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INTERVIEW

1. Red-figure pyxis, *women*, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum 3719 (Photo: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)

A New Pyxis by the Phiale Painter*

JOHN H. OAKLEY

A red-figure type A pyxis with a ring handle in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum (Figs. 1-4), inventory number 3719,[1] can now be securely attributed to the Phiale Painter. One of the many vase painters whose identity we owe to the work of Sir John Beazley, the Phiale Painter was a student of the Achilles Painter and was named after a red-figure phiale in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[2] Active in Athens between 450 and 425 B.C.,[3] he was principally a red-figure artist who also worked in the white-ground technique. A number of the masterpieces of Greek vase painting have been attributed to his hand.[4] Although he was originally perceived as a painter of Nolan amphorae and lekythoi, we now know that the Phiale Painter decorated a wide range of shapes, some of them in a variety of modes. One of the least common to appear in his oeuvre is the pyxis or toilet box. Earlier Beazley had attributed two pyxides to the Phiale Painter, both of which are in the National Museum in Athens.[5] The Vienna pyxis becomes the third to be attributed to the painter and is the finest both in the quality of drawing and in the potting of the vessel.

The vase has been recomposed from fragments, some of which are lost, but most of the vessel survives so that the entire profile is preserved. Classified by S. Roberts as one of the "Various Tall Singletons" from 430-420 B.C.,[6] it has a concave cylindrical wall which flairs out at the keel and a tripartite foot; the contour of

*I would like to thank Professor Christoph Clairmont for vetting an earlier draft of this article and Drs. W. Oberleitner (Vienna), A. Eitan (Jerusalem), and U. Gehrig (Berlin) for permission to publish vases in collections under their care. Many of the conclusions of this article are based on the results of my dissertation, *The Phiale Painter,* Rutgers University, January, 1980. The Vienna pyxis, however, is a post-dissertation addition to the oeuvre of the Phiale Painter and will not be included in it.

[1] K. Masner, *Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im K.K. Oesterreich Museum,* Vienna, 1892, 59-60, no. 381; F. Eichler, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum,* Austria I, Vienna I, Vienna, 1951, 40, pls. 48, 7-8 and 49, 1-3; L. Curtius, "Pentheus," *Winckelmannsprogram der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin,* LXXXVIII, 1925, 5, figs. 9-11; Roberts, 116.

[2] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 97.371 (Beazley, ARV, 1023,146 and Beazley, Para., 441, 146); for the Phiale Painter see: Beazley, ARV, 1014-1026 and 1678; Beazley, Para., 440-441 and 516; D. Kurtz, *Athenian White Lekythoi,* Oxford, 1975, 48-50; M. Schmidt, "Die Entdeckung des Erichthonius," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung,* LXXXIII, 1968, 200ff.; G.M. Richter and L.F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* New Haven, 1936, 122-123; P.E. Arias, M. Hirmer, and B.B. Shefton, *A Thousand Years of Greek Vase Painting,* London, 1962, 364-365, 367, and 374; A. Peredolski, "Red-figured Vases Recently Acquired by the Hermitage Museum," *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* XLVIII, 1928, 16; S. Karouzou, "Chous," *American Journal of Archaeology,* L, 1946, 126ff.; M. Robertson, "A Muffled Dancer and Others," *Studies in Honor of A.D. Trendall,* Sydney, 1979, 129ff.

[3] C. Isler-Kerényi, "Chronologie und «Synchronologie» attischer Vasenmaler der Parthenonzeit," *Zur griechischen Kunst, Antike Kunst,* Beiheft 9, 1973, 24-5.

[4] Munich 2797 (Beazley, ARV, 1022,138 and 1678; Beazley, Para., 441); Munich 2798 (Beazley, ARV, 1022,139); Vatican 16586 (Beazley, ARV, 1017,54 and 1678; Beazley, Para., 440).

[5] Athens 1587 (Beazley, ARV, 1023,143; Roberts, pl. 77,1) and Athens 1588 (Beazley, ARV, 1023,144; Roberts, pl. 77,2).

[6] Roberts, 116.

the outer edge of the lid matches and balances that of the flaring keel when in place and a fancy ring handle is attached to its top by an "hourglass formation"; a running palmette scroll and debased tongue pattern decorate the top of the lid.

The profiles of the two other pyxides by the Phiale Painter are similar to each other and to a pyxis by the Euaion Painter.[7] These three compose Roberts' "Dish-foot Pyxides,"[8] a group connected with the Class of Berlin 3308[9] which was dominated by the followers of Douris, one of whom was the Euaion Painter. Both of these pyxides by the Phiale Painter seem to be the result of contact with the Euaion Painter. The new pyxis, which is distinct in shape from the other two, suggests that, in regard to pyxides, the Phiale Painter had contact with more than one potter and workshop. A similar pattern has been noted in another of the less common shapes in the painter's oeuvre, the stamnos, where contacts with different traditions and workshops have been observed.[10]

A scene with seven women decorates the body of our vase. A door with Doric timberwork, the right side of which is open so that the end of a *kline* with stacked pillows on top of it is visible,[11] interrupts the continuous frieze of women. To the right of this door and continuing around the vase from right to left are the following figures: 1) woman in chiton and mantle who sits on a *klismos* in profile to the right; she holds a thread between her outstretched hands 2) woman who stands frontally wearing a peplos, her hair tied up in back in a piece of cloth; she looks left holding an alabastron by its holder in her right hand and a closed chest in her left 3) woman clothed in chiton and mantle, her hair tied in a bun in back held in place by a hair band; she sits frontally and looks down to the right at a thread held between her hands; a *kalathos* (wool basket) stands on the ground to the left[12] 4) woman in chiton, mantle, and *sakkos* stands in profile to the left; she raises her right leg slightly bending over to look into the chest held in her left hand while opening its lid with her right 5) woman in a three-quarter view wearing a chiton and mantle walks to the left; she looks back and holds a three-footed cylindrical basket in her right hand and a portable loom in her left[13] 6) woman in chiton, mantle, and *sakkos* sits on a

[7] Chicago 92.125 (Beazley, ARV, 798,147; Roberts, pl. 77,3).

[8] Roberts, 129-131.

[9] Roberts, 95-103.

[10] There are four stamnoi known by the Phiale Painter. One stamnos recently on the market (*Art of the Ancients: Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans,* Exhibition, André Emmerich Gallery Inc., New York, 1968, 30-31) belongs to the Class of the Chicago Painter (B. Philippaki, *The Attic Stamnos,* Oxford, 1967, 110ff.), while another (Palermo 2183-Beazley, ARV 1019,84) though related, is somewhat removed from the mainstream of this class (Philippaki, *Stamnos,* 118); both have disc feet. The two other stamnoi by the Phiale Painter (Warsaw 142465-Beazley, ARV 1019,82 and Beazley, Para., 441 and Naples, ex. Spinelli-Beazley, ARV 1019,83) have a double-curved foot, but are types separate from those used by the Villa Giulia Painter and Polygnotos, the two principal painters using this foot on their stamnoi (Philipakki, *Stamnos,* 119ff., see especially 137 and 140).

[11] Doors are often part of the iconographical setting for women scenes on pyxides; see Roberts, 181 and 189, n. 41 where she lists 24 examples to which we can add the Vienna pyxis; for a pyxis with a similar open door and *kline* see Louvre CA 587 (Beazley, ARV 1094,104 and 1682 and Beazley, Para., 449).

[12] The object which she sits on is hidden from our view. It is probably a *diphros* or stool without a back, though the possibility remains that she might be sitting on the *kalathos* itself. Interestingly, the painter has made a mistake for he has inadvertently continued the lines used for rendering the seated woman's chiton onto the bottom of the *kalathos* (Fig. 3).

[13] A similar portable loom is depicted on another pyxis, Louvre CA 587 (Beazley, ARV, 1094,104 and 1682; Beazley, Para., 449); see also A. Neuburger, *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients,* New York, 1930, 175, fig. 235.

2. Detail of Figure 1

3. Detail of Figure 1

4. Detail of Figure 1

5. Red-figure oinochoe, *kottabos*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen-Antikenabteilung 2416 (Photo: Berlin, Staatliche Museen-Antikenabteilung)

klismos in profile to the left; her left leg crosses the right; her left elbow rests on her knee while her left hand supports her chin as she gazes into the mirror held in her right hand 7) woman wearing a chiton with a long overfold, the end of her ponytail in a cloth holder; she stands in profile to the left, her mantle folded behind her on a piece of furniture. Hanging on the wall in the background are from left to right: a money pouch, an unidentifiable object (perhaps *krotala* in profile?), sash, pair of *krotala* (castanets), alabastron with holder, and a sash decorated with groups of dots. The entire scene is bordered on the top by a reserve line and on the bottom by two ornamental bands; the upper consists of groups of three stopt meanders alternating with checkerboard squares and is the same as that which decorates the outside of the lid; the lower is a dotted egg with double-border pattern. Both are unique in the Phiale Painter's wide variety of ornamental motifs.[14]

The drawing of the figures on this vase clearly compels us to place it in the Phiale Painter's oeuvre. The characteristics which best generalize the style of the painter are the sketchy character of his figures and the quick fluid lines of his drawing. Beazley long ago noted the "winsomeness and vivacity" of his figures which stand as an anomaly in his time, for the figures of most contemporary painters reflect the serenity and quiet dignity of the Parthenon sculptures.[15] The movement

[14] Groups of stopt meanders alternating with checkerboard squares are used by the Phiale Painter on three vases, but in one case there are dots in the reserve squares (Athens 1169-Beazley, ARV, 1020,91) while on the other two (London E 81-Beazley, ARV, 1024,150 and 1678 and London E 185-Beazley, ARV 1019,86) the reserve and black squares are in the reverse order from those on our vase. The egg pattern is a popular motif of the painter, but it does not occur elsewhere with a double border.

[15] J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums*, Cambridge, 1918, 167.

6. Red-figure lekythos, women. Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum V 1762 (Photo: Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums)

and animated gestures of the Phiale Painter's figures often contrast sharply with this ideal.

All of these characteristics apply to the figures on our pyxis. Note, for example, the way the painter renders the folds of the chiton by a series of sketchy near-parallel lines and the different positions and gestures of each of the figures. A few are closely paralleled by those on other vases by the painter. We may compare the frontally seated woman (no. 3, Fig. 3) with the *kottabos* player on an oinochoe in Berlin (Fig. 5).[16] The proportions of the figures are the same and the rendition of the drapery is similar; observe that the folds of the mantle draped across the knee are almost identical. Also, the two figures to the right of the door, a seated woman (no. 1, Fig. 2) and a woman who stands frontally (no. 2, Fig. 2), are figure types often found in the painter's works, though the positioning of the hands, the clothes worn, and the objects held differ from vase to vase. Compare the seated woman with the one on a lekythos in Jerusalem (Fig. 6)[17] and the frontally standing woman with another on a Nolan amphora in Cambridge.[18] Comparison of the anatomical features, and objects depicted with similar gestures and objects on other vases by the painter, leave no doubt that the Vienna pyxis is from his hand.[19]

[16] Berlin 2416 (Beazley, ARV, 1020,99 and 1678).

[17] Jerusalem, Rockefeller Museum, V 1762 (Beazley, ARV, 1022,125); or compare the seated woman on Athens 1588 (Beazley, ARV, 1023,144; Roberts, pl. 77,2).

[18] Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, Gr 52-1865 (Beazley, ARV, 1014,7); or compare the women on Palermo 33 (Beazley, ARV, 1022,128) and Paris, Cabinet des Médailles, H 3390 (Beazley, ARV, 1020,97).

[19] Compare especially the heads and faces of the figures with those on the vases listed in notes 15 and 16; for objects, compare the chest held by no. 4 with one on Palermo 36 (Beazley, ARV 1022,127), the basket held by no. 5 with one on Athens 1598 (Beazley, ARV, 1021,123), the *klismos* with one on Erlangen 303 (Beazley, ARV, 1016,39), and the *krotala* hanging on the wall with those on Bochum S 511 (Beazley, Para., 441,123/5; N. Kunisch, *Antiken der Sammlung Julius C. und Margot Funcke,* Bochum, 1972, 116-117, no. 96).

7. Red-figure calyx krater, satyrs and maenads, from Chiusi, now lost (from N. Des Vergers, *L'Etrurie et les Etrusques*, Paris, 1862-4, pl. 16)

The vase, one of the very late pieces by the Phiale Painter, dates to 430-425 B.C. The impending "Rich Style" is reflected in his vases of this period by a radical increase in the complexity of the drapery on his figures. In addition, the painter changed some of his old habits, one of which was to use dilute glaze zigzag lines for the edges of the drapery. On his late works he often darkened these lines, sometimes by adding a relief line on top of them; at other times he added a thick black line running parallel to them. The latter system is clearly visible on the mantle of the woman seated by the door (no. 1, Fig. 2), while the darkened zigzag lines are visible on most of his other figures. Note particularly the edge of the mantle of the woman who looks into her chest (no. 4, Fig. 3).

The composition of the figures on our vase, however, offers the most interesting sidelight of this new attribution, for it reflects an aspect of the painter's personality which has been overlooked, namely, the creativity he consistently showed in the compositions of his many-figured scenes. Though we have noted a few figures on the Vienna pyxis which find parallels in the painter's oeuvre, others are unique and occur only on this vase: the woman who sits on a *klismos* gazing at herself in a mirror, legs crossed, and left elbow resting on her right knee while her left hand supports her chin (no. 6, Fig. 4); or the woman who stands in profile to the left holding a chest while she bends over to look at its contents (no. 4, Fig. 3). In addition, every figure on our pyxis is in a completely different stance, so that the

8. Red-figure calyx krater, satyrs and maenads, from Chiusi, now lost (from N. Des Vergers, *L'Etrurie et les Etrusques*, Paris, 1862-4, pl. 16)

poses, gestures, and motions of each in relation to the next allow the eye to glide smoothly over the entire frieze. One accustomed to some of the static types which occur on vases by other vase painters will surely be charmed by the individuality of many of the figures on this vase. This is the "winsomeness and vivacity" of which Beazley spoke and one certainly feels as if he is in the midst of the hustle and bustle of the lives of Athenian women.

On other vases with many-figured scenes, including the phiale with a scene from a school of music from which the painter takes his name,[20] the Phiale Painter in many cases depicted rare subject matter, always in original compositions. Briefly we may note the *hypogenes* or dancers who imitate old men with sticks on a double register calyx krater in Florence,[21] the muffled dancers on another double register calyx krater in the Vatican,[22] or the two Circe scenes on a third double register calyx krater in Bologna.[23] On others where the subject matter is more commonplace, as the women on his pyxides and the Dionysiac scenes on some of his double register calyx kraters, the figures are still highly varied and take on unique active poses within completely original compositions. On a double register calyx krater from Chiusi,[24] now lost (Figs. 7-8), we can observe the various poses of the satyrs in both the lower and upper friezes: one jumps in the air, a kantharos in his

[20] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 97.371 (Beazley, ARV, 1023,146 and Beazley, Para., 441).

[21] Florence, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, R 72/9258 (Beazley, ARV, 1018,65; Beazley, Para., 440; F. Brommer, "Antike Stelzentänze: Gypones und Hypogenes," *Antike Kunst*, XI, 1968, 50-52.

[22] Vatican, ex. Astarita 42 (Beazley, ARV, 1018,68).

[23] Bologna 298 (Beazley, ARV, 1018,62).

[24] From Chiusi, now lost (Beazley, ARV, 1018,67).

right hand, his left bent across his chest; another runs to the right holding a kantharos in his hands in front; others are balanced in mid-air, probably performing a dance. As always the painter's creativity has been aroused by the various possibilities of composition presented by a vase requiring many figures for decoration.

The reason that this aspect of the painter's personality has been overlooked is because relatively few of his vases have many-figured scenes: three pyxides, eight double register calyx kraters, one loutrophoros, one phiale, and two cups.[25] By comparison there are a large number of Nolan amphorae (43) and lekythoi (52)[26] which employ very few figures, sometimes repeating the same themes over and over again: pursuit, arming, and departure scenes occur on a number of these vases.[27] As Nolan amphorae and lekythoi were the painter's favorite shapes, they have always been used as the basis for discussion of his work. The addition of the Vienna pyxis to the Phiale Painter's oeuvre, however, clarifies our understanding of him and has offered the opportunity to compare the vases he decorated with many-figured scenes, revealing an overlooked but most entertaining aspect of his personality.

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[25] Pyxides: Beazley, ARV, 1023,143-144 and Vienna 3719 (Figs. 1-4); double register calyx kraters: Beazley, ARV, 1018, 62-69; phiale: Beazley, ARV, 1023,146; cups: Beazley, ARV, 1023,149-150; loutrophoros: Beazley, ARV, 1017,44; there are other cups and loutrophoroi by the Phiale Painter, but they are very fragmentary and do not preserve much of the scene which decorated them.

[26] Nolan amphorae: Beazley, ARV, 1014,1-41bis and Beazley, Para., 440, 2bis; lekythoi: Beazley, ARV, 1020,100-141 and 1678, 110bis and 124bis; Beazley, Para. 441,117bis-123bis-123ter-123quater-123/5; Basle Market, *Antike Vasen: Sonderliste R*, Dec. 1977, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., 23, pl. 62; Basle Market, Münzen und Medaillen A.G., Apollo and Muse (unpublished); Basle, Antikenmuseum, BS 404, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung*, LXXXIII, 1968, pls. 73-74.

[27] Arming scenes: Beazley, ARV, 1016, 29-31; 1019, 78; 1021, 114-117; departure scenes: Beazley, ARV, 1015, 27-28; 1016,43; 1018,59; 1021,111-113; 1022,136-137; Beazley, Para., 441, 117bis; Theseus? pursuing a woman: Beazley, ARV, 1015, 11-14; 1021,104; other youths and gods pursue women on other vases by the painter.

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Artemesia Gentileschi's Uffizi *Judith* and a Lost Rubens

FRIMA FOX HOFRICHTER

Artemesia Gentileschi's *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (Fig. 1), c. 1615, now at the Uffizi Gallery, is perhaps her most famous work, although only one of the many paintings of Judith which Artemesia executed.[1] It is a magnificent life-size portrayal of the slaughter of the Assyrian general, Holofernes, by the Jewish widow, Judith, as recounted in the Old Testament (Apocrypha) Book of Judith.[2] Holofernes is seen writhing in his bed as he is held down by Judith's maid and as Judith herself grabs his hair, holds down his head, and saws through his neck with his own sword. Blood splatters, spurts, and runs down the bed linens. It is a gory and horrific scene, and a wondrous Baroque acccomplishment. Artemesia's painting differs from many other examples of this theme, not only in its lurid quality but in actually showing the decapitation itself.[3] Even among the few equally explicit examples, her painting is so extraordinary in its fervor and bloodiness that it has often been related to Artemesia's own personal life—and seen as a pictorial equivalent of revenge for her rape by her teacher, Agostino Tassi.[4] Such speculation is not discounted out of hand, but a more basic art historical relationship will be suggested here.

The Uffizi *Judith*, in fact, is closely related to a lost work by Peter Paul Rubens —today known only through an engraving (Fig. 2) by Cornelius Galle I (1576-1650). A comparison of the painting with the engraving suggests that Artemesia may have known Rubens and his work, and that she was directly influenced by the Flemish artist. That Artemesia, a follower of Caravaggio, may have so fully admired Rubens' work is not only intriguing, but is a new, important consideration for an historical analysis of the period. Furthermore, the relationship of Artemesia's painting to the lost Rubens better explains her painting's style, its gris-

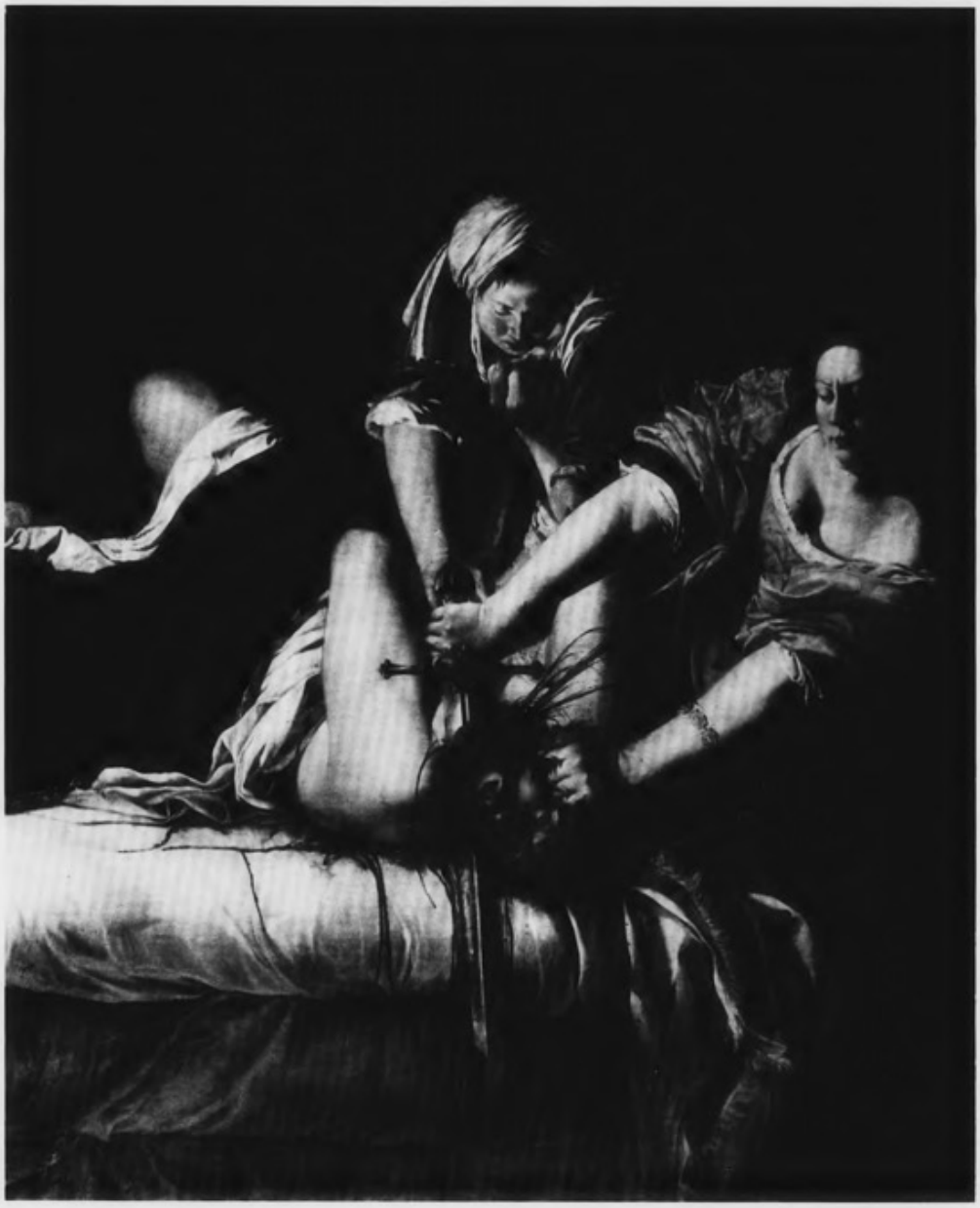
[1] R.W. Bissell, "Artemesia Gentileschi—A New Documented Chronology," *Art Bulletin,* L, 1968, 153-168. Bissell notes five additional paintings of this theme: in Detroit, Institute of Art; Florence, Pitti Palace; a copy of that work in Genoa, Palazzo Rosso; and two compositions in Naples, Capodimonte: a copy of the Uffizi *Judith* and a version of the Detroit work. Bissell dates the Uffizi *Judith* to 1613/1614-1620, on evidence which suggests its execution in Florence: its provenance and the Florentine association with the name "Lomi" used in the signature "EGO ARTEMITA/LOMI FEC." For other information on Artemesia, see R. Longhi, "Gentileschi padre e figlia," *L'Arte,* XIX, 1916, 245-314; R. Longhi, *Scritti giovenili: 1912-1922,* Florence, 1961, I, 219-283; and A. Moir, *The Italian Followers of Caravaggio,* Cambridge, Mass., 1967.

[2] *The Apocrypha,* trans. Edgar J. Goodspeed, Chicago, 1938, 157. Judith, 13:6-9:

> And she went up to the rail of the bed, which was at Holofernes' head and took down from it his scimitar, and she went close to the bed, and grasped the hair of his head, and said, "Give me strength, Lord, God of Israel, today!" And she smote twice upon his neck with all her might and took away his head.

[3] A. Pigler, *Barockthemen,* Budapest, 1974, I, 191-197. Pigler lists 187 works illustrating Judith and Holofernes in three groups: those that show the decaptiation, those that show Judith with the head, and those that show Judith with her maidservant taking the head. Only twenty-eight examples actually show the decapitation.

[4] For an account of the rape and related court records, see Bissell, *Art Bulletin,* 1968, 153, and R. and M. Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn,* New York, 1969, 162-164. The relationship of the rape to the Uffizi *Judith* is suggested by Bissell, 156, who noted that the "grizzly rendition makes one wonder whether consciously or unconsciously, Artemesia did not cast Agostino Tassi in the role of the unfortunate Holofernes."



1. Artemesia Gentileschi, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, Florence, Uffizi Gallery. (Photo: Alinari)

2. Cornelius Galle I, *Judith Beheading Holofernes,* known as *The Great Judith,* after a lost work by Peter Paul Rubens, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951. (Photo: The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

ly nature, and iconography.

