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The Creator with the Cosmos and a Compass: The Frontispieces of the Thirteenth-Century Moralizing Bibles

Elizabeth Marer-Banasik

God as the Architect of the Universe?

The French moralizing Bibles of the early thirteenth century are among the finest artistic creations of the Gothic period. Rich in text and imagery, they are in many ways still largely unexplored. Perhaps they present a daunting prospect—there are literally thousands of images with accompanying text. In one particular instance, that of the frontispieces of the Bibles, there is also the phenomenon of the art-historical "construct," by which is meant the construction, through time, of an entire framework of art-historical interpretation of a particular image. This construct becomes the standard explanation of the imagery and alternative interpretations may not be fully explored.

This paper will investigate the frontispieces of the moralizing Bibles of the thirteenth century and their relationship to the text and images that directly follow in the Bibles. The frontispieces will be viewed as parts of a whole, and the art-historical construct, that of the interpretation of these frontispieces solely as images of "God as the architect of the universe," will be challenged.

A second interpretation will be presented to supplement the traditional one. The frontispieces are more than just images of "God as the architect of the universe." They are the first step in a series of images of God as the creator who is involved not only in the creation of the world but also in the history and mechanism of salvation. This history and mechanism of salvation includes not only Adam and Eve, but the angels as well. The God of the frontispieces is not just an architect, calmly measuring the world with his compass, but an active participant in the story of angelic and human sin and fall, which follows in the medallions on the facing page.

French Moralizing Bibles of the Thirteenth Century

In a moralizing Bible, a scene from the Bible narrative is paired with a moralizing scene that explains or expands on the narrative in a symbolic or anagogical fashion. The emphasis is clearly on the imagery, and although the images are accompanied by text, the text is subordinate to the illustrations. The anagogical approach of the Bibles reveals to the viewer/reader that behind the straightforward Bible narrative lies a universe of deeper symbolic significance. The world of appearance in which the stories of the Bible take place hides a deeper reality, the reality of Christ and the salvation he brings. This salvation history is present at every level in the imagery of these works, and every aspect of the Bibles is geared to the presentation of this theme.[1]

The Bibles are the product of French Gothic manuscript illumination of the first half of the thirteenth century. They were created at same time and in the same geographical area as the High Gothic cathedrals of northern France.[2] Their text, which appears to the side of the images, is in French or Latin and is either a partial text of the Bible or a paraphrase of Bible verses.[3]

The four manuscripts that will be addressed in this paper are two Bibles in the Austrian National Library, Vienna 1179 and Vienna 2554, the Toledo Bible, and the

Oxford Bible. The Toledo and Oxford Bibles are divided into sections and dispersed among a number of museums and libraries in Europe and the United States.[4]

The oldest of the Bibles are the two in Vienna, 1179 and 2554. Their iconography is very closely related and both Bibles contain books from the Old Testament. Vienna 1179 was probably produced first, the production of Vienna 2554 following within a few years.[5] Branner postulates that they were painted by the same Paris workshop, a workshop that went on to paint the first part of the third volume of the Toledo Bible. This workshop flourished c. 1212/1215 to c. 1225.[6]

The Toledo and Oxford Bibles are closely related, the Oxford Bible, in fact, being a close copy of the Toledo Bible.[7] The Oxford and Toledo Bibles are much longer than the earlier Vienna Bibles and contain both the Old and New Testaments. Branner believes that, with the exception of the first part of the third volume of the Toledo Bible, the Toledo and Oxford Bibles were created by different Paris ateliers from those of Vienna 1179 and 2554, although presumably they were made within the same establishment or cloister that had hired and instructed the first atelier. The patronage of the Bibles was most likely royal: a king is depicted at the end of Vienna 1179 and a king and queen appear at the end of the Toledo Bible. Branner gives the Toledo Bible a *terminus ante quem* of c. 1235 and dates the Oxford Bible c. 1235-1245.[8]

All four Bibles share a common format. A full-page frontispiece features the Creator with a compass, measuring the cosmos. This faces a page on which eight circles are placed in two vertical rows of four each. The compass-drawn circular shape of the cosmos is clearly echoed in the compass-drawn circles on the facing page. All of the following pages have the same format of two rows of four circles. The biblical narrative is read beginning with the top left circle on the page, followed by the left hand circle below it in the third row. The medallions below each biblical circle contain the moral exegesis for the scene above. The biblical narrative continues in the top row with the right hand circle, followed by the right hand circle in the third row. Again, the second and fourth rows contains the exegesis for the medallions above them.

Although the Bibles are closely related to one another, a variety of allegorical interpretation and iconography is sometimes used for a single biblical narrative. This variation occurs despite the fact that the Vienna Bibles are close in date and created by the same workshop, and that the Toledo Bible was quite possibly made for the same establishment that supervised the two earlier Bibles.[9] Despite close ties between the three works, very different commentaries, as well as compositions and iconographies, can be found for some scenes, including the frontispieces and the images that follow. The relationship between the three works is clearly quite complex.

Modern Scholars and the Moralizing Bibles

Although many scholars mention the Bibles, they often do so only in passing and not in any systematic way. Scholars who have focused in depth on the works have generally approached the Bibles with the aim of establishing workshops for their production or have focused on the iconography of single scenes or themes. They have not concentrated on relationships between parts or the relationship of the parts to the whole.

The comte de Laborde was the first scholar to deal with the Bibles extensively, publishing a facsimile edition of the Oxford Bible in 1911.[10] More recently, Haussherr has dealt with the Bibles from the iconographic and textual viewpoints. The focus of his commentary on the facsimile edition of Vienna 2554 is the details of production and

model-copy relationships.[11] Among the writings that focus on the iconographic aspects of the Bibles is Lipton's "Jews, Heretics and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bible moralisée*," in which Lipton investigates the moralizations for evidence of social issues in the Middle Ages.[12] However, in general, little has been done with the moralizations from a theological point of view. For example, in his commentary on Vienna 2554, Haussherr lists all the biblical narrative scenes, but does not list any of the moralizing scenes. Friedmann explores the use of images of falconry as a metaphor for sin;[13] and Camille discusses the use of the image of the book as a metaphor for power in the moralizing Bibles.[14]

Little has been done with the written text of either the Bible scenes or the moralizing scenes, although Stork has published a transcription and translation into German of the text of Vienna 2554.[15] Stork has also published descriptions of each of the scenes, narrative and allegorical, in the Vienna Bible 2554.[16]

One of the challenges offered by the moralizing Bibles is the iconography and meaning of the frontispieces and the relation of the frontispiece to the rest of the Bible. The frontispiece to Vienna 2554 is often reproduced as "God as the architect of the universe,"[17] yet little has been done to elucidate the meaning of the various elements of this or any of the other frontispieces. It is as if these frontispieces have been disassociated from the context of the book for which they have been made; the image of God as the architect of the universe becomes entirely autonomous and the frontispieces have an independent art-historical existence as images of God as an architect.[18] That medieval architects used compasses is not to be denied. However, medieval book illuminators also used compasses, as is seen in the moralizing Bibles themselves. The frontispieces are not known as "God as the manuscript illuminator of the universe," even though a connection between God and the artists of the moralizing Bibles, both using compasses, seems evident. Perhaps interpreting the compass as a creative instrument, rather than as a tool specific to architects, would be more useful. The frontispieces might then be interpreted as "God as the artist/creator of the universe."[19]

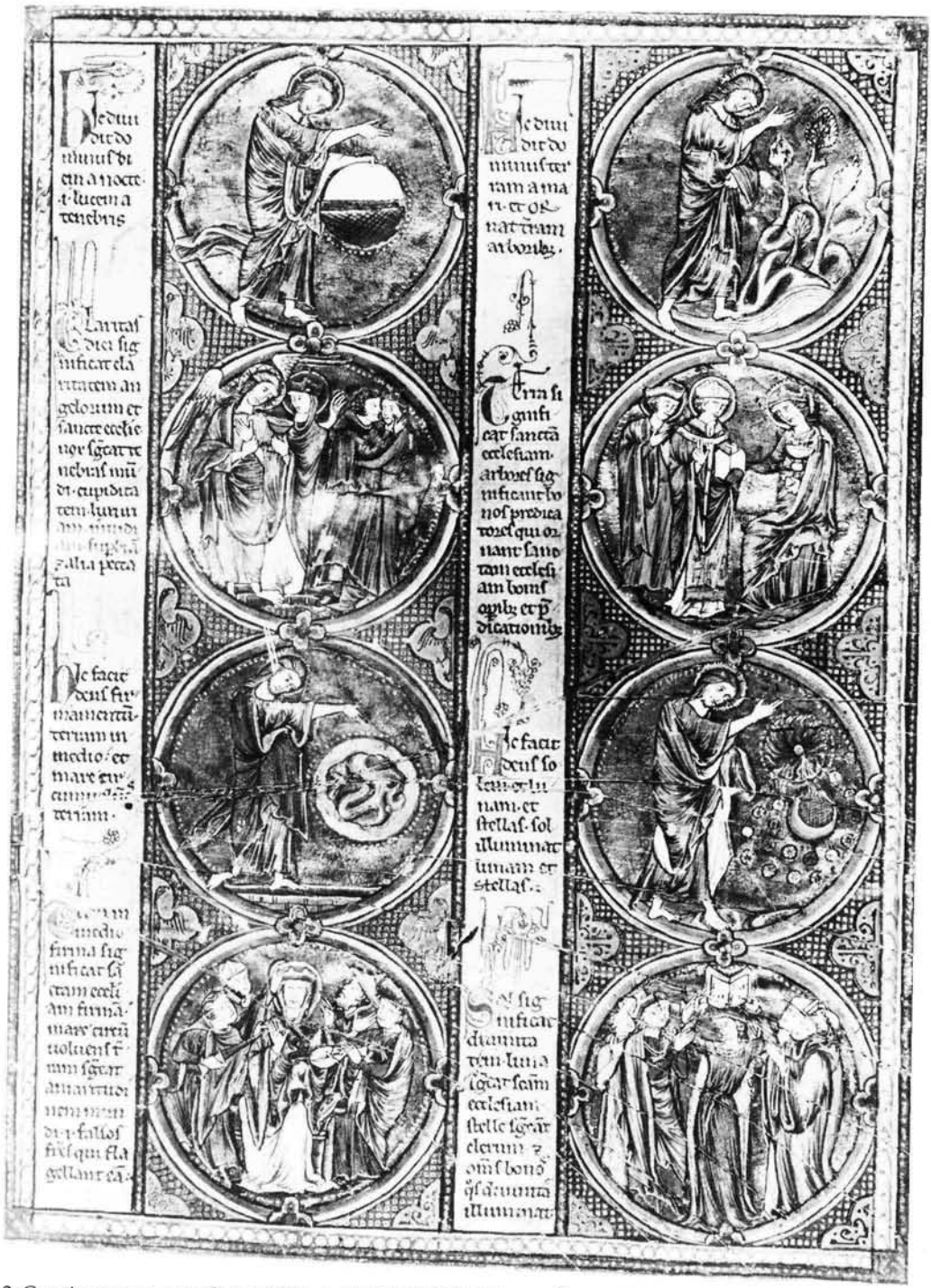
Frontispiece and Text in the Moralizing Bibles

Perhaps because the frontispieces have achieved a life of their own, their relation to the following text of the Bible has remained unexplored. This is surprising, inasmuch as art historians consider organic unity and interdependence of parts an important feature of the Gothic style. This paper will turn first to iconography and meaning in the frontispieces.

The rich and varied iconography seen in the illustrated text of the Bibles, with its pages of tiered circles, is also seen in the frontispieces. Each of the four thirteenth-century Bibles is prefaced with a full page frontispiece of the Creator with the cosmos and a compass. Vienna 1179 depicts an enthroned Creator in a mandorla, flanked by four angels, turning toward his left with a circular cosmos in his lap, holding one branch of a compass at the center point of the cosmos (fig. 1). An inscription above the Creator reads, "Hic orbis figulus disponit singula solus" (this potter[20] alone sets out each thing of the world). There is no reference in the frontispiece of Vienna 1179, or in any of the three other Bibles, to this being an image of God as an architect. The emphasis is clearly on God as the Creator.

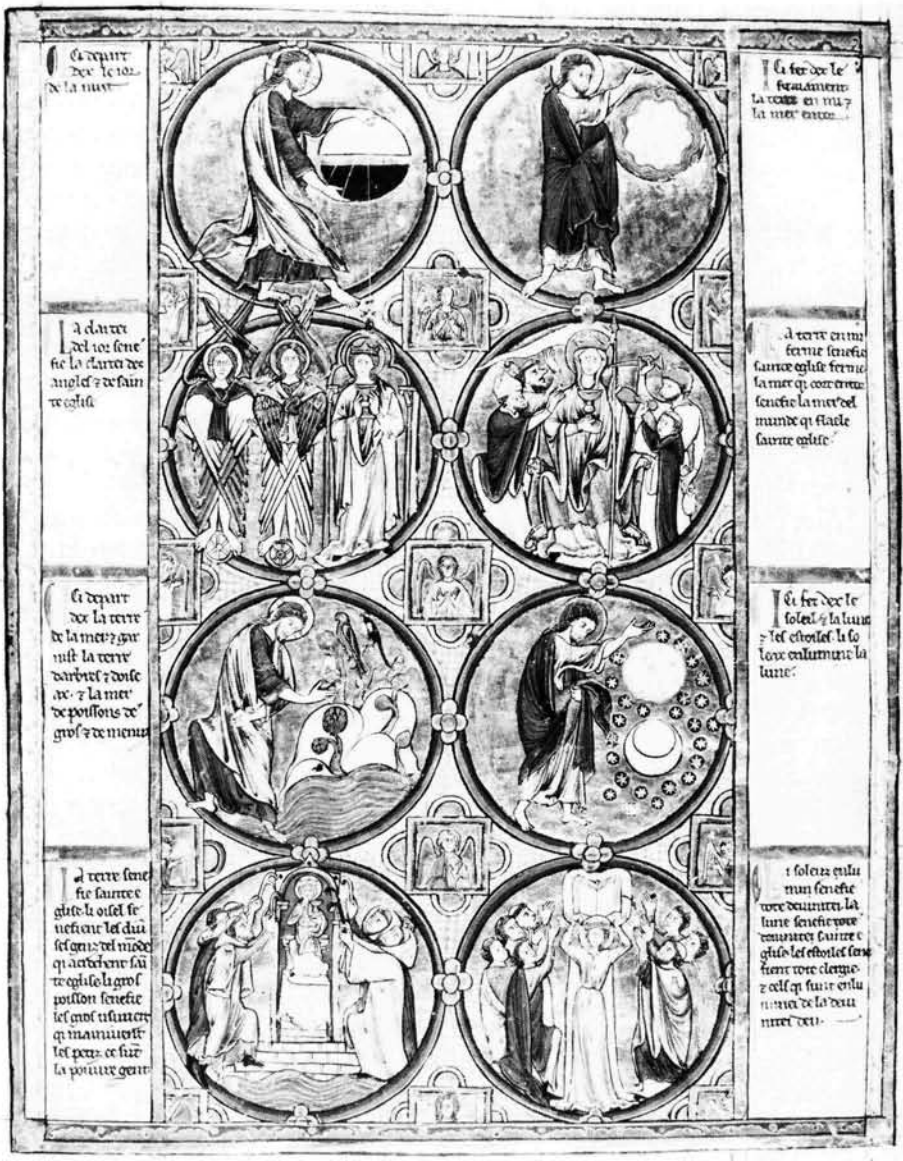
Creation scenes begin on the next folio of Vienna 1179 (fig. 2). In the first medallion, God separates light from darkness. The text reads, "Hic dividit Dominus diem a nocte

1. Frontispiece, moralizing Bible, c. 1212/1215-1225. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1179, fol. 1v. (photo: courtesy of the photo archive of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)



2. Creation scenes, moralizing Bible, c. 1212/1215-1225. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1179, fol. 2r. (photo: courtesy of the photo archive of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

3. Frontispiece, moralizing Bible, c. 1212/1215-1225. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, fol. 1v. (photo: courtesy of the photo archive of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)



4. Creation scenes, moralizing Bible, c. 1212/1215-1225. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, fol. 1r. (photo: courtesy of the photo archive of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna)

et lucem a tenebris" (here the Lord divides day from night and light from dark). In the moralization an angel grasps the Church by the wrist and wards off an embracing couple. The text reads, "Claritas diei significat claritatem angelorum et sancte ecclesie; nox significat tenebras mundi cupiditatem, luxuriam, invidiam, superbiam, et alia peccata"[21] (the brightness of day signifies the brightness of the angels and holy church; night signifies the darkness of the world, lust, luxury, envy, pride, and all sins).

The Vienna 2554 frontispiece shows the Creator standing, bending over, again holding one branch of a compass at the center of the cosmos (fig. 3). The inscription in French reads, "Ici crie dex ciel et terre soleil et lune et toz elemenz" (here God creates the heaven and earth, sun and moon and all elements). Creation scenes appear on the facing folio (fig. 4). In the first medallion God separates light from darkness. The moralization for this scene shows two seraphs and the personification of Ecclesia. The text for the first Bible narrative reads, "Ici depart dex le ior de la nuit" (here God divides the day from the night). The moralization text reads, "La clartei del ior senefie la clartei des angles et de sainte eglise" (the light of day signifies the light of the angels and the holy church).[22]

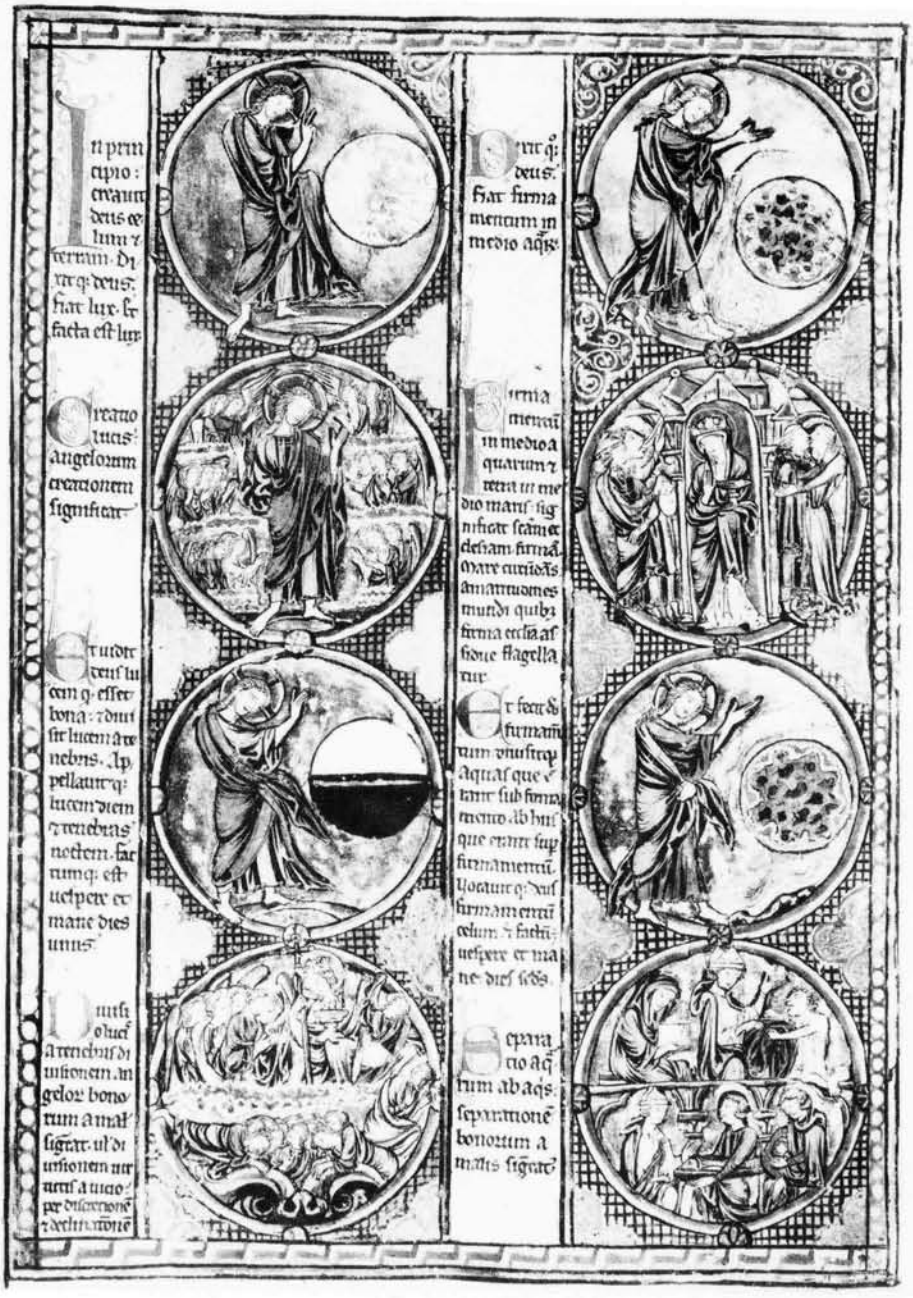
The first Bible narratives and moralizations of the two oldest Bibles, Vienna 1179 and Vienna 2554, are quite similar. In the narratives, God separates light from darkness; the moralizations liken the light to the angels and the Church, the darkness to evil. In the moralization medallion of Vienna 1179, an angel grasps the wrist of the Church; in Vienna 2554, two seraphs stand next to the Church.

The Oxford Bible depicts the Creator, accompanied by angels, seated frontally with the cosmos in his lap, measuring the cosmos from the center point (fig. 5). The Oxford inscription reads, "In principio creavit deus celum et terram" (in the beginning God created heaven and earth). The first medallion shows the Creator standing next to the universe (fig. 6). The text reads, "In principio creavit deus celum et terram. Dixitque deus, fiat lux. Et facta est lux" (in the beginning God created heaven and earth. God said let there be light, and there was light). The moralization shows God standing between the ranks of the angels with the text "Creatio lucis angelorum creationem significat"[23] (the creation of light signifies the creation of the angels).

In the second Bible narrative of the Oxford Bible, God separates light from darkness. The text reads, "Et vidit Deus lucem quod esset bona: et divisit lucem a tenebris. Appellavitque lucem diem et tenebras noctem. Factumque est vespere et mane dies unus" (and God saw that the light was good, and he divided light from darkness. And he called the light, day, and the darkness, night. And it was done in an evening and a morning, one day).[24] In the moralizing medallion, the evil angels fall into the mouth of hell as the good angels look on from above. The text reads, "Divisio lucis a tenebris divisionem angelorum bonorum a malis significat, ut divisionem virtutis a vicio, per discretionem et declinationem" (the division of light from darkness signifies the division of the good angels from the bad, as (it signifies) the division of virtue from vice, through separation and divergence).

The frontispiece of the Toledo Bible also depicts the Creator with angels and a compass. The Toledo inscription reads, "In principio creavit deus caelum et terram" (in the beginning God created heaven and earth). The text for the first Bible narrative medallion reads, "Dixit deus, fiat lux et facta est lux"[25] (God said let there be light and there was light). The text for the following medallion reads, "Hoc significat creationem

5. Frontispiece, moralizing Bible, c. 1235-1245. Oxford, Bodleian Library 270b, fol. 1v. (photo: courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



6. Creation scenes, moralizing Bible, c. 1235-1245. Oxford, Bodleian Library 270b, fol. 2r. (photo: courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

angelorum, qui sunt quasi luminaria respecta aliarum creaturarum"[26] (this signifies the creation of the angels who are like light in respect to all other creatures).

