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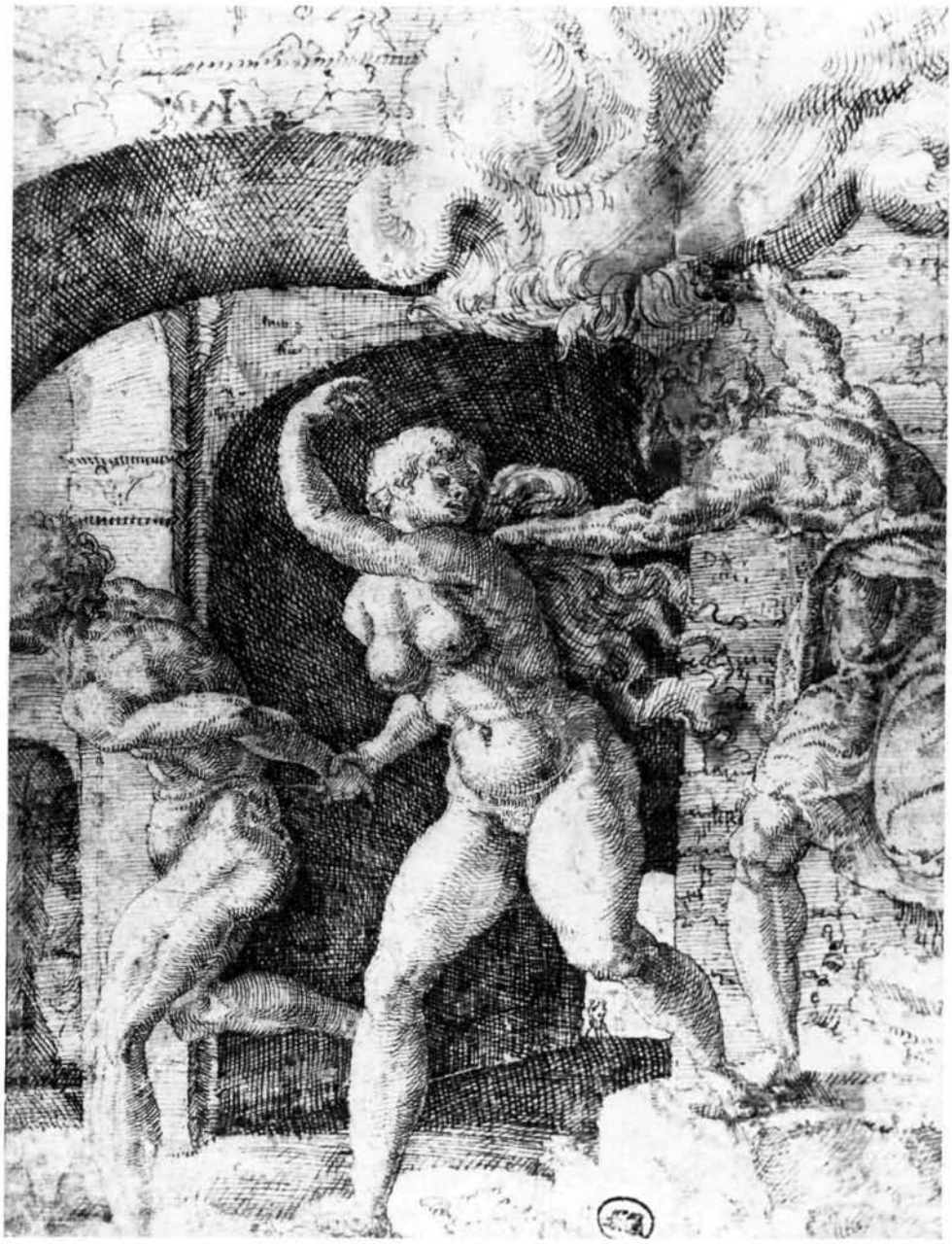

Fig. 1 Dirk Vellert, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden*, n.d., pen and brown ink, Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Gift of Professor Alfred Moir

A Mystery Solved: The Discovery of a Sixteenth Century Expulsion of Adam and Eve

Anne Turpin

Previously given the descriptive title *Nude Man and Woman Fleeing Man Bearing Torch*, this drawing by Dirk Vellert in the collection of the Santa Barbara Museum of Art represents the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Paradise (Fig. 1).[1] The artist composed the work with elements seemingly incongruous to the biblical story: a torch, a wingless angel, extraneous figures, and monumental architecture. Though these factors initially prohibited a decisive subject identification, they can be interpreted through close observation and pictorial precedent.

The monogram D*V, visible below the right figure's arm, was not identified as belonging to the Sixteenth Century Flemish artist Dirk Jacobsz. Vellert until Gustav Glück established the connection in 1901.[2] Before this time, the initialled works were attributed to such names as Dirk van Staren and Thiery van Star—the latter employed specifically by Adam Bartsch.[3] In addition to the monogram, the artist often inscribed his works with the day, month, and year. Unfortunately, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve* has no such date. A stained glass roundel, *The Triumph of Time*, is Vellert's earliest known work dated 21 April 1517; the latest is an engraving called *The Flood* of 1544.[4] Most famous for his stained glass window designs, the artist is particularly noted for those at Kings College Chapel, Cambridge (c. 1515-1530). The original biblical account of the Expulsion, Genesis 3:24, reads:

> He [God] drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden He placed the cherubim, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to guard the tree of life.

Upon close inspection, Vellert's drawing reveals that the torch held by the pursuer is actually a sword—the blade defined by faint contour lines stretching through the fire and smoke. This flaming sword establishes the initial link between the text and the drawing.

This subject designation can be further grounded by showing compositional precedent for it. In his instrumental passage on the Expulsion in *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien*, Louis Réau explains that early Christian art followed the staging suggested in Genesis by placing God in the role of the expeller.[5] After the thirteenth century, a new convention emerged: the pursuer became an angel bearing a sword. Réau further elaborates by specifying that the free hand of the angel is often placed on either Adam or Eve who is turned away. Among the more pertinent examples of this figural composition are those by Albrecht Dürer (B.2) and Lucas van Leyden (B.4), both of whom were major influences on Vellert. Focusing on Lucas' 1529 *Expulsion*, Réau emphasizes that it breaks with the tradition of representing the event in somber slow-motion and, alternatively, puts the figures into flight "as if they had the devil at their heels."[6]

Though now the drawing does not seem as enigmatic, some unexplained elements

remain. Why does the angel have no wings? Could the figure be God? According to Réau, this method of composing the story had ceased two hundred years previously. In addition, God is never depicted partially clad or carrying the flaming sword. Perhaps the drawing is unfinished, as the transparency of the sword's blade suggests.

In apparent contradiction of the story of the first man and woman, two pairs of figures stand at the end of the tunnel. However, their shared presence with the foreground couple can be understood in terms of a continuous narrative. Lucas van Leyden demonstrates a more fully realized use of this technique in his 1512 woodcut *The Fall of Man*. In Vellert's drawing, the tunnel thrusts back into space to focus on the small, unfinished figures. The pair on the right is smaller and barely visible. Possibly, these two sets of figures are evidence of the artist's two separate attempts to render effectively a related moment in the Creation story.

One of the more troublesome aspects of Vellert's version of the Expulsion, the monumental architecture, refuses to be dismissed as a mere "Gate of Paradise," a common pictorial convention added to the biblical text. Again, this oddity can be explained through a comparison to Lucas van Leyden's woodcut which includes a fortress-like structure with a city wall extending from it. A later version of the Lucas van Leyden woodcut (1516-19) with a similar, though reversed composition features a Romanesque church (B. 2). And yet another Creation scene depicting extensive architecture is that of Marcantonio Raimondi, an artist often suggested as an influence on Vellert (B. 1).[7]

Frequently, Vellert employed similar monumental backdrops. He also repeatedly emphasized three-dimensional space with a variety of compositional devices such as the barrel vault (B. 8) and windows which open to distant views (B.9). It is interesting to note that his vaulted passageway in the Santa Barbara drawing by Vellert (Fig.1) is not unlike that of Lucas' depiction.

Vellert's inclusion of architecture in *The Expulsion* serves purposes other than the creation of a more dramatic and focused drawing. For example, the tunnel's extended length serves as a backdrop for the lovely Eve. Furthermore, if one accepts the theory that one of the small pairs was intended as an earlier scene in the Adam and Eve narrative, then the viewer necessarily observes these events from the opposite end of the tunnel, already *outside* the Garden of Paradise—the viewer shares the ground with those being banished. Conversely, Lucas van Leyden's depiction of the Fall places the viewers within Paradise

Endnotes

I thank Dr. Alfred Moir, U.C. Santa Barbara, for his guidance in the preparation of this article.

1. Santa Barbara Museum of Art, Califomia; Gift of Alfred Moir; pen and brown ink; signed D*V below right man's arm; stamped with the mark of the collector Frederick Gauermann (L. 1003) on bottom edge.

2. Gustav Glük, "Der Wehr Name des Meisters D*V," *Jaarbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, XXII, 1901, p. 1. The largely incomplete biography of Dirk Jacobsz Vellert begins in 1511, the year in which he became a free master in the guild of Saint Luke of Antwerp. Albrecht Dürer mentions him in his diary three times; the last is a reference to a banquet hosted by Vellert on May 12, 1521 in honor of the German artist. Although the date of his death is unknown, Dirk Vellert was still alive in 1547 when he granted a power of attorney to two Amsterdam lawyers. John Oliver Hand, *The Age of Bruegel: Netherlandish Drawings in the Sixteenth Century*, Washington, 1986, p. 288.

3. Adam Bartsch, "Thiery van Star," *Le Peintre Graveur*, VIII, Hildesdeim, 1970, pp. 16-20, (B. 1-19).
4. For reproductions, see Glück, plate 1 and Bartsch #2 (B. 2), respectively.
5. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien*, 2, Paris, 1956, p. 89.
6. Réau, (my translation), p. 89.
7. Ellen S. Jacobowitz and Stephanie Loeb Stepanek, *The Prints of Lucas van Leyden and his Contemporaries*, Washington, 1983, p. 318.

Fig. 1(a-e) *Casket with Adam and Eve.* Ivory over wood core. L 46.7 cm, Byzantium 11th century. © The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1994, Gift of J. H. Wade, John L. Severance, W. G. Mather, and F. F. Prentiss, 24.747

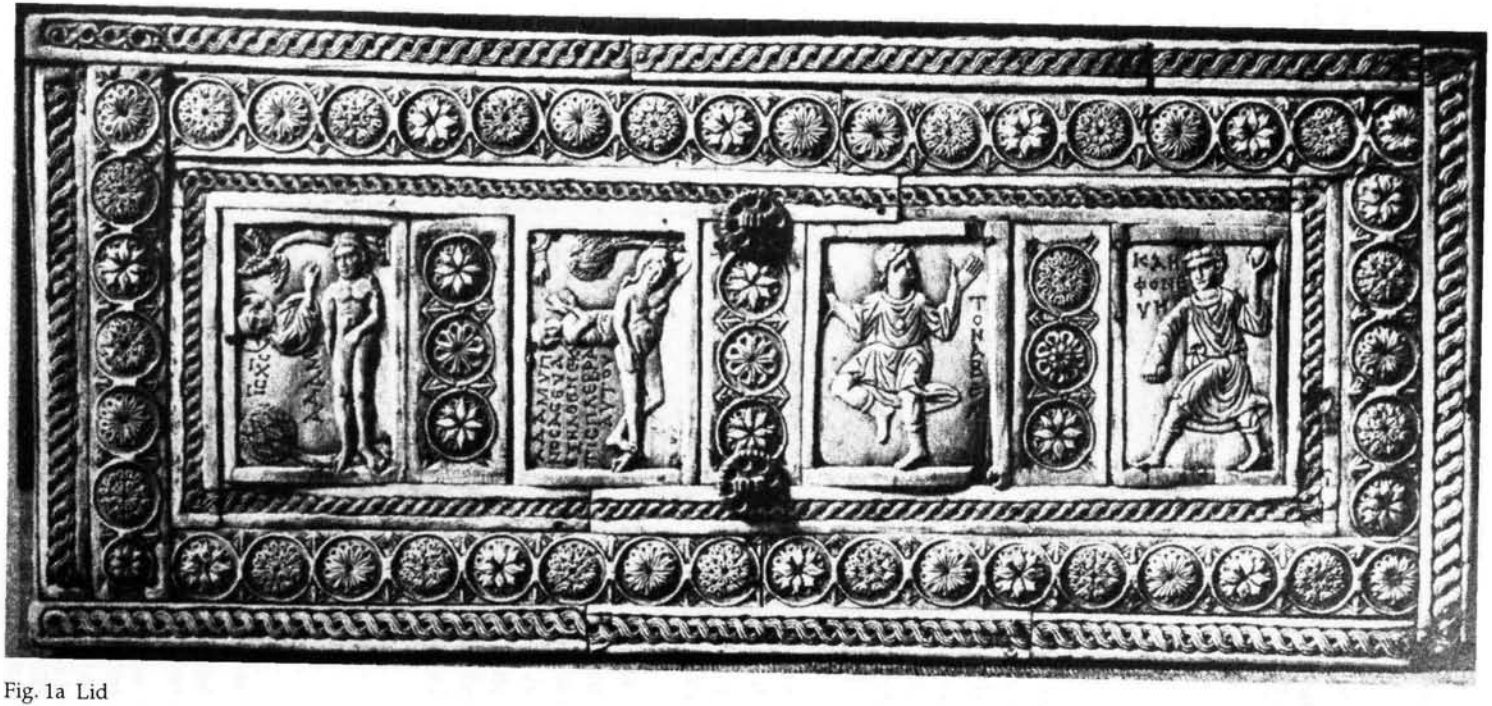

Fig. 1a Lid

Three Rosette Ivory Caskets with Scenes from the Lives of Adam and Eve

Lilian H Zirpolo

Three Byzantine ivory caskets, decorated with scenes from the story of Adam and Eve, have not been dealt with in great detail in scholarly publications. The sources for their images have not yet been studied. These caskets are presently located in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 1a-e), the Hermitage in St. Petersburg (Fig. 2a-d), and the Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Fig. 3a-e). The object of this article is to examine fully all possible sources used by the carvers of these three caskets in devising their images, including illuminated manuscripts, Jewish legends, apocryphal writings, writings of the Patriarchs, liturgy, and mythological models. It is also the object of this study to find feasible iconographic interpretations of the narrative cycles of the caskets based on the choice of these sources by the artists.

The three caskets date to the end of the tenth or the beginning of the eleventh century.[1] They are part of a larger group of approximately fifty extant, complete boxes that possess a decorative outer border bearing an elaborate rosette pattern, and are therefore referred to as the rosette caskets.[2] The rosette motif is not a Byzantine invention as it was already present in the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis as well as in antique Greco-Roman precious-metal objects, probably available in large quantities in Constantinople before the sack of 1204.[3]

Most likely, the caskets were originally used as containers for personal treasures, as suggested by the traces of gilding found in the St. Petersburg and Darmstadt examples.[4] They are rectangular in shape, with sliding lids, all measuring approximately 12.5 cm in height, 46 cm in length, and 19 cm. in width.[5] Of the three, the Cleveland casket is the best preserved with only one plaque missing on the back panel, now replaced by a rectangular piece of wood.[6]

The narrative cycles on the three caskets are essentially the same with only a few minor differences. The story begins on the left side of the lids with the *Creation of Adam* (omitted from the Darmstadt example), and the *Creation of Eve*.[7] In the Cleveland and St. Petersburg caskets the *Creation of Adam* includes a prostrate figure of Adam flanked by a tree at either side, a half cross-nimbed figure of God with His right hand extended towards Adam, and inscriptions identifying the figures. In the *Creation of Eve* Adam lies on the ground asleep. Eve is commanded by God (shown as a hand emerging from an arc on the upper right) to rise from the body of Adam. An inscription reads: "Adam having gone to sleep, Eve comes from his side."

The story continues on the front panels moving from left to right. The first plaque on the left, missing in the St. Petersburg casket, represents a conflation between *Eve Given to Adam* and the *Temptation* as Eve offers the apple to her partner and both figures cover themselves with leaves, a detail of the story that does not occur until after they eat the forbidden fruit. Again, inscriptions identifying the figures are included

The following scene represents another conflation of two episodes, the *Temptation* and the *Fall of Man*.[8] Here Adam and Eve stand at either side of a tree and Eve, holding two apples, offers one to Adam. She is encouraged by the Serpent shown coiled around

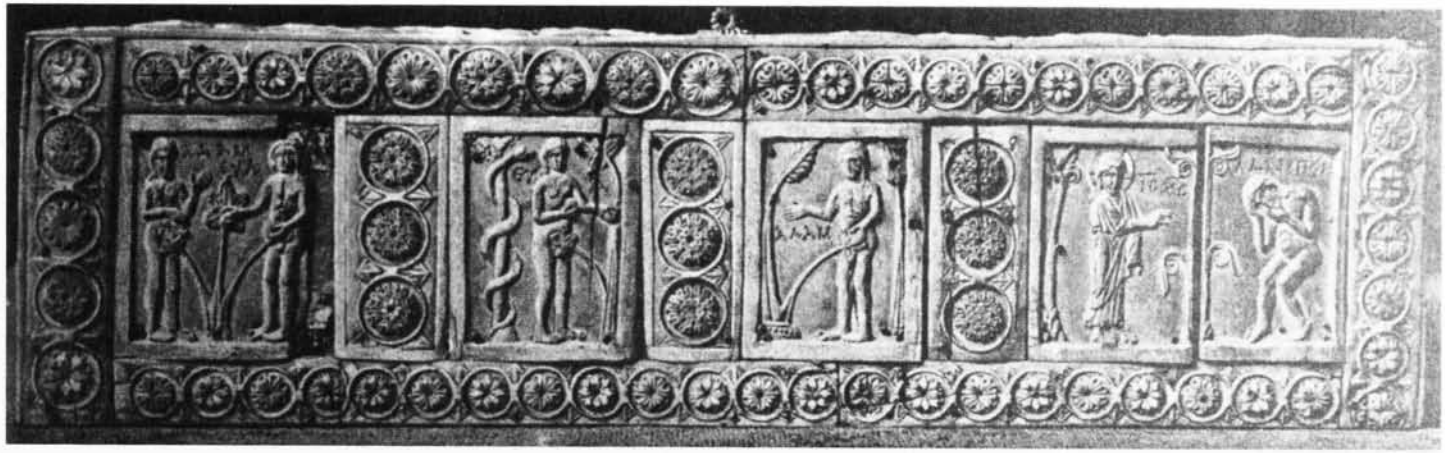

Fig. 1b Cleveland Museum Casket, front panel

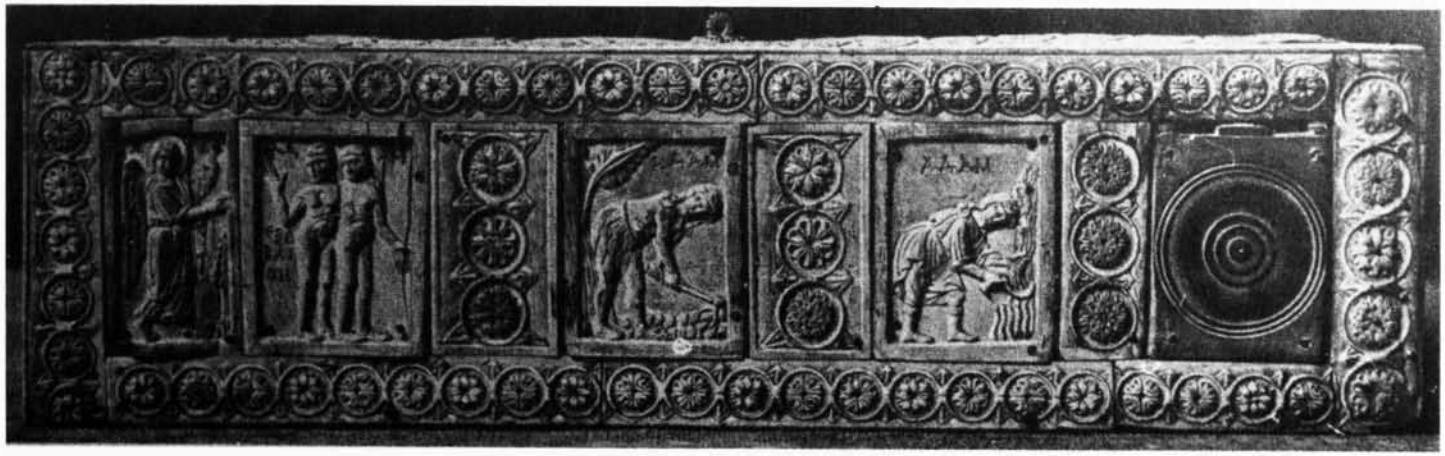

Fig. 1c Cleveland Museum Casket, back panel

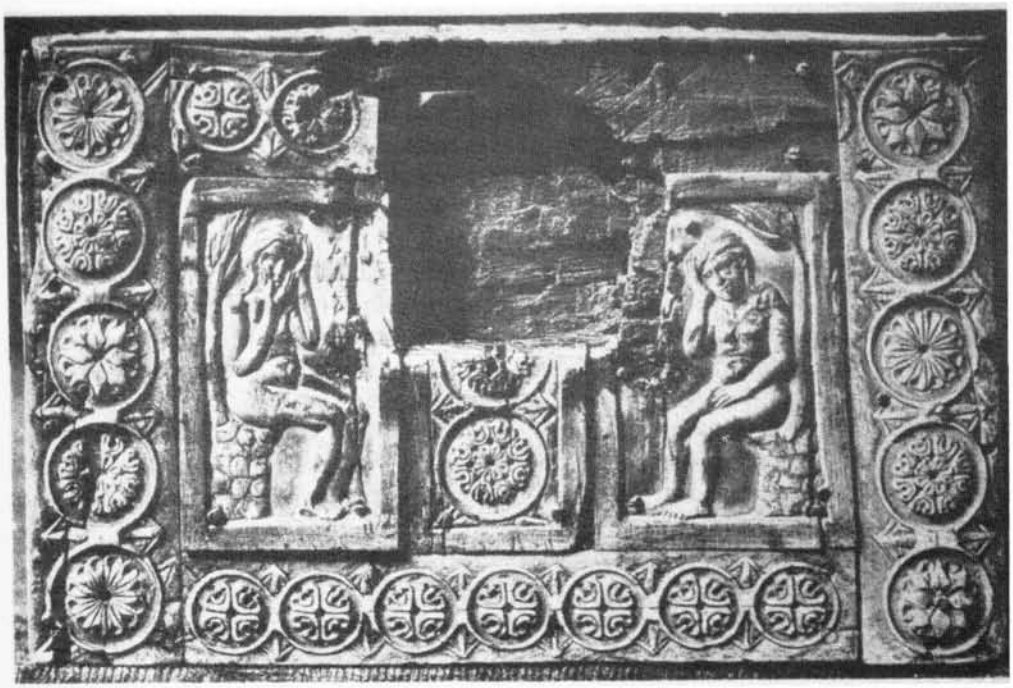

Fig. 1d Cleveland Museum Casket, right side panel

Fig. 1e Cleveland Museum Casket, left side panel

a tree to the left of the figures. Leaves from the central tree have been strategically placed so that the nakedness of the protagonists, identified by inscriptions, is again covered

The cycle continues with *Adam Admonished by the Lord*, shown on two plates in the Cleveland and Darmstadt caskets, but missing from the St. Petersburg example. In this scene Adam, identified by an inscription, hides behind a tree, while a full cross-nimbed figure of God, also identified by an inscription, extends His hand towards him. Adam is obviously ashamed as he hunches over and places his hands to his face in a conventional sign of grief.

