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Contents
Volume VI, 1985

ARTICLES

INTERVIEW

1. Attic black-figure fragment, first quarter of the sixth century B.C. Private collection (Photograph by Rob Tucher. ©Rob Tucher, 1985)

Attic Black-Figure: An Early Fragment

HENRY V. BENDER

Greek vase painting occupies a unique place in the heritage of Greek civilization. As potters kneaded red Attic clay and turned it into the many shapes of practical use to the life styles of their time, so the artists/painters began to decorate the exterior of these pots. The two roles of potter and painter occasionally were one and some pieces were signed. The great variety of shapes comports well with the great variety of daily and mythological scenes depicted on the vases themselves.

The base color of the baked clay is red, while the figures painted upon that base are black. The resulting dark figures are cast upon a light background and the technique is thus called black-figure. In the early phases of this technique, the main shapes are also outlined by incision into the clay surface of the vessel. Such incised decoration becomes characteristic of the black-figure style.

A fragment of black-figure pottery (fig. 1), presented to the author from a private collection and previously unpublished, poses several problems in the effort to classify, date and perhaps even identify its painter. The scanty information handed down with the piece, although unverifiable, notes that the find spot was the site of Brauron, a city noted for the worship of Artemis in her role as a goddess of childbirth.

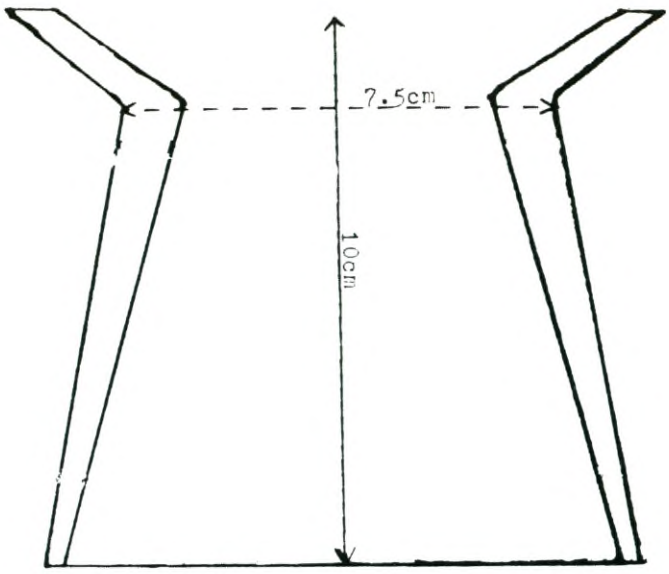
The fragment stands ten centimeters high and is circular with a diameter at its top which measures seven and one half centimeters; the diameter of the lowest point of the fragment would probably not exceed ten centimeters (fig. 2). The sidewalls of the vessel are broken just below the bodies of the two sirens painted upon the exterior. The thickness of these sides changes from a rather thick mass at the top to a thin edge at the base; the slight outward tapering evident in the sides further suggests that the fragment belongs to a standed vessel, perhaps a krater or bowl.

While figure 3 shows a standed krater of known shape, it is very unlikely that our fragment belongs to such an elaborately developed vessel.[1] The upper portion indicated in figure 3 displays a spout and a set of handles; these features seem ill-suited to the shape from which our fragment derives. The scale of the fragment seems to preclude a large krater but the final part of the fragment's side walls could have been turned outward to form a flanged base, which is typical of the standed krater or the smaller "krateriskos." Figure 4 attempts to show just how our fragment might belong to such a vessel. Thus, from the shape as suggested by the fragment itself,[2] although not proved beyond a doubt, and from a comparison to known shapes in use at Brauron's sanctuary and elsewhere, it seems quite reasonable to conclude

The author would like to express his sincere gratitude to Professor Christoph Clairmont of the Department of Classics and Archaeology of Rutgers University for his astute and generous help and advice in the preparation of this article. Special thanks are also due to Mr. Michael Tsang, a student at St. Joseph's Prep School in Philadelphia, for his fine illustrations throughout the article; to Mr. Robert Gross of Rutgers University for his helpful suggestions, and finally to Dr. Gloria Pinney of the Department of Archaeology at Bryn Mawr for her illuminating comments.

[1] This illustration is after an original found in P. Wolters, "Vassen aus Menidi," *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts,* XIII, 1898, 26.

[2] For additional information on pottery shapes and painters of early black-figure pottery see: J.D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters,* Oxford, 1956, 1-50; J.D. Beazley, *Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-Figure Vase Painters and Attic Red-Figure Vase Painters,* Oxford, 1971, 1-17.



2. Cross section drawing of figure 1

3. Drawing after an original found in P. Wolters, "Vasen aus Menidi," *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts,* XIII, 1898, 26

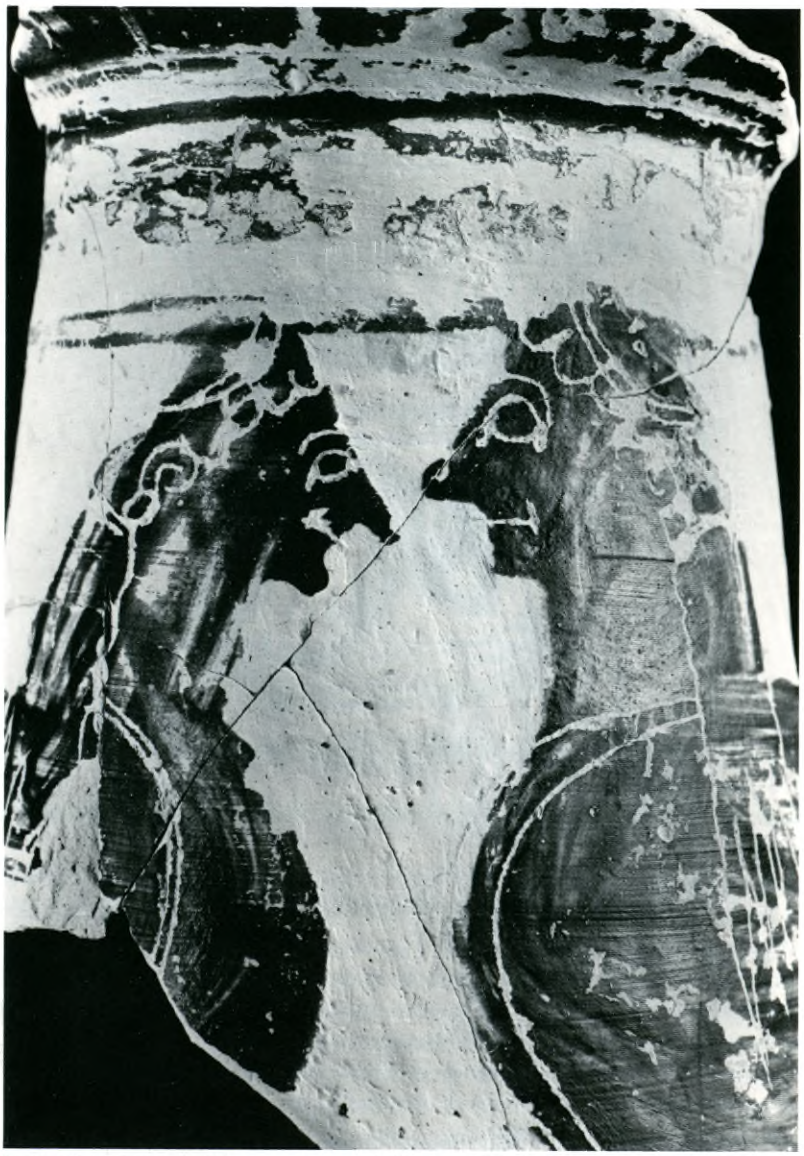
4. Drawing suggesting a reconstructed vessel including figure 1

that the piece is from a wedding vessel called a "lebes gamikos," or votive stand of some type.[3]

The clay of the fragment does not appear to have been kneaded very well, nor was it very well fired; the inside of the vessel shows the finger lines of the potter and in some areas is heavily encrusted. The clay is very friable which indicates an uneven or less intense firing than that used upon the finer pieces of the period. The glaze is poorly applied in a thin and uneven manner; there is evidence of encrustation on the neck of the piece as well, further complicating accurate reading of its stylistic content. The overall condition of the piece suggests that it was either very badly worn at the time and place of its discovery or was subjected to rather harsh treatment in a cleaning process after discovery. Such a process could easily have had some adverse effect upon such details as filling ornaments or the contours of the nose and chest of the siren to the right in figure 1.

The decoration consists of two sirens facing each other in the lower band; at the neck above them are traces of a number of concentric circles in red which serve to give a frame to the composition. Above this portion a fragment from where the stand joined the bowl or krater which it supported can be observed (fig. 5). Painted on the exterior of that rim-like protrusion (fig. 4) are rays or, more accurately, ray-like lines. Such radiating lines are typical and common in vessels of this period at the junction of a foot with the body or above a stand with a bowl (fig. 3). The interi-

[3] For a very full treatment of this subject see L. Kahil, "La déesse Artémis: Mythologie et iconographie," *Greece and Italy in the Classical World. Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology,* London, III-IX, September, 1978, 73-87; L. Kahil, "Mythological Repertoire of Brauron," *Greek Art and Iconography,* Madison, 1983, 231-244; L. Kahil, "Le 'Kraterisque' d'Artémis et le Brauronion de l'Acropole," *Hesperia,* L, 1981, 253-263.



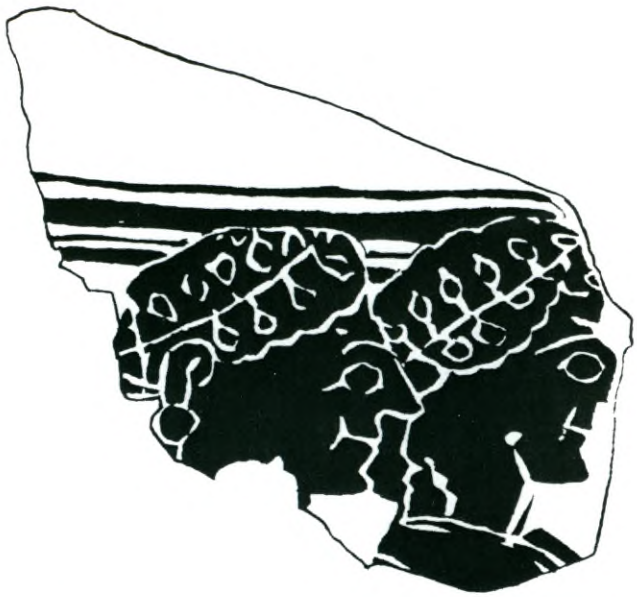
5. Detail of figure 1. (Photograph by Rob Tucher, ©Rob Tucher, 1985)

or of the top of our fragment, which would have been the bottom of the krater or bowl as supported by the stand, shows traces of black paint as well. Such black glaze is standard for open vessels, namely those without lids such as kraters or dinoi.

The profiles of the figures of the sirens are themselves crudely executed and the incised lines about them, forming hair and chest, are unevenly drawn. The mixing and firing of the clay seem poorly done. It is evident that the glaze is not very carefully applied, even though the piece is badly worn or has been mistreated. These facts combine to suggest that our fragment should be dated to the first quarter of the sixth century B.C.

6. Drawing after an illustration which appeared in I. Scheibler, "Olpen und Amphoren des Gorgonmalers," *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts,* LXXVI, 1961, 14, figure 17

7. Drawing after an illustration which appeared in S. Papasyridi-Karusu, "Sophilos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* LXII, 1937, 121, plate 56



8. Drawing after an illustration which appeared in J.D. Beazley, "Groups of Early Attic Black-Figure," *Hesperia,* XIII, 1944, 38–57, plate I, figure 3

Contemporaries of the fragment include noted works of the Gorgon Painter (fig. 6)[4] and that of Sophilos (fig. 7).[5] Both artists drew animals, which showed their sense for the fineness of line and the proportion and execution of details. As the illustrations show, both the Gorgon Painter and Sophilos render the fan tail of their siren(s) in such a manner that the incised lines of the tail tend to create the impression that the tail closes tightly into itself, in final appearance somewhat similar to the curved beak of an eagle. The lines radiate in gradual curves from long to short, while the space between them narrows in precise intervals.

On the fragment that we are discussing, the lines are not as carefully patterned or as evenly drawn as those of the Gorgon Painter or Sophilos. The lines forming the tendrils of hair for the sirens and those indicating the sirens' body contours reflect the same tendency to be imprecise and even irregular in a few areas. However, the fillets around the sirens' heads are neatly drawn like those of figures 6 and 7. In this connection, an interesting feature of our piece is the lip and mouth line on the faces of the two sirens. Each siren has a T-shaped mouth. Only a fragment of an early sixth-century vase of unknown shape (fig. 8)[6] in Brussels shows the same rendering of the mouth as well as the incised circle for the eye with a hook attached to indicate the corner. Such mannerisms suggest that our piece was the creation of a less sophisticated artist who, although aware of much detail, lacked the technical skills required in order to accomplish a more precise rendering or execution of them.

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[4] Figure 6 is after an illustration which appeared in I. Scheibler, "Olpen und Amphoren des Gorgonmalers," *Jahrbuch des Archäologischen Instituts,* LXXVI, 1961, 14, figure 17.

[5] Figure 7 is after an illustration which appeared in S. Papaspyridi-Karusu, "Sophilos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* LXII, 1937, 121, plate 56.

[6] Figure 8 is drawn after an illustration which appeared in J.D. Beazley, "Groups of Early Attic Black-Figure," *Hesperia,* XIII, 1944, 38–57, plate I, figure 3.

Raphael's *Division of the Promised Land:* An Exposition of some Major Concerns of Catholic Rome in the Early Sixteenth Century

SUSAN N. ERICKSON

Raphael's Loggia on the main story of the Vatican apartments has begun to be explored by several art historians in the last few years, but the breadth of the program provides a bevy of motifs and scenes to be further studied.[1] The decoration of this private loggia overlooking the Cortile di S. Damaso is variously dated from 1516 to 1518. This period, the second decade of the sixteenth century, was a time when Raphael's reputation as the preeminent artist in Rome had been established. A majority of the *stanze* in the Vatican were commissioned during these years, and in 1514 Raphael was appointed architect of St. Peter's. The following year Raphael was named overseer of antiquities in Rome by Pope Leo X. His duties involved the examination of antique fragments for possible reuse in new building projects or for cultural preservation.[2] Raphael was also called upon to reconstruct a pictorial record of ancient Rome.[3] In these ways Raphael and his school acquired a special awareness of the ancient Roman heritage, which was purposefully explored in their art.

As the ancient origins of Rome were becoming increasingly important, so were the ancient foundations of the Roman Catholic Church. These were the opening years of reform and the primacy of Rome and the divine authority of the Roman pope became critical issues, often addressed in artistic commissions such as the Stanze della Segnatura.[4] Raphael's Loggia should be considered not only as representations of Bible narratives, but as paintings illustrating such concerns. For example, *Division of the Promised Land* from the tenth vault, the Joshua vault, is a straight-forward depiction of the biblical event, explaining the Loggia's popular appeal (fig. 1). But a closer look at particular choices in the rendering of the biblical text and elements which cannot be accounted for textually, suggest implications particularly relevant to early sixteenth-century Rome.

This scene of the *Division of the Promised Land* is chronologically the last of the four scenes depicting the life of Joshua in the vault. Joshua is represented as an aged ruler, similar to the *basamento* scene which portrays the last significant event in his life, *Joshua Speaking to the People.*[5] The three earlier scenes in the vault, *Crossing the Jordan, Fall of Jericho,* and *Joshua Arrests the Course of the Sun,* depict Joshua as a young,

I wish to acknowledge the assistance given by Dr. Norman Canedy for whom this paper was written as part of the requirements for my Master of Arts Degree in Art History at the University of Minnesota.

[1] See Bernice Davidson's articles, "Pius IV and Raphael's Logge," *Art Bulletin,* LXVI, 1984, 382-389; "The Landscapes of the Vatican Logge from the Reign of Pope Julius III," *Art Bulletin,* LXV, 1983, 587-602; and "Pope Paul III's Additions to Raphael's Logge: His *Imprese* in the Logge," *Art Bulletin,* LXI, 1979, 385-404. Also Nichole Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello: maestro e bottega di fronte all'antico,* Rome, 1977; and "Les Loges de Raphael: répertoire à l'antique, Bible et mythologie," in *Classical Influences in European Culture, A.D. 1500-1700,* ed. R. R. Bolgar, Cambridge, 1976, 325-334.

[2] S. J. Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence,* vol. I, London, 1972, (1961), 264.

[3] E. Mandowsky and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities,* London, 1963, 16.

[4] Freedberg, vol. I, 112-134.

[5] Illustrated in Dacos, 1977, plates 142b and 142c.

1. Raphael, *Division of the Promised Land,* c. 1516–1518. Rome, Vatican, Logge (photo: Vatican)

active leader and warrior entering and conquering the Promised Land.[6] All of the illustrations are based on the Book of Joshua in the Old Testament, but the last vault scene, *Division of the Promised Land,* "is not described in detail in the text and is rarely represented. As it is conceived in the Loggia it is not connected with an iconographic tradition and must be an invention of the master."[7] The representation of this scene which is not commonly depicted in cycles of the life of Joshua underscores the relevance of the fresco.[8]

Chapters thirteen through twenty-one in Joshua describe the allotment of the land. Joshua 13:1 states that, "Joshua was old, and far advanced in years, and the Lord said to him: Thou art grown old, and advanced in age and there is a very large country left which is not yet divided by lot. . . And now divide the land in possesion to the nine tribes, and the half tribe of Manasses. . ."[9] The following verses describe a past allotment by Moses to the tribes of Reuben, Gad and half the tribe of Manasses at Gilgal, east of the Jordan, at which time there remained areas of the Promised Land yet to be conquered. But now as the allotment commences with Joshua, all of the land has been subdued.

The first verse of chapter fourteen states that Joshua, Eleazar the High Priest, and the representatives of the tribes of Israel were present for this second allotment to the remaining nine tribes and the half tribe. The receipt of the land of the tribes of Judah, Manasses, and Ephraim is described in chapters fourteen through seventeen, but chapter eighteen states that the other seven tribes had been slow to come forth for their allotment at Shiloh before the "tabernacle of testimony." Joshua said to them:

> How long are you indolent and slack, and go not in to possess the land which the Lord the God of your fathers hath given you? Choose of every tribe three men, that I may send them, and they may go, and compass the land, and mark it out according to the number of each multitude: and bring back to me what they have marked out.[10]

When the men returned from surveying the land, Joshua "cast lots before the Lord in Silo [Shiloh], and divided the land to the children of Israel into seven parts."[11]

The presence of Joshua, Eleazar at the left of the composition, and representatives of the tribes before the tabernacle at Shiloh are accounted for in the text. The casual group of men to Joshua's left, in battle dress and holding spears, cannot be specifically identified but may serve to remind the viewer that the days of battle are over. An aura of peacefulness is evoked as the man without armor puts his arm around the shoulder of the foremost soldier in a fraternal gesture. The nearby men gesturing into the distance may be pointing toward the lands allotted to them, as Crowe and Cavalcaselle suggest,[12] or they may be directing attention to the city on the distant

[6] *Ibid.,* plates 39a, 39b, and 40.
[7] *Ibid.,* 193.
[8] The only other earlier representation cited is in the *Bible Moralisée, Lexicon der Christlichen Ikonographie,* Rome, 1970, vol. II, col. 442.
[9] I have used the Douay version of the Holy Bible throughout this text.
[10] Joshua 18:3-5.
[11] Joshua 18:10.
[12] G. B. Cavalcaselle and J. A. Crowe, *Raphael: His Life and Works,* Freeport, 1972, (1882-1885), 521.

2. Perino del Vaga, sketch of *Division of the Promised Land.* Windsor Castle, Royal Library (Copyright reserved. Reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

hill.[13]

But certain elements of the fresco remain unexplained which, if examined in detail, amplify the meaning of the text. The prominent position of Eleazar at the right hand of Joshua and Eleazar's garments demand exploration. According to the text, Joshua executes the allotment, but here he sits motionless and focuses his attention on the nude youth occupying the center who performs the principal action.

The presence of Eleazar in this scene can be accounted for textually in Joshua 14:1, which states that the priest attended the event of the allotment of the land which is appropriate for a sacred ceremony conducted at the Lord's command. This figure is given prominence, seated at the right hand of Joshua and filling the left foreground, but his role in the event is not elaborated in the text. An earlier passage in the Bible, however, reveals the importance of his presence. Numbers 27:21 describes the transfer of leadership of the Hebrew people from Moses to Joshua. Moses commanded that Eleazar the High Priest should be at Joshua's side, for Joshua could not speak directly to God as Moses had done. "If anything be to be done, Eleazar the Priest shall consult the Lord for him." This earlier episode emphasizes the important role of the God-sanctioned earthly priest. The inclusion of Eleazar in the forefront of the action draws attention to his role, and, in addition, Raphael's treatment of this figure suggests an amplification of his function.

Eleazar does not appear to be clothed in the traditional priestly garments of the Old Testament as first prescribed by Moses in Exodus 28 and later discussed in detail by Josephus.[14] The colors of the garments are incorrect as well as the style of the garments and mitre. The only detail corresponding to the text is the breastpiece, the Essen (Hebrew) or the rational of judgment (Douay), which hold the cope together.[15] The Essen is a square of embroidered fabric set with four rows of stones with three stones in each row. These twelve different stones represent the twelve tribes and serve to remind the priest of the people for whom he speaks to God. Exodus 28:30 describes this garment:

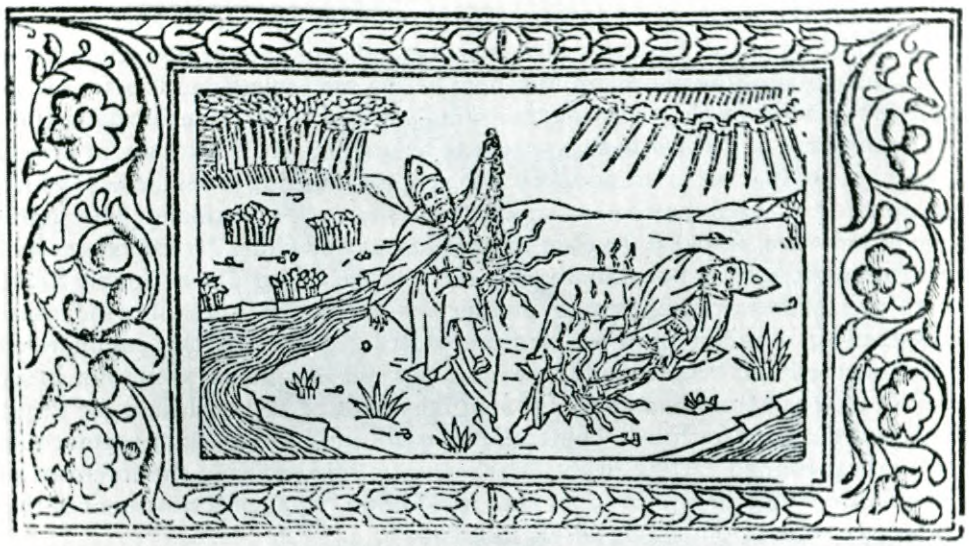
> And thou shalt put in the rational of judgement [Essen, Hebrew] doctrine and truth [Urim and Thummim, Hebrew] which shall be on Aaron's breast, when he shall go in before the Lord: and he shall bear the judgment of the children of Israel on his breast, in the sight of the Lord always.

In this verse the Essen symbolizes judgment, and although the objects mentioned,

[13] In chapter twenty-one, the leaders of the Levites requested the assignment of cities in which they could dwell. Throughout this text, the tribe of Levi was to have no allotment of land, but "the sacrifices and victims of the Lord God of Israel, are [their] inheritance." Joshua 13:14. However, the tribe of the priests, the Levites, was promised cities to live in and the surrounding pasture land for their cattle. Joshua 21:8 states, "And the children of Israel gave to the Levites the cities and suburbs, as the Lord commanded by the hand of Moses, giving to every one by lot." This allotment of the cities may explain the men's gestures and also the existence of the second urn behind the urn from which the youth draws. (The second urn is more evident in the sketch by Perino del Vaga, fig. 2). The second urn could also be a reference to the allotment of land for the tribes of Judah (15:1–63), Manasses, and Ephraim (16:1–17:18). "The actual division [of Joshua] appears to have been made on two separate occasions and possibly from two distinct centers." A. S. Geden, *The International Standard Bible Encyclopedia,* Grand Rapids, 1943, 1747. Geden hypothesizes that since Shiloh was expressly mentioned for this second allotment of the seven tribes, "the previous division was carried out in some other place, and if so, probably at Gilgal, the earlier resting-place of the ark and the tabernacle. No definite statement, however, to that effect is made."

[14] Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews,* Book III, chapter 7.

[15] The form and details of the breastpiece are made evident in the Perino del Vaga sketch for the fresco, (fig. 2).