The Bible narrative and moralizations of the Oxford Bible are more complex than those of the two earlier Vienna works. The Bible narrative in the Oxford version devotes two medallions to the creation of light and the separation of light from darkness. The Oxford moralizations are also changed and expanded by comparison with the earlier, Vienna works. In the first medallion God stands surrounded by ranks of angels; in the second moralizing medallion the fall of the rebel angels takes place. However, despite the differences seen in the Bibles, the essential message remains the same. Light signifies good—the angels and the Church—and darkness signifies evil.

The overall format of the frontispieces of Vienna 1179 and the Toledo and Oxford Bibles is that of Christ in majesty. The figure of Christ, enthroned, is surrounded by four angels. The iconographic format of Christ in majesty was widespread and can be seen in many media throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The imagery for the frontispiece of Vienna 2554, in which the Lord bends over the cosmos, is highly unusual and does not fit into the Christ-in-majesty format.

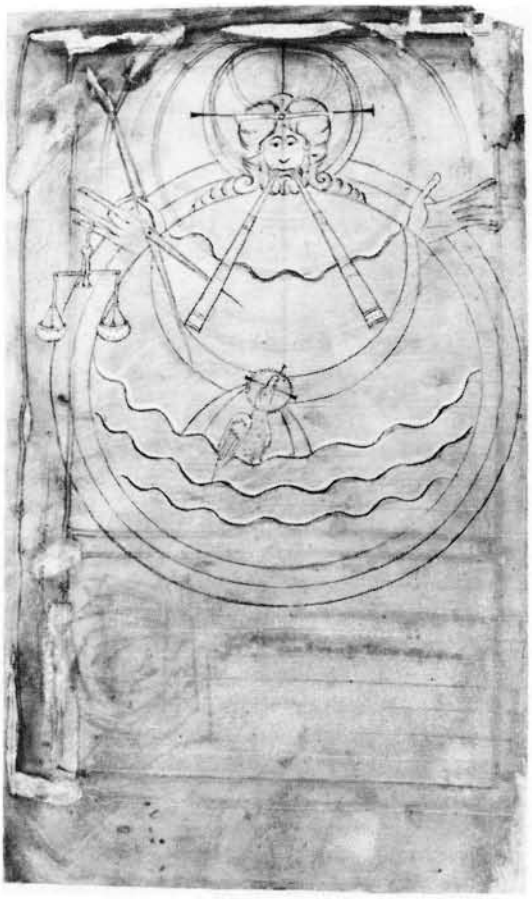
What is interesting, then, about these frontispieces is the iconography of God, here in the guise of the Creator, with a representation of the cosmos and a compass, as if he were measuring or tracing out the circular boundaries of the world. The component parts of the iconography—that is, God holding the cosmos or God holding a compass—can be traced back through earlier iconography, but it is the combination of the elements into one image that is quite new.

God and the Cosmos

In all four Bible frontispieces, the world or cosmos is represented in a circular format, which is quite common in the thirteenth century. The illustrations of Hildegard von Bingen's visions of the cosmos from *Scivias*[27] and the circular, abstract map of the world in a French thirteenth-century manuscript[28] are typical of views of the world in the Middle Ages.

The iconography of the figure of God holding the cosmos also exists in earlier works. God carries the cosmos in the *Tractatus de Quaternario*, an English manuscript from the beginning of the twelfth century.[29] Hoffmann states that images of God or Christ with a circular form in front of his upper body and his arms spread in a crosslike motif were quite widespread in early Gothic cathedral art in the neighborhood of Saint Denis, the ultimate source of Suger's anagogical window of the Crucifixion with Ecclesia and Synagogue.[30] If this is the case, the designer of the moralizing Bibles may have drawn on and modified a tradition that was firmly established and already reflected in the stained glass of Saint Denis.

In the illustration of Peter of Eboli invoking divine wisdom from the *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, created before 1197 for the emperor Henry VI,[31] divine wisdom (Christ) appears as a standing, full-length figure carrying a circular map of the world. Schulz notes that according to Hugh of Saint Victor, God's wisdom was manifested both when he "became flesh" and when he created the world.[32] In the moralizing Bibles, just as divine wisdom is manifested by the Creator in the creation of the world in the frontispiece, so, too, it is manifest in the entire text of the Bible that follows.



7. Creator illustration, Tiberius Psalter, 1000-1050. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 7v. (photo: by permission of the British Library, London)

A third representation of the Creator holding the cosmos is in the Smyrna Octateuch,[33] a Byzantine miniature of the twelfth century. Heimann speculates that this motif goes back to Early Christian prototypes.[34]

God, the Cosmos, and a Compass in Anglo-Saxon Iconography

The Smyrna Octateuch is one of a number of works linked by Heimann with the Creator illustration in the Tiberius Psalter from England. The Creator illustration from the Tiberius Psalter dates from the first half of the eleventh century[35] and shows the Creator with scales, compass, and two horns above an abstract, circular representation of the cosmos (fig. 7). The lower part of the circle with three wavy lines would be the water and the upper segment would be the earth. Heimann sees this as illustrating the first day of creation.[36] What is interesting in this Anglo-Saxon drawing is not only the circular form of the cosmos but also the compass that God holds in his right hand. Here we see God, the cosmos, and the compass together. God is not actually measuring with the compass, but the connection is clear.

Heimann cites another Anglo-Saxon example of God with scales and a compass in a miniature in the Eadwi Gospels, dating from the beginning of the eleventh century.[37] Heimann does not connect the iconography in the Anglo-Saxon drawings to that of the moralizing Bibles. However, Zahlten states that the iconography seen in the Tiberius Psalter is the source of later iconography in which God with a compass appears. He divides this iconography into two types: an earlier version, in which a half figure of God is depicted; and a later version, which is found in the moralizing Bibles, in which God is shown full length. Both types depict God as the architect of the world. No other interpretation is presented and how or why this Anglo-Saxon iconography came to be used in thirteenth-century France is not discussed.[38]

Heimann would like to connect the Creator illustration from the Tiberius Psalter and other Anglo-Saxon miniatures of the Creator with scales, compass, and two horns to an Anglo-Saxon commentary of 1011 by Byrhtferth on a *computus*, entitled the *Manual*. In the beginning of his book, when discussing calendars and chronology, Byrhtferth says, "God ordained 'all things in measure, in number, and in weight' (Wisdom 11, 21)." This statement by Byrhtferth is followed by a discussion of the Creation.[39] In quoting the text from Wisdom, the Anglo-Saxon writer was following a long-established tradition. The phrase "all things in measure, in number, and in weight" is used by Rabanus Maurus in his *Liber de Computo*, as well as by Saint Augustine and Isidore of Seville in their writings.[40] Heimann would like to use this phrase to interpret the imagery in the Anglo-Saxon miniatures of the Creator with scales, compass, and two horns. The scales would symbolize weight; the compass, measure; and the two horns, number.

The phrase "thou hast ordered all things in measure and number and weight" is also used by Saint Augustine in a passage that links earlier Greek philosophy based on number mysticism with the Christian world view. Von Simson sees the phrase as an embodiment of the medieval philosophy that mathematical principles can lead the mind from the world of appearances to God. Music, geometry, and architecture are all based on number, and number is a reflection of the divine order.[41] Because of the connection of geometry and divine order, God suddenly appears in the guise of the architect, who also uses geometry to create a reflection of the divine order—that is, the cathedral.

The connection between measure, weight, and number mentioned by Heimann and Von Simson is clearly an important one for the interpretation of the iconography of the frontispieces, but it does not make God the architect of the world. The crucial connection is with geometry. To quote Von Simson, the "'anagogical' function of geometry, that is, its ability to lead the mind from the world of appearances to the contemplation of divine order,"[42] is very much like the function of the Bible itself. The compass leads to contemplation of the divine order, just as the Bible does. The compass is not a symbol of God's trade, but rather a symbol of the hidden nature of the universe, which is revealed in the moralizing Bibles.

Not only the compass but the cosmos itself leads to contemplation of the Creator. The cosmos held by the Creator is connected to the idea that the Creation is the first manifestation of the wisdom of God, just as the Incarnation is the second. And just as God makes his wisdom manifest in the cosmos, so the moralizing Bible makes the spiritual element in the Bible narrative manifest in the moralizing scenes. Behind the

8.Creator and fall of the rebel angels, Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Hexateuch, eleventh century. London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv, fol. 2r. (photo: by permission of the British Library, London)

9. Frontispiece, Caedmon Genesis, c. 1000. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11 (photo: courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

cosmos lies the Creator, who will finally reveal himself in the Incarnation. Behind the Bible narrative lies a whole universe of biblical exegesis now laid open to the viewer.

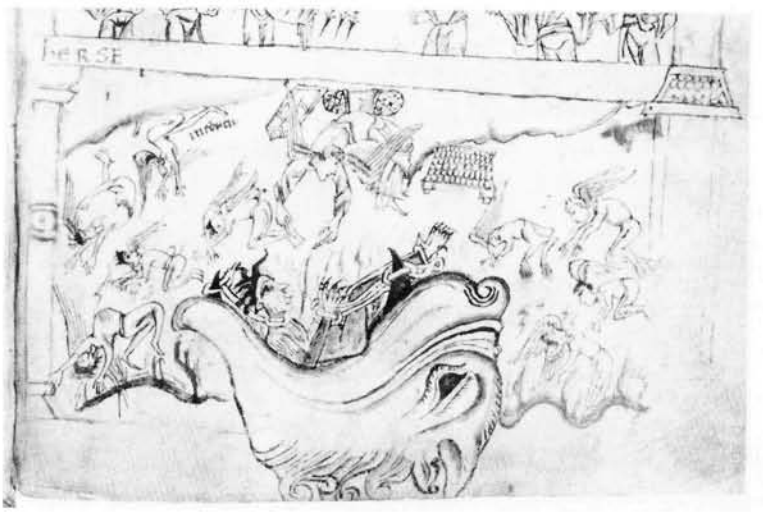
The God of the Frontispieces and the Text

It is important at this point to turn back to the Anglo-Saxon Tiberius Psalter frontispiece and view it with reference to its context. The artist has made a connection in this manuscript between the Creator, the cosmos, and the compass, a connection made later in the moralizing-Bible frontispieces. But while the moralizing-Bible frontispieces are followed by the Creation story, the Anglo-Saxon illumination is not. The question of a connection between the moralizing-Bible frontispieces and the following text cannot be fully answered by this illustration.

Two other Anglo-Saxon works may, however, provide a clue. The first is the Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Hexateuch (fig. 8). This Hexateuch dates from the eleventh century and is an example of the inventiveness of Anglo-Saxon art.[43] The first illustration of the Bible is of the Creator in a mandorla surrounded by angels with the fall of Lucifer below. This is followed by the Creation story. Just as in the moralizing Bibles, a frontispiece showing God with angels is followed by the Creation story.

In the Caedmon Genesis of c. 1000,[44] a rich cycle of illustrations includes a frontispiece (fig. 9) followed by an illustration of God enthroned with seraphs, an

10. God with Lucifer(?), Caedmon Genesis, c. 1000. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, page 2 (photo: courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)



11. Fall of the rebel angels, Caedmon Genesis, c. 1000. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11, page 3, detail of lowest register (photo: courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford)

illustration of God with Lucifer(?) (fig. 10), the fall of the rebel angels in three scenes covering four registers (fig. 11), and the Creation or the spirit of God upon the face of the deep. Subsequent illustrations show the fall of the rebel angels (again) and the torments of Satan.[45] Here is an illustration cycle rich in angel imagery and clearly linked to Genesis and the Creation.

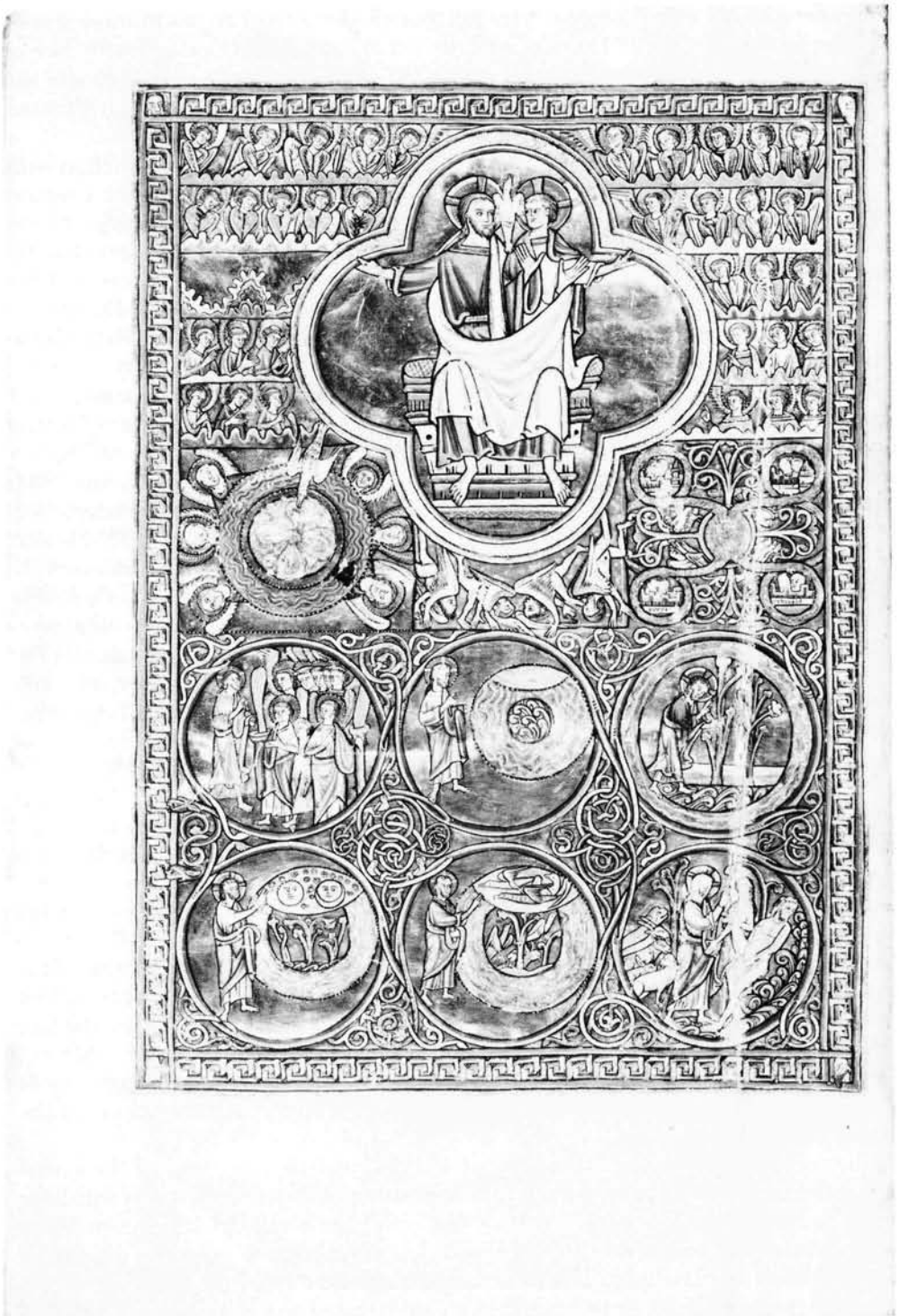
The illustrations in the Hexateuch and the Caedmon Genesis, in conjunction with those of the Tiberius Psalter, place a body of iconography—including the Creator, Creation, seraphs, fall of the rebel angels, and a compass—in England prior to the production of the moralizing Bibles. It may have been to this sort of imagery that the designer of the moralizing Bibles turned in order to create the frontispieces and the following Creation scenes. In other words, a pool of iconography existed in England in which all of the elements in the moralizing Bibles appears and the moralizing Bible artists used this imagery to create the frontispieces and following Creation scenes.[46]

It should be noted that seraphs appear in English manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, perhaps providing a source for the imagery of the seraphs that appear in Vienna 2554. Vienna 2554 may also provide another example of English influence in the moralizing-Bible frontispieces. Stork, in his book on Vienna 2554, suggests that the unusual standing, bending figure of God might go back to a depiction of Saint Paul in the chapel of Saint Anselm in Canterbury Cathedral (1150-1175). He also cites the "Medical Treatise," London (c. 1160) as a possible source for the imagery.[47]

This pool of English iconography would have served as the model not only for the moralizing Bibles but also for another example of the Creation with angels—that seen in the sculpture of Notre-Dame Cathedral, Laon. Christe convincingly connects the iconography of the Creation scenes on the west facade, south window, of Laon Cathedral (c. 1200) with the moralizing Bibles.[48] He proposes an illustrated cycle that predates the moralizing Bibles. Perhaps the origins of that cycle are to be sought in England.

That Anglo-Saxon manuscripts like the Caedmon Genesis and the Illustrated Hexateuch might have influenced *English* thirteenth-century artists is postulated by Henderson.[49] He argues that Bible illuminations by W. de Brailes and artists close to him show the influence of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Henderson makes a direct iconographic connection between the fall of the rebel angels in the Lothian Bible Genesis page (fig. 12) and the Illustrated Hexateuch. In the Lothian Bible, as in the Illustrated Hexateuch, the fall of the rebel angels precedes the Creation. The first medallion of the Lothian Bible Creation depicts the creation of the angels, who hold flaming basins, just as do the angels of the Caedmon Creation illustration of the spirit of God upon the face of the deep.[50] The Lothian Bible is dated c. 1220 and given an English, St. Albans, provenance.[51] The Lothian Bible shares with the moralizing Bibles the iconography of the fall of the rebel angels preceding the Creation, as well as the presentation of the imagery in medallions.

The Anglo-Saxon image of the Creator and his creation, including all the iconographic elements noted above, proved to be so enduring that it found its way into later English works of the fourteenth century: the Holkham Bible and the Queen Mary Psalter. Unlike the moralizing Bibles, these two illuminations preserve the fall of Lucifer in their frontispieces. The Holkham Bible[52] dates from the first half of the fourteenth century (fig. 13). In its frontispiece, God is seated on a globe or circle, holding



12. Trinity with angels and Creation scenes, Lothian Bible, c. 1220. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library, M.791, fol. 4 (photo: courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York)

13. Creator, Holkham Bible, 1300-1350. London, British Library, MS Add. 47682, fol. 2r. (photo: by permission of the British Library, London)

an oversized pair of compasses in one hand. The image is part of the fall of Lucifer. The next illustration in the Bible is the creation of the birds and animals.

The illustration in the Holkham Bible is related to the fall of Lucifer from the Queen Mary Psalter, an English manuscript that dates, like the Holkham Bible, from the first half of the fourteenth century (fig. 14).[53] God, seated in a series of interlocking circles, measures a circle with a compass as Lucifer falls into the mouth of Hell below. The text to the illumination reads, "Coment lucifer chayit de ciel e devient diable e grant multitudo des angeles ouesque li" (how Lucifer falls from heaven and becomes a devil, and a great multitude of angels with him).[54] The next illustration in the Bible is the creation of the birds and animals, just as in the Holkham Bible. Anglo-Saxon antecedents have been postulated for some of the illustrations in the Queen Mary Psalter. Some scholars believe that certain illustrations in the work go back to an Anglo-Saxon model of the eleventh century.[55] If this is the case, it is possible that the frontispiece goes back to earlier models as well.

14. Creator, Queen Mary Psalter, 1300-1350. London, British Library, MS Royal 2. B. vii, fol. 1v. (photo: by permission of the British Library, London)

Interestingly, Zahlten cites these two English frontispieces, along with the moralizing Bible frontispieces, as examples of God as the architect of the world. However, Zahlten makes no reference to the angel iconography of the Queen Mary Psalter and only mentions that in the Holkham Bible God is seated between angels and the abyss. Zahlten would prefer to interpret the images as almost a kind of "author portrait."[56]

The last example in this section is a group of three illustrations from Saint Augustine's *City of God*, which are probably later than the works cited above.[57] Once again the compass is used in connection with the Creation. In these illustrations, God measures a globe with a compass during the creation of the cosmos. It seems to be his first act.[58]

With these illustrations we see that the imagery of God measuring out the boundaries of the world with a compass proves to be an enduring one. First formulated in the Anglo-Saxon period in England, the concept of God with the cosmos and a compass passed into the art of thirteenth-century France, fourteenth-century England, and finally into the *City of God* miniatures.

The Order of Creation and the Creation of the Angels

Something about this iconography exercised a powerful appeal. What was this appeal? Why did the designer of the moralizing Bibles use this particular iconography for the frontispieces and how do the frontispieces relate to the text that follows? In all of the given examples, the Creator with his compass is placed at the beginning of the story of Creation, just as the Creator appears at the beginning of the story of Creation in the moralizing Bibles. In fact, the frontispieces of Vienna 1179 and of the Oxford and Toledo Bibles illustrate the very first moments of creation. It is not merely God as the "architect of the universe" or God measuring the world, it is the act of creation itself. As Saint Augustine writes, "this very book [the Bible] itself begins, 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth,' so that before heaven and earth God seems to have made nothing."[59] In the moralizing Bibles, the Creator holds the cosmos at the instant of creation. The frontispiece becomes the first element of the Bible narrative that follows.

Saint Augustine is concerned with the order of creation because he is discussing the creation of the angels. He states that the angels are synonymous with the light that God created on the first day and that the good and bad angels were separated when God separated light from darkness.[60] It is this tradition that explains the imagery of the fall of Lucifer before the Creation stories in the Illustrated Hexateuch. The Creator is at work in the very first stages of creation.

When the artists of the moralizing Bibles began to design the frontispieces, they looked back to a body of traditional imagery of which the Illustrated Hexateuch, the Caedmon Genesis, and the Tiberius Psalter illuminations are earlier examples and the Queen Mary Psalter and the Holkham Bible later manifestations. This traditional iconography portrays the Creator at the moment of creation and includes the fall of the angels. The French artists adapted this iconography. The fact that the artists or designers of the moralizing Bibles did not include in the frontispieces the scene of the fall of the rebel angels as in the Illustrated Hexateuch is not surprising. One of the characteristics of the Gothic presentation of narrative is the reduction of the narrative to its essential components.[61] An example of this is the central tympanum of the west facade of Chartres, which depicts the Second Coming of Christ and the Last Judgement. By combining Christ with angels, the twenty-four elders, Elijah, Enoch, the four beasts of the Apocalypse, and the Apostles, the designer has presented the return of Christ to earth, in order to judge mankind, without the narrative elements seen in Romanesque works such as the tympanum at Autun. The story has been reduced to the components necessary to make the meaning clear, but the physical storytelling is gone.[62]

In the moralizing-Bible frontispieces the elements of the story are presented—the enthroned Creator and the angels—but the storytelling process, as at Chartres, has been reduced to a minimum. All that is needed to understand the story of the first moments of creation with the subsequent creation of the angels and the fall of Lucifer is provided to the viewer who understands the choice of symbols.

