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This journal is addressed to the increasing volume of important graduate research in the field of art history. Its purpose is to publish scholarly articles by graduate students from all institutions. By presenting the new generation of scholars under one cover, we hope to reveal the future paths our profession will take. We are pleased that new institutions continue to add to our roster of contributors and we invite readers to submit manuscripts for consideration. The deadline for Volume VI is October 1, 1984.

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The editors of the *Rutgers Art Review* dedicate Volume V to Dr. Olga Paris Berendsen on the occasion of her retirement as Associate Professor of Art History at Rutgers University.

Dr. Berendsen, born in Moscow of Estonian parents, received her B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Tartu (Dorpat) in Estonia. She came to the United States in 1949 and completed her Ph.D. at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in 1961. Her dissertation, "The Italian Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Catafalques," written under the direction of Richard Krautheimer, is a landmark study of temporary architecture in Baroque Italy. She taught for several years at Ohio State University. In 1965 she came to Rutgers University, specializing in Italian and Spanish Baroque art. She was the first Director of the Graduate Program in Art History at Rutgers, and has served in the same capacity since 1981.

In addition to her book and numerous articles on the arts of Estonia, Dr. Berendsen has also published important articles on Bernini. Most recently she has produced a major study of Bernini's Baldacchino and its relation to temporary structures.

The uncompromisingly high standards she imposes on herself as a scholar also prevail in her classroom. She is an unusually challenging and conscientious teacher, and in dedicating this volume of the *Rutgers Art Review* to her, we know we are expressing the gratitude and affection of a generation of graduate and undergraduate students in Art History at Rutgers.

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Filippo Lippi's Tarquinia *Madonna*: Additional Evidence for a Proposed Flemish Source

ELIOT W. ROWLANDS

The subject of the influence of Flemish painting on that of fifteenth-century Italy has occasioned a considerable literature.[1] Stylistic comparisons between the two schools of art have been frequently made, and are often convincing. The one consistent problem, however, has been to explain how individual Flemish panels were known to Italian artists. Historical evidence almost always remains inconclusive.[2] In regard to the art of the second quarter of the quattrocento, it simply does not exist. During these years no single Flemish work is recorded in Florence. Yet the visual evidence does imply their existence there. For this period, then, our only proof—at least so far—are the painted works themselves.

The following article derives from the third chapter of my doctoral dissertation, *Filippo Lippi's Stay in Padua and Its Impact On His Art*, which was completed in January of 1983 under the direction of Dr. James H. Stubblebine of Rutgers University.

[1] The clearest, most useful discussion on this subject is G.B. Canfield, *Quadri fiamminghi rintracciabili all'Italia nel XV secolo*, M.A. thesis, New York University, 1972. Its author informs me (Summer 1983) that she is reworking her thesis into a book, to be published by Centro Di, Florence. Other relevant bibliography (listed in chronological order) are: P. Libaert, "Artistes flamands en Italie pendant la Renaissance," *Institute Historique Belge de Rome. Bulletin*, I, 1919, 1-103; M. Meiss, " 'Highlands' in the Lowlands: Jan van Eyck, the Master of Flémalle and the Franco-Italian Tradition," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, Series 6, LVII, 273-314; *idem*, "Jan van Eyck and the Italian Renaissance," in *Venezia e l'Europa: Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, 1955*, Venice, 1956, 58-69 (reprinted in the author's *The Painter's Choice*, New York, 1976, 19-35); R. Weiss, "Jan van Eyck and the Italians," *Italian Studies*, XI, 1956, 1-15 and XII, 1957, 7-21; E.C. Parker, *Jan van Eyck and the Italian Patronage*, M.A. thesis, New York University, 1967; P. Hills, "Leonardo and Flemish Painting," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXII, 1980, 609-15; and, most recently, S. Osanu, "Rogier van der Weyden e l'Italia: Problemi, riflessioni e ipotesi—I," *Antichità Viva*, XX, 1981, 14-21 (with copious bibliography).

[2] One picture known from documents (i.e., a 1492 inventory of the Medici collections; see E. Müntz, *Les collections des Médicis au XVè siècle*, Paris and London, 1888, 78) has been identified as a *St. Jerome in His Study* by Jan van Eyck, which some critics accept as the panel in the Detroit Institute of Arts. Its first owner, according to E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, New York, 1971, I, 189-90, was Cardinal Niccolò Albergati. Although this work apparently influenced two frescoes of the same subject, painted c. 1480 for the church of the Ognissanti, Florence, by Botticelli and Ghirlandaio, respectively (see M. Meiss, *The Great Age of Fresco*, New York, 1970, 169-70, 242; reproduced 171 [Botticelli] and 168 [Ghirlandaio] in color). However, there appears to be a growing consensus that the Detroit *St. Jerome* is of modern workmanship. See R.H. Marijnissen, "On Scholarship: Some Reflections on the Study of Early-Netherlandish Painting," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België* (Klasse der Schone Kunsten, Jaargang XL, 1978, No. 4, 1-14), an article kindly brought to my attention by Dr. Barbara G. Lane of Queens University. Marijnessen's conclusions are accepted by E. Dhanens, *Hubert and Jan van Eyck*, New York, n.d., 370-71, and, tentatively, by P.H. Jolly, "Antonello da Messina's 'St. Jerome in His Study': A Disguised Portrait," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIV, 1983, 28, note 3 (who suggests the Detroit painting may at least be a faithful replica of van Eyck's picture).

This is especially so with the art of Fra Filippo Lippi (c.1406–1469).[3] A case in point is his earliest dated work, the Tarquinia *Madonna* (fig. 1) of 1437.[4] This picture signals one of the first instances of Flemish influence in the history of Italian art. Thus in 1956, Millard Meiss pointed to the *trompe l'oeil cartellino* bearing the picture's date as Flemish-inspired.[5] Features such as the jewel-studded prayer book and the richly-detailed hems were traced to Netherlandish painting, as were the innovative effects of texture, light and shadow.

Equally striking in the Tarquinia *Madonna* is the tunneling interior which shelters the monumental, yet domesticated, godhead. In seeking this panel's Flemish counterpart, at least in overall terms of mood and format, our choice would surely be the Salting *Madonna* of Robert Campin (fig. 2).[6] In both works, the huge figure of the Virgin occupies almost half the picture field.[7] Although seen from a worm's-eye view, she is anything but forbidding. As in the Lippi painting, she is a plain, inelegant, but responsive subject. Her eyes, half-closed, glance tenderly at her Child, who in both works is an alert, active, even playful figure.[8]

Both panels depict not only holy figures, but their environment as well. Lippi's work contains a street scene and landscape view seen through a window. In Campin's painting, the two subjects are combined in a panorama in the upper left corner. More importantly, both also include similar domestic settings.

No Madonna in Florentine art of this time describes the Holy Mother's setting as fully as Fra Filippo's does. The artist has set his aims beyond those of his contemporaries, beyond the mere sculptural rendering of human forms. Here is a convincing tableau of domestic life. New forms, new spatial solutions and the special new

[3] The subject of Flemish influence has received little attention in the monographs on Lippi by R. Oertel (*Fra Filippo Lippi*, Vienna, 1942), M. Pittaluga (*Filippo Lippi*, Florence, 1949), and G. Marchini (*Filippo Lippi*, Milan, 1975). In a chapter devoted to this subject, Jeffrey Ruda in *Filippo Lippi Studies: Naturalism, Style and Iconography in Early Renaissance Art*, New York and London, 1982, 10–39, has unaccountably concluded that Lippi's oeuvre is devoid of any influence from the early Netherlandish masters. A recent article by F. Ames-Lewis, "Fra Filippo Lippi and Flanders," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLII, 1979, 255–73, has addressed this subject in detail, offering additional stylistic analogies with Flemish painting and proposing that the *frate* actually visited the Lowlands himself. For a discussion of his points, pro and con, see Rowlands, *Filippo Lippi's Stay In Padua*, 94–101, 107–25.

For a convincing analysis of the Flemish sources in Fra Angelico's paintings of the 1430s see, most recently, the excellent comments of M. Boskovits, "La fase tarda del Beato Angelico: una proposta di interpretazione," *Arte christiana*, LXXI, 1983, 12–17.

[4] Panel: 44 7/8 × 25 9/16 inches (114 × 65 cm.). The panel was discovered by Pietro Toesca in the church of Santa Maria in Valverde, Tarquinia (Lazio), and first published by him in 1917 (P. Toesca, "Una tavola di Filippo Lippi," *Bollettino d'arte*, XI, 1917, 105–10). See the bibliography cited in Rome, Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini, *Catalogo*, ed. N. di Carpegna, Rome, 1973, 37, cat. no. 55. For other sources, including that of sculpture, see Rowlands, *Filippo Lippi's Stay in Pauda*, 96, notes 347 and 349.

[5] Meiss, "Jan van Eyck and the Italian Renaissance," 62–63. See also Canfield, *Quadri fiamminghi*, 65 and note 160.

[6] See London, National Gallery, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, 3rd revised ed., London, 1968, ed. M. Davies, 25–26, who notes that both the chalice and chest at right are modern additions, and M. Davies, *Rogier van der Weyden*, London, 1972, 253. See also L. Campbell, "Robert Campin, the Master of Flémalle and the Master of Mérode," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVI, 1974, 634–46 who ascribes the picture to a separate personality whom he names the Master of Mérode. In the present essay, the documented figure of Campin is considered identical with the artistic personality known as the Master of Flémalle.

[7] The large Madonna figure in an environment which complements and humanizes her and yet is dwarfed by her presence may be a reference to a particular Marian image, such as the *thalamus Virginis*. See Meiss, "Jan van Eyck and the Italian Renaissance," 62, and the discussion in Ruda, *Filippo Lippi Studies*, 26, note 55.

[8] For this aspect of the Lippi Christ Child, see P. Barolsky, *Infinite Jest: Wit and Humor in Italian Renaissance Art*, Columbia, Missouri and London, 1978, 20–21.

2. Robert Campin, Salting *Madonna*. London, National Gallery

rendering of light and texture—all predominantly properties of pioneering Flemish painters—help to formulate a new religious outlook in a new artistic form. The aim of painting moves out toward the world, to describe it more fully, more factually. The result is a microcosm, and this different, expanded pictorial goal calls upon innovative Flemish characteristics of light, landscape views and local color.[9] In this sense, the Madonnas of Campin and Fra Filippo are works of a similar *genus*.[10]

[9] On this subject, see especially E.H. Gombrich, "Light, Form and Texture in Fifteenth-Century Painting," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, CXII, 1964, 826-49; reprinted in revised form in the author's *Heritage of Apelles: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, Oxford, 1976, 19-35.

[10] Perhaps the similarities of the two works are not merely coincidental. According to Canfield (*Quadri fiamminghi*, 64-65), the Salting *Madonna* is in fact reflected in the Lippi composition. It certainly predates the 1437 *Madonna* and may even have traveled to northern Italy before the *frate*'s visit to Padua. There would have been ample time for the Campin panel (or reflections of it) to arrive there. For this painting's provenance, see London, National Gallery, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, ed. M. Davies, 25-26.

3. Rogier van der Weyden, after, *Madonna and Child on a Porch*, drawing. Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett

The Campin *Madonna* and other Flemish paintings have been proposed as the source for Filippo's composition ever since the (undocumented) picture was first published by Toesca in 1917.[11] The closest formal parallel between it and a Flemish composition, however, has only recently been suggested in an article by Francis Ames-Lewis.[12] This involves a lost work by Rogier van der Weyden (c.1400–1464) which is known through several copies. The best of these, a drawing in Dresden (fig. 3),

[11] For example, Meiss ("Jan van Eyck and the Italian Renaissance," 62) pointed out a similarity with Jan van Eyck's Lucca *Madonna*, which is datable to c.1436 (see Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, 184–85 reproduced in II, fig. 252, and J. Snyder, "The Chronology of Jan van Eyck's Paintings," in *Album Amicorum J.G. van Gelder*, The Hague, 1973, 294 and 297). For this painting's provenance, traceable only to the late 18th century, see Panofsky, I, 184, note 3.

[12] Ames-Lewis, "Fra Filippo Lippi and Flanders," 265–66.

4. Neri di Bicci, *Madonna and Child with Two Saints*. Formerly London, Sotheby's

shows the Madonna of Humility seated on a porch.[13] Like the Tarquinia *Madonna* (fig. 1), the formal composition is marked by a large mass centrally placed and close to the picture plane. In both works, a tunnel view provides a tight envelope of space that enhances, but never dwarfs, the mass composed of Mother and Child. Powerful orthogonals lead the eye back to an opening framed in each work with a similar set of shutters.[14] This telescopic effect is countered by a rich play of forms on the surface area and by the dynamic lateral movement of the Christ Child.

On closer inspection, the figures in the Lippi and Rogier compositions look remarkably similar. The juxtaposition of heads in each is identical. The position of the Child's shoulders and left arm, as well as the right arm of the Virgin, are likewise comparable. While the left leg of the Christ Child in Rogier's composition is placed vertically, Lippi's Christ Child thrusts His left leg diagonally to the right, creating more torsion and providing greater support.[15]

How Filippo could have known of this composition, which probably dates to the period of Rogier's earliest independent activity, must remain a mystery. Additional visual evidence, not documentary, can now substantiate Ames-Lewis' proposal. In a *Madonna and Child with SS. Jerome and John the Baptist* (fig. 4), which recently passed through a London auction,[16] the central group reproduces almost exactly that of the lost Rogier picture, albeit in reverse. The figural types are almost iden-

[13] Inv. no. C780. See M. Sonkes, *Les primitifs flamands: Dessins du XVe siècle: Groupe van der Weyden*, Brussels, 1969, 106–09, no. C10, where the drawing is considered a copy of a Rogier painting that dates, according to the author, to just before his 1438 Werl Altarpiece. Panofsky has convincingly dated the lost Rogier original to about the time of his *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* in Boston, as after the Thyssen and Vienna Madonnas (of c.1430–32, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, I, 251), and *before* the Leipzig (formerly Speck von Sternburg Collection) *Visitation* of c.1435 (see Panofsky, I, 252 and note 1). One may note a similar pose of the Madonna, in reverse, in Rogier's *Madonna in Red* in the Prado (reproduced in Panofsky, II, fig. 317), where the pose of the child is comparable. In addition, certain architectural features such as the pointed barrel vault, the ornate capitals, and the floor tiles recall features in *Christ Appearing to His Mother* in New York, which is usually dated to c.1435 (on this and related Rogier panels, see B.G. Lane, "Rogier's Saint John and Miraflores Altarpieces Reconsidered," *Art Bulletin*, LX, 1978, 655–62, especially p. 655, notes 1–3). Ames-Lewis, 265, dates it to the time of the Louvre *Annunciation*, i.e., to the mid-1430s, but this painting is patently not by Rogier (see Panofsky, I, 252: reproduced II, fig. 310).

M.J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting*, II, New York, 1967, 87, no. 121, discusses the composition but avoids the subject of its dating. The most detailed analysis of the lost work remains F. Winkler, *Der Meister von Flémalle und Rogier van der Weyden*, Strasbourg, 1913, 66–71. Several copies are reproduced there on pl. XIII.

[14] The similarity between the two sets of shutters was remarked on by Dr. James H. Stubblebine in conversation, Spring 1982. Ames-Lewis, 263, compares the Tarquinia *Madonna* shutters with those of other Flemish paintings as well.

[15] Ames-Lewis, 265, writes "In Lippi's painting the position of the Christ Child has been 'corrected': logic required that the foundation of the lateral movement be indicated, so the Child pushes with His left foot against the throne-arm to thrust himself towards the Madonna."

[16] London, Sotheby, Parke-Bernet, *Important Old Master Paintings*, June 29, 1982, lot 53, reproduced in color. This unpublished painting, in its original frame, measures 31½×19⅛ inches (80×48.6 cm.). Both its former and present owners are unrecorded.

The tiny figures of saints would appear to anticipate those of similar form and identity in an early work by Neri di Bicci's pupil, Cosimo Rosselli. See this artist's *Adoration of the Christ Child with Saints* in the Museum of Art, Columbia, South Carolina (Inv. no. 54-402/8; Kress 1002), which has been dated to c.1470–73. See F.R. Shapley, *Paintings From the Samuel H. Kress Collection: Italian Schools*, I, *XIII–XVth Century*, London, 1966, 120; reproduced fig. 325.

tical. The Madonna in each has the same full, rounded forehead framed at the sides by pipe-curls. The neckline of her garment is similar and is held in each painting by the energetic Christ Child. The Child's features share that heavy jowled, almost Churchillian quality so often attributed to infants.

This unpublished painting confirms that the Rogier composition was indeed known to the circle of Filippo Lippi. Its author, Neri di Bicci (1419–c.1491), is recorded as having worked for the *frate;* in 1455, he received payment for an untraced St. Jerome painting which Filippo was to execute for Sigismondo Malatesta.[17] His pictures often contain motifs borrowed directly from Lippi paintings.[18] In this panel, however, he seems to have replicated the Rogier work more closely than he did the Lippi *Madonna*. Lippi's work, after all, had synthesized its Flemish source into the creation of a great work of art. By contrast, the Neri di Bicci is a virtual copy. A mediocre work in itself, it nevertheless provides important testimony of the taste for Flemish painting in early Renaissance Florence.

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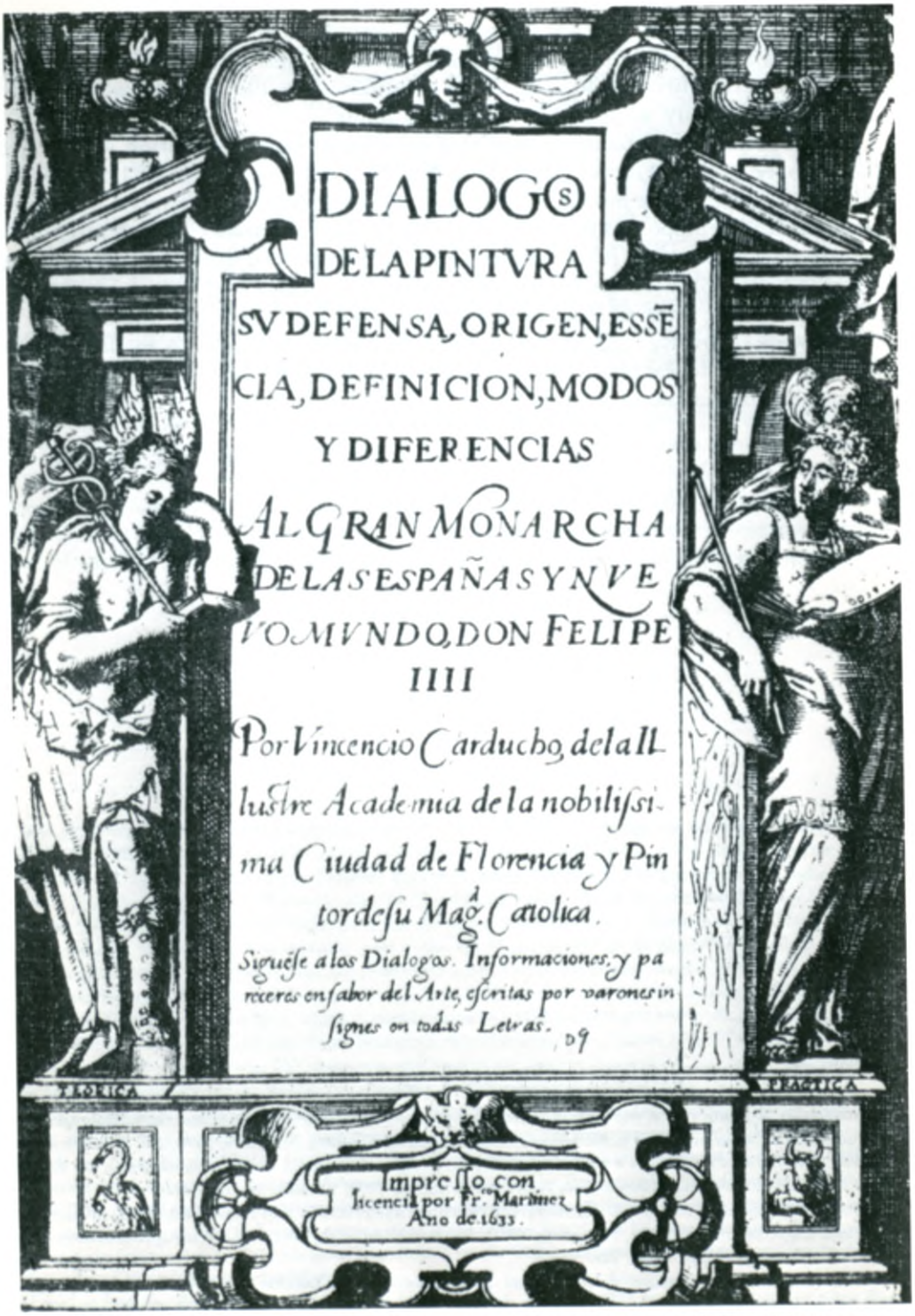
[17] On Neri, see B. Santi, *Neri di Bicci*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florence, 1968, and the bibliography and short selection of works published in M. Horster, *Andrea del Castagno*, Ithaca, New York, 1979, 201, to which should be added Eve Borsook's review of a 1976 edition of Neri's important account book, *Le ricordanze*, in *Art Bulletin*, LXI, 1979, 313–18. Although Horster lists Neri's death date as 1499, all other recent sources cite it as 1491.

For a transcription of the February 1, 1455 [1454 Florentine style] entry in Neri's *Ricordanze*, see H. Mendelsohn, *Fra Filippo Lippi*, Berlin, 1909, 234, Document XVII. For further on this (perhaps unexecuted) commission of the *frate*'s, see Pittaluga, *Filippo Lippi*, 229.

[18] Examples are a newly rediscovered *Madonna and Child*, formerly on the London art market and acquired in late 1983 by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See F. Zeri, "Neri di Bicci: Reintegrazione di un dipinto già nella SS. Annunziata di Firenze," *Antologia di Belle Arti*, IV, 1980, 131–33; reproduced fig. 3, where the angels, as Zeri rightly notes, 131, derive from those in Filippo's *Barbadori Altarpiece*; and a series of Annunciation paintings with motifs such as coffered ceilings, wells, and vistas taken from the *frate*'s San Lorenzo *Annunciation*. See the examples at the Accademia, Florence, inv. nos. 8622 and 480; Pescia, and Tavernelle, listed in B. Berenson, *Italian Pictures of the Renaissance: Florentine School*, London and New York, 1963, I, 153–57.



1. Francisco López after Vincente Carducho, Frontispiece to *Diálogos de la pintura*, 1865. The original engraving was executed in 1633. (photo: Art and Archeology Library, Bryn Mawr College)

A Second Look: Nationalism in Art Treatises from the Golden Age in Spain

SALLY GROSS

Historians of art are very familiar with the work of Diego Velásquez (1599–1660), but perhaps few other than specialists would recognize the names of Velásquez' primary biographers, his father-in-law Francisco Pacheco (1564–1654) and Antonio Palomino (1655–1726). The Velásquez connection is always cited in any study of Pacheco and Palomino and, in fact, interest in them and in the writers of other seventeenth-century Spanish treatises on art has focused almost solely on their reliability as sources of information about contemporary art practice and biographical detail.[1] The relatively limited discussion of the treatises' didactic content has centered around their dependence upon the academic theory of earlier Italian art treatises, and until recently the Spanish treatises have been dismissed as reworkings of Italian ideas with little that is original to recommend them.[2] Even the new special emphasis on the interpretation of Spanish art in terms of the social and economic conditions of the period[3] points to an Italian model for the Spanish interest in demonstrating the noble status of the art of painting.[4]

[1] For a typical example of this approach, see the chapters "El siglo XVII" and "Palomino" in Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *Historia de la crítica de arte en España*, Madrid, 1975, 33–58, 91–110. For an overview of Spanish historiography of art, see Jonathan Brown, *Images and Ideas in Seventeenth-Century Spanish Painting*, Princeton, 1978, 3–18.

[2] Perhaps the severest critic is Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. See *Discursos*, 1901, and *Obras completas: Historia de las ideas estéticas en España*, Madrid, 1962, II, 361–459. Recent criticism is more sympathetic to the treatises but acknowledges their Italian content. See, for example, Francisco José León Tello and María M. Virginia Sanz, *La teoría española de la pintura en el siglo XVIII: el tratado de Palomino*, Madrid, 1974, 331; and M. Cardenal, "Vicente Carducho, 1578–1638," *Revista de ideas estéticas*, 1950, 87–100.

[3] See Brown *Images and Ideas* and Madlyn Millner Kahr, *Velazquez: The Art of Painting*, New York, 1976, both of whom lean heavily upon these themes for their interpretations of *Las Meninas*, which are, however, rejected in the latest study of Velázquez by Enriqueta Harris, *Velázquez*, Ithaca, 1982. Ironically, the Golden Age, a term applied to a flowering of Spanish literature of the late sixteenth and most of the seventeenth centuries, coincides with a decline in Spanish political fortunes. Charles I of Spain (elected in 1519 as Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire) was the first of the Hapsburg kings who ruled Spain from 1516 to 1700. By the time Charles abdicated in 1556 in favor of his son Philip II, he had largely succeeded in welding the many separate Spanish kingdoms and provinces into a centralized and absolute monarchy. But Philip's religious and political commitment to the Catholic Reformation involved Spain in a series of wars which drained the country economically and resulted in losses of territories. Dependence upon gold from the New World and the expulsion of large numbers of economically productive members of the society also weakened the economy. The need for painters to demonstrate their immunity from taxes to support the wars and from military service was an important aspect of the struggle to achieve recognition of painting as a liberal art. Painters were also valuable to the advisers of Philip III and Philip IV as aids in the projects designed to impress the courts of Europe with the luxury and, by association, the importance that attended the Spanish throne. See footnote 74 below.

[4] For a comprehensive study of this theme in Spain, see Julián Gallego, *El pintor de artesano a artista*, Granada, 1976. See also Gallego's *Vision et symbols dans la peinture espagnole du siècle d'or*, Paris, 1968. Since all previous treatises had been written in Latin and/or Italian, it should not be surprising that there are nationalistic developments in treatises written in Spanish. It is to be expected that Spanish authors would speak to their compatriots just as in the next century French critics were to establish French-influenced criteria for good art. They, in turn, are followed by English art champions such as Joshua Reynolds and John Ruskin. The dialogue asserting the superiority of American painting is still in progress.