3. *Death of the Sons of Aaron,* engraving, Biblia cuz concordatijs Veteris et Noui Testamenti & sacrorum canonuz . . . published by Lucantonio di Giunta, Venice, 1511. (Reproduced from a copy with permission of The Special Collections and Rare Books, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis)

4. After Hans Holbein, *Death of the Sons of Aaron,* woodcut, Luther's Pentateuch, published by Adam Petri, Basel, 1524. London, The Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Reproduced with the permission of the British and Foreign Bible Society)

the Urim and the Thummim, are not fully understood, they are used in other biblical contexts as sacred lots.[16]

The rendering of the rest of Eleazar's apparel has no basis in the text. Most telling is the curious mitre worn by Eleazar. The mitre may be explained in part by medieval misconceptions involving the origins of the Christian bishop's mitre. Mellinkoff explains that, "the mistaken depiction of Aaron and other Jewish high priests with horned mitres indicates a pattern of thinking that presupposes a descent of the horns of Moses to the bishops via the Old Testament high priests."[17] In reality, the mitre developed from a single peaked hat. During the twelfth century, a band was stretched from front to back causing the hat to dip in the center, giving the wearer a "horned" look.[18] Mellinkoff contends that the horned mitre did "not appear among church vestments until after the date of the first attestable appearance of a horned Moses in art."[19]

In the twelfth century, the mitre with the peaks above the ears gave way to a type with the peaks rising frontally.[20] Toward the end of the thirteenth century, William Durandus wrote a prayer for the imposition of the mitre which explains in general what was believed to be the origin and the meaning of the horns:

> We, O Lord, set on the head of this thy Bishop and champion, the helmet of defense and of salvation, so that with the horns of either Testament he may appear terrible to the opponents of truth, and may become their vigorous adversary, through the abundant gift of Thy grace, who didst make the face of Thy servant Moses to shine after familiar converse with Thee, and didst adorn it with the resplendent horns of Thy brightness and Thy truth, and commandest the tiara to be set on the head of Aaron, the High Priest.[21]

The horned mitre, symbolizing the knowledge and power of the Old and New Testaments, began to be used in representations of early Christian Fathers as well as Hebrew High Priests, though rarely using the side-horned version. For example, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century Ghiberti depicted St. Augustine with a frontal mitre in one of the quatrefoils of his North Doors of the Baptistery.[22] Similarly, in 1511, Lacantonio di Giunta of Venice published a bible which included an illustration of the deaths of the sons of Aaron who were priests (fig. 3). The priests wear the bishop's mitre with the peaks frontally positioned. In 1524, Holbein illustrated the same scene for Luther's Bible. This later engraving is clearly based on Lucantonio's version of 1511, but the mitres have been turned so that the peaks rise as horns and terminate in small balls similar to the mitre worn by Eleazar, perhaps indicating a familiarity with Raphael's rendition of the priest's apparel (fig. 4).

[16] See I Samuel 14:41, and Ezra 2:63.
[17] R. Mellinkoff, *The Horned Moses in Medieval Art and Thought,* Berkeley, 1970, 106.
[18] J. Braun, "Mitre," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* vol. X, New York, 1911, 405.
[19] Mellinkoff, 94.
[20] *Ibid.,* 95-96.
[21] *Ibid.,* 98.
[22] Illustrated in L. Goldscheider, *Ghiberti,* New York, 1949, fig. 38.

5. *High Priest,* engraving, Luther's Pentateuch, published by Melchior Lotther the Younger, Wittenberg, 1523. London, The Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society (Reproduced from a copy with the permission of The British and Foreign Bible Society)

6. Perino del Vaga, *Studies of Saints, Etc.*, London, The British Museum (Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum)

Raphael's use of the Essen and the mitre positioned for a "horned" effect characterize the Old Testament priest, but another correlation may be discovered through a comparison with other contemporary representations. For example, a book illustration of a Hebrew High Priest for Luther's Pentateuch of 1523, differs substantially from Raphael's priest: the only shared feature is the Essen (fig. 5). The illustration from Luther's Pentateuch corresponds more closely to the passages in Exodus, whereas Raphael's Eleazar seems more closely related to representations of contemporary bishops. Dacos comments that a sheet of drawings by Perino del Vaga of bishops in various poses is related to Raphael's fresco (fig. 6).[23] Indeed, Eleazar resembles the drawing of the bishops far more than the illustration of a priest from Luther's Pentateuch. In addition, the cope worn by Eleazar is decorated with a band of orphrey similar to that edging the garment of Clement I (Leo X) in a fresco in the Sala di Costantino by the school of Raphael, markedly contrasting with the traditional ornaments on the priest's garments.[24] In 1512, Raphael painted a Hebrew priest clothed in a more orthodox fashion in the background of the *Expulsion of Heliodorus* in the Stanza d'Eliodoro, thus emphasizing that his later canonical departure in the figure of Eleazar was purposeful (fig. 7). Raphael's priest-bishop refers to the Old Testament Eleazar and also to contemporary Roman bishops. This analogy is implied by the roles of the Old Testament religious leader and Renaissance men of the church: the latter also interpret the word of God for the people and speak to God for the good of the believers. That this analogy is intentional is confirmed by the figure of Joshua who has been treated in a comparable manner.

In biblical interpretations, Joshua is viewed as a second Moses, becoming the leader of the Hebrew people and crossing the Jordan as Moses traversed the Red Sea.[25] Joshua prefigures Christ, and events in the life of Joshua are frequently interpreted in relation to the life of Christ.[26] The *Crossing of the Jordan* foreshadows the Baptism of Christ.[27] The *Fall of Jericho,* with the sounding trumpets, is analogous to the Last Judgment.[28] Less obviously, the scene of *Joshua Arrests the Course of the Sun* suggests that Joshua is a second sun (son), and his outstretched arms evoke the pose of Christ on the cross. The *Division of the Promised Land* can also be understood in light of the New Testament. As Joshua allots the earthly Promised Land to the chosen people, so too does Christ, through his death, allow the blessed to receive their eternal inheritance.[29]

Another link between Joshua and Jesus Christ is discussed by Rabanus Maurus in his commentary on the Book of Joshua, of which Renaissance scholars were aware.[30] Maurus considers the opening verse of chapter thirteen, "Now, Joshua was old and advanced in years," and suggests that this line has a deeper significance than the fact that Joshua was aged. Maurus states, "Priests and elders are not so named because they have led a long life, but they are distinguished by this name for the

[23] Dacos, 1977, 194.
[24] Illustrated in Freedberg, vol. II, pl. 698.
[25] L. Réau, "Josúe et la Conquête de la Terre Promise," in *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien,* vol. II.1, Paris, 1922, 219.
[26] *Ibid.,* 219.
[27] *Ibid.,* 221.
[28] *Ibid.,* 223.
[29] *Ibid.,* 230.
[30] J. P. Migne, ed., *Patrologiae Cursus Completus: Patrologiae Latinae, Rabanus Maurus,* vol. CVIII, Paris, 1864.

7. Raphael, *Expulsion of Heliodorus,* 1512. Rome, Vatican (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

maturity of their senses and the gravity of a venerable life. . ."[31] He explains that Adam, Methuselah, and Noah were never referred to as priest or elder although they lived to be very old, but Abraham whose life was shorter was first called priest or elder. Maurus concludes:

> If anyone therefore, passes this present life, which is, just as Job said, of few and evil days, in the precepts of the Lord, and guards himself unmarked by this world, and he subdues all his adversaries and enemies, he will be carried spiritually from those few and evil days, and he will be brought forward to those good and eternal days marked by the light of the eternal sun. Such therefore ought to be understood in a certain order, and Joshua is proclaimed full of days according to divine responses. But since we have

[31] *Ibid.,* col. 1063. "Presbyteri vel seniores non eo nomine appellantur quod longaevan duxerint vitam; sed pro maturitate sensus et gravitate venerandae vitae hac appellatione decorantur. . ." The English translation is by William Ziezulewicz.

> set up the things that were said concerning Joshua, to refer, indeed, to our Lord Savior, what priest and elder is understood to be full of days just he himself who is the beginning, the first born of all creatures? And for that reason perhaps, he alone is truly called the perfect priest, before whom there is no one. Therefore, even if there are those in the scriptures who are called priest or elder, or bishops, nevertheless, the Lord Jesus is the Head among the bishops of bishops. . ."[32]

Christ is the perfect priest, but Joshua is called a priest and described as advanced in days attesting to his obedient and truly virtuous life. The emphasis on the relationship between Joshua and Jesus in Maurus's commentary was broadened in the fresco by Raphael to include the priest of the entire church, the pope. Shearman, in his analysis of Raphael's cartoons for the Sistine Chapel, explains that the accession of Leo X to the Papacy "was accompanied. . . by a great deal of comment with a Messianic tendency."[33] Shearman continues:

> The commentary was both plentiful and consistent in tendency because it assimilated three things: an already existing Medicean imagery, universal awareness of the purity of the young Leo's life, and eschatological speculation, beginning late in the Quattrocento, on the birth of a new millennium, a new era of peace. The catalyst could well have been the identification of the *Leo* of biblical texts as Christ.[34]

The coinage issued by the Pope also supports the analogy between Leo and Christ.[35] A coin dated 1513, depicts a victory crowning a lion and is inscribed VICIT LEO DE TRIBU JUDA which may be a reference "to the pope's emergence during the Lateran Council to resolve, like Christ, the problems of the Church."[36] Another coin of 1513 represents Christ speaking to the Apostles kneeling before him, and it is inscribed, PACEM MEAM DO VOBIS (John 14:27), referring again to "Leo's triumphant policy of peace."[37] Thus Raphael underscores the links between Moses, Joshua, Christ and Pope Leo X. Indeed, the scenes in vault ten stress Joshua's qualities of leadership rather than his role as a determined warrior so pronounced in earlier cycles of the life of Joshua.[38]

[32] *Ibid.,* col. 1064. "Si quis ergo in praeceptis Dei vitam hanc praesentem, quae sicut Jacob dicebat, 'paucorum et malorum dierum, est (Gen. XLVII),' transegerit, et immaculatum se ab hoc mundo custodierit, atque omnes adversarios et hostes suos subegerit, spiritalis ab istis paucis et malis diebus provehitur, et promovetur ad illos dies aeternos et bonos aeterni solis luce signatos. Talis ergo quodam ordine intelligendus est et Jesus ex divinis responsis provectus dierum pronuntiari. Verum quoniam instituimus quae de Jesu dicuntur, etiam ad Dominum Salvatorem nostrum referri, quis ita presbyter et senior, provectus dierum intelligitur, sicut ipse qui est principium, primogenitus omnis creaturae? Et ideo fortasse ipse solus vere et integer presbyter dicitur, ante quem nemo est. Igitur etsi sunt qui dicuntur in Scripturis presbyteri, vel seniores, vel pontifices, tamen Dominus Jesus in pontificibus pontificum princeps. . ."

[33] J. Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel,* London, 1972, 75. Shearman discusses more examples of this explicit analogy between Christ and Leo X as understood by such men as Bishop Begnius, Pietro Delfin, Erasmus, and Aegidius of Viterbo, 16-17.

[34] *Ibid.,* 75.

[35] *Ibid.,* 19.

[36] *Ibid.,* 19, illustrated fig. 5.

[37] *Ibid.,* 19, illustrated fig. 6. In note 127, Shearman suggests that Raphael may have designed some of Leo's coinage.

[38] Earlier cycles include the Joshua Roll and the mosaics in Santa Maria Maggiore. K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll: A Work of the Macedonian Renaissance,* Princeton, 1948. H. Rarpp, *Die Mosaiken in Santa Maria Maggiore zu Rom,* Baden, 1966. Both representations of the life of Joshua end with the judgement and execution of the Five Kings of the Amorites.

8. Ghiberti, panel with St. John the Evangelist. Florence, Baptistery, North Doors (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

The figure of Joshua emerges in this scene as an old yet powerful man. Curiously, he does not participate directly in the action, yet he is far from passive. Joshua concentrates on the motions of the nude youth, and his psychological involvement is manifested in the forward thrust of his body and the intense manner in which he grasps the arm of his chair. This pose seems to have been influenced in part by earlier representations of evangelists and prophets. Ghiberti's depiction of St. John the Evangelist on the North Doors of the Baptistery can be compared in the similar positioning of the left hand under the chin, in the prominence of the knees under the drapery, and in the forward tilt of the body (fig. 8). Michelangelo's representation of the prophet Jeremiah in the Sistine Chapel may also have influenced the form of Joshua (fig. 9). The prophet's massive body hunches forward, his strong legs are folded beneath, and his head rests on his hand in a moment of thought.[39]

[39] Freedberg, 108, comments, "The power of feeling in this Prophet, as great as the expansive passion of the Jonah, is oppositely turned in on itself: Jeremiah's great compact, gathered form expresses the dimension of his thought and its concentration."

9. Michelangelo, *Prophet Jeremiah,* c. 1511. Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

Similar to Jeremiah, Joshua's pose emanates a feeling of controlled power, but in contrast to Jeremiah, Joshua lifts his head to monitor the progress of the action.

This feature of alert, focused concentration relates Raphael's figure more closely to Dürer's representation of *Melencolia I*, 1514, depicting the psychological state of melancholy.[40] Before Dürer, the melancholic temperament was regarded as undesirable: an unfortunate disorder driving one to be miserly and lazy and sometimes insane.[41] But by the last years of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth century, the viewpoint toward the melancholic condition had changed. Neoplatonists, such as Marsilio Ficino, studying the writings of Aristotle, discovered the ancient

[40] Illustrated in E. Panofsky, *The Life and Art of Albrecht Dürer,* Princeton, 1967, (1943), pl. 209.
[41] *Ibid.,* 158.

associations of a "melancholic humour and outstanding talent in the arts and sciences,"[42] and they equated this humour with "Plato's divine mania."[43] Those born under Saturn would have a melancholic disposition and would be endowed with genius. Wittkower comments that "a veritable wave of 'melancholic behavior' swept across Europe" and that Raphael himself was reportedly "inclined to melancholy like all men of such exceptional talent."[44]

Panofsky states that "the most illustrious members of the Florentine circle—among them, beside Ficino, Pico della Mirandola and Lorenzo the Magnificient—referred to themselves as 'Saturnians,' and they discovered to their immense satisfaction that Plato, too, had been born under the sign of Saturn."[45] Lorenzo de' Medici, father of Leo X, wrote a sonnet, *"Lontano degli occhi di Lei, ricorda tristamente il suo cammino amoroso,"* which begins,

> *Io mi sto spesso sopra un duro sasso*
> *E fo col braccio alla guancia sostegno*
> *E meco penso e ricontando vegno*
> *Mio cammino amoroso a passo a passo.*[46]

The lines describe the pose of the melancholic lover which is similar to Joshua's. The pose which Lorenzo depicts, symbolizing contemplative sadness, has its roots in antique works of art. A Roman biographical sarcophagus located in the Los Angeles County Museum, but situated in the atrium of Old St. Peter's at the beginning of the sixteenth century, features a seated female figure posed with one hand under her chin (fig. 10).[47] Loeffler points out that this sarcophagus appeared in the Wolfegg sketchbook in the early sixteenth century and influenced many artists' compositions, among them Raphael and his school.[48] A similar antique figure, though male, was part of a relief sketched by the Master of the Codex Coburgensis of the mid-sixteenth century.[49] The sketch represents a battle scene with a chariot dragging a prisoner before the seated leader who leans slightly forward with his right hand supporting his head.

Although the form of these antique figures may have influenced Raphael's depiction of Joshua, the associated meaning does not seem to correlate with the Vatican fresco. But this pose, as interpreted by the Neoplatonists, symbolizes the melancholic

[42] R. and M. Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn,* New York, 1963, 102.
[43] *Ibid.,* 103.
[44] *Ibid.,* 104. Wittkower's source for the statement about Raphael is a letter written by the Ferrarese ambassador, Paulucci, December 17, 1519, (302, note 33).
[45] Panofsky, 167.
[46] A. Chastel, "Melancholia in the Sonnets of Lorenzo de'Medici," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* London, VIII, 1945, 61. "Often I seat myself on a hard rock / And rest my cheek on my hand / I meditate upon the course of my love / And think over each step of my amorous pilgrimage," (trans. Chastel).
[47] E. P. Loeffler, "A Famous Antique: A Roman Sarcophagus at the Los Angeles Museum," *Art Bulletin,* XXXIX, 1957, 2.
[48] *Ibid.,* 2-3, states that the sarcophagus appears to have influenced "in both gesture and general costume" the figures of Psyche and her father in Giulio Romano's Room of Psyche in the Palazzo del Te. She also believes that "details from the sarcophagus" were incorporated into the school frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura, specifically the scene of Homer's works being placed on the tomb of Achilles and the representation of Augustus saving the *Aeneid.* According to Loeffler, another work influenced by the figures of the barbarian woman and her child on the sarcophagus, is the *Madonna of the Fish* in the Prado with the figural group reversed.
[49] Matz no. 205. F. Matz describes the sketch in "Beschreibung des Coburgensis," *Monatsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin,* 1871, 492.

10. Roman biographical sarcophagus, c. 180–190 A.D. The Los Angeles County Museum of Art: William Randolph Hearst Collection

temperament, and as Panofsky explains, "the humanistic glorification of melancholy entailed, and even implied, another phenomenon: the humanistic ennoblement of the planet Saturn."[50] The allusion to Saturn in the pose of Joshua may indicate a reference to Leo's Neoplatonist father, Lorenzo de' Medici, to a temperament that was desirable and suggested "divine contemplation," but also to the attributes and history of the mythological god.[51] Specific characteristics and duties of Saturn are applicable to Joshua and the task he performs.

Saturn is the god of the earth and god of agriculture. Panofsky explains that "as god of agriculture Saturn had also to supervise the 'measurements and quantities of things' and particularly the 'partition of land.' "[52] Saturn's role and duties can be explained by the belief that before his deification, Saturn was a king of Italy who introduced agriculture to the people. With agriculture came civilization, social order, and the Golden Age of Italy.[53] The whole country was called Saturnia. Later, a temple to the deified king, who was regarded as "the most ancient god," was erected

[50] Panofsky, 166.

[51] *Ibid.*, 166–167. In another article Panofsky explains that during the Middle Ages, Saturn or Kronos, was confused with Chronos. See E. Panofsky, "Father Time," in *Studies in Iconology,* New York, 1972, (1939), 69–93, for an analysis of the history and attributes of Chronos and Kronos.

[52] Panofsky, 1967, 167. He also states on page 164 that Saturn "as the oldest and highest of the planetary divinities, was held to wield as well as to bestow 'power' and was in fact occasionally represented with a key or bunch of keys." Though Raphael's figure does not hold a key, the analogy between Saturn and the pope is more convincing with the knowledge of this similar attribute.

[53] H. Peck, ed., *Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities,* New York, 1965, 1418.

at the foot of the Capitoline Hill in the Forum.[54] Although its exact date is disputed, the temple is generally thought to have been dedicated at the beginning of the Roman Republic. Platner explains, "Throughout the republic this temple contained the state treasury. . . and in it was a pair of scales to signify this function."[55] The remaining superstructure of the temple, eight columns supporting an architrave, actually dates from a fourth-century A.D. rebuilding project after a fire.[56] It is possible that Raphael was familiar with the ancient temple from his reconstructive survey of Rome, especially if he had recourse to the Vatican records.

King Saturn's role in the introduction of agriculture and the partitioning of lands in ancient Italy parallels the Old Testament scene of surveying and allotting the Promised Land to the Israelites.[57] In addition, the early origins of the Temple of Saturn dating from the beginning of the Republic and the more distant era referred to when King Saturn brought agriculture and civilization to Italy, emphasize the primacy of Roman culture. The issue of the primacy of Rome became a critical factor in the argument for the seat of the Roman Catholic Church in Rome. Summarizing this view of the primacy of Rome, John D'Amico writes, "There is no break in the great civilizing activities of Rome. Pagan and Christian Rome are continuous. It was the seat of Peter as well as Constantine."[58] The association of Saturn and a Golden Age of the past can be related to Leo X and contemporary writings which link him with the coming of another Golden Age. Erasmus wrote to Pope Leo X, "The world was conscious at once, when Leo was placed at the helm, that by a sudden revolution a worse than iron age was turned to gold."[59]

Once again, the association of Saturn and Joshua, and by extension Leo, creates a cogent link between the past and the present which inevitably emphasizes the respective images of authority and seats of power. Even Joshua's accoutrements and certain aspects of the setting suggest influence from ancient Rome but also suggest relevance to Christian tradition. Joshua wears a crown from antiquity known as a *corona radiata* which was a symbol of divinity worn originally by gods and deified heroes but later by some Roman emperors.[60] This type of crown is utilized within a Christian context in other works by Raphael and his school: the crown is worn by Solomon in the ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, the Royal Protectors of the Church in the *basamento* of the Stanza dell'Incendio, Constantine in several scenes in the Sala di Constantino, and the crown is carried by a boy in the scene of the *Coronation of Charlemagne* in the Stanza dell'Incendio. But perhaps most telling, all

[54] *Ibid.*, 1418. S. B. Platner, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* London, 1929, 463, states that "It is the oldest temple of which the erection is recorded in the pontifical records."

[55] Platner, 464.

[56] E. Nash, *Picture Dictionary of Ancient Rome,* vol. II, London, 1962, 294, "The existing remains of the podium belong to a rebuilding by L. Munatius Plancus in 42 B.C. From the inscription on the architrave (CIL VI, 937), we know that the temple was again rebuilt, after being destroyed by fire, presumably at the beginning of the fourth century A.D."

[57] For a discussion of allocation of land in Roman antiquity by means of lottery and urns, see C. A. W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors: An Introduction to the Agrimensores,* London, 1971, 96–97; and J. Rykwert cites Virgil, I *Aeneas* 143, "the apportioning of the rule over different parts of the universe between the sons of Saturn was done by the drawing of lots."

[58] J. F. D'Amico, "A Humanist Response to Martin Luther: Raffaele Maffei's *Apologeticus,*" *The Sixteenth Century Journal,* VI, no. 2, 1975, 50 summarizes the views of Raffaele Maffei, a Humanist layman who defended the Pope against Luther's attacks.

[59] F. M. Nichols, *The Epistles of Erasmus,* vol. II, New York, 1904, 199. Epistle 323, written in 1515.

[60] W. Smith, ed., *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities,* London, 1901, 549–550.

of the royal figures in the Loggia vaults wear this crown beginning with Melchisedech in vault four, and continuing with the Pharaoh in the Joseph vault, the Pharaoh's daughter in the Moses vault, David in vault eleven, and Solomon in vault twelve. The similarity between this style of crown consistently used throughout the Loggia and the halo of Christ formed of many rays of light in the thirteenth vault implies a continuity of form and also a chain of relationships.

Joshua sits on a chair resembling Roman furniture which employed an animal conceit for the legs of the chair. But his chair is also similar to the throne chair of Gregory in Raphael's *Disputa* which appears to be modeled after the actual bishop's chair of Gregory I preserved in S. Gregorio.[61] Joshua's chair is elevated on a dais as in representations of Roman emperors and also Christian divinities and popes. The baldacchino overhead links Joshua more closely with depictions of seated popes, exemplified by a Florentine miniature of c.1470–1480, of *The Mass of the Capella papalis,* or a work by a member of the school of Raphael, Giulio Romano, in the Sala di Constantino, *Leo X as Clement I with Moderatio and Comitas.*[62] In the horizontal strip above the handing, scalloped fabric of the baldacchino, Raphael includes an inscription which specifically refers to antique Rome. A few letters have been effaced, but careful scrutiny reveals SENATIUS CON__VTIO, which most likely should be read *senatus conventio,* the meeting of the Senate, or possibly could be a shortened form of *senatus convocatio,* the gathering of the Senate. This inscription is more evident in the nineteenth-century engraving by Letarouilly (fig. 11). Letarouilly has exaggerated the size of the letters, perhaps trying to emphasize the unique inscription in the vaults. However, it is evident that even in the nineteenth century the second word was indistinct. Although *senatus* is misspelled *senatius,* and the last word is not wholly visible, the inscription has an evocative quality which the viewer loosely and rather easily translates as the coming together of the Senate.[63] The presence of the inscription and also the urns, suggests an analogy between the meeting of the ancient Romans to determine justice and allot land, and the Old Testament Hebrew leaders of the tribes gathering to fairly divide the Promised Land.[64]

The clothing worn by the Hebrews also links them with the ancient Roman era. Most of the representatives of the tribes wear a short Roman tunic, but the foremost member wears leggings gathered at the ankles and knees which are often worn by barbarians in Roman art. A Dacian warrior on the Column of Trajan is clothed in similar garments.[65] A sketch by the Master of the Codex Escurialensis, c.

[61] Raphael's *Disputa* is illustrated in Freedberg, vol. II, pl. 156. The bishop's chair of Gregory I is reproduced in E. John, ed., *The Popes,* New York, 1964, pl. 140.

[62] Shearman, (fig. 4); Freedberg, vol. II, pl. 698.