Perhaps the designer of the moralizing Bibles began with this particular scene because of the theological meaning of the fall of Lucifer. Dodwell, in his analysis of the Illustrated Hexateuch fall of Lucifer, may provide the answer. He writes:

> In terms of the doctrine of the Redemption...this subject provides an apt pictorial prologue: the fall of the rebel angels explains and leads up to both the creation of man, for some theologians considered that he was created in order to replace the fallen spirits, and to man's fall, which was brought about by the devil who had his origin in this way.[63]

Because the fall of the angels leads to man's fall and ultimately to the redemption of man by Christ, it is a fitting first illustration for the Creation.

A second reason may also exist for this focus on the angels and the fall of Lucifer in the moralizing Bibles. Light discusses the creation of the pocket Bible around 1230, shortly after the creation of Vienna 1179 and 2554 and around the time of the creation of the Toledo Bible. She postulates that one use of the pocket Bibles was to facilitate the writing of sermons, and that a group of the pocket Bibles contains specific tools to facilitate the writing of sermons to combat heresy. According to Light, one heresy current in the early thirteenth century was that of the Cathar belief that the human soul was an angel trapped in a human body. This occurred after the angels were expelled from heaven. In Light's opinion this heresy is directly challenged in a group of pocket Bibles with a series of topics focusing on the nature of the soul. One of these topics is, "that the angelic spirits remained in heaven after Lucifer's fall."[64]

It is possible that a similar concern about the nature of man's soul, the angels, and heresy lies behind the frontispieces of the moralizing Bibles. Perhaps the designers of the moralizing Bibles were interested in giving the angels a secure place in God's creation. They turned to the Anglo-Saxon tradition, with its rich imagery of the Creation, angels, and fall of the rebel angels, and incorporated elements of this tradition into the French Bibles.

That French manuscript painting might have been linked to English manuscript painting shortly before the creation of the moralizing Bibles can be seen in an interesting connection drawn by Branner. Branner discusses French manuscript painting around 1200, at which time, he says, Paris supported more than one atelier. One of these ateliers was "the one leading to the moralized Bibles" and another created a series of manuscripts grouped around the St-Victor gradual.[65] Related to the St-Victor gradual is a second group of manuscripts—of which the Ingeborg Psalter is one—that were also produced at this time, but not necessarily in a Paris atelier. A third manuscript, related to both the St-Victor gradual and the Ingeborg Psalter, is the Guthlac roll, an English manuscript of about 1210.[66] Branner calls the Parisian manuscript group, the Ingeborg Psalter group, and the Guthlac roll "cousins" that may have been produced in different geographic locations[67] but that are part of what Homburger calls the late twelfth-century "international style."[68] What is of interest here is that a Paris atelier produced works in a style that found expression in various parts of Northern Europe and that this atelier is even linked, at least at one remove, with an atelier in England. It is only by looking at the larger picture, in both England and France, that manuscript painting at this time can be fully understood.

If we turn to the moralizing Bibles and look at them in a larger, more unified context, which includes not only the frontispieces but also the pages immediately after them, it becomes apparent that the frontispieces cannot be seen in isolation from the folios that follow. The frontispieces, Bible narrative, and allegories form an interrelated whole that must be taken together in order to be understood. Through photographs,

slides, and photocopies, we have become used to viewing images disassociated from their context. The medieval viewer would never have seen or considered the frontispieces in isolation; they were always part of a greater whole. We too should consider the greater whole, and in order to understand the frontispieces of the moralizing Bibles, look to the pages that follow them. The frontispieces then become more than simply "God as the architect of the universe" and can be read as the first step in the history of creation and salvation.

Indiana University

I would like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Pastan for her help and support, without which this article would not have been possible. I would also like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Parker McLachlan for reading and commenting on the article.

1. For an in-depth exploration of the reading process and anagogical function of the Bibles see Reiner Haussherr, "Über die Auswahl des Bibeltextes in der Bible moralisée," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51, no. 1 (1988), 126-146; idem, "Christus-Johannes-Gruppen in der Bible moralisée," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 27, no. 2 (1964), 133-152.
2. R. Branner, *Manuscript Painting in Paris during the Reign of Saint Louis* (Berkeley, 1977), 32, argues for a Parisian provenance for the works, but the question of exactly where the Bibles were produced (and they may have been produced in more than one center) remains open. Vitzthum compared the style of Vienna 2554 to stained glass in Champagne, and Flam placed the language of the text in East Champagne. However, Lange has argued that the localization of the text by Flam is debatable. For an overview of the debate see Reiner Haussherr, *Bible moralisée* [Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat des Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichische Nationalbibliotek] (Graz, 1973), 2, 7-9.
3. Haussherr, *Bible moralisée*, 2; Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 32.
4. The four manuscripts are Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554, fols. 1v. (frontispiece), 1r. (scenes of the Creation); Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1179, fols. 1v. (frontispiece), 2r. (scenes of the Creation); the three-volume Bible in the Toledo Cathedral treasury (of which the last 8 folios are in New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M240), fols. 1v. (frontispiece), 2r. (scenes of the Creation); and the Oxford Bible, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 270b, fols. 1v. (frontispiece), 2r. (scenes from the Creation). The Oxford Bible is divided between the Bodleian Library in Oxford (MS 270b), the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris (Bibliothèque nationale 11560), and the British Library, London (MS Harley 1526, 1527).
5. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 3, 33; Haussherr, *Bible moralisée*, 21.
6. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 41, 48.
7. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 49.
8. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 48, 49, 64-65.
9. Branner, *Manuscript Painting*, 49.
10. A. Alexandre, comte de Laborde, *La Bible moralisée illustrée conservée à Oxford, Paris et Londres* (Paris, 1911).
11. Haussherr, *Bible moralisée*.
12. Sara Lipton, "Jews, Heretics and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bible moralisée*," *Word and Image* 8 (October-December 1992), 362-377.
13. Mira Friedmann, "Sünde, Sünder, und die Darstellung der Laster in den Bildern zur Bible moralisée," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 37 (1984), 157-172.
14. Michael Camille, "Visual Signs of the Sacred Page: Books in the Bible Moralisée," *Word and Image* 5 (January-March 1989), 111-130.
15. Hans-Walter Stork, *Bible moralisée Codex Vindobonensis 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Transcription und Übersetzung* (St. Ingbert, 1988).

16. Hans-Walter Stork, *Die Wiener französische Bible moralisée Codex 2554 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Saarbrücker Hochschulschriften, vol. 18 (St. Ingbert, 1992).

17. For the classic identification of this image as "God as the architect of the universe" see Otto Von Simson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (Princeton, 1988), pl. 6a. Frederick Hartt, *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture*, 4th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, 1993), fig. 24, reproduces this image in his introduction to the book with the caption "God as Architect." Haussherr, *Bible moralisée*, 2, comments on this same phenomenon.

18. For a discussion of the problem of the disassociation of imagery from its context see Michael Camille, "Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," *Art History* 10 (1989), 96-115. See also Haussherr, *Bible moralisée*, 2.

19. For a discussion of the word *architect* and its uses in the Middle Ages see N. Pevsner, "The Term 'Architect' in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 17 (1942), 549-562. According to Pevsner the term seems to have been used only occasionally during the time period of the moralizing Bibles and was mostly applied to masons. See also Lon Shelby, "The Contractors of Chartres," *Gesta* 20 (1981), 173-178. John Block Friedman, "The Architect's Compass in Creation Miniatures of the Later Middle Ages," *Traditio* 30 (1974), 418-429, also contains information on the use of the compass in the Middle Ages. Friedman separates the Anglo-Saxon iconography of the compasses from the later iconography of the moralizing Bibles. He views the earlier Anglo-Saxon iconography as God ordaining all things in measure, number, and weight and the later iconography as independent of the earlier works and influenced by the writings of Jewish scholars at the time of the creation of the moralizing Bibles.

20. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are by the author. *Figulus* is a Latin word meaning potter. It can also be used to mean creator. See, for example, Albert Blais, *Dictionnaire Latin-Française des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout, 1967). The word *figulus* appears in the Vulgate version of the Bible, which is, according to Haussherr (*Bible moralisée*, 12, 20), the version of the moralizing Bibles. The reference to God as "figulus" in the frontispiece of Vienna 1179 perhaps alludes to the creative nature of God in this scene.

21. Latin text here is from de Laborde, *Bible moralisée*, 87.

22. Translations from Stork, *Codex Vindobonensis 2554*, 1.

23. De Laborde, *Bible moralisée*, 24.

24. I would like to thank Karen Edwards of the University of Virginia for her help with the Latin text and translation of this and the following medallion.

25. De Laborde, *Bible moralisée*, 44.

26. De Laborde, *Bible moralisée*, 44.

27. Hildegard von Bingen, *Wisse die Wege: Scivias*, trans. Maura Boeckeler (Salzburg, 1954).

28. Paris, Arsenal MS 3516, fol. 179r.

29. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College. Konrad Hoffmann, "Suger's 'Anagogisches Fenster' in St. Denis," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 30 (1968), 57-88.

30. Hoffmann, "Suger's 'Anagogisches Fenster'," 70.

31. Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 120. Juergen Schulz, "Jacapo de' Barbari's View of Venice: Map Making, City Views and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500," *Art Bulletin* 60 (September 1978), 448-450.

32. Schulz, "View of Venice," 448, n. 75.

33. Evangelical School, MS. A-1, fol. 2r.

34. Adelheid Heimann, "Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and Their Prototypes," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), 49.

35. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, fol. 7v. R. Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and F. Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (New York, 1964), xv.

36. Heimann, "Three Illustrations," 47.

37. Hanover, Kestner Museum, canon table, fol. 9v. Heimann, "Three Illustrations," 52, 54; Klibansky, Panofsky, and Saxl, *Saturn and Melencholy*, xv.

38. Johannes Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi: Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*, Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik 13 (Stuttgart, 1979), 153.
39. Heimann, "Three Illustrations," 48.
40. Heimann, "Three Illustrations," 48, n. 45.
41. Von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral*, 21-25.
42. Von Simson, *Gothic Cathedral*, 22.
43. C. R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch* (Copenhagen, 1974), 15, 65-73.
44. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 11. Elzbieta Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, vol. 2 (London, 1976), 76-78.
45. Sir Israel Gollancz, *The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry; Junius XI in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1927); Charles Kennedy, *The Caedmon Poems* (London, 1916).
46. For a discussion of the sources of medieval imagery see Madeline Caviness, "'The Simple Perception of Matter' and the Representation of Narrative, ca. 1180-1280," *Gesta* 30, no. 1 (1991), 52.
47. Stork, *Codex Vindobonensis 2554*, 115, n. 6. "Medical Treatise" London, British Library MS Harley 1585, fol. 13r.
48. Yves Christe, "Aux origines de l'Hexaemeron des Bibles moralisées: le cycle de la création de la cathédrale de Laon" *Cahiers Archéologiques* 40 (1992), 91-98.
49. G. Henderson, "Studies in English Manuscript Illumination," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967), 71-137, especially 128.
50. Henderson, "English Manuscript Illumination," 128-129.
51. *The Year 1200*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), vol. 1 (ed. Konrad Hoffmann), 264.
52. Lucy Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, vol. 5, 2 vols. (London, 1986), 105-107; W. O. Hassall, *Holkham Bible Picture Book* (London, 1954).
53. Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 64-66, 181.
54. Translation from Sir George Warner, *Queen Mary's Psalter* (London, 1912), 55.
55. Olga Koseleff, "Representations of the Months and Zodiacal Signs in Queen Mary's Psalter," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 22 (1942), 80-88.
56. Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi*, 155.
57. See, for example, London, British Library Add. 15245, fol. 3v.
58. Philip Wiener, ed., *Dictionary of the History of Ideas*, vol. 1 (New York, 1968), 579.
59. Aurelius Augustinus, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (New York, 1950), 352; Dodwell and Clemoes, *Illustrated Hexateuch*, 17.
60. Augustinus, *City of God*, 362; Dodwell and Clemoes, *Illustrated Hexateuch*, 17.
61. Adolf Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (New York, 1959), 6, 25.
62. Katzenellenbogen, *Sculptural Programs*, 24-25.
63. Dodwell and Clemoes, *Illustrated Hexateuch*, 17.
64. Laura Light, "The New Thirteenth-Century Bible and the Challenge of Heresy," *Viator* 18 (1987), 275-288, especially 280-282.
65. Robert Branner, "Manuscript Painting in Paris around 1200," in *The Year 1200*, 1:173-185, especially 175-177.
66. London, British Library MS Harley Roll Y6. Branner, "Manuscript Painting," 175-177; Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts (I) 1190-1250*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, ed. J. J. G. Alexander, vol. 4 (London, 1982), 67.

67. Branner, "Manuscript Painting," 177.

68. O. Homburger, "Zur Stilbestimmung der figürlichen Kunst Deutschlands und des westlichen Europas im Zeitraum zwischen 1190 und 1250," *Formositas Romanica* (Frauenfeld, 1958), 29-45.

Botticelli's Images of Simonetta Vespucci: Between Portrait and Ideal

Monika A. Schmitter

A series of five mysterious, portraitlike images produced by Sandro Botticelli's workshop in the late fifteenth century shows the same female sitter, bust length, in profile, with an extremely ornate hairstyle. These images are difficult to classify. On the one hand, they follow the conventions of portraiture—they show a single, bust-length figure in profile against a plain, colored background or an architectural setting; on the other hand, because the woman is portrayed with decorated, loose, overabundant, waving hair and somewhat classical dress, she appears to be a more generalized type—a nymph or goddess rather than a mortal woman. Besides being visually intriguing in their own right, these images have played a pivotal, although not always fully acknowledged, role in the historiography of Botticelli, of his famous painting *Primavera* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), and, by extension, of Florentine culture and society under the rule of Lorenzo de' Medici. The various images have often been identified as portraits of Simonetta Cattaneo Vespucci, a Genoese woman married to a Florentine, who was the object of Giuliano de' Medici's unrequited love. Simonetta was Giuliano's "Petrarchan mistress"—a beautiful, chaste, and unattainable upper-class woman whom he adored from afar in the spirit of Petrarch's love for Laura.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, many paintings by Botticelli were believed to contain likenesses of Simonetta. She was thought to be the model for Venus in *Mars and Venus* (National Gallery, London) and the *Birth of Venus* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), for Venus or Flora in the *Primavera*, for *Judith*, and for the *Madonna del Magnificat* (all Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), to name only a few examples. While many of these identifications are not now accepted, Simonetta continues to play an important role in the interpretation of Botticelli's images. Dempsey has recently reintroduced the theory that Flora in the *Primavera* represents Simonetta.[1] For the most part, however, contemporary scholars are wary of the "Simonetta theory." As a result, they have severed the connection between Simonetta and the portraitlike images from Botticelli's workshop, preferring to call these images "ideal heads"—creations of a generic conception of female beauty.[2]

What, however, is meant by an "ideal"? Where does this ideal come from and what is its purpose? Can we be sure that these portraitlike images are not meant to refer to a particular woman? I will show that the effect of the images hinges on how they operate between the categories of portrait and ideal. They transform an actual woman, quite possibly Simonetta, into an ideal based on Petrarchan poetry. I will examine the way in which the artist invokes and combines two types of representation of women—portraits and depictions of nymphs or goddesses. I will argue that evidence that the images portray Simonetta is not as negligible as some art historians have assumed. Finally, I will compare the images to poems written about Simonetta after her early death. The correspondences between poems and images not only support the idea that the paintings refer to Simonetta but, more important, they reveal how dead young noblewomen could be idealized, even eroticized, in both poetry and painting. The late

fifteenth-century "portraits" from Botticelli's workshop are early examples of the problematic category of Renaissance paintings identified by Cropper as "portraits of unknown beautiful women."[3] In many sixteenth-century images, as in the Simonetta pictures,[4] it is difficult to determine whether an actual woman, an ideal, a courtesan, or a goddess is represented. As Cropper says, "a portrait of a beautiful woman is not...simply a portrait with a female rather than a male subject."[5] However, the new genre is not a vision of a generic female ideal, either. Indeed, the play between "real" and "imaginary" woman is central to the effect both of the Simonetta and of the later, sixteenth-century images. Although the Simonetta paintings can be seen as precursors of the many Venetian sensuous half-length images, of Raphael's *Fornarina* (Galleria Nazionale, Rome), and of the Leonardo school's "*Mona Vanna*" images, they have a different erotic appeal. Unlike the more sensual and direct address of the sixteenth-century images, in this fifteenth-century Florentine variant the attraction lies in the aloofness and unattainability of the lady. [6]

The Images: Portrait/Ideal

Of the five images in the Simonetta series by Botticelli's workshop, three will be examined in detail here: the paintings in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt; the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin; and the National Gallery, London. On the reverse of the last is an allegorical figure of an angel with an armillary sphere in one hand and a clump of moss(?) in the other. Of the two other images in the series, the first, a painting in the collection of the Marubeni Corporation, Tokyo,[7] is quite similar to the London painting, and the second, a drawing in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford,[8] must be either a study for or, more likely, a copy after the Frankfurt version. The considerable number of these surviving images suggests that they had a certain popularity in their time.

Other portraitlike images have also been associated with Simonetta, but they differ considerably from the ones described above. One painting, in the Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (formerly Cook collection, Richmond), also attributed to Botticelli's workshop, represents a woman with a loose and ornate hairstyle pressing milk from her exposed breast.[9] Another painting, this one by Piero di Cosimo, shows a woman in profile with an ornate hairstyle, bare breasts, and a snake around her neck. The inscription on the ledge beneath her identifies her as "Simonetta Ianvensis Vespucci." While I focus here on the Botticelli images in Frankfurt, Berlin, and London, dealing only peripherally with that by Piero di Cosimo, it is important to remember that these images are part of a larger group of late fifteenth-century Florentine images of women that lie somewhere between portrait and ideal.[10]

In his latest monograph on Botticelli, Lightbown considers the Frankfurt, Berlin, and London paintings workshop pieces.[11] He dates them from the 1480s, arguing that Botticelli's rising popularity at that time caused the output of his workshop to increase. While Lightbown's dating is plausible, it is not definitive. Even if we accept the date, it does not rule out the possibility that the images portray Simonetta, who died in 1476. The paintings could be posthumous inventions, perhaps based on an earlier portrait likeness.[12]

The paintings look like portraits but, upon closer examination, differ from the standards of female portraiture in a variety of ways. The Frankfurt painting (fig. 1) is the least portraitlike of the three. While the other two paintings have the dimensions of typical Quattrocento portraits (Berlin, 47.5 x 35 cm; London, 59 x 40 cm), the Frankfurt

1. Botticelli workshop, *Portrait of a Woman (Simonetta Vespucci?)*, early–mid-1480s. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (photo: Ursula Edelmann)

picture is oversize (82 x 54 cm). Not only is the panel larger, but the figure more fully fills the composition. The woman turns her body toward the viewer, filling horizontal as well as vertical space. The flat color background, more complex hairstyle, and antique cameo around the woman's neck also differentiate this image from the Berlin and London pictures. Bode, who called the work "colossal," suggested that it might have been made for a decorative purpose rather than as a traditional portrait.[13]

The Berlin and London paintings (figs. 2, 3) are clearly meant to look like portraits: the woman's body is nearly in profile and she is neatly placed within an architectural setting. Such a setting is indeed a hallmark of Botticelli's portraiture style.[14] Whether an actual person or an ideal is presented, the artist undoubtedly wanted to evoke the idea of portraiture: that is, to convey the impression of a specific woman sitting for her portrait.

Although the use of the profile evokes the idea of portraiture, by the 1480s the profile format, which had been common in depictions of women between about 1440 and 1470, had fallen out of fashion. More typical late Quattrocento female—and male—portraits show the sitter three-quarter length, turned toward the viewer, as in Botticelli's *Portrait of a Lady (Smeralda Brandini?)* (fig. 4).[15] Even as profile portraits the Frankfurt, Berlin, and London images are atypical: most Quattrocento female portraits face left, but the Frankfurt and London pieces face right. The use of the profile, bust-length format and, in two instances, the orientation mark the Simonetta images as, at least, unusual portraits.[16]

By far the most striking aspect of the images, by comparison with standard portraits, is the depiction of the hair. Although fairly elaborate hairstyles coiffed with ribbons and pearls are not uncommon in female portraits—for example, in Antonio Pollaiuolo's *Portrait of a Woman* (Museo Poldi-Pezzoli, Milan) or Piero della Francesca's *Portrait of Battista Sforza* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence)—the overabundance of hair and hair hanging loose in the Simonetta images is at variance with standard portraits. Since social convention did not allow married women to wear their hair loose, it would have been inappropriate for them to have been depicted that way in a standard portrait.[17]

In all three images the woman is shown with an elaborate combination of braided hair, loose hair, and hair decorated with pearls and ribbons. In the Frankfurt picture, the braids are brought together to meet between the woman's breasts. In both the Frankfurt and Berlin pictures, one section of hair waves out behind the woman's head. The hairstyle in the London painting is somewhat less ornate, but a long braid (barely visible) falls down the woman's back and loose, wavy tresses fall around her neck. These complex, partly loose, partly ornamented hairstyles have more in common with Botticelli's depictions of imaginary women, especially those in his mythological scenes, than they do with his portraits.

A number of women in Botticelli's imaginary scenes—*Fortitude* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), *Judith*, Venus in *Mars and Venus*, and one of the Graces in *Primavera*—have braids that meet between their breasts, as in the Frankfurt painting. Women with such hairstyles belong to an imaginary realm removed from everyday social conventions. Their presence is also more erotically charged. Loose hair was considered improper because it was sexually alluring.[18] The woman in the portraitlike images is made sexually provocative because the arrangement of her hair transgresses the norms of the portrait format.[19]

2. Botticelli workshop, *Portrait of a Woman (Simonetta Vespucci?)*, mid-1480s. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin

The jewelry in the Frankfurt picture and the costume in the London picture also differentiate the woman from sitters in portraits. The woman in the Frankfurt painting wears an antique cameo that is known to have belonged to the Medici.[20] Usually women in portraits wear more conventional jewelry, as in the London painting.[21] The inclusion of the gem in the Frankfurt painting suggests that the artist or patron wanted either to

3. Botticelli workshop, *Portrait of a Woman (Simonetta Vespucci?)*, mid-1480s. National Gallery, London

4. Sandro Botticelli, *Portrait of a Lady (Smeraldo Brandini?)*, c. 1471. Victoria and Albert Museum, London

give the woman a classical aura or to associate her with the Medici—or perhaps both. In the London picture, the woman wears a cloak that billows behind her and a scarf tied around her right arm. Like the cameo, the billowing drape recalls the imaginary world of antiquity, differentiating the woman from traditional portraits and suggesting the depiction of a classical, if not mythological, figure.[22]

The dress of the female figure in the Berlin picture is more conventional, but in the Berlin and Frankfurt paintings the woman has an unusually large bust for a portrait. This characteristic draws attention to the female body in a way not usually seen in

chaste portraits of wives, daughters, and mothers. It is closer to Botticelli's depictions of sensuous mythological women, such as Venus in *Mars and Venus*.

