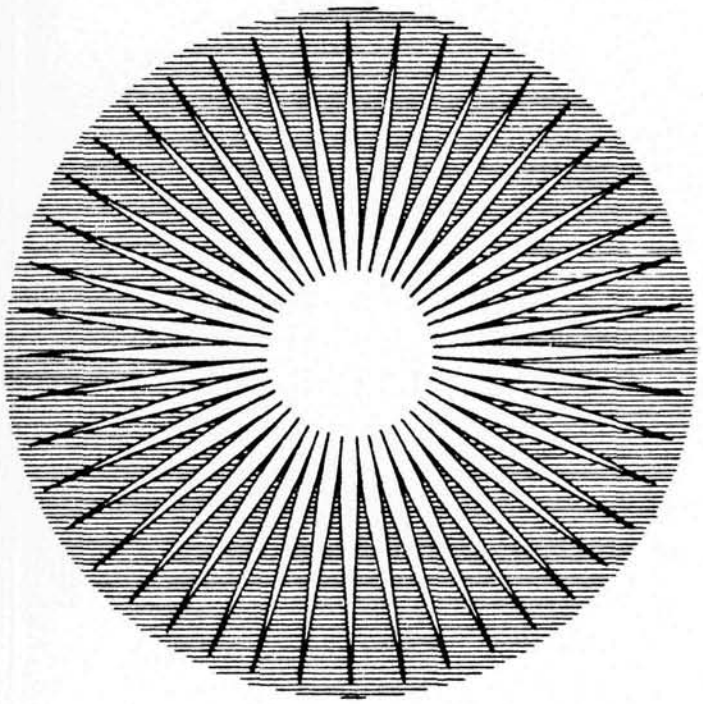
The

RUTGERS ART REVIEW



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To our readers,

With this, our tenth anniversary issue, the *Rutgers Art Review* would like to take the opportunity to thank all the past and present friends, editors, contributors, and subscribers who have made our continued publication possible. Your energetic participation has enabled this student-run journal to grow in size and scope and to better serve the Graduate Art History community. In this issue, which combines volumes IX and X, the *Rutgers Art Review* has included pieces which depart from our traditional format, including a "note," and the texts of two talks given at the College Art Association Annual Meeting which took place in San Francisco in February of 1989. This tenth anniversary year also marks the inauguration of our twice-yearly newsletter, *RESOURCE, the newsletter for graduate art historians*, which we hope will alert graduate students in art history and the humanities to opportunities, events, and information that will benefit them academically and professionally.

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The Editors, Volumes IX and X

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ARTICLES

Conventual Use of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations

DOROTHY M. SHEPARD

Two richly illuminated copies of the Prayers and Meditations of Saint Anselm of Canterbury survive today.[1] The first version, now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, Auct. D.2.6, was made in England, and the second version, in the Admont Stiftsbibliothek, MS. 289, was made in what is now Austria. Both, however, were made in the mid-twelfth century and raise a number of questions about the production and use of illuminated books in monasteries at that time, including questions of patronage, prototypes, and the actual use of a text in conjunction with miniatures.[2]

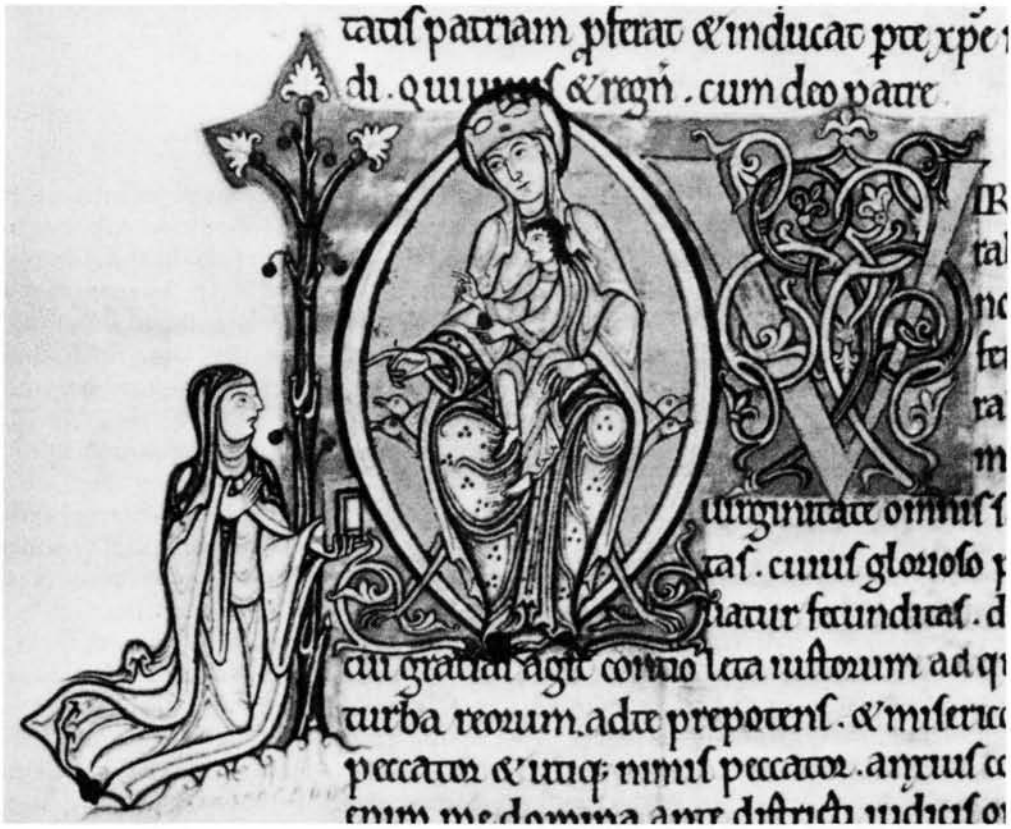
Anselm composed the group of nineteen prayers and three meditations in the latter part of the eleventh century for his monastic friends.[3] He shared them with aristocratic women, such as Matilda of Tuscany, who asked him for devotional aids. His prayers were the first to depart from the reserved Carolingian model of short prayers interspersed with Psalms and to anticipate the highly emotional prayers of the later Middle Ages. Written in rhymed prose and carefully constructed, his prayers follow a pattern. Anselm addressed each to a saint, Christ, or God, trying first to stir the soul of the devotee out of its state of torpor. This was meant to inspire in that person fear and horror about his sins, followed by the awakening of desire to know and love God, and culminating in the saving grace of God. These are long and complex prayers, better suited for private use than public recitation. Anselm prefaced his collection of prayers and meditations with instructions on their use. They are, he said, "to be taken a little at a time with deep and thoughtful meditation, only reading as much as one finds useful in stirring up the spirit to pray."[4]

[1]This article is based on papers read at the Frick Symposium in New York City, April, 1987, and the St. Louis Manuscript Conference, October, 1987. It was adapted from my Master's thesis at Southern Methodist University, which was based on research done during a travel grant from the Haakon Foundation. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Annemarie Weyl Carr for all her support and guidance in this study.

[2]P. Buberl, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Steiermark*, I, Leipzig, 1911, 35; O. Paecht and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1966-1973, III, 18; O. Paecht, "The Illustrations of St. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIX, 1956, 68-83.

[3]R.W. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer*, Cambridge, 1966, 34-47, has written extensively about St. Anselm. His consideration here of the place of the Prayers and Meditations in their historical context and in Anselm's development is basic to their study.

[4]Anselm, *The Prayers and Meditations of St. Anselm*, trans. B. Ward, Harmondsworth, 1973, 89, based on F.S. Schmitt's edition of Anselm's works, *S. Anselmi cantuariensis archepiscopi opera omnia*, 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1946, III, 3.



1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.6, f. 158v, Prayer 6 to the Virgin. (photo: Bodleian Library).

Both manuscripts under consideration seem to have been designed for the use of nuns. The portrayal of women at prayer at the side of five of the miniatures in the English manuscript suggests that this manuscript was planned for a house of nuns (fig. 1). Certainly the Shaftesbury Psalter was attributed to Shaftesbury Abbey on that basis.[5] The text of this English manuscript, Anselm indicates, was made for an Augustinian house dedicated to St. Peter. Peter is named and pictured as patron saint in Prayer 17. Anselm's Prayer 15, usually addressed to St. Benedict, is addressed to St. Augustine in this manuscript and "canon" substituted for "monk" in the text of the prayer. There is one house of Augustinian canonesses in England dedicated to St. Peter, Harrold in Bedfordshire, hence the attribution of this manuscript to Harrold Priory.[6] Considering this likely provenance, it would be better to refer to the English manuscript as the Harrold Anselm rather than other names given it which simply refer to later owners of the manuscript.

[5]C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066-1190*, London, 1975, 82-84, reviews the scholarship on this attribution.

[6]E. Power, *Medieval Nunneries, c. 1275 to 1535*, Cambridge, 1922, Appendix IV, 685-692.

2. Admont MS. 289, f. 44v, Prayer 10 to Paul. (photo: Hill Monastic Library).

The other Anselm manuscript under discussion has also been associated with a house of nuns, that of Traunkirchen, which was located less than fifty miles from Admont, where MS. 289 is now housed. The inscription on the halo of the nun on the left in the *Humilitas Abbatissa* provides the link with Traunkirchen (fig. 2).[7] That nunnery had an abbess with the name of Diemut, which means humility, from 1164-1191, so it has been assumed that this copy of Anselm's Prayers and Meditations was produced for her.[8] Nuns are depicted in another miniature in this manuscript as well.

[7]S.H. Steinberg and C. Steinberg-von Pape, *Die Bildnisse geistlicher und weltlicher Fuersten und Herren*, Leipzig, 1931, 52.

[8]Dr. Thomas Tomaschek, librarian of the Monastery at Admont informed me in November 1988 of the following results of his research on MS. 289. Paleographic evidence places the origin of the manuscript in Salzburg in the first half of the twelfth century. Dr. Tomaschek has discovered that an Abbess Diemut was in charge of the Nonnberg Convent in Salzburg during the years 1117-1139, and the first superior of the convent of nuns at Admont came from Nonnberg. Thus, Dr. Tomaschek has established clear evidence of a connection between MS. 289 in Admont and the historical Abbess Diemut at Nonnberg in Salzburg during the years 1117-1139. This new evidence could help to establish a firm date for MS. 289.

Although both manuscripts seem to have been designed for the use of nuns, the Harrold Anselm is more richly treated than is the Traunkirchen manuscript. The Harrold manuscript is decorated with historiated initials and unique combinations of miniatures with historiated initials. The prologue and every prayer and meditation in it are illuminated. The twenty illuminations include outline-and-wash figures, architectural elements, stylized plant trees, and foliate patterning on gold letters and painted grounds. By contrast, the Traunkirchen manuscript contains only twelve framed miniatures done in the Salzburg manner which places outline-on-reserve figures and architectural and landscape elements against blue and green grounds.[9] Three are close copies of miniatures in a seminal Salzburg manuscript, the Antiphonary of St. Peter.[10] Although the Traunkirchen miniatures are larger than the illuminations in the Harrold Anselm, their palette and decorative elements are much more limited. The difference between the richness of treatment in the two manuscripts may be due to differences in their patronage. Quite plausibly, the elaborate Harrold manuscript was commissioned for an aristocratic woman who had withdrawn from the world, while the less lavish Traunkirchen manuscript, which instead is intellectually complex, may have been made for a woman who had spent her whole life in a monastic milieu.

The two manuscripts are arranged so that each could be used both privately and by a group. Communal use is made available by punctuation for oral reading in the Harrold manuscript and suggested by images of nuns meditating together in the Traunkirchen one. This does not necessarily mean that they had to be used communally. Private use is indicated by the complexity of the tiny inscriptions in the Traunkirchen miniatures, as well as the small size of illuminations and script and the depictions of women alone in prayer in the Harrold miniatures.

Pictures in manuscripts presuppose a literate audience because only an educated person could benefit from the combinations of text and image found in them. The very fact that miniatures were included in a manuscript suggests that it was designed primarily for use by a single literate person rather than for communal use. One person reading aloud to a group cannot stop reading to look carefully at a miniature or to appreciate the extra-literary and extra-visual meanings incorporated into many illuminated manuscripts. It is the various combinations of text, miniature, and scrolls inscribed with texts alone or with texts plus neumes (which provide guidelines for singing) that make such extra layers of meaning available to the literate reader. Many of these combinations are found in the two Anselm manuscripts.

On the other hand, manuscripts which were designed strictly for reading aloud

[9]G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei*, Leipzig, 1908-1913, 157.

[10]Vienna, Oesterr. Nationalbib. Cod. SN. 2700; compare the miniatures of Peter in the Antiphonary (Swarzenski, fig. 355) with the one in Admont 289 (Paecht, 1956, fig. 20a), of Stephen (Swarzenski, fig. 354, and Paecht, 1956, fig. 20e), and of the Virgin (figs. 3 and 7 illustrated in this article).

were often decorated with nothing but simple letters in contrasting colors, as markers to keep the reader from losing her place. Three-quarters of the twenty-eight Anselm manuscripts that I looked at personally were totally without figural decoration, and thus seem to have been designed primarily for communal reading.

Otto Paecht considered the miniatures of three twelfth-century manuscripts of Anselm's Prayers and Meditations when he developed his theory that a common, but lost, model lay behind the miniatures in these manuscripts.[11] The third, Verdun MS. 70, a St. Albans manuscript, retains only one of its original sixteen miniatures.[12] That one, a miniature of Peter with his sheep and keys, is much like the corresponding one in the Harrold manuscript.[13] The miniature accompanying the same prayer in the Traunkirchen manuscript has totally different iconography.[14] This iconographical divergence was the first hint that Paecht's theory should be questioned, since it was based on iconographic kinships among the three manuscripts. Paecht theorized that the illustrations of the Harrold, Verdun, and Traunkirchen manuscripts were based on images devised by Anselm himself for the copy of the Prayers and Meditations that he sent to Matilda of Tuscany in 1104. This archetype would have been executed in the Canterbury style with Anglo-Saxon elements by an English artist in exile with Anselm.[15] Paecht explained the presence of the Matildan cycle of illustrations in England, as well as in Matilda's sphere of influence, by suggesting that a duplicate of Anselm's illustrated text was sent to England at about the same time. However, a sentence in the letter accompanying the copy sent to Matilda suggested to André Wilmart that the copy was prepared so hurriedly that no miniatures could have been included.[16] Anselm wrote:

> Your highness has told me that you have not got the Prayers and Meditations which I myself have copied and I thought you had got. I send them to you by my son Alexander.[17]

Comparison of the two manuscripts of the Prayers and Meditations which remain in good condition shows that the correspondence of their miniatures is minimal. The Traunkirchen manuscript contains two miniatures to accompany

[11]Paecht, 1956, 70-73.
[12]R.M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St. Alban's Abbey 1066-1235*, 2 vols., Woodbridge, 1982, I, 41.
[13]Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 70, f. 68v in Paecht, 1956, fig. 18a and fig. 18b.
[14]Paecht, 1956, fig. 20a.
[15]Paecht, 1956, 81.
[16]A. Wilmart, "Les prières envoyées par S. Anselm à Comtesse Mathilde en 1104," *Revue Bénédictine*, XLI, 1929, 37f.
[17]Schmitt, V, 256.

3. Admont MS. 289, f. 21v, Prayer 5 to the Virgin. (photo: Hill Monastic Library).

Anselm's letter to Matilda which serves as its preface. One miniature shows Anselm giving his collection to Matilda, and the other shows him giving it to monks.[18] With its prologue, the Harrold manuscript contains only a single representation of Anselm seated.[19] Where Anselm's three prayers to the Virgin are illustrated in the German manuscript by one miniature, showing the Virgin and Child with angels, prophets, monks, and nuns; in the English manuscript, each prayer to Her is illuminated (fig. 3). The prayers to the Virgin are out of order in the English manuscript leading to the curious circumstance in which his middle prayer received the most elaborate treatment, rather than either the initiating or the culminating prayer. The first miniature depicts a nun kneeling to the enthroned Virgin and Child in a mandorla with a gold decorated initial to the right (fig. 1). The other prayers to the Virgin in the English manuscript are accompanied by much simpler images of the Virgin superimposed on the initial letter to the prayer.[20] Where the Prayer to God in the Traunkirchen manuscript is illustrated with a miniature of Christ in Majesty flanked by angels, Anselm, and Matilda in the English manuscript, only a nun is shown kneeling in prayer before Christ.[21] Paecht had regarded the Harrold miniature as a reduction of the one in the prototype, exemplified by the Traunkirchen miniature.[22] If the Harrold miniature of the Prayer to God is accepted as a reduction of the one in the prototype, then the English introductory miniature and the first Virgin miniature are open to the same suggestion. Paecht, however, did not carry his argument that far.

These miniatures do not seem to depend on a common model, but rather seem to be composed of motifs common throughout Europe in the mid-twelfth century, such as those of dedication, Christ in Majesty, and the Virgin and Child. Both artists could have found similar iconography in slightly earlier manuscripts produced in their respective countries. Thus, for the illumination of Anselm's Prayer to God, images of Christ in Majesty were readily available. Bodleian 271 is one English

[18]Paecht, 1956, figs. 16a and 16d.
[19]Paecht, 1956, fig. 15a.
[20]Paecht, 1956, figs. 23c-e.
[21]Paecht, 1956, figs. 17a and 17b.
[22]Paecht, 1956, 72.

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 271, f. 43v, Christ in Majesty. (photo: Bodleian Library).

manuscript which contains such an image, and the Admont Bible contains a Salzburg School example (figs. 4 and 5).

The iconography of the prayers to the saints is completely different in the two manuscripts and militates against the idea that a common model lies behind these manuscripts. Anselm addressed prayers to eight saints and each is honored with a miniature in the manuscripts. Anselm's text itself provided the iconography for most of the saints' miniatures in the Traunkirchen manuscript.[23] Not only the iconography but the method of illumination of corresponding miniatures for the prayers to the saints is consistently different. The Traunkirchen artist often

[23]There is one miniature in the Harrold manuscript, illustrating the Prayer to Peter, the imagery of which is related to the Anselm text.

5. Vienna, Oesterr. Nationalbib., Cod. SN. 2701, f. 207r, Vision of Ezekiel. (photo: Swarzenski).

illustrated the first few lines of Anselm's prayer. The illustrations of the Prayer to Paul are a good example of this (figs. 2 and 6). Anselm's Prayer asks Paul, as the nurse of the faithful, for his intercession for the sinner. His initial address to the saint, "While you were still weighted down by the flesh you were 'rapt even to the third heaven, and heard things that cannot be said by men," is based on Paul's description in his Second Epistle to the Corinthians 12:2-4.[24] The Traunkirchen artist has chosen to show Paul being raised to the third heaven as the abbess and two of her nuns watch. The Harrold miniature shows a completely different group of scenes. It depicts Paul's conversion, followed by his meeting with Ananias in Damascus.[25] The artist of the Harrold miniature has evoked Paul for the user of the manuscript with long-traditional scenes of the life of Paul, while the Traunkirchen artist seems to have been inspired by Anselm's text. The use of the conventional formulas to identify Paul in the Harrold manuscript is very different from the method of illumination found in the Traunkirchen manuscript, which builds on Anselm's text as the source of the iconography of the miniatures.

Not only is the correspondence of miniatures in these Anselm manuscripts minimal, but the prayers are not all the same, nor are they copied in the same order. The prayers to the Virgin, already discussed, are a case in point. Yet the transmission of an illustrated recension of a multi-part text, such as Anselm's Prayers and Meditations, would seem to be based on the copying of the same texts and accompanying miniatures in the same order. The Harrold and Traunkirchen manuscripts clearly do not belong to the same recension. The chart at the end of this article provides a comparison of their contents. Each manuscript begins with different introductory material. A number of non-Anselm prayers, in particular some by Anselm's followers, are included in many twelfth-century English manuscripts, for example the Harrold manuscript.[26] They are considered to belong to a post-Anselmian recension and, not only do their texts differ greatly in order from those in the Traunkirchen manuscript, but they differ from each other as well. The German manuscript belongs to the Matildan recension; at least eight other manuscripts share with it Anselm's prefatory letter and the same prayers in the same order.[27] The Matildan recension is considered an expression of Anselm's own final conclusions about his devotional writings.[28]

Thus many factors argue against the existence of a common prototype for these Anselm miniatures. Any correspondence which exists between them has been seen to be due to the use of iconographic formulas used throughout Europe. The

[24]Anselm, Prayer 10, 11, 6-7.

[25]L. Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Oxford, 1982, 21.

[26]T. Bestul, "The Verdun Anselm, Ralph of Battle, and the Formation of the Anselm Apocrypha," *Revue Bénédictine*, LXXXVII, 1977, 383-389.

[27]Wilmart, 40ff.

[28]Wilmart, 45.

6. Auct. D.2.6, f. 170v, Prayer 10 to Paul. (photo: Bodleian Library).

absence from the Harrold manuscript of miniatures related to Anselm's text, a significant iconographic difference, is an important factor. The difference in the groups of prayers included and their order is a second factor. Anselm's letter indicating hurried preparation of the manuscript for Matilda is a third. The two manuscripts must have been decorated independently of each other, both using motifs common throughout Europe and their own local traditions as the basis for their respective iconographies.

Since the two books are not reiterations of an existing model, but are creations *ad hoc*, their miniatures can be examined for insights into the needs and expectations that prompted their production. Two different stategies were used in organizing the manuscripts for meditation. The Traunkirchen miniatures appealed to monastic learning while the Harrold ones did not require it. The miniatures in the Traunkirchen manuscript contain a number of visual devices specifically designed to heighten the private devotional experience of the user. There are tituli, usually phrases from the Bible, on the frames of six of its miniatures, and figures are shown holding inscribed scrolls in almost every one. These scrolls contain liturgical or Biblical passages, or the conversation of their holders. The speech scrolls enable the

reader to visualize more fully the narrative of a particular miniature. Above many of these texts a line of shorthand-like symbols can be discerned; these are astematic neumes which suggest the chanting of the texts below. Additionally, they may suggest meditation on the segment of the liturgy from which the texts are taken. The depiction of nuns and monks in these miniatures helps those using the manuscript to build their personal involvement.

