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The Romantic Reception of the Renaissance: Between Cult Images and Art

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The German Romantic period marks a unique moment in the historical reception of *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* art.[1] In the late eighteenth century, neoclassical thinkers identified a schism in art, distinguishing between the eras that have come to be known as the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. This perspective continued to resonate in art-historical scholarship until the 1960s. The Romantic fraternity of revivalist artists known as the Nazarenes[2] conversely regarded these periods as continuous, holding that the time frame we call the Renaissance marked the pinnacle of an age of faith, rather than a rebirth of antiquity.[3] These artists pinpointed the Reformation as *the* transforming force in the arts, leading to art's gradual decline by instigating its secularization. We can easily attribute this ideological departure to the religious revival in Germany and situate it within the broader Romantic antipathy to Enlightenment values; however, stopping here would be a gross over-simplification of the Nazarenes' unique conception of early modern art. At the turn of the nineteenth century, the neoclassical model of rebirth was itself in its infancy, as was the conceptualization of Western art as a succession of discrete movements. To understand the Nazarenes' engagement with past art we must look beyond the neoclassical paradigm.

Studies of the Nazarene reception of Renaissance art have largely focused on stylistic and conceptual differences. There are at least two reasons for this orientation: first, the stylistic similarities between the movements are obvious; and second, there has been a scholarly effort to rescue the Nazarenes from charges of anachronism and reserve a place for them within the narrative of modern (and post-modern) art.[4] However, scholars have contextualized Nazarene painting mainly relative to concurrent ideas on the Renaissance. When reconsidered within the context of recent scholarship on early modern art the similarities between Nazarene biblical subjects and those of their Renaissance models bear a renewed significance. The Romantic perception of continuity between the Renaissance and the Middle Ages evokes our present-day understanding of the gradual shift from icon to narrative in the early modern period.[5] In light of this correspondence, I will consider the Romantic paradigm of the *long* Middle Ages as part of the broader nineteenth-century program of historiography. A flood of literature on art emerged at this time; however, the parameters of art history as an academic discipline were not yet firmly established. For this reason, in addition to textual sources, I will look to alternative mediums of historical inquiry. The Nazarenes examined the past through their own artistic practice, and their investigation is reflected visually in their art, as well as in their actions as 'historical' artists. By treating their artworks and their performance as alternative histories of art, I will reconsider the Nazarene understanding of the relationship between medieval images and the Renaissance handling of religious subjects. What surfaces is the perception of continuity between *imago* and Renaissance adaptations of these archetypes; however, the Nazarene definition of these images differs considerably from how we classify them today. For the Nazarenes there was little, if any, distinction between cult images and art: from ancient icons through to Renaissance art, the primary function of religious images was to serve devotion.[6]

1. Art as History: the Beginnings of a Discipline

Nazarene artworks exhibit a unique sentimentality toward the art of the past. This attitude is

not limited to Renaissance art and is characteristic of various artistic and intellectual avenues in the Romantic period. The early Romantic writer Novalis articulated the longing sensation for reconciliation with a nebulous bygone era: "Philosophy is really nostalgia – a desire to be at home everywhere."[7] For the Nazarenes, this utterance of *Heimweh*, or homesickness, was expressed through their association with Old Master painting. Although generally understood and praised in the early nineteenth century, the outward sentimentality of Nazarene art also led to accusations of anachronism. In the third volume of his *History of German Art* (1855), Ernst Förster accused Nazarene art of being unfaithful to its age: "a citizen of the nineteenth century cannot acquire fourteenth-century eyes."[8] In the late 1830s, the art historian Franz Kugler similarly charged Friedrich Overbeck, one of the group's leaders, with excluding the present from his work.[9] In the face of a growing interest in realism and naturalism, Nazarenism was regarded as counter-progressive.[10] As early as 1819 Friedrich Schlegel pointed out the misleading quality of labels such as 'antiquated-ness' (*Altertümlichkeit*), 'mystic,' or 'romantic': "Words like these have an ill effect; they are formulae of deception which entirely confuse judgment."[11] Indeed there is a definite irony in these charges of archaism, as beneath the cosmetic nostalgia, Nazarenism was a vanguard movement in its reflection of the progress of history as a discipline. It can be best contextualized amidst this emerging science and its organic offshoot – the history of art.

At the close of the eighteenth century, the early Romantic circle of intellectuals in Jena became heavily engaged in the interpretation of art, and the fruits of these exchanges are considered etiologically central to the birth of our modern art-historical discipline. Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder's seminal work, *Heart-outpourings of an art-loving Monk* (1797), albeit fictional, initiated an interest in exploring the visual arts on an intellectual level outside the walls of the art academies. Friedrich Schlegel then took up this project on a more pragmatic level, traveling to Paris in 1802 to study Italian, Flemish, and German Old Master paintings that had been pillaged by the French army during the Napoleonic wars and relocated to the Louvre. Schlegel recorded his thoughts in a series of letters to the writer Ludwig Tieck, entitled *Descriptions of Paintings from Paris and the Netherlands, 1802-1804* and first published in his journal *Europa*.[12] Although *Descriptions of Paintings* concerns historical artists and tangible works of art, Schlegel's discussion is as much conceptual as it is empirical. This budding art-historical enterprise was by no means limited to those within literary professions. The Nazarenes too became actively involved in writing about art. For instance, the painter Johann David Passavant wrote travelogues and artist biographies, publishing an extensive biography of Raphael in 1839. Overbeck, among others, wrote elaborate explanatory texts for his paintings, situating them within the history of Western art. The Nazarenes were immersed in art-historical interpretation, and their images were inevitably shaped by these early efforts at studying the history of art.

Walter Benjamin eloquently captures the historical reflection inherent in Romantic artistic practice in *The Concept of Criticism in German Romanticism* (1919), in which he expounds the early Romantics' abstract approach to art writing. The criticism of art was, for the Romantics, "less the judgment of a work than the method of its consummation," writes Benjamin.[13] The creation of a work of art was thus synonymous with the criticism of, or reflection on, its subject matter. Benjamin quotes Schlegel to corroborate this observation: "Poetry can be criticized only through poetry. An aesthetic judgment that is not itself a work of art...has no rights of citizenship in the realm of art."[14] Nazarene artists' individual exploration of Renaissance art transpired against this backdrop of early Romantic art theory. Analogous to Schlegel's contention that poetry can only be understood by engaging the medium itself, their references to historical art, both explicit and implicit, bear witness to the conviction that the art of the past can only be understood through the critical process of art-making itself. The Nazarenes used their art as a means of advancing their historical investigation; therefore, their artistic practice was as much a progenitor of our modern art-historical enterprise as

written criticism. Nazarene art is accordingly a fruitful source for excavating Romantic conceptions of the early modern period.[15]

1.1 The Sources of Renaissance Art: from Neoclassicism to Romanticism

Romantic thought on the Renaissance is visible on various fronts. One significant source is the Nazarene understanding of Renaissance emulation, which is implicitly articulated in their devotional imagery. Many of these paintings bear witness to the perception of continuity between medieval and Renaissance image types, which I believe reflects a critical response to the neoclassical paradigm of the history of art. Before turning to the works of art themselves, I will consider what motivated their departure from the neoclassical concept of a rebirth of antiquity.

The core Nazarene artists received their artistic training at the Vienna Academy. This institution was structured around neoclassical art theory, including Anton Raphael Mengs' *Reflections upon Beauty and Taste in Painting* (1762) in its curriculum. Mengs' ideas developed out of Johann Joachim Winckelmann's seminal treatise, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (1755). This text proposes that "the only way for us to become great or, if this be possible, inimitable, is to imitate the ancients."[16] Winckelmann does not claim authorship to this concept of emulation; he substantiates his counsel by attributing the success of Renaissance artists, above all Michelangelo, Raphael, and Poussin, to their alleged emulation and assimilation of antique models into their work. Winckelmann emphasizes this point in his discussion of Raphael, who purportedly sent young artists to Greece to sketch ruins for him.[17] He claims that Raphael rendered the type of ideal beauty orchestrated by Greek artists, who "began to form certain general ideas of the beauty of individual parts of the body as well as of the whole – ideas which were to rise above nature itself; their model was an ideal nature originating in the mind alone."[18] In an effort to conflate Raphael's practice with that of the ancient Greeks, Winckelmann then quotes a letter to Count Baldassare Castiglione that elucidates how Raphael arrived at his *Galatea*. Raphael allegedly remarked, "Since beauty is so rare among women, I avail myself of an ideal image."[19] Winckelmann concludes the *Natural Beauty* section of his treatise with the grandiose claim that nothing reveals the advantages of imitating antiquity more than the work of Raphael.[20] Mengs similarly bestows on Raphael the title of greatest painter, maintaining that he, in addition to Titian and Correggio, achieved ideal beauty by copying aspects of Greek works.[21] He calls upon modern artists to pragmatically apply a comparable form of eclecticism, drawing both from antiquity and Renaissance artists.[22]

The neoclassical paradigm of Renaissance emulation did not go uncontested. Romantic artists and writers substantially revised Mengs' conception of mimetic strategies employed by Renaissance artists. Schlegel proposed that there are two phases of Italian painting: Old Italian art, which begins with Giotto and leads up to Mantegna, Massacio, Bellini, Perugino, and Leonardo; and the new school which includes Titian, Correggio, Julio Romano, and Michelangelo.[23] Schlegel situates Raphael on the cusp of the two phases, using him to elucidate the difference and ground his preference for the former phase. In contrast to Winckelmann and Mengs' claim that Raphael owes his success to the imitation of antiquity, Schlegel explains that Raphael's early work renders an ideal beauty that finds its sources in Old Italian art.[24] However, Schlegel does not characterize all of Raphael's works as such. In his *Descriptions of Paintings*, he juxtaposes Raphael's *Transfiguration* (1518-1520) with *La Belle Jardiniere* (1507). While the *Transfiguration* is masterfully arranged and executed, it has lost the *Würde* (dignity) and emotional purity of Old Italian art, upheld by *La Belle Jardiniere*.[25] Raphael's late work can be categorized along-side images by Michelangelo and the new school of Italian painting, which abandoned the Christian precedents in favor of antique sculptural

models. According to Schlegel, artists such as Carraci, Poussin, and Mengs emulated Italian art of the latter phase because they did not understand the thought behind Old Italian painting.[26] Schlegel attributes the erroneous path taken by recent artists to Winckelmann's generalized assertion that Renaissance art was founded on the imitation of antiquity. Neoclassical theories of art, in advising modern artists to imitate antique works, failed to make the "immeasurably great and eternal distinction between the two related sister arts, sculpture and painting."[27] Schlegel's rejection of the neoclassical model of emulation is not simply a matter of taste, nor is it based wholly on religious sentiment. It is founded on the rejection of the notion that Raphael and his precursors revived art through the rediscovery and imitation of antiquity.[28]

The debate on the nature of emulation in Renaissance artistic practice became significant for the Nazarenes. In 1809, the founding members of this group left the Vienna Academy and formed an artist community in Rome – the Brotherhood of St. Luke. Their departure was largely related to a repudiation of the Academy's teaching methods and the emulation theory it promoted. In a letter to his father from 1808, Overbeck specifically attacks Mengs' call for modern artists

Fig. 1 Johann Friedrich Overbeck, The Triumph of Religion in the Arts, 1840, Oil on Canvas, 389 x 390 cm, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. Photograph courtesy of Städel Museum, ARTOTHEK

to assimilate the best attributes of various Renaissance and antique artists.[29] Insisting that artists must paint from nature with individual feeling, he contests the neoclassical view that the likes of Raphael, Titian, and Correggio achieved greatness through eclectic copying. Overbeck later took up the debate concerning the sources of Renaissance art head-on in his monumental painting *The Triumph of Religion in the Arts* (1831-1840) (fig. 1). The painting is a visual eulogy of the history of Western art in terms of both composition and content: the work is modeled after Raphael's *Disputa* and is appropriately painted in a revivalist style, and the subject is a sweeping account of the Christian tradition in art. Overbeck chose to lighten the load for succeeding art historians by accompanying his work with a written guide that enumerates the composition's many protagonists, both allegorical and historical.[30] The Virgin and Child occupy the upper register, which represents the spiritual realm, and are surrounded by Old and New Testament figures that Overbeck identifies as allegories of the various arts. Poetry, allegorized by the Virgin, sits at the helm, and St. Luke kneels at her feet, canvas and brush in hand. In the lower register, Old Masters are dispersed around a fountain. In his explanatory text Overbeck justifies the presence of most of the figures, explaining that his arrangement only celebrates art in so far as it has contributed to the glorification of God.[31] Overbeck provides a rationale for his positioning of major artists. Raphael, "in a white jacket, symbolic of the universality of his spirit," is placed amidst the artists who influenced him the most – Perugino, Ghirlandaio, Masaccio, Fra Bartolomeo, and Francesco Francia.[32] Also in his vicinity are Giotto, Orcagna, and Simon Memmi. Near Raphael, Michelangelo sits on an antique fragment: "Michelangelo allowed himself to be entranced by his awe of the antiques, erecting them as new idols in his school."[33] Overbeck explains Raphael's proximity to Michelangelo in terms of his encounter with Michelangelo and antiquity, which eventually also led him astray: "...[Raphael] was also overcome with desire, stretching out his hand to the forbidden. And so then the sins of true apostasy in art were at this time, in many places realized, in that one no longer served God the Lord with art, rather one wanted to put art itself on the altar."[34] Significant in this arrangement is that Overbeck considered the art of Raphael and his precursors to be continuous with the Middle Ages in function: their art was devotional rather than strictly autonomous. It is only with Michelangelo and the latter phase of Raphael's career that pagan antiquity superseded the religious models and purpose of art.

The Romantics have left us with very few clues as to their understanding of art before Giotto. Yet given the Christian orientation of their discussions of Renaissance art, is it possible that the Nazarenes saw a Madonna and Child by Raphael, or by any one of his contemporaries, as a naturalistic extension of an older icon? Schlegel hints in this direction in his praise of Old German painting, which he regards as superior to Italian art because it has "remained true to the oldest, most extraordinary, profound, Christian-Catholic symbols longer."[35] Aside from the debate concerning national styles, Schlegel attaches considerable weight to preserving the oldest Christian sources. Given that, for the Nazarenes, the rebirth of antiquity did not begin until the sixteenth century, to draw a parallel between icons and *quattrocento* devotional imagery would be logical. Indeed the repertoire expands, but the traditional image types persist. Neither Overbeck nor Schlegel forges a direct link between icons and *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* art; however, the belief in a correlation is indirectly expressed in Nazarene devotional images.

1.2 The *Andachtsbild*

If we consider the Nazarene handling of religious subjects as visual art histories that reflect their critical understanding of Renaissance religious imagery, a number of their devotional works reveal a conspicuous dependence on the icon. Düsseldorf Academy director Wilhelm von Schadow's

triptych altarpiece *The Risen Christ between the Evangelists John and Matthew* (1824) (fig. 2) is the most suggestive testament to the conviction that Renaissance art is rooted in the icon tradition. The work was commissioned by the prestigious Pforta boarding school near Naumberg in Prussia's Saxon province.[36] Rather than painting a religious narrative, Schadow chose to depict the three protagonists isolated from each other both in time and space.[37] A now destroyed tripartite Gothic gold frame physically divided the panels, heightening the figures' separation. Yet the three protagonists remain compositionally bound by a barren landscape that runs continuously through all three panels. Christo-centric biblical citations also accompany the figures.[38] The flag in Christ's hand and his blessing gesture are consistent with Resurrection iconography; however, there is a conspicuous lack of narrative. Cordula Grewe proposes that Schadow intentionally removed the narrative element from his altarpiece, rendering the holy subject as an *imago*.[39] Schadow's *imago* construction of Christ implies a desire to push art in a retrograde motion, back to the status of cult objects characteristic of images in the Middle Ages. Yet the image bears no immediate formal association with a particular icon type, and it is a naturalistic rendering of Christ. If viewed as a historical reflection of Renaissance art, what exactly is this painting saying about its antecedents?

A comparison with Fra Bartolomeo's *Christ with the Four Evangelists* (1516),[40] now in the Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, elucidates the motivation behind Schadow's composition. The Nazarenes were likely familiar with this painting, if not already via Schlegel's *Descriptions of Paintings* when it was housed in the Louvre,[41] then in Florence where it was returned after Napoleon's exile. Christ, surrounded by the four Evangelists, stands triumphantly above a circular image of a landscape, symbolic of salvation.[42] A rising sun illuminates the figureless river landscape within the roundel. The full-length rendering of Christ with a staff, positioned above the rising sun, suggests the subject of the work is the Resurrection; however, the inscription above the globe identifies it as a *Salvator Mundi* image of Christ.[43] Christ's blessing gesture and the presence of the globe further identify the image as such. Although the composition, through its many elaborations, departs from this image type, the suspension of narrative and the monumentality of Christ preserve the work's iconic presence. Bartolomeo's painting was created at a time when increasing artistic liberties were taken with religious subject matter, arguably diverting the viewer away from the moment of spiritual truth. Christ's anomalous static presence, removed from any narrative context, reflects the broader contemporary urgency to reground religious art, to redirect the viewer back to the point – that is, to Christ. In this respect, Bartolomeo's adaptation of the *Salvator Mundi* type could be seen as the climax of traditional religious imagery – unspoiled Christian art at the moment of its last gasp.

The portrayal of Christ with the Evangelists, and specifically the figure of Christ in Bartolomeo's painting, shares affinities with Schadow's altarpiece. Christ similarly stands triumphantly above the world in a gesture of blessing. Rather than confining the earth to a globe, it is rendered as a sprawling landscape that envelops the holy figures. Likewise created at a time when art was threatened with secularization – in this case by the neoclassical preoccupation with pagan antiquity – Schadow plainly devised an image without narrative accompanied by intensely Christo-centric biblical passages. This construction alludes to the icon and the ultimate purpose of religious images – the adoration of Christ. Whether or not Schadow deliberately references Bartolomeo's Christ is not certain, but his choice to portray Christ in a comparably iconic manner, free of narrative, suggests a similar means of redirecting Christian art back to its origins. In the context of the critical art-historical investigation central to the Nazarenes, Schadow's quasi-*imago* rendering of Christ seems to assert the *true* sources and function of Renaissance art.[44] What those sources are is a contentious issue, but I wish to work from the assumptions laid out by one revisionary stream of scholarship on the early modern period, which begins with Sixten Ringbom.

Schadow's experimentation with the icon, and the corresponding suspension of narrative, recalls Sixten Ringbom's seminal account of the transformation of religious imagery during the

Fig. 2 Wilhelm von Schadow, The Risen Christ between the Evangelists John and Matthew, 1824, Oil on Canvas, 255 x 110/235 x 85 cm, Landesschule, Pforta. Photograph, circa 1930s, Private Collection

Renaissance. Ringbom identifies two broad forms of church art created between the early Christian period and the Reformation: didactic images, which communicate a narrative, and theological works, such as cult images or icons.[45] There is, however, a third image type, which Ringbom calls the "empathic approach."[46] This class of images does not exclude the didacticism of a *historia,* or the adoration associated with an *imago*; however, neither of these functions are its primary concern. Responding to an increased demand for private devotion in the late Middle Ages, these images served as meditative aids for the beholder, triggering a deep emotional experience.[47] Such devotional images, or *Andachtsbilder,* reflect a variety of biblical subjects; what holds them together is their suspension of temporal references from an isolated aspect of a biblical narrative.[48] These timeless images make the holy figure accessible by providing a direct line of communication between the viewer and the subject.[49] Grewe proposes that by subduing narrative in his work and focusing on the emotional state of the protagonists, Schadow further exploits the link forged during the late Middle Ages between *historia* and *imago*, bringing his art in close affinity with *Andachtsmalerei.*[50] If this is indeed the case, which I think it is, it suggests a remarkably modern understanding of early modern art.

A later image by Schadow evinces his reflection on the transformation of icons into "empathic" narratives. In his *Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins* (1842) (fig. 3), Schadow renders a multi-figure composition, which retains Christ's iconic presence. The viewer's attention is focused on

the image of Christ, whose outstretched arms and pale nude torso distinguish him from the darkly clothed figures that surround him. This emphasis on Christ resigns the narrative to secondary status. Christ's gesture is conspicuously directed toward us rather than to the wise virgins as anticipated by the biblical parable. Only his face is turned in their direction. Grewe suggests Schadow devised this configuration in order to create the effect of a Man of Sorrows.[51] Based on a loose structural correspondence, Schadow's composition has been compared to Raphael's *School of Athens* (1510-11).[52] The Nazarenes were, however, principally uninterested in assimilating exact figures or elements from other works of art into their creations. The majority of quotations, thus, remain evasive, and accordingly, comparing the painting with specific models mainly yields differences. A consideration of compositional effect, on the other hand, exposes striking parallels. The allusion to Man of Sorrows imagery within a narrative context is reminiscent of a development in early modern art. In the central predella panel of his San Marco altarpiece (c. 1438-40),[53] Fra Angelico departs from the then conventional representation of the Man of Sorrows in the tomb and renders him standing before the sepulcher in an arrangement alluding to the entombment narrative.[54] As a means of reinforcing the devotional focus, Rogier van der Weyden took this innovation and inserted it into a larger narrative scene in his *Entombment of Christ* (c. 1450), now in the Uffizi, Florence.[55] The entombment narrative is stalled at a calculated moment so that the open tomb frames Christ's outstretched body. This work is no longer directly a cult image of Christ, but Christ's likeness, isolated within the narrative, echoes the Man of Sorrows.[56] In Schadow's painting, the framing of Christ's outstretched body within the doorway suggests he employed a comparable strategy of asserting the devotional focus. In *Glorification* (1848-50),[57] a preparatory drawing for a

Fig. 3 Wilhelm von Schadow, Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, 1842, Oil on Canvas, 271.5 x 391 cm, Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main. Photograph courtesy of Städel Museum, ARTOTHEK

later work, Schadow employs the same compositional structure as in *Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins*, except Christ, complete with the wounds of the Passion, is rendered as the Man of Sorrows forthright. This drawing suggests that Schadow likewise intended the Man of Sorrows association in his *Wise and Foolish Virgins*. Schadow's visual experimentation provides a definitive clue into the Nazarene understanding of Renaissance artistic development: the Nazarenes conceived of a gradual transformation of religious images from *imago* to more complex devotional images that expand on these archetypes both within and outside of a narrative context.

1.3 Religious Revival or Historical Revision?

The suspension of narrative in many Nazarene devotional paintings, and the corresponding emphasis on emotional depth, has been tied to various coinciding cultural developments. Werner Busch links this shift to psychologically focused depictions of biblical figures with the late eighteenth-century interest in exploring the psyche. A straightforward rendering of a biblical episode was no longer convincing in the wake of Enlightenment skepticism. Emphasizing the mental anguish of the protagonists was, thus, more effective than the biblical narrative alone. Busch sees this move away from narrative as the beginning of the end of religious art.[58] Grewe conversely maintains that these emotionally charged depictions presented Christianity as a universal enterprise of enduring relevance.[59] In the case of Schadow, Grewe sees his focus on the psychological aspect of the biblical story as a re-conceptualization of traditional Christian subject matter for the modern viewer's needs.[60] This argument serves as my point of departure.

The concurrent emergence of theoretical literature on *Andachtsbilder* suggests the Nazarenes founded their own devotional painting on their understanding of religious art during the Renaissance. The concept of the *Andachtsbild* is generally linked with Panofsky's writings;[61] however, the first use of the term by an art historian was by Carl Schnaase in his *History of the Visual Arts,* 1843-79.[62] Schnaase's definition is conspicuously vague, encompassing *imago* in addition to more complex religious compositions that avoid storytelling. He first uses the term to designate "panel paintings of Byzantine origin...which have been preserved in the occident, and especially in Italy, where in the twelfth and thirteenth century a devout preference for devotional images of this style arose."[63] According to Schnaase, these *andächtig* Byzantine images were made for private or churchly devotion and included portrayals of Christ either alone or between single saints, or images of the Virgin and Child; historical subjects were extremely rare.[64] In a later volume of his *History,* Schnaase categorizes Van Eyck's work in a similar vein: "By far most of these are Madonnas or *Andachtsbilder* with few figures and in very small scale."[65] Schnaase clearly sees little difference in the function and rendering of subject matter in Byzantine icons and what Van Eyck was doing in the fifteenth century. Schnaase acknowledges technical changes, but he sees the later works as more advanced renditions within a continuum. He attributes the increasing naturalism evident in Van Eyck's paintings and Rogier's ensuing compositional innovations to the ever-expanding demands of devotion: "the time had passed, in which one surrendered oneself to a contemplative mysticism, or was totally calmed by way of the churchly elixir, only to look for a pious indulgence in art. One felt the necessity for deeper stimulation, holier awakening..."[66] Schlegel similarly describes Dutch *quattrocento* painting as "old catholic *Andachtsmalerei.*"[67] He situates Raphael's devotional paintings in this genre as well, due to their comparable effect. It is important to note that both Schlegel and Schnaase were closely tied to the Romantic circle. Schadow, in particular, maintained a close friendship with Schnaase, and given his devotional approach to religious subject matter, it is probable that Schadow located his own artistic practice within this tradition. Again, if we view Nazarene paintings as reflections on history, then Schadow's art-historical inquiry appears

to have been fuelled not merely by a desire to emulate Renaissance artists, but also to continue in a long tradition of devotional images dating back to Byzantium, as he perceived *quattrocento* artists to have done.