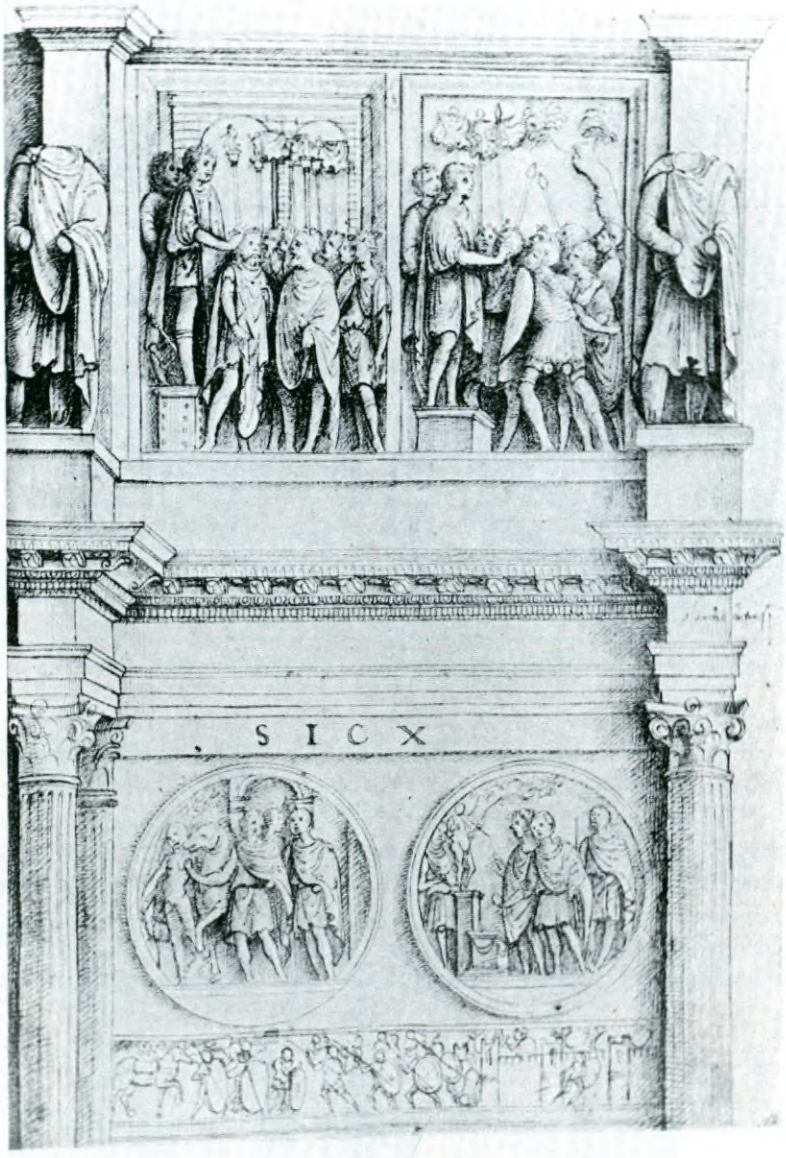
[63] The function of the inscription as an evocative device rather than a phrase to be carefully translated was suggested by Professor Robert Sonkowsky, University of Minnesota. The problem of the misspelling of a supposedly familiar word may be explained by several possibilities: the "i" was inserted by a member of Raphael's school who had little knowledge of Latin, the "i" may be the result of a later repainting project, or the "i" was added as an intentional alternate spelling. The practice of adopting alternative spelling of words was common in such scholars as Poggio. See B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script,* Rome, 1960. The inclusion of the inscription above the Joshua/Saturn figure may also allude to the inscription on the architrave of the ruins of the Temple of Saturn in Rome which similarly refers to an action of the Senate: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS INCENDIO CONSVMPTVM__RESTITVIT. See W. Smith, ed., *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography,* vol. II, London, 1870, 782.

[64] See note 57.

[65] Illustrated in K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule,* Berlin, 1926, fig. 25.

11. Paul Letarouilly, engraving of *Division of the Promised Land,* in *Le Vatican,* Paris, 1882. (H. Cour des Loges, no. 40)

12. Drawing from the sketchbook of the Master of the Codex Escurialensis, fol. 63, c. late fifteenth century. Madrid, El Escorial (Reproduced from a copy with the permission of the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial)



13. Drawing from the sketchbook of the Master of the Codex Escurialensis, fol. 45, c. late fifteenth century. Madrid, El Escorial (Reproduced from a copy with the permission of the Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo de El Escorial)

late fifteenth century, of these reliefs as well as reliefs and sculptures from the Arch of Constantine indicate an interest in ancient Roman public monuments and a knowledge of ancient Roman costumes and compositions (figs. 12 and 13). The figures garbed in this fashion in Raphael's fresco are not depicted in a submissive role as in the Trajanic reliefs but rather evoke the strength and dignity of the Roman soldiers on Constantine's arch. The composition of the fresco can be generally compared to those of the reliefs of Marcus Aurelius on the Arch of Constantine with an elevated authoritative figure confronting a group of soldiers, captives, or citizens. But Raphael's scene modifies the suggestion of an omnipotent ruler, strengthening the impression of unity among the men standing with arms around one another before their celestially chosen leader. Raphael connects them with their leader, Joshua, compositionally and dramatically through the use of the nude youth carrying out the division of the lots.

Even though this bold youth is at the center of attention performing the action that God has commanded Joshua to execute, the identity of this figure cannot be determined from the biblical texts. He is differentiated from all the other figures by his total nudity and diminutive size. The figure may simply be an attendant following Joshua's instructions. But due to his important position within the composition, his performance of the significant action, and his total nudity amidst a clothed crowd, indicates that the figure is special, perhaps a messenger from God, a genius figure, or a personification of the will of God guiding the action.[66]

[66] Despite his size, the youth does not appear to be a child. His twisting movement as he reaches behind emphasizes his fully developed musculature. An earlier work by Raphael, the Cartoon for *The Healing of the Lame Man,* may relate conceptually to the Loggia fresco, (illustrated in Shearman, pl. 12). The nude youth at the left, with a similar highly developed musculature, functions as an important compositional device which directs the viewer's attention inward to the miracle. That this figure represents someone other than a human can be demonstrated by comparing him to the far more child-like boy in the background with soft rolls of flesh and an impish expression. The depiction of the foreground youth parallels the dance-like poses of the genii decorating the undulating columns. One of these creatures on the far right column projects far off the surface, as if leaning forward about to leap off and join the miraculous scene.

The precise meaning attached to the genius figure in the Renaissance is difficult to ascertain. The early classical genius involving the concept of a "generative spirit" associated with a place or person does not appear to be related. See J. C. Nitzsche, *The Genius Figure in Antiquity and Middle Ages,* New York, 1975, 13. But rather, later ideas within the writings of Plato considering the Greek *daemon* which was often confused with and related to the Roman genius, correspond more closely. Nitzsche, 30, writes, "The Greek *daemon* assumed two forms according to Plato: it was a cosmic messenger of the gods; and it was the highest form of the soul. . ." Extending this concept, some medieval writers advanced the genius to the role of a good angel, conveying messages from God to men. See Nitzsche, 103. In *De Planctu Natural*, a twelfth-century work by Alanus de Insulis, the physical appearance of the genius is described as being "both young and old simultaneously. . . he represents all men in one form, neither young nor old, and yet both young and old." Nitzsche, 97. This physical description of the genius correlates with the figure in Raphael's fresco, and the meaning assigned to the youth, as a messenger of God is corroborated by Rabanus Maurus. Maurus is concerned with the nature of the drawing of lots and questions whether the outcome is a matter of fate or divine will. He studied the Old and New Testaments seeking similar occurrences of the casting of lots, and Maurus concludes that "the lot brought about a divine judgement not by chance but by wisdon. . . It should be considered that the lot is not only done by men but also by heavenly virtues; and that some kind of virtue presides over this office, and gives to him, whom it knows holds the first place with God, the things that are first, so that that which is held secretly with God, is even shown to men by the management of the lot. . . . It must be believed, therefore, that even the lots through the authority of the scriptures refer to an imitation of these [the workings of God in the world], and that the inheritance was carried out by Joshua, and it was determined for each tribe by divine dispensation; and the unspeakable providence of God was represented to those present by the lots; and the portion of their future inheritance was fulfilled." Migne, col. 1084–5. Maurus's commentary indicates that Raphael's nude youth may represent a messenger from heaven or a personification of the will of God guiding the action.

An exact formal prototype for Raphael's youth is difficult to discover. The extreme torsion of his anatomy would strain human capabilities, and thus his form may in part result from compositional demands. The form of the youth is comparable to the representation of Eros in *The Council of the Gods* in the Farnesina, and Joshua corresponds with Zeus (fig. 14).[67] But the date of the Farnesina fresco is undocumented, and the similarities in the poses of the figures suggest a common source rather than precedence of either fresco. However, several antique sources which could have been known to Raphael and his school can be cited as possible influences. A fresco from the ceiling of the Volta Dorata in the Domus Aurea representing Phaedra and Hippolytus, depicts a nude youth identified by Lawrence as a cupid without wings (fig. 15).[68] Portions of this fresco were sketched by the Master of the Wolfegg Codex, indicating that the fresco was known and copied by contemporary artists of the early sixteenth century.[69] Comparing the two youths, shared features include the left arm stretched forward, the right arm extended behind, the left leg slightly bent and the right leg supporting the body. The figures are also comparable in their similar compositional function as a linking device between two groups of figures. In addition, the enthroned figure of Phaedra with her left hand under her chin and her legs folded, and also her seated attendant with hands in her lap, have parallels with Joshua and Eleazar in Raphael's fresco. An important difference in the representations of the youths involves the head position; the "wingless cupid" does not follow through the gesture of his right hand with his head.

Another possible source for Raphael's central figure is a depiction of the god Hymenaüs on an ancient sarcophagus now in the Uffizi (fig. 16). Shearman points out that the relief was known before Raphael's time because it was sketched by the Master of the Codex Escurialensis.[70] Although the figures are reversed, they appear very similar. Hymenaüs wears a loose drape over his arms which is common in genius figures, and his face is shown in profile as he glances back over his shoulder which is similar to Raphael's depiction. This figure also acts as a linking device and joins the nuptial couple, symbolizing *concordia,* union and harmony.[71] Although the full meaning of the nude youths in the fresco from the Domus Aurea and the Uffizi relief cannot be entirely explained, it is evident that they are not common human boys; one gesticulates before gods, and the other participates in an allegory of harmony, relating them in a general way to Raphael's fresco.

St. Thomas Aquinas also considered the issue of the casting of lots in his *Summa Theologica.* Aquinas determined that divination by drawing lots is unlawful in most circumstances except when "the decision is left to God, according to Proverbs 16:33, 'Lots are cast into the lap, but they are disposed of by the Lord,' sortilege of this kind is not wrong in itself, as Augustine declares." *Summa Theologica,* 2a2ae, Question 95, Reply to Article 8. The concerns of Rabanus Maurus and Thomas Aquinas over the legitimacy of casting of lots may be reflected in the program of Raphael and his advisors who carefully depicted the Old Testament event to emphasize the role of God as the giver of divine judgement, setting it apart from decisions made by chance or through the use of witchcraft.

[67] Dacos, 1977, 193.

[68] M. Lawrence, "The Phaedra Sarcophagus in San Clemente," in *In Memoriam: Otto Brendel, Essays in Archaeology and the Humanities,* L.Bonfante, ed., Mainz, 1976, 175.

[69] These sketches are reproduced in N. Dacos, *La Découverte de la Domus Aurea et la Formation des Grottesques à la Renaissance,* London, 1969, fig. 18. See also a photograph of the fresco depicting Phaedra and Hippolytus in its ruinous condition, fig. 17.

[70] Shearman, 122, believes that the Uffizi sarcophagus influenced Raphael in his cartoon, *Sacrifice at Lystra.* The sketch by the Master of the Codex Escurialensis is illustrated in H. Egger, *Codex Escurialensis: Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaio,* Vienna, 1905, fig. 28.

[71] I. S. Ryberg, "Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome,* XXII, 1955, 164.

14. Raphael, *Il Consiglio degli Dei,* c. 1517–1518. Rome, Palazzo della Farnesina (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

Thus it is apparent that *Division of the Promised Land* represents more than a biblical narrative. Raphael addresses principal issues concerning the primacy of Rome and the divine rights of the Pope which would have been known to the informed Renaissance viewer. The scene had contemporary significance, which explains its selection.

The presence of Eleazar and his hybrid costume emphasize the God-sanctioned precedent for the role of religious leaders such as the bishops or more importantly, the pope, functioning as intermediaries between God and the common man. The representation of Joshua is more complex. Allusions to various mythological and religious figures are made: he is the second Moses but also a prefigurement of Christ and of Leo X. The significant gesture of the hand beneath the chin can be traced back to antique sources, but the gesture also had a popular and particular meaning for the Renaissance. The melancholic temperament suggested for the Neoplatonists a personality capable of great achievements and understandings, and it would also have alerted the viewer to see the Joshua figure as a figure of Saturn, ancient god

15. L. Mirri and G. Carletti, engraving of a ceiling fresco in the Domus Aurea of Phaedra and Hippolytus, *Le antiche camere delle Terme di Tito,* Rome, 1776, plate 43 (photo: Dumbarton Oaks)

16. Roman biographical sarcophagus. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Uffizi)

of agriculture and measurement associated with Rome and its beginnings. The emphasis on the high priest who speaks to God and on Joshua who administers God's will, is significant since this Old Testament division of authority was combined in the New Testament in St. Peter and consequently the pope.[72] Leo's awareness of his dual role is indicated by the observation that "one of the triumphal arches erected for Leo X's Lateran procession, 11 April 1513, had two representations of the pope, with the inscriptions *Tamquam Moyses* and *Tamquam Aron.*"[73]

For Pope Leo X, anxious to secure his role and rights, Raphael's painting provided confirmation and reassurance. Raphael illustrated the Old Testament narrative in an understandable fashion, fusing it with an interpretation already present in the writings of St. Thomas Aquinas:

> Consequently, in order that spiritual things might be distinguished from earthly things, the ministry of this kingdom has been entrusted not to earthly kings, but to priests, and in the highest degree to the chief priest, the successor to whom all the kings of Christian peoples are to be subject as to our Lord Jesus Christ Himself... Therefore, it was a marvelous effect of Divine Providence that in the city of Rome, which God had foreseen would be the principal seat of the Christian people, the custom was gradually established that the rulers of the city should be subject to the priests... [74]

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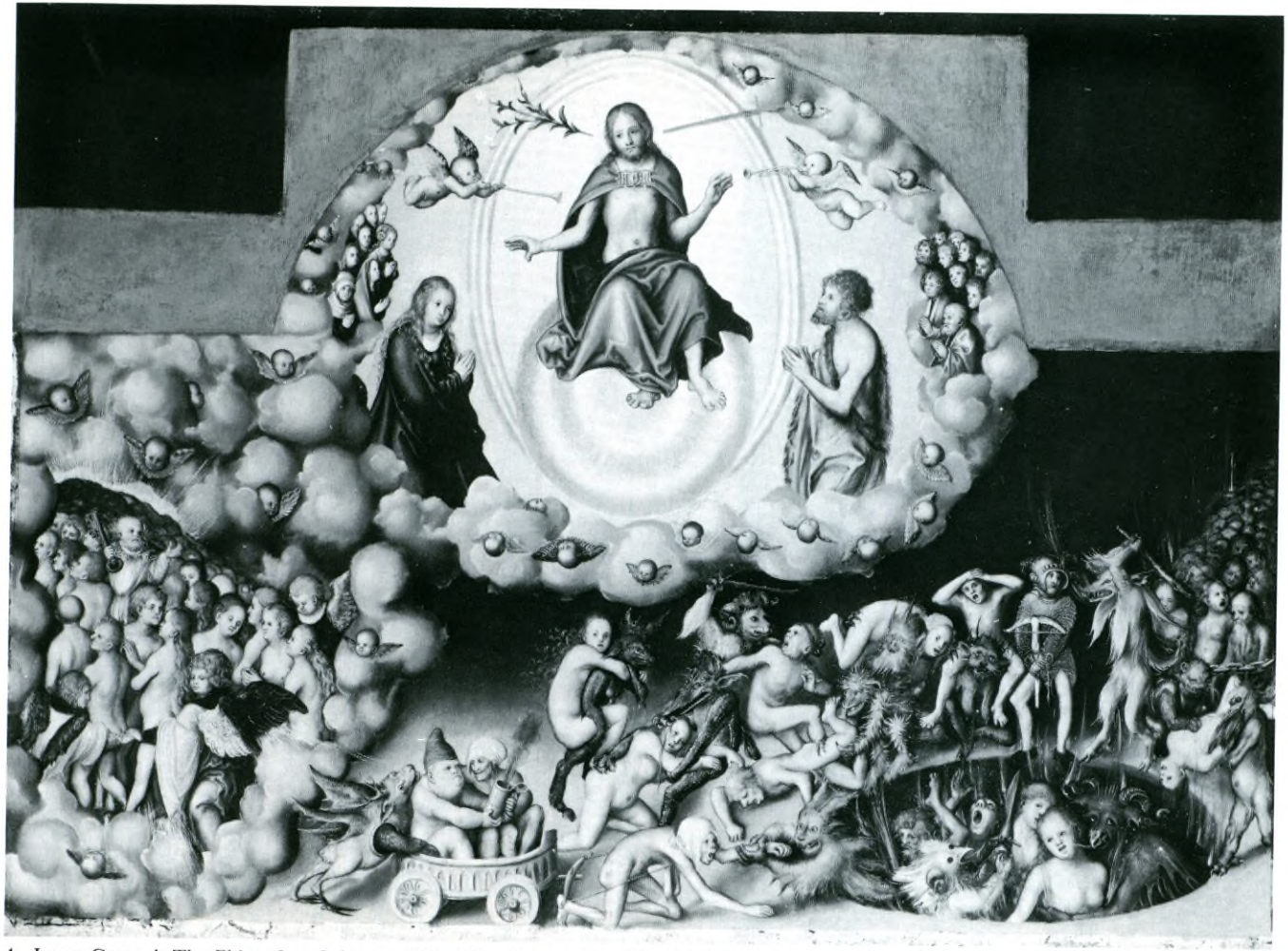
[72] Shearman, 48-49, addresses this issue in his analysis of Botticelli's paintings in the Sistine Chapel, *Moses in Egypt,* and *The Punishment of Corah.*

[73] *Ibid.,* 49. Shearman's source is F. Cancellieri, *Storia de' solemni possessi de' sommi pontefici,* Rome, 1802, 77.

[74] Thomas Aquinas, *De Regimine Principum,* Book I, Chapter 14, trans. G. Phelan, London, 1938, 99-100.



1. Lucas Cranach The Elder, *Last Judgment,* 1520–1525. Kansas City, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Popular Culture and Early Lutheran Iconography in a Cranach *Last Judgment*

JANEY L. LEVY

Recent studies suggest that the realm of popular culture had profound significance for the Reformation and its imagery.[1] Some studies have suggested that popular festivities such as Carnival may have played a role in the spread of the Reformation.[2] Scribner has examined the ways in which the imagery employed in Reforma-

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[1] The term "popular culture" is used here in the sense defined by Peter Burke in *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe,* London, 1978, 23-64, esp. 23-28. Burke begins with the model proposed by Robert Redfield, *Peasant Society and Culture,* Chicago, 1956, 41-42, which distinguishes between the "great tradition"of the educated few and the "little tradition" of the rest of the people. Burke then modifies this to include the participation of the elite in the "little tradition." The summary of his argument is worth quoting:

"There were two cultural traditions in early modern Europe, but they did not correspond symmetrically to the two main social groups, the elite and the common people. The elite participated in the little tradition, but the common people did not participate in the great tradition. This asymmetry came about because the two traditions were transmitted in different ways. The great tradition was transmitted formally at grammer schools and at universities. It was a closed tradition in the sense that people who had not attended these institutions, which were not open to all, were excluded. In a quite literal sense, they did not speak the language. The little tradition, on the other hand, was transmitted informally. It was open to all, like the church, the tavern and the marketplace, where so many of the performances occurred.

"Thus the crucial cultural differences in early modern Europe... was that between the majority, for whom popular culture was the only culture, and the minority, who had access to the great tradition but participated in the little tradition as a second culture."

For a summary of various definitions of the term "popular culture," see Robert W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk,* Cambridge, 1981, 59.

[2] Scribner argues that Carnival facilitated the spread of the Reformation primarily in two ways: (1) Carnival incidents which mocked the Roman Church and its rituals functioned as propaganda for the Reformation and (2) the combination of these satirical attacks with Carnival, which was a celebration of the world turned upside-down, caused the upheaval of reform to be seen as liberating rather than destructive. See Scribner, "Reformation, carnival and the world turned upside-down," *Social History,* III:3, 1978, 303-329. The use of Carnival as a vehicle for Reformation propaganda is also discussed by Burke, 227-228, who cites in particular the mocking of clergy in the Wittenberg Carnival of 1521, and the prevalence of satirical plays such as Nikolaus Manuel's *Die Totenfresser;* Yves-Marie Bercé, *Fête et Révolte,* Paris, 1976, 65-67; Joel Lefebvre, *Les fols et la folie,* Paris, 1968, 25, 33, 68-70; and Conrad-André Beerli, "Quelques aspects des jeux, fêtes et danses à Berne pendant la première motié du XVI[e] siècle," *Les fêtes de la Renaissance,* I, Paris, 1956, 362-365, who observes that the Bern Carnival of 1523 not only contained negative propaganda in terms of antipapal attacks but also acted as a medium for positive propaganda through the propagation of evangelical ideas. In related studies, the Protestant use of theater for propagandist purposes has been dealt with by H. Patry, "La réforme et le théâtre en Guyenne au XVI[e] siècle," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français,* L, 1901, 523-528; and Henri Naef, *Les Origines de la Réforme à Genève,* Geneva/Paris, 1936, 441-462. Natalie Zemon Davis in "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present,* L, 1971, 70-71, observes that "the youth-abbeys in the Savoie and in Switzerland, the Fools in Geneva, and the Enfants-sans-souci in some towns in the Guyenne were early supporters of the new religion and integrated Protestant themes into their festivities." On this issue, see also A. L. Herminjard, *Correspondance des réformateurs dans les pays de langue française,* Geneva, 1878-1898, iv, 31-34, and 34, note 10; and H. Hauser, "Lettres closes de François I[e] sur les protestants de Savoie (1538)," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français,* XLII, 1894, 594-597; both cited by Davis.

2. Detail of figure 1

tion propagandist woodcuts drew on popular culture and belief.[3] In spite of this no one has yet explored the relationship between popular culture and popular imagery, and the iconography employed in the more formal art of religious panel painting in Reformation Germany. A *Last Judgment* (fig. 1) in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, provides a focus for a preliminary study in this vein. The painting, dated c.1520–1525 has been attributed to Lucas Cranach the Elder, whose association with Luther and the Reformation are well-known.[4]

The organization of the panel follows the broad conventions for depictions of the Last Judgment: Christ appears in the Heavens as Judge, flanked by the intercessors and saints; in the lower left, the Blessed, greeted by St. Peter, enter Paradise; the Damned are driven to Hell in the lower right. Several features in the depiction of the Damned, most notably the group associated with the cart in the center fore-

[3] Scribner, 1981, esp. chapters 4, 5 and 6, argues that Reformation propagandist woodcuts owe their success to the fact that their visual vocabulary drew heavily on what was familiar in popular culture and belief, although the syntax was new. Specifically, Scribner points to play and game, Carnival, popular festival forms, insults, theriomorphism, grotesque realism, the demonic, and apocalyptic feeling as sources for the imagery.

[4] Based on stylistic analysis, Max Friedländer and Jakob Rosenberg, *The Painting of Lucas Cranach,* trans. Heinz Norden and Ronald Taylor, Ithaca, 1978, 90, attributed the unsigned and undated panel to the Master himself, rather than his workshop, and assigned it a date of c.1520–1525. In the catalogue at the end of his dissertation, Craig Harbison, *The Last Judgment in Sixteenth Century Northern Europe: A Study of the Relation Between Art and the Reformation,* (diss. Princeton University, 1971), New York, 1976, 274, no. 46, gives the painting a date of c.1515–1520, but does not give his reason for revising the date assigned by Friedländer and Rosenberg.

Nothing is known about the original location or patronage of the work. It may have been intended to hang in a church. The theme is certainly appropriate for such a location, and the dimensions of the panel (73 x 100 cm) are also suggestive. It is roughly the same size as the *Allegory of Law and Grace* in Gotha (80 x 115 cm), and several scholars have suggested that the panels depicting the *Allegory* were intended to be hung in churches. See Carl C. Christensen, *Art and the Reformation in Germany,* Athens (Ohio), 1979, 124; Karl Ernst Meier, "Fortleben der religiös dogmatischen Kompositionen Cranachs in der Kunst des Protestantismus," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft,* XXXII, 1909, 426; Katharine Morrison McClinton, "The Lutheran Reformation Paintings of Lucas Cranach the Elder," *Response in Worship, Music, the Arts,* IV, 1962, 5.

ground, appear to be based not only on the popular Carnival celebrations themselves but also on the Reformation propagandist woodcuts which frequently utilized carnivalesque imagery. The fleshy figure of Carnival seated in the cart, the withered Old Woman who accompanies him and the procession in which they participate were commonplace in these realms, as was the plough blade visible in the pit of Hell. To understand the role of this imagery in the Kansas City panel, we must examine the theme of the Last Judgment in pictorial tradition and in Lutheran thought, as well as the cultural and pictorial sources for the imagery. This study of cultural and pictorial sources will entail a general examination of the uses of carnivalesque imagery in Reformation propagandist woodcuts. We must also examine Luther's statements regarding images and the significance of those statements for the character of Reformation painting. Dealing with these more general concerns will help us to understand not only the Kansas City panel, but also the broader issue of the relationship between Reformation religious painting as a whole and popular culture.

The Last Judgment is a theme with particular significance for the Reformation, since it deals with issues at the center of Luther's spiritual crisis: man's salvation and damnation. Unlike the Kansas City panel, later productions by Cranach and his workshop show the Last Judgment in its appropriate place in the context of developed Lutheran thought. In a series of paintings and woodcuts produced beginning in 1529, the Last Judgment appears as just one element within the larger theme of the Allegory of Law and Grace.[5] These compositions, which are sometimes accompanied by didactic texts, are divided into two parts by a centrally placed tree whose left half is dead and whose right half sends forth green leaves. The Last Judgment appears on the left side, the side of the Law, along with the Fall, Hell and Moses with the Tablets of the Law. The right side, the side of Grace, shows the crucified Christ and the triumphant, resurrected Christ. These works have been interpreted as the visual expression of Lutheran theology dealing with the relationship between Law, Grace, Judgment and Salvation: the harshness of the Last Judgment, to which all are made subject by the Law of Moses, is mitigated by the Grace granted through Christ's sacrifice, which leads the faithful to Salvation.[6] Luther did not elucidate this theology, however, until 1527.[7] The Kansas City panel reveals an at-

[5] The theme, which appeared in both paintings and woodcuts, is known under a variety of names, including *Sündenfall und Erlösung,* and Law and Gospel. For a list of the different names and the authors who use them, see Christensen, 235, note 7.

