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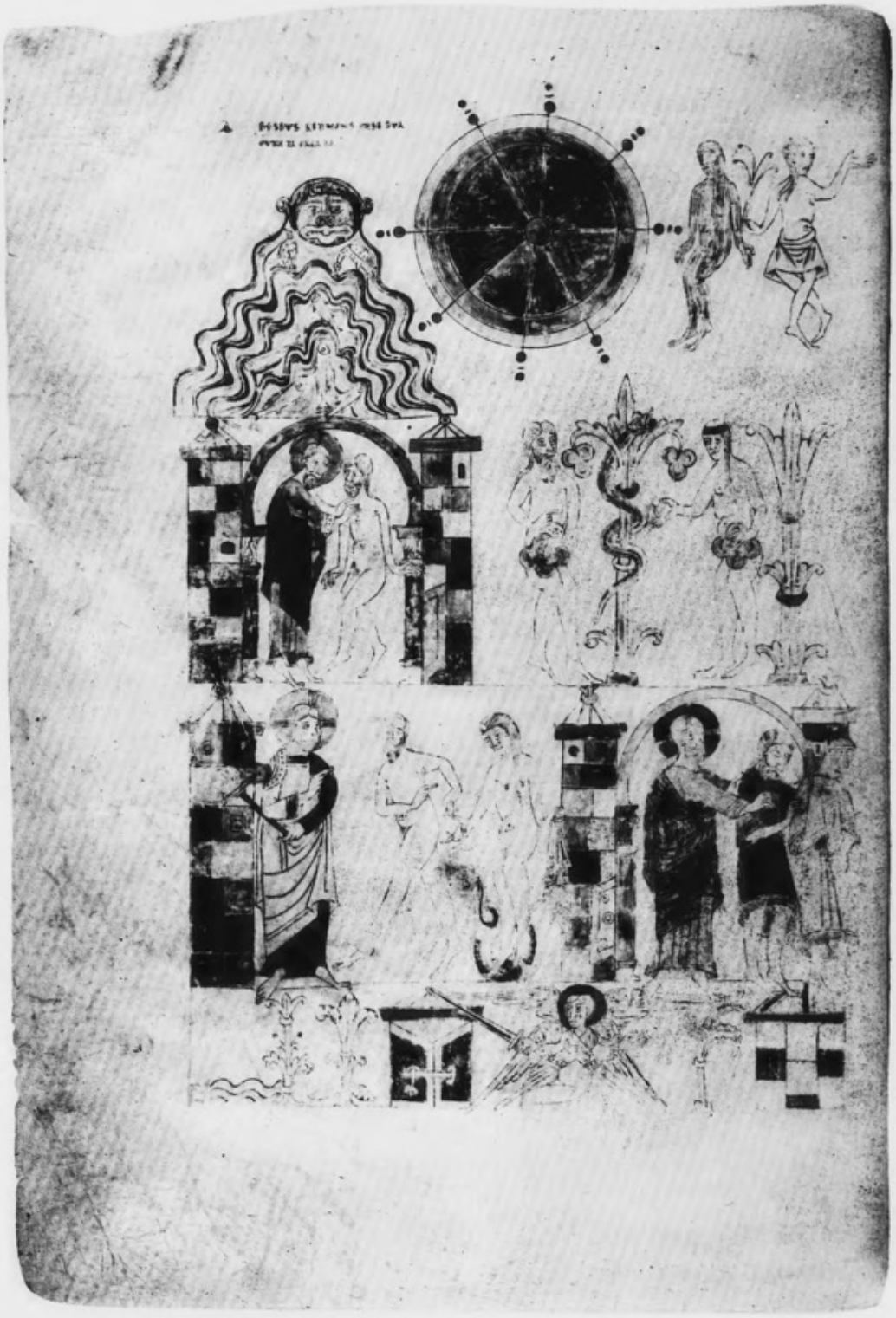


1. *Creation of World* and *Adam and Eve,* Ripoll Bible, Vatican Biblioteca, lat. 5729, fol. 5v (Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

Observations on the Genesis Iconography of the *Ripoll Bible**

RANDI E. SHERMAN

The *Ripoll Bible* (Vatican, Biblioteca, lat. 5729), also known as the *Farfa Bible,* is a one-volume illustrated manuscript of both Old and New Testaments that was copied and illustrated at the Monastery of Ripoll in Catalonia, Spain, in the early eleventh century.[1] It is particularly valuable as a source of knowledge about illustrated Biblical cycles as it is one of the most extensively illustrated extant Biblical manuscripts of the early Middle Ages from Spain and the Latin West.[2] Illustrating close to thirty books of the combined testaments, the manuscript contains over three hundred miniatures.

Knowledge of the development of illustrated Biblical cycles in the Latin West is still fragmentary; however, Kurt Weitzmann has made pioneer contributions which underlie the method and content of this study. Weitzmann has formulated that all Biblical miniature cycles are connected with the individual books of the Bible and, like them, antedate their collection into the full canon of scriptures.[3] The Genesis cycle, in all probability, originated as an independent iconographic entity, unconnected to other Biblical cycles of illustrations. Although an examination of the twenty-five Genesis scenes of the *Ripoll Bible* may seem an incomplete approach to the extensive series of Ripoll miniatures, it is, in fact, justified. Furthermore, Weitzmann has distinguished more than one iconographically separate recension of Biblical illustration.[4] This paper identifies iconographic relationships between the *Ripoll Bible* and the recensions of the *Cotton Genesis* (London, British Library, Cotton Otho B VI) of the fifth or sixth century, known primarily through the thirteenth-century copy of it among the mosaics of San Marco Cathedral in Venice;[5] and the extant Byzantine Octateuchs which variously date from the

* This paper is an abridged and revised version of my Master's paper submitted to the University of Chicago in 1977.

[1] The *Ripoll Bible* was first published by S. Beissel, *Vaticanische Miniaturen,* Freiburg im Breisgau, 1893, 29. Beissel named it the *Farfa Bible* after attributing the manuscript to the Farfa Monastery in Italy. Primary studies on the *Ripoll Bible* are by J. Pijoan, "Les minatures de l'octateuch a les Biblies romanique catalanes," *Anuari de l'Institut d'Etudis Catalans,* IV, 1911-12, 475-508 and W. Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei,* Bonn, 1922. Pijoan established the Catalan provenance of the *Ripoll Bible.* Neuss localized the manuscript at the Ripoll Monastery.

[2] The *Roda Bible* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 6) is another extensively illustrated Catalan manuscript of the eleventh century whose provenance has not yet been sufficiently established. Despite significant divergences between them, the *Roda* and *Ripoll Bibles* display partial iconographic parallels, especially in their Genesis illustrations. See P. Klein, "Date et Scriptorium de la Bible de Roda; Etat des Recherches," *Les Cahiers de Saint-Michel de Cuxa,* III, June 1972, 91-102. See also Neuss, *Bibelillustration,* 10-15ff.

[3] K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex: A Study of the Origins and Method of Text Illustration,* 2nd ed., Princeton, 1970, 194.

[4] K. Weitzmann, "Observations on the *Cotton Genesis* Fragments," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.,* ed. Weitzmann, Princeton, 1955, 128-31.

[5] For the *Cotton Genesis,* see J. J. Tikkanen, *Die Genesis-mosaiken in Venedig (Acta Societatis Scientiarium Fennicae,* XVII), Helsinki, 1889, and Weitzmann, "Observations," 122ff. Works which have since been introduced as dependents of the *Cotton Genesis* are noted by H. L. Kessler, *The Illustrated Bibles from Tours,* Princeton, 1977, 13-14.

2. *Toil of Adam and Eve* and *Cain and Abel,* Ripoll Bible, fol. 6r (detail) (Photo: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana)

eleventh through thirteenth centuries and which constitute six illustrated copies of a pre-Iconoclastic prototype.[6]

So far scholars have avoided a thorough iconographic study of the Genesis miniatures of the *Ripoll Bible.*[7] Such a study undertaken by this author led to the conclusion that the Genesis cycle of the *Ripoll Bible* incorporates more than one iconographically separate tradition of Biblical illustration; specifically, it contains conflated elements from both the *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions. Furthermore, in some instances the same conflated imagery appears on other early

[6] K. Weitzmann, "The Illustration of the Septuagint," in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination,* ed. H. L. Kessler, Chicago, 1971, 52–53.

[7] Both Pijoan, "Biblies catalanes," 475ff., and Neuss, *Bibelillustration,* 35ff., noted iconographic parallels between the Ripoll Genesis miniatures and monuments reflecting different recensions as later distinguished by Weitzmann. However, their studies of the entire extent of Genesis miniatures were general and incomplete. Neuss largely directed his attention to prototypes for artistic conventions, such as scenery, fashion, and ornament.

3. *Spirit of God over Abyss*, Octateuch, Istanbul, Seraglio, 8, fol. 26v (detail) (from Ouspensky, *Octateuque*, pl. IX, 11)

medieval works of art in the Latin West. The multiple appearance of such conflations suggests the earlier fusion in a single cycle of iconographic elements from both the *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions. Such a cycle indicating an early iconographic conflation of the two major models would constitute a separate and unique tradition of Genesis illustration in the Latin West. In this paper the author proposes to demonstrate the above conclusion with the help of representative miniatures.

The Genesis miniatures of the *Ripoll Bible* depict scenes from the stories of the creation of the world through Joseph; however, scenes from the Creation of the World, Adam and Eve, and Cain and Abel provide the basis for this paper and are presented here (figs. 1 and 2).[8] The scenes on folio 5v. clearly show that the Genesis cycle contains iconographic elements from both *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions (fig. 1). The topmost register illustrating the Creation of the

[8] The remaining Ripoll Genesis scenes illustrate episodes from the stories of Noah, Abraham, and Isaac on folio 6r., Rebeccah and Joseph on folio 6v., and Jacob on folio 3v.

4. *Night and Day,* Octateuch, Smyrna, Evangelical School Library, A.I. fol. 4v, destroyed 1923 (detail) (from Hesseling, *Octateuque,* pl. I, 3)

World is represented from left to right by the personification of the Abyss, the disk of the Cosmos, and the personifications of Night and Day. This group of images is dominated by Byzantine iconography, as revealed by the motifs of the Abyss, and Night and Day. In the *Ripoll Bible* the Abyss is represented frontally as a mask-like head at the top of a mound of wavy lines, indicating water, that contain the small figures of birds and fish. The only extant Octateuch that illustrates the Abyss is the *Seraglio Octateuch* (Istanbul, Seraglio, 8) of the twelfth century,[9] in which the motif appears on folio 26v. as the head of a bearded man in the water at the lower right corner of the miniature (fig. 3).[10]

The Byzantine personifications of Night and Day appear in at least four of the Octateuchs. As on folio 4v. of the *Smyrna Octateuch* (Smyrna, Evangelical School Library, A.I.)[11] of the twelfth century (fig. 4), the personifications of the *Ripoll Bible* are represented as full-length figures without mandorlas. Night is a darkened, nude figure to the left, and Day is a lighter, semi-nude figure to the right. Even without the blown drapery, the Ripoll personification of Day retains the same hand

[9] T. Ouspensky, *L'octateuque de la Bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople,* Sofia, 1907. See also K. Weitzmann, "The Octateuch of the Seraglio and the History of Its Picture Recension," *Actes du X congrès international d'études byzantines — Istanbul: 15-21 Septembre 1955,* Istanbul, 1957, 183-86.

[10] The Abyss is not present in the *Cotton Genesis* recension. However, it appears in two other Western, specifically south Italian, works which incorporate *Cotton Genesis* iconography infiltrated by Byzantine elements. They are the eleventh-century ivory antependium from Salerno Cathedral (A. Goldschmidt, ed., *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen,* Berlin, 1926, IV, pl. LII, 146) and the twelfth-century nave mosaics of Monreale Cathedral (O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily,* New York, 1950, pl. 93).

[11] D. C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'octateuque grec de Smyrne (Codices Graeci e Latini photographice depicti,* suppl. VI), Leiden, 1909. The manuscript was destroyed in 1923.

5. *Animation of Adam,* Vivian Bible, Paris, B.N., lat. 1, fol. 10v (detail) (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

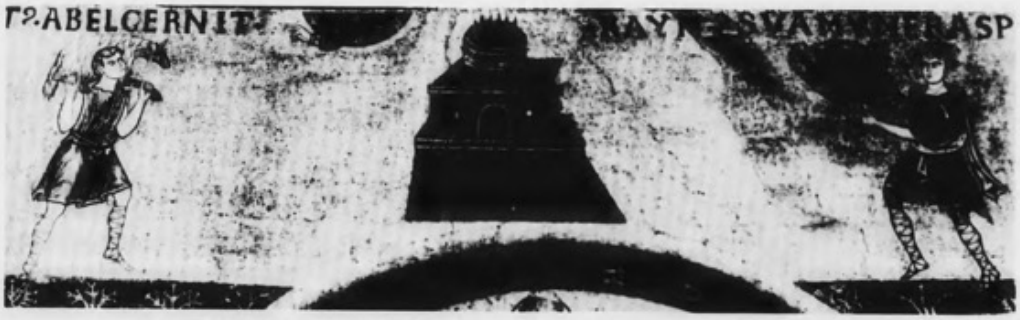
gestures as in the Octateuch, and holds in its right hand what seems to be an indistinct representation of the torch which is pictured in the Octateuch.[12]

The *Cotton Genesis,* on the other hand, provides the closest precedent for the subsequent series of six scenes that illustrate the story of Adam and Eve (figs. 1 and 2). Where the Octateuch represents the Creator after the first act of creation only in the guise of a hand or ray of light issuing from heaven, the *Cotton Genesis* represents the Creator anthropomorphically as a full-length figure set in the landscape with Adam and Eve.[13] The *Ripoll Bible* follows the *Cotton Genesis* recension in this respect, specifically in the scenes of the Creation of Adam, God Reproving Adam and Eve, and the Expulsion from Paradise. The scene of the Creation of Adam on the left half of the second register is compared to the same scene on folio 10v. of the *Vivian Bible* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 1),[14] an early ninth-century Carolingian manuscript whose Genesis frontispiece reflects the *Cotton Genesis* recension

[12] In the *Cotton Genesis* recension as reflected in the San Marco mosaics, the Creation of Night and Day is represented by two round spheres over which the Creator presides (S. Bettini, *Mosaici Antichi di San Marco a Venezia,* Bergamo, 1944, pl. LII).

[13] The representation of God as a hand issuing from heaven is also found in the *Cotton Genesis* recension in scenes subsequent to those of the Creation of the World and Adam and Eve.

[14] For the *Vivian Bible,* see W. Köhler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen,* I, 1, Berlin, 1933, 235ff. and Kessler, *Illustrated Bibles,* 13ff.



6. *Cain and Abel Sacrificing,* Venice, San Marco, atrium mosaics (Photo: Böhm)

7. *Cain and Abel Sacrificing,* Monreale, Cathedral, nave mosaics (Photo: Anderson)

(fig. 5). In both miniatures God animates Adam,[15] who stands upright facing him, by gesturing toward Adam with his right hand.

The scenes depicting the story of Cain and Abel on folio 6r. of the *Ripoll Bible* are highly significant for this study. They indicate that the *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions, so far isolated as contributing to the imagery of the *Ripoll Bible,* were already fused before reaching the Ripoll illustrator. On the right half of the top register is the scene of Cain and Abel Sacrificing, followed on the second register from left to right by the scenes of Cain Killing Abel, God Reproving Cain, and Cain Wandering (fig. 2). In the first scene of the sequence, Abel stands at the left holding an animal on his shoulders while Cain stands at the right, raising a sheaf of grain in front of him at shoulder level. The hand of God gestures from above to Abel. This scene most closely relates to the corresponding scene which is found in the *Cotton Genesis* recension as it is reflected in the San Marco mosaics (fig. 6). In the San Marco mosaics, Abel and Cain are placed to the left and right, respectively, of the altar; Abel carries an animal across the back of his shoulders in the manner of the Good Shepherd, and the hand of God issuing from the arc of heaven points to Abel. In all of these respects the Ripoll miniature adheres to the *Cotton Genesis* recension.[16]

In the complex scene of God Reproving Cain, God appears as a full-length standing figure, gesturing with his right hand to Cain, who stands at the right. God also points with his left hand to Abel, who is nimbed and crouching below him within double concentric circles (fig. 2). This feature represents the corpse of Abel buried in the earth.[17] Although the Bible does not mention what happened to Abel's corpse, an explanation for this image can be found in Jewish legends:

> Nature was modified also by the burial of the corpse of Abel. For a long time it lay there exposed, above ground, because Adam and Eve knew not what to do with it. . . . On a sudden, the mourning parents observed how a raven scratched the earth away in one spot, and then hid a dead bird of his own kind in the ground. Adam, following the example of the raven, buried the body of Abel. . .[18]

The motif of Abel's Corpse buried in the earth, rather than lying on the ground, does not appear in reflections of either the *Cotton Genesis* or the Octateuchs. In Western art the closest parallel to the representation of Abel's Corpse is the personification of the Voice of Abel's Blood, which literally illustrates God's statement

[15] Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex,* 176-77, distinguished three moments in the Creation of Adam which are represented in the *Cotton Genesis* recension: the physical forming, the enlivenment, and the animation. Kessler, *Illustrated Bibles,* 15, identified the Creation of Adam in the *Vivian Bible* as the Animation.

[16] In the Octateuchs the placement of Abel and Cain is reversed, the altar is omitted, Abel and Cain are represented in identical positions, with each brother holding his offering in front of himself, and the hands of each are covered with a cloth in Byzantine fashion. (Hesseling, *Octateuque,* pl. 8, 24 and Ouspensky, *Octateuque,* pl. XI, 28).

[17] Christian encyclopedists perpetuated the image of the earth as a disk of multi-layered rings, based on an ancient belief that the universe consisted of concentric rings of the four elements (H. L. Kessler, "An Eleventh-Century Ivory Plaque from South Italy and the Cassinese Revival," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen,* 1966, 92).

[18] L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews,* I, 1913, 113.

8. *God Reproving Cain,* Monreale, Cathedral, nave mosaics (Photo: Anderson)
9. *God Reproving Cain, Sacra Parallela,* Paris, B.N., gr. 923, fol. 69r (detail) (Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

to Cain in the fourth chapter of Genesis: "[Y]our brother's blood that has been shed is crying out to me from the ground."[19] This personification is found among the twelfth-century nave mosaics of Monreale Cathedral in Sicily,[20] and the illustrations to the *Caedmon Manuscript* (Oxford, Bodlein Library, Junius 11),[21] an eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon poetic paraphrase of Genesis (figs. 8 and 11). In the Monreale mosaics it takes the form of a little nude man with uplifted arms, suspended in the air between God and Cain. In the *Caedmon Manuscript* it is represented on folio 49 by the upper torso of a male figure with uplifted arms, emerging from the ground at God's feet. While the Voice of Abel's Blood is part of

[19] Genesis 4:10 (NEB). Jewish legend adds that "the soul of Abel denounced the murderer, for she could find rest nowhere. She could neither soar heavenward, nor abide in the grave with her body, for no human soul had done either before" (Ginzberg, *Legends,* I, 110).

[20] For the Monreale mosaics, see Demus, *Mosaics,* and E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale,* Palermo, 1960.

[21] For the *Caedmon Manuscript,* see I. Gollancz, ed., *The Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry, Junius XI in the Bodlein Library,* Oxford, 1927, which contains a complete facsimile, and E. Temple, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles (Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066,* II), London, 1976, 76–78, which includes a comprehensive bibliography.

10. *Cain Wandering,* Octateuch, Smyrna, fol. 17r (detail) (from Hesseling, *Octateuque,* pl. 8, 25)

the composition of God Reproving Cain in the Monreale mosaics, it is a separate scene preceding that of God Reproving Cain on folio 51 in the *Caedmon Manuscript* (fig. 12).

The motifs of Abel's Corpse and the Voice of Abel's Blood may have originated in association with one another in a Byzantine context. In the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 923),[22] a ninth-century illustrated anthology of Biblical quotations and patristic literature, the two motifs appear together in a single scene on folio 69r. (fig. 9). Weitzmann has claimed that the postulated Octateuch behind the *Sacra Parallela* forms a Byzantine recension different from that of the surviving eleventh- to thirteenth-century Octateuchs,[23] in which neither motif appears. It is possible, then, that the motifs were Byzantine intrusions into a Western Biblical cycle, and that the Monreale mosaics, *Caedmon Manuscript,* and *Ripoll Bible* may have derived in part from such a cycle.

This possibility is strengthened by a detail already observed: the *Ripoll Bible,* Monreale mosaics, and *Caedmon Manuscript* share a noticeable inconsistency in that, while they depict God as an anthropomorphic being in the scene of God Reproving Cain (figs. 2, 8, and 12), they represent him in the guise of a hand in the previous scene of Cain and Abel Sacrificing (figs. 2, 7, and 11). Normally, the two modes of representation are not interchanged. The multiple appearance of this unusual inconsistency indicates that the variation was already contained in one model, and

[22] For the *Sacra Parallela,* see K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela: Parisinus Graecus 923,* Princeton, 1979.

[23] Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela,* 258.

11. *Cain and Abel,* Caedmon Manuscript, Oxford, Bodlein Library, Junius 11, fol. 49 (Photo: Bodlein Library)

reinforces the likelihood that the Monreale mosaics, *Caedmon Manuscript,* and *Ripoll Bible* derived, at least in part, from a distinct variant cycle of Genesis illustrations.

The last scene from the story of Cain and Abel is that of Cain Wandering (fig. 2). This scene is included, not in the *Cotton Genesis* recension, but only in the Octateuchs, as it appears on folio 17r of the *Smyrna Octateuch* (fig. 10). In both the Ripoll and Octateuch illustrations, Cain is represented as a bearded and partially draped man, standing alone with one hand to his chin in the conventional gesture used in the Middle Ages to indicate deep thought or perplexity. It is likely, therefore, that the iconography of the Ripoll scene was derived from a Byzantine source. The *Ripoll Bible,* however, unlike the Octateuchs, closes the composition of Cain Wandering with an architectural motif to the right of Cain which represents the land of Nod.[24]

Another example of this relatively rare scene is found in the *Caedmon Manuscript* (fig. 12). The Caedmon illustration is closest to the Ripoll scene in that it, too, includes the architectural representation of Nod. The inclusion in both

[24] "Then Cain went out from the Lord's presence and settled in the land of Nod" (Genesis 4:16 [NEB]).

12. *God Reproving Cain* and *Cain Wandering*, Caedmon Manuscript, fol. 51 (detail) (Photo: Bodlein Library)

Western manuscripts of the scene of Cain Wandering indicates that this Byzantine motif was already incorporated in an earlier Western model, and that the architectural symbol of Nod was most likely a Western addition to the composition.

Both the *Ripoll Bible* and the *Caedmon Manuscript* show the same selection of scenes: Cain and Abel Sacrificing, Cain Killing Abel, God Reproving Cain in the presence of either the Voice of Abel's Blood or Abel's Corpse, and Cain Wandering. This selection of scenes is apparently Byzantine in origin, since the motifs of the Voice of Abel's Blood and Abel's Corpse, and Cain Wandering survive before the eleventh century only in Byzantine versions. However, the Cain and Abel cycle of the *Ripoll Bible* differs from that of the *Caedmon Manuscript* in certain ways. Most notable is the difference in the manner in which Cain and Abel offer their sacrifices. The Ripoll version reflects that of the *Cotton Genesis* recension, a fact which might suggest that the illustrator of the *Ripoll Bible* originated the combination of Western and Byzantine elements within the Cain and Abel cycle by drawing upon models of both the *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions. However, this

possibility must be abandoned in view of another factor. The anthropomorphic representation of God in the scene of God Reproving Cain, as distinguished from the representation of God as a hand in the scene of Cain and Abel Sacrificing, is a variation shared by the *Ripoll Bible* and the *Caedmon Manuscript,* as well as the Monreale mosaics. This factor leads to the conclusion that a fusion of elements from both Byzantine and Western Genesis cycles already existed in the model used by the illustrator of the *Ripoll Bible.*

In fact, the early fusion of the *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions has already been demonstrated by other scholars on the basis of using other monuments. Robert Bergman and Lieselotte Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, examining, respectively, the Salerno ivory antependium of the eleventh century and the Via Latina catacomb frescoes of the fourth century, propose for this fusion a date as early as the fourth century.[23] In all probability the Ripoll Genesis cycle derives from such an early Christian conflated prototype.[26] However, the Ripoll cycle also deviates significantly from the *Cotton Genesis* and Octateuch recensions, both in single compositions and in a series of scenes from the later Genesis narrative,[27] thus providing evidence that it depends upon multiple sources. It seems that the Genesis cycles of the *Ripoll Bible,* the Monreale mosaics, the *Caedmon Manuscript,* the Salerno antependium, and the Via Latina catacombs are each related in partial instances to this composite version of Biblical iconography, and are independent reflections of an early conflated prototype, whose precise nature remains to be reconstructed. A comparative study of works whose imagery provides evidence for such a composite version of Genesis iconography would expand our knowledge of the nature and date of the proposed archetype.

A thorough examination of miniatures illustrating the remaining books of the *Ripoll Bible* still needs to be undertaken. However, it is clear from a study of selected miniatures from the Genesis cycle that the *Ripoll Bible* can contribute to our knowledge of the relationships among extant works of art containing illustrated Biblical cycles, and thus to our attempt to reconstruct the development of the illustrated Biblical cycle in the Latin West.

University of Chicago

[25] R. P. Bergman, "The Salerno Ivories," Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1972, 75–84 *passim* and L. Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Die Neue Katakombe an der Via Latina in Rom: Untersuchungen zur Alttestamentlichen Wandmalerein (Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum,* ergänzungsband IV), Münster Westfalen, 1976, 103–109 *passim.*

[26] Kötzsche-Breitenbruch, *Via Latina,* 26_{133}, 47_{282}, 50, 53_{334}, 85, 88, cited scenes from the *Ripoll Bible* that reveal the same prototypes of the Old Testament paintings of the Via Latina Catacombs, notably the recensions of the *Cotton Genesis* and the Byzantine Octateuchs. F. Bucher, *The Pamplona Bibles,* New Haven, 1970, 82–87, conjectured, without introducing evidence, that the illustrations of the *Ripoll* and *Roda Bibles* originated from a variant of the *Cotton Genesis* recension that was influenced by the Byzantine Octateuch and the Jewish Apocrypha. J. Williams, "The Illustrations of the *León Bible* of the Year 960—An Iconographic Analysis," Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1963, 60–136 *passim,* affirmed that the *Ripoll Bible,* as a whole, depends upon ancient traditions native to the Byzantine East and noted that within the Exodus cycle of the *Ripoll Bible* there is evidence for more than one iconographic tradition of illustration (Williams, "*León Bible,*" 70–72). Neuss, *Bibelillustration,* 140–42, assumed that the *Ripoll Bible* reflects a lost, extensively illustrated early Christian model.

[27] R. Sherman, "The Iconographic Sources of the Genesis Cycle of the *Farfa Bible* (Vatican, lat. 5729), M.A. paper, The University of Chicago, 1977, 7–50.

The Tomb of Cosimo de'Medici in San Lorenzo[1]

JANIS CLEARFIELD

A flat stone slab in the pavement of San Lorenzo marks the grave of Cosimo de'Medici. It is a simple geometric design in *pietra serena,* red and green porphyry, and white marble, of two intersecting ovals inscribed in a square, with mandorlas in the lunettes, circles in the spandrels, and bronze shields bearing the Medici *palle* in the corners (fig. 1).[2] It is marked by the inscription COSMVS MEDICES HIC SITVS EST DECRETO PVBLICO PATER PATRIAE / VIXIT ANNOS LXXV MENSES III DIES XX on two white marble tablets.[3] Now partly covered by the large steps leading to the high altar, the monument escapes the notice of many visitors to the church. Compared with the imposing sepulchers of his contemporaries Lionardo Bruni, Carlo Marsuppini, and James, Cardinal of Portugal, or even of other members of his own family, the tomb of Cosimo is surprisingly modest. With no effigy and no religious symbols, it seems to lie outside the tradition of fifteenth-century tombs, and presents a problem of iconographic interpretation.

The actual burial vault is immediately below in the *sotterraneo,* the subterranean cemetery and church that runs the entire length and breadth of the main church of San Lorenzo. The burial vault is contained within the central pier of the crossing that supports the weight of the floor above (fig. 2). Its decoration is even more modest than that of the tomb slab above, for instead of the costly porphyry, the tomb is sheathed in black marble, which provides a background for white marble designs: three joined crosses on the north and south sides, a shield bearing the Medici *palle* on the east, and an inscription tablet on the west. Nevertheless, the design has an austere grandeur that belies the modesty of its ornament. It dominates the chancel of the lower church, as a visual analogy to Cosimo's role as patron of the main altar and chancel of the church.