The perception of Renaissance paintings as *Andachtsbilder* is not restricted to Schadow and the Düsseldorf School. A late text by Overbeck concerning the history of altarpiece images attests to the common historical foundation of Nazarene devotional painting. Overbeck's discussion begins with an effort to decipher the earliest altarpieces dating to antiquity. He asserts that the oldest representation to accompany the altar is the crucifix. Altarpieces were restricted to basic representations of this subject until the thirteenth century because "the purpose of visual representations in the church was none other than to aid in the devotion of the faithful, avert distraction as much as possible, and to concentrate thought on the subject of contemplation."[68] According to Overbeck, at the time when artists began, once again, to strive for greater naturalism, the repertoire for altarpieces likewise expanded. As the church commanded that the crucifix itself be on the altar, early elaborations included small-scale additions such as Mary and John. These dramatized crucifix images were still far removed from "momentary representations out of life."[69] At this stage, further experimentation with subject matter began to take place on predellas. Gradually, he explains, predella themes, such as depictions of the virgin with saints, pietà compositions, Christ surrounded by holy figures, and the birth or baptism of Christ, made their way onto the main altar panel. Nevertheless, "all these subjects are represented by the most knowledgeable masters in a way that is not meant to present the viewer with the historical details of the event...but much more, as it were, to only hieroglyphically recall the contained mystery."[70] For Overbeck, these compelling elaborations on devotional imagery also initiated the altarpiece's degeneration. Holding Perugino's biblical subjects against Raphael's *Entombment,* Overbeck argues that with the latter work we already witness a move toward liberal dramatization, marking a turning point in which representations previously resigned to church walls and domes, such as in S. Maria Maggiore and S. Paolo, make their way onto the altar.[71] The replacement of devotional images with narrative representations on the altar signified the final stage in the divorce of art from its theological foundation, and the beginning of its rise as a solely creative enterprise. Overbeck's discussion vividly evokes Ringbom's chronicle of the gradual shift from icon to narrative during the Renaissance. His text further alludes to defining moments in this transition, such as Rogier's adaptation of Fra Angelico's predella innovations for use on the altar. Written late in Overbeck's career, this art-historical study contextualizes Nazarene devotional painting as part of a struggle, shared by a generation of artists, to determine the genealogy of Christian art in order to redirect it back to its devotional foundation.

The birth of Nazarene devotional images coincided with the first efforts to theorize the changing nature of religious imagery during the Renaissance, and Nazarene paintings reflect the fruits of this historical investigation. As I have demonstrated, the Romantics were of the conviction that fifteenth and early sixteenth-century art found its sources in early Christian devotional images, rather than antiquity. The Nazarenes thus implemented a *Wiederherstellung*, or restoration, of a period they perceived to be congruous with the medieval image tradition; however, their definition of this tradition differs considerably from our modern one. Schlegel hints at this difference in one of the rare instances that he refers to images from before the time of Giotto: "For more than a thousand years, since the first concrete foundation of Christianity, one replicated the holy images designated for devotion in the same symbolic manner..."[72] Schlegel further characterizes this period as one of *Nachamerei* (imitation);[73] hence, he bears no understanding of the medieval importance placed on fidelity to the original in order to guarantee its spiritual presence in the new image.[74] The technical and compositional advances in devotional imagery implemented by Giotto and the Dutch forerunners of Van Eyck, do not, however, alter the *andächtig* function

of images; rather, they constitute "a new morning sun for Christian painting."[75] The Romantics clearly fused the concept of images before the era of art with that of art: there is no autonomous art as Christian images should be devotional, but a departure from the original does not devalue the spiritual capacity of the new image. The Nazarene re-working of earlier adaptations of devotional images is an expression of this historical conviction.

2. History as Performance: Art, Religion, and Truth in the Brotherhood of St. Luke

In addition to Nazarene devotional paintings, the original Brotherhood's 'historical' lifestyle is a telling source for understanding their perception of early modern religious imagery. As we have seen, the birth of modern historicism is reflected in various media during the Romantic period. The emerging history of art had repercussions in literature and the visual arts on both direct and indirect levels. For some artists, however, historicism infiltrated life itself: historical reflection transcended both pen and brush, and re-enactment became a way of life.

The idea of 'living history' to reflect on the past recalls recent developments in performance art. I want to diverge briefly and consider the objectives of contemporary re-enactments, as they are a useful means of conceptualizing Nazarene artistic practice. Turner Prize winner Jeremy Deller uses performance art as a medium through which to explore history. In 2001 he staged a re-enactment of the Battle of Orgreave, which took place on June 18th, 1984 in South Yorkshire during the UK miners' strike.[76] Deller characterizes his re-enactment as "living history."[77] He insists that the performance was not a nostalgic commemoration of the event, but rather addressed the manifold impact the strike had and continues to exert on the population.[78] Using re-enactment or performance as an artistic medium, *The Battle of Orgreave* offers a vivid rendering of a recent historical event. This handling does not manifest as a passive memorial, but rather as an active reflection – a reliving of the emotional content. Similarly, the essence of Nazarene historicism is a complex emotional engagement with the past that sought to come to terms with the present, rather than a nostalgic commemoration of a bygone era.[79]

The group of artists who would come to be known as the Nazarenes based on their long '*alla nazarene*' hairstyles, began their 'historical' re-enactment upon moving to Rome in 1809. They formed a secluded artist community in a monastery in S. Isidoro, and for two years they lived a communal life, residing together with monks. In the monastery, art and religion were inseparable. In a letter to his father, Overbeck wrote, "Now we thus become monks."[80] Overbeck based his enthusiasm for monasticism on his perception that Renaissance artists were particularly devout. Reflecting on Fra Angelico, he wrote, "How pure the soul of the pious Fiesole [Fra Angelico] must have been, how so entirely without longing, entirely devoted to the heavenly, that is Christian love! How strict and regulated his monastic way of life."[81] While the monk-artist persona is cultivated in Romantic literature,[82] it stems from Vasari's *Vite*.[83] Vasari characterizes Fra Angelico as someone who could not separate art from religion and attributes his artistic success to his treatment of art and religion as binaries: "Artists who devote themselves to work of a religious or holy kind ought themselves to be genuinely holy and religious…"[84] The early Nazarene artists' re-enactment of the monk-artist reveals their conviction that Renaissance artists were unable to separate their vocation as painters from their faith. It further implies a refutation of the role of artists during the Renaissance and, accordingly, questions the autonomous nature of art during this period.

The artist community's chosen name, the Brotherhood of St. Luke, is further indicative of their perceived relationship among religion, artists, and art during the early modern period. The reference to St. Luke is expected given his status as the patron saint of painting; however, Luke is also the 'original' painter in that he was, allegedly, the only one to have painted the Virgin

and Child from nature. He was, thus, the progenitor of the prototypes that governed devotional imagery throughout the Middle Ages – the supposed originals of which continued to draw a cult of worship in Rome well into the nineteenth century. Overbeck designed an emblem for the group with an image of St. Luke that was to appear on the back of every work painted by a member of the Brotherhood, like a stamp of authenticity. The emblem was also placed on a diploma awarded to each member, which bore the inscription, "To the enduring memory of the founding principle of our order, truth, and of the given promise, to stay true to this principle for our whole lives, to work towards it with all our strength, and to assiduously work against every academic manner..."[85] This act of 'signing' artworks recalls our modern notion of art and artists as autonomous. However, the collective nature of the Brotherhood of St. Luke and the emphasis on 'truth' in the diploma text challenge the importance of authorship in art. So what exactly was their 'stamp of truth' meant to signify?

What constitutes truth in painting for the Nazarenes transpires in their emulation theory. Grewe isolates two divergent types of emulation that existed at the turn of the nineteenth century: formal and spiritual emulation.[86] In principle, the Nazarenes rejected neoclassical emulation of form in favor of emotional engagement or spiritual empathy with their model; hence, they transformed the secular concept of emulation into a spiritual one.[87] Grewe further suggests that the Nazarenes' spiritual mimesis was an extension of *imitatio Christi* – the call to follow Christ promulgated by Thomas à Kempis' devotional text of the same name, which was widely read by the Nazarenes.[88] The only true object of emulation was, thus, not the work of another artist, but rather God, and as Grewe puts it, the Nazarenes "strove toward the Father through identification with the Son."[89] In addition to their interest in *imitatio Christi,* I propose that the Nazarene objective of empathizing spiritually with their model was motivated by their conception of Renaissance artistic practice. As discussed, the Nazarenes considered *quattrocento* art to be founded in early Christian sources, rather than antiquity; however, what they understood Renaissance artists to have extracted from these sources seems to have had little to do with form. Schlegel accounts for this paradigmatic variance, claiming that "the true source of art and beauty lies in feeling...religious feeling, devotion, and love, and precisely this internal, silent enthusiasm is what led the hand of the Old Masters."[90] Schlegel's definition of what constitutes 'Raphaelesque' respectively does not refer to form: "One may give this name to all that is of spiritual beauty and loving harmony."[91] Schlegel's continuum of Christian art is bound together by spirituality rather than strictly by formal properties.[92] His characterization of Old Master paintings hints at continuity between the spiritually charged icons of the medieval image tradition, and *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* art. If we view Nazarene artistic practice as a self-reflective re-enactment of history, then the act of spiritual emulation suggests a conception of Renaissance emulation as concomitant with spiritual transference, similar to how the painting of a new image of the holy subject in the Middle Ages guaranteed the spiritual presence of the original. For these self-proclaimed followers of St. Luke, spiritual presence is what constituted truth in painting, past and present. The Nazarene notion of spiritual presence was, nevertheless, not as primitive as that of the Middle Ages. While they believed in art's power to communicate spiritually on a transcendental level by way of devotion and reflection, they did not associate tangible miracles with images.

The Nazarenes did not consider spirit to be guaranteed by maintaining formal similitude to a given prototype. While they practiced *stylistic* emulation, they avoided photographic quotations of specific works of art. Their principled rejection of *direct* formal emulation likely prevented them from recognizing the medieval interdependence between formal likeness and spiritual presence. If not through form, then how was this presence guaranteed? Given that Nazarene discussions of religious painting are largely centered on the holiness of the creators of these images, it is plausible that the Nazarenes understood spirit to be assured by maintaining a likeness to the original author, rather than to the original image. The root of their choice to live as 'historical' artists was not simply

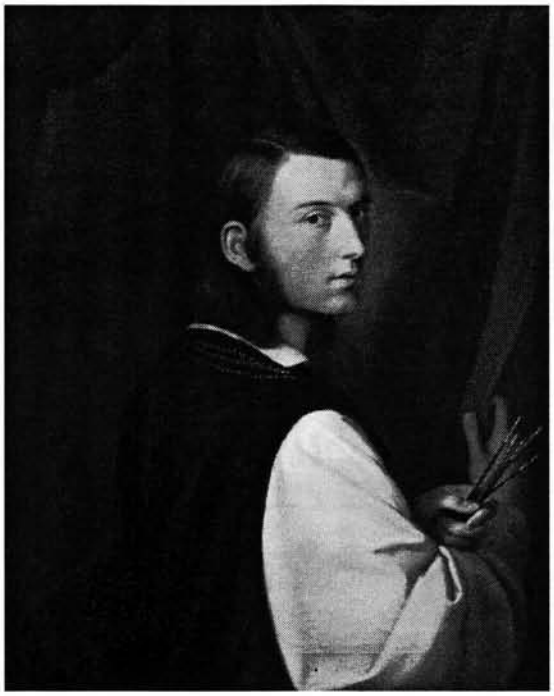
to emulate their precursors' aesthetic achievements, but also to perpetuate the spirit of a string of holy disciples of St. Luke, a spirit that they believed lay dormant since the time of Raphael. The Nazarene misconception of the medieval image tradition is likely related to the murky beginnings of our modern concept of art. Their perception of continuity between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance does not allow for a distinction between cult images and art: while the transition to an autonomous concept of art was more gradual than the Neoclassicists perceived, there was, nonetheless, a new significance attached to authorship as early as the thirteenth century. The Nazarenes, thus, confuse the relationship between likeness and spiritual presence, emphasizing the importance of the creator over the image and conflating two conflicting notions of art.

2.1 Identity Appropriation

As an actor interprets a historical character, Nazarene re-enactment likewise extended into the realm of identity appropriation. On a material level, they assumed the role of 'historical' Christian artists: they affiliated themselves with St. Luke, adapted their physical features to convey a likeness to Christ, and lived like monk-artists as Fra Angelico allegedly had done. In order to endow their paintings with metaphysical properties, they also appropriated spiritual identities. Traces of these historical (and spiritual) personas survive in Nazarene self-portraiture. How the Nazarenes interpret them elucidates their conception of early modern art and artists.

Johann Scheffer von Leonhardshoff (1795-1822) joined the Brotherhood of St. Luke in 1815. In his *Self-Portrait* (c. 1820-22) (fig. 4) completed shortly before his death, Scheffer assimilates several identities, which together reveal the complexity of his reception of Renaissance artists. The work is a citation of Raphael's portrait of Bindo Altoviti, which in the early nineteenth century was thought to be a self-portrait by Raphael.[93] Scheffer fashioned his features to those of the alleged Raphael, a gesture that naturally signals a desire to either assume or link his identity with the deceased artist. The portrait shows us Scheffer from the back, dressed in a black vest and a loose-fitting white blouse. His head is turned over his shoulder, and his eyes meet our gaze as he begins to draw a curtain. The brushes in Scheffer's hand lead the viewer to anticipate the unveiling of a work of art. Based on Raphael's status as a Christian painter in the nineteenth century, Grewe proposes the work behind the curtain represents a religious image.[94] Grewe further draws a connection between Scheffer's curtain and that of Raphael's *Sistine Madonna*.[95] The curtain is a recurring motif in Romantic art,[96] and given Scheffer's Raphaelesque self-fashioning and the widespread Romantic veneration of the *Sistine Madonna*, this reference is plausible. If Scheffer intended for this analogy, it is worth considering what it implies for his understanding of Raphael and the nature of Raphael's religious paintings.

The traditional fashioning of Raphael into a saint-artist contextualizes Scheffer's reference to the Old Master. Raphael was first granted divine status by Vasari's *Vite*, which claims the artist's birth and death coincided with Good Friday.[97] The Romantic circle further consolidated Raphael's status as a saint. For instance, August Wilhelm Schlegel referred to him as "Saint Raphael" and Johann David Passavant compiled passages according Raphael sacred status in his 1839 monograph on the artist. In addition to a general holy attribution, Raphael became affiliated with various biblical protagonists. The most prominent link is with Christ, which has a long-standing tradition in both painting and literature on art.[98] While the Nazarenes certainly encountered the analogy between Raphael and Christ, I propose that they held Raphael in closer affinity with St. Luke. Raphael's countless images of the Madonna and Child, along with the Romantics' frequent conflation of Raphael and St. Luke imagery, supports this association. In Wackenroder's passage "Raphael's Apparition" in the *Heart-outpourings*, for instance, the monk-narrator reports rummaging through papers in a monastery and discovering a letter from one of Raphael's colleagues. In the letter



(At left) Fig. 4 Johann Scheffer von Leonhardshoff, Self-Portrait, c. 1820-22, Oil on Canvas, 79 x 64 cm, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere, Vienna. Photograph courtesy of Österreichische Galerie Belvedere
(At right) Fig. 5 Johann Scheffer von Leonhardshoff, Standing Youth (Self-Portrait), Pencil on Paper, 180 x 97 mm, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Kupferstichkabinett, Vienna. Photograph courtesy of Akademie der bildenden Künste

Raphael's fellow artist recounts begging Raphael to disclose how he conceived such a profound image of the Virgin.[99] Raphael explains that one night he became so moved painting the divine subject that he experienced a profound vision of the Virgin manifest before him. This God-inspired vision is how Raphael gave form to the Virgin. In *Raphael's Vision* (1821),[100] from the *Scenes from the Life of Raphael,* Franz and Johannes Riepenhausen rendered Raphael's conception of the *Sistine Madonna* in a comparable manner. The idea of the Virgin's portrait appearing to the artist as an apparition features prominently in the visual arts: images of St. Luke painting the Virgin frequently show Mary as a vision, while Luke feverishly transcribes her likeness onto his canvas. The Romantics clearly forged a connection between St. Luke and Raphael's artistry, but they were not the first to link these two painters of the Virgin. A painting now attributed to Giovan Francesco Penni, *St. Luke Painting the Madonna* (ca. 1524),[101] portrays Raphael shadowing St. Luke as he paints the Virgin.[102] In this painting, Luke's vision of the Virgin closely resembles Raphael's Madonnas, implicitly attesting to the veracity of Raphael's portraits of the Virgin. The Nazarenes were acquainted with this image,[103] along with the iconography of paintings of St. Luke in general.[104] Against this background, Scheffer's allusion to a religious unveiling in his self-portrait *as Raphael* hints at Raphael's affiliation with St. Luke, and by extension, his own connection with both historical artists.

If Scheffer's appropriation of Raphael's identity conveys his historical perception of the artist as a successor of St. Luke, is it possible that Scheffer considered his self-portrait to represent the unveiling of an icon? Moreover, given the curtain's allusion to the *Sistine Madonna* and the

Nazarene conflation of imagery of St. Luke painting the Virgin with Raphael's conception of the *Sistine Madonna,* is it possible that the Romantics thought of Raphael's Madonnas as synonymous with icons? On one level, the elevation of artists to the status of saints is consistent with the nineteenth-century cult of artistic genius and the corresponding exaltation of 'autonomous' art; however, the Nazarenes' affiliation with St. Luke and their fanatical religiosity suggests that the St. Luke-Raphael analogy could have a retrograde significance. For instance, the *Sistine Madonna* holds a loose compositional affinity with the anomalous full-length icon of the Virgin and Child in the Pantheon, an alleged original by St. Luke. Given its location in the Roman Pantheon, this icon would have been known to the Nazarenes, and perhaps even associated with Raphael, whose tomb was located in the church. Another provocative indicator of the *Sistine Madonna*'s possible iconic status surfaces in contemporary debates over its original display context. In 1831, the important Berlin art historian Carl Friedrich von Rumohr proposed that the *Sistine Madonna* was originally a processional image rather than an altarpiece, and was paraded around the church interior and the city during religious festivals.[105] He arrived at this conclusion based on the fact that Raphael depicted the Virgin as an aerial apparition without a ground, and painted it on canvas rather than wood, as was conventional for altarpieces at the time. Whether the Nazarenes subscribed to such a theory is unknown, and despite the visible overlap between Raphael and St. Luke in the Romantic period, I have not encountered any evidence that confirms the Nazarenes believed Renaissance devotional images refer to older Lucan 'originals.' Nevertheless, there is a general iconographic correspondence between medieval icons of the Virgin and Child, and paintings of the same subject by Renaissance artists. As the Nazarenes considered the authenticity of religious images to be assured through the author rather than through formal likeness to the original, this iconographic parallel served as grounds enough for a perception of continuity between the two, both in devotional function and in spiritual presence.

If indeed the unveiling in Scheffer's *Self-Portrait* bears religious significance, then the image itself is noticeably absent. This absence illuminates a fundamental difference between Scheffer's work and Raphael's: while in the *Sistine Madonna* the curtain is already drawn and the vision revealed, Scheffer makes no such concession. A sketch generally linked with this portrait (fig. 5)[106] provides a potential explanation for this absence. The drawing shows Scheffer in three-quarter length with an ambiguous figure visible in the background. While the figure may represent an atelier painting or a visitor,[107] I think it was more likely conceived as a model either in the flesh or in the form of a vision. The presence of a vision would further support the link between Scheffer, in the guise of Raphael, and St. Luke painting the Madonna.[108] In the final self-portrait, Scheffer chose to omit the additional figure, focusing instead on the concealed canvas. A comment made by Thomas à Kempis, whom the Nazarenes studied and admired, may elucidate Scheffer's reason for re-conceptualizing his composition: "[A]bstract your mind from exterior cares, and turn all your thoughts towards the image of your crucified Lord. For by this you will be able to exclude alien images from your mind..."[109] Kempis proposes the value of a mental image over a material one. To a similar effect, Scheffer's self-portrait provides only meditative access to the holy figure. The viewer is left to construct the image in his or her imagination, *acheiropoieta,* or 'without human hands.'

My reading of Scheffer's self-portrait does not yet account for the historical reflection inherent in Nazarene works of art. As Werner Busch has noted regarding a particular Nazarene biblical painting, the "subject is not directly the Christian event itself, but rather the reflection in art, over the manner in which the Christian theme is conveyed through art."[110] If we consider Scheffer's painting as a reflection on the nature of Raphael's religious work, we encounter a dual significance: the importance placed on devotion in generating the religious image suggests Raphael's work accords the viewer a greater role in realizing his or her own spiritual revelation; at the same time, the imminent image, shrouded by the green curtain, can be seen as a metaphor for Raphael's

divinely inspired conception of the *Sistine Madonna*, echoing the supposed miraculous completion of St. Luke's image of the Virgin. Given that Scheffer's work is a self-portrait, it is likely meant to speak both of the past and present. The painting, thus, implies a palimpsest of St. Luke, Raphael, and Scheffer that does not simply conflate the three, but rather constructs a diachronic history of Christian art. There is a level of continuity between St. Luke, the progenitor of holy image prototypes, and Raphael, who elaborated these iconic images into more naturalistic representations that harbor an increasing spiritual subjectivity; Scheffer, or more generally the Romantic artists forming the Brotherhood of St. Luke, occupy the next stage in the edifice of Christian art, one in which the revelation is fully internalized.

Scheffer's genealogy of Christian art, conveyed through the appropriation of historical identities, contextualizes Nazarene devotional paintings. The Nazarenes observed continuity between the medieval and Renaissance image tradition, and through historical reflection they strove to recover and perpetuate this tradition. Nevertheless, they did not eschew change, nor did they deny the progress of their forerunners. While Enlightenment thinkers charted the birth of autonomous art by way of a rebirth of antiquity that freed art from its devotional function, the Nazarenes viewed Renaissance art as characterized by an increasing subjectivity that only intensified the work of art's spiritual capacity.

2.2 Pilgrimage

Anthropologists have treated medieval pilgrimage as 'performance,' or in other words, as the "presentation of a socially constructed self before others."[111] This performance is expressive and can also be creative.[112] Nazarene pilgrim performance is similarly telling on the subject of the Romantic conception of early modern art. The Nazarenes made pilgrimages through Italy, treating artworks and artists as objects of veneration. As discussed, Raphael was held as a saint, and respectively, his body and artworks were treated as holy relics. Several members of the Brotherhood of St. Luke even traveled to Urbino to pay homage to Raphael's birth town. The painter Franz Pforr vividly described this voyage, using multiple levels of religious imagery. Upon arrival, Pforr compares the landscape surrounding the city with the symbolic landscapes accompanying Raphael's many paintings of the Virgin,[113] implicitly equating Raphael's birthplace with the holy land. Pforr makes a direct analogy between the Brotherhood of St. Luke's voyage and a pilgrimage: "With the devotion of a pious pilgrim, who after endless steps finally arrived at the holy land, I rode by Overbeck's side through the old gateway..."[114] Pforr then anxiously inquires what traces remain of the artist: "Our first question was: where stands the house where the holy one was born, and what is still here that relates to him?"[115] The Nazarenes explicitly treat Raphael as a saint and traces of him as relics. On one level, the analogy between artists and saints, and their corporal remains and paintings as relics, is consistent with the nineteenth-century veneration of artists as liberators of art from religious obligation. And for many current art historians, late-medieval pilgrimage is significant precisely for its role in the development of a modern concept of art. Pilgrims' impassioned behavior toward images is often identified as one of the many defining moments in the late Middle Ages where images began to function as works of art. What started as a cult of worship surrounding images of 'divine' origin, completed *acheiropoieta*, gradually evolved to include man-made images. Hence, does Nazarene pilgrimage reflect a passive acknowledgment of the changing status of cult images into works of art and a celebration of the artist as progenitor of autonomous art?[116] While the Nazarenes pilgrimed to venerate art and artists rather than saints and relics, their fervent religiosity and objective of 'living history' fundamentally set them apart from their increasingly secular contemporaries. This distinction suggests the purpose of their re-enactment of pilgrimage was

ultimately holy, in the traditional sense of sacred travel. As the Nazarenes conflated Raphael and St. Luke, their pilgrimage to Urbino again delineates a concept of Raphael's Madonnas as indistinct from icons in function and spiritual presence. Nevertheless, as I have demonstrated, the Nazarenes did acknowledge a change in images from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. This change, however, did not rob art of its spirituality. Recent scholarship has shown that Renaissance artists were as interested in icons as they were in pagan antiquities, and as Ringbom illuminates, much *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* religious imagery is an extension of traditional icon types. I argue that the Nazarenes understood the transformation of art within this framework. An expansion of repertoire and a heightened naturalism opened more sophisticated channels of devotion, and for the Nazarenes, as long as art remained focused on religion, modernization did not strip art of its spiritual presence and function.

Conclusion

This article has endeavored to penetrate the Nazarenes' complex reception of early modern art. I have considered the Nazarene project in terms of a single synchronous phenomenon – the rise of history. Situated amidst the heterogeneous forces that gave rise to art history as a discipline, Nazarene art and behavior expose a degree of modernity in their anachronisms. Nazarene works of art reveal an advanced understanding of the gradual transformation of icons into devotional images and narrative hybrids. However, their investigation does not recognize the polarity between what is a cult image and what is a work of art. In fact, their notion of Renaissance religious images seems to oscillate conceptually between the two. Their paintings further indicate a struggle to reconcile two irreconcilable concepts of art – images restricted by their devotional function, and creative art, whose very autonomy exists because of its liberation from devotional responsibility. Nazarene artistic practice is, thus, characterized by irony: the artists operate within a modern concept of art and use this medium to reflect on the forgone devotional function of images. This ironic struggle nonetheless yields a more advanced understanding of early modern art than that of their contemporaries. Although Nazarene ideas on the Renaissance do not altogether intersect with our own, what their critical investigation of this epoch provokes us to ask is: did early modern artists perceive a clear distinction between artworks and cult images? And if so, was this difference as lucid as we understand it to be today?