The next episode is the *Expulsion from Paradise*.[9] Here a nimbed Archangel on the left extends his right arm and directs the huddling Adam and Eve out of Eden. In the Cleveland plaque, Adam and Eve turn and look at the Archangel as Adam raises his right hand. The inscription next to the Archangel in the Darmstadt casket identifies him as Michael. In the Cleveland casket he is identified as Gabriel.

A panel depicting *Adam and Eve Grieving* follows.[10] On all three caskets Adam and Eve, identified by inscriptions, are seated. Adam covers his nakedness with his left hand and rests his head on his right in a grieving posture. Eve holds her head with both hands. On the St. Petersburg casket, a figure clutching a money bag and identified by an inscription as Pluto, sits on a foldable stool between Adam and Eve.

The three following scenes are *Adam Tilling the Ground, Adam Reaping*, and *Adam Carrying a Bundle of Wheat*.[11] In the first, Adam wears a pelt around his waist and tills the soil with a mattock. In the second, he wears a tunic and shoes. With the sickle in his right hand, he cuts a clump of wheat. In *Adam Carrying a Bundle of Wheat* he once again wears a tunic and shoes and carries a bundle over his shoulders.

Next are *Adam Forging* and *Eve Pushing the Bellows* shown in one panel.[12] Adam is seated and holds a metal object with pincers on an anvil. In his right hand is a hammer with which he is about to strike the metal. Eve is also seated and assiduously pushes the bellows to keep the fire on the furnace alive. In the Darmstadt casket, the furnace has been replaced by a figure of Pluto with similar features and pose to the Pluto in the St. Petersburg casket's *Adam and Eve Grieving*.[13]

The cycle ends on the right side of the lids, with *Cain Killing Abel*.[14] An inscription identifies the scene: "Cain murders Abel." Cain holds stones in his hands. He raises his left arm and is about to attack his brother. Abel's arms extend upward and his right knee bends, as if he is about to fall. In the St. Petersburg version, he is shown already on the ground

The carving on the three boxes is somewhat flat and the figures are quite rigid. Details such as anatomical features, hair, drapery, and foliage are treated in a simplified and abstract manner. There is however a distinction between the crude rendering of the figures of Adam and Eve, and the somewhat classicizing portrayal of the figures of God in the *Creation of Adam* and *Adam Admonished by the Lord*, and the angel of the *Expulsion*. This was done perhaps to establish a difference between the human protagonists of the story and the personages that belong to the heavenly realm.

The illuminated sources for the Genesis rosette caskets are the Byzantine Octateuchs.[15] Six illustrated copies of these manuscripts dating from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries have survived. The earliest examples are the cod. Plut 5.38 in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence, and cod. gr. 747 in the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome, both dating to the eleventh century. Surviving examples from the twelfth century are the cod. gr. 746 also in the Biblioteca Vaticana, cod. A.1 from the Seraglio Library in

Constantinople, and cod. A.1 from the Evangelical School in Smyrna (only available through photographs as it was destroyed in 1922). Finally, there is also the cod. 602 in the Vatopedi Monastery in Mount Athos produced in the thirteenth century.[16] A few elements in the images depicted on the caskets are not found in the Octateuchs and instead relate to the Cotton Genesis recension.

In comparing the images on the caskets to those in the illuminated sources cited above, this derivation of the carved plaques from the manuscripts becomes evident. In the *Creation of Adam* in the Octateuchs, as in the caskets, Adam is shown recumbent on the ground in between two trees.[17] There are some differences, however. Adam's arms in the manuscript version are placed stiffly at either side of his body, whereas on the caskets, his right arm is at his side, and his left hand covers his nudity. The half cross-nimbed figure of God in the carved versions is absent in the Octateuchs. However, in the mosaics of San Marco in Venice, which are based on the Cotton Genesis recension, God appears in the *Creation of Adam* as a youthful male with a cross- nimbus, tunic, and mantle, not unlike God on the rosette boxes.[18]

The *Creation of Eve* on the caskets closely follows the scene in the Octateuchs, where Eve raises both hands towards God, and emerges from Adam's side at His command.[19] As in the carvings, the presence of God is shown by a hand emerging from an arc. The tree under which Adam sleeps in the Octateuchs is also present in the Cleveland and St. Petersburg boxes.

Eve Given to Adam, which, as previously mentioned, is conflated with the *Temptation*, does not appear in the Octateuchs, but is found at San Marco. The mosaic is related to the carvings in that in both Adam and Eve are shown standing side by side in frontal position as Adam raises his right arm towards Eve. The position of Eve's arms are also similar in both versions. In the San Marco mosaic though, Adam stands on the right and Eve on the left, an order that is inverted in the caskets.

In the *Temptation* of the Octateuch in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (fol. 6r), Eve stands on the left next to the snake, shown coiled, but not around a tree. In the next scene, the *Fall of Man* is represented with Adam and Eve at either side of the Tree of Life. These two scenes are also conflated on the caskets so that Eve has been eliminated from the *Temptation* and only the snake is shown entwined around a tree on the extreme left. Next to the snake are Adam and Eve at either side of the Tree of Life, as in the Laurenziana version. Adam's pose on the caskets with his right arm raised is also similar to that in the Laurenziana example.[20]

The Lord's admonition in the Octateuchs shows both Adam and Eve on the right side of the pictorial space covering their nudity, and turning their heads towards the divine light emanating from the hand of God in the arc on the upper left.[21] This scene is very different from the one in the caskets where only Adam stands next to a full cross-nimbed figure of God who wears a tunic and mantle. Instead, it more closely relates to the Cotton Genesis recension. In *Adam and Eve Hiding from the Presence of the Lord* at San Marco, God is also present as a full cross-nimbed figure with tunic and mantle. Further, Adam's pose on the caskets recalls that in San Marco's mosaic *Denial of Guilt*.

In the Octateuchs, the two figures in *Adam and Eve Grieving* are seated on mounds at either side of a tree.[22] In the carved versions the mounds have been replaced by rock stools. On the Cleveland and Darmstadt caskets the tree has been substituted by a rosette plaque, and in the St. Petersburg example by the seated figure of Pluto. The gestures of the figures in the manuscripts also differ from those in the caskets. In the

Fig. 2 (a-d) *Casket with Adam and Eve*, ivory over wood core, Byzantium 11th century, St. Petersburg, Hermitage

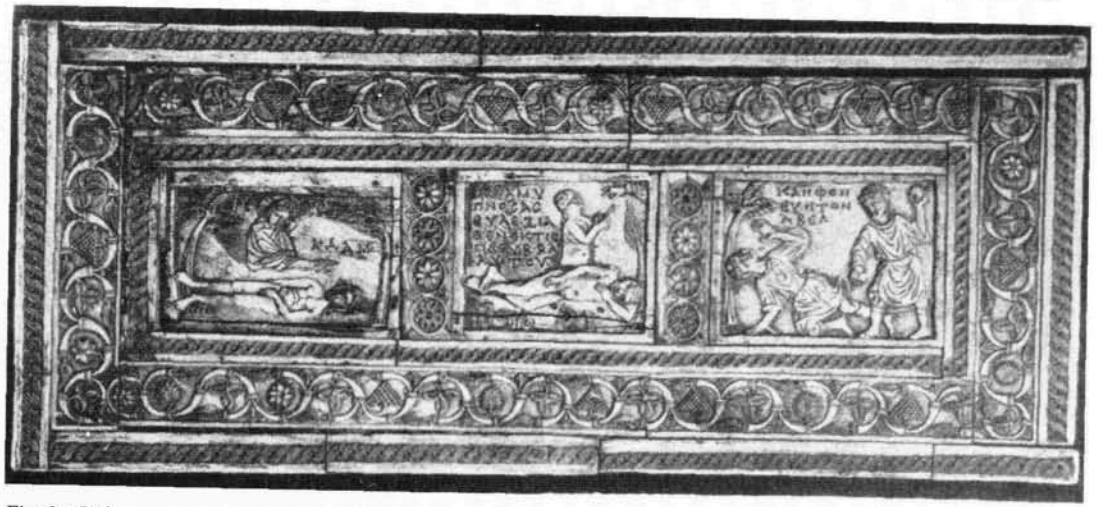

Fig. 2a Lid

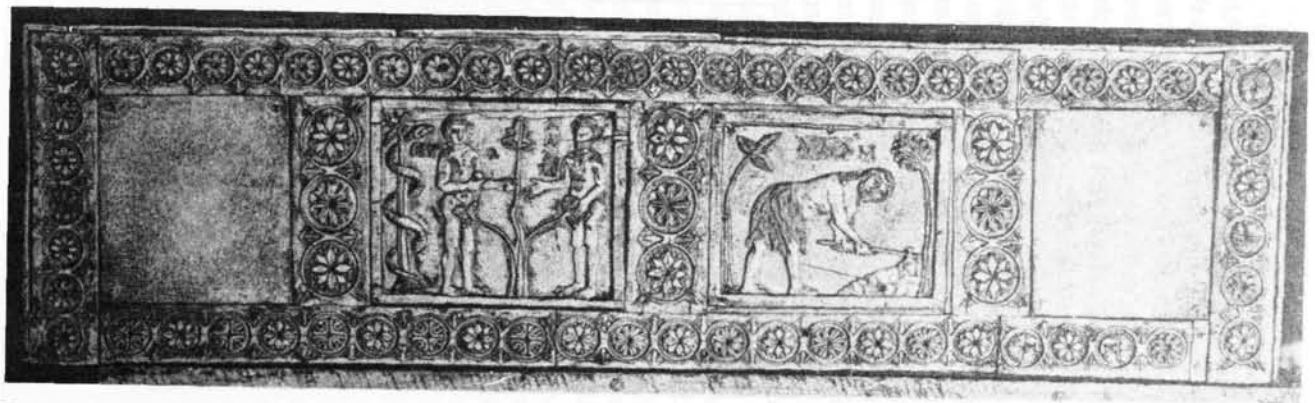

Fig. 2b St. Petersburg Casket, front panel

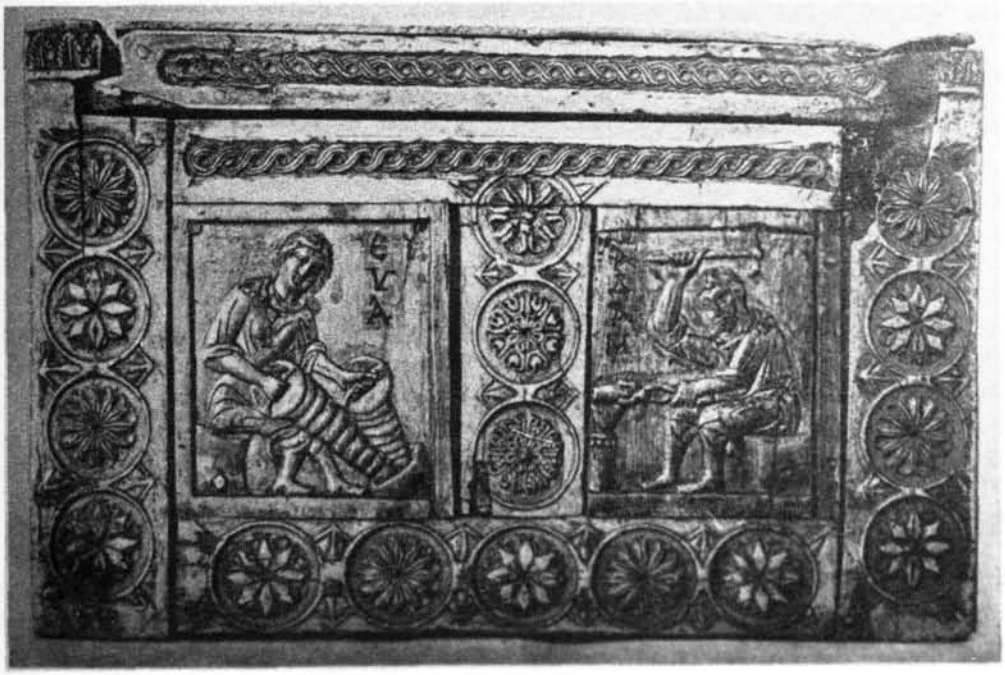

Fig. 2c St. Petersburg Casket, right side panel

Fig. 2d St. Petersburg Casket, left side panel

manuscripts Adam and Eve cover their nakedness with both hands. On the caskets Adam covers himself with his left hand and rests his head on his right, while Eve holds her head with both hands.

The *Expulsion from Paradise* on the caskets is also based on the Octateuchs.[23] On the latter, Adam and Eve have passed the gates of Paradise directed by the nimbed Archangel who raises his right arm and points towards the right, features that are also present on the caskets. In the Octateuchs, Adam and Eve turn their heads towards the angel, just as they do in the Cleveland carving. The only major difference between the scenes on the caskets and those in the illuminations is that Adam and Eve are shown clothed in the manuscripts, whereas in the carvings they are nude.

The agricultural labors performed by Adam on the caskets differ from those in the Octateuchs, where Adam and Eve sit with grieving gestures next to oxen with ploughs. An image similar to *Adam Tilling the Ground,* however, is present in the San Marco mosaics. In the mosaic Adam is on his knees and his mattock is raised, whereas on the caskets he stands, bends his torso forward, and holds his mattock against the ground. Illustrations for *Adam Reaping* and *Adam Carrying a Bundle of Wheat* are not available in the manuscript versions.

Adam Forging and *Eve Pulling the Bellows* are also absent in the Octateuchs. However, in the Sacra Parallela of the ninth century there is an illustration of Jubal, the Biblical father of music, shown seated on a rock reading. Underneath him, his brother Tubal-cain, the Biblical father of forgers, is represented as the producer of all bronze and iron instruments (fol. 335r).[24] Tubal-cain holds a hammer in his right hand, and a pair of tongs over an anvil in his left not unlike the figure of Adam on the caskets. Tubal-cain is also represented in this manner in the Cotton Claudius (B IV, fol. lOro) of the eleventh century, now in the British Museum in London.

The scene depicting *Cain Killing Abel* also stems from the Octateuchs.[25] In the manuscript version Cain hurls stones at Abel who has fallen to the ground. This scene is closest to the St. Petersburg casket in which Abel has also fallen. In the Cleveland and Darmstadt examples, although Abel is standing, his pose with the right knee bent is also reminiscent of the action of the illuminated version.

Some of the scenes on the caskets are not part of the Book of Genesis. Instead, they represent episodes from apocryphal stories and Jewish legend. *Adam and Eve Grieving* is one such case. It stems from the *Vita Adae et Evae* where it is told that when Adam and Eve were cast out of Paradise, they built a hut and sat in it for seven days grieving and lamenting their situation.[26] The placement of *Adam and Eve Grieving* after the *Expulsion* on the Darmstadt casket follows the chronological sequence in the apocryphal version. In the Cleveland casket this scene occurs before the *Expulsion.*

Adam Forging is another example not included in the Biblical text, but part of Jewish legend. In one version, an angel came down to earth after the expulsion, provided Adam with tongs and a hammer, and taught him smithcraft.[27] The use of Tubal-cain from the illuminated sources as the model for the forging Adam is therefore appropriate since Tubal-cain represents the father of forgers in the Bible. Adam is the father of forgers in Jewish legends.

Other episodes from the Bible are too general and do not explain certain details in the caskets' carvings, but in Jewish legends these events are elaborated upon, thus justifying the added features in the rosette boxes. In the case of *Cain Killing Abel,* the Biblical text describes the story as follows:

> Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go out to the field.' And when they were in the field, Cain rose up against his brother Abel, and killed him. (Genesis 4:8)

In Jewish legend, the description is much more detailed and explicitly illustrates the carved versions:

> The manner of Abel's death was the most cruel conceivable. Not knowing what injury was fatal, Cain pelted all parts of his body with stones, until one struck him on the neck and inflicted death.[28]

Another instance is the presence of the angel in the *Expulsion,* which does not concord with the biblical text where God Himself casts Adam and Eve from Paradise. In the Jewish legends, however, God commands the angels to perform the task.[29]

The writings of the Patriarchs were also considered by the carvers of the caskets and affected the outcome of some of its plaques. In the *Creation of Adam* and *Adam Admonished by the Lord* God is depicted as a Christ-like figure, a feature that can be explained through patristic writings relating to the development of the doctrine of the Trinity. Philo, who lived during the first century, provided the essential idea for this doctrine by formulating the theory of the Logos, a principle of Greek origin which he applied to Jewish religious beliefs. The Greeks had felt the need to link the divine Deity with the imperfect world, the infinite with the finite. The Logos ('Word' in Greek) became this bridge between the divine and the earthly, since, according to the Greek, language is the channel that has disseminated ideas, and hence conceived civilization. Philo borrowed this concept and used it to identify the Logos with the Wisdom of the Old Testament that created the world.[30]

In the early third century Origen of Alexandria and Tertullian of Carthage embraced and contributed to the Logos theory expounded by Philo. According to Origen, God is one being in three hypostases which are of one essence and substance, and Christ is one with the Logos of God. For Tertullian:

> The Son is both Wisdom and Word: Wisdom before all creation, Word manifested in creation. But the Trinity is, of one substance and one status and one power.[31]

In the fourth century a controversy arose between the Trinitarians, led by Athanasius, and a group led by Arius who identified the Son with the Logos or Eternal Wisdom of the Father, but who believed that the Father had created the Son and, therefore, the two were not of the same substance or essence. The controversy was resolved when the Trinitarian doctrine was adopted as creed by the Council of Nicaea in 325 AD.[32]

John Chrysostom, who lived during the era of the Council of Nicaea, in his eighth homily on the Book of Genesis, attacked Arius' position, and confirmed the validity of the Trinitarian doctrine expounded by Athanasius, while interpreting the line spoken by God in Genesis 1:26 regarding the creation of man:

> So who is this to whom He says, 'Let us make a human being?' Who else is it than the...Only-begotten Son of God, like the Father in being, through whom all things were created?... This text also deals a mortal blow to those entertain-

Fig. 3(a-e) *Casket with Adam and Eve*, ivory over wood core, Byzantium 11th century, Darmstadt, Landesmuseum