The miniature which accompanies the prayers to the Virgin in the Traunkirchen Anselm is an example of how these visual devices were meant to work together (fig. 3). The texts on the scrolls in this miniature refer to many beliefs about Mary and Christ. The scroll of the monks reads "Mary, the sepulcher having to be denied once."[29] This may be a reference to the idea current in the twelfth century that first the body of the Virgin was buried and her soul taken to heaven and that subsequently her body was assumed.[30] The scroll of the nuns reads "Our Lord and Mary have taken this home in the clouds," referring to their place in heaven.[31] On the left Jeremiah holds a scroll identifying the child pictured, "This man, this is my God."[32] Isaiah's scroll reads: "Behold, the root of Jesse rises to sacred paradise."[33] This is a conflation of his prophecy concerning Christ's descent from the house of David, the son of Jesse. The scrolls of the angels reflect their role and instruct Mary. One reads "Rejoice, Mother of God," while the other suggests sung meditation with its inscription, "Angels singing glory to God."[34]

The figures in the Virgin miniature are arranged hierarchically, from the dedicated monks and nuns on the bottom, through the prophets, to the angels, and finally to the Virgin holding Christ. The composition culminates in the triangle of the Trinity above the head of the Virgin. The titulus on the frame, taken from Psalm 148:12-13, establishes a rapport with the user as it can be understood to refer to the monks and nuns, "Let Virgins and old men with younger ones praise the Lord." Anselm's prayers give his readers words with which to pray to and praise the Lord and Mary, as suggested by the titulus. The final lines of his third prayer to Mary are an example of his approach:

> So I venerate you both,
> as far as my mind is worthy to do so;
> I love you both,
> as far as my mind is equal to it;
> I prefer you both,
> as much as my soul can;

[29]"Mariam ne[n]gando olim sepulco."

[30]M. Warner, *Alone Of All Her Sex: the Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary*, 1976, 85, recounts the Pseudo-Melito version of the Assumption, the one most popular in the West during the twelfth century.

[31]The text on this scroll is highly abbreviated: "Hec dm cela dmnq in nugo cepit." It may be expanded as H[a]ec d[o]m[us] c[a]el[orum] d[o]m[i]n[i Mariae] q[ue] in nugo (for nubo) cepit."

[32]"Hic est hic est deus meus."

[33]"Ecce radix iesse ascendit Isp," "Isp" can be read in two ways to complete the meaning of Isaiah's text: "in-super" which means "alone" or "in sanctum paradisum" meaning "into sacred paradise."

[34]"Gaude dei genetrix quam (crucifcon)" and "Concinentes angeli gloriam deo."

7. Vienna, Oesterr. Nationalbib., Cod. SN. 2700, p. 497. (photo: Swarzenski).

and I serve you both,
as far as my flesh may.
And in this let my flesh be consummated
That for all eternity all my being may sing
Blessed be the Lord forever. Amen.[35]

The Traunkirchen miniature of the Virgin functions on three levels: it serves as an introduction to Anselm's prayers to her, it offers the monastic community a range of ideas upon which to meditate, and it visualizes theological concepts. This miniature is modeled on one in the Antiphonary of St. Peter (fig. 7). In both

[35]Anselm, Prayer 7, 11, 363-373.

manuscripts the Virgin is depicted as Theotokos, or God-bearer, holding the Christ Child who had become flesh to save mankind. The Virgin in the Traunkirchen miniature is even identified as "S. Theotochos" on her halo. That depiction and the title given the Virgin emphasize her role in the incarnation of Christ. Anselm's prayers focus on this as well.[36] In the Anselm miniature the artist has added another element, the Host in the right hand of the Virgin.[37] The question of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist was much discussed in the twelfth century. Thus the addition of the Host in the Virgin's hand seems to be a purposeful modification of the earlier miniature. It emphasizes the theological concept of transubstantiation in the Eucharist and relates that dogma to the incarnation of Christ. Here the artist has gone beyond Anselm's text to respond to a current theological interest.

There is eucharistic imagery in the Harrold manuscript as well. Attached to a prayer about the Eucharist, the priest, the altar table, and the elements of the sacrifice are specifically depicted (fig. 8).[38] The faithful worshippers, with whom the reader is invited to identify, are another element of the scene. The possibility of personal identification with the figures portrayed here, rather than monastic learning, is the key to the devotional appeal of this and many other illuminations in the Harrold Anselm. This miniature and prayer provide evidence for the idea that the Eucharist itself had become the subject of meditation in the twelfth century. The miniature may be considered a social document, showing as it does how the mass was performed and the use of books by the worshippers in the mid-twelfth century. It deals with religious practice rather than the theological beliefs visualized in the Traunkirchen Anselm.

Very different approaches to the illumination of Anselm's text have been noted in these two manuscripts. Our effort has been to discover how two medieval artists built on the same text. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations were designed to aid meditation; they become a stimulus for it and for the artist illuminating them. The miniatures in the two manuscripts function differently, however, they introduce the individual prayers in a variety of ways, they offer a wide range of texts and melodies upon which to meditate, they visualize theological concepts, and they show religious practices. The artist of the Harrold Anselm chose to use his miniatures to identify the subject of each prayer, while in the Traunkirchen manuscript each was given a title. A woman with long religious experience could benefit from the Traunkirchen manuscript: she could chant or sing or meditate on the texts inscribed on the frames and scrolls of its miniatures, which, in their complexity and scope, become meditations in their own right. The range of visual devices found in the German manuscript could, however, become a distraction from Anselm's prayers themselves

[36]Anselm, Prayer 5, ll. 56-57, and in almost every statement Anselm addresses to the Virgin.

[37]*The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 1913, VII, 494, explains that the unleavened Host, always circular, became almost universal in the West in the twelfth century in response to an eleventh-century controversy with the Byzantine Empire about the exact nature of the Host. Small Hosts for the laity were introduced in the twelfth century as well.

[38]Bestul, 383-389, identifies this prayer as one by Ralph, Abbot of Battle from 1107-1124, a follower of St. Anselm.

8. Auct. D.2.6, f. 194r, Prayer XXVII-XXVIII. (photo: Bodleian Library).

to a woman who had spent much of her life in a secular milieu. On the other hand, the jewel-like miniatures nestled in the text of the Harrold manuscript and the woman kneeling in prayer to the side in many of them turn the user of that manuscript directly to Anselm's text. Here the prayers become the primary focus of her religious experience rather than a possible avenue to meditation as in the Traunkirchen manuscript.

Although differences in organization, function, and appeal of the two manuscripts clearly exist, they retain a basic similarity of purpose. Both manuscripts were designed for private use by the literate in nunneries. It is hard to imagine the communal use of either of these manuscripts. Effective as they were as tools for individual meditation, that effectiveness would have been lost in communal use. Anselm's Prayers and Meditations were written in response to individual requests for aids to prayer. The Harrold and Traunkirchen manuscripts fulfilled that need and show us how such illuminated manuscripts presupposed literate users in their respective nunneries.

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MANUSCRIPTS OF ANSELM'S PRAYERS AND MEDITATIONS

The Arabic numbers in the middle columns are Schmitt's numbering of the Prayers and Meditations written by Anselm. The Roman numerals are the ones used in the corpus of Anselm's work in the Patrologiae Latinae; these are works now shown not to have been written by Anselm.

ADMONT 289			AUCT. D.2.6			VERDUN 70		
1v		min.						
2r	letter	min.	156r	Prologue	min.	First folio missing		
2v		min.	156r	2	min.	1r	2	min.2
3r	1		156r	?	---1	4r	XXIX	min.2
3v	M-3		158v	6	min.	7r	18	min.2
13v	3		160r	5	min.	8r	19	
14v	2		161r	XLIX	min.	10r	M-1	min.2
19r	4		162v	7	min.	12r	M-2	min.2
21v	5	min.	166v	8	min.	15r	1	
24r	6		169r	9	min.	15v	M-3	
26v	7		170v	10	min.	21r-53v	Anselm	
34v	8	min.	175r	11	---1		apocrypha3	
40r	9	min.	176r	12	min.			
44v	10	min.	178r	13	---1	54r	6	min.2
56r	11	min.	180v	14	min.	56r	7	
60r	12		184r	17	min.	61v	5	
66r	13	min.	185v	15	min.	62v	XLIX	
72v	14	min.	186v	16	min.	65r	4	min.2
80v	15	min.	188v	18	min.	66r	8	min.2
83r	16	min.	189v	M-1	min.	68v	9	min.
87r	17		191v	M-2	min.	71r	10	min.2
90r	18		193v	1	min.	77r	11	min.2
92v	19		194v	XXVII-VIII		79r	12	
95r	M-1				min.	83r	13	min.2
99v	M-2		196v	IV	min.	86r	14	min.2
105v-133v:			197-9	others		91r	15	min.2
other prayers						93r	16	min.2
						95r	17	min.2
						106v	ends	

1. Beginning gone.
2. Gone.
3. *P.L.* numbers M-V, III, IV, VI, M-VI, XXV, XXVI, XXXVII-VIII, XV, and "Domine deus omnipotens qui es trinus et unus."

Francesco da Sangallo's Tomb of Leonardo Bonafede in the Certosa del Galluzzo

RONA ROISMAN

The tomb by Francesco da Sangallo of the Carthusian prior and bishop Leonardo Bonafede, in the chapterhouse of the Certosa del Galluzzo near Florence is one of the sculptor's most puzzling works (figs. 1-3). The marble effigy, which is unusually realistic and virtually three-dimensional, is placed directly on the floor and not, as one would expect, on a sarcophagus, bier, or free standing supports. Set in the center of the chapterhouse, it faces both the altar and a frescoed *Crucifixion*, which is located above and behind the altar. The pavement surrounding the effigy, which is also by Sangallo, appears to have been designed in connection with the tomb to enhance its axial placement with relation to the altar and *Crucifixion*. Thus, the tomb seems to be part of an ensemble that includes the entire chapel. The striking verism of the portrait, which focuses attention on Bonafede's earthly appearance, the richness of the ecclesiastical garb he wears, and the integration of the entire pre-existing chamber into the funerary context, are all elements that flagrantly contradict both the law and the spirit of Carthusian funerary regulations, which insisted on a simple burial and an unmarked grave in a communal cemetery. Indeed, these regulations effectively prevented the development of a Carthusian tomb tradition.

This paper examines the hitherto unexplored circumstances that surrounded the construction of Bonafede's monument. Its present unusual form, which has neither been pointed out nor examined, is reconsidered, and a reconstruction, in some ways more conventional than the present form, is suggested. Also, the rationalizations that permitted such an elaborate monument to come into being are discussed. Finally, the traditionally accepted dates for the tomb's commission and completion and Bonafede's death are judged inaccurate because of documentation that has proved to be unreliable or incorrectly interpreted. Evidence from Bo-

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1. Francesco da Sangallo, Tomb of Leonardo Bonafede. Galluzzo, Certosa (photo: Alinari)

nafede's recently discovered wills of 1537 and 1542 reveals a new chronology for the tomb's construction.[1]

On the floor, near the effigy's head, is a memorial tablet containing a short, laudatory, biographical epitaph, informing us that Bonafede was a Carthusian living in the Galluzzo monastery, that he later became administrative head *(spedalingo)* of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, that Clement VII appointed him both collector of ecclesiastical revenues *(Collectore degli Spogli Ecclesiastici)* and bishop of Cortona, and that he died in 1545 at the age of ninety-five.[2] At his feet is a plain marble slab incised with his family coat-of-arms (see fig. 3).[3]

The effigy itself, aside from some painted details that are now missing, is in excellent condition. It is of white, finely veined marble, measuring 199 cm. from the tip of the mitre to the feet, and 79 cm. from elbow to elbow at its widest point. The size of the figure, based on Renaissance standards of measure, is slightly larger than life and may be an expression of Bonafede's high status and the importance of his achievements. The statue lies on and overlaps a black-green, rectangular marble slab measuring 180 cm. long and 70 cm. wide, which also functions as part of the decorative pattern of the floor.

Two richly brocaded pillows with fringed tassels support Bonafede's head. Their loose floral design both echoes and acts as a foil for the tight and intricate pattern of wrinkles radiating from Bonafede's brow and from around the eyes (fig. 4). By combining a very realistic image with a schematic pattern of wrinkles, Sangallo continues to develop a popular Quattrocento portrait-bust type, exemplified by Benedetto da Majano's portrait of Pietro Mellini (1494, Florence, Museo Nazionale) and Antonio Rossellino's portrait of Giovanni Chellini (1456, London, Victoria and Albert Museum). Unlike the Quattrocento examples, however, Sangallo's preoccupation with detail creates an overall effect which is, paradoxically, as abstract as it is realistic. The rest of the effigy is carved in the same way, combining sharp realism with schematic pattern. For example, Bonafede's garments are realistically draped over the body and reveal the limbs beneath, but are also

[1]Archivo di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antec., V359, ins. 1, fols. 149r-153v; 157r-160r. The documents are published by D. Carl, "L'Oratorio della SS. Concezione dei Preti. Documenti e suggerimenti per la storia della chiesa e la sua decorazione artistica," *Rivista d'arte*, XXXVIII, 1985, 147-153, 159-165. Bonafede's tomb is discussed in G. Clausse, *Les San Gallo*, 3 vols., Paris, 1900-1902, III, 189-192; G. Bacchi, *La Certosa di Firenze*, Florence, 1930, 126-127; U. Middeldorf, *Thieme-Becker*, XXIX, Leipzig, 1935, 405; U. Middeldorf, "Portraits by Francesco da Sangallo," *Art Quarterly*, I 1938, 128-129; J. Pope-Hennessy, *Italian High Renaissance and Baroque Sculpture*, London, 1972, 356; C. Chiarelli and G. Leoncini, *La Certosa del Galluzzo a Firenze*, Milan, 1982, 287-288; C. Chiarelli, *Le attività artistiche e il patrimonio librario della Certosa di Firenze*, 2 vols., Salzburg, 1984, I, 113-114; and Carl, 120, n. 25. The question, however, of whether or not the tomb originally had a base has never been addressed before this study.

[2]The inscription reads as follows: "Leonardus Bonafides Coenobia in hoc religionem professus, summisque honoribus functus mox ad S. Mariae Novae xenodochii curam adscitus ita per multos annos se gessit, ut a Clemente VII. Pont. Max. ad colligenda Sancti Spiritus fragmenta vocari meruit, demum suprema senecta ab eodem Clemente Cortonensi insignitus Pontificatu diem suum obiens, maximum sui desiderim reliquit. Obiit ann. sal. MDXXXXV annum agens LXXXXV." Concerning the office of *Collectore degli Spogli Ecclesiastici*, see G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 108 vols., Venice, 1840-1861, LXIX, 3.

[3]It contains an ox rampant gardant astride six hillocks, surmounted by the episcopal insignia of a cardinal's hat with three tassels on either side. In the late eighteenth century remnants of coloring (or, ox rampant gules, astride hillocks azure) were visible, suggesting it was originally painted (see D. Moreni, *Istoricha dei contorni di Firenze*, 6 vols., Florence, 1791-1795, II, 148).

2. Chapterhouse, facing west. Galluzzo, Certosa (photo: author)

3. Chapterhouse, facing east. Galluzzo, Certosa (photo: author)

4. Francesco da Sangallo, Tomb of Leonardo Bonafede (detail). Galluzzo, Certosa (photo: author)

arranged in a symmetrical pattern which consciously repeats the flow of lines in the face. Finally, the work retains traces of polychromy in the gems encrusting the mitre and on the textured background of the pillow's design.

Bonafede's costume clearly identifies him both as a great ecclesiastic and a Carthusian prior. To show his exalted position in the church, he wears a *mitra pretiosa*, the most costly and elaborate of the then existing types, and perhaps the one which is described in his second will as "precious" and "decorated with gems."[4] As a Carthusian, he wears the monastic scapular, called a cowl *(cucullus)*, which is the most distinctive feature of the habit. It opens at the sides, revealing the tunic underneath, and is joined halfway down the leg by ties which are prominently sculpted, forming large graceful loops at the sides of the body just above the knees. Over the scapular is a hooded cape that covers the upper portion of the body from shoulder to elbow. Since, in the *Statuta Antiqua* (1529), the first amended version of the Order's *Customs* (1127), the cape is prescribed dress for the monks when traveling outside of the monastery; it may have been included here in Bonafede's costume to symbolize his

[4]See J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg, 1907, 429.

long residence away from the Certosa.[5] In reality the scapular would have been white and the cape black.[6] On his feet Bonafede wears episcopal buskins *(caligae)*, which are thin liturgical stockings of silk.[7] The remaining objects of adornment are two rings. One is certainly episcopal; the other was probably conferred on Bonafede as prior. Each may separately symbolize his vows of fidelity to the Church and to the Carthusian Order.

The combination in the effigy of liturgical vestments and monastic garb probably reflects the costume of Bonafede's corpse as it would be dressed to lie in state. It was customary for great ecclesiastics who belonged to a monastic order to have their bodies dressed in both their habit and liturgical vestments. However, the prominence of Bonafede's monastic garb is unusual since the habit was traditionally worn under, and was partially covered by, the outer liturgical dress.[8] The bishop's costume generally included a mitre, chasuble, tunic, and crosier; here, in contrast, the only parts of the bishop's costume Bonafede wears are the mitre and an episcopal ring.[9]

The marble intarsia pavement, designed and executed by Sangallo, measures 6.98 m. long and 4.80 m. wide (figs. 2 and 3). According to a Certosa document dated 16 December 1539, he received four payments on Bonafede's order totaling 700 lire during that year. The payments, made by the monks, were "per conto del pavimento fa in Capitolo nostro attorno alla sua sepoltura."[10] Two additional

[4]See J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg, 1907, 429.

[5]See the *Statuta Ordinis Cartusiensis, Statuta Antiqua*, Basle, 1510, fol. 12v, which is a reprint of the original manuscript dated 1259. See also Guigo I, *Guigonis Carthusiae Majoris Prioris Quinti Consuetudienes* in J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus... Series Latina*, 217 vols., Paris, 1844-1905, CLVI. On his absence from the monastery, see p. 28-29 below.

[6]*Statuta*... fol. 12v, and E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, London, 1930, 112-113. The cape conveys the same meaning in three additional portraits of Bonafede (see n. 35 below).

[7]See Braun, 384-385, 410-412. As far as I can determine stockinged feet without sandals or shoes have no symbolic meaning in a Carthusian context. Carthusian law prescribes that a dead monk being prepared for burial must be dressed in both stockings and shoes, "caligis et pedulibus" (*Statuta*..., fol. 12v).

[8]Ronald Lightbown notes that according to Johann Burckhardt, the papal master of ceremonies, Pope Sixtus IV (d. 1484), since he was a Franciscan, should have been dressed in a habit worn under his pontificals, but it was mistakenly omitted from his funerary and burial costume (*Donatello and Michelozzo*, 2 vols., London, 1980, I, 44). This standard combination of habit and pontificals can be seen in the portrait (1450) of the Carthusian cardinal, Niccolo Albergati, by Antonio and Bartolomeo Vivarini (see R. Weiss, "Jan Van Eycks 'Albergati' Portrait," *Burlington Magazine*, XCVII, 1955, 146 and fig. 28).

[9]For a typical bishop's costume, see a 1520 Venetian edition of the *Pontificale Romanum*, reprinted in Alcuin Club Collections XII. *Pontifical Services*, 4 vols., London, 1901-1908, IV, 147, fig. 132. There are only a few known instances in which the effigy of a monastic official is dressed in the habit of the order and a mitre. However, in contrast to Bonafede's effigy, the mitre identifies the wearer as a mitred abbot (see F. Greenhill, *Incised Effigial Slabs*, 2 vols., London, 1976, I, 98-99). The buskins, although they are liturgical garb, cannot be considered part of the customary liturgical costume since they are worn without liturgical sandals or slippers. See n. 7 above.