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Notes

1 This paper stems from a graduate seminar led by Alexander Nagel in 2007, entitled "Renaissance Art Discovers the Icon." In this seminar we considered the possibility that Renaissance artists, such as Raphael, Bellini, and Mantegna, quoted specific icons in their devotional paintings, similar to the formal continuity maintained in the cult images of the Middle Ages. In light of a number of striking parallels with notorious Lucan icons in Italy, we also questioned whether Renaissance artists understood their devotional works to be fundamentally different from the production of icons. I found this proposition thought provoking given that the Nazarenes collapse this very distinction. While my succeeding argument is founded on revisionist scholarship on the Renaissance, apart from Sixten Ringbom I refer to very little recent scholarship in the body of my essay. The reason for this omission is that although the influence of icons on Renaissance art is an ongoing discussion in contemporary scholarship, very little has been published on the subject.

2 Throughout this paper I use the term Nazarene to refer to a group of German Romantic artists loosely tied together by their revival of Christian art and their corresponding investigation into historical painting. Although these artists shared

many concerns, their beliefs and approaches to biblical subject matter were not always unified, especially as the group expanded. I, thus, use the term mainly for convenience, and I do not intend to suggest that the Nazarene movement was homogeneous. On the varying stylistic and theological approaches to biblical subject matter among Nazarene artists, see Frank Büttner, "Die klugen und törichten Jungfrauen im 19. Jahrhundert. Zur religiösen Bildkunst der Nazarener," *Städel-Jahrbuch* 7 (1979): 207-230.

3 I will henceforth refer to the 'Renaissance' and the 'Middle Ages' without explanation. While the current tendency in scholarship is to avoid using these terms, I will continue to use them in their conventional sense to refer to their respective time frames for the sake of simplicity. My intention is not to suggest that history unfolds as a series of disconnected periods; rather, the terms are useful for my argument, in that they highlight the modernity behind the Nazarenes' refusal of this problematic periodization.

4 See for instance, Beat Wyss, "Die Erste Modernen," in *Religion, Macht, Kunst: die Nazarener,* ed. Max Hollein and Christa Steinle (Frankfurt: Schirn Kunsthalle; Cologne: W. König, 2005): 154-167; or Lionel Gossman, "Unwilling Moderns: The Nazarene Painters of the Nineteenth Century," *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 2:3 (Autumn 2003), <http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/autumn_03/articles/goss.html>. Cordula Grewe's recent book *Painting the Sacred in the Age of Romanticism* (Burlington, VT; Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2009) likewise seeks to position the Nazarenes within the narrative of modernism, but she does so by exploring the Nazarenes' rigorous investigation into historical systems of Christian iconography and typology. In other words, she seeks to expand or revise the conditions of modernism, rather than slotting the Nazarenes into the prevailing paradigm.

5 See Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Doornspijk, The Netherlands: Davaco, 1984).

6 It must be noted that not all Nazarene images were intended strictly for devotion. Art was also seen to have a didactic function, an important example being Schnorr von Carolsfeld's *Bible in Pictures.*

7 Novalis, "Aus dem 'Allgemeinen Brouillon,'" *Novalis Werke,* ed. Gerhard Schulz (Munich: Beck, 1987), 491. As cited and translated in Cordula Grewe, "Re-enchantment as Artistic Practice: Strategies of Emulation in German Romantic Art and Theory," *New German Critique* 94 (Winter 2005): 43.

8 Ernst Förster, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst,* vol. 3 (Leipzig: Weigel, 1855), 171; as cited and translated in Mitchell Frank, *German Romantic Painting Redefined: Nazarene Tradition and the Narratives of Romanticism* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2001), 147. "...so wenig konnte ein Bürger des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts sich die Augen des vierzehnten einsetzen lassen..."

9 Frank, 147.

10 Ibid., 155.

11 Friedrich Schlegel, "Über die deutsche Kunstausstellung in Rom, im Frühjahr 1819, und den gegenwärtigen Stand der deutschen Kunst in Rom," in *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe,* vol. 4, ed. Ernst Behler, et al. (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1958-), 251. "Dergleichen Worte sind von übler Wirkung; es sind Formeln der Täuschung, welche das Urteil ganz verwirren." Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

12 See Friedrich Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen aus Paris und den Niederlanden," in *Kritische Friedrich-Schlegel-Ausgabe,* vol. 4, ed. Ernst Behler, et al. (Munich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1958-), 7-152.

13 Walter Benjamin, "The Concept of Criticism in German Romanticism," in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 1, 1913-1926,* ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge, MA; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), 153.

14 Friedrich Schlegel, *Lyceum Fragments,* no. 117. As cited and translated in Benjamin, 153-4.

15 Peter Paret draws attention to the value of art as a historical document of its time and origin, beyond the artist's intentions. He points out that a painter who approaches a subject from an elapsed era may engage the past decoratively or explore it more critically. In turn, scholars may explore images or texts that reflect on actual events as documents of their time of origin. Paret sees this condition as particularly relevant for the Romantic period, in which art became so engaged with exploring history, that art itself became history. Peter Paret, *Art as History: Episodes in the Culture and Politics of Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988), 5.

16 Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture,* trans. Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton (La Salle, Illinois: Open Court Publishing Company, 1987), 5.

17 Ibid., 5.

18 Ibid., 15.

19 Ibid., 15.

20 Ibid., 23-25.

21 Anton Raphael Mengs, "Reflections upon Beauty and Taste in Painting," in *Neoclassicism and Romanticism, 1750-1850: Sources and Documents,* vol. 1, trans. and ed. Lorenz Eitner (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 32.

22 Ibid., 33-34.

23 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 56-57.

24 Ibid., 56.

25 Ibid., 50-52.

26 Ibid., 50.

27 Schlegel, "Über die deutsche Kunstausstellung in Rom," 240-41. "Was die Antike betrifft, so verkannte man dabei

noch obendrein die unermesslich große und ewige Verschiedenheit der beiden verwandten Schwesterkünste, der Skulptur und Malerei."

28 Schlegel did not depart entirely from the neoclassical paradigm. In line with Mengs he suggests that Raphael's eclectic emulation and rethinking of the style and manner of other kindred artistic spirits contributed to his universal style. Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 38-39.

29 Margaret Howitt, *Friedrich Overbeck: Sein Leben und sein Schaffen* (Freiburg: Herder'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1886), vol. 1, 68-69.

30 Friedrich Overbeck, "Der Triumph der Religion in den Künsten" (1840), in Howitt, vol. 2, 61-72.

31 Ibid., 61.

32 Ibid., 65. "dann Rafael in der Mitte aller derer, die auf ihn besonders Einfluß ausgeübt haben: nemlich auf der einen Seite Pietro Perugino, Ghirlandajo und Masaccio, auf der andern Fra Bartolomeo und Francesco Francia; er selber im weißen Mantel, der die Universalität seines Geistes symbolisirt, in welchem sich ebenso Alles, was man an Andern vereinzelt bewundert, vereinigt findet, wie der Lichtstrahl alle Farben in sich befasst."

33 Ibid., 71. "Michel Angelo hat von Bewunderung der Antike sich hinreißen lassen, diese gleichsam als neuen Götzen in seiner Schule aufzurichten."

34 Ibid., 71-72. "...Rafael fühlte sich nicht sobald in der Kraft seiner umfassenden Gaben, als auch ihn gelüstete die Hand nach dem Verbotenen auszustrecken. Und so ward denn die Sünde wahrer Apostasie in der Kunst um eben diese Zeit an vielen Orten zugleich vollbracht, indem man nicht mehr Gott dem Herrn mit der Kunst dienen, sondern sie selbst auf den Altar stellen wollte."

35 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 151-52. "Denn die altdeutche Malerei ist nicht nur im Mechanischen der Ausführung genauer und gründlicher, als es die italiänische meistens ist, sondern auch den ältesten, seltsamern und tiefsinnigern christlich katholischen Sinnbildern länger treu geblieben, deren sie einen weit größern Reichtum enthält..."

36 Cordula Grewe, "Historie ohne Handlung: zur Transzendierung von Zeitlichkeit und Geschichte," *Kunsthistorisches Jahrbuch Graz*, 27 (2000): 63.

37 Ibid., 63.

38 Below Christ is written, "Alles was der Vater hat, das ist mein" (John 16:15), under John, "Wer den Sohn Gottes hat, der hat das Leben," and under Matthew, "Selig sind, die reinen Herzens sind" (Matth. 5:8). As cited in Grewe, "Historie ohne Handlung," 63; *Kunst-Blatt*, ed. Ludwig Schorn (Stuttgart; Tübingen, 1826), 373f.

39 Grewe, "Historie ohne Handlung," 63. Grewe has conversely recently argued that Nazarene painters did not give the image iconic status, but rather allowed it to function as a sermon. In other words, they transformed the icon into a non-narrative but, nonetheless, discursive image. See Grewe, Painting the Sacred, 32.

40 Fra Bartolomeo, Christ and the Four Evangelists, 1516, oil on wood, Galleria Palatina, Florence.

41 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 14-15.

42 Chris Fischer, *Fra Bartolommeo: Master Draughtsman of the High Renaissance* (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, 1990), 323. A preparatory drawing shows that Bartolomeo originally intended to render the roundel as a globe. Ibid., 343.

43 For a discussion of the evolution of the *Salvator Mundi* icon type see Ringbom, 171-92. Bartolomeo's painting does not, however, enter Ringbom's discussion.

44 Schadow's Christ also bears a resemblance to Andrea del Verrocchio's *Christ and St. Thomas*, 1467-83, Orsanmichele, Florence, a work that explicitly influenced Bartolomeo's composition. Regardless of which work Schadow saw, if not both, my argument stands. Verrocchio depicts the moment when Christ bids the apostle Thomas, who doubted Christ's Resurrection, to feel the wound in his side for himself. Although Verrocchio renders a different subject, Christ's contemplative expression and Thomas' gesture toward Christ's wound, similarly assert Christ as the devotional focus.

45 Ringbom, 11.

46 Ibid., 12.

47 Ibid., 12.

48 An example being a close-up of the *Pietà* or the *Man of Sorrows* within the broader Passion narrative.

49 Karl Schade, *Andachtsbild: Die Geschichte eines kunsthistorisches Begriffs* (Weimar: Verlag und Datenbank für Geisteswissenschaften, 1996), 53.

50 Cordula Grewe, "Invention of the Secular Devotional Picture," *Word & Image* 16:1 (Jan-Mar 2000): 49.

51 Grewe, "Historie ohne Handlung," 71.

52 See for instance, Grewe, "Historie ohne Handlung," 64.

53 Fra Angelico, *Christ at the Tomb*, 1438-40, predella panel, San Marco altarpiece, tempera on wood, 38 x 46 cm, Alte Pinakothek, Munich.

54 Alexander Nagel, *Michelangelo and the Reform of Art* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 55.

55 Rogier van der Weyden, *Entombment of Christ*, c. 1450, oil on wood panel, 110 x 96 cm, Uffizi, Florence.

56 For a discussion of the progression of the Man of Sorrows icon type into Fra Angelico's predella painting and Rogier's Entombment see Nagel, 49-70.

57 Wilhelm von Schadow, *Glorification*, 1848-50, indian ink, 240 x 340 mm, collection of Mrs. Lissauer, Düsseldorf.

58 See Werner Busch, *Die notwendige Arabeske: Wirklichkeitsaneignung und Stilisierung in der deutschen Kunst des 19.*

Jahrhunderts (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 1985), 13-24.

59 Grewe, "Invention of the Secular Devotional Picture," 54.

60 Grewe, "Historie ohne Handlung," 75.

61 See Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des 'Schmerzensmannes' und der 'Maria Mediatrix,'" *Festschrift Max J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag* (Leipzig: 1927): 261-308.

62 Schade, 36.

63 Carl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste,* vol. 3, 2nd ed. (Düsseldorf: Julius Buddeus, 1843-1879), 281. "Unter den auf zahlreichen Tafelgemälde byzantinischen Ursprungs anzuführen, welche sich im Abendlande, besonders in Italien erhalten haben, wo im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert eine fromme Vorliebe für Andachtsbilder dieses Styles entstand."

64 Schnaase, vol. 3, 284.

65 Schnaase, vol. 8, 153. "Bei Weitem die meisten derselben sind Madonnen oder Andachtsbilder mit wenigen Figuren und in sehr kleiner Dimension…"

66 Ibid., 193-4. "die Zeit war vorüber, wo man sich einer contemplativen Mystik hingab, oder, durch den Gebrauch der kirchlichen Heilsmittel vollständig beruhigt, nur noch einen frommen Luxus in der Kunst suchte. Man fühlte die Notwendigkeit tieferer Anregung, heilsamer Erschütterung, wünschte daher die Passionsgeschichte oder Errinerungen an die Hinfälligkeit menschlicher Grösse vor Augen zu haben."

67 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 129.

68 Johann Friedrich Overbeck, "Altar-bilder" (ca. 1850), in Michael Thimann, "Hieroglyphen der Trauer: Johann Friedrich Overbecks 'Beweinung Christi,'" *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft,* 28 (2001): 231. "Denn da überhaupt der Zweck bildlicher Vorstellungen in den Kirchen kein andrer ist, als der Andacht der Gläubigen zu Hülfe zu kom[m] en, Zerstreuungen möglichst abzuwenden, und die Gedanken ganz auf den Gegenstand der Betrachtung zu conzentriren."

69 Ibid., 232. "momentanen Darstellungen aus dem Leben."

70 Ibid., 232. "…und zwar alle diese Gegenstände von den verständigsten Meistern so dargestellt, daß sie dem Beschauer nicht so wohl den geschichtlichen Hergang der Sache vor Augen stellen sollten, was ihnen allzu zerstreuend gewesen wäre, als vielmehr gleichsam nur hieroglyphisch an das darin enthaltene Mysterium erinnern."

71 Ibid., 232.

72 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 115. "Schon hatte man länger als ein Jahrtausend, seit der ersten festeren Begründung des Christentums, die zur Andacht bestimmten Heiligenbilder, immer in der gleichen bloß sinnbildlichen Weise…wiederholt."

73 Ibid., 123.

74 For a discussion of the reproduction and spirituality of medieval images see Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art* (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1994).

75 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 115. "...mit Giotto in Italien und mit den Vorgängern von Eyck in den deutschen Niederlanden eine neue Morgensonne für die christliche Malerkunst aufging…"

76 For a detailed discussion of both the event and the re-enactment, see Jeremy Deller, *The English Civil War Part II: Personal Accounts of the 1984-5 Miners' Strike* (London: Artangel, 2001). Deller compares the event to a civil war, of which the effects dilated to all levels of society in Britain. Appropriately, the project involved re-enacting the narrative of June 18th with accuracy and emotional truth as a means of commemorating the day. The performance took place on the original site and over eight hundred people, both former miners and actors from re-enactment societies across Britain, participated. A year's worth of archival research, in addition to extensive interviews with witnesses, went into the project.

77 Ibid., 6.

78 Ibid., 6.

79 There are of course significant differences between Nazarene performance and the parallel movement in contemporary art: the Nazarene re-enactment was a way of life, unconstrained by the limitations of time and space. For the Nazarenes, art and life were inseparable, and accordingly, it is appropriate to consider their re-enactment as a binary system of artistic and historical inquiry. While Friedrich Overbeck maintained his historical routine for most of his life, it is important to note that most of the Nazarenes eventually gave up their 'historical' lifestyle in order to take up academic positions in Germany and elsewhere.

80 From a letter written by Overbeck to his father, Rome, September 29, 1810; as cited and translated in Frank, 12. "Nun werden wir also Klosterbrüder."

81 Howitt, vol. 1, 182. "Wie rein mag die Seele des frommen Fiesole [Fra Angelico] gewesen sein, wie so ganz leidenschaflos, ganz der himmlischen d. i. der christlichen Liebe hingegen! Wie streng und pünktlich sein klösterlicher Lebenswandel!"

82 See above all W. H. Wackenroder and Ludwig Tieck, *Herzenergießungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbrüders,* 1797 (Stuttgart: Reclam Universal-Bibliothek, 2005).

83 For a discussion of the monk-artist persona, see Frank, 49-79.

84 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Artists,* vol. 1, trans. George Bull (London: Penguin Books, 1987), 204.

85 Howitt, vol. 1, 102. "Zur beständigen Erinnerung an den Hauptgrundsatz unseres Ordens, die Wahrheit, und an das geleistete Versprechen, diesem Grundsatz lebenslang true zu bleiben, für sie zu arbeiten mit allen Kräften, und hingegen

eifrig jeder akademischen Manier entgegen zu wirken..."

86 Grewe, "Re-enchantment as Artistic Practice," 49.

87 Ibid., 49, 53.

88 Ibid., 41.

89 Ibid., 41.

90 Schlegel, "Gemäldebeschreibungen," 149. "Die echte Quelle der Kunst und des Schönen aber liegt im Gefühl... religiöse Gefühl, Andacht und Liebe, und die innigste stille Begeisterung derselben war es, was den alten Malern die Hand führte..."

91 Schlegel, "Über die deutsche Kunstausstellung in Rom," 247. "...und die im Geist und in der Auffassungsweise wirklich Raffaelisch sind, wenn wir alles, was auch geistig schön und liebevoll harmonisch ist, so nennen dürfen."

92 It should be noted that Schlegel did acknowledge formal similarities between Nazarene paintings and those of early modern artists, but he stressed that the Nazarenes did not imitate specific models. "...bei den meisten ausgezeichneten Gemälden der neuen Schule ist es für jemanden, der viele Gemälde gesehen hat, oft wohl zu erkennen, daß der Künstler diesen oder jenen großen italienischen Meister der älteren Zeit mit besondrer Liebe betrachtet haben mag, wenn auch kein individuelles Vorbild nachgeahmt worden." Schlegel, "Über die deutsche Kunstausstellung in Rom," 251.

93 Roland Kanz, "Die Einheit des Charakters: Das Seelenhafte, Symbolische und Charakteristische in der Porträt-Äestetik der Romantik," *Zeitschrift für Ästhetik und allgemeine Kunstwissenschaft* 43:2 (1998): 233.

94 Grewe, "Re-enchantment as Artistic Practice," 69.

95 Ibid., 69.

96 See for example Marie Ellenrieder, *Maria mit dem Jesusknaben an der Hand,* 1824, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, or Wilhelm von Schadow, *Mignon,* 1826, Kunstmuseum Leipzig.

97 Vasari, 284, 320.

98 For a history of textual sources connecting Raphael with Christ, see Hugo Wagner, *Raffael im Bildnis* (Bern: Benteli Verlag, 1969), 16ff. Kanz and Grewe follow this line of thought, associating Raphael's identity above all with Christ for the Nazarenes. Hence, the Nazarene enactment of *imitatio Christi* extended into the imitation of Raphael. Grewe, "Re-enchantment as Artistic Practice," 54-55; Kanz, 230.

99 Wackenroder, 9.

100 The Riepenhausen Brothers, *Raphael's Vision,* 1821, watercolour, 48 x 50 cm, Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.

101 Giovan Francesco Penni, *St. Luke Painting the Madonna,* ca. 1524, oil on panel, 220 x 160 cm, Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, Rome.

102 The figure behind St. Luke was first identified as Raphael by Germiniano Poggi in 1652. Until the 1820s, the work was attributed to Raphael, and the figure was accordingly considered a self-portrait. For a history of attribution and reception see Wagner, 72-78.

103 In 1788 Goethe saw the painting in Rome, and it subsequently gained much popularity in the Romantic circle. Passavant considered it to be a self-portrait by Raphael. See Wagner, 76.

104 See for instance Joseph Sutter's drawing *Der heilige Lukas malt die Madonna,* 1818, Kunstmuseum Basel, or Edward Jakob von Steinle's painting, *Der heilige Lukas, die Madonna malend,* 1838, Oberösterreichische Landesmuseen Linz.

105 Carl Friedrich von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin and Stettin: Nicolai'sche Buchhandlung, 1827-31), vol. 3, 129-31.

106 Michael Krapf, *Johann Evangelist Scheffer von Leonhardshoff 1795-1822: Ein Mitglied des Lukasbundes aus Wien* (Vienna: Kommissionsverlag Anton Schroll & Co, 1977), 166.

107 Cornelia Reiter, *Such nach dem Unendlichen: Aquarelle und Zeichnungen der deutschen und österreichischen Romantik aus dem Kupferstichkabinett der Akademie der bildenden Künste Wien* (Munich; London; New York: Prestel Verlag), 120; Krapf 166f.

108 Reiter proposes that the drawing could refer directly to Penni's painting of Raphael shadowing St. Luke. Reiter, 120. While the subject of the drawing likely correlates with Penni's, a direct reference is not supported compositionally.

109 As cited in Ringbom, 22.

110 Busch, 97. "...sein Thema [ist] nicht direkt das christliche Ereignis, sondern die Reflexion in der Kunst über die Art der Aneignung des christlichen Themas durch die Kunst." Busch makes this point in his discussion of Overbeck's *Christus bei Maria und Martha* (1815), Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin. This work explicitly renders a biblical subject; however, portraits of Michelangelo and Raphael are conspicuously inserted as the Apostles.

111 Robert Maniura, *Pilgrimage to Images in the Fifteenth Century: the Origins of the Cult of Our Lady of Czestochowa* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), 90.

112 Ibid., 90.

113 Howitt, vol. 1, 137.

114 Ibid., 137. "Mit der Andacht eines frommen Pilgers, der die heilige Erde endlich nach manchem Schritt betritt, ritt ich an Overbecks Seite durch das alte Thor und ich war so ergriffen, dass ich der Wache auf ihre Frage nichts antworten konnte und sie uns auch auf die Versicherung unsers Führers ungehindert passieren ließ."

115 Ibid., 137. "Unsre erste Frage war: Wo steht das Haus, wo der Heilige geboren wurde, und was ist noch hier, was sich auf ihn bezieht?"

116 A contemporary piece of performance art by Francis Alÿs, *Modern Procession,* considers the invention of art precisely in this manner. To the beat of a Peruvian band, Alÿs paraded one hundred fifty people from the mid-town MoMA building to a temporary one in Queens on the occasion of the MoMA's renovation. They carried artist Kiki Smith in a palanquin, along with reproductions of works by Picasso, Duchamp, and Giacometti – all from the MoMa's collection. Echoing a religious procession, the parade reflects on the status of a work of art as an object of veneration, and furthermore, the place of religious ritual in the transformation of images from icons into works of art. See Pablo Lafuente, "Art on Parade," *Art Monthly* 280 (October 2004): 1-4.

The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's Sketchy Prints: *Alterstil* or Model Function?

Jasper C. van Putten

Introduction[1]

It has generally been thought that the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, also called the Housebook Master,[2] developed a so-called *Alterstil,* or old-age style, in his later prints.[3] This style is characterized by a freedom of line that is unprecedented in the Master's oeuvre as well as in prints by other artists of the time. Curt Glaser, who in 1910 first established the currently accepted chronology for the prints, described the style as "a freeing from all chains, a release from all cares about the craftsmanship of the work of art" that the artist was supposed to have achieved in his old age.[4] Glaser attributes a blend of technical *non-finito* and subjective artistic expression to the supposed artistic maturity that he perceived in some of the undated prints. However, written during the flowering of expressionism, Glaser's analysis probably resulted from the projection onto the medieval artist of Glaser's own values of artistic freedom, originality, and personal expression. Since the historical conditions for such modern notions of expression were simply unavailable to late medieval artists such as the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, it may be better to abandon the concept and explain this sketchy style by the very demands of medieval craftsmanship.

More recently, Jan Piet Filedt Kok characterized the supposed old-age style of the Master as a "free" and "sketchy approach" in which the line is "nervous and restless" with strokes that "appear to have been scratched hastily into the plate."[5] In addition, Filedt Kok noted that the compositions and religious subjects of most of these sketchy prints are commonly found in panel paintings of the period and suggested that the freedom of line and carelessness of finish might indicate that the prints were intended as models for panel paintings rather than as finished artworks. Filedt Kok's brief and tentative suggestion has not significantly influenced subsequent scholarship, which is still based on the chronology proposed by Glaser.[6] The purpose of this paper is to evaluate the consequences of Filedt Kok's remark and to present a new view on how the style of the prints might be related to their function as models. The style, I will suggest, might in fact be an essential aspect of this function, in that it emphasizes the same visual qualities that are found in the few paintings that are firmly attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, especially in their underdrawings.

After a short discussion of the evidence for the use of the Master's prints as models and the Master's print production within the broader context of his times, I will examine his supposed stylistic development. I will then compare the prints, first, to the so-called *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece,*[7] a contemporary panel painting, dated 1497 on the frame, whose figures and ornamental decoration are, in part, literal copies after several prints of the Master, and then to the underdrawings of other panel paintings, which are attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet himself. The main questions are: what visual effects were obtained in what I will call the Master's *sketchy style*? How are these retained in contemporary copies after the prints? Is the style truly comparable to the style of the underdrawings of paintings by the Master? And finally, to what extent is the relationship between print and copy comparable to the relationship between underdrawing and finished painting?

The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet worked in the Middle-Rhine region of Germany.[8] A convoluted web of stylistically related workshops characterizes the art production of this region. While the importance of the Master's work is generally acknowledged, the precise relationship

between his work and that of other workshops is highly contested.[9] I propose that the acceptance of the hypothesis that a certain portion of the Master's prints were intended as models will shed light both on the work of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet in diverse media such as prints, drawings, and paintings and on the nature of the relationships between the different workshops in the Middle-Rhine region.