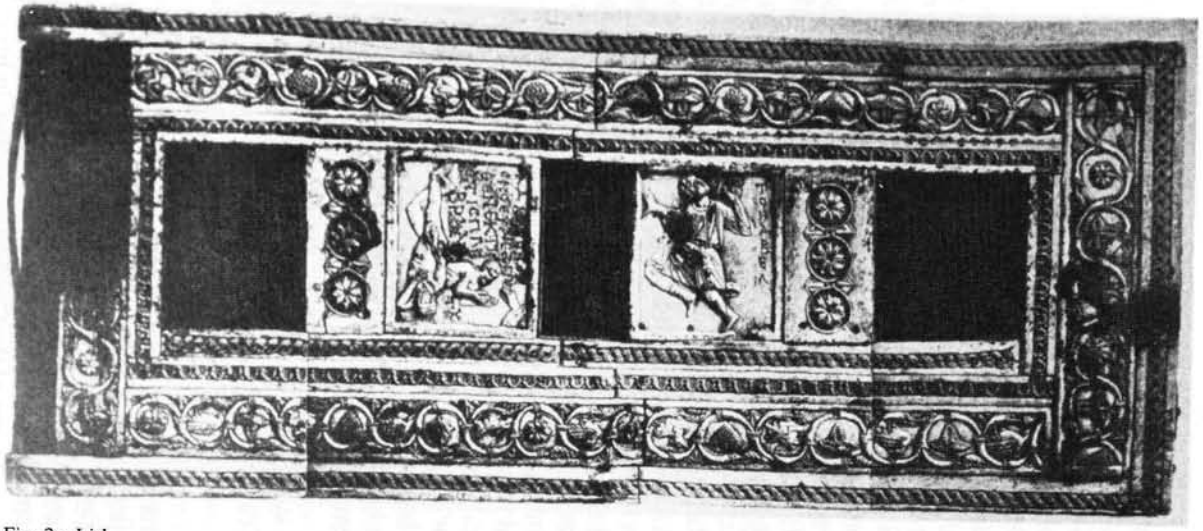

Fig. 3a Lid

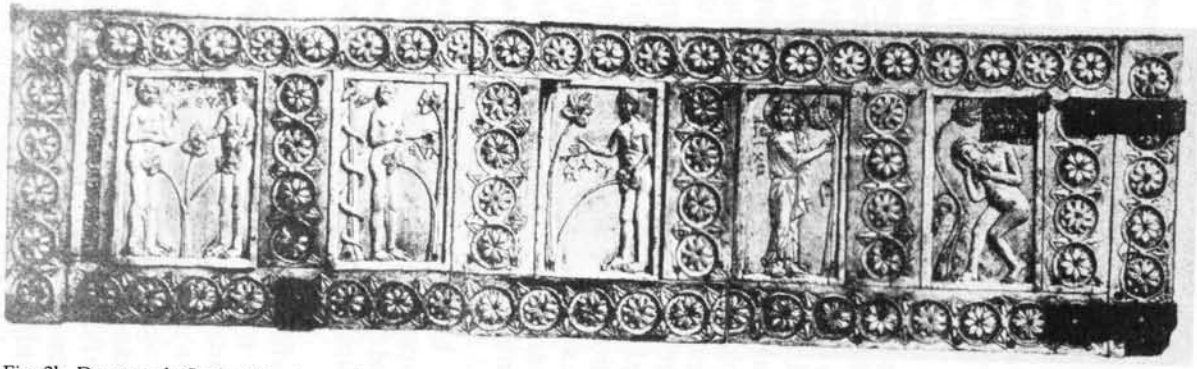

Fig. 3b Darmstadt Casket, front panel

Fig. 3c Darmstadt Casket, back panel

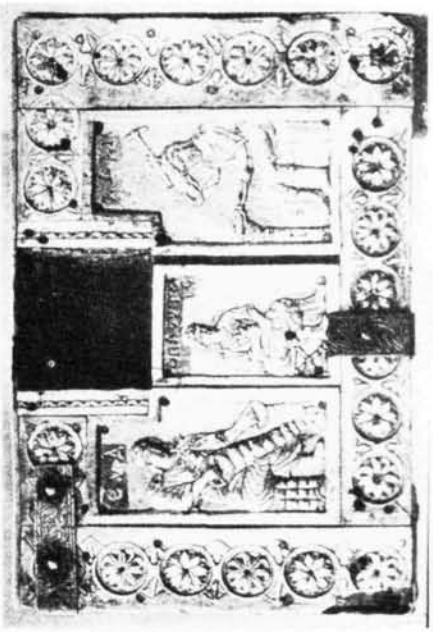

Fig. 3e Darmstadt Casket, right side panel

Fig. 3d Darmstadt Casket, left side panel

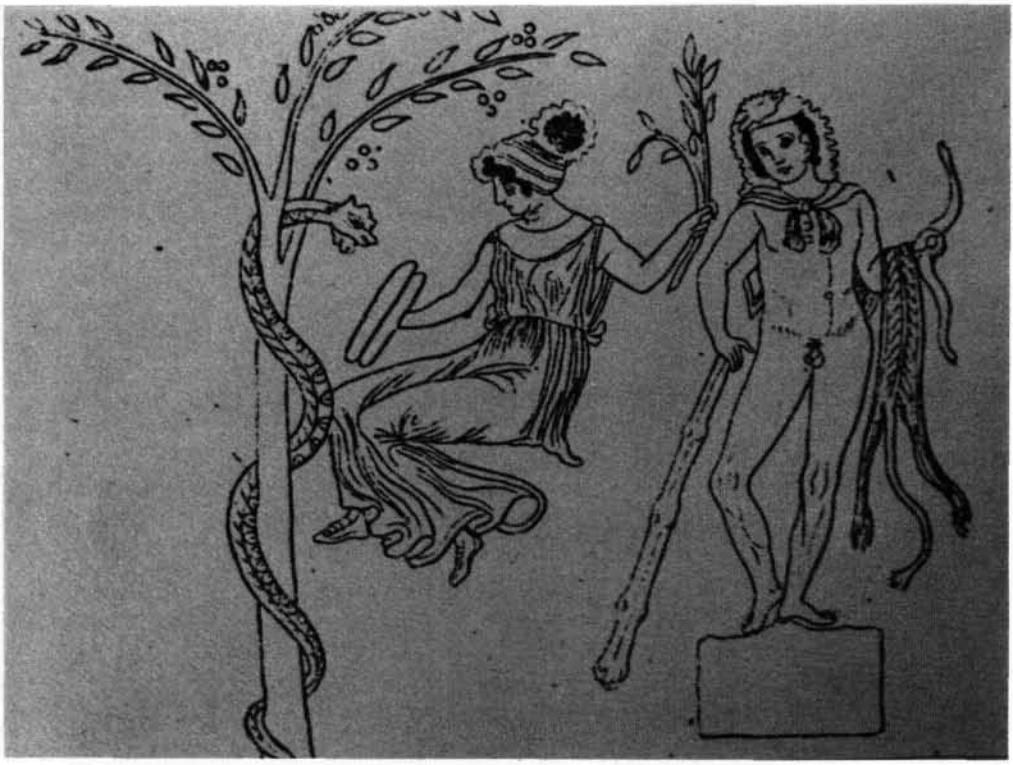

Fig. 4 *Herakles and the Apples of Hesperides,* from an antique pelike in Turin (after Gerhard)

> ing the position of Arius. I mean, He did not say by way of command, Make such a creature, as though to a subordinate or to one inferior being, but 'Let us make' with great deference to an equal. And what follows shows us further the equality in being; it says, you see. 'Let us make a human being in our image and likeness.[33]

The connection between the Logos and Christ is also asserted in the first chapter of the Gospel of John:

> In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. He was in the beginning with God; all things were made through him... In him was life, and the life was the light of men. The true light that enlightens every man was coming into the world. He was in the world, and the world was made through him. And the Word became flesh and dwelt among us, full of grace and truth; we have beheld his glory, glory as of the only Son from the Father. (John 1:1-14).

The writings of Patriarch Nicephorus, who lived in the ninth century, were the most influential regarding the artistic representation of the image of the Logos. During the Iconoclastic period Nicephorus became an ardent defender of image worship. In his writings he rationalized that the image of Christ served as a testimony of the incarna-

tion of the Word, as a symbol of salvation Hence, according to him, the image of God before His incarnation could not be represented. He could only be represented after the incarnation in the form of the incarnate Son.[34]

The image of God in the *Creation of Adam* and *Adam Adam Admonished by the Lord* in the caskets are a response to patristic writings such as those cited above. They particularly reflect Nicephorus' assertion that God can only be represented as the incarnate Son. Therefore, the image of God in the caskets is Christ-like in appearance because he is depicted as the Incarnation of the Logos, which is Christ, in accordance with Nicephorus' assertion.

There are elements in the caskets that stem from mythology. The creation of mankind derives from the myth of Prometheus who fashioned men out of water and earth, just as God had fashioned Adam out of dust.[35] The mythological story then relates to the Biblical version since Prometheus is the pagan father of the human race, and God is its Christian father. In the *Prometheus Sarcophagus* in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, Prometheus sits next to the man he has just fashioned out of clay and touches his head.[36] The stiff pose of the clay figure, with his arms placed rigidly at either side of his body, is reminiscent of Adam's pose in the Octateuchs, which, as mentioned previously, is the model for the Creation of Adam in the caskets.

The *Fall of Man* has its roots in depictions of the myth of Herakles and the Apples of Hesperides.[37] An example of representations of this story from antiquity is the *Velletri Sarcophagus* (Velletri Museum) where a serpent coils around a tree while Herakles picks the apples. Another example is found in an antique pelike from Turin (Fig. 4) where a similar image is present. The choice of the mythological prototype is quite appropriate here since the garden of Hesperides is the pagan Paradise, comparable to the garden of Eden where Adam and Eve lived before the Fall. The tree on which the apples of Hesperides grew, like the tree from which Adam and Eve took the forbidden fruit, was the Tree of Life.[38]

The mythological prototype for *Adam Forging* is the *Forge of Vulcan*. In the *Prometheus Sarcophagus* in the Louvre (Fig. 5). Vulcan is shown seated in front of an anvil, holding an object with pincers in his left hand and a hammer in his right. His right arm is raised and he is about to strike the object with the hammer. This representation is the same as that of Adam as forger, except that Vulcan is shown in a frontal position, and Adam is in profile. Even the appearance of the figures is quite similar. Both are bearded, with hair at shoulders length, parted in the middle. Behind Vulcan two men pull the bellows, a feature which has been substituted in the caskets by Eve who performs the same function. The connection between Vulcan and Adam here is obvious. Vulcan is the pagan patron of metalworkers and Adam is the father of smithcraft in the Jewish legends.

Abel in the caskets stems from depictions of Adonis in ancient reliefs.[39] While hunting, Adonis was fatally wounded by a wild boar, a scene depicted in the *Adonis Sarcophagus* in the Museo Gregoriano Profano in the Vatican, where Adonis has fallen on his knees in a pose that recalls that of Abel, particularly in the St. Petersburg casket. Adonis, like Abel, died an untimely and violent death. Therefore, using the former as the model for the latter is quite suitable since their stories are related.

The figure of Pluto on the caskets is a product of the revival of classical learning that occurred during the ninth and tenth centuries in the Byzantine Empire. At this time, encyclopedias with excerpts or full copies of ancient texts, possibly illustrated with

Fig. 5 *Prometheus Sarcophagus* (detail) Paris, Louvre

pictures, were developed. These were used by Christian artists as sources for classical personifications.[40] In the St. Petersburg and Darmstadt caskets, Pluto has been interpreted as a personification of Wealth, and his presence has been explained as referring to the original purpose of the caskets, that of storing riches.[41] The inclusion of Pluto in the story of Adam and Eve is also appropriate in that Adam and Eve were cursed with mortality when they ate the forbidden fruit (Genesis 3:19), and Pluto is the King of the underworld, hence a reference to death.

In comparing the figures of Pluto in the caskets with that in the relief of the Grave of Aelius Maximus in Ostia (Fig. 6), similarities between the two become evident, mainly in the rendering of Pluto as a seated figure in a three-quarter view. There are also a few differences. In the relief Pluto wears himation and holds a baton, whereas in the caskets he wears a tunic and clutches a money bag.

One final element in the caskets stems from antiquity. The agricultural labors and smithcraft performed by Adam are related to representations of the seasons found in relief sculpture and mosaics from the Greco-Roman era. In *Adam Reaping*, Adam holds a scythe in his hand, an object usually associated with Summer. Examples of this can be found as early as the Hellenistic period in works such as the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens, where the personification of Summer is represented as a nude male holding a scythe in his right hand.[42]

Related examples abound in the Roman era, particularly in mosaics. In a vault mosaic at the Villa Hadriana in Tivoli (Fig. 7), Summer is represented as a seated nude female whose legs are draped. She holds a scythe in her left hand and a bundle of wheat in her right. In the Sollertiana Domus in El Jem, Summer is again depicted as a nude female holding a scythe in one hand and stalks of wheat in the other.[43] Here she stands,

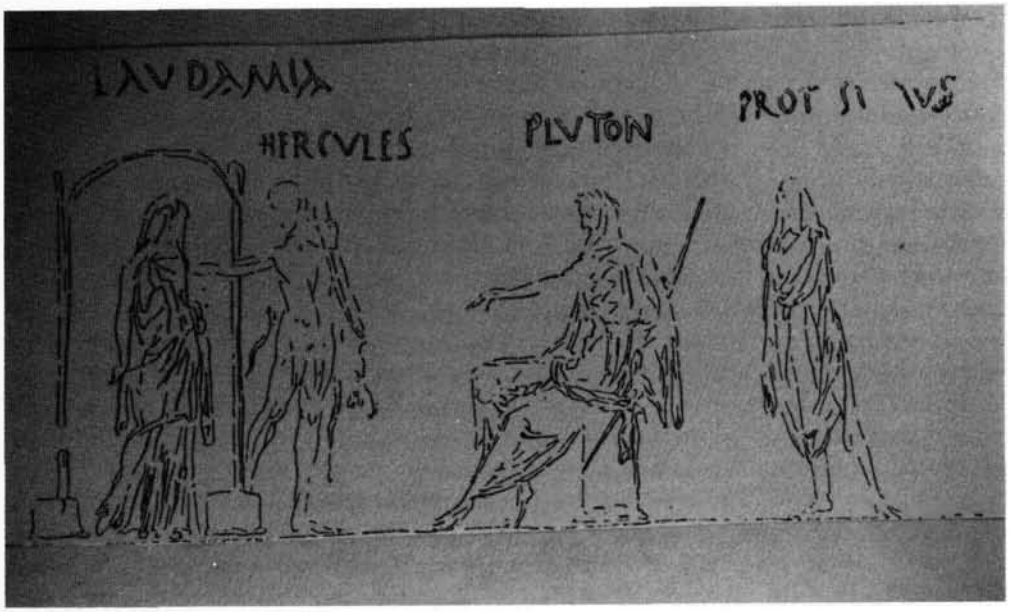

Fig. 6 *Grave of Aelius Maximus* drawing after relief (detail), Ostia

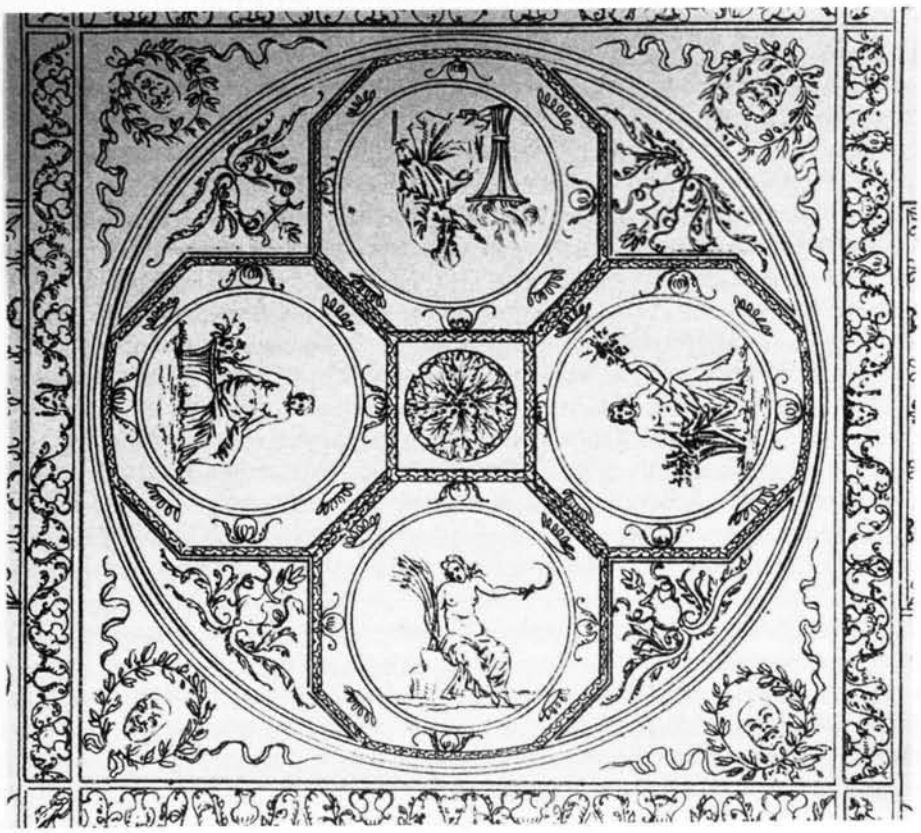

Fig. 7 *Four Seasons Vault* (mosaic), Tivoli, Villa Hadriana , (painting by Ponci)

wears a mantle, and is crowned with a wheat wreath. In the House of the Drinking Contest in Seleucia (Corridor 2b), the female representation of Summer has been transformed into a young winged boy with flowing drapery.[44] Yet, his attributes, the scythe and the stalks of wheat, have remained the same.

There are also examples from later periods where the seasons are depicted as occupational labors. In the Catacomb of San Ponziano, Summer is shown as a male wearing a tunic and cutting a bundle of wheat with a scythe. In the mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal, the personification of Summer sits on a lion and holds a scythe in one hand and a wreath in the other.[45] Next to him in the next panel are figures reaping, one of the occupations of the Summer season.

In later manuscripts, where labors of the months and the seasons are present, reaping is included as a Summer activity. In the Martyrology of Wandalbert at the Vatican Library the month of August shows a male figure cutting wheat with a scythe in a similar manner as Adam in *Adam Reaping*.[46] In the Cotton Julius (A.VI) in the British Museum, reaping is again relegated to the month of August.[47]

Adam Carrying a Bundle of Wheat can be interpreted as Autumn. To my knowledge, there are no such representations in ancient friezes and mosaics as personifications or occupations of the seasons. But the act of gathering the fruits of labor, as Adam does in this scene, is a standard attribute of the Fall season. In the Hagios Eleutherios frieze Autumn is shown as a winged female wearing a tunic and holding a bowl of fruit. In the House of the Drinking Contest the personification of Autumn, shown as a winged boy with a flowing drape, carries a basket of fruits on his shoulders in the same manner as Adam carries the bundle of wheat.

Adam Forging is related to personifications of winter, where figures warm themselves next to a fire, recalling the scene in the caskets. Examples of this are the personifications of Winter in the Villa Hadriana (See Fig. 7) and the catacomb painting at San Ponziano. In the Martyrology of Wandalbert the month of December is illustrated as a male figure who warms his feet by a fire, and in the illustration of the month of November in the Cotton Julius a male figure holds a pair of tongs in a fire, just as Adam does in the caskets.

Adam Tilling also has no counterparts in antiquity. Nevertheless, it is a scene that can be viewed as a representation of Spring since preparing the soil for planting is an occupation that belongs to this season. It appears in the Cotton Julius in March when men till, rake, and plant seeds. Although the examples of illustrations of the seasons cited above are not the exact prototypes used by the carvers of the caskets ,[48] they serve however to establish that the scenes showing Adam engaged in different activities in the carvings are included, not only as a reference to God's pronouncement to Adam: "...in toil you shall eat of [the ground] all the days of your life..." (Genesis 3:17), but also as an allusion to the seasons, a feature that provides the caskets with several levels of meaning.

In Jewish interpretations, the temple, the tabernacle, and the garment of the high priest are connected with the seasons. Philo in his *De Vita Mosis*, for example, interpreted stones on the breastplate of the high priest as the zodiac circle divided into four parts, each representing a season of the year determined by the revolutions of the sun which are invariable and divine. Hence, the seasons are determined by a rational principle that belongs in a place of reason or 'logeion,' the name of the breastplate worn by the priest. Philo also interpreted the table of the shewbread as a symbol of the twelve

months, and its corners as the four turning points in the course of the sun. He also viewed the three cups on each arm of the candlestick of the temple as representing three zodiac signs, constituting a season.[49]

Following along the lines of Philo's thinking, Patriarch Nicephorus asserted that everything in nature has a specific purpose. The purpose of the sun is to bring on day and night and the seasons, and the purpose of nature and its phenomena is to praise the Creator. Therefore, including representations of the seasons in the caskets serve as a reference to the rational progress of time, which demonstrates the perfection of God's Creation. In fact, Origen, stressing the divine perfection of the Creator, wrote in his *Contra Celsum* that, just as the farmer performs his labors according to the different seasons of the year, God administers entire ages and fulfills whatever each of these ages demands, an assertion that is literally represented in the caskets by showing Adam as the farmer who performs his seasonal labors.[50]

In Christian commentaries on Genesis, Paradise is frequently described as a garden where fruits and flowers of all seasons were present at one time.[51] Therefore, it seems logical to represent the seasons in the caskets in the four scenes after the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise, since it was after the expulsion that God established the four seasons.

Also according to Christian commentaries, the seasons are closely tied with the festivals of the Church, so that the winter solstice is the time of Christ's birth, spring is His resurrection, the vernal equinox His conception, autumn His sacrifice, and winter His death.[52]

In the caskets there is an emphasis on winter. Adonis and Vulcan, who were chosen as prototypes for Abel and the forging Adam, respectively, and Pluto refer to winter. Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* identified Adonis as a symbol of winter, Lucretius in his writings designated winter as the season represented by Vulcan, and Pluto in Neo-Platonic tetradic equations was also considered a representation of winter.[53] Further. the pose of the figure of Abel on the caskets' lids is a recurrent pose in ancient personifications of this season. Examples of this are found in a mosaic from Italica (Fig. 8) and in the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios where, in both, Winter bends his left knee in a similar manner as does the figure of Abel.

Moreover, in Greek mythology, after Adonis was killed by the boar, Aphrodite's grief was so great that the gods gave Adonis divine attributes and allowed him to return from the underworld once a year. His resurrection from the dead corresponds to the yearly vegetation cycle, and occurs during the winter solstice. Similarly, the story of Herakles, who is related to the caskets in that his labor of obtaining the apples of Hesperides is the prototype for the *Fall of Man* makes similar allusions. His death represents the end of the year when the sun reaches the most westerly point at the time of the winter solstice.[54]

This emphasis on references to winter and the winter solstice in the caskets alludes to Christ's birth which took place during the winter solstice, and His death in winter, in accordance with Christian commentaries. It is not by coincidence that the narrative on the caskets begins with a birth (Adam) and ends with a death (Abel).

The question is raised as to why the narrative in the caskets, which represents scenes from the life of Adam and Eve, makes allusions to the birth and death of Christ. The answer can be found in patriarchal writings and liturgy. According to Maximus the Confessor, when man ate the forbidden fruit in Paradise, he chose to loose the control

Fig. 8 *Winter* (mosaic), Villa in Italica

that God had given him over the world and to instead be controlled by it. Because of this, man lost his freedom and experienced death. The world became the domain of Satan and a source of constant temptation Therefore, baptism is necessary to renounce slavery under Satan inherited by the Fall and experience freedom through Christ who freed humanity from this slavery by breaking the laws of nature during His resurrection. This liturgical exorcism is used not only for the human soul in the Eastern Church but also for the forces of nature in ceremonies such as the "Great Blessing of Water" during the Feast of the Epiphany, a ceremony that serves to affirm God's control over the universe and man's liberation from cosmic forces through Christ. Baptism is also a promise of future resurrection, salvation, and immortality. In the Byzantine Church, the three immersions during baptism symbolize death inherited from the Fall, resurrection, and the gift of a new life made possible by Christ's sacrifice.[55]

The connection between the Creation and Christ is constantly emphasized in Byzantine hymns. An example of this is a hymn that is sung on December 25th which includes the following lines:

> Man Fell from the divine and better life; though made in the image of God, through transgression he became wholly subject of corruption and decay. But now the wise creator fashions him anew; for He has been glorified.[56]

Another example is the hymn of the Transfiguration:

> For having gone up, O Christ, with Thy disciples to Mount Tabor, Thou was transfigured, and hast made the nature that had grown dark in Adam to shine again as lightning...[57]

The association between the Creation and Christ is also made by John Chrysostom in one of his homilies:

> ...what harm the...[tree of life] caused and what good the...[tree of the Cross] introduced. The former tree brought death, death entering the scene after the Fall whereas the latter endowed us with immortality; one drove us from paradise, the other led us up to heave...[58]

This idea is also expressed in the Bible. In I Corinthians 15:21-23 it is written that

> For as by a man came death, by a man has come also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive.