A final, unusual characteristic of the Simonetta images is the suggestion of movement they convey. Unlike earlier profile portraits, such as those by Pollaiuolo or Piero della Francesca, in which the woman is depicted in rigid profile, the Simonetta images reveal a hint of the eye that is usually obscured from view and show the hair falling forward on the far side of the woman's face. In each picture the woman's body is slightly turned toward the picture plane. In this way the woman is less frozen in place than are the sitters in strict profile portraits. It seems as though she might turn toward the viewer. The artist plays coyly with the concept of a profile portrait. A female figure in profile seems chaste and removed from the viewer; her gaze is averted and she pays no attention to her (male) admirer.[23] In the Simonetta images, while the semblance of chastity and modesty is preserved, the artist has given the slightest suggestion of the sitter's availability to engage with the viewer.

Not only is there a sense of movement *into* the picture plane in the Frankfurt, Berlin, and London paintings, but there is also a hint of movement *across* the picture plane. In the Frankfurt and Berlin panels, one section of the woman's hair waves behind her as though she were in motion. In the Frankfurt picture, the upright posture of the figure, the feather stretched out straight behind her head, and the lack of an interior setting give the impression that the woman might be walking forward rather than sitting for her portrait. In the Berlin piece, the sense of movement conveyed by the billowing hair is tempered somewhat by the stricter profile and the interior setting, but the asymmetrical window frame appears to impel the figure forward. In the London painting, the hair does not wave, but the woman's cloak appears to billow behind her. This motif, used to suggest wind in other paintings by Botticelli (the obvious example being Zephyr in the *Birth of Venus*), conveys the impression that the woman is moving. Billowing hair and drapery is often used by Botticelli in his depictions of mythological women, such as the Graces, Flora, and Cloris in *Primavera*, Pallas in *Pallas and the Centaur* (Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence), and Venus and the nymph in the *Birth of Venus*, to name only the most prominent examples. Like the abundant, decorated hair, a sense of movement links the woman in the "portraits" to these other mythological figures and differentiates her from standard portraits of women. The importance of this sense of movement will be discussed further.

Botticelli and Simonetta: Whose Myth?

The central historiographic problem of the Simonetta images and of all the other pictures that have been associated with Simonetta is the isolation of the different historical layers of the myth of Simonetta. Irrefutable evidence, in prose and poetry, testifies to the adulation Simonetta received during her lifetime, and especially after her premature death, from Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici and from the circle of poets and courtiers around the Medici family. Whether this adulation was in visual, as well as written, testimony remains less clear. Did the poetic circumstances of Simonetta's death provide the motive for the creation of the *Primavera*, the portraits considered here, and/or other images? One must also consider that the fifteenth-century myth of Simonetta may have been elaborated and embroidered in the following century. Finally, modern scholarship has played its part. Beginning in the late nineteenth century and continuing to our own day, the myth of Simonetta has often cast a powerful

spell over art historians and other writers, prompting an outpouring of fantasies about Simonetta, Botticelli, Giuliano, and Lorenzo.[24] It is important to try to detach and analyze these various, successive layers of myth.

There can be no doubt that Lorenzo's circle promoted a "myth of Simonetta." Simonetta Cattaneo was born in about 1453 into a wealthy Genoese family. In 1468 she married Marco Vespucci, the only son of a prominent, Medici-allied family, and moved to Florence. The marriage appears to have been arranged for her by her powerful brother-in-law, Jacopo III d'Appiano, lord of Piombino.[25] Although she was married, Simonetta was chosen by Giuliano de' Medici as the lady for whom he would fight in a joust held on 29 January 1475. This joust was the subject of Poliziano's *Le stanze per la giostra*, in which Simonetta appears twice.[26] The joust was an important public ceremony to celebrate the conclusion of an alliance between Florence, Venice, and Milan, and also to symbolize the coming-of-age of Giuliano and the power of the Medici family.[27] Giuliano thereafter continued to play the part of Simonetta's chivalrous lover. When Simonetta died of consumption just over a year later, on 26 April 1476, Giuliano mourned her deeply. A letter from Simonetta's father-in-law, Piero Vespucci, to Giuliano's mother, Lucrezia Tornabuoni, describes Giuliano's actions after her death:

> When the blessed soul that was your Giuliano used to visit my house, he said to me many times, in the presence of Niccolò Martelli, that he was the unhappiest young man not only in Florence, but in all Italy. I had such pity for him, he aroused such sorrow, that to make him happy and give me pleasure both my son Marco and I did all we could to please him, as his kindness, correctness, and gentle breeding deserved. We gave him all of Simonetta's garments [*ogni vestimento della Simonetta*] and her portrait [*immagine*]. Marco and I did this all with affection. He aided us with money and in every way he could.[28]

In his *Commento*, an explication of his sonnets, Lorenzo discusses how a lover can best mourn the loss of his beloved. (He is speaking of Simonetta, although he does not name her, and he himself seems to be the lover in question.[29]) He says that the lover "cannot experience greater comfort than by holding his mind and thoughts fixed on the *last impressions and dearest things of 'his sun'*."[30] Simonetta's dresses and "portrait" may have been given to Giuliano for this purpose. A portrait of Giuliano by Botticelli (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) may also allude to Giuliano's mourning. In the corner of the painting is a turtledove, a symbol of loyalty to the beloved on the part of a mourner.[31]

Piero Vespucci's letter not only reveals the attentions Giuliano paid to Simonetta's memory, but it also shows that the Vespucci family curried influence with the Medici through Simonetta. By allowing Giuliano to play Petrarch to Simonetta's Laura, the Vespucci gained favors in return. When Giuliano was assassinated in the Pazzi conspiracy only two years after Simonetta's death, Piero was accused of taking part. His letter was written from prison to convince Lucrezia, Giuliano and Lorenzo's mother, of his innocence (making his demonstrations of kindness to Giuliano all the more to the point). In the letter he uses his connection to the Medici family through his daughter-in-law as a ploy for sympathy. While the actual nature of the relationship between

Giuliano and Simonetta remains elusive, it is clear that public ceremony and political alliances were an important part of the game of courtly love.[32]

Simonetta was ill for at least a month before she died at the age of twenty-three. Lorenzo, who was at the time in Pisa, provided a doctor to look after her and corresponded with her father-in-law, Piero, regarding her health.[33] In a great public funeral held for her, a procession of mourning citizens went from her house to the Ognissanti church. The casket was open. In response to the death of this young beauty, the beloved of Giuliano, a number of poets wrote eulogies and epigrams, some addressed to Giuliano and some to Lorenzo. Lorenzo himself was among the poets who honored Simonetta, as he explains in his *Commento*:

> All the Florentines of talent, as was fitting in such a public bereavement, variously expressed their grief, some in verse and some in prose, about the bitterness of this death, and each attempted to praise her according to his own ability; and I wished to be among them, and to accompany their tears with the sonnets which follow.[34]

Lorenzo begins his *Commento* with the four sonnets he wrote on the occasion of Simonetta's death.

A number of poems about Simonetta by other writers also survive: an elegy and a sonnet by Bernardo Pulci; a lengthy poem by the Veronese Francesco Nursio Timideo;[35] four Latin epigrams by Angelo Poliziano, two of which were sepulchral epitaphs;[36] two Latin epigrams by Naldo Naldi;[37] and a eulogy by Francesco Dovizi da Bibbiena, Lorenzo's *cancelliere*.[38] Others works may exist.[39] As previously mentioned, Simonetta makes two appearances as Giuliano's beloved in Poliziano's *Stanze per la giostra*.

Simonetta evidently played an important role in the public rituals of Medicean Florence. One might even speak of a "cult of Simonetta." The poems about her exalt her as a kind of civic symbol. Lorenzo and Pulci stress that all of Florence loved her and mourned her death. Pulci presents her as the city's representative in heaven:

> Since she is the only person from our times (there),
> He who rules above [Jove] wishes that she
> Be shown especially clearly among the others[40]

Simonetta and Giuliano died on the same day of the year, 26 April, two years apart. This coincidence must have struck contemporaries as significant, since Petrarch wistfully desired to die on the same date as Laura.[41] It is thus possible that when the death of Giuliano was commemorated, Simonetta was remembered as well, perhaps visually as well as verbally.[42]

* * *

While the "cult of Simonetta" had its origin in the late fifteenth century, the clear association of Simonetta's name with Botticelli's images is more recent. The mysterious portraitlike images are linked to Simonetta on the basis of a passage in Vasari, who wrote in the edition of 1568 of his *Lives of the Artists* that "in Duke Cosimo's wardrobe there are two very beautiful female heads in profile by Botticelli, one of which is said

5. Piero di Cosimo, *Portrait of a Woman (Simonetta Vespucci?)*, 1480s? Musée Condé, Chantilly (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource, N.Y.)

to be the mistress ["inamorata"] of Lorenzo's brother, Giuliano de' Medici."[43] If Simonetta is understood to be Giuliano's loved one, then presumably a portrait of her by Botticelli once existed. Perhaps Vasari saw the Berlin painting, which was once in the Palazzo Medici.[44] The profile portrait by Piero di Cosimo (fig. 5), which bears an inscription identifying the sitter as "Simonetta Vespucci," further supports the idea that portraits of Simonetta existed.[45] The woman in Piero's painting has a very elaborate

hairstyle and her physiognomy is sufficiently similar to the woman in the Botticelli images to suggest that the same person might be represented.

Although the portrait by Piero di Cosimo would appear to be a representation of Simonetta, since her name is inscribed beneath it, it is not usually accepted as such. The reason for this is that Vasari described the work as a head of Cleopatra and did not mention an inscription.[46] However, tests conducted in France reveal that the inscription is contemporary with the rest of the painting. This has been interpreted as meaning that the "contemporary" inscription must be "no later than the end of the sixteenth century," thus allowing Vasari's word to stand.[47] Even if we accept this, the image still shows that by the end of the sixteenth century (and probably before) an unusual, eroticized (bare-breasted) image of a woman was associated with Simonetta.[48]

In his statement about the portrait of Giuliano's "inamorata," Vasari likely refers to Simonetta, since she was publicly celebrated and commemorated by numerous poets as Giuliano's "lady."[49] What is interesting, however, is that Vasari calls the female portrait an "inamorata," or "beloved one," rather than a wife. This suggests that the image looked different from a portrait of a dutiful wife. He may, then, have heard that it represented Simonetta. After all, he admits that "it is said to be" Giuliano's *innamorata*.

Whether or not we accept that the images from Botticelli's workshop represent Simonetta, we have seen that the connection between Simonetta and certain unusual portrait images stems back at least to the sixteenth century. We are not concerned here with nineteenth-century myth-making.

* * *

How did nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars come to the conclusion that paintings by Botticelli of Venus, Flora, or even the Madonna were likenesses of Simonetta? While the identifications, in particular those of women in the *Primavera* and *Birth of Venus*, were based in part on the correspondence of the images to certain passages in Poliziano's *Stanze*, the "portrait" images of Simonetta also played a prominent role in the development of the theory. Warburg, in his dissertation of 1893, used the Simonetta images to connect the story of Simonetta and Giuliano to Botticelli's *Primavera* and *Birth of Venus*. Warburg claimed that the sitter of the Frankfurt and Berlin portraits, whom he identified as Simonetta on the basis of the previously cited passage in Vasari, was the same woman as Flora in the *Primavera* and as the nymph on the shore in the *Birth of Venus*. Warburg concluded that both of these last two paintings were allegories composed in Simonetta's memory, in light of the profound mourning of Simonetta in Medici circles.[50]

While Warburg linked Simonetta and Botticelli's women as a result of well-considered research, other writers seem simply to have liked the romantic story and found it a convenient, even titillating, way to explain many of the images of women by Botticelli and his workshop.[51] However, by the 1940s and 1950s, any connection between the cult of Simonetta and any Botticellian images was viewed with suspicion. Gombrich harshly criticized the use of the romantic story of Simonetta and Giuliano to explain Botticelli's mythological paintings, preferring to interpret the images in the light of Neoplatonic philosophy.[52] While some curtailment of the Simonetta myth was in order, the contempt for it expressed by Gombrich and those who followed him may have been too extreme. Now that the overly extended connections between Simonetta

and the various goddesses and heroines in Botticelli's paintings have been cut, scholars are reluctant to associate the cult of Simonetta with any images by Botticelli or his workshop. However, unlike the connections between Simonetta and Botticelli's mythological and religious figures, those between Simonetta and the portraitlike images are definitely not products of the nineteenth century; they extend at least to the sixteenth century.

Much current literature on the portraitlike images disregards this connection completely. In his monograph on Botticelli, Lightbown calls the pictures "portraits of *ninfe*, or fair ladies...portraits of ideal beauties, rather than real ladies."[53] Campbell calls them simply, "idealized images of beautiful women."[54] Both authors disregard any relationship between the images and the cult of Simonetta, at the same time leaving the images without any particular context or interpretation.[55] One wonders where this tradition of painting idealized women came from. Lightbown suggests that the pictures relate to the "taste" for ideal heads found on majolica, but offers no explanation of how or why this "taste" developed.[56] The painting of a generic ideal of female beauty is seen as a natural goal of art. There is an unwillingness to examine in detail how such images operate. The Ettlingers reflect this attitude: wishing to brush aside problems of the identity of the sitter in the Simonetta images, they say that "it is better to leave these charming and finely painted ladies nameless and enjoy the pictures for their own sake."[57] However, if we wish to understand how and why women are idealized in representation, we need to look more closely at the effect these images created and whence they derive.[58] An examination of the poetry written about Simonetta may contribute to our understanding of the expectations viewers brought to Botticelli's portraitlike images of a woman.

Interpreting the Simonetta Images: A Petrarchan Mistress in Verse and Image

In recent years a number of scholars have pointed to the importance of Petrarchan poetry both for conceptions of a female ideal and for the depiction of women in visual art.[59] Specific early sixteenth-century images have been related to the Petrarchan tradition.[60] Given the evidence that Botticelli's "portrait" images may indeed be tied to Simonetta, it seems reasonable to compare the Petrarchan poems written after Simonetta's death to the images that would have been painted after her death.

The idea of a painted image of a beloved lady is, in fact, an important trope of Petrarchan love poetry. In two of his sonnets, Petrarch admires Laura in a portrait by Simone Martini.[61] In these sonnets the image functions as the perfect synecdoche for the Petrarchan mistress: the male lover can adore Laura from afar, but she will never respond. The image excites desire that can never be fulfilled, since the poet, unlike Pygmalion, does not have the power to make the image come alive. The painting of the beloved is an inherent part of the Petrarchan tradition and was used by various other writers.[62]

A number of Florentine noblewomen were acclaimed as latter-day Lauras in the poetry of their admirers. The early death of a young noblewoman often elicited poems from the "Florentines of talent,"[63] who bonded together by honoring the beauty, virtues, and chastity of the deceased. Bernardo Pulci, in his poem about Simonetta, makes her kinship with Laura and Beatrice explicit. After her death, Simonetta, like Laura and Beatrice, joins the realm of Zeus:

Thus she joins the worthy, faithful souls;
Heaven admires her beauty,
As whoever saw her first on earth admired her;

And thus among the planets (heaven and earth) she is so prized,
That everyone who seeks her is made happy—
But Jove has drawn her to his heights.

Behold Laura and Beatrice,
Who make room for her in the eternal cloisters,
Like a new phoenix flown into heaven.[64]

The death of a young noblewoman, especially one who was the object of an unfulfilled love affair, set in place the conventions for a certain type of Petrarchan idealization.

One common trope in Petrarchan poetry is the idea of the young woman as nymph.[65] This idea is conveyed in the Simonetta pictures as well. Often the poets who eulogized Simonetta refer to her generically as a nymph, as does Pulci in the last stanza of his elegy:

Nymph, whom in the earth a cold stone covers,
Beneficent star now received into heaven,
When your light is more discovered,
Return to see my wayward country.[66]

Elsewhere, Pulci more specifically refers to Simonetta as Daphne to Giuliano's Apollo.[67] Poliziano calls Simonetta a nymph in the *Stanze*.[68] In his much longer elegy of another young Florentine noblewoman, Albiera degli Albizzi, who died at the age of sixteen, Poliziano is more explicit about what such a nymph looks like:

> *Foremost among all the nymphs* shines the beautiful Albiera, and her beauty sheds around it the trembling light of its own splendor. *Fanned by the wind, her hair floats over her white shoulders* while her black eyes send forth rays of gentle light.[69]

He says her hair "made thee [Albiera] like unto Diana the huntress when it *flowed loose over thy shoulders*, and *was as the adornment of Cytherea when twisted in a golden crown around thy head.*"[70] Hair, both loose and ornamented as well as in movement, is an important characteristic of the nymph.

The nymph exists not only in literary conventions, but also in the world of visual culture. Warburg pointed to a passage in Leonardo's *Trattato* in which the artist discusses how to portray the draperies of nymphs:

> The true thickness of the limbs should only be disclosed in the case of a nymph or an angel, who are represented as dressed in flimsy garments which the driving winds impress around their limbs....Ensure in your draperies that the part which surrounds the figure reveals the way in which it is posed, and that

> part which remains behind it should be ornamented in a fluttering and outspread manner.[71]

Although only the movement of draperies is discussed in this passage, clearly the hair also blows in the wind, as in a drawing of nymphs by Leonardo in the Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice. Further written evidence for a visual conception of a nymph can be found in one of Fra Girolamo Savonarola's sermons reprimanding the Florentines for their ungodly ways:

> Look at the customs of Florence: how the Florentine women have married their daughters by taking them out to show and adorning them so as to resemble nymphs, and first thing they take them to [the church of] Santa Liperata.[72]

This passage reveals two things of interest. First, that, at least according to Savonarola, actual women were made to look like nymphs. Second, that this way of presenting a woman was considered alluring to men.

These passages by Leonardo and Savonarola reveal a relationship between a literary and a visual way of "figuring" women as nymphs. Botticelli's nymph types in his *Primavera* and *Birth of Venus* have the characteristics of moving drapery pressing against the body and fluttering hair. The similarity between these women and the woman in the Simonetta pictures has been discussed. In the Simonetta images the artist has used the visual tradition to convey the poetic conception. While Warburg suggested that Flora in the *Primavera* and the woman on the shore in the *Birth of Venus* were images of Simonetta *idealized as a nymph*, I suggest that the portrait images depict the woman, possibly Simonetta, in the role of "nymph" as constructed in love poetry.

The idea of movement is important to both the visual and literary conceptions of the nymph. In the poems about Simonetta, the woman/nymph is fleeing from the lover who pursues her. In Poliziano's *Stanze*, Giuliano pursues a deer that he cannot catch. This deer then turns into the "nymph" Simonetta:

> The beautiful creature appears to slow down
> as if she were weary, but just when it seems
> that he will reach or touch her, she regains
> a little ground before his eyes.
>
> The more he pursues in vain the vain image, the
> more he burns in vain to pursue it; he presses
> ever and ever upon her tired tracks, he draws
> ever nearer but never overtakes her
> . . . . . .
> but he still had not gained a step on his
> prey, and his horse was already exhausted; but,
> still following his vain hope, he came upon a
> green and flowery meadow: here, veiled in white,
> a lovely nymph appeared before him, and the
> doe vanished away.[73]

Giuliano cannot catch what he desires; it is always fleeing before him. The myth of Apollo and Daphne aptly captures this sense of futile pursuit. Petrarch used it often in his sonnets. Pulci, addressing Simonetta in heaven, asks her to think of the world she has left behind, where her Apollo [Giuliano] grieves for his Daphne. The sense of yearning here is across vertical space; Simonetta is above, in heaven, and Giuliano is left below, on earth.[74] As was the case after Laura's death, the admirer's love continues unabated, if not enhanced. The more unattainable the nymph, the more desirable she becomes.

A suggestion of futile pursuit is also conveyed in the Simonetta images. The woman moves horizontally out of the picture frame, her hair or cloak waving behind her. She is portrayed almost in profile, looking ahead, indifferent to the viewer who might want to engage with her. As in the poems written about Simonetta, the woman is eternally caught in a position in which she is visible, but fleeing from the viewer.

The Simonetta images situate themselves between a depiction of an actual woman and that of a kind of goddess. In this way they resemble the poems composed in memory of the deceased young noblewoman. The poems celebrate a real woman who died young, who is described as almost too perfect for this world, so many were the godly virtues and so great the physical charms accumulated in her.[75] If already on earth she outshines all the others, after she dies Simonetta joins the gods in heaven. Lorenzo says the star into which she has been transformed "might contend even with Phoebus, and ask him for his chariot to be itself the cause of the light of day."[76] Pulci says she is elected to the great holy banquet and that Jove has drawn her up to his heights. [77] The poems are about a real woman, but after her death she is transformed into a divine being. The images operate similarly. The use of a portrait format suggests that the viewer was meant to see the woman as a real, rather than an ideal, person—someone who would have her portrait painted. Nevertheless, other attributes signify that the woman is not a real sitter, but a nymph or goddesses from another, imaginary world. The artist of these images, like the poets who wrote about Simonetta, makes the Florentine woman transcend her earthly environment.

This transformation is illuminated by the allegorical scene depicted on the back of the London painting (fig. 6). According to Dülberg, the scene conveys the idea that the sitter, a paragon of virtue in life, will earn immortality. For Dülberg, the forest in the background is a metaphor for the earthly life. The figure in the foreground stands at the peak of a rocky mountain that symbolizes virtue and purity. The winged figure, holding in one hand an armillary, a symbol of hope and eternity, and in the other a clump of moss, a symbol of rebirth, is about to fly heavenward. The allegory, as analyzed by Dülberg, relates closely to the ideas conveyed in the poetry about Simonetta. Significantly, the nature of the allegory suggests to Dülberg that the image on the obverse is a portrait (not an ideal), most likely a posthumous one.[78]

Both the portraitlike images from Botticelli's workshop and the poems written about Simonetta bring together "real" and "ideal," or "portrait" and "nymph." At the same time they combine chastity and eroticism. While the poems exalt Simonetta as an exemplar of virtues, they also mention her sexually alluring qualities and construct her as an object of masculine, heterosexual desire. Pulci writes that she has the intelligence of Athena, the eloquence of Mercury, and the chastity of Diana, as well as the beauty [*forma*] of Venus.[79] In his *Commento*, Lorenzo finds her a paragon of virtue—he says she was endowed with more beauty and human *gentilesse* than any other woman—but

6. Botticelli workshop, *Allegorical Figure* (reverse of figure 3), c. 1490. National Gallery, London

admits that her greatest virtue was that she could be loved by so many men and not make them jealous.[80] The poet Timideo speaks directly of her physical charms. Not only does he describe her coral lips, rose-colored cheeks, and white neck, but also her "alabaster breast and the resplendent fruits growing there."[81] The images from Botticelli's workshop, too, are both chaste and alluring. The woman is presented in near profile.[82] She looks away from, even seems to *move* away from, the gaze of the spectator; she is

presented as appropriately demure. However, her exotic hairstyle and pronounced breasts eroticize her body, attracting the gaze of the curious. There is no opposition between these chaste and sexually alluring characteristics. In part it is the woman's chastity, her refusal of the lover, that is sexually exciting. By hinting that the woman, like Daphne or some other nymph, flees to preserve her chastity, the artist makes her endlessly desirable. Similarly, in poems about Simonetta, the young noblewoman becomes even more desirable when she is dead. Both images and poems provoke a perpetual, unfulfilled desire. They are monuments to, and celebrations of, such a desire.[83]

Although an actual woman is referred to in the portraitlike images and eulogizing poems, she remains curiously "absent."[84] The images and poems have little to do with a sitter/subject in particular. Albiera degli Albrizzi and Simonetta, in the poems honoring them, are interchangeable in terms of both their beauty and their virtues. There is a strangely generic quality to the Simonetta images, which is probably what has lead people to think they are idealized heads. Since the woman is depicted in profile, less of a sense of expression is conveyed than in more standard portraits of the period, for example in Botticelli's *Portrait of a Lady (Smeralda Brandini?)*. The sitter does not have accoutrements, such as lush clothing and jewelry, or appropriately bound hair, to give her a particular social standing. While Simonetta may or may not be the object of depiction, the subject of the paintings is desire—the desire that served to unite the "Florentines of talent."