The Galle engraving, known as *The Great Judith* (Hollstein VII, 49:31), is itself historically significant for Rubens. It is, in fact, the first engraving to have been made after a painting by Rubens—a practice suggested to him by his friend, Jan van der Wovere, as Rubens noted in his dedication of this print to him:[5]

> Peter Paul Rubens, remembering a promise made once in Verona, dedicates to the noble man and best friend John Woverius this auspicious and first print after one of his works.

As the first, the engraving probably dates from c. 1610,[6] and the original painting must predate the engraving. This dating may be confirmed by the compositional similarity of the engraving to Rubens' *Prometheus Bound,* Philadelphia Museum of Art, c. 1610/1611, in which the unfortunate Prometheus also lies diagonally in the picture plane in a position similar to the victim in the engraving.

The visual ties between the Galle engraving and the Artemesia painting are manifold—in activity, in composition and in their ability to shock. Their similarities are close enough to be more than coincidental and it is likely that Artemesia's painting was influenced by the earlier work. In a formal comparison, it should be noted that the composition and placement of figures in Artemesia's painting are nearly the reverse of the Galle engraving. This suggests that she knew the original painting, or a copy, [7] rather than, or in addition to, the probably more widely available print. With this reversal in mind, the position of Holofernes—on his back, one knee bent, and one hand clenched into a fist—is similar in both, as is the general composition and the vertical format of the work. In both Artemesia's work and the engraving, Judith stands to the side and cuts through Holofernes' neck while the maidservant stands directly over the body. Each heroine is shown as a physically powerful woman, muscular, heavyset, with thick arms, neck, and upper torso. The flow of blood as the neck of Holofernes is severed does not just run down the bed sheets but in both it spurts back at Judith, staining her dress and chest in the painting and drenching her arm in the engraving.

Artemesia's painting has been noted for the startling realism of the spurting blood of the anguished Holofernes; interestingly, Rubens was likewise reprimanded in his lifetime for similar work. Several documents of 1620/1621 refer to his

[5] L. de Pauw-de Veen, "Rubens and the Graphic Arts," *Connoisseur,* CXCV, 1977, 243. On the engraving:
Clarisso et amicissimo viro D. IOANNI
WOVERIO paginam hanc auspicalem
primumque suorum operum typis aeneis expressum
PETRVS PAVLLVS RVBENIVS promissi iam
olim Veronae a se facti memor DAT DICAT.

[6] Willim Swanenburg's engraving of Rubens' *Supper at Emmaus* was made in 1611; therefore, the Galle engraving must have been made earlier. Also, the address of C. Collaert (a shop in Antwerp) is inscribed on the second state of the print and therefore printed after Galle returned to the work in 1610.

[7] A copy of the Rubens is mentioned as being in Nice, in the collection of Madame Frune, but it is now lost. M. Rooses, *L'Oeuvre de P.P. Rubens,* Antwerp, 1886, I, #125, 154ff. A. von Wurzbach, *Niederlandisches Kunstler-Lexikon,* Vienna, 1910, I, 565, mentions a copy by Gerard Douffet (1594-1650). F.W.H. Hollstein, *Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700,* Amsterdam, 1949, VII, 49:31, mentions a copy in Brunswick, but this is incorrect. The painting there, in the Herzog Museum, is of the same subject but of another composition entirely and is dated c. 1632.

Judith and Holofernes, from which the Galle engraving was made. It was mentioned in letters concerning the rejection of Rubens' *Lion Hunt* (a shop work which he retouched), which he sent to Lord Danvers for presentation to the Prince of Wales (later Charles I).[8] This *Lion Hunt* was rejected because it was not by Rubens' own hand, and also because it was too violent. Lord Danvers wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton that he was returning the work and wanted "tamer beasts better made."[9] Rubens, for his part, agreed to "paint another hunt less terrible than that of the lions."[10] In the course of this correspondence, the *Judith,* also in the possession of Lord Danvers by this time, was referred to several times in somewhat disparaging terms, suggesting that it, too, may have met with similar accusations concerning its gruesomeness.[11] To a degree, we can understand the rationale for this complaint even in the engraving—in the very diligent activity of Judith and the spilling and gushing blood. In the original painting, with its full color, such a scene must have been even more brutal. And these, of course, are precisely the aspects adopted by Artemesia. Artemesia took not only the actions from the Rubens, but the terror of the activity as well.

Artemesia and Rubens may have even possibly known each other. Rubens was in Italy from 1600 through 1608 and had several commissions in Rome while Artemesia was there. His work was affected by his study of his own contemporary, Caravaggio, of whom Artemesia was a follower. Both Rubens and Artemesia produced tenebristic works, such as Artemesia's *Judith*, here, or Rubens' *Raising of the Cross,* in the Cathedral of Antwerp, which testify to the impact of the Italian Baroque master. In their *Judith*s, however, Rubens and Artemesia clearly have more in common with each other than with Caravaggio's own *Judith Beheading Holofernes,* now in the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica in Rome. Neither Rubens nor Artemesia chose to depict their heroines as the young, fragile girl of Carvaggio's work but rather as a mature, robust woman. In most works in their respective oeuvres, in fact, Artemesia and Rubens depict women of similar physical types. If Rubens' works did not suggest this to Artemesia, then at least they may have reinforced her own inclination to paint physically dominant women.

Rubens' personal association with Caravaggio is unknown, as is his relationship with Caravaggio's other Italian followers. However, Michael Jaffé has recently suggested that Rubens "may have had some contact with Orazio Gentileschi,"[12] Artemesia's father. Artemesia certainly may have known Rubens through Orazio.

[8] Three letters concern us: one written from Thomas Lock to Sir Dudley Carleton, March 18, 1620/1621; one written from Lord Danvers to Sir Dudley Carleton, May 27, 1621; and one from Peter Paul Rubens to William Trumbell, September 13, 1621. The text of the Rubens letter and most of the Danvers letter is recorded in R.S. Magurn, *The Letters of Peter Paul Rubens,* Cambridge, Mass., 1955, #46 and its notes. The letters from Lock and Danvers to Carleton are recorded in W.N. Sainsbury, *Original Unpublished Papers Illustrative of the Life of Sir Peter Paul Rubens as an Artist and a Diplomat,* London, 1859, 57, 58.

[9] Sainsbury, *Unpublished Papers,* 58.

[10] Magurn, *Letters,* #46 (September 13, 1621).

[11] For example, Lock told Carleton that the Prince had only a "Judith and Holofernes w^{ch} Reuben disavoweth." Sainsbury, *Unpublished Papers,* 57 (March 18, 1620/1621). Also, Danvers wrote Carleton that "we have yet only Judeth and Holofernes, of littell credite to his great skill." Sainsbury, *Unpublished Papers,* 58 (May 27, 1621). And, in Rubens' letter to Trumbell, he promised that, in his next work, he would "do everything in my power to make it superior in design to that of the Holofernes which I painted in my youth." Magurn, *Letters,* #46 (September 13, 1621).

[12] M. Jaffé, *Rubens and Italy,* Oxford, 1977, 58.

Of course, during the time Rubens was in Rome, Artemesia was still quite young and may have only just begun painting;[13] it is likely, however, that even if she did know Rubens, she kept up an interest in him and his production after his departure.

The suggestion that Artemesia knew and was influenced by Rubens may be interesting for itself but also for its surprising implications. The impact of Caravaggio on Rubens and on other Northern artists has certainly been well investigated and is now often assumed.[14] That Rubens may have had an impact on Caravaggio or any of his Italian followers, however, has not, to my knowledge, been studied or suggested. Thus, the comparison of Artemesia's *Judith* to Rubens' work opens up new possibilities for investigation for her work as well as, perhaps, for other Italian Baroque artists.

In her *Judith*, we can see Artemesia's understanding and adaption of Rubens' painting, together with revisions to meet a Caravaggesque standard—removing the putti overhead and the architectural detail of the bed and the tent, and bringing the action forward—achieving a more focused drama. Artemesia's work is no mere copy of the Rubens; it is totally her own and yet it cannot have existed without the Rubens. Indeed, without recognizing its relationship to the Rubens, it has seemed simply a perversity of Artemesia's imagination. In this context, however, we can understand the development of the style and even the grisly form and iconography from Rubens' own work.

The iconography of Artemesia's *Judith* can be developed from understanding and unifying the historical, allegorical, and personal levels of meaning in the painting. On the historical level, the painting, of course, shows Judith decapitating Holofernes. On an allegorical level the subject may well refer to the triumph of Virtue over Vice.[15] This allegorical explanation may account for the many examples of self-portraiture found in this subject. Artists may depict themselves as either Judith or Holofernes (as their sex determines) to indicate—even at the cost of playing the victim—the artist's participation in the triumph of Virtue.[16] In this regard, even Artemesia's figurative decapitation of Agostino Tassi can be taken more seriously, especially as has been noted, since the visage of Judith is not unlike Artemesia's own (as seen, for instance, in her *Self-Portrait* at Hampton Court).[17] Thus, the historical Judith and Holofernes, allegorical Virtue and Vice, and personal Artemesia and Agostino, can be individually distinguished and at the same time unified in her painting.

[13] We know by testimony at her trial that she was painting in 1611. Bissell, *Art Bulletin*, 1968, 154-155. Her early works are not known, however. As she was born in 1593, she might very well have been painting or taking lessons during Rubens' sojourn in Italy.

[14] See R.E. Spear, *Caravaggio and his Followers*, Cleveland, 1971. Also, A. von Schneider, *Caravaggio und die Niederlander*, Marburg-Lahn, 1933.

[15] E. Wind, "Donatello's *Judith*: A Symbol of 'Sanctimonia'," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, I, 1937-1938, 62-63. Also, see H. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, II, 203.

[16] J. Shearman, "Cristofano Allori's 'Judith'," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXI, 1979, 9.

[17] Shearman, *Burlington Magazine*, 1979, 9 (n. 41), notes the similarity of Artemesia's *Self-Portrait* in Hampton Court to "Artemesia's savage picture in Naples." There are, however, two Judiths by Artemesia in Naples, one a copy of the Uffizi painting and the other a version of one in Detroit. Bissell, *Art Bulletin*, 1968, Figs. 6, 24. The Detroit version is closer to her *Self-Portrait*, but they all bear some resemblance.

This unification is more clear with the aid of the inscription on the Galle engraving after the Rubens:[18]

> Surrender Roman leader, surrender Greeks: A woman has stopped
> your glories
> Your great victory was brought forth by manly strength,
> And a good part of the praise fell on the soldiers,
> The foreign commander fell to a single right hand
> The destruction of the country driven away by the hand of a woman.

In the triumph of Judith all women triumph and are praised: Judith, Artemesia, and Virtue herself, each triumph with the stroke of that single hand. The triumph of woman as described in the Galle inscription unites all three levels of meaning. Perhaps even the "manly strength" referred to in the engraving explains, on another level, the muscular hand of the forceful Judith. One can, in reading the inscription, better understand Artemesia's turning to Rubens for inspiration: perhaps her work even pays tribute to his for his strong praise of woman.

Artemesia's painting, then, is no idiosyncratic work. Her *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, clarified by the tenebrism of Caravaggio, was inspired by Rubens. By realizing Artemesia Gentileschi's discerning adaptation of *The Great Judith*, we can now appreciate the unification of heretofore divergent styles. In its new historical context, then, Judith's triumph literally becomes Artemesia's.

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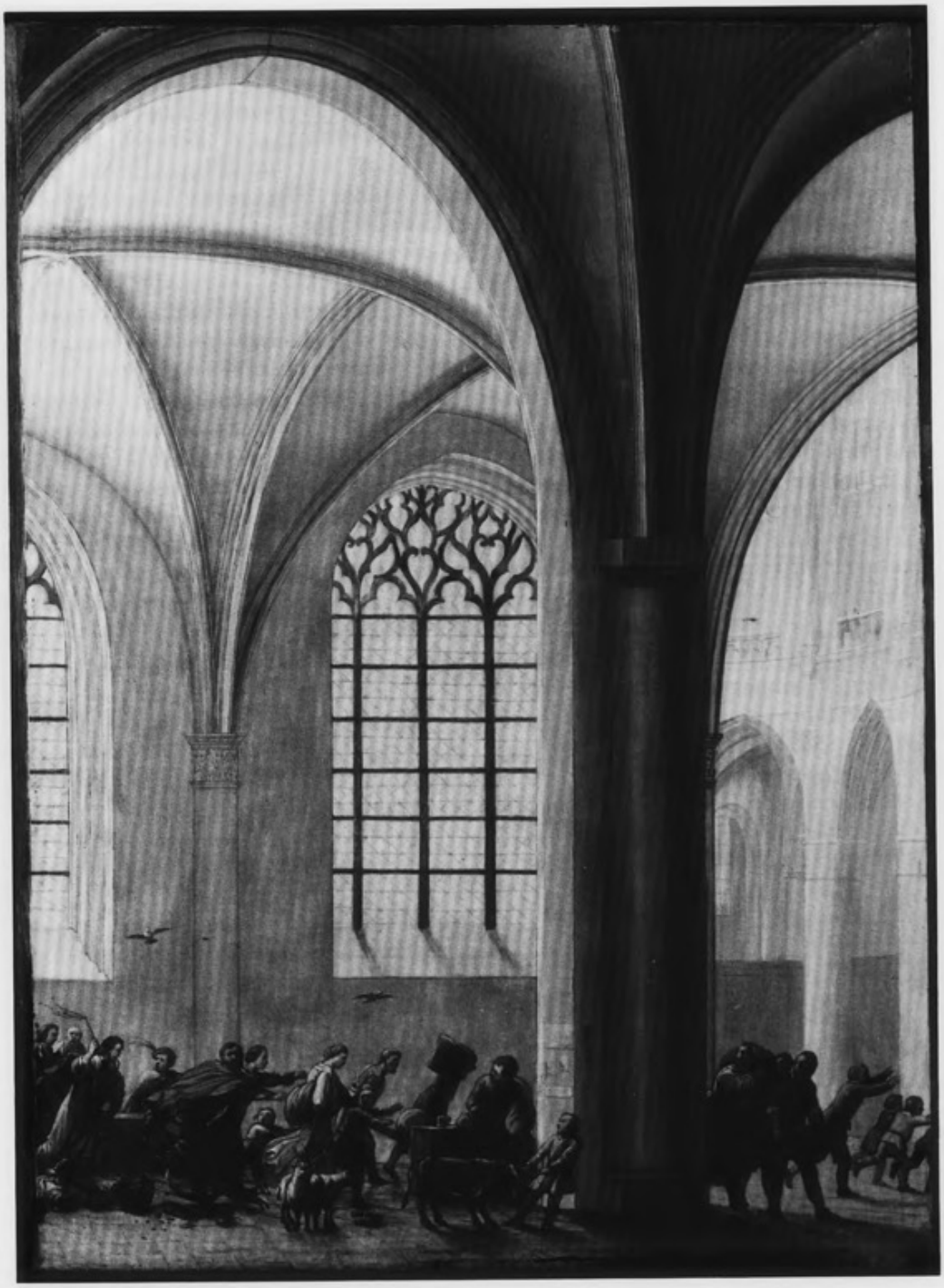
[18] On the engraving:

> Cedite Romani ductores, Cedite Graij:
> Obstruxit vestris femina luminibus.
> Vestra fuit magna victoria parta virum vi,
> Et cessit laudis pars bona militibus;
> Barbarus vnius dextra cadit Induperator,
> Defendit patriae perniciem vna manus.

I would like to thank John Beldon Scott for his English translation of this inscription.



1. Saenredam, *Brewer's Chapel with Expulsion from Temple,* 1636, Copenhagen, Statens Museum for Kunst (Photo: Kobenhaven, Statens Museum for Kunst)

The Romanization of the Gothic Arch in Some Paintings by Pieter Saenredam: Catholic and Protestant Implications*

E. JANE CONNELL

Art historians consistently refer to Pieter Saenredam as the first realist in Dutch architectural painting, for Saenredam's oeuvre is dominated by portrayals of Dutch Gothic churches based upon accurate sketches drawn from life. Most existing structural elements that Saenredam includes in his preliminary sketch of an interior are retained in both the construction drawing and the finished painting associated with it, no matter how many years intervene between the drawing and the final work.[1] It is, however, the modification of actual architectural features found in some of Saenredam's paintings, as well as the purpose behind the inclusion of figures in certain interiors, that should also be considered.[2]

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Only those illustrations of Saenredam's work most essential to the text are presented here. All other examples of drawings and paintings will be documented with reference to the illustrated exhibition catalogue: Utrecht, Centraal Museum, *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of Pieter Jansz. Saenredam,* 1961, by stating first the catalogue number and then the figure number that corresponds with the catalogue entry (for example: Utrecht cat. no. 28, fig. 29).

[1] It is important to note that extreme structural liberties are not common to Saenredam's work as a whole, nor do such liberties really interfere with one's identification of these interiors as views from specific churches. They do, however, sometimes occur. A dramatic example of structural changes which Saenredam introduces between the sketch and the final painting of an interior may be seen in his nave view of St. Peter's Minster, Utrecht. Between the drawing of 1636 and the painting of 1654, Saenredam has purified the interior view by deleting several architectural elements. A wall which separates the nave and the right aisle from the transept has been removed. A tie beam which stretches across the width of the nave above this wall has been deleted. Other tie beams, which are located at the springing of the barrel vaults of the nave and side aisles, have also been removed, as well as the beams running the length of the nave arcade (Utrecht cat. nos. 171 and 172, figs. 172 and 173). Even in his preliminary sketches, Saenredam may delete vital structural elements. In his drawing (1636?) of St. Catherine's Church, Utrecht, through the transept to the north, Saenredam has retained a view of two tripartite windows by eliminating the southeastern crossing column (Utrecht cat. no. 133, fig. 134). Judging by the distance between the dates of these three examples, one can see that the expressive artistic liberties which Saenredam exhibits are carried throughout his oeuvre.

[2] Whether the figures included in Saenredam's paintings are executed by the artist himself or by other painters is often not clear. Nor are scholars always able to determine whether the figures were at least perceived by Saenredam as integral parts of his original conception or if they were added at a later date. Some of the staffage in Saenredam's works has been attributed to Pieter Post, while other figures have been attributed directly to Saenredam (See S.J. Gudlaugsson, "Aanvulligen omtrent Pieter Post's werkzaamheid als schilder," *Oud Holland,* LXIX, 1954, 59-71, and Gary Schwartz, "Saenredam, Huygens, and the Utrecht Bull," *Simiolus,* II, 1967/68, 78ff, n.20). It is now accepted that the figures play an iconographical role in Saenredam's paintings, rather than being merely space indicators. Thus, it seems that Saenredam himself must have at least sanctioned the placement and purpose of these figures, whether or not he painted them. (Schwartz argues, for instance, toward a definite collaboration between Saenredam and Post in the 1641 view of the St. Mary's Church, Utrecht, for which Huygens probably commissioned and also planned the iconographical program. See Schwartz, 81, n.20). This collaboration between Saenredam and his patron, or between Saenredam, a figure painter, and a patron may also apply to the paintings under discussion here. For Saenredam definitely calculates the interaction of the interior space, the actions of the figures, and the involvement of the spectator.

In particular, several interiors executed between 1628 and 1655 are distinguished by Saenredam's rounding of the pointed, Gothic arch, and often both rounded and pointed arches are incorporated in the same scene. Saenredam may modify not only the structural fidelity, but sometimes the religious identification of certain interiors. An interior view of an actual Dutch Reformed church may manifest Catholic associations by Saenredam's addition of particular ecclesiastical furnishings to the scene, and by the specific actions of figures in relation to this setting. For example, the Protestant identity of the *Interior of St. Odulphus' Church, Assendelft* (Fig. 12) is confirmed by figures gathered for a sermon, the main feature of the Calvinist liturgy. However, Saenredam's *Interior of St. Lawrence's Church, Alkmaar* and the *Interior of St. Anthony's Chapel, St. John's Church, Utrecht* (Figs. 6 and 8) incorporate figures who worship in the Catholic tradition, kneeling before a crucifix.[3] The alteration of structural and sometimes denominational fact in these and other paintings may be seen as calculated choices on Saenredam's part. His architectural and spiritual hybrids, uniting Roman and Gothic elements and exploring Catholic and Protestant traditions, may indicate Saenredam's contemplation of different religious points of view. Thus, beyond stylistic considerations, Saenredam apparently intends to modify the specific identity of certain church interiors in order to create more purified and idealized spaces which may accommodate his own philosophy of Christian faith.

It may be suggested that Saenredam's modification and purification of these architectural views, through the application of classical architectural style and perspective order to his sketches drawn from life, are a visual comment upon Saenredam's personal hope for the purification and reform of Christian faith in general. Through the romanization of the Gothic arch, Saenredam may also wish to associate some of these interiors with the architecture of Early Christian churches. His inclusion of the Roman arch in portrayals of Gothic churches that incorporate Catholic imagery, as well as those churches that retain their Protestant identity, may signify Saenredam's desire for all Christians to emulate the purity of wor-

[3] Other elements occur in Saenredam's works which could be considered indicative of Catholic imagery. Saenredam's view of St. Bavo's Church, Haarlem, from the southern aisle to the west, depicts a baptism at which a priest officiates (Utrecht cat. no. 63, fig. 64). Saenredam's view through the nave of the Burr Church in Utrecht shows three persons in Oriental costume standing below a window in which a single red rose has been depicted (signed and dated 1644, Utrecht cat. no. 127, fig. 125). The rose often refers to the Virgin Mary as the "rose without thorns." Other symbolic elements of this painting have been suggested by Schwartz, 91, n. 43. In addition to Schwartz's observations, it seems probable that there is a relationship intended between the depiction of Moses and the Law and the obedience lesson between the boy and his dog which takes place below the Moses painting. In a view of the choir at St. Bavo's Church, Haarlem, Saenredam has painted kneeling figures into the clerestory window in the axis of the apse (Utrecht cat. no. 33, fig. 34). The identity of these figures is not made clear by Saenredam. Seymour Slive has suggested that the scene portrayed is the Annunciation (see *European Paintings in the Collection of the Worcester Art Museum*, Amherst, 1974, 137, n. 12). This could also be an addition similar to the actual scene in the west window of St. Bavo's where Bishop George of Egmond and his patron Gregory the Great kneel in adoration of the Holy Trinity (Utrecht cat. no. 59, fig. 61). A third possibility is that Saenredam has depicted two earthly figures kneeling in adoration of the name of God. A kind of halo may be seen above the heads of the figures. A line runs through the center of the circle which may form the letters "Yahweh." This depiction would coincide with the manner in which the Reformed Church "pictured" the godhead (see Adolf Krüke, "Der Protestantismus und die bildliche Darstellung Gottes," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft*, XIII, 1959, 59ff).

[4] Functioning beyond their role as space definers, figures were seen by Schwartz as human metaphors for faith, marriage, proper church behavior, and other moral matters, directly acting out the intended message through their relationship to each other and to God within an idealized church setting. See Schwartz, especially 78ff.

ship found in the primitive Church. In this regard, the figures in these interiors act as exemplary models for spiritual conduct. The simple and harmonious architectural views are conducive to contemplation. In reflecting upon the actions of figures in relation to their environments, the spectator is invited to find his own place in the order of Christian living.

That Saenredam's reconstruction of actual church interiors might intentionally suggest a higher order of Christian meaning is relatively new to the study of Saenredam's painting. Gary Schwartz, who introduced this theory to art historians, believed that Saenredam's idealization of certain interiors suggested an iconographic relationship between purified church settings and the moral and faithful conduct of figures contained within them.[4] Otherwise, the main body of scholarship on Saenredam has usually dealt with the stylistic aspects of his oeuvre. For example, I.Q. van Regteren Altena and P.T.A. Swillens emphasized Saenredam's accurate portrayal of existing Dutch churches, in contrast to the imaginary cathedral views of other architectural painters.[5] F.W. Heckmanns and Walter A. Liedtke investigated aspects of Saenredam's artistic methods to observe how his system of sketches and construction drawings modified real space in a finished painting.[6] However, in the various studies of style and content in Saenredam's paintings, the significance of the romanization of the Gothic arch has rarely been considered, nor has Saenredam's transformation of Protestant church interiors into Catholic environments been adequately explained.[7] By suggesting possible reasons for Saenredam's attitude of reflection upon Christian faith, and by reviewing examples of Catholic and Protestant imagery found in several of his paintings, I hope to show that Saenredam, for personal and iconographic reasons, modified actual Dutch church interiors by combining classical and Gothic forms.

The religious atmosphere of Saenredam's day suggests an environment conducive to his consideration of religious alternatives. In the northern Netherlands,

[5] I.Q. van Regteren Altena, "Saenredam archaeoloog," *Oud Holland,* XLVIII, 1931, 1-13. See also P.T.A. Swillens, Utrecht cat., 14.

[6] F.W. Heckmanns believed that Saenredam creatively manipulated orthodox perspective methods in order to adjust his direct visual experience to the two-dimensional surface design. See Friederich Wilhelm Heckmanns, *Pieter Janszoon Saenredam, das Problem seiner Raumform,* Berlin, 1967. See also a review of Heckmanns' book by B.A.R. Carter, "The Use of Perspective in Saenredam," *Burlington Magazine,* CIX, 1967, 594-595. Reference to Heckmanns is also made in Walter A. Liedtke, "Saenredam's Space," *Oud Holland,* LXXXVI, 1971, 121 and 140ff, and in Liedtke, "The New Church in Haarlem Series: Saenredam's Sketching Style in Relation to Perspective," *Simiolus,* VIII, 1975/76, 165. Walter Liedtke stressed that Saenredam's originality in pictorial construction, as described by Heckmanns, lay ultimately in Saenredam's personal choice of views to sketch for their expressive design potential. Liedtke, 1971, 121ff.