[6] Harbison, 94–98, interprets the theme, discusses the various versions and proposes a chronology. A fuller discussion appears in Oskar Thulin, *Cranach-Altäre der Reformation*, Berlin, 1955, 126–148. See also Meier (as in note 4); Donald L. Ehresmann, "The Brazen Serpent, a Reformation Motif in the Works of Lucas Cranach the Elder and His Workshop," *Marsyas,* XIII, 1966–1967, 32–47; Christensen, 1979, 124ff., 138–139; Carl C. Christensen, "The Significance of the Epitaph Monument in Early Lutheran Ecclesiastical Art (c.1540–1600): Some Social and Iconographical Considerations," *The Social History of the Reformation,* eds. Lawrence P. Buck and Johnathan W. Zophy, Columbus, 1972, 297–314; McClinton; Hans Carl von Haebler, *Das Bild in der evangelischen Kirche,* Berlin, 1957, 17–18; Ulrich Gertz, *Die Bedeutung der Malerei für die Evangeliums-verkündigung in der evangelischen Kirche des XVI. Jahrhunderts,* Berlin, 1936, 28–36; Herbert von Hintzenstern, *Lucas Cranach d. Ä.: Altarbilder aus der Reformationszeit,* Berlin, 3rd ed., 1981, 28–29, 41–42, 98.

[7] Harbison, 99–101, relates Luther's attempts to clarify his theology at this time to conflicts within the Lutheran ranks over the relative importance of Law in the attainment of Salvation. Melanchthon believed that the Law led to repentance, which was the antecedent to faith. See *Articuli de quibus egerunt per Visitatores in regione Saxoniae,* Wittemberg, 1527, in *Corpus Reformation,* XXVI, Brunswick, 1858, 9ff., cited by Harbison. Agricola asserted that justification freed Christians from adherence to the Law. Luther attempted to resolve this conflict by distinguishing between "common faith," which includes repentance and law, and "justifying faith," which makes man righteous. See *Unterricht der Visitatoren an die Pfarhern im Kurfurstenthum zu Sachssen,* Wittemberg, 1528, in *Luther's Works,* 55 vols., Philadelphia, 1955–1968, XL, 263–320.

tempt to formulate an appropriate Lutheran iconography for this most important of themes at a time when the reformer had not yet fully articulated his theology vis-à-vis the Last Judgment.

Working within the limits of the established traditions for Last Judgment imagery, Cranach created a recognizably Lutheran image through a variety of means. He abolished the stern, impassive Judge of tradition by inclining Christ's head gently toward his mother, and by shunning the use of the traditional gestures of Judgment.[8] This is consistent with the attitude of Luther, who saw the Judgment "not so much as a means of dispensing God's justice as of displaying God's love."[9] Other details also serve to minimize the act of Judgment. They seem to transform the upper portion of the panel from a conventional depiction of the Judge into a celebration of Christ's triumphant Second Coming: the two trumpeting cherubim herald Christ rather than awakening the Dead; the intercessors and saints seem to adore the triumphant Christ rather than intercede with him; and the rainbow aureole creates a Christocentric focus consistent with Lutheran theology.[10]

Cranach also abolished or minimized those established features most closely associated with Catholic ritual and dogma. St. Peter, sometimes robed in papal vestments, assumed a prominent role in roughly contemporary Catholic works such as Colijn de Coter's *Last Judgment,* c.1500–1515, for the Church of St. Alban at Cologne, or Martin Schaffner's *Last Judgment,* c.1511.[11] In our painting he is a much less imposing figure, stripped of the papal tiara and swallowed by the crowd of the Blessed.[12] In addition, Cranach omitted the Psychostasis, with its emphasis on the Catholic doctrine of the importance of good works for salvation, along with the Resurrection of the Dead.[13]

It was in the space normally occupied by the Psychostasis and the Resurrection of the Dead that Cranach introduced the carnivalesque elements cited earlier. Cranach was certainly not the first northern European painter to employ iconography inspired by popular culture in religious painting. Hieronymus Bosch had already done

[8] In traditional Last Judgments, Christ either raised both hands to display His wounds *(Ostentatio Vulnerum)*, or raised His right hand to bless the Elect while He lowered His left hand to dismiss the Damned.

[9] Harbison, 92.

[10] Harbison, 145–147, discusses the increased focus on Christ and the minimizing of the role of the intercessors and of patron saints in Protestant Last Judgments.

[11] Colijn de Coter's *Last Judgment* survives only in fragments: St. Michael is in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Brussels; the fragment of the Damned belong to the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne; the remaining two fragments, which show St. Peter welcoming the Blessed into Paradise, and six of the Apostles, are in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich. Tradition holds that the work was commissioned for St. Alban's, but there is no firm evidence. For discussion of the various opinions concerning the painting's provenance, see Pamela Hibbs Decoteau, *Colin de Coter and the Bernatsky Triptych* (diss., The University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975), 296, note 465; and 212, for the date of the work. Harbison, 142–143, discusses the prominence of St. Peter in a number of early sixteenth-century Last Judgments, including Schaffner's.

[12] Although St. Peter was traditionally associated with the papacy, he sometimes appeared in Reformation works in a new role. Beerli (as in note 2), discusses Nikolaus Manuel's play *Die Totenfresser,* in which St. Peter and St. Paul represent "la simplicité évangélique." Thus it is not inconsistent for Cranach to retain St. Peter in a Protestant Last Judgment.

[13] Cranach was certainly not the first artist to omit the Psychostasis. It does not appear in many fifteenth-century *Last Judgments,* including the large panel painted for the town hall in Diest, Stephen Lochner's famous painting, and the Eyckian panel in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Omission of the Psychostasis is, however, entirely consistent with Lutheran theology, which stressed that good works were *not* essential for salvation. For a discussion of the place of good works in Luther's theology and in Protestant *Last Judgments*, see Harbison, 92–139.

so in many of his works, and they may have served Cranach as precedents.[14] Certainly the German artist knew and admired the fantastic work of the Netherlandish painter. Around 1520, about the same time that he was working on the Kansas City panel, Cranach painted a copy of Bosch's *Last Judgment* triptych now in Vienna.[15] That Bosch was indeed on Cranach's mind when he painted the Kansas City panel is suggested by the circular pit of Hell, a distinctive motif which the Netherlandish painter employed in such works as the Vienna *Last Judgment* and the *Garden of Earthly Delights,* and by the two artists' similar use of demons. Both painters use demons who function as "attributes" to identify the sins of the Damned.[16] The Kansas City *Last Judgment*, however, is not modeled directly on any painting by Bosch, and other factors closer to home played a more critical role in determining the iconographic form of the painting.

One such factor was Luther's attitude toward religious imagery. Unlike reformers such as Karlstadt, Luther was never intensely concerned with images and never formulated a comprehensive theology with regard to them. However, from his occasional statements concerning images, an embryonic theology emerged.[17] Luther believed that images were not evil in and of themselves, but rather that idolatrous worship and faith in images was evil. Once idolatry had been removed from the hearts of men, it was of no importance whether or not the images themselves remained. In fact, certain types of images could serve the needs of religion well.[18] Luther employed woodcuts in his German translation of the Bible "for the sake of remembrance and better understanding."[19] When he added a woodcut Passion series to his *Personal Prayer Book* in 1529, he did so "especially for the sake of children and simple people who are more apt to retain divine stories when taught by picture and parable than merely by words of instruction."[20] Luther even suggested that such woodcuts provided appropriate models for religious paintings: he proposed that images based on woodcut book illustration be painted on the walls of homes.[21] Such statements by Luther may have inspired Cranach's utilization of popular imagery in the Kansas City painting.

Cranach emphasized the importance of the carnivalesque features in our panel

[14] Of the many works on Bosch, see in particular Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch, His Picture-writing Deciphered,* trans. M. A. Bax-Botha, Rotterdam, 1979 and also by Dirk Bax, *Hieronymus Bosch and Lucas Cranach: Two Last Judgment Triptychs,* trans. M. A. Bax-Botha, Amsterdam/Oxford/New York, 1983; and Charles de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, New York, 1966. See Walter S. Gibson, *Hieronymus Bosch: An Annotated Bibliography,* Boston, c.1983, for the vast literature on the artist.

[15] Cranach may have copied a replica of Bosch's Vienna triptych rather than the original. Friedländer and Rosenberg, 89-90, and Bax, 1983.

[16] For example, in Bosch's *Haywain* triptych, the demon who has the upper half of his body in the shape of a deer identifies the sin of the wretched soul he accompanies as the sin of lust. See Robert L. McGrath, "Satan and Bosch. The *Visio Tundali* and the Monastic Vices," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 6me période, LXXI, 1968, 45-50.

[17] The issue of Luther's attitude toward religious images is a complicated one since Luther never formulated a comprehensive theology with regard to images. See Christensen, 1979, 42-109; Carl C. Christensen, "Luther's Theology and the Uses of Religious Art," *The Lutheran Quarterly,* XXII:2, 1970, 147-165; Haebler (as in note 6), 12-15; McClinton, 2.

[18] In arguing that Christians were *not* required to destrov images, Luther states: "Now I say this to keep the conscience free from mischievous laws and fictitious sins, and not because I would defend images. Nor would I condemn those who have destroyed them, especially those who destroy divine and idolatrous images. But images for memorial and witness, such as crucifixes and images of saints, are to be tolerated." From *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments,* 1525, in *Luther's Works, XL, 91.*

[19] *Ibid.,* 99.

[20] *Luther's Works,* XLIII, 43. Luther, of course, also illustrated his pamphlets with woodcuts.

[21] "Pictures contained in these books we would paint on walls for the sake of remembrance and better understanding, since they do no more harm on walls than in books." *Luther's Works,* XL, 99.

by giving them special visual prominence (fig. 2). The principal group of figures occupies center stage. In the center foreground, a couple make their journey to Hell in a wheeled cart. The man clutches a beer stein which spews forth flames and ash, while the woman fixes a lascivious stare on her companion. A demon pushes the cart towards the precipice of Hell and a withered shell of a woman, who crawls on her hands and knees, has been hitched to the cart and pulls it along. An eager demon grasps her arm to hurry her progress. The plough blade gleams from the pit of Hell, thrust aloft by a beaked demon. On the far edge of the pit a soldier, the only clothed figure among the Damned, hesitates uphappily above the flames. There are two important sources for this carnivalesque imagery. The first was Carnival itself.

Carnival, or *Fastnacht*, occurred prior to the beginning of the Lenten season. The term Carnival may be used to describe only Shrove Tuesday, the day before Ash Wednesday, or it may be applied to the entire period between Epiphany and Ash Wednesday.[22] Much has been written about the origins of Carnival and its functions in society.[23] While this is not the place for a full discussion of the various interpretations of Carnival, we need to make some comments about its position in sixteenth-century Germany. Carnival celebrations in Germany in this period incorporated a number of elements. A morality element appears in the ritual destruction of the figure embodying Death or Winter.[24] It also figured prominently in the most famous of the German Carnival festivities, the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf*.[25] The climax of the *Schembartlauf* centered on the destruction of its distinctive and spectacular processional float, known as the *Hölle* (fig. 3), which depicted some manifestation of folly or evil such as a Ship of Fools or a *Kinderfresser*.[26] Other more or less organized Carnival events attacked the established order of society through satire of authority and tradition. These included plays, mock weddings, tournaments, assaults on city hall, and satires of the clergy and of Church ritual.[27]

[22] For discussion of the Carnival season and its duration, see Maximiliam J. Rudwin, *The Origin of the German Carnival Comedy,* New York, 1920, *passim.*; Scribner, 1981, esp. 67–68; Scribner, 1978, 303, note 1; Burke, 182–185; Claude Gaignebet, "Le combat de Carnaval et de Carmême de P. Bruegel (1559)," *Annales: économies, sociétés, civilisations,* 27:2, 1972, 327.

[23] Frazer, basing his work on the interpretation of folk tradition set forth by Wilhelm Mannhardt, sees Carnival as originating in pagan spring fertility rites. Samuel L. Sumberg, *The Nuremberg Schembart Carnival,* New York, 1966, 134, and Rudwin, esp. 2–18, accept this view. Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, "The Mannhardtian Theories About the Last Sheaf and the Fertility Demons from a Modern Critical Point of View," *Selected Papers on Folklore Published on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday,* Copenhagen, 1948, 89–105, argues against this interpretation of Carnival. Claude Gaignebet, *Le Carnaval,* Paris, 1974, views Carnival as a religion and relates it to celebration of the emergence of the bear from his winter hibernation. Arnold van Gennep, *Manuel de Folklore Français Contemporain I,* III, *Les cérémonies périodiques, cycliques et saisonnières,* Paris, 1947, 872–882, sees Carnival as a period of license, of suspension of the ordinary rules of behavior, comparable to the Saturnalia of antiquity. This is also the view taken by Scribner, 1981, 67–68. For Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World,* trans. Helene Iswolsky, Cambridge, Massachusetts/London, 1968, Carnival represents a "second life" of the people. Davis, 1971, takes the same view. Burke, 185–191 identifies food, sex and violence as the three major themes of Carnival, and suggests that the primary meaning of Carnival for the people who participated in it was a celebration of the world turned upside down. For a summary of the various interpretations of Carnival, see Scribner, 1978, 314–329.

[24] Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough,* London, 1976, IV, 220–245; IX, 106–120; X, 21–24; Rudwin, 16–17.

[25] On the *Schembartlauf* and its significance, see Sumberg; Lefebvre, 23–76; Hans-Ulrich Roller, *Der Nürnberger Schembartlauf,* Tübingen, 1965; Erika Kohler, *Martin Luther und der Festbrauch,* Cologne/Graz, 1959, 102–104.

[26] Sumberg, 132–183, includes a discussion of the floats and their imagery.

[27] Mock weddings are mentioned by Burke, 186, and Julio Caro Baroja, *El Carnaval,* Madrid, 1965, 90–92. Scribner, 1981, 68, and Scribner, 1978, 320, mention mock stormings of town hall, and cite H. Moser, "Die Geschichte der Fasnacht im Spiegel von Archivforschungen," *Fasnacht. Beiträge des Tübinger Arbeitskreises für Fasnachtsforschung,* Tübingen, 1964, 28; and *ibid.,* "Archivalisches zu Jahreslaufbräuchen der Oberpfalz," *Bayerisches Jahrbuch für Volkskunde,* 1955,

3. *Ship of Fools, Hölle* for 1506 *Schembartlauf,* Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Nor. K. 444, fol. 50r

The final element in Carnival was the escape from behavioral norms which it afforded the average person. Men and women assumed each other's clothes and the number of sexual encounters increased.[28] Food and drink were consumed in staggering proportions while insults were freely exchanged. People hurled fruit and eggs at one another and tormented small animals.[29] These unorchestrated activities formed as integral a part of Carnival as the more official, semi-structured processions, plays and satirical events. No clear lines existed between actors and spectators in the sixteenth century. Bakhtin stated the case most strongly: "Carnival is not a spectacle seen by the people; they live in it .... While carnival lasts, there is no other life outside it."[30]

While many of the carnivalesque features of the Kansas City painting find parallels in any number of Carnival celebrations, the Nuremberg *Schembartlauf* seems to have been a particularly significant source of inspiration. This is hardly surpris-

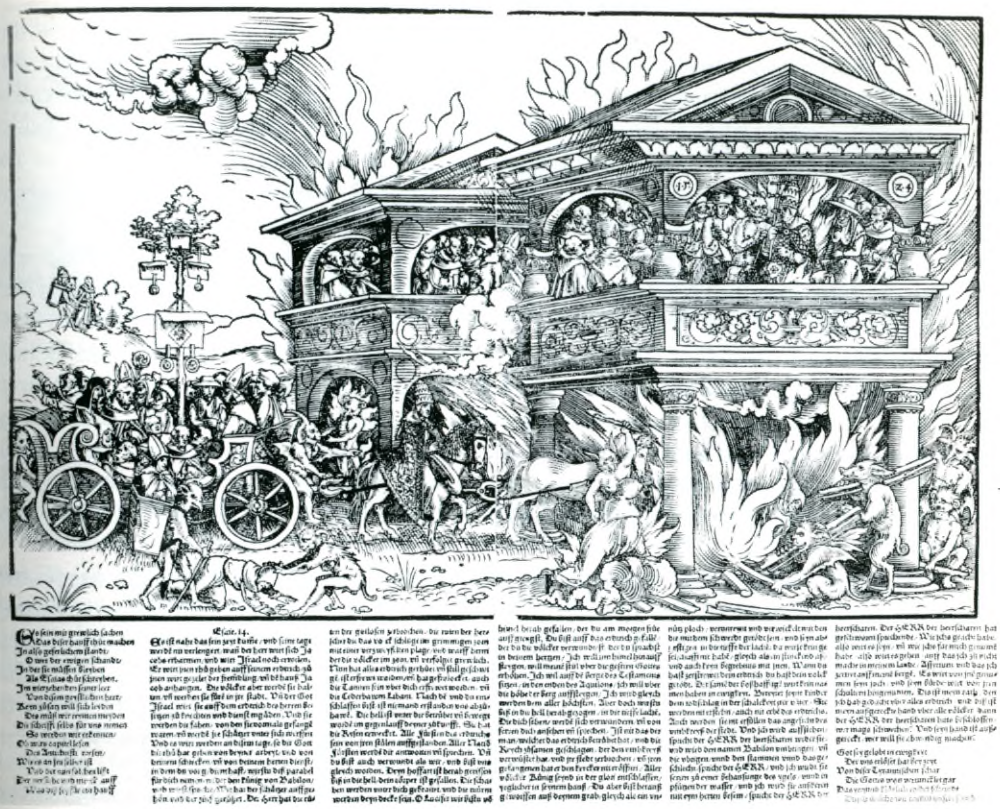
169. Scribner, 1981, 68, mentions satirical religious processions in Cologne in 1441 and in Augsburg in 1503. His sources for these are J. Klersch, *Die kölnische Fastnacht von ihren Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart,* Cologne, 1961, 32; and H. Moser, "Städtische Fasnacht des Mittelalters," *Masken zwischen Spiel und Ernst. Beiträge des Tübinger Arbeitskreises für Fasnachtsforschung,* Tübingen, 1967, 176. Scribner, 1978, 303–309, lists numerous examples of Carnival satire of clergy and Church ritual. These include a mock eucharistic procession held in Ulm in 1525, for which documents exist in the Stadtarchiv Ulm, *Ratsprotokolle,* 8, 125 (quoted by Scribner); and a satire at Buchholz in 1524 of a saint's canonization. For this latter event, Scribner cites the 1524 pamphlet *Von der rechten Erhebung Bennonis ein Sendbrief,* in O. Clemen, ed., *Flugschriften aus den ersten Jahren der Reformation,* I, Leipzig, 1907, 185–209.

[28] For an attempt to provide statistical evidence regarding sexual activity during Carnival, see J. Dupaquier's table of the seasonal cycle of conceptions in Andre Burguiere, "Le démographie," *Faire de l'histoire,* Jacques Le Goff and Piere Nora, eds., Paris, 1974, 86.

[29] Burke, 183–184. Burke cites Caro Baroja (as in note 27), 53ff. and 83ff.

[30] Bakhtin (as in note 23), 7.

4. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Combat Between Carnival and Lent,* 1559. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



5. H.S. Beham, *The Papal Ride to Hell,* 1525. (photo: Graphische Sammlung Albertina)

ing given the influential position occupied by the *Schembartlauf* in the sixteenth century.[31] Its celebrated *Höllen* seem to have inspired the cart which rolls across the foreground of Cranach's painting toward the fires of Hell. Like its counterparts in the *Schembartlauf,* the cart bears a cargo of sin and folly. The woman who rides in the cart embodies, among other things, the sexuality associated with Carnival. Crowded close to her companion, she turns to face him and fixes a licentious gaze on him. The demon who pushes the cart provides an "attribute" for her: his stag's head symbolizes her lust. So, too, does the goat-horned demon who drags the old woman pulling the cart into the pit of Hell.[32] In addition to her role as a personification of this form of Carnival excess, the woman in the cart evokes a specific Carnival figure. Her apparent age suggests the Old Woman character who embodied Winter and Death, and who was customarily destroyed during the festivities.[33]

The corpulent man who accompanies the woman is clearly a personification

[31] See note 25.

[32] See Bax, 1979, 32. The stag appears as a symbol for lust and unchastity in Bosch's *Temptation of St. Anthony* in Lisbon and in his *Haywain* triptych. Folklore held that the deer was a source of aphrodisiacs. See also Bax, 1983, 50–52, 220–221, 229. The stag also had specific Carnival associations in Germany. Rudwin, 34, notes that the day before Shrove Tuesday was called Stag Monday. A figure whom he identifies as the "speaker" was masked as a stag.

The association of the goat with lust is well-known and dates back to antiquity. In addition, the goat was an extremely popular Carnival mask in Northern Europe; Sumberg, 110.

[33] Rudwin, 16–17; Sumberg, 114–115; Frazer, IV, 240–245 and IX, 120.

of gluttony. Similar figures appear in Bruegel's famous *Combat Between Carnival and Lent* of 1559 (fig. 4), and in the Bosch fragment now in the Yale University Art Gallery.[34] A beer stein replaces the more familiar barrel which symbolizes the excessive drinking of Carnival; the ashes and flame which spew forth from the stein relate it visually to the pit of Hell on the right and suggest the diabolical nature of the brew. A second emblem of gluttony, the traditional Carnival roast fowl, appears in the body of the demon who pushes the cart.[35]

Like the woman who rides in the cart, the withered woman who pulls it embodies the familiar Old Woman character. Her posture and the small drama in which she is involved with the demon may also be outgrowths of her identification with the Old Woman. A similar figure group occurs in a 1524 woodcut by Hans Sebald Beham showing a papal procession to Hell (fig. 5), although in the case of the print the figure is a monk. This woodcut resembles Cranach's composition in many ways and shall be discussed later. Scribner has suggested that the motif may be a reference to the Carnival custom of mock hunts which involved demons pursuing Old Women, who as symbols of Death and Winter, had to be driven out and destroyed.[36]

The plough blade gleaming in the pit of Hell is an article commonly associated with Carnival in Germany. Ploughs frequently appeared in Carnival processions, often pulled by women.[37] Their presence has been explained as a relic of the pagan spring fertility rites which had been assimilated into Carnival celebrations.[38] It has been stressed that unmarried women often pulled the plough, and that the connotations of the implement were clearly sexual.[39] The plough blade may thus be another

[34] Burke, 185, believes there is evidence that combats between personifications of Carnival and Lent actually occurred, and describes the figure of Carnival as a pot-bellied man, hung with sausages, rabbits and fowl, who rode astride a giant barrel. He does not give his source for this description of Carnival. Scribner, 1981, 68, cites a contest at Zittau in 1505. His source for this is Moser, 1967 (as in note 27), 180–183. Gaignebet, 1972, 316, also contends that such combats occurred. His evidence, however, is somewhat tenuous. He cites as support Gennep (as in note 23), 934, 966. However, the information provided by Gennep attests to the existence of mannequins of Carnival and/or Lent, but does not clearly indicate contests between them. Hanns Swarzenski, "The Battle Between Carnival and Lent," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston),* XLIX:275, 1951, 2, after reviewing the texts of extant Carnival plays, concludes that there is no precedent in them for a scene depicting a combat between Carnival and Lent.

The Bosch fragment is reproduced in Max J. Friedländer, *Early Netherlandish Painting,* V, Leyden/Brussels, 1969, supp. 130, fig. 113. For the relation of the fragment to Bosch's *Ship of Fools* in the Louvre, see Anne M. Morganstern, "The Rest of Bosch's *Ship of Fools,*" *The Art Bulletin,* LXVI, 1984, 295–302.

[35] Bax, 1979, 125–126, has suggested that the Carnival roast fowl which appears in works by Bosch and Bruegel is not only a symbol of gluttony but has sexual meaning as well. See Bax, 1983, 152–153, for a discussion of the relationship established between gluttony and unchastity in Northern devotional literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Bax cites passages from various fifteenth-century texts, including Dionysius the Carthusian's *Die Spieghel der bekeeringhen, Van den Rijcke der Ghelieven* by Ruusbroec, Dirc van Delf's *Tafel vanden Kersten Ghelove,* and *Des Coninx Summe.*

[36] Scribner, 1981, 71.

[37] Rudwin, 10–11, 41, 45; Burke, 187, 200; William A. Coupe, *The German Illustrated Broadsheet in the Seventeenth Century (Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana,* XVII, *Historical and Iconographic Studies),* I, Baden-Baden, 1966, 175–176; Adelbert V. Keller, ed., *Fastnachtspiele aus dem funfzehnten Jahrhundert,* I, 30, Stuttgart, 1853, 247–251.

That ploughs remained prominent features in sixteenth-century German Carnivals is apparent from the incidents cited by Scribner, 1978, 304–305, 308. Scribner's sources for the incidents he cites are G. C. F. Mohnike and E. H. Zober, eds., *Johann Berckmann Stralsundische Chronik,* Stralsund, 1833, 33; M. Perlbach, R. Philippi and B. Wagner, eds., *Simon Grunaus Preussische Chronik,* Leipzig, 1875–1889, II, 646–647, 664, 734–737; C. A. Corneilus, *Berichte der Augenzeuge uber das Münsterische Tauferreich,* Münster, 1853, 9.

[38] See note 23.

[39] Burke, 187, 200; Coupe (as in note 37), 175–176; Keller. Bax, 1983, 203, cites several Dutch expressions of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in which the plough has erotic connotations: for example, *ploegen op Venus ackere* (to plough on Venus' field), or *jonge paerden inden ploech spannen* (to harness young horses—i.e., young women—in the plough).

6. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Women and Children Chasing Clergy.* Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

reference to Carnival-inspired sexual license. An incident reported by a chronicler supports the interpretation of the plough blade as a sexual metaphor, although in this instance the plough was not pulled by women. At a place in Prussia not specified in the chronicler's report, five pairs of monks pulled a plough in a Carnival procession, followed by nuns with small children.[40] The procession was clearly a satire on the immorality of the clergy, with the children representing their illegitimate offspring. In the context of this procession, the sexual significance of the plough is evident.