Printmaking in a Culture of Manual Reproduction: Multiplication, Dissemination, and the Workshop Model

A central problem for scholarship on the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's prints is the relationship between their technique and intended function. The drypoint, the only print medium in which the Master is known to have worked, is deemed problematic because of its limited reproductive capacity. This casts doubt on why this medium was chosen over the singularity of drawing or painting or the larger editions that could be printed from woodcuts and engravings.[10] Probably in large part because pure drypoint prints cannot be reproduced in large numbers the Master's extensive oeuvre in this technique is an anomaly in the history of printmaking. Even artists such as Rembrandt, who used the technique both alone and in combination with other intaglio processes, could ill-afford to create their printed oeuvre in drypoint alone.[11]

The drypoint technique became more suitable for larger editions only in the second half of the nineteenth century, after methods were invented to cover copper plates with an iron layer to yield more impressions. Curiously, however, by then the technique's shortcomings on unhardened copper came to be valued in their own right. Many impressionists favored the drypoint precisely because of its fleeting effects, individualized impressions, and limited editions.[12] From this time onward the drypoint's inherent qualities accorded with modern conceptions of art that coupled the artist's personal expression with the singularity of his creations. Influenced by these ideas many scholars judged the rarity and originality of the Master's prints accordingly, attributing modern notions of expression or exclusivity to the prints that are inappropriate for the their time.

(Left) Fig. 1 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (attributed to), *The Visitation*, from the so-called *Mainz Life of the Virgin*, tempera and oil on panel, ca. 1490-1505, 51.8 in. x 29.9 in (131.5 x 76 cm). (Landesmuseum, Mainz, © Landesmuseum Mainz, Ursula Rudischer.)

(Right) Fig. 2 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *The Visitation*, ca. 1480-85, drypoint, 5.5 in. x 3.5 in. (14 x 8.8 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

The modern assumption of artistic expression in the Master's prints is reinforced because printmaking is generally associated with assertion of artistic authority that is typical for many renaissance prints, especially after Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528). A generation earlier Martin Schongauer (ca. 1430-1491) was the first engraver to consistently sign his engravings with a monogram to establish his artistic authority during the time in which the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet was active.[13] Albrecht Dürer started building on Schongauer's innovations and shaped his career by the dissemination of his printed works. As Joseph Koerner has argued, Dürer needed three ingredients to project his artistic authority in this way: first, a recognizable unique skill which only Dürer possessed, second, transmission and dissemination in multiple printed copies, and third, overt signs of authorship such as monograms and signatures.[14] Because later painter-printmakers generally fashioned their careers after Dürer's model, it is difficult for us to imagine a production of prints such as of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's that possess only the first characteristic, a high esthetic quality and distinctive artistic originality. Lacking significant dissemination and a monogram, it is highly likely that the Master's drypoints were used to preserve and replicate inventions but were not intended to broadcast the Master's artistic authority as Dürer's prints later would.

Instead, I propose that the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's use of the drypoint must be contextualized within a medieval workshop context. He worked in a time when the production and use of models and model-books, a genre already in transition, was significantly affected by print.[15] The fifteenth century saw the evolution from the established Gothic model-book, typically a collection of studies of individual motifs intended as a stock of exemplars to be reproduced in finished works, to the sketchbooks of Italy.[16] This new type of book can be distinguished from the earlier model-books in itstwider range of content and "the much greater freedom of treatment" of its subject matter.[17] Some of the Master's prints, such as the studies of infants and his famous *Scratching Dog,* come especially close to the drawings in these sketchbooks in that they portray typical poses of figures with little indication of their setting.[18]

In the later half of the fifteenth century, the changing status of the model was impacted by the growing production of woodcuts and the invention and the subsequent spread of the engraving technique. Both kinds of prints were frequently used as models and often collected by workshops for this purpose.[19] There is clear evidence that the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's prints were used as models at an early stage since there are many contemporary copies after the prints in woodcut, engraving, and on panel. Moreover, there is evidence on the prints themselves that many functioned as models over time, including the fact that the contour of one print is punched, some prints are reworked with ink, and there are stains of paint and ink on many others.[20] The most convincing evidence, however, that the prints also functioned as models in the Master's own workshop is found in two of the nine panels of the so-called *Mainz Life of the Virgin* cycle, a series of panels that probably once constituted an altarpiece attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet and workshop assistants.[21] The *Visitation* (fig. 1) and *Annunciation* panels of this cycle are clearly based on prints by the Master (fig. 2).

This abundance of evidence for the contemporary use of the prints as models never influenced scholarly notions of the Master's stylistic development or their assessment of the position of the prints within the Master's larger oeuvre. Instead, some scholars consider the prints as a somewhat separate entity because of their relatively large number, from which a logical stylistic progression can be inferred and extrapolated to related works in other media.[22] Panel paintings, manuscript illuminations, pen drawings, and stained glass windows, have been variously attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or related workshops.

The precise nature of the relationship between the Master's prints and connected works in other media remains, nevertheless, uncertain. Filedt Kok and the other contributors to the 1985 exhibition catalogue assumed that the Master and his workshop produced works in various media.[23]

Daniel Hess, however, thinks that the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet was just one artist, trained as an illuminator among a number of distinct but related workshops in the area who produced works in other media.[24] While Hess justly drew attention to the many workshops active in the Middle-Rhine region, the fragmentation that he proposed obscured the many stylistic relationships that can be discerned among works in different media from this area. Moreover, Hess's rejection of a systematic use of the prints as models makes it even harder to explain the causes of these connections other than by geographic proximity. I propose that a close examination of the use of the Master's prints as models in the workshop could reveal new ties in the intricate network of stylistically related workshops in the Middle-Rhine region.

Hess explained the Master's use of the idiosyncratic drypoint technique as an imitation in print of pen drawings that decorated pages of luxurious manuscripts. This scenario could be acceptable if Hess did not also explicitly restrict the audience of the prints to a select group of collectors, which according to him did not include artists' workshops.[25] Hess argued that the drypoint technique appealed to an elite audience that was appreciative of the limited edition as opposed to "mass-products," such as woodcuts, and was attracted to the soft, fleeting, and sketchy quality of the technique.[26] In doing so, Hess simultaneously misrepresented the functions of early prints, the eclectic taste of early collectors, and the status of collecting prints and drawings in the late fifteenth century.

The Master was active during a transitional period in which prints did not yet function as an independent medium separate from similar hand-made works. Prints of all kinds functioned as substitutes for illuminations and were pasted in manuscripts and printed books, but were also used as models or pasted on objects as decoration.[27] While it is therefore highly likely that the Master's prints in part functioned as book illustrations and ended up in early collections, it is highly doubtful that the drypoints were purely aimed at an exclusive audience of connoisseurs. Indeed early collectors, such as Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) whose practice of pasting prints in the books of his library is cited by Hess as proof, collected both drawings and miniatures, as well as woodcuts, engravings, metal cuts, and paste prints, quite irrespective of any aesthetic logic that is recognizable to the modern eye.[28]

Hess is misguided, moreover, in making a sharp distinction between the drypoints' possible function as highly prized collectibles and their use as workshop models. In fact, artists' workshops were among the first collectors of prints and drawings precisely because of their need for models.[29] It is plausible that Baron Pieter Cornelis van Leyden (1717-1788), from whose collection the eighty impressions now in Amsterdam derive, acquired these *en bloc* from an artist's workshop collection.[30] Hess's insistence, moreover, that the small editions made the Master's prints unsuited for use as models contradicts his own statement elsewhere that drawings would have sufficed for this task.[31] Any models, as important assets to the workshop were by no means inexpensive, and it is presumptuous to assume that only mass-produced engravings would have suitably performed this function.[32] For use in the Master's own workshop, new impressions could be taken whenever older impressions became worn, and modest editions would have been enough for the task. It is also likely that different, but related, workshops used the same inventions.[33]

The compelling evidence of the use of the prints as models might thus be reason for a further investigation of the intended function of the prints and of their relation to the paintings. Understanding of these issues is hindered by the modern notion of the reproductive print, which is not applicable to prints of the period.[34] Comparison to a well-documented example of inter-media interaction in Italy at a slightly later time brings these aspects of the Master's print production into sharper focus. A generation after the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, the famous collaboration between the Italian engraver Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480 - c. 1534) and the painter Raphael of Urbino (1483-1520) evidences a strong but complicated connection between paintings, prints, and drawings. Raphael first provided Raimondi with designs in drawing that often also served as preparatory drawings for Rapaael's paintings. Subsequently, as Lisa Pon has shown, Raimondi adapted

these inventions through an elaborate nexus of interpretations to produce engravings that must be regarded as separate works of art rather than reproductive copies.[35] Copying in his case consisted of interpreting an artistic invention across various media in preparation for a new work of art.

Compared to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet we can discern major differences in the position of the printmaker and his profession. The first is the artistic authority projected by engraved signatures in Raimondi's prints, which trough designations such as *fecit* [made] and *invenit* [invented] specifically distinguish the role of printmaker and designer within the artistic process in some of the prints.[36] The second distinction is the status of printmaking as a profession. The professional engraver Raimondi had to establish his authority through such specific signatures precisely because, in contrast to the Master, Raimondi's income depended solely on his prints.[37] It is significant therefore that Raimondi signed only circa half his prints. David Landau explained this inconsistent practice by major developments in Raimondi's artistic career.[38] Raimondi signed most of his early work in Venice and developed an ever more prominent and specific system of signatures after he moved to Rome in the 1510s, probably to establish the name of his workshop.[39] The number of signed prints decreased in Raimondi's later years in Rome. This has been explained by a lesser need for signatures for lack of competition since, contrary to Venice, Rome lacked other workshops of distinguished engravers at this time.[40]

Regional differences in the print market between Rome and the German Middle Rhine area enhance the contrasts between the two artists. In contrast to the lack of competition in Raimondi's Rome, the intensely competitive German market of prints was dominated by established German printmakers such as Martin Schongauer and Israhel van Meckenem (ca. 1440-1503) in the Master's time. Signatures and monograms were the principal means by which these artists established their names throughout Germany and beyond, claimed authorship of their designs, and appropriated the designs of others. Van Meckenem developed a new market strategy that consisted of "pirating" prints by other artists. The prominent placement of van Meckenem's signature and/or monogram allowed this shrewd entrepreneur to claim others' inventions as his own and establish his name primarily through copies and reworked plates that he acquired.[41] Monograms and signatures were thus not always reliable signs of authorship but powerful claims to such authorship and means to at least attempt some exertion of control over the printed design. In this intensely competitive environment, the absence of signatures and monograms on the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's prints might signify not only their limited dissemination, but also their position somewhat outside the competitive German print market that was still within the realm of the artist's control. The Master's own workshop or a cluster of professionally related workshops was precisely such an environment.

Because of these differences it is likely that the relative position of prints within the nexus of workshop copies is also dissimilar. Many of the anonymous prints by the Master seem to have functioned more like Raphael's unsigned preparatory drawings than Raimondi's engravings: as intermediaries for the transmission of the artist's invention rather than as finished works of art. I argue that the Master's drypoint prints were treated as elements comparable to model-book drawings within the larger nexus of the traditional medieval workshop production that depended on predominantly hand-made copies and slight variations of common themes across different media.[42] I propose that this function as workshop model impacted the style of some of the Master's prints. Like the underdrawings of paintings, the forms can be less restrained by conventional finish but must boldly and clearly show certain specific elements of the finished works in whose creation they assisted.

Stylistic Development and Determined Application of the Drypoint Medium

The print oeuvre of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet consists of one hundred twenty-two impressions of drypoints from ninety-one designs, none of which are dated by the artist.[43] Only

copies after the prints that have been published in books provide some evidence for their dates and for the assumption that the Master worked between circa 1470 and 1500.[44] While most scholars agree that it is at least possible to trace a general stylistic development for the prints of the earlier and middle periods, dating individual prints is highly problematic.[45]

The current unanimously accepted account of the Master's stylistic development is based on Glaser's chronology of the prints.[46] The early period (circa 1470-75) is characterized by a simple use of hatching, a still limited ability to suggest volume, and small, stocky figures (fig. 3).[47] The prints from the middle period (1475-80), such as the *Escutcheon with the Arma Christi and the Virgin and St. John* (fig. 4), show greater depth and more variety in the hatching. Following this, tenuous lines created with an extremely fine needle characterize the so-called "court period," or "the period of prints made with a fine stylus" (1480-88).[48] This progressive refinement is consistent until the last period (around 1490, figs. 5 and 11). In sharp contrast to the earlier years, the lines of the prints from this period are characterized as *free, sketchy,* and *agile.* Although hatchings are used, they are employed very irregularly. It is generally assumed, as Filedt Kok states, that the artist changed his style "because this [process of increased] refinement of the drypoint technique [seen in the earlier prints] cannot be traced any further."[49] Implicit in this account is the assumption that the Master developed an old-age style defined by *non-finito* and subjectivity as Glaser proposed. Although Filedt Kok himself casts doubts on this notion, the chronology that was proposed in his catalogue still, "rarely differs in essence from Glaser's."[50]

Kok's account focuses entirely on the character of the lines described as clumsy, refined, sketchy, nervous, and free, without giving enough attention to the visual effects intended by the artist[51] or the characteristics of the drypoint technique itself.[52] In Filedt Kok's and Glaser's chronologies, lines are seen as means to create hatchings, as in a drawing or an engraving. The Master distinguished himself, however, from other printmakers from this period through his use of the drypoint technique to create subtle gray tones that cannot otherwise be obtained in an engraving.[53] It is important to note that the very technique of creating tones by means of hatching was first developed in glass painting and in the underdrawing of panel paintings, two media in which the Master and related workshops excelled, before it was applied to woodcuts and engravings.[54] The Master conceivably developed the elaborate use of hatchings in his drypoints within the context of these other media instead of the regular market of prints.

It has been shown that the Master's underdrawings constitute a tonal preparation for the modeling of volumes in his paintings. I will submit that the same effects in the prints also had a comparable purpose associated with their use as models. First, however, it must be demonstrated how the Master employed the idiosyncratic drypoint technique to achieve such effects in his prints. The analysis below indicates that in part due to the technical characteristics of the drypoint, the rendering of light and dark and surface textures were mutually exclusive: the artist is unable to create plausible surface textures in an area that is heavily shaded and vice versa. This resulted in two kinds of prints, those in which the emphasis is on surface textures and others in which the modeling of forms through light and shadow is predominant. The examination below of the underdrawings of the paintings that are attributed to the Master suggests that the modeling was an aspect that was specifically carried over into the finished paintings. Since both underdrawings and prints created for use as models constitute an example for the painter to follow, the attention to modeling in a distinct group of prints is significant for their function as model.

In the early prints, light and surface texture are not represented beyond a general modeling of forms. This changes in prints that are believed to be from the middle period, as in the Arma Christi (ca. 1475-80 fig. 4). This print is not regarded as one of the prints that display the old-age style because it is dated earlier, based on the stocky figures and a woodcut copy of 1482. However, the Arma Christi does share many characteristics with the prints that are regarded as members of the

(Above Left) Fig. 3 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Christ as the Good Shepherd*, ca. 1475, drypoint, 4.4 in. x 3.3 in. (11.3 x 8.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

(Above Right) Fig. 4 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Escutcheon with the Arma Christi and the Virgin and St. John,* ca 1475-80, drypoint, 4.8 in. x 4.1 in (12.1 x 10.3 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

(Left) Fig. 5 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Virgin Enthroned, Adored by Angels*, ca. 1490, drypoint, 5.1 in. x 3 in. (12.9 x 7.7 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

sketchy group. Both rely heavily on hatchings that suggest the effects of light rather than surface textures. The composition of the Arma Christi is centrally arranged around the frontally depicted head of Christ wearing the crown of thorns with St. John the Evangelist and the Virgin on either side and the symbols of the passion displayed behind the head of Christ and on the shield below it. Light is fundamental to this composition, and effects typical of drypoint are used to depict light and shadows around and behind the head of Christ, on and between the ornamental foliage and on the wall in the background. This depiction of light prevails over the suggestion of different surface textures. All objects are defined with similar parallel hatchings and crosshatchings. The light makes the different layers of objects distinguishable in the relatively shallow space, and it guides the viewer. The head of Christ, for instance, is set apart and becomes the center of attention by means of a frontal illumination, with shadows behind and around it.

A similar free and sketchy style as in the Arma Christi is deemed characteristic of the later prints such as The Virgin Enthroned, Adored by Angels (circa 1490, fig. 5). Again, the effects of the drypoint are almost solely deployed to create illusions of light and shadow. Dark shadows are depicted around the keystone of the vault, the twigs and leaves in the arch and the left side of the throne. The surface textures of the central pair and the surrounding angels are treated in a different way but only to differentiate between the central figures, side figures, and the background. The Virgin's hair is portrayed as very curly, by means of dark, velvety lines, while the faces of Mary and Christ are shaded with very fine lines. The angels, on the other hand, are depicted in little detail, with uniform, broad lines. The result is an image in which light plays the most important role, highlighting the centrally depicted Madonna and determining the mood of the scene. A similar emphasis on light and modeling can be seen in all other prints of this group, such as The Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon with Book and Starry Crown (fig. 11). Much care has been given to the fashioning of the Virgin's robe in grayscale.

How different is The Young Man and Death (circa 1485-90, fig. 6), which stands out for its detailed depiction of surface textures. The position of this print in the Master's stylistic development is rather precarious. In his essay on the Master's development Filedt Kok regards it as a typical example of the so-called "court period," based on the fine hatching. In the catalogue entry, however, the print is dated later. We see a young man standing next to Death against a blank background. The cloth of the young man's shirt, seen on his right arm, is depicted with little dots and speckles that suggest a velvet-like texture while the cloth that protrudes from the slits in his sleeves is left without texture except for the folds, suggesting a smoother silk fabric. The overcoat that the man wears over his left arm, however, is covered with short crosshatchings, suggesting a rougher textile. Details like the toad in the lower right corner are rendered in an equally precise manner. Contrary to the previous print, shadows are depicted sparsely.

A similar attention to surface texture can be observed in The Turkish Rider (ca. 1490, fig. 7). The sleeves of the rider are of a shimmering textile, like silk or velvet, with a pattern of folds. Another interesting surface texture is that of the drumhead, which is very lightly hatched to create the slightly worn texture of a used drum. This print is regarded as a very late work as it was in all likelihood based on a drawing by Erhard Reuwich, the illustrator of Breydenbach's famous book on his travels in the East, the Peregrinationes in Terram Sanctam (Mainz, 1486). The print is thought to have been made at least after Reuwich and Breydenbach returned from their travels in 1484. The proportions of the figure and the use of atmospheric perspective in the landscape background are both features that appear in Durer's prints of the 1490s and support this late decade dating.

Although there is a visible development in the suggestion of light and surface textures from the early prints to those of the middle and later periods, analysis has identified two kinds of prints: those in which the surface textures are most prominent, like the Young Man and Death and The Turkish Rider (figs. 6 and 7), and those in which the play of light is most important, like the Arma

Christi, the Virgin Enthroned, Adored by Angels and The Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon with Book and Starry Crown (figs. 4, 5 and 11). This is an important distinction that has not been previously asserted.

It becomes clear that the refinement and the freedom of the lines are used to create different visual effects and are thus not necessarily related to a stylistic development. The relation between the style and the estimated dates of the prints must therefore be questioned. Supposedly late prints like the Young Man and Death (fig. 6, ca.1485-90) and the Turkish Rider (fig. 7, ca. 1490), which is dated late on the basis of reasonable external evidence, are not, in fact, particularly sketchy in style. The Arma Christi (fig. 4), while placed in the middle period (ca. 1475-80), shares the emphasis on light over surface textures with the supposedly late prints. This is not to deny that many of these prints could well have been made late in the Master's oeuvre if the proportions of the figures or outside evidence suggest a later date. However, their sketchy style and the effects it generates cannot be explained to result from an old-age style. If the described stylistic effects are not necessarily the consequence of an artistic development, they require other explanations.

It is important to observe that there are no prints in which both surface textures and light have been given equal attention.[63] This may partially result from the technique because the drypoint medium does not allow different layers of transparent glazes to build up an image, as in painting. The technique therefore prompted the Master to choose his effects, as he could not paint the surface textures first and then apply the shadows over these in a transparent layer.[64] Because of the starkly different results, these specific stylistic choices were probably made deliberately rather than resulted from a gradual development. I propose that the Master's focus on the effects of light and shadows in the sketchy prints was related to their model function.

(Left) Fig. 6 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Young Man and Death*, ca. 1485-90, drypoint, 5.6 in. x 3.4 in. (14.1 x 8.7 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.) (Right) Fig. 7 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Turkish Rider*, ca. 1490, drypoint, 6.4 in. x 4.3 in. (16.3 x 10.8 cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)

Tonal Preparation for Panel Painting in Underdrawing and Print

Filedt Kok has observed that all prints that share the sketchy style are religious prints with themes that were common in panel paintings. He reasons that the Master never intended to sell these prints, but that they were kept in the workshop as models for paintings. The freedom of the lines is attributed to the fact that the prints were not finished artworks. Accordingly, no prospective buyers would judge them as such. The sketchiness of the lines is thus related to the careless preparation of some plates and the bad printing of others, something that is indeed much more pronounced in the religious prints.[65]

It follows that prints intended for workshop use could be freer in style than prints intended as finished artworks. For instance, some drawings from this period that were apparently designs for altarpieces show a very rough-hewn style (fig. 8).[66] Elements that are found in many of the Master's sketchy prints are rather similar to these designs: foliated arches frame these scenes, and the perspective of the depicted space is exaggerated in a way that is often found in sculpted altarpieces.[67] A design of a winged altarpiece (fig. 8) attributed to the Master of the Drapery Studies who was active in Strasburg between circa 1485-1500, for instance comes especially close to the Master's *The Virgin Enthroned* (fig. 5).

Daniel Hess has more recently disputed that the Master's prints were intended for systematic use as models. Daniel Hess states that in one hundred years of research, "a disconcerting feeling" remained in comparing the paintings and the drypoints because the paintings "lacked the energy and freshness of the prints." In addition he argues that the development one sees in the Master's prints "is missing, if not indeed reversed, in his paintings."[68] Such problems would be partially solved by the hypothetical acceptance that the prints were used as models in the Master's own workshop and intended only to be used as such. The "fresh" appearance would naturally be lost in many interpretations and copies of the prints. Even the panel paintings that are ascribed to the Master himself will be less dynamic than the prints, as the media are not readily comparable.[69]

Hess's argument that the panel paintings do not follow the stylistic development can be explained in two ways that support the prints' possible function as model. First, as argued above, the latest phase of the development of the prints might not have been a distinct phase in the artist's development, and second, the earlier development that is visible in the print *oeuvre* will be lost in the paintings if early prints were used as models for paintings in a later period. Examples of this are the *Annunciation*[70] and the *The Visitation* (fig. 1) from the Mainz *Life of the Virgin* cycle. While the year 1505 is inscribed on the panel of the *Annunciation*, the prints (fig. 2) have been dated between 1480-85 on stylistic grounds.[71]

The stylistic dependence of paintings on their models in terms of tonal qualities and surface textures is better visible in the so-called the *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece* (fig. 9) because it follows the general forms of its models more closely. This painting, inscribed 1497 on the original frame on top of the middle panel, is a pastiche of different designs taken from various prints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet and by Martin Schongauer. The altarpiece hung in the church in Nieder-Erlenbach until 1885 when it was acquired by the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt.[72] It is thought that the unknown master who painted the altarpiece worked in Frankfurt am Main to which the village of Nieder-Erlenbach, currently a district of Frankfurt, was subjected at the time.[73] The central figures of the Virgin and Christ (fig. 10) are literal copies of the Master's *Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon with Book and Starry Crown* (fig. 11). The decorative arches of foliage (figs. 9 and 12) are also based on prints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet.[74] Foliated arches like these are common in altarpieces from the Middle-Rhine area, and we find them in six of the Master's prints (figs. 5 and 13).[75] The most literal copy frames the upper left and the lower right scenes (fig. 12) and is taken from the *Pair of Lovers* (fig. 13). The fact that these foliated arches have

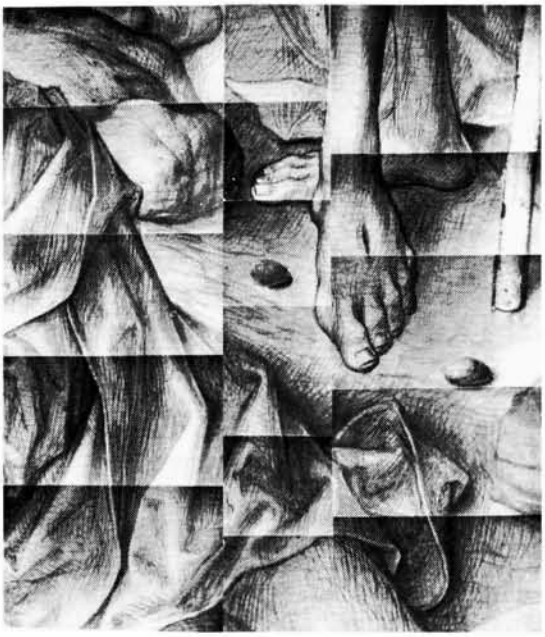
been copied indicates that the Master's prints were used as models for all kinds of elements from the central subject to the decorations at the margins.[76] This citation from the *Pair of Lovers* indicates that prints other than the so-called free prints were also used as models and that elements could be extracted from the prints and executed in a very different context.

Let us now take a closer look at the figures in the altarpiece. St. Michael on the central panel, the six apostles on the inside of the right side panel, and the Annunciation on the outside of the left side panel are all directly based on engravings by Martin Schongauer.[77] Comparison of the figures of the altarpiece with the original prints shows that the draughtsman who copied them was mostly interested in the general forms of the figures and the careful modeling of the draperies. All other details, such as the faces and the surface textures, were either replaced or copied very freely. The face of Schongauer's *St. Michael* for instance was substituted in the painting with a facial type that comes much closer to the faces that we see in the prints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, indicating the stylistic proximity of his workshop to that of the Master who painted the *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece*. The same attention to the modeling of forms, carefully based on the print, can be seen in the central figures of the Virgin and Christ (figs. 10 and 11). The execution of the Virgin's robe with strong shadows has been transferred from the print, while the texture of the cloth under the Christ child and the flower pattern of the Virgin's under-dress have been invented anew by the painter.