[7] Liedtke suggests that Saenredam's introduction of the Roman arch and other classical elements into a view of St. Bavo's Church, Haarlem (Fig. 1) simulates a temple setting appropriate for the accompanying drama of the Expulsion (Liedtke, "Faith in Perspective," *Connoisseur,* CXCIII, 1976, 127ff). In Saenredam's view of the Utrecht Mariakerk, dated 1641 (Utrecht cat. no. 149, fig. 150) Schwartz interprets the juxtaposition of Roman and Gothic features as a possible reference to the "peaceful ecclesiastical co-existence" among Calvinists, Remonstrants, and Catholics (Schwartz, 84). However, these are isolated examples. In terms of Catholic imagery found in some of Saenredam's paintings, van Regteren Altena mentions the addition of an altar in his 1635 view of the St. Lawrence's Church, Alkmaar (Fig. 6), but explains the change only as an exception to Saenredam's usual archeological precision in recording structural detail (Van Regteren Altena, 10). Swillens notes Catholic imagery in Saenredam's views of St. Lawrence's Church, Alkmaar, 1635, and of St. Anthony's Chapel, Utrecht, 1645 (Figs. 6 and 8), and suggests Catholic patronage for these paintings. But Swillens does not attempt to explain Saenredam's interest in such imagery, nor suggest his acquaintance with or interest in Catholicism (P.T.A. Swillens, *Pieter Janszoon Saenredam,* Soest, 1970, 52).

of which Saenredam's Haarlem was a part, Calvinism did not reign with absolute authority. It was respect for the individual and his right to private conscience that helped preserve an attitude of tolerance for the Dutch, despite controversy between Catholic and Protestant sects.[8] Saenredam's own acquaintance with Catholics and Protestants may also have contributed to his interest in different religious points of view.[9] Such personal contacts may, in fact, have resulted in the Catholic patronage of some of Saenredam's paintings to be discussed below, although such a suggestion requires documentary investigation beyond the scope of this paper. However, it seems that Saenredam's treatment of Catholic and Protestant traditions may be interpreted as his personal search for artistic solutions to express religious ideals, which may also have been shared by patrons.[10]

That Saenredam sought a more personal religious philosophy seems most evident in the fact that Saenredam was not registered as a member of the Reformed

[8] For a discussion of the fact that Protestantism did not reign exclusively in Holland in the seventeenth century, and how Protestantism and Catholicism affected the development of Dutch art, see Seymour Slive, "Notes on the Relationship of Protestantism to Seventeenth Century Dutch Painting," *Art Quarterly,* XIX, 1956, 6ff.

[9] Saenredam had contact, directly or indirectly, with both Catholics and Protestants. Until 1622, Saenredam was a pupil in the workshop of Frans Pieter de Grebber, a Catholic (Slive, 9). Around the year 1628, Saenredam made drawings for the *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haarlem,* a history of Haarlem written by the Protestant minister Samuel Ampzing (see Utrecht cat. nos. 28-31 and 178-189, figs. 29-32 and 179-190). In 1629, Ampzing wrote poems to accompany the engraved portraits of four men, designed by Saenredam, who were Contra-Remonstrants banished from Amsterdam (see Utrecht cat. nos. 199-202, figs. 200-203). Contra-Remonstrants were those persons who opposed the Remonstrants or Arminians, a more liberal Calvinist sect (see Schwartz, 75ff). In the 1630s and 1640s, Saenredam had direct contact with the Dutch Classicists Constantijn Huygens, Jacob van Campen, and Pieter Post (Schwartz, 81, n. 22). Huygens was a Calvinist who at the same time desired a peaceful relationship between Protestants and Catholics (Schwartz, 83, n. 25, and 85ff). Jacob van Campen was baptized a Protestant but died a Catholic (Swillens, *Jacob van Campen,* Assen 1960, chapter 1; also Liedtke, 1975/76, 154ff, n. 23), and he had several Catholic friends with whom Saenredam could have been associated (Swillens, *Saenredam,* 52). Pieter Post was buried in the Dutch Reformed church (M.D. Ozinga on "Pieter Post" in Thieme-Becker, *Künstler Lexicon,* XXVII, Leipzig, 1933, 198). Salomon de Bray, another architect with whom Saenredam was acquainted, was also a Catholic (E. de Jongh, "De gotiek in het zeventiende-eeuwse Holland," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek,* XXIV, 1973, 126).

The development of Saenredam's tolerant attitude may have begun before his acquaintance with Ampzing, Huygens, van Campen, Post, De Grebber, and De Bray. Saenredam's father, Jan, was a well-known engraver. Although he died when Saenredam was only ten years old, the father's association with other artists may have persisted into his son's later life. Jan Saenredam was a student of both Jacob de Gheyn II and Hendrick Goltzius. It is probable that de Gheyn was a Calvinist, although he continued to depict traditional Christian iconography, albeit with Protestant overtones (see J. Richard Judson, *The Drawings of Jacob de Gheyn II,* New York 1973, 13). Goltzius, who was sympathetic towards Catholicism, studied under Dirck Coornhert, the Catholic Spiritualist who advocated universal Christianity, an invisible "church without walls" (on Goltzius as a disciple of Coornhert see: E.K.J. Reznicek, *Die Zeichnungen von Hendrick Goltzius,* Utrecht, 1961, especially page 3. On Coornhert's beliefs see also H.A. Enno van Gelder, *The Two Reformations in the Sixteenth Century,* The Hague, 1961, 312ff). Besides his own designs, Jan Saenredam made copies after Goltzius, and the Catholics Abraham Bloemaert and Cornelis van Haarlem, among others (see Bartsch, *Le peintre graveur,* Vienna, III, 1803, 219-258. For a selection of reproductions, see France Zava Boccazzi, "Le incisioni originali de Jan Saenredam," *Antichita Viva,* XIII, 1974, 32-49). Pieter Saenredam apparently owned a silverpoint drawing of *The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* by Goltzius (Regteren Altena, 8). Saenredam painted Bloemaert's altarpiece of the *Adoration of the Shepherds* in his interior of St. John's Church, s'Hertogenbosch (see Fig. 11 above). After the death of Jan Saenredam, the family could have remained in contact with Goltzius and de Gheyn until their respective deaths in 1617 and 1629 (Saenredam's first church interior was painted in 1628, Fig. 4). And it is possible that Saenredam met with Bloemaert during his six-month stay in Utrecht in 1636.

[10] For patronage, see note 2 above.

Church until April of 1651.[11] After the death of Prince William II in November of 1650, a political crisis arose concerning the stability of the Dutch Republic. It was felt by the provinces that the church could be of aid in retaining the strength of the State. From January to August of 1651, the Grand Assembly was held which gave Calvinism the authority of a state church.[12] It is possible, therefore, that Saenredam's relatively late registration in the Reformed Church was as much a matter of civic necessity as of religious choice. In either case, if Saenredam did not maintain a narrowly Calvinist attitude before this time, then his use of Catholic and Protestant imagery and his combination of classical and Gothic forms, in several paintings executed before 1651, seems logical.[13]

It seems reasonable to suppose that Saenredam's personal philosophy of Christian faith is reflected in his modification of Gothic structures to include classical elements. Saenredam's interest in classical architecture may have been enhanced by his acquaintance with the three major classical theorists of his day, Constantijn Huygens, Jacob van Campen, and Pieter Post.[14] Saenredam's ownership of several drawings by Maerten van Heemskerck, probably including Heemskerck's sketchbooks of Rome, and his copies made after them, may also be indicative of his serious interest in classical architectural forms at this time.[15] Because of his apparent religious attitude, Saenredam's introduction of classical elements into Gothic interiors seems to have greater significance than merely stylistic considerations would lead us to believe.

His incorporation of the two architectural styles might at first recall Early Netherlandish symbolism for the distinction between Church and Synagogue, implying a parallel antithesis between Catholic and Protestant beliefs in Saenredam's paintings.[16] In Saenredam's Holland, however, neither Gothic nor classical architecture was specifically associated with Catholic or Protestant churches.[17] It seems that Saenredam also did not wish to distinguish between particular religious beliefs through his use of Roman or Gothic motifs. Rather, his harmonious union of the two architectural styles suggests hope for the resolution of differences be-

[11] Swillens, *Saenredam,* 142.

[12] See Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., "Gerard Houckgeest and Emanuel de Witte: Architectural Painting in Delft around 1650," *Simiolus,* VIII, 1975/76, 179ff. Although the Reformed Church never gained absolute power over the State, it had increased authority to maintain the tenets of the Synod of Dort. For the Five Points of Calvinism established at the Synod of Dort, 1618-19, see John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism,* New York, 1954, 265. See also Pieter Geyl, *The Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century: 1609-1648,* London, 1961, 70-83. For the Church's authority at the time of the Grand Assembly see Geyl, *Netherlands . . . 1648-1715,* London, 1964, 19-25, 208ff. See also Paul Zumthor, *Daily Life in Rembrandt's Holland,* New York, 1963, 81ff.

[13] Only one painting by Saenredam which contains romanization of the Gothic arch occurs after 1651. This is an interior of St. Cunera's Church, Rhenen, dated 1655 (Utrecht cat. no. 107, fig. 107) to be discussed below.

[14] Schwartz, 81, n. 22. Also de Jongh, 111.

[15] On Saenredam's ownership of the Heemskerck sketchbooks see Van Regteren Altena, 6ff. Saenredam painted four views of Roman and Early Christian monuments, copied from Heemskerck's sketchbooks, between the years 1629 and 1643 (1653?), the same period when Saenredam executed many of his church interiors combining classical and Gothic features. See Utrecht cat. nos. 111-114, figs. 112-115.

[16] Saenredam seems to retain a consciousness of the disguised symbolism of the fifteenth century where the idea of the old and new Dispensation was expressed in terms of Romanesque and Gothic architecture (see Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting,* Cambridge, 1953, 134ff). Liedtke and Schwartz also note Saenredam's relationship to early Netherlandish iconography (see Liedtke, 1976, 130, and Schwartz, 90).

[17] Several Gothic churches were converted from Catholic to Protestant use and new Protestant churches were still being built in a revised Gothic style. See De Jongh, especially 126.

tween Christians. In this regard, Saenredam's romanization of the Gothic arch may allude to the architecture of Early Christian churches, like those which he saw in the Heemskerck sketchbooks. Through this possible reflection upon Early Christian monuments, Saenredam produces a visual metaphor for the purity and harmony of worship found in the primitive church. Through the purity that classical forms give to his Gothic church interiors, Saenredam creates a new standard of religious space through which man may consider the harmony of Christians with one another.

Turning now to specific paintings of church interiors, it is necessary to consider the contribution of romanization to Saenredam's creation of a space which carries a new Christian dignity of religious imagery and conduct. Saenredam's *Brewer's Chapel in St. Bavo's, Haarlem, with the Expulsion from the Temple,* dated 1636 (Fig. 1), is a striking visual equivalent for the idea of purification and reform. The viewer is immediately confronted with romanized arches which are arranged approximately parallel to the picture plane. The prominence of this classical feature is further emphasized by the contrast of rounded forms silhouetted against an illuminated background containing Gothic elements. Besides this introduction of the Roman arch, Saenredam also substitutes an engaged Doric column for the compound pier which actually stood in the foreground. This column is now consistent with the engaged column located between the two windows of the far wall, and with the simple cylindrical piers which form an arcade at the right of the scene. This arcade, created from an otherwise solid wall of the Brewer's Chapel, facilitates a dramatic exit for the expelled crowd to the right.[18] (cf. Figs. 1 and 2).

Through these adjustments imposed upon the existing Gothic structure of the Brewer's Chapel, Saenredam has simulated a unified architectural environment which resembles the format of a Roman temple, as Liedtke has pointed out.[19] Saenredam's reference to an ancient setting contributes to the biblical context of the narrative event. However, viewing this Expulsion scene as a subject applied to a Dutch Reformed Church suggests another level of meaning in light of the Protestant iconoclasm. Christ's cleansing of the temple may here illustrate a scriptural parallel to the purgation of excessive objects and images from previously Catholic churches by the Calvinists (Fig. 3).

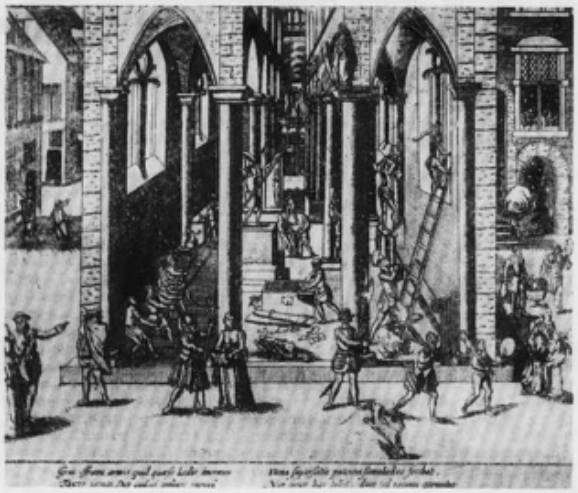
Saenredam's structural adjustments to the Brewer's Chapel may recall both an ancient temple and a Catholic church, which seem to compare biblical and contemporary issues, for Christ stands in the midst of seventeenth-century people. In the final analysis, this painting may show Saenredam as a reform-minded individual. The cleansing of the temple can relate, in a more universal way, to the purification of Christianity as a whole, both in its presentation of religious imagery and in the faithful acts of its members.

In the following church interiors, Saenredam introduces purified space and religious imagery independent of a biblical theme. The *Interior of St. Bavo's Church, Haarlem* (Fig. 4) is the earliest known church interior signed and dated by Saenredam in 1628. One may note that broad, rounded arches appear on both sides of the panel, framing pointed Gothic arches and windows beyond them. The

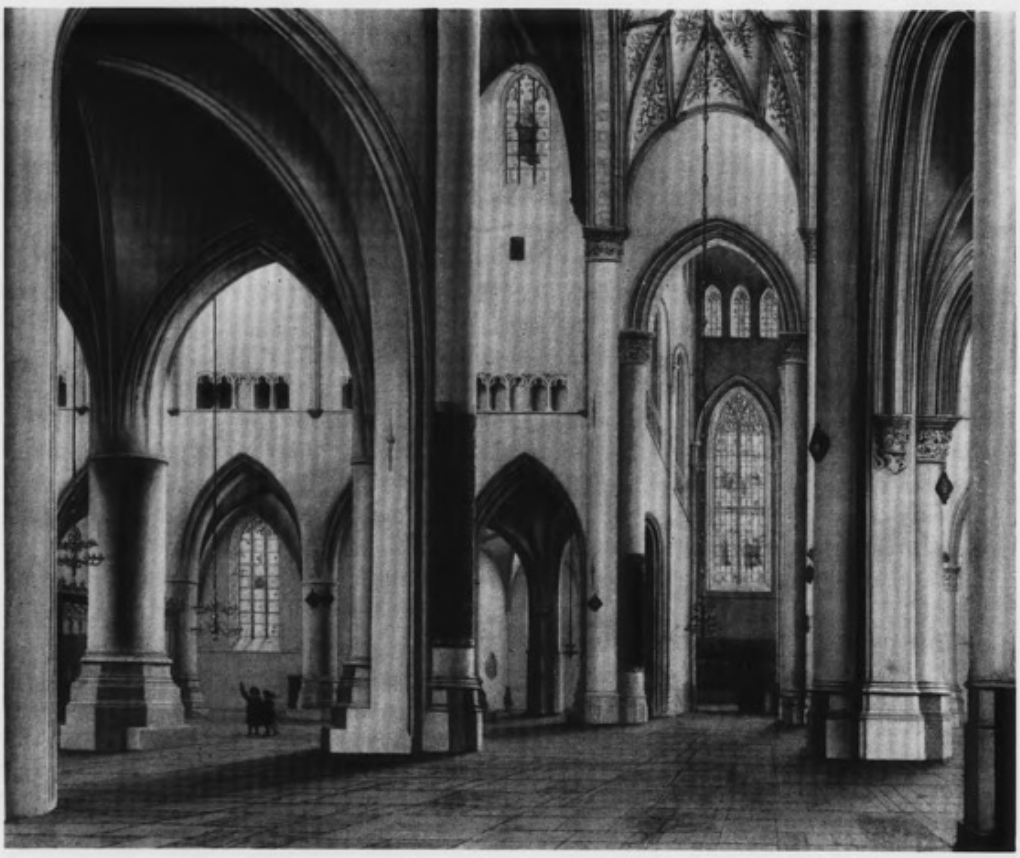
[18] Liedtke describes Saenredam's architectural adjustments to the Brewer's Chapel with excellent accompanying diagrams in Liedtke, 1976, 128.

[19] Liedtke, 1976, 128.

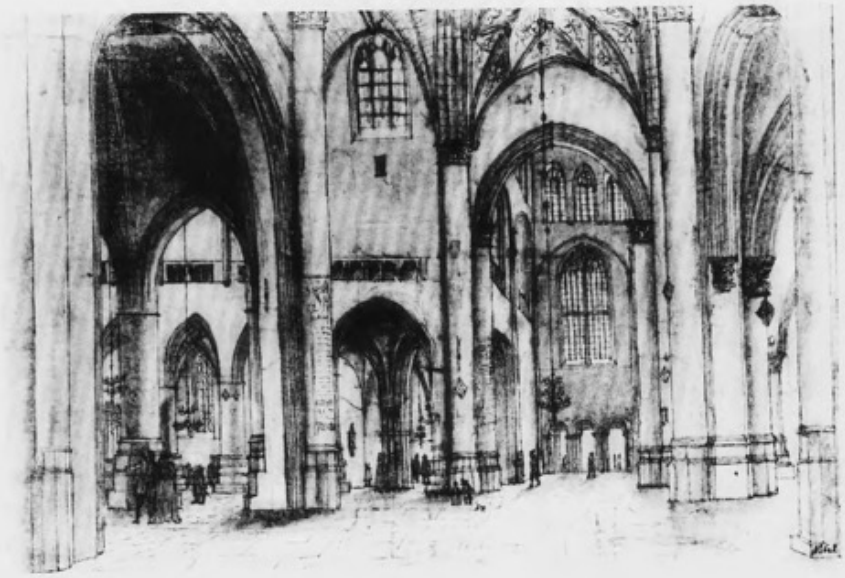
2. *St. Bavo's Church, Haarlem, Brewer's Chapel,* (Photo: Author)



3. Franz Hogenberg, *Iconoclasm,* 1566, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Photo: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



4. Saenredam, *Interior of St. Bavo's Church, Haarlem,* 1628, Oosterbeek, J.C.H. Heldring Collection (Photo: Utrecht, Centraal Museum)



5. Saenredam, *Preliminary Sketch for St. Bavo's Church,* 1628, Brussels, Royal Museum of Fine Arts (Photo: A.C.L.)

preliminary sketch for this painting (Fig. 5) indicates that Saenredam has modified the shape of certain pointed arches from the beginning. Between the construction drawing stage (Utrecht cat. no. 57, fig. 58) and the completion of the painting, Saenredam has introduced additional romanization in the springing of the vault above the south transept arch and in an adjacent arch which frames a clerestory window. Through the perspective ordering of space in the construction drawing, Saenredam also refines and purifies his view with a subtle elongation of the total structure.

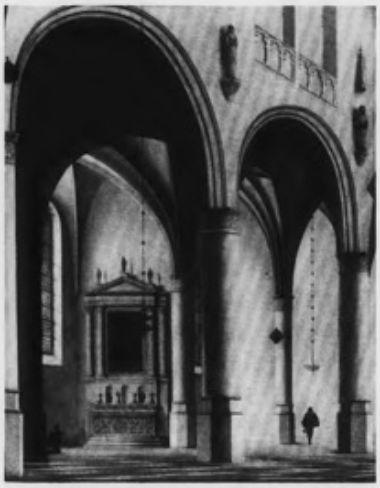
It is interesting to note that Saenredam introduces Catholic iconography into his earliest known portrait of a Protestant church. Again comparing the preliminary stages with this painting, one can see that the plain glass windows have been replaced by stained glass images. Protestant use of stained glass is usually reserved for personal memorials rather than traditional religious subjects.[20] Although most of the subjects of these windows cannot be identified, Saenredam has represented the *Virgin Clothed with the Sun* in the clerestory window of the choir.[21] This image of the Virgin is based upon the Woman of the Apocalypse (Rev. 12:1), and became a popular means of representing the Immaculate Conception during the Counter Reformation.[22]

Such imagery suggests the possibility that this painting was commissioned by Catholic patrons. It seems, however, that Saenredam does not wish to stress a

[20] See note 3 above, in regard to the windows in another view of St. Bavo's.

[21] Utrecht cat. no. 55, p. 98.

[22] John B. Knipping, *The Iconography of the Counter-Reformation in the Netherlands,* I, Nieuwkoop and Leiden, 1974, 245ff, plate 243. One may also notice that the triple portal of the south transept has been closed off by what appears to be a large polyptych which might also display religious subject matter.



6. Saenredam, *Interior of St. Lawrence's Church, Alkmaar,* 1635, Utrecht, Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent (Photo: Utrecht, Aartsbisschoppelijk Museum)

7. *St. Lawrence's Church, Alkmaar: Photo of Saenredam's View,* (Photo: Courtesy of R. Servaas, Administrator of the St. Laurenskerk)

specific Catholic message in this view. Saenredam's focus upon light may contribute to the broader significance of this interior. His portrayal of the *Virgin Clothed with the Sun* is further enlivened by the actual sunlight which enters the window.[23] This image of the sinlessness of Mary seems to be echoed in Saenredam's purification of this subtly illuminated church view. In addition, the number of figures that populated Saenredam's preliminary stages has been reduced.[24] Two men who stand below a chandelier are particularly accented. One man's pointing at this chandelier may signify more than his admiration for the object. Saenredam may here wish to recall the traditional connotations of a candle as the light of faith. Thus, a moral message concerning pure faith and sinless conduct, as it is reflected in the purity and dignity of the church space, is suggested to all Christians.

The romanization of architectural space and the incorporation of Catholic iconography is more prominent in Saenredam's *Interior of St. Lawrence's Church, Alkmaar,* dated 1635 (Fig. 6). In this view from the nave arcade, one is struck by the visual immediacy with which Saenredam introduces romanization into the architecture. Neither a sketch nor a construction drawing of this painting remains for comparison. Only a pointed arch, which forms an entrance to the chapel, indicates that his structure is actually built in the Gothic style.[25] Saenredam's perspective

[23] One may wish to compare this image of the Virgin and its relationship to light with van Eyck's *Madonna in the Church* at Berlin. See Millard Meiss, "Light as Form and Symbol in Some Fifteenth-Century Paintings," *Art Bulletin,* XXVII, 1945, 43-68, and Panofsky, 144ff.

[24] Since this painting was conceived from the beginning with figures, and because the three figures included in the painting may also be found in the construction drawing, it seems logical to suppose that Saenredam painted in the figures seen the the final work himself, and that he may have intended that the figures and architecture inform one another in a significant way (see note 2 above).

[25] Another painting of the St. Lawrence's Church, and its accompanying drawing, presents a view of the nave which verifies the fact that the nave arcade is characterized by pointed arches (Utrecht cat. no. 2, fig. 1 and Utrecht cat. no. 3, fig. 2). A second drawing of the choir also verifies this fact (Utrecht cat. no. 1, fig. 6).

manipulation of the breadth of the nave arcade into fully rounded arches creates a dramatic contrast to the single pointed arch. This distinction is further emphasized by silhouetting the simple roundness of the arches against the darker, more complex vaulting behind them. Saenredam continues to refine the space by eliminating the engaged colonnettes which rise from the piers and the stringcourse which runs below a new blind triforium (cf. Figs. 6 and 7). Thus, the quality of uninterrupted, frontal surface is more fully asserted in the painting.

Within this refined, more classical setting, Saenredam creates a Catholic environment, for ecclesiastical objects are included which defy the actual Protestant identity of St. Lawrence's Church at that time. Two sculptures of saints stand on Gothic consoles above the piers of the nave arcade. Such statuary was usually removed from Protestant churches. Three additional statues crown the pediment of an altar which is placed in the chapel of this interior. Its classical style relates the altar directly to the romanized arches of the nave arcade. An embroidered cloth displaying the *IHS* monogram covers the altar itself, while above it hangs a painting of the crucifixion. That such religious images are considered pointless and even idolatrous by Calvinists, supports the association of this interior with Catholicism.[26] In fact, the altar and statues which Saenredam has introduced into this scene, are objects that no longer existed in St. Lawrence's Church when this painting was executed in 1635.[27]

The importance of the altar for Saenredam is further illustrated by his inclusion of a chandelier which appears to be located in the chapel. This chandelier actually hangs in the nave. If Saenredam were to depict it in proper perspective, its scale would deemphasize the chapel space (see Fig. 7). Rather than omitting the chandelier, Saenredam has chosen to reduce its size and relate it to the chandelier which hangs in the side aisle. One may surmise that Saenredam's portrayal of these objects is simply a response to his insistence upon retaining existing elements of a specific church. On the other hand, Saenredam may have intended that the viewer associate the chandelier with the Heavenly Jerusalem;[28] the candle as the light of faith, Christ as the light of life, and so on. The proximity of the chandelier to the crucifixion and to the kneeling figure suggests the possiblity of such a relationship.