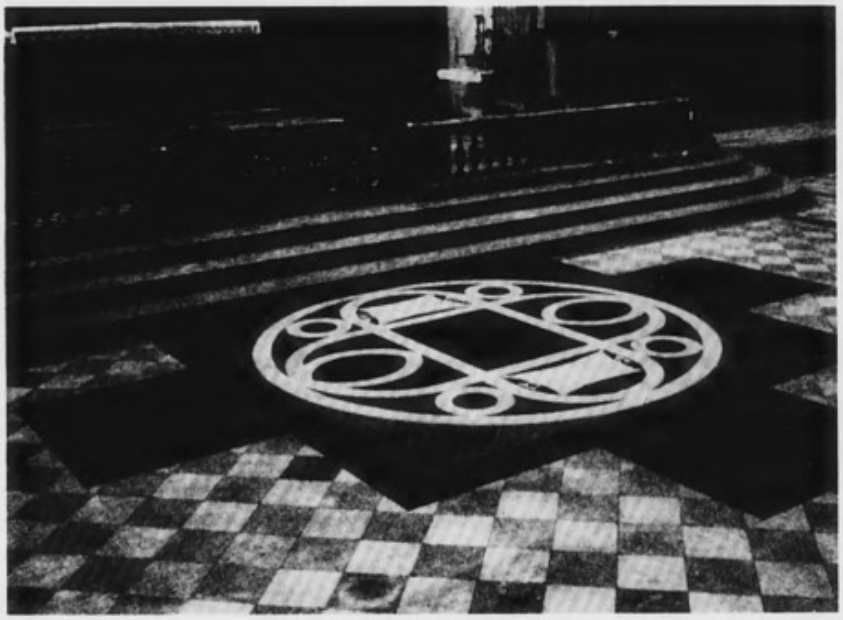
The inscription on this tablet, "PETRVS MEDICES PATRI FACIVNDVM CVRAVIT," clearly identifies Piero de'Medici, Cosimo's son and successor, as the patron of the tomb. However, the starkness of the tomb design seems inconsistent with the style of Piero's patronage.[4] Furthermore, the documents from the construction of San Lorenzo and the planning of the tomb indicate that Piero was not, in fact, responsible for all aspects of the planning. In trying to fulfill the

[1] This paper is a revised version of a Master's thesis accepted by Brown University, 1977. I wish here to express my thanks to Brenda Preyer and Anne Schulz who directed me in this research, to Samuel Edgerton who stimulated my interest in questions of patronage, and to the Department of Art at Boston University and the Kress Foundation for their award of a summer travel grant to commence this project.

[2] The green stone of the lunettes was recently identified as green porphyry by P. Cannon-Brookes, "Verrocchio Problems," *Apollo* XCIX, 1974, 8. It had been identified previously as green serpentine.

[3] "Cosimo Medici lies here, by public decree (called) Pater Patriae. He lived seventy-five years, three months, ten days."

[4] See Ernst Gombrich, "The early Medici as patrons of art," in *Norm and Form (Studies in the Art of the Renaissance,* I), Greenwich, Ct. and London, 1966.



1. Tomb slab of Cosimo de'Medici, S. Lorenzo. (All photos by author)

2. Subterranean burial vault of Cosimo de'Medici, S. Lorenzo

wishes of his father, Piero became embroiled in a political battle with the Signoria of Florence, thus delaying the construction of the tomb for more than three years after Cosimo's death—from August 1, 1464 to October 22, 1467! As we shall see, Cosimo was deeply involved in the planning of his own sepulcher, which was intimately related to Brunelleschi's design for the new church of San Lorenzo. This will become obvious as we sift through the events of Cosimo's patronage at San Lorenzo, sorting out his stipulations from the changes made after his death.

1

Before getting involved in the intricacies of these plans, we should look at the monument that exists today. There has been some question as to whether the original monument has been altered, based on a statement in the *Deliberazioni dei Signori* of March 1495 that called for the debasement of the inscription.[5] In the wave of anti-Medicean sentiment following the expulsion of Piero, Lorenzo de'Medici's heir, the Signoria decided that Cosimo should be regarded as a powerful tyrant who destroyed republican liberties rather than the *Pater Patriae,* the Father of his Country. Examinations of the tomb slab by Passavant and Cannon-Brookes have revealed that the inscription panel with the objectionable epithet was filed down, and the green porphyry surrounding the other panel was broken, possibly reflecting damage to that inscription also during the anti-Medicean riots.[6] The inscription style and the similarity between the two tablets suggest that the present inscription dates from after 1495.

The subterranean part of the tomb seems to be intact, although the marble is chipped and cracked, and has flaked or discolored in places, probably because of dampness. The black marble panels sheathing the pier are composed of irregularly shaped pieces of various sizes fitted together without any logical pattern. This technique, which was common in the Quattrocento, does not suggest any damage to the tomb: the same type of piecing can be observed in the red marble panels covering the wall behind the sarcophagus of the Cardinal of Portugal at San Miniato.[7] Furthermore, Albertini's 1512 description of the lower tomb (the first notice after 1495) gives no indication that the tomb had been damaged. In fact, he does not even mention the pavement tomb slab, but refers exclusively to the subterranean pier.[8]

A *terminus ad quem* for the restoration of the tomb slab is provided by Paolo Giovio's *Historiarum sui temporis* in which the present inscription is cited. He quotes Niccolò Capponi, gonfalonier of Florence in 1527, as saying that he "could no

[5] Florence, Archivio di Stato, Reppublica, *Deliberazioni dei Signori,* Ordinaria autorità, fol. 118v., 22 November 1495, transcribed in E. Muntz, *Les collections des Medicies au XVe siècle,* Paris and London, 1888, 104, with numerous errors.

"Item dicti domini simul adunati etc., obtento intereus partito per novum fabas nigras et omnibus servatis etc., deliberaverunt etc., quod inscriptio sepulchri Cosmae di Medicis in aede sanctis Laurentii in pavimento prope altare maius cuius talis est titulus Cosmae Medici Patri Patriae omnino deleatis (sic: deleator) quia talem titulum non meruit sed potius tirannus."

[6] G. Passavant, *Verrocchio,* London, 1969, 10. Cannon-Brookes, 8, suggests that the panel was added in the late sixteenth century.

[7] F. Hartt *et al., The Chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal,* Philadelphia, 1964, plate 48.

[8] Albertini, *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della città di Firenze,* Florence: Antonio Tubini, 1510, reprinted and edited by Cellini, Florence, 1863, 11. "Lascio stare socto la predecta chiesa ne sia un' altra di simile lungheze et largheza, che è quella disopra, et le cappelle et choro, con sepulchri bellissimi, maxime quello di Cosme de'Medici, et di altri nobili ciptadini."

longer see that the tomb had been 'broken'."[9] Apparently, Clement VII had authorized repair of the tomb when he arranged for the reinstatement of Medici arms and inscriptions throughout the city of Florence.

Passavant and Cannon-Brookes have suggested that the bronze shields with the Medici *palle* were also added at this time, Cannon-Brookes arguing that the fifteenth century would not have condoned such an ostentatious display of the family *stemme.*[10] The flatness of the shields, and their clear, unadorned outlines contradict this suggestion as does their similarity in shape to those on the lower tomb and to other shields in Quattrocento monuments.[11]

Before the twentieth century, Donatello was the only artist associated with the design of the tomb. Vasari mentions the sepulcher twice but does not name its author. However, his references to it in the life of Donatello, and his description (in the *Ragionamenti)* of a picture showing Donatello holding "il modello dell' altar maggiore con la sepoltura di Cosimo a piedi," must certainly have been responsible for the nineteenth-century attributions of Moreni and Semper to Donatello.[12]

In 1895, von Fabriczy published a 1496 inventory of Verrocchio's unremunerated works for the Medici which had been compiled by the artist's brother, Tommaso.[13] The inventory included "la sepultura dj Chosimo appiè del altare magiore in S. Lorenzo..." without specifying whether the entire monument or merely the tomb slab at the foot of the altar was Verrocchio's work. Von Fabriczy argued that the entire tomb should be credited to Verrocchio, and his opinion was later supported by Reymond, Wackernagel, Paatz, Pope-Hennessy, and Seymour.[14] On the other hand, because the crypt is not mentioned, Mackowsky,

[9] From *Dell' Istorie del Suo Tempo,* ed. Dominichi, Venice, 1560, 112, quoted in D. Moreni, *Continuazione della Memorie istoriche dell' ambrosiana imperiale basilica di S. Lorenzo,* Florence, 1816, I, 115.

[10] Passavant, 170; Cannon-Brookes, 9. Medici arms were prominently displayed in Cosimo's buildings (for example, the Badia at Fiesole, and the choir of San Marco) and on many sculpted church furnishings.

[11] For example, the shield with the coat-of-arms of the city of Pistoia on a marble monument in the Pistoia city palace, attributed to the Verrocchio workshop by H. Mackowsky, *Verrocchio,* Leipzig, 1901, 101. The bronze gratings outside the corners of the *pietra serena* square of the tomb and the four oculi in the ceiling vault of the crypt are almost certainly not part of the original project. Both were completed before 1754 as we know from the description of "tre tondi di bronzo" by G. Richa, *Notizie storiche delle chiese fiorentine,* V, Rome, 1972 ed., 29–30. Probably the oculi were begun in 1738 according to the *Diario del Capitolo di S. Lorenzo di Firenze,* 293–94 in the Biblioteca Moreniana, Florence. j. 128, quoted by Elena Ciletti, "On the Destruction of Pontormo's Frescoes at San Lorenzo..." *Burlington Magazine* 121, 1979, 767 note: "D'agusto l'Anno 1738. ...la sudia Serima Elettrice a sua propria spese fece non solo resarcira quanto sopra, ma fece intonacare, e mattonare tuttj i sotterranj, e reseli luminosi, che per verita era un sudiciume!"

[12] G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti architetti, pittori e scultori italiani...,* ed. Milanesi, 1906, II, 418–19: "Fece anche per la famiglia de' Martelli una cassa a uso di zana fatta di vimini, perchè servisse per sepoltura; ma è sotto la chiesa di S. Lorenzo, perchè di sopra non appariscono sepolture di nessuna sorte, se non l'epitaffio di quella di Cosimo de' Medici, che nondimeno ha la sua apritura di sotto come l'altre." Vasari mentions the tomb again in connection with Donatello's burial, 421: "...e (Donatello) fu sotterrato nella chiesa di San Lorenzo vicino all sepoltura di Cosimo, come egli stesso aveva ordinato, a cagione che così gli fusse vicino il corpo già morto, come vivo sempre gli ere stato presso l'animo." Vasari-Milanesi, VIII, 99. Moreni, I, 113: "Il di lui figlio Piero fece col disegno di Donatello costruire il magnifico marmoreo Deposito tutt'ora esistente di fronte, e appie dell'Altar Maggiore di nostra Chiesa...." H. Semper, *Donatello, Seiner Zeit und Schule,* Vienna, 1875, 288.

[13] C. von Fabriczy, "Andrea del Verrocchio ai servizi de' Medici," *Archivio storico dell' arte* I, 1895, 163–76.

[14] M. Reymond, *Verrocchio,* Paris, n.d. M. Wackernagel, *Der Lebensraum des Künstlers in der florentinischen Renaissance,* Leipzig, 1938, 258. E. and W. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz,* Frankfurt am Main, 1952, III, 49. J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture,* London, 1958, 310. C. Seymour, *The Sculpture of Verrocchio,* Greenwich, Ct., 1971, 49. Seymour includes an extensive discussion of the date, purpose, and credibility of the inventory.

Cruttwell, Dussler, Planiscig, and Passavant have interpreted the entry as a reference to the tomb slab only.[15] None of these authors has undertaken a detailed study of the style and history of the tomb. With the exception of Passavant, all attributions have been based solely on the words of the inventory entry.

Passavant has studied the marble and porphyry design and has secured it among Verrocchio's authentic works of the 1460s. He notes its similarity to the marble decoration of the top of the plinth of the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de'Medici in San Lorenzo. Both designs are composed of circles and mandorla shapes in green and red porphyry surrounded by thick bands of white marble—a composition apparently without parallel in the Quattrocento. The closest precedent is the presbytery pavement of the Medici palace chapel, dated before 1459.[16] The inlay technique of these works is extremely unusual: the design is cut from a few large slabs of stone, in contrast to the traditional technique in which small irregularly shaped pieces of stone are combined to create a complex pattern.[17] Passavant has suggested that the tomb slab design may derive from the tradition of enamel decoration, which Verrocchio would probably have learned in his early training as a goldsmith.

If the attribution of the tomb slab is fairly certain, that of the crypt pier is not. While Verrocchio would be the most likely candidate, there is nothing comparable to the subterranean part of the tomb in his oeuvre. The lower part of the tomb is an 'architectural' monument, lacking figurative decoration and almost devoid of sculptural ornament. While architectural framing was an important element in many designs by Donatello and Bernardo Rossellino,[18] Verrocchio's commissions rarely called for this kind of arrangement. His early competition designs for the chapel of the Madonna della Tavola at Orvieto (1461) do not survive, and he seems never to have been involved in subsequent architectural projects. The only major exception is the archway in which the tomb of Giovanni and Piero de'Medici is placed, but even its attribution has recently been questioned.[19]

There is no doubt that the subterranean portion of the tomb is contemporaneous with Verrocchio's tomb slab. Although there are no coeval monuments which even resemble it in overall design, such elements as the mouldings of the base and frieze are taken from the standard architectural vocabulary of the time.

[15] Mackowsky, 120. M. Cruttwell, *Verrocchio,* London, 1904, 72ff. and 228. L. Dussler, "Andrea del Verrocchio," in U. Thieme and F. Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler,* XXXIV, 1940, 294. L. Planiscig, *Andrea del Verrocchio,* Vienna, 1941, 14–15. Passavant, 9f., and 170–171. Following a suggestion by Heydenreich, Passavant has proposed Alberti as the author of the lower part of the tomb, based on "close similarities" with the sarcophagus in the Chapel of the Holy Sepulcher in the Rucellai church of San Pancrazio. I cannot see that the two works have much in common other than the rectangular shape and austerity of the design. Furthermore, the character of the inscription is completely alien to Alberti's lapidary style of the 1460s in which he revived the majuscules of the Roman Imperial Age. See G. Mardersteig, "Leon Battista Alberti e la rinascità del carattere lapidario romano nel Quattrocento," *Italia medioevale e umanistica,* II, 1959, 285–307.

[16] A. Busignani, *Benozzo: la Cappella Medici,* Florence, 1965, plate 1. On the construction of the chapel, see I. Hyman, "Fifteenth century Florentine studies," Diss., New York University 1968, 140 and 212–13. Letters from Gozzoli to Piero about the fresco decoration of the chapel provide a *terminus ad quem* for the completion of the chapel construction. The floor was probably finished before the fresco decoration.

[17] See, for example, the pavement of the chapel of the Cardinal of Portugal, Hartt, plate 48, and the outer walls of Alberti's Holy Sepulcher in San Pancrazio.

[18] A. Schulz, *The Sculpture of Bernardo Rossellino and his Workshop,* Princeton, 1975, 10. M. Lisner, "Zur frühen Bildhauerarchitecktur Donatellos," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst,* 9/10, 1958/9, 72–127.

[19] Cannon-Brookes, 10–11. Although I disagree with Cannon-Brookes' position, I mean to emphasize the state of ignorance and disagreement over Verrocchio's architecture.

The base is formed by a relatively low plinth, surmounted by a *torus* or cushion moulding, *cyma recta,* and narrow *astragal.* Above this is the rectangular zone with recessed panels of black marble decorated with white marble crosses and shields, which gives the pier the appearance of a sarcophagus. The entablature is composed of two projecting cornices separated by a recessed strigilated frieze. The lower cornice is composed of two rectilinear *fasciae* and a curved *cyma;* the upper cornice is a standard alternation of *cymae* and *fasciae* which project boldly from the wall to balance the dimensions of the base.[20]

The only architectural features that suggest Verrocchio's authorship are the large bulging *cyma* and *torus* of the base, as identical forms constitute the lower step of the niche surrounding the sarcophagus of Piero and Giovanni.[21] This motif may not be unique to Verrocchio, but it is seldom treated with such boldness and simplicity.[22] If the lower tomb were truly his work, it would suggest a reevaluation of his early training: in addition to studying with a goldsmith, Verrocchio must also have learned marble cutting in the workshop of an architect.

The style of the inscription also suggests an attribution to Verrocchio (fig. 3). The tall, thin letters, with small delicately executed flourishes, and almost no shading, are characteristic of Verrocchio's epigraphy in the tomb of Piero and Giovanni de'Medici.[23] However, the individual characters have some peculiar features, which exactly match those of the inscription on the base of a fountain in the Palazzo Pitti, probably intended for the *Putto with a Dolphin,* attributed to Verrocchio by Peter Meller.[24] The inscription reads NE SIS PRAEDA TVIS

[20] The stepped cornice and strigilated frieze are also found on the exterior of San Lorenzo. Strigilation was not used very frequently in the early part of the century, but about mid-century it appears in a wide variety of buildings and sculptures. Some noteworthy examples are the Cappella Rucellai in San Pancrazio, the altar in the Medici Palace chapel, and the Spinelli Cloister.

Other examples are the lavabo in the apartments of Eleonora da Toledo, Palazzo Vecchio, formerly Palazzo di Parte Guelfa; the front of the main altar at Santa Trinità; the altar front from the Chapel of the Madonna at Santissima Annunziata, now Museo Bardini; the sarcophagus in Donatello's relief of *Three Marys at the Sepulcher* on the San Lorenzo pulpits; the corners of the frieze of the loggia, Ospedale degli Innocenti; entablature on the façade of the Pazzi Chapel; the painted throne of the Madonna in Masaccio's Pisa *Polyptych,* London, National Gallery; and the Rucellai sarcophagus in Santa Maria Novella.

[21] E. Luporini, *Brunelleschi, forma e ragione,* Milan, 1964, fig. 188. The step stands out from the original mouldings employed by Brunelleschi and cannot be considered part of the architect's design as Cannon-Brookes has suggested.

[22] Compare it with the mouldings on the Roverella Tomb in San Giorgio, Ferrara, by Antonio Rossellino and Ambrogio da Milano, in P. Schubring, *Das italienische Grabmal der Frührenaissance,* Berlin, 1904, plate xi. Early Renaissance base mouldings are generally narrower with less pronounced curvature, and rectilinear pieces are given prominence in the design. Surfaces are usually ornamented with the classical leaf, egg and dart, or bead and reel mouldings, and with festoons of fruit. Such large, unornamented surfaces as those on the tomb are extremely rare.

[23] According to Tommaso's inventory, the inscription in the green porphyry roundels is by Verrocchio's own hand. Seymour, Verrocchio, 175: "Per la sepoltura dj Piero e Giovannj de Medici. . .fj;" "Per intagliatura dj 80 lettere intagliate in sui el serpentino in due tondj in detta sepoltura." The inscription is illustrated in Passavant, plate 13. On Renaissance inscription styles and their relation to Republican Roman inscriptions, see M. Meiss, "Toward a More Comprehensive Renaissance Paleography," *Art Bulletin* XLII, 1960, 97–112.

[24] I have relied on summaries of Meller's unpublished lecture given by Seymour, *Verrocchio,* 56–57, 162, and Passavant, 175. Seymour accepts Meller's arguments and redates the *Putto* accordingly, noting its stylistic affinities with Desiderio and a flaw in the casting which indicates a lack of experience. Passavant disagrees because the base does not fit the inventory description (that bronze masks and lions were attached), and argues that the style "with its overall and unaccented ornamental pattern and its avoidance of the effect of smooth marble with empty spaces, is foreign to any work from the studio of Verrocchio." In a review of Passavant, *Art Bulletin* LIV, 1972, 90–94, Dario Covi excludes the fountain base but includes the closely related lavabo of San Lorenzo as a shopwork dating from 1468–70.

3. Detail of burial vault, inscription tablet

4. Detail, fountain base, Palazzo Pitti, Galleria Palatina

ATHEON DEVS AVREVS VNDA / IN VOLVCRES VERTIT VEL ADAMANTA VIROS, with Piero de'Medici's motto 'SEMPER' on a ribbon intertwined through a ring on the opposite side (fig. 4).

In both inscriptions, the bowl of the 'P' is closed, the foot of the 'R' is straight and springs from the vertical stroke rather than from the bowl, and the central bar of the 'E' is longer than the top and base. The carver was inconsistent, treating the 'M' in two different ways. The central angle descends to the base line in some words, and only mid-way in others, and the bars of the 'V' rise at different angles.

Regardless of whether one accepts Meller's explanation of the origin of the fountain base, there is no doubt that the object dates from Piero's hegemony, and is therefore coeval with Cosimo's tomb. Clearly, the same hand was responsible for both inscriptions, and while one cannot insist on Verrocchio's authorship, a survey of sculptural shops active in Florence in the mid 1460s leaves open few alternatives.[25]

2

Of greater importance than the attribution of the tomb is its significance as a monument to a great man. It is surprising that the virtual ruler of the city of Florence and its foremost patron of the arts should be buried in a modest, unornamented tomb in an age when ecclesiastics and humanists were honored by imposing memorials. Its anonymity seems paradoxical in light of a notion that had recently gained currency among the private citizens of Florence: that a man's tomb was the principal vehicle of his fame.[26] Cosimo de'Medici believed in the fame value of building, for he was quoted by Vespasiano as saying that "no memory would remain of his [Cosimo's] personality or of his house save the few fabrics he might have built."[27] Yet his tomb appears to lack any recognizable references to the humanist concept of earthly immortality inspired by the revival of antiquity; its Christian references (the three crosses in the pier) are very inobtrusive.

The explanation of this apparent paradox lies in the sensitive political position of the Medici in Republican Florence, and in the location of the tomb itself within the church of San Lorenzo. The Medici family controlled Florence, not from official government posts, but as private citizens within the framework of the Florentine constitution.[28] It was important for Cosimo to emphasize his private status in

[25] Donatello, Bernardo Rossellino, and Desiderio were dead. Mino da Fiesole had gone to Rome; Michelozzo had departed for Ragusa, then perhaps Chios, before returning to Florence in 1469. See H. Caplow, "Michelozzo at Ragusa," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* XXXI, 1972, 108–19. The only prominent contenders for the commission would have been the Pollaiuolo brothers, who were generally restricted to metalwork, Donatello's shop, which was occupied with the bronze reliefs, and Antonio Rossellino, who was involved with the San Miniato chapel, and whose style in any case is not indicated.

[26] Schulz, 34, points out that tombs were the most popular sculptural genre in the third quarter of the century, and that a large proportion of tombs resulted from testamentary disposition, testifying to a desire to be remembered after death.

[27] Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates,* ed. Myron Gilmore, trans. from Italian by W. G. and E. Water, New York, 1963, 223.

[28] N. Rubinstein, "Florentine Constitutionalism and Medici Ascendancy in the Fifteenth Century," in *Florentine Studies,* ed. N. Rubinstein, London, 1968, 442–62.

order to maintain a wide base of support in a city that had cherished the notion of participatory government for over two hundred years. Moreover, the Florentines upheld the concepts of *paritas* and *equalitas* to such an extent that sumptuary laws were imposed throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Although money was poured into lavish civic projects, private citizens tended to follow a course of moderation in their personal tombs as well as in their residences.

The tomb type most popular among Florence's prominent families at mid-century was the arcosolium, a design comprising a high niche containing a plain free-standing sarcophagus.[29] The tombs of this genre were identified by a coat-of-arms but no portrait of the deceased, and had but few sculptural motifs, generally subordinate to the architectural design. Ecclesiastics and recipients of public honors had more elaborate tombs with effigies and references to Christian salvation.

Cosimo's tomb, although not an arcosolium, nevertheless conforms with the unspoken code of propriety of private citizens, recalling Cosimo's remark to Vespasiano, that after death, "I know I shall not wear the crown of laurel more than any other citizen."[30] However, its iconography sets it apart from other tombs of the Quattrocento, both private and public. Centered under the dome of the crossing, and in the center of the chancel of the crypt, the tomb occupies a place of great honor. Furthermore, it is connected with the high altar of the church, where the daily consecration of the Eucharist occurs, a place traditionally reserved for saints (and relics).[31] This trebly significant location is the key to the meaning of Cosimo's tomb.

It is interesting that the two other Medici tombs of the fifteenth century also depart from tradition in their choice of strategic locations, emphasizing the hope of the deceased for salvation. Cosimo's parents, Giovanni de' Bicci and Piccarda, are buried beneath the sacristy table in the center of the old sacristy under the dome, setting a precedent for Cosimo. The tomb of his sons, Piero and Giovanni, fills a prominent archway between the Sacristy and the Medici chapel of the Holy Sacrament, placed so that its occupants would be in perpetual veneration of the consecrated Host.[32]

Renaissance commentators were much impressed by the important location of Cosimo's tomb. Prior Pietro Bonichi, whose *Sepoltuario* of 1482 is the earliest

[29] Schulz, *Rossellino*, 64, plate 106. The tombs of arcosolium type listed include those of Gianozzo Pandolfini in the Badia; Filippo Inghirami in the Duomo; Prata, Francesco and Nera Sassetti in Santa Trinità; Francesco Castellani and his wife in Santa Croce; Neri Capponi in Santo Spirito; and one ecclesiastical tomb outside of Florence, the Arca of San Savino in the Duomo of Faenza.

[30] Vespasiano, 223.

[31] Information on this tradition may be found in A. Grabar, *Martyrium*, I, Paris, 1946.

[32] Seymour, *Verrocchio*, 54; Cannon-Brookes, 9–11. See also, Paatz, II, 561 and I. Cardellini, *Desiderio da Settignano*, Milan, 1962, 222–23. There is some confusion over the original location and commission of the Tabernacle due to an entry in the *Libro dei Partiti* (Moreni I, 132) stating that it was in the Rondinelli chapel in 1510 before being moved to the Medici chapel of Saints Cosmas and Damian. Moreni noted that the tabernacle was originally in the Medici chapel without stating his source, and his opinion has been accepted on the belief that he had access to documents not available today.

description of the tomb, twice mentions its proximity to the high altar.[33] He is most impressed by the sumptuous materials, and by the sanctity of the location. Paolo Giovio, writing a century later, called it the most honored place in the church: "il più onorato di gran lunga di quanti se gli fossero potuti fare."[34] He saw its location as a public one—the whole church could be regarded as Cosimo's sepulcher.

When we look back over the history of the tomb, we can see that the choice of location was foremost in Cosimo's mind. According to Piero, Cosimo stipulated many times during conversations on his deathbed *where* he wanted his sepulcher.[35] Unfortunately, neither Piero nor Cosimo ever describe the preferred location, and we have to surmise it from the few statements that have come down to us.

In addition to Cosimo's deathbed request to his son, Moreni transcribed Piero's account of the burial and funeral from a *Libro di Ricordi* of 1464 that has disappeared.[36] In the earliest note, Piero states that his father was buried in San Lorenzo in the ground, without any honors, in a sepulcher already prepared for him: "Fu seppellito nella Chiesa di S. Lorenzo in terra, e nella sepoltura innanzi per lui ordinata senza alcuna honoranza." He goes on to say that Cosimo had requested a "mediocre mortorio" without candles, in the presence only of the clergy of San Lorenzo, San Marco, and the Badia. But, Piero explains that he did not follow these requests literally. In order to satisfy the filial debt towards his father, he ordered the customary funeral services with candles, torches, and a procession. The service lasted 32 days, was attended by foreign dignitaries, and was not "modest" by any stretch of the imagination, except in its avoidance of ostentatious displays of wealth.[37] However, Piero states that he first did all that had been requested by his father: "volendo io satisfare al debito filiale verso la pietà paterna feci fare quanto si richiedeva, et era conveniente a chi restava..."

Bernardo Colucci, a witness to the funeral, confirms our assumption that Cosimo was buried according to his wishes: "uti praeceperat, humi conditum est"—he was buried as he had ordered—in the ground.[38]

[33] *Sepoltuario,* Archivio Capitolare of San Lorenzo, vol. 2211, dated 1463–after 1482, entry 20: "Al magnifico et excellente cosmo di giovanni daverardo de medici padre della patria nel terzo pilastro che sostiene le volte di riscontro all' altare maggiore fornito di sotto e disopra tutto di marmo, porfidi, et altre pietre di pregio. Una magnifica sepultura fuori e di sopra al piano delle sepulture di sotto, et riesce col piano di sopra nel pavimento della chiesa dinanzi all' altare maggiore."