In addition to its symbolic function, the plough blade helps direct the viewer's attention to the soldier on the rim of the pit of Hell, and links him visually with the foreground group. Even without the plough blade, the soldier attracts our attention because he is the only figure among the Damned to wear clothing. He carries a crossbow and wears the bowman's customary helmet and hauberk, or mail tunic.[41] Bax has interpreted the crossbow as a sexual metaphor. He suggests that the soldier's stance, naked from the waist down and clutching the crossbow suggestively between his legs, has strong sexual implications.[42] Contemporaries would have recognized in him a familiar Carnival figure. For example, a knight figures prominently in a fifteenth-century German play which also incorporates the ploughing motif which, as we have seen, bears sexual overtones.[43]

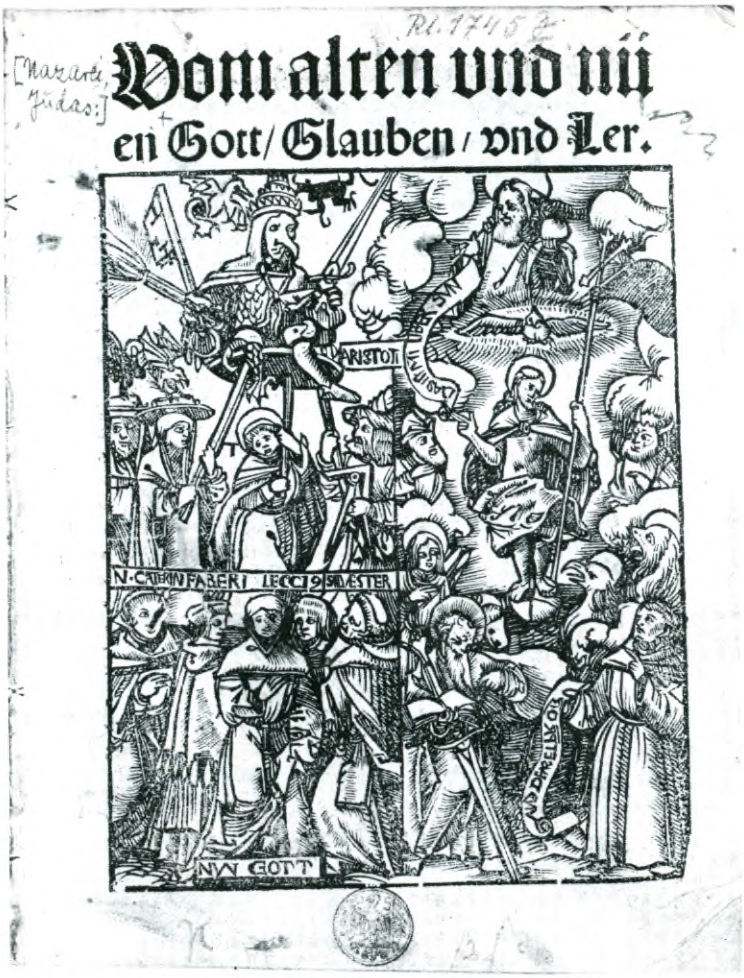
Carnivalesque imagery comparable to that which we have identified in Cranach's painting appeared frequently in woodcuts of the early sixteenth century, particularly those which illustrated Reformation propagandist pamphlets and broadsheets. These images of propaganda utilized carnivalesque satire in their attacks on the immoral excesses and diabolical nature of the Catholic clergy. Carnival themes lent themselves readily to such uses by Reformation propagandists, since Carnival itself was a traditional time for satirizing authority, including that of religion. In fact, this traditional association of Carnival with criticism of the Church was so strong

[40] Scribner, 1978, 305. His source for this is *Simon Grunaus Preussische Chronik,* cited in note 37.

[41] The crossbowman usually wore a breast plate and either mail or plate on his legs. He was, however, less heavily armored than the mounted warrior since he was protected by the large shield which he stood behind to fire his weapon. See M. H. Pakula, *Heraldry and Armor of the Middle Ages,* South Brunswick, 1972, 220–224.

[42] Bax, 1979, 29.

[43] Keller.



7. Title page, from *Vom alten und nüen Gott, Glauben und Ler,* c. 1520–1521, Switzerland. (photo: Germanisches Nationalmuseum)

that carnivalesque imagery rarely appeared in the propaganda of Catholic polemicists.[44] Cranach was surely familiar with carnivalesque propagandist woodcuts: one of his drawings shows a carnivalesque mock hunt (fig. 6) and was probably intended as a model for such a print.[45] Because these images were so inextricably tied to the Reformation cause, they provided an appropriate source of inspiration for a Reformation painting. When Cranach used carnivalesque imagery in his *Last Judgment*, he knew that it had a specific visual currency with his audience because of these propagandist images.

We have an early example of this Reformation propaganda in a Swiss pamphlet of c.1520–1521 entitled *Vom alten und nüen Gott, Glauben und Ler.*[46] The woodcut on the title page (fig. 7) depicts the pope in a guise of a Carnival puppet, with the clear implication that his power and authority have no more reality than the make-believe

[44] Scribner, 1981, 67–94, 229–239. He cites Murner as a rare example of a Catholic polemicist who effectively used Carnivalesque imagery.

[45] *Ibid.*, 62, and Jakob Rosenberg, *Die Zeichnungen Lucas Cranachs D. Ä.*, Berlin, 1960, 26. For a discussion of the many propagandist images Cranach and his workshop produced for Luther, see Dieter Koepplin and Tilman Falk, *Lukas Cranach,* Basel, I, 1974, 34, and II, 1976, 498–522.

[46] Scribner, 1981, 69–70.

8. *Demon Puppeteer* from 1518 *Schembartlauf,* Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek, MS Nor. K. 444, fol. 82

of Carnival. As in the Kansas City painting, Carnival imagery appears in association with the evil and demonic. Details emphasize the diabolical nature of the puppet-pope: demons hover around his tiara, and his right leg is covered with scales and ends in a webbed foot.

Imagery strikingly close to that employed by Cranach appears in the previously-cited broadsheet by Beham (fig. 5). Beham's woodcut depicts a papal journey to Hell. Both images show a carnivalesque procession, complete with a cart reminiscent of the *Hölle* of the *Schembartlauf,* moving towards a flaming Hell at the right. In both, demons before and behind the cart control its progress. In addition to the cart, numerous other carnivalesque details appear in Beham's print. A typical Carnival tree, stripped of most of its branches so that only a tuft of greenery remains at the top, rises from the cart.[47] The demons in the left foreground and background who carry clergy to Hell in baskets resemble puppeteers of the *Schembartlauf* (fig. 8). The crawling monk in the left foreground and the demon who tugs at him have already been mentioned and may, as Scribner has suggested, refer to the Carnival custom of the chasing of Old Women by devils.[48]

One final example, a broadsheet of c.1535 by Peter Flötner (fig. 9), uses the format of the Catholic procession to parody the clergy in much the same way as the populace mocked them during Carnival.[49] Here satire and vulgarity have replaced religious solemnity. Near the front of the processions, two canons who drink from enormous beer steins follow two vomiting friars who have already overimbibed. Two litter-bearers, fools, stagger under the weight of a gluttonous abbot and are followed by a nun who carries a spit packed with sausages. Behind her, two other nuns carry, as "banners", codpieces hanging from hay-forks, a clear reference to

[47] *Ibid.,* 71. A similar Carnival tree appears in Bosch's well-known *Ship of Fools* in the Louvre. Indeed, the effect of the tree in the woodcut is to transform the cart into a ship of fools. The tree becomes a mast, and the indulgences and papal bull which hang from it serve as "sails." The ship of fools was a popular Carnival theme, and appeared on the 1506 and 1539 *Höllen* in Nuremberg. For images and discussion see Sumberg, 148–150, 176–179, 223, 227.

[48] See note 36.

[49] Scribner, 1981, 96–97; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *Nuremberg, A Renaissance City, 1500–1618,* Austin, 1983, figs. 123, 226.

9. Peter Flotner, *Satirical Procession,* 1535. (photo: The New York Public Library)

clerical sexual license, as is the nun at the rear of the procession who carries her illegitimate child. Other nuns sing "hymns" from a gaming board. Mock processions similar to this were a common occurrence during Carnival. At Buchholz in 1524, a feigned procession satirized the veneration of the relics of the newly-canonized St. Benno.[50] A comic procession of a Carnival pope, cardinals and bishops took place in Naumberg in 1525.[51] A similar event occurred in Münster in 1532.[52] The Hildesheim Carnival of 1543 included a mock procession in which figures dressed as monks sang from a gaming-board.[53]

This carnivalesque imagery found its way into other paintings of the period as well. Around 1524, Jan Provost received a commission from the city of Bruges to paint a *Last Judgment* for the town hall (fig. 10).[54] A Hell-bound procession of Catholic clergy marches across the lower right corner of the painting. The imagery is strikingly reminiscent of that in Flötner's woodcut.[55]

Cranach's Carnival figures differ from the imagery in the woodcuts and in Provost's paintings in one important respect—the absence of clerical costume. This difference is critical to the meaning of Cranach's image. All the carnivalesque figures in the woodcuts and in Provost's *Last Judgment* wear clerical costume, and the clear intent of the images is to attack the Catholic clergy. Cranach's Hell-bound figures do not wear clerical garb but appear only as Carnival character-types. Cranach's intention was not to satirize the Catholic clergy but to condemn Carnival itself and its excesses and to rebuke the public, rather than the clergy specifically, for their immoral living.

The Protestant attitude towards Carnival played a pivotal role here. Luther himself was not opposed to Carnival. He took the attitude that the "boys" should be allowed their game, and welcomed the introduction of anti-Catholic propaganda into Carnival festivities.[56] But while both Carnival and carnivalesque imagery formed part of the arsenal used by the Reformation to attack the Catholic Church, Carnival and the moral excesses that accompanied it also came under heavy fire from other Reformation leaders.[57] The prominent Nuremberg Lutheran preacher Andreas Osiander attacked Carnival as a relic of heathenism and Catholicism. These attacks may have influenced Cranach's own condemnation of Carnival. They may also have been partly responsible for the suspension, after the Carnival of 1524, of the *Schembartlauf,* which

[50] Scribner, 1978, 306. Benno was an eleventh-century bishop of Meissen. In mid-June, 1524, his relics were disinterred in Meissen for veneration. The event was satirized in Buchholz, where a horse's head, the jawbone of a cow and two horse legs served as relics. The event would have been widely known because it was reported in the 1524 pamphlet, *Von der rechten Erhebung Bennonis ein Sendbrief* (see note 27). This report was based on an eyewitness account by the Lutheran preacher in Buchholz.

[51] M. Sixtus Braun, *Naumburger Annalen vom Jahre 799 bis 1619,* Naumburg, 1892, 193–194; cited by Scribner, 1978, 307. The incident is also mentioned in Scribner, 1981, 97.

[52] Cornelius (as in note 37), 9; cited by Scribner, 1978, 308. See also Scribner, 1981, 97.

[53] J. Schlecht, "Der Hildescheimer Fasching 1545," *Römische quartalschrift für christl. Alterhumskunde,* X, 1896, 170–177; cited by Scribner, 1978, 308–309. Also mentioned in Scribner, 1981, 97.

[54] Harbison, 37–38.

[55] *Ibid.*, 38–39, 216, for a discussion of Provost's imagery.

[56] Bercé, 66; Lefebvre, 70; and Kohler (as in note 25), 95, cite Luther's support of the introduction of anti-Catholic propaganda into the Wittenberg Carnival of 1521; Lefebvre and Kohler quote from Luther's letter to Spalatin on the subject. However, Kohler, 35–57, argues that in general Luther was not particularly sympathetic to popular traditions. Burke, 218, and Erich Klingner, *Luther und der deutsche Volksaberglaube (Palaestra* LVI, *Untersuchungen und Texte aus der deutschen und englischen Philologie),* Berlin, 1912, 122–123, emphasize Luther's tolerance of many traditional popular festivities, and quote the following passage from his 1529 sermon: "Pueri etiam habeant suum lusum."

[57] This is discussed by Burke, 207–219. He mentions, among others, Andreas Osiander and Thomas Naogeorgus, who condemned popular festivals as relics of popery in his *Regnum Papisticum* (1553).

10. Jan Provost, *Last Judgment*, c. 1525. Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Groeningemuseum. (photo: A.C.L. Brussels)

may also have inspired Cranach, as the issue was a particularly timely one.

The reasons for the suspension are not entirely clear. Osiander, however, was an influential figure in Nuremberg during the 1520s.[58] He served as preacher of the Church of St. Lorenz and was the leading Lutheran in the city. The city council frequently consulted him when faced, as it often was during the early years of the Reformation, with making rulings on the heretical or orthodox nature of many of the religious teachings being promulgated in the city. Osiander led the Lutheran delegation in the 1525 debate which led to Nuremberg's adoption of Lutheranism as the official city religion. Given the weight which the council accorded his opinion, we may well imagine that his opposition to Carnival influenced the council. Certainly it is clear that the Nuremberg populace held Osiander responsible for the suspension of their festivities. When the *Schembartlauf* was once again permitted in 1539, the citizens made Osiander the object of the satire on the *Hölle.* An attack on Osiander's house followed the procession, and it was Osiander's subsequent complaint to the council that resulted in the permanent ban on the *Schembartlauf.*[59]

Osiander's attitude towards Carnival was not unique in the sixteenth century. Many of his contemporaries also saw Carnival as a pagan relic, whose festivities and excesses were to be condemned.[60] This view was shared by Sebastian Brant and was expressed in his popular satire of morals, the *Narrenschiff.* The follies which Brant attacked in this work were not pursuits which were viewed as mere buffoonery, but things which were seen as sinful excesses. He included gluttons and drunkards, embodiments of traditional Carnival excesses, among his cast of fools. He added a specific attack on Carnival "folly" in the 1495 edition of his work. His friend Geiler von Kaiserberg used Brant's work as the basis for sermons.[61]

An early sixteenth-century work which similarly chastised the public for its immoral excesses was Hans von Leonrodt's *Hymelwagen. . . Hellwagen.*[62] The work appeared in two editions, the first in 1517, the second in 1518.[63] In the tract, Leonrodt metaphorically described the "vehicles" of man's salvation and damnation as horse-drawn wagons. The bottomless grace of God is the wagon which carries men towards heaven; the driver of the wagon is the Holy Trinity. The *Hellwagen* is the bottomless unmercifulness of Satan; the driver is the entire community of evil.[64] In his account

[58] On Osiander's position and influence in Nuremberg, see A. P. Evans, *An Episode in the Struggle for Religious Freedom: The Sectaries of Nuremberg 1524–1528,* New York, 1924, *passim.*; Gottfried Seebass, "The Reformation in Nürnberg," *The Social History of the Reformation,* Lawrence P. Buck and Jonathan W. Zophy, eds., Columbus, 1972, 17–40; Gerald Strauss, *Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century,* New York/London/Sydney, 1966, chapter 4; *ibid.,* "Protestant Dogma and City Government: The Case of Nuremberg," *Past and Present,* XXXVI, 1967, 38–58. For a summary and critique of Strauss' ideas, see Steven E. Ozment, *The Reformation in the Cities,* New Haven/London, 1975, 11–12.

[59] For discussion of the events of 1539, see Sumberg, 178–183; Scribner, 1981, 71–73; Scribner, 1978, 324; Bercé, 68.

[60] See note 57. See also Lefebvre, 29.

[61] See note 57.

[62] The full title of the tract is *Hymelwagen Auft dem, wer wol lebt vnd wol stirbt, fert in das ewig leben. Hellwagen Auff dem, wer übel lebt vnd übel stirbt, fert in die ewigen verdamnuss. Das ist die materi vnd innhalt dissbuchlins.*

[63] Both editions were published in Augsburg by Sylvan Otmar. The first appeared in June, 1517, before Luther had posted his ninety-five theses. We should thus not understand the work as something Lutheran-inspired, but as an independent manifestation of the widely felt need for Church reform. The second edition was published in November, 1518.

[64] The following passages from the text are taken from the 1518 edition, a copy of which is housed in the Department of Rare Books in the Cornell University Library.

"Nun für das hauptstuck vnd den rechten wagñ als der himelwagen ist die milt gütig vnd vnergrünt barmhertzikait gotes/also soll der recht hellwagen sein die vnergründt/vnmilt/hert vnbarmhertzigkait des Lucifers. . .

of the origins of the *Hellwagen*, Leonrodt observes that we "serve and please the devil, the world and our own flesh."[65] He recounts the damning sinful excesses of our existence, including the fact that we "console and strengthen ourselves" with such evils of the flesh as good food and drink.[66]

Woodcuts by Hans Schäufelein showing the *Hymelwagen* and the *Hellwagen* (fig. 11) illustrated Leonrodt's tract. Like Cranach's painting and Beham's print, the image of the *Hellwagen* evokes the *Hölle* of the *Schembartlauf* and may have been inspired by it. But it may also have had a more direct relation to Cranach's work. We know that Cranach was familiar with Schäufelein's woodcuts: he used them as the model for a Reformation broadsheet he produced with the reformer Karlstadt in 1519, the *Chariot to Heaven and Chariot to Hell.*[67] Cranach may have had Schäufelein's prints in mind when he painted the Kansas City *Last Judgment* and hoped that his viewers would recognize the links. He may have intended for his audience to associate the imagery in his painting not only with Carnival itself and Reformation propagandist woodcuts, but also with this tradition of condemnation of moral excesses.

As the works of Brant and Leonrodt suggest, condemnation of Carnival and its excesses was not exclusively the property of Reformation forces. Catholics as well attacked the evils of Carnival. Catholic criticisms differed from the Protestant ones, however, in one very important way. Catholics primarily urged reform of Carnival to eliminate the excesses. Protestants, such as Osiander, pushed for the abolition of Carnival as evil in and of itself.[68] This difference is illustrated by the fact that during the course of the sixteenth century Carnival died out in Protestant cities (such as Nuremberg) while it survived in Catholic strongholds. Bercé, in fact, has noted that during this period the celebration of such traditional festivities in cities became an affirmation of Catholicity.[69] The unqualified nature of Cranach's condemnation of Carnival is clearly consistent with the Protestant attitude.[70]

In addition to the reasons we have already cited for the condemnation of Carnival, we may find a further reason in the violence associated with it. The ritualized verbal and physical aggression which accompanied Carnival was not always con-

Das ander Hauptstuck zum hymelwagen ist der fürman/die hailig vngetailt ewig trifaltigkait/Also soll das der fürman sein im hellwagen die gantz gemainschafft vnnd geselschafft aller bösen gaist . . ."

[65] ". . . das dem teüfel/der welt/vnd vnserm aigen flaisch dient vnd wolgefelt."

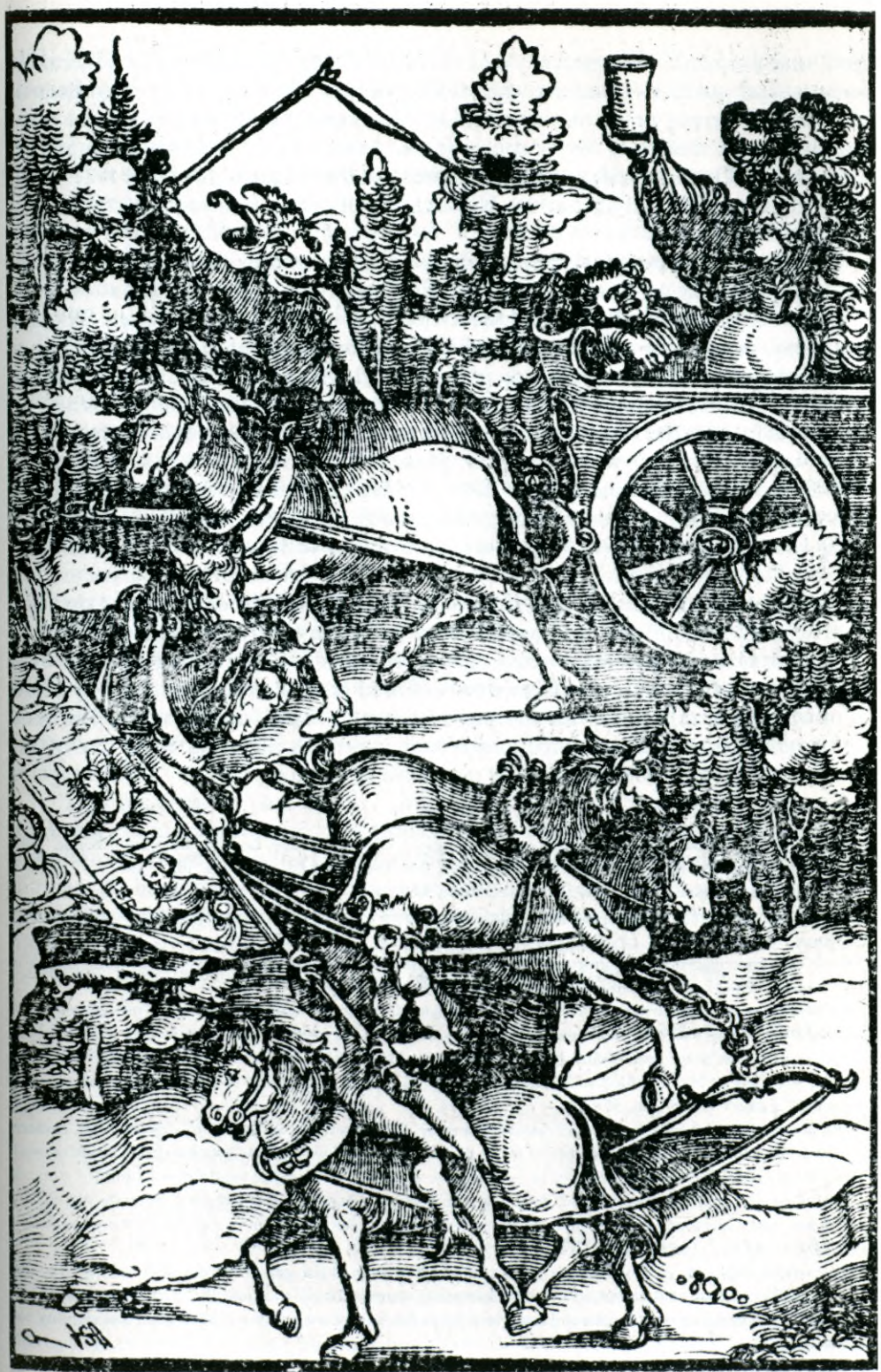
[66] Leonrodt observes sternly that from childhood on we have desired only evil, and with great joy have committed adultery, robbery, war and other sins. When good thoughts come to our minds, or we contemplate things that sadden us, such as death and Judgment, we push those thoughts aside, and console ourselves with such evils of the flesh as good food, good drink and soft beds. I wish to thank Janita van der Walt for her translation of this difficult text.

[67] The broadsheet was not a moralizing treatment of human behavior, as was the *Hymelwagen,* but an attack on the scholastics. See E. Gordon Rupp, *Patterns of Reformation,* London, 1969, 68–69.

[68] See note 57. See also Gaignebet, 1972, 323; Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past and Present,* LIX, 1973, 71–91, esp. 72–75; *ibid.,* "Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion," *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion,* Charles Trinkhaus and Heiko A. Oberman, eds. *(Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought,* X), Leiden, 1974, 307–336, esp. 325–326; *ibid.,* 1971, 70–73; Bercé, 69–70.

[69] Bercé, 70.

[70] Since Cranach continued to produce works for Catholic patrons, most notably Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg, it is important to stress this dichotomy between Catholic and Protestant attacks on Carnival. Werner Schade, *Cranach: A Family of Master Painters,* trans. Helen Sebba, New York, 1980, 64, suggests that political considerations led the Saxon electors to make their court painter available to the Cardinal so frequently. See also C. Schuchardt, *Lucas Cranach d. Ä. Leben und Werk,* I, Leipzig, 1851, 74ff.; M. B. Lindau, *Lucas Cranach,* Leipzig, 1883, 179ff.; U. Steinmann, *Der Bilderschmuck der Stiftskirche zu Halle. Forschungen und Berichte II,* 1968, 71–88; all cited by Schade.



11. Hans Schaufelein, *Hellwagon,* from von Leonrodt, *Hymelwagen. . . Hellwagen,* Augsburg, 1518. (photo: Cornell University Library)

tained, and frequently erupted into real violence.[71] In the sixteenth century, there was growing—and justified—fear that the violence might generate revolts.[72] At Bern in 1513, the smoldering political and social unrest merged with the traditional Carnival attack on authority to erupt in open rebellion.[73] The turbulence which manifested itself in that incident reached a climax in the Peasants' Revolt of 1524–1525. It is surely not coincidental that the Nuremberg city council suspended the *Schembartlauf* at that time.

Luther's own writings provide the theological context for this damnation of rebellion. His attitude on this issue isolated him from many other Reformation leaders, such as Münzer, who advocated the use of force to bring about change. Though sensitive to the need for social reform which triggered much of the violence, Luther did not advocate rebellion. Instead, in such writings as his *Address to the Christian Nobility* of 1520, Luther appealed to those in authority to initiate change. When he became fearful that the revolutionary teachings of Münzer would spark a rebellion, Luther wrote a letter of warning to the Saxon rulers. In his *Letter to the Princes of Saxony Concerning the Rebellious Spirit* of 1524, Luther stressed that the use of the sword was not the province of men of God, who should not aspire to civil authority.[74] It appropriately belongs to secular powers, and carries with it the obligation to suppress rebellion and maintain the peace.[75] He declared that he himself had never used force nor advocated violence, and that he had wielded mightier influence through his preaching of the Word than would have been possible with the sword.[76]

Luther braced these arguments against Münzer by identifying his own attitude with that of Christ's, which expressly denied secular ambitions, and by identifying Münzer's approach with the way of Satan.[77] That Cranach shared Luther's view of rebellion, the use of force and secular power, is apparent from one of his

[71] Burke, 187–188. He draws his information from R. Dallington, *A Survey of Tuscany,* London, 1605, 16; J. Taylor, "Jack a Lent," *Works,* London, 1630, 115; Blanco White, *Letters from Spain,* 2nd ed., London, 1822, 237.