The Catholic quality of the environment is further demonstrated by the actions of two figures who appear in this scene. One figure kneels before the altar in prayer, while the other walks toward us, directing his gaze at the viewer. Both figures have removed their hats, which exemplifies their traditional Catholic observance of respect for a sacred place.[29] The contrast between the actions of these figures is an important one, for Saenredam seems to utilize the standing figure not

[26] Calvin discusses the issue of idolatry on many occasions. One particular statement where Calvin refers specifically to the Crucifixion reads as follows: "Paul testifies that by the true preaching of the gospel 'Christ is depicted as crucified' (Gal. 3:1). What purpose did it serve for so many crosses — of wood, stone, silver and gold — to be erected here and there in churches if this fact had been duly and faithfully taught: that Christ died on the cross to bear our curse . . . in short to reconcile us to God the Father (Rom 5:10)? From this one fact they could have learned more than from a thousand crosses of wood or stone." (John T. McNeill, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion,* I, Philadelphia, 1960, Book I, Chapter XI, Section 7, 107 and Section 9, 109).

[27] Utrecht cat. no. 4, p. 41.

[28] Schwartz, 87, n. 29.

[29] Protestants, on the other hand, do not remove their hats during prayer (See K.H.D. Haley, *The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century,* London, 1972, 86). Haley states that hats "were taken off for no preacher; only for God."

so much as an idle spectator, but as a foil for the intense absorption of the kneeling man in prayer. The standing man's direct eye contact with our space implores the viewer to reflect upon both figures' actions in relation to their placement in the interior. In contemplating Saenredam's "plotting of man's relation to other men and to God,"[30] the viewer may choose his own place in the Christian order of life.

The St. Lawrence's Church interior, then, exhibits several features which relate it to Catholicism. The fact that the altar and statuary were apparently not present in 1635, along with the seemingly calculated portrayal of figures, encourages the possibility that Saenredam executed this painting for a Catholic patron, as Swillens suggests.[31] If this premise is correct, the patron may have desired that Saenredam give visual substance to the memory of St. Lawrence's Church in its previous capacity as a Catholic church.

Recording the historical part, however, may not be Saenredam's only purpose here. Nor does he intend to limit the import of this scene to Catholics alone. Within this refined view of the St. Lawrence's Church, and through the simple dignity of religious imagery, Saenredam achieves a harmonious atmosphere conducive to spiritual contemplation. His romanization of Gothic arches not only purifies the space but recalls the architecture of Early Christian churches. Thus Saenredam may wish that the faith of all Christians aspire toward the pure religious models of the past.

Romanization also occurs in another interior view of the St. Lawrence's Church, dated 1637 (Utrecht cat. no. 5, fig. 3), where Saenredam portrays a portion of the southern aisle and ambulatory. In this scene, the actual pointed transverse arches have become uniformly rounded. This purification of structure seems to ease the visual complexity created by the intricate star vaulting, the contrast of areas in light and shade, and the busy activity displayed by several figures. Included here are a funeral procession, a grave digger, a mother and child, and other figures who observe the funeral ceremony. The figures and the architectural space do not seem to inform one another in as defined a way as we have observed above. But the attention that the figures give to the funeral and the prominent placement of two memorial plaques, as well as the direct appeal that the man in the left foreground makes to the viewer, may incline us to contemplate our role in the cycle of life.[32]

Saenredam's *Interior of St. Anthony's Chapel, St. John's Church, Utrecht,* dated 1645 (Fig. 8), depicts a subject similar to that of his 1635 view of the St. Lawrence's Church. But whereas the St. Lawrence's Church interior exhibits a dramatic change in its architectural form, the structural nature of the St. Anthony's Chapel scene remains basically intact. A preliminary sketch dated 1636 (Fig. 9), verifies the fact that the rounded arches of the aisle arcade portrayed on the right, as well as the barrel vault, are actual structural components of the chapel. Saenredam has, however, amplified the height and depth of his view. The painting depicts a greater length of the barrel vault, and a seemingly longer expanse of floor area. The side

[30] Schwartz, 90.

[31] See note 7 above.

[32] Timothy Trent Blade finds no significance in the figures of other Dutch painters of church interiors, which might also be applicable here (See T.T. Blade, "Two Interior Views of the Old Church in Delft," *Museum Studies,* VI, Chicago, 1971, 34-50).

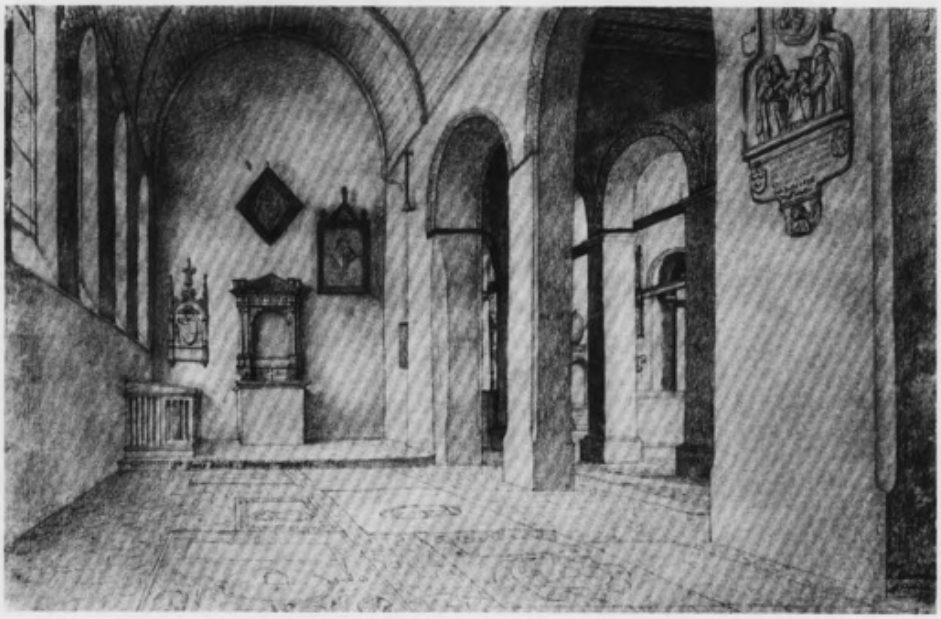
8. Saenredam, *St. Anthony's Chapel, St. John's Church Utrecht,* 1645, Utrecht, Centraal Museum (Photo: Utrecht, Centraal Museum)

walls extend toward the viewer, and then laterally away from him. This extension completes the rounding of otherwise softly pointed arches in the left wall.[33] It also broadens the curve of the arch farthest to the right into a nearly square shape. Through this modification of forms into similar romanized shapes, Saenredam creates a unified and purified interior displaying consistent architectural features.

This quality of purification is further manifested by Saenredam's stripping of extraneous elements from the interior. A painted band of decoration which bordered the arcade is now removed. A stringcourse which ran the length of the nave has also been eliminated. Such ecclesiastical objects as a chest, a bell, and a memorial plaque are no longer present in the finished painting. However, Saenredam has retained a Gothic sepulchral monument, two memorial plaques, and most importantly, a simple altar of classical style.

As in his St. Lawrence's Church interior, Saenredam introduces a crucifix into the niche of the altar. With their hats removed, three figures kneel before the crucifix, while a fourth figure walks through the nave. A contrast between human and spiritual actions is again demonstrated in the physical attitudes of these

[33] A verification that the outer wall contains pointed arches may be seen in Utrecht cat. no. 138, fig. 139 and in its accompanying drawing, cat. no. 139, fig. 140.



9. Saenredam, *Preliminary Sketch for St. Anthony's Chapel,* 1636, Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen (Photo: Frequin-Photos)

figures. The strict frontal orientation of Saenredam's view of the chapel encourages the direct intensity of the kneeling figures' attention to prayer. It is not only the multiplication of prayerful gesture which elicits such a response. The walking man faces the viewer which further emphasizes our spiritual role in the scene. The viewer may, in effect, look over the shoulder of the kneeling figures to carry on his own communication with God.

Saenredam's incorporation of figures kneeling before a crucifix again indicates the Catholic nature of this environment. One might assume that, like the St. Lawrence's Church painting, this intimate view of St. Anthony's Chapel may have been commissioned by Catholic patrons as a memorial to the past, Catholic identity of this church.[34] But Saenredam's purification of the St. Anthony's Chapel interior, through his careful refinement of structure, his choice of ecclesiastical objects, and the particular actions of figures, edifies this scene beyond its Catholic definition. Here, Saenredam's portrayal of a Romanesque church space again recalls earlier Christian models. At the same time, a more universal environment is created as a vehicle for Christian faith in general. In this regard, Saenredam's specific incorporation of the crucifix into both interiors seems to represent for him the purest symbol of Christianity itself, which again suggests the artist's encouragement of true faith in all its manifestations.

Saenredam painted two purely architectural interior views which display elements of romanization. In comparing the original drawing of St. Peter's Church

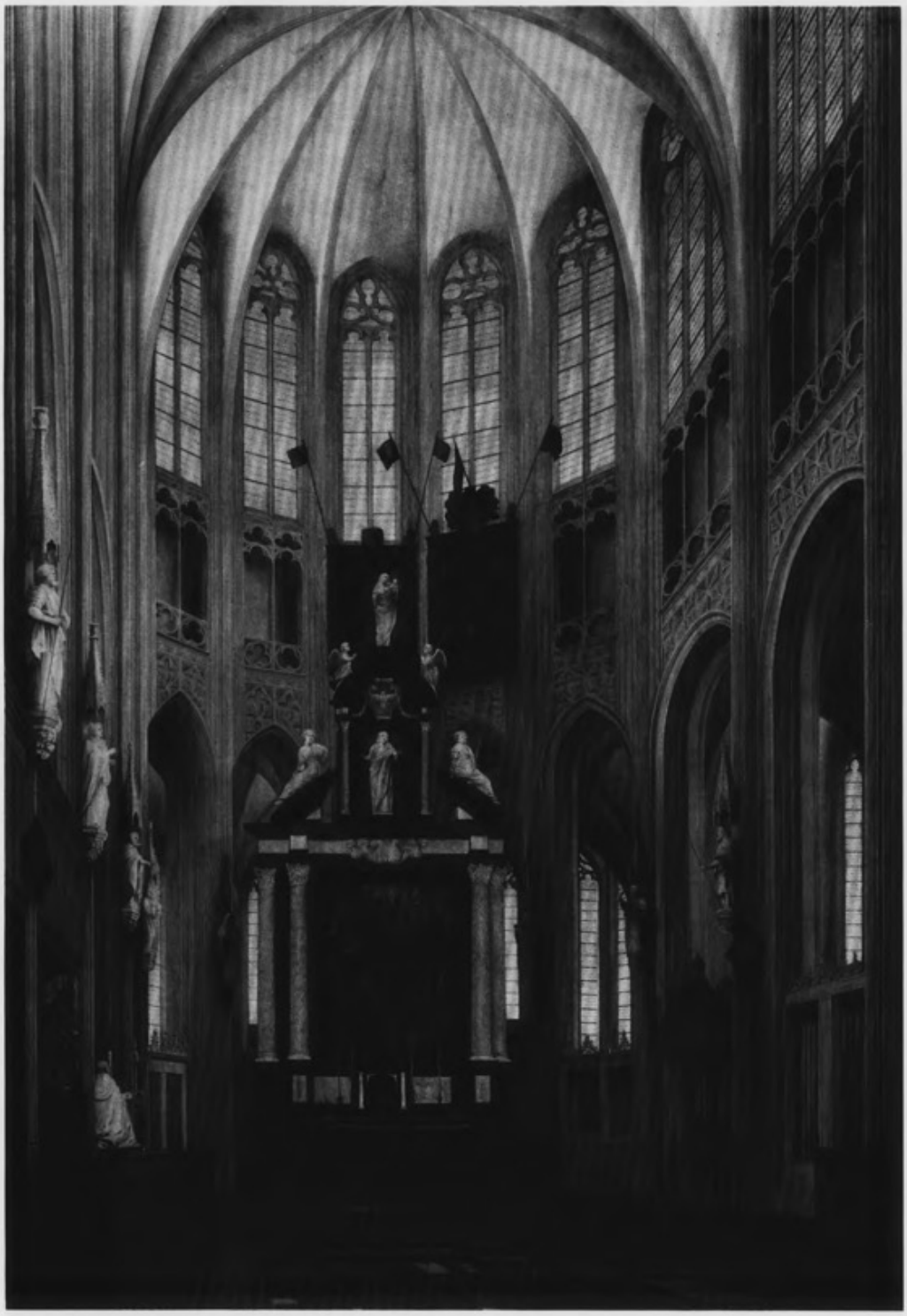
[34] See note 7 above.

10. Saenredam, *Interior of St. Peter's Church, s'Hertogenbosch,* 1632, London, Private Collection (Photo: Utrecht, Centraal Museum)

in s'Hertogenbosch (Utrecht cat. no. 100, fig. 101) with the finished work dated 1632 (Fig. 10), it is evident that Saenredam has purified the church space by removing pews, tie beams, and pulpit; the only remaining furnishing is the organ. In addition, the two arches located at the left of the panel are boldly exaggerated in height and breadth, with the original pointed structure of one arch now rounded in form. The romanization of the Gothic arch is less exaggerated in Saenredam's *Interior of St. John's Church, s'Hertogenbosch,* dated 1646 (Fig. 11). The two arches farthest to the right are more subtly rounded, continuing the modifications begun by Saenredam in his preliminary sketch (Utrecht cat. no. 95, fig. 97). In the St. John's Church and St. Peter's Church paintings, Saenredam emphasizes a classical harmony and simplicity in the refinement of architectural features, rather than stressing the opposition of styles. Saenredam creates a peaceful atmosphere, without figures, through which the viewer may contemplate his personal role within the purity, and solemnity of the church spaces.

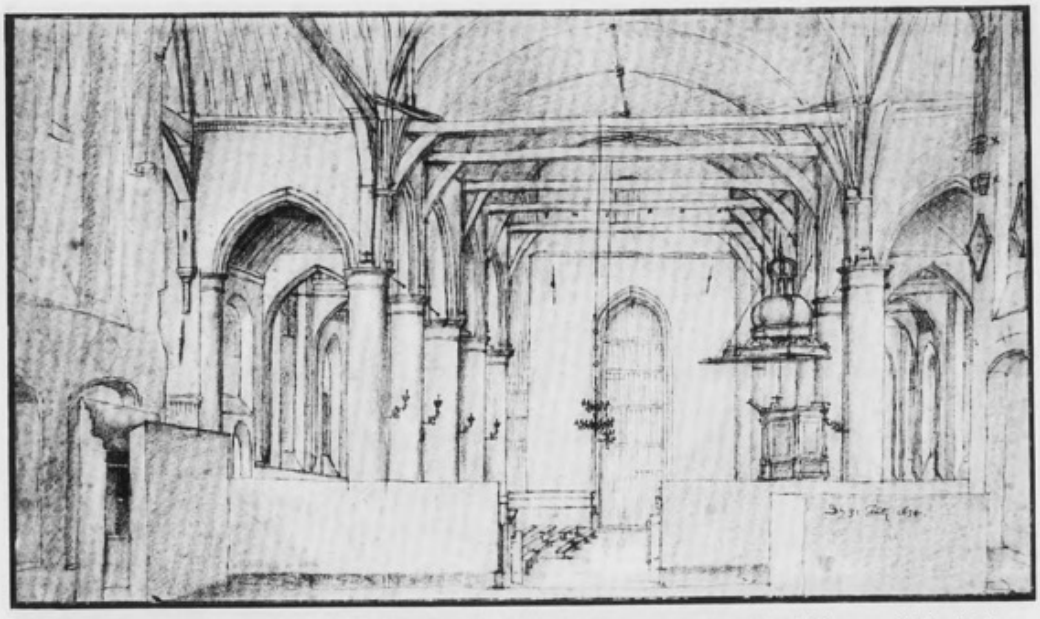
The suggestion of Catholic patronage may again apply to Saenredam's *Interior of St. John's Church, s'Hertogenbosch.* In 1629, Frederick Henry attacked and conquered s'Hertogenbosch for the States-General, and enforced the suppression of Catholicism in this primarily Catholic area.[35] Many of the ecclesiastical furnishings of St. John's Church were destroyed during the Protestant takeover.[36] Between Saenredam's sketch for this church dated 1632, and the finished work of 1646, the baroque altar remains intact, as do the religious and allegorical sculptures, and the tomb of Bishop Masius. But most importantly, Saenredam has painted in Abraham Bloemaert's *Adoration of the Shepherds* altarpiece, as it existed before its

[35] Geyl, *Netherlands. . . 1609-1648,* 85ff.
[36] Utrecht cat. no. 94, p. 142.



11. Saenredam, *Interior of St. John's Church, s'Hertogenbosch,* 1646, Washington, National Gallery of Art (Photo: Washington, National Gallery of Art)

12. Saenredam, *Interior of St. Odulphus Church, Assendelft*, 1649, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Photo: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum)



13. Saenredam, *Preliminary Sketch for St. Odulphus Church*, 1634, Amsterdam, Municipal Museum, Fodor Collection (Photo: Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum)

removal from the altar in the critical year of 1629.[37] Again, it seems possible that a patron wished to remember this view of his church in peacetime. But in a broader context, Saenredam appeals to the viewer who stands alone before the altar and may contemplate his spiritual position in this church.

The harmonious combination of classical and Gothic styles may also be seen in Saenredam's *Interior of St. Odulphus' Church, Assendelft,* dated 1649 (Fig. 12). In surveying the preliminary sketch which accommpanies this painting (Fig. 13), one may observe the prominent elongation of architectural forms. This elongation culminates in the transformation of Gothic features into a series of rounded arches and niches. The viewer's attention is particularly attracted by Saenredam's presentation of two romanized arches aligned parallel to the picture plane, whose contours are echoed in the outline of the doorway against the elevation of its surrounding wall. In his silhouetting of light surface against darker ones, Saenredam again accentuates the juxtaposition of romanized and Gothic elements.

This contrast of architectural features, however, does not transform the St. Odulphus' Church interior into a Catholic environment. The setting retains its Protestant identity mainly through the depiction of several figures attending a sermon, the dominant feature of the Calvinist liturgy. Saenredam's purification of this interior, as well as its formalization through artificial perspective, complements the intellectual concentration of the figures upon the sermon. The romanization of structural elements may here suggest a relationship to Early Christian churches, for Calvin was a restorationist who wished to re-establish the purity of the primitive Church which existed before its corruption by the Papacy.[38] The restoration of a dignified chuch is thus suggested through the figures' acts of faith, and in their simple attention to scriptural guidance, all embraced by Saenredam's refined structure of the St. Odulphus' Church interior. In the broader interpretation of the imagery, however, it seems that Saenredam intends that all Christians emulate such pure devotion, as it is exemplified here.

The *Interior of St. Cunera's Church, Rhenen,* dated 1655 (Utrecht cat. no. 108, fig. 107), also retains its Protestant identity. Saenredam portrays an interior view of the church which is more comprehensive in its scope. In comparing the accompanying preliminary sketch (Utrecht cat. no. 108, fig. 108), one can see that Saenredam's perspective modifications add general height and width to the painting. Only two transverse arches, which border the nave bay near the center of this view, are fully rounded and projected parallel to the picture plane. In addition, however, Saenredam simplifies the sixteenth century rood screen seen at the right, depicting it with plain columns and a panelled balustrade having no decoration. Saenredam's purification of architectural forms also makes an historical reference toward the actual "cleansing" of this church, for this rood screen was severely damaged during the iconoclasm. Within the eleven years which passed between Saenredam's execution of the sketch and his painting of the interior, the figural decoration in the spandrels of the screen had been demolished.[39] Still, it seems that

[37] Saenredam seems to indicate that Bloemaert's altarpiece was also missing in 1632 when he sketched the area covered by a curtain. It is unclear when or where Saenredam saw the painting, or a sketch of it, in order to include it in the St. John's Church painting (See Utrecht cat. no. 94, p. 142).

[38] See McNeill, *Calvinism,* 216ff. and George Hunston Williams, *The Radical Reformation,* Philadelphia, 1962, 375ff.

[39] Utrecht cat., 155ff.

Saenredam does not wish to emphasize the Protestant aspects of the structural changes in this interior. Instead, the harmony of different architectural styles is stressed. Within this refined setting, a couple respectfully admires the church, while another figure studies a memorial plaque honoring the dead. Saenredam here creates a simple, contemplative space where the viewer may find his own place in the Christian order of life, within the knowledge of God and of himself through faith.

In reviewing the salient features of the church interiors discussed above, one may conclude that each of these spaces enshrines a calculated relationship between man, God, and the church. The way that the architecture and figures inform one another, and the manner in which the interiors are amplified to include the viewer, encourage the viewer to consider his own place in Saenredam's spaces. For Saenredam creates exploratory views. Through his humble viewpoint within a church, Saenredam beckons the viewer to ponder intimate spaces and pious acts rendered upon panels of small dimension. The personal and private size of these panels causes Saenredam's interiors to appeal as images of contemplation, made more intense for the viewer by their association with actual places.

Yet, for all their familiarity as existing Dutch churches, Saenredam modifies the mundane personality of these interiors. The attributes of a specific church become building blocks for a more universal edifice. Saenredam produces a conscious idealization of real space, rather than a simple imitation of particular physical properties. He purifies and unifies the total architectural view through the application of perspective order and classical architectural style to his sketches drawn from life. Saenredam's perspective constructions tend to align elevations parallel to the picture plane. This frontal presentation of architectural surfaces imposes a more permanent order upon the view. His utilization of perspective also enlarges and elongates these interior spaces. Such frontality, permanence, and monumentality are traditional qualities of images of authority, and as such, each of Saenredam's interiors transcends the temporal realm.[40] Just as, much earlier, Jan van Eyck's *Madonna in a Church* had embodied the Church by her great scale,[41] so too, the new grand size of Saenredam's particular churches seems to become representative of the Christian church as a whole.

Saenredam's ordering of space through perspective is, therefore, paralleled by an ordering of life through the faithful acts of the figures. His "improvements upon nature" clarify and idealize the structure of the interiors. Likewise, the figures in Saenredam's interiors act in ideal faith as exemplary models for spiritual conduct. Saenredam's union of Roman and Gothic elements in a single interior seems to signify the hope for a common Christian bond between Catholics and Protestants, relating their own faith to the religious examples of the early Church.

It can certainly be claimed that around 1600, artists created both from reality and from the imagination. Drawing upon reality or imagination was a matter of a

[40] Saenredam's transcendence of the temporal world is further enhanced by his inclusion of views of the sky through church windows. There are few, if any, indications of everyday life portrayed through the windows. Emanuel de Witte, on the other hand, associates his interiors with the outside world by depicting red-roofed houses outside the church windows (see Ilse Manke, *Emanuel de Witte: 1617-1692*, Amsterdam, 1963).

[41] Panofsky, 145.

shift in emphasis rather than a total change from one approach to the other.[42] Therefore, one must qualify the characterization of Saenredam as a realist in Dutch architectural painting, for the archeological recording of actual church interiors is not his only purpose. Working from his sketches drawn from life, Saenredam seems to explore the symbolic potential of architectural variations and the inclusion of figures, with the intention of creating paintings which carry deeper meaning. In the interiors discussed above, Saenredam reaches beyond descriptive intent to create a more receptive vehicle for spiritual expression and contemplation. His interiors are capable of accommodating both Catholic and Protestant characteristics, through which Saenredam offers a gesture towards ecclesiastical reform and harmony. Saenredam creates spaces which seem to project what he desires to be true more than what his eye perceives to be real. Saenredam may, therefore, be more aptly described as a realist with a vision.

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[42] E.K.J. Reznicek, "Realism as a 'Side Road or Byway' in Dutch Art," *Studies in Western Art,* II, 1961, 247-253. Also Van Mander's *Schilderboek* was published in 1604 in Haarlem. B.A.R. Carter feels that Saenredam must have followed van Mander's method of "improving upon nature" where, at the cartoon stage (or Saenredam's construction drawing), the artist should use a "bold, free, and fearless imagination" (see Carter, 595, and Liedtke, 1971, 129ff).

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1. Robert Walker. *John Evelyn*, 1648. London, National Portrait Gallery (Photo: National Portrait Gallery)

John Evelyn as Penitent Magdalen: 'Saints' and 'Malcontents' In Seventeenth Century English Portraiture

FRANK COSSA

Robert Walker's portrait of the famous diarist and author John Evelyn, dated 1648 and now in the National Portrait Gallery, London (Fig. 1), has been described as showing the sitter as "penitent Magdalen."[1] One might be inclined to dismiss such a notion as preposterous or, accepting it, to dismiss the painting as a singular conceit. I believe it would be a mistake to do either. This picture, curious as it is, fits into two portrait traditions of long pedigree: it is an example of the standard European allegorical portrait as well as the typically English "melancholy" portrait. On examination it reveals qualities which may prove to be a unique English contribution to seventeenth-century portraiture.