Fig. 8 Master of the Drapery Studies, *Winged Altar with the Virgin Crowned by Angels, and Saints,* ca. 1485-90, pen and brown ink with traces of black pencil, 10 in. x 10.4/10.6 in. (25.5 x 26.4/27 cm, irregularly cut). Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin. (© Kupferstichkabinett. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. KdZ 1203)

Fig. 9 Master of the Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece, *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece*, 1497, tempera, oil, laquer and gilded background on panel, central panel with frame: 4 ft. 1.5 in. x 3 ft 10 in. (126 cm x 117 cm), wings each with frame: 4 ft. 1.5 in. x 1 ft 10.8 in. (126 x 58 cm). Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt. (Photograph provided by the Hessisches Landesmuseum, Darmstadt.)

(Left) Fig. 10 Detail of the central panel of fig. 9.
(Center) Fig. 11 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon with Book and Starry Crown*, ca 1490, drypoint, 7.4 in. x 4.8 in. (18.9 x 12.3 cm). Bibiotheque Nationale, Paris. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.)
(Right) Fig. 12 Detail of the right-panel of fig. 9.



(Above Left) Fig. 13 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, *Pair of Lovers*, ca. 1485, drypoint, 6.6 in. x 4.3 in. (16.8 x 10.8 cm). Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. (Photograph provided by the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

(Above Right) Fig. 14 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (attributed to), *Resurrection of Christ*, ca. 1480-85, infrared reflectogram of the underdrawing in brush, detail, 8.7 in. x 7.5 in (22.1 x 19 cm), measures of the whole panel: 4 ft. 3.5 in. x 2 ft. 5.9 in. (131 x 76 cm). Netherlands Institute for Art History. (IRR: © Prof. Dr. J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer/ Stichting RKD. Courtesy of Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.)

(Left) Fig. 15 Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet (attributed to), *Resurrection of Christ*, from the so-called *Speyer Altarpiece*, ca. 1480-85, paint and gilding on panel, detail, 8.7 in. x 7.5 in. (22.1 x 19 cm), measures of the whole panel: 4 ft. 3.5 in. x 2 ft. 5.9 in. (131 x 76 cm). Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main (Courtesy of Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.)

The emphasis on the depiction of light and the modeling of forms that was characteristic of the free prints becomes understandable if these prints were intended as models for the figures in panel paintings like the *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece*. Details and surface textures in the paintings were open to invention, and therefore not included in the prints. The agile, flowing lines on the other hand prepare the basis for the attentive, tonal rendering of the draperies of the figures, an all-important element that was copied onto the paintings.

The drawing style of the sketchy prints has a clear counterpart in the underdrawing of the panels that have been attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet.[78] These are precisely and carefully executed with a fine brush, in stark contrast to the underdrawings of many of the Master's contemporaries that are often limited to a few contours and some broad hatching. Volumes in the underdrawings of the panels of the *Speyer Altarpiece* (figs. 14 and 15) are suggested with subtle networks of hatching. A wide variety of gradations are achieved with hatching and cross-hatching of different densities built up in different layers to give volume to the figures. The direction of the line clusters shapes the inclination of the forms in pictorial space. Filedt Kok observed that these subtle but elaborate tonal drawings seem to "constitute a sort of under-modeling of the paint layer."[79]

The stylistic similarity between the sketchy prints and the underdrawings can be clearly seen in a comparison of an area in the underdrawing from the *Resurrection of Christ* from the *Speyer Altarpiece* (fig. 14) with similar passages in the drypoint of *The Virgin Enthroned* (fig. 5).[80] The drapery of the cloak of one of the soldiers, bottom-left in the detail of the underdrawing, is executed with long dense passages of hatchings that follow the vertical directions of the folds and shorter, curved hatchings that create volume in a way similar to that of the robe of Mary in the drypoint. The shadows on the ground are created by layers of agile hatchings in different directions. The skin of the feet is built up in delicate gray tones made of fine hatchings and is comparable to the way that the skin is treated in the prints. Both the underdrawing and the print show the same freedom in the lines and the same variety of hatchings. This results in a wide range of gray tones at the expense of contours and surface textures.

This strong similarity between preparatory drawings hidden under layers of paint and the prints seems strange, however, if the latter were considered finished works of art. Would the Master not try to achieve the same sharp contours and smooth, detailed qualities of his finished paintings (figs. 1 and 15), rather than imitate or retain the linear freedom and agility of the lines in his underdrawings?[81] Could it be that the sketchy style was the graphic equivalent of hatchings in the underdrawing and that such prints were intended as a preparation for the modeling of the forms in paint? In this case the freedom in the lines would have two causes. First, the prints were indeed not intended as independent works of art, as Filedt Kok has proposed, and second, the loosely hatched parts of the prints were intended to guide the draughtsman in rendering the effects of light and modeling in the final image.

Final Considerations

Building on Filedt Kok's hypothesis, it has been proposed here that a certain group of prints by the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet was intended as a series of models for use in the workshop. The initial reason for this suggestion has been the stylistic idiosyncrasy of these prints, which show a freer handling of the lines that results in a tonal rendering of modeled forms and a bold depiction of light at the expense of surface textures. Exactly these aspects were faithfully copied in the *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece*. The same characteristics were found, moreover, in the underdrawings of panel paintings that are attributed to the Master. Although these similarities do not prove an intended function for these prints, the acceptance of the hypothesis would explain the fact that the panel paintings do not show the same variety as the prints and that they do not seem to follow the

stylistic development that can be discerned in the print *oeuvre*. A systematic comparison of the prints and the underdrawings further establish a positive relationship between style and function as demonstrated here. Such a study would also serve to refine Filedt Kok's implication that the sketchy qualities that made the prints difficult to sell as independent works of art, automatically relegated them to their sole use as models.

While the *intended* function of the prints remains hypothetical, I believe that the strong stylistic similarities between the sketchy prints and the underdrawings of the paintings along with the many contemporary copies after the prints merit a more thorough investigation of the integrated *oeuvre* of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet and other related Masters active in the Middle-Rhine region in Germany. The prints, at least in the case of the *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece*, definitely functioned as a connecting element between different workshops. I submit that the Master the Amsterdam Cabinet intended some of his prints for use as models. In light of this function, both the Master's own *oeuvre* and the nature of the convoluted network of stylistically related workshops might be better understood.

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Notes

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2 The name *Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet* is based on the Rijksprentenkabinet, the print room of the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam that owns the largest collection of his prints. The name *Housebook Master* derives from the so-called *Medieval Housebook* (ca. 1475-85), an important manuscript with forty pen drawings in brown and black ink with some modest coloration, three of which are unanimously attributed to the master who produced the prints. From the seventeenth century the manuscript was held in the collection of the Counts of Waldburg-Wolfegg, who sold it to a private collector in 2007. On the *Medieval Housebook*, see: Christoph Graf zu Waldburg Wolfegg, *Venus and Mars: The World of the Medieval Housebook* (Munich: Prestel, 1998). See also: Jan Piet Filedt Kok, ed., et al., *Livelier than Life : The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Housebook Master ca. 1470-1500* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1985), 218-28. And Daniel Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch: Studien zur Hausbuchmeisterfrage* (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 1994), 19-22. These works constitute the most recent literature on the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet. All catalogue numbers used here refer to the Amsterdam catalogue of 1985.

3 With respect to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet, Curt Glaser first proposed the *Alterstil*. Curt Glaser, "Zur Zeitbestimmung der Stiche des Hausbuchmeisters," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, 3 (1910): 145-56. Vasari attributed a late or old-age style that was distinguished by a certain *non-finito* to individual artists in his *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori* (Florence, 1550 and 1568). The old-age style was first applied systematically as a universal phenomenon that transcended the styles of individual artists in: Roger de Piles, *Abégé de la vie des peintres* (Paris, 1699). Albert Erich Brinckmann further developed the notion in *Spätwerke grosser Meister* (Berlin, 1925) and imbued it with a similar blend of technical *non-finito* and subjective expression as Glaser attributes to the Master's prints. Philip Sohm, *The Artist Grows Old: The Aging of Art and Artists in Italy, 1500-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 7-8. On the old-age style see also David Rosand, "Editor's Statement: Style and the Aging Artist," *Art Journal* 46, no. 2 (1987): 91-93.

4 Translation by the author. "Befreiung von allen Fesseln, Lösung aller Sorgen um das Handwerkliche des Kunstwerkes." Glaser, "Zur Zeitbestimmung," 151.

5 Filedt Kok, "The Development of Fifteenth-Century German Engraving and the Drypoint Prints of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet," in Filedt Kok, ed. et al., *Livelier than Life*, 23-39, especially 32.

6 These suggestions are made in the conclusion of an analysis of the Master's stylistic development based on Glaser. Filedt Kok expounds the traditional development but questions the old-age style. While doubting the theory of the old-age style, and even proposing that some of the freer prints might have been made in earlier periods, the text of the catalogue and the dates

that were proposed in it still regard the "free" prints as late prints. The reasons, as Filedt Kok has told me in person, are the technical quality of these prints and, the fact that there is no workable alternative to Glaser's chronology available. *Ibid.*, 34-36.

7 See: Rudolf Fritz, "Der Nieder-Erlenbacher Altar," in ed. Alfred Schottdorf et al., *Festschrift zur 1200-Jahr-Feier des Frankfurter Stadtteils Nieder-Erlenbach*, ed. Alfred Schottdorf et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Organisationskomitee 1200-Jahr-Feier Frankfurt am Main – Nieder-Erlenbach, 1979).

8 Influences from Netherlandish manuscript illuminations are also visible in the Master's work. There are some scholars, such as K. G. Boon, who regard these as more important than the German influences. Even Boon, however, assumes contact with the art of the German Middle Rhine area. The work of Ehrhard Reuwich, an artist from Utrecht who worked in Mainz is often mentioned for comparison. Karel. G. Boon, "The Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet or the Master of the Housebook and his Relationship to the Art of the Burgundian Netherlands," in Filedt Kok, ed. et al., *Livelier than Life*, 13-22. Jane Campbell Hutchison, Peter Marow, and Daniel Hess, however, place the Master in the German Middle-Rhine area. See Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 58-59, 79-87. For Hess, see Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch.*

9 Hess and Filedt Kok disagree on the media in which the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet worked. Filedt Kok and the coauthors of the 1985 catalogue think that the Master and his workshop produced works in many different media (prints, panel paintings, manuscript illuminations and stained glass windows). Hess thinks that the works in different media were produced by many different workshops.

10 Drypoint lines are drawn directly into the copper plate with a sharp needle. Contrary to the engraving, the metal is only displaced, and not as in engraving, removed with the burin. Instead, the excess metal is raised in the form of a burr along the edge of the scratched incisions. This burr is easily pressed back into the lines during printing which causes the plates to wear more quickly than those of engravings or etchings. Pure drypoint lines, such as the Master's can be worn after several impressions (about five to ten, or even less depending on the pressure). For a good description of the drypoint technique, see: Fons van der Linden, *De Grafische Technieken* (De Bilt: Cantecleer, 1979), 116-17.

11 On Rembrandt's etchings including his use of drypoint, see: Erik Hinterding, *Rembrandt as an Etcher,* vol. 1 (Oudenkerk aan den IJssel: Sound & Vision, 2006), 124-29. Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528) made three drypoint prints in 1512 but abandoned the technique after that. Hollstein nrs.: 21, 44, and 58. Friedrich W. H. Hollstein, K.G. Boon, and R.W. Scheller, eds. *German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts. ca. 1400-1700,* vol. 7 (Amsterdam: Menno Hertzberger, 1954). Another artist who used the drypoint process was the anonymous Italian printmaker called Master of 1515 (active ca. 1515-1520). David Landau argues that due to the limited editions of his drypoint prints this master seems to have been less influential than his comparably experimentally minded contemporary Domenico Beccafumi (1486-1551). David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print:1470-1550* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 271-72. Andrea Mantegna's (ca. 1431-1506) use of the drypoint in some of his prints, alongside or before his more frequent use of engraving, is generally taken as evidence that he was not originally trained as an engraver. Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 22.

12 On the invention of steel facing see: Fons van der Linden, *De Grafische Technieken.* On the impressionists' appraisal of the drypoint see: Michel Melot, "The Confection of Rarity," trans. Michel Melot and Caroline Beamish, *The Impressionist Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 160-63.

13 Fritz Koreny, "Martin Schongauer as a Draftsman: A Reassessment," *Master Drawings*, 34, no. 2 (1996): 123-47.

14 Joseph Koerner, "Albrecht Dürer: A Sixteenth-Century *Influenza*," ed. Giulia Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and His Legacy: The Graphic Work of a Renaissance Artist* (London: The British Museum Press, 2002), 18-38.

15 On the development of the model book see: Francis Ames-Lewis, "Model-Books and Sketch-Books," Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy,* 2nd edition (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 63-90; Francis Ames-Lewis, "Model books and drawing-books", *Apollo*, 144, no. 416 (1996): 59-62; Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900- ca. 1470)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995); Albert J. Elen, *Italian late-medieval and renaissance drawing-books. From Giovannino de'Grassi to Palma Giovane: A codicological approach* (Leiden: A. J. Elen, 1995); Ulrike Moser, *Das Skizzenbuch der internationalen Gotik in den Uffizien: der Übergang vom Musterbuch zum Skizzenbuch* (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1976).

16 These books were usually made of good quality parchment in order to preserve them for a long period of use and were thus a precious and important possession of the workshop. Francis Ames-Lewis, "Model-Books and Sketch-Books," ed. Francis Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy,* 64.

17 *Ibid.*, 70.

18 Cat. nrs. 59-61 (*Playing Infants*) and 78 (*Scratching Dog*). See Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 157-59, 177.

19 Landau andParshall, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550,* 95; Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings*, 81. Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). See also David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order 1450-1830* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 53-96. On the practice of hand painting prints see Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints: The Revelation of Color in Northern Renaissance & Baroque Engravings, Etchings & Woodcuts* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002).

20 Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 93.

21 The series is now in the Mittelrheinisches Landesmuseum in Mainz. Following Hutchison and confirmed by the underdrawing that has been revealed by the infrared reflectograms, only three panels are attributed to the Master himself:

The Nativity, The Adoration of the Magi and *Christ Among the Doctors.* Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 267-69, 297.

22 This view clearly underlies the scholarship of the 1985 catalogue. *Ibid.*

23 *Ibid.*

24 Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, 15-35.

25 *Ibid.*, 28, 30.

26 *Ibid.*, 28.

27 Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking.* See also David McKitterick, *Print*, 53-96. The difference in appearance between hand-painted and printed images was often diminished by the common practice of hand-coloring prints. Susan Dackerman, *Painted Prints.*

28 Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, 30. On Hartmann Schedel's Collection see: Béatrice Hernand, *Die Graphiksammlung des Humanisten Hartmann Schedel* (Munich: Prestel, 1990).

29 Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 11. See also: Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Renaissance Printmaker*, 23-24.

30 I thank Jan Piet Filedt Kok for this suggestion. Jan Piet Filedt Kok, Patricia Wardle, trans., "The Prints of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet," trans. Patricia Wardle, *Apollo* 117, no. 256 (1983): 427-36, 427. On the collection of Baron Pieter Cornelis van Leyden, see: Jan Wolter Niemeijer, "Baron van Leyden, Founder of the Amsterdam Print Collection," trans. Patricia Wardle *Apollo* 117, no. 256 (1983): 461-68

31 Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, 28, 30.

32 For the value of model books in the medieval workshop see: Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 64. See also: Scheller, *Exemplum. Model-Book Drawings.*

33 They might have been sold or there might have been a web of professional and/or family connections between workshops, as models tended to pass from father to son or from master to assistant. Ames-Lewis, *Drawing in Early Renaissance Italy*, 81, note 225. See also: Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Renaissance Printmaker*, 23-24.

34 The first of what we now call reproductive prints, in that they reproduce a finished painting, would be produced only later in the sixteenth century by engravers such as Giorgio Ghisi (c. 1520-1582). The term *reproductive* print is a modern category invented in the nineteenth century. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi: Copying and the Italian Renaissance Print* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 27-33. See also: Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550*, 103-68, especially 167.

35 Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 118-36. On the convoluted workshop collaboration of Marcantonio and Raphael see: David Landau, "Marcantonio, Agostino Veneziano, and Marco Dente," in Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550*,. eds., 120-146.

36 Marcantonio's *Bather* after Michelangelo's cartoon for the *Battle of Cascina* for instance bears the inscription "IV.MI.AG. FL./.MAF." meaning "Invenit Michelangelo Florentina/ Marcantonio Fecit" which translates as "designed by Michelangelo from Florence/ Made [engraved] by Marcantonio." Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print,. 1470-1550*, 143-44.

37 Raimondi was acutely aware of the power of signatures and monograms. During his early years in Venice (ca. 1506-09) he copied Dürer's woodcuts of *The Life of the Virgin* series (1501-2, second enlarged edition 1511), including the German's famous AD monogram. According to Vasari, the Venetian Senate ordered Marcantonio and his publisher to remove Dürer's monogram after a complaint by Dürer but permitted further publication and sales of the copies. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 39-41, 70.

38 Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550*, 142-43.

39 The date on Raimondi's second engraving of Michelangelo's *Bathers* suggests that Raimondi stopped in Florence on the way to Rome in 1510. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 42.

40 Raimondi's solitary status in Rome changed in ca. 1514 with the arrival of Raimondi's assistants Agostino Veneziano and, later, Marco Dente, who issued engravings under their own names, as well as Raimondi's. Interestingly, both Veneziano and Raimondi adopted a pictogram of an empty tablet as a signature in many of their prints after ca. 1515. This sign recalls the empty tablet on the Raimondi's copies of Dürer's *Life of the Virgin* after removal of the AD monogram. Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print. 1470-1550*, 142-43. Lisa Pon, *Raphael, Dürer, and Marcantonio Raimondi*, 70. Innis H. Shoemaker argued that Raimondi and his assistants used the empty tablet to signify a workshop style centered on Raimondi. Innis H. Shoemaker, "Marcantonio and His Sources: A Survey of His Style and Engraving Techniques," in Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, eds., *The Engravings of Marcantonio Raimondi* (Lawrence, KS: The Spencer Museum of Art, 1981), 11.

41 Peter Parshall, "Israhel van Meckenem: Entrepreneurial Printmaker and Pirate," in eds. Innis H. Shoemaker and Elizabeth Broun, *The Engravings of Marcantonio* Raimondi, 56-63.

42 Peter Schmidt, "The Multiple Image: The Beginnings of Printmaking, between Old Theories and New Approaches," in Peter Parshall and Rainer Schoch, eds., *Origins of European Printmaking: Fifteenth-Century Woodcuts and Their Public* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 47-48.

43 Schmidt, "The Multiple Image," 91.

44 Five copies are recognized in the exhibition catalogue of 1985. A copy after *The Fourth Prophet* and one in reverse after the figure of Mary from the *Arma Christi* appear in *Spruch von der Pestilenz* (Nuremberg: Hans Foltz, 1482). A copy in reverse after *Samson Slaying the Lion* appeared in *Spiegel menschliger Behältnis* (Speyer: Peter Dach, 1478-9). The figure of Solomon in *Solomon's Idolatry* formed the basis for a woodcut representing King Andreas II of Hungary in Johannes Thurocz's *Chronica*

Hungarorum (Augsburg: Erhard Radolt, 1488). A copy after the figure of the woman in *The Pair of Lovers* appeared in the same work, where she represents Queen Mary of Hungary. Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 95-96, 98, 175.

45 Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 33.

46 *Ibid.*, 23-34.

47 *The Good Shepherd* (cat. p. 111, nr. 17) is a good example. *Ibid.*, 111.

48 The example that Filedt Kok mentions is the *Lady with Owl and AN in her Escutcheon* (cat. p. 184, nr. 86). Many scholars believe this style to be related to the courtly subject matter that most of the fine prints share, and some even link it to a supposed stay of the artist at the court of Philip the Righteous (1448-1508). *Ibid.*, 32-3.

49 *Ibid.*, 32.

50 *Ibid.*, 29.

51 Filedt Kok mentions the creation of volume and depth and the distribution of light and shadow a few times. He mentions for instance the depth created by atmospheric perspective in *The Holy Family by the Rosebush* (cat., p. 120, nr. 27), and he states that the velvet-like lines of the late prints, to a greater extent than their hatchings, determine the volumes and the spatial effects of these prints. Other effects, such as the suggestion of surface textures, are not considered. *Ibid.*, 33-4.

52 The question of why the artist used this technique, which can yield only a small number of impressions per plate because of the fragility of the burr, is one of the large mysteries surrounding the Master. Most scholars think that the prints were precious objects because of their small edition. *Ibid.*; Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, 30.

53 The basis of the drypoint technique is not the line itself, but rather the tonal effect created by the burr next to the incision. Very shallow lines will print gray; between deep hatches, a lot of ink will be left to print as a darker gray tone. The plate tone enables a slight blending of these gray tones.

54 Parshall and Schoch, *Origins of European Printmaking*, 153-54.

55 The only known impression of this print is in Amsterdam. All technical information and estimated dates of the prints are taken from the catalogue from 1985. See: Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 115.

56 Published in: *Spruch von der Pestilenz* (Nuremberg: Hans Folz, 1482) *Ibid.*, 95, 115.

57 The print in Amsterdam is the only existing impression.

58 The following (notably religious) prints share the sketchy style that we noted in the *Arma Christi* (fig. 4) and *The Virgin Enthroned* (fig. 5) to different extents: *The Virgin and Child with St. Anne* (*Anna Selbdritt*, cat p. 125, nr. 30), two prints of *The Virgin on the Crescent Moon* (fig. 11 and cat. 1985, p. 116, nr. 24), *The Adoration of the Trinity by The Virgin, St. John and Angels* (cat., p. 114, nr. 21), *The Christ-Savior Bestowing a Blessing* (cat., p. 112, nr 18), *Christ at the Column* (cat., p. 112, nr. 19), *The Holy Family by the Rosebush* (cat., p. 120, nr. 27), *The Elevation of St. Mary Magdalene* (cat., p. 143, nr. 50), *St. Michael* (cat., p. 134, nr. 39), *The Holy Family in a Vaulted Space* (cat., p. 124, nr. 29.2), *St. Sebastian with Archers* and *St. Sebastian Tied to the Column* (cat., p. 138, nrs. 43, 44). See: Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*.

59 There are two impressions known of this print of a young man standing next to Death, one in Vienna and one in Amsterdam. The description is based on the Amsterdam impression, which is of very high quality and well-preserved.

60 Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 32.

61 *Ibid.*, 172.

62 *Ibid.*

63 Even in the *Turkish Rider* the light is reserved for the background, and it is not so boldly depicted.

64 We can clearly see the difference if we compare the Master's drypoint *The Virgin and Child on the Crescent Moon with Book and Starry Crown* (fig. 11) with the central figure of the *Nieder-Erlenbach Altarpiece* (fig 9).

65 Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 33.

66 This design of a winged altarpiece is attributed to the Master of the Drapery Studies, who was active in Strasbourg between circa 1485-1500. See Julie Warnement, ed., et al., *From Schongauer to Holbein. Masterdrawings from Basel and Berlin* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1999), 49-51.

67 *The Christ-Savior Bestowing a Blessing* (cat., p. 112, nr. 18), *Christ at the Column* (cat., p. 112, nr. 19) and *The Adoration of the Trinity* (cat., p. 114, nr. 21) are other examples. The similarity with sculptures has been noted in the catalogue of 1985. Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*.

68 Translation by the author. "Im laufe der hundertjärigen Forschung trat immer wieder ein befremdliches Gefühl beim Vergleich der Tafelbilder mit den Kaltnadelstichen auf, da den Tafelbildern offensichtlich die Dynamik und Frische des Stichwerks abgeht. Zum zweiten ist mehrfach darauf verwiesen worden, daß die Entwicklung, die der Meister in seinen Stichen vollzieht, in den Tafelbildern fehlt, wenn nicht gar umgekehrt verlauft." Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, 68.

69 It has been confirmed by infrared reflectograms that the freedom in the linear treatment of the drawings does not carry over in the final painting. See: Jan Piet Filedt Kok, "Underdrawing in the Paintings by the Master," in Filedt Kok, ed. et al., *Livelier than Life*, 295-302.

70 Cat. nr. 132c. *Ibid.*, 267.

71 Infrared reflectograms have revealed that the underdrawings of the *Annunciation* and the *Visitation* are rather different. The same is true of the painting style. It has been suggested, therefore, that an assistant finished the cycle after the Master died. *Ibid.*, 268-69. The dating of the prints based on style is still fairly reliable for these prints from the early period, the middle period, and the courtly period.

72 The inventory number is GK 10. See: Wolfgang Beeh, *Deutsche Malerei um 1260 bis 1550 im Hessischen Landesmuseum*

Darmstadt, (Darmstadt, 1990), 64-7; Rudolf Fritz, "Der Nieder-Erlenbacher Altar," in *Festschrift zur 1200-Jahr-Feier des Frankfurter Stadtteils Nieder-Erlenbach*, ed. Alfred Schottdorf et al. (Frankfurt am Main: Organisationskomitee 1200-Jahr-Feier Frankfurt am Main – Nieder-Erlenbach, 1979).

73 Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, vol. 7 (Berlin: Dt. Kunstverl, 1955), 115. See also: Alfred Stange, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer*, vol. 2 (Munich: Bruckmann, 1970), 110.

74 To my knowledge, the dependence of the foliage on the Master's prints has not been mentioned in literature previously.

75 The prints are: *The Virgin Enthroned* (fig. 5), *The Christ-Savior Bestowing a Blessing* (cat., p. 112, nr. 18), *Christ at the Column* (cat., p. 112, nr. 19), *Adoration of the Trinity by The Virgin, St. John and Angels* (cat., p. 114, nr. 21) *The Elevation of St. Mary Magdalene* (cat., p. 143, nr. 50). Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*. Examples of altarpieces are: Stange part 7, nr. 214, 251, 257/58, 265, 266/67, 273. Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik*, vol. 7 (Berlin: Dt. Kunstverl, 1955).