[10]The entire document is as follows: "Acì XVI di dicembre 1539. Fa debitore Reverendo monsignore episcopo di Cortona messer Lionardo et [sic] Buonafé et creditore maestro Francesco di Giuliano da San Ghallo scultore di scudi C, a lire 7 piccioli per scudo, li quali li habbiamo pagati di ordine da sua Reverentia per conto del pavimento fa in Capitolo nostro attorno alla sua sepoltura, in questo modo che segue, cioè adì 19 di magio scudi 25 di moneta per una poliza delli 24 d'aprile, adì 24 di luglio scudi 25 di moneta per poliza delli 21 di luglio, adì 14 d'ottobre scudi 25 di moneta per poliza delli 20 di septembre, adì 23 di dicembre scudi 25 come di sopra per poliza delli 20 di dicembre: in tutto lire 700; soldi _____; denari _____. (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi, 51, 17, fol. 219v). The document was first published in Chiarelli and Leoncini, 287.

documents dating from 1540 record subsequent payments to Sangallo for the payment; the second is significant since it is "per resto e conto del pavimento," indicating that the pavement was completed in that year.[11] A pattern very similar to that of the pavement appears in a sketchbook by Sangallo and Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio (fig. 5).[12]

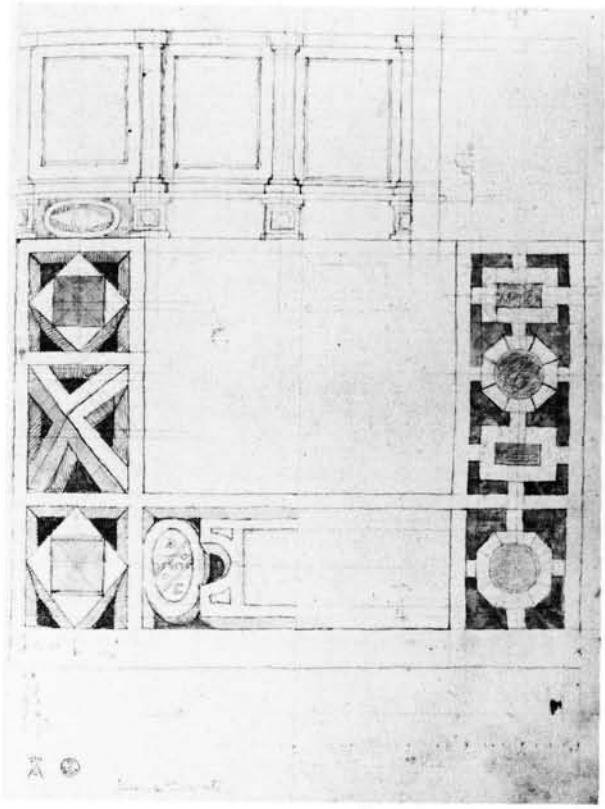
Dominating the pavement's design are two symmetrical chains of rectangles that flank the effigy and extend almost the entire length of the floor, creating a strong longitudinal axis.[13] Set in the floor between the altar and coat of arms is a red and green veined marble rectangle decorated in the center with a rosette pattern of inlaid white marble (fig. 6). This rectangle probably marks the area of the pavement in which Bonafede's corpse was actually placed underground. Since Carthusians are buried directly in the ground without a coffin, the dimensions of the rectangle, 116 cm. in length and 63 cm. in width, would have been sufficient to receive the body.[14]

[11]The entire document is as follows: "Adì primo d'agosto 1540. Fa debitore il Reverendo Misser Lionardo Bonafé, Ves[c]ovo de Cortona, e creditore maestro Francesco da Sangallo sc[a]rpelino, de lire centocinque e soldi XIIII piccioli e sono per resto e conto del pavimento facto nel capitolo nostro d'ac[c]ordo con Misser Lionardo sopradetto. Lire ——— 105; soldi ——— 14; denari ———." (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi, 51, 17, fol. 227v). The document was first published in Chiarelli, II, 281. For the other 1540 document which is dated 12 May, see Chiarelli, II, 281. Another document that records the purchase by Francesco sometime between 1538 (modern style 1539) January and 1539 July of 1,200 *libbre* (one *libbra* is equivalent to 327 grams or a little less than three-quarters of a pound) of "marble fragments" is probably also relevant for the pavement. It is as follows: "Entrata di marmi, 1538. Da Francesco da San Ghallo lire quindici soldi XVI per libbre 1200 di marmi rotti avuti da noi di tanti posto dare al quaderno a carta ——— lire 15, soldi 16." (Archivo dell'Opera di Sta. Maria del Fiore, Entrata/Uscita XXIII, fol. 19r).

[12]Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, inv. 7870Ar. Although Francesco, as *capomaestro* of the Duomo (the first record of payment to Francesco by the Opera is 1 June 1537, Archivo dell'Opera del S. Maria del Fiore, Entrata/Uscita XXII, fol. 41v), has been credited since the late sixteenth century with designing sections of the pavement (see F. Bocchi, *Le bellezze della città di Firenze*, Florence, 1591, 25-26), it is impossible to relate the Duomo patterns to the chapterhouse floor since we do not know exactly which areas are attributable to him, nor do we know how much of the design had been worked out by 1540 (the pavement was designed and executed between 1526 and 1660; G. Poggi, *Santa Maria del Fiore*, Milan, 1910, 27) when the chapterhouse pavement was completed. The problem is further complicated by the numerous restorations and changes since the seventeenth and perhaps even sixteenth centuries. The only section of the chapterhouse pavement that may not be Francesco's design is the area between the entrance and the inscription which consists of a large gray-green T-shape flanked by four symmetrically arranged red diamond shapes. Not only does the pattern appear to be incongruous with the rest of the pavement, but the marble is different both in quality and tonality.

[13]On each side there are five red and green rectangles bordered by white bands with the center rectangle larger than the others. Red marble is used for the inscription, for strips bordering the coat of arms, and for two strips placed near the effigy, while black-green marble frames the effigy and is the background color for the chain pattern. Because of its longitudinal axis and bilateral symmetry, the pavement is reminiscent of late Cosmatesque pavement designs in Rome, in particular, the original thirteenth-century pattern of Sta. Sabina (see A. Muñoz, *Il restauro della Basilica di S. Sabina*, Rome, 1938, 34).

[14]Systematic tapping of the pavement in the immediate vicinity of the tomb suggests this area is hollow and that the corpse, as would have been customary, was buried under the tomb. Bonafede's interment is noted in the Certosa *Memorie* of 1544 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi 51, 213, fol. 33r; see Chiarelli, II, 210).



5. Pavement study, Notebook of Antonio il Vecchio and Francesco da Sangallo. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Sopr. Beni Artistici e Storia di Firenze)

6. Francesco da Sangallo, Tomb of Leonardo Bonafede. Galluzzo, Certosa (photo: author)

The chapterhouse has the typical Carthusian rectangular plan with a single aisle covered by a vaulted ceiling. Four quadrapartite vaults are supported by carved *pietra serena* consoles. The present appearance is, for the most part, the result of the renovation which took place between about 1496 and 1500, during the period when Bonafede was prior of the Certosa.[15] During these years, Bonafede dramatically altered the appearance of the chapterhouse, perhaps with the newly constructed mausoleum-chapel of Pope Sixtus IV in Rome in mind (about which more will be said later). He changed its siting from north-south to east-west by shifting the entrance from the long, south wall to the short, east wall and erected a new altar on the west wall, opposite the new entrance.[16]

Although the Certosa account books for the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries are lost, making it impossible to determine the extent of his participation in the renovation and whether he personally donated the funds for the remodeling, there appear to be no structural or functional reasons for these changes. As prior of the Certosa, Bonafede had control over any renovations to be made in the chapterhouse. Furthermore, his first will (1537; App., doc. I, excerpt 1) explicitly states his intention to be buried in the chapterhouse.[17] We are led to inquire, therefore, if these alterations were effected by Bonafede in connection with his plans for a sepulchral monument.

The first phase of Bonafede's involvement with the chapterhouse renovation ended when he left the Certosa in 1500.[18] As far as can be determined, no further changes were made in the chapterhouse, with the exception of a large altar wall fresco of the *Crucifixion* painted by Mariotto Albertinelli in 1506, until 1539 when work on the pavement was begun.[19]

In the literature on Bonafede's tomb, the dates usually given are 1539 for the commission and 1550 for the completion; both, however, are wrong. As noted earlier, Sangallo received payments for work on the pavement beginning in 1539. Giuseppe Bacchi, who saw the pertinent document, concluded that the payments for the pavement were also related to the initial stages of work on the tomb. The tomb, however, may date as early as 1537 and the completion date of 1550, first proposed

[15]For Bonafede's biography before 1500, see p. 28 below.

[16]For a general discussion of Carthusian chapterhouse architecture and for the Galluzzo chapterhouse, see G. Leoncini, *La Certosa di Firenze*, Salzburg, 1979, 185. Traces of the original arched entrance are still visible on the south wall.

[17]It is interesting to note that Bonafede selected the chapterhouse as his burial site although the family tomb in the church of the Badia in Florence was still in active use. His nephew (d. 1541) and sister-in-law (d. 1544) were both buried there (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Libri dei Morti, Grascia 6, fols. 463r, 472v).

[18]For Bonafede's biography after 1500, see pp. 28-31 below.

[19]Carthusian chapterhouses are traditionally unadorned. The Crucifixion is discussed in S. McKillop, *Franciabigio*, Berkeley, 1974, 123-124, 253-254, and Chiarelli and Leoncini, 285-286. A Crucifixion scene over the altar is customary for Tuscan chapterhouses (J. Gardner, "Andrea di Bonaiuto and the Chapterhouse Frescoes in Santa Maria Novella," *Art History*, II, 1979, 116).

by Gustave Clausse and taken up in the subsequent literature, is much later than the date the tomb was actually finished.[20]

Bonafede's wills, the first dated 2 May 1537 (App., doc. I, excerpt 1) and the second, dated 19 April 1542 (App., doc. II), provide a *terminus post-* and a *terminus ante quem* for the tomb. The first clearly indicates that he would be buried in the chapterhouse, but it is only in the second that the tomb is noted as already having been constructed. It is referred to as "suo monumento novo, quod ibidem ipsemet fieri fecit et ordinavit."[21] Furthermore, since the choice of burial site and supervision of construction were frequently left to the executors if the decedent had not been involved himself, the lack of instructions to them in the will is additional evidence that the tomb was completed by 1542.[22] Not only is the new date significant for the chronology of Sangallo's *oeuvre*, but it means that the tomb was executed while Bonafede was still alive.[23] The decision to take an active role in the construction of his tomb, it was imperative by the late 1530s since he was in his late eighties, accords with what was common practice during the period. Men of high estate not only commissioned, but actively participated in the design and overall construction of their own tombs.

In light of the new information provided by Bonafede's wills, the document of 1539 for work on the pavement allows us to be more precise about the tomb's date. The meaning of the word "sepoltura" is ambiguous; it could refer to the tomb itself or to the burial site alone. If it refers to the former, then the date of the tomb would

[20]See Bacchi, *La Certosa di Firenze*, Florence, 1930, 127 and Clausse, III, 189. The date of death on Bonafede's epitaph is 1545, but it differs from other, more reliable sources, which record that he was buried on 18, December 1544. One is the Certosa *Memorie* (see n. 14 above) and two unpublished death notices: "1544; Messer Lionardo di Giovanni d'Antonio Buoneffe Vescovo di Cortona riposto in Certosa...[illegible] mortto pososi in Santo Brochollo addi 17 di dicembre riposto in Certosa _____ addì 18" (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Libri dei Morti, Grascia 6, fol. 471v); and "Dicembre 1544; Reverendissimo Messer Lionardo di Giovanni d'Antonio Bonaf[e]d[e] Veschovo di Cortona posto adì 17 in Santo Brocholo et adi 18 andossi a riporre a certosa" (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Morti Medici Speziali 251, fol. 100v). Leoncini notes the possibility that Bonafede died in 1544 rather than 1545 based on evidence from the *Memorie* entry (178, n. 168).

[21]The text reads: "his new tomb which he himself caused to be made."

[22]For evidence of the same practice in the fifteenth century, see Lightbown, I, 8, 84-85 and earlier, see J. Gardner, "Arnolfo di Cambio and Roman Tomb Design," *Burlington Magazine*, CXV, 1973, 436.

[23]The 1542 will is incorrectly interpreted by Carl (120, n. 25). A profile drawing of Bonafede, now in the British Museum, London (Inv. 1946.7.13.5; Chiarelli, I, fig. 64), which appears to have been made directly from the corpse as a preparatory study for the tomb, indicates that the face was left uncarved until after Bonafede's death. This may explain in part a certain lack of organic relationship between the head and shoulders.

be between 1537 (the *terminus post quem)* and 1539 (the date of the document). If, on the other hand, it refers to the burial site, then the tomb would have to date between 1539 and 1542 (the *terminus ante quem).*[24] In any case, what the 1539 pavement document makes unequivocal is that the tomb's freestanding location was decided on no later than 1539, since the pavement is described as "fa in Capitolo nostro attorno alla sua sepoltura."[25]

A chapterhouse burial in a Carthusian monastery, both for a member or patron of the Order, was highly unorthodox, even though such burials were not uncommon for members of other monastic orders. For example, a local precedent for such practice took place in the mid-fourteenth-century chapterhouse of Santa Maria Novella (the so-called Spanish Chapel) in Florence, which was constructed by the Dominicans as a mortuary chapel.[26] By selecting the chapterhouse as his burial site, Bonafede followed a time-honored monastic tradition—one, however, that was distinctly not, with a few exceptions to be noted below, followed by the Carthusians.

In the edition from 1510 of the *Customs,* published only thirty-four years before Bonafede's death, burial procedures were the same as those in the original statutes.[27] To summarize: the dead person, who has been dressed only in a Carthusian habit, "cilicio et cuculla, caligis et pedulibus," is brought to the church where services are performed with the participation of the entire monastic community. Then the dead person is carried to the tomb where the priest says several prayers and blesses the grave and sprinkles it with holy water and burns incense; then the body is placed in the grave; and while it is being covered, the priest says "Pater noster, A porta inferi," and other prayers. Later Carthusian commentaries interpreting these procedures emphasize that there should be simple burial arrangements with no distinction in the treatment of officers and ordinary members of the Order.[28] In practice, the general rule is that members of the Order, regardless of their rank, are buried in the communal cemetery located in the Great Cloister of every Carthusian monastery. The graves are anonymous, marked only by a small wooden or stone cross.[29] Clearly, Bonafede chose not to adhere to the general strictures. How was it, then, that in spite of the strict prohibition clearly intended in Carthusian law and custom, Bonafede was able to build his elaborate tomb?

[24]It would be difficult to imagine that the tomb had not been designed before the surrounding pavement was put in place in 1539/40. See n. 10 and n. 11 above.

[25]The text reads: "made in our chapterhouse around his tomb." For the entire document, see n. 10 above.

[26]For a general discussion, see W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe,* London, 1972, 11-12. Other chapterhouse burials are recorded at Jumièges (see G. Lanfry, "La salle capitulaire romane de l'Abbeye de Jumièges," *Bulletin Monumental,* XCIII, 1934, 337) and Cluny (see Braunfels, 102) from the eleventh century, and at Poblet *(ibid.),* and Toulouse (see M. H. Vicaire, "Le financement des Jacobens de Toulouse, Conditions spirituelles et sociales des constructions (1229-c.1340)," *La naissance de l'essor du gothique meridional an XIIIe siècle, Cahiers de Fanjeaux,* IX, 1974, 237 from the mid-thirteenth century.

[27]See the *Statuta...,* fol. 12v.

[28]See La Masson's commentary in Guigo I, cols. 659-660, n. 3, and *Explication littérale et ascetique de règles cartusiennes,* 4 vols., Montalègre, 1905-1909, IV, 189-190.

[29]These conditions for burial seem to have been preferred from the Order's beginnings, perhaps because their founder, Saint Bruno, was himself buried in a plain stone tomb in the cemetery of the monastery of La Torre in Calabria.

Not least among the factors allowing this breach of the Carthusian law and custom was Bonafede's power and influence, which were related to his family background, personal wealth, and position as a leading patron of the arts in Florence. The Bonafede family, which can be traced back to 1180, had by the fourteenth century attained enough prominence and wealth to build an altar and a family sepulchre in the Badia of Florence.[30] By the fifteenth century, Bonafede's patronage extended to several churches in Florence and the surrounding area.[31] Leonardo Bonafede not only continued his family's patronage activities but greatly exceeded them.

The first biographical note regarding Bonafede is found in 1486, when he appears in the Certosa records as procurator of the monastery. In 1494, he was elected prior and remained in that post until 1500. During his tenure some of the most important building projects were carried out in the Certosa, including, as previously noted, the renovation of the chapterhouse.[32] As procurator he was limited, at least officially, to the role of assistant in the supervision of building operations, but as prior he was director and had full charge of all ongoing projects.

Bonafede's energies took him beyond the confines of the Certosa. In 1500 he left for the prestigious and powerful office of *spedalingo* of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence. In this position he both achieved fame for his reforms in hospital administration and increased his personal wealth. Between January 1503 and February 1515, there were four papal bulls consigning various Tuscan churches and hospitals to the authority of Santa Maria Nuova, which in effect vastly increased the number of benefices held by Bonafede.[33] In addition he boasted numerous titles, all bringing similar revenues.

[30]Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Carte Pucci, Buonafede, fol. 24r. Completed in 1376, the altar was dedicated to the Annunication and Visitation (A. Cocchi, *Le chiese di Firenze*, Florence, 1903, 114) and located "on the landing before one enters the church" (S. Rosselli, *Sepoltuario fiorentino*, 2 vols., 1657, I, 622; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Manoscritti 624). Leonardo himself restored the tomb in 1524. It is not extant.

[31]The other churches in Florence include San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini (Rosselli, II, 1028, Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Manoscritti 625); Sta. Orsola, (G. Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese fiorentine*, 10 vols., Florence, 1754-1762, VII, 48); and in Fiesole the Cathedral (Rosselli, II, 1288, 1410). Another indication of the family's wealth in the late fifteenth century is that the niece of Leonardo's great uncle had a dowry of 1000 florins—a sum commensurate with dowries in other great families—deposited in the *Monte* (Richa, II, 220).

[32]See Leoncini, 128, 178, 183-185.

[33]On Bonafede at Santa Maria Nuova, see L. Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza e d'istruzione elementare gratuita della città di Firenze*, Florence, 1853, 304. The benefices were the church of San Clemente al Ponte, 30 January 1503, consigned by Julius II; the priory of San Piero a Marcignana, 7 January 1507, also consigned by Julius II; the church of San Donato a Momigno, 16 September 1514, consigned by Leo X; and the pieve of Sta. Christina a Ligliano, 11 February 1515, also consigned by Leo X (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Sta. Maria Nuova, 30 gennaio 1503; 7 gennaio 1507; 16 settembre 1514; 11 febbraio 1515).

Despite Bonafede's status, we learn that after he left the monastery, he had been "severely censured" by the Carthusian General Chapter in 1502 for not following Carthusian law, most likely that of the eating of meat, which was prohibited for all Carthusians.[34] There is no record of any additional problems with the General Chapter during his leave from the Certosa and, in fact, he appears to have remained a Carthusian in good standing, because, as we know, he was allowed to build his extraordinary tomb.[35]

Bonafede benefitted immensely from a close relationship with the two Medici popes, Leo X and Clement VII. The former issued two of the bulls already noted and, in addition, a brief exempting Santa Maria Nuova from all secular and ecclesiastical taxes. Later Clement VII not only provided Bonafede with additional benefices, but also chose him to officiate at important liturgical functions and assist at splendid papal ceremonies and services.[36] It was also Clement VII who awarded Bonafede the bishopric of Vesti in 1528 and, in 1529, was responsible for his translation to the larger and more important bishopric of Cortona.[37]

Bonafede's earliest known activity as a patron was during his priorate at the Certosa, where he was able to attract first-rate artists, including Benedetto da Majano and Andrea della Robbia. After leaving the Certosa, he continued to be an

[34]Concerning the censure, see L. Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Ordinis Cartusiensis*, 5 vols., Monstrolii, 1890-1893, I, 155. For the statute containing the prohibition, see the *Statuta Antiqua*, fol. glr-v. An incident recorded by one of his successors, Agostino di Alberico, who was prior from 1501 to 1503, reveals that Bonafede was seen eating meat in public. He personally prohibited Bonafede from entering the monastery and the monks from using facilities at Sta. Maria Nuova (Chiarelli and Leoncini, 46, n. 68). Since this violation frequently led to expulsion from the Order, Bonafede's censure can be considered a lenient punishment.

[35]In three portraits (Ceppo hospital frieze, SS. Jacopo e Lorenzo and SS. Concezione altarpieces), which were executed when Bonafede was no longer at the Certosa (see n. 38 and n. 39 below), he is dressed as a Carthusian. As in the effigy, the cape symbolizes his residence outside of the monastery (in the Ceppo hospital portrait, Bonafede also wears a black cap which was the required dress after 1370 for Carthusians not living in the monastery. See Thompson, 107.). Finally, in 1537 and again in 1542 he is referred to as a "monk of the Carthusian Order" (see Carl, 147 and App., doc. II) in both his wills and, at latest, by the second date is depicted as such in his tomb.

[36]See n. 33 above on benefices and Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Sta. Maria Nuova, 20 febbraio 1514. For additional benefices, see Moroni, II, 94. Bonafede officiated at the baptism of Clement's grandniece, Catherine, in 1519 and assisted at the Coronation of Charles V in Bologna in 1530.

[37]See Moroni, C, 94. In 1538—presumably because of old age—Bonafede resigned as bishop of Cortona. His letters to the Cortonese chapter between 1529 and 1540 reveal that he was in Florence, Rome, or at his villa in Camerata. (I wish to thank Don Bruno Frescucci for making it possible for me to see seventeen letters written by Bonafede to the Cortona See which are now deposited in the Archivio Capitolare in Cortona.) He died four years later, probably in Camerata (Richa, II, 219-220).

enthusiastic patron of the della Robbia and other sculptors working in glazed terracotta.[38] Bonafede also ordered large and elaborate altarpieces from the Ghirlandaio family, so many that Vasari, in his *Lives*, singles him out as a distinguished patron of their shop.[39]

From the early fourteenth century on, it was customary for cardinals and lesser prelates, if their finances allowed, to found churches, convents, or hospitals towards the end of their lives. This type of charitable gesture served a double purpose for donors: they could relieve their guilt for having misused benefice revenues and aid in their salvation by creating an institution that would be obligated to offer prayers for their souls.[40] It is therefore in 1543 not surprising to find that Bonafede just before his death, refounded the church of Saints Jacopo e Lorenzo in Via Ghibellina.[41] During this same period, Bonafede's financial circumstances permitted an increase in the number of his pious gestures. Documents record the donation of a Crucifix to his former See in Cortona, a self-portrait in silver to the Santa Casa in Loreto, silver liturgical objects and additional ornamentation for the Certosa church of San Lorenzo as well as valuable books to the monastery.[42] It is perhaps in

[38]On the commissions, see Richa, II, 210; A. Marquand, *Giovanni della Robbia*, Princeton, 1920, 112-114; *Robbia Heraldry*, Princeton, 1919, 226; and Leoncini and Chiarelli, 26, 46 n. 60, 282. Of particular interest is the Ceppo hospital loggia frieze in Pistoia, in which Bonafede himself is shown participating in the Beati Misericordes (see F. Gurrieri and A. Amendola, *Il fregio Robbiano dell' Ospedale di Pistoia*, Pistoia, 1981). For Bonafede's involvement as patron of Rosso's Francesca de Ripoi altarpiece, see D. Franklin, "Rosso, Leonardo Buonafé and the Francesca de Ripoi altar-piece," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXIX, 1987, 652-662.