University of Michigan

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1. Dempsey revived the "Simonetta theory" after a long period of neglect, if not contempt, in *The Portrayal of Love: Botticelli's* Primavera *and Humanist Culture at the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (Princeton, 1992). While Dempsey's proposal is possible—even probable, given the dense weave of circumstantial evidence—in the end it is hypothetical. Dempsey's larger conclusions about how the *Primavera* and Laurentian culture in general combine "history" and "myth" parallel closely the conclusions I reached independently about how the Simonetta images blend "portrait" and "ideal."

2. See Ronald Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli: Life and Work* (New York, 1989), 313; Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits* (New Haven, 1990), 6. They seem to be envisioning something like Michelangelo's *teste divine*—beautiful and ornate images assumed to have been made for their own sake.

3. Elizabeth Cropper, "The Beauty of Women: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture," in M. W. Ferguson, M. Quilligan, and N. J. Vickers, eds., *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1986), 178.

4. For ease of reference I refer to the portraitlike paintings as the "Simonetta pictures" or "Simonetta images," although by that I do not mean to imply that they are portraits in a conventional sense.

5. Cropper, "Beauty of Women," 179. On problems in female portraiture see also Pat Simons, "Portraiture, Portrayal, and Idealization: Ambiguous Individualism in Representations of Renaissance Women," in Alison Brown, ed., *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995), 263-312.

6. See Anne Christine Junkerman, "*Bellissima donna*: An Interdisciplinary Study of Venetian Sensuous Half-Length Images of the Early Sixteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1988), for an important discussion of the half-length sensual portraits. Junkerman argues that the eroticism of these

images derives from various types of ambiguity in dress, gaze, action, and subject. My own interpretation of the Simonetta images owes much to her formulation.

7. Reproduced in Ronald Lightbown, *Sandro Botticelli*, 2 vols. (London, 1978), 2: no. C5.

8. Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1978], 2: no. D17.

9. Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1978], 2: no. C70.

10. Another such image is a profile relief attributed to Verrocchio in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (reproduced in John Pope-Hennessy, *Catalogue of Italian Sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, 2 vols. [London, 1964], 2: fig. 164). Although this work has never been directly connected to Simonetta, visually it has much in common with the Piero di Cosimo painting: the woman is depicted in profile with bare breasts and a cloak over one shoulder. In addition, her hair waves back from her head in a manner reminiscent of the Botticelli paintings in Frankfurt and Berlin. More conventional portraits have also sometimes been thought to represent Simonetta—for example, a profile portrait by Botticelli's workshop in the Palazzo Pitti, Florence (reproduced in Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1978], 2: no. F7).

11. Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1989], 313. While the Berlin and London versions are clearly workshop productions, I am less certain about the Frankfurt piece, which could possibly be by Botticelli himself. The drawing of the London picture lacks the finesse and delicacy of Botticelli's line. In addition, the architectural background in both the Berlin and London works is much simplified by comparison with an autograph portrait by Botticelli (compare, for example, fig. 4). The Frankfurt piece, however, does not have the tell-tale signs of a less experienced or talented hand than that of Botticelli. The poor state of preservation of the painting makes attribution difficult. Joachim Ziemke, curator of Italian paintings at the Städelsches Kunstinstitut, believes the work is by Botticelli, whereas Nicholas Penny and Erich Schleier, curators of Italian paintings at the National Gallery and the Gemäldegalerie respectively, make no such claims for the works in their collections.

12. Given the enthusiasm for Botticelli, and especially for his depictions of women, in nineteenth-century England, the possibility that the images are forgeries must be considered. There is no evidence to suggest that they are. The unique qualities of the Frankfurt picture and the allegorical scene on the back of the London painting make them unlikely candidates. The Berlin painting was restored in 1990. The painting in Japan was examined by the Courtauld Institute in 1968 and was not judged to be a fake. This last painting was also engraved and attributed to Cimabue by the Parisian dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun in 1809 (Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1978], 2: 118). It seems unlikely that someone would forge a Botticelli and not recognize it as such. In addition, the print appeared before the popular demand for Botticelli's paintings. Even if one or two of the images are forgeries, the others must still be contended with.

13. Wilhelm von Bode, *Sandro Botticelli*, trans. F. Renfield and F. L. Rudston Brown (New York, 1925), 64.

14. Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1989], 57.

15. Patricia Simons, "Women in Frames: The Gaze, the Eye, the Profile in Renaissance Portraiture," *History Workshop Journal* 25 (Spring 1988), 7-8 (reprinted in N. Broude and M. Garrard, *The Expanding Discourse: Feminism and Art History* [New York, 1992], 39-57). See also Patricia Simons, "A Profile Portrait of a Renaissance Woman in the National Gallery of Victoria," *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 28 (1987), 35-52, for an example of a profile portrait that may be deliberately archaizing.

16. One possible explanation for the use of the profile portrait at this late date is that the sitter was already dead at the time the portraits were painted, as Simonetta most likely was at the time these images were made. See Rab Hatfield, "Five Early Renaissance Portraits," *Art Bulletin* 47 (1965), 325-329.

17. Brides did sometimes wear their hair loose; see Rona Goffen, "Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love* and Marriage" in Broude and Garrard, *Expanding Discourse*, 113. Hair was elaborately arranged for festivals like Giuliano's joust, so it is possible that the hair ornamentation in the Simonetta images makes reference to such ceremonial styling. See Aby Warburg, *La Rinascita del paganesimo antico*, trans. Emma Cantiniori (Florence, 1966), 50-51.

18. Mary Rogers "The Decorum of Women's Beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini and the Representation of Women in Sixteenth-Century Painting," *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988), 63, points out the tensions concerning women's hair in Renaissance tracts about female beauty. Loose hair was considered erotic and appealing, but it was also dangerous because it could "ensnare" a man. Thus, to "keep desire in check," women, especially married women, were to wear their hair bound up. "Golden tresses tumbling loose,

long and free cast a potent erotic spell, being unfamiliar in contemporary women and connected with the alluring goddesses and sirens from the fantasy past of pagan antiquity or romance."

19. Botticelli's Madonnas sometimes wear their hair loose, but it is arranged simply and is usually covered with a veil.

20. P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (London, 1986), 74.

21. In Ghirlandaio's frescoes in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Ludovica Tornabuoni probably wears a necklace given to her by her father; Simons, "Women in Frames," 9.

22. While the gauzy dress of the woman in the Frankfurt and London paintings may seem classicizing, it may have been a form of contemporary dress. See Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1978], 2:117-118; Emile Bertaux, "Botticelli costumier," *Etudes d'histoire et d'art* (Paris, 1911), 115-174.

23. See Simons, "Women in Frames," 7.

24. An influential early identification of Simonetta as Venus in the *Birth of Venus* can be found in a note by the Reverend St. John Tyrwhitt in Ruskin's essay "Ariadne Florentina;" see *Works of John Ruskin* (New York, 1885), 10:225-228. Walter Pater, *The Renaissance, Studies in Art and Poetry: The 1893 Text*, ed. Donald Hill (Berkeley, 1980), 47, also claimed Simonetta was Botticelli's principal model. Both authors speak of an unspecified "tradition" that associates Simonetta with these images. A more literary example of such fantasies is Maurice Hewlett, *Quattocentisteria: How Sandro Botticelli Saw Simonetta in the Spring* (Portland, Maine, 1898). For a list of scholars on Botticelli who followed this trend see E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images* (Oxford, 1978), 203, n. 17. Not all early twentieth-century Botticelli scholars concurred with the Simonetta theory. Herbert Horne, *Botticelli, Painter of Florence* (1908; reprint, Princeton, 1980), 52-54, spoke out adamantly against it, calling it a "pretty fiction" and "a fantastic medley of misconceptions." For a more recent fantasy see Paul Theroux, "Mortal Goddess: Unraveling the Mysteries of Simonetta Vespucci, the Woman Who Was the Renaissance Ideal," *Art and Antiques* (March 1988), 85-122.

25. Achille Neri, "La Simonetta," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 5 (1885), 132-135.

26. She is mentioned by name in bk. 1, v. 52, and bk. 2, v. 10. See *The* Stanze *of Angelo Poliziano*, trans. David Quint (Amherst, Mass., 1979), 27, 73. Inexplicably, Dempsey, *Portrayal of Love*, 131, writes that "Simonetta is never directly named in Politian's *Stanze*."

27. See Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1989], 61-64; Gaetano Poggi, "La giostra medicea del 1475 e la 'pallade' del Botticelli," *L'Arte* 5 (1902), 71-77. See also Isidoro del Lungo, *Florentia: uomini e cose del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1887), 391-412.

28. Germán Arciniegas, *Amerigo and the New World*, trans. Harriet de Onis (New York, 1955), 56. The accuracy of Arciniegas's translation from Italian into Spanish is questionable. The original letter (Archivio di Stato, Florence, Archivio Mediceo avanti al Principato, 88, 247) has suffered damage, possibly in the flood of 1966. Unfortunately, Arciniegas did not supply the original Italian. I would like to thank Pat Simons, F. W. Kent, Gino Corti (who is responsible for the transcription quoted here), Armando Petrucci, and Franca Nardelli for their help in trying to decipher the passage: "Quando la bene[de]tta anima di Giuliano vostro usava in chasa più volte mi disse alla presenza da Nicholò Martelli era il peggio chontento giovane nonche di Firenze, ma d'Italia. Ed io n'ebi tanta chompasione e dolore ch'io desideravo darlli tutti quelli piaceri, e spassi e chontenti che per Marcho e per me sipote fare, chome meritava la sua bonta, onestà e gientileza o lui chonpia...[?] ogni vestimento della Simonetta privatomi [?] della sua immagine avere fatto Marcho ed io un gran chapittale di lui, servitocci e di danari e di quello pottiò [?] chome sarebe stato posibile..." The end of the passage is difficult for two reasons. First, the grammar of the sentence is unclear; second, there is damage to the document precisely where it is most interesting. The words just before "ogni vestimento della Simonetta" ("all of Simonetta's clothing") and before "della sua immagine" ("of her image") cannot be made out for certain.

29. In the *Commento*, Lorenzo constructs Simonetta as the first love of his life; see Dempsey, *Portrayal of Love*, 125-126.

30. Translation from Angelo Lipari, *The Dolce Stil Novo According to Lorenzo de' Medici* (New Haven, 1936), 150. "Non può avere maggior refrigerio che tenere la mente e il pensiero vòlto alle ultime impressione e più care cose del suo sole" (Lorenzo de' Medici, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Gigi Cavalli, 3 vols. [Milan, 1958], 2:120).

31. See Herbert Friedmann, "Two Paintings by Botticelli in the Kress Collection" in *Studies in the History of Art Dedicated to William E. Suida on His Eightieth Birthday* (London, 1959), 116-123. Although it is tempting

to see the Simonetta images as possible pendants to several surviving portraits of Giuliano by Botticelli, I have not been able to find any convincing pairings.

32. The complicated politics behind Simonetta and Giuliano's relationship are beyond the scope of this investigation. Piero served as a spy for Lorenzo through Simonetta's brother-in-law, the lord of Piombino, who was a relative of the king of Naples. (Piero discusses this in his letter to Lucrezia Tornabuoni.) Simonetta's mother also used her daughter's connection to the Medici; after Simonetta's death, she wrote to Lorenzo asking him to look after Simonetta's niece and nephew (Neri, "Simonetta," 139). Lorenzo arranged for the niece, Semiramide d'Appiano, the daughter of the lord of Piombino, to marry his own cousin, Lorenzo di Pierfranceso de' Medici. The wedding took place on 19 July 1482 (Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1989], 122). According to archival documents cited by M. Levi d'Ancona, *Botticelli's Primavera* (Florence, 1983), 27, n. 10, Lorenzo himself paid the very large dowry of 2,000 florins. (It has been argued that Botticelli's *Primavera* was painted on the occasion of this marriage.) Evidently Lorenzo was keen on an alliance with Simonetta's relatives and very likely used the connection between Giuliano and Simonetta for political purposes.

33. Neri, "Simonetta," 136.

34. Translation from Sara Sturm, *Lorenzo de' Medici* (New York, 1974), 69. Lorenzo, *Opere*, 2:118. Information about the funeral is taken from Lorenzo's account.

35. The Pulci poems and part of the poem by Timideo are published in Neri, "Simonetta," 139-147. The first edition of the Pulci poems is *Bucoliche elegantissime composte da Bernardo Pulci fiorentino et da Francesco de Azzochi senese et da Hieronimo Benivieni fiorentino et da Iacopo Fiorino de Boninsegni senese* (Florence, 1494). The entire poem by Timideo can be found in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence (hereafter BNF), cod. Magliabecchiana, II, 2, 75, fols. 192v.-202r.

36. *Prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite di Angelo Ambrogini Poliziano*, ed. Isidoro del Lungo (Florence, 1867), 149-150.

37. See Naldus Naldius, *Epigrammaton Liber*, ed. A. Perosa (Budapest, 1943), 12-13. BNF, cod. Magliabecchiana VII, 9, 1057, fol. 13.

38. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome, cod. Corsiniano 582, fols. 80v.-81r.

39. Horne, *Botticelli*, 53, for example, says that Michele Marullo and Luigi Pulci each wrote an epigram to Giuliano on this occasion. A. Rochon, *La Jeunesse de Laurent de Medicis (1449-1478)* (Paris, 1963), 246, n. 82, says there is a relevant poem by Girolamo Benivieni. It is also possible that Giuliano himself wrote poems about Simonetta. He did write poetry and Poliziano writes that Giuliano gave him the concept for one of the epigrams about Simonetta (*Prose Volgari*, 150).

40. Neri, "Simonetta," 146:

> Essendo unica stata a' tempi nostri,
> Così vuol che costei chi lassù regna,
> Fra tutte l'altre più chiara si mostri.

I would like to thank Thomas Mussio for his help with all the verse translations not otherwise acknowledged.

41. *Petrarch's Lyric Poems, the* Rime sparse *and Other Lyrics*, trans. Robert M. Durling (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 456-457.

42. Unfortunately, it is not known exactly when the poems about Simonetta were composed. Timideo's poem is listed in the Medici library inventory of 1495 (see "Inventario della libreria medicea privata compilato nel 1495," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, ser. 3, vol. 20 [1874], 76).

43. "Nella guardroba del signor duca Cosimo sono di sua mano due teste di femmina in profilo, bellissime; una delle quali si dice che fu l'inamorata di Giuliano de' Medici fratello di Lorenzo" (Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori negli redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, ed. Rosanna Beltarini and Paola Barocchi [Florence, 1966], 3:519). Translation from Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists*, trans. George Bull (Harmondsworth, 1966), 230. Since this passage was added to the second edition of Vasari's *Vite*, in 1568, it seems likely that Vasari actually saw the image while working for the duke. However, Vasari's portrait identifications are not always reliable; see note 49.

44. The painting was bought from the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in 1875 (H. Ulmann, *Botticelli* [Munich, 1893], 54-55).

45. The painting by Piero di Cosimo has been taken to be the image by Botticelli mentioned by Vasari. See, for example, J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *A History of Painting in Italy*, vol. 4 (London, 1911), 266.

46. Vasari, *Vite*, 6:71.

47. Elisabeth de Boissard and Valerie Lavergne-Durey, *Chantilly, Musée Condé. Peintures de l'école italienne* (Paris, 1988), 120. This is despite the fact that the findings of the Laboratoire de Recherche des Musées de France in 1970 are unequivocal: "le réseau de craquelures, continu et homogène sur toute la surface de la peinture *montre nettement que le bandeau et l'insciption elle-même font partie de la pâte originale.*" Italics mine, quoted from the report in the curatorial files at the museum. It is also possible that when Vasari saw the painting the inscription was covered up, or that Vasari simply did not remember it. In terms of the composition, it seems unlikely that the inscription could have been added later, since something would have to have been in its place. Ultraviolet and infrared images reveal nothing beneath this area and without an inscription the band would make no sense visually; it is not an illusionistic "ledge." De Boissard and Lavergne-Durey assume that the inscription must have been added later, possibly when the painting passed into the Vespucci family. The painting was purchased from the Vespucci in 1841, but when it entered their collection is not known. It is surely quite possible that the Vespucci bought the painting because it had their name on it. In support of the theory that the image depicts Cleopatra see Anne Derbes, "Piero di Cosimo, Simonetta Vespucci and Cleopatra," in J. R. Brink and P. R. Baldini, *Italian Renaissance Studies in Arizona* (River Forest, Ill., 1989), 113-129; Sharon Fermor, *Piero di Cosimo: Fiction, Invention and* Fantasia (London, 1993), 93-101.

48. The physiognomy of the woman in Piero di Cosimo's image also resembles that of the woman in the Botticelli workshop paintings. Like the Botticelli woman she has an ornate, elaborate hairstyle, and the cloak around her shoulder resembles that of the woman in the London picture. It seems possible that Piero di Cosimo based his work on one of the paintings by Botticelli or on another version of the Botticelli "portraits." If the painting is accepted as an early work by Piero di Cosimo, it would be contemporary with the paintings by Botticelli's workshop.

49. Horne, *Botticelli*, 53, claims the *innamorata* must be a woman of the Gorini family, the mother of Giuliano's illegitimate son Giulio, later Clement VII. However, if Vasari meant to allude to her, one would think he would call her the mother of Clement VII. It is, of course, also possible that Vasari was wrong about who is represented; after all, in the same passage in which he refers to the portrait of Giuliano's *innamorata*, he calls Lucrezia Tornabuoni Lorenzo's wife when actually she was his mother.

50. Warburg, *Rinascita del paganesimo*, 47-54.

51. For example, Tyrwhitt contemplated the idea of Simonetta posing in the nude for Botticelli. He imagined that "she seems not quite to have 'liked it' or been an accustomed model," leaving the reader wondering what else she might not have "quite liked" (*Works of John Ruskin*, 10: 227).

52. Gombrich, *Images*, 37-38. Dempsey, *Portrayal of Love*, 120, writes that "ever since Gombrich wrote these words, scholars have nearly unanimously been at pains to dissociate the *Primavera* from the poetic myth of Simonetta—a myth that was in fact the creation of Lorenzo and Politian, but that was now ridiculed and branded as 'Swinburnian,' the stuff merely of romantic legend."

53. Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1989], 313.

54. Lorne Campbell, *Renaissance Portraits* (New Haven, 1990), 6.

55. Stefan Buske, "Weibliches Brustbildnis (Idealbildnis Simonetta Vespucci?)," *Kleine Werkmonographie* [Städelsches Kunstinstitut] 57 (Frankfurt, 1988), n.p., is less able to disregard the connection to Simonetta: his "Bella" of the images embodies ideal female beauty, which at the Medici court was *equated with* Simonetta Vespucci.

56. Lightbown, *Botticelli* [1989], 313. Dempsey, *Portrayal of Love*, 132, notes that those who term the images "ideal" have given "insufficient attention to how remarkable an imaginary 'portrait' would be at such a date."

57. L. D. and Helen Ettlinger, *Botticelli* (New York, 1977), 168.

58. Cropper, "Beauty of Women," 179, writing about "portraits of unknown beautiful women," identifies the tendency in art history to accept this category without question. She states: "Critical interpretation of many of these images of women becomes possible only when it is recognized that they belong to a special class of paintings existing in relation to a particular set of expectations on the part of the beholder and painter."

59. Nancy Vickers, "Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme," *Critical Inquiry* 8 (Winter 1981), 265, writes that Petrarch's "role in the history of the interpretation and the internalization of woman's 'image' by both men and women can scarcely be overemphasized," and that Petrarch's *Rime Sparse* "informed the Renaissance norm of a beautiful woman." Cropper, "Beauty of Women," 181, suggests that the conventions of lyric poetry and courtly love "provided the motive for nonnarrative images of women."

60. Giovanni Pozzi, "Il ritratto della donna nella poesia d'inizio Cinquecento e la pittura di Giorgione," in R. Pallucchini, ed., *Giorgione e l'umanesimo veneziano* (Florence, 1981), connects Bartolomeo Veneto's *Flora (?)* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt), Titian's *Allegory of Vanity* (Alte Pinakothek, Munich), and Giorgione's *Laura* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) to Petrarch's lyric tradition. Cropper, "Beauty of Women," 183, n. 15, mentions that Neroccio de Landi's *Portrait of a Young Woman* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and Ghirlandaio's *Giovanna degli Albizzi* (Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid) should be interpreted in light of Petrarch's sonnets about a painting of Laura. Elsewhere she discusses Parmigianino's relation to *Petrarchismo* (Elizabeth Cropper, "On Beautiful Women, Parmigianino, *Petrarchismo*, and the Vernacular Style," *Art Bulletin* 58 [1976], 374-394). See also Anne Christine Junkerman, "The Lady and the Laurel: Gender and Meaning in Giorgione's *Laura*," *Oxford Art Journal* 16, no. 1 (1993), 49-58; Elise Goodman, "Petrarchism in Titian's *The Lady and the Musician*," *Storia dell'arte* 49 (1983), 179-186. Jennifer Fletcher, "Bernardo Bembo and Leonardo's Portrait of Ginevra de' Benci," *Burlington Magazine* 131 (December 1989), 811-816, points out that Leonardo's portrait of Ginevra was probably painted for her Petrarchan lover rather than for her husband. Cropper, "Beauty of Women," 183-189, also identified the image as a Petrarchan mistress, although for different reasons.

61. *Petrarch's Lyric Poems*, 176-179.

62. For a discussion of such poems and images see Mary Rogers, "Sonnets on Female Portraits from Renaissance North Italy," *Word and Image* 2 (October 1986), 291-305. In a portrait by Pontormo, Alessandro de' Medici is shown depicting his beloved in profile. Leo Steinberg, "Pontormo's *Alessandro de' Medici*, or I Only Have Eyes for You," *Art in America* 63 (January-February 1975), 62-65.

63. Lorenzo, *Opere*, 2:118, referred to those who wrote about Simonetta as "fiorentini ingegni."

64. Neri, "Simonetta," 145-146:

> Così giunta fra degne alme più fide,
> Marivigliasi il ciel di sua bellezza,
> Come fe' prima in terra chi la vide;
>
> Et cosi tra' pianeti sì s'aprezza,
> Che ognun cerca di lei farsi felice
> Ma Giove l'ha tirata alla sua altezza.
>
> Ecco Laura bella et Beatrice,
> Che gli fan loco negli eterni chiostri,
> Come volata in ciel nuova fenice.