76 It could, of course, be that the foliage arches in both the print and the painting are based on the same model, but the combined facts that the panel is a pastiche of different prints, the central figure is copied after one of the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's prints, and finally, that the other foliage arches reflect those of other prints by this Master make the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet's *Pair of Lovers* the most likely source.

77 Hollstein nrs.: 1 (*Annunciation*), 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 51 (*Apostles*) and 63 (*St. Michael*). Friedrich W. H. Hollstein, Lothar Schmitt, comp. Nicholas Stogdon, ed., *German Engravings Etchings and Woodcuts. ca. 1400-1700*, vol. 49 (Rotterdam: Sound and Vision, 1999).

78 The six panels of the *Speyer Altarpiece* (estimated circa 1480-85) and three panels of the Mainz *Life of the Virgin* cycle are attributed to the Master of the Amsterdam Cabinet in the catalogue of 1985. The underdrawings have been revealed by infrared reflectograms made in Germany and The Netherlands. Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 295-302. Hess attributes these paintings to other workshops. Hess, *Meister um das mittelalterliche Hausbuch*, 30.

79 Filedt Kok, *Livelier than Life*, 297. The stylistic similarity between underdrawing and prints was the reason to date this altarpiece between 1480 and 1485. *Ibid.*, 266-67.

80 Infrared reflectography was performed by Dr. J.R.J. van Asperen de Boer and Dr. J.P. Filedt Kok with a Grundig FA 70 television camera equipped with a Hamamatsu N 214 IR vidicon (1975); a Kodak wratten 87A filter cutting-on at 0.9 micron was placed between the vidicon target surface and the Zoomar 1:2 8/4 cm Macro Zoomatar lens. The television camera was mounted on a sturdy Linhof professional tripod with extension pieces and a 90 cm sledge for moving the camera sideways. The monitor was a Grundig BG 12 with 875 television lines. Any documentation was done with a Nikon camera, a 50 mm macrolens, and Ilford film FP 4, ASA 125.

81 It is important to note that the technique of scratching lines in the metal plate differs considerably from drawing on paper. First, much more effort is needed to hold the needle in a steady position, and second, the needle must be held in a vertical position that is very unnatural for a draftsman used to drawing, to obtain the best, darkest lines. This makes a conscious imitation more likely than a simple stylistic correspondence resulting from the similarities between the two techniques. Evelyn Lincoln has noted this after consulting several contemporary printmakers, and as a trained printmaker, I have also experienced this myself. Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Renaissance Printmaker*, 23, and note 15.

Unraveling the Curtain: Subversive Folds, Cleland's *Memoirs*, and the Sublime in Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *Le Verrou*

Danielle Lenhard

Upon its release to the public as a popular print in May 1784, Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *Le Verrou* [The Bolt] was attacked by the abbé de Fontenai, the director of the *Affiches de Province*, as being wholly indecent and lewd: "As for the subject...it will not contribute to the reform of *moeurs*. The nude graces of the antique are far more decent than this young man, and this young woman, despite the fact that they are completely clothed."[1] The issue of decency requires some parsing in light of how this image was originally conceived as a painting, as well as how it was marketed and received as a print (figs. 1 and 2). At the outset, *Le Verrou* appears to emulate the moralizing seduction scenes found in popular epistolary novels like Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1749) in which the woman appears to resist and both subjects are clothed (fig. 3). In his attack, the abbé seems to suggest the work bears a greater resemblance to pornographic illustrations found in underground bestsellers like *L'École des Filles* (1655) and *Thérèse Philosophe* (1748), whose images were indecent in that they reveal the subjects' genitalia (fig. 4).[2] With *Le Verrou*, Fragonard appears to depart from these indecent exposures by here "leaving the curtain drawn" on any unseemly genitalia or actual intercourse between the protagonists. Yet Fontenai is adamant: this image will never contribute to any moral reform. If the determination of decency hinges on the presence of the protagonists' genitalia, as well as on evidence of the woman's pleasure or complicity, then what makes Fontenai so certain of the print's indecency?

To answer this, we must look more closely at the image. The scene takes place in a dark bedroom: to one side a flash of light illuminates the young couple, leaving the large, canopied bed mostly in shadow on the other side. A half-dressed young man strains to bolt the door as a young woman rushes towards him, trying to stop him. The disarray of the room indicates a struggle: the chair and vase are overturned, a bouquet of flowers is flung on the ground. The action is sudden as the young man moves towards the bolt, conveniently beyond the woman's reach, and locks them both in. The dramatic diagonal of the woman's leg suggests she has leapt up to stop the man from sliding the bolt into place while her hand pushes against his chin, trying to prevent him from kissing her. Her attempts to stop him are anything but feeble, though they have frequently been interpreted as half-hearted.[3] While her gesture and facial expression fit the criteria for signaling resistance, it is hard to tell from her very *presence* in this space how we are supposed to read her intent; that is, it is unclear whether the woman is being taken against her will or is feigning resistance as was expected in the behavioral literature at the time.[4] Iconographic details like the discarded flowers and the overturned vase help the viewer to interpret the scene as the moment of the woman's deflowering, though the fact of her virginity does not explain the girl's intent. Perhaps Fontenai's claim of indecency is justified; in the end, the release onto the public market of a seduction scene such as this – unattached to any specific story from history or literature – borders accepted bounds of decency.

But Fontenai decries more than just the lack of moral decency; he seems to be equally outraged at the work's challenge to aesthetic norms. In his critique, Fontenai disparages Fragonard's treatment of the drapery in *Le Verrou* as being unbecoming for a genre painter. It has been interpreted that he is arguing that the fabric was not detailed enough, or not adequately rendered according to expected tradition for a painter of the lower genres.[5] When one turns to the variety and texture of the materials actually depicted in *Le Verrou*, this attack seems unfounded. The white satin sheets at the corner of the bed are sharp and clear. The rich crimson drapery of the canopy is only slightly

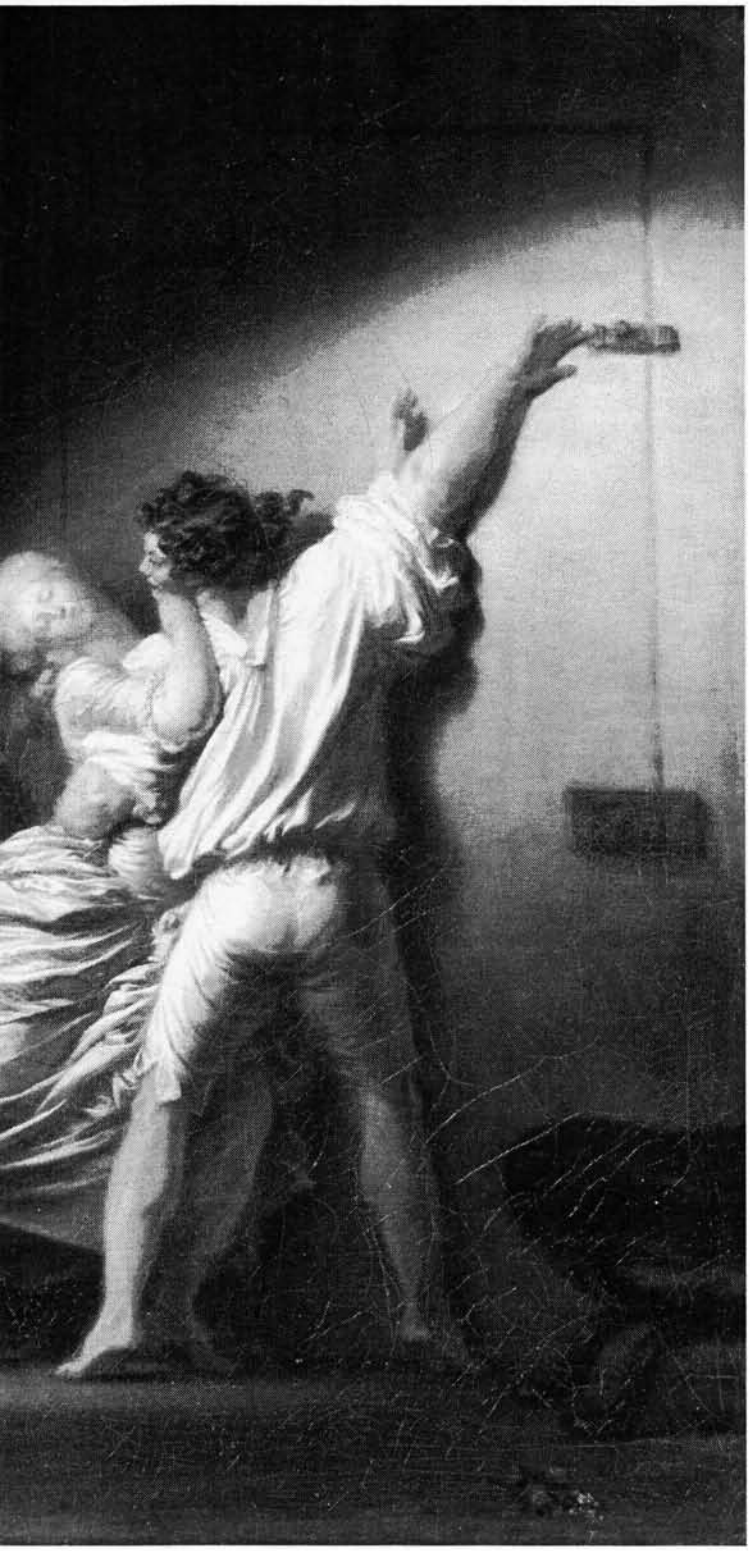

Fig. 1 Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732-1806), *Le Verrou* [The Bolt], c. 1778. Oil on canvas, 73 x 93 cm. Photo: Daniel Arnaudet. Louvre, Paris, France. Courtesy of Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.

less crisp, accounted for by the seemingly heavier material. The fabric of the woman's gown is highly detailed and sharply rendered in both painting and engraving; the gown is quite distinct from the material of the bed, thus appearing to fulfill the requirement for detail in the lower genres, if indeed the work falls into this category.

A response to the abbé, published in the *Affiches* a few weeks later, was that *Le Verrou* must be considered as a history painting. M. de Saint-Félix writes: "If you knew the painting after which [the print] is engraved, you would have seen that the work is by a history painter: now artists of this genre are not required to vary their draperies like those whose talents exist in the depiction of details."[6] Though the artist's status as history painter would not necessarily transfer to any one particular work, it is true that, in a history painting, the artist is expected to address the grand scheme. Attention to anatomy and composition would supercede the treatment of smaller, less significant details of still life. Thus, if *Le Verrou* is considered as a history painting, the objection to the drapery is moot.

On further examination, one might question whether Fontenai is referring to the *handling* of the drapery, as he indicates, or to several obscene forms the artist has hidden there. For, using the voluminous folds of the canopy, Fragonard has sculpted a giant phallus, with moments of anatomical accuracy, its base situated above the small table, framed on either side by the apple and the overturned pitcher (fig. 5). The phallus looms towards the center of the painting, reinforcing the strong diagonal that runs from the woman's extended toe to the young man's outstretched arm. In the oil painting,

Fig. 2 Maurice Blot (1754-1818), *Le Verrou* [The Bolt], 1784. Engraving after Jean-Honoré Fragonard, published in the portfolio *Oeuvre de Maurice Blot*, page 8. Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

one can see Fragonard includes the female counterpart, as the form of a giant vulva encloses two pillows seated at the head of the bed.[7] The presence of these obscene forms complicates the reading of the painting as well as that of the widely circulated engraving, whose hidden imagery may have been detected by knowing consumers, in addition to astute critics like Fontenai and Saint-Félix.

While it would not have been appropriate to discuss the hidden genitalia in print at the time, contemporary scholars in recent years acknowledge the existence of hidden forms. In the entry for *Le Verrou* on the Louvre's website, Séverine Laborie describes the curtain as containing anthropomorphic forms but does not identify them explicitly. She cites Daniel Arasse, who has described the phallus as a "metaphor for the male sex" and notes the appearance of feminine folds above breast-like pillows.[8] As a metaphor, the curtain-phallus could be a substitute for the genitalia of the young protagonist, who here is clothed. However, rather than as a *metaphor* for the genitalia, what we see is, in fact, the actual genitalia. The form is not merely suggestive of a phallus, it *is* a phallus. In addition to representing the missing genitalia of the protagonists, the curtain-genitalia may also represent the genitalia of the consumer, who is presumed to be aroused by these very works of erotica. As such, the curtain-genitalia playfully allude to the forbidden yet inevitable act of masturbation that many pornographic images assumed.[9]

For those who might not detect the hidden image, *Le Verrou* could still fall in a higher aesthetic category, as Saint-Félix suggests when he argues that the work must be considered as a history painting. However, the image is ironically elevated for those who *did* see the hidden phallus and would judge its presence as a sign of wit. Strict decorum in the eighteenth-century would have prevented anyone from explicitly discussing this finding in polite company or in print, the reason any reference to the image, as quite possibly we see in Fontenai's review, needed to be coded. Critics like Fontenai and any purchasers who did see the phallus may have understood the reference to pornographic illustrations: that, in effect, the pornographic element which was supposedly veiled by leaving the protagonists demurely clothed is here ironically revealed, cleverly molded out of what is, in effect, a literal curtain or veil.

Veiling the Obscene in a Culture of Concealment

As explicit sexuality was unsuitable for general audiences and subject to policing by officials, it was common among intellectual circles in the eighteenth century to speak of sex and sexuality in coded terms. The practice of 'leaving the curtain drawn' derived from the theatre, in which particularly violent or sexual acts were left offstage. The trope of the curtain and, by analogy, the veil, came to be used in both literature and theatre to denote the censorship of explicit or violent details. Robert Ellrich notes how the term *gaze* (gauze or veil) had become at this time the "visual analogue of the linguistic and stylistic code used for the veiling of sexual reference," thus the veil itself carried connotation with it of the sexual or obscene.[10] Ellrich recounts the use of this trope as he describes a scene from Diderot's *Dream of d'Alembert* (1769): "Diderot picks up the image of the veil that must be cast over the language of sexual reference when he has Mlle de Lespinasse warn Dr. Bordeu, as he is about to launch into a discourse on sodomy: 'De la *gaze*, Docteur, un peu de *gaze*.'" A bit of veiling in the form of euphemism or code was required in the discussion of risqué subject matter, especially if one wanted to maintain the appearance of high form.

Clues indicate that Fragonard did aspire to high form with *Le Verrou*, since the work was originally commissioned as a pendant to the history painting *L'Adoration des Bergers* [The Adoration of the Shepherds] (c. 1776) (fig. 6). In the painting, an idealized Virgin sits holding the infant while grotesque-style shepherds and a brooding Joseph look on. The two works share a similar palette of golds, reds, and umbers, and are connected by the form of the Virgin's knee which is doubled in the

drapery at the corner of the bed in *Le Verrou.* Jacques Thuillier's reading of the original pairing as an allegory for sacred and profane love in 1967 has been widely accepted due to the various symbols in *Le Verrou* of purity and virginity including the discarded bouquet and the overturned vase, all of which link the profane virgin in *Le Verrou* to the sacred one in the *Adoration.*

In both works, Fragonard draws on his vast art historical knowledge, including works he had seen and copied on his previous travels to Italy and to the Netherlands, as a means to elevate the pair further.[11] While the *Adoration* utilizes the looser brushwork of Rembrandt, *Le Verrou* is painted in the slick style of Gerard ter Borch or Gabriel Metsu.[12] With his circular grouping of figures, his placement of the bull in the shadows to the left, and his placement of non-idealized, realist-grotesque shepherds to the right, Fragonard follows a tradition of Adoration scenes dating to the fifteenth century, seen in works like Hugo van der Goes' *Portinari Altarpiece* (c. 1475, Galleria degli Uffizi) and Luca Giordano's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (c.1688, Musée du Louvre). In Giordano's *Adoration,* the silhouette of the ox and the diagonal position of Mary's body seem especially close to that in Fragonard's *Adoration,* as he draws on a number of sources. Annibale Carracci's disembodied putti circle in the sky above the Virgin, while the kneeling shepherd with dirty feet which extend into the viewer's space recalls Caravaggio's prostrating peasant from the *Madonna di Loretto* (c. 1604-1606, Sant'Agostino, Rome).[13] Before he had even created the pendant for the *Adoration*, Fragonard was creating a complex visual and theoretical play for his patron drawing on a merging of contrasting styles and schools of thought.[14]

(Left) Fig. 3 Thomas Stothard, "Drawing me swiftly after him" (Letter II written by Miss Clarissa Harlowe to Miss Howe, Tuesday night about Mr. Lovelace). Engraving from Samuel Richardson, *Clarissa Harlowe; or the history of a young lady* (London: Harrison and Co., 1784). Photo: Copyright of Lebrecht Authors.

(Right) Fig. 4 Engraved illustration from Jean-Baptiste de Boyer, le marquis d'Argens, *Thérèse Philosophe* (1780 version?). Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Fig. 5 Detail of Figure 1. Here, the hidden phallus takes up most of the length of the curtain, its base resting on the table, framed by the pitcher and apple. The phallus leans toward the center of the painting and toward the vulva, which encloses the two pillows to the right. The diagonal line of the phallus repeats throughout the painting, from the folds of the vulva to the corner of the bed to the bodies of the protagonists. For further blasphemy, its angle, coloring, and positioning parallel the body of the Virgin (see Figure 6 below); both lean towards center, are seated on a pedestal, and take up roughly the same area of the canvas.

Fig. 6 Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *L'Adoration des Bergers* [The Adoration of the Shepherds] c. 1776. Oil on canvas, 73 x 93 cm. Photo: Gerard Blot. Louvre, Paris, France. Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY

In *Le Verrou*, Fragonard not only utilizes a contrasting Dutch style to that used in the *Adoration*, he also continues to evoke his Italian predecessors. The voluminous red cloth of the canopy in *Le Verrou* recalls Caravaggio's controversial *Death of the Virgin* (1606, Musée du Louvre), for which Caravaggio was suspected to have used a prostitute as the model for Mary. Fragonard exhibits a similar disrespect for religious norms: as the Virgin was more commonly paired with Eve as "the new Eve," linking her to a victim of seduction from popular contemporary literature was a serious stretch in decorum. Yet Fragonard's use of symbols, references, and stylistic quotations appeals to high form, seeming to override his unusual pairing. However, while the apple and overturned pitcher symbolizing the girl's fall further link her to Eve, the addition of the forbidden genitalia to this inventory of symbols further exacerbates the pair's blasphemy.

It is possible Fragonard devised the allegoric pairing as a kind of eccentric puzzle, knowing that the patron Louis-Gabriel, the marquis de Véri, had a taste for surprise and craved challenge from the artists he solicited.[15] One of Véri's contemporaries recounts how the marquis loved "to receive our best artists at his home daily, to converse with them, to see them thinking up and painting new projects for him which became more entertaining and more interesting every day."[16] The pairing of such a scandalous image with the Virgin was sure to entertain an audience able to recognize its transgression of the acceptable rules of pendant pairings, or *convenance*, that the two works were intended to share. In his biography on Fragonard a few years after the artist's death, Alexandre Lenoir described the pairing's "bizarre contrast" as the artist's attempt to prove his talent or *génie*.[17] It is possible that the hidden genitalia – as that which complicates *Le Verrou*'s identity and status in the hierarchy of the genres, as well as the status of the pairing – was precisely what would most please an educated patron like Véri and his astute guests, convincing them of the artist's 'genius'.

In the spring of 1784, *Le Verrou* was engraved by Maurice Blot, rendering the work available to a much wider audience, and subject to a greater variety of readings. Contrary to Fontenai's claim against decency, *Le Verrou* was marketed with an assortment of moralizing pendants in an attempt to justify and resolve the questionable situation.[18] One of the earliest pendants was *The Wardrobe* (1778), an etching Fragonard had made around the time of the original oil painting of *Le Verrou*, showing a young couple discovered in the midst of a tryst by the girl's parents; the young man emerges shamefacedly from a wardrobe, as the girl weeps into her apron. Juxtaposed with another of Fragonard's paintings, *The Stolen Kiss*, engraved by N.-F. Regnault in 1788, *Le Verrou* could be read as the likely result of innocent curiosity gone out of control.[19] In 1792, Maurice Blot engraved another of Fragonard's compositions, *The Contract*, which includes a framed engraving of *Le Verrou* in the background, to serve as further visual play for the viewer.[20] Adding *The Contract* provides a fitting resolution to the tale: restitution is made for the couple's misdeed in the form of a marriage contract.[21]

While the moralizing pairings were quite popular and served to establish an acceptable narrative for viewing in polite company, they did not excuse or effectively mask the work's potential as erotic aid. In an account of the sales register of the Parisian printseller Siméon-Charles-Francois Vallée, Kristel Smentek includes *Le Verrou* as one among many licentious prints available on the market.[22] Despite the absence of nude figures, *Le Verrou* was easily paired with works like *Fear*, in which a woman in a revealing nightgown looks up from the bed as her lover runs to hide. The print *Fear* was engraved in 1783 by Noël Le Mire, after a painting by Jean-Baptiste Le Prince, but was reissued explicitly as a pendant to *Le Verrou* in 1785, with an additional figure hiding behind the curtain, doubling the work's inherent voyeurism.[23] In a later pendant, *The Officious Waiting Woman* (c. 1786), engraved by Alexandre Chaponnier after Jean-Fréderic Schall, a woman awaits an enema, to be delivered by her servant as a man arrives at the door to observe them.[24] Smentek notes that these works sold considerably well, in the years before the Revolution and even after: "Such was the popularity of *The Bolt* and *The Officious Waiting Woman* that in the summer of 1789, when Vallée's sales consisted almost exclusively of inexpensive overtly political images with titles like *The Procession*

of Abuses, *The Three Estates*, and *Decapitated Heads*, they were among the only expensive prints still desired by his clients."[25] The genius of *Le Verrou* was in its versatility: the lack of nudity allowed it to be moralizing; its passionate moment and the presence of the hidden genitalia allowed the work to be licentious, thus leaving interpretation ultimately in the hands of consumers and marketers.

By the time the painting was sold at Véri's estate sale in November 1785, when the engraving had been available on the market for over a year, it is possible that descriptions of the work could assume a knowing audience.[26] The engraving had been well publicized that year, with listings in the *Affiches*, the *Mercure de France*, and the *Journal de Paris*.[27] At this point, in 1785, with the work well known to viewers through its engraved form, it is likely that the estate cataloguer, Alexandre-Joseph Paillet, may have assumed a knowing audience when he listed the work in the catalogue as: "An interior of a room with a young man and a young woman; the former is bolting the door and the other is trying to stop him. The scene takes place near a bed, the disorder of which tells the rest of the story clearly enough."[28] It is interesting that Paillet saw no need to tell the "rest of the story," and, like Fontenai, makes reference to the bed, specifically to its disarray. In truth, the *entire room* is in disarray, typical to seduction scenes. Is it possible that, through his remark, Paillet deliberately draws our attention to the hidden phallus? While the literal disarray of the bed foreshadows its impending use by the protagonists, the *désordre* of the bed's curtain in the form of the genitalia also can be said to tell "the rest of the story." Not only does the presence of the genitalia allude to the impending intercourse of the protagonists, it also indicates the potential masturbatory actions of the viewer. If we suppose Paillet did see the genitalia, then his remark regarding the bed's *désordre* effectively draws the viewer's attention to the hidden imagery and could, itself, be a coded way of referring to that which ultimately renders the work obscene, especially among audiences who were expected to understand the work's illicit reference to contemporary pornography.

A Literary Source for *Le Verrou*

If Paillet and others recognized the iconography of *Le Verrou* from pornographic illustrations rampant on the underground, it is possible that viewers may have recognized this specific scene from one of the underground bestsellers of the day, John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, published anonymously in two parts in 1748 and 1749, with French translations available as early as 1751.[29]

In Cleland's tale, Fanny Hill, a young country orphan of sixteen, makes her way to London where she finds herself in the care of the proprietor of a brothel who is determined to get a high price for the girl's virginity. Before this transaction can take place, Fanny escapes with a young man named Charles, whom she meets early one morning in the brothel's parlor (fig. 7). The two escape by coach, soon arriving at a country inn for breakfast, after which Charles invites Fanny to inspect a fine "prospect" in the next room. Though Fanny is not completely naïve as to what will befall her, the suddenness of his action takes her by surprise:

> Charles had just slipp'd the bolt of the door, and running, caught me in his arms, and lifting me from the ground, with his lips glew'd to mine, bore me trembling, panting, dying with soft fears, and tender wishes, to the bed...[30]

The resemblance to *Le Verrou* in these few lines is telling: the bolting of the door, the running into each other's arms, Charles catching her and trying to kiss her, Fanny trembling, showing signs of resistance and surprise, but also indicating her desire.

If showing evidence of fear and resistance was necessary in defending the works as ostensibly moral, it also contributed to the erotic component, in part because women were expected to feign resistance out of modesty, even if they were compliant in the seduction.[31] An unfortunate result of

Fig. 7 François-Roland Elluin after Antoine Borel, "Figure toi, ma bonne amie, un garçon de dix huit à dix neuf ans, fait au moule, et beau comme les anges." Engraving from John Cleland, *Nouvelle traduction de Woman of pleasur, ou Fille de joie, par M. Cleland, contenant les Mémoires de Mademoiselle Fanny, écrits par elle-même* (London: Fenton, 1776). Courtesy of Bibliothèque Nationale de France.