The choice of Adonis, Herakles, and Prometheus as prototypes for scenes in the caskets also emphasize the connection between the harm caused by the Fall and the good that came from Christ's death. As mentioned previously, Adonis was allowed to return from the underworld once a year. Herakles in his twelfth labor went down to the underworld and was also allowed to return and Prometheus was punished by Zeus for providing mankind with fire by having him chained to a rock on Mount Caucasus and sending a vulture to gnaw away at his liver for thirteen generations as his liver would regenerate every night.[59] This devouring and regrowth in the story of Prometheus, and the return of Adonis and Herakles from the underworld, can be interpreted as resurrections that refer to that of Christ through which humanity attained salvation in spite of the Fall.

Based on patriarchal, liturgical, and mythological sources, then, the referral of the birth and death of Christ in the caskets can be interpreted as a reminder to the viewer that salvation is attainable through Christ regardless of the sin inherited by humanity through the Fall of Man in Paradise.

In Corinthians 15:42-45 Christ is referred to as the new Adam:

> So is it with the resurrection of the dead. What is sown is perishable, what is raised is imperishable. It is sown in dishonor, it is raised in glory. It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power. It is sown a physical body, it is raised a spiritual body. Thus it is written. 'The first man Adam became a living being:' the last Adam became a life-giving spirit.

Further, Maximus the Confessor expressed in his writings that Christ is the new Adam and "in Him, creation again finds communion with the Creator and harmony within itself."[60] In the caskets, this relationship between Adam and Christ is expressed by the juxtaposition of the figure of the Christ-Logos with the Chirst man in the *Creation of Adam*.

To conclude, although the rosette caskets examined in this article depict the story of Adam and Eve, the images and the choice of their sources provide the narrative cycles with a highly complex and sophisticated iconography. The inclusion of representations of the seasons affirms the divine perfection of nature and its Creator. The emphasis on allusions to winter and the winter solstice refers to Christ's birth, death, and resurrection, the latter stressed by the carver's choice of Adonis, Herakles, and Prometheus as prototypes for some of the images. The message provided to the viewer by the narrative on the caskets then is that, as in baptism, regardless of the sins of man, humanity is promised salvation, immortality, and the gift of a new life through Christ.[61] The complicated program of the caskets was certainly appropriate for its audience. After all, these boxes were originally owned by people in high stations, as evidenced by the traces of gilding still found on their surfaces.

Endnotes

1. Adolf Goldsmith and Kurt Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, II, Berlin, 1930.
2. Most of the boxes in this group are decorated with mythological scenes, and only a few are religious in nature. Of these, only the Cleveland, St. Petersburg, and Darmstadt caskets show a complete narrative cycle dealing with the story of Adam and Eve. W. Milliken, "Byzantine Ivory Casket," *The Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, XII, 1 (1925), 6.
3. *Ibid.*, 7; Hans Graeven, "Adamo ed Eva sui Cofanetti D'Avorio Bizantini," *L'Arte*, II (1899), 298
4. Alvan C. Eastman, "Byzantine Ivory Caskets in American Museums," *Art in America*, XV, 4, 158. In both, the traces of gilding are present in the backgrounds of the plaque inscriptions, and in the St. Petersburg example there is also evidence of gilding on the two plaques of the front panel.
5. The Cleveland casket is 12.5 cm. high, 46 5 cm. long, and 19.5 cm. wide; the Darmstadt casket is 12.5 cm. high, 46 cm. long, and 19 cm. wide; and the St. Petersburg casket is 12.5 cm. high, 46.5 cm. long, and 19.3 cm. wide. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, 48-50.
6. Its right lateral panel is severely damaged. Here, the ivory plate where the lock was once located and part of the rosette frame are broken off, suggesting that the casket was once violently opened. The right edge on the left plaque of the front panel has also been broken off and the plaque next to it, as well as the two on the left of the back panel, show pronounced vertical fissures. On the lid, two iron clasps in the center probably served as the base of a handle. They must be later additions as they indiscriminately cover the rosettes underneath. The St. Petersburg casket is in poor condition. Of its front and back panels only two plaques have survived, now placed side by side in the front. This change is known because the plaques are marked on the reverse, possibly by the carver, with Greek letters to indicate where they were originally meant to be positioned. See *ibid.*, II, 49. The missing fields are now occupied by smooth, uncarved, ivory plaques. This is also the case in the upper central area on the left lateral panel where the lock of the casket was originally present. A large portion of the casket's ornamental rosette border has been restored, so that the ivory used for the newer portions is lighter in color. Some of the ivory plaques show vertical fissures, particularly the central one on the left lateral panel where the fissure has split the surface into two separate pieces. In the Darmstadt casket the lid's right and left plaques are missing, and so are the rosette plaque between the two extant narrative plates and a large portion of the decorative border on the left. On the right, a clasp, now removed, has caused some damage. A portion on the lower part of the rosette border in the back panel, and the ivory plaque where the lock was originally located on the left lateral side, are also absent. Here too vertical fissures are present, especially on the central plaque of the back panel. The fourth plaque, reading from left to right, also on the back, has a smooth vertical split in the center that has separated it into two pieces. The reinforcing metal bands at the corners are probably later additions since they have been haphazardly placed. Finally, the lids' decorative rosette borders in the

St. Petersburg and Darmstadt caskets differ from that in the Cleveland example. In the St. Petersburg cover the rosettes become interlaced horns containing leaves of different shapes and grape bunches. In the Darmstadt casket this border is even more elaborate with the interlaced horns enclosing not only leaves and grapes, but also birds, hares, and hounds. In all three caskets, the lids' rosette borders are enframed by an outer braided trim. In the St. Petersburg and Cleveland covers, the braided motif reappears between the rosette border and the plaques containing the narrative scenes. In the Darmstadt lid, the braid between the rosette band and the plaques is present on the lower portion only, and, instead, the narrative scenes are enframed by a palmette motif. The braid on the lower portion of the lid in the Darmstadt casket has obviously been tampered with since on the left side the pattern leans in a different direction than on the right.

7. In the Darmstadt casket the *Creation of Eve* possesses a vertical format even though Adam sleeps on the ground. In the Cleveland casket both the *Creation of Adam* and the *Creation of Eve* possess a vertical arrangement.
8. In the Cleveland and Darmstadt caskets the scene occupies two separate panels, while in the St. Petersburg example it appears on a single plaque.
9. The *Expulsion* is missing from the St. Petersburg casket, and displayed on the two left plaques of the back panel in the Cleveland casket, and on the right lateral panel in the Darmstadt example.
10. This scene appears on the right lateral panel in the Cleveland casket. In the St. Petersburg example it is shown on the left lateral side, and in the Darmstadt casket it is on the back panel.
11. The scenes appear in the back panels of the Darmstadt and Cleveland caskets. In the latter, however, *Adam Carrying a Bundle of Wheat* has been replaced by a rectangular piece of wood. In the St. Petersburg example, only *Adam Tilling the Ground* has survived and is now in the front panel.
12. They are included on the left lateral panel in the Cleveland and Darmstadt caskets, and on the right lateral side in the St. Petersburg example.
13. In the St. Petersburg example, the furnace has been replaced by a rosette plaque.
14. In the Cleveland and Darmstadt caskets, this scene is present in two separate plaques, with that containing the figure of Cain missing from the Darmstadt lid. In the St. Petersburg casket, the murder is shown on one plate.
15. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, *Die Byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen*, II, 48.
16. Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in *No Graven Images: Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. Joseph Gutmann, New York, 1971, 209.
17. See cod. 8, Seraglio Library, fol. 35v.
18. For the mosaics at San Marco see Bruno Bertoli, ed., *I Mosaici di San Marco*, Milan, 1986.
19. See cod. gr. 746, Vatican Library, fol. 37r.
20. In later Octateuch versions the serpent is shown as a camel- like figure, a feature that stems from apocryphal writings. Louis Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews*, trans. Henrietta Szold, Philadelphia, 1913, I, 71.
21. See cod. gr. 746, Vatican Library, fol. 41v.
22. See *ibid.*, fol. 40v.
23. See *ibid.*, fol. 44r.
24. Jubal and Tubal-cain were the sons of Lamech, Cain's great grandson. The designation of Jubal as the father of music and Tubal-cain as the father of forgers stems from Genesis 4:21-22. For the Sacra Parallela see Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallel: Parisinus Graecus 923*, Princeton, 1979.
25. See cod. 8, Seraglio Library, fol. 50r.
26. R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English*, II, Oxford, 1913, 134.
27. Ginzberg, *The Legends*, V, 83.
28. *Ibid.*, I, 109.

29. *Ibid.*, I, 81.
30. Frederick D. Kershner, *Pioneers of Christian Thought*, Freeport, New York, 1968, 33-35.
31. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr., "Christology: A Central Problem of Early Christian Theology and Art," in *Age of Spirituality: A Symposium*, ed. Weitzmann, New York, 1980, 106.
32. Kershner, *Pioneer*, 115-121.
33. Saint John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Genesis 1-17*, trans. Robert C. Hill, Washington, D C , 1986, 109.
34. John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, New York, 1979, 158.
35. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*, Princeton, 1947, 176. For the myth of Prometheus see "Prometheus," in *The Works of Lucian*, trans. A. M. Harmon, II, New York, 1915, passim. For the Christian version of the Creation of Man see Genesis 2:7.
36. For the Prometheus Sarcophagus in the Museo Nazionale in Naples see Hellmut Sichtermann-Guntram Koch, *Griechische Mythen auf Römischen Sarcophagen*, 1975, pp. 162-163 and Cat. 67.
37. Herbert Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Princeton, 1977, 29.
38. Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore and Symbols*, I, New York, 1962, 765. For a description of the eleventh labor of Herakles where he is asked to kill Ladon, the serpent who guards the garden of Hesperides, and to take the apples, see Euripides, "Heracles," in *The Complete Greek Tragedies*, II, ed. David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, Chicago, 1956, 394-407. For a description of the garden of Hesperides see "Hippolytus," in *Euripides*, trans. Arthur S. Way, IV, New York, 1928, 750.
39. Kessler and Weitzmann, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library Codex Cotton Otho B.VI*, Princeton, 1986, 38.
40. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, Chicago and London, 1971, 267.
41. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sachsischen Kaiser*, II, Berlin, 1970, 5; Graeven, "Adamo ed Eva," 306-307.
42. For the frieze of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens see David Parrish, *Season Mosaics of Roman North Africa*, Rome, 1984, Plates 104 and 105.
43. For the depiction of Summer in the Sollertiana Domus in El Jem see *ibid.*, Plate 48.
44. For the representation of Summer in the House of the Drinking Contest in Seleucia see Doro Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*, II, Rome, 1971, Plate XXXII.
45. For the mosaic from St. Romain-en-Gal see Parrish, *Season Mosaics*, Plate 103.
46. For the personifications of the months in the Martyrology of Wandalbert see James Carson Webster, *The Labors of the Months in Antique and Medieval Art*, Evanston and Chicago, 1938, Plate XI.
47. For the labors of the months in the Cotton Julius see *ibid.*, Plates XVII-XX.
48. The model for these scenes on the caskets might have been the *Geoponica*, an agricultural calendar and treatise written byThe Season Cassianus Bassus in the sixth century. It contained, among other things, the labors of the months and the seasons. This treatise was revised in the tenth century by emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. It was also translated into Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic, attesting to its popularity. George M. A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks*, II, Cambridge, Mass., 1951, 90.
49. *Ibid.*, I, 196.
50. *Ibid.*, I, 202, 204.
51. *Ibid.*, I, 198.
52. *Ibid.*, I, 201 and II, 123.
53. *Ibid.*, I, 156, 240 and II, 123.
54. Jobes, *Dictionary*, I, 34, 755 and II, 1141.
55. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 134-35, 145-46.

56. *Ibid.*, 152.

57. *Ibid.*

58. Chrysostom, *Homilies*, 220-21.

59. Jobes, *Dictionary*, I, 304 and II, 1295-96.

60. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology*, 142.

61. The emphasis on salvation through representations of the seasons is an element in Christian art borrowed from Imperial iconography where, as in the Arch of Constantine, for example, they symbolize the prosperity of the empire brought on by the exemplary rule of the emperor. In Christian art, the seasons serve as a reference to the prosperity awarded to humanity through salvation by Christ, the new emperor. Beat Brenk, "The Imperial Heritage of Early Christian," in *Age of Spirituality: Symposium*, ed. Kurt Weitzmann, New York, 1980, 42.

Fig. 1 *Hook Spirit Mask (kao gle)*, wood, H 9 in., Dan civilization, Liberia, 18th-19th century, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Osborn for the Linton Collection of African Art

Reconsidering the Influence of African Art on Cubism

Stephanie Peeples Johnson

In a photograph taken in 1911, the painter Georges Braque sits in his studio, engrossed in the playing of an accordion which he holds in his hands. At his feet, one of his Cubist paintings leans against the wall; above, slightly to the left, hangs a Fang mask from Gabon. About these objects, William Rubin writes:

> Nothing visibly relates the two, yet the conceptual principles of reductive abstraction and ideographic representation that govern the masks are operant, albeit in quite another spirit, in the painting. If one can apprehend the tenuous and obviously elliptical relation between these works, one grasps the nature of Braque's rapport with tribal art.[1]

The rather rhetorical nature of Rubin's question reflects what appears to be a difficulty on the writer's part to affix a non-Western context, an African connection to Cubism. Within his Picasso chapter for the catalog of the 1984 show, *Primitivism in 20th Century Art*, Rubin can only find recognizable forms of African work within the Spanish artist's "African period," from 1907-1908, and after 1912, in his return to sculpture. Of the few years in between, Rubin states that the only connection which he discerns between Picasso and African art is "the common denominator of their conceptualism,"[2] on what this element might be, Rubin does not elaborate. Nor is it a question that Rubin chooses to think about, especially in respect to Cubism. In the 1989 catalog from the exhibition, *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, Rubin makes only a fleeting reference to the intrusion of any non-Western work into what he considers" the most passionate adventure in our century's art."[3]

To pursue the elements of non-Western art within the realm of European modernism is a direction of study by no means new to the field. Robert Goldwater and Charles Wentinck, as well as Rubin, have addressed the formal issues of the inspiration that non-Western art presented for artists in the early twentieth century. Each of these scholars provides convincing juxtapositions on a formal level between non-Western and modern art, and offers points of departure for the study of this relationship, no real deliberations on the cultures that produced the non-Western works take place. Such discussions would necessarily address the sacred or secular purpose for the work, the symbolism of the work, and the context in which an object is used within the society. These writers explain that the artists were not concerned with the origins of the work, only the forms which provided the impetus that they sought. By not including a substantial dialogue on the function of the objects within the cultures that inspired modernist art, however, the authors are again denying these non-Western cultures their place in history.

Cubism has historically been connected to the work of Cézanne, in its structure and form, logic and refinement. Because Cézanne represents a classical and rational link in the French formalist tradition (including Poussin and David), Picasso and Braque have

often been included within that tradition as well.[4] But Cézanne was not the only artist who impressed the future Cubists.[5] In 1912, Apollinaire writes:

> ... these strange African images made a powerful impression upon André Derain who, while regarding them with a great deal of fondness, admired the talent with which the sculptors from Guinea and the Congo had reproduced the human figures without utilizing any element taken from direct vision. ...The following year [1906], he became acquainted with Picasso, and the immediate result of their acquaintance was the birth of Cubism (In the beginning it involved, more than anything else, a somewhat Impressionistic handling of the forms which had been anticipated in the late works of Cézanne....The new ideas of Picasso, Derain, and of another young painter, Georges Braque, resulted in the true Cubism.) which was the art of painting original arrangements composed of elements borrowed from conceived reality rather than from the reality of the vision.[6]

Thus, according to Apollinaire, Derain and African art were more important to Cubism than Cézanne, and only the addition of Derain and African art led to the birth of Cubism proper. There is indeed an energy within Cubism that could not have come from the refined, restrained forms of Cézanne alone. Cézanne's influence on Cubism is manifest, but only as distilled through the work of Derain, who was searching for a way to apply the formal qualities of African art.[7] A discussion of Cézanne's *Bathers* (1898-1906), Derain's *Bathers* (1907), and Picasso's *Three Women* (1907-1908), serves to support this observation. The proximity of the figures to the front of the canvas, the warm colors and the formal, frontal, almost hieratic positioning of the figures tend to pull the Picasso painting closer to the work by Derain than to the painting by Cézanne. These first two works also share a monumentality, a sense of physical strength, that Cézanne's figures, entrenched within the landscape, do not. Even a comparison of landscapes, such as a late Cézanne *Mont St. Victoire* (1902), (the influence that Apollinaire referred to) and Braque's *Houses at L'Estaque* (1908), illustrates a difference of objective. While Cézanne's later, looser style further breaks down form and space, he is still primarily concerned with maintaining the integrity of the landscape, presenting horizon line and sky to provide a familiar environment. Braque gives us neither. His higher perspective wipes out the horizon line, denying the viewer entrance to his foreign environment of direct, frontal planar forms. It is Derain's sculptural form, charged with an African influence—really only seen in a few of his works toward the end of the Fauvist period—which provided an impetus for the birth of Cubism.[8]

From this point on, Picasso and Braque would blaze their own path, going beyond the influence of Derain, directly to the non-Western source, visiting the Trocadéro ethnographic museum and amassing their own collections of African art. Braque explains:

> Negro masks, in particular, opened up a new horizon to me because they allowed me to make contact with indistinct things, with direct manifestations which were in opposition to the false (Renaissance) tradition that I abhorred.[9]

African art represented not only the possibility to break free of Western illusionism, but also introduced a manner by which to represent "indistinct things," i.e., intangible elements. With this idea in mind, tendencies may be observed within Cubism which have close parallels to African art on a deeper, more conceptual basis than can be attributed to formal analysis alone. One is in the transportive quality of Analytical Cubism, in which the image, by manner of its representation, takes on otherworldly qualities. Another is to be found in the element of simultaneity apparent in the work of the Parisian Cubists before World War I, manifest in painting, poetry, and even film.[10] The poets and artists who explored the concept of Cubism worked together through discussions and critiques to develop their art. These artists did not so much work toward one common goal, as they worked simultaneously in different directions from one common idea.[11]

How are these disparate elements of modern and non-Western art possibly connected? The African mask attempts to represent an intangible spirit, giving form to an entity from an invisible world. Naturally, such a consideration is not peculiar just to African cultures; any religious community must deal with the concept of sacred representation in determining what form it uses to depict its deities. But whereas a Western culture, drawing on models from its Greco-Roman and Renaissance heritage, would represent naturalistic, illusionistic images, these non-Western cultures chose conceptual, highly stylized points of departure. Exploiting human or animal forms, African artists reduced the facial features of their masks to essential elements. By such a treatment of the form, a maximum of expression could be achieved, thus presenting an emotive image, tenuously connected to the earth by a slight recognizable form, which, because of its religious nature, must be viewed by an inner, spiritual eye.[12]

The mask does not function alone, however, but is part of the larger context of the African masquerade—a religious art form which brings together the spirit world and the corporeal world through the process of ritual, within which the entire society participates. Such an environment is produced through a synthesis of music and dance that includes singing, clapping, turning on one's axis, rattling, and drumming,[13] as well as through the visual arts, in the form of costumes, masks, and body adornment. By activating all of the senses at one time, a simultaneity, a multiplicity of texture, a synesthesia, is achieved, a true *Gesamtkunstwerk* in the sense of a complete experience, or a total art form and environment. This merging of the arts produces is a world unto itself separated from the corporeal world by an array of new sights, senses, and sounds. When the purpose of the masquerade is religious, a trained participant prepared for the event may go into a state of possession, assisted by the spiritually charged atmosphere created by the merging of music and costumed dance.[14] The purpose of this transportation to the spirit world is to receive information from the deities about the future activities of the culture group.[15] Thus, through the masquerade, the devout can make contact with another, higher plane of existence.

Among the Dan of West Africa, there is belief in a presence called *dü*. This force may be manifest as invisible spirits which can take the form of men or animals, or objects such as a tree or a leather pouch. The *dü* spirit may appear to someone in a dream, asking for help in attaining a corporeal form. Once the force has occupied the form, it becomes a place for contact where sacrifices are made and assistance is sought. If a *dü* ever leaves an object, the form returns to its normal purpose. One type of *dü* spirit prefers a specific corporeal existence as a masquerade.[16]

Fig. 2 Pablo Picasso, *Accordionist (L'Accordéoniste)*, Céret, Summer 1911, Oil on canvas, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, New York, Gift, Solomon R. Guggenheim, 1937. Photo: David Heald ©The Solomon R. Guggenheim Foundation, New York

By way of the masquerade, the masked dancer, whose human form is camouflaged in many layers of clothing and a thick raffia skirt, becomes the physical form of a supernatural being.[17] When the masquerade is over, however, the *dii* is considered to be embodied in the mask to such a degree that it is believed when masks are lying on the ground they can be heard "grinding their teeth." Eleven general mask types of the Dan may be distinguished. Many possess human or animal characteristics or both, and are executed in styles ranging from realism to highly stylized renderings. Not of this world, the spirit masquerades speak in a foreign language of animal-like croaks and growls which must be translated for the audience by an interpreter.[18]

These Dan masqueraders perform a variety of functions. Some referee disputes among community members, while others entertain.[19] One dance masquerade of the Dan is the *Kao gle*, the monkey masquerade, which stirs the public to action through wild entertainment. In one village, the resident *Kao gle* masquerade emerges to provide entertainment when there is a cause for celebration, but also appears on days when an important community member dies. The *Kao gle* masquerade is one of a group of masquerades known by the general title *kagle; ka* being the word for a hooked or pronged stick.[20] At times, the masquerade will hurl these sticks at the accompanying entourage of singers and musicians, who are primed to avoid the projectiles.[21] Villagers who are perceived as conceited or too inquisitive may receive punishment from the masquerade in order to ease tensions among the community.[22]

The *Kao gle* mask (Fig. 1) is frontal, symmetrical, and iconic. The solid, exaggerated facial features of the mask are imposing, and suggest a sense of strength. The nose, cheeks and mouth emerge from the dark, deeply recessed areas of the mask almost as independent elements, yet complement each other in their relief. In the mask, a stylized, unworldly quality is sought for the purpose of representing a spirit. The images are simplified, pared down to reveal the essential qualities of the form and the expression of inner harmony. Thus it is in the representation, and not the image depicted, that this element of transportation may be found.