Evelyn referred to the painting in his diary entry for July 1, 1648: "I sate for my *Picture* (the same wherein is a *Deaths head*) to Mr. Walker that excellent Painter."[2] That Evelyn made no allusion to Mary Magdalen might seem to be damaging to the theory that the painting is some kind of parody of the traditional Magdalen iconography. Eccentric as it may seem, however, there are good reasons for believing that Evelyn and Walker intended precisely such a parody.

In the portrait Evelyn sits leaning his head on his hand in a traditional melancholy pose which was commonly used for the popular subject of the penitent Magdalen in the seventeenth century: among many familiar examples there are Georges de La Tour's *The Repentant Magdalen* (c. 1640) in the National Gallery, Washington, and Orazio Gentileschi's *The Penitent Magdalen* (after 1626, Earl of Elgin and Kincardine), painted in England for the Duke of Buckingham.[3] Evelyn's left hand rests on a skull, traditionally a mortality symbol. He wears a loose white shirt, undone at the top, and a satiny black outer garment. This is similar to but not exactly the kind of casual attire which had become the fashion in England—for sitting for portraits—since the time of Van Dyck.[4] It is unusual, however, for men to appear in their shirtsleeves. The garment worn over Evelyn's left shoulder is presumably some kind of cloak. He also wears a chain but whatever hangs from it is hidden behind the skull.

The melancholy pose, the skull and the slightly disheveled garments would not suffice to establish a connection with the iconography of Mary Magdalen were it not for two other elements within the painting. The Greek inscription above

[1] Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790,* Harmondsworth, 1953, 54. The painting was formerly at Christ Church, Oxford.

[2] John Evelyn, *Diary* (E.S. de Beer, ed.), Vol. II, Kalendarium 1620-1649, Oxford, 1966, 541.

[3] Oliver Millar, *The Age of Charles I,* London, 1972, 64, no. 89.

[4] See Collins Baker, "The Chronology of English Van Dycks," *Burlington Magazine,* XXXIX, 1921, 267-73.

Evelyn's head translates "Repentance is the beginning of wisdom."[5] And the paper under the skull bears a text from Seneca's *Epistle XXX*, a letter to his friend Lucilius entirely devoted to the subject of the stoical preparation for death. The lettering is rather smudged now but it can be identified as the following: "but when death comes to meet him, no one welcomes it cheerfully, except the man who has long since composed himself for death."[6]

If we accept that Evelyn wished, in this portrait, to be identified with a saint, it might still be argued that some other hermit saint, Jerome for instance who, like Evelyn, was a scholar, or Macarius who actually held a dialogue with a skull, was intended.[7] The theme of repentance would be appropriate for these and other saints. It is the particularly reflective, melancholy nature of Mary Magdalen's penitence—"Mary the sinner had become Mary the contemplative"[8]—shown by the gesture of the head resting on the hand, which indicates that this saint was being evoked in the Evelyn portrait.

There is an important bit of circumstantial evidence, which also points toward Mary Magdalen. Evelyn intended this portrait to accompany a treatise on the ethics of marriage which he wrote for his wife.[9] Returning, in 1647, by way of Paris, from an extended Italian sojourn, Evelyn married Mary Browne, the daughter of the English ambassador there. His "wife being very young"—possibly as young as eleven—Evelyn left her with her parents in Paris and returned to England.[10] He wrote his treatise presumably to instruct his young bride how to prepare for her role as his wife. Characteristically he could not do this simply and directly but had to have a classical prototype. As his model he chose Seneca, who wrote a series of letters to Lucilius, an Epicurean, in an attempt to convert him to Stoicism. This is the reason for the Seneca text which appears in the painting. The portrait was sent, with the manuscript, to Paris.[11] There would seem, then, to be no reason to send a portrait which alluded to St. Jerome or St. Macarius or any other hermit saint; but certainly the checkered career of St. Mary Magdalen contained lessons in the acquisition of Christian virtue by which Evelyn's young wife could profit.

Portraiture in which the sitter appears in the guise of a Christian saint and which, for convenience, we may refer to as the "saintly" portrait, is a branch of allegorical or mythological portraiture. In the mythological portrait the sitter appears in the guise of some pagan deity. The mythological portrait may also be an allegory in which the sitter appears, similarly deified, but as part of a more elaborate concept. The "saintly" portrait is the rarest of these, even in the Catholic countries; that it should exist at all in Protestant England where there was

[5] This is given in English translation in W.G. Hiscock, *John Evelyn and His Family Circle*, London, 1955, 20, and verified by Kai Kin Yung of the National Portrait Gallery for whose help I am grateful. No source for the Greek text has yet been discovered.

[6] "*mortem venientem nemo hilaris excipit, nisi qui se ad illam diu composuerat.*" Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*, (Richard Gummere trans.) London, 1953, 218-19.

[7] See Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend* (G. Ryan & H. Ripperger, trans.), New York, 1941, 589. Also C.E. Clement, *Christian Symbols and Stories of the Saints*, Boston, 1886, 190.

[8] *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, (H. Thurston & D. Atwater eds.), New York, 1968, 162.

[9] It is titled *Instructions oeconomique*. The unpublished manuscript is at Christ Church, Oxford, Evelyn MS 143.

[10] W.G. Hiscock, *John Evelyn and His Family Circle*, 17.

[11] Hiscock, 17.

virtually no religious painting of any kind[12] is phenomenal and worthy of investigation.

Elizabeth I seems to have been the first, in England, to be regularly depicted in mythological or religious guises. Among her talents was the ability to evolve a personal mythology, to surround herself with a calculated mystique which held her subjects and even her enemies in thrall. When it became apparent that she was not going to marry and leave her subjects a direct heir to the throne, Elizabeth began to create a cult around her virginity. She was painted, in two series of portraits, holding a sieve, the attribute of the Vestal Virgin Tuccia.[13] She also adopted such chastity symbols as the Eglantine and the Ermine, as well as the crescent moon of the chaste huntress Diana or Cynthia.[14] She could not have been unaware that this was also an attribute of the Virgin Mary. There can be no doubt that this was a conscious effort to replace the Virgin Queen of Heaven with the Virgin Queen of England. Elizabeth went even further and adopted attributes of Christ himself including the Pelican — who shed its own blood to feed its young just as Elizabeth nurtured her people — and the Phoenix, symbol of Christ's, and Elizabeth's, oneness.[15]

Elizabeth revived the Order of the Garter which had its great celebration on St. George's Day and was, like the French Order of St. Michael and Order of the Holy Spirit, "a manifestation of chivalry in its most religious aspect."[16] It was also a matter of policy. Elizabeth, like her father Henry VIII, revived chivalry in order to bind together the often troublesome nobles in fealty to the crown. As a woman it was appropriate for Elizabeth to inspire her subjects with the kind of devotion which medieval knights gave to their ladies—and to the Virgin Mary. So Elizabeth was to use a chivalric order, dedicated to a Catholic saint, to bind Protestant knights in service to their Queen. In fact the dragon of St. George, in this new iconography, came to symbolize the Pope, "the beast of the Apocalypse."[17] In portraiture Elizabeth appears holding the badge of St. George; in literature, in Spenser's *Faerie Queen* (1590) and Gerard de Malyns' *Saint George for England* (1601), Elizabeth is characterized as St. George.[18]

Charles I, one of the few English monarchs to possess a true feeling for art, brought artists from the continent, including Orazio Gentileschi, Gerard Honthorst, Rubens and Van Dyck, and engaged in some myth-making of his own. In *The Duke of Buckingham Presenting the Liberal Arts to Charles I and Henrietta Maria* (c. 1628, Hampton Court) Charles and his Queen appear as Apollo and Diana and Buckingham as Mercury. Charles also maintained the Order of the Garter and in Rubens' *St. George and the Dragon*, the King, as sovereign of this chivalric order, appears as St. George.

[12] Eric Mercer, *English Art 1553-1625,* Oxford, 1962, 149. An exception might be such virulent anti-Catholic allegories as Girolamo da Treviso's *The Four Evangelists Stoning the Pope,* c. 1536, if such things can be considered religious painting.

[13] Roy Strong, *Portraits of Queen Elizabeth I,* Oxford, 1963, 66.

[14] Roy Strong, *The Elizabethan Image,* London, 1969, 81.

[15] Strong, *Elizabethan Image,* see the *Pelican Portrait,* Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool, and the *Phoenix Portrait,* Tate Gallery, London.

[16] Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth,* London, 1977, 164.

[17] Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth,* 165.

[18] Strong, *Cult of Elizabeth,* 183.

It was Van Dyck who established the type of the single-figure allegorical or mythological portrait in England with his *Venetia Stanley, Lady Digby, as Prudence*[19] (c. 1633) in the Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Typically, these are portraits of women, full-length or three-quarter, often seated, dressed in loose attire of indeterminate period or place, and holding the attributes of some deity or allegorical figure. In Van Dyck's portrait of *Mary Villiers, Duchess of Richmond and Lennox* (c. 1637), she appears with a lamb and holds a palm, the attributes of St. Agnes. This is the only portrait of this type by Van Dyck that I have found to use Christian rather than pagan symbols.[20]

During the Interregnum life went on as usual in England, if the demand for portraits is any measure. However mythology and allegory virtually disappeared from portraiture. The only "saintly" portrait I have found of this period is Walker's *John Evelyn*, the subject of this study.

After the Restoration in 1660, the mythological portrait flourished in England. The sitters were usually women of the Court and, quite often, the mistresses of Charles II. The artist most often called upon to execute these was Peter Lely, who had come from Holland in 1641 and become the unofficial Court Portraitist. He painted the notorious Barbara Villiers, Lady Castlemaine (later Duchess of Cleveland) as Minerva (1667, Royal Collection) and her rival for the King's affections, Frances Stewart, in the same guise (Goodwood House). Minerva can be looked upon as patroness of the arts, which include war, hence her martial appearance.[21] However, that seems not to be the reason for these women to appear as Minerva;[22] more likely they were at war with each other and all other rivals for the King's favor.

Possibly it was the arrival in England, in 1664, of the Catholic Queen, Catherine of Braganza, that created a fashion for the "saintly" portrait at Charles' Court. Jacob Huysmans painted the Queen as St. Catherine (c. 1664, the Earl of Verulam) with her attributes, the palm and the wheel, clearly in evidence. This work was seen by Samuel Pepys on August 26, 1664: "To Hiseman's, a picture-drawer, a Dutchman, said to exceed Lilly,... The Queen is drawn in one like a shepherdess, in the other like St. Katherin."[23] Peter Lely painted the court beauty the Comtesse de Grammont as St. Catherine (c. 1663, Royal Collection), and did likewise for Eleanor Needham, Lady Byron, (1664, Royal Collection), a reputed mistress of the King. By 1666 Pepys himself was an estimable enough figure to have his own wife painted similarly: "... to Mr. Hales, the paynter's,... Here Mr. Hales begun my wife in the posture we saw one of my Lady Peters, like a St. Katherine ..."[24] (Fig.2). So even a bourgeois housewife like Mrs. Pepys could be

[19] There had been some aspersions cast on Lady Digby's honor and her husband had this portrait painted as a declaration of his faith in her. Her left hand rests on a dove while her right holds a serpent; three cupids are about to crown her as the vanquished Envy and Malice skulk below. All of this may have been for naught as the rumors about her were probably true. See Lionel Cust, *Anthony Van Dyck*, London, 1900, 89.

[20] St. Agnes is the patron of those about to be married and it appears that this portrait of Mary Villiers was done shortly before her wedding. See Oliver Millar, *The Tudor Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, I, London, 1963, 101, #56.

[21] See Francis H. Dowley, "French Portraits of Ladies as Minerva," *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 45, 1955, 263.

[22] Cleveland's only known patronage was extended to a rope dancer. See Allen Anderson, *The Royal Whore*, Philadelphia, 1970.

[23] See C.H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, London, 1912, 136.

[24] Samuel Pepys, *Diary* (R.C. Latham & W. Matthews, eds.), London, 1970, 151.

2. After Hales (Hayls, Halys), *Elizabeth Pepys as St. Catherine*, engraving, c. 1666. London, National Portrait Gallery (Photo: National Portrait Gallery)

3. After Lely, *Duchess of Cleveland as St. Catherine*, c. 1666. London, National Portrait Gallery (Photo: National Portrait Gallery)

painted as a saint in imitation of the women at Court. Of these, the Duchess of Cleveland was, characteristically, the most bold. She was painted by Lely as a saint (Fig. 3) holding a martyr's palm and a sword. There is what seems to be a fragment of a spiked wheel visible at the right of the figure which would identify the Duchess with St. Catherine.[25]

"With a view to annoying the Queen"[26] the Duchess of Cleveland also had herself painted as a shepherdess as had the Queen in the portrait seen by Pepys in Huysmans' studio. Nell Gwynn, another royal mistress, did likewise and numerous court ladies followed suit. The Queen had been shown with a lamb and a cupid: the paschal lamb was her personal emblem and the cupid may represent the child she was expecting.[27] The cupids in portraits of Cleveland, Gwynn, and the others, however, represent children *they* had borne the King.[28] Cleveland outdid everyone by, unflinchingly, having Lely paint her as Madonna and Child (Fig. 4) which is confirmed, without comment, in Mary Beale's diary in April 1677: "I saw at Mr. Bab. May's lodgings at Whitehall these pictures of Mr. Lely's doeing; . . . Dutches of Cleveland being as a Madonna and a babe."[29] George Vertue saw a later mistress of Charles II, Louise de Keroualle, Dutchess of Ports-

[25] F.R. Webber, *Church Symbolism*, Detroit, 1971, 270.

[26] Waterhouse, 65.

[27] Waterhouse, 65.

[28] Nell Gwynne was also painted by Lely — in one of the most startling of English portraits — as a nude Venus with her child, by the King, as Cupid.

[29] C.H. Collins Baker, *Lely and the Stuart Portrait Painters*, 135. Walpole claimed that Cleveland later sent a version of this painting "for an altar piece to a convent of nuns in France." See David Piper, *Catalogue of Seventeenth Century Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery*, Cambridge, 1963, 74-5.

4. After Lely, *Duchess of Cleveland as Madonna and Child,* 1674. London, National Portrait Gallery (Photo: National Portrait Gallery)

5. Attributed to Remigius van Leemput, *Duchess of Cleveland as Penitent Magdalen*, c. 1662/63, (copy after Lely). London, Royal Collection (Photo: Royal Collection, copyright reserved)

mouth, "like a Madonna with the Child in her arms."[30]

Interestingly, for this study, the Duchess of Cleveland, although her conversion to Roman Catholicism did not alter her way of life, was painted by Lely as Penitent Magdalen (Fig. 5). She is shown seated, outdoors, with her hair undone and falling over one shoulder. She gazes vacantly as, like Evelyn, she rests her head forlornly on her hand.

Obviously, given the character of these women and the ambience of the Restoration court, there is more to these "saintly" portraits than the mere repetition of a fashionable type established by the Queen. By having themselves painted with their little Fitzroys these various royal mistresses were "emulating" the Queen by showing that they, too, bore the King's children. In this way they also attempted to gain acknowledgement of royal paternity, as Charles was usually generous to his offspring with titles and money.

[30] Collins Baker, 172. Lely also painted her, later in her career, as penitent Magdalen. See F. Bardon, "Le theme de la Madeleine penitente au XVIIème siècle en France," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31, 1968, 305.

The "saintly" portrait, during the Restoration, is a peculiarly English phenomenon. Such portraits were painted in France — although they flourished later, perhaps after English influence — but the saintly allusions were taken much more seriously in that Catholic country.[31] The pictures of King Charles' mistresses in the guises of saints are portraits *à clef*; they are jokes actually: irreverent, bawdy, and often cruel. In these, despite their dour appearance, we may find the visual expression of the ribald humor of the Restoration court, particularly the often licentious satires of Lord Rochester.[32]

Robert Walker's portrait of John Evelyn, although it pre dated the Restoration by twelve years, is not without some intended humor — this was, after all, the period of the Cavalier poets and of Andrew Marvell — though of a kind more esoteric than ribald. It depends on a knowledge of European painting which Evelyn had taken pains to acquire during his long sojourn on the continent. He could not expect his young wife to appreciate this parody of the Magdalen theme, but his circle of friends would. And so would the artist. Robert Walker had, in 1636, produced this "rather Italianate kind of joke"[33] in his *Self Portrait with a Statuette of Mercury.* This is a parody of Van Dyck's *Self Portrait with Sunflower* in which Van Dyck points to the flower and indicates the chain of Knighthood around his neck as emblems of the Royal favor and patronage he enjoyed. Walker's response was to point to Mercury, patron of the arts and also of vagabonds and thieves.[34] The fact that he had previously demonstrated some humor in his work is the only reason I can imagine why Evelyn, a staunch Royalist, would have chosen Walker, who was all but official painter to Cromwell. It would appear then, given the time and place and circumstances of its creation, that this portrait was certainly intended to show John Evelyn as Penitent Magdalen.

There is, however, another tradition, this one native to England, which the relentlessly curious Evelyn would have known and which, I believe, is essential to an understanding of this portrait. It is the theme of Melancholy, in both literature

[31] "Saintly" portraits in France occur sporadically. A rare early example is *Jean de Dinteville as St. George,* 1545, by an unknown artist. In the 1630s Louis XIII was depicted by Philippe de Champaigne as St. Louis with a sceptre and crown of thorns, the saint's trophy from his Crusade. See Edgar Wind, "Studies in Allegorical Portraiture," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* I, 1937-8, 138. The infant Louis XIV was painted as young John the Baptist in the 1640s. Madame de Maintenon was portrayed as St. Frances of Rome in the 1690s: her name was Françoise and she was often called "Sainte Françoise" for her good works while *maîtresse en titre.* The mythological portrait flourished in the eighteenth century and with it, though always to a lesser extent, the "saintly" portrait. Nicholas Largillière popularized the form and was followed by Jean Raoux, Jean-Marc Nattier, who painted several court ladies as Mary Magdalen in the 1740s and 50s, and Antoine Coypel. Perhaps it is not entirely coincidental that all of these artists sojourned in England early in their careers and that Largillière was a pupil of Peter Lely. See London, Heim Gallery, *Aspects of French Academic Art 1680-1780,* London, 1977. Also F. Engerend, *Inventaire des tableaux commandés et achetés par la Direction de Batiments du Roi 1709-1792,* Paris, 1900.

Curiously, the mythological portrait declined in England in the eighteenth century just as it flourished in France. It had a brief revival at the hands of Reynolds who, though he disapproved of such "composite" portraits, painted the courtesan Kitty Fisher as Danae and as Cleopatra in a witty reference to Restoration Court portraiture. Romney, at the same time, produced his several deifications of Emma Hamilton. The "saintly" portrait grew exceedingly rare, with Kneller's *Miss Voss as St. Agnes* (c. 1705) and Thomas Hudson's *Penitent Magdalen,* thought to be a portrait of the Duchess of Marlborough, notable exceptions.

[32] See particularly his verses celebrating the Duchess of Cleveland who hung her linen out the window of the Royal Aprtments at Whitehall to greet the new Queen on her arrival in London. See Anderson, *The Royal Whore;* also G. Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey,* New York, 1974.

[33] Waterhouse, 54.

[34] R.R. Wark, "A Note on Van Dyck's *Self-Portrait with Sunflower,*" *Burlington Magazine,* XCVIII, 1956, 53-4.

and art, which flourished in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.[35] There was a recognizable type in English society, emerging around the time of the Spanish Armada, and identified as the "Malcontent." This character went about dressed in black, often unkempt, and railed against fortune, love, the Government, the World, or whatever had roused his ire most recently. Curiously, men often assumed this posture when they had newly returned from visiting Italy—as Evelyn had just returned when he had his portrait done—and the quality of melancholy became associated with Italy.[36] In fact the Italian Marsilio Ficino had adapted Aristotle's idea that a certain amount of melancholy is beneficial to the imaginative and intellectual powers, and combined that with Platonic teachings to produce the Renaissance concept of Genius.[37] Whether it had anything to do with Italy, melancholy was pervasive in English culture. With the defeat of the Armada—which one would expect to produce the opposite effect — a perceptible gloom settled over England which reached its greatest depth during the reign of James I. Shakespeare progressed from slight comedies and gentle satires to tragedies and "dark" comedies; painting passed from the sunlit portraits of Nicholas Hilliard to the dusky ones of Isaac Oliver; the most popular music was the woeful ballads of John Dowland.

There was also humor in this melancholy. Shakespeare made great fun of the Malcontent character with Don Armado, the "fantastical Spaniard" of *Love's Labours Lost* (1590s). He did likewise, more eloquently, with Jaques in *As You Like It* (1598-1600), who describes his own melancholy as owing to his travels and is chided for it by Rosalind:

> Jaq. ...it is a melancholy of mine own, compounded of many simples, extracted from many objects, and indeed the sundry contemplation of my travels, in which my often rumination wraps me in a most humorous sadness.
>
> Ros. A traveller! By my faith, you have great reason to be sad: I fear you have sold your lands to see other men's; then, to have seen much and to have nothing, is to have rich eyes and poor hands.
>
> Jaq. Yes, I have gained my experience.
>
> Ros. And your experience makes you sad: I had rather have a fool to make me merry than experience to make me sad; and to travel for it too!

A few lines later she makes more specific reference to Italy:

> Ros. Farewell, Monsieur Traveller: look you lisp and wear strange suits, disable all the benefits of your own country, be out of love with your nativity and almost chide God for making you that countenance you are, or I will scarce think you have swam in a gondola.
>
> *As You Like It* IV:i.

[35] Roy Strong has studied this phenomenon in "The Elizabethan Malady, Melancholy in Elizabethan & Jacobean Portraiture," *Apollo,* 79, 1964, 264-9.

[36] Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady," 265.

[37] Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady," 265.

6. Isaac Oliver, *A Melancholy Young Man,* c. 1595. London, Royal Collection (Photo: Royal Collection, copyright reserved)

7. Artist unknown, *John Donne,* c. 1595. Monteviot, Jedburgh (Scotland). Collection of the Marquess of Lothian (by permission of Lord Lothian)

Hamlet (c.1600), of course, is a play about the ultimate Malcontent; he rails against everything, wears black, goes about disheveled and ruminates upon a skull. Yet it is the skull of Yorick, a fool who used to make him merry. And it is produced by the Gravedigger, a merry fool himself. Hamlet is at once the most melancholy and the wittiest of literary characters. This marriage of gloom and mirth was a well established tradition in English letters by the time of Evelyn.

The Melancholy portrait began to appear in England about 1585 with an anonymous full length picture of *Sir Robert Sidney.*[38] Hilliard contributed to the type with his Henry Percy, *Ninth Earl of Northumberland*, c. 1590, shown lying in a garden in the traditional melancholic pose. Isaac Oliver was perhaps more temperamentally suited to this mood as shown in his *A Melancholy Young Man*, (c. 1595, Fig. 6), who sits, predictably, under a Greenwood tree (see Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, II, v). A most striking example of the Melancholy portrait is that by an unknown artist of the poet *John Donne*, (c.1595, Fig. 7). Dressed in black and enshrouded by darkness, Donne is here cast as the melancholy lover; he entreats his love, in an inscription on the picture: *Illumina tenebras nostras domina.*[39] Donne wears black with his shirt undone and stares blankly as if looking inward; he rather fits Ophelia's description of the *distrait* Hamlet (II; ii).

The Melancholy disposition continued to be fashionable in the seventeenth

[38] Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady," 267.

[39] "To lighten the shadows which envelope his love-sick misery," see Strong, "The Elizabethan Malady," 268.

8. Sir Anthony Van Dyck, *Thomas Killegrew and Thomas Carew* (or William Lord Crofts), 1638. London, Royal Collection (Photo: Royal Collection, copyright reserved)

century. It was satirized in Joseph Hall's "The Malcontent" in 1608[40] and extensively studied in Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* in 1621, where it was deemed appropriate for men of wit: poets, prophets and philosophers.[41] This was seconded by John Milton in *Il Penseroso* of 1631:

> And may at last my weary age
> Find out the peaceful hermitage,
> The hairy gown and mossy cell,
> Where I may sit and rightly spell
> Of every star that Heaven doth show,
> And every herb that sips the dew,
> Till old experience do attain
> To something like prophetic strain.
> These pleasures, Melancholy, give,
> And I with thee will choose to live.

Van Dyck imbued his portraits of Charles I with a melancholy expression which was to provide later Royalists with a saintly image of their martyred king. But there was no thought of that when Van Dyck painted these pictures. It may well be that the artist chose this fashionable look as an alternative to Charles' actual, rather diffident, appearance.[42] Or, he sensed a quality in the King's character that was more like that of a poet or philosopher than a ruler. Van Dyck could make clearer reference to the melancholic tradition on the rare occasions when he did paint poets, as in his *Thomas Killigrew and Thomas Carew* of 1638 (Fig. 8) in which Killigrew appears resting head on hand and staring fixedly at nothing.[43]

[40] In his *Characters of Virtues and Vices*, published in 1608.

[41] See O. Millar, *The Age of Charles I*, 265.

[42] Roy Strong, *Charles I on Horseback*, London, 1972, 96.

[43] Killegrew was apparently mourning his dead wife; he later used Carew's "Song of Jealousie," in his *Cicilia and Clorinda* (1649-50) because " 'twas writ at my request upon a dispute held betwixt Mistress *Cicilia Crofts* and myself, where he was present." See Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen*, I, 101.