Note that illustrators of pornographic works took every opportunity to reveal the genitalia, even in the most innocent of scenes.

this behavioral trope was that a woman's actual resistance was not taken seriously, and stories of rape carried a tradition of the inevitable 'happy ending.'[32] Fanny's case is merely a variation on the theme, as she knowingly elopes with Charles and knows this moment of her deflowering to be inevitable. Still, in hearing her account, we take her fear to be genuine, even though this fear is mixed with desire. When Fanny later reveals her virgin state to her lover, he apologizes profusely for taking so little care with her fragility, thus excusing, in the minds of readers, his sudden and fairly violent behavior.[33] Though it goes unstated, Charles takes Fanny's resistance as behavioral posturing rather than as genuine resistance, an assumption for which no one at the time would have faulted him.

Illustrations of this moment in early versions of Cleland's *Memoirs* reinforce its connection with the painting.[34] Specifically, the overturned chair in the lower left corner of *Le Verrou* bears similarities both in style and positioning to the overturned chair in the scene of Fanny's deflowering from the 1776 French edition attributed to François-Roland Elluin after designs by Antoine Borel. Borel depicts the aftermath of the encounter with the woman lying exposed on the bed while the young man curiously observes her; by contrast, Fragonard chooses the heightened dramatic moment of the bolting of the door. As with *Le Verrou*, the shape of the bed canopy is playfully molded; in the illustration, the canopy is designed to invert or mirror the shape of the woman's exposed genitalia.

Both rooms are in disarray, though the disorder of the room in the illustration can be attributed to the activity that has already taken place, whereas the disorder in *Le Verrou* indicates a struggle and serves as foreshadowing for what will occur. Though the two works share their iconography with the entire canon of bedroom seduction scenes (with the large unmade bed and the general disarray of the room), the position of the chair and the use of the canopy to reflect the genitalia exhibit a certain affinity between *Le Verrou* and Borel's design.

While we cannot be certain which, if any, of these illustrations Fragonard saw, we know that the artist was acquainted with libertine literature and had illustrated this type of work before.[35] In his illustration of the rape/seduction scene from La Fontaine's erotic fable *La Clochette*, a barefoot young girl flees from a young man in the forest, her arms outstretched, her brow raised in fear, her mouth slightly open as if crying out. She is clearly trying to escape her pursuer, who swoops in and grabs her by the waist, his hat flying off with the suddenness of his action. In its iconography of aggression and resistance, the engraving bears definite similarities to *Le Verrou*, not only with its emblems of resistance, but also in that readers have interpreted the woman's resistance in both works as feigned.[36] Though this interpretation indicates a greater ideological trope at work in the minds of viewers, perceiving *Le Verrou* more closely through the eyes of the *Memoirs* and its reception allows us to better understand how both works were consumed in their time, as well as to further assess Fragonard's aesthetic feat.

The Classical Veil Revived: *Rhyparography* and the *Bambochade*

The connection to Cleland's novel is uncanny not only for the similarity in content, but also for the similarity in style, as both Fragonard and Cleland veil the low, pornographic elements in high aesthetic form. While in the tradition of epistolary erotica, *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* differs from pornographic bestsellers like *The School of Venus* (1680) through Cleland's use of pristine literary prose; there is not one objectionable word in the entire work.[37] Instead of resorting to bawdy language, Cleland employs a range of metaphors to describe the sexual act and its corresponding anatomy. Whereas, in *The School of Venus*, the experienced woman recounts, "He gets upon me, thrusting his stiffe standing Tarse into my cunt,"[38] Cleland's heroine Fanny exclaims "Then! for the first time did I feel that stiff horn-hard gristle, battering against the tender part" or, paraphrasing a frequent refrain, Fanny speaks of her lover "murdering her tender part with his grand machine."[39] The use of euphemism and reference allows the author to aspire to a higher form, differentiating his work from those explicitly pornographic, while ultimately achieving the same results.

Despite supposed aspirations to high literature, the veiling of language in the *Memoirs* hardly prevented the novel from being used like any other work of epistolary erotica, that is, for masturbation or erotic aid. Within a year of its first installment, officials got wind of the book, and it was banned. In his defense of the *Memoirs* in a statement dated 13 November 1749, Cleland admitted that the work was taken up as a kind of aesthetic challenge eighteen years earlier on the advice of a young man he knew at the time.[40] He expresses curiosity that there was no objection to the novel until nine months after the second installment was published, and writes that the book will only gain in popularity if it is banned.[41] Finally, he asks that the others not be charged, taking full responsibility on the grounds that "they certainly were deceived by my avoiding those rank words...."[42] Of course the printer and publisher were *not* deceived and in the end all three were charged with obscenity, though no records indicate that any of them were ever prosecuted for the crime.

Cleland's argument had some merit, as those who later defended the *Memoirs* did so on the grounds that it was a kind of mock encomium, a rhetorical device from antiquity which elevated base subject matter through high literary style. In doing so, the *Memoirs* were situated within a long

tradition, revived in works like Nicholas Chorier's *Satyra Sotadica* (1660). In the *Satyra Sotadica*, the experienced older woman Tullia shares her sexual adventures with the younger, inexperienced Ottavia. Unlike more explicit works of erotica, Chorier aspires to high literary form; not a single crude word occurs, technical terms aside. In addition, Chorier and Cleland follow the same autobiographical trope: Chorier goes to great pains in the preface to pass the dialogues off as the work of the actual Luisa Sigea; similarly, some versions of the *Memoirs* are stipulated to be written by Miss Fanny Hill "in her own words."[43]

At times Cleland borrows directly from the *Satyra Sotadica* in his choice of euphemism, lending the *Memoirs* sophistication and historical grounding.[44] The *Memoirs* were compared with Chorier's *Dialogues*:

> ...on the grounds that in both works the elegant style redeems the wildly sexual subject matter; the critic thus chooses the masterpiece of seventeenth-century libertinism to justify Cleland's work. These terms were themselves borrowed from a 1707 encomium of Rochester, which praises the Earl for having managed, like Petronius and Chorier, to 'give merit to lewdness' – that is, to articulate and control the oxymoronic combination of the 'mannerly' and the 'obscene'.[45]

It is this "oxymoronic combination" dating back to antiquity that we see in works like Cleland's *Memoirs* as he proves he can arouse readers through high literary prose. The ability to skillfully "articulate and control" this dialectic of high and low shows the mastery of the creator. As with Fragonard, who aspires to high form with *Le Verrou*, this strange dichotomy is employed in order to exhibit the artist's genius, in a feat that had been celebrated since ancient times.

In antiquity, the mock encomium had a visual parallel known as rhyparography, a term which had originated with the artist Peraikos, known as the Rhyparographer, or 'filth painter.'[46] Peraikos had painted scenes of low subjects around the time of Alexander, and was wildly successful with his patrons. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century dictionaries on ancient painting, Peraikos is considered a precursor to the genre painters.[47] Yet the term rhyparography carried negative connotations among eighteenth-century classicists who saw the artists' low subjects as beneath contempt. At the beginning of his essay on the *Laocoön* from 1766, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing proscribes the rhyparography of Peraikos (Pyreicus) as mere vanity and an anomaly from the Greek ideal:

> Pyreicus, who painted barbers' rooms, dirty workshops, donkeys, and kitchen herbs, with all the diligence of a Dutch painter, as if such things were rare or attractive in nature, acquired the surname of Rhyparographer, the dirt-painter. The rich voluptuaries, indeed, paid for his works their weight in gold, as if by this fictitious valuation atone for their insignificance.[48]

Low subjects were not only seen as a threat to morally high subjects and established hierarchies, they also served to equate the lower classes with low morals. In his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1845), William Smith follows the discussion on Pyreicus immediately with a listing of pornographers including Parrhasius, Pausanius, and the like, suggesting that these subjects, scenes of every day life and scenes of erotica, were aligned.[49]

While Lessing's entry shows a parallel between rhyparography and genre painting and indicates a general knowledge of the terms at the time, it is significant that what we know today as "genre painting" was known more readily in eighteenth-century France by the term *bambochade*.[50] The term *bambochade* derives from the Italian word *bambocciata*, an epithet used to denote the work of Dutch artist Pieter van Laer and his followers in Italy in the early seventeenth century. Known as 'il Bamboccio,' Pieter van Laer was the leader of the Bamboccianti, a group of modern-day Rhyparographers, whose paintings of low subjects were quite popular among consumers; and yet, like

the work of Peraikos, the works of the Bamboccianti were heavily attacked by their more classicizing peers. In an invective against Pieter van Laer and the Bamboccianti, in the manner of Lessing's attack a century later, Salvator Rosa recounts his contemporaries' subject matter with derision:

> ...rough porters, rogues, pickpockets, taverns, wagons, limekilns, inns, bands of drunks and gluttons, gypsies, tobacconists, barbers, meddlers, beggars, those who search for lice and scratch themselves, people who sell scorched pears to rogues, pissers, shitters, prostitutes, tinkers, and cobblers.[51]

It is not surprising that these same sorts of low scenes were just as shocking, derided, and yet wildly popular among consumers in antiquity as the *bambocciate* were to consumers in the seventeenth century. Not all critics despised the works: some contemporary scholars knew of Peraikos and discussed this so-called rhyparography, "the ancient genre of ignoble painting," as a tolerable classical mode.[52] But later in the seventeenth century, under the attack of the art historian Giovanni Pietro Bellori, the mode became derided again.[53]

While critics' ambiguous feelings over low subject matter continued into the eighteenth century, the *bambochade* became quite popular as its own category among the lower genres. The earliest definition of *bambochade* in the eighteenth century appears in Jacques Lacombe's *Dictionnaire portratif des beaux-arts* from 1752: "Paintings of gallant or country scenes, fairs, smoke dens, and other cheerful subjects."[54] In 1792, Claude-Henri Watelet defined the *bambochade* in a manner which seems closest to our most common usage of genre painting today: "a genre that includes the representation of rustic nature, of Villager's habitations, their customs, and their commonplace behavior."[55] The emphasis here is not only on scenes of everyday life, but on scenes of the lives of the vulgar, or rustic, lower classes. Those, like Lessing, who attacked Peraikos and rhyparography contrived to undermine modern-day painters of *bambochades* in an effort to maintain the hierarchy of the genres and thus maintain class differences among painters.[56] In his entry on genre painting written for the *Encyclopédie* in 1781, Watelet warns against the "monstrous" consequences of mixing genres, as it was common practice for painters of everyday life to try to blur the boundaries and even more common for history painters to paint in other genres. It was the critic's job to prevent these creative mixings, and thus preserve the proper hierarchy.

In 1762, one contemporary critic cited the taste for Jean-Antoine Watteau as being "a taste for bambochades," not to be taken seriously, though Michael Levey notes this reaction against Watteau was a consequence of the 1760s vogue for Greuze.[57] The characterization of Jean-Baptiste Greuze as a "painter of bambochades" was, according to Colin Bailey, not actually derisive, but rather a means of legitimating Greuze's work.[58] Greuze had sought the status of history painter with his submission of the history painting *Septimus Severus* to the Academy in 1769, and, though they admitted him at the lower rank of genre painter, he continued in his effort to raise the esteem of genre painting. As Bailey describes: "In gesture, narration, and moral import, Greuze's most ambitious Salon submissions transformed the 'bambochade' into didactic theater with an improving mission – Diderot's 'peinture morale.'"[59] If the genre scene was to be raised to the level of history painting, it would need to have a redeeming message and to begin to borrow from the traditional characteristics of history painting. Diderot's glowing remark upon seeing Greuze's early sketch for the *Septimus Severus* indicates that this transition might have been possible: "Greuze has suddenly (and successfully) made the leap from the *bambochade* to great painting."[60] The same could be indicated of *Le Verrou*, as is evidenced by the retort of Saint-Félix in the *Affiches* from 1784.

In the 1770s, when Fragonard was working on the sketches and final oil painting of *Le Verrou*, the idea of the bambochade and its relation to the hierarchy was fresh on critics' and artists' minds. While no writing of Fragonard's exists on this subject, it is widely accepted that he was critical of

the Academy and its hierarchy. Soon after he had achieved membership in the Academy, Fragonard stopped exhibiting at the salons and returned to painting scenes of the lower genres, with few exceptions. One exception of a painting of a higher genre was the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, though painted on a small scale. Although no longer exhibiting his work in the public eye of the Salon, Fragonard was keenly aware of the politics of genre and theory, and knew that he would continue to exist in relation to patrons and fellow artists who might see and discuss his work in this context.

Given his astuteness, was he aware then, when he made *Le Verrou* as a pendant to the *Adoration*, that the highest mode according to Félibien was actually allegory?[61] According to Félibien in his preface to the Conferences of the Academy in 1667, the greatest artists "must by allegorical compositions, know how to hide under the veil of fable the virtues of great men, and the most sublime mysteries."[62] As a pair, *Le Verrou* and the *Adoration*, as we have seen, function as an allegory for Sacred and Profane Love. In creating an allegorical pendant to a religious painting, Fragonard ironically aspires to the very highest mode of history painting. It is also possible that Fragonard needed, with the *Adoration* pendant, to outdo his rival Greuze in the realm of allegory, as Greuze had recently completed the pendants *Le Fils Puni* and *La Malédiction Paternelle* for their mutual patron the marquis de Véri.[63] If great painting at the time was defined by its ability to elicit feeling in the spectator, a feat arguably achieved in the pendants by Greuze, then Fragonard would have to outdo his rival by eliciting emotion in a new and clever way. Instead of appealing to sentiment, he uses humor and eroticism, tying these ever so carefully into a critique of the hierarchy of the genres. While Greuze seeks to raise the status of the bambochade to that of history painting, Fragonard seeks to disrupt the hierarchy by aspiring ironically, creating a hybrid form that defies definition. To further grasp how images like *Le Verrou* might be taken to be aspiring to history painting, we must consider one of history painting's inherent characteristics, the sublime.

Rhetoric, the Grand Style, and the Masochistic Sublime

The sublime in the eighteenth century was heavily tied up with the definition of history painting, as both were called at this time 'The Grand Style'. Whereas genre painting found its parallel in rhyparography and the mock encomium, history painting found its rhetorical parallel in the Longinian sublime. Although the first-century writings of Longinus on the sublime had been known throughout the early modern period, the French translation of Longinus in 1674 by Nicolas Boileau brought about a host of new interpretations, including the first significant applications of the concept to painting.[64] For Longinus, the sublime is a form of rhetoric in which the speaker transports the listener through a grand or lofty speaking style: "For the sublime not only persuades, but even throws an audience into transport...In most cases, it is wholly in our own power, either to resist or yield to persuasion. But the sublime, endued with strength irresistible, strikes home, and triumphs over every hearer."[65] As the sublime had the potential effect on the listener or viewer of completely transporting him or her, so the term would come to apply to the kind of paralysis and thrill one feels in the face of terror or fear, provided one is at a safe remove. Longinus writes of the sublime's power in "raising the passions to a violent and even enthusiastic degree" and compares its force in striking one down to that of lightning.[66] As applied to painting, the sublime referred primarily to the effect on the viewer: the history painter had the power of a great rhetorician in his ability to transport his audience. Thus history painting, in being known in its time as 'The Grand Style,' carried the connotation of the Longinian sublime, that which has the ability to transport one's audience in a grand fashion.

In his *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, John Cleland deliberately borrows the language of Joseph Addison who had characterized the sublime, or 'the great,' in his essays on aesthetics published in *The*

Spectator in 1712.[67] In Marvin D. L. Lansverk's analysis, "The great, in Cleland's treatment, is most typically a characteristic of men, subjectively experienced by women...occasioned by women viewing male genitalia..."[68] In his characterization of male genitalia, as well as in his characterization of the sexual act, Cleland's work borrows from the sublime the sexual connotation of being overtaken by a strong force, a basis for aesthetic reception with an obvious parallel in both erotic and moral tales. While Burke furthers the concept of terror by emphasizing fear and terror in the face of natural phenomena, John Dennis spoke of "ideas producing terror" as causes for the sublime as early as 1704. This emphasis on terrifying experiences is key to our discussion of the eighteenth-century seduction scene. Part of the allure in *Le Verrou* and in the *Memoirs* is the pleasure audiences take in the terror or fear of the protagonist. In his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of the Sublime and the Beautiful* from 1757, Burke's initial description of the sublime embodies the fear of the protagonist described in Cleland's *Memoirs* and illustrated in *Le Verrou*:

> Whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, that is to say, whatever is in any sort terrible, or is conversant about terrible objects or operates in a manner analogous to terror, is a source of the *sublime*; that is, it is productive of the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling.[69]

It is the same language of pleasure and pain, and aggression and resistance from Burke that we find in novels like Cleland's *Memoirs* and in images like *Le Verrou*. The woman's fear and resistance in *Le Verrou* qualify as an experience evoking the heightened state known at the time as an experience of the sublime. Though this heightened state is akin to terror, it is aestheticized due to the recognition of one's safe removal from the overpowering danger: "Terror is a passion which always produces delight when it does not press too close."[70] Though Burke is not the first to link the sublime to terror and a raping of the senses, his enquiry was the first to popularize it as such.[71] If Burke's sublime comes in the form of a power greater than our will, then our fear, he explains, is that "this enormous strength should be employed to the purposes of rapine and destruction."[72] The viewer's or protagonist's fear may be of being overpowered, being overtaken by a sublime force.

The language of the sublime as an overpowering force that threatens danger and yet causes pleasure complicates Burke's separation of pleasure and pain. Burke measures the two by their intensity and concludes that pain has a greater impact than pleasure; thus our fear in the face of the sublime (a fear approaching pain) is more intense than any positive pleasure we can experience or imagine. Whereas Burke separates pleasure and pain as distinct states, for Fanny, in Cleland's *Memoirs*, the language of pleasure and pain, fear and curiosity, go hand in hand; when Charles comes to her bed a second time, Fanny experiences "strange emotions of fear and pleasure." Later she describes her arrival at an "excess of pleasure, through excess of pain."[73] This both/and relationship to the loss of her virginity haunts the female in experiences such as that illustrated in *Le Verrou*: the woman is both curious and hesitant, terrified and aroused. Though the risk or possible terror in the sexual encounter is not so severe as to entail death, the sense of self-preservation Burke describes rightly applies to the victim or recipient of sexual coercion or assault indicated in images like *Le Verrou*.

While the aggression in *Le Verrou* has generally been regarded as welcome, it is interesting to note when gender roles are reversed, when the woman becomes the aggressor and the man is seen as the recipient of the female's overpowering sex drive. In *Images of Rape*, Diane Wolfthal notes how the vast majority of images of unwanted seduction in the canon of Western art history imply the culpability or agency of the woman, as in the often represented Biblical scene in which Joseph is seduced by Potiphar's wife.[74] In Jean-Baptiste Nattier's history painting, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife* (1711, The Hermitage), Potiphar's wife reclines nude on the disheveled bed and reaches for the fully clothed Joseph, who shies away from her with the gesture of the adverse palm.[75] While

Wolfthal argues this reversal serves to reinforce the demonization of women's sexuality, it can also serve as a model for the *male's* desire to be overpowered by a stronger force. When the sublime is an overpowering force that acts on the viewer, the recipient – of either gender – has the potential to experience pleasure in the face of fear or danger. Whether the sublime is gendered female and the recipient is male, or the sublime is gendered male (and the recipient is still male, as was often assumed), the experience of a kind of masochistic pleasure is at play.[76]

When the woman is the overpowering and uncontrolled force acting against the man, then the inverse of Burke's gendering comes true, and woman's sexuality exemplifies the danger of the sublime force on male subjectivity. If one reads the woman in *Le Verrou* as being complicit in the affair, this reversal is plausible: by transgressing the decorum of gendered space, the woman in *Le Verrou* places the man in a passive position in the face of her uncontrollable passion. Passion and the loss of control are gendered female, thus being overcome by one's own passion is, in a sense, being susceptible to a sublime force, a force seemingly more powerful than oneself. Since men did not have the restriction of gendered spatial boundaries placed upon them, some may have found the possibility of transgression on the part of the female (and the possibility of being the recipient of a greater force) an enviable position. This is key in an environment in which the majority of libertine epistolary novels that illustrate precisely this type of seduction scene (told from a woman's point of view) were in fact written by men, often intended for male readers.[77]

At the same time, women – especially women readers – were attacked for having exactly this sort of desire.[78] The libertine woman was denounced for her overactive imagination, as expressed in the sinful non-procreative acts of masturbation and tribadism. This recurring attack on women for their uncontrolled passion served to keep women in their place both physically and politically, conveniently deeming them unfit for equal citizenship status in the state. Women were characterized as crafty and deceptive in hiding their nymphomaniacal sickness, or "*furor utérine*."[79] According to D. T. Bienville, in his 1771 *La Nymphomanie*, all women were suspect and, thus, susceptible to policing: "Experts agreed that the disease could strike *any* woman," virgins and widows alike.[80] Nymphomania was not seen as a choice, as was the case for the professional prostitute, but rather, "prostitution by compulsion, a disease and not a profession."[81] In cases of rape, the conception of an irrational desire frequently led to accusations against the victim, reinforcing the notion of female sexuality as an uncontrollable and dangerous force.[82]

Correlated to this, as the intended recipient of the sublime, the male is placed in the role of the seduced, the one whose senses are, in fact, subject to "rapine and destruction." This dynamic both allows for the demonization of the woman's sexuality and for the envy of her position as one who is being seduced. The state of mind of the recipient of the sublime "beyond the power of reason" comes dangerously close to the impassioned yet demonized position of the female in that "[t]he mind is so entirely filled with its object, that it cannot entertain any other, nor by consequence reason on that object which employs it."[83] One who appreciates the sublime enjoys the risk in coming dangerously close to the greater force but ultimately regains control by turning the experience into pleasure (as Fanny Hill and other models from pornographic literature espouse that women should). As Peter Cosgrove indicates, in gendering the sublime male and the beautiful female Burke unwittingly constructs the feminine or beautiful realm as the only arena with transgressive potential.[84]

As Sheriff and Cosgrove each indicate, women's subjection to a marginal state characterized as passionate and irrational rendered the woman's position ironically desirable by the static male subject. While Cosgrove aligns masochism with the beautiful, I would argue that, although the sublime is the dominant power, the viewer or recipient of the sublime also necessarily takes the masochistic position. The sublime does violence to the senses, and yet there is pleasure in this loss of control. Thus, the sublime, as espoused by writers like Burke and exploited throughout works like Cleland's *Memoirs*, represents the masochistic fantasy, the desire to be overcome by a greater

force. In the viewer's or reader's experience, this force is tied up with the erotic nature of the work, and manifests in the very real form of a lover, or alternately in the reader's or viewer's overwhelming passion leading to masturbation. In *Le Verrou* and in Cleland's *Memoirs*, we see the fantasy of the overpowering force as sexual passion, in a language utterly tied up with the sublime. In addition, both works critique the sublime or grand manner of their respective genres by melding base subjects with high form, and in this way appeal to the varied aspects of the sublime current in their time.

Would viewers associate the protagonist in *Le Verrou* with Fanny Hill? As the engraving was released just two years after Choderlos de Laclos' *Les Liaisons Dangereuses* (1782), it seems *Le Verrou* became more easily absorbed into the visual vocabulary of that more recent libertine novel. While the deflowering scene in Fanny Hill closely aligns visually and thematically with the subject of *Le Verrou*, it is possible there is another scene from moralizing or erotic literature that fits the scene equally well. Still, it can be noted that the appearance and dress of the characters in *Le Verrou* are appropriate for those of Cleland's novel. Charles is muscular and fit; he is a working man, a sailor. Fanny sports a fine gown acquired from the brothel before she left. Would a working man be in such a fine room if it were not an inn? Similarly, this cannot be the woman's space because she cannot reach the lock. While further research into their relationship is necessary, the connection to the specific passage from the *Memoirs* provides insight into the question of the painting's subject matter and helps to illuminate Fragonard's transgression of genre. Like Cleland, Fragonard's subversive act of veiling the low pornographic genitalia in a high aesthetic form participates in the tradition of veiled erotic metaphor and a culture of concealment while also pointing the way to the work's use as erotic aid in masturbation. In their ironic aspirations to high form and in their appeal to more challenging tastes, Fragonard and Cleland fooled few audiences into thinking the works might seriously be intended to moralize. As such, both works challenged established norms and the academic institutions they inhabited while doubling as erotic aids. These hybrid forms, these 'monstrous' consequences of mixing genres, became the highest flattery to the viewer's wit.

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Notes

1 *Affiches, annonces, et avis divers, ou Journal général de France* 56 (8 May 1784), 272. Cited in Jennifer Milam, *Fragonard's Playful Paintings: Visual Games in Rococo Art* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 2007), 135.

2 *Le Verrou* partakes in the iconographic tradition of seduction scenes ranging from the moralizing to the very lewd, across a spectrum of formats and genres. Three main types of seduction scenes that together share a general iconography are history paintings (including Biblical and mythological subjects), moralizing genre scenes, and licentious genre scenes. In all of these types there is typically an unmade bed, signs of struggle or activity, and, often, a door. In the moralizing scenes, not only does the victim resist through signs of distress such as the adverse palm, the room itself is in disarray signaling the victim's resistance. See Diane Wolfthal, *Images of Rape: The 'Heroic' Tradition and its Alternatives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). The further determining factor of the pornographic engravings is the revealing of the genitalia and, at times, evidence of the woman's desire.

3 From early descriptions of the painting to the Goncourts' 1883 description indicating that "her fall is inevitable", comments by critics and scholars tend to posit the woman's complicity. Certainly the work had itself at times been framed to suggest such a reading. An oval version of the image, engraved by Lebeau in 1785, bears the title "*La faible Résistance*, ou *le Verrou*".

4 See Wolfthal for signs of resistance throughout the medieval and early modern periods. See Milam for a discussion of behavioral literature in relation to *Le Verrou*.

5 Milam, *Fragonard's*, 128.

6 M. de Saint-Felix, *Affiches* (22 May 1784), 200. Cited in Milam, 128.

7 While the phallus is still evident in the engraving, the engraver Maurice Blot took care to disrupt the form of the vulva, rendering it practically nonexistent in the print.