[72] Moser, 1967 (as in note 27), 147, 163; cited by Scribner, 1978, 321.

[73] Conrad-André Beerli, *Le peintre-poète nicholas manuel et l'évolution sociale de son temps (Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance,* IV), Geneva, 1953, 16–18.

[74] "For we who are engaged in the ministry of the Word are not allowed to use force. Ours is a spiritual conflict in which we wrest hearts and souls from the devil." *Luther's Works,* XL, 57.

[75] "Your obligation and duty to maintain order requires you to guard against such mischief and to prevent rebellion. Your Graces know very well that your power and earthly authority are given you by God in that you have been bidden to preserve the peace and to punish the wrongdoer, as Paul teaches, [Rom. 13 :4]. Therefore your Graces should not sleep nor be idle. For God will want and require an answer if the power of the sword is carelessly used or regarded." *Luther's Works,* XL, 51–52.

[76] "Look at what I have done. I have never disturbed a stone, broken a thing, or set fire to a cloister. Yet, because of my word, the monasteries are now empty in many places. . . Had I done as these prophets and carried on with violence, hearts in all the world would still be in captivity, while I in some place would have crumbled stone or wood. Of what use would this have been? You may gain fame and honor in that way, but certainly you do not thus win any soul's salvation. Some would say that without force I have done more damage to the pope than a mighty king could do." *Luther's Works,* XL, 58.

[77] "I have written this letter to Your Princely Graces because I heard and also gathered from their writings that this same spirit will not let the matter rest with words. Intending to resort to violence and the use of force against the authorities he will instigate revolt without delay. Here Satan lets us catch a glimpse of the knave that's giving too much away. . .

"I have already heard earlier from the spirit himself there in Wittenberg, that he thinks it necessary to use the sword to carry out his undertaking. At that time I had a hunch that they would go so far as to overthrow civil authority and make themselves lords of the world. Yet before Pilate Christ rejected such an aim, saying that his kingdom is not of this world [John 18:36]. He also taught his disciples not to be as the rulers of the world [Matt. 20:25]." *Luther's Works,* XL, 51. The text of the letter was published in Wittenburg in 1524.

early Reformation works.[78] His *Passional Christi und Antichristi* of 1521, contrasts Christ's shunning of worldly power with the passionate embrace of it by the Antichrist. Cranach, like many others, identified the Antichrist with the pope.[79] Cranach's series of paired woodcuts makes clear that the embrace of secular power includes the use of force which is antithetical to the ways of Christ. In the first set of woodcuts, Christ flees the attempt of the Jews to make him King, while the pope defends his claim to secular rule with military force. The ninth set contrasts Christ's peaceful entry into Jerusalem with a splendid papal procession, accompanied by foot soldiers, advancing toward the flames of Hell. Perhaps Cranach intended echoes of these images to sound in the depiction of the soldier in the Kansas City painting.

The complex interactions of a number of forces shaped Cranach's depiction of the Damned in the Kansas City panel. Though the *Last Judgment* had special significance for the Reformation, there existed no guidelines which defined an appropriate Protestant depiction of the theme at this time. Cranach created a Lutheran image through the incorporation of iconographic features that had acknowledged associations with the forces of reform. Reformation propagandist woodcuts established a precedent for the use of carnivalesque imagery that Cranach drew on. However, the iconographical slant which Cranach imposed on this imagery derived from a moralizing reformist tradition. That tradition included literary manifestations such as Sebastian Brant's *Narrenshiff* and Hans von Leonrodt's *Hymelwagen . . . Hellwagen*. Perhaps of more immediate significance to Cranach, it also included the Lutheran preacher Osiander's successful attempts to suppress Carnival in Nuremberg. Intertwined with these moral objections to Carnival was Luther's condemnation of rebellion, which in early sixteenth-century Germany often erupted in conjunction with Carnival. Underlying all of these factors was Luther's emphasis on the creation of images which "simple people" could easily understand and remember.

This concern for that which "simple people" could readily comprehend laid a theological foundation for a religious imagery rooted in popular culture. Figures based on Carnival characters, such as those which appear in the Kansas City painting, would have been quickly recognized by all sixteenth-century Germans. The moralizing message, which visually reiterated the sermons of many reformers, would have been easily understood. Such imagery possessed the same direct appeal as Luther's message of justification by faith and his emphasis on the Word of God.

University of Kansas

[78] Cranach was not the only artist to express visually his agreement with Luther on the issue of rebellion. Dürer did so in his design for a Column of Victory for the subjugation of peasants, included in his *Underweysung der messung,* Nuremberg, 1525. See *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer,* Dr. Willi Kurth, ed., trans. S. M. Welsh, New York, 1963, 40, and Ralph E. Shikes, *The Indignant Eye,* Boston, 1969, 39–40. For a discussion of the impact of Lutheran reaction to the Peasants' Revolt on depictions of peasants, see Keith P. F. Moxey, "Sebald Beham's church anniversary holidays: festive peasants as instruments of repressive humor," *Simiolus,* XII: 2/3, 1981–1982, 107–130.

[79] See the discussion of Cranach's *Passional* in Scribner, 1981, 149–163. For a discussion of the symbolism and interpretation of the Antichrist, see R. K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages,* Seattle, 1981, esp. 204–237.

1. Pontormo, *The Way to Golgotha,* 1523–1525. Certosa del Galluzzo (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

Pontormo's Mysticism and the Carthusians

IGNACIO L. MORENO

Within a span of approximately five years, from 1523 to 1528, Pontormo painted his most important extant religious works: the monumental Passion Cycle at the Certosa del Galluzzo, the *Supper at Emmaus,* and the decorations of the Capponi Chapel in S. Felicità.[1] Pontormo's radical departures from the Renaissance ideals of classical balance, anatomical proportions, perspective and composition, and his use of Northern prints as a major source for his style in this period have led modern art historians to conflicting interpretations of Pontormo's paintings and to speculation about his motives. Several scholars have suggested the possible influence on Pontormo of the Protestant Reformation or of the Evangelicals within the Catholic Church.[2]

I propose, however, that Pontormo was orthodox in his religious beliefs, and that Carthusian spirituality was demonstrably influential in shaping his religious attitudes and in precipitating his stylistic experimentations with Northern prints. The visual evidence and the circumstances surrounding Pontormo's commissions in the 1520s suggest that Pontormo developed an intensely personal interest in Christian mysticism through the influence of the Carthusians, and that this interest had a major impact on his art. Further, Pontormo appears not only to have accepted the doctrines of the Catholic Church, but also to have sought every means to make those doctrines more directly accessible to the viewer without sacrificing any of their theological complexities.

Pontormo's Passion Cycle at the Certosa del Galluzzo (fig. 1), executed between 1523 and 1525, was specifically commissioned by the Carthusians as an aid in their spiritual contemplations, a function served by most decorative cycles in monastic sites.[3] The *Supper at Emmaus* (fig. 2), was also painted for the Carthusians in 1525, the same year he received the commission for the decorations of the Capponi Chapel.[4] "As the quiet of the Certosa pleased Jacopo," Vasari tells us, "he devoted several

I would like to express my gratitude to several persons with whom I discussed different portions of this article at various times: Professors Mary Garrard, William Hauptman, Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, and Jean Caswell. I am also grateful to Dr. Timothy Verdon and Dr. Alison Luchs for their observations.

[1] Pontormo's *Visitation* of c.1528 in the pieve of Carmignano should probably be included in this group. The importance of these paintings has been repeatedly stressed in the literature on Mannerism: see, for example, W.F. Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting,* New York, 1957; I.L. Zupnick, "The Aesthetics of the Early Mannerists," *Art Bulletin,* XXXV, 1953, 302-306; C.H. Smyth, *Mannerism and "Maniera,"* New York, 1963; S.J. Freedberg, "Observations on the Painting of the Maniera," *Art Bulletin,* XLVIII, 1965, 187-197; A. Hauser, *Mannerism: The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art,* New York, 1965, 186-188.

[2] C. de Tolnay, "Les fresques de Pontormo dans le choeur de San Lorenzo, essai de reconstitution," *Critica d'arte,* XXXII, 1950, 38-52; L. Berti, *Pontormo,* Florence, 1964, 21-25; K. Forster, "Pontormo, Michelangelo and the Valdesian Movement," *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlandes (Acts of the 21st International Congress for Art History, Bonn, 1964),* II, Berlin, 1967, 181-185; and the same author's *Pontormo,* Munich, 1966, 56-57; R. Corti, "Pontormo a San Lorenzo: Un episodio figurativo dello 'spiritualismo' italiano," *Ricerche di storia dell'arte,* VI, 1977, 5-36; and C. Harbison, "Pontormo, Baldung, and the Early Reformation," *Art Bulletin,* LXVI, 1984, 324-327.

[3] For the religious function of art in monastic life and in Carthusian monasteries, see W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders,* Princeton, 1972, 12, and 118ff.

[4] The *Supper at Emmaus* is dated 1525 on a *cartellino* lying on the floor in the lower right of the painting. The Capponi Chapel was consecrated on July 1, 1525; see J. Shearman, *Pontormo's Altarpiece in S. Felicità,* Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1971, 8ff., and 28, notes 2-6. On the chronology of Pontormo's paintings in the chapel, see J. Cox-Rearick, *The Drawings of Pontormo,* Cambridge, 1981, 252-264.

2. Pontormo, *Supper at Emmaus,* 1525. Florence, Uffizi (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

years to his work, and when the plague was over and he had returned to Florence, he continued to frequent the place, and obliged the friars in many ways."[5] Thus, if Vasari's account is accurate, Pontormo continued to visit the Certosa during the time he was at work on the Capponi Chapel, and perhaps even later.

[5] G. Vasari, *Le Vite de' piu eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori,* ed. by G. Milanesi, Florence, 1878–1885, VI, 269–270. The translation quoted here is from G. Vasari, *The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects,* ed. by W. Gaunt, New York, 1963, IV, 246. Vasari tells us that in addition to the Passion Cycle and the *Supper at Emmaus,* Pontormo painted a portrait of one of the friars and a *Nativity,* both now lost. Bronzino, who accompanied Pontormo to the Certosa, painted a *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence* and a *Man of Sorrows.* He also assisted Pontormo with the decorations of the Capponi Chapel; see C.H. Smyth, "The Earliest Works of Bronzino," *Art Bulletin,* XXXI, 1949, 184–210.

Analyses of Pontormo's paintings at the Certosa have given only cursory attention to the monastic context for which they were intended, yet their function in the traditionally austere and devout life of the Carthusians who commissioned the paintings best explains why Pontormo responded to the "medievalism" of Northern graphic art. He apparently found in the nervous, angular contours and crowded, flattened compositions of the Northern prints a more intense devotional quality than in the poised calm, rational order, and sensual beauty of classical art.[6] He was not, of course, alone in receiving commissions from the Carthusians during the rebuilding campaign that was underway when he arrived.[7] Albertinelli, Piero di Matteo, Giovanni and Andrea della Robbia also made noteworthy contributions.[8] None of these artists, however, seem to have responded as subjectively as Pontormo did to the monastic environment and spiritual aspirations of their Carthusian patrons; if they did so, it is not distinctively evident in their work

Pontormo completed five frescoes: the *Agony in the Garden, Christ before Pilate,* the *Way to Golgotha,* the *Lamentation,* and the *Resurrection.* The frescoes were removed from their original location, the great cloister of the Certosa, and are housed today in the monastery's museum. Their function and meaning, however, become fully understandable only when they are mentally relocated in the four corners of the great cloister. The five completed frescoes were arranged in a logical order according to their sequence in the narrative of the Passion. Elsewhere I have discussed Pontormo's Passion Cycle in the context of the Certosa, and suggested that Pontormo did not include a scene of the Crucifixion in his fresco cycle because there was probably already a three-dimensional *Crucifixion* at the well in the center of the great cloister.[9] As I pointed out: "In integrating the total environment of the cloister into the viewer's experience, Pontormo was able to enhance the viewer's (i.e., the monk's) sense of being a participant in the Lord's Passion, a goal of the monastic life, as he moved along the ambulatories."[10] This solution to the problem of relating a series of images across a vast space also foreshadows a more complex notion: a pattern of images which unfolds through time and space, as well as in the mind of the beholder. This idea appears more fully developed in both the *Supper at Emmaus* and the Capponi Chapel.

[6] On Pontormo's debt to Dürer, see F.M. Clapp, *Jacopo Carucci da Pontormo, His Life and Work,* New Haven, 1916, 107–114; G. Nicco Fasola, "Pontormo e Duerer," *Arti figurative,* II, 1946, 37–48; Cox-Rearick, 213–226; Forster, 1966, 48–57, 71–75 and 139. On Pontormo's conscious archaizing, see I. Lavin, "An Observation of 'Medievalism' in Early Sixteenth Century Style," *Gazette des beaux-arts,* L, 1957, 113–118.

[7] A history of the Certosa and the various phases of its construction can be found in G. Leoncini, *La Certosa di Firenze nei suoi rapporti con l'architettura certosiana,* Frosinone, 1980; and C. Chiarelli and G. Leoncini, *La Certosa del Galluzzo a Firenze,* Milan, 1982. The great cloister of the Certosa was erected in its present form between 1495 and 1523.

[8] In 1506 Albertinelli executed a *Crucifixion* for the chapterhouse, and Piero di Matteo began to paint the small lunettes above the doors to the monks' cells in the great cloister. In 1513 the Della Robbias began receiving payments for sixty-six busts in glazed terracotta for the spandrels of the great cloister's arcades. These works and the contributions by other artists are catalogued and illustrated in Chiarelli and Leoncini.

[9] I.L. Moreno, "Pontormo's Passion Cycle at the Certosa del Galluzzo," *Art Bulletin,* LXIII, 1981, 308–312. See also G. Smith, "On the Original Arrangement of Pontormo's Passion Cycle," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* XLII, 1979, 61–64.

[10] Moreno, 312.

3. Jacopo da Empoli, copy after Pontormo's *Supper at Emmaus.* Certosa del Galluzzo (from C. Chiarelli and G. Leoncini, *La Certosa del Galluzzo,* Milan, 1982, figure 32)

Pontormo's *Supper at Emmaus,* now in the Uffizi, also executed for the Carthusians but in a more intimate scale than the monumental Passion Cycle, provides additional insights into Pontormo's intentions. Like the Passion Cycle, the *Supper at Emmaus* can be fully understood only when visualilzed in its original location, the guest house of the Certosa.[11] A copy by Jacopo da Empoli (fig. 3) shows that the *Supper at Emmaus* must have been originally displayed within an illusionistic frame that resembled the *pietra serena* doorways of the Certosa. Even though the doorway in the copy and the shape of Pontormo's painting do not correspond, and alternative interpretations for the difference in format have been advanced, it is generally agreed that Pontormo's painting was framed in such a way as to create the illusion that the viewer was seeing an event taking place in an adjacent room.[12]

[11] Vasari-Milanesi, VI, 269–270. Clapp, 114, first noted that Pontormo's composition was freely adapted from Dürer's woodcut of the same subject (B. 48) from the Small Passion.

[12] G. Nicco Fasola, "Alcune revisioni sul Pontormo," *Quaderni pontormeschi,* IV, 1956, 6; Cox-Rearick, 227; and L. Berti, *L'opera completa del Pontormo,* Milan, 1973, 99–100.

Vasari noted that the figures are life-size. He also remarked that "among the servants," Pontormo, "introduced the portraits of some friars whom I have known, making marvellous likenesses."[13] On close examination, the poses, gestures, and facial expressions of the friars indicate that Pontormo intended to integrate them as active participants in the Biblical event. Four of the five monks in the painting make eye contact with the viewer. Christ also looks at the viewer with a calm expression while he blesses the bread he has just broken to share with the Apostles. The fifth monk, second from the right, gazes with a quizzical expression at Christ and the Apostles seated around the table. In this way, Pontormo has joined two levels of reality: the actual world of the viewer, which is illusionistically extended by the painting, and the timeless and ahistorical realm of Christ and the Apostles.

Several scholars have described the style of the *Supper at Emmaus* as reflecting a momentary relaxation of Pontormo's more abstract style of the Passion Cycle in favor of a greater naturalism, resulting in a tension between these representational modes.[14] They apparently overlooked the possibility that the internal stylistic discrepancies were intentional. The three figures at the table wear strikingly colorful robes, brightly illuminated and with intense reflections, so that they almost appear to glow from within. By contrast, the shadowy monks in their plain habits appear incongruously naturalistic. The precise depiction of the substances and textures of the objects on the table reinforces the contrast. As a result, the group of Christ and the Apostles seems to be a luminous apparition taking place before the eyes of the Certosini. With the possible exception of the *Resurrection* in the Passion Cycle, Pontormo had never before painted such a visionary image.[15]

Berti observed that in the *Supper at Emmaus* Pontormo apparently was not depicting the historical event, but rather a supernatural recurrence of it at the Certosa.[16] He did not explain, however, how or why Pontormo represented such an event. Shearman and Steinberg, who closely studied Pontormo's Capponi Chapel, noted the ahistorical and visionary qualities of the Capponi Altarpiece (fig. 4), but did not relate these to the *Supper at Emmaus* or to the Certosa Passion Cycle.[17] Similarly, Maurer discussed Pontormo's use of light and color, among other devices, to transform the moment depicted in the Capponi Altarpiece from a historical event to a mystical devotional image, but he apparently neglected Pontormo's earlier use of these elements for a similar purpose in the *Supper at Emmaus*.[18] Nevertheless, the two paintings are thematically related: the bread and wine in the *Supper at Emmaus* allude to the Sacrament of the Eucharist, while in the Capponi Altarpiece the body of Christ is presented eucharistically above the altar in the chapel.[19]

[13] Vasari, 1963, 246.

[14] See Clapp, 190; Cox-Rearick, 54-55; Berti, 1964, CII.

[15] See esp. Friedlaender, 24-27.

[16] Berti, 1973, 100.

[17] Shearman, 26; Leo Steinberg, "Pontormo's Capponi Chapel," *Art Bulletin,* LVI, 1974, 394.

[18] E. Maurer, "Zum Kolorit von Pontormo's Deposizione," *Von Farbe und Farben,* Zurich, 1980, 315-321.

[19] Berti, 1964, 102, noted the allusion to the sacrament in Pontormo's painting. For the meaning attached to representations of the *Supper at Emmaus,* see L. Rudrauf, *Le Repas d'Emmaus,* Paris, 1955; and C. Scribner III, *"In Alia Effigie:* Caravaggio's London *Supper at Emmaus," Art Bulletin,* LIX, 1977, 375-381, esp. notes 22, 26, and 29.

The Capponi Altarpiece appears to reflect Pontormo's partial reconciliation with a modified classicism through the influence of Michelangelo's Mannerist sculpture in the Medici Chapel in S. Lorenzo.[20] While Pontormo still used one-point perspective and naturalistic lighting in the *Supper at Emmaus,* he dispensed with these rationalistic pictorial devices in the Capponi Chapel, thus emphasizing the incorporeality and otherworldly character of the figures he depicted. This suggests that his renewed interest in the idealized human figure was subordinate to a metaphysical concern.

The timeless and ahistorical dimension given tangible form in the *Supper at Emmaus* and the Capponi Chapel can be understood through a consideration of Carthusian spirituality. In the Carthusian Order, the monks did not engage in scholastic disputation or in preaching, as was the case for example, in the Augustinian and Dominican Orders, but instead devoted themselves to solitary prayer within the confines of the monastery. In the silence and solitude of their cells, they sought to achieve a direct mystical experience of the Divine through prescribed spiritual exercises.[21] Ludolph of Saxony, in his *Vita Christi,* written as a guide for Carthusians in the early fourteenth century and widely circulated after its first publication in Strassburg in 1475, instructed monks on how to meditate through imaginative exercise of the senses.[22] Monks were advised to visualize in complete detail each moment of the Life of Christ and his Passion in order to be able to participate directly in the Lord's suffering:

> So it will be necessary for thee at times to make thyself present by thought in like manner as though thou hadst been actually present at the time of the Passion, as so to behave thyself in thy manner of speaking, living, grieving, as though thy Lord were suffering before thy very eyes. For according as thou makest Him present with thee in thought will He be present with thee in spirit, receiving thy prayers and accepting thy works.[23]

Thus, Pontormo's *Supper at Emmaus* seems to show simultaneously the mystical participation of the friars in one of the Lord's appearances to the Apostles after His resurrection, and the sacramental presence of Christ in the Church.

Pontormo's juxtaposition of Biblical and contemporary figures had many precedents. Renaissance artists commonly depicted living persons in communion with holy personages, although distinctions between levels of reality were usually made through inclusions of symbolic elements or differences in figure scale, rather than through stylistic means.[24] Examples both north and south of the Alps are too numer-

[20] Steinberg, 386, notes 12 and 13.

[21] A clear exposition of Carthusian contemplative practices is found in Guiges II le Chartreux, *Lettre sur la vie contemplative (L'echelle de moines),* Paris, 1970.

[22] Ludolph of Saxony was prior of the Charterhouse of Coblenz from 1343 to 1348. A history of the *Vita Christi,* its translations and its literary sources is found in M.I. Bodenstedt, *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Carthusian,* Washington, D.C., 1944; see note 23 for a translation into English of the *Vita Christi.* Carthusian spiritual exercises had many elements in common with those of other monastic orders. The *Vita Christi* itself was based on a number of medieval literary sources. The most important was the Franciscan *Meditationes vitae Christi.* See also C. Conway, *The Vita Christi of Ludolph of Saxony and Late Medieval Devotion Centered on the Incarnation: A Descriptive Analysis,* Salzburg, 1976.

[23] Ludolph of Saxony, *The Hours of the Passion,* ed. and trans. by H.J. Coleridge, London, 1887, 2-3.

[24] Examples are discussed in J. Pope-Hennessy, *The Portrait in the Renaissance,* Princeton, 1966, 257-300. See also F.M. Biebel, *"The Virgin and Child with Saints and a Carthusian Donor* by Jan van Eyck and Petrus Christus," *Art Quarterly,* XVII, 1954, 422-425.

4. Pontormo, Capponi Chapel Altarpiece, C. 1525–1528. Florence, S. Felicità (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

5. Fra Angelico, *Two Dominicans Receiving Christ as a Pilgrim,* c. 1442. Florence, S. Marco (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

ous to cite; though a particularly relevant one in Florence is Fra Angelico's series of frescoes in the Dominican monks' cells in S. Marco, with which Pontormo was probably familiar. In one of the lunettes in the cloister of S. Marco (fig. 5), Fra Angelico represented Christ being received by two Dominican monks, as if the Lord were an ordinary pilgrim accepting their hospitality. Only the halo and Christ's recognizable features alert us to the fact that He is not an ordinary human being. His spiritual nature is not otherwise indicated.

The thoroughness with which Pontormo assimilated and used the ethereal, abstract style of Northern prints for his paintings for the Certosa, and that he included himself assisting Christ with the cross in the *Way to Golgotha* (fig. 1), indicate that through his contact with the Carthusians he became acutely sensitive to the spiritual content of art and to its capacity for communicating not only religious doctrines but also religious experience. His increased spiritual awareness culminated in the powerful stylistic synthesis and iconographic complexity of the Capponi Chapel.

In the Capponi Altarpiece, near the right edge, Pontormo portrayed himself with a sorrowful countenance, sharing in the grief of the mourners around the body of Christ.[25] Shearman succinctly characterized the sensations that the altarpiece evokes:

> In every face in Pontormo's altarpiece—except naturally in Christ's—the eyes have the red rims of recent or present weeping, and the self-portrait in the right background (in the role, probably, of Joseph of Arimathea) has the same red eyelids. We may be certain that the emotion described with an astonishing precision in this picture was deeply felt by the artist, that he intended to communicate that emotion, and that he engaged himself, as he wished us to engage ourselves, in the Mystery that was his subject.[26]

When seen in this light, the spirituality of the decorations in the Capponi Chapel, and Pontormo's self-portrait in the altarpiece, gain a new significance: they testify to the artist's own religious convictions in a period of religious conflict that was then only beginning, and they show that Pontormo was fully aware of the traditional devotional function and affective meaning of his work.