In the 1640s, with civil war raging in England, symbolism in portraiture tended to be more political than personal, as in William Dobson's conspiratorial group portraits. An exception, though not particularly melancholy, is Isaac Fuller's *The Poet Cleveland* (1644, Tate Gallery), in which the sitter emerges from dark shadow, and has elongated, sensitive features, as does Evelyn in the Walker portrait. The portrait of *John Evelyn* as penitent Magdalen of 1648 is therefore all the more remarkable in being so unlike anything else that was painted at the time.[44] The Melancholy portrait was to emerge again after the Restoration, finding such worthy subjects as the dramatist *Thomas Otway* shown, in an engraving by Mary Beale (Victoria and Albert Museum), leaning on his hand. By his own account he "languished for seven long tedious years of desire" for the actress Mrs. Barry.[45] And the unfortunate *Nathaniel Lee* who ended his days in a madhouse, was portrayed by William Dobson (Victoria and Albert Museum), disheveled and distracted, in his shirt with a cloak thrown over his shoulder like Evelyn, as "A Poet in Bedlam."[46]

Robert Walker's *John Evelyn* as penitent Magdalen would appear to be a conflation of the European tradition of penitent Magdalen and the peculiarly English Melancholy portrait. As such it is a late expression of the Melancholy tradition, while it anticipated the fashion for the "saintly" portrait which flourished after the Restoration. John Evelyn was as learned as any connoisseur then in England, particularly with the demise of the Duke of Buckingham, King Charles I, and the dispersal of the great collections. That he would have known these artistic traditions and the literature out of which they grew, is more than likely. He intended his portrait to carry a particular message to his young wife, but also, for fellow connoisseurs, a witty parody of standard artistic traditions. In Robert Walker he found a portraitist worthy of so eccentric a conceit and the result is not only a curious piece of whimsy but a complex and sophisticated picture as well.

Rutgers University

[44] In fact we know that Evelyn would have preferred a miniature by Isaac Oliver or one of his school, a more typical form for the Melancholy portrait, but all the leading miniaturists were dead or dispersed in those troubled times and none were available to him. See Hiscock, *John Evelyn*, 21.

There are portraits of men in black with skulls such as *John Tradescant* (attributed to Emmanuel de Critz and dated 1652), and *Sir Richard Petty* (by Isaac Fuller, c. 1649-51) but these attributes refer to practice of the medical profession and the discovery of remedies and are not to be seen as part of the melancholy tradition.

[45] G. Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey*, 172-3.

[46] Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey*, 184.

Painterly Painting — Into the Seventies: Robert Motherwell, Robert Ryman and Jake Berthot*

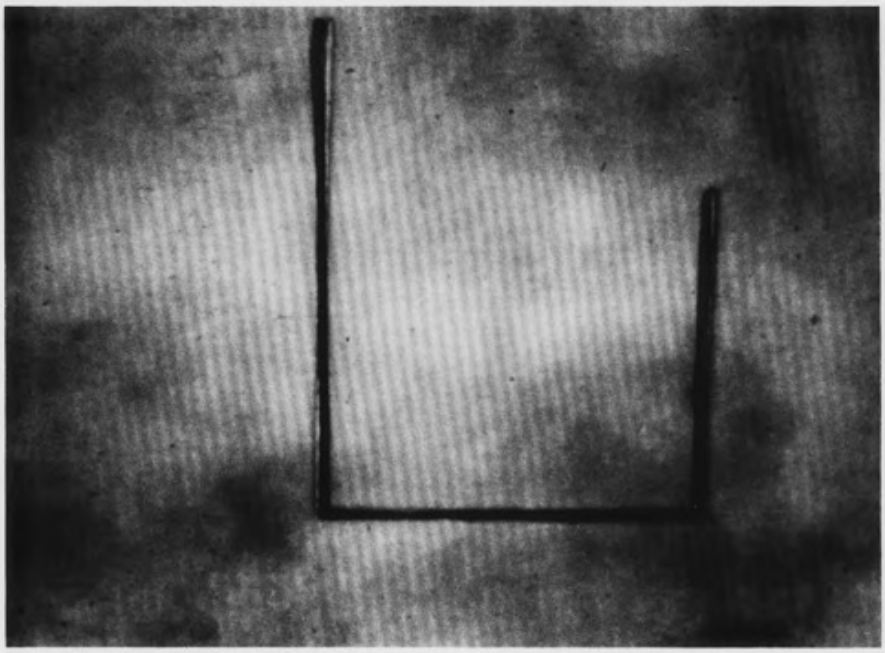
GEORGE CHAPMAN

The dialectic between materials and the method of structuring, that is, between the paint and its support and the paint and the image that it describes, is a problem with which painters have experimented for centuries. In the continuum of modernist painting Pollock and the first generation of Action Painters, along with Rauschenberg and Johns, have at one time or another in the development of their work calculated, considered and emphasized the *physical means* of their painting—the liaison between materials and gestural process—as being critical to their aesthetic product. In the Seventies, several artists continue to explore the organic realities and the possibilities and limitations of their materials as inherent formal elements which must be recognized and given increased autonomy through the activity of painting.

Upon first examination, the paintings of Robert Motherwell, Robert Ryman and Jake Berthot appear to share little in common save the most basic elements of formal composition and technical struggle, so familiar to us today through the heritage and vocabulary of post-painterly abstraction and the non-gestural aspect of Abstract Expressionism. Even to include Motherwell, one of the foremost aestheticians of the first generation Abstract Expressionists, with the younger Ryman and Berthot who paint with technical suavity at the border of minimalistic conceptualism, depends upon the choices one makes in his oeuvre, for only a certain portion of his works qualify as rigorous field paintings. Even so, Motherwell's keen intellectual and historical insights into European literature and culture are difficult to measure against abstractionists born and nurtured in a later cultural milieu. Later abstractionists paint more for the pure sensual pleasure of manipulating materials and pictorial elements than for extending the mythologies of their past experiences. Moreover, Motherwell's rich tradition of personally charged pictorial statements does not comfortably coexist with the impenetrable slate-like facades of Berthot nor with Ryman's stark white paintings of reduced purism.

Yet with careful scrutiny, important relationships assert themselves, for this trio astutely engages in the act of painting in one of the most refined forms of the art that can be observed today. Certainly there are other contemporaries who might be included within this elite circle of painter's painters, but Motherwell, Ryman and Berthot, each describes within his work an acute awareness of the integrity of the picture surface as well as the procedural structure by which that surface is allowed to evolve. It is within this area that works of these three artists present a continuity whose elements may be compared and contrasted, illuminating

*This essay is an expanded version of preliminary research conducted during a graduate seminar in contemporary art at Princeton University in the Fall of 1975. I wish to thank Professor Sam Hunter for his valuable encouragement and help.

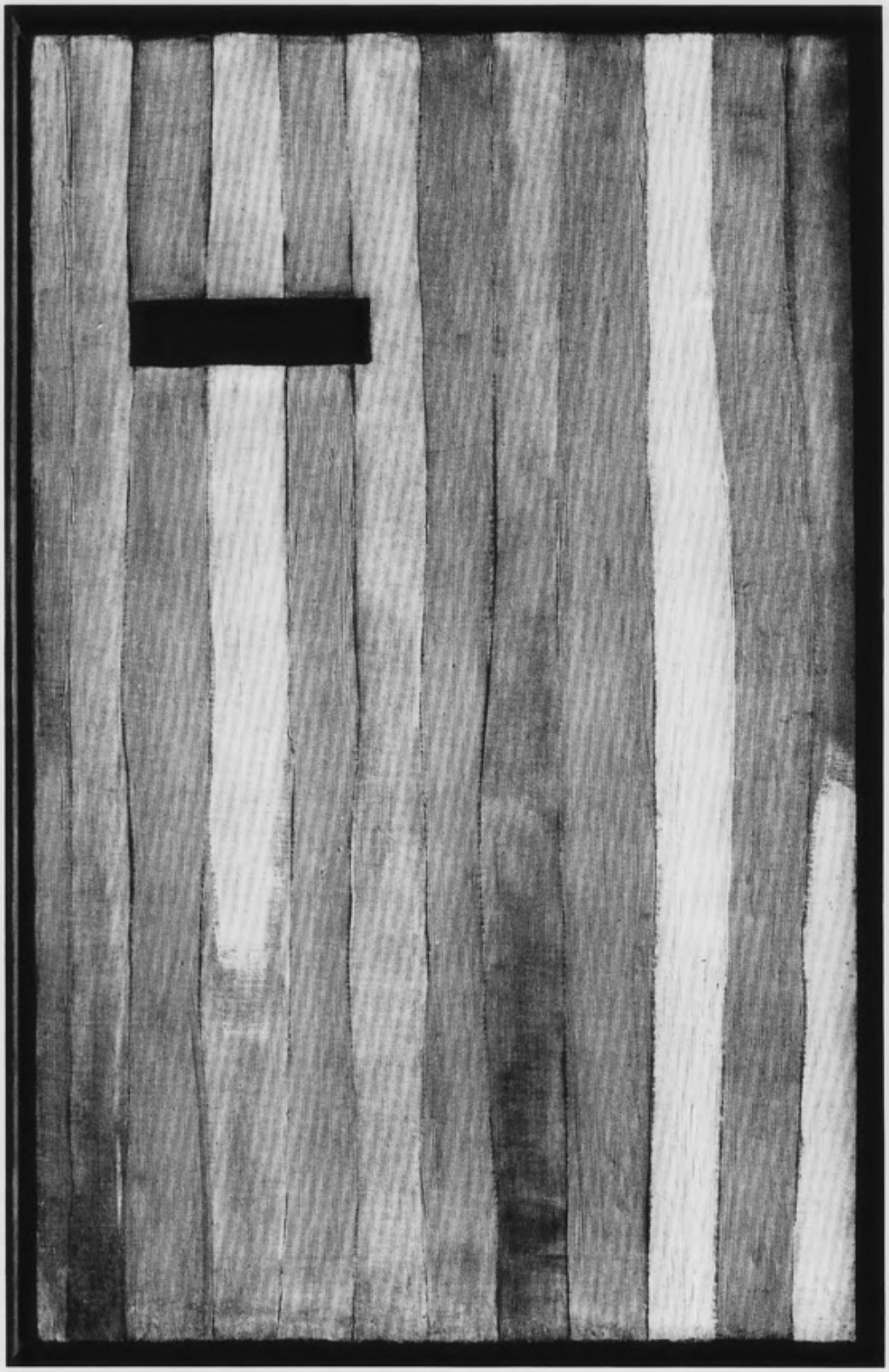


1. Robert Motherwell, *Open No. 84,* 1970, acrylic on canvas, 60x54''. Collection of the artist. (Photo: Steven Sloman)

more fully in the process, the aesthetic intervals that make their work so uniquely individualistic and powerfully divergent in the ambiance of the painted statement.

Like other members of the celebrated ''New York School,'' Robert Motherwell became especially attached to the poetics of the French Symbolists, the Surrealist group and their theories of automatism, and the abstract art of Matisse, Miró, Mondrian, and Picasso. This wide range of sources which provided numerous systems of opposites both in theory and in practice, had the profound effect of establishing for Motherwell, as well as for the Abstract Expressionists in general, a matrix of opposing approaches to painting which may be expressed as a classical/romantic dualism. This divergent range between two poles of expression —a rather structured and intellectual classicism on the one hand, and a more active, emotive and gestural dynamism on the other—is one which established itself early in Motherwell's aesthetic and continues to the present day. Rarely have artists insisted upon using paint more intensely as a vehicle for personal expression or for its metaphorical potential as has Motherwell. Yet despite an inextinguishable romanticism and the continuing symbolism of personal subject matter, Motherwell has never de-emphasized the literalism and integrity of formal elements within his work.

In the late 1960s the symbolic meaning of imagery emphatically yielded to the reductive color planes and apparent programmatical formal interests with the ''Open'' series (Fig. 1). This direction in painting, spurred on by frequent forays



2. Robert Motherwell, *The Little Spanish Prison,* 1941, oil on canvas, 27-1/8x17''. Collection of the artist. (Photo: Steven Sloman)

into paper collage constructions, originated in the chance discovery of what in Motherwell's words he

> had been half-consciously looking for during the past three years, a 'field painting' that would not be overwhelmed by the force of 'signs' (or images) on it. The 'chance' was in having leaned the rear of a canvas against a larger one and, in liking the relationships, spontaneously outlining the smaller canvas in charcoal on the larger one.[1]

The effect was a door or opening along the bottom edge. After studying the relationship for some time, he inverted the canvas and decided that the opening worked more successfully for him as a window at the upper portion of the rectangle.

The conscious decision to invert the image's spatial configuration conjures up historical references to the numerous window/wall relationships found in the French modernist paintings he knew so well, especially those works by Matisse. This preoccupation with internalized feelings and internal enclosures versus the reality of physical openness in the environment can also be found quite early in Motherwell's works such as *The Little Spanish Prison* of 1941 (Fig. 2). The emphasis in this work of

> life-long obsession not only with Spanish themes but with the oppression of enclosure, and the antithetical sense of liberation from the prison of self, perhaps, into the objectified world of art[2]

as pointed out perceptively by Sam Hunter, establishes a firm foundation for the ambiguous window/wall field paintings of the '70s.

The first "Opens" were a single colored field on which a charcoal or masked-out line described a rectangle whose edges were parallel to the sides of the canvas. Motherwell then worked with numerous variations, shifting the size and edges of the rectangle to establish new relationships within the field and its transparent, superimposed form, as well as with the framing edges of the composition (Fig. 3). The autonomy of the precise line, which defines and separates the window from the wall and provides a focus for the ambiguous depth that it describes within the atmospheric field, continues Motherwell's intense preoccupation with the gestural mark of the brushstroke. Intimately familiar with the fleeting economy of calligraphic line used by the Zen masters, Motherwell constantly involves the Surrealist device of the frozen gesture to reinforce the strong layering of surface planes which float above non-specific background space.

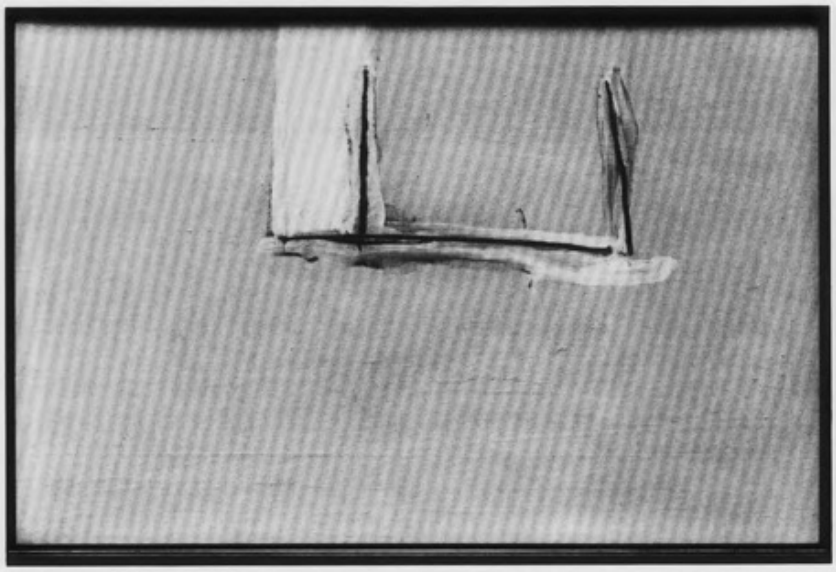
The linear forms which aimlessly intrude upon the picture plane and float on the surface become linear poetry appearing at times much like Miró's word-images. Perhaps more significantly, they also provide direct references to broadly etched graffiti on a loosely textured expanse of wall, and thereby reinforce once again the idea of continuous, mural-like planes which extend laterally beyond the

[1] Robert Motherwell in an interview with Irmeline Lebeer published in *Chroniques de l'Art Vivant* (July-August, 1971), and translated in the exhibition catalogue, *Robert Motherwell: Recent Paintings* for the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 1972.

[2] Sam Hunter, "Field Painting," *Critical Perspectives in American Art,* University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 1976, 4.

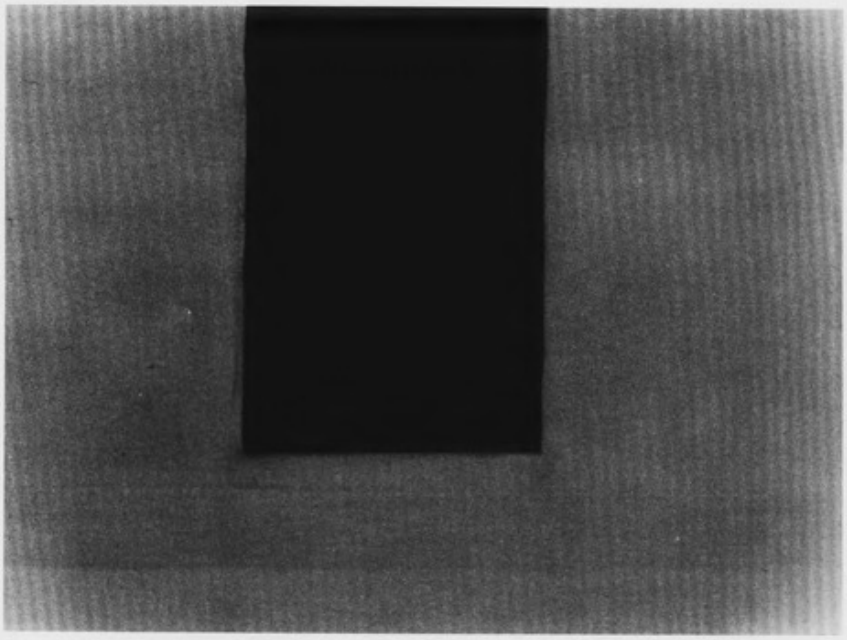
framing edge of the canvas (Fig. 4).

Other examples of the "Opens" find the rectangle varying slightly in color from its background or filled in completely to allow it to assert itself as a solid figural element, one, however, which emphasizes the fluctuating drama, not unlike



3. Robert Motherwell, *Open No. 129 (Blue on Gray),* 1970, acrylic and charcoal on sized canvas, 24x36". Collection of the artist. (Photo: Steven Sloman)

4. Robert Motherwell, *Open No. 97 (The Spanish House),* 1969, acrylic on sized canvas, 92-1/2x114-1/2". Collection of the artist. (Photo: Steven Sloman)

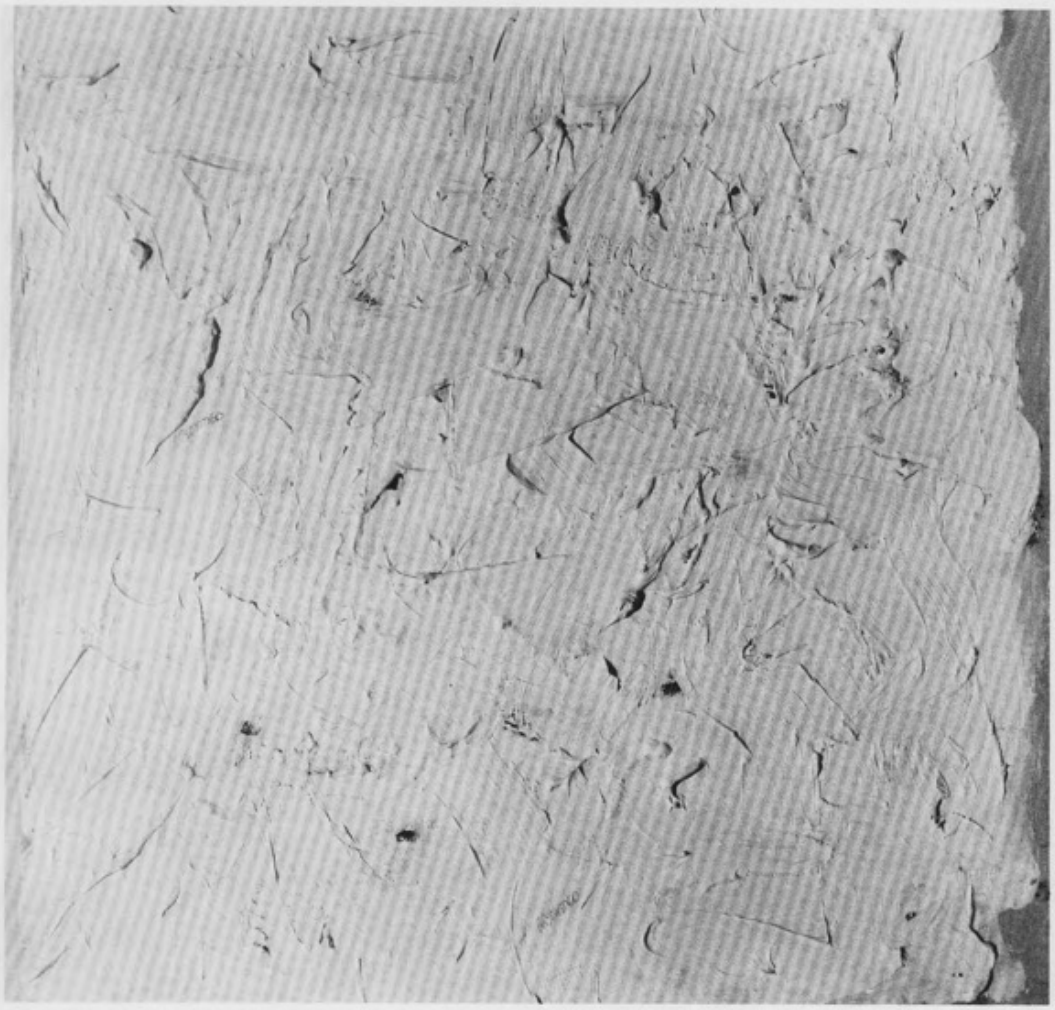


5. Robert Motherwell, *Open No. 50 (In Orange With Black),* 1969, acrylic on sized canvas, 30x40". Collection of the artist. (Photo: Eric Pollitzer)

the 'push-pull' aesthetics of Hans Hofmann (Fig. 5). References to the landscape collages were also introduced from time to time with the added elements of broad stripes of color either at the sides of the canvas or at the bottom, which furthered the development of the visual phenomena of a flat plane set within a flat, or almost flat, field.

Although Ryman and Berthot approach their work from different conceptual sources, like Motherwell, they share a commonality in their intense involvement with the painterly aspect of production: elevating the factural autonomy of the work to the point where it parallels in importance both the idea and the content. As Facturalists, Ryman and Berthot transcend categorization as being uniquely expressionists, post-painterly abstractionists, minimalists or even conceptualists, although their work undeniably retains vestiges of each of these painting philosophies.

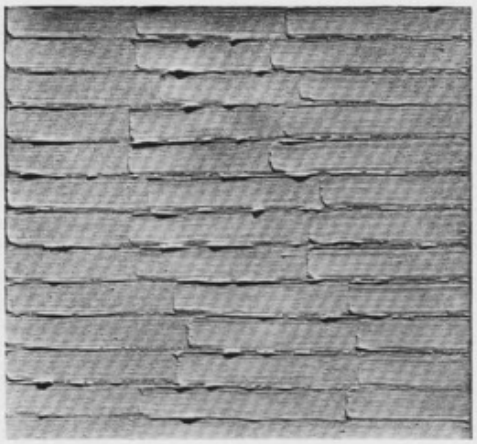
Robert Ryman's paintings at first appear to border on "nothingness." They have captured a precarious position which lingers on the fringe of the absolute zero and yet tantalize us with a plethora of complex implications about the physics and metaphysics of painting. Ryman's work is neither minimalistic nor a dematerialization of the traditions of painting. Acknowledging similarities with the works of Mondrian and Malevich, Ryman dissolves and reduces even further the formal elements of his work to the point where manipulation of paint on the surface becomes the only viable resolution to the painting problem.



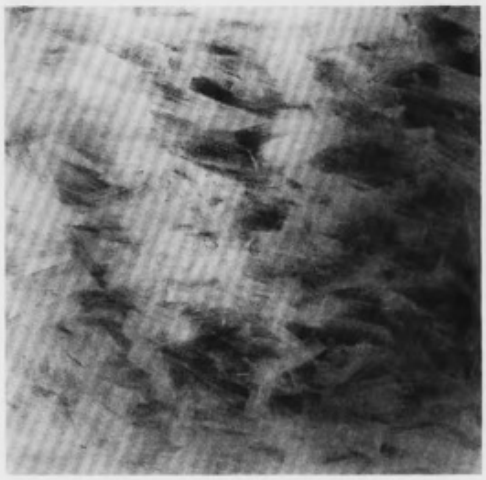
6. Robert Ryman, *Untitled,* 1960, oil on bristol board, 14-1/16 x 14-1/16". (Photo courtesy of John Weber Gallery)

Ryman's works of the early Sixties demonstrate a struggle with the unification of structure and the act of painting similar to those of Motherwell (Fig. 6). A series of untitled oils, caseins and gouaches painted from 1958 to 1961 explores simple painted forms and meandering brushstrokes and their relationship to the surface or plane on which they are placed.