[39]G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, ed. G. Milanesi, 9 vols., Florence, 1878-1885, VI, 539-540, 543-544. Confirmation of the authorship (Ridolfo and Michele di Ridolfo Ghirlandaio) and a *terminus ante quem* for one of the paintings noted by Vasari (SS. Jacopo and Lorenzo *Madonna and Child*, Cenacolo di Andrea del Sarto museum, inv. 1890 n. 8640) are provided by an unpublished document dated 18 January 1543 (modern style 1544) regarding a payment made for the frame: "Messer Lionardo Buonafede dignissimo episcopo Cortonese de'dare lire settanta piccioli e [sic] di sua commissione a Ridolfo di Domenico del Grillandaio et a Michele di Jacopo dipintore, porto Mariotto di Francesco dipintore contanti per havere tolto a metter[e] d'oro l'ornamento della tavola dipinghono detto Ridolfo e Michele; a' libro della depositeria segnato B a 99. Fiorini 10 _____." (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi 78, 9, fol. 66v.) See also S. Padovani and S. Meloni, *Il Cenacolo di Andrea del Sarto a San Salvi*, Florence, 1982, 26-27, pl. 7.

[40]See Lightbown, I, 69-70.

[41]An inscription which reads: "Leonardus Bonafide Epvs Cortonensis" is still visible on the entablature above the entrance.

[42]The Crucifix is mentioned by Bonafede in a letter dated July 16, 1539 (Cortona, Archivio Capitolare). The self-portrait is noted in the 1542 will (see Carl, n. 2 above) and in a 1600 inventory of donations to the Santa Casa (see O. Torsellino, *De l'historia lauretana*, Libri cinque, Milan, 1600, Libro terzo 122). The archivist of the Santa Casa, Padre Floriano Grimaldo, has kindly informed me that the portrait has been missing since the French occupation of 1797. For the objects donated to the Certosa, see Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Conventi Soppressi 51, 213, fol. 32r. For a complete transcription of the document, see Chiarelli, II, 209.

part because of these gifts and his other contributions to the Certosa, including the pavement in the chapterhouse and a *lavabo* commissioned in 1496 that, in spite of his earlier transgression of Carthusian law, he died "with full monkhood and praise for his piety."[43]

Bonafede, as we have seen, was an important benefactor of the Certosa. His lofty ecclesiastical estate and personal influence, although important factors, would surely not have been sufficient to allow him to ignore Carthusian tradition. Since the only tombs officially permitted in Carthusian monasteries were those of benefactors of the Order, it must also have been this role that gained him the prerogative to build the elaborate tomb that we have been investigating.[44]

As we have seen, even after his departure from the monastery, Bonafede remained a Carthusian. In both wills (App., doc. I, excerpt 2, and doc. II), he states that his burial is to be in the "church and monastery of the Carthusians...of Galluzzo." The first will of 1537 (App., doc. I, excerpt 1) informs us that his "burial and buried corpse" are to be "in the chapterhouse of said monastery," while the second will of 1542 (App., doc. II) adds that he shall be buried "in his new monument," which, by that date, had already been built.[45] At the same time, Bonafede placed great importance on his identity as bishop and desired the full honors belonging to him as a member of a high ecclesiastical estate. In his second will he gives full instructions for his exequies, which are to "be held in the [parish] church of Sto. Stefano [which is under the administrative jurisdiction] of the Florentine Badia...in accordance with that which is fitting and customary at the death of bishops."[46] He then outlines the rituals to be followed, including the lying in

[43]Concerning the *lavabo*, see Leoncini and Chiarelli, 25-26, 46, 59. The quote is from Le Vasseur, I, 156.

[44]They were permitted after 1174 (Leoncini, 57).

[45]Bonafede's 1542 will is also informative regarding his lifestyle in the 1530s and 1540s. In his villa in Camerata he slept in a bed made of cypress that was covered with a taffeta bedspread and surrounded by green damask hangings ("cortinaggio"). For the decoration of his villa he had one large tapestry, probably *millefleurs* ("uno panno d'arazo ad verzura, grande") and two large low-hanging tapestries ("spalliere"), also probably *millefleurs*, and a second bed or couch with matching cover and *cortinaggio* of Flemish tapestries "a fighure." In addition to his villa in Camerata, Bonafede had a room in a house with "many rooms and a garden." It was on the Via de' Bertinori (near the Borgo degli Albizi) in Florence and belonged to his nephew Rinieri. It was decorated with three low-hanging *millefleurs* tapestries and contained valuable personal items such as "goblets," "bowls," and "little plates" of silver. (On the decoration, see an Episcopal Donation of 24 March 1536, modern-style 1537; Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antec. V359, ins. 4, fols. 433r-433v.) Bonafede had a library that included "small books of psalms and another book on the life of Christ, and another on the art of dying well, and another of Sunday sermons," which he bequeaths to the Certosa along with valuable ceremonial articles, among them "his own brocaded chasuble...of gold-threaded cloth..., his pectoral cross of jasper decorated with gold and precious stones and another similar cross of gilded silver and also his precious mitre likewise decorated with gems." My thanks to Candace Adelson for information on types and functions of tapestries in Italy in the sixteenth century.

[46]They instead took place at the nearby parish church of San Procolo (see the first of two unpublished death notices in n. 20 above).

state and the processional for the transfer of his body with the participation of numerous clerics and lay mourners carrying torches.[47] His instructions follow the pattern for the exequies of cardinals described in the *Ordo Romanus*, written probably in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[48] To a large extent, the ceremonial procedures used in a cardinal's funeral must have been routinely repeated for a bishop, since the *Ordo* says nothing specifically about those for a bishop.[49]

Notations in a Certosa *Memorie* description of Bonafede's burial inform us that two funeral items were "received at his tomb," indicating that they were used during the burial rituals.[50] One is "a funeral pall of gold brocade with bands of blue velvet" and the other a "brocaded pillow;" the former is the "new blue velvet pall" described in Bonafede's second will "which he made... to stand over his bier on which his body will be carried to burial," and the latter a pillow of the type actually represented in the tomb. Both the pall and brocaded pillow must have been carried in the funeral procession from San Procolo to the Certosa. As with his extravagant tomb, Bonafede in his funeral claimed the honors appropriate to his high ecclesiastical rank, even though, in both cases, his choice was a blatant disavowal of Carthusian burial practices.

As we have seen, burial in a communal cemetery was virtually mandatory for all Carthusians. The rare exceptions are two tombs in monastic churches, one in

[47]Bonafede specifies which clerics he wishes to attend and instructs that they be given two *doppieri* (torches formed of several wax candles fastened together) and that they "stand continually with eight lighted *doppieri* before the cross and eight other *doppieri* before the bier." And to insure proper illumination for the ceremonies, he orders that "two hundred *libbre* of wax be burned." Bonafede also provides for the expense of dressing his servants "after his death" in "garments of black cloth," indicating that they also were to be present at the ceremonies participating as mourners and torchbearers, as was customary for household staffs. The entire funeral appears to have taken between three and four days, from 15 December 1544 when Bonafede died (see *Guida della venerabile Certosa di San Lorenzo Levita e Martire, presso Firenze*, Florence, 1861, 57) to 18 December 1544 when he was buried at the Certosa (see n. 20 above).

[48]P. Amelio, "Ordo Romanus XV" in J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, 2 vols., Paris, 1687-1689, II, 541-543. The *Ordo* is a compilation of church ritual written between the sixth and fifteenth centuries.

[49]Although the *Pontificale Romanum* has a chapter that includes the "rites for burying" a bishop (see Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Pluteus XXIII, Cod. II[*Pontificale;* sec. XIV], fols. 153r-153v), it does not contain the particular ceremonies described by Bonafede in his will as "customary" for his estate. Of particular interest, however, regarding the use of the same ceremonial procedures for all high-ranking ecclesiastics, regardless of their particular estate, is that these rites are prescribed for a "pope, bishops, priests, and cardinal deacons" (*ibid.*, 153r). See also the reformed and authoritative version of the *Pontificale* published in 1595-96 under Pope Clement VIII, who made its use obligatory everywhere (see "Pontificale Romanum, Clementis VIII ac Urbani VIII" in M. W. Foye, *Supplement to Gibson's Preservative from Popery: Being Important Treatises on the Romish Controversy, Romish Rites, Offices and Legends*, VII, London, 1850, 152).

[50]See *Memorie* citation in n. 14 above.

France and the other in Italy, and three in chapterhouses in France.[51] The appearance of two of the latter is unknown, but the third, the tomb of Jean de Gohénans, who died in 1401, contains an effigy, although incised rather than in high relief like the one on Bonafede's tomb, and was originally installed in the floor of the chapterhouse nave facing the altar.[52] Since Gohénans was a procurator, a high-ranking official in the Order, and an important benefactor of Lugny, his tomb represents an important precedent for Bonafede. However, even if it was known by Bonafede, it could hardly have served as the only prototype for his gradiose scheme. Of greater significance for the design of the Bonafede monument are Florentine centralized tombs.

An important example is the monument of Giovanni di Bicci, who died in 1429, and Piccarda de'Medici, who died in 1443, an elaborate centralized tomb in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo, which was used as a chapterhouse during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[53] For a model of a centralized effigy in high relief, Sangallo could have referred to his own floor slab of the Abbess Colomba Ghezzi, completed in 1540, which was originally located in the choir of the monastery church of San Martino, and the Luigi Tornabuoni monument of 1518 in the church of San Jacopo in Campo Corbolini (figs. 7 and 8).[54] The Bonafede effigy, however, is so much more plastically salient than these and other floor slabs that it is more closely related to those tombs with effigies carved in much higher relief and raised above the ground on bases.

Although the tomb presently has no base, it is very likely that in its original form one existed. Not only is there no known precedent for a virtually three-dimensional effigy placed directly on the floor, the tomb must also have suffered considerable damage when it was removed from its present location by French occupation forces in 1810. In fact, the cracks in the black-green marble both under and surrounding the effigy were probably caused by removing the tomb. The base, however, would have been even more vulnerable during the tomb's removal and, therefore, might very well have been destroyed by the French. The tomb was not

[51]The tombs in monastic churches are of Saint Arthold (d. 1206), bishop of Belley, at Arvieres (Le Vasseur, III, 497) and Cardinal Albergati, bishop of Bologna, at Galluzzo (Le Vasseur, II, 76), and in chapterhouses of Guillaume de Bourgogne (d. 1178), bishop of Langres, at Louvetière (Le Vasseur, I, 27) and François de Casa Nova (d. 1587), bishop of Apt, at Avignon (Le Vasseur, I, 582).

[52]I wish to thank A. Landel for information about the original location of the tomb. See Le Vasseur, I, 605-606; L. Landel, *La Chartreuse de Lugny, 1172-1789*, unpublished typescript, 1959, 49-51; and Greenhill, II, pl. 26a.

[53]From the surviving records, it is known that chapter meetings were held in the Old Sacristy beginning in June of 1434 (J. Ruda, "A 1434 Building Programme for San Lorenzo in Florence," *Burlington Magazine*, CXX, 1978, 361) and continued throughout most of the fifteenth century until 1480 (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antec. M 273, fols. 30r, 30v, 33r, 38v), and probably again in the sixteenth century (see P. Cianfogni, *Memorie istoriche dell'Ambrosiana R. Basilica di San Lorenzo di Firenze*, Florence, 1804, 119). I am grateful to Caroline Elam for the above references.

[54]For the document and a brief discussion of the Ghezzi tomb, now in the Bardini Collection, Florence, see E. Lusana et al., *Il Museo Bardini a Firenze*, 2 vols., Milan, 1986, II, 287-288. Leatrice Mendelsohn kindly pointed out the Tornabuoni tomb to me. Like Bonafede's tomb, it is located in a single-aisled structure and originally was "appiè dell'altare della cappella maggiore" (Rosselli, II, 1026).

7. Francesco da Sangallo, Tomb of Abbess Colomba Ghezzi. Florence, Bardini Museum (photo: author)

8. Tomb of Luigi Tornabuoni. Florence, S. Jacopo in Campo Corbolini (photo: author)

returned until between 1817 and 1819 and could also have been partially destroyed or changed upon its return to the Certosa.[55]

That the effigy originally rested on a base is also evidenced by the present irregular installation of the memorial tablet and the coat of arms in the pavement. Their awkward shapes and relationship to the effigy suggest that they were redesigned after being returned to the Certosa. Originally, they were probably in a different location: the memorial tablet, measuring 23 cm. long and 29 cm. wide was most likely on the base itself, since that was almost always the preferred arrangement, and the coat of arms, measuring 60½ cm. long and 83½ cm. wide, was probably placed elsewhere in the pavement (figs. 1 and 3). Moreover, the mitre and feet of the effigy overlap its black-green marble frame in such an ungraceful manner that we must assume its original placement was dramatically different in relation to the surrounding pavement.

If, as seems most likely, the tomb did in fact include a base, its design and height are still problematic. Although centralized tombs with high bases were frequently made for individuals of high rank, both ecclesiastical and secular in Italy during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the possibility that Bonafede's tomb was originally of this type is remote. The tombs on high bases were always in private chapels where they were least likely to disturb liturgical functions.[56] However, since the chapterhouse, unlike most private chapels, was in constant use by the entire monastic community, a high base would have been an obstruction. Furthermore, such an ostentatious display probably would have overstepped all tolerable bounds. Another consideration is that a high base would have been suggestive of a sarcophagus, the use of which was forbidden by Carthusian law. Since it appears probable that the base did not depict a sarcophagus, could it have represented the bier covered with Bonafede's "pall of gold brocade with bands of blue velvet," which is described in the *Memorie* account of his funeral along with the "brocaded pillow" that still supports the head?[57]

Centralized tombs with effigies on low bases and in close proximity to an altar, while not common, were far from a rarity in Italy. An important example is the tomb of Pope Martin V, who died in 1431, in San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome, which stood until the mid-nineteenth century on a base supported by low pilaster-shaped legs in front of the high altar in the center of the nave (fig. 9).[58] Another is the tomb of a canonist Giacomo Zocchi, who died in 1457, in the church of Santa Giustina in Padua, which was originally behind the altar in the center of the apse (fig. 10).[59] Each of the bases in these tombs was probably meant to suggest a bier.

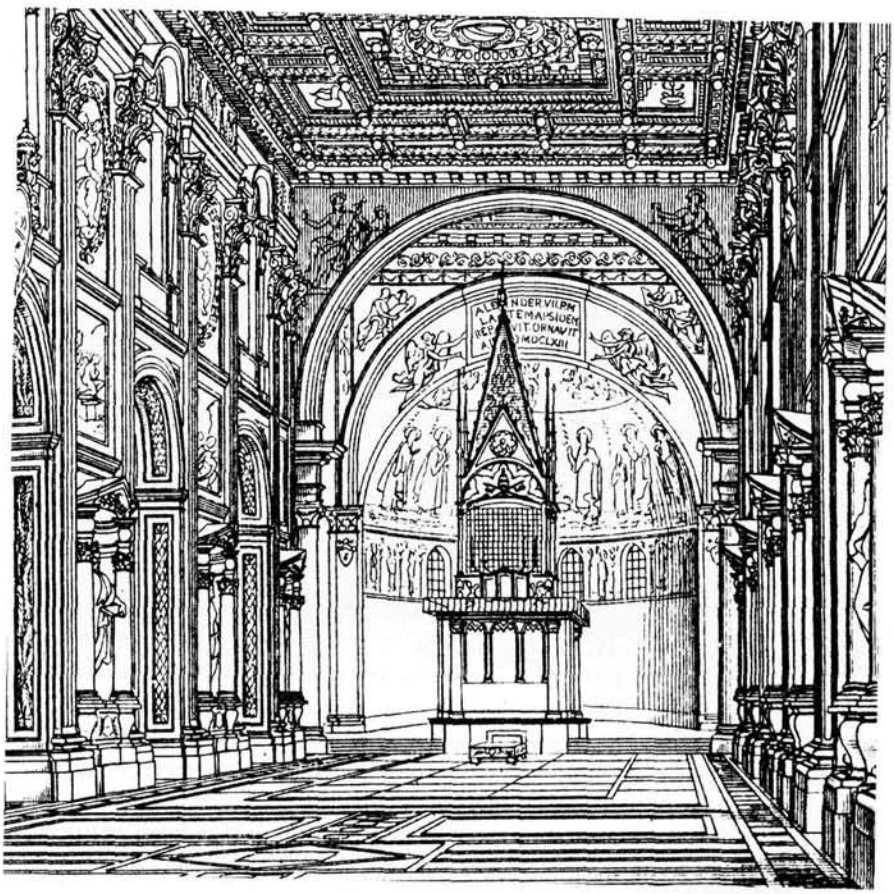
[55]Florence, Archivio dell'Accademia di Belle Arti, *Processi Verbali* 1810, fol. 31 and *Affari Diversi* 1810 al 1819, ins. 145 (for a transcription, see Chiarelli, II, 461).

[56]Examples of centralized tombs on high bases are those of Cardinal Giovanni Zen (1504-21), church of San Marco, Venice; Orsato Giustiniani (d. 1464), church of San Andrea della Certosa (both destroyed), Venice; and Benedetto Crivelli (d. 1516); *chiesetta* of Sta. Maria del Carmine, Creola. My thanks to Anne Schulz for referring me to this last tomb. The prevailing Carthusian attitude toward tombs in the monastery was unfavorable (see Leoncini, 57). See also n. 44 above.

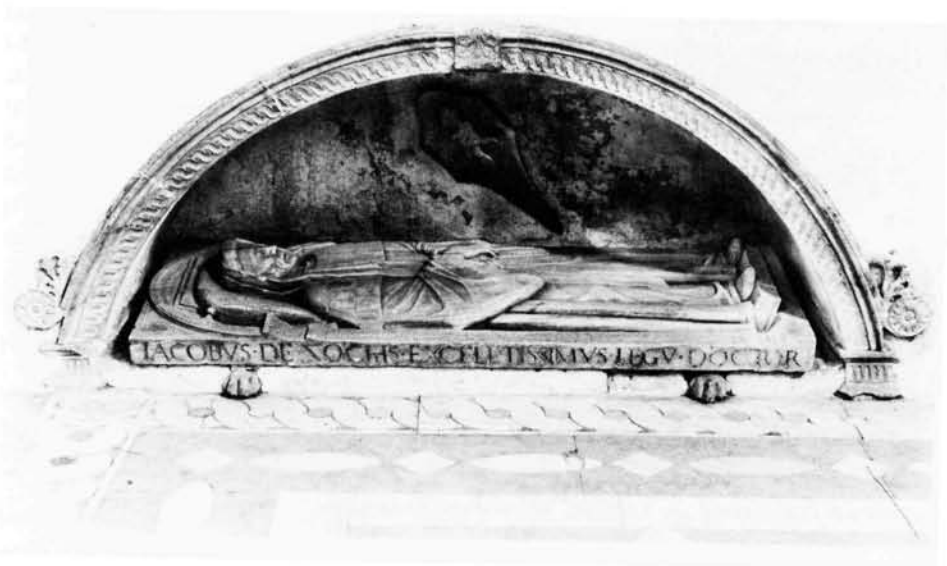
[57]See *Memorie* citation in n. 16 above.

[58]The legs measured 40 cm. high (see A. Valentini, *La patriarcale basilica lateranense*, 2 vols., Rome, 1834, I, pls. 8, 37).

[59]I am indebted to Anne Schulz for kindly pointing out this tomb to me. See M. Tonzig, *La basilica romanico-gotica di Santa Giustina in Padova*, Padua, 1932, 67-69, 258-261.