8 Daniel Arasse, *Le Détail: pour une histoire rapprochée de la peinture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1997), 317-318.

9 Examples of popular prints which utilized suggestive phallic imagery (as opposed to actual genitalia) include Pierre-Antoine Baudouin's *The Cherry Picker* (1767), engraved by Nicolas Ponce, in which a young man extends his middle finger with two cherries draped over it towards a young woman, or François-Jean Wolff's 1787 stipple engraving, *The Potatoes*, after Eduard Fuchs, which shows a maid with an apron full of suggestively shaped potatoes, spearing an especially suggestive one with her knife (Smentek, 232, plate 10). In Guersant's 1787 engraving of Fragonard's *La Chemise Enlevée*, we see an enflamed object added at the girl's feet along with a phallic quiver of arrows surrounded by flowers in the banderolle below.

10 Robert Ellrich, "Modes of Discourse and the Language of Sexual Reference in Eighteenth-Century French Fiction" in *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert Purks Maccubbin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 218.

11 Fragonard had studied and copied from Giordano and many others, both in Italy during his travels, as well as from collections in France during his early studies. For a listing of works Fragonard copied, see Louis Réau, *Fragonard: Sa vie et son œuvre* (Bruxelles: Elsevier, 1956) 225-226, 231-234.

12 Jean Montague Massengale, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993), 116, and Colin B. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 124.

13 The disembodied putti which circle the sky above the Virgin are typical of religious scenes from the late fifteenth through seventeenth centuries, seen in the works of Correggio and later in the work of the Carracci and Domenichino, typical of the Bolognese school, though the putti seen in the *Adoration* seem to resemble those of Annibale Carracci.

14 As Caravaggio and Carracci were traditionally pitted against one another as irreconcilable opposites, to include citations from both in the *Adoration* serves as an aside to the knowledgeable viewer.

15 Bailey, *Patriotic*, 120-126.

16 Alexandre-Joseph Paillet, *Catalogue des tableaux des trois écoles, miniatures, bronzes, marbres et autres objets précieux du cabinet de feu le Marquis de Véri* (Paris, 1785), noted in Jean-Pierre Cuzin, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard: Life and Work: Complete Catalogue of the Oil Paintings* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1988), 179. Cuzin goes on to note that patrons in general at this time were calling for pendants whose relationship was not so explicit but were more challenging and stimulating; the more open and complex the potential readings were, the better.

17 Alexandre Lenoir, "Fragonard," in *Biographie universelle ancienne et moderne*, t. XV (Paris, 1816), 419-421. Cited in Guillaume Faroult, *Jean-Honoré Fragonard: Le Verrou* (Paris: Musée du Louvre Éditions, 2007), 30. We know that Véri's collection was made available to artists, an audience who would have particularly appreciated the transgressive nature of the pairing. See Bailey, *Patriotic*, 127-8.

18 An appeal to decency whose ulterior motive was to increase sales.

19 David Wakefield, *Fragonard* (London: Oresko Books, 1976), 84.

20 Pierre Rosenberg, *Fragonard* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), 483.

21 Georges Wildenstein. *The Paintings of Fragonard: Complete Edition* (New York: Phaidon, 1960), 310.

22 Kristel Smentek, "Sex, Sentiment, and Speculation: The Market for Genre Prints on the Eve of the French Revolution," in *French Genre Painting in the Eighteenth-century*, ed., Philip Conisbee (New Haven: Yale University Press for National Gallery of Art, Washington, 2007), 220-243. For a discussion of Pierre Casselle's 1976 study of Vallée's account see Anne L. Schroder, "Genre Prints in Eighteenth-Century France: Production, Market, and Audience," in *Intimate Encounters: love and domesticity in eighteenth-century France*, ed. Richard Rand (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

23 *Journal général de France*, 11 January 1785, 19. Cited in Smentek, "Sex...", 234, note 81.

24 In an earlier, similar engraving, *Le Curieux* (1779), by Pierre Malœuvre after the gouache by Pierre-Antoine Baudouin, the same situation occurs while a man spies on the women through a window. See the entry for *Le Curieux* from the Courtauld's "Triumph of Eros" exhibition, catalogue number 74, in *The Triumph of Eros: Art and Seduction in 18th-century France*, ed., Dmitri Ozerkov (London: Fontanka, 2007), 114. The authors note that the subject of enemas was common, and served as a euphemism for the sexual act. See M.-F. Le Pennec, *Petit glossaire du langage érotique aux XVIIe and XVIIIe siècles (Collection La parole debout dirigée par G. Lely)* (Paris, 1979), 97.

25 Smentek, "Sex...", 235. See the *Livre de vente* of Vallée from 9 and 24 August, 1789, pages 160 and 163, and Schroder, "Genre...", 80.

26 Faroult, *Jean-Honoré*, 29-30.

27 Wildenstein, *Paintings*, 310.

28 Alexandre-Joseph Paillet, *Catalogue*. Cited in Cuzin, *Jean-Honoré*, 324; Wildenstein, *Paintings*, 310; and Faroult, *Jean-Honoré*, 51.

29 Sylvie Kleiman-Lafon, "The French Adventures of Fanny Hill" in *Launching Fanny Hill: Essays on the Novel and Its Influence*, by Patsy Fowler and Alan Jackson (New York: AMS Press, 2003), 129. Kleiman-Lafon notes that the novel was first translated into French anonymously by Jean-Louis Fougeret de Montbron as *La Fille de Joye* in 1751. The French version, *La Fille de Joye*, is abridged and slightly tamer in its overtones of violence than the original English version, though Fragonard

could have seen any of the illustrated editions, which were published in 1766, 1770, and 1776, concurrent with when his earliest sketches for *Le Verrou* are said to date.

30 John Cleland, *Fanny Hill: Or, Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (New York: Random House, 2001), 46.

31 "Behavioral literature in the eighteenth century typically and dubiously advised women to feign modesty and resist, not only to protect their honour, but also because modesty was filled with tantalising potential." Milam, *Fragonard's*, 116.

32 Wolfthal, *Images*, 27. In many tales of rape or raptus, the victim is later shown as accepting his or her fate, often happier as a result.

33 His ignorance (and lack of malignant intent) renders his reunion with her at the end of the novel acceptable, depicting him as an honorable *amant* worthy of her love and fortune, a suitable conclusion to this pseudo-moralizing tale.

34 The earliest sketches of *Le Verrou* were contemporaneous with the earliest illustrated versions of the *Memoirs* (from 1766, 1770, and 1776) and have some elements in common with the images of Fanny's deflowering. For a full account of the illustrated versions of Cleland's *Memoirs*, see William B. Ober "The Iconography of Fanny Hill: How to Illustrate a Dirty Book" in *BOTTOMS UP! A Pathologist's Essays on Medicine and the Humanities* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1988), 153-175. The elegant 1766 illustrated English version, attributed to Fragonard's contemporary Hubert-François Gravelot, may very well have been known to him.

35 Recent scholarship on Fragonard's literary influences in the 2007-2008 exhibition at the Musée Jacquemart-André suggests that Fragonard was well versed in contemporary literature and libertine illustrations. See Marie-Anne Dupuy-Vachey. *Fragonard, Les Plaisirs d'un Siècle* (Paris: Exhibition International, 2007).

36 Philip Stewart, *Engraven Desire: Eros, Image, and Text in the French Eighteenth Century* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1992), 214. Stewart notes the "impassioned elegance" of the scene as evidence that, like the woman in *Le Verrou*, the woman in *La Clochette* is complicit in the seduction.

37 See Bradford Keyes Mudge, ed., *When Flesh Becomes Word: An Anthology of Early Eighteenth-Century Libertine Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004) for the English translation of the original French. N.B.: *School of Venus* (1680) is the English translation of *L'Ecole des Filles, ou la Philosophie des Dames* (1655), attributed to Michel Millot and Jean l'Ange, not to be confused with *L'Académie des Dames* (1680) or *School of Women* (1682), the respective French and English translations of Nicolas Chorier's *Satyra Sotadica* (1660).

38 Mudge, *When*, 18.

39 Cleland, *Memoirs*, 47.

40 David Foxon, *Libertine Literature in England, 1660-1745: With an Appendix on the Publication of John Cleland's Memoirs of A Woman of Pleasure, Commonly Called Fanny Hill* (London: The Book Collector, 1964), 54, and William H. Epstein, *John Cleland: Images of a Life* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1974), 68.

41 Epstein, *John*, 75.

42 Foxon, *Libertine*, 55 and Epstein, *John*, 77.

43 The French 1776 Borel/Elluin version includes the tag "ecrit par elle-même" in the title, reinforcing the autobiographical conceit. See also later versions including an 1831 London edition: *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure: Written by Herself.*

44 Interestingly for our study, the Third Dialogue of the *Satyra Sotadica*, in which the experienced cousin tells the younger the names and uses of the various sex organs, is titled "Fabrica" or "Fabric", used in the dialogue as a metaphor for semen (Nicolas Chorier, *The Dialogues of Luisa Sigea (Aloisiae Sigeae Satyra Sotadica De Arcanis Amoris Et Veneris)* (Paris: Isidore Liseux, 1890), 43.) In the Latin, *fabrica* translates as factory; it is possible that the male reproductive system could be described metaphorically as a kind of factory. It is this usage – anatomy as factory, or the factory of the human body – that we see in the title of Vesalius's treatise on anatomy, his "Fabrica" or *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. The possibility that the alternate and anglicized word *fabric* carried anatomical or sexual connotations–in addition to its connotation as a veil or censoring emblem– lends an interesting twist to Fragonard's choice to hide the genitalia in the fabric of the curtain.

45 James G. Turner, "The Properties of Libertinism" in *'Tis Nature's Fault: Unauthorized Sexuality during the Enlightenment*, ed. Robert Purks Maccubbin (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 83. See footnote 35 citing Roy Porter, "Mixed Feelings: the Enlightenment and Sexuality in Eighteenth-century Britain," in Paul Boucé, ed. *Sexuality in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), 12 and David Foxon, *Libertine*, 57-58.

46 Pliny, *Natural History*, XXV, section 37.

47 William Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1845) 712. Smith lists Pyreicus as belonging to "the class of genre painters, or 'peintres du genre bas,' as the French term them." A similar entry exists in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1867), 607.

48 Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay upon the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, ed. Ellen Frothingham (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 2005), 9.

49 Smith, *Dictionary*, 712.

50 Colin Bailey, "Surveying Genre in Eighteenth-century French Painting," in Colin B. Bailey, Philip Conisbee, and Thomas W. Gaehtgens, *The Age of Watteau, Chardin, and Fragonard* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 3.

51 David A. Levine, "The Art of the Bamboccianti" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1984), 22.

52 Levine, "Art," 24.

53 Ibid., 27.

54 Jacques Lacombe, *Dictionnaire portratif des beaux-art* (1752), cited in Bailey, "Surveying Genre," 2.

55 Claude-Henri Watelet and Pierre Lévesque, *Dictionnaire des arts de peinture, sculpture, et gravure, 5 vols.* (Paris 1792), vol.1, 176. Cited in Bailey "Surveying Genre," 33, note 21. "On appelle aussi, dans le langage plus sérieux de la Peinture, *Bambochade*, une sorte de genre qui embrasse la représentation de la nature rustique, les habitations des Villageois, leurs usages ou leurs moeurs vulgaires."

56 Claude-Henri Watelet, "Genre" in *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts, des sciences et des métiers*, ed. Denis Diderot (Lausanne, 1781), xvii. 971.

57 Michael Levey, *Rococo to Revolution: Major Trends in Eighteenth-Century Painting* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), 57.

58 Colin Bailey, *The Laundress* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2000), 44.

59 Bailey, *Laundress*, 7.

60 In a letter to Falconet dated August 15, 1767. See Bailey, "Surveying Genre," 5.

61 Mark Ledbury, *Sedaine, Greuze and the Boundaries of Genre* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2000), 18-19.

62 André Félibien, preface to *Conférences de l'Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture pendant l'année 1667* (Paris, 1669).

63 Farould, *Jean-Honoré*, 32-33.

64 See Samuel H. Monk, *The Sublime: A Study of Critical Theories in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Modern Language Association, 1935) and Andrew Ashfield and Peter de Bolla, eds., *The Sublime: A Reader in British Eighteenth-Century Aesthetic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), the latter of which includes source texts by Roger de Piles, John Dennis, Jonathan Richardson, Joseph Addison, John Baillie, the earl of Shaftesbury, and Mark Akenside, among others.

65 *Dionysius Longinus on the sublime: translated from the Greek, with notes and observations, and some account of the life, writings, and character of the author. By William Smith,...the second edition, corrected and improved* (London 1743), 2-3, in Ashfield and de Bolla, *Sublime*, 22.

66 Ashfield and de Bolla, *Sublime*, 22-23.

67 See Marvin D. L. Lansverk, "'Delightful Vistas': Genital Landscapes and Addisonian Aesthetics in Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*," 112-118 in *Launching Fanny Hill*, eds. Patsy S. Fowler and Alan Jackson (New York: AMS Press, 2003), 103-123.

68 Lansverk, "Delightful...", 115.

69 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757), ed. Adam Phillips (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 36. His italics.

70 Burke, *Philosophical*, 42.

71 John Dennis, "The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry" (1704) in Ashfield and de Bolla, *Sublime*, 37. John Dennis describes the sublime as "pleasing rape on the soul of the reader". Also cited in Christine Battersby, *The Sublime, Terror and Human Difference* (London: Routledge, 2007), 5, and discussed in Ashfield and de Bolla, *Sublime*, 20.

72 Burke, *Philosophical*, 60.

73 Cleland, *Memoirs*, 49-50.

74 Wolfthal, *Images*, 179. It should not be forgotten that, in the Biblical story, Potiphar's wife accuses Joseph of rape (even though *she* had been the one to seduce *him*) and it is *he* who is subsequently thrown in jail.

75 Image appears in Ozerkov, *The Triumph of Eros*, 111, exhibition catalogue number 71.

76 The important aspect to note is the interchangeability of gender roles, that the male is not necessarily the aggressor and that the male may desire to be the recipient of the overpowering force.

77 Epstein, *John*, 139.

78 Mary D. Sheriff, *Moved by Love: Inspired Artists and Deviant Women in Eighteenth-Century France* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2008), 94-104.

79 Sheriff, *Moved*, 126.

80 Sheriff, "Passionate Spectators: On Enthusiasm, Nymphomania, and the Imagined Tableau," *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 60:1/2, Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850 (1997): 73.

81 Sheriff, "Passionate...," 73.

82 This attack on uncontrollable sexuality was practically related to the need to ensure virginity in a bride and fidelity in one's wife, ensuring the system of male property rights and inheritance laws. See Corrinne Harol, *Enlightened Virginity in Eighteenth-century Literature* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2006).

83 Burke, *Philosophical*, 53.

84 Cosgrove, "Edmund Burke, Gilles Deleuze, and the Subversive Masochism of the Image," *English Literary History* 66:2 (1999): 407.

An Interview with Thomas E. A. Dale

Hilary Haakenson, Brooke Falk Permenter, and Katherine Weaver Scott

Thomas E. A. Dale is a professor of Early Christian and Medieval art history and department chair at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. He received his Ph.D. from The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore in 1990. His areas of research include St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, the cult of the saints, and cultural appropriation. Publications include Relics, Prayer and Politics in Medieval Venetia: Romanesque Painting in the Crypt of Aquileia Cathedral *(Princeton, 1997) and* Shaping Sacred Space and Institutional Identity in Romanesque Mural Painting: Essays in Honour of Otto Demus *(London: The Pindar Press, 2004, with John Mitchell).*

The following interview is the product of written correspondence between the editors and Dr. Dale in November, 2010.

Rutgers Art Review: As demonstrated in countless conference papers and essays in publications like the Art Bulletin, art historians have nurtured a consistent awareness of the state of the field. Many professionals have seen their discipline as in crisis, and prevalent sentiments seem to reinforce this opinion. How would you characterize the current position of art history within the academy?

Thomas Dale: I don't take the view that art history is "in crisis" so much as it is experiencing "growing pains." Art history is constantly adapting itself to new critical frameworks, and as a result it needs to periodically redefine or expand its objects of study. At the present time I see the discipline adapting itself to the emergence of Visual Culture Studies, as a trans-disciplinary field that focuses on visual phenomena in the broadest sense, including not only new digital media but also different kinds of material that we wouldn't traditionally classify as "art" ranging from maps to optical diagrams. Ultimately Visual Culture Studies will enhance the role of visual phenomena, including what we traditionally define as art, as essential evidence for broader cultural considerations by students and faculty in other disciplines. The challenge will be to make sure the Visual Culture approaches are not confined to modern and contemporary art but are understood in a broader historical perspective. I am happy to say that in my own department we have a very strong program in Visual Culture that has greatly enriched our art historical curriculum and has encouraged a dialogue between different cultures and historical periods, as well as between the humanities and perceptual sciences.

RAR: Do you feel that the financial and administrative structures of higher education have significantly shaped trends in art historical research and vice versa? If so, how?

TD: I think that especially at public universities such as my own, Art History Departments, which tend to be relatively small compared with say History or English, do feel a certain imperative to collaborate in order to achieve things on campus and gain support for their programs, because when resources are scarce money goes to big departments or collaborative ventures. This is also quite natural for art history since most research in our field is implicitly interdisciplinary and because we cross so many geographical, cultural, religious, and chronological boundaries. This has also fostered the

leading roll played by art historians in new interdisciplinary initiatives such as Visual Culture and Material Culture, but also more established areas such as Medieval Studies and Religious Studies.

RAR: What do you feel are the major contributions of art history to the humanities, and what can be done to consistently improve the field's contributions to the larger academic world?

TD: I think our primary role as art historians in the humanities is to highlight the importance of the visual object—art, architecture, material and visual culture—as primary to understanding any given culture. Art and visual culture are fundamental expressions of humanity. We live in an incredibly visual and global culture, and we are constantly being bombarded with visual images. What we need to emphasize is that the visual phenomena around us require the same skills of interpretation and decoding that texts do and that art historians are uniquely placed to help scholars in other areas of the humanities understand the structures, codes and visual traditions tied to visual images and architecture in everyday life as well as in more rarefied religious, social, and political settings. I would like to see recognition that art history and visual culture are essential to a liberal arts education. I started my teaching career at Columbia University in New York, and something that impressed me there was that every undergraduate had to take "Art Humanities" as part of their core curriculum, alongside Music, Literature and History. I wish we had the same requirement on our own campus.

RAR: As a graduate journal, the Rutgers Art Review is keenly aware of the shifting nature of academia. Graduate students who wish to teach are beginning to wonder if they are being trained for tenure-track positions that may not exist by the time they enter the job market. Yet, academia may be in need of a reevaluation to ensure that students receive the best education and that teaching methods do not become outdated. Where do you stand on this hotly debated issue?

TD: Regarding the job market, I would say that in order to be flexible and respond to the academic job opportunities out there, it is important to have a good, broad education in art history and to embrace more than one field—medieval Europe and Islam would be two good complementary fields, for example. It is also important to be open to a wider range of career paths besides university teaching. In reviewing lists of our department's graduates I see a great diversity of occupations—curatorial and other forms of museum work, commercial galleries, art libraries, arts administration.

As for pedagogy, we have already made the transition to digital technology. Everyone has a web site, and our students expect all the basic images to be readily available for study online. In our department, even the most senior scholars in their seventies have embraced PowerPoint presentations. And this offers greater flexibility in the kinds of teaching resources one can bring into the classroom, including video clips and pod casts from websites. Google Earth allows us to zoom in on the precise locations of the sites we study and see the terrain as it is currently configured. Then there is the facility to conduct discussions of readings outside the classroom, in preparation for more productive discussion in class. The ability to share drafts of text and comment on them online greatly aids the peer review process. Particularly wonderful is the capacity to search primary sources online like the Patrologia Latina (medieval Latin texts). Then, of course, there are so many accessible images available now by using Google-Images.

The greatest challenge is to discern the quality of content. There is so much material that is not properly edited. We need to guide students carefully in finding reliable on-line content.

One aspect of the technological revolution that I do not subscribe to is distance learning. I think it is great to use on-line resources to complement or supplement classroom learning but not to replace it. There is no substitute for one-on-one consultation and the give-and-take of classroom discussion with its possibilities for random new insights and questions.

RAR: What advice do you have for graduate students on the verge of beginning careers in academia? What are the benefits of "Liberal arts colleges" or "research universities;" will educators and students of art history thrive more in one of these settings versus the other?

TD: Art History is rarely a lucrative way to earn a living, so you have to have a true passion and devotion to what you are studying. I would also say it is an increasingly demanding field to be in. Beyond mastering your own particular field, you need to have excellent language skills, critical theory training, some skill in digital media and website technology as well as training in cognate disciplines of the humanities—literature, history, religion, history of science. But what most of our students recognize is that you should never lose sight of the material object. For this reason it is also essential to get experience working in a museum, be it as curatorial intern, preparator, registrar, or educator.

RAR: Current ideas for revamping the academy coincide with and are intimately connected to a struggling American economy. Colleges and universities implement extensive hiring freezes, yet departmental workloads are increasing. As traditional professorships are left vacant due to retirement, how do these working conditions affect the discipline as a whole?

TD: I think it's too early to say what the impacts will be in the current economic downturn. A lot of statehouses have just been turned over to fiscal conservatives, including our own in Wisconsin. What our university is trying to do is gain greater autonomy from the state so that we can maintain a competitive advantage and make decisions based on what is best for the university and not be dependent on state handouts. Art Historians, like scholars in other disciplines, are increasingly required to raise funds to support programs, student fellowships and faculty positions.

Vacancies will be inevitable but not necessarily permanent. But in the short-term, art history departments would be well advised to think creatively about interdisciplinary clusters that would allow a scholar to work in more than one department—this is the Cluster Hires program we have at Wisconsin—but also within a department. Many younger scholars do have more than one field in which they can teach, and I am sure we will have to rely more and more on this flexibility.

RAR: In the last few decades, there has been a significant push to expand art historical research outside the canon. Recent hiring trends reflect the expanding interest in the so-called "low arts," non-western arts, and the steadily increased focus on modern and contemporary art. How do you feel that this has affected the methodological and ideological trends in art history? Do you think that these trends will continue?

TD: As a Europeanist and medievalist I think that the new emphasis on "non-Western" traditions is a healthy one, but it shouldn't be at the expense of traditional European fields. In my own work, I know I have been influenced in a positive way by considering traditions outside my usual fields of study. I am currently working on a project that examines cultural hybridity in medieval Venice, and this has led me to teach a broader course on cultural hybridity and exchange in medieval art

geographically focused mono-cultural surveys. I think it is always exciting to rethink one's own material by looking at unexpected connections with other cultures or permutations within a culture. Another of my research projects focuses on Romanesque sculpture and multi-sensory experience, and I have had very profitable exchanges with my colleague, Henry Drewal, who is rethinking the senses and understanding for African art. In many ways there are fascinating connections and, of course, common theoretical considerations for thinking about objects that were not originally understood as "art" per se.

RAR: As editors of the current volume of the Rutgers Art Review, we were surprised to find that most of our submissions explore works and artists, which, although falling within traditionally discussed artistic periods, fall outside of the usual surveys. Together with the hiring trends discussed above, how can emerging scholars and professors best integrate these interests with the existing canon?

TD: I am not surprised by your observations. The range of objects of study has been greatly expanded beyond conventional canons for each field, and, of course, there is greater interest in trans-cultural research. I don't think it is so much a necessity to "integrate these interests" within the existing canon so much as to open a dialogue between the canon and non-traditional objects of study. That means that in surveys, we still need to teach the canon so students are familiar with it and how influential it has been, but they need to put it in context and be introduced to alternative more expansive views.

RAR: The last several years, museum exhibitions have been curated to appeal to different and/or expanding audiences and to integrate new trends in art history. What is the most influential or important exhibition you have viewed in the last decade? How did it accommodate changing art historical interests and/or the exhibition's viewers?

TD: I would name two exhibitions that particularly excited me. One was "Krone und Schleier (Crown and Veil)" held simultaneously in Bonn and Essen in 2005. It was an incredible survey of medieval arts of the convent that integrated all branches of the arts—illuminated manuscripts, metalwork, ivory and stone sculpture, stained glass, humbler textiles, "Nonnenarbeite" drawings—a beautiful demonstration of the role of visual arts in the devotional lives of nuns that has been the focus of Jeffrey Hamburger's ground-breaking scholarship. This was a scholarly blockbuster.

The other was "Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797," an exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 2007, that showed the complex ways in which Venice interacted with the Islamic culture from the Middle Ages to the end of the eighteenth century. Again it was a highly integrative show drawing on book arts, maps, textiles, painting and decorative arts. It was an important reminder of how culturally interconnected Christianity and Islam were in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

RAR: Within your field, what is the most influential publication in the last few years and why?

TD: I would find it very difficult to name just one "most influential" publication because it really depends on what one's scholarly interests are and the medieval designation covers a vast territory. I am currently working on Romanesque sculpture and the senses, so I find particularly stimulating the recent research of Bissera Pentcheva, her article in *Art Bulletin* (2006) and her just-published book, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (2010). She very compellingly shows how the icon is not just about seeing but is implicated in the wider multi-sensory religious

experience. She prompts us to consider evanescent visual effects of flickering light and acoustic effects that animate the icon. Similarly, Herbert Kessler's introductory text, *Seeing Medieval Art: Rethinking the Middle Ages* (2004), is wonderful for its return to physical materials of works of art and their spiritual meanings. I also very much like the essays in *The Mind's Eye: Art and Theological Argument in the Middle Ages* (2005), edited by Jeffrey Hamburger and Anne-Marie Bouche, because they complicate our notions of what it means to see and of the theology of images.