However, there are characteristics peculiar to the Spanish treatises, one of which can be illuminated by reference to a nascent nationalism in Spanish criticism of the period.[5] That is to say, it appears that while Spanish treatises lean heavily upon Italian academic theory and acknowledge, for example, the value of the traditional reliance upon classical drawing, these works also assert the significance of the Spanish contributions to theory and practice. The nature and strength of this assertion varies from treatise to treatise, but national bias is an important element in four of the most important works because it affects the choice of material presented, how material is presented, and the authorities cited for the material. Ironically, however, because these first champions of Spanish art base their claims for Spanish achievement on the universally accepted standards of the day (which were Italian standards), their nationalistic interests have not been fully recognized. For later Spanish authorities, the early treatise writers were embarrassing reminders of Italian artistic hegemony. These critics preferred to seek "Spanish" qualities in the art of the seventeenth century, not in the art literature of that time.[6]

It is possible to trace a growing emphasis in the seventeenth-century treatises from subtly pro-Spanish nuances in the work of Vicente Carducho (1576–1638) through Pacheco's concern for the elevation not only of the status of painting in Spain but also of the status of Spanish painters themselves. These are followed by the overt nationalism of Jusepe Martínez (1602–1682) and finally realized in the writing of Antonio Palomino as a deliberate, boldly stated bias in favor of the national genius, Velásquez.[7] It will be seen that Palomino uses the kinds of classical anecdotes and allusions employed by the earlier writers to establish painting as a liberal art. This is done not merely to embellish[8] the biography of Velásquez, but rather to establish Velásquez' credentials as painter *per se* within the classical tradition. In fact, accounts of Velásquez' life can be used as a basis for comparing the treatises. The extent to which nationalism infuses the writing of each of the four treatises can be inferred from a comparison of the treatment each accords to the same incident, Velásquez' lost painting the *Expulsion of the Moriscos.*

[5] It is my contention that at least part of the dichotomy between the literary emphasis on classical theory and the use of unclassical practices such as large, splotchy brushwork in contemporary art can be explained by the desires of the Spanish treatise writers to assure Spanish artists an honored place within the received Italian tradition. In developing this topic I acknowledge with great appreciation my debt to Professor Gridley McKim-Smith, Bryn Mawr College, for her seminars on Spanish painting, suggested sources, and the inspiration of her unpublished paper, "Theory and Practice: Writing and Painting in the Age of Velázquez." In particular, McKim-Smith suggests that Spanish use of the authority of the past, ancient and modern, to confer nobility upon contemporary painting may account for the fact that many pigments with an historical "pedigree" which are prescribed by the treatises are not actually used in contemporary practice. It is also notable that subsequently as I researched the topic I found that Francisco Calvo Serraller in his introduction to selections from the writings of Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608), calls for an investigation of Céspedes' work which will not only examine the sources of his facts, themes, and opinions but also study the effect of Céspedes as transmitter, a study "en el contexto de un naciente estilo artístico español con personalidad nacional propia," see Calvo Serraller, *La teoría de la pintura en el Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 1981, 89. Finally, I am most grateful to Professor Steven Z. Levine, Bryn Mawr College, for his many useful suggestions and for his careful reading of this paper.

[6] See Vincente Carducho, *Diálogos de la pintura; su defensa, prigen, esencia, definición, modos, y diferencias*, ed. Francisco Calvo Serraller, Madrid, 1979, ix.

[7] See Menéndez y Pelayo, 81, who seems to think Palomino has overdone his priase of Velázquez. Others have also accused Palomino of excessive admiration for Velázquez, and Juan Augustin Ceán Bermudez says the "defects" in Palomino's work as a whole ". . .en que le hiciéron incurrir en esta obra la bondad de su cáracter y el mal gusto de su tiempo." *Diccionario histórico de los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España*, Madrid, 1800, IV, 36.

[8] Harris' view of Palomino as a source to be "stripped" of his "classical and poetical digressions" is commonly held. See Harris, 7.

The first of the four works to appear in print, Carducho's *Diálogos de la pintura* (fig. 1) was published in 1633 in Madrid. Since Carducho was a classically trained Italian expatriate,[9] it is not surprising that the dialogues between a master and his disciple devoted to the theory and practice of art (Dialogues two through six) are heavily indebted to Italian theory and follow the usual pattern of arguments for the status of painting as a liberal art. Nor is it surprising that classical tropes or figures of speech, familiar in artistic writing from antiquity through the seventeenth century, are especially useful to Carducho as a literary device. It is more interesting to learn from the introduction to the *Diálogos* that Carducho is very aware of his dual Italian and Spanish heritage: his actual birthplace is Florence, but he also considers himself a native of Madrid.[10] Indeed, the official authorization in 1633 for the publication of Carducho's work stresses the importance of the treatise as "something that until now has not been written in our Castilian idiom."[11] This is a particularly interesting assertion since Francisco de Holanda's *De la pintura antiqua,* together with four dialogues on painting, was translated into Spanish in 1563, and Holanda considered himself the first in Spain to write about painting.[12] Perhaps Carducho's work was considered the "first" because Holanda's work was known only in manuscript form at that time or because Holanda was born in Portugal to a Flemish father and was thus not considered a "native of Madrid."[13] In any case, Carducho's introduction seems to indicate that the *Diálogos* is meant to be read as a Spanish book by an author who makes a claim for Spanish nationality.

[9] Born in Florence, Carducho went to Spain at the age of nine with his brother Bartolomé. Bartolomé was one of the Italians called to Spain by Philip II to decorate the Escorial, and he was a close friend of Federico Zuccaro (c. 1540–1609), also an Italian active at the Escorial and the author of a famous treatise on art. Bartolomé achieved the rank of *pintor del rey,* and a year after Bartolomé's death in 1609 Vicente, in turn, was named *pintor del rey.* He was, therefore, well established at the Spanish court before the arrival of Velázquez fourteen years later in 1623. From the inventory of his library made at his death in 1638, it can be seen that he was well-read in the Italian tradition. See Calvo Serraller's introduction to the *Diálogos*; and Mary Volk, *Vicencio Carducho and Seventeenth Century Castilian Painting,* New York, 1977. Other useful references for Carducho not cited here are: J.M. de Azcárate Ristori, "Una variante en la edición de los *Diálogos* de Carducho, con noticia sobre el Buen Retiro," *Archivo español de arte,* 1951, 261; George Kubler, "Vicente Carducho's Allegories of Painting," *Art Bulletin,* 1965, 440–45; and A. Martínez Ripoll, "Un discurso inédito de Vicente Carducho," *Revista de ideas estéticas,* 1978, 83–91.

[10] The word used by Carducho is *natural.* See Carducho, 18. Perhaps it should be noted that in the writings of the period *nación* designates the political entity which today would be called "country" or "nation" as in Spain, France, *et al.,* while *patria* refers to the city and not to the country of one's birth. The modern association of *patria* with national homeland would be inaccurate with reference to the seventeenth-century Spanish treatises. See footnote 13 below.

[11] ". . . ser cosa que en nuestro Castellano idioma hasta oi no se ha escrito." See Carducho, 9.

[12] Francisco de Holanda, *De la pintura antigua (1548) versión castellana de manvel Denis (1563),* ed. Juan de Vasconcellos, Madrid, 1921, 224.

[13] Menéndez y Pelayo and Vasconcellos take the position that there were no artistic or literary barriers between Spain and Portugal until the nineteenth century. See Gaya Nuño, 431. However, Palomino does not include Holanda in his Parnassus of Spanish painters. Holanda clearly considers himself a Portuguese, and he generally makes a distinction between Castille and Portugal although he speaks of the Iberian peninsula as a whole as Spain. Within the context of the question of national derivation, there is a curious exchange in the dialogues between Michaelangelo and Holanda. Michelangelo says only works made in Italy can be called true painting and therefore whatever is good is called Italian. He further says he can tell immediately when something was not made in Italy or by an Italian hand, and he goes on to say that all good painting is called Italian even if it is made in France or in Spain, the country that is closest to Italy. See Holanda, 154–55. The exchange between Michelangelo and Holanda is a very early example of the attempt to claim parity for Spanish and Italian art, and here as well as in later treatises the attempt is based on the ability of the Spanish to perform according to Italian standards.

It might be said that Carducho's opening and closing dialogues, one and eight, exemplify his dual heritage. The first dialogue is an account of the disciple's trip through Europe to visit the art monuments of Italy, Germany, Flanders, and France.[14] Echoes of Vasari and the classical Italian tradition are clear in the emphasis on the superiority of Florentine painting, the importance of the art academies, the negative evaluation of German painting, and the approval of Flemish and French painting insofar as Italian art is the model. Like Vasari, Carducho includes lengthy accounts of funerals and memorials to artists, as well as descriptions of their work, which are designed to impress the reader with the esteem in which the artist was held.[15] Many of the traditional themes employed by Carducho will recur in later Spanish treatises, but they will appear in connection with the lives of Spanish rather than Italian or Flemish painters. Examples of such themes are the records of epitaphs and burial services, painters' jealousy of Rubens and Leonardo and of François I's defense of Leonardo, the lack of honor accorded a painter by his homeland, the ignorance of the patron, and the artist as purchasing agent and project administrator for the king.

Amidst all the praise in the first dialogue of things Italian and especially of things Florentine,[16] and the use of Italian art as the standard, there are only two small references to Spain.[17] The eighth dialogue (fig. 2), on the other hand, is specifically devoted to an account of things as they are in Spain,[18] and the discussion in the second half of the dialogue is especially interesting from the point of view of the tension between Carducho's Italian and Spanish heritages. The dialogue presents a summary of the ". . .esteem and rank that [painting] has today in the Spanish court,"[19] and the main features of the summary are descriptions of the collections of the Spanish patrons, an explanation for the failure of the plans to establish

[14] The disciple is scolded by the master for not having visited England which is so hospitable to the arts that it is a veritable museum whose king is having copies made of all the Titians in the Spanish palace and in the Escorial because if "no puede tener las originales, no quiere carecer de las copias." See Carducho, 101. Volk argues that this first dialogue and the eighth are wholly original. See Volk, 100. However, Holanda also begins his dialogues with the observation that he traveled to Italy to bring back information about the perfection of painting, and he describes at length Italian models from which his countrymen may learn.

[15] It is notable that Carducho changes the account of Leonardo's death in ways that give even more emphasis to Leonardo's status. Vasari says that Leonardo's "spirit, which was divine, knowing that it could not have any greater honor expired in the arms of the king." See Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects,* trans. Gaston Du C. de Vere, New York, II, 1979, 793. On the other hand, Carducho stresses the fact that this honor was probably never offered to anyone else. "Leonardo. . .espiró en sus Reales brazos, que parecio que hasta en esta ocasion mostró su mucho saber, y prudencia, pues conociendo que la muerte era forzosa, quiso gozar para ella, de esta singular ocasion, por ventura jamás ofrecida a ninguno." See Carducho, 97.

[16] In Florence is ". . .el verdadero alvergue de nuestras Artes, como otra Atenas en la antiguedad; y esto es darle lo que es suyo." See Carducho, 77.

[17] One is the need for the English king to copy paintings (see footnote 14) owned by the Spanish king, and the other is the obsevation that ". . .el cabello como oi vemos se usa en la corte del Rei de España. . ." appears in an English painting. See Carducho, 99.

[18] The first portion of the dialogue is completely different both in style and in its departure from the Italian tradition. It is a series of lists of terms, definitions, and qualities to be learned by those who wish to join the profession of painting; indeed, the format is reminiscent of a catechism, that is, a book of approved instruction for those preparing to join an order of the Church. Gaya Nuño also characterizes as a "primer or catechism" another treatise called *Cartilla y fundamentales reglas de la Pintura* by Vicente Salvador Gómez which was published in 1674 in Valencia. See Gaya Nuño, 50. For still another example of a treatise written in a style which seems designed for learning by rote, see María Merced V. Sanz, "Un tratado de pintura anónimo y manuscrito del siglo XVII," *Revista de ideas estéticas,* CXLIII, 1978, 69-93.

[19] ". . .la estimacion, y estado que oi tiene en la Corte de España." See Carducho, 379.

2. Francisco López after Vicente Carducho, plate accompanying the eighth dialogue of *Diálogos de la pintura*, 1865. The original engraving was executed in 1633. (photo: Art and Archeology Library, Bryn Mawr College)

an academy in Madrid, and an account of the successful litigation of 1628–1631 which argued that painting was a liberal art exempt from tax. Although the descriptions of the Spanish collections are a significant pendant to the descriptions of art monuments in the first dialogue, the Spanish collections are not recorded as a model learning experience for the young artist. Nevertheless, the Spanish collections are cited as part of the proof of the "esteem and rank" of painting in Spain where art and artists are in such quantity that if all was divided it would be possible to "enrich and distinguish many Cities and Kingdoms, without taking away from the adornment of such a great Court as is this one."[20] The titles of the Spanish patrons are also part of the proof. These titles indicate that the patrons hold important rank at court and in the Church.[21] The argument is not original, but its application in Spain is significant.

In spite of his Spanish national pride, there seems to be an Italian bias in Carducho's estimation of what is notable in the Spanish collections. The only painters represented in the nonroyal collections whom Carducho names specifically are the Italians, Michelangelo and Leonardo. In the royal collections, the only iconographical programs he describes (with the exception of a copy after Jan van Eyck "who was the one that we say invented painting in oil"[22] and paintings by Carducho's brother and "master" Bartolomé)[23] are those by Titian. Velásquez is mentioned only once by name although it is in a context that implies his importance as a painter.[24] However, it is possible that this Italian bias is due to Carducho's decision not to review the merits of contemporary Spanish artists which he says is impossible to do without offending someone, although he feels free to praise the contemporary Rubens and Van Dyck in the first dialogue. It should also be noted that Carducho does assert the ability of the artist to practice successfully in Spain.[25] While he regrets the lack

[20] ". . .podian enriquecer, e ilustrar muchas Ciudades, y Reinos, sin faltar al adorno de una tan grandiosa Corte, como es esta." See Carducho, 440.

[21] One of the patrons included appears to be the same Julio Cesar Firrufino who signed the approval for publication of Carducho's manuscript. See Carducho, 418.

[22] ". . .que fue el que diximos que inventó el pintar al olio." See Carducho, 435.

[23] ". . .de mano de Bartolome Carduchi mi Maestro." See Carducho, 437.

[24] After the description of the Titian works which Carducho says are the "most esteemed" paintings in the palace, he lists the painters whose pictures hang below the Titians: "Peter Paul Rubens, Eugenio Caxes, Diego Velásquez, Jusepe de Ribera (who is called *Españoletto*), Domenichino and Vicente Carducho." See Carducho, 435. It is generally held that it is Velásquez, however, who is the subject of Carducho's complaints about painters who do not study and who paint embarrassing subject matter. See Robert Enggass and Jonathan Brown, *Italy and Spain 1600–1750: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970, 17–74. Additional causes for professional jealousy are described in J.J. Martín González, "Sobre las relaciones entre Nardi, Carducho y Velásquez," *Archivo Español de arte*, XXXI, 1958, 59–66. Remarkably Volk suggests that Velásquez is the disciple in Carducho's *Diálogos*, but the more likely candidate for that role is Carducho's student Felix Castello, about whom Jusepe Martínez writes that Carducho "no sabia apartarse de su comañía y consejo." See Martínez, *Discursos practicables de nobilísimo de la pintura: sus rudimentos, medios y fines que enseña la experiencia, con los ejemplares de obras insignes de artifices*, ed. Don Valentín Carderera y Solano, Madrid, 1866, 113. On the basis of the commissions Carducho continued to receive after Velázquez' arrival at court and Carducho's financial well-being at the time of his death, Calvo Serraller suggests that the relationship between the two painters was less strained than is generally imagined. See Calvo Serraller, 261.

[25] Carducho feels it will be more difficult to practice painting successfully without the advantage of the most advanced models, but he says that ". . .se halla Roma adonde se estudia, y no ai Roma adonde se descuidan en las especulaciones; bien es verdad, que costará mayor trabajo: a lo qual corresponderá mayor laureola, y agradecimiento. See Carducho, 440. The echo from Alberti is obvious; fame is greater and most due where there is no model.

of an academy and that art is not valued as much in Spain as it was in antiquity or is in Italy, ". . .here it is much and there are hopes that it will be more every day."[26] Significantly, Carducho believes the successful outcome of the tax litigation will lead to good things because the case for painting rests on the shoulders not of ". . .a Gallic Hercules but of seven Spanish Cicerones. . . . It seems to me that I see in these seven wise ones those of Greece, who are going to judge and rank again the liberal arts, and put painting in the best place, as they did in those times."[27]

Whereas Carducho was an expatriate Italian living in Madrid and self-consciously using the Castilian language to describe the theory and practice of painting, Francisco Pacheco, the author of *El arte de la pintura,*[28] was a native Spaniard born in Seville.[29] *El arte* was written over a period of forty years and parts were published before Caducho's *Diálogos,* but it did not appear as a complete publication until 1649.[30] Pacheco agrees with Carducho that the art of painting is neglected in Spain, "buried in oblivion" as he says,[31] but Pacheco does two things Carducho does not. First, as he says in his introduction, he writes not only of famous men from other lands, ancient and modern, but also of those from Spain, "since there has never been any lack in any of the professions of men worthy of esteem."[32] Second, he includes in *El arte* the work of other Spanish writers on theory, in particular that of Pablo de Céspedes (1538–1608) whom he praises specially as a Spanish genius.[33]

[26] "Aque lo es mucho, y ai esperanzas que lo será mas cada dia." See Carducho, 442.

[27] ". . .pues han puesto los hombros, no un Hercules Galico, sino siete Cicerones Españoles. . .Pareceme que veo en estos siete Sabios lo de Grecia, que buelven a calificar, y graduar las Artes liberales, y que ponen a la pintura en mejor lugar, como en aquellos tiempos lo hizieron." See Carducho, 448–49.

[28] Francisco Pacheco, *El arte de la pintura*, ed. F.J. Sánchez Cantón, Madrid, 1956. Some useful references for Pacheco are: Priscilla E. Muller, "Francisco Pacheco as a Painter," *Marsyas*, 1960–1961, 34–44; Priscilla E. Muller, "An Unpublished Drawing by Francisco Pacheco," *Art Bulletin*, XLV, 1963, 52–54; and Zahira Véliz, "Francisco Pacheco's Comments on Painting in Oil," *Studies in Conservation*, XVIII, 1982, 49–57.

[29] Pacheco was adopted at an early age by his uncle, a canon in the Cathedral of Seville who was the center of a group of Sevillian poets, scholars and theologians. Pacheco became the leader of this group after his uncle's death, and according to comments written in the margins of *El arte,* he was in the habit of exchanging ideas and information with the group.

[30] For the relationship between Carducho and Pacheco in regard to publication chronology and shared material, see Calvo Serraller, 181–82.

[31] ". . .sepultada en olvido en España." See Pacheco, I, 4.

[32] ". . .no hablaré tanto de mi autoridad, cuanto de la de varones excelentes antiguos y modernos, celebrados en otras naciones, citándoles en sus lugares y algunos de la nuestra; pues no carece en todas las facultades ni ha carecido jamás de hombres dignos de ser estimados." See Pacheco, I, 7. Compare this with Céspedes *Discurso de la comparación de la antigua y moderna pintura y escultura*, 1604, in which he says that there are many moderns who can be listed as noteworthy. "Y en nuestra España no han faltados algunos, mas su excelencia fué más en dorados y estofados, y si algunas historias hay de ellos, es más de loar la pulidez del pincel que la materia." See F.J. Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes literarias para la historia del arte español*, Madrid, II, 1933, 9. Céspedes is interested in a comparison of ancients and moderns, not Spaniards and Italians, and his most meaningful proofs of perfection are reserved for Michelangelo, Titian, and Raphael. Thus he recounts: "Haberse engañado las aves en la capilla del papa en algunos asientos y cornisas hechos por Micael Angel es cosa cierta: no por eso se hace gran caso. Ticiano retrató al duque de Ferrara, y puso el duque su retrato en una ventana, y él se puso a otra para gustar el engaño, y quantos pasaban, pensando que ere el duque, lo reverenciaban con la gorra en la mano. Y el mismo Ticiano, que es más, estando en Roma fué a ver las pinturas que hizo Rafael en el jardin de Augustin Guigi, que ahora es del cardenal Farnesio, y en una lonja que sale a la puerta hay unos niños pintados de blanco y negro, y algunas cornisas fingidas de estuque, y no quiso creer que los niños fuesen de pintura, hasta tanto que truxo una caña y los tentó para ver si eran de bulto: tanto duró en él el engaño, que aunque otros se lo decian, no lo creía." See Sánchez Cantón, *Fuentes*, II, 10.

[33] Céspedes ". . .escribía, doctísimamente, a imitación de *las Geórgicas* de Virgilio, en honra de nuestra nación y de aquella famosa ciudad, patria suya, siguiendo los heroicos ingenios hijos de ella, que en la poesía han florecido en todas las edades." See Pacheco, I, 7.

Further, there is a recurring pattern to Pacheco's writing, that is, the successive opinions cited to prove his theoretical arguments culminate in a summation from a Spanish authority. For example, in Chapter I of Book II, on the division of painting and its parts, Pacheco says since Vasari does not discuss this subject he will quote Lomazzo. Then, since Lomazzo does not discuss the division of practice, he quotes Alberti. Finally, he says the division given by these writers is so obscure and philosophical for the purposes of painters that he will quote Fernando de Herrera who is, of course, Spanish.

Another example of this pattern is Pacheco's discussion of the use of *borrones* ("blots" or large, dashing brushstrokes) versus a technique which produces "finished paintings." The successive discussions of practice end with examples of Spaniards who have achieved what he considers the best style. The question itself of *borrones* seems to have given Pacheco far more difficulty than Carducho. Under certain circumstances Carducho is willing to deviate from the tradition and include information or even approval of contemporary practice; thus he excuses *borrones* either as a perspectival device or as a time-saver, as when *borrones* produce the same effect for the separate hairs of the head as that created by a more labored technique.[34] Pacheco, on the other hand, has a fundamental problem with the technique because it is not specifically authorized by the classical tradition. He has to invent a two-fold definition of "finished painting" in order to justify *borrones* and even resorts to saying that the best painting is whatever looks alive, a standard Pacheco will also use to justify the value of Velásquez' *bodegones* (which it would otherwise be possible to criticize for the "ordinariness" of their subject matter).[35]

The result of the discussion, which requires several pages, is the legitimization of the contemporary use of *borrones* in the terms of classical theory. Indeed it can be said of Pacheco's work as a whole that he is grafting Spanish thinking and Spanish painting to the established humanistic Italian tradition or, put another way, that he is using Italian standards, universally considered the ultimate in his day, to validate Spanish theory and practice.

Therefore, perhaps Pacheco's consistent praise of his son-in-law Velásquez should not be read solely as familial pride but rather as a legitimization of the first authentically Spanish painter to achieve international fame and position at court, symbols of success in the grand tradition. Were it not for Velásquez, Pacheco would not have to struggle so hard to incorporate into the tradition the use of loose brushwork and *bodegón* subjects. Also, Pacheco asserts that he takes greater pride in Velásquez as student than as son-in-law, and he puts himself and Velásquez into a long line of master/disciple relationships that stretches back to the ultimate model, Plato and Aristotle. It is ironic that Pacheco, who praises and asserts the value of Spanish art according to standards he considered unassailable, is criticized by nineteenth- and twentieth-century writers precisely because he accepts the authority of the Italian tradition. In essence, he is criticized for playing the game by the rules of the time and is not credited for his Spanish objectives.

[34] ". . . manchando con acordadas sombras y luzes. . . que todo junto haze el mismo efecto, y declara lo mismo, que el otro declarara con toda aquella cansable, y casi imposible operacion." See Carducho, 267.

[35] "Que es decir en una palabra: la mejor pintura y más digna de alabanza y estima, es la que no lo parece, porque dexando de ser pintura es viva." See Pacheco, I, 486. Pacheco calls *bodegones* "cosas ordinarias." See Pacheco, II, 136. But he also says "Los bodegones no se deben estimar? Claro está que si, si son pintados como mi yerno los pinta alzándose con esta parte sin dexar lugar a otro, y merecen estimación grandísima; pues con estos principios y los retratos, de que hablaremos luego, halló la verdadera imitación del natural." See Pacheco, II, 137.

Unlike Carducho and Pacheco, Jusepe Martínez[36] does not make an elaborate presentation of academic theory in his *Discursos practicables,*[37] which was probably written about 1675. It is not necessary to establish the nobility of painting or that the foundation of good art is drawing; for Martínez these are givens. Good practice for Martínez is what works consistently, and it does not have to be validated by reference to the authorities.[38] This criterion of consistent results allows Martínez to ignore, or pass over without Pacheco's lengthy rationalizations, deviant practices like *borrones.*[39] Nor is Martínez' interest in subject matter as inhibited as that of Carducho and Pacheco. He enjoys mythological paintings,[40] and considers portraiture to be potentially unrewarding not because the subject matter is unworthy but because the patron may lack taste.[41]

Martínez' national interests are much more obvious than in the earlier treatises. The chapters devoted to notes about the lives of the painters include as many, if not more, Spaniards as Italians, and the chapter on sculpture is very definitely weighted toward the Spanish. In direct comparisons the Spanish painter equals and often outpaints the Italian. For example, none of the pupils of Alonso Sánchez Coello (c. 1531–1588) can equal his work, but when he copies some Titians at the order of Philip II, the copies are taken for originals, which is attested to by Velásquez.[42]

[36] Martínez was the son of a Flemish painter who married a Spanish woman of Zaragoza. Martínez was in Rome in 1625 studying art and later went to Naples. He returned to Spain in 1632 and travelled widely in Spain, but he is usually identified with the city of Zaragoza, where he was named *pintor del rey* at the recommendation of Velázquez. In 1644 he began teaching painting to Don Juan of Austria, the natural son of Philip IV, and is supposed to have been asked by Don Juan in 1673 to write his treatise. For complete discussion of his career see Calvo Serraller.

[37] The *Discursos* is known only from a copy made in 1796 (later lost) for the dean of Zaragoza who was afterwards bishop of Valladolid. The original is presumed to have been lost in the exclaustration, and the copy was not rediscovered until the mid-nineteenth century.

[38] The uncompromising Menéndez y Pelayo says that Martínez' book "...no contiene ni más ni menos que lo que hemos visto en Carducho y en Pacheco, con la desventaja de estar peor escrito y ser más desordenado y confuso." See Menéndez y Pelayo, 421.

[39] Martínez tells a story about a painting rejected by a patron who says "...no esperaba yo de sus manos obra tan basta, y poco concluida, pues todo es borrones." Martínez, 25. The artist takes the painting away for a period of time, returns, and mounts the painting on the wall where it is praised by all even though the artist has not repainted it. What works is what is right, especially in the right place. (Interestingly, Pacheco tells a comparable story, see Pacheco, I, 482, naming the artist as Martínez Morales from Badejoz and giving the year as 1607.) Martínez also gives three options for managing colors, but it is clear that the recommended option is the one that works best, "el modo más seguido de los más maestros." See Martínez, 26.