[34] Quoted in Moreni, I, 113.

[35] Moreni, I, 110–111. "Dipoi disse di non volere fare testamento alcuno, ... et che quando Iddio facesse altro di lui, non voleva alcuna pompa, nè dimostratione nell 'Esequie, et come in vita altra volta mi avea detto, mi ricordava, dove voleva la Sepoltura sua in San Lorenzo, et tutto disse con tanto ordine, et con tanta prudentia, et con uno anima si grande, che fu una meraviglia..." Quoted from a letter of Piero at Carreggi, to Lorenzo and Giuliano at Cafaggiulo, dated July 26, 1464.

[36] Moreni, 110–112.

[37] Guicciardini, "Storia fiorentina," in *Opere Inedite,* Florence, 1859, III, 15, reported that Cosimo's funeral was not at all sumptuous, but the eye-witness account of Colucci, quoted in Moreni, includes the information that citizens and municipal legates came from remote places in order to attend, that Cosimo's body, though plainly dressed, was carried through the streets of Florence by the monks, and that the celebrations were fit for a nobleman.

[38] Moreni, I, 112: "Corpus ejus sine magnifico apparatu ad urbem a sanctissimis viris delatum, ac deinde honestissimo procedente funere, uti praeceperat, humi conditum est. Sed memoratu dignum fuit omnes mortales, qui Florentiae aderant, tanto ardore ad honestandas exequias convenisse, ut vere hominem raro mortalitati nostrae concessum sepeliri patuerit. Ex proximis quoque civitatibus, ac minicipiis Legati venere, ut more

How can we know if the location which Cosimo requested is identical with the present site of his tomb? The documents state only two facts: first, that Cosimo was buried in the sepulcher previously ordered for him, and second, that he was buried in the ground, and not necessarily in any more significant part of the church.

The ambiguity of the situation is increased when we read that within a week after his death, a special committee was appointed to decide how Cosimo should be properly honored by the city of Florence.[39] The committee did not meet until March 9 of the following year, certainly after the above-mentioned burial. Nevertheless, they discussed the appropriate type of funerary monument to build. Nothing was resolved, except the decision to confer upon him the title of *Pater Patriae*.[40] Two and a half years later, on October 22, 1467, Cosimo was transferred to a new sepulcher in the tomb which exists today.[41]

That it took three years for the tomb to be completed is surprising, given the simplicity of the monument. The delay must have been due to objections over the planned location of the tomb, which Piero may have had to resolve with the special committee. Piero was a weak leader and could not maintain control of the Signoria as his father had done. In September 1465, a hostile Signoria was elected, and it was some time before Piero's position was secure.[42] But must we conclude from this that the location of his grave was changed, and that the present tomb does not in any way reflect the wishes of the deceased? Must we agree with Herzner's proposal that Piero moved the tomb to the center of the crossing in order to make it a visible symbol of Medici dominance, and that Cosimo's deathbed request was literally for an unmarked grave in the ground?[43]

There is another possibility, namely, that Cosimo's original interment in the ground was intended to be temporary. The unpaved subterranean crypt was the customary burying ground for canons and parish members of San Lorenzo, and it was customary to bury corpses in a temporary wooden coffin until a permanent

nobilium pompam funeris decorarent, qui ubi praeceptum ejus audivere, effusis lacrymis interesse funeri voluerunt. Multi quoque ex remotiori loco properantes ubi sero venere, in Divi Laurentii Templo urbis suae patronum summa moestitia lugebant. Quin etiam omnes cives livore extincto communem parentem Cosmam fuisse fatebantur."

[39] Florence, Archivio di Stato, *Consiglio Maggiore Provvisioni* vol. 155, fol. 104r–105r; partially summarized in Laurentian Ms. 54, 10, fol. 165-6v, and transcribed in A. Baroni, *Magni Cosmi Medicei Vita*, Pisa, 1789, II, 157–58. I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Gino Corti for supplying me with a transcription of the passages in the *Provvisioni*, and to Emily Hanawalt for help in translating.

[40] On the significance of this title, see A. Brown, "The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXIV, 1961, 190–195.

[41] Florence, Archivio Capitolare of San Lorenzo, *Feste Uffizi e Morte*, 1466–83, volume 1938, 4, fol.'12v: "Al dì 22 facemmo un magnificho esequio per la buona e felice memoria di Cosimo de Medici quando si traslatò nella nuova sepoltura con tutto il Convento di Monaci della Badia di Fiesole e con tutti i Frati di S. Marco... 11.4 scudi."

[42] N. Rubinstein, *Florentine Studies*, 456–7. See also N. Rubinstein, *The Government of Florence Under the Medici*, 1434–1494. Oxford, 1966, 155, for a more complete account of the opposition to Piero mounting after the death of his ally Francesco Sforza on March 8.

[43] V. Herzner, "Die Kanzeln Donatellos in S. Lorenzo," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst* XXIII, 1972, 220 ff., and "Zur Baugeschichte von San Lorenzo in Florenz," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* XXXVII, 1974, 2, 89–115. Herzner's proposal that Cosimo originally planned a grandiose wall tomb in the *cappella maggiore* which he rejected in the religious crisis of old age is not very convincing.

sepulcher could be completed. The fact that the special committee debated the appropriate type of sepulcher for Cosimo months after his burial indicates that the initial gravesite was regarded as a temporary one. It may even have been the same as the present site.

There is evidence that the plan to bury Cosimo in the central pier of the crypt chancel was known shortly after his death. Donatello was granted a burial plot in the crypt close to the central pier of the crossing, in the area controlled by the Medici, shortly after Cosimo's death. "A maestro Donato. . . per commissione del magnifico Piero de Cosimo de'Medici, la prima del secondo filare di detta croce allato al sopradetto filare tra pilastro e pilastro che sostenghone le volte incominciando apiè lo scaglione di sotto la capella allato la sagrestia de' Medici ch'entra nel cimitero. . ." This entry in the *Sepoltuario* is dated 1463–4, thus predating any possible change in response to the decisions of the special government committee.[44] According to Vasari, Donatello chose this spot so that "his body would be near him in death, as his spirit had been close to him in life."[45]

Furthermore, Cosimo made special provisions from the beginning of his patronage of San Lorenzo that demonstrate his interest in the location of his tomb. It was Cosimo who adopted the parish church of San Lorenzo as a Medici stronghold, and transformed it into a family mausoleum.

Plans to rebuild the Romanesque church of San Lorenzo had been initiated in 1415, when the Capitolo had approved a project to enlarge the apsidal end of the church. Eight families supported the project by undertaking the construction of the transept chapels, but Cosimo's father Giovanni, the wealthiest citizen in the parish, elected to undertake the entire sacristy as well as the adjacent private chapel. After Giovanni's death in 1428, Cosimo and his brother, Lorenzo, oversaw the completion of their father's plans but did not undertake any new construction.

Then suddenly, in 1442, Cosimo decided to undertake the construction of the *cappella maggiore,* the crossing, and the nave up to the fourth bay, where the high altar of the Romanesque church was located. Part of this area was to contain the choir of the church, as we learn from the Italian *ricordi* of the proceedings ("la cappella detta e la cupola col coro")[46] and from the official notary's account.[47] While Cosimo's patronage agreement was certainly a great charitable gesture, it was also an aggressive political move in which he managed to persuade the chapter members and citizens of the Commune to agree unanimously to a number of unusual demands. He was able to exercise his political power effectively because the church at that time was controlled by the Commune of Florence: in 1415, the Commune had been elected to supervise the building project, and in 1417, had

[44] Florence, Archivio Capitolare of S. Lorenzo, *Sepoltuario of Bonichi,* 1463–4, vol. 2214, fol. 5r. Vasari-Milanesi, II, 421, note, relates that a document exists for the purchase of the burial plot in 1462.

[45] Vasari-Milanesi, II, 421. A legend that Donatello actually shared Cosimo's burial vault was current well into the twentieth century, as mentioned in C. Gutkind, *Cosimo de' Medici,* Oxford, 1938, 304. The information which follows is a summary from Ginori-Conti, 40ff.

[46] Moreni, II, 16; Ginori-Conti, 62.

[47] Ginori-Conti, 243. "cappellamque maiorem et navem dicte ecclesie in medio existentem usque ad altar maius antiquum dicte ecclesie in qua chorus dicte ecclesie est edificnadus." Later we read: "obtulit et offerts in tantum quantum dicta capella maior et navis in medio ecclesie existens usque ad altare maius, antiquum sibi. . . consignetur."

undertaken the protection of the church and of the Capitolo, severing its ancient connection with the Roman curia.

Cosimo was given control of the areas previously managed by the Capitolo: the *cappella maggiore* and the choir.[48] Among the stipulations listed in the notary's agreement was a prohibition against all other sepulchers and displays of arms except those of the patron, Cosimo, and of the canons of San Lorenzo: "...in prefata capella et navi non possit vel valeat poni aliqua arma vel signa nec fieri aliqua sepultura, sed solum et dumtaxat per dictum Cosimum, dumtaxat exceptis quod fieri possint sepulture pro priore et canonicis et capellanis dicte ecclesie."[49] Such exclusivism was so unusual that Vasari saw fit to mention it a hundred years later, while Richa explained that all families with chapels in the upper church owned a corresponding chapel in the subterranean church for their tombs;[50] many of these are described in Bonichi's *Sepoltuario.* These chapels were furnished with lights, altars, and painted decoration.

After assuming control of the church, Cosimo effected a change in the plans. As Manetti and Vasari both relate, he persuaded Brunelleschi to enlarge the *cappella maggiore* so that the choir, which he had intended to place in the crossing, could now be moved into that chapel.[51] The enlargement of the choir chapel was underway by Brunelleschi's death in 1446.

This location of the choir at the rear of the church was unprecedented in medieval Florence, and the motivation for it has prompted much debate. Howard Saalman has suggested that "the reasons for moving the choir out of the crossing must have been Cosimo's eventually realized intention of having himself buried directly under the center of the crossing cupola."[52] An alternative proposed by Volker Herzner disregards the accounts of Vasari and Manetti. He attributes responsibility for the change to Piero de'Medici, contending that Piero moved the choir in response to the decision to honor Cosimo as *Pater Patriae,* so that his father's tomb would be visible as a symbol of Medici dominance.[53] Both writers agree that the principal reason for the new arrangement was to increase the visibility of the tomb.

[48] See also Moreni, I, 21-22, on the Rondinelli family's agreement with the Capitolo. The Rondinelli patronized the chapel to the right of the *cappella maggiore,* the second holiest place in the church which, according to Rosselli, had been given in recompense for the fact that the family previously had rights to the *capella maggiore* before the Capitolo took it over.

[49] Moreni, II, 347, doc. 3.

[50] Richa, V, 81. Wall paintings can still be seen in many of the chapels, although the crypt has been redesigned to house an art gallery and a youth organization.

[51] Vasari-Milanesi, II, 370: "Avevano Giovanni, e quegli altri ordinato fare il coro nel mezzo sotto la tribuna; Cosimo lo rimuto col voler di Filippo, che fece tanto maggiore la cappella grande, che prima ere ordinata una nicchia più piccola, che e'vi si potette fare il coro come sta al presente." *Manetti: The Life of Brunelleschi,* H. Saalman, ed., University Park, Pennsylvania, 1970, 107 "... e la cappella magiore si tirò su in buona parte in altra, forma che la non ista al presente, non avendo fatto ancora Cosimo pensiero di mettervia drento el coro del clero; e deliberando poi cosi, Filippo l'adattò nella forma, che la sta al presente." Evidence for the progress of work on the choir chapel is summarized in Paatz, II, 466, and 524, note 22; and Herzner, "Die Kanzeln," 118.

[52] Saalman, *Manetti,* 147. See also his "Capital Studies," *Art Bulletin* LX, 1958, 125.

[53] Herzner, "Die Kanzeln," 120-21: "Dieses Grabmal hatte nun nichts mehr mit den Vorstellungen Cosimos gemein: es war ein politisches Denkmal ersten Ranges geworden."

However, it seems unlikely that a change which so greatly affected the clergy (and perhaps even the liturgy of the mass itself), could have resulted from personal and familial motives alone. The new location of the choir must have had a broader significance, for the same changes were effected in several other churches during the following 150 years. The new cathedral of Pienza, finished in 1462, was erected with a choir in the *cappella maggiore.*[54] Santa Giustina in Padova was enlarged about 1457, and the choir was placed in the rear of the church behind the main altar.[55] A circular tribune housing the choir was added to the east end of Santissima Annunziata with an altar located at its entrance.[56] The choir was located in the main chapel of the new church of San Salvatore al Monte sometime later in the century and in Santa Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi, where it was moved to the rear of the church by Giuliano da Sangallo in 1480–83.[57] A century later, St. Charles Borromeo was instructing clergymen and architects to build churches with the choir in the *cappella maggiore,* and in all of his own churches the altar was placed at the entrance to the choir chapel.[58] Extensive renovation was begun in Florence under the patronage of Cosimo I: between 1565 and 1576, Vasari removed the medieval choir enclosures and relocated the choirs in the rear at Santa Maria Novella and at Santa Croce. Similar modifications were undertaken at Santa Maria del Carmine, Santa Trinità, the Ognissanti, and even in the Baptistery.[59] Clearly, a new concept in church design had emerged.

The motivation for these changes in the sixteenth century is known from the writings of theologians and architects. The early Christian reform movements and the impact of Protestantism had led to an emphasis on the greater participation of laymen in the rites of the church: the new arrangement permitted the faithful an unobstructed view of the altar. Many of the sixteenth-century reforms were stimulated by the Renaissance notion of returning to the practices of the early church, in which the altar was accessible both from the nave and the choir.[60] This conscious revival of early Christian practice comes out clearly in the writings of Pius V, and in Palladio's *Quattro Libri,* where he states that in the early basilicas "si poneva con molta dignità l'altare nel suo luogo del Tribunale, e il Coro e il rimanente era libero per il popolo."[61] His two churches in Venice inaugurated the new arrangement in that city.

Although we have no written explanation for these changes in Cosimo's day, we can see the seeds of these Counter-Reformation reforms in the intellectual

[54] E. Carli, *Pienza,* Siena, 1961; Heydenreich and Lotz, *Architecture in Italy 1400–1600,* Baltimore, 1974; L. Heydenreich, "Pius II als Bauherr von Pienza," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* VI, 1937, 141f.

[55] Herzner, "Die Kanzeln," 121, and 159, note 164.

[56] Paatz, I, 65–66. Recently Beverly Brown presented a dissertation on the church of Santissima Annunziata.

[57] Paatz, V, 54; IV, 106, note 7. Since this paper was written Linda Najemy has published new information on the church of San Salvatore al Monte in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institut* XXIII, 3, 1979, 273–96.

[58] C. Isermeyer, "Le chiese del Palladio in rapporto al culto," *Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi "Andrea Palladio" Bollettino* X, 1968, 51.

[59] M. Brown Hall, "Art of the Counter-Maniera in Florence," Diss., Harvard University, 1967, 13f; Isermeyer, "Il Vasari," 234.

[60] A. J. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite,* New York, 1961, 182.

[61] Isermeyer, "Palladio," 46, note 60; from Book IV, 1570, 10.

thought and social conditions of the time. There was undoubtedly the beginning of an early Christian revival paralleling the revival of classical antiquity; the distinction we make today between pagan and Christian antiquity was a blurry one to Renaissance eyes, if it existed at all! Alberti advocated the revival of early practices in his treatise on architecture, making a strong plea for returning to the liturgical custom of the early Church, with only one altar to celebrate only one Sacrifice a day.[62] Selma Pfeiffenberger has shown that Cosimo was extremely interested in the writings of early Christian theologians, and had tried to revive the ancient practice of two pulpits for reading the Gospels and the Epistles in the plans for the bronze pulpits made by Donatello. His representation of the *Judgment of Pilate* on the south pulpit was based directly upon an apocryphal first-century text in Cosimo's library.[63]

The change in social conditions may also have contributed to these modifications. With the growth of the middle class, and an increased demand for private chapels, the church may have needed more space for laymen. Less space was needed for the clergy, since the population of monasteries had been dwindling rapidly. Where many of the great churches had had monastic populations of over a hundred members, in the mid-Quattrocento, Santissima Annunziata had only sixty monks, Santa Trinità had eleven, San Pancrazio had nine, and some of the rural churches had as few as three professed monks.[64] The medieval practice of dividing the laymen from the clergy with a *tramezzo* or enclosed choir behind which the mass was performed in view of the monks only, must have seemed outdated in an age where the population distribution had shifted so dramatically away from the monasteries. In the new arrangement, the clergy and the populace both could witness the enactment of the sacred rites.

Cosimo's patronage at San Lorenzo extended into areas other than the design of the chancel. His interest in the revival of classical and Christian antiquity led him to reaffirm the authenticity of the legends of San Lorenzo's early history by locating the relics associated with the consecration by St. Ambrose in 394 A.D. On the night of St. Martin, November 11, 1444, Cosimo led a search by torchlight for the relics of St. Mark of Rome, St. Concordia, and St. Anthony Abbot. They were found in the altar of a side chapel of the Romanesque edifice, identified by their inscriptions. When the high altar of the new Renaissance edifice was consecrated fifteen years later (August 9, 1461), the relics were transferred there following a great procession throughout the city of Florence, which Cosimo established as an annual custom.[67]

Now the new edifice of San Lorenzo could be regarded as a reliquary church, its great dome rising over the crossing and exalting the presence of the relics in the high altar. This adds another dimension to the iconographic interpretation of the

[62] Book VII, chapter 13, quoted in R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, 5.

[63] S. Pfeiffenberger, "Notes on the Iconology of Donatello's *Judgment of Pilate* at San Lorenzo," *Renaissance Quarterly* XX, 4, 1967, 449; H. W. Janson, *The Sculpture of Donatello*, Princeton, 1957, 214.

[64] G. Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, New York, 1969, 191.

[67] Moreni, I, 44ff. The procession was led by Taddeo Gaddi's famous standard of the *popolani* which later hung from the cupola of the church where it is described by Albertini, *Memoriale di molte statue e pitture della citta di Firenze*, Florence, 1510, reprint ed., Florence, 1863, p. 11.

tribune of San Lorenzo. Most centrally-planned churches in the Quattrocento were *memoria* or *martyria,* reviving the ancient Christian symbolism of the *dome* of heaven, which had persisted in medieval architecture as a symbol of the Resurrection.[68] But the iconography of the composite church is not as well understood. Was it a compromise between the practical, traditional basilica with the interests of architects in the new central plan? Eugene Johnson, in a study of Sant'Andrea at Mantua, has suggested that this plan arose to meet the needs of the reliquary church.[69] Indeed, the composite plan appears in several other reliquary churches such as the Santa Casa at Loreto with its dome over the Holy House of the Virgin, and the project of Nicholas V for the rebuilding of Saint Peter's where a dome over the crossing would have marked the location of Peter's tomb.

In Cosimo's age, the connection between the tomb and the dome of the crossing was not nearly as important as the relationship between the tomb and the high altar. Bonichi's *Sepoltuario* of circa 1482, Tommaso Verrocchio's inventory of 1496, and Vasari's *Life of Donatello* all include notices of the tomb in relation to the high altar. In the earliest notice it is described as "in front of the high altar;" in the two later ones, "at the foot of the high altar." This can only mean that the altar stood to the west of the tomb in the 'head' or choir end of the church, not elsewhere as proposed by Herzner.[70] The location of the tomb at the entrance to the *cappella maggiore* is confirmed by an anonymous plan of San Lorenzo in the Venice archive recently published by H. Burns.[71] The drawing indicates the altar as being in front of the chapel entrance, and as being approached by steps from behind, so that the celebrant would face out into the church. This must have been the arrangement described in the *Sepoltuario.* The Quattrocento altar was still in place in the 1520s when Clement VII asked Michelangelo to design a ciborium for the display of relics.[72]

The drawings indicate also that the steps leading to the high altar were considerably smaller and further back than the Baroque steps existing today. Thus,

[68] On centralized churches in the Renaissance, see E. Sinding Larsen, "Some Functional and Iconographical Aspects of the Centralized Church in the Italian Renaissance," *Institutum Romanum Norwegiae Acta* 2, 1965, 203-53, and W. Lotz, "Notizien zum kirchlichen Zentralbau der Renaissance," *Studien zur toskanischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ludwig Heinrich Heydenreich,* Munich, 1964, 157-65. On the dome in antiquity and the middle ages, see A. Grabar, "Christian Architecture, East and West, "*Archaeology* II, 1949, 95-104; K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *Art Bulletin* XXVII, 1945, 1-27; E.B. Smith, *The Dome,* Princeton, 1950; L. Hautecoeur, *Mystique et Architecture, Symbolisme du Circle et de la Cupole,* Paris, 1954. R. Krautheimer, "Introduction to an 'Iconography of Medieval Architecture'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* V, 1942, 1-33; G. Bandmann, "Über Pastophorien und verwandte Nebenräume in mittelalterlichen Kirchenbau," in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien für Hans Kauffmann,* Berlin, 1956, 19-58.

[69] E. Johnson, *S. Andrea in Mantua,* University Park, 1975, 57, 5-7. Sant' Andrea was built to house the relics of the Blood of Christ unearthed from their medieval burial place in the pavement in 1401. Francesco Gonzaga put them on public display every Ascension Day, drawing hordes of visitors to the church.

[70] Herzner, "Die Kanzeln," 119, suggests the new altar was midway down the nave, confusing it with the old altar of the Romanesque edifice.

[71] H. Burns, "San Lorenzo in Florence before the Building of the New Sacristy: an Early Plan," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorisches Institute Florenze,* XXIII, 1979, 145-153.

[72] P. Barocchi, *Michelangelo e la sua scuola: i disegni di Casa Buonarroti e degli Uffizi,* Florence, 1962, 120-22, CXLIX. Michelangelo indicates a large altar 2 braccia high, not the smaller altar table in place by mid-century as shown in the anonymous plan at Chatsworth and the Peruzzi sketch, Uffizi 672A.

there would have been approximately two meters between Cosimo's tomb and the altar. Why then is the tomb always described in relation to the altar, and never as in the crossing under the dome? Clearly, it must have been highly unusual to bury anyone but a saint near the high altar. According to St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, the high altar was "il piu degno luogo della chiesa."[73] While patrons of private chapels frequently had their sepulchers placed in front of the chapel altar or beneath the altar steps, in Tuscany there are few examples, before Cosimo, of private citizens buried in proximity to the high altar.[74]

While the choice of this venerated location might seem an aristocratic pretention on Cosimo's part, it may also be seen as an expression of piety and humility. The high altar was not the most convenient location for a private sepulcher, however great it may have been as a place of honor. While the patron of a private chapel could dedicate the altar to his patron saint and provide an endowment for votive masses to be said for the future benefit of his soul, the high altar was a more public location from which Mass was said daily for the benefit of all the clergy and the congregation. In this respect, it can even be regarded as a somewhat anonymous location for a private tomb; especially so in Cosimo's case, where the altar already contained the relics of martyrs and was dedicated to the patron saint of the church, not to Cosimo's namesake. Consequently, Cosimo gave no instructions for votive masses after his death nor for special celebrations on the feast days of his patron saints as was customary in private chapels. It was not until after the sixteenth-century restoration of the tomb that an annual celebration was initiated in Cosimo's memory.[75]

It has been suggested that the bronze pulpits commissioned by Cosimo were part of a program involving the high altar in the chancel crossing. The reliefs depict scenes from the Passion and Resurrection, grouped and arranged chronologically so that the Last Supper, which is missing from the cycle, would fall between the two pulpits. With the pulpits in the crossing as they were originally planned, the altar would substitute for the Last Supper, commemorated by the ritual of the Eucharist, thus joining the pulpits theologically and topographically to the liturgy

[73] G. Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze,* Berlin, 1909, 219, doc. 1094.

[74] The tomb of Tommaso di Arnoldo Peruzzi in the church of Sant' Agostino at S. Gimignano from the fourteenth century, E. Borsook, *The Peruzzi Chapel,* New York, n.d., 41, note 30. In San Francesco in Prato, Francesco Datini is buried in the center of the crossing at the entrance to the presbytery. In Florence, Castello Quaratesi, patron of San Salvatore al Monte, was buried under the triumphal arch of that church following instructions in his testament of 1465, Paatz, V, 1953, 61, note 6. In Venice, the tomb of Christoforo Moro, 1470, is in front of the high altar at San Giobbe. In late medieval France, kings were often buried in front of the high altar, as were rulers in early Christian times, such as Henry VII at Notre Dame, and in the churches of Saint Denis, Santa Costanza, and the Constantine martyrial complex.

[75] Richa, V, 30: "...e notisi qui una cerimonia, che ogni anno dal Clero si celebra in memoria di Cosimo, e vale a dire che tutta la notte di San Lorenzo da Cherici si copre con un bello strato il detto Sepulcro, tenendovi accesi lumi fino al giorno."

of the Mass.[76] Although the pulpits were attached to the eastern crossing piers when erected in the sixteenth century, most scholars believe they were originally intended to stand in the crossing, in accordance with early Christian practices. Thus, the chancel of the church may itself have had a program in which the placement of Cosimo's tomb was meant to suggest his eternal presence at the Eucharistic miracle, as Christ's sacrifice for the salvation of man is regularly reenacted at the high altar.

Cosimo's pursuit of his own salvation even led to intervention in liturgical matters. In 1462, following his donation of a large silver cross for the new high altar, Cosimo decided that the 'votive Mass of Our Lady' should be sung there by twelve young clerics from the Collegio da Cherici 'every morning at dawn *in perpetuum.*'[77] This ritual obviously was of great importance to Cosimo, for he instituted it in the face of unanimous opposition from the prior and the canons of San Lorenzo—a surprisingly presumptuous action in an area of strictly liturgical concern. The conjunction of a dedicatory Mass to the Virgin and the canonical hour of Lauds links the placement of Cosimo's tomb and his quest for salvation. The thought of resurrection is paramount in the Office of Lauds, sung at dawn, celebrating the moment of the rising sun, the new life, the radiance of divine blessing and grace.[78] As Intercessor at the Last Judgment, the Virgin was also associated with tombs and burial; almost every crypt contained an altar dedicated to her, and the graves of the most important personages were placed in closest proximity to it.[79]

Even as Cosimo's ancestors might have been buried by a Marian altar in a church crypt and remembered in an elaborate Marian liturgy, so was the man called *Pater Patriae* interred in the midst of a vast edifice and at the center of a liturgical program centering on the death and resurrection of the Savior. Originally motivated in his patronage of building projects as restitution for his sins, Cosimo soon turned the task to his political and personal benefit, gaining a reputation for his munificence, and taking care of the future salvation of his soul.[80] His patronage transformed the small parish church of San Lorenzo into one of the most magnificent and important edifices in Florence, serving the Medici family as a mausoleum for more than three hundred years.

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[76] On the iconography and placement of the pulpits see, Janson, *Donatello,* 209–214; H. Kauffmann, *Donatello,* Berlin, 1935, 98; G. Castelfranco, *Donatello,* Milan, 1963, 68f.; I. Lavin, "The Sources of Donatello's Pulpits in San Lorenzo," *Art Bulletin* XLI, 1959, 19–38. Herzner, "Die Kanzeln," 101ff., suggests that the reliefs were not intended for pulpits but for Cosimo's own tomb. See also Grabar, *Martyrium* I, 395, on early Christian pulpits.

[77] The cross stood on the altar until the seventeenth century. Moreni, I, 44, 53–55.

[78] On Easter Sunday, the hour coincides with the Resurrection of Christ himself. The service climaxes at the Benedictus "filled with the Holy Spirit" hailing the dawn at the day of salvation. Before recent reforms, Lauds included Psalm 147 which contains the lines: "For the Lord taketh pleasure in his people; He adorneth the humble with salvation," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 8, 1967, 531–32.

[79] Bandmann, 47f.

[80] Vespasiano, 218, suggests a conference with Pope Eugenius led Cosimo to undertake first the construction of San Marco, and then his numerous other charitable building projects. Donations to monasteries, and eventually, the patronage of art replaced the medieval practice of restitution. See B. Nelson, "The Usurer and the Merchant Prince: Italian Businessmen and the Ecclesiastical Law of Restitution, 1100–1500," *Journal of Economic History,* Supplement VII, 1947, 104–22, and A. D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 1970, 162–70.

