedberg



Fields of Inquiry

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

Fellowship Program

Samuel H. Kress Professorship

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

Andrew W. Mellon Professorship

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

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

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Individuals currently affiliated with the National Gallery of Art are not eligible for the Senior Fellowship program. Awards usually are made for the academic year. The Center will consider dividing the fellowship period into single terms to be held in two consecutive calendar years. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and

are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. The Center is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center for Advanced Study.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will be limited generally to one-half the applicant's annual salary with the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel funds; a supplemental allowance for local expenses; and a research allowance for photographs, slides, and microfilms. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for attendance at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for Senior Fellowships is 1 October. Each candidate must submit ten sets of all materials, including an application form with a project proposal, photocopies of two off-prints, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

Frese Senior Research Fellowship

The Frese Senior Research Fellowship is intended for a German citizen who has held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possesses a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. The applicant may be preparing a *Habilitationsschrift* or pursuing a career in a museum or a historic monuments commission in Germany. A Frese Senior Fellowship will be awarded annually for an academic year, early fall to late spring, and may not be postponed or renewed. The fellowship is for full-time research. Ten sets of all materials, including an application form, a project proposal, copies of selected pertinent publications, and three letters of recommendation in support of the application, must be forwarded by the deadline of 1 October of the year prior to the fellowship.

Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowships

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a residence period of up to sixty days during the year, in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications



Philip Arnold, Joanne Pillsbury, Ann Cyphers, Marion Stirling Pugh, and Richard Lesure

and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit five sets of all materials, including an application form, a financial statement, and photocopies of one article or chapter of a book. Two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed.

Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship

The Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship is intended for a scholar from Latin America (Mexico, the Caribbean, Central and

South America). The fellowship includes a period of two months at the Center for research in Washington libraries and collections, followed by an additional two months of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. The applicant must hold appropriate degrees in the field or possess a record of professional accomplishment. Knowledge of English is required. Applications will be considered on 21 September for appointment during the period March–August 1998. 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 to be forwarded by the deadline.

*Association of Research Institutes in Art History
Fellowship for Scholars from Latin America*

The general purpose of the Association of Research Institutes in Art History (ARIAH), incorporated in 1988, is to promote scholarship within institutes of advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. A current collaborative effort within ARIAH in-

T. Barton Thurber and Christine Challingsworth



stitutions is a fellowship program intended for advanced study by scholars and museum professionals from Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Recipients of the ARIAH fellowship spend the first two months of the fellowship in residence at one of eighteen ARIAH institutions housing the collections and resources relevant to their research. For the next one to two months, recipients travel to additional institutions, collections, and research centers to pursue study. The application deadline is November for fellowships in the following year, within the period 1 June–31 May. A complete application includes the following: a curriculum vitae, a description of the research project (750–1,000 words); preferred dates of residence and tentative schedule of travel; and two letters of reference. Applicants are also asked to indicate which institution(s) houses the collections and resources most valuable for the proposed research project. Application will be made directly to ARIAH, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. Four fellowships are awarded annually. This program is supported with a grant from the Lampadia Foundation.

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowship

One fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least three years in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial Fellows may obtain leave from the Gallery for six to ten months in the succeeding academic year to pursue independent research unrelated to Gallery projects. The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship.

Associate Status

The Center may appoint Associates who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made for periods ranging from one month to an academic year. Qualifications and conditions are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships and Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October, and the procedures are the same as

those for Senior Fellowships. Applications will also be considered on 21 September, for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August, and on 21 March, for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

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

The Center is pleased to announce a program for the Samuel H. Kress/Ailsa Mellon Bruce Paired Fellowships for Research in Conservation and Art History/Archaeology. Applications are invited from teams consisting of two scholars: one in the field of art history, archaeology, or another related discipline in the humanities or social sciences, and one in the field of conservation or materials science. The fellowship includes a two-month period for field, collections, and/or laboratory research, followed by a two-month residency period at the Center for Advanced Study, National Gallery of Art. Fellows will have access to the notable resources represented by the collections, the library, and the photographic archives of the Gallery, as well as the Library of Congress and other specialized research libraries and collections in Washington. Laboratory facilities in the Washington area may be made available on an ad hoc basis. Each team is required to submit an application with seven sets of all materials, including application form, proposal, a tentative schedule of travel indicating the site(s), collection(s), or institution(s) most valuable for the proposed research project, and copies of selected pertinent publications must be forwarded by the application deadline. In addition, each team member must ask two individuals to write letters of recommendation in support of the application. Applications are due by 21 March 1998 for 1998–1999. The fellowship is supported by funds from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and from endowed funds for visiting senior fellowships from The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship

One Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow who has held the Samuel H. Kress or the Mary Davis Pre-



John Pohl and Javier Urcid

doctoral Fellowship. Kress and Davis Fellows may apply for a Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship if the dissertation has been approved by 1 June of the second fellowship year. A letter to this effect from the primary advisor must be received by this date. The candidate must have graduated or received a certificate of degree by 1 September. During this twelve-month appointment the fellow is associated with an appropriate Gallery department or museum in the Washington area, and pursues curatorial work while preparing the dissertation for publication.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of art history who have completed their university residence requirements, course work, and general or preliminary examinations. Students must have certification in two foreign languages. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a twelve-month period of residency at the Center that may include participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants must be

either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center for Advanced Study. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs during the summer prior to the autumn deadline.

Further Information about Tenure and Application

Individuals may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or once a fellowship has been awarded. The award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply after three years. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply after five years. Appropriate application forms for fellowships and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Assistant to the Fellowship Program: (202) 842-6482. Fellowship information is also available on the World Wide Web (<http://www.nga.gov/resources/casva.htm>).

Facilities

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center for Advanced Study are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art, Washington. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over 200,000 volumes. The National Gallery's collections, photographic archives of over 7.5 million images, and other services are accessible during regular business hours.

Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

Board of Advisors and Selection Committee

A Board of Advisors, comprised of seven art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider policies and programs of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

Program of Meetings, Research, and Publication

Meetings

The Center for Advanced Study sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shoptalks given by Predoctoral Fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly luncheon and tea, annual reception in honor of new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery of Art, encourage formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in advanced research in the history of art and related dis-

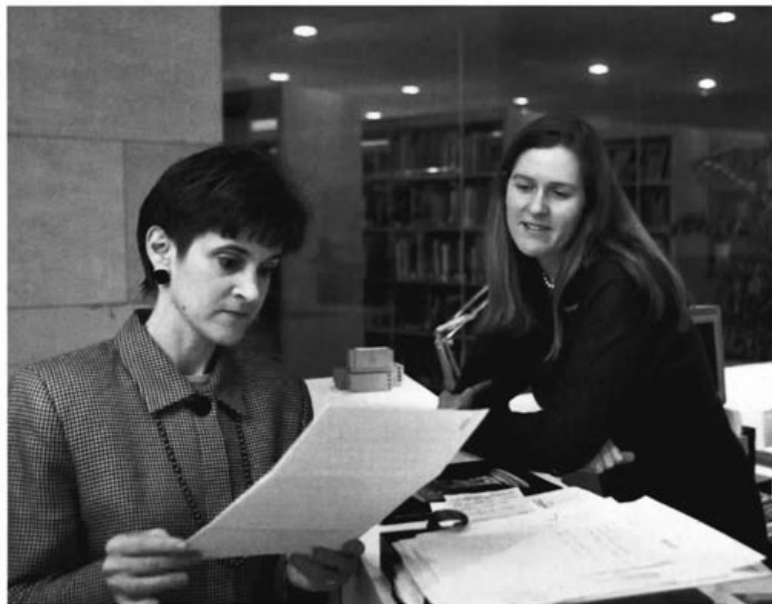
ciplines. A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1996–1997 may be found on pages 20–29.

Research

In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. Each of the three deans directs a project designed to produce a research tool of value to the scholarly community. One project, completed in 1994, was the creation of *A Guide to the Description of Architectural Drawings*, edited by Vicki Porter and Robin Thornes. The work was the result of a collaboration between the Getty Art History Information Program, the Architectural Drawings Advisory Group, and the Foundation for Documents in Architecture. This work is intended to promote and establish standards for the description of architectural drawings. For current research projects, see page 12.

Research reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually. See pages 39–149 for reports written by members in 1996–1997.

Helen Tangires and Kathleen Lane



Publication

Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the symposium series of the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art. Thirty symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *Michelangelo Drawings* (Volume 33); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); *The Pastoral Landscape* (Volume 36); *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37); *The Artist's Workshop* (Volume 38); *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (Volume 43); *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (Volume 44); *Titian 500* (Volume 45); *Van Dyck 350* (Volume 46); *The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology* (Volume 47); *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy* (Volume 48); *The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome* (Volume 49); *Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review* (Volume 50); and *Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910* (Volume 53). Papers from four other symposia are in preparation for the series: "Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals," "Vermeer Studies," "The Art of Ancient Spectacle," and "Olmec Art and Archaeology in Mesoamerica: Social Complexity in the Formative Period."



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