[40] In reference to some Titian paintings of mythological subjects, Martínez writes they are "...poesías, que á no ser tan humanas, las tuviera por divinas, i lástima grande para nuestra religión." See Martínez, 108. Pacheco considers these subjects licentious and lascivious and obliquely suggests that painting them is un-Spanish. He quotes the reproof by Bartolomé Leonardo de Argensola who said of the court:

> ...Leda en el cisne; Europa sobre el toro;
> Vénus prodígamente deshonesta;...
> que las tendría por figuras vivas
> quien jusgarlo a sus ojos permitiese,
> y en la descompostura son lacivas,
> pero, ¿qué ni unos pámpanos creciese
> el pincel descortés, ni otro piadoso
> velo que a nuestra vista estorbo hiciese?

See Pacheco, I, 412–13. Carducho also quotes this source. See Carducho, 209, 224.

[41] As an example, Martínez says that a Velázquez portrait, which was finished by Velázquez in Martínez' studio in order to avoid tiring the sitter was refused by the patron, the sitter's father, who said, "...que en todo no le agradaba, pero en particular que la valona que ella llevaba, cuando la retrató, era de puntas de Flandes muy finas," see Martínez, 132.

[42] "...enseño lo que sabia á sus discípulos con grande voluntad, aunque ninguno de ellos le igualóp; copió algunos lienzos del Tiziano, por órden de S.M., que pasaron por originales, y así lo confesó Diego Velazquez (que no es pequeño testimonio)." See Martínez, 127.

But it is the final chapter which most clearly reveals Martínez' bitter frustration with the international status of Spanish painting. He writes that other Spanish professions receive credit nationally and internationally but that Spanish painting is not appreciated by the Spanish, who only value work that is foreign or expensive. Although Carducho complains in his eighth dialogue that a painter's work is not valued as much if he is alive or nearby[43] and tells a story about an artist faking the foreign provenance of his work to make it more valuable,[44] he is not complaining about the undervaluation of Spanish painting in particular. This is precisely Martínez' complaint.

Martínez records a 1610 letter from Eugenio Cajés (1574–1634), an Italian visiting Madrid, to a friend in Bologna. (The implication is that the testimony of Cajés is especially weighty since he is an expatriate with ties to Italy.) Cajés is surprised at how little Spanish painters are appreciated—even the work of second-rate Flemings is preferred to that of the Spanish. Martínez further reinforces his complaints with three stories from his own experience. In the first, a painting he made in his youth in Italy is greatly valued by a Zaragozan patron only because it is believed to be by an unknown foreign artist. In the second, Martínez is commissioned in 1673 by Don Juan of Austria to do a black-and-white work. Don Juan's Spanish courtiers dislike it because it is colorless, and Don Juan has to defend it by saying: "I esteem a picture well painted with art and drawing more, although it be only white and black, than another of vivid colors without drawing and art."[45] In the third, paintings owned by Don Juan are sent to Spain by servants because the servants know they are ordinary while the Spanish "like pretty colors more than art."[46]

As a patriotic booster of Spanish painting, Martínez' problem is two-pronged: first, Spanish painting is not valued because it is Spanish; and second, the Spanish patron is unwilling and/or unable to appreciate and advance the cause of Spanish painting. Significantly, Martínez is not troubled by an inherent inferiority with reference to the classical tradition, and it is a short step from his confidence in the basic merits of Spanish painting to Palomino's assertion of Velásquez' claim to preeminent international status.

Palomino's work,[47] *El museo pictórico y escala óptica* (fig. 3) was published over a period of several years from 1715 to 1724,[48] and it combines Martínez' emphatic

[43] ". . .como si la fatal guadaña de la muerte fuera el *me facit* estimativo del Artifice: ó por lo menos han de estar mui lexos, tanto, que solo llegue acá el eco de su nombre, como si el ver las personas, borrara la eminencia de sus obras." See Carducho, 426.

[44] ". . .le dixo, que el que hizo aquella Pintura, ere mui grande amigo suyo, que se llamava Rodulfo Sgothforti, con quien el se carteava a menudo. . . . De donde se colige, que la estimación no ha de costar menos que la vida: mas vivan muchos años los que oi pintan en esta Corte, aunque carezcan del aplauso, y de la devida estimación a sus obras." See Carducho, 426–27.

[45] "Más estimo yo un cuadro bien pintado con arte y dibujo, aunque sea sólo de blanco y negro, que otro de colores vivas sin dibujo y arte." See Martínez, 195.

[46] "Serenísimo señor, estos se han hecho para envidiarlos a España, que aquí tenemos noticia que por lo más ordinario, muchos de aquellos señores gustan más de las bellas colores, que no del arte." See Martínez, 196.

[47] Palomino was born in Cordoba and trained to become a cleric, but his interest in painting led to his establishment as a painter in Madrid in 1678, just eighteen years after the death of Velázquez. In 1688 he became *pintor del rey* as well as a close friend of Luca Giordano (1632–1705), the Italian painter who was also patronized by Charles II, the last of the Hapsburg rulers of Spain.

[48] Antonio Palomino de Castro y Velasco, *El museo pictórico y escala óptica*, Madrid, 1947, is a relatively accessible version of Palomino's work. However, the quotations that follow are cited from a two-book edition. The first book is comprised of Volume I subtitled *Teórica de la Pintura* and was published in Madrid by Imprenta de Sancha in 1795. The second book includes both Volume II and Volume III; Volume II is subtitled *Práctica de la Pintura* and

3. *Theorica de la pintura*, frontispiece to Antonio Palomino, *El musco pictórico*, Vol. I, 1795. The original engraving was executed in 1715. (photo: Art and Archeology Library, Bryn Mawr College)

nationalism with the humanist erudition of Carducho and Pacheco. The result is an unequivocal glorification of Velásquez as painter without equal. The account of Velásquez' life appears in a section of *El museo* titled *El parnaso español pintoresco laureado*. Palomino tells us he is writing the *Parnaso* to restore credit to the Spanish artists who have not received rank and honor in the same proportion as foreign artists. Much like Vasari, Palomino wishes to commemorate the work of those artists who have gone before and to preserve the memory of the work which constitutes their fame, work already in many cases ravaged by time. Also like Vasari, Palomino stresses that the lives in his *Parnaso* will serve as examples for those who wish to follow in

was published in Madrid by Imprenta de Sancha in 1797 while Volume III, subtitled *El parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, published in the same city by the same company, carries a date of 1796. Other useful references to Palomino not cited here include M. Emilio Aparicio Olmos, *Palomino: su arte y su tiempo*, Valencia, 1966; Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño, *Palomino*, Cordoba, 1956; Xavier de Salas, "Manuscritos de Palomino," *Archivo español de arte*, XXXII, 1959, 69; and Xavier de Salas, "Sobre la segunda edición del libro de Palomino," *Archivo español de arte*, XXXVIII, 1965, 327-30.

the footsteps of the great artists. The notable difference between the two writers[49] is Palomino's decision to limit himself to a Spanish perspective, and that perspective shapes both the form and content of the *Parnaso*.

Palomino implies that his accounts are relatively impartial and strictly dependent upon the material available; he says that he will present the artists in chronological order and that some may not receive the treatment they deserve because not enough is known of their lives. The selection process itself is, of course, already a value judgment by Palomino, and there is further a striking discrepancy between the number of pages accorded to various artists. The life of Velásquez requires forty-five pages while the life of Palomino's contemporary and close friend Luca Giordano, for whom the author would have had an equal quantity of information, is only twenty-two pages. Alonso Cano (1601–1667), who was supplanted at court by Giordano, receives eleven pages. Titian, acknowledged by Pacheco as the greatest of painters, is confined to six pages. Carducho and Pacheco each get three pages, and the great majority of the lives are only fractions of pages.

Additionally, the life of Velásquez is not told in precisely chronological sequence and, therefore, it is important to examine the arrangement of the material presented. The forty-five pages devoted to Velásquez are divided into thirteen parts, and in each of the first ten, in keeping with the classical types so closely related to the organization of *El museo*,[50] the significant aspect of Velásquez' life is referred back at least once to a classical trope which serves as an authorization for the painter's activity. The literary devices and authorities from the classical Italian tradition used by Carducho to celebrate the nobility of painting and by Pacheco to celebrate Spanish art are now being used by Palomino to celebrate the career of an individual painter. If the devices and authorities are examined for what they are—formulae for a standard of art experience and art activity—it can be seen that Palomino has structured the biographical material of Velásquez' life to fit the standard. The standard often reflects patterns set by Vasari, which in turn reflect the standard of the learned painter as determined by Alberti.

[49] Palomino is also closely related to Vasari because he incorporates into the *Parnaso* unpublished material from Lázaro Díaz del Valle (1606–1669), a contemporary of Velázquez who translated some of Vasari's *Lives* and added Spanish biographies to them. As recorded in Sánchez Cantón's *Fuentes Literarias*, the notes of Díaz del Valle, dated 1656–1659, are a fascinating hint of the struggle to achieve knighthood for Velázquez, but they never achieved a publishable format. Palomino, however, does not include all of the Italian lives translated by Díaz del Valle, presumably because some do not meet Palomino's standard of significance in Spanish art. For example, in Palomino's opinion El Greco's particular contribution to Spanish art is that he was first to "break a lance" in the battle against taxation of painting. See Palomino, III, 427. Similar justifications are given for the inclusions of other expatriates such as Carducho to whom Spanish art is also indebted for litigating his immunity from tax. In the preface of the *Parnaso*, Palomino admits his debt to many other sources as well including a manuscript, now lost, by Juan de Alfaro, a Velázquez pupil mentioned later in this paper whom Palomino says comes to an unsuccessful end because he thwarts the wishes of his patron. However, the classical references in Palomino's biography of Velázquez cannot be attributed solely to what may or may not have been a feature of the Alfaro manuscript since the first part of Palomino's book, *El museo*, was published some nine years before the *Parnaso*; as mentioned in footnote 50, *El museo* depends heavily upon a classically-oriented format, and it is also replete with the kinds of classical references found in the *Parnaso*.

[50] The remarks of the contemporary censors, the titles to the nine books on theory and practice in *El museo*, and introductory passages to each of the books make it clear that Palomino is intent upon linking his discussion of painting to the nine muses. One climbs the "optical stair" to book nine or *El perfecto* dedicated to the muse Caliope, and the entire work is a tightly-reasoned variation on themes familiar from Carducho and Pacheco. It is also meant to unite painting and poetry once and for all.

Specifically, in Part One, Palomino asserts the nobility of Velásquez' antecedents, his early aptitude for art (qualities prescribed by Vasari), and the thoroughness of his training (Alberti's learned painter and Vasari's diligent student). Palomino even quotes Alberti's prescription for the learned painter. While Velásquez' training does not include a trip to Rome (which for Vasari was a fault in Titian's preparation), he does study the appropriate examples while he is in Spain. In fact, Palomino goes so far as to assert that Velásquez is heir to all the traditions—Greek, Roman, Italian, and Spanish—to the point that if all other painting were lost it would still be known through his work. Palomino justifies the subject matter of Velásquez' early work with a reference to Pliny, who according to Palomino says that Peirakos "following humble things achieved great glory and estimation in his works: for which they gave him the surname: *Rhyparografos,* a Greek word that means painter of low and gross things."[51] Pacheco has given the same anecdote in *El arte*, but it is in a context which justifies a *bodegón* as such. Pacheco does add that *bodegones* can be esteemed "if they are painted like my son-in-law paints them,"[52] but the point is that Palomino has eliminated the generalized defense of *bodegón* and makes Velásquez himself the object of the classical justification.

In Part Two, Velásquez visits Madrid and much like Carducho's prescription for an Italian trip to complete an artist's training, Velásquez completes his studies at the Escorial, characterized by Palomino as the eighth wonder of the world built by the second Solomon.[53] One is reminded of Carducho's assertion that Rome is wherever one studies, which is probably what Palomino had in mind since elsewhere he is rather testy about the importance of studying in Italy.[54] Velásquez also establishes his importance as a painter by portraying the King and by becoming the only painter to be allowed to do so, "enjoying the same preeminence, that Apelles had, when only he was able to paint the image of Alexander"[55] (a comparison familiar from Vasari's life of Titian). This is another story which was recorded before Palomino by Pacheco who printed it alongside two poems celebrating Velásquez' portrait of Philip IV on horseback. Both poems classicize the image of the King, and the one by Pacheco addressed to Velásquez ends with a reference to the King and Velásquez as Alexander and Apelles.[56] Once again, however, Palomino's version of the basic story tightens the connection between Velásquez and the classical reference. Not only is Velásquez equated with Apelles, but only Velásquez-Apelles is allowed to paint the King. According to Palomino, the painters Velásquez replaces are the Carduchos, Angelo Nardi (1584–c.1665), Eugenio Cajés and Jusepe Leonardo. Perhaps it is significant that four of these painters are of Italian descent, while the fifth is the son of

[51] ". . .que siguiendo cosas humildes, alcanzó suma gloria, y grande estimacion en sus obras: por lo cual le dieron por sobrenombre *Riparografos*, diccion griega, que quiere decir pintor de cosas baxas y groseras." See Palomino, III, 481.

[52] See footnote 35.

[53] ". . .y adelantarse en el Arte, viendo las pinturas admirables de palacio. . .junto con las del Real Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real, octava de las maravillas del mundo, y primera en dignidad: obra digna del gran Monarca, y segundo Salomon Felipe Segundo, Rey de las Españas." See Palomino, III, 483.

[54] "The fact that foreigners do not want to concede fame to any Spanish painter who has not passed through an Italian customshouse," see Enggass, 200.

[55] ". . .gozando la misma preheminencia que tuvo Apeles, que solo él podia pintar la imagen de Alejandro." See Palomino, III, 485.

[56] "Que el planeta benigno a tanto cielo, / tu nombre ilustrará con nueva gloria, / pues es más que Alexandro y tu su Apeles." See Pacheco, I, 166.

an emigrant to Spain. That is, Velásquez is the first truly Spanish painter to be allowed to paint the King.[57]

The third part of Palomino's account describes Velásquez' first trip to Italy in 1629, and it is interesting to note that the Venetian painter most admired by Velásquez, Tintoretto, is compared to Zeuxis, "in antiquity, superior to all those of his time,"[58] which amounts to an affirmation of Velásquez' taste in painting. When Velásquez returns to Spain, the King rewards his diligence by coming to watch him paint "as did the great Alexander with Apelles. . .and like. . .Charles the Fifth, although occupied in so many wars liked to see the grand Titian paint. . .and Philip II went very frequently to see Alonso Sánchez Coello paint."[59] During this visit, Velásquez surpasses these models of outstanding painters, because according to Palomino, the King believes a portrait by Velásquez is alive to the point that he speaks to it.[60] In his argument that the moderns can paint as well as the ancients, Céspedes records the story that passers-by salute a portrait by Titian.[61] However, in Palomino's account, it is the King of Spain, not just a wayfarer, who speaks, not simply waves, to the portrait by Velásquez. Palomino notes that this is one of the few paintings signed by Velásquez, which also makes it an important work. It is probably not incidental that Palomino presents the entire story immediately after he records the Velásquez technique of using long-handled brushes to paint at a greater distance from the canvas "in such a way that from near it was not understood, and from far it is a miracle." The trope of distance and proximity here stems from Horace.[62] Like Pacheco, Palomino ultimately will counter any criticism of Spanish technique that does not conform to the received classical tradition by using the finished work, for example, Velásquez' painting appears alive, a justification that Vasari also uses. At first it appears odd that the classical example of Zeuxis deceiving the birds is not adduced since Palomino has established such a clear pattern of classical references, but he has already used this trope in connection with Tintoretto and perhaps to mislead a king is after all of more political and cultural import than to deceive birds.

The theme of painting that does not appear to be painting, that can deceive the spectator, appears twice more in Palomino's life of Velásquez, once with an appropriate classical citation and once without. In part four, in the account of Velásquez' service to the King in putting down unrest during a trip to Aragón, the painter makes a portrait of the King's entry into Lérida for shipment back to Madrid. The portrait appears like another living Philip and is compared to a portrait of Alex-

[57] Alonso Sánchez Coello, painter to Philip II, is considered Portugese by Palomino, ". . .y le intitulaba el Rey en sus cartas Ticiano Portugués." See Palomino, III, 388.

[58] ". . .que Jacobo Tintoreto, excelentísimo y doctísimo pintor, como otro Zeuxîs en la antigüedad, superior á todos los de su tiempo." See Palomino, II, 488.

[59] ". . .así como lo hizo el Magno Alexandro con Apeles. . .y como la Magestad Cesárea del Señor Emperador Carlos Quinto, aunque ocupado en tantas guerras, gustaba de ver pintar al gran Ticiano. Y el Católico Rey Felipe Segundo iba muy frecuentemente á ver pintar á Alonso Sánchez Coello." See Palomino, III, 491.

[60] ". . .baxó el Rey, como solía, á ver pintar á Velázquez, y reparando en el retrato, juzgando ser el mismo natural, le dixo con estrañeza: *Qué todavia estás aquí? No te he despachado ya, como no te vas?*" See Palomino, III, 492-93. The King even repeats to Velázquez that he was fooled: "Os aseguro que me engañe." See Palomino, II, 493. Lopez-Rey assigns Number 523 to this painting which was a portrait of Admiral Adrián Pulido Pareja and says it is lost. Lopez-Rey Numbers 524 through 529 are also assigned to portraits of the Admiral, two of which are extant. See José Lopez-Rey, *Velázquez: A Catalogue Raisonné of His Oeuvre*, London, 1963, 301-4.

[61] See footnote 32.

[62] ". . .hízole con pinceles y brochas que tenia de hastas largas, de que usaba algunas veces para pintar con mayor distancia y valentía; de suerte, que de cerca no se comprehendia, y de lejos es un milagro." See Palomino, III, 492. See McKim-Smith's forthcoming article in the *Boletín del Museo del Prado*.

ander "that (because of his speed being so great in overcoming his enemies and in putting his soldiers in good order) Apelles painted it with a thunderbolt in his hand, representing this figure so to the life of the original, that the Macedonians said, that of the two Alexanders, the one Philip had begotten could not be conquered."[63] The implication is that Velásquez has performed a similar service for his king, one which augments the king's power and confuses the enemy. There are a number of other references to classical incidents in this section, all of which revolve around service to the king and/or praise of Velásquez.

The second occasion on which Velásquez' painting deceives is actually doubled since both the portrait of the Pope and the portrait of Juan de Pareja cause confusion. The portrait of the Pope is seen by itself and fools the papal courtiers[64] whereas the other painting done in preparation for the portrait of the Pope, is presented by Pareja himself, and friends do not know to whom they should speak or who will answer.[65] The lack of explicit references to antiquity here may reflect Palomino's more immediate interest in asserting that Velásquez can outpaint Titian in his own style,[66] since this rivalry in turn evokes the trope as well as Palomino's interest in demonstrating that Velásquez' painting deserves the votes of painters from all nations who elect him to the Academy of Rome in 1650.

For Palomino, the central events of Velásquez' life (parts six and seven of thirteen) are literally the appointment as chamberlain to the King and the painting of *Las Meninas*. Part Six is a long discussion of the appointment made in 1652 and its impact on Velásquez' artistic output and his personal standing. It is made explicitly clear that Velásquez' personal glory depends directly upon the king, and also that if he had been employed in another field, he would not have won such high position. Professors of painting can be glad, says Palomino, that Velásquez has been so exalted, but it is also a shame that Velásquez did not have more time to leave more examples and documents of his work.[67]

Part Seven is devoted almost entirely to a discussion of the painting now known as *Las Meninas*. As has been discussed, Palomino is a writer for whom structure and content have a significance of their own, and so the choice of information presented about *Las Meninas* is very important. In Part Six, Palomino has described the special

[63] ". . .que parecia otro vivo Filipo; y se pudiera decir con razon lo que del retrato de Alexandro, que, por ser tanta su presteza para acometer á los enemigos, y para poner en buena orden sus soldados, lo pintó Apeles con un rayo en la mano, representando esta figura tan al vivo á su original, que decian los Macedonios, que de los dos Alexandros, el que habia engendrado Filipo, no se podia vencer; y el que habia pintado Apeles, no podia imitar." See Palomino, III, 493. Philip here, of course, refers to the father of Alexander and not to Philip IV, Velázquez' patron. The painting at the Frick Collection, New York, has been identified as this portrait. See Lopez-Rey, 215, no. 255.

[64] ". . .y viendo el retrato, que estaba á luz escasa, pensando ser el original, se volvió a salir, diciendo á diferentes cortesanos que estaban en la antecámara, que hablasen baxo, porque su Santidad estaba en la pieza inmediata." See Palomino, III, 501, and Lopez-Rey, 272, no. 443. Harris suggests this is the painting that ". . .earned Velázquez admission to the Academy of Saint Luke in January 1650." See Harris, 149. The painting described by Lopez-Rey and Harris is at the Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome.

[65] ". . .se quedaban mirando el retrato pintado, y á el original con admiracion y asombro, sin saber con quien habian de hablar, ó quien les habia de responder." See Palomino, III, 501. Lopez-Rey, no. 517, and Harris, 148. The painting described by Lopez-Rey and Harris is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[66] ". . .todos estos retratos pintó con hastas largas, y con la manera valiente del gran Ticiano, y no inferior á sus cabezas: lo qual no lo dudará quien viere las que hay de su mano en Madrid." See Palomino, III, 501.

[67] "Y aunque los profesores de la Pintura nos gloriamos tanto de la exâltacion de Velázquez á puestos tan honoríficos, tambien nos lastima el haber perdido muchos mas testimonios de su habilidad peregrina para multiplicar documentos á la posteridad; perola aptitud de su persona á qualqier empleo, y el alto concepto que su magestad habia formado, así de su virtud, como de su talento, le constituyeron acreedor de mayores honras; pues todas parecían estrechas a la profusion dilatada de sus méritos." See Palomino, III, 508.

relationship between the King and Velásquez and the status derived by Velásquez from that relationship. Now he describes *Las Meninas* in a way that offers a visual confirmation of the relationship described in Part Six. Palomino does not say that the painting is a portrait of the Infanta Margarita, only that it is a large picture containing her portrait. Since she has the greatest rank and occupies a central position, it is natural that he would begin the discussion with her. One of the *meninas* is of the Queen's household, the other of the King's. One of the dwarfs has a domestic aspect, the other is imposing. Other figures round out the composition with a number of counterpoised images, old and young, arranged in various ways according to the standards required by the classsical definition of a good *historia.* Velásquez' self-portrait, however, is related by Palomino to the famous self-portrait of Phidias,[68] and if Velásquez' self-portrait is removed there is no purpose to the painting. Like Phidias and Minerva, Titian and Philip II, the immortality of Velásquez and Margarita is interdependent. According to Palomino, Velásquez' ingenious invention is the reflection of the King and Queen in a mirror. The floor seems walkable, and the ceiling is structurally sound. In short, via his description, Palomino defines *Las Meninas* as the perfect painting, one which exhibits all the characteristics (variety, proportion, invention, harmony, decorum, etc.) prescribed by the humanistic Italian classical tradition. In addition, it includes a self-portrait of Velásquez as an indispensable unit of the composition—easier, to envy than to imitate, says Palomino referring to Zeuxis.[69]

Given Palomino's use of oral and classical traditions to emphasize his points, the remark he records by Luca Giordano ("Sir, this is the Theology of Painting")[70] carries a special import. It is to be understood, says Palomino, that parallel to theology's supreme position in the sciences, the picture is supreme among paintings. The further implication, is the concept of the painting as a literal theology of painting, a visual paradigm for the basic tenets of the arguments for painting as a liberal art: antique precedent proves the nobility of painting since the painter is to royalty as Apelles was to Alexander, and modern history confirms this because an art honored by nobility is in turn ennobled.[71]

At first it seems puzzling that Palomino chooses to record in parts eight and nine the activities of the fresco painters Mitelli and Colona and of the sculptor Moreli within the framework of the life of Velásquez. Possibly Palomino was interested in recording the reintroduction of a major art form into Spain. Possibly he had in mind some kind of *parangón* between painting and sculpture. It is likely, however, that an underlying theme is Palomino's desire to show that Velásquez was a learned connoisseur who could select paintings and sculpture for the Escorial,[72] devise a program (the story of Pandora), and supervise the work of fresco and oil painters as

[68] "Con no menos artificio considero este retrato de Velázquez, que el de Fidias escultor, y pintor famoso, que puso su retrato en el escudo de la estatua que hizo de la diosa Minerva, fabricandole con tal artificio, que si de allí se quitase, se deshiciese tambien de todo punto la estatua." See Palomino, III, 509. The painting is at the Prado, Madrid.

[69] "Pudiera decir Velázquez, á no ser mas modesto, de esta pintura lo que dixo Ceuxîs [sic] de la bella Penélope, de cuya obra quedó tan satisfecho: *Invisurum aliquem facilius quam imitaturum:* que mas facil seria envidiarla que imitarla." See Palomino, III, 510.

[70] *"Señor, esta es la Teología de la Pintura,* queriendo dar á entender que así como la Teología es la superior de las Sciencias, así aquel quadro ere lo superior de la Pintura." See Palomino, III, 510.

[71] See Brown and Kahr for an extended discussion of this argument as it relates to *Las Meninas.* See also Mary Volk, "On Velázquez and the Liberal Arts," *Art Bulletin,* LX, 1978, 69–86.

[72] Even the taste of Velázquez as learned connoisseur is validated with a classical reference. Palomino says that

well as of sculptors like Moreli. Velásquez is thus not only a supreme painter but also master of all the arts. It has been seen, for example, that it was important to Carducho to show that an artist, specifically Leonardo, could purchase works of art and arrange castings of statues for the kings of France. Palomino is perhaps making a similar claim for Velásquez' talents. It is also interesting to note here that Palomino says only Velásquez can adequately praise the forty-one paintings the King sends to the Escorial. After using the traditional standards to define Velásquez as the ultimate painter *per se*, Palomino has now made Velásquez himself the standard by which others are to be judged.

Part Ten recounts another special service of Velásquez to the King and again affirms the superiority of his genius with classical comparisons, while Part Eleven tells of Velásquez' admission into the Order of Santiago and again stresses that honor is dependent upon Velásquez' relationship with the King. The last two parts of the life, twelve and thirteen, are also repetitions of themes that have already appeared, but the epitaph in Part Thirteen is interesting in that is is limited to mention of Velásquez' offices held from the King, his preceptor Pacheco, the trip to Italy to purchase paintings, the portrait of the Pope, and service to the King at the marriage of the Infanta. No special claims are made by the writer of his epitaph, the brother of his student Juan de Alfaro, for Velásquez' ability as a painter. However, Palomino closes the life with a last unqualified endorsement of Velásquez' special place in the Spanish *Parnaso:* his "fortune, ability, and genius, with his honored actions, constituted him a model, and example for eminent artists, and erected to him an immortal statue for an example to future centuries, and teaching for posterity."[73]

As a further corroboration of Palomino's deliberate intent to recognize Velásquez as the Spanish laureate of painting who achieves on an international level, it is interesting to look at another life from the *Parnaso.* Giordano, Palomino's close friend, is given a large number of pages, but the divisions are not titled and the only anecdotal material revolves around his prodigality and his nickname, given to him because he painted so quickly. The programs of his work are described at length, and one suspects they are meant to be compared to the famous Italian cycles such as the Sistine Chapel, although the programs often have special application to Spanish history and may have been recorded for that reason. For example, the programs include a depiction of Hercules (legendary first master of Spain),[74] the conquest of Granada, the Spanish patron saint James, Spain personified as a regal figure riding a lion, Spanish kings who become saints, etc. The sole classical reference in the twenty-two pages comes at the end when Palomino calls Giordano the father of history with a brush as Herodotus was with a pen, saying that he is the equal of anyone at history painting.[75]

statues of Laocoön and his sons bought by Velázquez for Philip IV, are ranked as outstanding by Pliny. "Dice Plinio que es obra que se puede preferir, y anteponer á todas las demas de Pintura, y del la Estatuaria." See Palomino, III, 502.