Leonardo's *Burlington House Cartoon*

PATRICIA LEIGHTEN

In studies of High Renaissance artists, scholars have generally concentrated on their revival of the Antique, their innovations, and the standards they set for subsequent art.[1] The retention of antique tradition in the Middle Ages is now a familiar theme. But less attention has been paid to the medieval tradition at the core of the Renaissance, where iconographic traditions, far from being lost or misunderstood or even rejected, were consciously re-interpreted in terms of human experience. The tradition of the Madonna and her relationship to the Christ Child demonstrates this clearly; a look at traditional Catholic theology and earlier expressions of this theme show Renaissance artists coming out of a medieval tradition on which they consciously expanded, and without which they are not fully intelligible.[2] Leonardo's *Burlington House Cartoon,* in particular, demonstrates the interest Renaissance artists had in interpreting medieval iconographic and theological traditions in human terms.

Mary 'as mother' was problematic for some in the early Church who did not accept the idea that Christ had truly become a child. Mary was an instrument of God, not a real mother: *virginitas ante partum, virginitas in partu, virgo post partum.* The gnostic heresy, which taught that Christ "only appeared as a man, but had not taken a real human body,"[3] inspired the early Church to emphasize the bodily motherhood of Mary. About 100 A.D., Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, emphatically stressed the reality of Christ's birth. He believed in "Jesus Christ. . . who was 'out of' Mary, who was truly born."[4] This tradition continued with Sedulius, a ninth-century writer, who based this inspired passage on Psalm 19:

> What new light goes not up over the world, what shining over all heaven, when Christ in shimmering splendour issues from Mary's womb, as a bridegroom goes forth in triumph from his richly adorned bridal chamber.[5]

And Savonarola, the influential late fifteenth-century preacher in Florence, whom Leonardo certainly would have heard, similarly imagines the Virgin addressing the Child within her: "Come forth then, my Son, even as the bridegroom from his bridal chamber. Issue forth from my womb."[6]

[1] This study would have been impossible without the original inspiration of Kenneth Allen, A.R.C.A.; I dedicate it to him in deepest gratitude. The present article is condensed from a larger study of the iconography of Renaissance Madonnas done under the direction of Virginia L. Bush, who has been both rigorously demanding and generously helpful.

[2] J. Seznec has noted that "as the Middle Ages and the Renaissance come to be better known, the traditional antithesis between them grows less marked," *The Survival of the Pagan Gods,* New York, 1961, 3.

[3] H. Graef, *Mary: A History of Doctrine and Devotion,* I, New York, 1963, 33-34.

[4] Graef, *Mary,* 33-34.

[5] Y. Hirn, *The Sacred Shrine,* London, 1912, 347. In the Old Testament Psalm, it is the sun which "comes forth like a bridegroom."

[6] L. Steinberg, "Metaphors of Love and Birth in Michelangelo's Pietàs," *Studies in Erotic Art,* ed. T. Bowie, New York, 1970, 257-258. The present article is indebted to Steinberg's important discussion of Mary's physical relationship to Christ.

1. Bartolomeo Buon, *Madonna of Mercy Protecting Members of the Guild of Misericordia,* 1441–45, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

The most ancient image affirming the fact that Christ issued from Mary's womb is the Byzantine *platytera,* where Mary stands in an *orans* position while Christ floats in a mandorla or disc in front of her body. Réau points out that this leaves Mary's arms free to pray[7] and thus makes clear her relationship to Christ as mother *and* worshiper.

The relief by Bartolomeo Buon of 1441–45 (fig. 1) from the Scuola Vecchia della Misericordia in Venice, combines this *platytera* Madonna with a Madonna of Mercy, and her free arms are used to protect the members of the Guild.[8] An Italian *Madonna and Child Enthroned* (fig. 2), painted by Margarito in the second half of the thirteenth century, also makes use of the *platytera* tradition. Although the Madonna is seated and her hands appear to be supporting the Child, her mantle is draped between her two hands so as to surround him, and no actual support is given to his body. Donatello based his image of the *Madonna and Child* (fig. 3) in the Padua Altar group of 1445–50 on the *platytera,* again by using drapery, although this time, in the

[7] L. Réau, *Iconographie de l'Art Chrétien, II, Nouveau Testament,* Paris, 1957, 70.

[8] Réau mentions this work as the only example of a Madonna della Misericordia and a *platytera* combination, *Iconographie, II,* 72. K. Clark, *Piero della Francesca,* London, 1951, 37, describes it as a combination of a Madonna della Misericordia and a Madonna del Esperanza, or pregnant Madonna. Examples of the *platytera* motif in Italy include the altarpiece by Simone da Cusighe (Accademia, Venice) and a Veneto-Byzantine mid-thirteenth-century relief of a "Madonna Orans" at Santa Maria Mater Domini, J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Gothic Sculpture,* London, 1972, 222.

2. Margarito, *Madonna and Child Enthroned,* 2nd half of thirteenth century, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection
3. Donatello, *Virgin and Child,* 1446–50, Padua, High Altar, S. Antonio, (photo: Alinari, Florence)

4. Agostino di Duccio, *Virgin and Child with Four Angels,* 1450–60, Paris, Louvre, (photo: Cliché des Musées Nationaux-Paris)
5. Cosimo Tura, *Madonna and Child in a Garden,* c. 1480, Washington, National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection

interests of realism, Christ is fully supported by Mary's hands. In Agostino di Duccio's relief of the *Virgin and Child with Four Angels* (fig. 4) of 1450–60, womb-like drapery surrounds the blessing Child, while both Madonna and Child are contained in a mandorla.

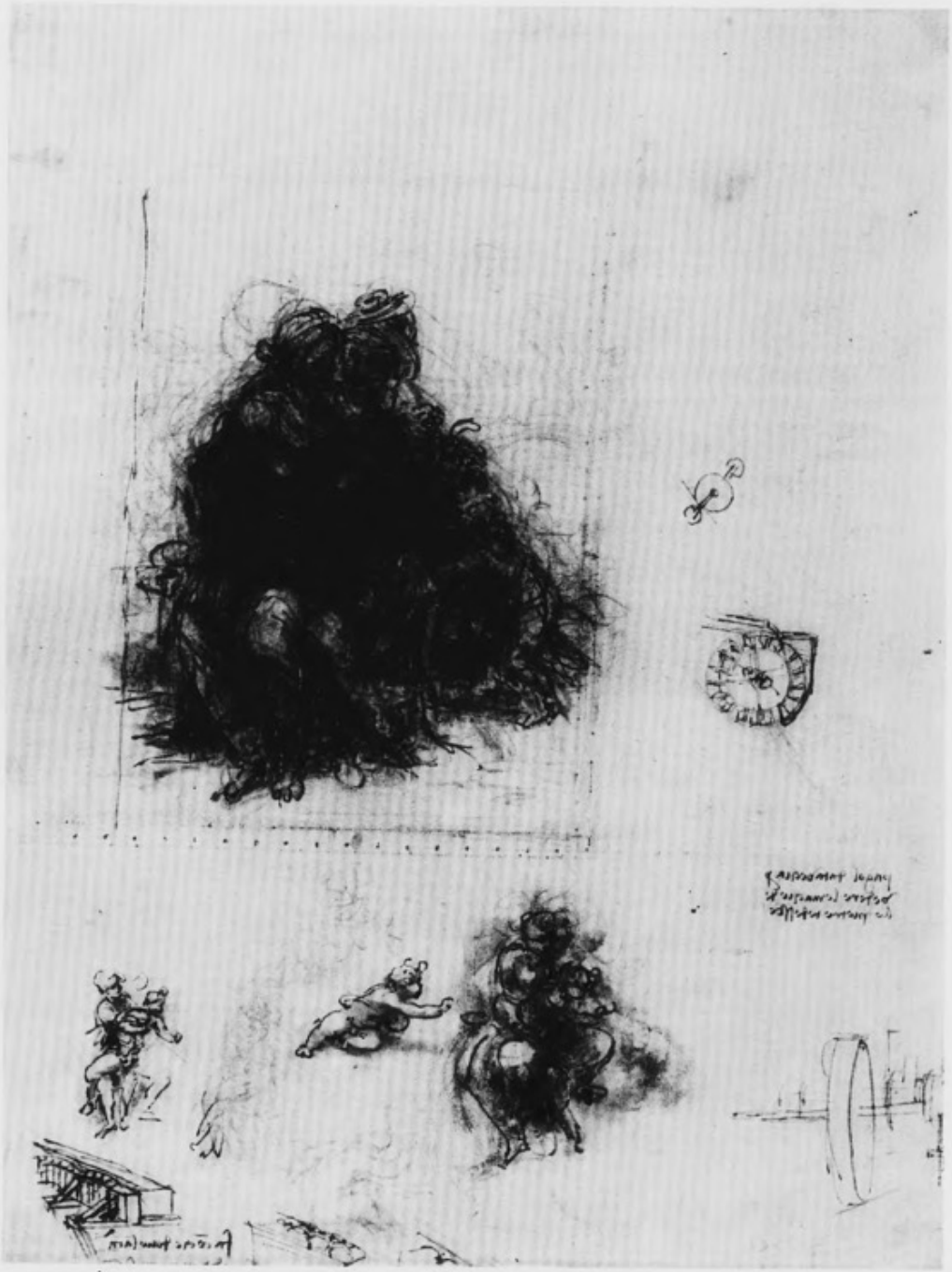
This *platytera* type developed into the image of the Child standing between, or issuing from, Mary's legs—again affirming Christ's origin in Mary's womb. Cosimo Tura's *Madonna and Child in a Garden* (fig. 5) of c. 1480, depicts the Child asleep in a seated position on a loop of cloth hanging between Mary's open knees. Christ's physical birth is emphasized by the fact that the Madonna still wears her Renaissance maternity clothing, unlaced down the middle. Piero della Francesca made similar use of loosened maternity clothes in his *Madonna del Parto* of 1450–60 (Cemetery Chapel, Monterchi), where the Virgin stands revealed before us "pointing to her pregnant womb."[9] The image is more abstract, yet we are made equally aware of the physicality of the birth, and that Christ comes "out of" Mary, as Ignatius had written.

But by far the most daring attempt to work out the theme of the "Child Issuant" was made by Leonardo in his *Burlington House Cartoon* (fig. 6) of c. 1505, now in the National Gallery in London.[10] This large cartoon depicts Mary seated on

[9] Clark, *Piero,* 37.

[10] I am accepting Clark's revised date, *Leonardo da Vinci,* Harmondsworth, England, 1967, 104a and 105.

6. Leonardo da Vinci, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Infant St. John*, c. 1505, London, National Gallery

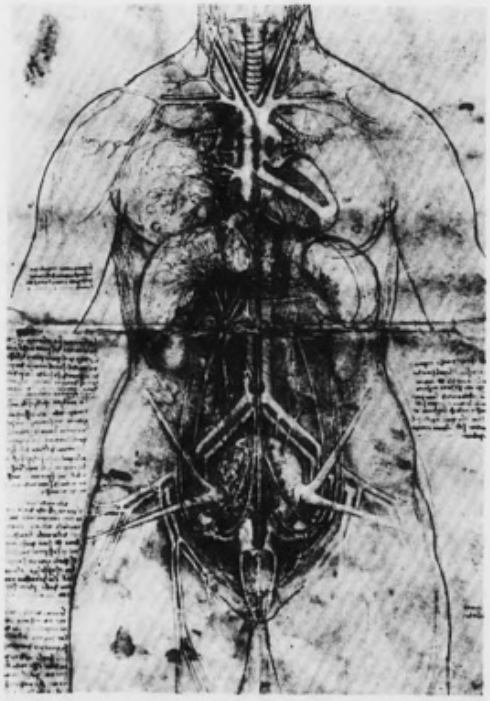


7. Leonardo da Vinci, *Studies for the Virgin and Child with St. Anne,* c. 1505, London, British Museum

8. Bernardo Luini, *Copy of Leonardo's Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, n.d., Milan, Ambrosiana

St. Anne's lap, holding the Christ Child, with the Infant St. John leaning in from the right.[11] While this correctly describes the identities and general relationships of the figures, the placement of anatomical forms remains extremely confusing. St. Anne's right leg, with Mary seated upon it, could not conceivably be connected to the same backbone as her left one; and her vertebrae would have to be twice as long as is anatomically correct to meet her right thigh. Leonardo has sacrificed anatomical accuracy, of which he was a consummate master, for the sake of something more important. The most dominant "pair" of legs, those which would seem most comfortably to fit onto a trunk, are the two highest ones, open in the traditional position of the Madonna in the Renaissance, with the Child directly above them. This was the standard position for a seated Virgin with Child as far back as Nicola Pisano's Madonna in the *Adoration of the Magi* on the Pisa Baptistry Pulpit of 1260 and Cimabue's *Enthroned Madonna and Child* of c. 1280 (Uffizi, Florence), continuing through the Renaissance with such works as the Cosimo Tura discussed above (fig. 5), Desiderio da Settignano's *Madonna with the Laughing Child* of c. 1460 (Victoria & Albert Museum, London), and Domenico Veneziano's *Madonna and Child with Saints (St. Lucy Altarpiece)* of c. 1445 (Uffizi, Florence). Though this "pair" of legs in the *Cartoon* do not in fact belong to any trunk, they are treated as the legs from between which Christ issues. If it is easy to doubt that the artist intended this particular ambiguity, two small preliminary sketches on a sheet of drawings in the British Museum (fig. 7) put emphasis on this aspect of the composition, and seem hardly more than a pair of open legs with a child issuing from between them. And in two of

[11] The depiction of the three generations, St. Anne, Mary, and the Christ Child, is a traditional grouping dating back at least to the *trecento*, as the *Madonna and Child with St. Anne* (Princeton University) by Francesco Traini (active c. 1321–63) shows. This one, the *Virgin with St. Anne* by Masaccio and Masolino of c. 1423 (Uffizi, Florence), and a *Madonna and Child with St. Anne* by Benozzo Gozzoli in the mid-fifteenth century (Museo nazionale, Pisa), demonstrate that the generative aspects of Leonardo's *Cartoon* were not traditionally associated with the subject.



9. Leonardo da Vinci, *Dissection of the Principal Organs of a Woman*, c. 1510–12, Windsor, Royal Library, (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

10. Leonardo da Vinci, *Drawings of an Embryo in the Uterus*, c. 1510–12, Windsor, Royal Library, (Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

the three known painted copies of this cartoon (one by Bernardo Luini in the Ambrosiana, Milan, figure 8, and the other an anonymous version in Lund, Sweden), the artists, confident they understood their master's intentions, gave Mary this dominant pair of legs, necessarily obscuring the lower half of St. Anne's body to make sense of the new arrangement.

Leonardo, in his quest for complete knowledge of the physical workings of the human body, was probably the first person in history to make anatomical drawings of female sexual organs (fig. 9) and of a fetus in the womb (fig. 10).[12] These two images have a striking relationship to the *Cartoon*. The loop of drapery which hangs between the "pair" of legs already pointed out, is very similar in shape to the outline of the womb, and close in position to where a womb would be for those legs. It is unclear to whose garments this loop belongs. The anatomy of Mary's lower right arm and the lower half of Christ's body are not fully distinguishable. Mary's forearm is noticeably exaggerated in size, and her wrist and hand are greatly diminished.

[12] Both drawings are dated around 1510 by A. Popham in *The Drawings of Leonardo da Vinci*, London, 1963, 148. Leonardo began serious anatomical investigations in Milan around 1489, and continued, with some interruptions, until Pope Leo X forbade him access to the mortuary at the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in 1515, G. Favaro, "Anatomy and the Biological Sciences," *Leonardo da Vinci*, New York, 1956, 363. We may suppose, especially considering the relationship between the *Cartoon* and the anatomical drawings, that Leonardo was familiar with the internal organs of a woman a few years earlier than these drawings.

11. Leonardo da Vinci, *St. Anne, Virgin and Child*, 1508–13, Paris, Louvre, (photo: Cliché des Musées Nationaux-Paris)

What in later copies of this cartoon was taken to be Christ's raised left knee, serves as the head of a fetus. Christ's undefined legs and Mary's extraordinarily disproportioned arm form the rest of the fetus's body, which is curled up in a similar fashion to the ones in Leonardo's drawing. Out of this ambiguous and undefined area rises the upper half of the Christ Child, fully defined and with a high degree of finished detail, just as if we have seen the whole process of his miraculous development in Mary's womb and are watching him issue forth before our very eyes.

The tradition of Christ's physical birth goes back to the first century A.D., and, as we have seen, was never lost: Leonardo is merely the first to posit the mechanics of it, mechanics that bespeak a new view of the divine based openly on human life. The tender Madonna and Child of the *quattrocento* was based on interpreting the theme in terms of human feeling. Leonardo went further and interpreted its theological basis in terms of human physiology. For him, as for his era, the flesh was not an abstraction; the more he discovered about the truth of nature, the larger his concept of the divine had to become. Leonardo wanted to pursue the miracle of Christ's coming as far as human understanding could go: the specific physicality of his discoveries does not diminish the miraculousness of the birth, it increases it. Far from being a blasphemous challenge, it is a deeply religious meditation. St. Anne confirms this by pointing to the source of the miracle so graphically represented, and to the ultimate destination of the divine Child.

The effectiveness of the *Burlington House Cartoon*—as well as the decorum—depended on its obscurity and ambiguity. The generative cycle represented by

12. Michelangelo, *Cartoon of the Holy Family with Saints* (also known as the *Epiphany Cartoon*), 1550–53, London, British Museum

13. Ascario Condivi, *Copy of Michelangelo's Cartoon of the Holy Family with Saints,* n.d., Florence, Casa Buonarroti.

womb, embryo and fully developed Child, is only possible through suggestion and allusion. Although it is generally thought to have been abandoned as an unsatisfactory composition, more likely it was because of the impossibility of rendering it with precisely defined forms, as painting demanded. The bland copies of his followers substantiate this. When Leonardo did paint his Louvre *St. Anne, Virgin and Child* about 1508–13 (fig. 11), the generative forces of the earlier *Cartoon* were reduced to the smallest reference, with Christ placed vaguely between Mary's legs. The most the artist did was to enormously exaggerate Mary's buttocks and *mons veneris* to emphasize her sexuality. But the central meaning shifted from Christ's miraculous birth to his coming Passion, symbolized by the Lamb with which he innocently plays.

That Leonardo's "Child Issuant" is part of a great tradition which not only preceded him but continued after him, may be supported by looking at Michelangelo's *Cartoon of the Holy Family with Saints* (fig. 12) of 1553, also known as the *Epiphany Cartoon.* This late cartoon uniquely combines a *Madonna del Parto* and a Holy Family. Mary, partially nude, half-stands and half-sits, creating a very large, dark triangle between her legs; with her right hand, she seems actually to be assisting the birth of Christ, who looks as if he emerged only moments before. With her left hand, Mary holds back Joseph and a number of onlookers from witnessing the miracle, though the young St. John peeks around the Madonna to see Christ deep in the shadow between her legs. Another figure, possibly a saint,[13] gestures inquiringly

[13] F. Hartt, *Michelangelo Drawings,* New York, 1970, 309. Hartt mentions that this figure has been "variously identified as St. Julian and the Prophet Isaiah."

to Mary, as if to ask an explanation, but Mary ignores his question and stares prophetically into the future, as do nearly all of Michelangelo's Madonnas. Like Leonardo, Michelangelo did not make a painting from the cartoon, its indecorousness perhaps being too much for his, or any other, time. But Ascario Condivi, one of Michelangelo's followers, did make a version of the *Epiphany Cartoon* (fig. 13). He politely clothed the Virgin's left leg, and placed in her lowered right hand, leading strings attached to the Child like a harness. In addition to the indignity of harnessing the Christ Child, he brings him forward into a bright light, dispelling the mysterious shadows which make Michelangelo's major point.

Despite the realism of their styles, neither Leonardo nor Michelangelo interpreted the Madonna and Child theme in terms of human relationships, as is so often true of Renaissance artists. The works import less the *quattrocento* Madonna's experience as Christ's mother, than the religious meaning, the spiritual implications for the world. Michelangelo's Madonna foretells the future not for the pain to herself but as a message to us. If religious beliefs are concrete, if every manifestation of nature is seen as an emanation of God, then realism only enhances the power of the image's mystical meaning. Leonardo and Michelangelo intensified the symbolic content of their images by making us *see* what before we had to read.

Rutgers University

Ingres' Celtic Fantasy *The Dream of Ossian**

ROBERT ALLEN GROSS

Ingres' *The Dream of Ossian,* which now hangs in the Musée Ingres, Montauban, is the artist's sole painting dealing with the theme of Ossian (fig. 1). An examination of the literature concerning this painting reveals three basic problems that have not been adequately resolved. The first concerns the development and precise chronology of the series of sketches dealing with this theme. The chronology is of crucial importance since it establishes the evolution of the theme in Ingres' career. It is important for the understanding of the work's dual nature as a formal commission and as a personal statement by Ingres concerning his private life. The second problem concerns the sources of Ingres' painting. Was it his intention to illustrate a specific passage or poem from Macpherson's Ossianic cycle? The final problem concerns the proper identification of the nude young woman on the right of the composition. She has been identified by scholars as either Evirallen, wife of Ossian, or as his daughter-in-law, Malvina. It is with the inclusion of this figure that Ingres may introduce a personal statement about his private life. In the present work I will reexamine these problems primarily through a study of the sketches, Ingres' notes about this painting and the poem cycle itself.

Ingres received the commission for *The Dream of Ossian* in 1811. In that year, Napoleon called for a redecoration of the Quirinal Palace on Monte Cavallo in Rome, which was to serve as the residence of his son and as a "second capital of the empire" for Napoleon and his empress.[1] The painting was to be part of the neoclassical decorative scheme for Napoleon's bedroom; the central theme was that of sleep.[2] In addition to Ingres' work, four reliefs by the Spanish sculptor Alvarez were part of the decorative program.

Unfortunately, this elaborate plan was short-lived. After Napoleon's downfall, Pope Pius VII occupied the palace. In 1815 he ordered an enlargement and redecoration of the bedroom, removing all traces of the decor as it was in 1812. For this reason it is extremely difficult to ascertain the exact role of Ingres' painting within the room.[3] This is unfortunate, since it means that intriguing questions concerning Napoleon's own interest in the Ossianic theme, as well as the choice of Ingres to paint it, cannot be fully explored. Indeed there is even a debate as to whether

* I would like to thank Professor Jack J. Spector of Rutgers University for his encouragement and help with a paper written for his course, Romantic Art, from which this article is derived. Also, thanks to Elisabeth Evans and Maryse Sinton for translating certain passages in French sources.

[1] D. Ternois, "Napoléon et la décoration du Palais Impérial de Monte Cavallo en 1811-1813," *Revue de l'Art,* No. 7, 1970, 68.

[2] The first commissioned painting to decorate the ceiling was by the Italian painter Luigi Agricola portraying *Alexander Who to Ward off Sleep Holds a Ball Suspended above a Brass Vase.* This did not please Napoleon and the painting was never completed. Ternois, "Napoleon," 76.

[3] Ternois, "Napoleon," 76.

Napoleon personally commissioned the work. As Ternois notes, Ingres received the commission under very "obscure conditions."[4]

Toussaint and Okun argue that General Miollis, governor of Rome, acted as a mediator between Ingres and Napoleon.[5] Miollis knew Ingres, having commissioned him to paint a *Virgil Reading the Aeneid before Augustus and Livia* for the Villa Aldobrandini, Miollis' residence in Rome. Ternois, on the other hand, maintains that it was Napoleon himself who chose the Ossianic theme because of his admiration for the poems.[6] Certainly the theme reflects the Emperor's taste. Napoleon, as First Consul, once remarked to Népomucene Lemercier: "Alexander chose Homer as his poet . . . Augustus chose Virgil, author of the Aeneid . . . As for me, I have only had Ossian: the others had been taken."[7] He also owned a volume of the works which he took with him on his campaigns.[8]

The origin and evolution of this Ossianic theme in Ingres' career are of great interest. There is disagreement among scholars as to whether or not Ingres did any studies of this theme before he actually received the formal commission for the Quirinal Palace in 1811. Toussaint, Schlenoff and Okun all adhere to the view that he created the sketch as early as 1809.[9] Toussaint and Okun not only argue that General Miollis acted as a mediator between Ingres and Napoleon for the Ossian commission, but they further contend that Miollis recommended or actually commissioned Ingres on the basis of having seen his drawing of *The Dream of Ossian.*[10] Ternois, however, notes that it is by no means certain that Ingres had already executed a drawing for this subject before the commission.[11] An examination of the possible sources and influences upon Ingres' work will establish the painter's earliest acquaintance with the Ossianic theme and will help to resolve these problems.

There are two primary sources which may have inspired Ingres. They are both early enough to support the assertion that Ingres turned to the theme before receiving the commission in 1811. In 1801 François Gérard completed a painting which was inspirational for Ingres' work. The painting was commissioned in 1800 by Percier and Fontaine and was placed in the Salon Doré of Malmaison along with Girodet's *Ossian Receiving Napoleon's Generals.*[12] The full title of Gérard's work is: *Ossian évoque les fantômes au son de la harpe sur les bords du Lora* (fig. 2).[13] The setting is the shores of the Lora on a moonlit night. In the background is the fortress of Selma. Ossian is seen in the foreground, to the left of center, playing his harp. Behind him, on

[4] *Ibid.*, 76f. There is an apparent lack of documents concerning this commission. The principal question raised with respect to the commission is whether or not Napoleon would show such an enthusiastic interest in the decoration of a palace that he did not intend to be his permanent residence, regardless of how dear the Ossianic poems were to him.

[5] W. Hofmann, *et al., Ossian und die Kunst um 1800,* Munich, 1974, 128. H. Okun, "Ossian in Painting," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* XXX, 1967, 352.

[6] Ternois, "Napoleon," 77.

[7] P. van Tieghem, *Ossian en France,* Paris, 1917, II, 8.

[8] Hofmann, *et al.*, 40.

[9] Hofmann, *et al.*, 128; N. Schlenoff, *Ingres, ses Sources Littéraires,* Paris, 1956, 90; Okun, 352.

[10] Hofmann, *et al.*, 128; Okun, 352.

[11] Ternois, "Napoleon," 77.

[12] *French Painting 1774–1830: The Age of Revolution,* Detroit Institute of Art, 1975, 434.

[13] *Ibid.* This painting and the other versions of it by Gérard have been fully discussed by G. Hubert, "L'Ossian de François Gérard et ses variantes," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France,* 1967, 4–5, 239ff.

1. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* signed and dated 1813. Montauban, Musée Ingres

2. François Gérard, *Ossian Evoking the Fantoms*, c. 1810. Hamburg, Kunsthalle

either side of the composition, is a group of spectral figures borne on clouds. King Fingal and his wife Roscrana, the parents of Ossian, are on the left. To the right, Oscar and Malvina, the son and daughter-in-law of Ossian, embrace each other. Above them hover harp-playing maidens. To the right center, the ghost of the aged bard Ullin reaches his right hand out to his living counterpart.

Ingres might have seen Gérard's original painting at Malmaison, but he also possessed an engraving of it by Godefroy which is now in the Musée Ingres at Montauban.[14] Throughout his canvas, Ingres shows his debt to Gérard. Both painters place the figure of the bard in the lower foreground and devote the upper area to the assemblage of ghostly figures. Other influences and similarities that have been correctly noted by Toussaint and Okun include: the division of the assemblage into two groups with the long file of armed warriors extending from the upper left corner of the composition diagonally into the distance; the group of harp-playing maidens; the embracing couple appearing to the right side of both compositions; and such other lesser elements as the costume of the bard and the spear lying at his feet.[15]

[14] *Ibid.*, 128. Ingres knew Gérard and admired his works. Okun, 353.

[15] Hofmann, *et al.*, 128; Okun, 353 and n. 193.

The two painters see Ossian recalling the past in very different ways: Gérard's bard summons the spectral figures of his former comrades with music, while Ingres' bard sleeps, envisioning them in a dream. Ingres' painting, therefore, evokes a more supernatural feeling; we see the spirits Ossian recalls in his slumber, but we do not see his face.

This singular motif of the sleeping Ossian may well derive from a contemporary opera, which may have influenced the spirit of Ingres' work. In 1804 the opera *Ossian, ou les Bardes* was produced. Deschamps and Dercy wrote the libretto; Le Sueur, whom Ingres knew, composed the music.[16] Agnes Mongan suggests that the painter's inspiration may stem from a tableau of the opera (IV, iii).[17] The tableau depicted Ossian asleep, while a host of spirits — armed warriors, their lovers, and harp-playing maidens — descend upon clouds to the sleeping bard. This operatic tableau is markedly similar not only to the painting itself, but also to the drawings Ingres created for it.