Pontormo's deepened spiritual awareness and his intimate acquaintance with the doctrines of the Catholic Church are also manifested in the Capponi Chapel's iconography. The decorations of the small, square chapel in the Benedictine church of S. Felicità consisted of an *Annunciation* on the west wall; an *Entombment* by Guillaume de Marcillat in stained glass in the upper section of the same wall; the altarpiece on the south wall; four *Evangelists* on the pendentives of the chapel; and what appears to have been a figure of God the Father flanked by four patriarchs on the cupola—destroyed at a later time, but preserved in Pontormo's drawings, which allow us to reconstruct it.[27]

The *Annunciation* on the west wall appears to allude to the original dedication of the chapel to the Virgin Annunciate. This dedication was changed to the Pietà when Lodovico Capponi acquired the chapel with the intention of converting it into a family mausoleum. Customarily, the subject of the altarpiece would reflect the new dedication. However, Pontormo's novel composition has led to conflicting interpretations of its subject; it has been called a Deposition, an Entombment, a Separation, or a "severed Pietà."[28]

The source of this confusion lies primarily, though not exclusively, in the arrangement and the action of the figures in the altarpiece. The body of Christ does not rest directly on the lap of the Virgin, as it does in traditional images of the Pietà, such as Michelangelo's marble group of c.1499 in St. Peter's, one of Pontormo's probable visual sources.[29] Instead, the Christ figure is held aloft by two male figures, one crouching and the other standing. According to Shearman, the motive for this arrangment is that Pontormo wished to show the body of Christ about to be lowered

[25] On Pontormo's self-portraits, see Cox-Rearick, 111, note 15, and 112, note 16; and L. Berti, "Sembianze del Pontormo," *Quaderni pontormeschi,* no. 5, Empoli, 1956.
[26] Shearman, 27.
[27] *Ibid.,* 8ff., gives the most comprehensive analysis of the decorative program as well as a brief history of the Capponi Chapel. For a reconstruction of the cupola, see Steinberg, 392, fig. 11.
[28] A summary of various interpretations is found in Steinberg, 385, note 2.
[29] Shearman, 11.

into the tomb—symbolized by the actual altar in the chapel beneath Pontormo's painting—while God the Father, in the cupola of the chapel, bestows his blessing. On the other hand, Steinberg believes that the body of Christ is being raised rather than lowered, and that God the Father is turning with outstretched hand to receive the body of His sacrificed Son.[30]

Steinberg also suggested that in order for the full significance of the raising of Christ to be understood in relation to the receiving gesture of God the Father in the cupola, it is necessary to visualize the completion of the action begun in the altarpiece. The result is the body of Christ in the arms of God the Father, with the dove of the Holy Spirit above them, the more familiar image of the Trinity. An example probably known to Pontormo is Dürer's *Trinity* of c.1511.[31] Thus, as Steinberg says, the moment depicted in the altarpiece forms a transition from one devotional image, the Pietà, to another, the Trinity, or Throne of Grace. Moreover, the reunion of the Son with God the Father would complete the cycle of Redemption begun with the Incarnation that took place at the Annunciation. Steinberg's interpretation also eliminates what Shearman considered to be the duplication of the subject of the altarpiece in the stained glass window.

More recently, Harbison proposed that Hans Baldung Grien's woodcut of *The Body of Christ Carried to Heaven by Angels* may have inspired not only the general formal idea of Pontormo's altarpiece, but also its multilayered theological meaning.[32] As he pointed out, in agreement with Steinberg, the image in Pontormo's altarpiece may be related to the Supplices of the Mass, in which the worshipper would have prayed for God's acceptance of the Eucharistic offerings upon the altar.[33] Harbison, however, interpreted Pontormo's dissolution of the traditional image of the Pietà and the evocation of the Throne of Grace as the result of the artist's religious equivocation. In his view, the shift in emphasis from an image of pity to one of grace may reflect Pontormo's sympathetic response to the Protestant belief in salvation through grace as opposed to good works, or to the similar beliefs of the Italian Evangelicals. "As Forster said of the San Lorenzo frescoes," he wrote, "the key word here is Grace, a grace that will turn an image of pity into one of acceptance and, ultimately, of salvation."[34]

But Harbison did not convincingly explain how the evocation of the Throne of Grace, or Trinity, as it was known in the Renaissance, would have necessarily implied a heretical religious attitude, since this devotional image, of which Masaccio's *Trinity* of c.1426 is a well-known example, had a venerable iconographic tradition in the Catholic Church.[35] Moreover, the other components of the decorative program of the Capponi Chapel, some of which have already been mentioned, appear to be firmly grounded in Catholic theology.

[30] Steinberg, 388ff.
[31] *Ibid.*, 390, fig. 6.
[32] Harbison, 324ff.
[33] *Ibid.*, 325.
[34] *Ibid.*, 327.
[35] On the iconography of the Trinity, see O. von Simson, "Über die Bedeutung von Masaccios Trinitatsfresko in S. Maria Novella," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen,* VIII, 1966, 119–159; and G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art,* trans. by J. Seligman, London, 1972, II, 122–124, pl. 411-414, and 219-224, pl. 768-792.

6. Raphael, *Entombment,* 1507. Rome, Borghese Gallery (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

The iconography of the Capponi Chapel was undoubtedly determined in consultations among Pontormo, the patron Lodovico Capponi, and one or more theological advisors, who were probably members of the Benedictine Order, an order closely related to that of the Carthusians.[36] The unconventional aspects of the program appear to be Pontormo's contribution, but rather than reflecting his religious equivocation, they enrich the theological meaning of the chapel by their multiple references to several Catholic doctrines.

One of these doctrines concerns the Sacrament of the Eucharist.[37] Shearman observed that the action of the figures "has a quite specific symbolic meaning. Obviously we should have in mind the Eucharist that the priest places on that altar during every Mass in repetition of the Sacrifice."[38] Whether or not Pontormo was aware of the Protestant position on the Sacraments, he certainly would have known that his altarpiece served to affirm the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation.

What has apparently not been noted is that Pontormo's novel concept gains an added resonance by the specific way in which he dissolved the group of Christ and the Virgin. This dissolving image is accompanied by the breaking up of the figures around them into two groups: one supporting the dead Christ and the other attending the swooning Virgin. This leads to the visual impression of two overlapping areas of activity with two separate focal points, within a larger whole, which creates a dynamic balance in the composition. The balance between these two focal points is accentuated by the similarities in pose between the dead Christ and the grief stricken Mary.

In Raphael's *Entombment* of 1507 (fig. 6), which is generally regarded as another of Pontormo's principal visual sources, the swooning Virgin's inclined head, closed eyelids, and limp arm and body echo those of the dead Christ being carried to the grave, and, as in Pontormo's altarpiece, several figures move rapidly to attend her. In Pontormo's painting, however, the Virgin is brought closer to the foreground, and is raised higher on the picture plane, thus making her similarity with Christ more emphatic.

Christ and the Virgin in Pontormo's altarpiece have the same relationship that they do in Rogier van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* of c.1438 (fig. 7), although the figures are seen from different angles. Von Simson showed that the similarities between the physical and mental condition of the Virgin and Christ in Rogier's altarpiece embody the doctrine that the Virgin played a role co-equal with Christ in the Redemption. Two prominent fifteenth-century supporters of the doctrine of *co-redemptio* were the Franciscan S. Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) and Denis the Carthusian (c.1402–1471).[39] They promoted the belief that the Virgin attained the elevated status of *co-redemptrix* because she experienced in herself the sufferings and wounds inflicted upon Christ in his Passion. The Virgin's *compassio* is poignantly described

[36] St. Bruno, the eleventh-century founder of the Carthusian Order, had been a Benedictine monk. He established a separate Order with the aim of integrating the solitary life of the Christian hermit into the communal life of the monastery. A concise history of the Carthusian Order is found in Leoncini, 15–23.

Bronzino received an independent commission for a large fresco representing *St. Benedict in the Wilderness*, c. 1525, for the cloister of the Benedictine Badia in Florence, at about the time that he and Pontormo were entrusted with the decoration of the Capponi Chapel; see Smyth, 1949, fig. 3.

[37] This has been noted by Shearman, 22; Steinberg, 396; Harbison, 325.

[38] Shearman, 22.

[39] O. von Simpson, "*Compassio* and *Co-redemptio* in Rogier van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross*," *Art Bulletin*, XXXV, 1953, 9–16.

7. Rogier van der Weyden, *Descent from the Cross,* c. 1438. Madrid, Museo del Prado (photo: Museo del Prado)

in the *Speculum humanea salvationis,* attributed to Ludolph of Saxony, in which the Seven Stations of the Cross are followed by the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin.[40]

It is probable, therefore, that Pontormo also intended to convey the Virgin's *compassio* by reformulating the traditional image of the Pietà, since from a visual standpoint, his innovative composition allowed him to make explicit the parallels between the suffering of Christ and the Virgin. In the Capponi Chapel, which twice had been dedicated to the Virgin, this visual emphasis on the Virgin would have been not only appropriate but also requisite. Yet her position is properly subordinated to that of Christ.

Pontormo's religious beliefs and the meaning of his style in the last decade of his life are beyond the scope of this study. It is noteworthy, however, that the irrational space, weightless forms, sinuous contours, and dreamlike rhythms of Pontormo's figure studies for the choir of S. Lorenzo (c.1546–1556) were clearly anticipated in the decorations of the Capponi Chapel. It is doubtful, therefore, that the influence of the Italian Evangelicals on Pontormo in the 1540s and early 1550s is as great as some art historians have proposed, if it existed at all.[41] On the other hand, given the known circumstances of Pontormo's artistic commissions in the 1520s, it can be postulated with some degree of certainty that his contact with the Carthusians was the catalyst for his stylistic experimentations, and that in spite of the artistic, psychological, and theological complexity of the Capponi Chapel, its decorative program is consistent with Catholic theology.

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[40] *Ibid.,* 13.

[41] Steinberg, 387, note 13, remarked that Michelangelo's influence on Pontormo in the 1520s may have been more than purely stylistic. Zupnick, 1953, and in his "Pontormo's Early Style," *Art Bulletin,* XLVII, 1965, 353, suggested the possible influence of Neoplatonic ideas on Pontormo's early work. If so, the most likely source would have been Michelangelo. Pontormo's style in the Capponi Chapel and in S. Lorenzo should probably be seen, therefore, as also reflecting a synthesis of two metaphysical ideals—Christianity and Neoplatonism—given a mystical visual formulation by the artist's experience of Carthusian spirituality.

Pontormo's recorded intention to visit the Certosa del Galluzzo during the time that he was at work on the choir of S. Lorenzo (Clapp, 304), has often been cited by scholars but never satisfactorily explained. Though the diary entry does not indicate the purpose of Pontormo's visit to the Certosa, it documents the fact that Pontormo had not ended his contacts with the Carthusians in the mid-sixteenth century.

1. Impression from Seal of Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III (photograph by Rob Tucher, © Rob Tucher, 1985)

Impressions from the Past: A Selected Bibliography of Medieval Seals

Seals have been affixed to documents or have provided secure closure at least since Babylonian times. As recently as the 1960s the British Postal Service required a wax seal on all packets sent by registered post, and a simplified form of seal still imparts an air of authority to college diplomas and other documents. How is it that what was once so common has become an arcane subject for most people? Part of the reason must be that the study of seals does not fall easily into any one category. Historians of diplomatics feel uncomfortable with the art historical aspects of these often beautiful objects, while art historians are generally preoccupied with more mainstream concerns in their fields. Much work has been done in the last few years, however, to illuminate this fascinating area and this bibliography may be counted as one step in the direction of rediscovering the neglected history and aesthetics of these small objects, which often provide specifically localized and datable parallels to works of art in more monumental media.

Seals had two purposes: to close a letter and prevent its being read by anyone except the person to whom it was addressed, and to identify and authenticate a letter or other document. The word "seal" itself, however, can cause confusion, since it can refer either to the device—called the matrix—used to impress an image on wax, or to the wax impression left by that matrix. Seal matrices were often—especially in the case of royal and ecclesiastical examples—executed by the most skilled craftsmen of the day, and attached in most instances to dated documents which make them indices of developments in figure and drapery style, iconography and other elements. They can often be compared with uncanny accuracy to works in other media: particularly manuscript illuminations, metalwork, monumental sculpture and mural painting. As dated and localized indices of current style, seals are often useful in providing or confirming information about works in other materials. Occasionally, as in the portraits of kings in the initials of medieval chronicles, they may well have inspired them.

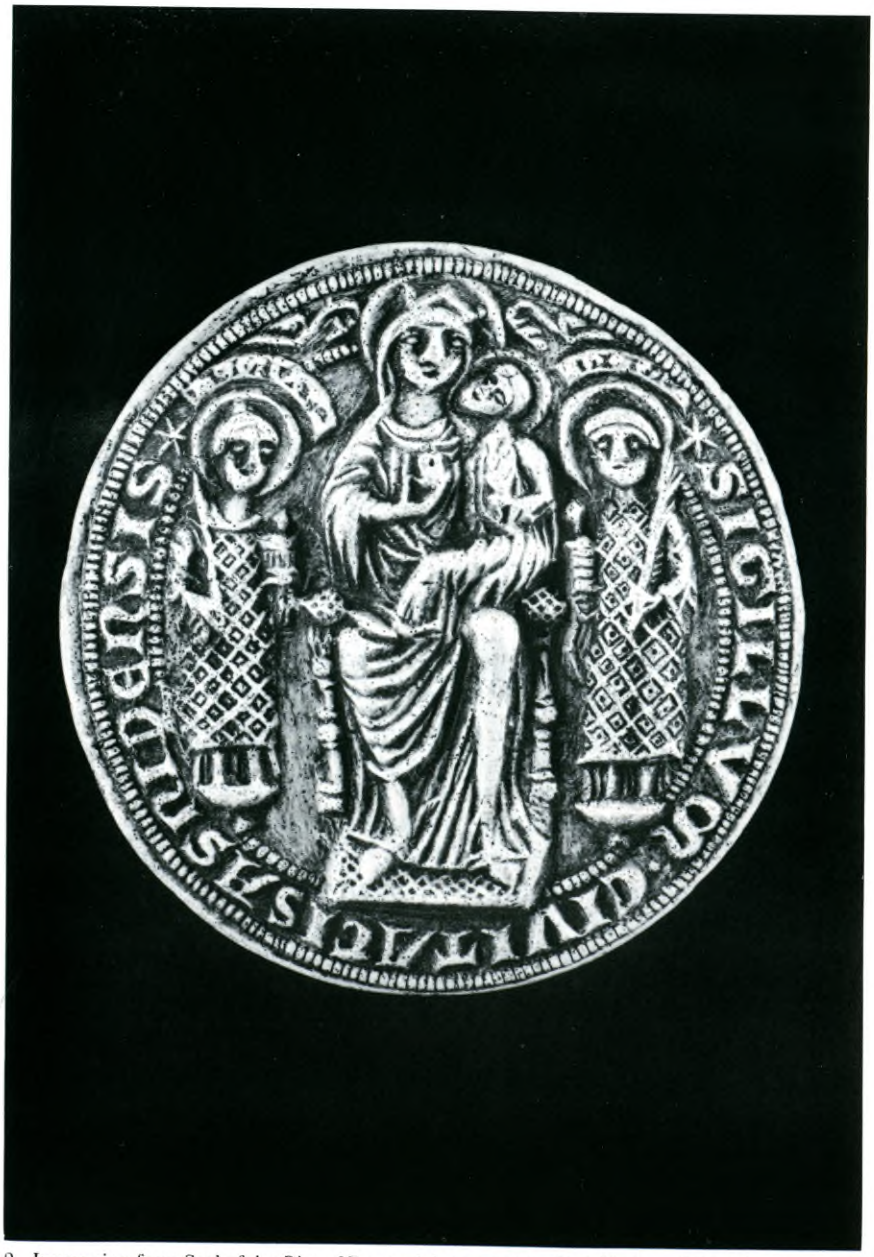
Seal matrices were usually made of bronze, and more rarely of gold or silver. In the early Middle Ages matrices were also carved from stone, bone, and ivory, but these materials lacked the durability that was required as the use of seals increased dramatically in what Heslop terms "the legalistic twelfth century." Little information exists as to who actually made seals, although most scholars believe that metalworkers and jewellers may be credited with making matrices. Since in the Middle Ages artists frequently practiced in several media, it is possible that some of the more

artistically striking matrices were carved by sculptors who worked not only in the small-scale media of metal or ivory, but also on more monumental stone figures.

The Middle Ages are recognized as the high point of seal-making. Kings, queens, nobles, the high clergy, landowners and tradesmen all had seals, as did such institutions as cathedrals, monasteries, colleges, towns and guilds. The system could, of course, get out of hand: by the end of the twelfth century, for example, Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in England had to force his monks to give up their various seals so that they could no longer sign away the abbey's possessions to moneylenders. But while the practice of sealing documents and letters was at its height, objects of great interest and beauty were produced. Many of the seal replicas are those of kings and emperors, and tell much about the civilizations that created them. The Carolingians, who saw themselves as heirs to the Roman Empire, were partial to antique gems employed as matrices, and to seal designs based on antique gems. The Ottonian rulers who followed them looked to the Byzantine Empire for inspiration and transformed the way all Europe envisioned kingship. The kings of France were almost compulsive in their use of symbols on seals to promote their claims to the throne, as were the English kings who employed both the imagery of imperial majesty and that of the Roman victor's *adventus* to emphasize their claims to power. By the middle of the twelfth century, equestrian figures had become the accepted image on royal counterseals as well as the favored portrait form of nobles. Women are often portrayed on their seals in a manner corresponding to that of men of equal rank, but queens are not, for the most part, shown enthroned. The seals of abbeys and cities offer us intriguing architectural views which may sometimes be reconciled with the known appearance of the buildings and towns they represent. The study of medieval seals, therefore, may be seen as a truly interdisciplinary one, illuminating and enriching our understanding of all facets of medieval civilization.

While this bibliography makes no claim to completeness, it does include the major works dealing with the study of seals in general, and a selection of more specialized titles useful to the scholar interested in particular categories of nationality or genre.

This bibliography was generated by graduate students under the direction of Elizabeth Parker McLachlan in preparation for the exhibition *Medieval Seals: Impressions from the Past* held at The Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum, New Brunswick, New Jersey, May to June, 1985. It was the cumulative effort of Professor McLachlan, Virginia A. Carnes, Carolyn A. Cotton, Lois Cronen, Katheleen Enz Finken, Donna Gustafson, David Martocci, Mark Borner Pohlad, Karl Sandin and Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk.



2. Impression from Seal of the City of Essen (photograph by Rob Tucher, © Rob Tucher, 1985)

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3. Impression from Seal of Charlemagne, incorporating antique gem of Antoninus Pius (photograph by Rob Tucher, © Rob Tucher, 1985)

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Rutgers University

1. Alice Neel, *Linda Nochlin and Daisy,* 1973. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts (photo: Robert Miller Gallery, New York)

Interview with Linda Nochlin

CAROLYN A. COTTON AND BARBARA B. MILLER

INTERVIEWER: On what are you currently working?
LINDA NOCHLIN: Presently, I am working on a new book on Courbet. It will be called *Gustave Courbet: A Real Allegory.* It starts out with Courbet's *Studio,*[1] his painting of himself in his studio, the *Allégorie Réelle.* I'm interested not so much in finding new translations of the symbols, as asking the question "why allegory?" What is he allegorizing, what kinds of underlying meanings can we derive from a kind of hermeneutics of the painting? I'm also particularly interested in certain kinds of Freudian possibilities, which I think are there, and seeing it as an allegory of production and reproduction. What is the relation of the artist to his work as the generator of the allegorical material; why did he choose allegory in 1855; what relation does that allegory have to the Universal Exposition of that year; why convey meaning through allegory as opposed to narrative; and how can we define the end of the narrative tradition in Courbet's work? These are some of the issues that I'm addressing in this book, as well as the position of women in Courbet's work, and the central portion of the *Studio* in particular. When I'm finished with that, I want to go on to a study which I have partly written and which I'm working on as I work on this, which is to be called "Women, Art and Power in the Later Nineteenth Century." That's my next big project.
INT: And that's the title of the lecture you're going to be giving in March at Princeton?[2]
LN: Yes. Which has to do both with allegories of women, with representations of woman–woman as artist, woman as representation generally in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
INT: That should be very interesting.
LN: Yes. It's fascinating to work on. I'm also very involved in some of the newer methodologies, especially in literary theory and criticism, which have been used by feminist film historians and which can enter into a discussion of painting.
INT: And with the Courbet material, you're doing a show at the Brooklyn Museum?
LN: Right.
INT: And that will involve another publication?
LN: Right. That won't be until the fall of 1987. I traveled in the fall to Europe with Sarah Faunce looking at Courbet, thinking him over again. We saw I don't know how many paintings. We went all through Europe in a month, with sometimes two or three different museums to see in a day. So I really have all that in my head at this moment.

[1] Gustave Courbet, *L'Atelier,* 1855, Paris, Louvre.
[2] March 14, 1985: "Women, Art and Power in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, (unpublished).

INT: Your latest article on Watteau was an interesting departure from what you've been doing.[3] How did you come to do that? Were you asked to do it, or did you become interested on your own?

LN: Well, both. As it happens, Elizabeth Baker, the editor of *Art in America* and an old friend asked me to review the show.[4] I thought, "That's an interesting idea." I went down and looked at the show in Washington, and I got more and more interested. And in the course of writing the review, I naturally looked into Donald Posner's book and it seemed to make its way into the review, so that when I was asked to include the book in my piece, I'd already done so.[5] And then I thought, what would be more interesting than to, so to speak, pit Bryson, whom I had read with great interest, against Posner and see what comes out?[6] And the more I worked on it, the more totally involved I got in both the texts and the paintings; then I saw the show again in Paris and I added some more.[7] I think the eighteenth century becomes more and more seductive as a field of intellectual investigation partly because it has been less worked over in conventional ways. It seems to offer a more open field to people who do not define themselves strictly as art historians in the conventional sense. I think of Michael Fried, I think of Paulson, Bryson, Tom Crow, etc. But it's a period which seems to offer something different from what has traditionally been understood together as art history.

INT: Did you get feedback after your article came out?

LN: Yes. People have written to me and called me, and there's been interest.

INT: I wondered what the Watteau scholars' response was.

LN: Donald Posner, who's an old friend, wrote to me in a very positive spirit, despite the fact that we disagreed on certain basic issues.

INT: I am curious to know what the scholars presently working on Watteau thought about it.

LN: I haven't heard from any of the French people. There was a big Watteau symposium which was on while I was in Paris, but I couldn't go to it because I was doing other things. I don't know if the French have even read the article. I'd be very much interested in what some of the people who prepared the catalog thought about it. I haven't heard yet. I don't think it's gotten to France yet.

INT: What, or who, inspired your choice of art history as a professional career?

LN: That's a very good question, because I didn't start out as an art historian. And, quite honestly, though I loved the courses in art history that I took, and I painted, I first thought of myself as a poet. That was what I thought I was going to be. Then I got to college and I changed my mind, even though I wrote poetry constantly in college and was head of a literary magazine. I was a philosophy major and I minored in Greek. I also took quite a bit of art history. I went on and got my master's

[3] L. Nochlin, "Watteau: Some Questions of Interpretation," *Art in America,* LXXIV, January, 1985, 68–85.

[4] Exhibition: "Watteau," National Gallery, Washington, D.C., June 17–September 23, 1984. Co-organized by Margaret Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg.

[5] D. Posner, *Antoine Watteau,* Ithaca, 1984.

[6] Nochlin refers to N. Bryson, *Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime,* London, 1981.

[7] "Watteau" was exhibited at the Grand Palais, Paris, October 23, 1984–January 28, 1985; and then at the Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, February 22–May 26, 1985.

degree in seventeenth-century English literature at Columbia with Marjorie Hope Nicholson, who was a wonderful scholar, and that was a great experience too. I was working at the phone company the following summer and on my headset came the voice of the chairman of the Vassar Art Department, Agnes Rindge Claflin, who was a big influence on my life. She had said to my parents when I graduated, "We're going to get her back in art history." And I laughed. Much as I loved art history, it was thought to be an "easy" subject. That wasn't necessarily true, but it was looked on that way, whereas philosophy was a very hard subject and in my snobbish little group you took the hard stuff. You struggled and that was a very important thing to do, not to major in something too easy. I didn't have a job which seemed very appealing at that time, and so when she called and said, "How would you like to come back and teach in the art department, because the youngest member has gotten married?" I said, "Sure." So I went back. I was all of twenty-two, and I went back and taught art history, with no degree, no nothing, ten steps ahead of my former friends who were now my pupils. And in those days there was a certain decorum. I was "Miss So-and-So." It was terrifying, but I did love it. I saw it from the other point of view, not whether it was "easy" or "hard" or any of that nonsense, but just as a discipline. It seemed to have everything I wanted, because it had beauty and a kind of material presence which was very important to me; it was not just something that lived in a book. And yet you could think about it and it involved history and philosophy and all the things I was interested in. So after that year, I applied to the Institute of Fine Arts. I also got married at the end of that next year. I taught at Vassar and I commuted to the Institute. That's how I got into it, almost as a complete chance.

INT: You stated in your review of Meyer Schapiro's *Modernism* that his 1941 article on "Courbet and Popular Imagery" played an incisive role on you and your choice of specialty.[8] Why is that?

LN: Well, it takes us a little back to the political situation in the fifties. Although I went into art history, I was a very politically and socially involved person at that point. This was the time of the McCarthy Hearings, and one of our very close friends was a victim of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. I wondered how art and politics might intersect. That first year, I took summer courses at the Institute, one in particular with Fred Hartt in the fifteenth century, which was wonderful. It was during a hot, hideous, garbage-filled New York summer before air conditioning was around. We'd be absolutely perspiring, watching these wonderful sort of melted ice cream colored predella panels and pure light; it was like another world, especially Fra Angelico. I remember the predellae were gorgeous, just luminous, wonderful, otherworldly images. Then I took a course with Janson on nineteenth-century French art where I got interested in the notion of 1848 and the artist. How

[8] M. Schapiro, "Courbet and Popular Imagery," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* IV, April/July, 1941; L. Nochlin, "Meyer Schapiro's Modernism," *Art in America,* LXVII, February, 1979, 29-33.

does the artist engage in what you might call the grubby world of the political and the social? How can art and politics come together, and the other side of art, the "this-worldliness?" I wrote a paper for Janson called "The Artist and 1848." I gave it as my Frick Symposium talk. There was a terrible inrush of sighs because I began it with a quotation from Marx about the dead generation weighing like a corpse on the backs of the living—and at that time, a quote from Marx in an art history talk![9] Now it's such a commonplace, it's hard to believe that it could have been shocking.

INT: Especially in the fifties.