[73] ". . .cuya fortuna, habilidad, é ingenio con sus honrados procederes, le constituyeron modelo, y dechado de artífices eminentes, y le erigieron estatua inmortal para exemplo de los futuros siglos, y enseñanza de la posteridad." See Palomino, III, 527. Gallego, *El pintor,* 34, makes the point that Vasari records the honorable burial of artists to prove their high station. Carducho also does this in his first dialogue and so do Pacheco, Martínez, and Palomino.

[74] For a discussion of the identification of the royal house with Hercules, see Jonathan Brown and J.H. Elliott, *A Palace for a King: The Buen Retiro and the Court of Philip IV,* New Haven, 1980, 156–61.

[75] "Y últimamente podemos decir, que Lucas Jordan fué padre de la Historia con el pincel, como Herodato lo fué con la pluma. . .de suerte que dudo que en la universidad del historiado. . .le haya excedido, si es que le ha igualado alguno." Palomino, III, 708.

There is no consistent attempt to classicize either the life of Giordano or any of the far briefer lives of other artists. There are more than 230 individual lives of artists, plus references to others within a given life, but other than the examples already noted for Velásquez and Giordano, Palomino only once pairs an artistic achievement with a classical personage. In this case, the intimate familiarity of the relationship between Velásquez' pupil, Don Juan de Alfaro, with Alfaro's patron, the Almirante de Castilla, is compared to that of Apelles with Alexander. No mention is made, however, of an Apelles-like artistic accomplishment or of an exclusive right to portray the patron. All in all, the number of other classical references are few; they appear only when a third person makes the equation as when Palomino quotes from Lope de Vega's *Laurel de Apolo* in the life of "our Spanish Protogenes" Alonso Sánchez Coello,[76] or when he records the words of Don Felix de Artiago about El Greco, "the divine Greek who emulated Prometheus."[77] By contrast, in the life of Velásquez alone, names from antiquity appear more than sixty times—not including the names of statues of classical subjects purchased by Velásquez in Italy.

It is also noteworthy that Palomino not only excludes classical comparisons from the life of Titian, but omits as well the story of people greeting a portrait by Titian. For Palomino, the central point of the life of Titian is his relationship with Charles V, and anyone wishing to know more is told to read Carlo Ridolfi. In the life of Murillo, an extensive six pages which includes the theme of art that deceives, there are no references to Zeuxis.

As an indication of the degree to which Spanish nationalism influences both writing of general artistic treatises as well as Palomino's extraordinary attempt to apotheosize Velásquez,[78] it is interesting to conclude with an often-repeated story from the life of Velásquez—the story of the circumstances surrounding the lost painting done in 1627 of the expulsion of the *moriscos* (Moors converted to Christianity after the Christian reconquest of Spain in the eleventh to fifteenth centuries). Carducho, the expatriate Italian who mentions Velásquez only once and specifically explains his decision not to discuss contemporary painters in Spain does not record the story. Pacheco, who considers himself the first Spaniard to write about art, simply says that Velásquez painted a large picture with a portrait of Philip III and the expulsion of the *moriscos*, that he bested three painters of the King, and that the judges named by the King were two nobles from the prestigious orders of Santiago and Santo Domingo who knew something about painting. Pacheco does not name the painters but only the judges in order to establish their authority. Martínez, the unabashed champion of Spanish art, enlarges upon the theme in several ways that raise the stakes considerably. First, the King is distressed to hear Velásquez criticized as someone who can only do portraits; second, the contest is arranged especially for Velásquez; third, four painters make pictures of the same size; and finally, the pictures are hung in a large salon in the palace for all to see. Palomino's version

[76] ". . .el Español Protógenes famoso." See Palomino, III, 388.

[77] "Divino Griego. . . . Emulo á Promethéo en un retrato." See Palomino, III, 429.

[78] There is a second category of artistic achievement celebrated by Palomino, one in which works of religious art not only appear miraculous but actually produce miracles. For example, Fray Juan de la Miseria makes an image of the Virgin with which he performs miracles. He, of course, is the ultimate example since he is so pure and devout that his body remains uncorrupted after death. Miracles as proof of artistic merit are related to the recurring theme in Palomino of the devout painter and would be an interesting topic for further study, but no such claim is made for Velázquez although he is, however, perceived as devout.

follows Pacheco rather than Martínez, but he, too, expands upon the story in interesting ways. Philip III is praised as a Spanish leader, *moriscos* are defamed for antinational activities, and Palomino names the painters defeated by Velásquez. They are Eugenio Cajés, Vicencio Carducho, and Angelo Nardi—all expatriate Italians. Palomino then describes the painting at length, including the King, the *moriscos*, and "Spain, represented by a majestic matron, seated at the base of a building, in her right hand she has a shield and some arrows, and in the left some wheat, armed Roman [style] and at her feet . . . an inscription."[79] The inscription explains the scene, the identity of Philip III, and the contribution of Philip IV as patron of the painting. Finally, Palomino records the signature, in itself a rarity, of "Velásquez Hispalensis."[80]

It seems appropriate to say that with Palomino, one hundred years after Carducho, nationalism is no longer a nascent, underlying factor in the seventeenth-century Spanish treatises on art. National bias is a significant aspect of a deliberate and carefully constructed statement about the status of Spanish art and about Velásquez as the personification of its glory. Just as Carducho elects in his publication of 1633 to record the collections, but not their contents, of Spanish patrons whose status would in turn enhance the status of art in Spain, Palomino in 1724 presents the biographical material of Velásquez in a way that will enhance the status of Velásquez as a painter. While Pacheco in 1649 validates contemporary Spanish art theory and practice with references to universally-accepted Italian standards, Palomino validates Velásquez' claim to international fame with references to universally-recognized classical tropes. Like Martínez in 1673, Palomino is unafraid to assert the intrinsic superiority of Spanish painters. Any study of art treatises from the Golden Age should recognize the importance of nationalism as a factor in the selection of information presented and arguments pursued.

Bryn Mawr

[79] "A la mano derecha del Rey está España, representada en una magestuosa matrona, sentada al pie de un edificio, en la diestra mano tiene un escudo, y unos dardos, y en la siniestra unas espigas, armada á lo romano, y á sus pies esta incripcion [*sic*] en el zócalo." See Palomino, III, 486.

[80] Harris' translation of Palomino, p. 201, gives this as "Velázquez of Seville." In *Harper's Latin Dictionary*, New York, 1889, *hispalensis* is translated as "of or belonging to the city of Hispalis," Hispalis being "a city of Hispania Baetica now Seville" while the province of Baetica takes its name from the river now known as the Guadalquivir. Hercules is supposed to have sailed up the Guadalquivir to the site of Seville. Caesar later founded the city at the supposed location of the marker left by Hercules and appointed as regent a centurion supposed to have been descended from Hercules. For the identification of the ruling house of Seville with Hercules, see G. Kunoth, "Francisco Pacheco's *Apotheosis of Hercules*," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXVII, 1964, 335-37. Information about the identification of Hercules with the ruling house of Spain has been given above in footnote 66. Since the program of the *Expulsion of the Moriscos* is peculiarly Spanish, one wonders whether the designation *hispalensis* here carries a special implication of Seville as city of Spain, the city specially identified with the legendary first master of Spain and progenitor of the kings of Spain. In any case, the designation is geographic and not titular as in *pintor del rey*.

1. Edouard Manet, *Ball at the Opera*, 1873, oil on canvas. Washington, National Gallery of Art, gift of Mrs. Horace Havemeyer in memory of her mother-in-law, Louisine Havemeyer 1982

Manet's *Ball at the Opéra*: A Matter of Response

MELISSA HALL

Manet's painting *Le Bal de l'Opéra* was painted in 1873 and was rejected by the Salon jury of 1874 (fig. 1). The painting represents an event perhaps unfamiliar to modern eyes, but to a nineteenth-century audience the opera ball and its surrounding carnival celebrations were as familiar a part of Parisian life as the streets and cafés themselves. During the carnival season the streets of Paris were thrown into a flurry of activity as boulevards teemed with maskers and merry-makers, elaborate carriages, and impromptu parades. Balconies overlooking the Grands Boulevards were often rented as *loges* from which to view the mélange of activity below, a spectacle of fanfare and pomp that even the most brazen would be hard put to dismiss. At night the festivities moved indoors, where the gaslit lamps of places like the *Variétés*, the *Palais-Royal*, or the Paris *Opéra* cast a warm glow upon the invariably black garb of the dandy's evening dress and the domino's shroud of rich velvet or silk.[1]

One must wonder what kind of painting such a fairytale might produce. Indeed, one might search Manet's canvas for traces of a jewel-like gaiety, or some remnant of this once-lived dream. However, in the end one will be disappointed. As we look closely, the fairytale will give way, revealing beneath its lusciously painted surface a harsher reality—a reality that adequately characterizes the strife and anxiety of nineteenth-century Parisian society. The timing is significant, for the year of Manet's painting marks a somber turning point in the history of the Third Republic. 1873 heralded a sorry defeat for the French left, as the right wing Moral Order of the *Maréchal* MacMahon gained ascendancy—a regime itself bent on shattering the fairytales and dreams of republicanism.

This should serve as a proper setting for the unravelling of a tangled web of tales recounting masked balls, lovely women, and eloquent clowns—the weaving and unweaving of which will form my analysis of Manet's painting. Contemporary accounts describing the opera ball and its related activities abound, providing a discourse into which Manet's painting can be placed for a comparison of vocabulary and intent. In this context I am interested in Manet's painting as one response, among many, to a particular social reality: the Parisian opera ball. I am interested in that response in terms of its relation to the ideological constructs of nineteenth-century bourgeois culture.

In response to the jury's rejection of Manet's painting in 1874, Mallarmé asked: "To represent part of a ball at the opera: what were the dangers to avoid in such an audacious undertaking?"[2] Théodore Duret, Manet's friend and biographer, informs us that the models for this painting were selected from among Manet's friends—the elegant *gens du monde* of Parisian society.[3] What could possibly have been "audacious" about such an undertaking?

[1] Nancy Olson, *Gavarni: The Carnival Lithographs*, New Haven, 1979, 5-6.

[2] Stéphane Mallarmé, "Le Jury de Peinture et M. Manet," *La Renaissance artistique et littéraire*, April 24, 1874; as quoted in George Heard Hamilton, *Manet and His Critics*, New Haven, 1954, 182-183.

[3] Théodore Duret, *Histoire de Edouard Manet et de son Oeuvre*, Paris, 1919, 110. The models Duret cites as being represented are the composer Emmanuel Chabrier, Paul Roudier and Albert Hecht, and two young painters Guilladin and Edmond André.

2. Gavarni, (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevallier), "Une Conquête," *Carnaval*, lithograph. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, gift of Frank Altschul B.A. 1980

What was audacious was the opera ball itself, a much talked about event in Parisian life of this period. Descriptions of the event range from an enchanted affirmation to a repulsed and nearly panicked reaction. The issue, however, was eminently that of morality.

The work of the popular illustrator Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevallier), who virtually made a career of recording the Parisian carnival, ranks as one of these more "enchanted" responses. His work evokes a mood of intrigue and the titillating thrill of amorous liasons. The clandestine encounter recurs constantly as a theme, at times elegantly conducted, but more often charmingly amusing (figs. 2 and 3). It is the women, however, who are the focus of Gavarni's images—invariably pretty, and often unashamedly seductive (fig. 4).

3. Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevallier), "—Ah! mon Dieu! . . . C'est mon mari, ma petite, mon vrai mari, le gueux!—Voyons! ne va pas le réveiller, bête! allons, allons ailleurs," *Carnaval,* 1838, lithograph. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, gift of Frank Altschul B.A. 1980

When Baudelaire wrote about Gavarni in his 1857 essay, "Some French Caricaturists," he chastised the artist for his lack of moral aspiration: "Often he [Gavarni] flatters instead of biting; he encourages, he does not chide."[4] Yet Gavarni's sympathetic treatment of his subject hardly veils the contradictions which defined the nature of the opera ball. His lithograph *Le Foyer de l'Opéra* of 1852 certainly suggests an encouraging attitude towards its subject, but it also alerts us to the problem. Actions and behavior contradict our expectations as we are shown a motley crowd of figures who loll about in intoxicated delight. The image hardly coincides with the polite gathering of ladies and gentlemen whom we might expect to find within the cultured environs of the Paris *Opéra.*

[4] Charles Baudelaire, "Some French Caricaturists," *Le Présent,* October 1, 1857; as quoted in Charles Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays,* trans. Jonathan Mayne, New York, 1965, 182.

4. Gavarni (Guillaume-Sulpice Chevallier), *Le Foyer de l'Opéra*, 1852, lithograph. (Photograph by author)

What becomes clear from Gavarni and from other commentators on the opera ball is that the main attraction was the sexual license which was permitted, if not encouraged, for the occasion. The promise of clandestine encounters was a standard feature, and the donning of costumes afforded both the enticement of mystery and the safety of disguise. A passage from Edmond and Jules de Goncourt's monograph on Gavarni provides an apt description of the kinds of delights a gentleman might expect to find at these balls:

> There the waddling gaits, the effects of thighs under black velvet pants, the lovely retreats of delicate bodies and their resistance that writhes beneath the daring touch, the blouses that slide over bare breasts, the shoulders that are exposed from baubles of tulle, the velvets and silks of dominos, the extravagances of the fake noses, the grotesques . . .[5]

In this passage the Goncourts make no distinction between the actual ball itself and Gavarni's voluptuous representations, and the indulgence of their language is intended as an accompanying chorus to the uncritical tone of his work. But the freedom with which these artists treat their subject raises a question which goes to the very heart of the issue: who were the women who went to the opera ball?

[5] Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Gavarni: L'Homme et l'Oeuvre*, Paris, 1925, 129.
Voilà les déhanchements, les effets de cuisses sous les pantalons de velours noir, les jolies retraits de corps mignons et leur défense qui tord sous l'audace de le attouchement, les chemises glissant d'un sein nu, les épaules sortant des fanfreluches du tulle, le velours et la soie des dominos, les extravagances des nez postiches, les grotesques . . .

An answer, as absurd as it is accurate, can be found in the Goncourts' controversial play *Henriette Maréchal* of 1865. The first scene takes place at an opera ball where two brothers, Paul and Pierre de Bréville, converse. The older brother offers these words of advice to the younger Paul:

> There you have before you, two thousand women like *Diogène*: all of them searching for a man! Three hundred and fifty-nine of them have their watch in the pawn shop; five hundred and forty-one need to pay their quarter's rent, six hundred and twenty-three want to furnish themselves in a palisade, one hundred and twenty-two feel like renting a dance at least . . .There are, at this very moment, two hundred who are thirsty, and in the morning at the strike of six o'clock, the two thousand of them will be hungry![6]

Pierre's intention for bringing his brother out was to teach him about love and women; the implication is that both were easily bought at the opera ball.

As for the honest woman of the bourgeoisie, Pierre continues to Paul:

> And if, by chance, you encounter in the corridors the honest woman, the *femme du monde* who has been coming to the opera ball for all these hundreds of years, pay her a brazen address and a wound to her countenance! Tear from her the lace of her mask, and steal from her pocket the card of her husband for to know who she is![7]

The "honest woman" becomes a *"femme du monde"* in the corridors of the opera ball, thus relegating her to the role of a scorned interruption. Her unchaperoned presence justifies the casting of insults and represents a disgrace to her husband's name.[8] Thus we may understand Henry de Pène's admonishment of the gentlemen who attended the opera ball in his essay published in the *Paris Guide* of 1867:

> Your mother and your sister no longer have to frighten themselves to see you hurled into this whirlpool of nocturnal follies when they themselves no longer venture further than an evening at the ministry or at the home of friends.[9]

If she valued her virtue, the wife and mother of the bourgeoisie stayed home.

[6] Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, *Henriette Maréchal,* Drame en Trois Actes en Prose, Paris, 1865, 31.
Voilà deux mille femmes comme Diogène: elles cherchent toutes un homme! Il y en a trois cent cinquante-neuf qui ont leur montre au mont-de-piété, cinq cent quarante et une qui ont besoin de payer leur terme, six cent vingt-trois qui veulent se meubler en palissandre, cent vingt-deux qui ont envie de louer un coup au moins . . . Il y en a, à l'heure qu'il est, douze cents qui ont soif, et demain matin sur le coup de six heures, les deux mille auront faim!

[7] Goncourts, *Henriette,* 31.
Et si, per hazard, tu rencontres dans les corridors la femme honnête, la femme du monde qui vient au bal de l'Opéra tous les cents ans, fais-lui une cour effrontée et une égratignure au visage! Déchire-lui la dentelle de son masque, et vole-lui dans sa poche la carte de son mari pour la reconnaître!

[8] This is not to say that the honest woman of the bourgeoisie did not attend at all. The costume of the domino with its full-length cape and mask afforded an effective disguise which could be donned by the daring good wife. In the Goncourts' play, the good bourgeoise Madame Maréchal secretly attends an opera ball where she falls hopelessly in love with the young Paul de Bréville. Her folly thus resulted in the eventual disruption of a once orderly and respectable bourgeois home. For the woman of moral virtue, the opera ball represented a fated fall from grace, and a vital threat to the sanctity of the home. If she attended at all, she was dependent on her husband for protection, or was confined to the safety of a private *loge*.

[9] Henry de Pène, "Le Sommeil de Paris," *Paris-Guide par les principaux écrivains et artistes de la France,* Paris, 1867, 1003.
Votre mère et votre soeur ne peuvent plus s'effrayer de vous voir lancé dans ce tourbillon des follies nocturnes quand elles-mêmes ne vont pas plus tôt en soirée au Ministère ou chez leurs amis.

Hence, the prostitute reigned queen at the opera ball, but she was not alone in representing an "uncultivated" element. It seems that while the ladies were not necessarily "ladies," the gentlemen as well were not always "gentlemen." The working classes attended in both real and fantastic fashion, infusing the scene with an added touch of the "gross" or "banal." The costume of the *Débardeur* and the *Débardeuse*, based on the attire of the common dockworker, was particularly popular. In a caption by Gavarni, the *Débardeur* is described as a "carnivore" and a "smoker"; the caption concludes, "It eats anything . . . it is even said that it eats its little ones . . . that's distressing!"[10]

If, however, the *Débardeur* merely plays at being working class, there is a suggestion of their actual presence. Henry de Pène, in the same work as cited above, disdainfully remarks upon the mixing crowd of the opera ball. He speaks of gloved gentlemen found in the company of their tailor, their booter, and their ironer.[11] It is the presence of the working classes which leads de Pène to the conclusion that it would be incorrect to call the opera ball "decadent" since the word does not validly apply to something that is already "base by nature."[12] One might also recall Gavarni's *Le Foyer de l'Opéra* and note the distinctive lack of the gentleman's attire. In Gavarni's lithograph, the element of intoxication and delight is strictly dissociated from the bourgeoisie and is attributed to a type suggestive of the working classes.

What does become clear from advocates and critics of the event alike is that the opera ball was enormously popular. For the critics this merely caused a more urgent alarm. It is this overwhelming popularity—specifically among the members of the bourgeois classes—that adds the crowning note of anguish to the moralizing voices of the day. In the closing lines of an article on the carnival in Larousse's *Grand Dictionnaire* of 1867, the author laments:

> The Parisian carnival is dismal, foolish and antiquated, and we don't truly know why M. Prud'homme continues to call it a *saturnale.* The carnival is dead: pray for it![13]

But the carnival was far from dead, as the author himself indicates. It seems that M. Prud'homme continues to call the carnival a *saturnale* because M. Prud'homme—much to the author's dismay—still sees fit to attend.

Thus we may begin to understand the "audacity" to which Mallarmé refers. Although the opera ball may have attracted a refined clientele of elegantly gloved gentlemen, such men as Manet himself and the friends he represented in his painting, the composition of the crowds was not exclusive, and the prevalent behavior was far from polite.

[10] Olson, no. 1, cat. 15, 34.

[11] Henry de Pène, 1004.

[12] Henry de Pène, 1004.

[13] Pierre Larousse et al., "Carnaval," *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du Dix-Neuvième Siècle*, Paris, 1867, II, 422. M. Prud'homme was a popular type developed by Henry Monnier. As a type, he was the satirical embodiment of the bourgeoisie.

> Le *joyeux carnaval* Parisien est quelque chose legubre, de bête et de suranné, et nous ne savons en vérité pourquoi. M. Prud'homme continue de l'appeller une *saturnale.* Le *carneval* est mort; pries pour lui!

If we turn again to Manet's painting, we may begin to understand the orchestration of a very specific and by now familiar vocabulary. What is important is that this vocabulary is being drawn from a resource of culturally shared conceptions of the opera ball. There is a refinement in the central male figure, whose elegant pose is striking in its grace. Standing beside him, mystery announces itself in the woman shrouded in the domino's black cape and mask. The misbehaving woman appears in the figure who has discarded her mask and clutches the shirt-front of her partner, while above their heads dangles the booted foot of a woman who straddles the railing of the upper balcony. Sinister faces stare ominously from the depths of the crowd, alluding to a grotesque element which verges on the macabre. To the left of the canvas, a male figure converses with another man and a young woman. His top hat, the mark of the gentleman, sits clumsily on his head, suggesting a bold transgression of polite behavior. Lastly, there is an allusion to erotic pleasures in the woman to the far left of the canvas who chats happily as a hand, not her own, rests upon her breast.[14]

Perhaps most indicative of a certain stereotypic treatment of the figures in this painting is the representation of the women. Considered within the larger scope of Manet's images of women, the female figures in this work stand out clearly as representatives of a particular type. These are not the earthy, confident waitresses of the later café paintings; nor are they the defiant nudes of the *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* or *Olympia* of Manet's earlier career. In fact, the exaggerated treatment of the curving thighs, buttocks, and fleshy upper arms that characterizes the portrayal of the women in this painting is more closely akin to the type developed by Gavarni. Significantly, we find this shapely type repeated in Manet's painting of the young courtesan *Nana* of 1877. The work anticipated the publication of Zola's famous novel of the same title which told the story of a lascivious and tainted courtesan of Parisian society through the moralizing eyes of the novelist.

The suggestions are clear and, when combined with contemporary expectations as to the character of the opera ball, it seems that Manet's painting could not help but be understood. This may perhaps account for the jury's rejection of the painting in 1874, although the actual conditions for that decision can only be surmised. When we read a description of the canvas by the journalist Fervacques written in 1873 we may gain an insight into how Manet's contemporaries interpreted his work:

> Hooded dominoes, faces screened in fourfold lace, swim about in the human sea, shoved, squeezed and jostled, examined by a hundred curious hands. Poor young things run the gamut of these perils, shredding a scrap of lace here, there a flower of white lilac. . . .[15]

[14] Nochlin suggests that the man's hand is grasping the woman's elbow. See Linda Nochlin, "A Thoroughly Modern Masked Ball," *Art in America*, LXXI, 1983, 189. While this is possible, the suggestion that the hand is on the woman's breast seems deliberately implied. The comments quoted later in this article by Fervacques confirm my suspicion.

[15] Fervacques, "Visite à l'atelier de Manet," *Le Figaro*, December 25, 1873; as quoted in François Cachin, *Manet 1832-1883*, New York, 1983, 349.

Detail of figure 1.

The author continues by describing the men in the painting:

> There they all are, alight with Corton and truffles, with moist lip and sensual eye, with gold chains across their vests and rings set with gems on their fingers. Hats tilted back with an air of conquest: they are rich, that is clear, with pockets full of louis d'or, and they have come to enjoy themselves. Enjoy themselves they do. They would take liberties with their sisters, if any happened by.[16]

Fervacques liked the painting, or at least he liked the surface of the painting. His description is followed by a subtle turn of phrase which separates subject from painted surface, and, in so doing, admits to the audacity of the content: "At any rate, it is a work of high merit, alive, thoughtful, and admirably rendered."[17] The comment implies that despite or aside from the social implications of the work, it is "at any rate" an attractive painting. Manet's painting does not veil the audacity of its own undertaking.

It is at this point, however, that we may pause in order to pursue a finer thread which will lead to a more complicated understanding of the nature of Manet's commentary. There is another figure in this painting, common to the opera ball, but here very oddly situated—the Polichinelle who stands at the left edge of the canvas with his back turned to us and his right hand raised to the crowd.

Manet sent a watercolor of the Polichinelle to the same Salon of 1874 and, unlike the painting, the watercolor was accepted. In this same year, he produced a seven-color lithograph from the watercolor, and in 1876 proposed an edition of eight thousand to be offered for sale to subscribers of *Le Temps*. However, an edition of only twenty-five prints was made. The stones were then confiscated by the police for the image had been interpreted as a caricature of Marshal MacMahon (fig. 5). The association seems significant in view of the fact that the image was conceived in the same year that MacMahon replaced Adolphe Thiers as president of the Republic.[18]

The association of Polichinelle with MacMahon is less significant than the figure's association with the government of Moral Order that MacMahon's regime conspicuously embodied. We find, particularly in the nineteenth century, that the Polichinelle represented the triumph of a morally righteous order. Considering this connotation in conjunction with the noticeably peculiar placement of the clown in Manet's painting, it seems that the issue of morality is intensified as a central theme. However, a complication results as well in terms of clearly defining the relationship between the clown and a certain notion of morality. The perplexing question is: *whose* clown is Polichinelle, and *whose* morality does he represent?

[16] Cachin, 349.

[17] Cachin, 350.

[18] Theodore Reff has argued that the lithograph is indeed a caricature of the *"Maréchal Bâton"* (MacMahon). Theodore Reff, *Manet and Modern Paris*, Washington, D.C., 1983, 122.

5. Edouard Manet, *Polichinelle*, 1874, colored lithograph. Washington, National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection 1947

In an article published in a comprehensive study of the *commédia dell'arte* written in 1860, the author George Sand describes the clown according to the tradition of the romantic hero:

> Polichinelle personifies the accomplished revolt; he is hideous but he is terrible, severe and vengeful; neither god nor devil can make him tremble when he wields his great cudgel. By means of this weapon, which he freely lays about the shoulders of his master and the heads of public officers, he exercises a sort of summary and individual justice which avenges the weak side and the iniquities of official justice.[19]

As the personification of an ideal justice, the vengeful clown stands in perpetual opposition to the corrupt bureaucracy of the "masters" of society. Representative of the unjustly oppressed, Polichinelle is the hero of the people whose hope for freedom lies in the triumph of a morally righteous order.