Ingres' work clearly derives from these two basic sources. The opera would appear to have supplied him with the central theme of the bard, fast asleep and dreaming of his deceased comrades, whose ghosts hover above him. For such details as costume, setting and the basic arrangement of the figures, he is clearly indebted to Gérard. The dating of these prototypes to the beginning of the century, as well as the presence of Maurice Quai in David's studio, point to Ingres' early acquaintance with the Ossian cycle some years before the Quirinal commission of 1811.[18] He very well might have considered painting the theme, and perhaps even sketched it, before that year.

Seven drawings by Ingres depicting the composition in its entirety are preserved. Toussaint and Ternois have studied their chronology and have come to very different conclusions. Toussaint sees the chronology as follows: first, the Gilibert drawing in a private collection at Montauban; second, the drawing in the Fogg Museum of Art in Cambridge, Massachusetts, dated 1809; third, the drawing in the Musée du Louvre, dated 1812; fourth and fifth, the drawings on tracing paper in the Musée Ingres, Montauban; sixth, a drawing in a private collection in Switzerland, dated 1811 and presented to Ingres' friend Hippolyte Lebas in about 1825; seventh, the drawing dated 1866 now in the Musée Ingres.[19] Ternois, however, sees the chronology as follows: first, the Gilibert study; second, the two drawings on tracing paper in the Musée Ingres; third and fourth, the drawings dated 1809 and 1812; fifth, the drawing dated 1866. He does not refer to the work in the Swiss private collection.[20]

These drawings need to be examined individually. The drawing in the private collection at Montauban, executed in pencil, and ink and watercolor wash, is signed on the original mounting paper: *"Ingres invenit et fecit"* (fig. 3).[21] At one time it was

[16] Schlenoff, 84.

[17] A. Mongan, "Ingres and the Antique," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, X, 1947, 12.

[18] Ingres entered David's studio in 1797. There he met Maurice Quai, one of the notorious "Primitives," who discoursed upon the Ossianic poems. Okun, 352. Schlenoff, 61ff.

[19] Hofmann *et al.*, 129.

[20] D. Ternois, "Ingres et le *Songe d'Ossian*," *Walter Friedlaender zum 90. Geburtstag. Eine Festgabe*, Berlin, 1965, 190.

[21] *Ibid.*, 189.

3. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* drawing, signed. Montauban, Private Collection (photo: Musée Ingres)

given by Ingres to Jean-Francois Gilibert. The bard, in the lower foreground, sleeps resting his arms upon his harp. The ghostly figures are divided into two groups with a file of armed warriors extending into the distance. The harp-playing maidens and the embracing couple are also present. All these elements point to the influence of Gérard's painting and the Le Sueur opera tableau. They recur in the other drawings as well. In this drawing, however, the spectral figures are fewer in number and larger in scale, and are placed nearer to Ossian than they are in the painting itself and the other drawings. All the figures are boldly conceived and lack the more precise descriptive details of those in the other studies.

Ternois sees the style of the drawing as indicating that it is a work of the youthful Ingres and believes it was created before 1812.[22] Toussaint concurs, seeing a certain rapidity of execution in it, and also noting that it is very much akin to a series of small drawings of various historical subjects which Ingres did in ink and watercolor wash in his early years.[23]

A further indication that this might be his earliest treatment of the Ossianic theme is provided by a page from the manuscript, *Ossian, His Slumber, around Him the Heroes Who Are Descending Upon Their Clouds,* now in the Musée Ingres.[24] Judging by the style of the handwriting, Ingres wrote it when he was fairly young. This manuscript page contains passages copied literally from the Forward and *Fingal* of the translation by Le Tourneur. Toussaint further states that in one part of these notes Ingres uses an Italian form for the name of one of the personages in the cycle of poems. She believes this might indicate that he also consulted the Italian translation of the poems by Cesarotti, meaning that the notes might have been made in Rome after 1806.

The two drawings in the Fogg and Louvre museums have the following inscriptions: *"Ingres inv. Pinx. Roma 1809"* and *"Ingres inv. et Pinx. Roma in Edibus monte Caval. 1812"* (figs. 4 and 5).[25] They are very similar to each other with respect to their compositions, but both differ greatly from the Gilibert drawing. The 1809 version, executed in ink, watercolor, gouache, and graphite differs from the Gilibert study in the following points: the bard rests his arms upon the rock, his face completely hidden; the number of spectral figures is greatly increased and they are smaller in scale and are placed in the mid-ground (further away from the bard). The most striking change is the inclusion of the two ghostly figures hovering near Ossian. To the right, a young maiden holding a harp extends her left hand to the poet. Opposite her is an armed warrior, his face hidden by his shield. Throughout this work, Ingres paid greater attention to detail. The figures are fully modeled in light and shade, and the indistinct forms of the ghostly personages in particular are admirably rendered. The 1812 study differs from this version in minor details only; the most notable one is the distant view of the sea, which also appears in the painting itself.

Mongan, Okun, Schlenoff and Toussaint believe that the Fogg Museum study was made the year it is dated, 1809.[26] Ternois, on the other hand, dates this sketch

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Hofmann, *et al.*, 129.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Ternois, "Ingres," 189.

[26] A. Mongan, "Drawings by Ingres in the Winthrop Collection," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* XXVI, 1944, 404; Okun, 352; Schlenoff, 90; Hofmann, *et al.*, 129.

4. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* drawing, signed and dated 1809 (here dated c. 1845–1850). Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum

5. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* signed and dated 1812 (here dated c. 1845–1850). Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Service de documentation photographique, Paris)

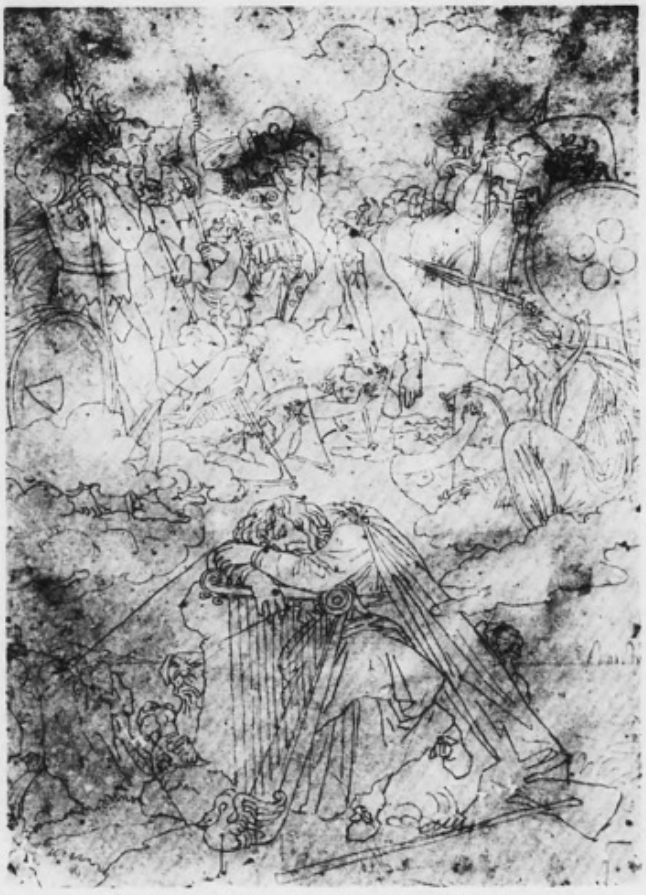
and the 1812 version to the period of the alteration of the painting. Ingres was not able to complete his Ossian, since the redecoration of the palace was never finished. He apparently appropriated the unfinished canvas in 1836 when he was the Director of the French Academy in Rome.[27] He sought to rework the painting and had it sent to France to await his return in 1841.[28] This is confirmed by Ingres' letter of June 1836 to his friend Gatteaux. By 1854 the work was near completion; in a letter of August of that year to his friend Marcotte, Ingres refers to it: "I have the Ossian and Virgil, grand paintings, of which the former is nearly finished and the second halfway finished."[29] Ternois maintains that the inscription and date on the 1812 study refers to the painting itself rather than to the study.[30] He further notes that the date of 1809 on the Fogg drawing very well might be a mistake made on Ingres' part some thirty to forty years later. The theory of his later dating of these drawings is founded upon the inclusion of the young maiden and the position of the armed warrior to the left of the composition.[31]

Two of the three sets of notes by Ingres on the Ossianic theme support Ternois' theory. The first set of notes, according to Schlenoff, was apparently written some time after the initial composition was worked out.[32] In these notations Ingres stresses the loneliness of Ossian in his old age and the devotion of Malvina, his daughter-in-law, to him. The second set of notes, according to Toussaint's analysis of the handwriting, appears to have been written later.[33] Again Ingres refers to the important figures of Oscar (Ossian's son) and Malvina, as well as to the love Ossian had for his now deceased wife, Evirallen. At the conclusion of this set of notes, Oscar and Evirallen are again mentioned and each one is followed by a small sketch; both sketches correspond to the prominent ghostly figures in the painting. Toussaint maintains, and rightly so it appears, that this second set of notes was perhaps intended for Raymond Balze, who was engaged to assist in the alteration of the painting. Her assumption is based upon the inclusion of the two small sketches of Oscar and Evirallen and the notation at the end of the passage: "Array the bards and harps further back in the ranks."

To summarize, Ternois' later dating of the "1809" and "1812" drawings is supported by the following facts: Ingres' repeated references to the characters of Oscar, Malvina and later, Evirallen; the presence of two more prominent figures in the 1809 and 1812 studies, and in the painting itself; and the late handwriting style of the notations. A close examination of the two tracings will clarify these points and further support Ternois' argument.

The drawing on tracing paper illustrated here and its companion piece are unsigned and undated (fig. 6). In them, Ossian is seen in the foreground, supporting himself on his harp. The apparitions, compared with those of the Gilibert drawing, are smaller in scale and increased in number, but in both tracings and in the Gilibert

[27] G. Wildenstein, *Ingres*, London, 1954, 177.
[28] Ternois, "Ingres," 187.
[29] *Ibid.*, 190.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*, 189f.
[32] Schlenoff, 79. He does not give the reason for his assertion.
[33] Hofmann, *et al.*, 127.



6. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian*, drawing. Montauban, Musée Ingres

study they occupy the same area of the composition. Compared with the 1809 and 1812 versions, however, these figures are fewer in number, larger in scale and lack the clear spatial recession found in these two later studies. The singular figure of the armed warrior, his face hidden by his shield, who is so prominent in the later drawings and in the painting, appears for the first time in these two tracings. He is seen in the upper left of the composition. A young maiden holding a bow crouches at his feet. She also is not present in the Gilibert drawing. The companion tracing differs from the one illustrated here in a single important point; Ossian's face is concealed, as it is in the subsequent drawings and in the painting.

7. Réveil, after Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* engraving dated 1851 (photo: Musée Ingres)

It is evident from these observations that the two tracings follow the Gilibert drawing and lead to the "1809" and "1812" studies. Ternois and Toussaint maintain that these tracings most nearly reflect the composition of the unfinished painting as it was in 1812–13. Their argument is founded upon the fact that Ingres has altered the position of the armed warrior, bringing him closer to Ossian. When looking at the painting, the blurred image of a spear's point and shaft is visible jutting out from behind the warrior's helmet. This spear is in approximately the same place as the one held by the warrior in both tracings.[34]

Réveil's engraving of *The Dream,* (fig. 7), of 1851, is part of a series, created under Ingres' direction, reproducing his works up to that year.[35] The engraving reflects the "1809" and "1812" versions, thus further stressing the correctness of Ternois' redating of these two drawings.

Ingres' final drawing of this theme, executed in pencil, ink, and watercolor and sepia washes, bears the following inscription: *"J. Ingres inv. et Pinxit 1866"* (fig. 8).[36] There is no basic difference between it and the Réveil engraving save for one very important change: a young maiden crouches beside the figure of Ossian. Her inclusion in this drawing is perplexing; her identity is open to question.

[34] Ternois, "Ingres," 188f; Hofmann *et al.,* 133.
[35] Hofmann, *et al.,* 128.
[36] Ternois, "Ingres," 190.

8. Ingres, *The Dream of Ossian,* drawing, signed and dated 1866. Montauban, Musée Ingres

In summary, the two drawings on tracing paper most nearly reflect the appearance of the painting as it was in 1812 or 1813 when Ingres abandoned it. Toussaint's chronology does not account for the reason why the composition of the "1809" drawing was rejected in favor of the simpler of the two tracings. Ternois' chronology of the drawings, on the other hand, presents a logical and consistent development of the painting's composition, since the spontaneity of the Gilibert drawing and Ingres' early notation referring to the theme of the sleeping bard point to an early date for this "1866" drawing, indeed perhaps before 1811.

In studying the artist's "Notes on Ossian" the question arises concerning the proper identification of the female figure extending her hand to Ossian. Rosenblum, Okun, Schlenoff and Ternois see this figure as representing Malvina, daughter-in-law of Ossian, while Toussaint, on the other hand, believes the figure to be Evirallen, the deceased wife of Ossian.[37]

[37] Rosenblum, 96; Okun, 353; Schlenoff, 79; Ternois, "Ingres," 188; Hofmann *et al.*, 127.

In his first two sets of notes (excluding the manuscript page discussed in connection with the Gilibert drawing) Ingres stresses the fact that Malvina did not abandon the aged bard. His final set of observations on the poem cycle contains the following passage:

> He is blind. He has taken part in the battles he sings. He has lost all his friends; Malvina is all that is left to him. He only has her arm to support him, her voice to console him. He moans... The memory of his misfortunes gets constantly mixed up with the memory of his feats. The past, the present overwhelm him.[38]

For Schlenoff, this passage is all important for grasping the meaning of Ingres' painting. Interpreting this notation, he sees Ossian as being able to "pass from reality to illusion." Taking it a step further, he also applies it to the character of Malvina: she "is at the border of the real and the unreal, belonging to both, functioning in the dream and at the same time in real life." One should again take particular note of the gesture of the young woman who extends her hand down to Ossian, thus forming not only a visual link in the composition, but also one appropriate for her dual nature as interpreted by Schlenoff.

Schlenoff fails to acknowledge the possibility that this female figure might be intended to represent Evirallen, the deceased wife of Ossian. Toussaint points out that in his "Notes on Ossian," Ingres remarks that he wanted the ghosts of Ossian's wife and son to appear nearest to the figure of the bard.[39] She also notes that at the end of Ingres' notation, the small sketch of the figure labeled Evirallen looks precisely like the corresponding figure in the painting. Indeed this figure is different, for she no longer holds a harp but a bow; she is nude and her hair is gathered up and bound behind her neck, which is the way it appears in the Réveil engraving. In the "1809" and "1812" sketches, her hair falls down in long tresses; both the figures in these sketches have a somewhat more youthful appearance.

What is one to make of this noticeable change in the figure? Toussaint does not seem to be aware that the figure might be Malvina, or at one time might have been intended to represent her. Given the change in the figure's appearance and Ingres' many references to the devotion of Malvina, he might have at first intended to include her image in the painting. The changes in the figure, the reference to Evirallen and the sketch of her all indicate a deliberate change on Ingres' part and not his confusion of these two characters. It should also be noted that Evirallen is referred to only once in the cycle of poems, and is hence a very minor character.

The question naturally arises as to why Ingres would want to make this change. The answer may be found in a personal loss he endured during the period when he was concerned with the reworking of the painting's composition between 1841 and 1854. In December 1813, he married Madeleine Chapelle. She died at the age of seventy in 1849. Ingres was very depressed for months afterwards.[40] He might have identified himself with the aged bard, who in the beginning of Book IV

[38] Schlenoff, 82.

[39] Hofmann, *et al.*, 127.

[40] Wildenstein, 24.

of *Fingal* laments his plight: "I was not so mournful and blind, I was not so dark and forlorn, when Evir-allen loved me!"[41] In the opening passage of *Fingal,* Book IV, the ghost of Evirallen, borne on a cloud, appears to the bard warning him of the danger their son was facing. In his "Notes on Ossian," Ingres refers to this apparition of Evirallen clearly showing that he had read this passage.[42]

In his last sketch of this theme, in 1866, a second female figure is included, crouching down by the side of the sleeping bard. Okun sees both female figures in this sketch as being representations of Malvina, while Toussaint sees the crouching figure as Malvina and the spectral figure as Evirallen.[43] This sketch may be seen as depicting the transient nature of Malvina as interpreted by Schlenoff. Or it may just as well fit the interpretation of Toussaint. If one accepts that both Evirallen and Malvina are present, the sketch takes on an additional personal significance for Ingres. In 1852 he married Mlle. Delphine Ramel, who was younger than he was by some thirty years.[44] She remained with him until his death in January of 1867. Thus, as Malvina was the companion of Ossian in his last years, Delphine was the companion of Ingres in his old age. The ghost of Ossian's wife, Evirallen, therefore alludes to Ingres' deceased wife.

Throughout his career, Ingres often sought thematic inspiration in literary works, frequently illustrating specific passages from them.[45] Since *The Dream of Ossian* ultimately derives from a literary source, it is to be expected that one might seek a possible inspiration for it in the poem cycle. Toussaint confidently sees the painting as illustrating the closing lines where Ossian falls into a deep slumber and dreams of his former comrades:

> Daughter of Toscar take the harp, and raise the lovely song of Selma; that sleep may overtake my soul in the midst of joy; that the dreams of my youth may return, and the days of mighty Fingal.... But sleep descends in the sound of the harp! The bard of other times holds discourse with his fathers! the chiefs of the days of old! Sons of the chase, stand far distant! disturb not the dreams of Ossian![46]

Joannides and Sells criticize Toussaint for too "literal" an interpretation, but on the other hand, they see a "suggestion of impending death" in Ingres' work and find more of a similarity between it and the poem *Berrathon.*[47] In the closing lines of the last poem of the cycle, the ghost of Fingal bids Ossian to join his forebears. Ossian laments:

> Beside the stone of Mora I shall fall asleep. The winds whistling in my gray hair, shall not awaken me. Depart on thy wings, O wind! thou canst not disturb the rest of the bard.... Shalt thou then remain, thou aged bard! when the mighty have failed?[48]

[41] J. Macpherson, "Fingal," Book IV, in *The Poems of Ossian,* Philadelphia, 1839, 257.

[42] Schlenoff, 81.

[43] Okun, 353; Hofmann, *et al.*, 133.

[44] Wildenstein, 26.

[45] A few noted works of his illustrating precise literary passages are the *Jupiter and Thetis, Roger and Angelica* and *Antiochus and Stratonice.*

[46] Hofmann, *et al.*, 127; Macpherson, "The War of Inis-thona," in *The Poems of Ossian,* Philadelphia, 1839, 412-413.

[47] P. Joannides and C. Sells, "Ossian at the Grand Palais," *The Burlington Magazine,* June, 1974, 358.

[48] Macpherson, "Berrathon," in *The Poems of Ossian,* Philadelphia, 1839, 223-224.

Neither their interpretation nor Toussaint's can be substantiated by evidence. None of the notes Ingres took on this epic cycle, including the early manuscript page, refers either to *The War of Inis-thona* or to *Berrathon.* Furthermore, not one of the poems that he is known to have consulted contains a passage that can be illustrated by the painting. The earliest treatment of the Ossianic theme by Ingres (the Gilibert drawing and the tracings) displays the influence of Gérard's painting, which was the primary inspiration for Ingres' canvas. This indicates that, from the beginning, he did not intend to illustrate a specific passage from the cycle.

Ingres became acquainted with the theme of Ossian early in his career and drew upon the works of Gérard and Le Sueur for the inspiration of his Ossianic painting. Later, he consulted the poems themselves in order to imbue his canvas with a deeper meaning—the loneliness and misery of the aged bard. While doing so, he found that in his painting he could allude not only to the personal loss he suffered when his wife died and the misery which plagued him afterwards, but also to the companionship of his second wife during his last years.

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Man Ray in Quest of Modernism

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As a founding member of New York Dada, Man Ray is looked upon today as a singular phenomenon in American art. He is revered as the sole American to transcend the bonds of provincialism, and to be welcomed in Paris in 1921 as a kindred spirit. Art historians have consistently singled out Man Ray's early proto-Dada tendencies and his daring modernity during his early years, while downplaying the fact that Man Ray's first New York period was one of quest and growth. This brief essay will explore Man Ray's development as a young member of the New York artistic community, when his predilection for modern art came to him through older, more mature American artists who had experienced modern art directly during their sojourns in Europe.

To understand Man Ray's development and his diverse styles, it is essential to touch briefly on the New York art scene of the 1910s. Although Stieglitz celebrated the initiating rites of modern art in his small "291" Gallery beginning in 1907, it was the Armory Show that began to erode the strong resistance toward modern art in America. When in the spring of 1913 the Armory Show opened in New York, Man Ray was a fledgling within the artistic community who had not gone much further than figure studies and an occasional landscape.[1] Frequent visits to the "291" Gallery brought him in touch with Stieglitz and the circle of artists whom Stieglitz encouraged and supported. And it is to these artists that one must look in order to evaluate Man Ray's "modernity" in a true perspective.

Only a few works survived from Man Ray's early years of 1913–1914 since he destroyed many canvases. Among these few extant paintings are landscapes executed in the Segantini "stitch" (fig. 1). Few, if any, Segantini paintings were accessible to Man Ray to study, and it is probable that he observed the early works of Marsden Hartley, which were exhibited in New York and which reflect a Segantini "stitch" (fig. 2).

Man Ray's Segantini-like landscapes changed to geometric patterns after the Armory Show. To compare Man Ray's *Village* of 1913 (fig. 3) to Picasso's *Horta de Ebro* of 1909 as Carl Belz did in his dissertation on Man Ray, seems to force a parallel.[2] Furthermore, to point out Man Ray's independence from the restricted color scheme of the cubists, as was done by Arturo Schwarz in his recent monograph on Man Ray, seems inappropriate, because Man Ray was not dependent upon Picasso or Braque.[3] Instead it is proposed here that Man Ray has much in common with Vlaminck's *Village* of 1912 (fig. 4), a painting which was exhibited at the Ar-

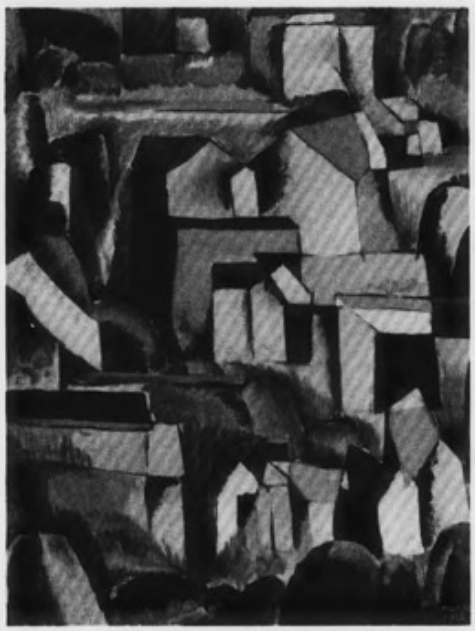
[1] Munich, *New York Dada, Duchamp–Man Ray–Picabia,* Stadtische Gallerie im Lenbachhaus, ed. A. Zweite, M. Petzel, C. Adriani, 1974, 80: Man Ray maintained that he had been invited to participate in the Armory Show. This seems rather questionable when one scrutinizes his early work which reveals Man Ray as a young and immature artist.

[2] C. I. Belz, *The Role of Man Ray in the Dada and Surrealist Movement,* Thesis, Princeton, 1963, 57.

[3] Arturo Schwarz, *Man Ray–The Rigour of Imagination,* London, 1977, 30.

1. Man Ray, *The Bouquet,* 1914, watercolor, Milan, Studio Marconi

2. Marsden Hartley, *The Cosmos,* 1908, oil, Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Ohio, Gift of Ferdinand Howald



3. Man Ray, *The Village,* 1913, oil, Milan, Collection of Arturo Schwarz

4. Maurice de Vlaminck, *The Village,* 1912, oil, Art Institute of Chicago

5. Man Ray, *Five Figures*, 1914, oil, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art

6. Max Weber, *Figures in a Landscape*, 1912, oil, Waltham, Massachusetts, Brandeis University Art Collection

mory Show. Man Ray adopted, like other American artists, a synthesis of cubist compositional elements and the palette of the fauves. Buildings form geometric patterns which fill the picture planes, nature is roughly sketched in, and the palettes are of similar pale tonality, in the Vlaminck and the Man Ray.

After the cubist-fauve landscape period Man Ray moved on to figure compositions, as for example *Five Figures* of 1914 (fig. 5). The compositional elements here are five female nudes. These nudes are built up in such a manner as to fill the entire picture plane, which is reminiscent of Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* of 1907. Yet, the picture lacks cubist fragmentation; furthermore, Picasso's work was not exhibited in New York at that time. Matisse, a second possible source of inspiration, must also be ruled out, since Man Ray's nudes lack the sensuous, curvilinear lines of Matisse. Yet, it was precisely a combination of cubism and fauvism which inspired Man Ray in his composition. Max Weber, who had studied under Matisse and who had seen Picasso's *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* while in Paris, synthesized these two styles upon his return to New York, and in 1912 exhibited his works at the Murray Hill Gallery. Among the paintings exhibited was his composition *Figures in a Landscape* of 1912 (fig. 6), which acknowledges his indebtedness to both Picasso and Matisse. Man Ray knew Weber through the Stieglitz circle and it is apparent that he was familiar with his work which he emulated in his composition of *Five Figures*.

The background in Weber's painting *Resting Women* of 1912 is filled with mountains, a compositional device then frequently used by Weber. This device recurs in

7. Man Ray, *The Rug*, 1914, oil, Paris, The Estate of Man Ray

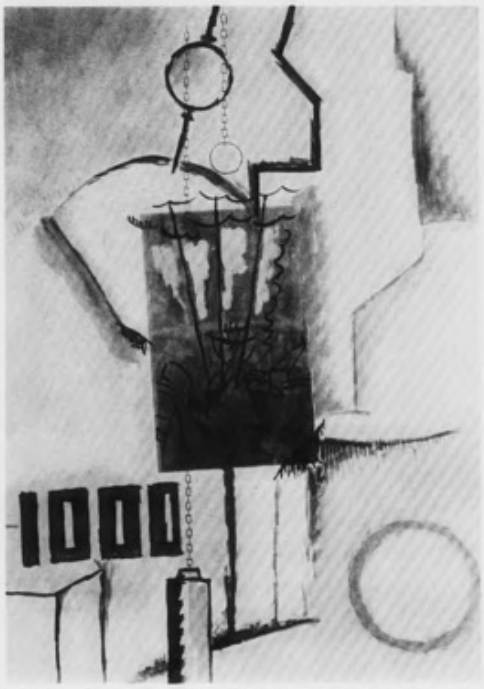
8. Man Ray, *Dance*, 1915, oil, New York, Collection of Noma Copley

Man Ray's compositions of 1914, as for example in *The Rug* (fig. 7), or in *Departure of Summer*. These peaked mountains serve an identical purpose in the works of Weber and Man Ray, closing off the background in order to emphasize the figure compositions in the foreground. Arturo Schwarz, who considered *Five Figures* a "purely imaginary composition," obviously failed to notice the motifs and compositional elements which Man Ray adopted from Weber.[4]

In 1915 the two-dimensional figure compositions which were set in abstract landscapes gave way to fragmentation of the figures, as in *Dance* (fig. 8). This suggests renewed cubist influence apparent in paintings of other artists working in New York during 1915–1916. In 1915 Gleizes, Metzinger, Duchamp, Picabia, and Crotti arrived in New York. Their works and those of other French modernists were readily available to Man Ray through exhibitions as well as through reproductions in *Camera Work* and *Literary Digest*. Contemporary French cubist art could easily be seen in New York. The general trend toward abstraction climaxed in 1915–1916 when Hartley, Schamberg, Sheeler, Weber, Taylor, and others worked in a similar manner. The works of Man Ray during these years reflect a predominantly cubist style shared by modernists in New York at that time.

In *Decoupage* of 1915 (fig. 9) Man Ray used the equestrian figure of his earlier work *A.D. MCMXIV* as the major compositional element. The use of characters, in this instance 1000, was a compositional device adopted from French cubism. Letters could also be found in works by Weber, as for example his possibly earlier *Avoirdupois* of 1915 (fig. 10). Both of these paintings have one compositional element in common, a weight or piston which is attached to a chain. In Weber's *Avoirdupois* this piston is pulled down toward the lower edge of the picture plane. In Man Ray's *Decoupage* the piston or weight is suspended from a chain and partially cut off by the

[4] Schwarz, *Man Ray*, 31–32.