Transportive qualities within Analytical Cubism may be discerned in a formal comparison of Picasso's *The Accordionist*, of 1911 (Fig. 2), with the Dan *Kao gle* mask previously discussed. This juxtaposition may illuminate some of the conventions within Cubism which, within this paper, have already been associated with the transportive qualities of African art. The Dan *Kao gle* mask presents a form which is recognizable in the major masses of the facial form—the eyes, nose, and mouth are in their proper positions—but is completely different from the familiar face. Thus the Western viewer is pulled in by the hint of a recognizable form, but cannot enter and is left outside because the mask does not offer a completely familiar form in which to rest.

The frontal, iconic qualities of the mask are also found in Picasso's painting, with the formal mass directed to the center of the work, and the spatially ambiguous planes collecting at the front of the canvas. The form of the musician in Picasso's presentation is elusive as well; just when viewers are convinced that they have captured the boundaries of the form among the interpenetrating planes, the contours slip away again. Viewers are given no comfortable object on which to direct a focus, no horizon line to determine space, no complete physical features which are familiar in form. Thus, one is forced into a limbo of sorts, unable to enter the picture plane, but equally unable to dismiss it as mere abstraction. Fragments of the figure are given to keep viewers within the painting, yet the representation is not familiar to the world in which we exist.

As the African mask was part of a larger, multitextural art experience, so too, is *The Accordionist.* In its reference to music, the painting foreshadows the increasing use of simultaneity which occurred within Cubism closer in time to the First World War. When viewed as a continuing process, the practice of painting becomes increasingly more involved with external sensory activities, such as actual objects, poetry and music. The development of more encompassing art forms is only alluded to in 1910, but becomes increasingly prevalent by 1913, and the traditional divisions between Analytical and Synthetic Cubism become nothing more than arbitrary barriers in the progression.[23]

A work such as Braque's *Homage to Bach* (1912), expands on the introduction of music into painting by including a reference to it in the form of a violin, and the name of a specific composer. Through the inclusion of Bach's name in the composition, a recognizable, tone, sound, and melody are instantly evoked, creating a simultaneity of visual and aural sensory activities. Because Braque is bringing together life and art by introducing the viewer to a total environment within the work, he is utilizing a quality very similar to that used in non-Western cultures.

Poetry entered the visual arts as well in the work of Juan Gris, who introduced verse to his canvases in variations on the theme *Still Life with Poem* around 1914. Apollinaire took a different approach, arranging his poetry into the contour lines of visual images, forms which he termed "calligrammes." *The Mandolin, the Violet, and the Bamboo* (1913), utilizes words such as "sound" and "scent" within the verse to create a complete experience of the senses associated with the forms. Again, within these works, the simultaneous quality similar to that found in African art is evoked.[24]

Cubist poetry was also explored by Gertrude Stein, who once exclaimed, "Well Pablo is doing abstract portraits in painting. I am trying to do abstract portraits in my medium—words."[25] Stein explores simultaneity in her medium as well, as may be seen in poems such as *Susie Asado* (1912):

Sweet sweet sweet sweet sweet tea.
Susie Asado.
Sweet sweet sweet sweet sweet tea.
Susie Asado.
Susie Asado which is a told tray sure.
A lean on the shoe this means slips slips her.
When the ancient light grey is clean it is yellow
it is a silver seller.
This is a please this is a please there are the
saids to jelly. These are the wets these say the sets
to leave a crown to Incy.
Incy is short for incubus.
A pot. A pot is a beginning of a rare bit of trees.
Trees tremble, the old vats are in bobbles, bobbles which
shade and shove and render clean, render clean must.
Drink pups. Drink pups drink pups lease a sash hold, see it
shine and a bobolink has pins. It shows a nail.
What is a nail. A nail is unison.
Sweet sweet sweet sweet sweet tea.[26]

Jo Anna Isaak, in *The Ruin of Representation in Modern Art and Texts*, discusses various interpretations of this poem.[27] One such interpretation suggests that the rhythm of the words mimics the steps of a flamenco dancer, as the repeating first two lines may be understood as the stamping of the dancer's feet accentuated by castanets and musical rhythm. Another suggestion is that the punctuation of these lines refers to the precise movements of a Japanese geisha serving tea. The introduction of a rhythm from another activity into the poem suggested by these interpretations brings it into the realm of simultaneity. This total experience was further enhanced when Virgil Thompson later set the poem to music.[28]

In a similar way, the poem *Orange* from Stein's *Tender Buttons* (1912), once again introduces a simultaneity of various sensory perceptions.

> Why is a feel oyster an egg stir. Why is it orange centre.
> A show at tick and loosen loosen it so to speak sat.
> It was an extra leaker with a see spoon, it was an extra
> licker with a see spoon.[29]

Through the utilization of words and phrases that are suggestive of the senses such as the color orange, the tangible feel of an oyster, or the activity of licking, a new environment is created. Isaak points out that in her repetition of words, Stein frees them from their normal context, expanding consciousness by revealing the partially concealed power of language.[30] Isaak associates this repetition with the realm of the spiritual, adducing a passage from Kandinsky's *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912): "The apt use of a word (in a poetical sense), its repetition, twice, three times or even more frequently, according to the need of the poem will not only tend to intensify the internal structure, but also bring out unsuspected spiritual properties of the word itself."[31] Thus, a transportive possibility exists within Stein's work, when the repeating words create a mantra of sorts, and a context of simultaneity.

The creation of a new environment was pursued as well by the artist Léopold Survage. After exhibiting with the Cubists in the Salon des Indépendants in 1912, he soon turned his interest toward filmmaking. In 1913, Survage produced drawings for a movie to be called *Le Rhythme Coloré*, a project which was interrupted by the advent of the First World War and never completed.[32] Drawings for one of the movie's sequences reveal a composition and form very different from what Cubism is conceived to be. These compositions are completely abstract and not strictly geometric; merely areas of color which float upon a black ground. In the course of the three minute short, these color fields were intended to move and merge with each other, mutating in color and form, facilitated by two- to three thousand stills. Survage explains:

> A static abstract form is still not expressive enough....Only when set in motion, undergoing change, entering into relations with other forms, is it able to evoke feeling ...it is in this way that visual rhythm is analogous to sound rhythm in music. In both domains, rhythm plays the same part. As a consequence for the plastic world, the visual form of any body is only valuable to us as a starting point, as a means of expressing and evoking our interior dynamisms, and certainly not to render the meaning or import such and such an object might

> have, in fact, in our lives.... So much for form and rhythm, which are inseparable.[33]

Survage, in this section, discusses form in terms of feeling, rhythm, and internal dynamisms, qualities which do not belong to a cerebral approach, but rather stem from an emotive source. As Stein links rhythm and words in order to produce a sense of simultenaity, so Survage makes a similar attempt with rhythm and form. Within the medium of film, Survage's drawings would have been additionally endowed with the quality of motion, and the continually changing screen would have introduced the viewer to another dimension of color and form.

Relationships of color were also imperative to the work of Robert Delaunay who used them for a transportation of consciousness in his development of Orphism. Delaunay writes:

> What is of great importance to me is observation of the movement of colors. Only in this way, have I found the laws of complementary and simultaneous contrasts of colors which sustain the rhythm of my vision. In this movement of colors, I find the essence, which does not arise from a system, or an *a priori* theory.[34]

Perhaps the culmination of simultaneity in media with reference to color occurred in the work of Sonia Delaunay, whose dresses, books, poetry illustrations and posters blurred the lines between art and life.

How, if at all, are the elements of simultaneity and transportation, found both in African art and in Cubism, possibly connected? The answer would appear to be found in the considerations of Picasso and Braque, as all other Cubists followed their lead.[35] Thus, it is their interest which might provide the connection. While Braque found in African art the freedom to explore indistinct elements, Picasso was impressed by the works' spiritual power. In his discussions with André Malraux, Picasso reminisced about his introduction to African art:

> Everyone always talks about the influences that the Negroes had on me. What can I do? We all of us loved fetishes. Van Gogh once said, 'Japanese art—we all had that in common.' For us it's the Negroes. Their forms had no more influence on me than they had on Matisse. Or on Derain. But for them the masks were just like any other pieces of sculpture. When Matisse showed me his first Negro head, he talked to me about Egyptian art. When I went to the old Trocadéro [currently the Musée de l'Homme] it was disgusting. The Flea Market. The smell. I was all alone. I wanted to get away. But I didn't leave. I stayed. I stayed. I understood that it was very important: something was happening to me, right? The masks weren't just like any other pieces of sculpture. Not at all. They were magic things—The Negro pieces were *intercesseurs*, mediators; ever since then I've known the word in French. They were against everything—against unknown, threatening spirits. . . I understood why I was a painter... All alone in that awful museum, with masks, dolls made by redskins, dusty manikins. *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* must have come

> to me that very day, but not at all because of the forms; because it was my first exorcism-painting—yes absolutely! [36]

In discussing the influence that African art held for him, Picasso moves beyond the simple debt of acquisition of form and acknowledges the sense of intangible magic and power that he found to be associated with the objects. Rubin proposes that Picasso was more impressed with African art at the Trocadéro than with what he had seen in the studios of Derain, Vlaminck and Matisse,[37] and the artist's own reminiscence certainly supports that observation. Perhaps it was the overwhelming presence of the context of African art which impressed Picasso. Surrounded by not one, but many objects, he could have discerned some sort of intangible, exotic essence which interested him more than the exterior forms.

An ethnographic museum is fundamentally different from an art museum in terms of its interest in and presentation of the object. Rather than displaying selected masks and statues for the purpose of viewing aesthetic form, ethnographic museums are concerned with acquiring all the accoutrements of a culture, a sociological time-capsule of sorts. Thus when Picasso encountered African art in the Trocadéro, he was surrounded by more than masks; there were also costumes, drums, weapons, and domestic objects. He entered a different world, one much closer to the traditional context of the work. African scholar Joseph Cornet writes:

> Obviously, modern man can no longer feel the sacred quality of an ancestor statue or an initiation mask in the way of someone belonging to a traditional society; nor can he see it in its original surroundings. But if he only makes the tiniest attempt to pierce the mystery of magical works of art to which the atavistic within him responds, he will be rewarded with something close to a profound poetic experience.[38]

It certainly seems plausible that through their experiences at the Trocadéro the early Cubists were influenced by the spiritual nature of African art, as well as by its quality of simultaneity. Such qualities were to be found not only in the forms of the masks, but in their traditional context, as part of a much larger ritual. Although the painters were not exposed to an actual masquerade, a vicarious experience could be imagined among the variety of exhibits at the ethnographic museum. Picasso's recollection of the horrible smell and dusty conditions he encountered in the museum indicates that he was engaging several senses at once throughout his visit. Period photographs of the Trocadéro reveal a highly disorganized exhibition, poorly labeled and haphazardly installed.[39] The sense of mystery associated with jumbled piles of objects, and the simultaneous environment—created by the juxtaposition of weapons with statues, of utilitarian forms with sacred ones, and the smell and the dust—made a lasting impression on Picasso. He said he was sufficiently moved by this experience to understand "why (he) was a painter."

Although African art was important to Picasso and Braque, this interest was not shared by all who considered themselves Cubist. Differences among them can be demonstrated by the *Section d'Or* show, which opened in Paris in 1912, exhibiting 185 works by thirty-two Cubist painters, including Jacques Villon, Albert Gleizes, and Jean Metzinger.[40] As the title suggests, many of the artists were concerned with the

representation of the essence of an object through rational methods. Their rather cerebral approach was elaborated upon within the text of *Du Cubisme*, co-authored by Gleizes and Metzinger in 1912, in which the discussion of form is liberally mixed with discussion of intangible essences: "In short, the science of design consists in instituting relations between straight lines and curves. A picture which contained only straight lines or curves would not express life."[41] This quote suggests that these scientific Cubists were also concerned with the manner of representation over the subject matter, but that they analyzed and theorized this approach in the mind rather than addressing it with the emotions.

In a work such as Metzinger's *Composition Cubiste* (1912), a very careful compositional arrangement may be found, set up with the rhythm of the *golden section*. This formula may be discerned in the careful sectioning of the vertical bands into proportional relationships of roughly 2:3. The work is extremely balanced in its use of contrasting straight and curved lines, linear and painterly contours, as well as areas alternately textured and smooth. It must be noted, however, that this rhythm however harmonic, is a very different one from that of the Cubism that inspired it. While Picasso's work is expressive and emotive, more concerned with the unity of the work rather than the sum of its components, Metzinger's painting is rationally composed, and proportioned, leading to an intellectual harmony, a cerebral rather than emotional transportation.

This scientific approach extended beyond mathematics to technological advances as well. It has been suggested that the discovery of the x-ray by Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen in 1895, also had an effect on the Cubists, perhaps with Picasso and Braque, but especially among the Puteaux group, whose writers and artists met at Villon's studio.[42] While they did not replicate the look of an x-ray in their work, these artists were interested in its ability to reveal indistinct or invisible objects, which was translated into a transparent quality on the canvas. The penetrating light suggested by the x-ray also captured their imagination. According to *Du Cubisme:*

> It was then that the Cubists taught a new way of imagining light. According to them, to illuminate is to reveal; to color is to specify the mode of revelation. They call luminous that which strikes the mind, and dark that which the mind has to penetrate....Here are a thousand tints which escape from the prism, and hasten to range themselves in the lucid region forbidden to those who are blinded by the immediate.[43]

The x-ray appealed to the Puteaux Cubists because of its ability to illuminate and penetrate areas and objects that were not visible to the naked eye. The possibility to see beyond the immediate is precisely the purpose of African art as well. Although these artists for the most part chose not to utilize African art, they nevertheless addressed the conceptual considerations which it embodies.

The scientific approach of these "minor" Cubists took the formal considerations within the work of Braque and Picasso—the planar forms, the shallow space inspired by African art—and attempted to Westernize and civilize it through rational, logical, mathematical means. While they appreciated the form, the impetus for that form was very distant from their environment. The scientific Cubists felt compelled to translate the direct, emotive language of Picasso's and Braque's work into concrete terms and

formulas stemming from their own culture which were much easier to manipulate and control. Although these works retain an element of essentiality and transportation, they lose the powerful immediacy of the original Cubists. Thus a variety of styles emerged from the concept of Cubism. Each would deal with the harmony of composition and transportation, but would approach the problem through very different means.

In his article "The Rise of Cubism" of 1915, Daniel-Henry Kahnweiler wrote:

> The name "Cubism," and the designation "Geometric Art" grew out of the impression of early spectators who "saw" geometric forms in the paintings. This impression is unjustified, since the visual conception desired by the painter by no means resides in the geometric forms, but *rather in the representation of the reproduced objects* [my italics].[44]

Kahnweiler submited that the geometric treatment of space was not the end of a Cubist work, but rather, a by-product of the means. The representation was more important to the realization of the artist's conception than the forms which lent themselves to the depiction. Kahnweiler's recognition of the artist's idea being associated not with the object, but in its representation, is similar to the conceptual execution of a spiritual form within African art, as can be discussed in terms of the mask. It was not Cubist subject matter that related this idea (the basic subjects were, for the most part, mundane, everyday items) but rather the manner in which they were represented with respect to the qualities of simultaneity and transportation. With Picasso and Braque, such representation had a basis in their interest in the immediacy of African art. When taken up by the other Cubists, it was this immediacy which was further explored in diverse media, and backed by a variety of philosophies of interpretation. Thus, Gertrude Stein, Jean Metzinger, and Léopold Survage may all be considered Cubists because for all of their disparate qualities, they addressed the same conceptual considerations.

Conceptual manner of representation is an integral part of the traditional, religious work of Africa, in which the spiritual charge or import is manifest more in the depiction than the subject. There are no specific forms within Cubist work which may be connected to Africa. In that sense, it has eluded all who have searched for direct "primitive" connections within the subject matter, for example, the mask-like faces found in *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, which could be easily identified up to 1910 during Picasso's "African" period. Rather, what we find here is a conceptual stylistic debt, in which the breakdown of form and simultaneity of media elicits a transportive reaction. In *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, we also discern a frontal orientation to the figures, compartmentalized forms, and lack of a familiar sense of space, which present an unknown environment to viewers; a place which they cannot enter. It is this otherworldly quality which serves to reflect the African element within the work, as well as foreshadow its development within Cubism.

Endnotes

1. William Rubin, ed., *Primitivism in 20th Century Art*, I, New York, 1984, 307.
2. *Ibid.*, 309.

3. William Rubin, ed., *Picasso and Braque: Pioneering Cubism*, Boston, 1989, 11.

4. This tradition tends to suppress the non-Western influences on Cubism in favor of the geometricizing tendencies of Cézanne. Edward Fry put it most directly when he suggested that "like Picasso, Braque was learning to stand on Cézanne's shoulders, extracting from his art its structural and nonillusionistic features while discarding Cézanne's lingering interest in observed visual detail." See Edward Fry, "Cubism as a Stylistic and Historical Phenomenon," in *Major European Art Movements, 1900-1945: A Critical Anthology*, eds., Patricia Kaplan and Susan Manso, New York, 1977, 111.

5. In his catalog for MoMA's Fauvism exhibition of 1976, John Elderfield discussed Derain's mixture of influences from Cézanne and tribal art in *Bathers*, from 1907, and the influence of this work on Picasso, especially in reference to *Demoiselles d'Avignon*. See John Elderfield, *The "Wild Beasts": Fauvism and Its Affinities*, New York, 1976, 117-122.

6. First published as "The Beginnings of Cubism," in *Le Temps*, Paris, 14 October 1912. Republished in Herschel B. Chipp, ed., *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics*, Berkeley, 1968, 218-219. See Chipp's notes on the text, page 216.

7. Michael Parke-Taylor, *André Derain in North American Collections*, Norman Mackenzie Art Gallery, 29-October-5 December, 1982, 11.

8. Elderfield,120.

9. Braque quote included in Warren M. Robbins, "The African Connection," *WETA Magazine* May 1990, 11-13.

10. Mark Roskill has cross-referenced a variety of texts written by contemporary Cubist advocates such as Apollinaire, Salmon, Metzinger, and Gleizes, and found five areas of overlap, which he considers "basic affirmations on the nature of Cubism." One is an opposition to Impressionism, to its superficial approach to realism. Another common interest was directed toward mathematics in reference to the use of space. Thirdly, Cubist works were considered to mirror the changing modern world. A fourth consideration addressed the concept of "duration," or the element of time captured within the turning planes of several points of view. Finally, Roskill noticed the reference to simultaneity, which he found to combine the last two concepts with the idea of a relative viewpoint; this consideration allowed for the total view of three-dimensional object on the canvas. This last concept of total view is easily akin to the total experience achieved by a simultaneity of sensory elements. See Mark Roskill, *The Interpretation of Cubism*, London,1985, 30-31.

11. Within Paris, there were at least three such communities of artists involved with the exploration of Cubism. In the area of Paris called Montmartre, a group of artists including writers Max Jacob and Apollinaire and the painters Juan Gris and Georges Braque, gathered in the cafés and bistros around the area of the Picasso's apartment house, affectionately known as the Bateau-Lavoir, or washboat, owing to its resemblance to a ship. Another group of artists, including Albert Gleizes and Jean Metzinger, gathered around the studio of Jacques Villon on the outskirts of Paris in Puteaux. Finally, in the Montparnasse section of Paris gathered an international group of artists—Russians, Poles, Italians, Spaniards—collectively known as La Ruche, or the beehive. Gathering around the Café Rotonde, artists such as Chaim Soutine, Jacques Lipschitz, Marevna Vorobëv, Alexander Archipenko, Amedeo Modigliani, and Diego Rivera met to discuss their work. See Marevna Vorobëv, *Life in Two Worlds*, trans. Benet Nash, London, 1962, 120. Also, Vorobëv, *Life with the Painters of La Ruche*, New York, 1972, 17, 19.

12. A.A. Gerbrands, *Art as an Element of Culture, Especially in Negro-Africa*, Leiden, 1957, 131.

13. Felicitas D. Goodman, *Ecstasy, Ritual, and Alternate Reality: Religion in a Pluralistic World*, Bloomington, Indiana, 1988, 37.

14. William Bascom, *African Art in Cultural Perspective: An Introduction*, New York, 1973, 257-258.

15. Bascom, 258.

16. Eberhard Fischer and Hans Himmelheber, *The Arts of the Dan in West Africa*, Zürich, 1984, 6-8.

17. Gerbrands, 84.

18. Fischer, 8.

19. Robert Farris Thompson, *African Art in Motion: Icon and Act in the Collection of Katherine Coryton White*, Los Angeles, 1974, 161.

20. Fischer, 67-69.
21. Thompson, 159-163.
22. Fischer, 69.
23. Roskill, 66-67, finds a continuity between Analytical and Synthetic Cubism as well, based on his observations on the inclusion of lettering, and his principle of "wandering imagery." He finds that the elements only hinted at in earlier Cubism, such as truncated words, and hallmarks of images, such a violin neck or sound-hole, become increasingly prominent and more suggestive in their materiality by 1912. Thus, a fragmented, painted guitar in 1911 slowly evolves until it becomes the subject of a collage relief in 1913. In lettering, the shy street signs and newspaper mastheads in the early days of Cubism hidden in the planar forms transform into the strident collage images which characterize Cubism before the war.
24. It would seem that Apollinaire might have been made more aware of the concept of a Gesamtkunstwerk through more immediate influences such as Baudelaire and the Symbolists than through Cubism. Critical literature however, appears divided on the subject. John Michael Cohen suggests in *Poetry of this Age: 1908-1965*, London, 1966, that "In contrast to the Symbolists, Apollinaire drew his inspiration from the surface of life ... Being a close friend of the Cubist painters, he learnt from them to despise common appearances, and to see any given object as an assemblage of aspects, rather than as something bound by space and time" (121). Conversely, Andrew M. Clearfield in *These Fragments I have Shared: Collage and Montage in Early Modernist Poetry*, Ann Arbor, 1984, finds the term *poètes cubistes* unfitting for Blaise Cendrars, Pierre Reverdy and Apollinaire, because they all began with "the post-symbolic pursuit of vagueness," and none were able to disassociate their elements from one another; a practice he finds related more to montage then Cubism. Clearfield considers Gertrude Stein more successful at Cubist poetry than her French peers. However, elements of collage found in Picasso's work after 1911 seemed to lead Apollinaire to write the work *Zone*, which has become "one of the most famous examples of discontinuous composition in French," Clearfield, 58-60.
25. Randa Dubnick, *The Structure of Obscurity: Gertrude Stein, Language, and Cubism*, Chicago, 1984, 17.
26. Jo Anna Isaak, *The Ruin of Representation in Modernist Art and Texts*, Ann Arbor, 1986, 106.
27. *Ibid.*,106-107.
28. *Ibid.*, 106.
29. Gertrude Stein, "Tender Buttons," in *Selected Writings of Gertrude Stein*, ed. Carl Van Vechten, New York, 1990, 495.
30. *Ibid.*, 95.
31. *Ibid.*, 108-109.
32. Standish D. Lawder, *The Cubist Cinema*, New York, 1975, 21-22.
33. *Ibid.*, 25-26.
34. Chipp, 317.
35. Fry, 122, insists that Picasso and Braque were the source from which the style of Cubism spread, and that those who followed did little to contribute anything new.
36. André Malraux, *Picasso's Mask*, trans., June and Jacques Guicharnaud, New York, 1974, 10-13.
37. Rubin, 1984, 255.
38. Joseph Cornet, *Art of Africa*, London, 1971, 10.
39. Rubin gives a fine account of the conditions at the Trocadéro; see Rubin, 1984, 142.
40. *Painters of the Section d'Or: The Alternatives to Cubism*, Buffalo, September 27-October 22, 1967, 7.
41. Chipp, 213.
42. See Linda Dalrymple Henderson, "X Rays and the Quest for Invisible Reality in the Art of Kupka, Duchamp, and the Cubists," *Art Journal* 47, (1988), 323-340.
43. Henderson, 335, quote followed a reference to Fraunhofer rays.
44. First published in *Der Weg zum Kubismus*, Munich, 1920. This translation by Henry Aronson. Chipp, 248.