9. Tomb of Pope Martin V, 1834. Rome, S. Giovanni in Laterano (photo: Valentini, I, pl. 8)



10. *Tomb of Canon Giacomo Zocchi.* Padua, S. Giustina (photo: Gabinetto Fotografico, Museo Civico, Padova)

While the Bonafede tomb design can be traced back to more than one prototype, Sangallo owed his greatest single debt to the monument by Antonio Pollaiuolo for Pope Sixtus IV in Saint Peter's in Rome of 1484-1493 (fig. 11). Similarities between the two suggest that Sangallo, who is documented as being in Rome just before or during the execution of Bonafede's tomb, had carefully studied the Sixtus monument.[60] In each one there is a greater degree of saliency in the face and torso than in the legs, and the sculptors' signatures are behind each effigy's head. Sixtus's tomb was originally located in the center of its own chapel, the "capella del choro," no longer extant, where it was placed in front of and facing the altar (fig. 12). Sangallo, viewing the *cappella*, would have been reminded of the chapterhouse. Although the former was larger and had a semi-circular apse, both spaces had rectangular plans and were proportionally similar.[61] Also, the altar wall of the *cappella* was decorated with a fresco by Perugino showing the *Intercession of Saint Peter with the Madonna for Sixtus*. The frescoed *Crucifixion* on the chapterhouse altar wall was similarly suited iconographically for a funerary chapel. Finally, the pavement that Sangallo later designed for the chapterhouse reflected the sumptuous intarsia floor decoration of the *cappella*.[62]

The Sixtus tomb was completed in 1493, and the renovation of the Certosa chapterhouse took place between 1496 and 1500. It should be stressed that although the *cappella* was a choir chapel, it was known from the beginning that Sixtus had built it primarily to serve as a mausoleum.[63] As it is likely that Bonafede was aware of the Sixtus monument, one is tempted to speculate whether or not the pope's famous tomb motivated the alterations that Bonafede made in the chapterhouse. In any case, we know from letters he sent to the Cortona chapter in June 1529 and again in March 1531 that he was in Rome shortly before the construction of his tomb.[64] At this point he almost surely saw Pollaiuolo's striking and innovative monument and would have been made aware of the potential for transforming the Certosa chapterhouse into a sepulchral chapel. After Bonafede's burial in 1544, the chapterhouse, like the

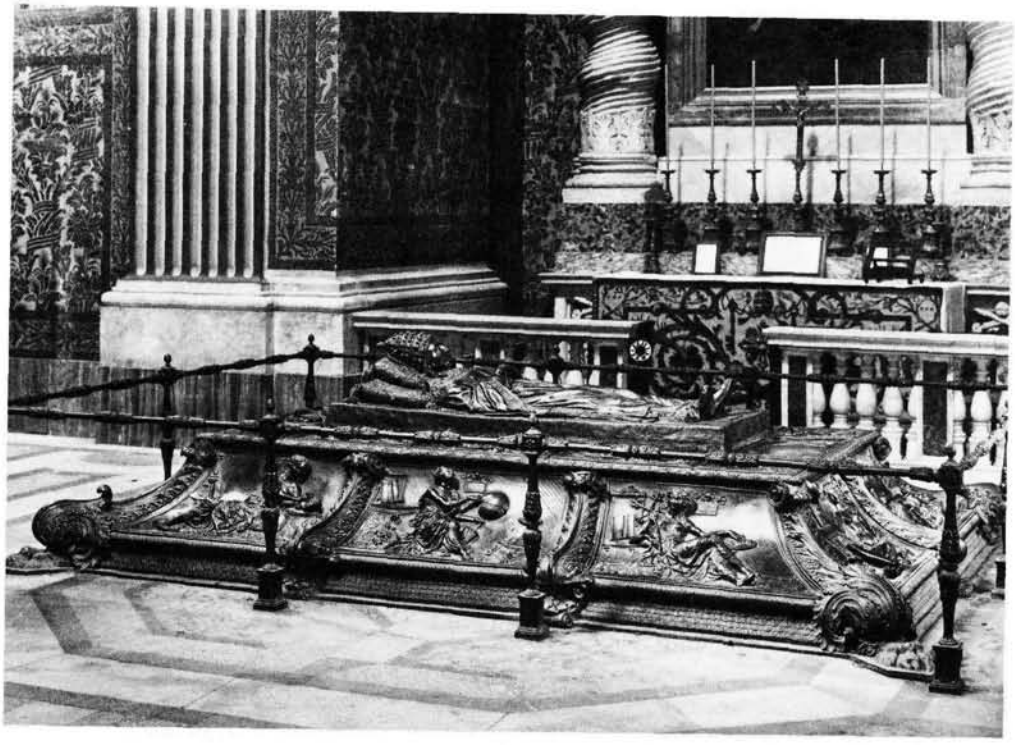
[60]A. Bertolotti, *Nuovi documenti intorno all'architetto Antonio Sangallo (Il Giovane) ed alla sua famiglia*, Rome, 1892, 23.

[61]The chapel was demolished in 1606 (L. Ettlinger, "Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVI, 1953, 268). It measured 16 m. long and 12 m. wide, making it a little more than twice as large as the chapterhouse. For further information, see C. Frommel, "'Capella Iulia': Die Grabkapelle Papst Julius' II in Neu-St. Peter," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XL, 1977, 31.

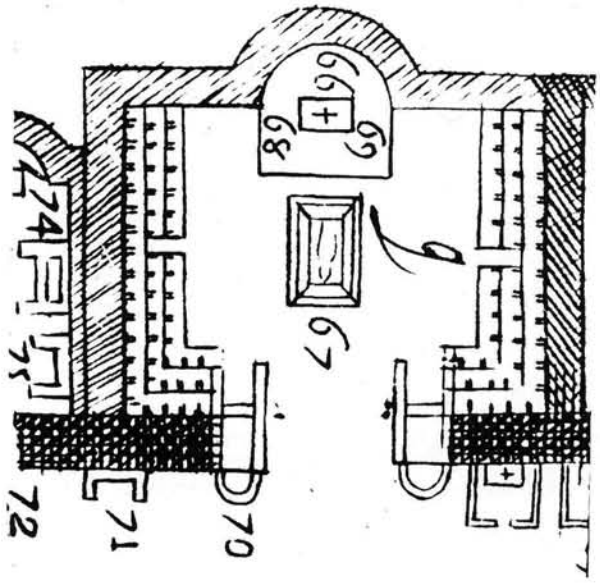
[62]The chapterhouse *Crucifixion* functions by connecting the deceased's belief in and hope for salvation with Christ's Sacrifice and Resurrection, as does the more customary representation of the Resurrection. On the *cappella* fresco and pavement, see Ettlinger, 268-269.

[63]*Ibid.*, 269-270.

[64]Cortona, Archivio Capitolare.



11. Antonio Pollaiuolo, Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV. Rome, St. Peter's (photo: Anderson)



12. Alpharanus, *Capella del choro*, plan. Rome, St. Peter's (photo: Frommel, pl. 3)

cappella in Saint Peter's, served not only for the usual meetings and ceremonies, but also to assure the salvation of the tomb's occupant through liturgical celebrations.[65]

Although we have seen that one tomb in the Carthusian tradition could have influenced Bonafede and Francesco da Sangallo, the most relevant precedents for Bonafede's tomb must be sought outside the Order. While the effigy upon a base was traditional, its placement within the chapterhouse and the design of the pavement effected a new meaning for the tomb's context. Upon entering the chamber, the visitor is immediately drawn to the figure of Bonafede, which directly faces the altar with its *Crucifixion* above (fig. 2). Not only does Bonafede commune with his Savior, but the chapterhouse, where for so many years he, as prior, had presided over the entire monastic community, becomes part of the sepulchral ensemble.[66] Both the function and iconography of the chapterhouse, pre-existing the tomb, made it an ideal choice for Bonafede's sepulchral chapel.

As a precedent Bonafede could have cited Sixtus's burial in the center of the *cappella* to the Carthusian hierarchy in order to justify his own tomb in the center of the chapterhouse. Although Sixtus was the pope, he was also, by virtue of that office, Bishop of Rome. Moreover, he was a Franciscan and a former Minister General of the Order. The parallels between Sixtus and himself would have been apparent to Bonafede. After all, he had been both a Carthusian prior and the Bishop of Cortona. He could also have pointed out that he played a major role in the renovation of the Galluzzo monastery and had been a generous benefactor of the Order. No member was in a better position to request this type of grandiose tomb which, until then, had been the prerogative in the Order of secular founders such as Philip the Bold, and outside of the Order, of cardinals and popes.[67]

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[65]On the function of the *cappella*, see Frommel, 31-33.

[66]Braunfels points out that the chapterhouse is appropriate as a burial site for the abbot since it is the focal point of his activity (29). The Carthusian chapterhouse is where the prior addresses the monks on administrative and religious issues and accounts for the operation of the monastery (see Leoncini, 60-62, and G. Davies, *Charterhouse in London*, London, 1921, 39).

[67]The tomb of Philip the Bold, originally in the Champmol charterhouse, is now in the Museum of Dijon, France.

APPENDIX, DOCUMENT I

Bonafede's first Last Will and Testament, 2 May 1537: two excerpts, the first stating that he will be buried in the chapterhouse, and the second containing instructions for his burial.

1. ...in capitulo dicti monasterii, ubi erit sepultura et sepultum corpus dicti testatoris (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antec., ins. 1, V359, fol. 150r).
2. Sepulturam vero corporis sui elegit et deputavit in ecclesia et monasterio Cartusie, quod monasterium est positum extra civitatem Florentie et in posteria del Galluzo. Quod corpus suum voluit et ordinavit quod tunc portetur in feretro ad dictum monasterium et ecclesiam ab octo personis eligendis per infrascriptos eius nepotes. Quibus personis ferentibus dictum suum corpus reliquit et legavit ducatos quotuor auri, eis solvendos ab infrascriptis eius heredibus incontinenti portato corpore predicto. Quod corpus et feretrum voluit esse associatum usque ad sepulturam predictam cum 4 doppieriis sive funalibus accensis, inmediate finitis exequiis infrascriptis. Exequias autem et sive honorantiam voluit et ordinavit fieri in ecclesia abbatie Florentine sive in ecclesia Sancti Egidii posita apud hospitale Sancte Marie Nove de Florentia...(Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antec. V359, ins. 1, fols. 149r-149v).

DOCUMENT II

Bonafede's second Last Will and Testament, 19 April 1542: an excerpt containing instructions for his burial and a reference to his "new monument."

Sepulturam vero corporis sui elegit et deputavit in ecclesia et monasterio Ca[r]-thusie, posito non multum longe a civitate Florentie, in potesteria Galluzzi, de quo ordine carthusiensi ipse testator est monachus professus. Et quod corpus suum voluit et vult quod eo defuncto portetur ad dictum monasterium in feretro ab octo personis eligendis per infrascriptos eius heredes et quibus octo personis ferentibus tunc corpus suum, reliquit et dari voluit et legavit amore Dei ducatos quatuor auri, eis solvendos, incontinenti portato corpore predicto, per infrascriptos eius heredes. Et quod quidem corpus et feretrum voluit et ordinavit esse debere associatum usque ad sepulturam predictam cum quatuor funalibus sive dopperiis accensis, inmediate finitis exequiis infrascriptis, et ibidem in dicto monasterio sepelliri in suo monumento novo, quod ibidem ipsemet fieri fecit et ordinavit. Exequias autem suas et sive honorantiam fieri voluit in primis et ordinavit in ecclesia S. Stephani abbatie florentine, secundum quod decet et consuetum est fieri in funere episcoporum. Et in quibus exequiis et in dicta ecclesia abbatie voluit et ordinavit quod tunc accendantur libre ducentum falcularum cere, et quod quelibet falcula sit ad minus ponderis unciarum quatuor et prout etiam videbitur infrascriptis heredibus et domino Leonardo de Ceis, plebano Sthie. Et ad dictas exequias voluit quod invitentur et vocentur omnes canonici et capitulum canonicorum ecclesie cathedralis florentine Sancte Marie del Fiore et omnes cappellani et clerici dicte ecclesie, ac etiam fratres Sancti Francisci de Zoccholi, et frates Sancti Augustini vocati fratres Sancti Galli, et fratres Sancti Dominici vocati di San Marco de Florentia, et omnes presbiteri congregationis vocate del Pellegrino, et etiam presbiteri vocati della congregatione della Conceptione della Vergine Maria. Et dictis duabus congregationibus voluit et reliquit quod eis dentur in dicto funera duo funalia, id est dua doppieri per ciascuna di decte congregationi. Et quod eis omnibus supranominatis detur per infrascriptos eius heredes cera et elemosina ordinaria. Ac etiam voluit et ordinavit quod in dictis exequiis stent continue accensis octo doppieri apud Crucem et octo alii doppieri apud feretrum (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, Notarile Antec., ins. 1, V359, fols. 157r-157v).

An Analysis of Gombrich's Writings On the Palazzo del Tè[1]

OLGA HAZAN

From the time it was built until today, various chroniclers, historians, and art historians have taken interest in the Palazzo del Tè. Ernst Gombrich, a pre-eminent theorist and historian of art, has written the most on this topic, returning to it several times during his career. His articles on this sixteenth-century suburban villa were published over a period of half a century, from 1934, the date of his article, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos, Der Palazzo del Tè," to 1984, when he republished it. Between these dates, he wrote two articles, one of which appeared in 1950, "The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo del Tè," and the other in 1981, "That Rare Italian Master, Giulio Romano, Court Architect, Painter and Impresario."[2] In 1934 he discussed the artist's contribution alone, whereas in 1950 he considered the iconography of a room in the Palazzo in relation to its patron.[3] The latest text published in 1984, a re-edition of the 1934 article, is preceded by an introduction in which Gombrich defends his early discussion of Romano's "Mannerist" work of art.[4]

These texts provide a rare opportunity to examine one art historian's interpretations of the same subject matter at different moments in time, employing several dichotomous methods in twentieth-century art history. In order to analyze the art historical theories that emerge from Gombrich's studies of the Palazzo del Tè, I will give first an overview of various methodologies in art history of the twentieth century. Subsequently, I will relate the author's articles to these different methods and propose that Gombrich's interpretation of the Palazzo is often more revealing about the author's own theories than about the work he analyzes.[5]

[1]This paper is based on my 1986 Master's Thesis presented at l'Université du Québec à Montréal: "Giulio Romano et Federico Ganzaga au Pallazzo Tè." I am indebted to my thesis advisors, Professors Claudette Hould from l'Université du Québec à Montréal and Catherine McKenzie from Concordia University. I also wish to express my gratitude to Professors Laurier Lacroix and Claude Maire from l'Université du Québec à Montréal for their availability and for their helpful comments. I alone, however, am responsible for its contents.

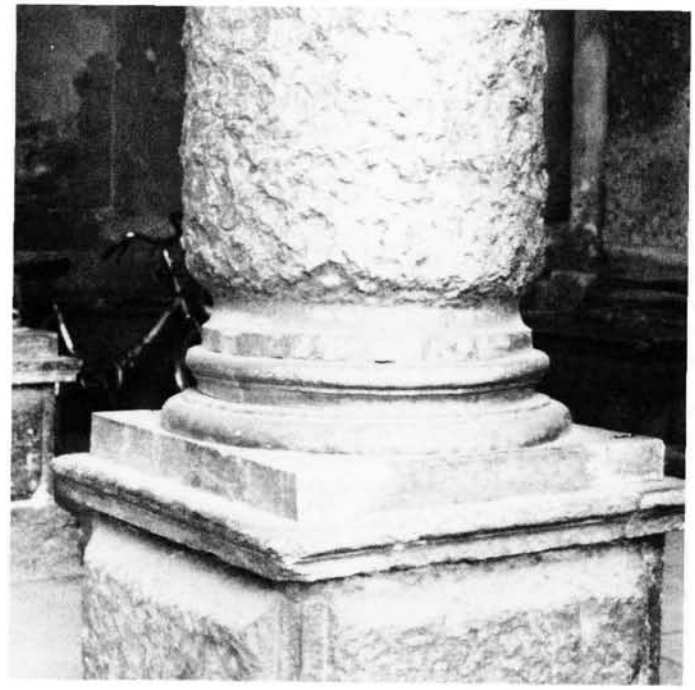
[2]The first work was published twice; it first appeared in *the Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XIII, 182-201 and then in Gombrich's *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, II, New York, 1972 and 1978, 109-118.

[3]E. Gombrich, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos, Der Palazzo del Tè", in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 1934-1935, 79-104 and 121-150; "The Sala dei Venti in the Palazzo Tè", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, XIII, 182-201 and "That Rare Italian Master, Giulio Romano, Court Architect, Painter and Impresario", in Victoria and Albert Museum, *Splendours of the Gonzaga, Catalogue of the Exhibition, Nov. 4, 1981-Jan. 31, 1982*, London, 1981, 77-85.

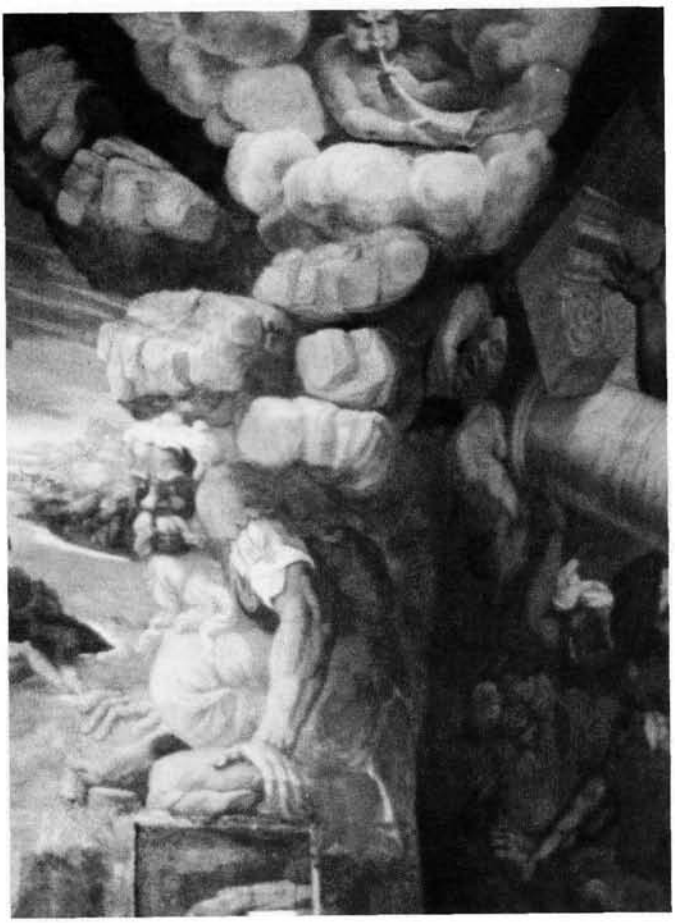
[4]E. Gombrich, "Il Palazzo del Tè. Riflessioni su mezzo secolo di fortuna critica: 1932-1982. L'opera di Giulio Romano," in the first issue of the *Quaderni di Palazzo Tè*, 1984 (published by Panini in Mantua), hereafter referred to as "Riflessioni."

[5]On the issue of the subjectivity of the historian see for example Michel de Certeau, *L'écriture de l'histoire*, Paris, 1975 or Paul Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire*, Paris, 1971.

1. Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, *Falling Triglyphs,* Interior West Facade (photo: author)



2. Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, *Rusticated Column,* West Loggia (photo: author)



3. Palazzo del Tè, Mantua, *Sala Dei Giganti* (photo: author)

The Palazzo del Tè was built and decorated on a peninsula, l'Isola del Tè, between 1524 and 1534. Giulio Romano, one of Raphael's pupils, supervised its execution, under the patronage of Federico Gonzaga, Marquis and later Duke of Mantua. In his first publication of 1934-35, Gombrich based his analysis on a sentence by Sebastiano Serlio who in the sixteenth century saw the Palace as "parte opera di natura, parte opera di artefice."[6] The duality on which the Palace seems to be based has been interpreted in different ways; Gombrich understood this duality as a Mannerist expression of Romano's inner psychological conflicts taking form in

[6]It translates to: partly work of Nature and partly work of art or artifice (the two words were associated in the Cinquecento).

his architecture and painting as a struggle between man and nature (figs. 1 and 2).[7] In doing so, he endowed Serlio's Renaissance concept of interaction between man and nature with a modern connotation. Although important to Sebastiano Serlio, or even to Giulio Romano, the concept of nature was particularly topical for Gombrich who used it as his central argument to interpret the Palazzo as the Mannerist expression of the artist's inhibitions.[8] This was the first time the Palazzo del Tè was called "Mannerist." In his re-publication of the same text fifty years later, Gombrich used *Cinquecento* references in order to create a precedent for his concept of Mannerism and, therefore, to justify his judgment of Giulio Romano's work. Whereas in his first article, he was interested in the artist alone, later on, encouraged by new trends, he also discussed iconography and patronage. However, his overall approach was somewhat contradictory because of the Hegelian and anti-Hegelian concepts of a work of art, of an artist, and of history which emerge simultaneously from his different texts. In this series of articles, he combined a psychological perception of the artist with a Hegelian concept of a pre-determined history where negative and positive periods succeed each other. By using these two, basically incompatible, concepts borrowed from psychology and history, Gombrich distanced himself from the work of art and created an interpretation of the Palazzo del Tè which is both reductionist and paradoxical.

Gombrich considered the Palazzo del Tè Mannerist. To what degree is this quality intrinsic to the work itself and how much of it is shaped by the art historian?

According to John Shearman, there is no doubt that some sixteenth-century works of art were actually Mannerist.[9] Vasari's fresco cycles for Cosimo de' Medici,

[7]The palazzo seems to be structured on a series of oppositions such as doric and ionic order, falling and regular triglyphs, rusticated and polished columns, smooth and bulging stones. According to Belluzzi and Capezzali *(Il Palazzo dei lucidi inganni, Palazzo Tè, a Mantova,* Mantua, 1976), the north and south wings of the building already existed before Romano's interventions. They agree with Verheyen *(The Palazzo del Tè, Images of Love and Politics,* London, 1976), for whom the West facade was also extant. All three, together with Forster and Tuttle ("The Palazzo del Tè," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* XXX, 1971, 267-93), share the conviction that Romano had to build his palace by adapting it to an initial U-shaped structure with three sides. The East facade with the ionic and polished order would have been added and the three others only modified. According to the previously mentioned authors, the fact that Giulio had to deal with an initial structure explains these unusual features that one encounters in the palace. They believe these features had a specific function which was to unify the uneven structure by creating a common formal theme which would contrast, thus relate the different facades. The same elements were considered as "Mannerist" tricks by other authors such as Gombrich and Hartt, who on the contrary, believe that Romano had full power over his work. According to both of them, Giulio Romano's interventions on the Palazzo were due to his Mannerist tendencies. These two groups of authors could be related to two different trends of art history with, on one hand, connoisseurs, such as Gombrich and Hartt who were mainly concerned with the artist, and on the other, authors interested in the practical, social, and political context of the work of art. As early as 1838, long before Gombrich's first text, the palace was already given a political interpretation in relation to Federico Gonzaga's ambitions. This interpretation finds its continuation in the twentieth century with the writings of Belluzzi and Capezzali, Forster and Tuttle, or Verheyen already mentioned. Whereas the authors interested in the artist saw the duality of the palace as Mannerist, at least since Gombrich's first publication on the Tè in 1934-35, the authors interested in the political aspect attributed it to the work conditions. Gombrich and Hartt think that Romano was free to express his genius whereas Belluzzi, Forster, and Verheyen stress the fact that Giulio did not paint the frescoes himself. They believe Gonzaga was an intransigent patron who made all the decisions and directed Romano.

[8]He quotes Riegl for example: "...la sensibilità si emancipa ed entra in conflitto con la volontà.," Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 67.

[9]For a discussion about Mannerism see John Shearman, *Mannerism,* Harmondsworth, 1967.

Bronzino's *Allegory* of 1534-1540, or Parmigianino's *Madonna al collo lungo,* for example, are in fact usually considered as such. Mannerism has been defined by many twentieth century art historians as a deviation from "naturalistic" art, a term which is usually applied exclusively to the *Cinquecento* style. More recently, it has been considered by social art historians as a form of art which owed its existence to the sponsorship of wealthy patrons.[10] In either case, a similar problem of misinterpretation occurs whenever authors impose value judgments on works of art.