65. Laura is closely identified with the nymph Daphne, who is pursued by Apollo. The term "nymph" itself had various meanings in the classical tradition. According to Walter Burkert, *Greek Religion*, trans. John Raffan (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 173, the term nymph was ambiguous, since it could refer to divine beings inhabiting tree or brooks, brides, or any young woman.

66. Neri, "Simonetta," 146:

> Nympha, che in terra un freddo saxo copre,
> Benigna stella hor su nel ciel gradita,
> Quando la luce tua vie più si scopre,
> Torna a veder la mia patria smarrita.

67. Neri, "Simonetta," 142.

68. Stanze *of Angelo Poliziano*, 20-21.

69. Italics mine. The poem was written in Latin; see *Renaissance Latin Verse*, ed. A. Perosa and J. Sparrow, (Chapel Hill, 1979), 126-132. The English translation given here appears in Isidoro del Lungo, *Women of Florence*, trans. Mary Steegman (London, 1907), 165.

70. Italics mine. Del Lungo, *Women of Florence*, 166.

71. Warburg, *Rinascita del paganesimo*, 55. Translation from *Leonardo on Painting*, ed. Martin Kemp (New Haven, 1989), 156. It is interesting that Leonardo puts angels and nymphs in the same category. They are figures whose naked bodies can be revealed through drapery. Both can be sexualized to a degree, but are sexually ambiguous. They are made "pretty" and sexually titillating, but are beyond reach.

72. Translation mine. Girolamo Savonarola, *Prediche sopra Amos e Zaccaria*, ed. Paolo Ghiglieri (Rome, 1971-1972), 2:25: "Guarda che usanze ha Firenze: come le donne fiorentine hanno maritate le loro fanciulle, le menono a mostra e acconcianle là che paiano ninfe, e la prima cosa le menono a Santa Liperata."

73. Translation and original from Stanze *of Angelo Poliziano*, 18-21:

> La bella fera, come stanca fosse,
> piú lenta tuttavia par che sen vada;
> ma quando par che già la stringa o tocchi,
> picciol campo riprende avanti alli occhi.
>
> Quanto piú segue invan la vana effigie
> tanto piú di seguirla invan s'accende;
> tuttavia preme sue stanche vestigie,
> sempre la giunge, e pur mai non la prende:
> . . . . . .
> né pur d'un passo ancor la preda avanza,
> e già tutto el destrier sente affannato;
> ma pur seguendo sua vana speranza,
> pervenne in un fiorito e verde prato:
> ivi sotto un vel candido li apparve
> lieta una ninfa, e via la fera sparve.

74. Neri, "Simonetta," 142. The poem is dedicated to Giuliano, so he is the implied "Apollo." The primary movement conveyed in the poems composed after Simonetta's death is upward, as Simonetta ascends to heaven in a kind of apotheosis, leaving her lover(s) behind. This movement is suggested in the second part of Poliziano's *Stanze*, which is believed to have been finished after Simonetta's death. Giuliano has a dream in which:

> he saw his sweet treasure taken away from him,
> he saw his nymph enveloped in a sad cloud,
> cruelly taken from before his eyes.

Stanze *of Angelo Poliziano*, 84-85.

75. Timideo writes that:

> all virtues were in Simonetta;
> . . . . . .
> What is perfect man cannot talk about,
> She alone was perfect in potential
> In whom the first and last god has a home
>
> Fur tutte in Simonetta le virtute;
> . . . . . .
> Quel che perfecto non si può dir, huomo,
> Lei fu sola perfecta per potentia
> De chi lo primo et ultimo deo ha domo.

Neri, "Simonetta," 139.

76. Translation from Lipari, *Dolce Stil Novo*, 136. Lorenzo, *Opere*, 2: 118.

77. Neri, "Simonetta," 144, 146. Pulci even goes so far as to say that she is the only one of her times to be so honored:

> Since she is the only person [*stata*] from our times [there],
> He who rules above [Jove] wishes that she
> Be shown especially clearly among the others.

Neri, "Simonetta," 146. Simonetta has a very public persona in Pulci's poem. She is less the lost love of a particular man than a symbol of Florentine pride.

78. Angelica Dülberg, *Privatsporträts: Geschichte und Ikonologie einer Gattung im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1990), 134-136. Dülberg does not mention any connection between the image and Simonetta. She does not make any claims for the image being a traditional portrait, but argues that it is not purely ideal; see especially her n. 849.

79. Neri, "Simonetta," 141.

80. *Autobiography of Lorenzo de' Medici*, 58-59.

81. Neri, "Simonetta," 140. See Vickers, "Diana Described," for a discussion of the itemization of Laura's beauty in Petrarch's poems. Albiera is also constructed as sexually alluring; Poliziano, in his elegy of her, writes that "young and old, all admire Albiera; of iron must he be formed whose manhood is unmoved at sight of her virginal beauty" (translation from Del Lungo, *Women of Florence*, 165).

82. Simons, "Women in Frames," 7, has suggested that the profile format was conducive to the portrayal of the feminine virtues of chastity and decorousness.

83. This combination of chastity (or piety) and eroticism is noted by Dempsey, *Portrayal of Love*, 98, in his analysis of Lucrezia's appeal for Lorenzo. In a letter to Lorenzo, Sigismondo della Stufa (Albiera's fiancé) describes Lucrezia exiting from the church after confession: "I met her on the paving stones of the Servi and she seemed to have confessed and been completely penitent of her sins, with no fire at all, such that you never saw a thing so beautiful, with her black clothing and head veiled, with such soft steps that it seemed the stones and the walls bowed in reverence as she went along her way. I do not want to go on saying more, lest you fall into sin in these holy days."

84. Cropper, "Beauty of Women,"181, writes that "the painting of a beautiful woman, like the lyric poem, may become its own object, the subject being necessarily absent."

A Split among the Moderns: Avant-Garde Paradigms at the Time of the Forum Exhibition of 1916

Dennis Raverty

On 12 March 1916, the *New York Sun* printed a sizable article in anticipation of the Forum Exhibition of Modern American Painters, which was to open on the following day. The anxiousness with which the exhibition was awaited is obvious from the first sentence: "Wherever two or three were gathered together the topic was sure to be the 'Forum' exhibition of modern art that opens tomorrow in the Anderson Galleries. Expectations are keen...."[1] The issue was not that the artists in the upcoming exhibition were unknown. Each had shown work in one of the several New York galleries devoted partly or exclusively to modern art—galleries that had sprung up in the wake of the Armory Show of 1913. The eagerness was, rather, to see which particular paintings by these artists would be chosen by the distinguished experts on the new art. The selection panel included Alfred Stieglitz and Robert Henri and was led by the controversial critic for *Forum* magazine, Willard Huntington Wright.

The author of the *New York Sun* article pointed out that the exhibition had already stirred up controversy, not only with the conservative critics (which by this time had come to be expected), but within the avant-garde community itself:

> One thing that will surely impress the public more than any other is the struggle that the various committees and individuals are making to swing the movement into different channels. If it is to be struggled for, there must be value in it, so will think the public.[2]

The *New York Sun* article also printed a letter from Robert J. Coady, challenging the criteria used by the Forum panel in the selection of art work and questioning the stated aims of the exhibition itself. This time the familiar denunciation was not from a conservative. Coady was the owner of the Washington Square Gallery, which had mounted exhibitions of Picasso and Rousseau as well as of African art. The challenges Coady leveled at the Forum exhibition committee centered on issues of quality, nationality, and the place of avant-garde art within the larger scope of American culture. A few quotes will give the flavor of the letter:

> Why are these 200 paintings "the very best examples of modern American art?"...What elements, quality or qualities do they possess which make them American?...I challenge each of you and all of you to back up your "critical selection" with proof.[3]

This was followed by a point-by-point response from Wright, in which he defended the choices and the underlying assumptions of the committee. A week later, the *New York Sun* printed Coady's response to Wright.[4]

These contrary bids for the soul of modern art in America will be reconstructed in detail here from articles written by Wright in *Forum* magazine and by Coady in the

short-lived magazine entitled *Soil*, published during 1916 and 1917. It will be shown that fundamentally different assumptions about the function of art in American society guided the aesthetic positions of these two writers. Moreover, Wright and Coady present alternate and mutually exclusive strategies for promoting the new art. Wright's system is exclusive and based on "laws" of historical development; Coady's approach is inclusive and experiential. More than an isolated aesthetic controversy of the time, the debate is paradigmatic of the struggles that would continue to occupy critics throughout the following half century.

* * *

When Wright was hired as its more-or-less regular critic in 1915, *Forum* magazine had already established itself as well disposed toward the new art. The Armory Show of 1913 was reviewed favorably in *Forum* by W.D. MacColl.[5] MacColl was in general approving of the European modernists and lauded their individuality, especially when compared with what he saw as the provinciality and derivativeness of the American work in the exhibition.

Individuality of expression was likewise postulated to be the operating principle of modern art by the critic Frederick James Gregg in an article appearing in *Forum* several months later. According to Gregg, freedom of imagination, guided by strong individuality and personal vision, was the only worthwhile criterion by which to judge the new art. With the exception of the Cubists, the moderns had evolved no "general convention." Raw, creative individualism was the only standard by which to determine quality in avant-garde art.[6]

Wright felt that this kind of generous, liberal critical stance was ultimately not helpful to the cause of the new art and might actually prove harmful to its furtherance. He called this state of affairs "artistic anarchy" and maintained that it stood in the way of more intelligent appreciation. It also played into the hands of the conservatives, who had been decrying modern art as "anarchy" for the past several years.[7] Wright warned that every advance in art was latched onto by "charlatans" and that the lack of critical standards by which to judge modernism made it particular prey to exploitation for purely commercial ends.[8] To help remedy this situation, to clarify the issues, and to establish criteria for evaluating the new art, Wright in 1915 penned *Modern Painting*.[9]

The desire to establish criteria of quality for the new art, free from commercial considerations, led Wright to organize the Forum exhibition. The press release from the Anderson Galleries, venue of the show, stated the objectives succinctly:

> To put before the American public in a large and complete manner the very best examples of the more modern American art...to present for the first time a comprehensive, critical selection of the serious painting now being shown in isolated groups. The enterprise is not a commercial one. Its object is to help out modern art and to make it possible for the truly deserving American painters to have a fair and free showing.[10]

That the selection was made by a group of experts who received no financial remuneration presumably put the exhibition above the commercial concerns that drove the art market. It also added to the exhibition's credibility in the face of the charges of

charlatanism and entrepreneurship that the conservative critics continued to level at every modernist enterprise.

Despite the diverse makeup of the selection committee, the artists who were chosen to participate in the Forum exhibition were more reflective of Wright's tastes than of those of any other committee member, with the possible exception of Stieglitz. The Forum exhibition conformed to the overall aesthetic sensibilities of Wright as revealed in *Modern Painting* and the pages of *Forum* magazine. It should also be noted that it was Wright's intention to limit the exhibition to American art. This emphasis was a response in some ways to the Armory Show, at which the dazzling and highly controversial work of the Europeans overshadowed that of the Americans. European modernist work continued to be more popular with collectors and fetched higher prices in the New York galleries than comparable American work in the years following the Armory Show, when the market first expanded.[11]

Wright was a formalist both in the sense of positing laws governing historical development and in the more familiar sense of giving priority to those aspects of art that emphasize form above other concerns. In this latter respect he owed a great deal to the new British formalists, Clive Bell and Roger Fry, who had also put forth formalistic theories between 1908 and 1913.[12] In "The Truth about Painting," which appeared in *Forum* magazine more than a year before the Forum exhibition, Wright described the controlling basis of all art as "organization:"

> Serious modern art, despite its often formidable and bizarre appearance, is only a striving to rehabilitate the natural and unalterable principles of rhythmic form to be found in the old masters, and to translate them into relative and more comprehensive terms.[13]

For Wright, abstract principles underlay all great art, and in the correct combination and organization forms were capable of arousing in the spectator emotions that were quite separate from any the subject matter itself might induce. Artists who painted primarily to depict emotions through narrative or subject matter were considered by Wright to be illustrators rather than artists.[14] Wright considered that as the moderns developed new methods and techniques, the illustrative side of painting was more and more relegated to secondary consideration and the most advanced art tended toward what he called "minimization." He described the "elimination of all superfluities from art" as part of its evolutionary development, or what he called, rather gracelessly, "the striving towards defecation."[15] Art, as it progressed through time historically, tended toward the exclusion and elimination of all nonessentials—that is, in Wright's words, "nearer and nearer [to] abstract purity."[16] This theme of purity in art was to be reiterated in various ways by formalist thinkers right down to the very influential late-modernist critic Clement Greenberg, in whose writing it remained a major theme.

To support his essentially teleological argument, Wright introduced his own interpretation of nineteenth-century painting. He traced modernism back to Delacroix. Its history, in his own words, "is broadly the history of the development of form by the means of color."[17] According to Wright's scheme, modern art could be divided into two cycles. Delacroix, through his experiments with color and form, began the first cycle in rebellion against "that sterile and vitiating period of Raphaelic influence which had for leaders such men as Ingres and David."[18] Delacroix's explorations culminated in the

Impressionism of Renoir. Cézanne, through his reestablishment of form and structure in painting, linked the nineteenth century to the Renaissance. He also initiated the second and more advanced cycle, which reached its climax in the pure color abstractions of the Synchromists, Morgan Russell and Stanton MacDonald-Wright.[19] MacDonald-Wright was, incidentally, Willard Huntington Wright's brother.

By conjuring up a deterministic historical model, Wright was able to establish definitive criteria by which to evaluate contemporary art. Here were the critical standards he found so lacking in the well-meaning but "soft" criticism of his predecessors at *Forum*. He was also able to compete on an equal basis with the deterministic formalism of the academic classicists. Unlike the open-ended, indeterminate historicism that underlay the sympathetic criticism of the Armory Show, Wright's model judged both the art of the past and of the present by its position in relation to a predetermined, evolutionary trend toward purity of form. This purity was based on the isolation of the aesthetic object for formal contemplation—a theoretical model based on exclusion. In Wright's model, purity was unique to each particular medium: "The medium of painting is color. The medium of music is sound....Aesthetic form is produced by the arrangement and coordination of the differentiations of these media."[20] Each medium, then, seemed destined to seek out and define its unique essence in an irreversible push toward purity. Any conflation of the media—for example, literary painting or programmatic music—contaminated the purity of the art and impeded progress toward its inevitable end.[21] Since, after the elimination of all superfluities, the irreducible essence of painting was color, Synchromism was, for Wright, the most advanced painting of the time.

This aesthetic of purism with its attendant deterministic reading of history—the privileging of abstract form and the corresponding disparagement of subject matter—was a leitmotif throughout the Forum exhibition catalogue. Of course, it was to be expected in the introduction and forward by Wright, but to a surprising degree it was also present in the artists' statements, even in those by artists one would not expect to share Wright's deterministic and reductivist views.[22] The evidence suggests that Wright engineered the content of the Forum exhibition to conform to his purist aesthetic and model of historical determinism: he selected the committee to do the choosing; he arranged for the exhibition to be sponsored by *Forum* magazine, for which he was the regular art critic; he wrote extensively for the catalogue; he chose specific works to be reproduced in the catalogue; and he took great liberties in rewriting the artists' statements. In addition, despite the conflict of interest, he wrote a lengthy review of the exhibition in *Forum* magazine, in which he reiterated his views and summed up each of the artists in terms of his own aesthetics.

* * *

The challenges Coady leveled at the Forum committee, published in the *New York Sun* on 12 March 1916, on one level addressed the question of nationality and the relationship between high art and the culture in general, and on another, tactical level reflected Coady's modernist yet antiformalist strategy. This was now presented in a radically avant-garde form inspired by aspects of Dadaism.

Wright's reply to Coady failed to answer Coady's questions about nationality and culture sufficiently. Even the *New York Sun* referred to Wright's response as "soft."[23]

Wright asserted that there was no basic difference between American and European art. The formal problems with which they were grappling and the tendency toward purism were essentially the same, despite the cultural differences between America and Europe and the experience of war that had ravaged the European continent.

On 19 March 1916, the *New York Sun* published Coady's pointed response to Wright's reply:

> My question in reference to American art seems to have gone completely over [their] heads....They are blind to the great things that are going on around them. They are blind to the big spirit here that has grown out of the soil...and has already expressed itself in terms of art that rank[s] with the great European epochs.[24]

True to this image, Coady published in 1916 the first issue of *Soil: A Magazine of Art* to propagate his opposing, experiential interpretation of American art. In some ways, *Soil* continued Coady's polemic against the Forum exhibition and everything it stood for. In the first issue, a two-page spread juxtaposed the painting by Stanton MacDonald-Wright reproduced in the Forum catalogue, together with part of his statement for the show, with a window display of hats by a New York window dresser, likewise accompanied by a statement. At first glance this may seem to be a simple put-down of the abstract painter, as if to say that his painting is as vulgar and crass as a window display and equally artless. On closer inspection, however, the arrangement of hats actually seems to have considerable visual interest, the rhyming, rounded forms of the hats in many ways resembling the rounded forms in MacDonald-Wright's Synchromist painting. When one reads the accompanying texts, the pompous, inscrutable wording of the Forum statement compares unfavorably with the clear, down-to-earth words of the window dresser. Although parody and irony are notoriously difficult to interpret, especially when some of the contemporaneous references are unfamiliar or forgotten, Coady seems here to have been making a case for window dressing to be taken seriously as art.

This latter interpretation is lent greater weight by several of the articles in the same issue of *Soil*. Charlie Chaplin told of his craft in an article entitled, "Making Fun;"[25] a tailor submitted a piece on dress making;[26] and Burt Williams, a black minstrel singer and comic, was sensitively interviewed and told, among other things, of the difficulties of being a black entertainer in a white society.[27] In an article entitled "The Stampede," Coady "reviewed" a rodeo at Sheepshead Bay Speedway as if it were an art exhibition:

> The great field was filled with movement,—frenzied horses, maddened bulls, steers leaping and a general outburst of natural forces more or less controlled by human skill,—media, some of these, which certainly contain art possibilities.[28]

It is clear that the artistic possibilities mentioned are not in the realm of subject matter for painting or sculpture, but rather, that the cowboys themselves are the artists and the entire event of the rodeo is the art. The article contained photographs from the event. One of these recorded a bronco buster and was accompanied by the biting caption, "Jess

1. Photograph from *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), between pages 24 and 25

Stahl, he needs no 'ism' to guide him" (fig. 1). In the last paragraph, Coady satirized the isolationism and exclusivity of the critics:

> Infinity was boxed up within the Five Walls of Somewhere, struggling with the Cosmos, and could not get out to see, absorb and interpret. It could not get out and for that reason it could not get out.[29]

This last remark was a none-too-veiled reference to formalist exclusivity.

Coady also offered a scathing parody of the Forum exhibition entries by painting a hilarious pastiche of European modern styles entitled "Cosmopsychographical

2. R. J. Coady, illustration from *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), between pages 30 and 31

Organization." It was accompanied by an inscrutable text that contained references to Stieglitz's gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue and to Marcel Duchamp, in addition to quoting directly from Wright's reply to Coady in the *New York Sun* (fig. 2).

Coady's anti-elitist and decidedly "impure" approach to American art is best summarized in a series of articles appearing in *Soil* entitled, collectively, "American Art." In these prose poems, Coady made a case for a broad and inclusive definition of American art:

> There is an American Art. Young, robust, energetic, naive, immature, daring and big spirited. Active in every conceivable field: The Panama canal, the Sky-

> scraper...the Tugboat and the Steam-Shovel...grain elevators, Trench Excavators, Blast Furnaces—This is American Art. It is not a refined granulation nor a delicate disease. It is not an illustration to a theory, it is the expression of life—a complicated life—American life. The isms have crowded it out of "the art world" and it has grown naturally, healthfully, beautifully. It has grown out of the soil.[30]

Coady defined modernism more as a sensibility, an aesthetic approach to a variety of situations. His assessment was localized to the particular experience of living in the United States at that time, not generalized to predetermined, universal, historical principles. The media of sound, sight, the word, and other categories, which Wright believed destined to be separated and reduced to their essential quality, blended for Coady into an all-encompassing aesthetic experience, an exuberant cacophony.

In many ways Coady's approach more closely paralleled the contemporaneous "readymades" Duchamp was creating in New York than the formalist criticism of Wright. Duchamp chose objects from his environment and by the act of choosing them made them art. This creative act of choice was based, as the artist called it, on aesthetic indifference. It was the artist's prerogative to isolate objects as art and remove them from their environment. Duchamp robbed them of their utilitarian function by combining them, as in *Bicycle Wheel,* or by displacing them in such a way as to render them useless, as, for example, in the snow shovel hung from the ceiling or the coat rack nailed to the floor. Coady, in a similar but in some ways opposite creative act, designated utilitarian objects and events as art precisely by *not* isolating them, but by expanding the circle of art to include them. What's more, the railroad cars and steam rollers that Coady designated art, far from being rendered useless, vehemently retained their utilitarian function. They remained in context. In Coady's case the creative act was not indifferent, but passionately involved. Duchamp stated, with some degree of irony, that America's bridges and plumbing were its greatest art.[31] Coady took him at his word.

In a similar spirit of inclusiveness, Coady wanted to expand the definition of who was to be considered an artist. The window dresser, tailor, minstrel singer, and bronco buster were all viewed by Coady as artists. Celebrated figures from popular culture, such as Charlie Chaplin and prize-fighter Jack Johnson, were lionized in the pages of *Soil.* An article by Arthur Craven on the famous boxer was so laudatory, the prize-fighter so romanticized, that one wonders to what degree the author was being ironic. Craven ended on an absurd, overblown note by rating Johnson, after Poe, Whitman, and Emerson, as the greatest American: "If there is a revolution here I shall fight to have him crowned King of the United States."[32]

Issues that highlighted blacks and other marginalized peoples were regularly addressed in the pages of *Soil,* as Coady traced his broad and inclusive circle. Coady's views on race were advanced for his time. Unlike both his progressive and his reactionary contemporaries, Coady believed that artistic style resulted from cultural rather than racial differences among people.[33] The slogan of "Blood and Soil" may have been a nationalistic rallying cry in contemporaneous German society, but "soil"—the American environment itself—was for Coady the only parallel determinant of cultural identity in his country. Race, for Coady, could never be the basis for a genuine American culture. Moreover, the diversity of racial background that characterized life in the

United States was a strong point rather than a weakness in the cultural expression of the country: "All civilized races are mixed. It was through admixture that man turned from savagery to civilization and it is...culture...and not 'race purity' which is all important."[34] Coady's disdain for "purism" thus went beyond mere aesthetics and extended outward, embracing American culture in all its diversity. The January 1917 issue of *Soil* contained a short piece on a native American, "Old John Smith," who claimed to be 131 years old. The article identified him as the "oldest living American."[35] Even though there was a somewhat paternalistic tone to the piece, in an era of Frederic Remington and cigar-store Indians, Coady's treatment reflected a relatively enlightened position. Even to speak of an Indian as an American in 1917 could be seen as radically inclusive.