Sand is neither first nor last in a whole train of nineteenth-century writers who turned to such popular figures as the Polichinelle for an expression of a higher ideal. The literary production of the Romantic period provides an abundant collection of works which praise the heroism of the clown. Writing in 1852, Charles Nodier produced a veritable ode to the Polichinelle, finding him the "expression of the perfected civilization." As for the moral significance of the clown, Nodier continues:

> It is here that ought logically to begin the history of Polichinelle; but these philosophical premises have encouraged me to consider the profound moral needs of our unfortunate society, the attention to which I have already achieved in the first chapter of the history of Polichinelle. The history of Polichinelle, it is, alas! the entire history of man . . .[20]

In the early decades of the century the clown Pierrot, as played by the famous Deburau, rose to an unprecedented height of fame, spurred on by the loud praise of writers such as Gautier, Champfleury, Jules Janin, and others. Gautier, writing in 1859, described the pantomime theater of Pierrot and Polichinelle as the *"vraie comédie humaine,"* more complete than even Balzac.[21] In this same essay, Gautier defines the nature of the Pierrot:

> Pierrot, pallid, slender, dressed in sad colours, always hungry and always beaten, is the ancient slave, the modern proletarian, the pariah, the passive and disinherited being, who, glum and sly, witnesses the orgies and follies of his masters.[22]

[19] Maurice Sand, *The History of the Harlequinade*, New York and London, 1915, I, 111-112. This is a translation of the French edition first published in 1860 under the title *Masques et Bouffons*.

[20] Charles Nodier, "Polichinelle," *Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris, 1837, XI, 10, 23.

C'est ici que devroit commencer logiquement l'histoire de Polichinelle; mais ces prémisses philosophiques m'ont entraîné à des considérations si profondes sur les besoins moraux de notre malheureuse société, que l'attendrissement m'a gagné au premier chapitre de l'histoire de Polichinelle. L'histoire de Polichinelle, c'est, hélas! l'histoire entière de l'homme . . .

[21] Théophile Gautier, *Histoire de l'Art Dramatique en France*, Paris, 1859, 24.

[22] Gautier, 24.

Pierrot, pâle, grêle, vêtu d'habits blafards, toujours affamé et toujours battu, l'esclave antique, le prolétaire moderne, le paria, l'être passif et déshérité qui assiste, morne et sournois, aux orgies et aux folies de ses maîtres.

But, we learn from Gautier, Deburau's Pierrot is no longer passive. Taking on the airs of a master, the oppressed clown now turns upon his antagonists and himself administers the fatal blows.[23]

It was at the theater of the *Funambules* on the *Boulevard du Crime* in the heart of the working class theater district that Deburau rose to fame. Jules Janin called the *Funambules* the *"théâtre à quatre sous,"* the theater where the masses could afford the price of admission. In his book on Deburau published in 1832, Janin writes:

> There is no longer a Théâtre-Français; only the Funambules . . . In the old days dramatic art was called Molé or Talma: today it is just Deburau . . . Let us write the history of art as it is, filthy, beggarly and drunken, inspiring a filthy, beggarly and drunken audience. Since Deburau has become king of this world, let us celebrate Deburau the king of this world.[24]

The cynicism which motivates Janin's remarks bespeaks a reactionary attitude towards the transgression of the boundaries of high art culture by such figures of the popular theater. Nevertheless, Janin's book was instrumental in sealing the success of the movement.[25] But the timing was right for Deburau. His career spanned the more hopeful years which preceded the disasters of the 1848 revolution, initiating a revolutionary spirit which lingered long after as a tradition maintained by the clown. It was in 1859, nearly ten years after the revolution, that Gautier interpreted the Pierrot as a symbol of the "proletarian." For Gautier, the gesture of the clown represents a poignant threat to bourgeois society. The clown continues the revolution, confronting the corruption of the ruling classes as he mocks the "masters" and "officers" of society, revealing the hypocrisy which lies beneath the veneer of bourgeois justice.

As for Polichinelle, it is in the miniature puppet theaters of nineteenth-century Paris that we find his true home, bearing a close resemblance to his English counterpart Punch who dominated the puppet theaters of London during this period.[26] These portable theaters could be found throughout the city, on street corners or in public squares, where Polichinelle would brandish his baton to the delight of the passing crowd. But beginning in 1849, the French government initiated a campaign to censure street entertainment. Performers were required to register with the Prefect of the police, where the material for their performances could be judged against official standards of morality.[27] As a result, the miniature puppet theaters gradually disappeared and were replaced by permanent theaters erected in the city's public gardens.[28]

[23] Gautier, 25.

[24] Jules Janin, *Deburau—histoire du Théâtre à Quatre Sous,* Paris, 1832; as quoted in Francis Haskell, "The Sad Clown: some notes on a 19th century myth," in *French 19th Century Painting and Literature,* ed. Ulrich Finke, New York, 1972, 7.

[25] Haskell, 7.

[26] George Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theater,* New York, n.d., 225.

[27] T.J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois,* Greenwich, 1982, 120-121.

[28] Writing at the turn of the century, Ernest Maindron reports that the street performances had almost completely disappeared. By then, the puppets could only be found in the public gardens of the Tuilleries, the Luxembourg, the Buttes-Chaumont, and the Champs-Élysées. Ernest Maindron, *Marionnettes et Guignols,* Paris, 1901, 186-187.

In 1861, the critic and literary figure Edmond Duranty received royal permission to establish a permanent marionette theater in the Tuilleries gardens. This theater, commonly known as the *Théâtre de Polichinelle*, was a massive structure and is represented in Manet's *Le Ballon* of 1862. The writer hoped to bring to the fashionable promenaders of the Tuilleries gardens a sophisticated form of street entertainment by providing them with plays and pantomines written by authors of literary fame.[29]

In Duranty's theater we find the tradition of the clown at least superficially maintained, as the issue of morality remains a prominent theme and source of inspiration. Writing in 1874, Lemercier de Neuville defines the aesthetic of Duranty's theater as being represented to the blow of the baton. De Neuville explains that it is the inevitable strike of the baton which provides a vivid moral lesson to the eyes of youth, and it is in Duranty's theater that he finds the fullest expression of this didactic program.[30] In an article written in 1861 on the opening performance of the Tuilleries theater, Victor Luciennes sings a hymn of praise to Duranty's Polichinelle, combining the conventional associations of the clown with an overtly Christian reference:

> They say you are bohemian: alas! It is true. . .but cheer up: Homer was also a bohemian. . .You know how to amuse everybody: men, women, children, those who are despairing and those who begin . . . sublime artist, you say to those who surround you: Let the children come unto me.[31]

Polichinelle represented the oppressed of society, his own grotesque deformities marking his solidarity with the masses. His stage, the public puppet theater, placed him on street corners in direct contact with the very people whose tribulations his performance sought to avenge. But in 1861, Polichinelle's theater became a permanent structure in the Tuilleries gardens, run by the Parisian gentleman and man-about-town, Duranty. The scenery has changed, and we should note the effect it has upon the action of the drama.

It is no accident that Duranty's theater was built only a year before Haussman's destruction of the *Funambules*. It might be argued that the tradition of the clown found refuge on the stage of Duranty's theater, but this would be to miss the crucial meaning embodied in that tradition. The exclusive public of the Tuilleries gardens sharply delimits the scope of the "popular" justice represented by the clown's performance, rendering that ideal as ironical and sadly hypocritical as the "egalitarian" ideals of bourgeois ideology itself. Justice comes to occupy a limited domain—a domain that does not recognize the *Boulevard du Crime* as worthy of its concerns. In 1861, if Duranty's Polichinelle is a bohemian, he is a bohemian who adheres to the morality of the established forces of the "masters" and "officers" of society. In the end, *that* moral justice always proffers the final blow.

[29] Marcel Crouzet, *Un Méconnu du Réalisme: Duranty (1833-1880)*, Paris, 1964, 149.

[30] Lemercier de Neuville, *Histoire Anecdotique des Marionnettes Modernes*, Paris, 1892, 81-82.

[31] Victor Luciennes, "Le Théâtre de Polichinelle aux Tuilleries," *L'Artiste*, 1861; as quoted in George Mauner, *Manet: Peintre-Philosophe*, University Park, 1975, 58.

Having said this much, if we return to Manet's painting, it is important to note that it is a remarkably small work, measuring 23¼ × 28½ inches. The confining, box-like stage occupied by the figures, and a certain stiffness in their movements, suggests a reference to the miniature puppet theaters which populated the streets of Paris in Manet's time. If, however this is Polichinelle's stage, we might expect to see him wield his moral cudgel in judgement of the atrocities and iniquities of society. In fact, he wields no cudgel, but faces the crowd of revellers raising his right hand.[32]

The confrontation is suggestive, as the decadent crowd of the opera ball is faced by the clown whose very name signifies a morally defined justice. The scene is one of judgement, and it is to this that we must look more closely, past the surface naming of figures in the painting, to discern a subtle violence done to the merry crowd at Manet's ball. A theme of mutilation might be present, as glimpses of flesh pierce the enveloping black mass of painted evening dress. Hands hover threateningly close to faces or disappear abruptly, swallowed by the swelling crowd. A leg emerges from the density of paint and disappears again while no logical space is allotted for the rest of the figure to occupy. As the crowd is pressed back towards a hotly glowing cave, flippancy gives way to a more serious suggestion: an apocalyptic vision shrouded in the elegance of modern dress.

Such an interpretation is not unheard of in response to the opera ball. In the same year as Manet's painting the *Chronique Musicale* published an article which quoted in full a poem by Charles Jolliet on the subject of the ball. The poem speaks of Christians in dirty and used costumes, and of four grave men who stand in judgement. The theme of a flaming inferno permeates the work as the poet indulges in images of violence and degradation:

> The rug muffles the noise of the torrent that mounts,
> And the orchestra rumbles from afar like the sea;
> Like Dante one arrives at the gates of hell:
> "You who come here leaves behind all shame."
>
> Already in the corridors, one suffocates without air;
> It is a bizarre chaos, a strange tumult,
> A gaudy flux of masks. One degrades oneself,
> One is jostled, one is crushed, one molds of the flesh.[33]

[32] Michael Fried has argued convincingly Manet's connection with Duranty's theater in the Tuilleries, and has cited other works in Manet's oeuvre in which the Polichinelle and the puppet theater play a part. Michael Fried, "Manet's Sources: Aspects of his Art, 1859-1865," *Artforum*, VII, 1969, 37-40, 70-71 n. 69.

[33] Charles Jolliet, as quoted by Mulsane, "Les bals de l'opéra," *La Chronique Musicale, Revue bimensuelle de l'art ancien et moderne*, Paris, 1873, II, 202.

> Le tapis assourdit le bruit du flot qui monte,
> Et l'orchestre au lointain rugit comme la mer;
> Comme Dante on arrive aux portes de l'enfer:
> «Vous qui venez ici laissez là toute honte.»
>
> Déjà dans les couloirs, on étouffe sans air;
> C'est un chaos bizarre, un étrange tnmulte *(sic)*
> Un flux bariolé de masques. On s'insulte,
> On se heurte, on s'écrase, on pétrit de la chair.

To complete the apocalyptic vision, I might add that the theater represented in Manet's canvas was destroyed by fire on October 29, 1873—the same year in which Manet made his painting. Adolphe Tabarant suggests that it was the fire which inspired the completion of the work.[34]

If Manet's opera ball is a modern apocalypse, then the attitude nevertheless maintains the aloofness of the dandy as he flirts with nasty allusions and serious implications. The painter oscillates between flippant description and barbed critique, never resting on either side of the debate: that is, until the clown enters upon the stage to tip the scale.

What do we make of the clown Polichinelle? It would be tempting to take Manet's republican sympathies seriously and interpret the clown as the embodiment of a revolutionary spirit—the "modern proletarian" pronouncing judgement on the follies of the crowd at the opera ball. Still this conclusion would be precipitous if not simplistic. What needs to be considered is the enigmatic quality of morality in bourgeois society and how it functioned ideologically. In 1873, with the replacement of Adolphe Thiers by Marshal MacMahon as president of the Republic, the concept of morality fronted the claim to power of the bourgeoisie. MacMahon's regime promised a strong administration in opposition to the voice of the people as represented by the left, and it was morality that sanctioned that rule. Although MacMahon represented a last ditch effort for a monarchical restoration, the motivation of the liberal bourgeoisie to make concessions to the right arose from a fear of the radical ideas of the left.[35] Thiers had been too sympathetic to the voice of radical politics, and in 1873 the parliamentary *coup d'état* initiated a joint campaign to stifle the voice of the people: enter MacMahon's "Moral Order."

Thus morality can be seen as a weapon of the bourgeoisie; it designated separate spheres and naturalized its own constructions. Accordingly, the working classes were naturally "immoral," status being a direct result of moral behavior and not the other way around. The logic reveals a strange dissymmetry which forms the basis of the ideology and imbues the concept with the contradictions which came to characterize its use. Morality is not neutral, and to utter its claims in the bourgeois domain of late nineteenth-century France was to have one's voice already co-opted into the service of the ruling classes. The concept had a meaning in the days of Deburau, a revolutionary meaning, which became a travesty of itself after the barricades.[36] In 1848, the bourgeoisie claimed morality for their own.

[34] Adolphe Tabarant, *Manet et ses oeuvres*, Paris, 1947, 232.

[35] Daniel Halévy, *The End of the Notables*, trans. Alan Silvera and June Guicharnaud, Middletown, 1974, 208–209.

[36] This interpretation derives its impetus from T.J. Clark's chapter "The Picture of the Barricades" in *The Absolute Bourgeois*. Taking his cue from Marx, Clark traces out the complexities that made the February revolution the "beautiful" revolution and the June revolution the "ugly" revolution, see Clark, 9. When the alliance between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat broke down, a new way of thinking was needed in order to justify that new relationship. Morality, as a way of naturalizing class distinction, came to fulfill that function.

Manet's painting becomes enmeshed in this web of politics as he boldly confronts a subject which is charged with the issue of morality. The behavior at the opera ball was not moral; everybody knew that and everybody talked about it. What was disturbing was that the bourgeoisie went anyway. The painter took his chances by so frankly revealing the class of gentleman in his painting. Gavarni did no such thing in his lithograph, as he depicted a slovenly crowd which alludes to no class. Manet was not so vague. The gentlemen appear in evening dress, and the women as prostitutes. It was subversive to speak the truth about the gentlemen who attended the ball to be with prostitutes. All of this was common knowledge, but not widely discussed. When Gavarni portrayed gentlemen he allowed a veil of anonymity: reality did not so forcefully impose its truth upon his audience.

The question is, does Manet's painting chide, does it encourage, or does it refuse to take a stand? The Polichinelle almost places Manet within the tradition associated with the clown, but, as we have seen, the ideals of that tradition were already lost when Polichinelle made his debut on Duranty's stage. Manet's Polichinelle, however, is eclipsed by the edge of the canvas as he exits off the stage. Enter MacMahon's Moral Order and exit the ideals of the clown.

The oscillating vision of the dandy deftly sidesteps the baited trap of bourgeois ideology. In Manet's painting audacity is revealed and frankly discussed, as he martials a panoply of directed implications meant to cue the moral issue. Judgement is never pronounced. The hand which proffers the final blow is coaxed and teased into striking position, but the dandy finally holds the arm of judgement in check.

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Thomas Hart Benton and Stuart Davis: Abstraction versus Realism in American Scene Painting

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The growing polarization of the American art scene during the 1930s over the general issues of realism versus abstraction and the purposes of art in a modern society came into particular focus through an ongoing confrontation between two major artistic personalities of the time, Thomas Hart Benton and Stuart Davis. Their stylistic and moralistic debate, parts of which were recorded in a series of articles published in 1935 in *Art Digest* and *Art Front*,[1] pitted Benton, the traditionalist, against Davis, the modernist. By the 1930s both artists had developed a keen interest in typically American subject matter; but Benton's adherence to the traditional concepts of form and space conflicted with Davis' receptiveness to the new formal possibilities inherent in modernist styles. Following an earlier period of experimentation with foreign styles,[2] Benton, for the most part, had rejected modernism, believing that it was incompatible with a truly effective art of social significance. Davis, on the other hand, felt he could synthesize American scene content with modernist styles, and he argued that modernism could embody meaningful content as long as the source of its subject matter was in the natural world and within common experience.

Despite Benton's and Davis' seemingly irreconcilable positions, it is interesting to note that significant paintings by both artists from the early 1930s reveal surprisingly similar approaches not only to content, but also to composition. A short discussion of these similarities offers no fundamental revisionist interpretation of either Davis or Benton; ultimately, the differences between the two artists remain far more important than what they had in common. Nevertheless, an objective comparison between some of their paintings from the early years of the decade is relevant for a more complete understanding of the dynamics of the assimilation of modernist principles in twentieth-century American art.

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[1] See Stuart Davis, "The New York American Scene in Art," *Art Front*, I, 1935, 6 (Reprinted in part with comment in *Art Digest*, IX, 1935, 4, 21); Thomas Hart Benton, "Answers to Ten Questions," *Art Digest*, IX, 1935, 20-21, 25 (Reprinted in *Art Front*, I, 1935, 4, 8; and reprinted in David Shapiro, ed., *Social Realism: Art as a Weapon*, New York, 1973, 95-101); and Davis, "Rejoinder to Thomas Benton," *Art Digest*, IX, 1935, 12-13, 26 (Reprinted in Shapiro, ed., 102-107).

[2] For a discussion of Benton's abstract paintings, see Matthew Baigell, Introduction to *Synchromist Paintings 1915-20*, New York, 1982; and Gail Levin, "Thomas Hart Benton, Synchromism, and Abstract Art," *Arts*, LVI, 1981, 144-148. For a general discussion of Benton's art before 1930, see Phillip Dennis Cate, *Thomas Hart Benton, A Retrospective of His Early Years, 1907-1929*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1972. For a recent discussion of the relationship between realism and abstraction during the 1930s, see J. Lane and S. Larson, eds., *Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America 1927-1944*, Pittsburgh, 1983.

1. Thomas Hart Benton, *Bootleggers*, 1927, oil on canvas mounted on panel. North Carolina, Reynolds House Museum of American Art

By the late 1920s, Benton's notion that the effectiveness of his forms was directly related to our visual experience of the real world had led him to a fundamental concern for the relationship between form and subject matter. Benton had not been satisfied with many of the panels from his earlier *American Historical Epic,* 1924–1926, because the subject matter was not "Americanized" to the point where the forms could carry explicit meanings of their own. Oftentimes, only by assigning a title to a panel was Benton able to make the viewer fully aware of its content. For Benton this became a serious shortcoming because he believed ". . .that *what* was painted should determine, as far as possible, the *how* of its painting and the ultimate form that ensued."[3] Consequently, around 1925 Benton had begun to look for more contemporary subject matter believing that it might help to define his concept of form.[4]

Bootleggers (fig. 1), 1927, Benton's first large-scale contemporary scene, reflects his new search for common American experiences and his growing interest in the notion that subject matter should determine form. What Benton sought to convey in the *Bootleggers* was a sense of the turmoil of America's energetic growth. The panoramic treatment of the composition which brings several motifs together within one work is meant to suggest this theme. Furthermore, the pulsating forms and spatial

[3] Thomas Hart Benton, "American Regionalism: A Personal History of the Movement," in *An American in Art: A Professional and Technical Autobiography,* Lawrence, Kansas, 1969, 155.
[4] Matthew Baigell, *Thomas Hart Benton,* New York, 1973, 76.

2. Thomas Hart Benton, *City Activities*, 1929–31, egg tempera and distemper on linen mounted on panel. New York, Collection of Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States

dislocations within the composition itself are beginning to insist on meanings of their own and, by their distinct qualities, actually help to convey the content of the painting, the vitality of the contemporary American scene.

Benton's interest in contemporary subject matter continued with a set of murals that he painted in 1929–1931 for the New School for Social Research in New York. The set includes nine separate panels which describe, as Benton explained, ". . .the scenes, behaviors, and mythologies of American life."[5] As in the *Bootleggers,* Benton's New School murals show the energy, variety, and confusion of the modern American scene. In the two panels entitled *City Activities* (figs. 2 and 3), characteristic figural types that Benton had gathered while on sketching trips throughout the rural South during the late 1920s now participate in the urban environment. Their reality is expressed in terms of their various responses to, and involvement with, their surroundings. Benton also included himself in the drama (see the three-quarter-length figure in the lower right corner of figure 3) as a self-conscious statement of authorship in keeping with his belief in the legitimate and morally responsible role of the artist in society.[6]

[5] Benton, *An American in Art*, 66.

[6] To my knowledge, this is the first identification of the figure as a self-portrait. Compare it to Benton's 1926 *Self-Portrait*, see Baigell, *Benton*, plate 50, 89. Also, the mother and child to the left of Benton are probably his wife and young son. Compare them to *Rita and T.P.*, 1928, see Baigell, *Benton*, plate 57, 95.

3. Thomas Hart Benton, *City Activities*, 1929–31, egg tempera and distemper on linen mounted on panel. New York, Collection of Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States

In accordance with Benton's concept that form is defined by subject matter, the dynamism of the city landscape is reflected in an overall compositional agitation. Although its imagery is based on the visual experience of the real world, the composition of *City Activities* is comprised of a series of competing themes which have little or no pictorial relationship to one another. Thus, as Goodrich explains, Benton's ". . .original impression of reality has been made to agree with his preconceived ideas of design."[7] The construction of such a composition clearly required more than the simple act of perception, as Benton himself described:

> . . .[direct visual realism] is only one aspect of reality, the immediate perceptive aspect. The reality that we, as full human beings, generally know and act upon is more complicated. It is not the reality of direct perception but that which such perception leads to. The associations attached thereto constitute what we call our *knowledge* of things; they are our ultimate human reality. This secondary, or *derived*, reality is a construction of our minds. It takes some kind of a parallel construction to represent it.[8]

[7] Lloyd Goodrich, "The Murals of the New School," *The Arts*, XVII, 1931, 402. For the technical aspects of Benton's concept of form and composition, see Benton, "The Mechanics of Form Organization in Painting," *The Arts*, X, 1926, 285–289 and 340–342; XI, 1927, 43–44, 95–96, and 145–148. For more specific information on the structure of Benton's paintings, particularly *City Activities*, and its influence on Jackson Pollock, see Stephen Polcari, "Jackson Pollock and Thomas Hart Benton," *Arts*, LIII, 1979, 120–124.

[8] Benton, *An American in Art*, 49.

Benton's design for *City Activities,* therefore, does not reflect the immediate experience of the real world, but rather a "secondary reality" constructed by Benton to parallel the real world. This construction, Benton believed, was better able to convey the deeper human meanings which, by the 1930s, had become so important to his art.

The unification of numerous motifs within a single composition, however, was a problem for Benton, as he explained:

> The problem was to get them [competing motifs] together in such a way that they would function as parts of an overall pictorial form. This was solved by comprising each subject unit so that some parts on the periphery of its design were left open. . . some forms on the edges of each pictorial unit were so arranged that they could be connected with the forms on the edge of the adjoining units—locked into them, that is.[9]

But, in some areas of the murals where the separate pictorial units were too different from one another in form and content, Benton could not logically connect them:

> . . .where these differences were so great that peripheral jointures were too difficult to make, sections of the moulding that framed the mural were injected into the mural design itself. . . .[10]

The use of arbitrary boundaries in *City Activities* to separate individual pictorial units from one another suggests that Benton had overreached himself. His intention in the New School murals to adapt a traditional style based on sculptural forms and the principle of spatial depth to uniquely modern subject matter by combining numerous motifs within one composition resulted in a series of designs which are overcrowded and unsatisfying. Goodrich describes:

> . . .the moving force of his forms is dissipated in countless minor rhythms, which nullify one another, and the movement of the whole seems forced and arrested. There is too little sense of the whole; the large lines tend to be lost sight of, and the design as a whole becomes episodic and repetitious.[11]

Benton's failure to provide successful transitions throughout the design of *City Activities* resulted, essentially, from his reliance on spatially illusionistic compositions, a stylistic approach which necessarily conflicted with his concept that subject matter should ultimately determine form. In other words, the extent to which Benton's forms could carry meanings of their own was limited by his notion that art should be inclusive of all the conditions of reality, particularly three-dimensional space. Benton could not sacrifice this concern simply for the sake of the surface patterns which his forms might create, even if those patterns produced an unsatisfying composition.

[9] Benton, *An American in Art,* 63.

[10] Benton, *An American in Art,* 64. Benton related these separations to the illustrated pages in nineteenth-century books and magazines. Baigell suggests that a tabloid format, one recognizable to almost all Americans, helped to ensure common American meanings for Benton's images, see Baigell, *Benton,* 114.

[11] Goodrich, 402.

Benton's commitment to three-dimensional form and recessional space was motivated by a strong desire for his art to function effectively within a social context. For Benton "the need of the form itself was real" because he believed that in order for his meanings to be publicly effective, his forms had to be ". . .equivalent to the extensive experience one has of the real world."[12] According to the artist, only forms derived in this manner could produce precise memory images in the mind of the viewer. Abstract art could not produce such images and, therefore, could not be recalled as actual forms, but only in terms of the theories they represented.[13] The memory recall of specific forms was important to Benton because it, too, was tied to his idea of the social function of art:

> As it is through, and by, the memorable impacts its forms occasion that art functions socially, makes its meanings publicly effective, it appears that the purely abstract arts of our time must be relegated to the status of passing novelties. Without sustained effectiveness on the mind, they cannot have a sustained life, even for artists.[14]

Benton's notion, then, that the effectiveness of his art was related to the ability of his forms to create persistent memory images helped to ensure the integrity and wholeness of his figures.