Whereas Mannerist art raises a problem of definition, its theory brings up the question, not often dealt with, of whether the interests it aroused date from the sixteenth century or from much later. According to H. Spencer:

> The current interest in the phenomenon of "Mannerism" in Italian art could be said to have begun in 1914, in a lecture at the University of Freiburg by Walter Friedländer, which was not published until 1925.[11]

Claude Dubois opted for an earlier date. In his annotated bibliography on Mannerism, of 1979, he situated the first signs of interest for Mannerist art in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writings of Gurlitt (1887), Riegl (1908), Busse (1911), and Fröhlich-Bum (1921).[12] One can add to Dubois's list the names of some authors who, one generation later, wrote about Mannerist architecture; apart from Gombrich's text of 1934, some articles were published by Panofsky (1930), Michalsky (1933), Wittkower (1934), and Hoffman (1938).[13]

Having asserted that Mannerist art was first dicussed in the literature of the nineteenth century, Dubois then stated that the concept of Mannerism can even find its source a few centuries earlier, in the *Cinquecento* writings of Dürer (1528), Vasari (1550), Lomazzo (1584), Armenini (1587), and Zuccaro (1607):[14] "Il s'agit là des principaux textes qui ont servi à l'élaboration du concept de 'Maniérisme', et qu'il conviendrait de relire avec des yeux neufs."[15] The *Cinquecento* concept of *maniera* is

[10]Peter Burke writes for example: "Elegant, sophisticated, playful and allusive, Mannerism is an aristocratic style" in *The Renaissance: Studies in European History,* Atlantic Highlands, (NJ), 1987, 53.

[11]Introduction to Nikolaus Pevsner's "The Architecture of Mannerism," in H. Spencer, ed., *Readings in Art History,* II, *The Renaissance to the Present,* New York, 1976, 111. Spencer mentions the date of the first English publication of Friedländer's *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting,* New York, 1957.

[12]Caude Dubois, *Le Maniérisme,* Paris, 1979; C. Gurlitt, *Geschichte des Barock-Stiles in Italien,* Stuttgart, 1887; A. Riegl, *Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom,* Wien, 1908; H. Busse, *Manierismus und Barockstil,* Leipzig, 1911 and L. Fröhlich-Bum, *Parmigianino und der Manierismus,* Wien, 1921.

[13]E. Panofsky, in *Stae del Jahrbuch,* 1930 (see also his *Idea,* Leipzig, 1924); E. Michalsky, in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte,* 1933; R. Wittkower, "Michelangelo's *Biblioteca Laurenziana", Art Bulletin* XVI, 1934 and H. Hoffman, *Hochrenaissance—Manierismus—Frühbarock,* Zurich, 1938. These names are given by Spencer at the end of his text.

[14]A. Dürer, *Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion,* 1528; G. Vasari, *Le vite dei più eccelente pittori...,* Florence, 1550; G. P. Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura,* Milan, 1584; G.B. Armenini, *De' veri precetti della pittura,* Ravenna, 1587 and F. Zuccaro, *L'idea dei Pittori, Scultori ed Architetti,* Turin, 1607.

[15]C. Dubois, *Le Maniérisme,* 212. The word *maniera* in the sense of "way" or "style" was used during the early 1520s but without any pejorative connotation. For a discussion on the concept of *maniera,* see J. Shearman, "*Maniera* as an Aesthetic Ideal," and C. H. Smyth, "Mannerism and Maniera," in *Renaissance and Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, Acts of the XXth International Congress of the History of Art,* II, 1963, 174-221. According to Shearman, the French and Italian words for Mannerism were invented at the end of the eighteenth century, 210-211.

however very different from the modern concept of Mannerism which Dubois related to sixteenth-century art and theory. My purpose here is not to trace the origin of Mannerism in the art or literature of the sixteenth century, but to stress the fact that the pejorative connotations attached to it belong to modern art history which is responsible for labeling certain *Cinquecento* art as "Mannerist," thus clearly disregarding its context and meanings. Whether this bias dates from the end of the nineteenth century, with the 1887 work of Gurlitt for example, or from a generation later in the twentieth century is not clear, but it seems to have been more widespread after the first World War, particularly in Germanic countries where modern art history was being shaped. Ernst Gombrich's writings on Giulio Romano's Palazzo del Tè continued to promote this pejorative concept which had a great impact on later writers such as Dubois.[16]

The Palazzo del Tè was commissioned in 1524 and took ten years to get from its initial form, as stables sheltering Gonzaga's race horses, to the state of a leisure villa which, according to Egon Verheyen, symbolized the erotic and political power of the Marquis of Mantua.[17] An analysis of the literature on the Palazzo del Tè between the second half of the *Cinquecento* and the 1980s reveals three major foci representing different aspects of the Palazzo: the *work* itself, (architecture and/or frescoes);[18] the

[16]His Introduction of 1963 to a series of texts on Mannerism sound less negative than his earlier articles on the Palazzo del Tè; however, his theories are paradoxical and some of the criticism he makes about the prejudiced studies of Mannerist art can be easily applied to his own writings. Moreover, the art history he discusses evolves on a single direction, going only up or down, and he considers it superfluous to apply his general theories to specific works of art. E. Gombrich, Introduction to the section on Mannerism in *Renaissance and Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, Acts of the XXth International Congress of the History of Art,* II, 1963, 163-173.

[17]E. Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, Images of Love and Politics,* London, 1977.

[18]Between the sixteenth century and the nineteenth century, the writings on the Palazzo were often part of repertories generally commissioned and remunerated by a duke or an emperor in control of a given region. The repertories of the palaces of his domains were probably intended to give a favorable image of his power and efficiency. These were the cases of the writings of G. Strada of 1577, in S. Davari, "Descrizione del 'Palazzo del Tè' di Mantova, di Giacomo Strada, illustrata con documenti tratti dell' Archivio Gonzaga" *L'arte,* II, 1899, 248-253; G. Cadioli, *Descrizione delle pitture, sculture ed architetture,* Mantua, Regio ducale, 1763; F. Faccioli, *La sala dei Giganti nel Palazzo del Tè creduta disegno di Giulio Romano dimostrata invenzione,* Verona, Opera di Rinaldo Mantovano, 1833 and C. D'Arco *Storia della vita e delle opere di Giulio Romano,* Mantua, 1838. During the twentieth century, the Palazzo del Tè was sometimes the object of an economic goal such as the encouragement of tourism. It motivated, for example, a government publication: I. Borzi, director of the review, "Le 'Palazzo del Tè' construit par Jules Romain pour Frederic de Gonzague, Seigneur de Mantoue", in *Vie italienne,* XXXe année, Rome, juillet-septembre 1983; as well as tourist guides much more frequently published during the second half of the twentieth century. The other twentieth-century publications are generally written by American and Italian art historians interested in architecture such as K. Forster and R. Tuttle, "The Palazzo del Tè," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* XXX, 1971, 267-293; A. Belluzzi and W. Capezzali, *Il palazzo dei lucidi inganni, Palazzo Tè a Mantova,* Mantua, 1976, or B. Allies, "Palazzo del Tè," *Architectural Review,* CLXXIII, 1983, 59-65; or to French semiologists: P. Boudon, "Blason d'un corps architectural," conference given in Barcelona in 1983 and D. Arasse, "Giulio Romano, le Palais du Té et le labyrinthe de Psyché," Mantua, 1985 (both texts have not been published.)

artist, Giulio Romano;[19] and the *patron*, Federico Gonzaga, in his historical context.[20] Because these categories are recurrent throughout the entire historiography of the Palazzo del Tè, I believe they might be used to analyze art historical literature in general and help situate Gombrich's approach to Giulio Romano's work. These categories, used by art historians as a framework to analyze a given work of art, can be modified and made to apply to a more general art historical context involving more than one work of art. They can be presented as follows: the *style* and the works of art; the personality of the *artist;* and *history* (politics, society, economics, region, culture). The choice of one or more of these categories and the manner of combining them reveal the author's scholarly motivations. These choices correspond also to different art historical approaches and methodologies such as connoisseurship, psychology of art, social and political history of art, philosophy of art, and iconography. An expression like "the style of the epoch" for example would normally involve two of the three categories: style and history. In order to analyze Gombrich's approach to Giulio Romano's work, let us define each category separately:

Style

In this first case, the work is related to other works of art and the study is confined to the field of art history. The changes between two different epochs are

[19]For some art historians, the palace is the direct reflection of Giulio Romano's personality. These authors are usually connoisseurs who consider art history as an autonomous field. They tend to consider the patron as liberal or unimportant and the artist sometimes as an unique phenomenon in history, but more often he is inscribed in a stylistic Mannerist trend where the symbolic values of the work of art are rarely linked to its social or political function. This is the case with G. Vasari, *Le vite*, Milan, 1550 and 1568, 583-587 (of his second edition) and of A. Félibien, *Entretiens sur les vies et sur les ouvrages des plus excellents peintres anciens et modernes*, Trevoux, 1685, 171-192. Some authors are specifically interested in attributing the frescoes to either Giulio Romano or to one of his students, such as F. Faccioli, "La sala dei Giganti;" P. Carpi, "Giulio Romano ai servigi di Federico II Gonzaga," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia Virgiliana*, 11-13, 1920, 24-121 and G. Loukomski, *Giulio Romano*, Paris, 1932. Some others have published monographs on Giulio Romano such as C. D'Arco, "Storia della vita;" Loukomski, *Giulio Romano;* E. Gombrich, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos, Der Palzzo del Tè," in *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, 1934-1935, 79-104 and 121-150 and F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, 2 vols., New Haven, 1958.

[20]As early as 1838, the question of the historical and political context of the Palazzo del Tè was raised and some authors became interested in relating the iconography to Federico Gonzaga's secret alliance with the Spanish emperor, Charles V. These are, in the nineteenth century, C. D'Arco, "Storia della vita" and G. Intra, "Il 'Palazzo del Tè' presso Mantova e le sue vincende storiche" in *Archivio storico Lombardo*, serie II, IV, Milan, 1887, 65-84 and 568-574; and in the twentieth century, A. Luzio, "Il 'Palazzo del Tè' a Mantova", *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, IX, 1906, 137-144; E. Marani and C. Perina, "L'età di Federico II," *Mantova le arti*, II, 1961, 429-489; K. Forster and R. Tuttle, "The Palazzo del Tè", 267-293; A. Belluzzi and W. Capezzali, "Il Palazzo dei lucidi inganni" and E. Verheyen, 1976. These authors tend to look at the Palazzo del Tè from a practical point of view. Some aspects of the palace, such as falling triglyphs, rusticated columns, bulging stones..., which are seen as violent manifestations of Mannerism by the connoisseurs (Gombrich or Hartt), are considered by the "history-authors" as concrete tricks meant to give the architecture some unity. These authors take into account the fact that Giulio Romano's interventions on the architecture were hampered by the presence of the old structure, whereas the authors who were not concerned by the context of production consider Giulio Romano as free and imaginative. Authors such as Verheyen, Belluzzi, or Forster believe he juxtaposes opposite elements (organic/polished, rustic/fiddled...) in order to attenuate the eclectic aspects of the palace.

usually related to an autonomous stylistic drive which is propelled by a fatalist (or Hegelian) "reason." Gombrich himself has expressed a belief in a pre-determined art history which unfolds independently from any historical context and even from individuals:

> ...ogni creazione diventava l'anello necessario di una catena in continuo ed autonomo sviluppo che sembra andar per la sua strada al di là degli individui e delle loro private esperienze.[21]

We shall see later that despite this assertion, the history Gombrich referred to is not really autonomous since he linked it, not only to individuals (artists), but also to the style of the epoch.

The Artist

In this second case, the work of art is related to the personality of the artist, to his problems, and to his so-called "genius."[22] Gombrich who is the author of theoretically significant books such as *The Story of Art* of 1950 and *Art and Illusion* of 1956, believes that art history has to be based on science, and more specifically, on the psychology of perception.[23] His approach might be related to the *milieu* with which he was associated in Vienna, people such as Ernst Kris, Julius von Schlosser, and Sigmund Freud, who were concerned more with human psyche than art history.[24] Gombrich's main interest in the Palazzo del Tè is as an illustration of Giulio Romano's psyche. At the same time, he considers Giulio's style as representative of his epoch:

> Ma appunto questa coincidenza così evidente tra i principi formali di Giulio e quelli della sua epoca sembra a tutta prima destinata a mettere globalmente in discussione le nostre posizione e a rendere di nuovo problematico il fino stesso della nostra ricerca che consiste nel comprendere e precisare l'individualità estetica dell'artista che si esprime nell'opera d'arte.[25]

[21]Gombrich, "Riflessioni", 67.

[22]Hadjinicolaou, in his division of different art historical trends, calls this approach a "history of artists," N. Hadjinicolaou, *Histoire de l'art et lutte des classes,* Paris, 1978.

[23]E. Gombrich, *The Story of Art,* Oxford, 1950.; E. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion. A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation,* London, 1972 (first ed. 1950). For a critique on the way Gombrich considers a work of art as a perceptual rather than conceptual object see Norman Bryson's Introduction to his *Vision and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze,* New Haven, 1983.

[24]Ernst Gombrich was born in Vienna in 1909. Between the two different approaches of his time, that of Dvoràk, and that of Trigofsky, he adhered to the first one until he settled his affinities with some psychologists such as J. von Schlosser and E. Kris. He was also familiar with Sigmund Freud's psychoanalysis. In 1936, he left for London where he worked at the Warburg Institute which was not an "art historical institute," as he pointed out in "Sir Ernst Gombrich, An Autobiographical Sketch and Discussion," lecture at Rutgers University, March 30th, 1987, published in the *Rutgers Art Review,* VIII, 1987, 123-41.

[25]Gombrich, "Riflessioni", 67.

There is a major contradiction between Gombrich's concepts of an independent genius-artist with a somewhat disturbed psyche on one hand and on the other, that of an artist who fits perfectly in the epoch which he represents. The natural conclusion that emerges from this reasoning is that the whole epoch is as disturbed as Giulio is believed to be. With the help of some principles borrowed from the field of psychology, Gombrich established general schemes of behavior and typified models of work, artist, style, and epoch, each one representative of the other. The work, the artist, and the epoch he discussed are all seen as driven by either a rational and positive power acting in parallel with nature, or by an impulsive and negative one struggling against it. Giulio Romano is considered as the unique and immutable product of a negative period called Mannerist.

History

In the third case, where the work of art is related to elements outside the field of art (such as history, politics, culture, society, economics), two tendencies might be mentioned; the first one considers art as a reflection or as a reaction to the climate of the epoch (*Zeitgeist*), and the second one sees art as an active component of history. Gombrich refutes the first tendency and the idea that art can follow, and not lead, the historical movement. His theoretical position would have been stronger had it not led him to neglect the importance of the patron.[26] Gombrich approved and refuted at the same time the idea that the Palazzo del Tè could be a reflection of the epoch. He asserted the Hegelian notion that the Palazzo del Tè represents the style of its epoch, yet he disagreed, as strongly as possible, with the Hegelian concept of *Geistesgeschichte,* implying that a work of art is related not only to the style of the epoch but also to a wider historical context from which Gombrich wanted to dissociate it.

Gombrich's analysis loses its coherence as it advances contradictory relationships among his three concepts of style, artist, and historical context. An ideal analysis would, in my opinion, avoid any contradictions between all three concepts by allowing enough room for each of them, even if the specific analysis focuses on one aspect in particular. When one of the three concepts is given too much importance at the expense of the others the result is incomplete and problematic, especially if the author wants to situate the work in a historical continuity. For example, when the style or the formal solutions are not given their due importance, the work of art is often seen as simply reflecting the *Zeitgeist,* as is the case in Hauser's work on Mannerism.[27] When the artist is given too much importance, the work can be seen as a reflection of his personality or of his psyche, as is the case with Gombrich's analyses. When the historical context is neglected, no discussion of either the artist or the work of art itself can yield a complete analysis. A Wölfflinian,

[26]The historical-political approach is generally considered as a "modern" one. Yet, as early as the nineteenth century, as mentioned earlier, the Palazzo del Tè was already interpreted in this vein by C. D'Arco and other authors after him.

[27]A. Hauser, *Mannerism, The Crisis of the Renaissance and the Origin of Modern Art,* trans. E. Mosbacher, New York, 1965.

or purely formalist, discussion of style is, in my opinion, one of the least paradoxical examples of this tendency because the author does not attempt to explain the reasons for stylistic changes and the formal analysis is so isolated from any outside context that it does not create any contradiction internal to the argument.[28] In most of the other writings in this vein, the historical context is replaced by another reference, usually the concept of "Nature." In this analytical framework, the works of art are classified on a qualitative scale according to the criteria of mimesis: their success is dependent on their resemblance to nature.[29] When pushed to its extreme, this method results in a pre-determined and progressive linear history zigzagging between rises and declines according to the degree of conformity assigned to the art in relation to the model of nature.[30]

Gombrich uses the concept of nature in two significant ways, not only to establish a comparison between art and nature, but also to relate this concept to the artist himself. His starting point is an evaluation of the work of art, not as a concept or as an idea, but in terms of its resemblance to nature. In his *Art and Illusion,* for example, he attempts an impossible task which consists in pinpointing the perceptual aspects of an initial object which, presumably, will be used as a model for a work of art. The difficulties of this method are tremendous since any work of art is the result of various factors, some of which are ungraspable. Its implications are problematic since only two results can be achieved: a good or a bad copy of the model. Gombrich considers the Palazzo del Tè peculiar in its visual non-resemblance to nature or to the outside world. His other use of the concept of nature, one with Renaissance connotations, is that of a creative and active nature (*natura naturans*) with which the creative artist competes. Gombrich believes that the conflict between man and nature expresses nothing more than Giulio's personal and psychological ambiguity.

Gombrich's various writings on the Palazzo del Tè can be related to one or more of the three categories of style, artist, and history. His first article of 1934-35, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos, Der Palazzo del Te," is one of his first writings, since it was his *lauréa.*[31] It was presented at the Philosophy Department of the University of Vienna and was supervised by Julius von Schlosser, a psychologist and art historian, successor of Riegl, who wrote the *Kunstliteratur* of 1924.[32] Gombrich would later dedicate his *Art and Illusion* to him.

In this text, the young Gombrich makes clear the two fundamental aspects he sees in art history: the *style of the epoch,* and more importantly, the *artist* himself. He

[28]H. Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History, The Problem of the Development of Style in Later Art,* trans. M. D. Hottinger, New York, 1950.

[29]There is a common prejudice about Mannerist artists who supposedly lacked confidence in themselves and chose to copy their predecessors rather than nature.

[30]In his Introduction to *Art and Illusion* Gombrich first questions the notion of progress in art and ends up by approving it a few pages later, Gombrich, *Art and Illusion,* 3-25. Being a very skilled writer, Gombrich manages often to present issues in a paradoxical way which allows partisans of any school to find their point of view. See also his "Mannerism: The Historiographic Background," *Norm and Form,* New York, 1978 (1966), 99-106.

[31]Gombrich, "Zum Werke Giulio Romanos, Der Palazzo del Tè," 79-104 and 121-150. This term probably stands for his Master's thesis ("Staats Examen" or "Diplomarbeit").

[32]He left Vienna for England when the Nazis gained power.

wants to be distanced from some of his "Hegelian" contemporaries who consider art as a direct reflection of the "Counter-Reformation crisis."[33] Gombrich is fiercely opposed to this current, which partly explains why he did not expand on the historical context of the Palazzo del Tè. Thus, one can associate him with the first and second categories of style and artist, and not with the third one of historical context. One can presume that this choice was deliberate since, even if the historical approach was not as popular as it is today, the issue had long been a concern for some nineteenth- and early twentieth-century authors (see n. 20).

Gombrich often criticizes Hegelian approaches; he does, however borrow from Hegel when he adopts and applies the idea of "crisis" to the personality of the artist, whom he sees as a model who bears the signs of his epoch. He also considers him as the unique source for all the characteristics and components of the work and writes, for example, *à propos* the theme of the Sala dei Cavalli: "Un tema così singolare appartiene soltante ed esclusivamente al suo (Giulio's) linguaggio" thus relating the theme to the artist alone.[34] It is agreed upon, however, that the iconography of the room was meant to stress the power of the patron who commissioned the artist to build the palace out of his stables and to decorate it with themes referring to his own private history.[35] Knowing that Gombrich regards the artist as the sole source of the stylistic characteristics of a whole epoch, it is not surprising to see him emphasize his originality and his imagination: "Il duca sembra dar più libero gioco all'inesaurabile fertilità e richezza fantastica delle idee del suo artista di corte."[36] In this interpretation the patron is hardly ever mentioned.[37] It is implied that Giulio, who has a "facultà imaginativa mai vista", is the sole creator of everything that has been done in the palace.[38] The entire project is described as if it were the natural and spontaneous extension of the artist. The palace is seen as the expression of Giulio's personality, of his anguish, his phantasies, his obsessions and oppressions.[39] They appear as a "conflitto" or a "gioco di forze" in the architecture. The form is "dolorosamente liberata dalla massa" and appears as a paradoxical "architettura/non-architettura," "forma/non-formata," or "finito/non-formato."[40]

Romano's choices, which are considered as the result of positive and negative tensions that can be formalized only through violent imagery, are seen as the

[33]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 68. (We shall consistently refer to the more recent 1984 Italian version rather than the 1934-35 German edition.)

[34]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 35.

[35]According to Gombrich himself, the iconography of the room was based on Malicus' *Astronomica* and on Firmicus Maternus' antique *Matheseos Libri VIII* which were adapted to Gonzaga's own history, Gombrich, "The Sala dei Venti", 109. See also n. 7 and n. 20.

[36]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 49.