Soil also reflected Coady's interest in what was at that time called "primitive" art—that is, the art of non-Western tribal peoples. Coady's Washington Square Gallery was one of the first places in the United States where African art was exhibited in an artistic as opposed to an ethnographic setting. Yet there is evidence that the works Coady displayed were not decontextualized, reduced to stylistic terms and appreciated as mere aesthetic objects, as was so often the case at that time, both in the United States and in Europe. Just as Coady appreciated the tugboat or the steam shovel in its utilitarian context in American culture, so he appreciated the art of tribal peoples in the context of the belief systems of those peoples. *Soil* regularly featured articles on the cultures of Africa and Oceania and the March 1917 issue boasted an African sculpture on the cover.

A feature of every issue of *Soil* was an article on boxing. Popular entertainments and sports, considered "lowbrow" in these early years of the century, were praised and encouraged in the pages of Coady's magazine and raised to the level of high art. Articles on the emerging medium of film and impassioned pleas against censorship in the movies appeared with regularity, as did other forms of popular culture, including a Nick Carter detective story in serial form.

The year before the Forum exhibition, Van Wyck Brooks published a piece in *Forum* entitled "Highbrow and Lowbrow."[36] The definition of these terms, for Brooks, corresponded to, but differed from, our own late twentieth-century ideas about high culture and popular culture. The view of *Forum* was definitely highbrow, in that it defined both terms from the vantage point of a dominant class. "Highbrow" was the high-and-dry realm of theory, while "lowbrow" was the business ethos that catered to the vulgar tastes and demands of the market. Coady saw real artistic worth in these lowbrow entertainments, despised by the elites but loved by the masses.

A large part of Coady's broad and inclusive aesthetic sensibility derived from a definition of culture rooted in anthropology rather than aesthetics. Like an anthropologist, he looked carefully at items of material culture for clues to the society in which they were embedded. He did not isolate them for contemplation, because they could not be extricated from their environment without losing their essential character. This environmental and social matrix was the "soil" that gave rise to the fruits of a unique American culture. Within this broadly delimited environment, a variety of equally authentic forms were possible, or, to extend Coady's metaphor, a number of different plants could arise from this soil. Cultural setting did not absolutely determine artistic form; Coady's experience-based organicism was open-ended and left an important place for human agency.

* * *

Wright posited a complex and closed system for critical evaluation of the new art. Culture, for Wright, was for the "cultured." Art operated within its own separate realm—implying, paradoxically, that the historical forces that drove modern art toward purity and abstraction operated outside any particular historical circumstances. These historical forces were taken to be particular to art, progressively rarefied and differentiated not only from their social, national situation, but even from other artistic media. Perhaps ultimately, Wright's ideas reflect, on an aesthetic level, the isolationism that was coming more and more to replace the cosmopolitan attitudes that dominated American cultural life before World War I. Against the backdrop of the Great War in Europe, Coady seemed to find it difficult to believe that art merely continued on this straight trajectory, regardless of environmental pressures, apart from the culture as a whole.

Afterword

Robert J. Coady's contribution to cultural life in America ended with his death at an early age in 1922. That Coady died with thousands of other Americans in the wake of an influenza epidemic that became part of American national folklore seems, in a sense, uncannily appropriate—almost a work of art by Coady's own standards. As for Willard Huntington Wright, not long after the Forum exhibition he abandoned art criticism and moved to California. After a period of illness he set about writing popular detective novels under the pseudonym S. S. Van Dine. He died in 1939.

Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey

1. "Current News of Art and the Exhibitions," *New York Sun*, 12 March 1916, 8 (also found in a scrapbook among the S. S. Van Dine papers, vol. 38, Rare Book and Manuscripts, Firestone Library, Princeton University, Princeton).
2. "Current News," *New York Sun*, 12 March 1916, 8.
3. "Current News," *New York Sun*, 12 March 1916, 8.
4. "Current News of Art and the Exhibitions," *New York Sun*, 19 March 1916, 8.
5. W. D. MacColl, "The International Exhibition of Modern Art: An Impression," *Forum* 50 (July 1913), 24-36.
6. Frederick James Gregg, "Bread and Butter and Art," *Forum* 52 (September 1914), 443-450.
7. Willard Huntington Wright, "The Aesthetic Struggle in America," *Forum* 55 (February 1916), 201-220.
8. Willard Huntington Wright, "Art, Promise and Failure," *Forum* 55 (January 1916), 34.
9. Willard Huntington Wright, *Modern Painting* (New York, 1915). In order to reach a broader readership, Wright reworked chapters from the book into articles for *Forum* magazine.
10. Forum exhibition committee press release, nd. [c. February/March 1916], scrapbook, S.S. Van Dine Papers, vol. 38.
11. William Innes Homer, "The Armory Show and Its Aftermath," *Avant-Garde Painting and Sculpture in America 1910-1925* (Delaware, 1975), 18.
12. See Clive Bell, *Art* (London, 1913). The book was simultaneously published in New York and was undoubtedly familiar to Wright. Roger Fry had published articles in *Burlington Magazine* since 1908. He

was also the main organizer of the important Grafton Gallery exhibition of Post-Impressionism, held in London in 1912. For a general summation of his thought see his *Vision and Design* (London, 1925).

13. Willard H. Wright, "The Truth About Painting," *Forum* 54 (October 1915), 443-454.
14. Wright, "Truth," 444.
15. Wright, "Truth," 447.
16. Wright, "Truth," 450.
17. Wright, "Truth," 452.
18. Willard H. Wright, "Impressionism to Synchromism," *Forum* 50 (December 1913), 757-770.
19. Wright, "Impressionism," 762.
20. Willard H. Wright, "Notes on Art," *Forum* 55 (June 1916), 691.
21. Nevertheless Wright often compared music to abstract art (Wright, *Modern Painting*, 10).
22. See William C. Agee, "Willard Huntington Wright and the Synchromists," *Archives of American Art Journal* 24 (March 1984), 10-15. Agee compares the original statement that Morgan Russell sent from Paris to the heavily edited version that actually appeared in the Forum exhibition catalogue. He also notes a letter sent from Thomas Hart Benton to Matthew Baigell, in which Benton says Wright forced him to add a paragraph to be "in harmony" with the other artists and with the aims of the exhibition (12).

    If one compares all the artists' statements in the Forum catalogue, in most cases the final paragraph tends to reflect Wright's teleological model. Significantly, each of Stieglitz's artists seems to be free of this. These statements deserve more scrutiny and remain important documents in reconstructing the discourse on early modernism in America.
23. "Current News," *New York Sun*, 19 March 1916, 8.
24. "Current News," *New York Sun*, 19 March 1916, 8.
25. Charles Chaplin, "Making Fun," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), 5-8.
26. F. M., "Dressmaking," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), 26-30.
27. J. B., "Burt Williams—An Interview," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), 19-23.
28. R. J. Coady, "The Stampede," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), 24.
29. Coady, "Stampede," 25.
30. R. J. Coady, "American Art," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (December 1916), 3-4 .
31. *Blind Man* 1 (May 1917), 5. This was one of the extremely short-lived Dadaist magazines which proliferated at this time. It lasted for only two issues.
32. Arthur Craven, "Arthur Craven vs. Jack Johnson," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (June 1917), 162.
33. Judith K. Zilczer, "Robert J. Coady, Forgotten Spokesman for Avant-Garde Culture in America," *American Art Review* 2 (1975), 82.
34. Coady, quoted by Zilczer, "Forgotten Spokesman," 84.
35. "Old John Smith," *Soil: A Magazine of Art* 1 (January 1917), 57.
36. Van Wyck Brooks, "Highbrow and Lowbrow," *Forum* 53 (April 1915), 481-492.

An Interview with Albert Boime

Barbara Anderman

With the publication of his Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century *in 1971, Albert Boime set a new course for the study of art history. His Marxist methodology—by which works of art and their makers and consumers are analyzed in the context of the social, political, and economic issues of their day—has opened rich seams of research possibilities to scholars over the last quarter century. Dr. Boime has taught at SUNY Binghamton and for the last 18 years has been professor of Art History at the University of California, Los Angeles. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Rome and the New York Academy of Sciences. His many publications include, most recently,* Art and the French Commune. *He is at work on a third volume of a projected five-volume series entitled* A Social History of Modern Art.

Dr. Boime spoke by telephone from his office at UCLA on 25 May 1995.

BA: I would like first to talk about your most recent book, *Art and the French Commune*,[1] which was published in 1995. You mention, in your introduction, that the significance of Marx's account of the French Commune of 1871 was heightened for you after your own experience of the Los Angeles riots in 1992. Did the street warfare in South Central Los Angeles act as a catalyst for the writing of this book?

AB: No, I had actually been thinking about and teaching this material over the past few years, but I believe that this experience helped me to consolidate and to finalize my thinking on the subject. So it was a catalyst in the immediate, but not in the long-term, sense.

BA: Were you an active participant in the aftermath of the L.A. situation?

AB: I helped clean up the mess afterward. There were volunteer squads that were given material—shovels and brooms—and I did participate in the South Central area in the cleanup.

BA: You argue in your book that the Impressionists, after the Commune, tacitly supported the aims of the Third Republic, favoring reconstruction and the rubbing out of memories of the insurrection. You say that the Commune's aura worked positively for the Impressionists, first—and here I'm going to quote—"in surrounding them with the initial publicity necessary to launch them in the public sphere and then in guaranteeing them success once the hostility abated and awareness set in."[2] I'm wondering whether, in approaching your subject, you at first saw the hostile critical reception of the Impressionists as a barrier? as somewhat at odds with your argument regarding the group's tacit support of the Third Republic?

AB: Well, it's one of the issues that I thought about over the years. I kept asking myself, how is it possible that this group that is so much admired for depicting a lifestyle that is so appealing to present-day bourgeois society, how is it possible that these artists in

their initial state were received with such hostility? Why were they rejected? That was an issue for me; there was a problem concealed there. It had been dealt with by some writers, but it never had been analyzed to my satisfaction. I felt that I had to work with it, and it seemed to me that I discovered the solution in the play-out of the Commune, both for the careers of the Impressionists and in terms of the reception of their work. The Commune operates, in the first instance, as a negative (but even this worked to the advantage of the Impressionists) and in the second instance as a positive. In the first instance the Impressionists' work was overdetermined by being connected, in reviewers' minds, to recent events. In 1874 the Communards were still being tried and sent to the penal colonies, so the episode was still very much alive in everyone's mind. Then there was the physical environment, which was still severely impacted, with scaffolding surrounding the ruins. Also, the fact that the Impressionists showed in the studio of Nadar I think played a role and framed their reception in a political sense. It gave the show so much publicity. Here was a small, infinitesimal number of artists working in a community of thousands and thousands of artists. For them to have gained notoriety was luck, a certain roll of the dice, and I think that they profited from the events of the Commune. Otherwise, they would have ended up being another ephemeral group and may have been forgotten in history.

BA: I take it that you found unconvincing any argument that the actual quality of the Impressionists' images contributed to this hostile reception?

AB: There's the question of the incomplete, the unfinished, the sketch. This is something that has consistently occupied me over the years. In examining this process, I have developed an analytic approach to the painted sketch. The sketch offers a certain amount of energy, a certain amount of spontaneity. I think that this was exciting to some of the critics. But at the same time, that spontaneity, that energy, could be overdetermined in this period by virtue of being connected with revolution, insurrection.

BA: So that would only have played into the first half of your equation.

AB: Yes, yes. But some people did see it as a positive quality attached to the work and many, even hostile, critics could find something positive in the sprightliness and vivid color and light of the Impressionists, which seemed new to them.

BA: It's interesting that the cherished place of the 1871 revolution in Communist literature has made it, you say, "an unpalatable object of study in relation to avant-garde art for scholars in late capitalist societies."[3] Do you see other historical events, cultural movements, or actual areas of art-historical research that have been similarly overlooked?

AB: Again, the general problem is that only recently have art historians begun to deal with these events. Well, maybe that's not entirely true. If you're dealing with the Renaissance or with other periods, you have to deal with civil conflict; Italy certainly had its share. But it always seemed to be marginalized rather than foregrounded in earlier studies. It's only recently that there has been a tremendous growth in modernist studies and these have focused on events that I think were normally shoved into the background, serving as a backdrop instead of becoming a vital part of the work. That's

part of the problem. Second, of course, because the Commune was embedded in the whole Communist discourse, you could not give it a lot of attention without the risk of all sorts of critique and hostility from your contemporaries. I think this made it an uncomfortable subject of study, even though people may have been sympathetic to it. Now, whether or not there are other events similar to the Commune...

BA: Well, I wonder whether you would think of slavery in that context—since you have written on the subject in *The Art of Exclusion*[4]—whether you would see slavery as an episode in history that has been overlooked and needs critical reexamination.

AB: There's certainly a whole literature devoted to slavery outside of art history, but I think that generally it could fit as a field of study that has been neglected, mainly because representations of blacks have also been connected with works that aren't normally taken as important works, as important fields of study. I think that by looking into these representations I've opened out another area of study and investigation. For a long time art history has been governed by the need to look at certain kinds of works, canonical works, masterpieces, works that can be described for their quality. My emphasis has always been on investigating works of art for historical purposes, rather than looking at them for what they can tell us about the greatness of an artist. American painting is a field that had been ignored until relatively recent times. When I went to school in the sixties, people like Barbara Novak and others had a difficult time maintaining their equilibrium. They were not considered on a par with scholars in more prestigious fields, where the canonical works reigned. The issue of slavery, therefore, cannot be separated from the issue of quality and subject matter considered to be of importance in the field. I think those two go together.

BA: Well, to get back to nineteenth-century France, do you think you have more insight into the Commune because you approach it from a Marxist perspective?

AB: I believe I do. Of course there are Marxists, too, who didn't deal with this material. I don't think Anthony Blunt, for example, ever studied it. Of course, that wasn't his...

BA: No indeed, it wasn't...

AB: There are a number of scholars who are interested in Marxist work and might have mentioned the Commune one way or the other, but never did a systematic study. Again, I think the zeitgeist idea may play a role. It's hard to see how one could examine the Commune without relating it somehow to some overarching master plan, some scheme of things.

BA: But clearly one doesn't have to be an aristocrat in order to examine, say, the court of Louis XIV. Why then, does one gain a richer perspective being a Marxist examining the Commune?

AB: One thing I've always thought valuable about Marxism, aside from its methodological and historical perspective, is that it takes the point of view of the oppressed, the exploited, within a dialectical exchange, and that's very unusual in the history of scholarship. For example, it's more traditional for people to look at the court of Louis

XIV as the prime mover of events, without studying how these events affected the peasantry or how the peasantry affected the court. The Marxist perspective motivates the scholar to investigate how the more numerous portion of the population acts upon the dominant few and drives historical change—hence such titles as *The Making of the English Working Class* and *The World the Slaveholders Made*. I do believe that many art historians, at least in this country, do not come from an aristocratic class; I think that most of them come out of a petit-bourgeois or middle-class background. In some cases I feel that the scholarly outlet is one that enables them to maximize their class advantages, to step upward. The emphasis on the aristocratic in art is part of this process of social mobility. In fact, I felt that one of the reasons why my early work on academic art was so protested by a number of scholars in the field was that I was dealing with people who were considered mediocre, not great artists. There was some kind of sympathetic magic going on: if you attach yourself to mediocre artists, your work will be mediocre, or *you* will be mediocre, by virtue of the fact that you identify yourself, associate your work, with this body of artists. I think that it was important for people to attach themselves to canonical artists because they felt that they were then aligning themselves with the highest notions of art, and that's an aristocratic ideal. Despite the fact that scholars came from other than the aristocratic class, they were more at home doing work on the court of Louis XIV than on the Commune.

BA: The idea that you put forward in the book, that the Impressionists politicized their creations by reimagining their destroyed city and disrupted social hierarchy, is very likely, I would imagine, to engender scholarly debate. Do you relish that sort of discussion and has it, in the past, caused you to revisit or amend any of your conclusions?

AB: Good question. First of all, my writing tends to provoke debate. Although I don't start out with the idea that I'm going to cause debate, I do find myself taking, perhaps, opposing viewpoints or digging up material that has been neglected. I do relish that; I relish making those kinds of discoveries from time to time and perhaps finding myself on the side that is different. But I do believe that debate is crucial. What is the point of scholarly work if not to provoke debate and the exchange of ideas? I think it's also important, in some way, never to forget to offend. First of all, we spend so much of our time trying to get tenure—we have to be so careful—that by the time we get there we've lost the art of offending. I think it's important to try to maintain that attitude. Now, have I changed my point of view. I have; I believe that's true. On occasion I've made modifications. Certainly there are errors that creep into the analysis that need to be corrected. I have to consider the work of other scholars, new material, as well as respond to criticism of my previous work. But on my major theses I believe that—either I'm stuck in a rut, or I've got a heavy investment in these ideas—I've rarely been dislodged. Most of them seem to have been confirmed over the years.

BA: What would you describe as the most controversial aspect of your most recent book?

AB: I would see it in the context of the exhibition called *Origins of Impressionism*.[5] In that show there was a deliberate attempt to eliminate the social and political history of the movement, to see the Impressionists as a group born out of the head of Jove, totally

ready to take on the world. And the show ends in 1869, just when I believe things begin to take off. Now it is true that by then, certainly, the Impressionists had developed their art. They had exhibited at the Salon des Refusés and there was a degree of professionalism in their work. There was even a strong connection with the Barbizon school and some of the academic teachers. But I think it took the decisive event of the Commune to galvanize them as individuals, and their breakthrough techniques occur after 1870, not in the period this show discusses. Incidentally, I was astonished to see that in the exhibition there were no works by either Charles Gleyre or Thomas Couture, two of the important academic teachers who I think exerted an enormous influence on the Impressionists. The show was an attempt to place the Impressionists squarely in the center of the canonical development of the history of art and to me it was a throwback to some older ideal; perhaps even a backlash. So, in that sense my work presents an alternate view and attempts to keep pace, I believe, with the advances made by social history.

BA: It will be interesting to see how the debate unfolds. You discuss, in your book, your own political awakening in the 1960s, but what brought you to the study of art history?

AB: I've always been interested in art and seem to have experienced heightened visual and literary sensibilities as opposed to other kinds of sensibilities. I've always been involved, one way or another, in looking at art. I drew cartoons from the earliest time I can remember.

BA: That's significant, given the particular turn of your interests now.

AB: That's true. My interest in popular art always had a connection with that earlier interest and I think it empowered me to be able to overcome the barriers between high and low. High and low were never really divisions for me. I have an article on the comic strip in the *Art Journal* of 1972,[6] and there I simply state that I don't make qualitative distinctions between visual images. I see them all as potential objects of historical interest. Of course, this was one criticism that was leveled at my work—that I'm less engaged with an important work of art for its own sake but, rather, that I use it as a pretext for getting into some kind of historical and political discussion. I think people have come to see that I am not demeaning individual practitioners, that I am definitely engaged with the visual object itself. I think that in this Commune book I am delving deeply into the visual characteristics of the individual works.

BA: Well, if a criticism of the social-historical approach to art history is that, in the worst possible scenario, pictures might be subject to critical examination merely as evidence of historical or cultural events, do you see a danger for the discipline in this shift of emphasis?

AB: I think that one should throw the net out as wide as possible and then, through critique and difference of opinion, draw back, make adjustments. I don't believe in restraining the art-historical discipline. First of all, we are being challenged in a number of other fields at the moment. Scholars in other fields are learning how important art history is and seizing upon images and asking questions that the art historian normally doesn't ask about the work. This challenge should serve notice to us not to think of art

history in any limited territorial sense, but rather to consider interdisciplinary research. I think this is taken for granted now by almost everyone. To answer your question, I don't think there's a danger there. There are a number of possibilities, potentials, in the study of art history and if the historical argument takes off without being anchored to the object, then the argument will fall flat and will be dismissed. It's bad scholarship, not just bad art history.

BA: Do you think there is still a place for connoisseurship in the study of art history?

AB: That's a tough one. I certainly took courses in connoisseurship at Columbia, with Julius Held and Janos Scholz. I found them very important and stimulating for my work. They encouraged students to look at the ground on which the work was done, to look at a frame, to look at worm holes and all sorts of things that I had never considered. I think it was very important in exercising my eye and helping me to read works of art. Certainly it was important in helping me to discriminate between one type of print and another, between a lithograph and an etching. I think learning about those techniques from Held and Scholz was very important. So I would never downplay the importance of technical connoisseurship. But this is only one face of connoisseurship; the other face, the one that discriminates for the sake of establishing value, is less interesting to me. And when it is used for its own sake, independent of other kinds of scholarship, I find it limiting. I think there is a place for connoisseurship when it is used as a technical tool, to get at what I consider the more important historical and ideological questions.

BA: You mention Julius Held and Janos Scholz at Columbia. Which of your teachers most influenced you?

AB: I was very fortunate to have encountered a stellar faculty at Columbia at the time I studied there, and everybody played a role. In addition to Held and Scholz there was also Barbara Novak and Ted Reff. Meyer Schapiro, of course, was very important for his learning and passion, and Rudolf Wittkower made a lasting impression with his awesome methodology. I dedicated my first book to Wittkower. Not only was he a wonderful inspiration for me in my work, but he also was very encouraging, and I think that was decisive in my career. Meyer Schapiro also proved to be decisive in this respect. Although I was turned down for a summer grant, he informed me that he supported my proposal. That was all I needed to pursue the project that eventually became my M.A. thesis and essentially launched me on my academic career. Of course, Schapiro was very important in another way, in representing the potential inherent in art history. Linda Nochlin was also at Columbia for a while and we worked together. Although chronologically we are not that far apart, she was more advanced in her work and her thinking and she played a role in helping me formulate my ideas. Ted Reff's meticulous research and scrupulous methodology also set a significant standard.

BA: Linda Nochlin was chronologically not far apart from you but more advanced in her work. Did you pursue a different career before turning to art history?

AB: Well, I would say that I had a bohemian phase. I did Greenwich Village in New York. Also, I spent some time in the military service. So I returned to school in my mid-twenties.

BA: So you were on both sides of the establishment. You got to make up your mind after reviewing ample evidence.

AB: That's true. Being on both sides of the fence provided plenty of grass to chew. And I believe that the experience enhanced both my teaching and scholarship.

BA: And have there been other major influences on your work, from outside the academy, or from outside the field of art history?

AB: Outside the field of art history, well, I would mention Marx, whose writing I read in the sixties for the first time and then devoted more time to in the seventies; and Freud, who made possible the cultural tangibility of mental life. And doing social history leads me to every avenue imaginable. Singling out individuals would be difficult, but I would mention my brother Jerry. He was an exceptionally brilliant and creative person to whom I had lifelong access. He was perhaps the most decisive influence on my intellectual life.

BA: Since you mention Marx, we might talk a little more about the political aspect of your work. At the opening of *Hollow Icons*,[7] you state that "all art is political, whether it serves directly the needs of the state or seems to hover in a realm of fantasy and escapism." Are you making a distinction, here, between art and artists?

AB: It may sound like that. I've never heard the statement excerpted, and it does almost give autonomy to the work of art, as if the work of art has a life of its own.

BA: But you meant that all artists are politically engaged?

AB: Well, therefore I think that every object that they create is also political in the sense that, yes, every work of art has its origin in the class-based conditions of the artist and carries the DNA imprint of the historical period in which it was created.