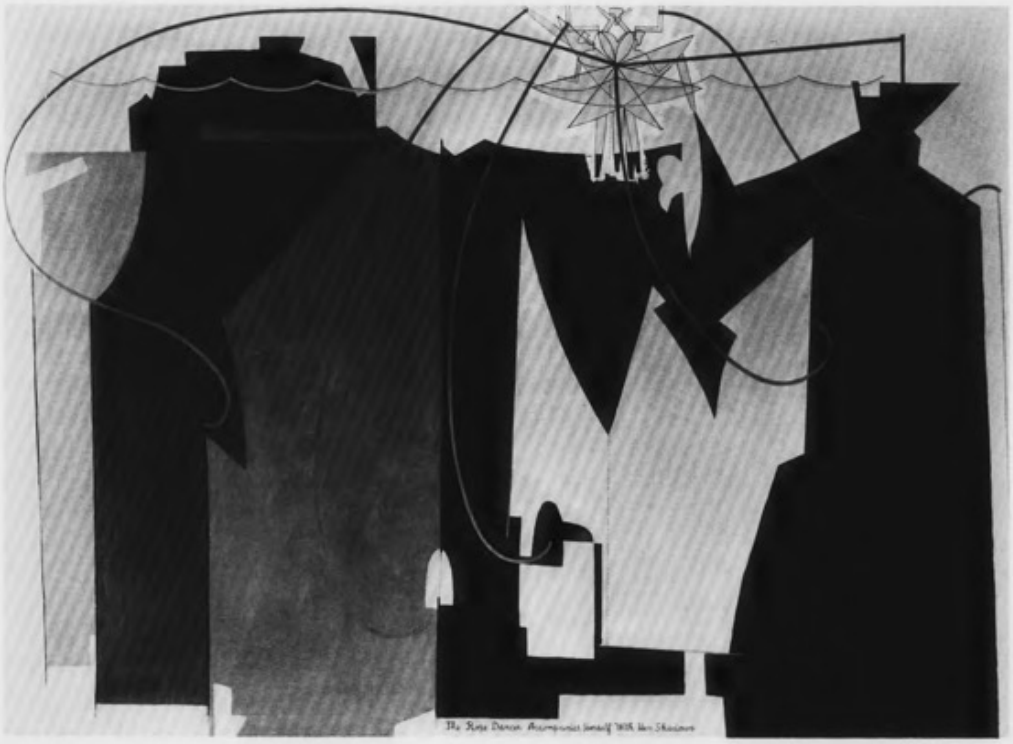


9. Man Ray, *Decoupage,* 1915, watercolor, pencil, charcoal on paper, Philadelphia Museum of Art, the E.A. Gallatin Collection

10. Max Weber, *Avoirdupois,* 1915, oil, Baltimore Museum of Art

11. Abraham Walkowitz, *Drawing,* charcoal on paper, New York, Estate of A. Walkowitz

12. Man Ray, *Untitled Charcoal Drawing,* 1915, New York, Museum of Modern Art



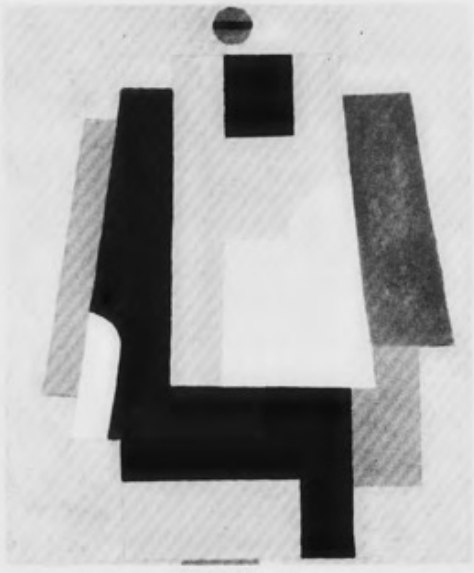
13. Man Ray, *The Rope Dancer Accompanies Herself with Her Shadows,* 1916, oil, New York, Museum of Modern Art

lower picture frame. The strength, the composition, the polish in Weber's painting reflects his maturity. Man Ray's painting, on the other hand, appears unfinished in its loose, sketchy quality, which suggests a young artist still in search of a style.

Abraham Walkowitz was another older artist who exhibited at "291" and who frequented the Stieglitz circle. When one compares Walkowitz's *Drawing* from the mid 1910s (fig. 11) with Man Ray's single *Untitled Charcoal Drawing* of 1915 (fig. 12) one cannot overlook their similarities. Curvilinear lines cover the entire picture planes, interrupted only by darkly shaded passages. The rhythmic lines in Walkowitz's landscape study create distinct, spacial relationships between foreground and background which are emphasized through darkly shaded passages of varying strength. On the other hand, Man Ray schematized his rhythmic lines, applied dark passages of even strength, and created depth through overlapping planes, which resulted in a flatter, more abstract landscape study.

The major turning point in Man Ray's career came in 1915, when Walter Arensberg introduced Man Ray to Marcel Duchamp. The artistic and intellectual influence of Duchamp is without doubt reflected in Man Ray's work from 1916 onward and replaced the influences of Weber, Walkowitz, and others from the New York school. In December of 1915 Man Ray began his largest painting to that date, *The Rope Dancer Accompanies Herself with Her Shadows* (fig. 13), which was completed in 1916. In size and concept of abstraction it is reminiscent of Duchamp's *Large Glass*

14. Man Ray, *Legend,* from the *Revolving Doors* series. 1916–1917, collage, Milan, Collection of Arturo Schwarz



15. Marsden Hartley, *Movement No. 2,* 1916, oil, Hartford, Wadsworth Atheneum

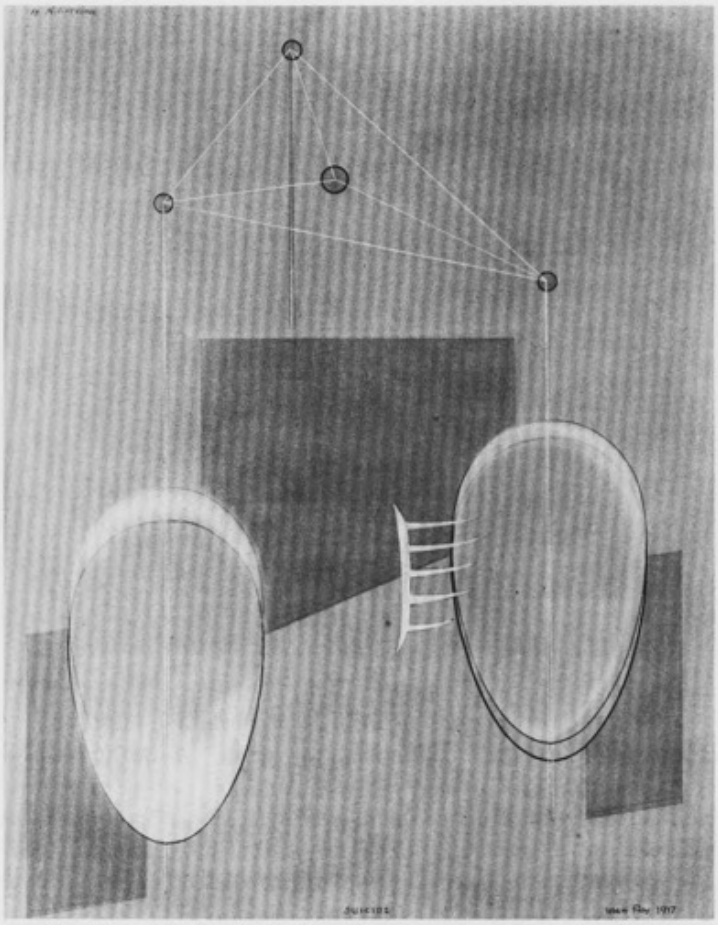
of 1915–1923 as Belz and others such as Pincus-Witten have observed.[5] Although the *Rope Dancer* is unthinkable without Duchamp's works, no mathematical calculations led Man Ray to the solution of his artistic problems, nor is there any sign of the tongue-in-cheek attitude of Duchamp. Discarded scraps of paper arranged in a pleasing fashion served as patterns for Man Ray's large composition. The small, almost translucent dancer balances in the upper center of the canvas, while her brilliantly colored shadows dominate the composition.

In 1916–1917, dissatisfied with oil and canvas, Man Ray moved on to paper cut-outs, pasted onto a flat surface. At first glance this may appear revolutionary. But several factors must be considered in the assessment of Man Ray's art. *Papier collé* and collage were firmly established among avant-garde artists. As for Man Ray, the fact that he was a commercial artist cannot be overlooked. Commercial art involves cut-outs, flat patterns, two-dimensionality, and the employment of spray guns. To change from one medium to another was natural for Man Ray.

Despite the overwhelming influence of Duchamp, Man Ray still referred back to works by American artists. The series of *Revolving Doors* of 1916–1917 (fig. 14) was singled out and exhibited among Surrealist paintings after Man Ray arrived in Paris in 1921. Some of these works were executed in oil, and all of them used paper or collage. Yet, these works show compositional elements which are similar to those seen in Weber's works of 1915 such as *Abstract-Geometric* or Hartley's 1915–1916 *Movement* series (fig. 15).[6] The similarity among these works is particularly striking in

[5] Belz, *The Role of Man Ray,* 79. Robert Pincus-Witten, "Man Ray: Homonymic Pun and American Vernacular," *Artforum,* April 1975, 54–59.

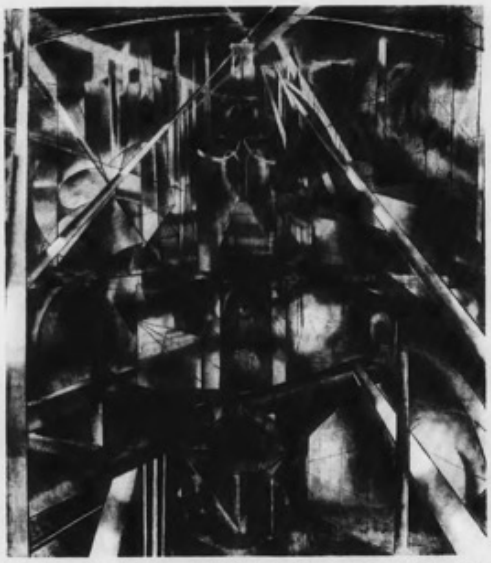
[6] Next to Duchamp, Weber must be considered of singular importance to Man Ray's early development. Weber's figure compositions, his studies of still lifes, and geometric abstractions all found their echo in Man Ray's early works.



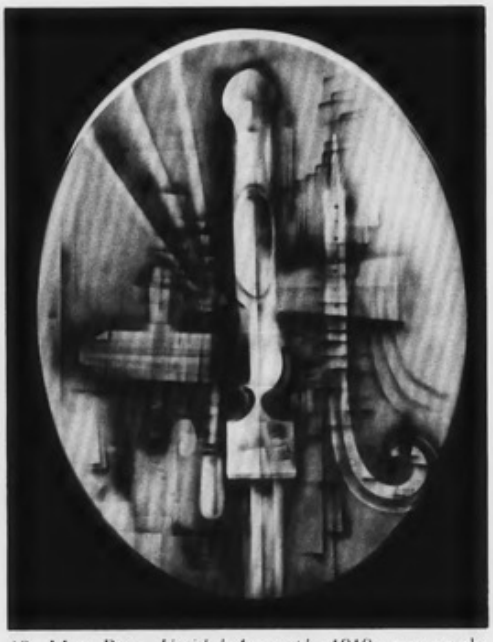
16. Man Ray, *Suicide,* 1917, airbrush and tempera on cardboard, United States, private collection

Man Ray's oils, whereas the identical compositions executed in paper take on a flatter, more abstract appearance. The greater abstraction is further emphasized by Man Ray's use of transparent paper which, when overlayed, resulted in complementary color schemes.

But Duchamp's presence was obviously predominant. In *Suicide* of 1917 (fig. 16) Man Ray relied on compositional elements found in preliminary studies to Duchamp's *Large Glass* to which Man Ray had access. One of these drawings, the *Network of Stoppages* of 1914, shows lines radiating from a center. Their flow is interrupted by clearly marked circles, like junction points. These lines and circles may well have been the basis for Man Ray's suspended lines and circles which he employed in *Suicide.* The oval-shaped heads are also reminiscent of images used by



17. Joseph Stella, *Brooklyn Bridge*, 1917–1919, oil, New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery, Gift of Collection Société Anonyme

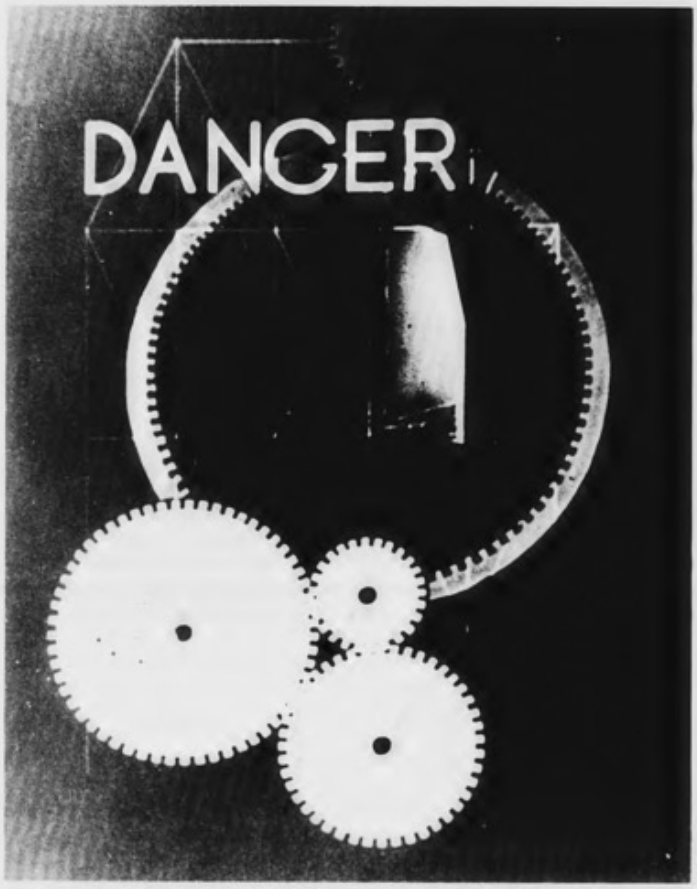


18. Man Ray, *Untitled Aerograph*, 1919, aerograph, Paris, Estate of Man Ray

Giorgio de Chirico. Further influence from de Chirico is suggested in the use of dark, rectangular planes, which frame the picture on three sides and which create a typical de Chirico stage-like effect. De Chirico did not exhibit in New York during those years. However, Schwarz pointed out a very important fact, namely, that in 1917 Man Ray's Greenwich Village studio was the meeting place of writers and artists, among them Duchamp, Crotti, and Stella.[7] This same group of Frenchmen, and here we have to add the name of Francis Picabia, a major figure in New York Dada who later played a key role in Surrealism, knew de Chirico. Crotti owned at least one painting by de Chirico that, at an unspecified date, entered the Arensberg collection. While it may seem speculative to suggest that Man Ray was familiar with de Chirico, the fact remains that Man Ray's work continuously reflected outside influences during that decade.

During the later years of the 1910s Man Ray befriended Joseph Stella. In 1917 Stella worked on preliminary drawings for his *Brooklyn Bridge* (fig. 17), which was completed in 1919. This painting speaks the language of Futurism with romantic overtones. Radiating light beams and interpenetrating planes suggest tension and energy. Man Ray took up the idea of diffusion in his *Aerograph* of 1919 (fig. 18), but instead of motion and energy, his airbrush painting suggests a lyric, romantic mood similar to the one invoked by Stella.

[7] Schwarz, *Man Ray*, 40.

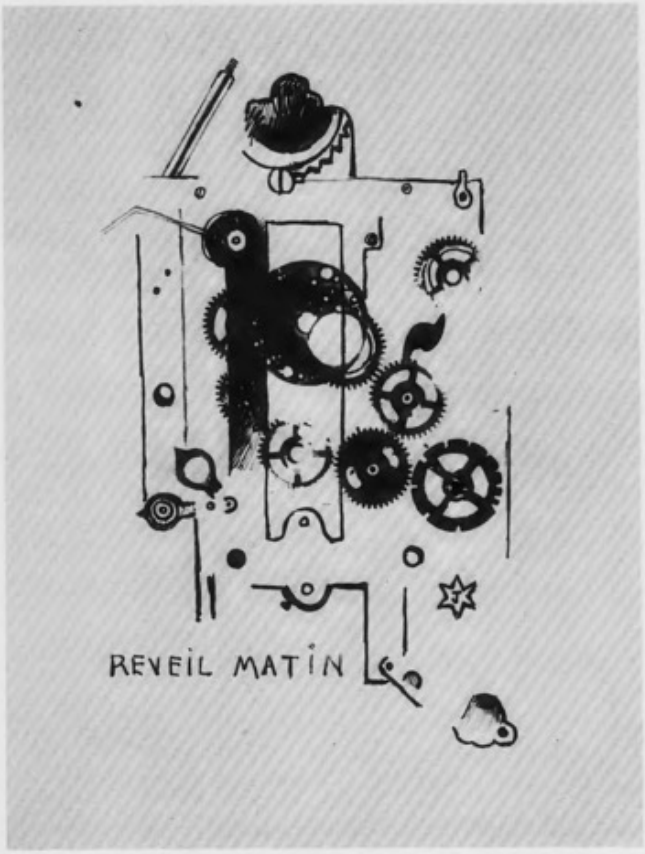


19. Man Ray, *Danger-Dancer,* 1920, engraving on glass, destroyed, (Formerly collection of André Breton)

The other member of the New York Dada group, Picabia, ridiculed the mechanical devices that run our lives. The origin of Man Ray's *Danger-Dancer* of 1920 (fig. 19) may well be found in Picabia's *Reveil-Matin* of 1919 (fig. 20), or an earlier work of 1916. The pictorial content of all three paintings is reduced to interlocking cog-wheels. Only the title gives their intellectual content away. Although Picabia was not then in New York, his *Reveil-Matin* was illustrated on the cover of Picabia's European Dada publication *391.*[8]

What this brief survey of Man Ray's early New York period reveals is the fact that Man Ray depended heavily upon outside stimuli, which found their way into his works. These influences can be traced step by step, from year to year. What separated Man Ray from other New York artists, beginning in 1915, was his friendship with, and indeed his apprenticeship to, Duchamp. It is highly questionable

[8] Schwarz, *Man Ray,* 49ff.



20. Francis Picabia, *Reveil-Matin,* 1919, gouache, Milan, Collection of Prof. Guido Rossi

whether Man Ray would have become an isolated phenomenon within the New York art world without the arrival of Duchamp and Picabia in New York in 1915.[9] Man Ray developed his Dada vernacular under the influence of these two Europeans. Under their tutelage Man Ray became their kindred spirit and the third important member of New York Dada, who followed them to France in 1921.

Man Ray's importance in this context is that he was the first American to comprehend the initial post-cubist, post-fauvist, and post-futurist directions of modern art. For this he should certainly be given credit. But as this brief study has shown, although Man Ray learned very quickly, he learned from others.

Rutgers University

[9] Munich, *New York Dada,* 38.

1. George Grosz, *The Lovesick One,* 1916, Düsseldorf, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen

Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man: George Grosz's *The Lovesick One*

KAREN L. KLEINFELDER

> It was well said of a certain German book that "es lässt sich nicht lesen" —it does not permit itself to be read. There are some secrets which do not permit themselves to be told. Men die nightly in their beds, wringing their hands of ghostly confessors, and looking them piteously in the eyes —die with despair of heart and convulsion of throat, on account of the hideousness of mysteries which will not suffer themselves to be revealed. Now and then, alas, the conscience of man takes up a burden so heavy in horror that it can be thrown down only into the grave. And thus the essence of all crime is undivulged.[1]

So begins Edgar Allan Poe's enigmatic tale, "The Man of the Crowd." It could also be said of George Grosz's first major painting, *The Lovesick One* (fig. 1), that "es lässt sich nicht lesen," for it is a mystery that defies an ultimate deciphering. In the picture, a despair of the heart is made explicit in the exposure of a pistol lodged against the lovesick one's breast, yet the crime implicit in this juxtaposition of heart and gun remains undivulged; therein lies the terror of the tale.

The Lovesick One has been identified as a self-portrait by Wieland Herzfelde,[2] the publisher with whom Grosz was collaborating on a journal in 1916—the same year in which Grosz did the painting. Such a personal type-casting seems out of character for an artist who is most often designated a social critic. The bourgeois world of the rapidly growing, fast paced modern metropolis of Berlin is a more familiar target for Grosz's satiric wit. However, in the poems, drawings, and paintings done prior to the revolution in 1918, it is the satirist who is satirized more than society at large. In the 1918 poem "Song to the World," Grosz quite explicitly and yet enigmatically introduces himself.

> O gaudy world, you insane asylum,
> You blissful box of abnormalities,
> Watch out! Here comes Grosz,
> The saddest man in Europe,
> "A phenomenon of grief."
> Derby hat pushed back,
> No puny weakling!!!![3]

I wish to thank Professor Victor H. Miesel who has advised this study from its inception in his seminar, Art in Berlin: 1900–1933 (The University of Michigan, Fall 1977). The encouragement and suggestions I received when I presented this paper at the Graduate Student Seminar sponsored by The Art Institute of Chicago on April 21, 1979, are also most appreciated. Permission to reproduce drawings, paintings, and poems by George Grosz was granted by the George Grosz Estate, Princeton, New Jersey.

[1] E. A. Poe, "The Man of the Crowd," *Selected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe*, ed. D. Galloway, New York, 1976 ed., 179. First published in *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine*, 1840. I am indebted to Professor Robert Beetem of The University of Wisconsin for directing me to this particular tale.

[2] B. I. Lewis, *George Grosz: Art and Politics in the Weimar Republic*, Madison, 1971, 20.

[3] G. Grosz, "Song to the World," trans. Lewis, in *George Grosz*, 36.

2. George Grosz, in his Berlin studio, around 1920

3. George Grosz, in his Berlin studio, around 1920

The "private Grosz" of these early years (figs. 2 and 3) is a much more shadowy figure in the literature,[4] unlike the "public Grosz" who later, during the Weimar Republic, paraded through the streets wearing a skull mask in true Dada fashion.[5] The self-expression of the youthful Grosz, thus, needs examination. A consideration of *The Lovesick One,* significantly his first major work and a self-portrait, offers us this opportunity.

In this portrait, Grosz conjures up a striking visualization of "the saddest man in Europe." The mood is a mixture of pervading gloom and impending aggressiveness played out in violet-blue tones accented by a wine-red. Visually at odds with himself, the protagonist sits at a café table in the center-front. His sharply bent elbow rests awkwardly on the round table top, which has been tipped up to better display its contents: various implements of pleasure, such as the tobacco mixture and pipe, the liquor bottle and syringe. In distinct contrast to the jagged angularity of the crooked arm is the figure's left arm, slung limply over the back of the chair. This contrast between tenseness and inertia does not render the usual contrapposto results; the figure's internal state seems characterized more by con-

[4] Lewis does provide valuable insight into the artist's early career, but she too follows the general trend in the George Grosz literature by focusing on the Weimar years, between 1918 and 1933. The best characterization of the artist's early years in Berlin is provided by Grosz himself in *A Little Yes and a Big No: The Autobiography of George Grosz,* tr. L. S. Dorin, New York, 1946.

[5] For a photograph of the artist in full costume, from skull mask to walking cane, see L. Fischer, *George Grosz in Selbstzeugnissen und Bilddokumenten,* Hamburg, 1976, 57.

flict than balance. The decided consternation shown in the brow and the tightly set jaw of the skull-like head, wrenched into a strict profile view, elicit an uneasy kinesthetic response in the viewer. The figure's eye, almost lost within the darkly hollowed socket, provides no comforting reassurance. Most disturbing of all, perhaps, are the hands, furrowed by reddish-blue blood vessels. Indeed, the limp left hand seems to be melting before our eyes. By contrast and in X-ray fashion, a crimson heart comes starkly into focus alongside the gun which is secretly lodged in the inner pocket of Grosz's suit coat. A debilitating depression is thus coupled with a repressed rage as Grosz spares the viewer nothing in translating his personal malaise into highly visual body language.

As soon as he arrived in Berlin in 1912, the nineteen-year-old Grosz began to frequent the Café des Westens. Nicknamed Café Grossenwahn (Megalomania), it was a favored meeting place of the "Expressionists,"[6] most of whom were roughly a decade older than the young artist. Grosz nonetheless managed to make a decided impression "by dressing most elegantly in a checked, padded jacket, and bowler hat, carrying a cane, with his face powdered white."[7] To further distinguish himself, Grosz "always sat along at the edge of the terrace and stared impertinently at the passers-by."[8] In other words, he was the German counterpart of Baudelaire's flâneur — the idle aesthete who observes the busily passing urban crowd from a solitary remove.

This dandified disdain for his fellow man is symptomatic of Grosz's youthful and rather romantic view of the role of the artist. A self-proclaimed misanthrope, he cast himself as the suffering creative genius, isolated from and superior to the common man. In 1916 he was still, however, a struggling art student living among the working class, but defiantly set apart from them by distinctive dress, an attic studio hideaway, and arrogant convictions.

> For the masses the stupidest, the most foolish, and the most tasteless is good enough; that was, is, and remains my motto. If I had thought or experienced otherwise...I would have remained in...the midst of the dungheap of the "little workers" and the "little people"...I have always struggled to get away from these masses...to reach the top was my wish...[9]

This self-inflicted solitude intensified his bitterness, which became manifest in his growing drinking problem. "Men are pigs," Grosz declared shortly before the outbreak of war. "Talk about ethics is humbug, meant only for the stupid. Life has no meaning other than to satisfy one's appetite for food and women. There is no soul. The use of the elbows is necessary, even if unpleasant."[10]

The most significant representation of this theme of the brooding artist genius, of course, dates back to Dürer, whose 1514 engraving, *Melancholia I* (fig. 4), has

[6] For an atmospheric description, see E. Blass, "The Old Café des Westens," *The Era of German Expressionism*, ed. P. Raabe, tr. J. M. Ritchie, Woodstock, 1974, 27–33.

[7] Lewis, 19.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] Grosz, in a letter to Herzfelde, New York, August 3, 1933, quoted in Lewis, 21.

[10] Grosz, "Abwicklung," *Das Kunstblatt*, 8:2, February 1924, 33–34, quoted in Lewis, 21.

4. Albrecht Dürer, *Melancholia I*, 1514. Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Museum of Art

been interpreted by Erwin Panofsky as "a spiritual self-portrait."[11] To be sure, Grosz updates the scene by choosing a contemporary cabaret setting and substituting articles appropriate to a *poète maudit* in place of the symbols and tools of Dürer's artist-scholar. However, Grosz places himself in the foreground in a state of gloomy inaction quite in accord with the traditional characterization of the melancholic as surly, sad, and sluggish, shunning the company of his fellow men and despising the opposite sex. And just as in the Dürer, he includes as a parallel to the figure's mood, a gnarled, bony dog tightly enclosed within itself. In a 1915 painting clearly related to *The Lovesick One* (fig. 5), Grosz had even more explicitly cast the café habitué in the traditional melancholic pose.[12]

[11] E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer*, Princeton, 1955, 171. There has been some contention over whether *The Lovesick One* really is a self-portrait since the physical resemblance to Grosz is not overt. In a short essay on the painting, published subsequent to my presentation of this paper, V. Essers concludes that *The Lovesick One* is more accurately interpreted as a spiritual self-portrait as is Dürer's *Melancholia*, but he takes the analogy no further. See Essers, "Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen," *Düsseldorfer Museen Bulletin*, XI/3, Juli-Oktober 1979, 434.