[37]Only a few sentences are devoted to Gonzaga; he mentions Federico's cultural *milieu* which made him a lover of the arts and the fact that he tried to have Michelangelo decorate the Palazzo for him, Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 49.

[38]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 51. The word "initiatives" is used on purpose; Gombrich tends to avoid practical or social questions and relates the solutions in the palace solely to the realm of Romano's unconscious.

[39]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 33 and 53.

[40]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 23, 24, 27, and 31. He also writes: "L'elemento non-formale debba impegnarsi in un conflitto tragico fino alla distruzione della forma," 31. For more details on the quality of the palace, see n 7.

fatalistic and involuntary results of the psychological constitution of *homo sapiens*. It is in the rustication of the stone, in the Sala dei Giganti (figs. 2 and 3) or in the *Fall of Phaeton* that Gombrich reads the expression of a psychic tension between sensibility and will, between emotion and resistance.[41] According to him, the Palazzo represents an opposition between the two extremes he recognizes in the Sala degli Stucchi and the Sala dei Giganti, one representing control, harmony, and rationalism, as is found in Raphael, and the other one chaos, confusion, anguish, uncontrolled expression, and tormented dissonance[42]: "La disarmonia è portata fino alla più stridente dissonanza, il conflitto tragico fino all'ineluttabile catastrofe e all'incubo più angosioso."[43]

In his attempt to use psychology to establish art history on a scientific basis, Gombrich interprets the Palazzo as an opposition between man and nature and omits from his analysis the social dimension as represented by the patron's point of view, despite the fact that it has been a factor in the historiography since the nineteenth century.[44] The opposition borrowed by the author from a psychological model reduces the artist as well as the work to a positive/negative scheme which is then extrapolated to stylistic and historic dimensions.[45] The oppositions "finito/non-formato" and "architettura/non-architettura" that Gombrich related to the duality between man and nature are now further extended and expected to represent the "classical and anti-classical" or "rational and irrational" trends of Renaissance and Mannerist art.[46] The history that Gombrich conceives is pre-determined and reduced to a chain of positive and negative periods that alternate by reaction or opposition. Donald Posner described this principle as "...the tendency of a generation to revolt against the principles and teachings of its fathers and to take up the ideals of its 'grand-fathers'."[47]

Gombrich considers Giulio Romano as representative of a negative epoch and he sees his work as "un opera che vale come immagine ideale delle tendenze e delle

[41]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 54-55. He also says: "...l'espressione di un'emozione psichica," 33.

[42]"Catastrofa della forma," "forme disturbate," "dissonanze tormentose," "forza inquietante" and others, Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 33 and 47.

[43]It can be translated: The disharmony is carried to its most strident dissonance, and the tragical conflict stretched to the uneluctable catastrophy and to the most anguishing nightmare; Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 47.

[44]See n. 7 and n. 20.

[45]Other art historical texts were written in this vein such as A. Hauser's *Mannerism*. René Huyghe and Charles Lalo are used as examples of this tendency by N. Hajinicolaou, *Histoire de l'art*, 29-30.

[46]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 24, 27, and 31; it raises the problem of the common pejorative judgment ascribed to Mannerist art. N. Hadjinicolaou considers the application of psychology and psychoanalysis to art history as problematic, especially when the analysis goes beyond the individual and extends to history:

> Si ces attitudes sont légitimes du point de vue de la psychologie, elles ne le sont pas du point de vue de l'histoire de l'art qui a un tout autre objet.... Comment légitimer ce saut qui consiste en une translation d'un personnage à une période historique? Selon quel droit les motivations psychiques d'individus peuvent-elles être considérées comme des faits historiques? (Hadjinicolaou, *Histoire de l'art*, 32 and 34.)

[47]See Posner's Introduction of 1964 to W. Friedländers *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Art*, New York, 1965, xvii. Hadjinicolaou explains also how a historical phenomenon can be interpreted as "une révolte contre le père," Hadjinicolaou, *Histoire de l'art*, 35.

aspirazioni del suo tempo."[48] These two concepts of a fatalist history and of an artist representative of it denote Gombrich's Hegelian tendencies even though he disclaims the Hegelian *Geistesgeschichte*, popular in his day: "che ogni periodo doveva essere l'espressione del suo proprio tempo."[49] This ambiguous position toward his Hegelian tendencies is probably due to Gombrich's deep-seated hostility to any mode of thought resembling a historical materialist or Marxist approach. His attitude is also typical of the way *Cinquecento* art has been negatively evaluated as "Mannerist." Based on the negative aspect of crisis, his method of analysis of the Palazzo del Tè cannot be used as a paradigm for other works of art.[50] The two factors he considers central to art history are obscured.[51] The artist is relieved of all possibility of intelligent and thoughtful intervention, and his stylistic history is shaped around virtually one artist, Giulio, leaving no room for contemporaries except, to a lesser degree, Michelangelo and his *Fall of the Damned*. The sociohistorical context and the patron's point of view are ignored.

We see from this first text that Gombrich's model reduces his analysis to a bipolarity. Because he does not consider the practical, political, and social context, his psychological analysis becomes a-historical. His autonomous and independent art history could not, as is the case with Wölfflin for example, result in an incomplete but still viable system, since all the possibilities are reduced to an interminable chain of oppositions.[52] Starting from a metaphysical duality between man and nature, a seductive idea when approached philosophically, Gombrich proposes an equally attractive opposition between fictitious space and real space. However, burdened with the determinism of his double heritage, both Hegelian and psychological, he ends up with a preconceived history where powerless human beings are subject to the fatal fluctuations that animate humankind.[53] The artist, the primary focus, who is supposed to symbolize his epoch, is presented as a being whose formal choices are beyond his will. The style of the epoch, Gombrich's second concern, is reduced to the manifestations of worry and anguish that a single artist illustrates for an entire century.

In 1950, Gombrich published an article entitled "The 'Sala dei Venti' in the Palazzo Tè" which he devoted to the iconographical study of the painted medallions of the room.[54] Whereas in his first analysis he used the Palace to illustrate a psychological theory, Gombrich now based his arguments on texts and images. His iconographical approach to the astrological program adapted by sixteenth-century

[48]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 23.

[49]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 18.

[50]Hartt seems to belong to the same trend. His monograph on Giulio Romano is nonetheless thoroughly researched and documented and deals more with iconography, F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano*, 2 vols., New Haven, 1958.

[51]"Questa indagine sull'edificio cerca di dare riposta alle due fondamentale questioni che stanno alle base della ricerca storico-artistica: sia cioè del punto di vista monografico (...) ma sia anche dal punto di vista della storia dello stile...," Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 23.

[52]Wölfflin is only concerned with style (we already mentioned his *Principles of Art History*), but he does not impose on it positive or negative value judgments.

[53]Gombrich considers himself as vociferously anti-Hegelian.

[54]E. Gombrich, "The 'Sala dei Venti' in the Palazzo Tè", *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XIII, 1950, 189-201. Also in E. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance*, New York, 1978 (1972), 109-118.

humanists to Federico Gonzaga's history is well researched and documented and presents a great contrast with his first text where he mentioned only the artist.[55] Here, the iconography relates essentially to the patron:

> When Giulio Romano built and decorated the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, he was apparently instructed to select for his fresco cycles themes relating to the dynastic symbolism of the Gonzaga.[56]

Gombrich's change of methodology between 1935 and 1950 is not due to the influence of subsequent writings on the Palazzo del Tè since only one text (a tourist guide) was published between these two dates. It is probably due to the nature of his topic which can hardly be limited to the artist's point of view. It might also bear the influence of other art historical writings, such as Panofsky's iconographical analyses. The article of 1950 which takes the patron into account remains nonetheless an isolated case in this series of Gombrich's articles since his subsequent texts on the palazzo deal again with the artist alone. Moreover, Gombrich remains cautious in the way he refers the reader from one text to another. Whereas his writings concerning Giulio Romano are all connected and refer to one another, this article on the Sala dei Venti is not mentioned in his later texts, nor does it contain any reference to the previous article of 1934-1935.

In 1981, Gombrich wrote a short article for an exhibition catalogue on the Gonzaga family: "That Rare Italian Master, Giulio Romano, Court Architect, Painter and Impresario."[57] In this work the art is more comprehensively contextualized since the author took into account some documents used by Hartt and Verheyen. However, Gombrich did not mention the humanists responsible for the various iconographical programs as he did in his article on the Sala dei Venti. Here the tone is one essentially of eulogy and the emphasis on his artistic qualities, as one can guess from the title of the article. The basic presumption, that the artist and the patron were in perfect harmony, an ideal often presented by people writing on the Palazzo del Tè, is here used to the advantage of the artist. Gonzaga's well known rudeness is turned into a positive eagerness and interest for Romano's work:[58]

> But this large team, although kept at work continuously, never satisfied the Marchese's impatience. The way he urged and pressed the painter to complete the work testifies to his interest.[59]

[55]For the humanist sources for the iconographic program see n. 35.
[56]Gombrich, "The Sala dei Venti," 109.
[57]E. Gombrich, "That Rare Italian Master, Giulio Romano, Court Architect, Painter and Impresario," 77-85.
[58]The thesis of the harmonious relationship between artist and patron has been used by different authors, in order to stress each one's concerns for the artist, the palace, or the patron. It has been used with the assumption that Giulio was completely free in his artistic choices (by Gombrich and Hartt for example) or with the assumption that Romano was only obeying his patron's will (by Verheyen for example).
[59]Gombrich, "That Rare Italian Master", 79.

This argument, which continues to emphasize the artist's "fertile imagination," is however more convincing since Gombrich took into account some of the difficulties Giulio had to overcome, as for example the fact that he had to adapt his architectural plans to a pre-existing structure.

Gombrich's latest publication on the same topic dates from 1984. It appeared in the first issue of the *Quaderni di Palazzo del Tè* under the title: "Il Palazzo del Tè: Riflessioni su mezzo secolo di fortuna critica (Reflections on Half a Century of Literature on the Palazzo del Tè): 1932-1982. L'opera di Giulio Romano."[60] Despite the title, this text is merely a translation of the article of 1934-1935, with an addendum of four introductory pages commenting briefly on the *fortuna critica*. Gombrich used these four pages primarily to justify his interpretation of the Palace by relating his article to *Cinquecento* writings as well as twentieth-century reflections on Mannerism. Despite the extensive literature published on the topic during this period of half a century, Gombrich referred the reader to only five of the numerous authors who wrote on the Palazzo, including himself.[61] A few sentences are dedicated to Verheyen and to Forster and Tuttle whereas John Shearman and Piera Carpi are only mentioned, the first one in the text and the other in a foot-note.[62] The remaining authors who are discussed do not belong to the fifty-year period of *fortuna critica* since they did not devote any writing to the Palazzo del Tè.[63]

If we analyze the content of the four introductory pages, we soon realize that, despite the article of 1950 on the Sala dei Venti, after fifty years, Gombrich's positions are the same.[64] He still considers Giulio Romano's work as "bizzarra;" he is

[60]Gombrich, "Riflessioni."

[61]He mentions his first German article of 1934-1935 and his third one published in the Catalogue *Splendours of the Gonzaga*, but avoids the article on the Sala dei Venti which deals with Gonzaga iconography. Besides Gombrich, the authors who wrote on the Palazzo del Tè during these five decades are: R. Carrieri (1939), G. Paccagnini (1957), T. Mullaly (1958), F. Hartt (1958 and 1972), G. N. Fasola (1960), E. Marani and C. Perina (1961), J. Shearman (1967), U. Tibaldi (1967), E. Verheyen (1967, 1972, and 1977), K. Forster (1971 and 1976) and R. Tuttle (1971), P. Carpeggiani (1972 and 1975), A. Belluzzi and W. Capezzali (1973 and 1976), R. Castagna (1976 and 1985), B. Guttmuller (1977), R. Avraham (1977), G. M. Erbesato (1981), C. Hope (1981), R. Vantaggi (1982), *Vie italienne* (1983), B. Allies (1983), P. Boudon (1983) and D. Arasse (1985). For a more detailed bibliography, see F. Hartt, *Giulio Romano* or E. Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Tè*.

[62]Verheyen, 1976; K. Forster and R. Tuttle, "The Palazzo del Tè," 267-293; Gombrich mentions K. Forster's Introduction to A. Belluzzi and W. Capezzali's *Il Palazzo dei lucidi inganni, Palazzo Tè a Mantova*, Mantua, 1976, without discussing Belluzzi and Capezzali's crucial contribution to the topic. J. Shearman's text is "Giulio Romano: tradizione, licenze, artifici," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura, Andrea Palladio*, IX, 1967, 354-368; and P. Carpi's article is "Giulio Romano ai servigi di Federico II Gonzaga," *Atti e memorie della R. Accademia Virgiliana*, XI-XIII, 1920, 24-121. Gombrich seems to suggest that he was not enthusiastic about the idea of republishing his old text:

> ...Non pensavo di poter dare un contributo valido, giacchè i miei interessi mi avevano portato verso problemi completamente diversi nella storia e nella teoria dell'arte. Ma poichè essi insistevano, ho riflettuto che forse i miei ricordi avrebbero potuto offrire un certo interesse ai giovani colleghi. (Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 17.)

[63]The only author whose writing is related to the Palazzo del Tè is Serlio. The other writers Gombrich discusses are Goethe, Cicerone, Castiglione...etc.. Giulio Romano attempts to justify his interpretation of Mannerism by stating its presence in Cinquecento literature as well as in twentieth-century art historical writings around the 1930s when he published his first article. The introduction is in fact a justification of Gombrich's own text and relates to his writings more often than to the *fortuna critica*.

[64]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 17-21.

still primarily interested in the psychic aspects of "violenza e terrore" as he insists that these aspects are characteristic of Mannerism which he sees as a "stile di conflitti non risolti."[65] As he did fifty years ago, he projects Giulio as an example of a stylistic progression where the sixteenth century is the negation of the fifteenth century. Unfortunately, this principle is even extended to wider dimensions and Gombrich applies "his theory," as he writes, to an opposition between classical art and the art of Picasso, another case where a single artist is expected to be representative of a whole epoch.[66] According to Gombrich, the sixteenth century and the twentieth century are both epochs characterized by the loss of innocence.

After half a decade Gombrich is apparently overwhelmed by new or different approaches and sorry to see that only Hartt has seen fit to follow his example.[67] Although he candidly mentions a public apology he made to Verheyen in 1980 for the "phantasms" he applied to Giulio, he rejects again the Hegelian *Geistesgeschichte* popular in his day and still considers Mannerism as the symptom of a spiritual malaise revealing of the artist's psyche.[68] He mentions Sigmund Freud and Ernst Kris and discusses the principle of inhibition. He finally tries to use Wittkower to back up his theories by saying that his interpretation of Mannerism was similar to his own.[69] But there is a considerable gap between their two approaches, as one is psychological, and the other iconographical. After having analyzed Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana, Wittkower noticed that in the sixteenth century there existed an architectural tendency that was neither Classical nor Baroque. He analyzed Michelangelo's work with its practical and contextual characteristics and compared it with an earlier and later one (the Palazzo Rucellai and Sta. Susanna). Only in his conclusion did he call the Biblioteca Mannerist and if this labelling were to be challenged, his argument would not lose its impact. Gombrich, on the contrary, postulates that the Palazzo del Tè is Mannerist, before examining or analyzing it. His theory would not stand in the face of any challenge to the idea of a Mannerist art produced in a negative epoch.[70]

What happened to style, artist, and history? It is always a difficult task for an art historian to interpret the style of an artist in connection with the latter's epoch.

[65]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 17.

[66]Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 19.

[67]Hartt, *Giulio Romano;* see also his interpretation of Mannerist art in his already-mentioned article, "Power and the Individual in Mannerist Art" in *Renaissance and Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, Acts of the XXth International Congress of the History of Art,* II, 1963, 222-238.

[68]"Posso essere accusato anch'io di aver fantasticato? Fino ad un certo punto, sì." He adds nonetheless that it is a subjective question; Gombrich, *"Riflessioni,"* 18. He considers Shearman, Carpeggiani, Forster and Tuttle to be in the same category as Verheyen, whose opinion on the palace differs from his. For a political study on the palace, see Verheyen, *The Palazzo del Tè, Images of Love and Politics;* A. Belluzzi and W. Capezzali, *Il palazzo dei lucidi inganni, Palazzo Tè a Mantova,* Introduction by K. Forster, Mantua, 1976 and K. Forster and R. Tuttle, "The Palazzo del Tè," 267-293.

[69]"Non può essere pura coincidenza che mentre Io scrivevo la mia analisi del palazzo, Wittkower, che non conoscevo nemmeno, stesse lavorando al suo ben noto saggio sulla biblioteca Laurenziana di Michelangelo in cui dà un'interpretazione del Manierismo molto simile alla mia." Gombrich, "Riflessioni," 17-18. See also Wittkower, 1934.

[70]For a discussion about the writings of Gombrich and Wittkower, see W. Lotz, "Mannerism in Architecture: Changing Aspects," in *Renaissance and Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, Acts of the XXth International Congress of the History of Art,* II, 1963, 239-246.

Gombrich dealt with history and style in a broad view; he was concerned with Mannerist style in general rather than by the specific iconographic context of the Palazzo del Tè. He considered art as a reflection of the artist's personality and searched in the Palace for the expression of Giulio's anguish; the work of art he analyzed was thus considered as an illustration for a psychological model, his real point of interest. Gombrich neglected the practical and historical context of the Palazzo del Tè and, instead, projected Giulio's example to an abstract and unspecified concept which he calls "the style of the epoch." His concept of art history can be seen as typical of a period molded by Darwinian, Hegelian, and Freudian influences, and resulted in his case in a contradictory analysis which is at the same time Hegelian and anti-Hegelian. The concept of pre-determined history which emerges from Gombrich's texts on the Palazzo del Tè implies the existence of timeless genius-artists who float, unconnected to a political or social context, succeeding each other. Each is devoid of contemporaries, and occupies one available place in history. The artist or the epoch he discusses can be prized or despised, brilliant or "Mannerist," but they are always considered in relation to the negative aspect of "reaction" or "crisis." The historical changes are conceived only as reversals, either "at the turn of the century" or when the torch is handed to the new genius about whom we will know only as either a positive or negative force.

By inserting a universal, timeless artist into a pre-determined history, Gombrich used two incompatible concepts that short-circuited his interpretation. The Palazzo del Tè was reduced to the psychic expression of Giulio Romano who himself was forced into a rigid historical pattern of bipolarities that negated his artistic potential.

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Thomas Worthington Whittredge: Home by the Sea

MEREDITH ARMS

During the 1870s and 1880s, Thomas Worthington Whittredge painted at least seven versions of the same scene in Newport, Rhode Island (figs. 1-4).[1] These paintings depicted a wide expanse of beach and sky—features which were commonly found in paintings of Rhode Island—yet, Whittredge did not choose to make these features the compositional focus of his works, and concentrated instead on a large, shingled, eighteenth-century farmhouse. Seen within the context of Whittredge's biography, these nostalgia-laden works reflect Whittredge's personal longing for his ancestral home and his private delight in architectural forms. More important, the works exist as early records of an interest in the colonial architecture of eighteenth-century America, prior to the period of its widespread popularity following the Centennial Exhibition in 1876.

Whittredge was born in Ohio in 1820, the son of a former New England sea captain and the only child of the family born outside the New England area.[2] At age seventeen, he left the family farm near Springfield, Ohio, and moved to Cincinnati, where he was employed as a house painter by his brother-in-law. He subsequently shifted his interests to sign painting, daguerreotypes, portraiture, and finally, landscape painting. Whittredge spent ten years in Europe painting in such locales as Rome, Paris, Düsseldorf, and Switzerland. Upon his return to America, he set up a studio in the Tenth Street Studio Building in New York, and served as President of the National Academy of Design from 1874 to 1877. His American subjects included scenes of the West, the Rhode Island shore, and the New Jersey countryside. Whittredge died in 1910, at his home in Summit, New Jersey, where he had lived the last thirty years of his life.

Whittredge's Rhode Island works are often overlooked in the small body of critical literature which concerns the artist.[3] Historians have focused instead on his travels to Europe and the West, as well as on his firmly established position as one of the Hudson River School painters. For example, a catalogue of nineteenth-century landscapes published by the Vassar College Art Gallery describes Whittredge as one

[1]Noted in R. Workman, *The Eden of America; Rhode Island Landscapes, 1820-1920*, Providence, 1986, 52. These works, the first three of which were painted in 1872, were titled *A Home by the Sea* (fig. 1), *A Home by the Seaside* (fig. 2), *Home by the Sea* (fig. 3), (all c. 1872), *Old Homestead by the Sea* (1883) (fig. 4), *The Old Homestead, Newport, Rhode Island* (c. 1876-78), *Coast, Newport, Rhode Island* (c. 1883-85), *Newport Beach, Rhode Island* (n.d.).

[2]For biographical information, see J. Baur, ed., *The Autobiography of Worthington Whittredge*, New York, 1969; Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute, *Worthington Whittredge Retrospective*, exh. cat., Utica, N.Y., 1969.

[3]For example, C. Cibulka, *Quiet Places; The American Landscapes of Worthington Whittredge*, Washington, D.C., 1982; also M. Baigell, *A Concise History of American Painting and Sculpture*, New York, 1984, 83-84. Whittredge's Rhode Island works include *Second Beach, Newport* (1878-80), *A Breezy Day-Sakonnet Point, Rhode Island* (1880) and *Second Beach, Newport*, (1881).

1. Thomas Worthington Whittredge, *A Home by the Sea*, ca. 1872, oil on canvas. Greensburg, PA, Westmoreland Museum of Art, William A. Coulter Fund (photo: Westmoreland Museum of Art)

2. Thomas Worthington Whittredge, *A Home by the Seaside*, 1872, oil on canvas. Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art, William Randolph Hearst Collection (photo: Los Angeles County Museum of Art)

3. Thomas Worthington Whittredge, *Home by the Sea*, 1872, oil on canvas. Andover, MA, Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy (photo: Don Snyder)

4. Thomas Worthington Whittredge, *Old Homestead by the Sea*, ca. 1872, oil on canvas. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, M. and M. Karolik Collection (photo: Museum of Fine Arts)

of the finer artists of the second generation Hudson River School.[4] Recently though, Whittredge's Rhode Island works have received critical attention in Robert Workman's catalogue for the Rhode Island School of Design entitled *The Eden of America; Rhode Island Landscapes, 1820-1920.*[5] Workman, however, does not delve very deeply into either the artist's personal motivations behind such works or the context in which they were executed.