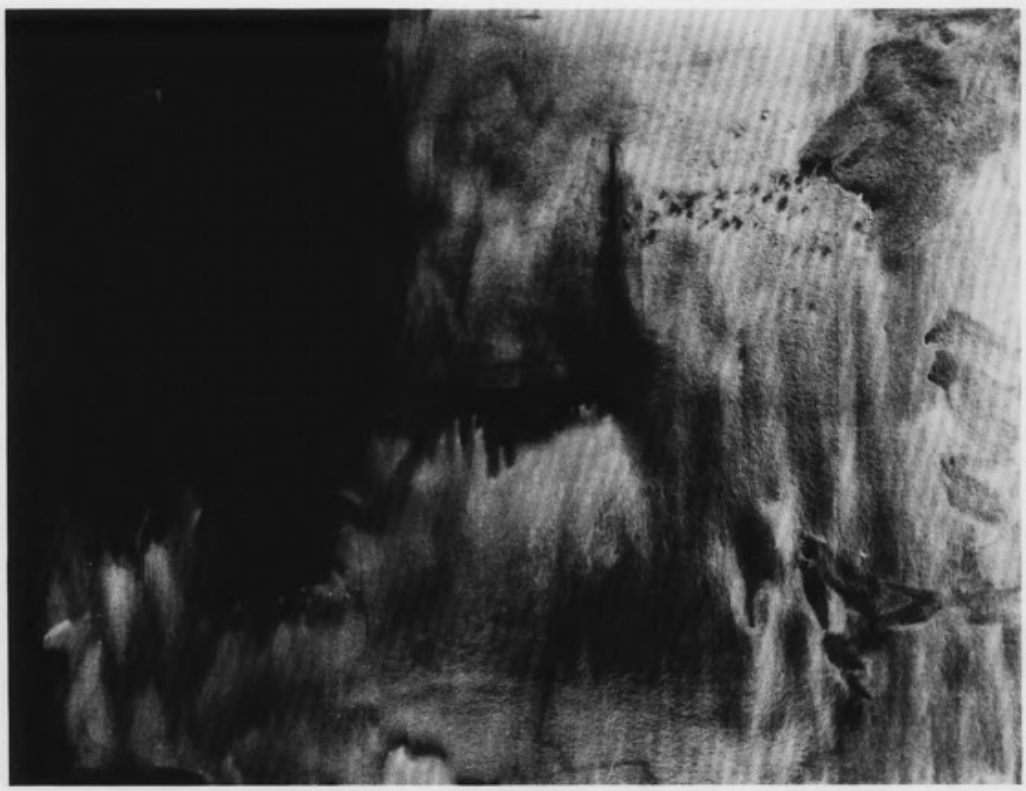
By reduction, Ryman permits each element within his painting to assert itself and count towards the making of the whole. The almost exclusive use of the square format during this period removes the complex considerations that have to be con-



7. Robert Ryman, *Untitled,* 1965, oil on cotton, 10x10''. (Photo courtesy of John Weber Gallery)



8. Robert Ryman, *3. 4. 5. 7,* (detail), 1969, enamel on paper, 60x60''. (Photo courtesy of John Weber Gallery)



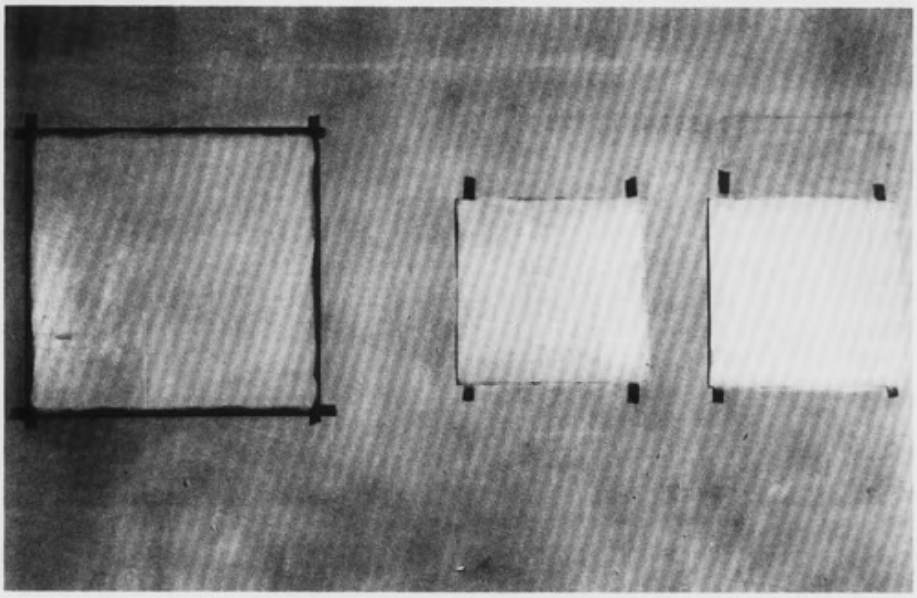
9. Robert Motherwell, *In Plato's Cave, No. 1,* 1972, acrylic on sized canvas, 72x96''. Collection of the artist. (Photo: Fototeca A.S.A.C.)

fronted in a compositional context. The square is a neutral, stable shape that allows each of Ryman's paintings to retain its own individuality without the demands of other supportive, formal devices or without relying on other works in the same series. The prolific, and likewise almost exclusive, use of white paint similarly relieves the artist as well as the spectator from making complex relationships and visual choices and thus allows them both to focus on the painterly aspects. This obsessive concentration on and reduction to white emphasizes emptiness and absence rather than the references to "openness" that Motherwell prefers.

When Motherwell places pigment on a canvas, he does so not to obscure the support, but to allow it to serve as a field on which other elements of figuration can interact and live harmoniously. Motherwell's surfaces remain open to visual penetration, even though the space may be extremely shallow; Ryman, on the other hand, not only forbids visual penetration of his surfaces, but also allows them to begin a violation of our physical space through their heavily textured accretions. In a similar way then, the dialectic between materials—the paint, the surface on which it is placed, and the support—become the key elements occupying Ryman's oeuvre.

In the *Windsor Series* and similar works of 1965 (Fig. 7), Ryman layers horizontal slabs of paint on the canvas much like a brickworker lining up his bricks to create a windowless wall. The surface of the canvas, which is sometimes revealed at the edges of the frame, now supports another new surface of thick bars of pigment. To dramatize the new application and layering, Ryman allows the width of the brush to determine the width of the gesture, and its ability to hold paint within its bristles, the length of the stroke. That is, when the paint has been expelled from the brush, the stroke terminates itself and defines both the end of the gesture and the location for the start of the next. Thus the stroke is 'programmed' in a sense, eliminating decision-making on the part of the artist and providing a more systematic procedure conducive to Ryman's creative process. Paint applied in this manner provides the marks of the artist (content, if you will) and establishes spontaneously the texture as well as the spatial relationships within the square format. The walls which result are dense layers of pure pigment which assert their viscosity to the viewer while at the same time forcefully blocking his vision with an impenetrable new surface. Pigment here exists in and of itself; it demands and obtains control of our perceptions and focuses our attention on the technical prowess that created it, and the direction towards purism that it established. It is the first step towards the abyss of nothingness that Ryman seeks on both a physical and metaphysical level in his paintings.

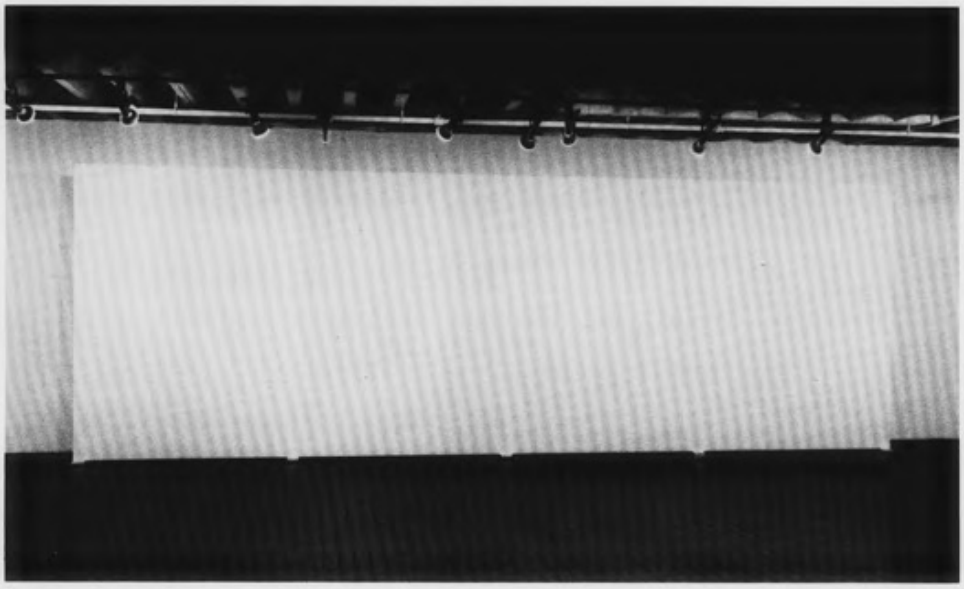
As Motherwell and Ryman moved toward a simplification of elements in the development of their paintings, both examined the surface qualities of loosely applied grounds (Figs. 8 and 9). The exploitation of the brushstroke on the support was continued in Ryman's *Surface Veils* of the 1970s which utilized thin panels of cold-rolled steel as the surface to be covered with enamel paints. The interaction of the two new materials, both of which were slick, reflective and resistant to diffusion, permitted Ryman to 'melt' the stroke practically into oblivion. The first examples of this series retained the gestural aspects of a gently arcing stroke—some applied with a twelve inch brush — and permitted the ground to assert its presence in



10. Robert Ryman, *Prototypes,* 1970. (Photo courtesy of John Weber Gallery)

various places through the pigment. Many of Motherwell's painted fields are allowed to react to subsequent layering of pigments in the same way. In various "Opens" for example, bright spots of underlying surface permeate the colored veils at numerous points throughout the field, providing rich transparencies and luminous passages of light which imbue the canvases with pockets of deepening space. Here the painterly veil is allowed to be at once the object that is described, as well as the ground against which it is seen. Later in the unification of the planes, Ryman utilizes an aluminum surface on which pigment is floated so as to lose all traces of the hand, an effect that was facilitated by coating the thin metal supports with a transparent plastic binder, which when welded to the metallic surface by baking permitted an even more uniform application of the paint.

In works of the early Seventies, Ryman furthered his exploration of the absolute by reducing the objecthood of his supports even more (Fig. 10). In this series, he eliminated the wooden stretcher so that the canvas could be placed directly against the wall. By taping material, sometimes canvas, sometimes paper, on the wall and painting over it, he came closer still to achieving layers of paint which rely more upon themselves for support than on anything foreign to their inherent nature and properties. The square sections of paper or canvas, when painted in place, would at times attach themselves to the wall as the paint permeated the surface of the material, and remain there when the tape was removed. The painted areas that were under the tape provided an added element which complemented



11. Robert Ryman, *Varese Wall,* 1975, vinyl acetate emulsion on wood, 8x24'. (Photo courtesy of John Weber Gallery)

the painted surface and at the same time revealed the painting procedure. This added formal element of figure (paint)-ground (raw canvas or paper) interaction constantly reminds us of Ryman's foremost interest in the materials of his craft: the painted layer and the surface it covers.

Exploration along these lines has provided a wealth of possibilities with the various materials for Ryman. What appears at first to be merely variations on the same theme, upon further examination is discovered to be a series of individually sensitive and provocative relationships between materials, with an acute awareness of those inherent qualities that allow each element to be different both physically and conceptually from the rest.

The challenge of newly discovered materials, the interaction between the palpability, viscosity and chemical properties of various paints, and the infinite possibilities with which they may be applied to surfaces of all kinds continues to propel Ryman in his quest for the pureness of painting. During the Seventies, the ever present relationship of a painting to its environment and the immediate wall on which it is displayed have become a more primary concern, while in no way lessening the foremost intuitive urgency to unite paint and surface and in so doing increase one's awareness of both. The support in these works has now become the wall itself (Fig. 11). The carefully primed, sanded, and resanded wooden partitions permit a new lateral extension of the visual perception of paint welded to a surface that was previously only suggested. The delicacy of thin paint layers observable at

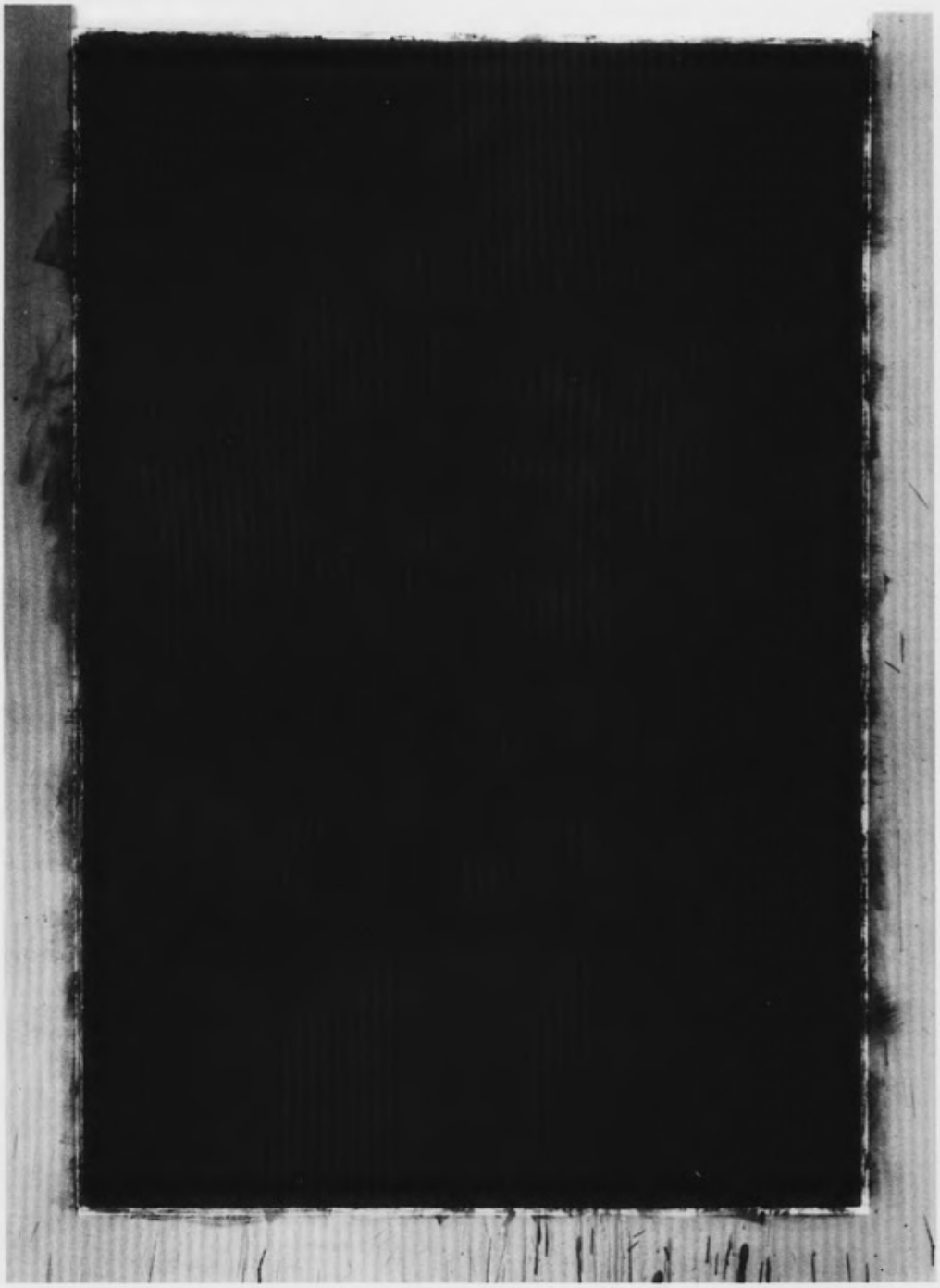
the edges of the walls when seen in section and the subtle gradations of reflected light that occur as a result of the uneven drying of the immense surface provide a new intimacy with scale that Ryman is just now beginning to explore. The reduction of the finished product somehow seems to grow inversely proportionate to the monumental task of creating it. Although Ryman maintains that he is not concerned about process as the content for his works, he acknowledges that understanding the 'how' of painting makes them much more than mere product. Whereas Motherwell's voyage into the realm of expressive painting of surfaces becomes more and more acute, Ryman's expressions become more and more obscured. Motherwell never negates his debt to the internalized feeling of the sensuous stroke and thus even in the reduction of the "Opens" he still retains the authority of the painterly surface. Ryman, on the contrary, has stepped into the void of a purity that is cold, calculating and impersonal, and thus his work must be seen as paintings painted. As Carter Ratcliff has precisely observed, "Ryman always paints at the border between the absurd and the completely self-evident."[3]

In his catalogue essay on "Field Painting," Sam Hunter places Jake Berthot's work in a mediatorial position between Motherwell's invigorating "immediacy of line and surface and his concern with the moment of creation, and Ryman's disengagement from the pictorial process as a form of emotional commitment."[4] The concept of the window and the wall is one which Berthot explored from almost the beginning of his painting career. His early works of the late Sixties and early Seventies focus on a series of rectangular voids, beautifully stained with luminous veils of rich color washes and framed by heavily painted, dense elements which forcefully stabilize the painted interior atmospheres (Fig. 12). Eventually, the interior window element broke loose from its confined placement in the *Notched Series* and its variants of the early Seventies where the interior window space now is bordered by adjacent framing wings or extensions. By manipulating the length, width and color of these partial framing elements, Berthot was able to achieve a wide range of perspectival perceptions (Fig. 13).

The stained fields with highly articulated frames gradually gave way in 1973 to tripartite canvases that langorously display their painted surfaces. In this series known as the *Shift Group,* layering of pigment now provided the same figure-ground tensions as before, but with a heavier, more substantial attention to the application of pigment on the canvas support. Occasionally wax was added to the paint to provide a viscosity that was at once both transparent and luminous in its reflective properties and dense in its crusty impasto. Also, an interest in the edges of the canvas became apparent with the thinning of paint in those areas. The interior space was 'slowed down' by diffusing the previously crisp edge that softens the jump visually from the central field to the frame.

Concurrently, Berthot experimented with reducing the central window element to a rectangle circumscribed on three sides by a painted or scraped line pulled through the increasingly dense layering of color, with a fourth side usually bleeding off the top edge of the canvas (Fig. 14). This adjustment is a result of the detailed examination on Berthot's part of the mechanical dynamics of the rectangular elements as they focus themselves about the actual and visual centers of their align-

[3] Carter Ratcliff, "New York Letter," *Art International,* XV, #2, February 1971, 69.
[4] Hunter, 6.

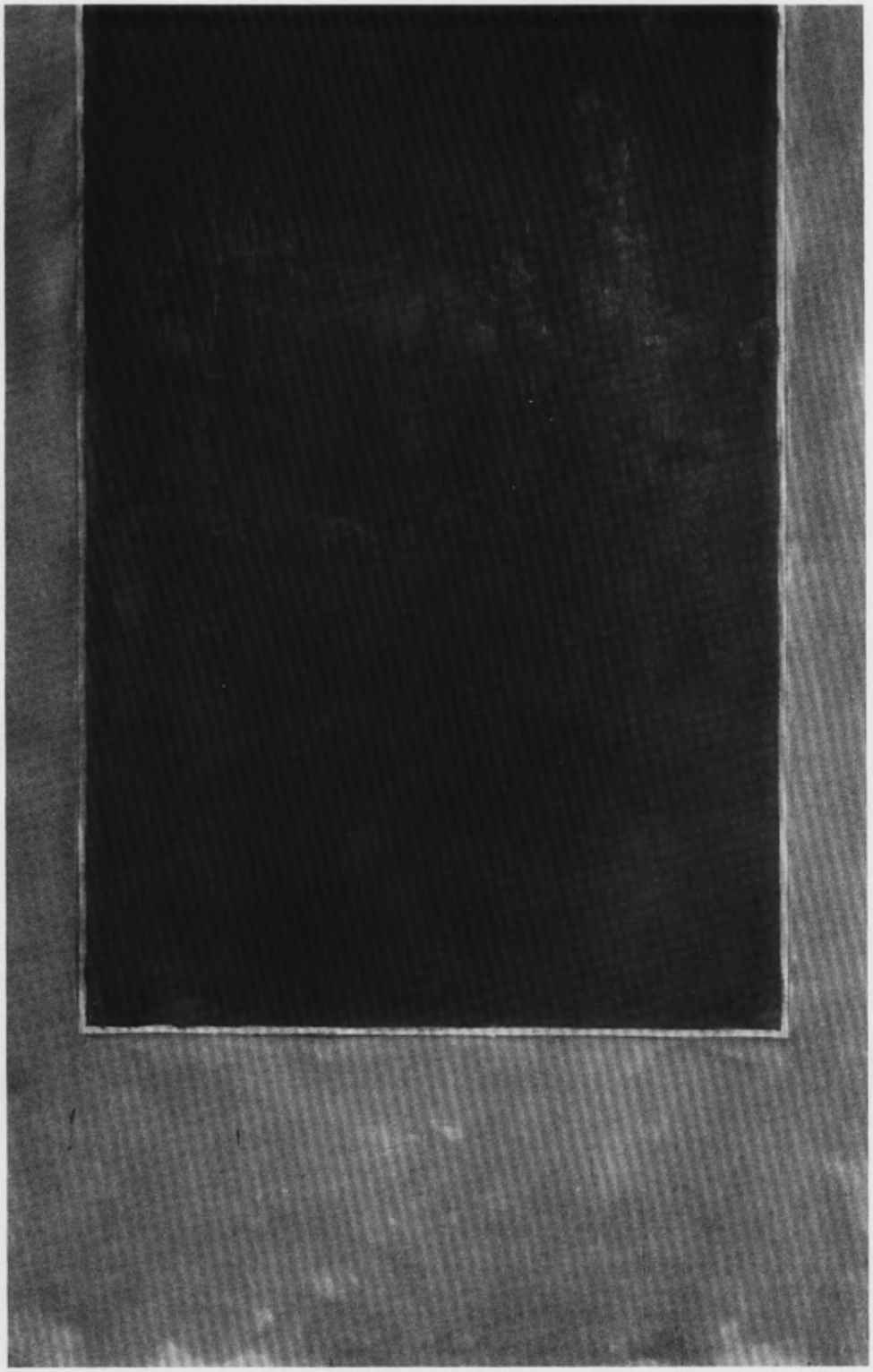


12. Jake Berthot, *Choristers Squad,* 1972, acrylic on canvas. (Photo courtesy of David McKee Gallery)

ment on the picture plane. What Berthot achieved mechanically and mathematically in detailed studies on grid paper, Motherwell found by intuitively inscribing one canvas against the other.

During the reductive facturing, Berthot acknowledges the primacy of paint and support by continually juxtaposing the two. Form as object vies for attention amid layers of paint to create ambiguous spatial games that push and pull, constantly reversing their function and also their location within the implied space, much like Motherwell's "Opens." Of course, the similarity is not quite that simple, for each was working with different problems and from different concerns for spatial arrangement within the rectangular field. Nevertheless, the resulting window/wall relationships are astoundingly alike in their initial impact.

13. Jake Berthot, *Loop Group No. 2, Spike,* n.d., oil on canvas, 56x48". (Photo courtesy of David McKee Gallery)

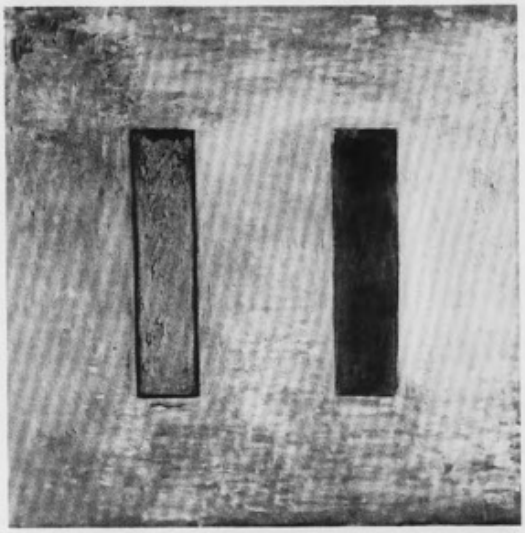


14. Jake Berthot, *Lear,* 1972, oil on canvas, 96x60'', (Photo courtesy of David McKee Gallery)

15. Robert Motherwell, *A la pintura No 12,* 1971, acrylic on sized canvas, 9x10'. Collection of the artist. (Photo: Steven Sloman)

Motherwell had toyed consciously and unconsciously with vertical rectangular shapes that are attached to the upper frame of his compositions on a number of occasions (Fig. 15). Like Motherwell's early "Opens," Berthot's recent paintings have allowed the window form to solidify in a dense network of painted layers that fuse to create an almost solid impenetrable mass, seen against a transparent wall of deep space with painterly luminosity and airiness (Fig. 16). While Berthot continues his reversal of interior/exterior spaces and the reorganization of earlier established figure/ground patterns, Motherwell seeks to expand his interest in the purity of the inscribed gestural line upon a loosely painted field of pure color. Striving to remove all reference to interior/exterior spatial relationships in his window/wall exercises, Motherwell has effectively reduced his elements so that the spaces without the inscribed line may act as freely open as those within. This in effect removes at times all figure/ground considerations and the line becomes merely a mark on a colored surface. In his most recent work, Berthot similarly continues to metaphorically measure and explore pictorial space and scale in an illusionistic way. The slow movement towards a chromatically unified surface has passed the mid-point of solidity and has continued on the opposite side towards openness. That is, after the factural reduction of autonomous space was achieved in heavily painted, subtly modelled surfaces, color differences between the interior field and

16. Jake Berthot, *Tumbler,* 1976, oil on canvas, 72x48''. (Photo courtesy of David McKee Gallery)



17. Jake Berthot, *Double Bar Orange Square,* 1977, oil on canvas, 40x40''. (Photo courtesy of David McKee Gallery)

the surrounding frame once again became apparent. In the restatement of illusionistic space as window/frame configuration, however, it is the interior field which now becomes solidified and dense, while the framing device ambiguously begins a journey towards becoming an unfathomable void. In other words, the role of the window/frame relationship has become dramatically inverted (Fig. 17).