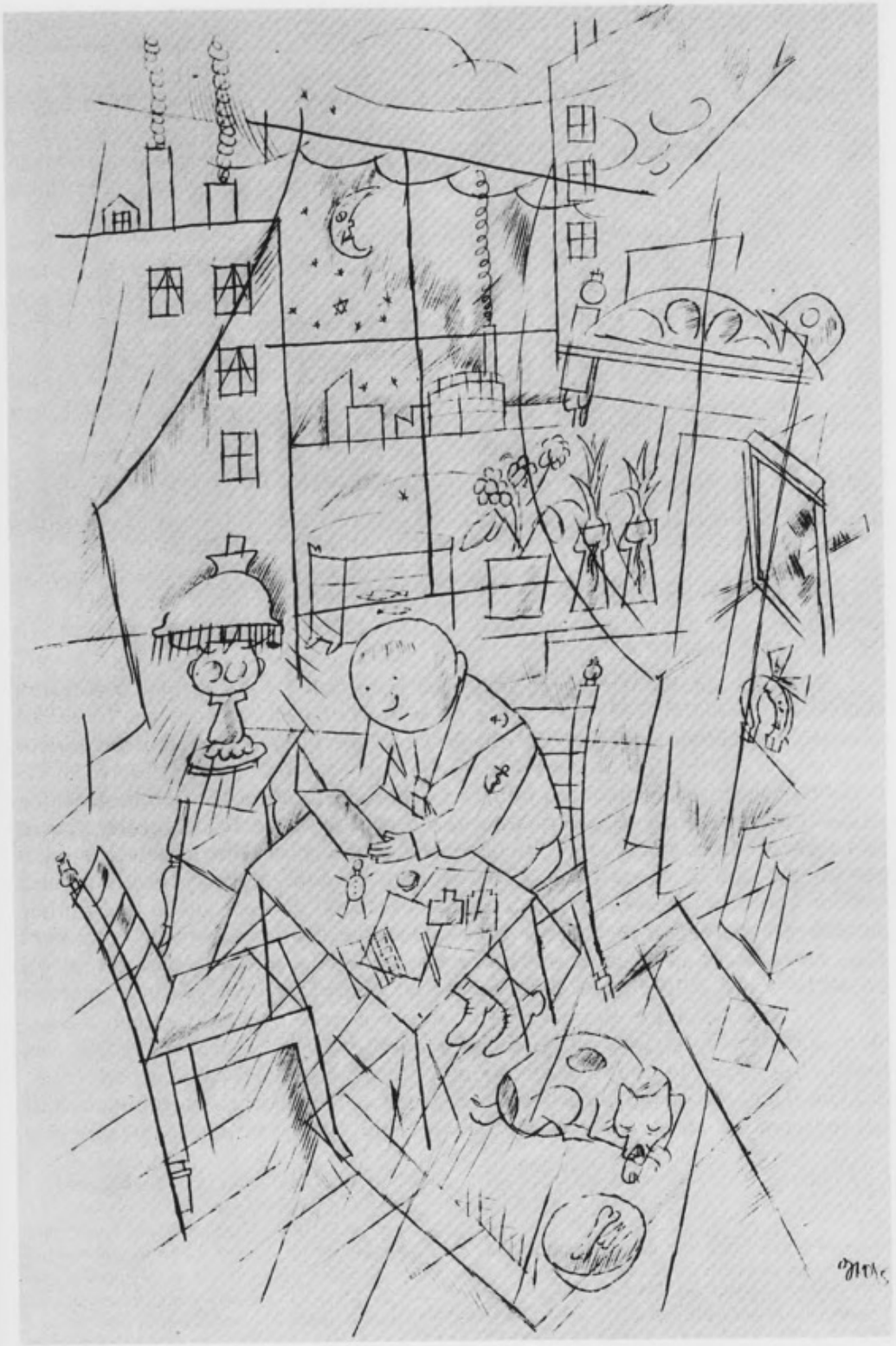
[12] I am indebted to Beth Irwin Lewis for bringing this particular painting to my attention.

5. George Grosz, *Café*, 1915. Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution

6. Albrecht Dürer, *St. Jerome in his Study*, 1514. New Haven, Yale University Art Gallery

A more cheerful counterpart to the image of the melancholic is provided not only by Dürer, but by Grosz as well. In the *St. Jerome in his Study* (fig. 6), Dürer's companion piece to his *Melancholia,* an orderly, sunlit cell makes a conducive work setting for the aged saint. Grosz bestows the commendable traits of the *vita contemplativa* on an innocent, industrious child by contrast. In the 1917 drawing titled *Homework–A Self-Portrait* (fig. 7), no crippling trauma inhibits action. Secure within the comforting confines of his own room, the child-artist is diligently absorbed in his work. The curled up dog now sleeps peacefully at his master's side, unlike the snarling beast in *The Lovesick One* whose dinner bones form an ominous death-cross before him. A horseshoe fastened under the mirror on the wall in the *Homework* drawing corresponds to a horseshoe Grosz had tacked up on his own studio wall for good luck, along with other beloved paraphernalia. "My studio was a romantic world," he later reminisced, "like a tent at a fair. I really should have charged admission."[13] The sheltered sanctity of this cloister contrasts sharply to the dimly-lit demi-monde of the café as we follow the artist's descent from the lofty studio haven to the public realm below. Grosz thus exhibits a split-personality in these two contemporaneous self-images — the world-weary decadent and his counterpart, the creative child.

[13] Grosz, *Autobiography*, 148.



7. George Grosz, *Homework–A Self-Portrait*, 1917. Private collection

8. George Grosz, *The Adventurer*, 1916. Lost

9. George Grosz, *The Golddigger*, 1916. New York, private collection of Murray B. Cohen

Additional personas adopted by Grosz in his early work display a youthful tendency for romanticized role-playing. In both *The Lovesick One* and the *Homework* drawing, a reference is made to the image of a sailor. The emblem of an anchor appears on the child's sailor suit, while a similar anchor is branded, as it were, on the skull of the inactive café habitué. While the sailor suit signifies a child's fantasy, the tattoo and gold earring suggest a more worldly loss of innocence. Appearing again and again in Grosz's early work, the sailor indeed took on the lusty traits of a tough guy image. As a boy growing up in the northern province of Stolp, Grosz and his cousin would occasionally visit a nearby seaport, Stolpmunde, where they developed a collection of pornographic pictures and listened to sailors' tales.[14] They knew a tattooing barber in the port town and later Grosz confessed that, "I myself have just a little tattoo on a secret part of my body."[15]

The sailor was also a romantic hero to other contemporary German artists. Most notable is Otto Dix, who painted a number of sailor pictures.[16] Dix was directly influenced by the romantic yarns spun by a Munich cabaret performer, Joachim Ringlenatz, who himself had been a sailor. Ringlenatz's most famous and beloved literary character was Kuttel-daddledu, described as "a wandering

[14] See H. Hess, *George Grosz*, London, 1974, 11.

[15] Grosz, in a letter to Ulf Wilfe, 1945, quoted in Hess, 11.

[16] For example, the *Matrose Fritz Müller aus Pischen* (1919), *Matrose und Mädchen* (1920), and *Abschied von Hamburg* (1921), in which the anchor emblem and earring are also evident.

maritime balladeer who was his creator's persona.''[17] In 1920, Ringlenatz would recite the action-packed poems of Kuttel-daddledu's risqué escapades in one of Grosz's favorite Berlin cabarets, Schall und Rauch (Noise and Smoke). A tough character, Kuttel-daddledu was boozing and irreverent—a post-war hero who mirrored the times in his lawlessness and cynicism. He did so much to promote the image of the sailor that, as one critic put it, ''the sailor became the modern successor to the prince charming of romanticism.''[18]

Indeed, the sailor can be thought of as the European counterpart to the American cowboy, for both are adventurers. Grosz himself condenses both into one figure in another 1916 painting called *The Adventurer* (fig. 8). Shooting his guns into the air, this cowboy with gritted teeth looks as if he just stepped off the page of one of Karl May's thrilling Wild West tales, which Grosz and his whole generation had been addicted to as adolescents.[19] In addition to his cowboy garb, the adventurer conspicuously displays the anchor tattoo and gold earring, which again appear in *The Golddigger,* also of 1916 (fig. 9). Inscribed along the jutting jawline next to the anchor are the English words, ''I love you.'' A gun again appears, this time alongside a dagger slung from the belt. With a bustling city in the background and a church with a graveyard directly behind, the golddigger is shown unearthing not buried treasure, but rotting corpses, visible under the familiar café table. Grosz was perhaps making a biting allusion here to the current ''Great Adventure'' of his generation—that of trench warfare.

While painting these works in 1916, Grosz was in Berlin awaiting recall to active duty, something he dreaded after being discharged in 1915 due to a bout of ''brain fever.'' For someone like Grosz who always craved adventure, the war initially may have held some attraction, but its reality soon grew repellent. On January 4, 1917, he was recalled and on January 5, the very next day, he was hospitalized in a sanitarium where he spent the rest of his military career. He returned to Berlin in May, 1917.

The images done during this tense period, though self-centered, cannot be viewed outside the social and spiritual context that encompassed the artist.[20] A cultural malaise had followed in the wake of fin de siècle decadence. The theme of death and lustful longing had become prevalent in the arts of Berlin. On October 16, 1912, nine months after Grosz's arrival in the city, Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* made its controversial debut. Much of the imagery of its twenty-one poems, written by the French symbolist poet Albert Giraud in 1884, is consonant with Grosz's painting. *Pierrot* opens with a poem titled ''Moondrunk.''

[17] L. Appignanesi, *The Cabaret,* New York, 1976, 58.

[18] F. Löffler, *Otto Dix: Leben und Werk,* (my trans.), Wien, 1967, 24.

[19] See Grosz, *Autobiography,* ch. 6, 87–103.

[20] A startling parallel is found in the war's effect on Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, who was also living on borrowed time in Berlin between military duties during these years. He too paints a melancholic self-portrait within the drug-ridden, decadent dwelling of a café *(The Drinker,* 1915). Concurrently, Kirchner first voices thoughts of suicide. In his 1915 woodcut, a self-portrait as Peter Schlemihl, Kirchner recalls Grosz's *Lovesick One* not only in mood and color, but also in its title, *The Loved One;* see D. E. Gordon, *Ernst Ludwig Kirchner,* Cambridge, 1968, 27.

Aching lusts, shocking and sweet,
Float beyond measure in the gushing philter!

The wine that only eyes can drink,
Pours nighttimes from the moon in waves.

The poet, under piety's cover,
Gets fuddled on the holy brew;. . .[21]

The powdered white face and shaved head Grosz depicts in *The Lovesick One* match the make-up of this equally lovesick Pierrot, whose appearance is described in the third poem, significantly called "The Dandy."[22] Before the night is over Pierrot undergoes an almost Faustian descent of the soul that includes not only sexual degeneracy but theft, violence, and blasphemy as well.

The *Lulu* plays of Frank Wedekind were also being discussed between drinks at the Café des Westens. A femme fatale, the amoral Lulu led bourgeois men to their downfall, until meeting her own fate at the hands of Jack the Ripper. The climactic final scene of Wedekind's *Pandora's Box* (the last of the *Lulu* plays), in which Jack the Ripper washes the blood off his hands while the butchered body of Lulu lies strewn on the bed, should be acknowledged as the source for Grosz's 1916 drawing titled *Sex Murder in the Ackerstrasse* (fig. 10). Edgar Allan Poe's thrillers had already inspired the young artist, most explicitly in a 1913 drawing Grosz titled *The Double Murder in the Rue Morgue.*[23]

Grosz's own poetry grew directly out of this macabre milieu. In the September issue of *Die Neue Jugend,* in the same year that he painted *The Lovesick One,* Grosz published a poem titled "Mondnacht." In a similar vein to *Pierrot Lunaire,* he begins by conjuring up a mood of moondrunkenness:

Moonlit night, you silvery, gaudy,
I am alcoholically stimulated,
And the shoe of the Wandering Jew incessantly squeaks before me.

The moon all around decomposes into milky white.
Damn it![24]

We follow the poet through a Dionysian kaleidoscope of images that fluctuate between drunken dreams and flashes of sobriety. In the course of the poem, the poet wanders into a café that has implications of a brothel as well. Here he laments about his lady love who, much to his chagrin, is entertaining gentleman friends. It is clear from her licentious behavior that his beloved is a descendant of Wedekind's Lulu; the poet is, thus, uncontrollably and inconsolably lovesick.

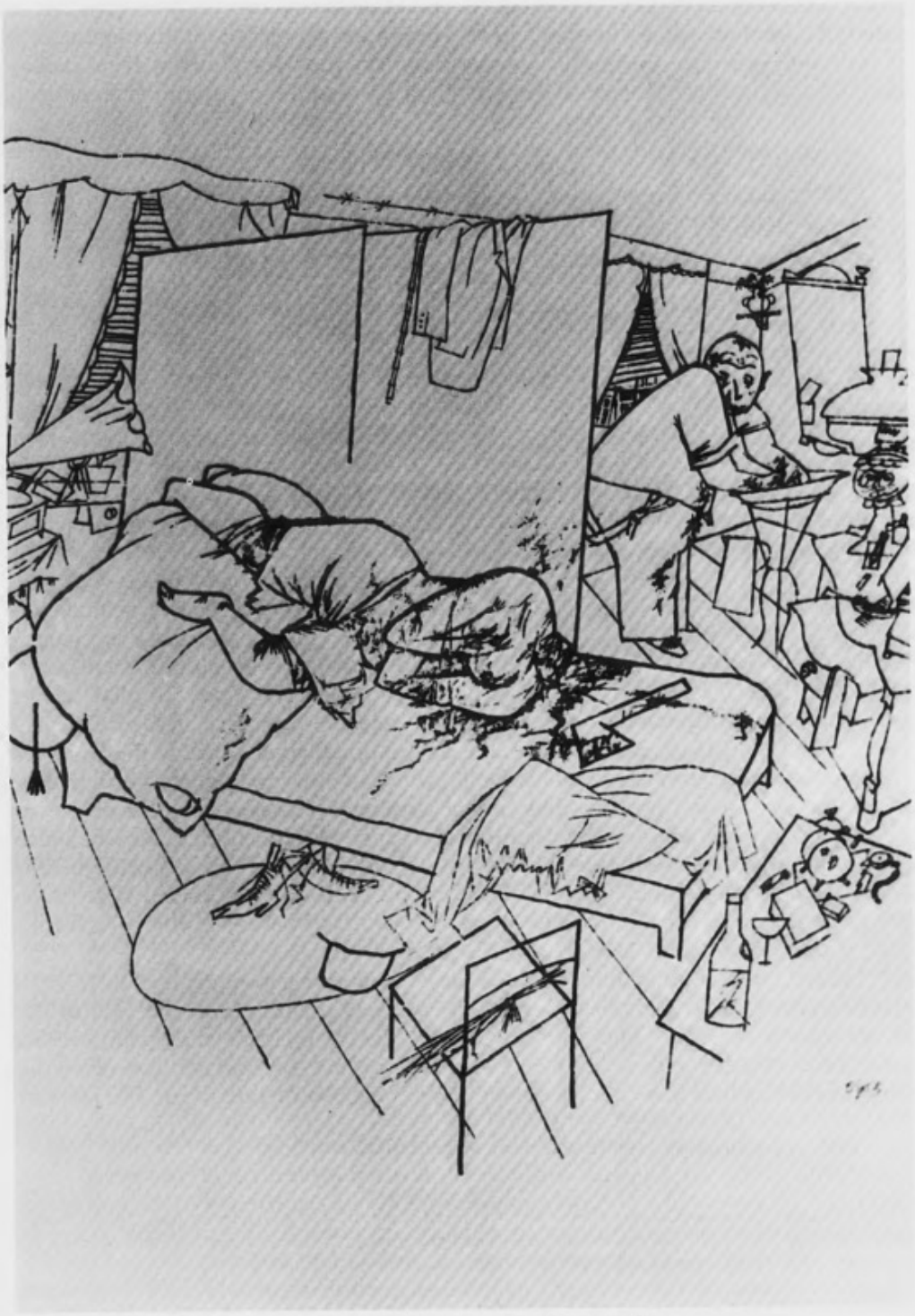
The reference to the Wandering Jew is repeated periodically throughout the poem. According to the popular legend, the Wandering Jew, who urged Christ to go faster in carrying the cross to Calvary, was condemned to roam the world over until Judgment Day. During the nineteenth century, artists and poets such as

[21] A. Giraud, "Moondrunk," *Pierrot Lunaire,* trans. R. E. Wolf, in *Pierrot Lunaire,* by A. Schoenberg, cond. A. Weisberg, The Contemporary Chamber Ensemble, Nonesuch, H-71251, 1971.

[22] "He of the waxworks face, Pierrot,/Racks his brain and thinks: How shall I make me up today?"

[23] Illustrated in Lewis, 18.

[24] Grosz, "Mondnacht," trans. Lewis, in *George Grosz,* 44.



10. George Grosz, *Sex Murder in the Ackerstrasse,* 1916, (from *Ecce Homo,* no. 32)

Balzac and Baudelaire began to adopt the image as an analogy for their own role in society.[25] In discussing Courbet's *The Meeting* as a portrait of the artist as a Wandering Jew, Linda Nochlin states that "on the metaphorical level, many romantic artists and writers had envisioned themselves as marginal creatures, restless voyagers at home nowhere on the face of the earth."[26] Werner Hofmann in *The Earthly Paradise* carries this rootless image of the artist, or the Great Man, even further:

> He has no abiding place and is a stranger in the midst of our settled fenced-in way of life; he is Melmoth the Wanderer, he is the flying Dutchman, the Prodigal Son, he is Byron's Manfred, Nietzsche's Zarathustra, he is Abasuerus, the Wandering Jew, condemned for life; but he is also Schlemihl who, blameless himself, is hurled into misfortune.[27]

In light of this tradition, the varied roles of dandy, sailor, adventurer, and golddigger with which Grosz identified appear clearly linked and constitute a carry-over from the romantic nineteenth-century image of the artist as a vagabond "engaged on a voyage of discovery and self-discovery."[28]

For the young artist, who was trying to express himself in both the visual arts and poetry, a more contemporary influence was the colorful visitor from Vienna, Oskar Kokoschka. A leading avant-garde figure, he repeatedly dealt with the theme of death and lustful longing. In his play *Murderer, Hope of Women,* sexual conflict leads to a violent struggle with both parties wounding the other in cyclical fashion. The drawings with which Kokoschka illustrated the play in 1910 reappeared in 1916 in Herwarth Walden's Berlin periodical *Der Sturm.* Similar scenes depicting crimes of passion, as we have seen, became prevalent in Grosz's early work as well.[29] In 1910, Kokoschka made a sensational appearance in the Café des Westens by completely shaving his head, which is how he depicts himself in a poster for *Der Sturm* (fig. 11). This image ominously foreshadows Grosz's own tough-guy characterizations. By pointing to an open chest wound, Kokoschka also casts himself as a modern Man of Sorrows. Grosz may not be so specific in *The Lovesick One,* but the implication is all too clear. With the gun lodged next to his heart, a crime of passion—whether directed outward or toward himself—is imminent, if the figure can ever overcome his inertia.

Indeed, this is what happens in images depicted subsequently. In a 1916 painting clearly linked to *The Lovesick One,* the action shifts from the café to the streets outside (fig. 12). There lies the dandy, his teeth clenched in pain and his hand still clutching the cane, flanked by his ever faithful dog and his alter-ego—the round, innocent face of a child, now nothing but a ghost image. A gun lies just out

[25] See L. Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's 'Meeting': A Portrait of the Artist as a Wandering Jew," *The Art Bulletin,* 49:3, September 1967, 216f, who cites Baudelaire's poem "Le Voyage," which ties together the Wandering Jew archetype ("a simile for man fleeing Time") with the image of the sailor-adventurer.

[26] Nochlin, "Courbet," 216.

[27] W. Hofmann, *The Earthly Paradise: Art in the Nineteenth Century,* tr. B. Battershaw, New York, 1961, 238.

[28] Nochlin, "Courbet," 216.

[29] Themes of *Lustmord* are prevalent from the time Grosz arrives in Berlin (1912) until he leaves (1933), but the period in which he seems most obsessed with such motifs is 1912 through 1918, culminating in two paintings: *The Woman-slayer* (Hess, ill. 61, 78) and *John the Woman-slayer* (Hess, ill. 63, 80).

11. Oskar Kokoschka, poster design for *Der Sturm,* 1910. The Art Institute of Chicago

12. George Grosz, *Suicide,* 1916. London, The Tate Gallery

of reach in the path of a shadowy figure who rushes past. Perhaps he does not wish to get involved; perhaps he already has. Visible through the curtained window in the upper right is the victim's tormentor, who turns her back on the little man bent over his desk at her side. Her whitened complexion is garishly accented by brightly painted make-up; in her strict profile view, she is easily reminiscent of the made-up dandy Grosz depicts himself as in *The Lovesick One.* Closing off the composition on the left is a figure hung from the lamppost. Appropriately and yet ambiguously, the painting is titled *Suicide.* As a sequel to *The Lovesick One,* it marks a significant shift in the color scheme, from predominantly blue tones over red to predominantly red over blue, paralleling thus the shift in content, from contemplated idea to executed action. But the details of this crime of passion ultimately remain a mystery.

In the aftermath of the tense war years, Grosz repeated the entire nightmarish cycle in a 1918 watercolor (fig. 13). In the upper right, a figure with gritted teeth raises clenched fists to curse the moon. He is seen again directly underneath clutching his head desperately in an effort to regain his senses. The source of all his torment is a sensual female nude. Centered in the composition and emanating a

13. George Grosz, *Suicide*, 1918. Berlin, Galerie Nierendorf

phosphorescent aura or body halo that illuminates the night, she is an ambiguous cross between the palpably real and the illusory vision. Following the direction of her menacing gaze, we arrive at the inevitable conclusion — the dandy's death scene. With hat and cane in one hand, and pistol in the other, he succumbs to an awkward downfall, blood spilling from the self-inflicted wound just as the wine spills from the overturned bottle and upset glass.

These early works by Grosz connect the youthful artist to the romantic tradition generated by Goethe in *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774). This tale of a youth who shoots himself after falling hopelessly in love with a married woman triggered a rash of sentimental, and yet no less deadly, suicides by overly zealous readers. Grosz, in these early works, aspires to a similar uncompromising heroic stature, while at the same time parodying such pretensions.

In *The Lovesick One,* however, Grosz appears to be carrying the romantic image of the suffering artist-genius even further, perhaps to the level of messianic martyrdom. The cross of the anchor is echoed in the three conspicuous crossbars on the background windows.[30] Flanking these crossbars are a sun and crescent moon—a

[30] Reinforcing a connection between the anchor and cross is Grosz's subsequent coupling of the two to form an ornament, hung from the necklace of an otherwise naked woman in the *Silver Wedding* drawing of 1922 (no. 75 in *Ecce Homo,* Berlin, 1922) and worn as a brooch by a woman sitting under an arbor with her uniformed suitor in *May Time,* 1924 (in *Spiesser-Spiegel,* Dresden, 1925).

14. George Grosz, *Germany, a Winter's Tale,* 1917–19. Lost

traditional coupling in medieval crucifixion scenes. A supernatural moment is evoked by this ambiguous celestial atmosphere. Carefully arranged under the potted palm on the left is a platter with a fish skeleton and an overflowing vessel containing blood-red wine. This chalice differs markedly from the champagne glass in the foreground. The wine and fish traditionally signify the blood and bodily sacrifice of Christ, while the palm tree may possibly allude to the Tree of Knowledge, the cross, a symbol of the Christian's victory over death. This careful alignment of objects rather inappropriate for the secular setting begins to suggest a transfiguration — from café table to altar table. Once again we find a remarkable consonance with one of the visionary poems from *Pierrot Lunaire.*

> At the gruesome Eucharist,
> In the trumpery golden glare,
> In the shuddering candlelight,
> To the altar comes — Pierrot!
>
> His hand, by Grace anointed,
> Rips open his priestly vestment
> At the gruesome Eucharist
> In the trumpery golden glare.
>
> With hand upraised in blessing
> He holds aloft to trembling souls
> The holy crimson-oozing Host:
> His ripped-out heart — in bloody fingers—
> At the gruesome Eucharist.[31]

[31] Giraud, "Red Mass," *Pierrot Lunaire.*

In *Pierrot Lunaire* the nightmare is resolved with the sunrise. In *The Lovesick One* we are offered no such resolution. Time is stopped at the point where both moon and sun are apparent, and the dandy's fate is left uncertain.

In the right background of Grosz's painting, we see another café table surrounded by three empty chairs. In this echoing image of the foreground scene, no figure sits inertly. Rather, a skeleton still sporting the accruements of a dandy—the bowler hat and cane—quickly exits under the moon, fleeing from the picture itself. He makes a striking contrast to his foreground counterpart who sits spellbound, facing the 'altar table' in the opposite direction. The inner conflict centrally exposed in the juxtaposition of heart and gun is actively played out in the compositional push-and-pull between these two opposing directions. This melancholic, indeed, suicidal dilemma is thereby raised to a tensely wrought point of climax which does not permit itself to be resolved.

While it remains true of the painting that "es lässt sich nicht lesen," the painter himself is more fully disclosed. How much less subjective and yet how much more overtly moralistic is a reprisal of this scene painted between 1917 and 1919 as Wilhelmian Berlin came to a close (fig. 14). In his autobiography, Grosz described this painting, now lost.

> My mood expressed itself in a large political painting; I called it *Germany, A Winter's Tale,* after a poem by Heinrich Heine. It portrayed the eternal German bourgeois. Fat and filled with anxiety, he sits in the center of the picture at a slightly unsteady table. . . . At the bottom are represented the three pillars of society: church, school and the army. The bourgeois is holding a knife and fork with great tension. The world is swaying about him. A sleeping dog at the right represents a filthy conscience that has fallen asleep. A prostitute and a sailor, symbolizing the revolution, complete the picture.[32]

The anonymous bourgeois has now taken center-stage, but Grosz has not completely painted himself out of the picture. An inflamed, scowling profile of the artist looks on disapprovingly from the lower left corner. Though the introspective melancholic has turned activist rebel, Grosz remains as ever the brooding, isolated artist.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

[32] Grosz, *Autobiography,* 163.

Addendum to *"John Evelyn as Penitent Magdalen: 'Saints' and 'Malcontents' in Seventeenth Century English Portraiture"*

FRANK COSSA

Shortly after the appearance of my article, "John Evelyn as Penitent Magdalen: 'Saints' and 'Malcontents' in Seventeenth Century English Portraiture," in the last issue of the *Rutgers Art Review* (Jan. 1980), I received some information which would certainly have been included had it been available in time. In the interest of completeness I present it now.

The portrait of Evelyn by Robert Walker (1648, National Portrait Gallery, London), the focal point of my article, accompanied a letter which Evelyn sent to his young bride who was living in Paris. The letter is a preface to Evelyn's "Oeconomique Instructions" (Christ Church, Oxford, Evelyn MS 143), intended to prepare his wife for her role as his helpmate. Unfortunately the manuscript was damaged by dampness while it was at Wotton. The parts of this letter which are still legible, and relevant to my article, recently came into my possession.[1]

To
The Present Mistress of my youth,
the hopeful companion of
my riper Yeares and the
Future Nurse of my
olde Age.

Mrs. Mary Evelyn.

My dear Wife,

I have lately sent to you the Portraiture and Effigies of my Bodie, here I now present you with the resemblance of my mind, which as farre the more noble object, I beseech you to entertain with those expressions of welcome which the Character of the Guest and Length of the Journey that he hath undertaken doth seeme to challenge and deserve.

The Design is good, but the Colours I confesse are bad and ill layed on, yet not so darke and obscure but you may easily discerne what the Piece signifies. Even the most incomparable Love and inviolable affection which I beare you: not such as is fixed on those skin-deep externalls and shadowes of Perfection but such as is wholy concerned in those internall and real endowments of the soule which have least commerce with those of the bodie transitory and Imperfect.

You are now become a wife which is a name of dignity not of vanity and I am assured that if it please you to esteeme me worthy of directing

[1] I am grateful to the Trustees of the Will of Major Peter George Evelyn deceased for permission to publish extracts from these letters. I also wish to acknowledge the help and advice of H.J.R. Wing, Assistant Librarian, Christ Church, Oxford.

you (whilst you are so mine) nothing shall intervene that may represent you unto me other than such a Consort as I have always wished and desired to receive from the hands of Heaven.

Under this relation (DEAREST) and especially reflecting your youth and my Absence I am persuaded to recommend unto you this Manuall or Oeconomique discourse as the only best expedient I could imagine to bequeath you, that might absolutely comprehend all that is required to make you a perfect accomplished Woman and render you such a wife as I may truly call Auxilium Commodum and Helpemeet for mee....

...These brief instructions therefore...(if it please you) as delivered for your own use designed and accommodated for no other intent and purpose than to confirm us that on whome God hath joyned together and whome onely death can separate to direct and guide us in the mutual conduct and regiment of our domestique affairs and concernements proper and peculiar to our relations, nor calculated for any other Horison but that which lyest just under our own spheres.