LN: Especially in the fifties. But I got interested in Courbet almost as a kind of opposition to what I thought was this escapist, beautiful, totally otherworldly art. I wanted an art that was going to be this-worldly and secular. I knew I couldn't deal, on the long term, with religious art. Now I would have a very different view. I might deal with it in a different way. I could be critical, deconstruct it. But even so, I felt I really wanted to do the nineteenth century, the secular century. French was my culture; I knew French. I had read French literature and so on. Courbet and that whole era seemed to be very central. And when I was interested in Courbet, there was very little written about him that was not, sort of straight hagiography or biography. But I read Meyer Schapiro's article and it was an illumination. I could suddenly see this new way of understanding how the political might enter the language of art: that was the whole notion of popular imagery and seeing it as a kind of mediation between democratic involvement and the styles of high culture. Popular imagery was not reducible to a mere "influence": it actively mediated between those two worlds. It was such a brilliant article, such brilliant insight. Even though he hadn't found specific images that related to particular paintings, it seemed to me to have everything there. Then when I went to France and I found a little image of the Wandering Jew that obviously served as the prototype for *The Meeting,* I felt that he was right—he knew it before he could ever find the exact image.[10]

INT: Did you ever study with Meyer Schapiro?

LN: Never. I didn't. I should have. In those days there was much less back-and-forth between institutions, and I was commuting and I was shy. It's hard to believe. I never did, and I really regret it. Bill Rubin and I used to exchange notes, so he would get some of the notes from my people at the Institute, and I have all his notes from Schapiro's courses. So I feel that indirectly I did, and I always heard his public lectures and read anything he wrote.

INT: When did you start writing the *Realism* book?[11]

LN: That was in the fifties, and I started writing *Realism* in about 1968–1969. I had done the *Sources and Documents* in between that time.[12] Then I did some articles and

[9] K. Marx, *Le Brumaire de Louis Bonaparte,* Paris, 1969, 15-16: "Les hommes font leur propre histoire, mais ils ne la font pas arbitrairement dans des conditions choisies par eux, mais dans des conditions directement données et héritées du passé. La tradition de toutes ces générations mortes pèse d'un poids très lourd sur le cerveau des vivants."

[10] Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting,* 1854, Musée Fabre, Montpellier. L. Nochlin, "Gustave Courbet's *Meeting,* a Portrait of an Artist as a Wandering Jew," *Art Bulletin,* XLIX, September, 1967, 209-222.

[11] L. Nochlin, *Realism,* Harmondsworth, 1971.

[12] L. Nochlin, *Impressionism and Post-Impressionism, 1874-1904: Sources and Documents,* Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966. L. Nochlin, *Realism and Tradition in Art, 1848-1900: Sources and Documents,* Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1966.

reviews and so on, but *Realism* was 1968–1969. In fact, I wrote it when I was pregnant with my second daughter.

INT: In your acknowledgements in the *Realism* book you thank members of your family and all of the individuals that were close to you. What difficulty did you face as a woman, wife, and mother in the preparation of that book?

LN: Or of anything, you might add. It was difficult just getting through! In some ways I was very lucky. I lived at Vassar College and Vassar was a women's college. There were many women professors there, many of whom were unmarried, it's true, but a certain number were married. So it was obvious that this was a possible path. I was not in a place where it would have been outrageous, unheard of, for a wife and mother to be a professor, or vice-versa. The Vassar faculty was generally perceived as married men and unmarried women, and that was not a totally false representation. But still, it was possible. In the Art History Department, the head of the department was a woman. It was always a woman the whole time I was there. Tenured members of the department were women. So, I had that behind me. At the Institute there were many women students. Of course, no women professors. Even now, there are not dramatic numbers of tenured women at the Institute of Fine Arts or at many of our major graduate schools. There were a lot of women students, many of whom dropped out when they got married and had children.

I still remember when I became pregnant the first time, which was when I was twenty-four—I was still taking my comprehensive exams and I needed a special desk. I remember one of my old German professors said, "Oh, Linda, your brilliant mind." I said, "This brilliant mind is going to go right on—baby or no baby." I was just very determined that I was going to keep going. It was hard having a baby, and a three-quarter time job (waltz-time, we called it), and commuting, and my first husband was not a well person either. So it was hard. It was often psychologically overwhelming. I felt utter despair at times. I'd think, "I can't keep this up. I'm too tired." Of course, part of the reason was the enormous pressure which I placed on myself because I had to do well. I didn't only have to carry this heavy load, I had to do it better than anyone else, and I had to be a good wife, mother, political person, poet, etc. I had enormously high, in some ways unrealistically high, standards no matter what the price. And one felt so alone, you couldn't really articulate what was wrong for you-as-a-woman, there were no categories to fit your sense of oppression into. That was the point. But everything in that little world conspired to make you feel guilty. There is nothing like a university campus to re-inscribe the position of women. (You just look around here, for example. There are relatively few women fellows here at Princeton.)

A lot of us who were scholars and married sort of joined together and helped each other and gave each other moral support. But it wasn't like it is today at all; we had very little theoretical or feminist justification for our goals and ways of life. Partly, I suppose, the reason I could do it was that I had a good support system. My parents helped out. My husband was totally for it. I was also good at what I

did, and I got a lot of encouragement. I got a lot of positive reaffirmation. So when I got really discouraged, I could think of that. At least I was doing well so it made it worth it, but at a certain cost. I am not that old, but I feel in some ways, despite my apparent energy that those years were just exhausting. I can remember times when I taught in the morning, I would leave for New York, I would take my class—which was from eight until ten at night—and I'd come home at twelve and there would be dishes in the sink! It was very tiring, yet fun too. There were lots of friends, parties on weekends with drinking and dancing, trips to New York for art shows, theater.

INT: Did you find that the roles that you were expected to fulfill at home hadn't changed that much from traditional roles, so that you had to be both a professional and a homemaker?

LN: Yes, partly. But fortunately I have never been what you call picky about the house. My mother said, "Dear, you'll never have to do it, so I won't bother to teach you." I have children and of course they take attention and time. But I've been lucky. I've had people who help out, or babysitters. With the first child my own parents were very helpful. They would pitch in if something had to be done. I went as a Fulbright to Paris with my little girl when she was four, and my then-husband was in England on his fellowship. So we were very sophisticated. We had this "commuter" thing at that time. I just got an *au pair* girl. But there were limits; I couldn't travel where I wanted to all the time. I did a lot anyway, but it's not the same. You have to be twice as energetic. I envied some of the male scholars with their devoted wives who took care of the house, did footnotes, stayed behind with the children. I just hope that there will someday be, in some way, a world in which both sexes can do both things in a better way. In my present marriage we absolutely share everything without exception. My husband goes and buys clothes with my daughter or takes her to the dentist, or goes to the movies, whatever it is. He's home with her now. We split this Princeton year. He was here the first term; I'm here the second term. He's home with my daughter, and I was home with her the first term. So it is possible today in academia to do that. But it's hard, too, because often the jobs aren't in the same place. What is ultimately important is not just one woman or a few women succeeding because they are lucky or have bucked the system, but changing the system itself.

INT: How do you feel that your education and teaching position at Vassar influenced your growing feminist consciousness, or were you always a feminist?

LN: No, I wasn't always a feminist. I always acted like a woman who was very much determined by the world of ideas and by her intellect. I always saw myself as an intellectual. I always felt that my intellectual work came first. That was not even a conscious feeling. It was simply from the word "go" that art, ideas, writing and teaching were the center of life—were what my life was all about and what my identity was tied up with and determined who my friends and community were. Insofar

as I was a woman, you could say that that was a kind of incipient feminism. But on the other hand, I think it was a very conflicted view which I didn't want to bring too much to consciousness, because it was really too painful to think about before the women's movement.

I remembered glancing through the first few pages of Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* when it first came out, and I closed it.[13] I didn't want to deal with all that. It was too painful. I liked to think at that point that I was just a superior person and I could handle all of it. I didn't want to think I was the "second sex." (Later, when I *did* read it, I thought it was the most brilliant analysis of woman's position I had ever read. It was a constant source of inspiration.)

I related to a small group of exceptional women. My closest friends were mainly women, though I had a lot of men friends. But all the women I liked were what I thought of as "un-womeny" women. They were all people who were interested in what they were doing. And in order to define myself and my friends, or the groups around me, that way, one had added contempt for those women who were just domestic or only mothers. So we thought of ourselves as special, that it was sort of the other women's own faults—they were too stupid or lazy or enslaved or whatever. So I could not say I was a feminist. In a way I attempted in some way to be androgynous. In other ways, I played out some of the domestic gambit, I suppose.

Vassar, too, was a very ambivalent place in the fifties and early sixties, partly because after the Second World War, there was this big emphasis on women returning to the home. They brought in a lot of male professors with wives who could bake brownies with the girls and so on. There was a big research project called the Mellon Committee which investigated Vassar and tested out and talked to everyone and came out with this idea of female "overachievers," (i.e., women who were really interested in and good at work), and suggested that Vassar was a homosexual matriarchy, and that basically women were being deflected by intellectual and professional ambition from their place in the natural order.[14] Well, if that was what this committee implied, you can well imagine that there were conflicts. There were people at the college who were from the political left, there were still old feminists, there were lesbians. And then there were all these debutantes and upper-class young women who were going to go back to their suburban homes to be the head of the Red Cross or the Junior League or whatever those different organizations were. But they were going to in some ways shape culture and political life as volunteers. So there were a lot of codes, a lot of possible directions there. One of them was the possibility that women could work, teach and engage in intellectual activity and discussion. And certainly, I latched onto that very heavily.

INT: So even before you went to college, you felt an urge to move in an intellectual direction in your career?

[13] S. de Beauvoir, *Le deuxième sexe,* Paris, 1949, 2 vols.

[14] The Mary Conover Mellon Foundation granted Vassar College one million dollars to foster research aimed at improving mental health on campus. The study began in 1949 and was directed by Dr. Carl Binger, M.D. After the first year. Dr. Binger presented a report which made mention of among other things, a homosexual matriarchy. Shortly after this, a new director was appointed to the Foundation. The findings of this second group are published in J. Bushnell, "Student Culture at Vassar," in N. Sanford, ed., *The American College,* New York, 1962, 489-514. The files of the study are currently located in the Special Collections Department at Vassar College.

LN: Well, who knows? When you're in high school—yes, I belonged to the group that was interested in modern poetry and we interviewed Dylan Thomas. I played in a recorder consort and did modern dance, and I read every novel in the world. But a lot of my friends did too. We talked about Thomas Mann, Rilke, Kafka and Virginia Woolf. We saw the intellectual or vanguard plays on Broadway; I was very interested in modern dance, and I painted, and I wrote poetry. So, certainly that was the background I came from. Vassar was very disappointing when I first got there because most of the other girls were interested in football games, and I came from a New York Jewish intellectual/artistic background.

INT: Generally, the "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists" article is cited as the beginning of your doing any sort of work in feminist art history.[15] Did you realize that this was going to be such a landmark article?

LN: Yes, I had a feeling. I wrote that article as though I were illuminated. I sat down and I just couldn't stop writing. Everything seemed to come together. It really was like an epiphany when I wrote it; I wrote it with great feeling. It seemed to open up so many intellectual doors and to break down so many falsehoods. It seemed to have a certain critical life of its own, so that one thing fell into place, and then another and another, until I felt I had to go into the whole mythology of the artist. It wasn't just the woman as artist, but the *mythology* of the artist in which women could not participate. If women couldn't be constructed as artists, how had men come to be constructed as artists? And so it lead to the whole issue of the construction of the myth of the "male artist." Ernst Kris' and Otto Kurz's *Legend, Myth and Magic in the Image of the Artist,* first published in German (which was how I read it), in 1934, was a pioneering work in the area.[16]

I can't say I knew my article would be so significant, but somehow, I did. I felt I was hardly responsible. Once in a while you have that feeling that the article has written you. I always criticize painters when they say to me, "The painting painted itself. I wasn't responsible." But in this case, I guess I permitted so many feelings, ideas, needs and unconscious processes to come out and shape and lead me on, that, in a certain sense, the article wrote me or wrote itself—at least in the metaphysical sense. I had a feeling it was an important piece. You'd be interested to hear that a well-known male art historian, when he read it, said, "Oh, Linda, wasting that brilliant mind on this." Which was too interesting for me!

INT: Did you have anyone with whom you could discuss these ideas?

LN: Who did I talk with? I showed it to my husband first, and he said, "This is one of the greatest pieces I've ever read." That was encouraging, of course. I also showed it to Elizabeth Baker, because she was the managing editor of *Art News* at the time. Her reaction, and Thomas Hess', was positive. Then I showed it to feminists whom I admired. I'd just started teaching a "Women in Art" course at Vassar and then I taught it at Stanford. People were very interested but nobody had really thought about it, I believe, at the time. I think it was something quite new. Some women

[15] L. Nochlin, "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists?" *Art News,* LXIX, January, 1971, 22-45ff.
[16] E. Kris and O. Kurz, *Die Legende vom Kunstler, ein Geschichtlicher Versuch,* Vienna, 1934.

artists were very antagonistic toward it; they felt that they had succeeded *despite* social institutions. They wanted to be judged as individuals, not as women.

INT: What experiences led up to the article?

LN: Well, I had been in Italy writing *Realism.* I had just been remarried, had another baby, and I came back to Vassar to teach. In Italy at that point there was not a word of the new women's liberation, even though now Italian feminists are among the strongest and most radical. I came home and my friend said, "Have you heard about women's liberation?"—because I'd been very active in the anti-Vietnam War movement. Some of the women with whom I'd worked showed me some feminist material—*Redstocking,* Pat Mainardi's article on housework and T.-Grace Atkinson.[17] This was in the fall of 1969, and I read that material and thought, "Oh my, this is something of major importance." It was as though the veils had dropped. Sometimes I have two reactions to something that's going to be of major importance. One is that I hate it. I throw it in a corner and I will not look at it until I take it up again and then I don't stop until I've finished. I felt that way about Foucault. I read forty pages of his first book when it came out, and I said, "Ugh, this is silly stuff."[18] Then, after rejecting it, I went back and it absolutely made me revise my own thoughts. But when I read this new feminist material, I stayed up all night reading it, and I tried to get more. I got in touch with other people who were involved.

I realized at that point that I could not go on teaching art history as though this new women's liberation material didn't count. So I quickly changed my seminar topic for the Spring to "Women and Art." I was also supposed to give the Cook Lecture at the Institute of Fine Arts. I decided to give it on Holman Hunt's *Awakening Conscience*[19] and the image of the fallen woman, which I later published in a different context in *The Art Bulletin.*[20] I did it as a feminist analysis of a group of French and Pre-Raphaelite images, bringing in the underlying patriarchial ideology of the time and questioning certain aesthetic values from a feminist point of view. It was immediately clear that I wanted to bring together what now seemed to be my most profoundly held views, and my sense of identity in working with other women. This involved not only writing the article and not only giving those lectures, but also organizing some of what I think must have been the earliest classes on women in art.

INT: Generally, yours and Judy Chicago's are cited as the first two feminist art courses.

LN: It was very exciting and wonderful. There was no bibliography really. There were some old books and there were individual biographies of women artists, but there was nothing that had any theoretical vision. I divided the course at that time into one part dealing with the representation of women and the other on women artists. Without a theory of representation, and without an analysis of how women are positioned in representation, it seems to me—as I said in "Why Have There Been No Great Women Artists,"—it's just adding more artists into the canon instead of really questioning that canon in terms of how women are represented, or in terms of ideology.

[17] Information about these and other women active in the late 60s and early 70s feminist movement may be found in Redstockings of the Women's Liberation Movement, *Feminist Revolution,* New York, 1975, 1978. See also T.-G. Atkinson, *Amazon Odyssey,* New York, 1974.

[18] Nochlin refers to the first book by M. Foucault to gain him international attention: *Les mots et les choses,* Paris, 1966.

[19] William Holman Hunt, *The Awakening Conscience,* 1853, London, Tate Gallery.

[20] L. Nochlin, "Lost and Found: Once More the Fallen Woman," *Art Bulletin,* LX, March, 1978, 139-153.

In those early classes we did all sorts of things. We did nineteenth-century advertisements. We examined the role of corsets. We did woman-as-shaper-of-the-home. We did architecture. We did the *femme fatale.* We focused on topics which since then have been the subject of whole books and dissertations. Students begged to do two seminar reports. That's the only time that that has ever happened! They just couldn't get enough! We did artists like Meret Oppenheim. Nobody knew who she was, or even that she was a woman. One of my most brilliant students, Donna Hunter, wrote to Sweden where there had been an Oppenheim show and got the catalog. The same was true at Stanford that summer, when I gave the course again.

This was the early seventies, a radical era, and a feminist course on art was part of the general questioning of ideas and structures of authority. Art history was still, in many ways, a patriarchal discipline. Despite the fact that more than fifty percent of the art historian members of CAA are women, and, despite the large number of women in graduate school and in lower teaching positions, the upper echelons of the hierarchy are almost exclusively male. Perhaps in some ways, though not totally, this has to do with the conservatism of the discipline itself. It is still working, it seems to me, in very old-fashioned, highly empirical ways.

INT: How do you perceive the acceptance of feminist art history within the discipline?

LN: Well, it depends on whom you're talking to, I suppose. I would say that, on the whole, there are token classes called Women in Art or Women Artists, or something like that. But to what degree mainstream art history has permitted a feminist analysis of the whole structure of art production, art historical research, art criticism, and so on—from a theoretical feminist viewpoint—I don't know. Film courses seem much more open to feminist scholarship, and so do certain English, comparative literature and French departments. I imagine that even in history departments or sociology departments there is more evidence of a feminist presence. I think that art history is relatively conservative.

I was in a state university where there seemed to be few women teaching either art history or painting and sculpture but, as usual, many women students taking the art courses. I was not asked to talk on a feminist subject, but I raised an issue about the representation of women's bodies. It was as though a bomb had dropped. This stuff was just not talked about. The women students looked overjoyed. Their eyes suddenly lit up when I pointed out that an image of a woman's buttocks presented by one of their teachers as an example of New Realism might also be understood as routinely derogatory. I went on to touch on how it's used and why it is accepted, and why women students do not feel free to mention this or deal with it or in some way bring it to attention. This kind of questioning was obviously not going on, because in part, there was nobody who was a feminist teaching art. The few younger women teachers needed the approval of the male-dominated power structure to keep their jobs or get tenure. It is true that there are now some dissertations with feminist viewpoints, and I think that in the few places where a radical art history is being taught, you get a feminist critique and a feminist viewpoint. But on the whole I would say there is not too much encouragement of serious feminist research.

INT: Where do you anticipate feminist art history will be in ten years?

LN: Well, I think it is going on, and it's progressing. In the visual arts, it seems to me we're reaching a stage which is more theoretical under the impact of Lacanian, Freudian and Marxist approaches. A lot of the approaches which had mainly been used in discussing contemporary art, photography and film have begun to move into art history and historical discussions. I think this analysis is going to be on a higher level of sophistication than much of the earlier work because it is trying to deal with language, ideology, and the construction of feminist identity within representation.

I suppose some of the controversy surrounding the recent show "Difference," which was at the New Museum, and included Mary Kelly, Victor Burgin, Sherry Levine and Barbara Kruger, has to do with its theoretical rather than visual approach to the issue of gender.[21] Once one questions the notion that women are "natural" entitites, that gender is a timeless, universal essence—then you have to question the possibility of *any* straight-forward, unproblematic representation of woman, or a discourse about such representation. What you have to do is deconstruct the ways woman is represented and consider her position as a spectator as well. This kind of political, deconstructive reading can be carried back historically. For example, I have a student who's working on Hannah Höch, the Berlin dadaist, who has always been considered somewhat marginal. Hannah Höch is now beginning to look much more interesting. It seems to me that in terms of contemporary theoretical discussions about the representation of women, Hannah Höch's photomontage, with its breaking down of woman into unrelated parts and putting them together again and its questioning of the "natural" in every sense, becomes much more central than we might have thought before. I think that that is one of the possible directions—a more theoretical, more negative, more critical one. Rather than saying this is a "good" representation of women, or this is a "good" artist because she's a woman, there's going to be a lot of critical analysis of the contradictions involved in representation, whether by men or by women, and more about how the spectator is positioned in relation to the female image, whatever the image may be.

I'm interested in the feminist film theory of the fetishized female body as an interrupter of narrative. That's an interesting notion to take back into painting—academic painting above all. Though you can't transfer everything from film theory to painting, you can find analogs which would be very helpful, especially in the academic painting above all. Though you can't transfer everything from film theory to painting, you can find analogs which would be very helpful, especially in the

INT: Within university departments, do you foresee a faculty position which is devoted to a feminist point of view, or do you see a "chair"?

LN: I can see it, but it's only an illusion! Do I see a chair? No, I don't. In fact, it's harder than ever for women to articulate their objectives to the status quo. I think women need to be more outspoken; but this is a difficult time for young profes-

[21] Exhibition: "Difference: On Representation and Sexuality," New Museum of Contemporary Art, New York, December 8, 1984–February 10, 1985.

sors because jobs are so short. Graduate students are in the worst position especially if they're not united. They depend on the goodwill of one or two powerful figures on which their whole lives and their whole careers hang. It is an infantilizing and powerless position. But, on the other hand, graduate students really have to make their opinions known, that *they* want this kind of course and that kind of material. They in some way have to make clear what they want. It's not going to come from anywhere else. I gave a course last term at the CUNY Graduate Center on Feminism and Art. It was a course that deliberately dealt with controversial material and was based on class discussion, not any finished, closed viewpoint of the subject presented from above.

I would say that every course I teach involves feminism. It's not a separate thing. Whether I'm teaching Manet or I'm teaching Delacroix, whether I'm writing about Orientalism or about Watteau, I am writing from a feminist perspective. It's not something that one can turn on or off. Not only is it important to have separate courses on women and art, but it's important to keep a feminist critique going on everywhere. There's no place that that can't be inserted.

INT: You have taken realism from just a nineteenth-century phenomenon to something that is definable all the way up to the present. How do you relate both of these fields, realism and feminism, are there any correlatives?

LN: I was interested in the "Moment of Realism," or the New Realism when it re-emerged in the middle sixties, against a background of dominating abstraction and perhaps an abstraction which was becoming more and more institutionalized as *the* reigning notion of what art was supposed to be about. Since I had been interested in earlier realism, I wanted to see whether this was the beginning of some new, subversive direction. It seemed to me that twentieth-century Realism was not the old Realism, that it was a realism that looked quite different from the nineteenth-century brand, so it wasn't just a revival; it was an attempt to reconstruct representation in terms of contemporary ideas and modernism.

I did a piece on some women realists, and I was interested to see within realism what kings of oppositions, differences or similarities could be marked out.[22] It seemed to me that there were certain areas in which women were trying, whether consciously or not, to assert difference, to assert a kind of gender difference, whether in subject matter or in particular patterns. So, yes, I did try to relate the two to some degree. On the whole I was interested in the phenomenon of realism as a movement with parallels in the past, but which was new because the language of seeing the systems whereby we represent ourself to ourselves had simply changed since the nineteenth century—we live in a world where photos, movies, and TV have radically altered the nature of visual representation.

INT: Having seen the portrait that was done of you and having read some of your articles on Realism, I wondered how closely associated you actually were with the artists?

[22] L. Nochlin, "Some Women Artists: Part I," *Arts Magazine,* XLVIII, February, 1974, 46-51. L. Nochlin, "Some Women Artists: Part II, Painters of the Figure," *Arts Magazine,* XLVIII, May, 1974, 29-33. L. Nochlin, "The Ugly American," *Art News,* LXIX, September, 1970, 55-57.

LN: I know the Pearlsteins well and I've talked to Philip. I know some of the other artists, too. Very often, however, I try to do exactly the opposite. There are times when I really do not *want* to know the artist personally. I want to write from the work, and maybe from some of their statements. Sometimes it's very good to get to know the person and ask questions. But I sometimes feel as though I can work better on the art if I keep the artist at a certain distance. I don't want to feel that I'm doing PR on these artists. I want to be able to be critical. I want to contextualize them in a way which is not necessarily involved with my personal rapport with them. So, sometimes I really keep a distance and just work with the works. With Pearlstein, I got closer. Who else? I got to know Alice Neel a bit. Who else? I know quite a few artists. Miriam Schapiro is a very close friend, as are several other women artists.

INT: Getting back to the nineteenth century—do you see any relevant differences, or similarities, between European and American art historical scholarship on Realism?

LN: Well, I would say on the whole that there are two things. In England, for example, there's this extremely empirical kind of art history which is sort of the mainstream, and against this, a heavily Marxist viewpoint—there's a whole group that is doing the open university stuff, and the open university book, etc. So there's definitely a kind of radical rejection of empirical, traditional art history in England which involves Realism and which absolutely demands a kind of theoretization of art history, often Marxist art history, and a whole antiempirical, Marxist-oriented art history. In France, there's a similar radical-theory Marxist group, certainly of various shadings, while in the museums there is an extremely conservative, empirical, connoisseur-oriented art history. Roughly speaking, it's somewhat the same here. I would say there's a similar kind of split.

INT: Do you see the scholarship in Europe and the U.S. creating an interactive discourse over current art historical theories?

LN: Yes. There is back-and-forth, no question. I think, though, we have to keep in mind what is at stake in the whole widely ramified art establishment of this country, where connoisseur specialists feed into the museums, which are supported by wealthy patrons. They are social centers and galleries, which are money-making enterprises. Art historians, among their other functions, serve to authenticate and validate these collections and present them to the public and write learned articles. In a very material way, art history is plugged into some large-scale and rather powerful institutions, which makes change difficult. Criticism also has a role to play. Art is an institution with large material and financial stakes, like opera, which also tends to be conservative. When you talk about "value" in art, you are not just talking about something ideal; you're talking about market value as well. If somebody says negative things about some major work of art, a collection, or how a museum is run, it's somewhat different than giving a bad review to a book. The ramifications are more immediately concrete: if a work in a small museum is taken away from Raphael and disclosed as a nineteenth-century forgery, this can constitute a major disaster. So I think, there are a lot of barriers to a more radical or more socially-oriented or a more theoretical art history—especially at this moment. This is the time for increasing conservatism, not of radical change. So it's easier said than done. There is a great deal of opposition towards any change in the art structures of this country.