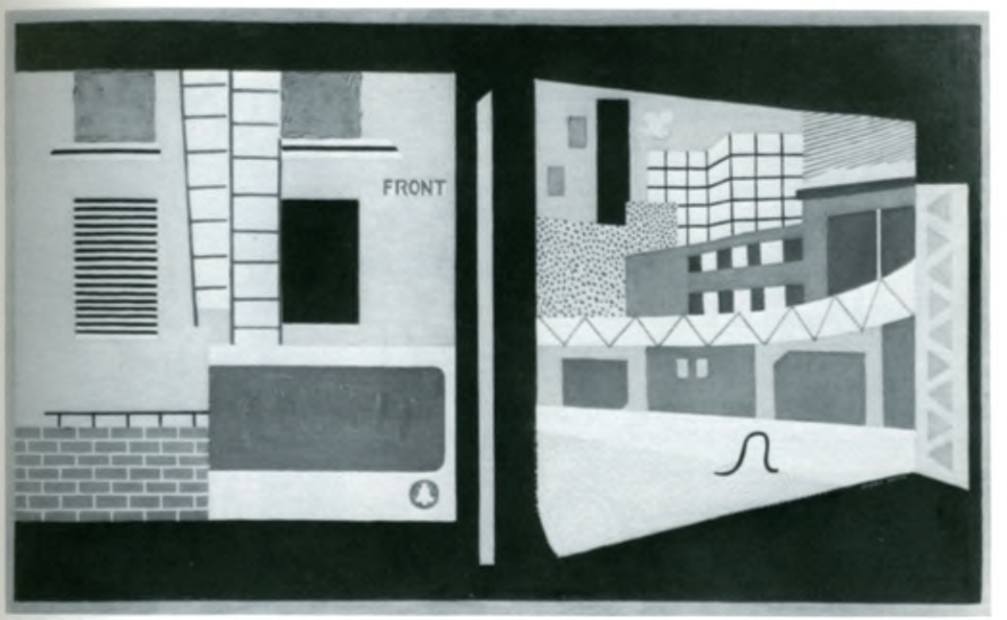
Benton had intended that the form and composition of the New School murals reflect, as far as possible, the dynamic qualities of the new, urban, American environment. His adherence to the traditional concepts of three-dimensional form and space, however, limited his ability to adapt his mature style to such a purpose. Stuart Davis shared Benton's interest in modern subject matter and the American scene, and his paintings from the early 1930s have much in common with Benton's *City Activities*. Davis, however, did not agree with Benton that art should include all the conditions of reality in order to be effective or meaningful. On the contrary, Davis' belief that the principles of abstraction were the most appropriate means for the depiction of modern subject matter is the factor which distinguishes his work from that of Benton.

Davis' *Landscape with Garage Light* (fig. 4), painted in 1931-1932, is similar in content and organization to Benton's New School murals. Not only is the imagery derived from the contemporary American scene, but also the carefully controlled rhythms and repeated planes of color (separate pictorial entities Davis described as "unit areas") recall the surface designs of Benton's murals. By 1933, Davis had written that the "unit area" was the lowest common denominator of design. He felt that a series of "unit areas" could be arranged in sequence to form groups that would be both visually dynamic and consciously related.[15] Such concepts are clearly linked to the interlocking units of Benton's *City Activities*.

[12] Thomas Hart Benton, "My American Epic in Paint," *Creative Art*, III, 1928, xxxi.
[13] Benton, *An American in Art*, 77-78.
[14] Benton, *An American in Art*, 78.
[15] Stuart Davis Papers, Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Index, 11 November 33b. See also John R. Lane, *Stuart Davis, Art and Art Theory*, Brooklyn, 1978, 27.

4. Stuart Davis, *Landscape with Garage Lights*, 1931–32, oil on canvas. Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, Marion Stratton Gould Fund

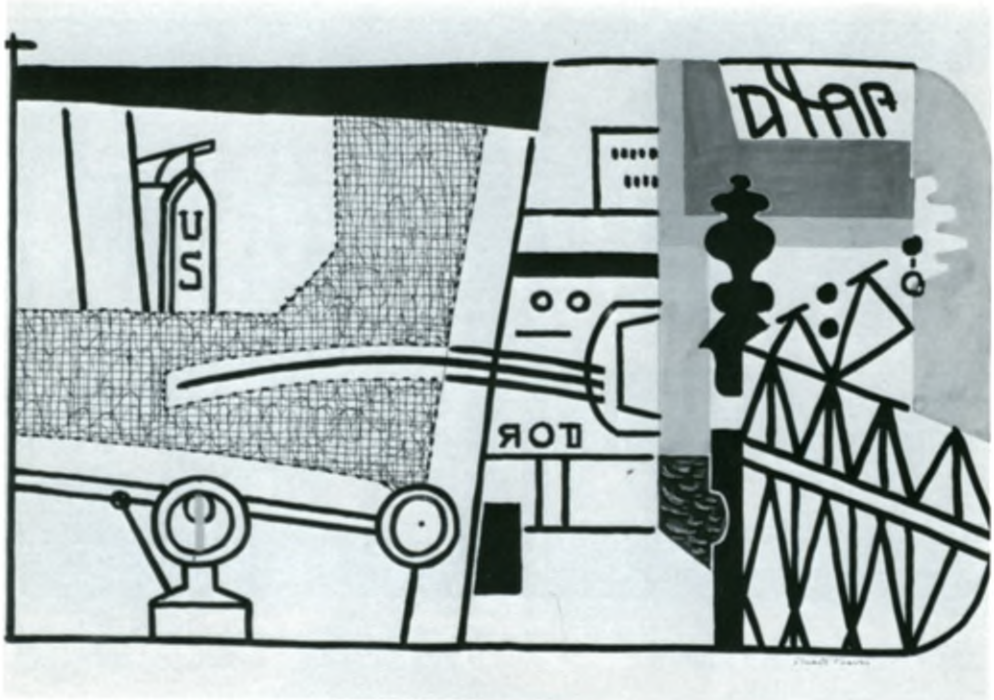
5. Stuart Davis, *Sail Loft*, 1933. Collection of Dr. and Mrs. Milton Shiffman



6. Stuart Davis, *House and Street*, 1931, oil on canvas. New York, Collection of Whitney Museum of American Art

In some of his other paintings from the early 1930s, Davis, like Benton, attempted to integrate several motifs within one composition. In *Sail Loft* (fig. 5), 1933, for example, each "unit area" in Davis' design corresponds to a separate view of a waterfront scene. Davis explained in 1937 that this method of picture-building "...corresponded to the way nature was seen as a continuous series of discrete observations, each restricted by the human field of vision...."[16] In a related painting, *House and Street* (fig. 6), 1931, Davis divided the canvas into two separate and relatively illusionistic views of urban America. Such a formal division of the canvas into two distinct but related images could be a metaphor for human binocular vision, but it also resembles the frames of a motion picture film;[17] both interpretations suggest the eventual mingling of consecutive images.

[16] Stuart Davis Papers, Index, 9 April 1937. See also Lane, 39.
[17] See H.H. Arnason, "Stuart Davis," in *Stuart Davis*, Minneapolis, 1957.



7. Stuart Davis, *Windshield Mirror*, 1932, gouache. Philadelphia Museum of Art, given by Mrs. Edith Halpert

Building on the theme of consecutive images in *House and Street*, Davis painted *Windshield Mirror* (fig. 7) in 1932. Here, Davis carefully selected a variety of image fragments which, unified into a single reality, create the sensation of moving by automobile through an urban environment. This work, too, has a lot in common with Benton's *City Activities*, sharing not only subject matter, the urban American scene, but also format, each bringing together numerous motifs within a single composition. Compared to Benton's work, however, the successful amalgamation of changing views and locations in *Windshield Mirror* required that Davis visualize various concrete objects as existing simultaneously within the same pictorial space—a notion only made feasible by Davis' willingness to allow characteristic shapes, lines, and colors to exist independent of the actual objects they describe. As Davis wrote, his handling of subject matter in paintings such as *Sail Loft* and *Windshield Mirror* was "not imitative or realistic but analogical, that is to say it has similarity without identity to its subject,"[18] a concept very close to Benton's parallel construction of reality. But Davis' system of simultaneity, in contrast to Benton's insistence on traditional forms, allowed Davis to successfully unify many images within a single image and, thereby, to compose a formally integrated pictorial surface from numerous competing motifs.

Of course, Benton sought a similar result in the New School murals; but his rejection of abstract principles and his adherence to recessional space and the integrity of his forms, ruled out any concepts of simultaneity. This prevented him from resolving his themes into appropriate and satisfying forms. Still, it would be unfair to judge Benton's *City Activities* strictly by modernist criteria, since Benton's ultimate

[18] Stuart Davis Papers, Index, 1933? u. See also Lane, 30.

intentions differed in important ways from those of Davis. Although both artists clearly drew upon the visual experience of the real world, for example, they differed in the particular quality of that experience which they chose to depict. In works such as *Windshield Mirror*, Davis was interested in the immediate perceptual aspect of reality, a kind of direct, sensory experience which essentially ignored human subject matter and the deeper meanings and associations that concerned Benton in *City Activities*.

Despite Benton's interest in modern themes, the human element and the reaffirmation of the values of a pre-technological society always remained at the core of his mature style. Identifying with rural America and the agrarian way of life, Benton was deeply concerned that the special values and unique qualities of his America were being swept away as older traditions confronted the modern world. In a real sense, then, Benton's personal responses to the rapidly changing value systems of the modern era provided a fundamental justification for his rejection of modernism. Davis, in contrast to Benton, was more sensitive to the new values of a modern technological society, particularly regarding new conceptions of time and space. Abstract art, in Davis' view, was not only best able to express the unique values of a modern age, but even more importantly, it could help to determine those values as well:

> . . . real contemporary art . . . expresses in the materials of art the new lights, speeds and spaces of our epoch. Modern chemistry, physics, electricity. . . have produced a world in which conceptions of Time and Space have been enormously expanded and abstract art both reflects and is an active agent in this expansion.[19]

In the final analysis, the fundamental distinction between Benton and Davis lies in their opposing views concerning the purposes of art during a period of tremendous social and technological change. While Benton used art to try to forge links between the American present and the values of the recent past, Davis believed that contemporary art must be concerned with the new possibilities unique to modern times. Any assessment of Benton's contribution as an American scene painter, therefore, must rest on whether his interest in the elements of continuity as he confronted a rapidly changing environment was simply a form of nostalgia or, on a more meaningful level, represented the personal search for that which is permanent in mankind. The challenge for Davis, on the other hand, was whether or not he could strike a balance in his American scene paintings between the general and the specific, between the reliance on abstract forms and the need for recognizable—that is, communicable—subject matter. From a more limited aesthetic point of view, however, our appreciation of either artist depends ultimately on whether their choices in terms of style and composition were appropriate for what they were attempting to say.

University of Delaware

[19] Diane Kelder, ed., *Stuart Davis*, New York, 1971, 120. See also Kelder, "Stuart Davis: Pragmatist of American Modernism," *Art Journal*, XXXIX, 1979, 36.

The Expressionist Current in New York's Avant-Garde, 1935–1940: The Paintings of "The Ten"

LUCY EMBICK

When Peggy Guggenheim, that enthusiastic and far-sighted patron of modern art, opened her gallery, Art of This Century in New York in 1942, she wore one earring made by Tanguy and the other by Calder. In sporting this unmatched pair, she acknowledged what she considered to be the two major movements in contemporary modern art: Surrealism and Abstraction. The conventional view of the origins of the New York School has continued to embrace Guggenheim's two-fold schema, adding to it a certain unique "American quality," as a sort of bold and fresh native spirit. Recent scholarship has begun to expand this reductionist interpretation by documenting other factors which contributed to the formation of this first school of American art to be internationally recognized, however, the picture of its origin remains incomplete without the closer examination of the expressionist current in New York's avant-garde of the 1930s and 1940s.[1]

The art of a group called The Ten, whose members painted and exhibited together for five years, from 1935 to 1940, reveals the active presence of this expressionist force in the formative decade of American Abstract Expressionism. Moreover, among the seventeen artists who participated in the group's exhibitions, several became leaders of the New York School in the decade which followed, most notable among them, Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko. An examination of the art and history of The Ten sheds light on the rise of America's artistic avant-garde and on one of the groups which helped prepare the way for American Abstract Expressionism.

By the 1930s, a few American artists had been working more or less in expressionistic modes, or loose and painterly styles. These included the members of the earlier group called The Ten, which had been founded in 1898 by Edmund Tarbell,[2] and of The Eight, also known as the Ashcan School, and led by Robert Henri.[3] Several

This paper is based on a chapter of my Master's thesis completed at the University of Oregon in 1982: "The Expressionist Current in New York's Avant-Garde: The Paintings of 'The Ten.' "

[1] The artist John Ferren summed up the conventional view of abstract expressionism's origins in stating: "It has been said that Abstract Expressionism was a marriage of Abstraction and Surrealism. It is a half-truth, and as such, a misleading one. For one thing, it was a three-way marriage." He then discussed this third element as native and specially American. See J. Ferren, "Epitaph for an Avant-Garde," *Arts Magazine*, XXXII, 1958, 23. Clement Greenberg is the most renowned exponent of the reductionist approach to the New York School, as well as one of the main contemporary critics of the movement. For a discussion of Kandinsky's significance for the New York School see G. Levin, "Mirò, Kandinsky, and the Genesis of Abstract Expressionism," in R. Hobbs and G. Levin, *Abstract Expressionism: The Formative Years*, Ithaca and New York, 1978, 27–40.

[2] The founding members of the early Ten include Edmund C. Tarbell, Frank W. Benson, Joseph DeCamp, T.W. Dewing, Childe Hassam, W.L. Metcalf, Robert Reid, Edward Simmons and John Twachtman. See P. Pierce, *Edmund E. Tarbell and the Boston School of Painting 1889–1980*, Hingham, Mass., 1980.

[3] The members of The Eight who participated in their single exhibition as a group in 1908 were Arthur B. Davies, William Glackens, Ernest Lawson, George Luks, Maurice Prendergast, Robert Henri, Everett Shinn and John Sloan. See I. Homer, *Robert Henri and His Circle*, Ithaca, 1969.

artists in the circle of Alfred Stieglitz—Dove, Hartley, Maurer and Weber, for example—are considered early American expressionists. However, as Jacob Kainen, a critic for the progressive magazine *Art Front*, commented about the early exponents of this style in an article of 1937:

> Somehow they failed at the time to create much of an impact among our large quantities of descriptive painters, to say nothing of the general public. Perhaps they were too small, diverse and uncertain a group to represent any definite artistic tendency.[4]

In the same article, Kainen applauded the strength of the new generation of expressionist artists, those who began to work earnestly as professional painters in the 1930s:

> It does not require a prophetic eye to discern subterranean stirring beneath the dead level of American art. These stirrings have been going on for a long time, evidencing the secrecy and defiance of some artistic underground. . . . It's that old, stubborn and elusive Expressionism again, but this time it seems here to stay.[5]

The term "expressionism" was loosely employed by artists working in a variety of styles during the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s in New York. There was no need to codify the style through manifestos or definitions. This lack of doctrinairism sets the American artists—abstract, regionalist and expressionist—apart from their European counterparts in the movements of the first part of the twentieth century. The Americans felt no obligation to remain true to one style, one medium and one goal, and instead freely combined elements learned from Cubism to Constructivism, folk art to Neo-plasticism, French Impressionism to German Expressionism.

In the late 1920s and 1930s the current of expressionism began to acquire a more established place and specific connotation in New York. It rapidly came to be considered on the vanguard of styles and associated with political progressivism, especially by Marxist artists and writers. In 1924, J.B. Neumann, the art handler from Berlin, opened his gallery the New Art Circle and in the following years held numerous exhibitions featuring German and American art. He regularly displayed works by Beckmann, Klee, Barlach, Nolde, Munch, Heckel, Kokoschka, Feininger, Rouault, Chagall, Soutine and other artists working in expressionist modes.[6] In the spring of 1931, just two years after its opening, the Museum of Modern Art presented the exhibition "German Painting and Sculpture" which brought to New York one hundred twenty-three works of art, masterpieces such as Klee's *Twittering Machine* (1921), Kokoschka's *Woman with Parrot* (1915), Kirchner's *Berlin Street Scene* (1913) and Beckmann's *Self-Portrait on Yellow Ground with Cigarette* of 1923. Also in the 1930s, the Nierendorf Gallery and Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery showed dozens of works by major expressionist artists. One noted example is the exhibition of Beckmann's influential triptych *Departure* (1932–33) at Buchholz Gallery early in 1937, well over

[4] J. Kainen, "Our Expressionists," *Art Front*, III, 1937, 14.
[5] Kainen, 14.
[6] See E. Göpel and B. Göpel, *Max Beckmann, Katalog der Gemälde*, 2 vols., Bern, 1976; and J.B. Neumann, *Artlover Library*, V, New York and Munich, 1931.

1. Mark Rothko, *Self Portrait*, 1936, oil on canvas. Estate of Mary Alice Rothko

a year before Picasso's *Guernica* arrived in New York.[7] Adolf Gottlieb, Mark Rothko (fig. 1) and Joseph Solman (fig. 2), the artists who formed the nucleus of The Ten, regularly visited these shows together, often accompanied by Kainen;[8] it can be assumed that the other members of The Ten were similarly interested and stimulated by this art.

Solman noted that in the decade of the 1930s the term "expressionist" was considered "subversive," and that "the chosen painters had in a way the mark of the damned on them and were homeless in the art arena." They were "outcasts" and tolerated with difficulty by the established and Francophilic art world as "representative of the growing modern tradition."[9] Charmion von Wiegand, in her 1936 article "Expressionism and Social Change" published in *Art Front,* emphasized that despite

[7] Göpel and Göpel, I, 274–276. See also L. Embick, *The Expressionist Current in New York's Avant-Garde: The Paintings of "The Ten,"* Ann Arbor, 1982, Appendix A, "Exhibitions of *Die Brücke*, Beckmann, and Selected Other German Expressionists in the United States: 1910 to 1945," 176–182.

[8] Kainen, Interview with Harry Rand, 1978, "Notes and Conversations: Jacob Kainen," *Arts Magazine*, LIII, 1978, 137.

[9] J. Solman, "The Easel Division of the WPA Federal Art Project," 122, in F.V. O'Connor, ed., *The New Deal Art Projects: An Anthology of Memoirs*, Washington, D.C., 1972.

2. Joseph Solman, *Self Portrait*, 1936, oil on board. Collection of Hans and Helen Moller

inevitable rough progress "only now has appeared a situation favorable to the creation of an Expressionist art in the United States," and counseled that its "destructive activism" and "forward moving" nature was "necessary in clearing the ground for future building."[10]

The "expressionist outlook" of The Ten and other artists who developed in parallel directions—Guston, Pollock, Gorky, de Kooning—was described in a nutshell in 1937 by Kainen with the following three qualities; it is of significance that they can be applied equally well to mature Abstract Expressionism:

> 1. The attempt to reduce the interpretation of nature or life in general to the rawest emotional elements.
> 2. A complete and utter dependence on pigment as an expressive agency rather than an imitative or descriptive one.
> 3. An intensity of vision which tries to catch the throb of life, necessarily doing violence to external facts to lay bare internal facts.[11]

[10] C. von Wiegand, "Expressionism and Social Change," *Art Front*, II, 1936, 10–13.
[11] Kainen, 1937, 14.

This new generation of artists in New York was no longer satisfied with continuing the tradition of an American assimilation of European art. By the middle of the 1930s young artists still learned the valuable lessons of European modernism, but felt the need to emerge as an independent and native avant-garde. As Gottlieb stated about these years: "the whole problem seemed to be how to get out of these traps—Picasso, Surrealism—and how to stay clear of American provincialism, regionalism, and Social Realism."[12]

The artists making their debuts in the Depression decade lived in a world in transition, and they were forced to examine themselves, the history of art, and their roles in society, to a degree, and in ways unprecedented in America up to that time. The 1930s marked the end of a certain superficiality and, as Francis O'Connor concluded, became a "psychological watershed in American art."[13] The artists who paved the road to Abstract Expressionism turned from the predominating American styles, and the looming, in some cases immobilizing, shadow of Picasso and the School of Paris. They sought out fresh sources to assist in their efforts to identify and express painterly and personal truth in their art, and to portray the most essential and timeless qualities of man's experience: the human drama. And they turned to each other, to form artists' groups serving as forums for the exchange of ideas, the organization of exhibitions, and to provide support. In January of 1937 the American Abstract Artists (AAA) was founded to pursue nonrepresentational art.[14] Over a year before this major date in the history of modern American art, in the fall of 1935, a circle of artists with expressionist leanings became disenchanted with the policies of their dealer Robert Godsoe's Secession Gallery, and dropped out to become The Ten. A central issue that united the diverse styles within The Ten and, moreover, allied this group with its contemporary avant-garde counterpart, the AAA, was summed up by Kainen in 1939. He stated that, while the subject matter differed from artist to artist, "what is important are the textures, shapes, and colors of the external world or the mental world."[15]

The founding members of The Ten were Ben-Zion, Ilya Bolotowsky, Adolph Gottlieb, Louis Harris, Yankel Kufeld, Mark Rothko, Louis Schanker, Joseph Solman and Nahum Tschacbasov. The other artists who joined during the group's five years of activity and eight exhibitions include David Burliuk, Lee Gatch, John Graham, Earl Kerkam, Karl Knaths, Edgar Levy, Jean Liberté and Ralph Rosenberg. Although there were only nine founding members, and thus dubbed "The Ten Who Are Nine" by jesting critics, the group considered that a tenth man could be easily found at a later date. The group was consciously formed in the legacy of the liberal and democratic traditions of the earlier Ten, Robert Henri's Eight, and the many other examples of a similar independent spirit occurring throughout modern art.

Most of the artists who were to join The Ten had been given debuts in New York art galleries by 1935, although only a few of them (Gatch, Graham and Knaths)

[12] A. Gottlieb, Interview with Dore Ashton, 1967, Archives of American Art, 17; quoted in M. MacNaughton, "Adolph Gottlieb: His Life and Art," in S. Hirsh and M. MacNaughton, eds., *Adolph Gottlieb: A Retrospective*, New York, 1981, 29.

[13] O'Connor, "Introduction," 6.

[14] S. Larsen, "The Quest for an American Abstract Tradition, 1927-1944," in J. Lane and S. Larsen, eds., *Abstract Painting and Sculpture in America 1927-1944*, Pittsburgh, 1983, 35-36.

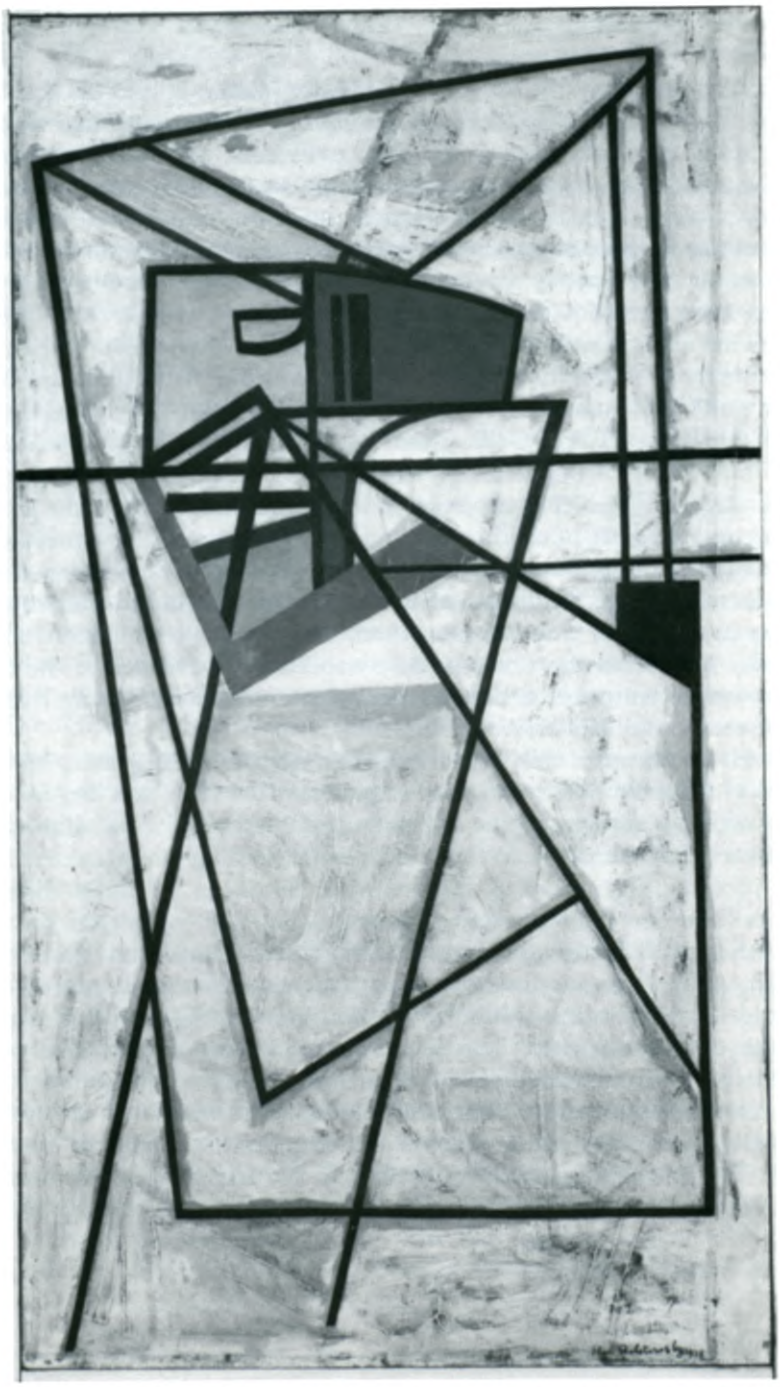
[15] Kainen, 1978, 139.

enjoyed gallery support on even a minimally regular basis. Gottlieb, after winning a nationwide competition for young artists, had been awarded a one-man show at the Dudensing Gallery in the 1930s. The Artists Gallery, at 33 West 8th Street, had given shows to Ben-Zion, Gottlieb and Solman. J.B. Neumann had held three exhibitions including Gatch's art at his New Art Circle on West 59th Street before 1935, and Knaths also became associated with Neumann's gallery. The Contemporary Arts Gallery, run by Emily Francis, on West 57th Street, had introduced Harris, Kerkam, Rothko, Schanker and Solman to the New York public. Miss Francis' gallery, however, had a policy of launching artists with their first one-man show and then letting them fend for themselves in lining up new outlets for subsequent exhibitions. This was no easy task in the decade of the Depression when Americans had little money to invest in art and, in addition, when New York had barely over two dozen galleries in contrast to the nearly four hundred listed today.

The Contemporary Arts Gallery had the reputation for favoring romantic and—despite its "subversive" connotation—expressionist painters with free and dramatic brushwork. Robert Ulrich Godsoe, head of the exhibition division of the WPA Federal Art Project and director of the Uptown Gallery for a time, also provided recognition for the expressionist avant-garde in New York. Early in 1935 he opened his Gallery Secession in the Village, on lower West 12th Street, naming it after the Secession movements in Germany and Austria which had begun in the 1890s. Godsoe enthusiastically supported the work of these expressionist pariahs of the established art world as well as a number of other notable modern artists including Byron Brown, Balcomb Greene and Helen West Heller.[16]

Godsoe's good-natured enthusiasm lacked discriminating taste, however, and, in the eyes of the nine who were soon to become The Ten, he "began to overrun the gallery with too many painters, some of whom we consider too slight or specious for the character of the place. When Godsoe did nothing in response to our quiet pleas and protests, a group of us seceded from Secession."[17] These nine founding members of The Ten held the initial discussion of their objectives as a group at Solman's studio, at Fifteenth and Second Avenue; this became the first of the monthly meetings which took place over the next five years. Foremost among their goals was to ensure the democratic exhibition of their art on a regular basis, under conditions suitable to all the artists.[18] The Ten denounced preciousness, superficiality and the trivial in art, advocating instead a return to the inner voice of conscience and the sincere expression of pure form and feeling. This emphasis on "purity" and distilled content led most of the artists toward greater and greater abstraction in their work. This became particularly evident in the artists who were also members of the AAA during these years: Bolotowsky (fig. 3), Graham, Rosenberg and Schanker (fig. 4).