To conclude, as I earnestly implore your prosperity on earth so am I most ambitious to improve you for heaven, and whither if any thing herein might serve to conduct you where it shall please the Almighty (long after I am at rest) to summon you unto him, I shall be happy even in my very urne and ashes.

God hath for our sinnes and the exercise of our Vertues here repleated this transitory passage with so many crosses and inevitable...that if I here endeavour to qualify and sweeten it by the contribution of...observations, the Comfort will redound to you and the blessing returne into our own Bosoms.

These therefore (my Dearest Heart) as an eternall monument of my Love and Piety to you; the fruites, best thoughts and most precious divertisements of your absent and exil'd Husband, I consecrate and seriously recommend unto you to be often read, more often thought on, most often practised that as (by sacrificing to you my youth and liberty) I have esteemed you the most worthy of Women so (by thus suffering for your sake) I may one day find you the most Accomplished of Wives to

My Dearest,
your transcendently loving
most affectionate Husband,
and Servitour,

27 January 1648

Evelyn.

The letter refers to the portrait but not to the sitter's appearance in the guise of Saint Mary Magdalen. This is not surprising as this aspect of the picture's

iconography was undoubtedly too esoteric for Evelyn's untutored bride to appreciate. The letter does, however, make reference to other elements in the painting. In the second paragraph Evelyn wrote of the "transitory and Imperfect" nature of the temporal life as opposed to the spiritual. And in the sixth and seventh paragraphs Evelyn expressed his hope that the precepts set forth in his domestic instructions will help prepare his wife for her Heavenly reward. All of this seems to reflect the presence in the portrait of a text from Seneca's *Epistle XXX* on the preparation for death.

In another letter, dated 16th September, 1648 (Christ Church, Oxford, Evelyn letter 1405), written nine months after the one quoted above, Evelyn referred to both the portrait and the earlier letter.

> . . . Nor have I ben at all unmindfull to render you satisfaction (though in the most triviall of yr requests) in sending of my Picture (w^{ch} you will likewise receive at this tyme.) Myne intention was to have had it done in little (as is that w^{ch} I beare about me of you) but since the late death of Oliver, and absence of Hoskins, Jhonson & the rest; I could meete wth none who were capable to undertake it; wherefore I caused it to be drawne more at large by one Walker, a paynter here w^{ch} hath the esteeme of a most excellent master, and I am told (by such as p^{r}tend to profound skill) that it exceedingly resembleth the substance in that Posture, whereunto he is (dearest, for y^{r} sake) too often reduced. Whatever it bee, I am perswaded it will serve to assure you, how intirely I love you, as well as put you in mind constantly to pursue, those serious, and necessary papers (w^{ch} to shew how much felicity I promise myselfe in your conversation hereafter) I have filled with some observations, not unworthy your perusall; . . .
>
> [he once wroght wth Monsn Van Mole yr neighbour.]

In the line in which Evelyn wrote that the portrait "...exceedingly resembleth the substance [Evelyn] in that Posture, whereunto he is (dearest, for y^{r} sake) too often reduced," he was certainly referring to the gloomy, head-on-hand pose. This supports my contention, explained in the article, that Evelyn conceived his picture in the tradition of the "Melancholy" portrait which had flourished in England in the late Elizabethan and Jacobean times. It is easy to understand his regret that the recent death of the miniaturist Isaac Oliver deprived him of a specialist in that kind of portrait.

Although, as is usually the case with such documents as these, they do not provide the resounding confirmation one would wish, they in no way contradict any of the conclusions presented in my article and do contribute a fair measure of support. Perhaps this is as much as one can reasonably hope for.

Rutgers University

Interview with Vincent Scully

PATRICIA LEIGHTEN AND WILLIAM B. STARGARD

The following interview took place on October 21, 1980, at Yale University.

William Stargard: You pointed out in *American Architecture and Urbanism* that the "challenge of the future" is to "create an environment industrially produced but infinitely varied, offering some satisfaction to everyone in a crowded world."[1] In light of the developments (both architectural and social) of the past decade, do you still see this as a "challenge of the future," and, if so, in what ways do you think that this challenge can be met by architects, architectural historians, etc.?

Vincent Scully: Well, at present it doesn't look so much like a challenge as like a vain hope. I think that the environment has deteriorated badly since I wrote that, which was eleven years ago. At that time I was more involved than I've ever been as an historian with, I suppose, the revolutionary excitement of the 60s, and I was very much involved with redevelopment, civil rights, anti-Vietnam. I saw things as all tied up together, especially as they related to the black population of New Haven. And at that time I think there was still hope to solve things, that despite redevelopment's fearful mistakes of direction, and of objective, they still were trying to do something; some money was being spent in that direction. But since that time of course the major funds were cut off to the cities by the Nixon Administration. And at present, questions—in towns like New Haven—questions of public housing, questions of education, questions of jobs, especially for the young, all those things are just going downhill, falling faster and faster all the time. And it seems to me at present only a massive effort involving *enormous* federal funds can begin to turn that process of deterioration around. Now as to what an architect, or an architectural historian, an architectural critic, can do with that, I think that the question answers itself. Most of the problems have to do with the character of the city and with housing in the city and with everything that goes along with it, such as jobs. And all this is part of the material that architectural historians and architectural critics have to deal with. As a matter of fact, in a way they're freer than architects to deal with those questions because, after all, architects are dependent upon jobs to support themselves. The architectural historian or critic, if he is fortunate, like myself, to have a job and has tenure, is supported by that and is therefore really very free to say what he wants, and do what he thinks he should do, and act as he thinks he ought to act in the urban field. So, I'm sure that I haven't done as much as I ought to have done, but I've tried—especially since the second half of the 60s—to keep an eye on what redevelopment is doing, to keep an eye on the deterioration of neighborhoods, and try to resist it at every turn. Of course it gets into things like the restoration and the preservation and rehabilitation of old

[1] V. Scully, *American Architecture and Urbanism,* New York, 1969, 226.

buildings which are all involved in the same question and in which a lot of architects, a number of us, were very active at an early date. But as I say—the problem as it's posed in this question—now my statement of 1969 looks touchingly naive and hopeful and now I think we'd better just brace ourselves to sustain the coming tragedy of the urban population which will be the tragedy of all of us.

Patricia Leighten: Do you feel that redevelopment has to be opposed at every turn? What is actually meant by that now?

VS: No. Well, now it is so much in fragments, it's so much in disarray, so much in pieces, it's hard to know. In New Haven it's had periodic bursts of renewed activity; each one tends to be destructive and not to put anything back into its place. For example, I first got involved with redevelopment at a time when, in 1965 and '66, they wanted to change the whole east end of the green, tear down the Post Office by James Gamble Rogers, destroy City Hall by tearing down most of it except the frontispiece, and build an enormous government center, with a great big office building which would have been owned by the bank but which would have been subsidized by our taxes, as all redevelopment funds are. And at the same time they were tearing down an area called the Hill in New Haven, which happened at the time to be almost the last refuge of the large black population which had been forced out in front of redevelopment two or three times previously in other neighborhoods.

PL: Supposedly being done for their benefit.

VS: For their benefit. Originally, they used to say, you know, that it would be better for them, they could go to the suburbs and tend their grass. But, of course, they are prevented from going to the suburbs. And they didn't have the economic means of going to the suburbs even if they had been allowed to. And in the Hill, when they tore down the generally small single-family houses that made up the area, the housing that they intended to rebuild was going to be middle-income housing which the people who originally lived in those houses couldn't afford. So that population was going to be forced out. What they *did* do, primarily, was simply to *destroy* it; they eventually built a school but didn't really bring back the housing, just little pieces of it. So again, there, and that whole government center project, are now simply two unhealed wounds in the city, and there isn't much likelihood that they'll really ever be healed. The government thing is a complete mess. They eventually did tear down most of City Hall. Now it turns out that the original program that they wanted that for, which was for a new City Hall and a library, won't come through because they probably won't be able to build a library on that site. And they should *never* have been allowed to build the library on that site anyway because the library has a perfectly good building by Cass Gilbert which is also a monument of the town, and which is itself threatened if the library goes up.

PL: But then what function would it have?

VS: God knows. Mayor Lee, who started all this, tried his best to get the courts to buy it, and, for all I know, the courts may have legal ownership of it now. But the

courts never wanted it and don't want it now and it wasn't suited for their purposes. Whereas, you could add on to it well enough to make it function better and so on. It functions very well. But he wants a library that looks like a supermarket and that building is an oval building; you have to go upstairs to get to it; it has a dome, and rooms deploying left and right, and it is simply too articulate for him. Just doesn't like it. So, in any event, it's a sad business.

WS: You've talked about the way a community builds or plans reflects, in large part, its image of itself. What was going on then in the 60s? What was the image that was projected?

VS: Well, the problem was that it was not a community's image of itself, but a preconceived image conceived by redevelopers along a double model which formally and visually was really Le Corbusier's *Ville Radieuse,* and which, to a surprising degree, was based on Le Corbusier's original program as he enunciated in 1922 and 1925, which was to get the poor out of the city. He was perfectly clear about it. He said only those who could participate in the conversation of the city will live in the city and therefore he called it the *cité d'affaires,* which is really a city of managers, and that's exactly redevelopment's idea. They would make a city which was open to the automobile trade from the suburbs, which was the only way they felt they could bring economic life back to the center of city. The poor that occupied the areas that the thruways were going to go through, and which were not plugged in to this automobile structure or to this particular buying structure, were ruthlessly pushed out of the way. That happened everywhere and it happened here in New Haven.

So the city that was going to result was the result not of the image held, say, by the majority of the inhabitants of the city—certainly not by those who inhabited the low-income neighborhoods of the city—but was very much a kind of imposed idea (we're using that word without prejudice) along with the other image imposed by preconceived economic and formal structures. So, the city never was, redevelopment never really was, an image that the majority population held of the city. It arose out of a peculiar conjuction of international style formal models and an economic model which coincided with the international style's original philosophical objectives as they were put together by Corbusier.

WS: Is it impossible for the city's image, the image that's shared by its inhabitants, to be really articulated and realized? Is that even possible?

VS: Well, I think—it's a hard question—I would say theoretically, yes. It has been done in the past. I think the greatest examples of it may be the great social democratic housing in Amsterdam and Vienna in the 20s and 30s, especially de Klerk in Amsterdam and the whole great series that the social democrats built in Vienna between 1919 and 1934, when the houses were stormed by the army and the right wing. They certainly created an architecture that was right in the center of the city, which embodied the sense of pride of the people who inhabited them in their trades, in their unions, in their cities, in their solidarity, and in themselves as members of the working class. That had all that. And it did that symbolically; it did it empathetically and by association. Great challenging forms, association of them

with the palace tradition of Vienna, so that in terms of architecture functioning by association, the sense was that the working class was moving into palaces, new palaces on the model of Viennese palaces. For example, the plan of one of the housing groups by Karl Ehn is based exactly on the plan of the Belvedere and its gardens, which was designed, as you know, on a French model for Prince Eugen in the early 18th century. So there isn't any question that the palaces were their model. And then from a semiotic point of view, these housing groups became expressions of the palace which was not inhabited by the majority of the inhabitants of the city. So that was very successful. But again, you see, all that kind of architecture was abandoned for two separate but then eventually complementary reasons. One was the rise of the international style which didn't believe in that kind of imagery and indeed didn't believe in that kind of housing. It believed in the German model, in the *siedlung,* in the suburban house, the suburban slab, which was getting the workers out of the city, getting them out into nature—which meant that they no longer held the center of the city. Also, a slab is in every way indefensible, whereas the Viennese houses were quadrangles, like the Yale Colleges, which are, indeed, fortified enclaves of a sense of solidarity and of mutual protection, which is why the Yale Colleges are in that shape.

PL: It's interesting that it goes against the Marxist view of where the center of the power is. When the workers are in the city it's possible that they can take over the city; if they are dispersed in the countryside, they lose that.

VS: That's correct, and it is interesting that the Berliners and so on who accepted the *siedlung* idea were as much Marxists and social democrats as the people in Vienna. But they were endued with this English garden city idea. Again it goes back to Morris and a lot of ideal socialism in England, too, that everybody would be better off in the country. They weren't very ruthless socialists though, because they found it too expensive to get land in the city. That was another question. Whereas land wasn't nearly that expensive in poor old Vienna. So for one reason or another the social democrats in Germany and the social democrats in Vienna categorically disagreed as to the proper way to house people. Also, as you know, there was a lot of discussion about whether they would be better off with single-family houses. When the Nazis came along they embraced that idea for two reasons, the main reason being that they felt — and I think in some ways quite rightly, though one cannot apply European models to American realities—that in a single-family house one doesn't feel much solidarity with the other people in the other single-family houses: you're in competition to a certain extent, so they break up the solidarity in this way. And secondly, in those single-family houses they tried to stress vernacular and traditional values which again at that time, from the point of view of associational values, meant conservative and right wing rather than left and progressive.

However, those qualities, those meanings, change. Meanings drain in and out of other forms according to the changing cultural stance of the viewer. That is to say, if you saw in Central Europe a white building with no decoration and a flat roof in 1930 that would instantly have said to you *"Red";* however we don't feel

that way when we see a house by Charlie Gwathmey or something like that because that meaning no longer exists. It *isn't* that. It shows the fragility of associational meanings, though they're in constant change over what one might call more directly empathetic environments. That is to say that the Karl Marx Hof in Vienna will be read for a long, long time, even when the whole political issue is forgotten, as an *aggressive* form which embodies a sense of defiance, solidarity, defense, because it's built into the code. It isn't dependent on the cultural precept. Now how much empathy is culturally coded is another question. There are those who believe that it's underneath cultural codes. I don't believe that myself. But how it's coded is something that the semioticians don't deal with because they don't deal with empathy, they don't deal with physical responses. They deal on the consigned structure which in any work of art is complementary to and deeply bound up with and interwoven with but not the same as, the fundamental physical reaction to how fine works of art are perceived and the value of that. In other words, works of art aren't simply informational devices; they don't primarily signify, they primarily embody, and I think it's important that I distinguish between that and the linguistic model. At the present time when the linguistic model, the semiotic model, is so interestingly applied and is so lively and has so many adherents, and since it seems so much more sophisticated than either the old, rather abstract morphology or the rather primitive iconography that most art historians have used as ways to get at works of art, the linguistic model has enormous appeal. But after wrestling with it agonizingly for about ten years I've decided that while they can make us all try to understand how we did see, and how we perceive meaning, and how works of art function, that it's not it. It's much too restricted to its sign structure to be able to deal with the physical embodiment, which is the function of a work of art. And very good semioticians like Umberto Eco pretty much agree to this.

PL: It seems they often want to simplify rather than completely comprehend.

VS: They want to make it fit the model, that's all they want to do. And, you know, Gore Vidal, who I think is terribly intelligent and always marvelously stimulating and annoying and wonderful, wrote in the *New York Review of Books* a few years ago a marvelous denunciation of semiotics. He was writing it around the problem of the *auteur* in the movies—which he attacks—and which he saw correctly as a typical French view, the directors, the *auteurs,* the writers. He took this apart and then he went on from there to attack this Saussurean linguistic model, and he said, "it's all right for the French because really all it is is just the old *analyse de text* and that's fine for them but nobody else can do it; it's useless to anybody else. Let them have it, let's forget about it." That, by the way, is the kind of thing that I've gotten more and more interested in over the last decade: how the work of art conveys meaning and how art historians can derive more meaning and can indeed explicate more deeply and intensely the meanings of works of art than I think, on the whole, art historians have been able to do.

PL: What, let's say of semiotics, have you found really useful, that gives you a sense of looking anew at a work of art?

VS: I think the main thing, the fundamental semiotic view, is one that one should have known anyway (and which, indeed, even anthropologists like Taylor had written about a long time ago), and that is that we see everything from our own cultural stance, that all meanings fundamentally vary with the observer. So that means, of course, that no work of art has a single meaning, which is obvious but which is all too often forgotten by art historians, who seem to think we can find out the artist's intention. It's tended to be the basis of art historical method: you get from some other source the artist's intention then you apply it to the work of art, and you make the work of art fit this Procrustean bed, whereas no work of art is a simple sum of the artist's intentions, otherwise we wouldn't have works of art. Works of art operate in a wholly different way. They may have meanings that were wholly unexpected by the artist himself. They certainly have meanings that, as we already talked about, will change with succeeding generations as those meanings drain in and new meanings pour in depending upon the cultural structure that's perceived. So the art historian with any work of art, you see, is involved in two things: one, he wants to penetrate as closely as he can to the intended meaning—we certainly have that because we're trying to find out what it meant in its culture, how it was seen, how it was conceived, what its cultural matrix was. But at the same time we are looking at a work of art which is affecting us and which is affecting us more, the more we know about its culture—since that builds up always over and over again our associational capacities—but which is affecting us anyway according to whatever our cultural structure is. So we're always dealing in this middle world between the work of art as it was and the work of art as it is, and in that there's a marvelous richness. And of course, as we get to know the work of art as it was, it enriches our view of the work of art as it is. The more we can bring to bear on the work of art the more it gives back to us; in that multiplicity of its meanings and our responses lies the whole future of the history of art. There have been a lot of historians, art historians, in the last few generations, who've been very worried about art history, trying to find other ways to give it the kind of valence of human life. Some have turned to anthropology, for example; others have turned towards sociology.

Many have tried to find a way out, say, in literature. Iconography as a continuing method has been one way to escape to the text. Well, I don't think it's necessary. I don't think there is any problem about the work of art, because the work of art is inexhaustible and there is no reason to panic or to be worried about the future of art history, only about the future of art historians. Since the work of art is inexhaustible and its meanings may be gotten at in any conceivable variety of ways, since it takes all these ways, all associational ways, all physical ways, all one has to do is have confidence in that inexhaustibility and keep at it. Which brings me to the next point which is the kind of a thing that we tend to regard as history, or for example, as worthy to be a doctoral dissertation. We tend in art history to lean toward what might be called a kind of archaeological bias. That is, we tend to demand that people find something *new*: somebody that hasn't been written about, some political or other structure that hasn't been considered. Well that has to run

out soon and that's one reason why those people I referred to were pessimistic about the future of art history. But if we go after the history of art the way, say, English departments go after English literature, we find that there is no such problem because again the work of art is inexhaustible. One doesn't have to discover a new Shakespeare sonnet to write about Shakespeare. There is no reason why we can't have now, new books about Michelangelo, Raphael, Rubens, everything, because in fact nothing is ever exhausted when one's writing, not about the archaeology of the subject, but about the art of the subject. What art history needs, in my opinion, is more concentration on the art: its mysterious being, how it's made, how it's experienced. There are no final answers to all these questions, but all the speculations on these questions are fundamental to the human stance and to our knowledge of the way our minds work; therefore they're inexhaustible in terms of what may be done about them in the future.

PL: So anything that seems to bear, to be of interest at all, is useful to the art historian?

VS: Yes. And as Eliot said—I'm paraphasing roughly and inaccurately—"the work of art can take anything we can bring to it." You know how you get students sometimes in introductory courses—one of the things they're most worried about is that you're going to have them see something that isn't there, as if there were a true and a false, as if in fact they were going to be somehow sold the Brooklyn Bridge, or be cheated by having some kind of reaction, positive reaction, which really they shouldn't have. Well, of course, that's a pitiful peasant fear, and it's the most important thing to break them out of it and to make them understand that the possibilities are inexhaustible, and that there's not one right way and all the others are wrong ways: there are an infinite number of right ways, so long as they get at the constantly complicated, ambiguous, inexhaustible character of meaning as embodied in the work.

WS: You have said that "for my dissertation, I needed a subject I was equipped to do — something to put my meager knowledge to work... My aim was to rehabilitate it [19th century architecture]. That's what dissertations should do: bring back great areas of human experience that have been jettisoned."[2]

VS: Well, I was slightly misquoted — you got this out of the *New Yorker.* That's okay. It isn't exactly what I said.

WS: Well, how do you feel about your dissertation, then?

VS: I think I was very fortunate with my dissertation.[3] I was able to mine it for a lot of work afterward. I wrote a number of articles from it, and I was able to go on from it to a lot of work that was connected with it, like Frank Lloyd Wright, modern architecture, this and that. And I find it of great use to me now as I try to work with the young European architects at the present time and I find that they're connected with it. Also, it turned out to have a good deal to do with later developments in architecture, as the revival of the 19th century vernacular, postmodernism and all that. So I was very fortunate in my dissertation. By putting my meager knowledge to work at the time—yes that's absolutely true. These materials

[2] J. Stevenson, "Profiles: Vincent Scully," *The New Yorker,* New York, February 18, 1980, 57.

[3] Published as *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, 1640-1915, with A. Downing, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1952.*

were available, they were right here and I was very moved by them. When I say "my aim was to rehabilitate 19th century architecture," I was really saying that I was involved with people who were beginning to do that, like Henry Russell Hitchcock, who was my advisor on my dissertation. So *our* aim was to rehabilitate the study of 19th century architecture. And I think that is certainly one thing a dissertation should do, bring back areas of human experience that have been jettisoned. I think that's the way history in general tends to work. The past is full of incomplete experiences or ways of doing things that are just waiting to be brought back into human focus, to have new effects. The past is full of time bombs waiting to go off and one of the main functions of the historian is to keep opening those models, reminding human beings of the possibilities of things that they've forgotten, specific ways of imagining reality which have been submerged by other things. It applies now. The general reaction against the international style is in part responding to what people like Hitchcock and I and others did in trying to bring the 19th century vernacular to life. That is so because, as far as one can tell, a human mind doesn't grow by the simple process of asking new empirical questions; but in order to ask new questions it has to break with the preexisting conceptual structure of reality within which it formulates its questions, since we can only ask questions within whatever we already have constructed as what reality is. In order to ask new questions, you have to break the model. And one of the best ways to break the model is to have brought to your attention something that you have either forgotten completely or more likely that you regarded as of no value. So you see there *is* a value and then your mind starts to work in a new way.

I think that's one of the fundamental functions of a historian; that's what he's for. He brings to life again, as useful models and as alternatives to present models, incomplete experiences. All human experience is incomplete that way, it's all potential.

PL: To get at a larger question about the impact of the international style, I'd like to discuss their esthetic, which was so technological.

VS: Well, it was and it wasn't. Its esthetic was really schizophrenically split. On the one hand, they would talk about technology as creating their forms, but in fact their forms were created by the style.

PL: It's true. They denied technology often enough.

VS: Utterly. And Gropius was especially problematic from my point of view in terms of systematic thought. He'd insist their forms arose from technological and sociological necessity but here they are white planes and flat roofs and intersecting planes and all that, which really were built into the Bauhaus by Van Doesburg and others that they've written out of the movement—El Lissitsky, Van Doesburg, all the others who created it. And it's very odd and very strange and I think it led finally to the logical contradictions which in the end destroyed the Bauhaus as a pedagogic movement, and it was gone because it was too restrictive and because it also wasn't really wholly rational. The left hand didn't know what the right hand was doing a good deal of the time, so that whatever kinds of teaching there are now —and I'm not at all sure how to characterize them—I think they are still more realistic in terms of realizing that forms are arrived at with great difficulty, that it

isn't a simple sociological or rational process and that any help you get from any source, a painting or whatever it is, helps and there are many solutions to the one problem.

PL: Do you think the Bauhaus did respond, in fact, in realistic and functional and successful ways to sociological influences, for example in Gropius' worker housing?

VS: No it did not, really. Technology is a symbol for them, an important symbol, but as you know people like Banham and so on, who are very technologically involved, pointed out a long time ago that international style forms are really very far from technology.

PL: It has not given a very good legacy to the modern urban experience.

VS: That it hasn't, certainly in terms of urbanism, no. It was a failure.

PL: Has post-modernism responded in some way which can change that or is it really in a sense continuing?

VS: No, I think it has responded in a way, especially with the valuing of the vernacular and preexisting structures, which means that we now at least value the traditional structure of the city as it had evolved most subtly and complexly over a couple of hundred years and which the international style totally failed to value. That means we're in a much better position to work with reality, with what *is* there, with what exists and with the complex possibilities of city life, and with the relationships of people to each other in the city than the international style was. The international style wanted things pure, clean, one-way, and that invariably is part of the attitude that worked against the life of minorities, or the special characteristics of ethnic groups. All of that was regarded as fundamentally without value, to be swept out of the way and to be brought into a modern pattern. And post-modernism very definitely set its eyes toward what it calls different types of cultural coding and design—that different kinds of people make different kinds of designs, and that they ought to have different kinds of designs. You can just go one step beyond that idea of cultural coding and say different kinds of *styles*, which is really what it is, what they're talking about. And that picks up again that sense of anything being open to us, which in a way vastly increases right now the historian's significance in the world. Because most of us are writing and talking about past architectures in the 30s, 40s, 50s and 60s (if one was also involved in modern architecture), and however close you got to them as you worked your way back into the past, there was a certain level where they couldn't come into the present. They could only come into the present by analogy, you know? But now they come right into the present; they walk right in. And now people like Greenberg are trying to rebuild Mt. Vernon. Venturi of course has revived and reassessed and commented upon the whole suburban vernacular. And others as well. Classicism is returning in one way or another. So the historian from *that* point of view, in a way that we as historians and critics thirty or forty years ago would have *hated*, the historian is, in fact, back in that old central position as the one who really knows this thing, and can tell people what they want terribly to know about so they can really try to practice it.

PL: Do you think that it has had an impact such that more older buildings have actually survived?

VS: Oh, yes, without question. We've been able to save buildings in New Haven that we'd never have saved thirty years ago. Sure, because people have recognized their value, lots of 19th century buildings. You know it's interesting, when we were trying to save the City Hall and the Post Office back in 1966—the Post Office was a Beaux-Arts building, the City Hall was a gothic revival building — those people who had been at Yale way way back in the Beaux-Arts period said to us, "well, that's fine, save the Post Office but let that silly gothic revival thing go." People who'd studied at Yale twenty years later said, "no, that's a wonderful gothic revival building and we will save that, but naturally, let that awful Beaux-Arts building go." If we had paid attention to either one, we'd have lost both. Now that view has changed, and that exclusiveness which was very much a part of the international style climate of opinion is disappearing. It's not gone because the reactionaries still hold it, as witness what they tried to do to Michael Graves in Portland. The local architects, many of them, jumped all over him. His really magnificently bold and powerful building which won in an honest competition out there—a competition in which I might say he was fortunate most of the people were laymen, who weren't interested architects who would have had their own models that this building outraged, but laymen who could see how economical it was, all these things that he won on. Nevertheless, the architects attacked it in the same kind of intolerant and exclusivist terms that they, and their court historians—Siegfried Giedion and so on — used to ascribe to the Beaux-Arts people as they prevented modern buildings from being built. So in other words, the establishment remains the establishment and is as fearful of the things that challenge it as it ever was. Well, we all are. I mean one shouldn't make fun of those architects, especially because they're involved in art—which we're so deeply involved in emotionally—but also in business, which means they're very threatened economically.

PL: And it's some of the biggest money in this country: land speculation. . .

VS: Exactly, so that naturally they're very nervous about things that threaten what they have learned how to do and which they've learned how to build and how to get paid for. They're very, very threatened by it and it's perfectly understandable and we shouldn't be misunderstanding about it, because we all are in our own fields.

PL: But those pressures are going to be part of the history of 20th century architecture.

VS: Yes, absolutely. And that Portland building by Michael Graves is a very interesting one to watch as it goes ahead, because for Graves it's a new scale, a new kind of grandeur, and in terms of public acceptance, the public was mad for it. It was what they thought a public building ought to be. Whereas the architects up there want to build more mirror and glass. Curtain walls, that's what they like.

PL: As a member of the public I'm sick of seeing them, especially when I'm trying to walk past them on windy days. In this light, and in light of what we were talking about before, is post-modernism in some way dealing with, or going to deal with, the problems of our ruined cities?

VS: Too early to tell; and one of the reasons it's too early to tell is that we're not the ones who can answer that question. We're right at the moment, as we see,

economically — and I'm afraid also politically — where nothing can be done, and where it doesn't really look as if much is going to be done. It now doesn't look as though it's in time even if anything were done.

PL: What do you see coming?

VS: Well, I don't know. I mean if one were to just project according to the evidence, one would say economic collapse, bringing with it a frightful urban disturbance.

PL: Like Miami?

VS: Yes, or more so. So it's hard to know. Post-modernism, for that reason, for that social and economic reason, may well turn out simply to begin a kind of spurt, a memory and compassion and multiplicity, just before the end.