Fig.1 Giovanni Battista Moroni, *Abbess Lucrezia Algiardi Vertova*, 1556/57, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915. Theodore M. Davis Collection. (30.95.255)

The Portrait of an Abbess: Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova[1]

Cheryl A. Schutt Brown

The portrait of the abbess Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova, which hangs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is in oil on canvas and measures 36 x 27 inches or 91.4 x 68.6 cm (Fig. 1). It dates from 1556 or 1557 and is the work of Giovanni Battista Moroni.

The portrait is a three-quarter length view of the abbess whose clothed form has substantial volume and is placed in the space behind a short wall. The marble wall and attached cartouche fully occupy the bottom third of the canvas. The sitter is clearly identified by the cartouche. The inscription reads: "Lucrezia, daughter of the most noble Alessandro Agliardi of Bergamo, wife of the most honorable Francesco Cataneo Vertova, herself founded the Church of Sant'Anna of Albino, year 1557."

The abbess is positioned nearly parallel to the picture plane, with a slight turn to her right. Her placement is slightly asymmetrical. Behind her is a gray background modulated by light. In both hands she holds an open book, probably a Bible or prayer book. Her hands rest on the wall in front of her and to the left of the composition's center. She looks up to her right with an introspective expression indicative of contemplation of the text she has been reading She wears a Carmelite habit of white over brown and a veil appropriate to Lucrezia's status either as nun or widow.[2]

In contrast to the somber palette of the rest of the canvas, the abbess' face is executed in warm flesh tones with rose-colored cheeks, nose, and lips. Her face is depicted with an intense degree of verisimilitude and seems a true-to-nature representation of her ugliness, old age, and infirmity, which is manifest in the goiterous condition of her throat.

The painting's provenance is traced to the Convent of Sant'Anna, Albino, where it remained until 1799. After that it stayed nearby in Bergamo in various private collections.[3] It came into the museum's possession in 1915.

The work is known to have been cleaned twice. In 1854, its original, and present, inscription was uncovered.[4] More recently, the work was cleaned in 1979 and is considered to be in excellent condition.[5]

The Latin inscription on the cartouche, a traditional device for identifying a sitter in terms of both family membership and personal accomplishment, has been phrased in a significant way. Lucrezia's identification is given as apposite to her name specifying her as the daughter of Alessandro Agliardi and the wife of Francesco Vertova. This is the most specific way to identify a woman, by the identity of her father, which is unchanged regardless of her marital status, and by the identity of her husband, whose name she would take on her marriage. This form of identification is derived from the formulae of legal documents in which both males and females are specified by the inclusion of their father's name in addition to their own.[6] In the case of females, the addition of the name of her husband to this formula was a natural extension. Lucrezia, who had been a widow for forty years and who at death was in a "profession" that required celibacy, is nevertheless identified in terms of her long-dead father and husband. The choice to be identified as wife rather than widow seems to emphasize, in

a touching and sentimental way that is beyond the legal concern for clarity, the perpetuity of family relationships and suggests great loyalty to husband and family.

The founding of the monastery is stated in the past tense rendering it distinct from her familial connections. The significance of this distinction indicates a qualitative difference between Lucrezia's identity in terms of family and social position, traditionally a woman's sole way of expressing identity, and her identity in terms of personal accomplishments and occupation, a male-dominated mode of establishing identity. Furthermore, the phrasing of the statement, utilizing the word "IPSA," places special emphasis on the fact that Lucrezia, herself, founded the convent. The foundation of a monastery, significant as an illustration of personal piety and a hope of salvation in the afterlife, was a major accomplishment for either a man or a woman. It is not surprising to find it appearing in an inscription, especially if the founder joined the order and then headed the monastery so that the donation determined the founder's later life and identity, as is the case with Lucretia. With this inscription Lucrezia made a choice to emphasize her traditional aspects as a Renaissance woman, loyalty and fidelity to family, and to announce her own significant achievement.

The compositional organization of the portrait of Lucrezia, with one third of the canvas devoted to an inscription and the remaining two thirds devoted to a half-length or slightly longer, naturalistically rendered portrait, is unusual and, outside the works of Moroni, little can be found that is comparable in either male or female portraiture. In general, naturalistic description is reserved for male portraits. Female portraits depict an ideal conventions of beauty in both physical appearance and attire. Inscriptions which express identity and/or accomplishment are, likewise, mainly reserved for depictions of men. When inscriptions are present the male sitter is usually identified by his name alone while the female sitter is identified in terms of both maiden and married names. Most female portraits, however, are unidentified. In the case where an identification has been proposed based upon the painting alone, it is often due to attributes included in the composition, like the colors or emblems on the sitter's dress, background elements, or inscriptions on the verso, and not by inscriptions included as part of the original, recto composition. Only two examples of female portraits with prominent original inscriptions can be found. The first is Gentile Bellini's *Portrait of Caterina Cornaro, Queen of Cyprus* , dated circa 1500, which includes in the left top corner a Latin inscription indicating the identity of the sitter and of the master.[7] The comparison of this work with Lucrezia's portrait is poor, however, due to the fact that conventions for court portraiture take precedence in this work. The second is a work in the style of Domenico Ghirlandaio, the *Portrait of Costanza de'Medici Caetani*, dated circa 1489-1507, which contains a prominent inscription to the left of center indicating the sitter's Christian and maiden names and the name of her husband.[8] This inscription utilizes the same traditional formula for identification, in terms of patrilinear kinship, seen in Lucrezia's portrait.

Few details of Giovanni Battista Moroni's career are known but the important facts are as follows. Moroni, born no later than 1524, studied under Moretto in Brescia. During his career, he worked in Brescia, Bergamo, and the vicinity, and his style is considered to be a forerunner of the Lombard realist tradition.

Moroni's oeuvre is dominated by portraits of the local male elite, both secular and ecclesiastical. Moroni's male portraits are faithful to a set of standard compositional conventions. He combines full, three-quarter, and bust-length cuts with three-quarter

turns toward the viewer. The subjects take slightly asymmetrical positions within the compositions. Many were also depicted in contrapposto and as if interrupted while in the midst of an activity, often reading. Many are dressed simply in dark colors which may or may not be attributable to fashion. Attributes, such as books, correspondence, and inscriptions, either on architectural elements or legible on hand-held correspondence, are common features. The backgrounds often contain ruined classicizing architectural elements or are simply modulated neutral colors. The faces of these sitters display a striking naturalism in that the subjects' faces are marked by individuality and age. This treatment does not differ whether the subject is secular or ecclesiastical. Moroni's male portraits fulfill the stated purpose of portraiture, making the absent present, by capturing a likeness through an unidealized representation, through attributes, costume, and inscriptions.

Moroni's female portraits are few and traditional. Like those by other artists of the period, these portraits emphasize the sitter's beauty, wealth, and social status through the idealization and regularization of facial features, through sumptuous dress, and through a rigidly formal and idle pose centrally located within the picture space.

Lucrezia's portrait is most readily comparable to others by Moroni both in terms of composition and inscription content. The combination of a half-length or slightly longer portrait with a prominent inscription on a wall or ledge below occurs on seven other occasions, six of which are portraits of male sitters. The *Portrait of a Prelate* of 1557 is a slightly longer than bust-length depiction bearing a Latin inscription stating, "I have served the church with justice and I have pacified its enemies, year 1557."[9] The portrait of uncertain identification said to represent Count Lupi, of the early 1560s, is a bust-length depiction above a Latin inscription quoting Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book IV, l. 336, "While breath commands these veins."[10] The *Portrait of a Gentleman*, painted circa 1561, bears a combined Latin and Greek inscription, "Know Thyself," below a bust-length depiction.[11] The *Portrait of Vincenzo Guarinoni* has an inscription indicating the sitter's name, his age as forty-five years, and the date of the work, 1572.[12] The *Portrait of Paol Vidoni Cedrelli* bears a Latin inscription stating the sitter's name and the date of the work, 1576.[13] The *Portrait of Bartolomeo Colleoni*, which dates between 1567 and 1569, is a bust-length profile portrait containing an inscription which identifies the sitter and his civic affiliation with Bergamo.[14] The sole example of a female portrait with an inscription is the *Portrait of a Woman with a Ruff*, dating 1570 or after, which is an idealized representation with the Latin inscription indicating her age to be thirty years.[15] Thus it can be said that Lucrezia's portrait utilizes a format Moroni employed for both male and female representations; however, in its particulars of naturalistic representation, the portrait of Lucrezia most closely parallels the images of male sitters. In terms of the content of the inscription it would appear that Moroni utilized the more dynamic first person speech for male subjects and the less dynamic third person for Lucrezia's inscription. The *Portrait of Antonio Navagero*, however, contains an inscription on a short wall or pillar upon which the subject leans. The Latin inscription states his occupation: "In as much as he was upholding the office of Podestà (Prætor) of Bergamo, year 1565," in the third-person form of speech.[16] It can thus be concluded that inscriptions included to detail accomplishment in Moroni's male portraits could also be in the third-person form of speech and that this form of speech was not utilized to differentiate Lucrezia's inscription from those in male portraits.

Thus it would seem that the depiction of Abbess Lucrezia is in keeping with

Moroni's style for male, not female, portraits. Her ugliness is depicted with harsh naturalism. As befits her position as a nun, she is dressed in her habit. She does not pose passively but as if pausing from reading, as in many of the male representations. Her placement is slightly asymmetrical, and she is announced by an inscription, a device Moroni reserved in all other cases, save one, for male subjects.[17]

The reason for the deliberate adoption of male portrait conventions in this work must now be discussed. The explanation seems to lie in the particular identity and situation of Lucrezia Agliardi Vertova.

As the inscription informs us, she is the wife of Francesco Vertova and she, herself, founded a female monastery of Carmelite nuns, Sant'Anna at Albino. The testaments of both Lucrezia and her husband survive in the Vertova private archives.[18] Francesco's testament of 1516 specifies Lucrezia as heir to his possessions and wealth on the condition that she not remarry.[19] This implies the existence of young children which Lucrezia is assumed to raise until they are of age.[20] In 1525, some nine years after her husband's testament, Lucrezia founded the Carmelite convent.[21] In 1556 she made her testament naming Sant'Anna her sole beneficiary, specifying that she was to be buried there.[22] It is upon the writing of her will that the portrait is believed to have been commissioned although it is not known by whom specifically. It has been documented that in this year Moroni's cousin was syndic of the convent.[23] Scholars agree that the work was painted from life in about 1556-57.[24] It is also believed that the date 1557 was added to the inscription to commemorate her death, although neither technical nor documentary evidence is cited to support this.[25]

Lucrezia, born about 1490, was widowed while still young, between the ages of 26, at the date of her husband's will, and 35, at the date of Sant'Anna's founding. Most likely she was widowed shortly after the testament of 1516 was written. In the Renaissance, men wrote testaments only once in their life, when death was imminent, while women wrote wills repeatedly, on each occasion of childbirth, when death was a strong possibility.[26] It was the usual practice to discourage widows from remarrying. It was desired that the widow to see to the raising of her late husband's children. If she remarried, these children might be abandoned at the insistence of the new husband, since children belonged to the lineage of their father, or neglected in favor of the children of the second marriage.[27] There was also the all-important financial consideration of the dowry which the widow would take back from her deceased husband's family and bring to her new husband's family at her remarriage.

The unusual aspect of Lucrezia's situation on her husband's death was that she, remaining his widow, was left all his goods. The usual custom was for male members of the deceased man's family to inherit his wealth. This is exemplified by the Pesaro dal Carro family of Venice in their testaments in which their wealth is consistently bequeathed to the surviving legitimate male members of patrilinear descent.[28] In turn they are expected to accept responsibility for the widow and children left behind without means. Lucrezia's being named as beneficiary is quite remarkable and extraordinary.

Her husband's death left her a wealthy and autonomous woman, an extremely rare situation for a woman to occupy in the first half of the sixteenth century. It is assumed that with this wealth she raised her children and provided for them, probably before entering the Carmelite Order. By founding a female monastery in 1525, and becoming its abbess she also created for herself a situation in which she could live out her life

enjoying her autonomy and financial independence while also exercising a degree of power over her surroundings. The major consideration behind Lucrezia's foundation, however, was the hope of salvation for her immortal soul through earthly acts of piety. This was the central reason for charitable acts and patronage, and of far greater importance to a believing Catholic of the sixteenth century than earthly accomplishments and rewards. During this period the Catholic Church was attempting to recover from the challenges of the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic response was formalized in the decrees issued by the Council of Trent which met from 1545 to 1563. The Catholic Reformation attempted to assert the efficacy of "good works," the validity of which had been directly challenged by the Protestant concepts of Grace, and even predestination. The special efforts of the Church to strengthen the link between earthly deeds and heavenly salvation during this period are doubtlessly reflected in Lucrezia's choice of vocation.

Sant'Anna at Albino was created as a Second Order, referring to female religious adherents or nuns, of the Carmelite Order. Pope Nicholas V granted permission for the Order's foundation with an ambiguously worded bull which admitted into it "pious virgins, widows, Bequines, Mantellates and others who wear the habit and are under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel."[29] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this was interpreted as allowing various Second Order convents to continue the general spirit of the Bequines, if they so desired, but without strict enclosure and without too exacting a schedule.[30] A great many convents did just that.

Lucrezia seems to have chosen to found the convent, particularly adopting the Carmelite Rule, for the following reasons. She could certainly keep her wealth, for the vow of poverty is not mentioned in the papal bull, and she would be allowed to enjoy this wealth under socially acceptable circumstances as abbess. The cloister was not required to be strictly kept, Lucrezia could come and go as she pleased and also receive visitors. Carmelite nuns were also released from the demanding schedule of the Divine Office prayers said eight times a day. Lucrezia was thus allowed to spend her days in occupations of her own choosing.

In fact, an abbess was able to live much as she pleased. The life chosen by Lucrezia is most probably an expression of her true religious vocation. She entered the Carmelite Order of her own volition, as an older woman with enough strength of character to enable her to withstand potential family pressures and to assert her own wishes. She was also financially independent after having fulfilled her obligation to her husband and children. The monastic communities composed of women who had voluntarily chosen that life had a different psychological and financial atmosphere than the communities taking in the young daughters of the nobility who were compelled by parental authority and economic constraints to take the veil. In these voluntary monastic communities, older women were able to realize lives of financial security and autonomy as well as of emancipation from secular societal constraints.[31] By not remarrying and instead choosing to found or join such a community, a woman was able to realize some individual freedom, independence, and self-assertion she could otherwise never experience.

In addition, Lucrezia possessed a certain degree of power as abbess. "The authority of the abbess was defined as organizational or ruling power (*potestas dominativa*),... but it was emphasized that this authority was in no way judicial."[32] The abbess of a female monastery exercised authority over those within her establishment. In addition to the

nuns, novices and servants, sometimes this group included monks who did the work for which the nuns were unsuited. The abbess had the authority to make legal and financial decisions regarding the lands and property of the convent. Supervision generally came from the nearest male monastery of the same order. The male establishments protested the financial drain that this responsibility created and the morally corrupting influence of women.[33] They tended to neglect rather than to regulate strictly the female monasteries.

The unique financial independence, autonomy and authority of Abbess Lucrezia as they are manifested in her portrait should now be addressed. As previously discussed, Lucrezia's portrait is compatible with the conventions Moroni employed for portraits of the local male elite. It seems that these same compositional devices are employed to reflect Lucrezia's comparable status. The male representations express, in many cases, the subject's occupation, such as scholar or military man, through the inclusion of dress, attributes, and/or inscriptions. The same can be said of Lucrezia's portrait in which her position as abbess is indicated by her habit, her pious study of a religious text, and the inscription on the cartouche announcing that she, herself, was the founder of Sant'Anna's. In Lucrezia's portrait and in the male portraits, the compositional organization is equivalent, as we have seen. A simply dressed sitter is placed asymmetrically before a minimally described background. Her countenance displays a serious expression on a naturalistically individual face marked by time's passage. This unidealized naturalism can be attributed to her religious vocation which required isolation from the secular world and its conventions of idealized beauty and conspicuous consumption. However, Lucrezia did not elect for even a subtle idealization in this work commemorating the monastery's founder. Lucrezia chose a depiction displaying the extremity of her old age, infirmity, and homeliness. This seems to state not only her isolation but also her independence from the conventions and cultural traditions which bound and limited women in their portraits and in their lives. She had achievements of great value within society, self-determination and financial independence on earth, a secure foundation on which to base her hope for salvation in the afterlife. Most women never attained a position where they were allowed to own and control anything other than their personal beauty and so it became the determining and defining factor of their lives. It seems apparent that Lucrezia is announcing her status and accomplishments, independence, personal wealth, and authority, which were during the Renaissance understood only as masculine qualities and attributes. It was, therefore, necessary to utilize masculine representational conventions to give them expression. The portrait of Abbess Lucrezia states clearly and proudly the extraordinary position of wealth, power, and autonomy enjoyed by this woman in addition to her obvious feminine virtues of piety and loyalty to family and dead husband.

Endnotes

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2. Stella Mary Newton, "Introduzione allo studio del costume nella pittura del Moroni," *Giovanni Battista*

Moroni, Exhibition Directed by Francesco Rossi and Catalogued by Mina Gregori, Bergamo, 1979, 293.

3. Federico Zeri and Elizabeth E. Gardener, *Italian Painting: North Italian School, A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York, 1986, 50. The work was formerly in the collection of Giovanni Battista Noli, Bergamo (from 1799); Elena Noli Baglioni, Bergamo (by about 1863/65); Ercole Baglioni, Bergamo (by 1870-after 1875); Dionigio Zanchi, Bergamo (1893); Theodore M. Davis, Newport, Rhode Island (1893-1915).

4. Franco Mazzini, Editor, *Vite de'Pittori, Scultori e Architetti bergamaschi dal Francesco Maria Tassi*, Bergamo, 1793, 2 volumes, Milan, 1969, 165. Tassi records the inscription which was removed by this cleaning. It read: "Nobilis Matrona Lucretia Nob. Alexii Aleardi filia, & uxor Nob. & egregii Francisci Vertuae q. Nob. Egregii viri Petri Vertuae Monasterii Sanctae Annae Albini Fundatrix anno 1557" (The noblewoman Lucrezia, daughter of the noble Alessandro Agliardi, and wife of the noble and egregious Francesco Vertova, son of the former noble and egregious man Piero Vertova, the founder [i.e., she] of the monastery of Sant'Anna of Albino, year 1557). This inscription offers the additional information of the name of the abbess' deceased father-in-law and is faithful to the substance and structure of the original.

5. Zeri and Gardener, 49.

6. For examples of the utilization of this formula in legal documents see: Rona Goffen, *Piety and Patronage in Renaissance Venice* , New Haven, 1986, 124 and 231, notes 48 and 50.

7. *Die Gemäldegalerie des Museums für Bilde Kunste in Budapest*, Dr. Gabriel von Terey, Galeriedirektor, Catalogue of the Szepmuveszeti Museum, Budapest, Hungary, Berlin, 1916, Volume 1, 89, inscribed: "CORNELIUS GENUS. NOMEN. FERO./ VIRGINIS. QUAM. SYNA. SEPELIT./ VENETUS. FILIAM. ME. VOCAT. SE-/ NATUS. CYPRUSQ. SERVIT. NOVEM./ REGNOR. SEDES. QUANTA. SIM./ UISES. SED. BELLINI. MANUS./ GENTILIS. MAIOR. QUAE. ME. TAM./ BREVI. EXPRESSIT. TABELLA."

8. Martin Davies, *National Gallery Catalogues: The Earlier Italian Schools*, London, 1961, 223-224, catalogue no. 2490, inscribed: "GHOS/TANZA / DEMED/ICIS IO/ANFRA/NCISC/HUS D/OMINI/ FRANC/ICI DE/ GHAE/TANIS/ UXOR."

9. Mina Gregori, "Giovanni Battista Moroni," *I pittori bergamaschi dal XIII al XIX secolo*, Pietro Zampetti, Editor, Bergamo, 1979, Il Cinquecento, volume III, part 3, 238-239, and 336, inscribed: " IUSTITIA ECCLESIAM SERVAVI./ ET INIMICOS PACAVI/M.D.LVIII."

10. Allan Braham, *Giovanni Battista Moroni: 400th Anniversary Exhibition*, London, November 1978-January 1979, 37, catalogue nos. 8 and 17, figure 22, inscribed " DVM SPIRITUS/HOS REGET ARTVS.

11. Zampetti, 269-270, and 347/1, inscribed: "NOSCE TE APHTON."

12. *Ibid.*, 253-254, and 366/1, inscribed: " VINCENT.GVARINON.AN.AET XXXXV/MDLXXII."

13. *Ibid.*, 233 and 376, inscribed: " PAULUS/VIDONUS.CEDRELLUS/M.D.LXXVI."

14 *Ibid.*, 284 and 359/4, inscribed: "BARTHOLOMAEUS COLLEO/BERGOMENSIS."

15. *Ibid.*, 231 and 364/3, inscribed: " ANNO AETATIS XXX."

16. *Ibid.*, 183 and 280-281, inscribed: " CUM BERGOMI/PRAETUR AM/SUSTINERET/M.D.LXV."