[16] Solman, 122.
[17] Solman, 122.
[18] For a list of the exhibitions of The Ten and the participating artists in each, see Embick, Appendix B, "The Exhibitions of The Ten," 183–184.



3. Ilya Bolotowsky, *White Abstraction*, 1934–35, oil on canvas. Burlington, Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont

4. Louis Schanker, *Forms in Action*, 1940, oil on canvas. Pittsburgh, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute

The Ten quickly became the "best organized group of young Expressionists in New York."[19] Solman recalled that after "knocking at many doors with dark photographs of dark paintings,"[20] the nine founding members were given an unexpected welcome by the rather conservative Montross Gallery at 785 Fifth Avenue from December 16, 1935 to January 4, 1936. The exhibition, "The Ten: An Independent Group," featured four works by each painter. A review in *Art News* immediately recognized their progressive spirit in noting that they "recall to mind the work of the first 'Ten' when they exhibited at the Montross Gallery forty years ago." The pictures revealed "strong traces of foreign influence," and much of the work was considered "crude" and "difficult for the public to swallow." But the impression on the whole was that The Ten displayed an "earnest striving for a new mode of expression" and an "honest effort . . . to express through some other method than that of photographic realism, their feelings about the life around them."[21]

The Ten's second exhibition was held immediately following the Montross Gallery show, January 7th to 18th, 1936, at New York's Municipal Art Gallery. It marked the inauguration of the WPA-supported exhibition program for New York artists. One hundred works in a variety of styles and media comprised the pioneering event. The Ten occupied part of the third floor, the one devoted to modern painting. The policy of the Municipal Galleries was based on the MacDowell Club exhibitions, the first one of which was held by Robert Henri's group in November, 1911 at the club, then located on West 55th Street. The MacDowell plan provided exhibition space for any self-organized group of eight to twelve artists to show their work without prizes and juries. It was centered on the belief that the exhibition of an artist's work should be a right not a privilege.[22]

The Ten had been founded in the spirit of the MacDowell Club plan and, thus, they found the opportunity to participate in the opening of the Municipal Galleries

[19] Kainen, 1937, 14.
[20] Solman, 124.
[21] "Exhibitions in New York; 'The Ten': Montross Gallery," *Art News*, XXXIV, 1935, 8.
[22] For a discussion of the MacDowell Club and its plan see M. Landgren, "A Memoir of the New York City Municipal Galleries, 1936-1939," in O'Connor, ed., 272-276; and Homer, 165-167.

5. Adolph Gottlieb, *Seated Nude*, 1934, oil on canvas. Adolph and Esther Gottlieb Foundation, Inc.

most congenial to their goals. The Ten, which had added Gottlieb's friend, Edgar Levy,[23] to achieve their ideal number, supported the aspirations that Mayor LaGuardia announced in his opening speech:

> It may just be a boon-doggling exhibit, but here it is. You don't have to know anybody to get your pictures in it and we hope to make this exhibit something permanent where all the artists of the City of New York may have a place to show their work.[24]

Accounts of the exhibition indicate that the members of The Ten were considered brash young painters who sought a fresh expression of paint and subject. Henry McBride gave conditional praise in his review in *The Sun* to their unpolished aesthetic potential and the dynamic challenge to current artistic and political issues. McBride perceived, at this early stage in their careers, that the work of The Ten displayed a serious engagement with and ambition to ascend beyond the contemporary level of art and life, a stance which placed them among the avant-garde of American art. He wrote:

> Admittedly they have put a lot of raw meat on the table, but the flavor, decidedly gamy, leaves no doubt that it is meat. . . . They attack a canvas with as much fury and excitement as they spend attacking a government. . . . They dare any theme, and in a splashing, dashing youthful fashion get away with it.[25]

[23] John Graham included Edgar Levy in his book *Systems and Dialectics of Art*, as an example of "highly developed taste" in art. See M. Allentuck, *John Graham's System and Dialectics of Art*, annotated from unpublished writing with a critical introduction, Baltimore and London, 1971, 128.

[24] "New York's Municipal Gallery Knows How to Forfend Trouble," *Art Digest*, X, 1936, 6.

[25] H. McBride, quoted in Solman, 125–126.

6. Lee Gatch, *Pennsylvania Farm*, 1940, oil on canvas. St. Louis, Mo., The St. Louis Museum of Art

Gottlieb's *Seated Nude* of 1934 (fig. 5) attracted a great deal of attention at the exhibition, but not as the masterpiece he longed to create. One of the workmen setting up the show exclaimed, "No, we don't like it. . . . Why couldn't he paint a good looking dame?"[26] Gottlieb, who was called the Otto Mueller of The Ten because of the quiet moodiness and the remoteness of his art,[27] showed no desire in this monumental nude to turn her into ornament or to prettify her corpulent and fatigued form. His commitment to the truth, not the beautiful in subject matter, contrasts with what Matisse represented as the French father of expressionism. Certain key aspects of Matisse's artistic approach never took root in German Expressionism, the art of The Ten, or the New York School. In his "Notes of a Painter" (1908), Matisse stated one of these tenets: "Supposing I want to paint the body of a woman: first of all I endow it with grace and charm."[28]

Since the prevailing support of American regionalism in the 1930s frustrated The Ten's hopes of success at home, the group decided to leap into the international art world where a less biased audience could appreciate their art on more purely aesthetic terms. With the assistance of Joseph Brummer, a successful dealer in ancient art with a penchant for modern European sculpture, The Ten arranged to hold their third exhibition in Paris at the Galerie Bonaparte from November 10th to 24th, 1936. The distinguished French critic and scholar, Waldemar George, wrote the preface for the catalogue. He concluded that the group's art, while showing influences from a variety of sources, was developing in a new somber direction. He questioned: "America, where are you headed?"[29]

Following the Paris show, The Ten celebrated the end of their first year together with a second annual exhibition at the Montross Gallery, held December 14, 1936 to January 2, 1937. Tschacbasov's brashness and opportunism had alienated him from the group and he was "frozen out." Although Levy dropped away, Lee Gatch participated in this and one later show (fig. 6). Thus, they continued to be "The Ten Who Are Nine." The exhibition caught the unsympathetic eye of Edward Alden Jewell. His review set a precedent for the scathing comments he would later make

[26] E. Sparling, "Workmen See Little Art in the Municipal Gallery," *New York World-Telegram*, 6 June 1936, in Hirsh and MacNaughton, 27.
[27] Wiegand, 10.
[28] H. Matisse, "Notes of a Painter," in H. Chipp, *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics*, Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1968, 130.
[29] W. George, catalogue preface, *The Ten*, Paris, 1936, in Solman, 126.

7. Karl Knaths, *Sunflowers*, 1939, oil on canvas. Detroit Institute of the Arts

about the painting of Gottlieb and Rothko in his now famous *New York Times* article on the third annual exhibition of the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors in June of 1943.[30] Jewell called The Ten "inchoate" and dismissed them in his review of the exhibition at the Montross Gallery by proclaiming:

> I do not believe I understand the American "expressionists" so very well. Many of these paintings at the Montross I feel that I do not understand at all. Often they look to me like silly smudges. And if a painting looks like a silly smudge, it is safe to conclude that you do not understand it.[31]

Emily Genauer of the *World-Telegram* offered, in contrast to Jewell, a complimentary appraisal and lauded their "strong inward preoccupation with the quality of painting."[32]

The fifth and sixth exhibitions extended the territory of The Ten to Georgette Passedoit's gallery at 121 East 57th Street. The first of the two exhibits, on display from April 26th to May 8th, 1937, included the same nine artists who participated in the second annual show at the Montross Gallery. The second of the two, held May 9th to 21st, 1938, added John Graham, Ralph Rosenberg and Karl Knaths

[30] E. Jewell, "End-of-the-Season Mélange," *New York Times*, 6 June 1943, X, 9.
[31] E. Jewell, "Solo Flights and Group Landings," *New York Times*, 20 December 1936, II, 11.
[32] E. Genauer, quoted in Solman, 126.

(fig. 7), but saw the departure of Gatch and Kufeld from the ranks. These exhibitions did not stir up the public interest that The Ten had hoped for and, as usual, brought few sales. The artists' search for something beyond an immediately tangible subject matter, a search which revealed their leanings toward idealism, and the somberness with which they pursued that goal were noted in the *Art Digest* review of the 1937 show: "A uniform moodiness pervades the group, especially in their handling of color. . . . What the group has in common is sensed rather than stated: a glum search for today's beauty."[33]

The seventh and penultimate presentation of the group's art took place the following autumn at Bernard Braddon's Mercury Galleries on East 8th Street, just around the corner from the Whitney Museum of American Art. Although Knaths was not on the roster, Kerkam kept the total true to their name for the three-week event, held from November 5th to 26th, 1938. The exhibition aroused more controversy and critical attention to The Ten than any of their other showings, and clearly identified them as proponents of a new direction in American art. Moreover, this was historically the most significant exhibition as a result of the adamant stance The Ten assumed against the "reputed equivalence of American and literal painting."[34] The group selected the name "The Ten: Whitney Dissenters" intended as an affront to the dearth of acknowledgment and support given to progressive work of the new generation of American artists by official channels.

The Whitney Museum had been founded in 1931, just two years after the opening of the Museum of Modern Art. The hopes of young artists had originally been high with these two new museums devoted to "modern" art. These hopes gradually faded into disappointment and frustration when the museums exhibited predominantly native regionalism, social realism, European modern masters and the established American masters of the previous decades. The precocious boldness of The Ten's protest against the Whitney becomes even more evident when compared with the restrained show of disapproval of the Museum of Modern Art's policies made by the AAA. The American Abstract Artists proposed holding their 1938 annual exhibition at the museum. After two years of cordial correspondence with Alfred H. Barr, some fifty members picketed the museum in an orderly fashion one gray afternoon in April of 1940 to criticize the conservative definition of "modern" which the museum espoused.[35]

Braddon and Rothko, co-authors of the catalogue for the Whitney Dissenters explained:

> The title of the exhibition is designed to call attention to a significant section of art being produced in America. Its implications are intended to go beyond one museum and beyond one particular group of dissenters.[36]

The Ten called for the recognition of an indigenous modern art in America which

[33] " 'The Ten' at Pasedoit's," *Art Digest*, XI, 1937, 23.
[34] "Whitney Dissenters," *Art Digest*, XI, 1938, 9.
[35] Lane and Larsen, 38-39.
[36] "Whitney Dissenters," 9.

extended beyond the narrow range of regionalism, the reactionary vision of social realism, and the dry rationalism of European abstraction. Although Cubism was gaining an ever-widening sphere of influence in New York, the artists of The Ten agreed with Wiegand when she wrote in 1936 that the Cubists "sealed themselves into ivory towers and, coldly as surgeons, dissected the physical world and its all-too-human beings into formal elements of external art."[37]

The Whitney Dissenters protested against the painting exhibition of the Whitney Annual for claiming to be "the most progressive, . . . the most fool-proof of national exhibitions," and against the Whitney's colleagues in America for sponsoring "an American art that is determined by non-aesthetic standards—geographic, ethical, moral or narrative—depending upon the various lexicographers who bestow the term." They went on to protest that "in this battle of words the symbol of the silo is in ascendency in our Whitney museums of modern American art. The Ten remind us that the nomenclature is arbitrary and narrow."[38]

In urging the Whitney Museum to value the pure quality of painting by artists selected to represent the best in contemporary American art, The Ten was not alone.[39] Emily Genauer of the *World-Telegram* bewailed the 1938 Painting Annual as "the Whitney of our discontent," and the response of other critics was correspondingly low. In general, the criticism was leveled at the poor standards of workmanship, shallowness of style and subject matter, and the distinct lack of originality. Henry McBride remarked on the predominance of "the peevish, the petulent, and ax-grinders, and the malcontents" in his review of the Whitney show in *The Sun*. According to Jerome Klein of the *Post*, the major weakness was in the social genre painting due to its tendencies toward the "half-hearted, the sentimental, and badly painted." Since Klein was usually a strong advocate of social genre, his review provides an astonishingly candid evaluation of the caliber of the Whitney exhibition.[40]

The deficiencies of the 1938 Whitney Annual stood out clearly for those who were familiar with the critical writings of Clement Greenberg, Harold Rosenberg and Meyer Shapiro. Their writings, featured in *Art Front*, *New Masses* and *Partisan Review*, among other periodicals, encouraged the turn of Americans away from the literal, explicitly referential and timely art of social realism, from "kitsch," and from the showiness and trivializing seen in the work of the Surrealists. They provided ideological support for the developing avant-garde to rise above and advance beyond the turgid level of contemporary art in the United States. Greenberg, Rosenberg, Shapiro and a handful of other intellectuals, urged the avant-garde to keep culture moving forward and to overcome the stagnation of bourgeois American art in both the nature of their work and the force they wielded as a self-conscious body.[41]

[37] Wiegand, 10.

[38] "Whitney Dissenters," 9.

[39] "Critics Sing Mournful Tune at Whitney Show," *Art Digest*, XIII, 1938, 6. Juliana Force was the sole person in charge of selecting the artists in the Whitney Annual. After being chosen, the artists themselves determined the paintings to be exhibited. This created a great deal of controversy because the works chosen by the artists were not always among their best or most suited to the goals of the Whitney Annual; this was particularly apparent in 1938.

[40] "Critics Sing Mournful Tune at Whitney Show," 6.

[41] For a discussion of the formation of the New York avant-garde at this time see F. Orton and G. Pollock, "*Avant-Garde* and Partisans Reviewed," *Art History*, IV, 1981, 305–327; C. Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," *Partisan Review*, VI, 1939, 34–39; and C. Greenberg, "Towards a New Laocoön," *Partisan Review*, VII, 1940, 296–310.

The Ten came forward as an important component of the developing avant-garde. Many of its members were not only avid readers of these periodicals, but were also personally acquainted with their editors and contributing authors. Joseph Solman was the most actively involved member of The Ten in the literary circles of New York. He served as the managing editor of *Art Front* for a year and worked closely with Rosenberg and Shapiro during this period.

In the fall of 1938 The Ten Whitney Dissenters proposed, more audibly than in their other showings, a vigorous new alternative to the placid state of contemporary art. Unified more in attitude than in style, their art sought to fuse an insistence on quality work, the exploitation of the material of paint, and a subject matter which aspired to function on emotional and spiritual, personal and universal levels. This melding of significant feeling and form, with an unrestricted but weighted subject matter, began to fill a void in American art of the 1930s and was to be embraced even more fully in the 1940s by the Abstract Expressionists.

The final exhibition of The Ten as a group passed relatively unnoticed at the Bonestell Gallery on East 57th Street from October 23rd to November 4th, 1939. The show was sandwiched into a busy year for art in New York that included the opening of the World's Fair and the accompanying exhibition of "Art in Our Time" at the Museum of Modern Art. Later in the year came the great Picasso retrospective. David Burliuk, a Russian-born artist who had exhibited in Munich with "Der Blaue Reiter," and Jean Liberté were included in this final exhibition.

By the end of the decade of the 1930s, The Ten had basically accomplished its original goals of obtaining suitable gallery space for public exhibition of the members' art. Each of the artists was becoming associated with a particular gallery to sponsor his work, and the immediate need for an independent exhibiting organization faded. The diversity of styles within the group contributed to its dissolution. It disbanded sometime early in 1940, experienced and toughened by the years together.

This same year signaled the end of an era of group identification and hopeful idealism that had begun with the Depression years. A split in the Artists' Congress which took place late in 1939 precipitated its break up in 1942. Unlike the Congress, which had organized exhibitions, symposia and legislative sessions, the Federation of Modern Painters and Sculptors, formed in 1940 to take its place, was devoted solely to the showing of its members' work. The official publication of the American Artists' Union, *Art Front*, which was always full of lively discussions of controversial issues, had folded in December, 1937. On the heels of the Spanish Civil War, in 1939, Germany's military aggressions brought about the devastating reality of the Second World War. America's attention was turned inextricably from the ascendency of the silo and riveted to concerns of global dimensions; the stage was set for the birth of Abstract Expressionism.

University of Pittsburgh

Bust of Christ Pantocrater, Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. (Photo courtesy of The Michigan-Princeton-Alexandria Expedition to Mount Sinai)

AN INTERVIEW WITH KURT WEITZMANN

Karl Sandin and Kristen Van Ausdall

On October 22, 1983 we visited Professor Kurt Weitzmann at the Department of Art and Archaeology of Princeton University. He made a point of showing us the rooms on the upper floor of the art history library in which he has worked for many years. Behind a special section containing stacks of volumes devoted to ancient manuscripts, formerly Professor Albert M. Friend's personal library, lies a small seminar room. At one end is a photograph of Friend, at the other a drawing of Adolph Goldschmidt. Off the hall leading to Professor Weitzmann's study, a small chamber known simply as "the cage" holds rows of black notebooks containing photographs of manuscript illustrations and a refrigerator preserving the negatives of the photographic record of Mount Sinai's icons. In his study, amidst the materials of current work, the following interview took place.

Interviewer: Professor Weitzmann, what particular aspects of Early Christian and Byzantine art attracted you first to that field?

Kurt Weitzmann: Well, it was really by accident. I never heard a lecture on Early Christian or Byzantine art while I was a student. As a Byzantinist, I am a self-made man, so to speak. I got interested as a student equally in classical archaeology and Medieval art. And I knew that I would eventually work on a thesis which would take as a focus the transition from the Classical to the Christian. Before I came to Berlin, I was a student in Vienna and my teacher was Julius von Schlosser under whom I studied Italian literary sources of the Renaissance. At the same time I had also started with Professor Karl Maria Swoboda on a subject in western art for a Ph.D. thesis, with an emphasis on the particular problem of the classical sources of the twelfth century Tuscan Proto-Renaissance. When I went from Vienna to Berlin and talked with Adolph Goldschmidt (and I wanted to work with Goldschmidt), he didn't take much interest in this Tuscan problem. Telling him I would like to work on a theme which would combine classical art and the medieval, he proposed a study of the Byzantine ivory caskets, of which he had already collected very rich photo material which he handed over to me. He had just finished four volumes of western ivories,[1] and the next to come would be the one on these ivory caskets. But he had no training in classical archaeology himself. So he was happy to find somebody whom he could entrust with this material. After the completion of my thesis, it became the next volume in Goldschmidt's corpus.[2]

INT: When was this done?

KW: I made in 1929 my Ph.D. in Berlin, and two years later the thesis was published. Immediately thereafter Goldschmidt asked me to collaborate with him on the

[1] Adolph Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sachischen Kaiser, VIII-XI. Jahrhunderts*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1914-1926.

[2] Kurt Weitzmann (with Adolph Goldschmidt), *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII. Jahrhunderts, 1: Kästen*, Berlin, 1930.

second volume of the Byzantine ivories[3] and this occupied a major part of my time between my Ph.D. and 1935, when I came to America.

Yet I never became a Byzantinist in the strict sense of the word. I am rather an art historian who deals with Medieval art at large, and with Late Classical, Early Christian, and Byzantine art in particular. This is quite a difference, because as a Byzantinist you have to acquaint yourself on the one hand with Balkan, Russian and Georgian art, and with post-Byzantine art on the other. As a general art historian, I could more or less choose from Balkan, Russian and other East Christian material as I wished and at the same time remain also grounded in the Latin West. That's the difference.

INT: Do you consider yourself unusual in this respect?

KW: No, some colleagues of my age—like Otto Demus—worked as much on western as on Byzantine art and like myself he is a general art historian. So are Hugo Buchthal and Ernst Kitzinger. We are all general art historians. It's only the present generation that has become more specialized and more restricted.

INT: Do you think that it is more useful as an art historian to have a wide range of interests?

KW: Yes, I think so.

INT: How did this affect your choice of subjects to be explored?

KW: After I had worked with Goldschmidt, particularly on the ivories, I decided that this was too narrow a subject to cover the Byzantine field as a whole, and it was a floating material that had comparatively few historical connections. I knew I would be much better grounded in dealing with illustrated manuscripts, realizing that a great number of ivories were dependent upon Medieval painting. And so the next task was for me to begin the study of Byzantine manuscripts. I started traveling to work in European libraries. Then in 1931, two years after my Ph.D., I got a prestigious stipend from the Archaeological Institute in Berlin which enabled me to travel to South Eastern Europe and the Near East and to lay out a program of the study of manuscripts in Greek monasteries. I went first to Athens to work in the Athens Library, and then I went to the Meteora monasteries, the isle of Patmos, and the first time to Mt. Athos. The result of this was a study on Byzantine book illumination of the ninth and tenth centuries,[4] which was supposed to be what the Germans call a *Habilitationschrift.* It means the piece of writing with which you would get permission to teach, the *venia legendi.* In Germany at that time, not before five years had passed after the Ph.D. would you be permitted to give your first lecture. During these five years you were expected to write a second book. This book, the one on Byzantine book illumination, appeared as a publication of the Archaeological Institute in Berlin in 1935, the year I arrived in the United States.

While still in Berlin I had started a third project, almost by accident. In 1932 one of the greatest discoveries of our time was made by Yale University—the synagogue of Dura. You have heard about it. Here—a unique case—the walls of a third century synagogue were found covered with frescoes illustrating episodes from various

[3] Weitzmann (with Adolph Goldschmidt), *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII. Jahrhunderts, 2: Reliefs*, Berlin, 1934.

[4] Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerie des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1935.

books of the Old Testament. One of the excavators, P. V. C. Baur, had come to Berlin and had left there with Professor Hans Lietzmann, a famous theologian and Christian archaeologist, a complete set of photos of the synagogue's frescoes. Lietzmann announced a seminar on these frescoes. I was no longer a student but was interested in the subject and asked if I could take part in the seminar. He said yes, "under the condition that you read a paper." I said I would do so. I had already been to Mt. Athos and had studied, among other manuscripts, the so-called Octateuchs and it dawned on me that there might be some iconographical relation between these Byzantine miniatures and the Dura frescoes, whereupon Lietzmann encouraged me to make a more thorough study of the Octateuchs and for this he promised me the full support of the Prussian Academy. Well, to make a long story short, the work on this problem became actually the reason for my coming to the States.

INT: We were going to ask you your reasons for coming to the United States, what were the circumstances?

KW: The key manuscripts of the Octateuchs are in the Vatican. So I wrote to the prefect of the Vatican Library to get photographs of the Octateuch miniatures only to be told that they had already been photographed by Princeton University and that I should write to Princeton to ask for permission to get prints. So I wrote to Professor Charles Rufus Morey who was the chairman of the Princeton Art Department at that time, and he replied, "I don't like to give you the permission because we have already embarked at Princeton on a bigger project, namely the publication of all the illustrations of the Septuagint manuscripts." In this project Morey himself was supposed to do the Octateuchs. But since he would have no time for it, he would be willing to hand the material over to me provided I would come to Princeton.

INT: You spoke about the broad orientation of your generation of scholars. Do you feel that you inherited a specific approach to art history from Goldschmidt?

KW: Goldschmidt in his day was considered one of the best stylistic critics. He had an extraordinarily sharp eye. But at the same time he was also an historian, and not only a connoisseur. And most revealing was a remark which I'll never forget he once made to me that he had never written an article based exclusively on stylistic criticism. Because he was such an outstanding stylistic critic, he knew the pitfalls better than anybody else. His first study, his *Habilitationschrift*, was on the English psalter of the twelfth century from St. Albans, now in Hildesheim, which he had studied from all possible angles.[5] Not only did he introduce stylistic criticism, but he made full use of related historical disciplines which had been dealt with by antiquarians. Goldschmidt's publication was the beginning of the art historical study of Medieval book illumination. He immediately attracted some of the brightest students in Germany who dove into his field.

When I became interested in Byzantine book illumination, I followed more or less the same trend, namely the attempt to establish the locality of certain scriptoria. Well, even today, half a century later, for Byzantine material it is perhaps still premature. I did establish some groups of manuscripts and localized them but it did not give a rounded picture as had been achieved for the same period in western

[5] Goldschmidt, *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und seine Beziehung zur symbolischen Kirchensculptur des XII. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1895.

art. It was a first attempt to do this kind of study in the Byzantine field.
INT: Could you tell us more about your training under Goldschmidt?
KW: Goldschmidt's approach, while being primarily oriented toward stylistic criticism, was by no means confined to it. He would look at a work from every possible angle. And while he had, on the one hand, almost a scientific mind—and once he told me he had first thought to become a natural scientist—he also was himself artistically creative and had started to become a painter, being a man of extraordinary artistic sensibility.

A combination of these two capacities, which at first glance seem to be contradictory, formed the personality of Goldschmidt. Besides, it was the wide span of his interests which attracted so many students. He did not teach a confining method, but rather how to look at a work of art with a sharp eye and critical mind and to formulate the results of one's observations concisely. This approach was not confined to his own Medieval field, but to the whole history of art. In fact he himself was not exclusively a medievalist. He has written on Northern Renaissance and on Dutch painting. There were about a hundred theses written under him, the greatest number of which was on Dutch seventeenth-century painting. It comes as a surprise that there was only one single thesis written under him in the field of ivories on which his own research had centered more than on any other, and this happened to be my own.

When I left Berlin in 1935 to go to Princeton, and I paid Goldschmidt a farewell visit, he gave me one of his own drawings depicting a lobster. You can see that he had a penetrating eye—like that of Dürer observing a hare. I remember when I was a student I applied to be admitted to a seminar by Goldschmidt on tombstones. He always had a restricted number of students and they had to pass an examination. He gave every student a piece of paper and a pencil and said, "Make me a quick sketch of this monument." He wanted to know whether a student would be capable of seeing the essence of form and composition.
INT: Not the typical art history exam of today.
KW: Surely not.
INT: How did this attitude affect your teaching?
KW: After I had come to Princeton in 1935—first I was ten years exclusively with the Institute for Advanced Study—I started in 1945 to give a Medieval course. I made some innovations. Traditionally, the students had to write two exam papers. I cancelled the second one, and instead had them write an essay—I would have a little Medieval exhibition in the museum, and the student could choose any object he liked and write on it, just to stimulate his sense of observation and the capacity to express himself intelligently in writing. Moreover, Princeton University has the so-called preceptorial system, which means if you give a course in, say, Medieval art, the whole class is divided into groups of not more than ten, and with each group you have a so-called precept in which you discuss with the students a subject related to the lectures. Princeton is famous for this system which, by the way, was introduced by Woodrow Wilson when he was the President of the University. When I went

into the precepts, I always had an original object from the museum in my pocket, and put it at the end of the precept on the table so that the students would be able to take an object in their hands and examine it. I remember once I had a little Romanesque ivory madonna, and the one who looked at the piece with the greatest interest was Tom Hoving. Actually this stimulated him to become an art historian, ending up as Director of the Metropolitan Museum.