In these paintings, Berthot states that the central, more stable form is invariably painted first, an aspect which allows it to assert itself initially and project from the rest of the unpainted canvas. Although reduced in color intensity, it immediately establishes a solid form of richly layered pigment and acts as a lodestar towards which the rest of the work can be guided. Once the interior rectangle is sufficiently powerful to retain its status, Berthot begins the slow, calculated build-up of the surrounding areas. Methodically placing short diagonal strokes in lateral rows of cross-hatching along the untouched surface of the canvas, he deftly builds layer upon layer until the individual strokes become veiled and lost in the whole of the muted tonality. The result is a rich fabric of greys and browns suggestive of organic neutrals found in nature which ultimately reflect all other color in a most sensuously subtle way. Thus, although the procedure of paint application may be closely linked with that of Ryman, the surface becomes a highly charged at-

mospheric fog which relies on consecutive accretions of layered pigment rather than terminated layers of monochromed white. The resulting, muddied haze is not at all unlike an unfocused, earth-toned reflective passage from a Monet water-lily pond. To enhance the carefully integrated 'frame,' Berthot usually manages to judicially place a few calligraphic vertical strands of color along the lower edge to stabilize the monumental interior form in space.

Obviously Berthot is more concerned with the wider range of formal elements in traditional painting than is Ryman. Berthot's work has a resulting quality of struggle and personal *angst* that permeates the painted surface, and which, unlike Ryman's planes, are not reduced in the dematerialization process. Berthot's work is also much more literary and poetical in the silences he invokes, quietly acknowledging his debt to Rothko, one which is, of course, shared by Motherwell.

In reviewing these few key examples of work, the most apparent elements which link Motherwell, Ryman and Berthot are basically formal ones. Further investigation has also revealed common concerns with spatial organization and the integration of the painted image with the painted surface. All three artists, moreover, avidly continue to express their personal needs and energies by emphasizing in their work the intimate act of applying pigment to that surface. Although the conceptual processes that provide the framework for their image-making are widely divergent and eclectic, Motherwell, Ryman and Berthot share the common goal of passionately pursuing the increasingly abstract nature of pure painting—field painting—which has become a natural by-product of the painterly process.

Rutgers University

Interview With Robert Rosenblum

PATRICIA LEIGHTEN AND WAYNE ROOSA

The following interview with Robert Rosenblum took place on October 15, 1979, at New York University, Washington Square. We wanted to talk to Rosenblum because we were interested in discussing the implications in the following quote:

> *We [art historians] feel more at home in the secure foothills of facts than in the precarious summits of ideas, and are happier proving a date than constructing a new historical synthesis.*
>
> Introduction to *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko*[1]

Wayne Roosa: We noticed that you wrote the "Abstract Sublime"[2] article—out of which your *Northern Tradition* book grew—about the same time you wrote the book on Cubism.[3] Were you thinking about two worlds at once?

Robert Rosenblum: Well, it was kind of a schizophrenic thing because I was trained in the '50s and that was really the heyday of formalism. My whole approach to the history of art was a reflection of the work of Clement Greenberg on the one hand and Sydney Freedberg at a distance on the other. All we used to talk about in graduate school was the picture plane, and everything was about flatness and spatial ambiguity. I was interested in, among other things, the late 18th century, and I was fascinated by the way it seemed to demonstrate the breakdown of Baroque space and the assertion of something that looked absolutely flat and pure and linear. As I think about it, it was really a kind of translation of what was supposed to be happening in so-called modernist painting—which I don't believe in anymore —in which things kept getting flatter and flatter à la Greenberg. And I really approached the late 18th/early 19th century from this angle which seemed at the time very *right.* Then I guess I had my own internal revolution, and probably the first thing that went with the revolution was the recognition of other approaches. When I studied Cubism I was in good part in tune with a formalist evolution of art, and thought about things in terms of picture planes and space and all of that, so that was the last gasp of that phase. The "Abstract Sublime" article, which was 1961 if I'm not mistaken, was a new approach which I assume was somewhat more personal and less second-degree, less carbon copy than the first. I guess it had to do with the fact that at the time, in the late '50s, everybody was still arguing—though it seems unbelievable now—about whether or not Abstract Expressionists were good or bad artists. You had to be either for or against them, and they were still very heated polemical topics which you took sides about. I, just by gut instinct, loved pictures by Pollock and Clyfford Still and Rothko, although I somehow assumed

[1] Robert Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition: Friedrich to Rothko,* New York, 1975, 7.
[2] Rosenblum, "The Abstract Sublime," *Art News,* Vol. 59, No. 10, February, 1961, 38-41.
[3] Rosenblum, *Cubism and Twentieth Century Art,* New York, 1961.

at the time that whether you liked them or not, they didn't look like anything anybody had ever painted before. They were totally new in the Western tradition, and if you thought they were terrific it was probably by an act of faith, rather than by any received experiences. I started off feeling this way, and then more and more I began to sense a somewhat *déjà vu* feeling about the pictures. They had to do with my interest at the time in early 19th-century painting and what seems now in retrospect a kind of revelation, in which I wondered "doesn't that Rothko look like a Caspar David Friedrich?" And just as much to the point, "not only doesn't it look like it, but doesn't it feel like it?" It all seemed mysterious and hazy and transcendental, and I began to have one after the other these shocks of recognition, in which so many of these Abstract Expressionist pictures seemed to have the cosmic feel of a lot of Romantic landscape painting.

They also had very often the same kind of configurations of whirlpools or crazy geologies, so that with an historical mind set in motion, I began to establish corollaries between the structure and emotions of Romantic landscape painting in the North and Abstract Expressionist paintings, and worked out a perhaps too schematic pattern. Then I began in the following decade to fill in the pieces, that is, I felt that it couldn't be just a coincidence, that there must be a continuing tradition that linked the early 19th century with the 1950s. More and more works throughout the 19th and early 20th century began to create the connective tissue between Friedrich and Rothko, or between Turner and Pollock. That's what I set out to do in a kind of casual way: to see the degrees of continuity that could be established between the Romantics and the 1950s. I think an important midway link in all of this was Mondrian. What was really a general discovery in the 1960s was that so many of the early abstract painters—the pioneers Mondrian and Kandinsky—were not involved in purely formal activities. The 1950s thought they were just interested in pure art, but they were really kind of loony transcendental artists who were involved with theosophical and mystical theories, and they in turn began to fit into this historical structure I was making. So little by little, things began to get into focus. And then of course the 19th century began to fit into this jigsaw puzzle as well, especially artists like Hodler, whom I've always liked, and Munch, who suddenly seemed to be German Romantics revisited in the 1880s and '90s. This in turn set up another kind of polarity because I'd always been conscious of the difference between French art and non-French art. One of my pet peeves was the way that Van Gogh had been digested into a French imperial system where he was always considered a French painter who happened to have been born in Holland, just as I was always annoyed by the view that isn't very much espoused today, that Picasso was a French painter who happened to be born in Spain. I'm always interested in national qualities in art; I was always emphasizing how Spanish Picasso was and how Dutch or Northern Van Gogh was. All of this helped to support my formulation of an idea that there was a kind of counter-culture or counter-revolution in the history of modern art that had to do with more northern climes, and that this would be another way of connecting the Romantics, at least the Northern Romantics, with American art of the 1940s and '50s. That seems to con-

tinue; I mean, one of the things that I've been thinking about, though I probably won't act on it, is that, well, if I wanted to hang onto the structure—I really don't believe in structures or schemes, I much prefer a more flexible approach—but if I wanted to maintain it, I'd like to write a postscript about Earthworks as an extension literally in "3-D" and nature, of a lot of the premises of Northern Romantic art. But that is just a question of bringing things up to date with the late '60s and '70s.

Patricia Leighten: You mentioned that in the *Natural Paradise.*[4]

RR: That's right, I did there. That was, as you know, the most controversial thing that ever happened to me. I was so surprised by it.

PL: Yes, you got blamed for the whole show. That was the most interesting thing, the assumption that the whole show was based on your involvement.

RR: Yes; well I tried once in a letter to the editor in *Art in America*[5] to set it straight, because in fact, I guess the intellectual premises of the exhibition may have been mine. But I never chose the exhibition. All I did was write an essay to support the particular anthology that was rushed together for a 1976 Bicentenary deadline. So it was not the selection I would have made, and in fact, I don't know that I would have been so national about it and treated only American art. But I think the main rub then was with established critics who liked to think that Abstract Expressionism was so high class that it couldn't have American roots, that it could only have mainstream, European modernist roots. So it tended to disrupt the mythology that good things came from abroad, from Europe and not from this country, and that the native traditions were not to be admired as they now are. It seems there's an absolute reversal of this now with all the younger generation of scholars looking to America for the roots of Abstract Expressionism rather than to big-time artists like Matisse or Kandinsky. At least that's what I'm interested in these days.

PL: It struck me that in both the *Northern Tradition* and the *Natural Paradise* you mention American artists like O'Keeffe and Dove. Do you see a complete continuity between your two works?

RR: I included both O'Keeffe and Dove in the *Friedrich to Rothko* book as the ancestors in both form and nature mysticism of people like Gottlieb and Rothko. I really tried to find a kind of B.C. phase in American art that could help to explain the A.D. part of Abstract Expressionism. I think the problem has to do with just general problems of thought and logic. People like an either/or situation and the fact of the matter is, as I see it, it's both. That is, obviously the Abstract Expressionists knew everything in the Museum of Modern Art and the European tradition, but they were also more heavily indebted than we used to think to their American ancestors. So it's really an amalgam of the two and it's not one or the other.

PL: Have any of your ideas changed since you wrote the *Northern Tradition* book? I mean there was a reaction to that too.

RR: No, I don't think that they've changed as much as I've just lost interest in them. I mean it was something that had been on my mind for, I realize now, over a decade. I first had these thoughts for the "Abstract Sublime" article in 1961 and

[4] Rosenblum, "The Primal American Scene," *The Natural Paradise: Painting in America 1800-1950,* New York, MOMA, 1977.

[5] Rosenblum, Letter to the Editor, *Art in America,* Vol. 65, No. 2, March-April, 1977, 5.

then I decided that it would be nice to get it together in a more organized way and follow a sequence from the Romantics to the 1950s. Then I had a chance to do the book which was the outcome of the Slade lectures which I gave at Oxford in, what year? '73? '72? So that was a now or never opportunity to get this all together in some speculative form and after I wrote it, I had had it. I didn't want to reiterate it, but I was sort of obliged to do so for that Museum of Modern Art catalogue. It was a kind of patriotic, once in a lifetime occasion. But as far as I'm concerned, that is something that is now very stale to me, and I don't want to repeat it. I get very upset when I hear students repeating it, as they tend to convert what I hope I presented in a kind of loose-jointed and speculative way, into catechism. That's what I really dislike most about the perils of teaching, when what you say in an open way becomes a kind of closed structure. So I hate categories and definitions, even if I'm responsible for making some of them, but then as soon as I make them I want to get away from them; they sound falser and falser as time passes.

WR: We noticed that in the introduction to your *Northern Tradition* book you were careful to say that this isn't the definitive statement, that it is speculative. But on the other hand some phrases were strong, such as:

> . . . there is an important, alternate reading of the history of modern art which might well supplement the orthodox one that has as its almost exclusive locus Paris.[6]

We wondered if you still feel that, or if "alternate" was too strong a word?

RR: No, I think I do feel that strongly, and that is probably too schematic, but as I said before, I'm very conscious—I guess most people are, but I seem to be more so than others—of national qualities. Everytime I travel in Europe, which is frequent, as soon as I cross the border I can't wait to see how the typography changes or the look of the people or the menu arrangement or the angle of the gables, and I feel this very strongly in the history of art. I am always aware, since Paris has been the mecca of all art historical activity in the 19th century, of non-Parisian things, how they feel and look different from what goes on in Paris. So I think that on a very primitive level I'd hang onto some polarity like that, but then I'd like to refine it in terms of a lot of other national differences. In fact one of the things I'm most concerned with these days is a very much more international view of 19th-century art than we've inherited. When I say international, I mean Russia and Mexico and Canada and Portugal and Norway, etc., so I think it's time to do that. In fact I am doing it. I'm writing a survey of 19th-century art, so I have to do it. Do you want to hear about this?

PL: Sure.

RR: I'll tell you about this because it's really in the front of my mind. I was approached by Abrams to do a survey of 19th-century art together with Janson and Jacobus, who will do the architecture section. Janson will do the sculpture and I'll do painting. When I was first asked about this, I thought "I don't want to write a big survey, it's going to be a pot-boiler; it would be slavery and just come out as a series of digested platitudes." Then the more I thought about it the more I realized that if I did it correctly, or freshly, it would be an entirely new book, and one that

[6] Rosenblum, *Modern Painting and the Northern Romantic Tradition*, 7.

finally assimilated some of the new ideas about the 19th century that people have been proposing in the last 20-odd years. If I could get it all in one place, and offer revisions of scenery, interpretation and so on, that would really be worth doing. So I agreed to do it, and instead of its being a pot-boiler—I've done about half of it now—I've really found it to be the most nervous-making and exciting thing I've done in a long time. Every single choice involves the weight of last judgments upon me, like, which picture do you choose by Goya for the color plate? what is the proper combination of the unfamiliar to the familiar? how many new artists can you put in? how many sociological interpretations do you have versus the old approaches? So it's really been walking on a tightrope. Everything is up for grabs in terms of questioning the status quo of how we view the 19th century.

PL: You're aware of sort of creating a new canon?

RR: Yes. What I wonder now is whether it's going to be so eccentric that it will turn out to be unacceptable to college teachers who may want to use it. We all know that there's a crying need for a good 19th-century survey. It's also been very difficult juggling the right combination of supreme artists who are really great for all time and have to be represented in terms of individual genius, like David or Manet, against all of the secondary figures who are either tasty as artists but who aren't first class, or who demonstrate some curious historical point that interests me. So it's a very hard thing to organize in terms of traditions and revolutions of our approaches to the 19th century.

PL: So you're torn between doing an art history and a cultural history?

RR: Yes, there's a lot of that. Many younger art historians think that it is absolutely imperative to consider art as a reflection of social history and that's the thrust of revision. I've tried as much as possible to choose examples that have all kinds of political ramifications—like portraits of heads of state and representations of political events—and lots of new orientation to social history—the attitudes towards children, or women, in art. It sounds programmatic but it really, in my case at least, comes about by intuition rather than by conscious choice, because I've been looking at things and teaching for a long time. I discovered for instance—this is about art historical choices reflecting contemporary social changes—that quite unwittingly, I had chosen as a sequence of three French paintings of c. 1800 1) a picture of a black man; 2) a picture of a gay mythological subject; and 3) a picture painted by a woman artist. I had never consciously made this choice to appeal to *avant-garde* taste, or current social demands, it just sort of happened. I can imagine that after the fact it might seem that an astute young editor had said to me, "Now we have to have some pictures of blacks in this book," or "we have to have some pictures by women," or "we have to have some gay pictures," and so on. But it all came out of me unconsciously.

PL: The whole question of approaching art intuitively, making these intuitive choices, you seem to really embrace quite openly. Do you feel that it's almost a new methodology? It's always been there as an option for the untrained appreciator, but it seems fairly radical in the context of the Germanic tradition of art history.

RR: What do you mean by intuition?
PL: Well, in the introduction to the *Northern Tradition* book you talk about how art historians are more comfortable with facts than they are trying to make an imaginative leap, to work with things that simply can't be proven but can be very fruitful if you put them together and think about them. Without making an issue out of whether Rothko made a pilgrimage to see Friedrich, you looked at them together and let them enlighten us about the common nature of the two men's work. There are many art historians who say you are really on unsafe ground, that you don't have the historical apparatus to support your structure.
RR: Well, I'm really of two minds about that, that is, I believe in intuition but only in the right peoples' intuition. I have to say that as a teacher of graduate students I probably am very conservative or very Germanic in the sense that I try very quickly to establish in a graduate student's mind a complete awe for data. That for me at the beginning is much more important than loose-jointed ideas. It's nice to have ideas and intuitions but you have to earn the right to have them and if they're not supported by a good deal of information, the chances are they will be just half-cocked. It's a question of vanity. I can say immodestly, I think, that I have, through decades of research and dealing with an enormous amount of material in libraries and archives, earned the right to have more supportable intuitions than people who have not acquired that much knowledge. I don't want to squelch freedom of thought and perception and so on, but I do think that there are intuitions and intuitions. I believe that first come the data and second come the speculations about the data. So, if I have to choose between the telephone book and a brilliant insight about a relationship between two names, I'll take the telephone book first, because that is fact and that is rock-bottom. Even if it is very boring, at least it is a useful tool in the hands of somebody who is brilliant, whereas an unsupported idea has a very short lifespan usually; it's just worth something to the person who has it. So if it's a question of carts and horse, I would take the facts first and secondly the ideas.
PL: So you are then still in agreement with teaching the same way you were taught?
RR: Yes, I am, absolutely, because I don't think there's any harm. I mean, I don't think anybody who has good intuitions will lose them. I think that somebody who has intuitions that can't be supported by information, won't be able to deal with the intuitions in a useful way. I think that you really need the training, so I would be in favor of the most boring kind of discipline in terms of the education of an art historian, and then, after the acquisition of this know-how the student can go on and be as brilliant as he or she wants. It's sort of sad, but the days of the inspired amateur or connoisseur are over. That whole world of early 20th-century art historical attributions is an example of a world of intuitions and insight that no longer holds any water. It seems nonsensical that people would spend all of their time trying to decide whether this drawing is or isn't by Rubens on the basis of their remarkable eye. But that was a world of personal insights and it just doesn't work when there's all kinds of specialized knowledge that can either prove or

disprove things on a much more scientific level. Whether we like it or not, once we have access to the facts we just can't bury them.

PL: Do you foresee a change in the future of the profession at all? You've already mentioned that in the last twenty years there's been a move away from formalism to something that takes culture and politics and history into account.

RR: Certainly from my experience, from listening to papers at College Art meetings and so on, it would seem that the pollution—or the rejuvenation, depending on your viewpoint—of art history with non-art history, is just growing by leaps and bounds. It seems as if this is especially productive in terms of the study of the 19th and even 20th century; that is, all kinds of art of the 19th century, for example, would have been earlier inaccessible because it was not high quality enough —whatever that means, I hate the word quality by the way—or because it didn't fit into mainstream evolutions. If you're interested in the social history of the 19th-century, you can find all kinds of fascinating pictures that tell you about the way people took tea or listened to music in the 1880s. If you're interested in such things as the history of industry you can be turned onto pictures of factories or strikes or labor conditions. There's a very long tradition for all these approaches, but they just seem to have been resurrected now. Certainly the formalist approach to the 19th century seems to me to have been exhausted a long time ago. It's just too boring, and even if it was poetically true for a generation or two, it's so stale that I can't mouth those words anymore. There just isn't enough in that approach for all those pictures that we suddenly can't help looking at—at least I can't help looking at. I remember that when I was a graduate student, in the '50s, it was considered almost like pornography to look at, say, Pre-Raphaelite painting. I mean you suddenly looked at Holman Hunt and got a charge out of it, and you knew that there was something wrong because it didn't fit into what good 19th-century art was supposed to be. But there was a whole other range of experiences there. They were insistent and against the grain, and you just couldn't "X" them out of your experience. A picture like Holman Hunt's *Awakening Conscience* is so compelling, that you can't help looking at it and thinking about it, which means that you are just going to have to rearrange your thinking about the 19th century to accommodate it. So whatever you do you're going to have to construct some other approches to help it fit in.

Maybe things are too lax now, because it seems to me in the late '70s—you'd have a better idea than I—there's nothing considered wrong. I don't know what there is that you're *not* supposed to like. When I was a student, it was considered silly or wrong to like so-called bad 19th century painting, whether it was high-pressure Pre-Raphaelites or French Academic painting, and similarly it was considered wrong to like Victorian architecture, or 19th century architecture. Now it would never even dawn on anybody that a building executed in 1850 imitating a French Renaissance château was bad because it was eclectic, so I don't know any longer whether there are such absolute rights and wrongs or standards. So who knows, it may be that what is more adventurous would be suddenly to come up with a whole new system of values in which people wished once more to impose a

hierarchy of good and bad and major and minor. This is very counter to my view of things, but it seems to me that there's been such *laissez-faire* for so long that maybe a younger generation is going to come up with a new request for beauty, goodness, truth and all that stuff. Order. God forbid. What is your generation liking these days? I mean, what's in and what's out? For instance, just in terms of general periods, Renaissance art? Baroque art? Do these have their followers?

WR: Yes, they have many followers. Absolutely.

PL: I would say there's no unpopular field now, the way once Baroque was very much neglected and not considered quite worthy of study.

RR: I was amazed to discover, for instance, that one of the *avant-garde* tastes was WPA mural painting. A whole group of very sharp younger students I know are all excited about this or that set of murals in the post office in Syracuse, and knew all these names as if they were the names of Trecento painters, so maybe that's something new.

WR: Of course part of that, I think, is the thrill of discovery. The older art historians got to do all the discovering, and here's a whole school of art right under our noses that's part of our own culture, that no one has worked on. It's exciting to realize that this painting fits with movies you saw and with things your parents talked about. There's a feeling that we're discovering a new generation.

RR: Well, I guess a lot of it is period nostalgia. In the case of American art, it's the feeling that it's so '30s you love it because it just puts its finger on what the '30s were about. I guess that's going to be true of the '50s now, because I'm getting ready for the '50s revival. It's going to be the next thing.

PL: Yes, there will be neo-formalism in ten years and people will suddenly discover "style."

RR: Oh yes, they'll probably discover Clement Greenberg, in the 1980s and '90s. Or Wölfflin. Do people still like Wölfflin? Or read him?

WR: Absolutely.

RR: What does it seem like today? I remember when I first read it, and that must have been in the '50s, it seemed illuminating; but I can only guess that today it would just seem very, very boring.

PL: It seems canonical and important, rather than illuminating, because when you learn about Renaissance or Mannerist or Baroque art, you learn it so much in terms of Wölfflin that you recognize him as you read; you recognize that this is the structure in which it has already been presented to you. But it is pyramidal: one doesn't reject Wölfflin to go for, say, social history. You have a sense of style and then allow history or politics to modify your understanding. I think the new approach is one of totality.

RR: Yes, that's right. One doesn't want to be partial or exclusive, at least I don't. And I have always tried in my teaching, I hope, to be as open as possible to every kind of suggestion. There's no single right interpretation and the more that is implied the better it is.

PL: So you're willing to look at the artist's biography, political events?

RR: Anything. Absolutely anything is grist for the mill. And I don't know if there's

a name for that method, but my method would be an anti-method. I don't believe in any single method. Anything that comes up is relevant. Or can be made so.

PL: I've always admired the freedom with which literary critics can play around. They can do without having to justify in the introduction what you did in the *Northern Tradition* book, whereas it was a very bold move for you to make. Not that it was the first thing that had done that, but it was still an act that had to be talked about and justified.

RR: I remember it used to be that art historians would talk about one school, one graduate department, as being formalist and another as being iconographical. It just seemed to be so preposterous to set up this simple-minded warfare when neither was adequate; things were much more complicated than that black and white polarity. I teach at the Institute of Fine Arts and if anybody asked me what the approach of the Institute of Fine Arts was, I wouldn't know. They're all different people there and they all must do things very differently. I mean we never have any powwow to decide what our method is. No one would dream of it. I think the most important thing is to be made aware of the openness of the whole range of possiblities.

PL: It seems to me that one simply wants to know everything there is that can tell one what the art means. It really should never be more complicated than that. And yet, it so often is.

RR: Well, I guess it has to do with purity and impurity. There are people who like the idea of a method and a pure structure in which everything will fit into place. And there are people who just like things to be like life: messy, complicated, open, partial. That's the way I like art history to be.

PL: I have the feeling that we are somehow of our own moment, so that the world view of the late 1970s is one of tremendous chaos and complexity and that we reflect that. What I see for my own self as an anti-method, or you may see as an anti-method of your own, will in ten or twenty years be seen as a kind of method that is related intrinsically to the years that we're living through right now, just as the formalists undoubtedly saw themselves as simply pursuing the truth. Now we see them terribly historically bound in the moment of the '50s.

RR: I know. I'm sure it's going to be the same thing and we're going to discover we're completely warped in thinking that we're flexible and unprejudiced.

PL: But it is inevitable in any case. And of course that idea in itself is a 1970s idea.

RR: Well the very idea of rejecting it is in itself imprisoning, so . . . It's just like all those people around the year 1800 who wanted to paint as if there had never been anything painted before them, which was the most complicated thing you could do in terms of acknowledging a tradition. So it always comes out ironically, upside down. No matter what you do you're still trapped by your time, so I guess that's true about method or anti-method in art history. We'll all discover that anti-method is a method based on very rigid presumptions.

PL: Well, we can look forward to finding out what they are in the year 2000.

RR: Yes, we'll find out what fools we've been. Well I hope everything's different then. I'd be very sad if anybody ever discovered the absolute truth and we had to stick by it.