17. Two works within Moroni's oeuvre of female portraits have inscriptions, however, *Pace Rivola Spini* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, dated in the early 1570s has an inscription in the upper right which has been determined to be a later addition. It reads: "Pax Rivola Spinus/OBYT AN 1613, ETATIS 72." See Allan Braham, 37, catalogue no. 13. The *Portrait of a Woman in a Ruff* in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, dated 1570 or after has an inscription on the parapet which reads: "ANNO AETATIS XXX." Its originality to the composition has not been questioned in the scholarship.

18. Ciro Caversazzi, "Ritratti di Giovanni Battista Moroni in America," *La Rivista di Bergamo*, 1 (January 1922), 67; Luisa Vertova, "Bianca Vertova: puella e santa," *Antichita Viva* 15 (1976), 8; Francesco Rossi, 112.

19. Caversazzi, 67; Vertova, 8; Rossi, 112.

20. Conversation with Dr. Rona Goffen on April 2, 1992.

21. Caversazzi, 67; Vertova, 8; Rossi, 112; Zeri and Gardener, 48.

22. Caversazzi, 67; Vertova, 8; Rossi, 112; Zeri and Gardener, 48.

23. Rossi, 112.
24. Caversazzi, 67; Davide Cugini, *Moroni Pittore,* Bergamo, 1939, 317; Zampetti, 106; Rossi, 112; Zeri and Gardener, 48.
25. Caversazzi, 67; Vertova, 8; Rossi, 112; Zeri and Gardener, 49.
26. Comments by Dr. Rona Goffen following in-class presentation on April 30, 1992.
27. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Women, Family and Ritual in Renaissance Italy,* trans. by Lydia Cochrane, Chicago, 1985, 125.
28. Goffen, 119-28.
29. Peter-Thomas Rohrbach, *Journey to Carith: The Story of the Carmelite Order,* New York, 1966, 128.
30. Rohrbach, 128.
31. Ida Magli, "Il problema antropologico-culturale del Monachesimo femminile," *Enciclopedia delle religioni,* Florence, 1972, Volume 4, 633-636.
32. Shulamith Shahar, *The Fourth Estate: A History of Women in the Middle Ages,* trans. by Chaya Galai, New York, 1978, 31.
33. Shahar, 34.

Professor Marilyn A. Lavin ©1995 Amelia Lavin

An Interview with Marilyn Aronberg Lavin

Pamela Phillips and Zbynek Smetana

Professor Lavin is Visiting Lecturer with the rank of Professor at Princeton University, where she has been since 1975. The author of many books and articles, including the Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art *(1975), which received the Charles Rufus Morey Award for Distinguished Scholarship from the College Art Association;* The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431-1600, *her study of the problem of narrative diposition in Italian religious narrative cycles; and numerous articles and books on Piero della Francesca, including her 1992 monograph on the artist. Dr. Lavin has been a pioneer in the application of computer technology to art historical problems, as well as in training upcoming scholars to utilize such technology to approach new problems. The following interview took place in August of 1993, and was revised in consultation with Dr. Lavin in the summer of 1995, after her first graduate course incorporating state-of-the-art technology had been completed.*

INTERVIEWERS: Would you like to begin by talking about your background? We can start with when and how you became interested in art history.

MARILYN LAVIN: My interest in art history already began when I was a senior in high school. I went to a private girls' school called Mary Institute in St. Louis, Missouri. It was—and probably still is—one of the rare high schools to offer a course in the history of art. It was a good course with trips to the museum, and it fascinated me. From there I went to Washington University where in 1943 there were two people in the art history department. One was the classical archeologist George Mylonas, a specialist in Greek art, and the other was H. W. Janson, whom we know as Peter Janson. Janson is now famous for his widely read text book but at that point he was a young associate professor. It was my great fortune to study with these scholars. Mylonas was to become very well known for his work at Elyseus and on the political life of Athens. He was one of the most organized teachers I experienced. What one learned from him was very clear and very rational. In a way, his presentation was a working example of the Greek Classical mind. For a long time I thought perhaps I would study classical antiquity.

The second semester of the survey course was taught by Janson and covered the Middle Ages through the Renaissance. Janson introduced me to the fact that works of art contained ideas. He showed that they were not interesting simply as a challenge to find who had done them and when, but also because they involved an enormous amount of information about the thoughts, philosophy, and activities of the people of the time. So, these two men showed me that studying visual objects was another approach to understanding the history of mankind. I began to major in art history at that moment.

I got my B.A. at Washington University and stayed there to get my M.A. As a graduate, I studied with L. H. Heydenreich who had come over from Munich to give a seminar on Leonardo da Vinci. That seminar was very exciting because of the new kind of facsimile reproductions that had just become available. These facsimiles were full size and very close in the appearance to

the originals. We felt as though, out there in Missouri, we were looking at something near the actual drawings of Leonardo. The work that I did on the Leonardo drawings changed my direction in art history from classical antiquity to more modern areas.

For my term paper I studied the series of drawings for the composition called The Madonna, St. Anne, and the Infant Saint John. Among these drawings it seems that I observed something no one had seen before. I was able to show that Leonardo, who always told his students to keep their drawings and reuse them, actually did so himself. I noticed that there was a tracing of an early drawing in a very late drawing in the series. What had started out as a cat changed first to a lamb, then became Saint John the Baptist (who identified Christ as the "Lamb of God.") This observation led to my first publication.

Meanwhile, I had also learned about iconography from Professor Janson, who had himself studied with Erwin Panofsky in Hamburg. My Master's thesis subject was something I made up myself, and had a lot of trouble getting people to take seriously. It was an iconographical problem in twentieth-century art centered on the iconography of the clown. It was hard to define the type of character I meant because the word "clown" is a quite modern word. I ended up using the not very satisfactory title The "Iconography of the Clown-Type in Modern Art." I started with the seventeenth-century and the Commedia dell'Arte; then Watteau and the eighteenth century, and all the way up to Max Beckmann (who was teaching at Washington University just after World War II). I think my thesis was one of the very early iconographical studies of twentieth-century art. Most people were still trying to understand what abstract art was during the 1940s. Unhappily, I never published the 250 page thesis. And I'm sorry I didn't because, although it wasn't terribly good, it really was ahead of its time.

By the time I finished my M.A., Peter Janson had left St. Louis to become Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts at Washington Square College, New York University. He also taught part time in the "uptown" graduate department, the Institute of Fine Arts, then on East 80th Street. He encouraged me to continue my studies, and much to my own surprise, I moved to New York and entered the Institute of Fine Arts with a tuition scholarship, which Janson helped me get.

At the Institute, among other things, I had a course with Panofsky himself, who came up from Princeton to give one course a semester. The seminar was on iconography. He allowed seven or eight people in but came to the first class with ten subjects, all of which involved original unpublished material to give out to the students. One of the subjects was the Madonna and Child with the Infant Saint John. I asked if I could have that one, since I had already worked on some of it from a stylistic point of view. I had no idea there was a problem with the subject. Most people had said that the Infant Saint John was present in the compositions simply because the fifteenth century loved children, and the Renaissance was a period of naturalism wanting to represent the family the way it was. But in fact, although the figure of the Infant Saint John did not appear before the late fourteenth century in Italian art, there was a long tradition of medieval apocryphal literature telling the story of his infant life. Panofsky provided me with a reference to a major fourteenth-century text that told the story of Saint John's childhood in elaborate detail. My job was to read the text, find all the paintings I could that reflected it, and interpret their meaning. At least six of the people in the course, including me, published their first major article on the basis of what they had done in their terms papers in that seminar.
Oddly enough, just a year ago this circle was brought fully around. My husband (Professor Irving

Lavin) and I have a very good friend named Marc Fumaroli who is Professor of Rhetoric and Society at the Collège de France in Paris. Fumaroli, who has recently become interested in visual representations of rhetorical ideas, was giving a seminar on "conversation" and the development of conversational rhetoric. He was studying not just dialogue between one person and another but the whole notion of human oral communication as a method of transmitting ideas as opposed to the written word. He remembered my article on Saint John, and how I discussed the meeting of Saint John and Christ, what this meeting meant in terms of the information transferred from Christ to John when they were babies, and how this symbolic exchange had the scheme of salvation within it when they became mature.[1] Marc asked me to come to Paris to give a reprise of my thirty-year-old study. It was challenging and exciting to go back to a very early article and rework it into a form that would have meaning to the people in the seminar. In other words, instead of developing and proving that something transpired between the holy children, I talked about the meaning of the transaction and how it was effected. I tried to show how the various artists had approached the problem of representing the content of a very portentous conversation between two people. It was very successful and a very interesting exercise.

INT: I can imagine that you would have found it very inspiring to have Professor Panofsky give you the germ of a little-explored topic he found intriguing. Did this do a lot for your confidence as a beginning scholar?

ML: Yes, indeed, I think it did that for everyone in the class. One was suddenly raised to another level. And the unexpressed part of it was that he placed a lot of confidence in everyone to develop such information. I don't mean that these subjects were totally unknown, but the confidence came from the fact that this great mind had thought about the subject and, I assume, had even considered working on it, and yet was willing to give it to someone else to develop. And, of course, he assisted that person all the way through the process. My subsequent work in iconography was based very much on that experience. It was so stimulating to discover how much meaning one could find in visual things. And the challenge, really, is to find how the visual thing transmits meaning in way that nothing else can: what is expressed simply cannot be said in words. That's the invisible, inchoate nexus between ideas and images. That's the thing that I've been battling with for my entire career.

INT: Do you feel that art history in recent years, as it has begun to grapple with these kinds of issues, has been a little too dependent on literary theory and "verbal perspective?"

ML: The analysis of art using protocols of literary theory is a perfectly legitimate activity, it is just not the same as art history. Art history, by definition, has to do with visual objects; theory as practice or as history deals with attitudes. These fields can and should work together, but they are different and should not be confused.

In the mid-nineteenth century one of the pursuits of art history, at Princeton University for example, was to explain the images on Greek vases. That is to say, one worked to identify the myths and stories illustrated on the vases. In this way, the connection between the literary and the visual got built into the discipline at its very beginning. A long time passed before art was thought of as more than illustration. A lot of people even now do not believe there is such a thing as visual text. It is unfortunate that we have only one word, "text," which connotes words and makes it difficult to take visual evidence as real documentation without verbal backing. Perhaps

this lack of trust in the integrity of the object brought about the recent dependence on literary theory. While there is no doubt that excursions into the theoretical domain have enriched the scope of what we can study...anthropology, gender, otherness and especially non-European art of all kinds, personally I find that if the emphasis of an inquiry leaves the realm of the object, I get disoriented and feel no longer in the save haven of my field. The challenge for me is finding out what objects mean. The question of why they look the way they do in expressing what they express is so all-consuming to me that I spend all my time looking for answers.

INT: So, essentially, you feel that the approach of the art historian must always be bound to the object as the product of an artist and a culture?

ML: I said that is what I do. If others find theoretical issues more interesting, that is none of my concern; I wish them well. You are asking a methodological question, which is a different issue. I find it confusing to call theory a method. I was referring to the method I use, namely, figuring out how to write about how an object looks, why it looks that particular way, and what it thereby expresses that nothing else can. It is, for me, always the relationship between meaning and visual form that is intriguing.

INT: So, it is a question of decoding the message of the object as a form of non-verbal communication transmitted across time—in the case of Renaissance art—centuries?

ML: It is not just a matter of an object being removed in time. We have a more encompassing problem at this time. We have people looking at television, not knowing that what they are seeing is a drama, staged and edited. Many viewers think they are seeing something that is really happening. A huge part of our population does not know how to read images. As a result, we are in deep trouble. Often I wish I were not as old as I am so that I could be around when it becomes an issue dealt with on a national level. We are bombarded by the media all day long, every day; for thousands of hours, kids sit before the TV and get loads of non-verbal messages through body language and other signs. Yet there is very little education in image-reading in grade or high schools. It is becoming a moral and ethical problem, and we have it now. The history of art can no longer deal just with decoration and add-ons to life. We need education in seeing. We desperately need to teach how to analyze and evaluate what we see. I don't mean this in a judgmental way. I am often asked who is my favorite artist or what is my favorite painting, and I never know what to say. I have hundreds of favorites and I have no favorite. A wretched little drawing that gives me a piece of vital information is just as important to me as a painting by Rembrandt, but for different reasons. Both are absolutely necessary. It is that non-judgmental thing I think art history can teach. Reading images, understanding the communication offered by objects, these are the issues I want to deal with. We can either learn how to analyze the visual world in a life-enhancing way, or we can self-destruct.

INT: Getting back to your time at the Institute: Were there other teachers who strongly influenced your conception of the discipline or your methodology?

ML: As a graduate student, I believe I was influenced by just about every teacher and every course I took. There were many different approaches and methodologies to learn. There was Carl Lehmann, who had everything arranged like soldiers marching down through history. You felt as though you were going to prison if you didn't learn in the "right" way. I would not do that to

students, but it was extremely valuable to have this regimented experience.
I also took a seminar with Walter Friedlaender. It was on Caravaggio who was just beginning to be recognized as an important artist. At that point (1950), only about half his works were known. Friedlaender did something remarkable to me. His course was basically monographic, without a more specific theme. Friedlaender got to know everyone beforehand by asking who knew German or other languages, who had been to Europe, and so on. He found out that I didn't read German very well, and that I had been to Europe only briefly. As a result, he asked me to make a chronology of Caravaggio's painting on the basis of just looking at the pictures. Since I had done more iconographical work than stylistic analysis, I thought such a project would be useful for me. At a certain point in the semester, I presented my conclusions: a long list of paintings neatly arranged in a chronological order. When I had finished, Friedlaender leaned back in his chair, put his feet up on the table—he was a large man, and over eighty by then—and pronounced, "Well, of course I don't believe in style." [laughter] I was pretty bewildered and his remark made me feel like a jerk!

The fact is, however, while Friedlaender made some of the most crushingly good and penetrating stylistic observations, he was one of first people to talk about documents and to bring the seventeenth-century biographies (Baldinucci, Bellori) into the discussion. I had certainly never heard their names before. He made me realize there was a whole legacy after Vasari of people who knew the later artists. He talked about documents like contracts, payments and wills, things that are commonplace now, but were never discussed in the 1940s and 50s. As I am sure you know, there were many antiquarians in the nineteenth century who published archival material in piecemeal fashion. Then for a period, later scholars relied on what these early people had put in print without going back to the archives to see if it was right or wrong, and without trying to find more. Friedlaender was one of the first to give serious attention to the archives again, with, of all artists, Caravaggio, whom most modern scholars thought was so realistic, he didn't count as a creative artist.

So, when Friedlaender said to me that he didn't believe in style, he really meant "I don't believe in style alone because I also want to know what the documents say." It was for me a useful and timely lesson. You probably know that sometime later I spent fifteen years publishing the *Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*, some 700 pages of documentary material.[2] All the students who came out of that seminar knew that both aspects were important. In the end, he couldn't have thought my paper was so bad because, when he decided to continue the course in the second semester, Friedlaender asked me to give my paper a second time to initiate the students who were joining the class!

INT: It sounds as if you were quite successful in your studies at the Institute.

ML: Well, I guess I was. I even won a Fulbright-Hayes Grant to Italy for the year 1951-1952. But I still had no ambition to get a Ph.D. I was one of the women who was already "avant-garde" for having earned an M.A. and for taking more graduate classes. One in a thousand woman got Ph.D.s in those days. I got married, had two children, and that meant not going on. As time passed, however, I discovered that I felt quite ill when I wasn't working on an art history project. As a result, and in spite of the fact that I didn't have a job, I went on and on doing research and publishing. When I look back, I can hardly believe it myself.

By the late '60s I had published several articles, my interest in Piero della Francesca had begun, and I had started working on the Barberini archives.[3] Peter Janson, by now my dear friend as well as academic mentor, said to me, "It's wrong for you not to have a Ph.D." He was talking on two levels: one was as a kind of insurance. He meant that it was absurd to do all that work without accruing any equity in case something went wrong, and I needed a job. The other level involved recognition; he wanted me to feel more a part of the profession. I discovered that I could re-matriculate—this is twenty-five years after my M.A.—and receive credit for various things I had done. When we shook it down, all I needed was to take some reading courses, speak to various professors, and take the horrible IFA qualifying exams, written and oral. And those exams were just as difficult as they were said to be. Moreover, none of the examiners did me any favors.

I suffered through, however, and then to my great surprise, NYU very graciously granted me a Ph.D. on the basis of three published articles, which together I entitled "Studies in Urbinate Painting, 1458-1474." The thesis comprised my articles on the Corpus Domini Altarpiece of Urbino, Piero della Francesca's Flagellation, and the Montefeltro Altarpiece. I wrote a new introduction to bring unity to these essays, and, in fact, the thesis received New York University's Founders Day Award for Outstanding Scholarship. One other art historian had been granted a degree by NYU for published work and this was Alfred Barr at the Museum of Modern Art.

INT: I would like to hear a bit more about your experiences in graduate school in the late 1940s and '50s: what was the prevalent attitude toward female scholars when you were first at the Institute? You mentioned that you were avant-garde. Were there many other women there? Did you feel that you were treated differently?

ML: There were many women at the IFA in that period. In fact, the majority of the students were women, many of whom came from women's colleges in the northeast, Vassar, Smith, Bryn Mawr, etc., where there were excellent art history departments. I would say that there was no negative attitude toward women in terms of admission or in the classroom. They were fully accepted: they got as many fellowships or more than the men, more because there were more of them. There was no discrimination. There were negative undercurrents however. If jobs came up, the male student would have—by everyone's understanding—first crack. It was not a sense of putting women down. One simply didn't think in that fashion. The man was the provider; women didn't usually work. It didn't come up as an issue; it just wasn't part of the horizon. When my sense of dedication to art history continued, it was Peter Janson who told me I was doing it wrong. He told me to change my sights about myself. I would say, by the way, that Peter Janson was one of the most open-minded persons in this respect. He was the one consciously thinking about bringing women into the profession. He was the one who started hiring women art historian (Phyllis Bober, Lucy Sandler Freeman, Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, Carol Krinsky). I don't agree that there was something against women. Many of the other, male faculty members in the '50s, many of whom were Europeans, didn't have the possibility of thinking about women being seriously career-minded.

INT: So you did not encounter the attitude that it was risky for professors to invest time in women if they're just going to get married and not have to support themselves with this career?

ML: Without the female students, those professors would not have had jobs. Male students were,

and still are, in the minority. There did come a point when a faculty member's time became limited. But personal attention was never lacking. There was no problem getting into and participating in classes. A woman's paper was listened to just as seriously.

INT: You mentioned that it was well after the experience of graduate school that you became interested in Piero della Francesca. I would like to hear more about how you came to know and love Piero.

ML: I don't want this remark to go against using computers, but, I was browsing in the stacks of the library...[laughter] one day in the early 1960s, just pulling books off the shelf and peeking around. By chance, I opened a book on Donatello, and it fell open to a picture of a bust identified as Ludovico Gonzaga. It is one of three versions, one in Paris and two in Berlin. I looked at the profile of the left side of the face, and thought gosh, that looks exactly like the bald man in the foreground group of Piero's Flagellation. It didn't make any sense because the painting was found in Urbino and Ludovico Gonzaga was the Marquis of Mantua.

Well, I spent the next three or four years trying to figure out if what I was seeing could mean anything. As I went along I learned all kinds of things about connections between Urbino and Mantua. I also learned a lot about how this superb artist represented ideas. I built a theory that brings a member of the Urbino court (Ottaviano Ubaldini) and Ludovico of Mantua (they were life-long friends) together in mourning the loss of "beloved sons." I suggested the theme of the painting was consolation through a parallel with Christ's triumph over bodily pain and death. My interest in Piero certainly came from that one first, momentary flash. Whether the theory is right or wrong, I'm still not quite sure. But the experience taught me a major lesson about Piero: he was an artist who gave his viewers many sign posts, all of which have to be taken seriously and followed to their logical end. It took me perhaps seven years to write a little book on that one painting.[4]

After that I worked on another Piero painting, his Baptism of Christ, for a long time, and then the Montefeltro Madonna, and then the London Nativity. It was fairly recently that I decided I was finally ready to tackle the Arezzo frescoes. That's when my work with computers began, which I imagine we'll be discussing later. I worked with Piero one painting or project at a time because he is so very cerebral. I felt impelled to understand as much as I could of the individual pictures before I stood back and looked at his whole career, which I finally did: for better or for worse, the book came out in time for his quincentenary in 1992.[5]

INT: Art historians, including yourself, have seen a common goal in Piero's "cerebral" quality—for example his manipulation of reality according to mathematical principles—and the abstract approaches to reality in modern art, especially Cézanne. Do you think that this similar goal pertains to the art of all periods?

ML: I think so. I think you put your finger on something rather important in my own thinking. I was exploring the meaningfulness of modern art when I asked the question, "What does the clown mean beyond representing somebody who is supposed to be funny"? That was a relatively innocent question at the time, but it was very difficult to understand. In twentieth-century art, why the distorted forms? Why the pain? Why the clown? To understand these images, we would have to find the meaning in the distortion. It may be that unconsciously I was seeing a connection

with Piero because of all the Renaissance artists, Piero seemed to try the least to make his images look like reality. He used perfected, abstracted, ordered reality to make something that is unreal look convincing. I've never wavered in my belief that his use of real laws of mathematics and nature was his conscious approach to the idea of Christian symbolism: to make miraculous and intangible things and events look natural. In this sense, his paintings resemble the contrasti of medieval drama: enactments of theological discussions, in which one is not trying to say "this is right" or "that is wrong." One says that a concept is righteous because both ABC and XYZ can be proven true. Although apparently different, together they prove the thing or the mystery in the middle is "real." Similarly, Piero uses natural laws to make something that is not tangible look real. And modern art is essentially a reversal of the same process: it uses non-reality to give substance to the real, rather frightening contemporary world.

INT: But is Piero not unusual among Renaissance artists in his "cerebral" approach? For example, his cycle in San Francesco in Arezzo: one usually equates Franciscan art with a greater focus on palpable emotion.

ML: Yes, Piero is unusually cerebral, but the Arezzo cycle is not without emotion; it's just that his is a new kind of emotional expression. The drama of his narrative is perceived only after the intellectual aspect is digested. Because Piero's figures are static and ideal, the deeply emotional significance of their actions is uncovered only after you realize the implications of what they are doing.