INT: Your own experience as a student, then, had a great deal to do not only with your scholarship, but with your teaching methods?

KW: Yes, under Goldschmidt I took among others one seminar on Dürer drawings. He was a personal friend of Max J. Friedländer, who was the director of the print room in the Berlin museum. Each student got the permission to work on an original drawing. I particularly mention this because Goldschmidt today is primarily known for his books on ivories, but he also used to give a lecture course on Dürer. Another seminar was held in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum and each student had to give a paper before an original German or Flemish painting. The best *I* could do was to take my students at the end of my course to New York to the Metropolitan Museum and especially to the Pierpont Morgan Library to show them original manuscripts which for most of them was a unique experience. Goldschmidt was also much beloved in this country. He was three times in America as a guest professor, the first time still in the '20s.

INT: How did this early interchange with Goldschmidt come about?

KW: Before and immediately after the First World War there was very little contact with German scholarship and America didn't know much about it. The man who, so to speak, "discovered" Goldschmidt was Albert M. Friend, a very distinguished professor in the Princeton Art Department. Friend had been put by Morey before the First World War on a doctor's thesis on Carolingian ivories. Then he went into the war and after his return, the first volume of the Goldschmidt corpus had appeared. This had destroyed Friend's thesis, but he was so impressed by Goldschmidt's work that he decided, "I must get to know this man." Thereupon he took the train to Berlin and visited Goldschmidt. They became immediate friends, and Friend made every attempt to get Goldschmidt as a guest professor to America. Unfortunately, Princeton didn't have the money for it so he went to see Paul Sachs at Harvard and persuaded him to call Goldschmidt there. So Goldschmidt was twice at Harvard, and a third time in New York. During his first visit in the early '20s, Princeton gave him an honorary degree; later he got an honorary degree at Harvard at the tercentenary celebration. He also taught at New York University and altogether he had a great impact on American art history.

INT: I know you gave an address last summer [1983] in Berlin on Adolph Goldschmidt and his impact and tradition. Do you think there's a growing appreciation for that tradition of scholarship?

KW: They are very hopeful in Berlin that they can continue this tradition, and they are very conscious of building up a connection with the past. It was for this reason that they asked me to speak on that topic on the occasion of bestowing on me an

honorary degree. This lecture will be printed and will include a whole chapter on Goldschmidt in America.

INT: I didn't realize he lectured so extensively in America. When you first came to Princeton in the 1930s there were many German scholars in America, particularly at Princeton—was there a strong sense of community among the German scholars?

KW: Not in particular. Naturally, I met them all, but each German was immediately integrated into American life and there never was—as in England—a German colony of scholars anywhere in America. When I came to the Institute for Advanced Study in early 1935, there existed at that time only the school of mathematics, and I came to Princeton with a specific grant which Morey got from the Institute for me. But the idea was that I should work on a special project in the Art Department of the University. So I never established myself at the Institute. At the end of the very same year, the Institute founded two new schools: one for social sciences and one for what was then called humanistic studies (now it's called historical studies). When I came to Princeton, Erwin Panofsky was a member of the University's Art Department. As soon as the new school was founded in the fall of 1935, Panofsky and I were taken on by the Institute. Although for ten years I was exclusively a member of the Institute, from the very beginning I concentrated not only on the University's research projects, but Professor Albert M. Friend asked me to share with him a graduate seminar. But this touches probably already on the next question, i.e. my work with Friend.

INT: Yes, could you describe the kind of intellectual interaction that existed between you and Professor Friend?

KW: When I arrived in Princeton I saw for the first time Mr. Friend. I had met Professor Morey in Berlin and also seen Professor DeWald there, but not Friend. It was *immediate* contact which soon developed into a close personal friendship. I had, at that time, the proofs of my book on Byzantine book illumination of the ninth and tenth centuries with me and I was a little worried how to discuss a specific problem with him, because I had had a dispute with Morey about the so-called Paris Psalter—which he thought was about seventh-eighth century—and I thought it was tenth. But when I learned from Friend that this early date was by no means a consensus of opinion here in Princeton, and that he himself also believed in the later date, I was greatly relieved.

INT: You said you shared a seminar with Friend. . .?

KW: Yes, we jointly gave a seminar on the origin and method of book illumination. It was decided that he would talk on the Evangelist portraits, and I was going to do the narrative illustrations. And he encouraged me not only to do this for the Bible manuscripts, but also to try to get at the roots of the narrative illustration. To make a long story short, the result of my course was the book, *Roll and Codex.*[6] This book would never have been written without having been forced to give this graduate course. For me this is the proof of how useful teaching is to supplement research. I had always wanted to teach, but also to do research. I've been extremely lucky that in 1945, when Morey retired, I was offered a half-time professorship. From

[6] Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton, 1947 (revised ed., 1970).

there on until my retirement, I always did one term teaching and one term research.
INT: So you've never felt any conflict between your teaching and your research?
KW: On the contrary. To combine the two was for me, at least, an ideal solution.
INT: Could you speak further about your contacts with the Institute?
KW: At the beginning it was a very small family and you knew everybody. I met Einstein several times. I heard him playing the violin. And I knew most of the mathematicians. In art history there were, besides Panofsky, Charles de Tolnay (the Michaelangelo scholar) and Hanns Swarzenski, who was at that time the assistant of Panofsky. But I had also contacts with the archaeologists. One of my closest acquaintances was Ernst Herzfeld. He was a famous Orientalist who had worked in the Ancient Near Eastern and Islamic fields. I had wanted to hear him as a student in Berlin, but he was always on excavation. I met him for the first time here in Princeton.

When I was working on an article on Bactrian silver bowls,[7] Herzfeld was a great help to me in a field of which I had only a peripheral knowledge. Ernst Herzfeld's assistant at that time was Richard Ettinghausen, who became one of my closest friends. He was America's most outstanding scholar of Islamic art. After Princeton he became a professor at the University of Michigan, then a curator at the Freer Gallery in Washington, D.C. and finally he was a professor at New York University and the head of the Islamic department at the Metropolitan Museum when he died. Whenever I touched the Islamic field—and I published a few studies in it—I consulted Ettinghausen, who was a very stimulating person. He also gave once a seminar in our Art Department on the earliest Hebrew book illumination, which was very interesting.
INT: Your interaction with other scholars at Princeton must have been important to your own work—in what ways were you influenced by your contacts with the department?
KW: As said before, my closest contact was with Friend. We would discuss every aspect of Byzantine manuscripts. Before I came to Princeton, he had already collected an enormous number of miniature photos, but all were from European libraries. He had no contact with Greece and the Eastern monasteries. But before coming to America I had already been in Greece and the monasteries of Mt. Athos. So Friend arranged, after I was only a few months in this country, that I should undertake an expedition to Mt. Athos and photograph the illuminated manuscripts.

In the old manuscript room of McCormick Hall there were four desks—one for Friend, one for DeWald, one for myself, and the fourth for any guest who came to work in that room. I still remember when I came back from one of the trips to Mt. Athos, loaded with new material, and on that very day there was a group of Harvard students and professors in Princeton. In Morey's time there was a close connection between the art departments of these two universities which was based on the close friendship between Sachs and Morey. Every two years the graduate students of both institutions would hold a conference. So I went once to Cambridge and was a guest of Paul Sachs, and the next time the meeting was here in Princeton.

[7] Weitzmann, "Three 'Bactrian' Silver Vessels with Illustrations from Euripides," *Art Bulletin*, XXV, 1943, 289–324.

I had just come back from Athos and I had privately a little conference in the manuscript room showing my new material to a small, distinguished audience consisting of Morey, Friend, DeWald, Goldschmidt, who was at that time in this country, and Wilhelm Koehler, the distinguished Harvard professor and greatest expert on Carolingian book illumination. When I showed my material, Friend immediately said, "You must go next year again to Mt. Athos and continue the photography of the manuscripts." I went five times and altogether spent about a whole year on Mt. Athos. In those days Friend and I would work until midnight in the manuscript room and then we would go to his place and continue our discussion for another hour or two.

INT: Did any scholars other than art historians contribute?

KW: In the later years one of my closest friends in the Institute was Ernst Kantorowicz, the historian. He came often to Friend's house, and there also lived another historian, Theodor Mommsen. He was the grandson of the great Mommsen. We were close friends too. Actually, when Mommsen gave his course in Medieval history, he invited me to give one lecture on Ravenna. The manuscript seminar got a certain reputation and each year we would have, besides the students, a few guest auditors. Besides the students in our own department, it also attracted students from other departments. Moreover, a man with whom I was in very close contact and who actually worked with us in the manuscript room was Professor Oliver Strunk, who was a music historian here at Princeton and who had specialized in Byzantine music. At that time, around 1936 or 1937, the Music Department was founded and it had its offices here in McCormick Hall. Only years later did it get its own building. In the early days there was a very close contact between the Music and the Art Departments.

INT: How did your contact with Dumbarton Oaks originate?

KW: It was founded in 1940 during the war. For the first two years they had symposia with selected papers by some students and professors of Harvard. But then, in 1943, they decided to have symposia concentrated on a special theme. Professor George LaPiana of Harvard came to Princeton and proposed that the first such symposium should be, in condensed form, our Princeton manuscript seminar. Friend and I were supposed to give each a certain number of lectures. For some reason or other Friend bailed out, and it was all on my shoulders. These lectures of mine were given a few years before *Roll and Codex* was published, which was meant to be kind of a textbook, and not only for the Princeton students. Last year a translation of it appeared in Italian, published by the University of Florence.

INT: You had already completed your work on the *Joshua Roll*[8] by this time. Is that correct?

KW: Yes. As a matter of fact, this book as well as *Roll and Codex* were meant to be preliminary studies to a corpus of the illustrations of the Septuagint. However, soon I realized that before doing such a corpus one would have to reconstruct the whole history of the origin of book illumination in order to build a solid basis for the treatment of the extant illustrated Bible manuscripts. I wouldn't be satisfied with a mere

[8] Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll: A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance*, Princeton, 1948.

descriptive task. Another one of the preliminary studies was the book on Greek mythology in Byzantine art.[9] This is out of print, and I have just written a new preface for a second printing which should appear soon.

INT: Have you changed any of your ideas about it?

KW: No. There's nothing basically to be changed. But I continued working on these problems and made some additions. Also some Italian scholars have picked up the basic ideas and have added some new material of illustrated mythological texts.

INT: I first became familiar with your work through a Dugento seminar given by Professor James Stubblebine at Rutgers University. We discussed the impact of your Byzantine studies on that particular field. What do you feel the impact of your work has been on other areas of study?

KW: Talking first about Stubblebine's interest in Italian painting of the Dugento, I just have in print a study which will come out in a volume in honor of Otto Demus and which deals with Byzantine icons and the *maniera greca*. The basic idea is that while the whole of Dugento art is so heavily influenced by Byzantine art, it could not have been due to the import of the few Byzantine originals which exist in Italy today. There must have been still other channels and I think one of the main channels is Crusader art. When I worked at Sinai, one of my discoveries—and perhaps the most startling one, I think—was the attribution of more than one hundred icons to French and Italian artists, whom I call Crusader artists. This Crusader art which is a kind of bridge between the East and the West, is a new chapter in the history of art, coming to grips with a body of material which explains in a new way the relationship between Byzantium and the West. Recently Dumbarton Oaks bought its first major icon representing a bust of St. Peter and I was asked to give a lecture on it.[10] This immediately involved me in a discussion of related material from many angles, including that of Crusader art.

INT: Which do you believe is more valuable in Byzantine scholarship, a stylistic or an iconographic approach?

KW: I don't think that one should ever replace the other, one should always deal with both on an equal basis, and in specific cases it is just a matter of emphasis. In my study of the Peter icon for instance, I dealt first with a detailed stylistic analysis, and then with the iconography. I described not only differences in the facial features of Peter, but how iconologically East and West came to create different Peter types and that there was a rivalry between Eastern and Western churches that involved the representation of St. Peter. The third part of the study is concerned with the placement of the icon in the church and its integration into the service. It is this kind of a synthetic approach which I have advocated all along the line, and I have always worked on several levels. Of course, when I worked on the corpus of Byzantine ivories, I leaned more toward stylistic analysis, and when I dealt with Bible manuscripts, iconographic analysis was the primary concern. Yet the aim should always be never to disassociate style from iconography.

[9] Weitzmann, *Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Princeton, 1951.

[10] This lecture was given by Dr. Weitzmann at the opening of the exhibition "Masterpieces of Byzantine Icon Painting," at Dumbarton Oaks. See Kurt Weitzmann, "The Saint Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks," *Apollo*, CXIX, no. 266, April 1984, 260-263, an excerpted and adapted article from the lecture of the same title. (The full text of the lecture appears in the Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Collections Publications Series, no. 6, 1983.)

INT: All different types of scholars seem to have contributed to your viewpoint; would you expand on this in regard to your expedition to Mt. Sinai?
KW: At the Sinai expedition, I had Professor Oliver Strunk there, who came to work on the musical manuscripts. At one time Professor Ihor Ševčenko from Harvard joined the expedition in order to deal with paleographical problems. So there was always interaction and the variety of the Sinai material was a fertile ground for it. There were other scholars who took advantage of the rare opportunity to work in this remote monastery.
INT: What were your initial experiences there?
KW: To begin with, it was not easy to get to Sinai. I had tried it three times before I ever got there. My first attempt was in 1931 after my first visit to Mount Athos when I contracted typhus in the monastery of Patmos. The second time I wanted to go together with Friend in 1939, but the World War broke out. The third time, in 1951, I got even as far as Cairo. I arrived there the very same day that the civil war broke out and the whole country was in an uproar and it became impossible to cross the Suez Canal Zone. Then in '56, Friend died. To his funeral came Professor George Forsyth from the University of Michigan, who was an old friend of Friend. He was just on his way to the Near East to look for a place to do fieldwork, and he was going through Asia Minor, through Mesopotamia, and would end up in Sinai. Knowing my interests, he invited me to join him at Sinai. I accepted his offer and we went together to Sinai on a short exploratory trip; he, Fred Anderegg, the photographer, and I myself. After five days the two left and I stayed for another month studying the manuscripts at Sinai. I was at that time not aware of the treasures in icon painting.
INT: You worked first on the manuscripts?
KW: Yes, but when I saw the icons, I was startled and knew from that moment on that the rest of my life would have to be spent largely on the Sinai icons. We organized four more trips and between the years 1956 and 1965 we spent altogether a full year at Sinai. The icon material opened an entirely new world for me. However, I was not the first one to study them—the man who had worked on the icons intensively was George Sotiriou, the director of the Byzantine Museum in Athens. He and his wife Maria wrote a book on these icons, which hadn't been published yet when I went the first time to Sinai. But his book contains only a selection of the icons, about 150 out of more than 2,000. We had a restorer with us, Carroll Wales from Harvard who cleaned some icons and his work was continued by Tassos Margaritoff who, among the many icons he worked on, took off the overpaint from what turned out to be perhaps the most beautiful icon, a Christ bust from the sixth or seventh century. This icon has already entered practically every art historical handbook. The Sotirious had published it as a thirteenth-century icon being misled by its later overpaint.
INT: When you saw it was it still in that condition?
KW: Yes, it was still overpainted, when I saw it the first time.

INT: Were you aware of the existence of the entire icon collection on your first trip to Mt. Sinai, or did you gradually discover where they were all stored?
KW: The first time I went to Sinai, I worked for a whole month by myself on the manuscripts. Next to the library, separated by a grill, is a room which outside has a label in English "Picture Gallery". I could look from the library into this room whose walls were filled with icons in three rows. This room contained a small choice of the very best icons which Sotiriou had selected and arranged. I was simply bowled over when I saw these icons. But, then, the day before I left, I met a monk in the courtyard, and he said, "I see you're interested in icons, have you been in the old library?" I said, "No. Why should I go into the old library because the books are now all upstairs in the new library?" "Ah," he said, "this is now a magazine of icons."
INT: This was the last day before you were to leave?
KW: Yes. I asked, "Could I get in?" "Yes, sure." So the next day in the morning before I left I went into two rooms which then had about 600 icons. Only the big ones are left in the church. Later when the monks found out that one icon was stolen they got scared and took out all the smaller icons from the church and put them in this magazine. Now the magazine has more than a thousand icons.
INT: Were many of the icons overpainted when you first saw them?
KW: Yes, indeed. The cleaning has only started. In the eighteenth century many icons with a gold ground were overpainted with a light blue. It was the taste, you might say, of the Rococo period. The most pressing thing was to put down blisters so the paint would not flake off. The second step would be to take off the varnish.
INT: Are there many icons remaining that need to have their varnish removed and cleaned?
KW: Oh, yes, many.
INT: Is the collection generally stabilized in terms of blistering and that kind of damage?
KW: I haven't been back since '65. The monks have now—because the monastery is overrun by tourists—some of the best icons moved into the narthex of the church. Whether this is good for the icons I am not so sure.
INT: Did the administration of the monastery welcome you when you came to Mt. Sinai?
KW: Before our expedition there had already been another Sinai expedition organized by the Library of Congress. But this was undertaken only for microfilming manuscripts. One of its participants was an Egyptian by the name of Aziz Atiya, who was at that time a professor at Alexandria University (he is now a professor at the University of Utah), and he was a specialist in Arabic manuscripts. I had met him in Princeton, where he was a guest lecturer at the University and we became close friends. He is a Copt, and a personal friend of the Abbot of Sinai. When we went to Sinai, I came with a letter from Atiya which opened all doors. We literally got the key to the monastery and a free run of it. We could, for example, take the

icons out of frames in order to photograph them more conveniently. This would no longer be possible today. We were extremely lucky to go at the time when Porphyrios III was abbot. But he is now dead.

INT: He must have been very broad-minded in giving you so much freedom.

KW: Yes, indeed he was, and extremely kind. Also Gregorios his successor was very helpful and he took a personal interest in our work. Under the present abbot it would be impossible to do what we did.

INT: Simply taking the decade of the seventies, you published the book on the *Sacra Parallela*,[11] organized the *Age of Spirituality*,[12] wrote the *loca sancta* paper,[13] and started publishing the volumes associated with Sinai.[14] How do you work on such a broad range of topics seemingly all at the same time?

KW: Well, I have always worked on more than one project at a time. I have always felt when I worked the whole morning on one project, and wrote a few pages, that I should get a distance from it and pick up something else in the afternoon. But that several books appeared at short intervals is due to the fact that a book like the *Sacra Parallela*, which is a very complex study, was started as far back as 1935. I had accumulated notes over decades, and when I finally wrote the final draft it was done in a comparatively short time. This reminds me of some remark of Goldschmidt, "To write a book is the pleasure afterwards," because the real work is done already before you start writing.

INT: So within a relatively short period of time you could sit down and write the body of the text.

KW: Yes. But speaking about the catalogue of the Met Museum exhibition *Age of Spirituality*, the editing of the writings of many contributors—I myself wrote only a small part—took an enormous amount of energy, I spent five years on that extremely complex exhibition.

INT: Could you tell us how that exhibition came about?

KW: In 1972 I had retired. At that time the Director of the Metropolitan Museum was Tom Hoving, who had written his Ph.D. thesis under me on Carolingian ivories.[15] He mused, "Let's make use of the retired professor." Being a Princeton man himself, he was well aware of what was going on in our department. So he asked me whether I would be willing to organize an exhibition at the Metropolitan in my field. He suggested himself a theme on the Theodosian Renaissance. When I talked it over with him, I told him that I would like to do an exhibition on a much larger scale, and I suggested as a theme the whole of Late Classical and Early Christian art, roughly from the time of Constantine to Justinian. He immediately agreed with everything I suggested, and supported me to the hilt. I must say that to work with Hoving was a most pleasant experience. It was also a delight to have as a close collaborator Margaret Frazer, who became a dear friend. She took all the administrative responsibilities—correspondence and so on—from my shoulders. Thus I could do the work largely from Princeton and had to go only rarely to New York. Only when

[11] Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela, Parisinus Graecus 923*, Princeton, 1979.

[12] Weitzmann, ed., *Age of Spirituality: Late Antique and Early Christian Art, Third to Seventh Century*, New York, 1979.

[13] Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XXVIII, 1974, 33–55.

[14] George H. Forsyth and Kurt Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Church and Fortress of Justinian*, Ann Arbor, n.d. [1973] and *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, Princeton, 1976.

[15] Thomas P. Hoving, "The Sources of the Ivories of the Ada School," dissertation, Princeton University, 1960.

the objects arrived did I stay for a few days in New York, to see them unpacked, and I was present when they were packed up again. This was my chance to see the object outside the glass cases.

INT: Dr. Weitzmann, is there any one of your writings or aspect of your studies that you take particular pride in? Perhaps the pleasure afterwards was the greatest?

KW: The main pleasure was indeed in the period when you do research, in other words *before* you start writing, because that's the period when you make discoveries. I always felt to some extent like an explorer, interested in finding new material. And if you go through my writings, a great deal of my work introduces new material. This joy of discovering new material and publishing it was not limited to finding for it a place in an established setting. I would start out with some minute observations, probing whether they would lead to broader implications and give a new insight into a field at large. So, take for instance the Crusader icons, a new material which opened an entirely new chapter in their relation to Byzantine as well as Western painting. Or, when I was working on the early icons of Sinai, I realized that some must have been made during the period of iconoclasm. These observations led to new concepts that developed only by working on new material.

INT: Or, most recently, the work on Pilgrimage art, such as your *loca sancta* article.

KW: This idea has led to a fresh investigation of this subject by Gary Vikan and other scholars. One of my greatest pleasures was to see that several of my students picked up ideas I had discussed in my seminar that lead to the publication of *Roll and Codex*. There is, for example, the study of the Gregory of Nazianzus manuscripts by George Galavaris[16] and another one by Herbert Kessler on the Touronian Bibles,[17] and a third by John Rupert Martin on the Climacus manuscripts.[18] All three were later published as monographs in the Studies in Manuscript Illumination Series by Princeton Press. Robert Bergman, the present Director of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, did his study on the Salerno ivories, which grew out of my seminar on ivories and which was published by the Harvard Press.[19] And now, of course, Archer St. Clair Harvey, one of my last students, now a member of your faculty at Rutgers, is working in the ivory field and making use of the material gathered by Goldschmidt and myself.

INT: It must give you tremendous pleasure to see that happen.

KW: Yes, indeed.

INT: What are your current areas of research?

KW: I myself am involved in various projects. At the moment I am working on another volume of the Sinai icons, on those of the eleventh and twelfth centuries of which very little has been preserved outside of Sinai. So once more I am working on new ground which is insufficiently explored. But then I engaged for the later icons as a collaborator Manolis Chatzidakis, the former Director of the Benaki Museum in Athens. Furthermore, there are the illustrated manuscripts of Sinai. These I shall publish jointly with George Galavaris, who has great experience in manuscripts. Now I have to think of collaborators because I know I will not be able

[16] George Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, Princeton, 1969.

[17] Herbert L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977.

[18] John Rupert Martin, *Illustrations of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, Princeton, 1954.

[19] Robert P. Bergman, *The Salerno Ivories: Ars Sacra from Medieval Amalfi*, Cambridge, Mass., 1980.

to finish all these projects. And for the Octateuchs I have engaged Gary Vikan (who has just been appointed Assistant Director of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore) as a collaborator. Then I still have to do the supplement to the Goldschmidt ivory corpus for which I collected for fifty years additional material. I found a collaborator for this task in Germany, a man by the name of Dietrich Koetzsche in Berlin. I plan to do myself the two Byzantine volumes and the Carolingian, and he will do the Ottonian and the Romanesque. Of course, that I do the Byzantine volumes is self-evident, but the reason why I got interested in doing the Carolingian one is that the major work of art in this supplement will be the Chair of St. Peter in St. Peter's in Rome. When this famous ivory chair was for a few months in 1968 taken out of the Bernini *Cathedra*, I was invited by the Vatican authorities to study it and include a chapter in the final publication.

INT: What do you regard as the most promising areas of research for the next generation of Byzantinists?

KW: Viewing the field of Byzantine art in general, not much more will be done in the realm of ivories after the publication of the corpus. But there is still a great deal to be done on the manuscripts. And this will go on for a long time since only a fraction of Byzantine miniature painting has been published. In the Byzantine field we are not yet as far advanced as in Western book illumination where the material has been so much more accessible, and where so many generations of scholars have worked on it. Perhaps the most promising area for future research is icon painting. Of course the Greek scholars have accomplished a great deal in this field and are most active. And the Russians have done so in the Russian field, and so have the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs on the material in the Balkan countries. They are working intensively on icons. The latest common enterprise on icons is a book which came out last year, and to which several authors contributed. I myself wrote two chapters in it, one on Constantinople and the other on Crusader icons. It includes, for instance, a whole chapter on Georgian icons, which is a vast field worked on by scholars, and others are on Russian, Balkan and Rumanian icons. A great deal will have to be done by Eastern scholars.

INT: The objects are very available to them.

KW: Of course. Also what hasn't been realized, because it hasn't been published yet, is that Sinai has a certain number of icons with Arabic inscriptions done by Syrian and Palestinian Christians. Now this is an entirely new field, which I haven't touched yet myself, and I don't know whether I ever will. Moreover there's much interesting icon material still to be found in the Eastern monasteries. And, of course, there is the wide field of fresco painting, where also many monuments are still unpublished although a great deal has been done particularly by Greek scholars. The one person who recently has devoted all her energies on Byzantine fresco paintings in Greece is Doula Mouriki, the first woman to take a Ph.D. degree in our department.[20]

INT: Was she your student?

[20] Doula C. Mouriki, "The Octateuch Miniatures of the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes," dissertation, Princeton University, 1970.

KW: Yes, and she is now professor at the Polytechnion in Athens. Two or three years ago, she was guest professor in our Princeton department.

And then, Dumbarton Oaks in Washington has done a great deal on cleaning, restoring, and publishing of fresco painting on the island of Cyprus, where an extraordinary amount of material has come to light. Other rich areas in fresco painting besides Greece and Cyprus are the island of Crete, the Balkans, Syria and many other provinces of the Orthodox world. In the next decade we may expect many publications in the field of fresco painting.

Any more questions?

INT: Only one. . .

KW: Yes, go ahead, you can ask what you like.

INT: I wondered what you would like your students to have learned? What would you most like them to have received from you?

KW: Just the same that I learned from Goldschmidt. . .the ability to look carefully at a work of art, and look at it from all possible stylistic angles, to investigate its iconography and meaning and its history, and find out where it best fits into the development. But remain aware that you deal with a work of art which can never be explained entirely by finding its models. The concern of the art historian should also be to find the individual component in a work of art.

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