BA: Would you, then, make no distinction, in terms of its social-historical significance, between the work of an artist who was not actively engaged in the politics of his or her time and that of an artist who had a political agenda?

AB: No. I believe that the subjectivity of everyone is conditioned by the political, social, and cultural conditions of the moment. And I see that every expression of that subjectivity would also be a product of such conditions.

BA: So all people are necessarily politicized, simply by the fact of living in the their environment?

AB: And so is everything that they do or think, no matter how abstract it may appear on the surface. I don't care whether it's a Jackson Pollock or...what would be the most

extreme cultural expression that would seem totally oblivious to political preoccupations...something that refuses any type of political identity?

BA: I suppose some might have said the Impressionists, but they won't any more...

AB: That's right. I can't think of a single case, especially insofar as an artist is always attempting to communicate some kind of meaning. By the way, it is true that there are lots of people who can lay claim to having no interest in politics whatsoever. They claim to be totally inured to political circumstances, and yet their lives inevitably attest to some type of negotiation within a particular group or communal organization. The person who insists upon political neutrality is very often someone who is embedded in all sorts of social and cultural activities that may not be overtly colored by party affiliation but nevertheless could be seen to lead in a chain to some political interest. How do you survive in the world? How do you deal with your colleagues, your next-door neighbor? How do you deal with the car salesperson? It's part of being engaged in life itself.

BA: I'd like to come back to something you touched on a little earlier, which is the issue of artistic quality. Reference was made, in reviews, to your comment at the opening of *Art in an Age of Revolution* that you'd like, in a study of twentieth century art, to analyze the work of your ex-next-door neighbor, the retired electrician who painted in his garage.[8]

AB: That's right, I remember somebody mentioned that in a review.

BA: It must have been irresistible. But do you think the canon of Western art should be drastically revised or even eliminated? Do we need it any more?

AB: It is there as a sort of core area of investigation, as a point of departure. I think it's important as a starting point. Those are the works that have been preserved in museums; those are the works that are reproduced in survey texts and widely publicized. They provide a body of material as a starting-off point for scholarly development. But as a body of work isolated and marginalized as something sacrosanct, they have lost their particular value in our culturally diverse global community. So to answer your question, I would say yes, it's true, the canonical works no longer make that much difference, except as a way of strategically presenting a core of material as a center point for disciplinary investigation.

BA: And that core exists because of its intrinsic quality?

AB: No, because so much attention has been paid to it, so much ink has been spilled on it, so much effort has been made on the part of curators and writers to preserve its merit. I think that's what makes it important. So much energy has gone into its preservation. Again, the prestige attached to that body of work has made it important; the heavy investment is connected to the prestige, which has garnered the various individuals involved and the whole art complex—museums, dealers, critics, art historians, and a certain constituency of the public. Now, this is not to say that if I looked at one of these works in a museum or gallery I would fail to be moved or that I would consider it a

defective work. There still is that part of me, that—what would I call it—"spectatorial" component that could still see something of merit in the work; but at the same time I realize that this predisposition is not outside my own social inclinations, which are rooted in a particular time and space.

BA: Would you see this as the politically recalcitrant part of your approach to art history?

AB: I would say that the experience is more akin to residual childhood prejudices that have to be continually monitored in line with mature understanding and tolerance.

BA: I pursue this because in your books you do break away from the canon, and yet you also draw on many highly respected works of art. Your latest book is no exception; you have a complete chapter, for instance, on Seurat's *La Grand Jatte*. I don't need to itemize all the paintings, but there are many very well-known Impressionist works on which you comment.

AB: That's true, that's true, and this is the way I justify it. It's not that I'm deliberately avoiding the canonical works, but that I'm going over the material to see it in a fresh context. I'm breaking the spell, to show the dynamic political and sociological underpinnings involved in the works. Once you do that, I think you then alter the canonical status. That's what I have in mind. It may not work. I may not be successful. But what I hope to do is to alter the status of the work, ultimately to alter its meaning, so that it can no longer be prized for its canonical qualities alone. It must be understood as being embedded in a particular political and social context.

BA: Often I find your writing is startlingly direct and arresting. I'm thinking, for instance, of the beginning of *The Art of Exclusion*. You open the book, you may recall, by saying: "*Negro* is the Spanish and Portuguese word for the color *black*. Black is a pigment indispensable to artistic practice. Once the color black was applied to an ethnic group then peoples were differentiated like the colors arrayed on a palette, with *negro* at one end...and *blanco*...at the other. There are no gray areas in the content of stereotypes."[9] Do you see yourself as seeking to establish a different language of art history, as well as a different approach?

AB: I believe that is a result of my trying to find a new way of looking at works and trying to embrace works that have been left out of the canon, works that have been marginalized for one reason or another. I deliberately dealt with representations of black people in order to demonstrate my point that not a single one of them—high or low—could be politically neutral. You can't look at any of those images and say subject matter is irrelevant, that what counts are the qualities of composition and the design—that sort of old fashioned approach. In a way, it was answering some of my critics; this was a test case of the notion that Boime uses the image simply as a pretext for historical gratification. Rather, I wanted to show that there exists a body of pictorially relevant imagery that cannot be understood from the visual qualities alone, that has to be understood in a definite political and social situation. Once this case was made, it was easy to demonstrate that all art must be understood historically and politically. Now the particular passage you quote comes out of my immersion in all the aesthetic treatises

of the nineteenth century. Actually, it goes back to what I learned from nineteenth-century manuals of training and atelier tricks, all about black and white and their associative qualities.

BA: I wasn't so much talking about the content as the diction.

AB: Yes, what I'm saying is that in the course of my trying to develop and expand on the categories of representation and the way we deal with those categories, I had to develop a way of speaking about them, of writing about them. I think that I have used terms that are new—for example, in the case of a landscape, talking about the magisterial gaze—to try to find a way of understanding works in the larger contextual framework.

BA: Your language also seems more direct than that of some other art historians.

AB: Well, I do believe that a lot of early art-historical investigation was couched in jargon that betrayed the insecurity of the people in the profession. Art history in its infancy—and that infancy lasted until relatively recent times—was on the defensive about itself. It had to justify itself. It wasn't secure about the grounds of investigation or whether or not this work—this kind of research, even—could be justified in a public sense. It might be in a connoisseurship sense—there was a role for the connoisseur in helping a collector discriminate between a false work and an authentic work—but art history, in an academic sense, was considered a low-status field, and I think that the language, the jargon, was connected with that. I feel that in approaching art history from a more social-historical and interdisciplinary standpoint, I have made it more meaningful for myself. In other words, it's important to me that my work has some social meaning. I may be deluding myself. You see, I understand that it is very pretentious to say that I think my art-historical investigations are having some effect on the world. To use Marx's idea, we don't just interpret the world as philosophers, the idea is to change it. I always hold that out as a sort of ideal, even though I don't delude myself into thinking that I'm actually succeeding in it. I couldn't work unless I believed that what I was doing had impact, and I think the process of making art history a richer field has enabled me to cut through some of the linguistic, rhetorical opacity of the past.

BA: Let's talk a little about teaching. How do you approach the teaching of art history? I imagine you cannot always presume a knowledge of political and social issues on the part of your students, so you might find yourself teaching in at least two subjects areas rather than one.

AB: It's true. Of course, in my work I am exploring other disciplines, so my texts are often very useful; I have to rely on them. I wrote many of them because there weren't any available for my teaching. Originally I had hoped they would be a collaborative effort among several people in the community, but that never happened, so I had to undertake the work on my own. You're quite right, and I think that high-school education is not adequately preparing students. There's a burden on them to catch up. From me they learn a lot more European history and even their own American history. This makes my survey course a bit cumbersome. It's very difficult to go through a lot

of material in a short time when you're dealing with the historical facts; I still haven't quite adjusted.

BA: It must be difficult to achieve the correct emphasis?

AB: Yes, that's true; that's an important point.

BA: And do you find teaching distracting?

AB: No, it's often an opportunity to apply ideas that are in ferment, to look into areas that I haven't been able to study because of the specialization of what I'm writing at a particular moment. I always like to use the seminar as an opportunity to do something new and different. It forces me out of my routine.

BA: How would you describe your approach to writing books? Do you come to it through your personal response to the art involved, or through your interest in social and historical issues?

AB: In the case of the social history of art, of course, there's not much of a problem. We're dealing with a certain epoch and so things are pretty well set out for me, although I try to introduce patrons and connections that aren't normally considered. I think other thematic materials grow out of my social interests, although I do believe that now I could take almost any art object and any artist and treat the material in a large and amplified way. I don't think that was possible a few years ago. I think that over the years I have developed a way of dealing with material that is not checked by categorical differences, and since I've overcome the idea of quality, it doesn't make any difference what subjects, what kind of images, I choose to interpret. I didn't answer your question entirely though, did I? Let's see, how do I come to much of this material. In some cases it might be a commission from a museum, but most major works come through the process of evolution, of looking at one type of thing, pursuing a problem. Sometimes they start as requests for talks. I might give a talk at a symposium and then elaborate it. That's what happened with *Hollow Icons*. Usually, of course, I go too far. I can't just do what people ask me to do; I have to elaborate and pursue every possibility. So, the talk grows and grows until I speak for too long and people are upset and I don't blame them. You really shouldn't test your audience's patience, especially at a symposium, where there are several speakers. I still have to discipline myself in this respect.

BA: One of the characteristics of your books is the many and often obscure contemporary tracts and texts you cite. I wonder how you weigh the importance of these. Do you always know, or does it even matter to you, whether they were in broad circulation or not—whether they were, at the time, influential?

AB: Well, that's an important point, although some texts that may seem to us obscure may have been less so in their day. For example, I remember when I was doing work on the Turner *Slave Ship*, for example, I cited some sources, I would say rather obscure tract writers and worker-poets of the time, on the evils of factory work and child labor. They probably didn't get to Turner's immediate attention, but I believe in a world of intertextuality and the interconnection of all things. It's not whether a specific text was

directly available to the artist, but that it contributes to a larger body of thought and ideas that would have found its way to the attention of Turner, who read all the journals and newspapers of his time. I'm certain that this would have affected him at least as much as the writing of someone like Carlyle. Of course, Carlyle was not an obscure tract writer, but there's scant evidence connecting Carlyle to Turner, if I'm not mistaken. Maybe more recent research will illuminate that relationship. Still, I'm sure that Turner was aware of this material or at least had a channel to it, even though it was written by obscure authors of the period. I don't know if that's what you had in mind. In other words, how would artists or practitioners working at that time have had access to this material?

BA: *Exactly, since it usually fits tidily into the thesis you are presenting.*

AB: Yes, I see. The material has to meet my standards of scholarship, too. Oh, once in a while there might be a temptation to throw in something obscure just because I found it, but generally I do have an internal test, a standard that I use, informed by a logical thread of intertextuality. Of course, I may be influenced by modern media and the global character of human interaction, the fact that so many visual and written texts are accessible. That may play a role in my imagining that in the past something like that occurred. But usually I am drawing my citations from within a certain environment and assuming that there would have been both direct and indirect avenues of access to the texts and the ideas in that environment. That's certainly a given for my work. I did one study, for example, of Courbet and Walt Whitman, and demonstrated that their remarkable affinities sprang from a common fund of knowledge. Although they never mention one another, they definitely were linked in time and space and had the same sort of intellectual sources at their disposal, both displaying a very similar persona, for example. They both were well read and erudite, but played the country bumpkin, or at least drew upon the country bumpkin image, to help break through the stifling effects of institutionalization and overcome illegitimate authority. I think that was an important component of their thinking. It turns out they were born two weeks apart, in 1819.

BA: Were you aware of that when you began your research?

AB: The first thing that struck me was the connection between Courbet's *The Meeting* and the frontispiece to *Leaves of Grass*, which shows Whitman as this sort of cocky guy with a hand on his hip and his hat tossed at a certain angle. The behavior of the two of them was striking to me, and the works were done in almost the same year—the *Leaves of Grass*, 1855, and *The Meeting*, 1854. Then I discovered that the year of their birth was identical. In addition, it turns out that George Eliot, who is also a realist writer and deliberately incorporates elements of the so-called ugly in her narratives in the way that Courbet and Whitman do, was born the same year, 1819. All three of these figures became important realists; I think that is an astonishing phenomenon. And they had similar goals, except Eliot was a female, of course, and part of the persona of Whitman and Courbet had to do with masculinized bravado that was central to the image of the proletariat artist at the time.

BA: Yes; I'm not sure George Eliot's aims could be said to be exactly the same, either.

AB: Well, for example, in *The Mill on the Floss* there's the character of Philip, the hunchback, who is a very sensitive person. For a moment, perhaps, it seems as if the female protagonist will even marry this character. The introduction of Philip into this context, I think, is the equivalent of Walt Whitman drawing upon marginalized social types in his work and Courbet's figures on the left side, say, of *The Painter's Studio*. I think that there is some political and social, as well as realist, connection.

BA: I'm interested in what you said earlier about intertextuality possibly presenting a danger for you when looking backward; that perhaps it wasn't a given in earlier times.

AB: Oh yes. You have to monitor yourself constantly. And if you don't, of course, the critics will. You don't want to apply the preoccupations of the present to the past; it's just not fair. There was, say, a certain amount of automatic male chauvinism at a certain time and you just take it for granted, you can't exactly fault anybody for it. But you read George Eliot and you see that there were other options available to her contemporaries and that it was possible to entertain alternatives. So, that's my way out. I make sure that the options were available at the time, before I make any assertions that may smack of present-time concerns.

BA: Mention of George Eliot reminds me that British *painting* has been put under the social-historical spotlight, revealing a political agenda behind work that heretofore might have been thought of as "apolitical" art. I'm thinking, for instance, not of Turner but of Constable.

AB: I see Turner and Constable as two sides of the same coin. They are almost exact contemporaries, but Constable withdraws from the scene and Turner actively engages in the central issues of his time. To me, the way Constable succeeds is by staying close to home. He can draw a circle around himself that is relatively free from conflict.

BA: Perhaps not unlike what the Impressionists were doing?

AB: Yes. I think that they were all operating close up. By that I mean that they didn't cast their net too far. Turner's prospects are panoramic; they take on all sorts of contrasts and opposition simultaneously. There's a synchronicity about Turner's work. Cézanne did something similar, but again within a certain locality. Turner opens it up in a way that's breathtaking.

BA: When you say "opens it up," do you mean in terms of variety of subject matter or types of treatment?

AB: I think that within a single visual field there's lots going on. You have the meteorological and atmospheric phenomena, the human action, and the different terrain—ruptures and fissures and divisions of all sorts—creating a sense of conflict and turmoil, all controlled by Turner's so-called vortex. I feel that Turner is really engaging with the pressures of industrial expansion even before he does his deliberately industrial category of scenes of the 1840s. Now Jane Austen, for instance, doesn't really stray too far; she can screen out the problems of her time. Of course, artists can be political without overtly appearing to be political. Constable seems to be totally free

from political participation, and yet we know that, in the correspondence, he's concerned about hayrick burning nearby. Turner avoids hayrick burning, although he shows the Houses of Parliament burning, which was a pretty "hot" subject to be treating.

BA: Well, hayrick burning must have seemed insignificant compared with the Houses of Parliament.

AB: Absolutely, and there, I think, we are talking a lot about political reform in 1832 and what that meant for Turner's contemporaries.

BA: Right. Well, I do see Jane Austen as a socially engaged writer in a way I would not immediately have thought of Constable as a socially engaged painter.

AB: I can see some parallels, but you're quite right, there's certainly less comment in Constable. There's hardly any human action.

BA: On a different subject, I would think you face the challenge of remaining on the cutting edge of academic developments not only in art history but also in social history. Is this a daunting prospect, or do you remain serene about the possibility that you may not be at the center of new developments in social history?

AB: Well, it's interesting and, of course, part of it is related to the aging process itself. When I began art history I was just at the threshold of all these new developments; everything was exploding. There were new possibilities. I was involved, for example, in the attempt to reorganize or create an alternative to the College Art Association with Carol Duncan and Alan Wallach. I believe that Irving Lavin was also in that group. There were all kinds of experimental projects related to the political ferment in the sixties and that was very influential, as I stated in the introduction to the new book. My work unfolded in response to many of these historical changes and ideas; I always felt part of a larger movement. It was only in the subsequent period of disillusionment, at the end of radical collectivities and with the decline in interest in ideas based on class and collective resistance, that perhaps I began to feel that my work had become severed from these larger social movements. The ebbing of them made me think for the first time that I was operating in isolation. So, it's a very interesting question, but the response of students and colleagues over the years has attested to the validity of my work for both a public and academic audience. I was very gratified by the response from so many people to *The Art of Exclusion*, not just from the academic audience, but from people outside academia. That meant a great deal to me.

BA: Do you find that there are any shortcomings to your overall approach? Are there any adjustments that you are considering?

AB: I've noticed, of course, living in a multicultural environment, that my work tends to be centered in a Western zone. I'm writing a social history of modern art and I suddenly feel that, my goodness, I'm just tackling a small chunk and the work needs to expand beyond my socialization. I do feel that there's a certain limitation there and I would like to work on that. I've done a couple of pieces already, for example, on the

Puerto Rican artist Francisco Oller and I am trying to compensate in my teaching. Definitely in volume five of my social history of modern art, on the twentieth century, I will get beyond Europe and America. There is this driving need in my work for universality, which is probably a flaw. You can't do it all, but I can't help trying.

BA: Well, indeed, others are trying to do different things. What do you think the future of art-historical scholarship holds? What do you think are valuable areas of research for the future, in the broadest sense? Might, for instance, critical theory be something that you would want to explore?

AB: Well, I do see that in a lot of the work it's terribly influential. It has had an influence on my thinking. Issues of sexuality, for example, the body in gender and gay studies, are now becoming important themes of art-historical investigation and I think that's very important; and even Marxism has been reframed, in structuralist terms, and modified. Psychoanalytic investigation is also crucial as an area of dynamic activity. But for myself, I'm still proud to identify with social history and social-historical methodology. I do believe that there are still rich resources to be explored in this direction and that it holds out a possibility for reconciling all the various communal and identity issues that are being hotly debated at the present time. I don't think social history can be ignored. It must be embraced, I believe, in order to deal with the demands of the current environment and identity politics, which are so pressing.

BA: To return to pictures: what kind of a museum goer are you? By that I mean, when you go to a museum and look at paintings that fall within your large period of study, do you look at them as a social historian or do you look at them as an *amateur d'art*?

AB: Again, as I say, there is that split in me. There's Al Boime the spectator and then there's Al Boime the historian, and I think that as a museum goer I would tend to be more on the spectator side, maybe the amateur guy rather than the historian. Of course, I can still bring my historical consciousness into play and oftentimes I will go to the museum specifically because there's work dealing with something I'm currently interested in. So, I'm looking historically in those instances. But I would say that, generally, I get into the mode of looking at pictures—of saying, "I love this work" or "this is dumb."

BA: And it would be possible for you to love a work that you thought was politically incorrect?

AB: I think that's probably true, yes. Even a reactionary artist and patron could be involved in some kind of collaborative relationship that bonded them together and forged a creative union, and this could appeal to me even though it may not be politically correct. I was very drawn to the work of Alfred Rethel, the series that he did called *Auch ein Totentanz*. I wrote about it in the *Art Bulletin*.[10] No work is more politically incorrect, counterrevolutionary, yet it has a power. I recognize its power, although my research showed that the power was probably inspired by what was happening on the left; here again, the dialectical exchange.

BA: That must have made you feel a little easier.

AB: Yes, that's one way of rationalizing my attraction to it.

BA: You've produced a prodigious number of books in relatively few years. What can we expect from you next? More volumes of the *Social History of Modern Art*?

AB: Well, I'm planning five volumes in all. It's really my life's work. I'm working on volume three at the moment.

BA: Which is?

AB: It's *Art in an Age of Counterrevolution*, and that's 1815 to 1855. It's an enormous work and covers a lot of ground. I'm dealing with Romanticism and Realism; it takes in quite a chunk of art-historical investigation.

BA: Can we expect some controversial discoveries?

AB: I hope so. Again, I'm so caught up in the work it's hard for me to know at this point. Some of the material I have already published but picked up again for renewed consideration. For example, I had a number of reactions to *The Magisterial Gaze*[11]—that it was one sided, that it omitted exceptions, and so forth—so I've answered my critics in writing about American painting in the Jacksonian period, and that has been exciting, to be able to forge ahead and to strengthen my thesis and reinforce it in the process of justifying it. Now I'm anxious to finish this present volume and get on with my fifth volume, which deals with the twentieth century.

BA: Why are you leaving out volume four for the moment?

AB: I guess because the calendar is turning over. It's like an odometer, when it leaves the 1900s and spins into 2000...

BA: Oh, you'd like to be there.

AB: Something like that. Because I'm going to have to deal with a whole new set of ideas, I believe, when that odometer turns over.

BA: Do you really think that's the way it works? When we start a new millennium, things change?

AB: Well, I think so. That's what happened in this century, and we had the French Revolution at the end of the eighteenth and the complex industrial age at the end of the nineteenth. Look at the tremendous inventiveness that emerged in the first decade of the twentieth century. I think that at the end of the millennium, you're taking stock; you're not looking forward yet. The psychological condition is one of looking backward and seeing whence you've come. That's always depressing. When you move into the next millennium, then you don't look back any more; there's no way to go but forward. That creates a different psychological disposition.

BA: On a purely practical level, do you find yourself having to spend a lot of time in France, to get your hands on any number of the more arcane tracts and treatises that you discover?

AB: You know, I spent the early part of my career sitting in the archives in France. I think I was the first art historian to look systematically through the archives in the Archives Nationales and I'm building a lot on that early effort. Now I'm doing more of the synthetic work. I think this is normal; I think that most scholars probably fall into this category. They do the archival research early on and then later...

BA: Reap the benefits.

AB: Yes, exactly, and I think that is typical. So, I'm able now to do the work of synthesis at home rather than needing to travel back and forth and around the world.

BA: That's a comfortable position in which to find oneself.

AB: Well, I don't think I am ever too comfortable. Ideas are always agitating me. It's difficult to get comfortable when there is so much suffering in the world and so much work to do.

1. Albert Boime, *Art and the French Commune: Imagining Paris after War and Revolution* (Princeton, 1995).
2. Boime, *Commune*, 45.
3. Boime, *Commune*, 20.
4. Albert Boime, *The Art of Exclusion: Representing Blacks in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C., 1990).
5. Gary Tinterow and Henri Loyrette, *Origins of Impressionism*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1994).
6. Albert Boime, "The Comic Stripped and Ash Canned: A Review Essay," *Art Journal* 31 (Fall 1972), 21–25, 30.
7. Albert Boime, *Hollow Icons: The Politics of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century France* (Kent, Ohio, and London, 1987).
8. Albert Boime, *Art in an Age of Revolution, 1750-1800* (Chicago and London, 1987), xxi.
9. Boime, *Exclusion*, 1.
10. Albert Boime, "Alfred Rethel's Counterrevolutionary Death Dance," *Art Bulletin* 73 (December 1991), 577–598.
11. Albert Boime, *The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny and the American Landscape Painting, c. 1830–1865* (Washington, D.C., 1991).

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