However, most scholars have talked about another issue of the cycle: the fact that the narrative reads in a seemingly mixed-up fashion. The chronology of the story begins reading right-left and then reverses direction; it jumps from one wall to another and then returns to the first; it moves from the second tier down to the third tier, and then goes up to the top. And then you find that all three tiers on opposite walls match each other, not in a narrative sense, but compositionally and thematically. So many people have said the reason he "scrambled" the narrative was because, as a classicist, he sought symmetry and as an "abstract" artist, he sought geometric balance. Such ideas sound fine until you put the cycle into an historical context. I asked, "Was Piero the only artist to rearrange his narrative? Would he have been allowed to do so without consulting with someone? What in fact did Piero do that no one else had done?"

I soon found that all artists, from Early Christian times forward, rearranged narrative chronology, and they did so professionally, that is with artistic know-how, for the purpose of relating meaning that goes beyond narrative desired by their patrons. Piero thus did not start out to make an abstract design, but to communicate a message. After I started working with the legend of the True Cross, I learned more and more about the Golden Legend where the story is recorded in its most complete form. I learned that the Golden Legend, at least by the fifteenth century, was used as a textbook, that is, children learned to read using the it as a text. Therefore, its stories were very well-known. For the rest of their lives, when they went to church on a feast day, for example, worshippers would already have been familiar with all of the incidents of the saintly life being celebrated. And if they saw the narrative jumping around, they knew that something new was being said. A tension is created between the chronology of a story and the final arrangement. The tension is the exciting part, exciting, that is, to the emotions. The Franciscans took advantage of this technique, making the spectator screw his head on in new ways. Remember, these monumental fresco cycles were a major medium for the public dissemination of the ideas. With

the very calm stance of Piero's figures, you start to savor anything and everything that is not calm, including the arrangement of the scenes. It takes time. I am still discovering things that are very emotional: the flair of a nostril, a half-opened mouth, a screaming horse, a dagger in a throat. Then you find unexpected things that relate to each other across the space. Some of these relationships I've been able to discover because of my work with the computer.

INT: You acknowledge in *The Place of Narrative* that there is often a hiatus between an executed fresco cycle and what little we know about the way such projects were devised.[6] We don't usually have access to written documentation regarding which aspects of cycles were prescribed, or whose expertise was involved. Who would actually have made the decision about which scenes should correspond with each other to create deeper thematic meaning? Where do you think the answer to that lies?

ML: My sense is that it was a lot like grinding colors; artists learned a number of basic ways to rearrange narratives in the workshop as part of their regular training. They could offer various appropriate choices of rearrangement to their patrons; and decisions were probably made in consultation. Most saintly stories are long and rambling and have to be edited. The Legend of the True Cross in the Golden Legend, for example, has fifty or more facets to the story. Since there is never enough space to show everything (except in manuscript illumination) a selection must be made. The selection is not the artist's job; the patron has a message in mind and chooses accordingly, perhaps even listening to the artist's opinion. The artist's expertise is in conceptual planning and suggesting narrative disposition, ways of enriching the content with visual ideas, making the exposition effective, and then by executing the cycle in an clear, impressive, and beautiful manner.

INT: What about suiting the spiritual needs of the client?

ML: I meant to imply that was included. But now we have a remarkable series of documents that deal with just such requirements of the patrons and their deliberations with the artist: Sassetta's commission for the high altarpiece in San Francesco in Sansepolcro. The documents were discovered and will soon be published by James Banker, an historian at the University of North Carolina. They include discussions between the Franciscan proprietors of the church, the people who were to pay for the altarpiece, and Sassetta, concerning form, iconography and payment. The money is designated as travel for the friars to go to Siena to consult with Sassetta as well as for payments to the artist for making a preliminary design for the patrons' approval. The patrons concerned themselves with costs; the friars instruct the painter in their spiritual needs, and the artist presents his expertise to satisfy both parties. I'm sure that the same procedure was used in the planning of fresco cycles.

INT: One of the reviews of *The Place of Narrative* suggested that there should be more consideration of viewer-response theory.[7] To me this seemed to be missing the point. I don't see much relevance to your project in considering how the cycle was perceived. It's still a matter of the person or people who are designing the cycle transmitting a message, not how it's received, isn't it?

ML: Well, you are correct; the subject of reception is relevant in some cases, but it was not to my enterprise. My analysis was not about an abstract viewer summoned up by a theory. It was

about the overall planning for religious works in large public spaces, meant for broadcasting current ideas, mainly of theology but often of political and social issues as well. They were also meant to stimulate devotion in audiences, the members of which knew the contemporary rules of "seeing."

INT: You mentioned earlier that the computer database you created allowed you to study the irregular patterns in the Arezzo cycle. Since then you have been involved with the use of new technology for computerization of images. We know that you showed a video of this process at the CUNY symposium on Piero in March of 1995. What resulted from that experience?

ML: By now my collaborator, Kirk Alexander, a computer graphics specialist, and I have shown various versions of the tape many times, including at annual meetings of the College Art Association and the Society of Architectural Historians, as well as in Berlin, Naples, Rome, Arezzo, and Taxco (Mexico). What we call the "Piero Project" has grown out of my work on the fresco cycles. Beginning in 1981, I created a database (using the software SAS) of the narrative disposition of more than 200 Italian cycles to help me put Piero's arrangement into context. I thereby was able to learn specifically what Piero did that others artists had not done. Although neither characteristic was new, the Arezzo cycle is more out-of-order, and it achieves a more symmetrical pairing than any previous cycle. In the process of publishing the book on this material, I wanted to have some visual way of showing the eight patterns of "rearrangement" I had discovered, not just with diagrams but with moving images. I went to Princeton's Interactive Computer Graphics Laboratory, and explained my problem to Kirk, who is Manager of the ICGL. He told me that no machine that could do what I wanted was available at that time (1989). One month after the book was published (November of 1990) Kirk called me and said that the ICGL had acquired a new machine that quite possibly could do the job. This was the Silicon Graphics VGX workstation, the cutting-edge machine at that moment. Although the particular job I had asked about was no longer relevant, Kirk and I decided to experiment with the idea of reproducing works of art in large architectural environments using the new technology to create the illusion of moving through the space in an entirely new way.

INT: How does this system work, and what can it do?

ML: First, you build a simple architectural model of the space you want to represent in the computer (using AutoCad software), which looks like a transparent, three-sided room made of lines (called a "wire-frame"). Then you scan the images you want to study (either from slides or photographs); this process breaks the pictures down into numbers which turn back into images on the computer screen. You position the individual images on the "virtual" walls where they belong in the architectural model (the technique is called "texture mapping"). We followed this procedure for the whole of Piero's cycle in the "Cappella Maggiore" of San Francesco in Arezzo. Quite a number of machines can do what I have just described.

What the new machine contributed was the simulation of a viewer moving through space, standing outside the chapel, entering in, and turning around and looking at the walls from any angle. The Silicon Graphics workstation re-draws all the images in the model together sixty times a second (just about the speed of sight; the technique is called "real-time"). As you move around the chapel, the perspective of viewing adjusts with your position, so that the relationships of solids and spaces remain consistent. The re-drawing process is so fast that you don't see the

changes which respond to angles of vision just the way your perception does. The result is a smooth journey through the chapel, looking right or left, up or down. The movement is invoked by hand, interactively, with the click of a "mouse" or another instrument called a "space ball" which responds to pressure. All the movement is interactive, meaning that the person at the computer chooses where s/he wants to look at every moment of the journey. Not only that, you can simulate the act of flying through the space, allowing you to rise up to the top of walls and look directly at the paintings far above head level. Up there, you can still move around and turn any direction you choose, there by gaining views and vistas that even the artist did not have (because of scaffolding used for painting, always done from the top down).

You can also "frame" a scene if you wish to study a certain detail or stand back a bit; at all times, you still have the peripheral vision of what is around you. This wide-angle viewing is one of the main advantages of the technique, because it keeps the context of the work of art. You are seeing the work as a whole, and not cut up into static slides of individual parts. This facility allows study of the object in a new, more comprehensive way. It is all pretty exciting when you see it working. We are going to give a seminar next spring replacing the use of slides with this machine. So the video we have shown so often is not really a video. It is a taped copy taken directly from the computer screen, a picture of what happens interactively, now frozen on tape. During the taping, Kirk was driving the "mouse" and "space ball"and I was giving commentary; we tried to show examples of all the various facilities the program allows (changing light, drawing geometric diagrams, pre-set journeys, high resolution details, and so on). The video is simply a reproduction of one version of a process that has infinite possibilities. Because very few academic locales have Silicon Graphics workstations strong enough to support our program, we made the video to demonstrate what we are doing for people who cannot come to our laboratory to see the original.

INT: As a teaching tool, you mentioned it replaces slides. This obviously provides a spatial and locative experience for people who cannot visit the actual chapel, which is far superior as an aid to understanding architecture or a decorative cycle. Do you envision a time when this will be widely used?

ML: Yes I do. It is just a matter of time. The price of the workstation is coming down every day, so it will happen.

At this point in the 1993 interview, Professor Lavin described what was planned but not yet experienced for the upcoming seminar. The seminar was given for the first time in the spring of 1994 and what now follows is a report written in 1995 on what actually took place, plus some plans for the future.

ML: We were lucky enough to win a grant from the U.S. Department of Education, Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education that enabled us to spend half-time on the project. We prepared and gave a course at Princeton which we called "Piero On-Line: A Monographic Study of the Paintings of Piero della Francesca (1413?-1492), Using Electronic Technology for Teaching, Study, and Research." When I say "we" I mean not only Kirk and myself, but also Kevin Perry, a mathematician specializing in computer graphics, and Peter Vince, a relational database specialist. As a team, we created a large relational database (based on the software called Oracle), encompassing all of Piero's works, all of the comparative visual images I have

collected during my career-long study of Piero, and all of the historical and intellectual material that I would include in a regular seminar on Piero.

This material was analyzed and categorized under the rubrics: Artifacts, People, Content, and Context. This means that the database is made up of both images and words, all working together in a multi-layered, multi-linked organization that permits interrelational study of objects and ideas. We even gave the database a name: ECIT (Electronic Compendium of Images and Text). And I might say that ECIT is both beautiful to look at and easy to use.
By the time the seminar took place, we were using a new and even more advanced machine Silicon Graphics had developed called the "Reality Engine." With this version of the hardware, the internal real-time movement became even more fluid, with no change of resolution during flight, and with many more technical advantages. The seminar met once a week for three hours. It took place in a classroom with twenty workstations; eight people were enrolled along with several auditors; each week we had one or two professorial visitors. Each person present had a workstation at her/his disposal. The plan was to focus each session on a particular art historical problem exemplified by Piero's paintings and to give each a dimension that could only be carried out on the computer. For example, one problem focused on surface geometry, which Piero used for several of his altarpieces. We studied this aspect of style in terms of its use in compositions, its expressive power, and its utility in emphasizing iconographic meaning. At the same time, we used the computer to find, measure, reproduce, and analyze the geometry on the surface and to study its implications for the representation of three-dimensions on the flat surface. Naturally we spent several sessions on the Arezzo cycle using all the aspects of the three-dimensional movement I have already described. We also worked with portraiture, dismembered polyptychs, paintings which have lost their elaborate carpentry frames, and so on. All the term paper topics dealt with such combined subjects, and when the time came for the students to make their reports, they had learned not only the history of Piero's career, but they had also learned how to scan images, transfer them into ECIT, enter the pertinent information, run the database, and present their findings publicly in class. One paper, for example, prepared by a team of two students, was a computer model of the Brancacci Chapel with corrections of the photography and a very fine analysis of the unified light scheme in the chapel and its implications for the iconography. Another was an attempt to find what would have been the appropriate shape for the frames for Piero's St. Augustine and Montefeltro Altarpieces, based on extant documented contemporary frames.

What I have described so far is just the content of the course. We also introduced a new pedagogical method which results directly from the new technology. In an ordinary art history class, the teacher enters with a box of slides, the light go out, the lecture begins, and the students, for the most part, sit passively taking notes. Obviously, in a seminar, there is more discussion and give and take, but usually only after the instructor has presented a quantity of material. We tried to change the student/teacher relationship in the following way. The instructor started by giving out a few key words: "Sigismondo," "Rimini," "dogs." The students then had to use ECIT to search both for images and information. There was no set way to follow a search, and often students found different paths with diverse links. On the basis of their findings, which frequently would seem puzzling to them, they would ask questions and thus start a conversation. Each class thus was directed by the students' desire to find clues, paths of inquiry, and answers. The direction of the discussion was not predetermined, and information was transferred by means of the discussion. Often they were led to bibliography and so found the means to carry on their study.

Having created the database, the instructor's role in class was to assist the discussion, add material when relevant, develop and temper ideas, suggest new paths. As you can see, this approach is quite untraditional and we have only begun to understand how it works.

One thing I want to emphasize: this kind of class is not "canned;" it does not function without an instructor. Often when people hear that I am giving an electronic seminar, their response is, "Well, now you won't have to go to class anymore." The idea of turning on a video or a CD-ROM with pictures and sound is so strong, they can't imagine that an new intellectual approach is involved. The point is that this is a regular academic seminar, in which students learn about style, iconography, historical context, social and religious significance. And they learn the new technique.

The beauty of the database is that it is "alive." This means information can be added, mistakes corrected, ideas expanded "on the fly" while the class is in progress, with all the new material and adjustment available in the database immediately. Anyone who has seen ECIT working has no problem understanding its unique innovations, but it's going to take a lot of re-education of the public before we're done. Meanwhile working with technicians has proved to be very valuable, especially since, as I believe, we will be working together from now on. Kirk and I built a bridge between our fields that allowed me to understand what technicians can do, and allowed Kirk and the others on the team to understand what art historians want and need to carry out their profession.

INT: Earlier in this interview you were talking about the next generation that will form the next group of art historians. You were bemoaning the increasing tendency toward passive looking and passive thinking that TV and current computer use can encourage. Just because the next generation of students will have the facility to work the mouse and the keyboard, doesn't mean they're going to have the kind of mind that will know how to ask the right questions. Do you see a way to address this problem while in the process of defining the methods of scholarship through use of technology?

ML: At the beginning of our seminar we saw a kind of cross-section of student technical know-how. There was one graduate student with an M.A. who had never used a computer, and she just couldn't make the transition; she had to give up. There was a second-year graduate student who had a great deal of computer experience, and another who had used AutoCad. Two seniors knew how to wordprocess. The younger undergraduates took everything for granted, as though they had been using the workstations all their lives. No one knew how to scan or use PhotoShop before we began. Remember, all these students were art history majors. I would say that, after a certain amount of anxiety, in less than two weeks, the older students had caught up with the freshmen, and the technique of manipulating ECIT had become completely transparent to everyone. As I have said, by the end of the semester, the whole class was able to give art historical analyses while working the master machine at the front of the classroom.

The issue of asking the "right" questions is up to the instructor. That is part of the teaching process. ECIT does not spoon-feed the user; it reveals linked relationships. The instructor then guides the students in the discussion of their finds. It is kind of like using the Socratic Method, with ECIT and the instructor playing the role of Socrates. My feeling is that current students will want to learn as much of this technique as possible, since they will soon be asked to use it in their

own teaching. The ones who learn now will be ahead of the game.

In the next phase of our work, we plan to teach our technique to other practicing art historians, as well as to scholars in any field of the humanities that uses visual images. We have re-applied to the Department of Education for a "Dissemination Grant" for this purpose. ECIT is really an open framework into which you may put any kind of historical material. The Piero ECIT is just one example of the approach which we hope others will use. When we feel we have brought the framework to the best level of development we can achieve (which should be by 1997), we will make it available to the academic community at large.

INT: You mentioned that the computer would allow you to reassemble portions of paintings which are now scattered in various museums. Equally, it seems, works that have moved from their original positions in buildings could be re-situated to determine more about the intentions of the patron and artists. Further, wouldn't one be able to determine how the original situations of decorations inspired subsequent artists?

ML: You are absolutely right. You can move digitized images around very easily, setting one image into another context, changing its scale, turning it around, trying it out. In the case of one of Piero's altarpieces (Saint Augustine), the four side-panels are in four different countries (England, Portugal, Italy, and the United States), and the main or central panel is missing. Two different subjects have been suggested for the lost panel: a Madonna and Child, and the Assumption of the Virgin. Scanning the extant panels, bringing them together in the computer, and trying out different compositions in the center (one of the wings has a portion of a draped platform that continues what was in the center, and that would have to be matched), would move the problem rapidly toward a solution.

There are some issues that the computer can't, or shouldn't, enter into. For example, I am wary of trying to go into a painting and look at the figures from behind. The artist didn't do that, and I don't believe in doing things that do not magnify what the artist had in mind. The case of Piero's Flagellation is the exception: he indicated how important it is to understand the structure of the space in this painting for reasons of meaning, and he gave all the "instructions," or visual clues, on how to do it. Thus a three-dimensional model of the Flagellation is very instructive, and condoned by the artist (he probably made one himself in creating the painting).[8] Conversely, there are already scanners that can go around three-dimensional objects. This means that soon we'll be able to "walk around" Michelangelo's Pietà in the computer. You can also digitize film; if you video or film something in round, you can put that into the computer and manipulate it into a three-dimensional view. As you can imagine, this technique has wonderful implications for viewing architecture. So now we are on the way to finding out what will work, and by the same token, what will not, what you can't do, what is inhibiting. But, more importantly, using the computer we will discover new kinds of problems, and that's the main issue. We want to find things that we haven't thought of and that we couldn't have thought of because the visual suggestions have not been there.

INT: In addition to the project for the class at Princeton, you are currently on the CAA Committee for Electronic Information. Is there any combined effort so that eventually databases like this—on different topics—would be united and therefore shared across the country for teaching purposes?

ML: Well, ultimately, perhaps, but I don't know. People have gone off on their own directions. The Getty Art History Information Program, you may know, had a colloquium in Pisa in 1984, during which many people presented their personal database material. These talks resulted in several volumes of publication, describing and categorizing these databases. Since then, I don't know of any other composite that has brought things together, and yet they must have proliferated at a rapid pace.

INT: I was thinking about the symposium on technology, scholarship, and the humanities for application of electronic information, which was in Irvine, California, sponsored by the Getty and the American Council of Learned Societies, in which you participated. At this symposium there was an attempt to examine the humanities disciplines in the U.S. in order to locate the problems and issues at hand for the future. How will new information technology be used in the humanities?

ML: The truth is that most of the people at that symposium, let's say ninety-nine percent, were referring to literature. They were talking about using digital technology to save books on acid paper and solving various storage problems. They were asking questions about where the costs of the operation and the people to do the work would come from, how this textual material would be used for teaching and research.

Concern for the visual arts was not very strong at that meeting, even though we (in the visual arts) have our own problems. What we are facing is the commercialization of the materials that make our profession possible. We already had problems of costs unknown to literary studies: collecting photographs and study photocopies, obtaining permission to use them for teaching and non-profit publishing. Now rights to digitize are in question. Our study materials are very expensive and the situation is getting worse. Meanwhile, all those folks out there who are digitizing images commercially think they can choose the images we will use. Much work is being done according to collections, that is art objects that just happen to be together in arbitrarily assembled groups. Such collections lack the underlying intellectual structure behind most courses and all scholarly publications. Scholars have no power in the situation; we are too minor a part of the market. Some of us are aware of this very serious problem and are quite concerned. The Committee on Intellectual Property of the CAA, of which I am also a member, so far, has not come up with any solutions. There are too many constituencies besides art historians in the CAA—artists, photographers, museums photo services—to get a unified point of view.

One semi-commercial organization called LUNA, run by a former director of the Getty Art History Information Program in collaboration with Kodak, is doing the kind of thing you are talking about: unified, standardized, retrievable digitized images (in this case Frank Lloyd Wright drawings), that will be available on line. It is an important beginning, but of course since Kodak is interested in making money, it will be expensive. I have heard that Kodak may have a humanities division for which they will consult us to learn what we need, produce the right stuff, and then sell it on a profit basis. They would like to do something at a higher level of quality, and it would be nice if they did. Such thinking is embryonic at the moment, and still risky. There are copyright problems, storage problems, repetitions—people doing a little bit, but doing the same little bit as others, uselessly. Many museums, and some slide collections, are digitizing their own holdings. That's fine; it's a beginning. But there is no systematic structure.

INT: Do you think that our growing familiarity with and exploitation of computer technology will in fact lead to more information sharing and thus to a more efficient intra-disciplinary or inter-disciplinary collaboration between scholars?

ML: I would put it the other way around. I think the day of the solitary scholar alone in the study is finished. There is simply too much to learn. No one can manage to know everything. So I envision scholarship in teams, and those teams will work over the electronic networks. Each scholar of course will be responsible for his/her own expertise, but together they will produce work with a broader scope. We will have to cooperate and we will all be better off for it. Scientists have doing this for a long time, because it is impossible to work any other way. Humanistic scholars are not as accustomed to pooling knowledge. But I think once we see how profitable it is, we will embrace the sharing of information. We are new to the challenges of the new technology, infants really. Most people seem enthusiastic, however, and therefore generally, my answer to your question is yes.

Endnotes

1. Marilyn A. Lavin, "Giovannino Battista, A Study in Renaissance Religious Symbolism," *Art Bulletin*, III, 1951, 235-39.
2. Marilyn A. Lavin. *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art*. New York, 1975.
3. These articles were originally published as: "The Corpus Domini Altar of Urbino, Paolo Uccello, Joos van Ghent, Piero della Francesca," *Art Bulletin*, XLIX, 1967, 1-24; "Piero della Francesca's Flagellation: The Triumph of Christian Glory," *Art Bulletin*, L, 1968, 321-42; "Piero della Francesca's Montefeltro Altarpiece: A Pledge of Fidelity," *Art Bulletin*, LI, 1969, 367-71.
4. Published as an article in *Art Bulletin* in 1968, this work was republished as a book in 1972, entitled *Piero della Francesca: The Flagellation*. It was issued in paperback in 1990.
5. Marilyn A. Lavin, *Piero della Francesca*, New York, 1992.
6. Marilyn A. Lavin. *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431-1600 AD*, Chicago, 1990.
7. Cristelle Baskins, Review of *The Place of Narrative: Mural Decoration in Italian Churches 431-1600*, in *Art Bulletin*, LXXIV, 1992, 161-165.
8. A thorough mapping of the space was done by Rudolph Wittkower and B.A.R. Carter, "The Perspective of Piero della Francesca's Flagellation," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, 292-302.