His autobiography reveals that Whittredge had strong personal connections and associations with Newport. He stated:

> This part of the New England littoral, the paradise of summer dwellers, had great charm for me, though of a different character from the fascinations it always seemed to possess for the fashionable people. I had heard much of it and the neighborhood surrounding it when I was a child, and many things I saw seemed perfectly familiar to me, although never seen before. Many years had passed since I had heard stories related of such-and-such a house, or this cranberry patch, or that whaling ship coming in laden with oil. And, here and there the story of an old cat taken away from the fireside when the ship started out and, after an absence of three years or more, the first to get on shore and find her way through bog and fen to the old fireside, always arriving a little before the captain. In short it was the land of my forefathers.[6]

Whittredge's innate sense of intimacy with the landscape of Rhode Island must also have been combined with a certain sense of longing, for as the youngest child in the family, he was the only one who was not born and raised in New England. He also comments in his autobiography that his siblings delighted in telling tales of life near the sea, which he was "doomed" to hear.[7]

In addition to personal associations, this group of Rhode Island works reflects an awareness of, and an interest in, the built environment.[8] Whittredge's familiarity with architecture, and architectural detail, may have been aroused during his tenure as a house painter for his brother-in-law when he was seventeen. He states, "I had come to Cincinnati to learn a trade and my brother-in-law set me at it immediately. I was told that I must begin at the bottom and I did. I was set to work painting the baseboards in a new house and was kept doubled up on the floor with a heavy brush

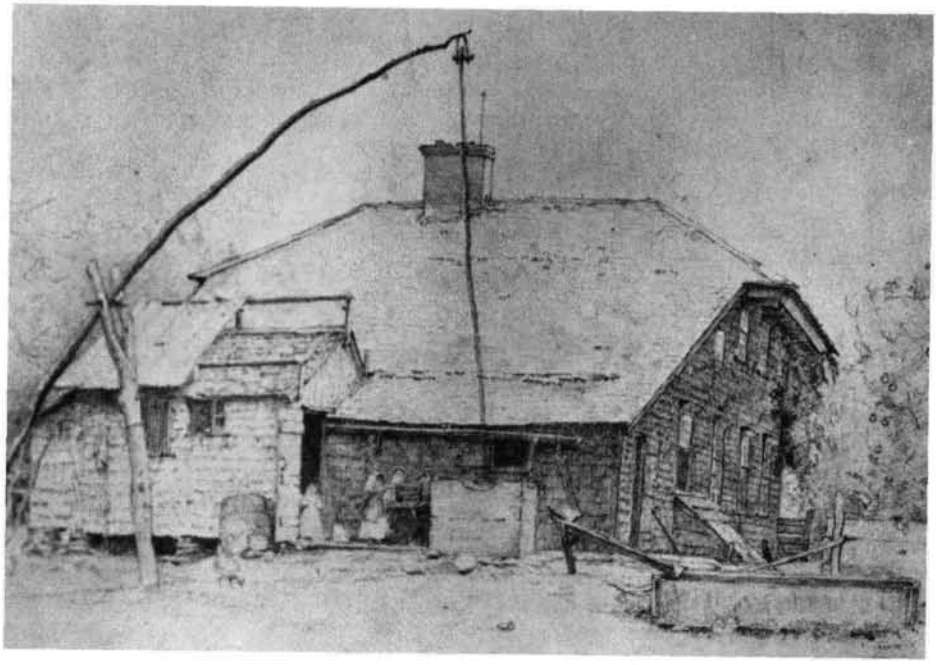
[4]Vassar College Art Gallery, *All Seasons and Every Light; Nineteenth Century American Landscapes,* exh. cat., Poughkeepsie, N.Y., 1983, 88.

[5]Workman, 51-54.

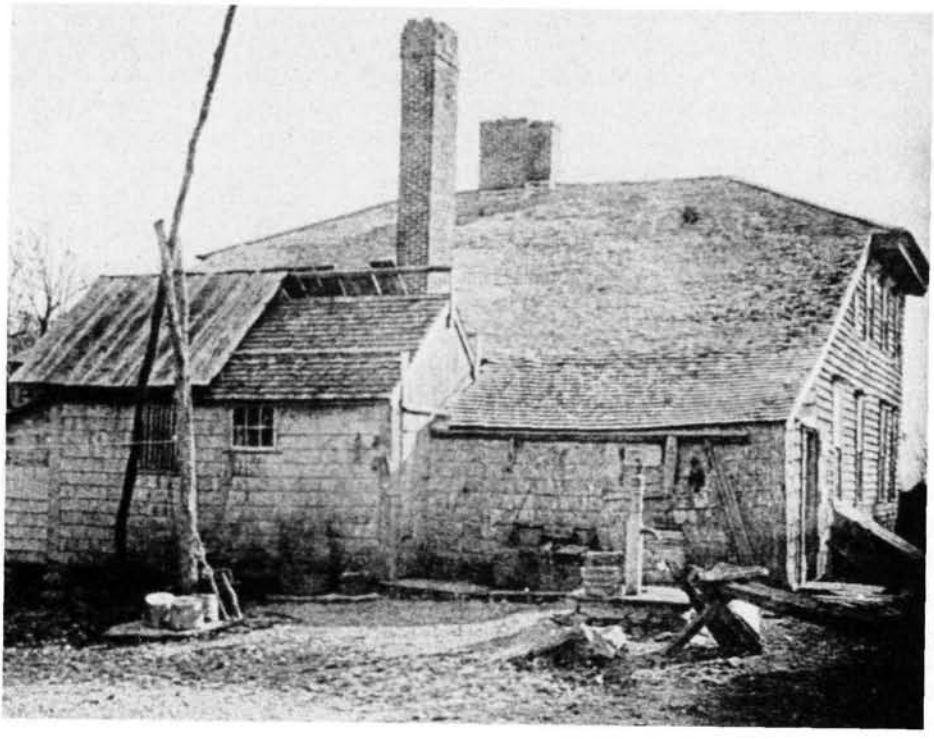
[6]Baur, 63.

[7]Baur, 7.

[8]Architecture figures prominently in the works of Whittredge throughout his career. In the 1850s, he painted *Interior of a Westphalian Cottage* and *Arrapahoe Lodge;* in the 1860s, he painted at least six interiors, including *Retrospection* of 1864. A work of 1877 entitled *Geneva House* illustrated the home of his father-in-law—an imposing mansion in Geneva, New York with colossal doric columns. Whittredge collaborated with Eastman Johnson on several interior scenes, such as *Sunday Morning New England* of the 1860s. For these collaborations, Johnson executed the human figures, while Whittredge delineated the detailed architectural settings. (See B. Mitnick, *Worthington Whittredge: Artist of the Hudson River School,* exh. cat., Morris Museum of Arts and Sciences, Morristown, N.J., 1982.)



5. Thomas Worthington Whittredge, *"Whitehall," Bishop Berkeley's House, Newport, RI*, 1879, drawing. Location unknown (photo: Munson-Williams-Proctor, 29)



6. "Whitehall," Bishop Berkeley's House, Newport, RI. (photo: *New York Sketchbook of Architecture*, New York, 1874, reproduced in Downing and Scully)

in my hand for ten hours a day."[9] While this experience did not provide Whittredge with an entirely pleasant introduction to architecture, it certainly allowed him to develop an intimacy with it, and in all his works, architecture is described with care and attention to detail.

A comparison of Whittredge's drawing, *Bishop Berkeley's House, Newport, Rhode Island,* of 1877 (fig. 5) with his *Old Homestead by the Sea,* of 1883 (fig. 4) provides insights into the extent of his interest in describing architectural forms and his accuracy in their execution. The relationship between Whittredge and Berkeley has been chronicled in detail by Sadayoshi Omoto in his article "Berkeley and Whittredge at Newport," published in *The Art Quarterly.*[10]

Omoto notes that when Whittredge came to Newport, he was fascinated by its old architecture. In 1877, he made the detailed drawing of Berkeley's home, "Whitehall," constructed in 1728-29. The drawing depicts the rear facade of the building, showing the steeply sloping roofline of the house and surrounding details such as a well and several trees. It is quite possible that Whittredge had seen a photograph of this elevation which was published in *New York Sketchbook of Architecture* in 1874 (fig. 6), as there is a strong resemblance between the photograph and Whittredge's drawing.[11] This would indicate that Whittredge was not only reading the most current architectural literature, but he was also choosing to focus on the Colonial buildings of Rhode Island. The photograph and the house itself may have appealed to Whittredge as it allowed for a view of the ocean in the distance and provided for a visually complex arrangement of forms due to the rhythm and massing of the sloping rooflines. A similar compositional formula characterizes Whittredge's *Home by the Sea* scenes.

Turning to Whittredge's versions of *Home by the Sea,* we notice that, in addition to a similar compositional formula, he has again carefully noted the building's conditions and details, which are consistent throughout the various versions of the painting. Taking into account the fidelity with which he depicted Whitehall, we have every reason to believe that the same sort of accuracy was applied here. Since Whittredge was careful in his presentation of architectural forms, it is likely that his decision to paint an eighteenth-century farmhouse was also deliberate and thoughtful.

Rhode Island, and specifically Newport, attracted a number of artists during the second half of the nineteenth century. John Frederick Kensett, Martin Johnson Heade, and John LaFarge all recorded scenes along the shores of the state. John Wilmerding, in his essay, "Under Chastened Light: The Landscape of Rhode Island," included in Workman's catalogue, explains that this was the result of a combination of greater accessibility to New England by expanded modes of transportation, and a growing interest in vacation periods and the idea of summer resorts.[12] When Whittredge first began painting works such as his *Home by the Sea* series in 1872, Newport was rapidly developing as a thriving summer colony.[13]

[9]Mitnick, 10.

[10]S. Omoto, "Berkeley and Whittredge at Newport," *The Art Quarterly,* XXVII, 1, 1964, 42-56.

[11]The photograph is reproduced in A. Downing and V. Scully, Jr., *The Architectural Heritage of Newport Rhode Island, 1640-1915,* 2nd ed., New York, 1967, pl. 193.

[12]J. Wilmerding, "Under Chastened Light: The Landscape of Rhode Island," in Workman, 13.

[13]For Rhode Island history, see *Rhode Island, A Guide to the Smallest State,* Boston, 1937; I. Richman, *Rhode Island, A Study in Separatism,* Boston, 1905.

7. Stanford White, Watts Sherman House, 1874 (photo: Downing and Scully, pl. 193)

Visitors to the town had steadily increased beginning in the 1840s. Although, as Antoinette Downing notes, visitors were in part attracted to Newport after viewing the idyllic records of the community set down by painters, those same visitors turned the idyllic spot into a bustling seaside resort.[14] It was in Newport that they chose to erect large, stately mansions reflective of their wealth and power, and it was just those mansions which began to replace farmhouses like the one seen in Whittredge's paintings. The homes erected during the period when Whittredge was painting his *Old Homestead by the Sea* were constructed in the most progressive styles of the time, and included Richard Morris Hunt's Henry F. Marquand House (1872), Hunt's own residence, "Sunnyside" (1870-71), Henry Hobson Richardson's F.W. Andrews Residence (1872), and Richardson and Stanford White's Sherman House (1874) (fig. 7). These grand new homes were appropriate to the elaborate dancing receptions, breakfasts, dinners, and picnics that occupied the large contingent of summer visitors to Newport during the period 1865-1880.[15] It is clear that Whittredge's somewhat dilapidated farmhouse is representative of an earlier time and a quieter, more rural way of life.

The farmhouse that Whittredge depicted in this series of works was an authentic Colonial farmhouse, which was probably constructed sometime in the eighteenth century. Fiske Kimball, in *American Architecture,* identifies this type of structure as the New England Farmhouse, noting that in these isolated regions the workmen, instead of following the latest London fashion, built in new, more "American" directions.[16] Houses of this type were common in Rhode Island, as noted by Isham and Brown in their book *Early Rhode Island Houses.*[17]

[14]A. Downing and V. Scully, Jr., 129-130.
[15]*Rhode Island, A Guide to the Smallest State,* 212.
[16]F. Kimball, *American Architecture,* New York, 1970 (Indianapolis, 1928), 57.
[17]N. Isham and A. Brown, *Early Rhode Island Houses,* Providence, 1895.

Colonial revival buildings became popular beginning in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and remained so until the early twentieth century. According to William Rhoads, the Colonial Revival was based on patriotic or nationalistic sentiment; that is, "the desire to have in America an *American* style distinct from European modes."[18] The revival of Colonial building types, especially cottages and log cabins, was an attempt to revive what was viewed as the only true American architecture. This viewpoint was, according to Rhoads, maintained by various contemporary periodicals, such as *American Builder* and *American Architect.*[19] The Colonial Revival became popular following its introduction at the Centennial Exhibition which was held in Philadelphia in 1876. There, the approximately ten million visitors could tour pavilions designed in the Colonial manner, such as the Connecticut and Massachusetts State Buildings and a New England Log House.[20]

Since Whittredge's first version of this group of paintings was executed in 1872, these works can be seen as early expressions of the interest in Colonial architecture which did not become widespread until several years later. Rhoads discusses isolated incidences of small-scale interest in the Colonial style, such as the incorporation of architectural fragments from demolished Colonial homes into new construction. For example, in 1865, Greeley Curtis purchased the stairway of the John Hancock House for his own Manchester, Massachusetts home.[21] Rhoades also notes that one of the earliest large-scale examples of interest in authentic Colonial architecture was exhibited by Charles McKim, who, working in Newport in 1872, completed the interior restoration of an eighteenth-century house belonging to Thomas Robinson, remaining faithful to the Colonial mode in which the house was constructed.[22] Rhoads states, "Here...McKim imitated the Colonial much more closely than any architect of the period."[23] Photographs of McKim's work were published, but not until 1874, when they could be seen in *New York Sketchbook of Architecture.*[24] However, it is possible that Whittredge may have seen in person, and been influenced by, this restoration in 1872, when he was painting *A Home by the Sea* and *A Home by the Sea-Side.*[25]

Ultimately, this group of works can be seen as a combination of the artist's personal nostalgia for the "land of his forefathers" and his private, career-long interest in the accurate depiction of architectural forms. In addition, the works stand as early manifestations of the nationalistic sentiment which gripped the country during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

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[18]W.B. Rhoads, "The Colonial Revival and American Nationalism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* XXXV, 1976, 239-254.
[19]W.B. Rhoads, *The Colonial Revival,* New York, 1977.
[20]Rhoads, 1977, 56-57.
[21]Rhoads, 1977, 49-50.
[22]Rhoads, 1977, 54-55.
[23]Rhoads, 1977, 55.
[24]Rhoads, 1977, 55.
[25]Interest in the historic legacy of Rhode Island was also demonstrated at this time by the fiftieth anniversary celebration of the Rhode Island Historical Society, held July 19, 1872, as reported in "Semi-Centennial of the Rhode Island Historical Society," *The Providence Daily Journal,* July 20, 1872, 1. The location of the celebration was not given.

An Interview With James S. Ackerman

RUTH WILFORD CACCAVALE AND ALLISON LEE PALMER

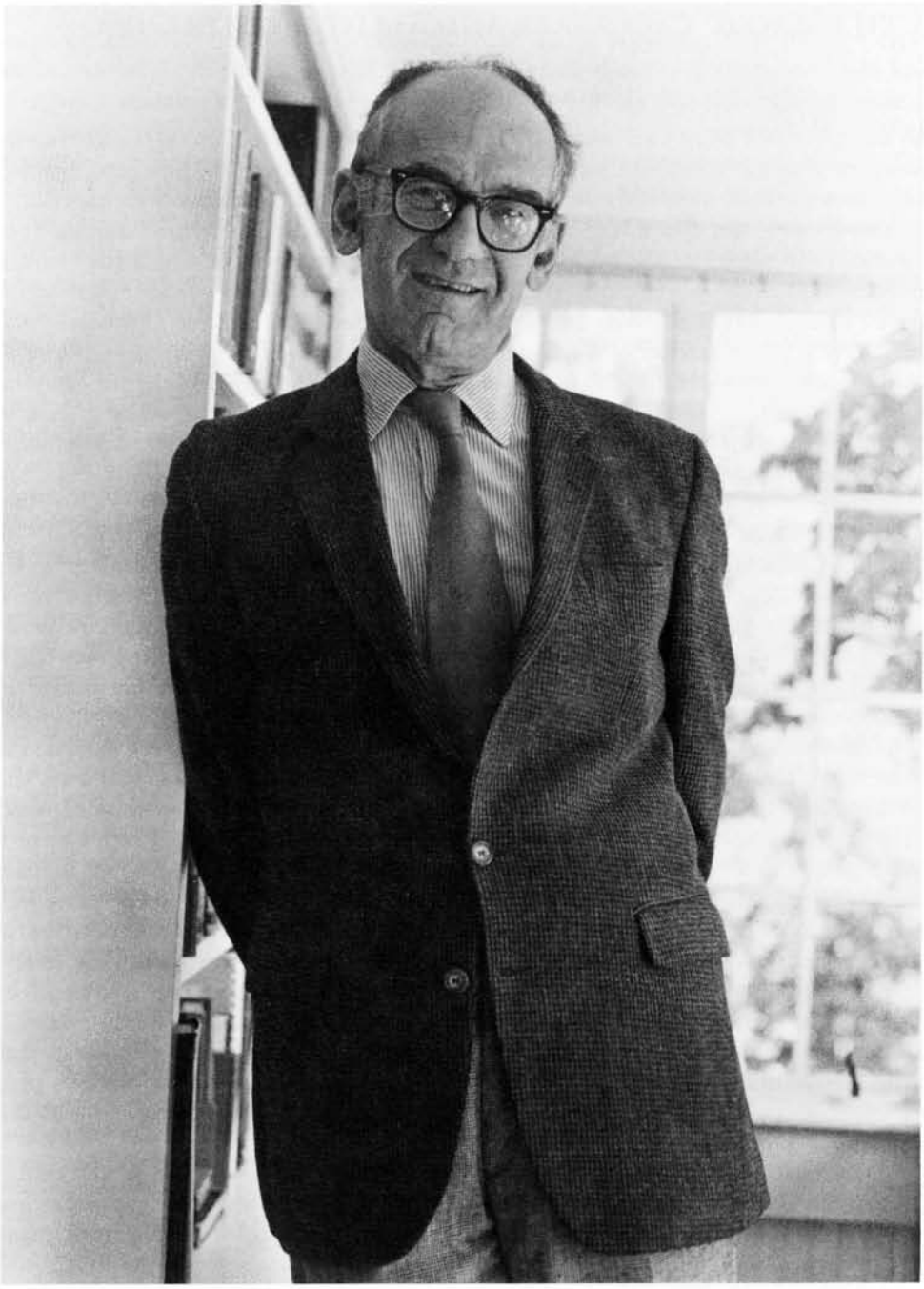
This interview took place on February 18, 1988 in Professor Ackerman's office at Harvard University. Professor Ackerman was born in 1919 and studied at both Yale and New York Universities. He is the author of several influential books on Renaissance architecture, including The Cortile del Belvedere *of 1954,* The Architecture of Michelangelo, *1961,* Palladio, *1966, and* Palladio's Villas, *1967. He also co-authored* Seventeenth Century Science and the Arts *in 1961 and* Art and Archaeology *in 1963. Professor Ackerman was a former editor of* Art Bulletin *and is currently Chairperson of the Editorial Committee for the journal. He is also a member of the Council of the Renaissance Society of America and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as a Fellow and Trustee of the American Academy in Rome. His interests go beyond architecture to include an examination of style, art criticism, and how art history shifts its methodology. The popularity of his works can be judged by the frequent reprinting of his books in the Pelican Series.*

INTERVIEWER: When did you first become interested in art history?
JAMES ACKERMAN: As an adolescent. My mother worked as a volunteer in the library of the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and she arranged for me to have a summer job there running errands. I was interested at that time in art history, and I read a little about art. The first book I remember reading was Roger Fry's book of essays called *Vision and Design*, and I also read some books on architecture.[1]

There was a German teacher in my prep school who took on a couple of us in a course on art appreciation. In those days the Carnegie Corporation had a kit that they sent to schools which had an interesting collection of photographs of major works of art, and we used this in extracurricular discussions. Then when I went to Yale I got advanced placement which permitted me to start on upper division courses. In my third year I was admitted to a graduate seminar of Focillon's, and from that moment I was absolutely carried away. I originally wanted to be an architect, and I was heading in that direction. But Focillon was absolutely charismatic. I wanted to be able to follow in his direction. He gave me a book of his writings in my senior year, called *L'art des sculpteurs romans*, and inscribed it "Remain faithful to our studies for which you are so well fit."[2] That settled my fate. I then applied to graduate school at NYU because at that time NYU was the obvious place to go, and so, in brief, I was launched by an early awareness that there was a history in art.

I forgot to say that when I was twelve, my father and mother took all the kids abroad for a summer trip, and at that time, in the early thirties, color reproductions were first coming into existence. Every museum had a few color postcards or prints

[1]R. Fry, *Vision and Design*, New York, 1947.
[2]H. Focillon, *L'art des sculpteurs romans; recherches sur l'histoire des formes*, Paris, 1931.



James S. Ackerman (photo courtesy of James S. Ackerman)

of their works of art, and I started picking those up. I had been collecting things like match-book covers, and I turned to collecting color prints because they had additional entertainment value. It became fun to guess who did the works of art just by looking at the reproductions; that was the kind of self-made art history I did as a child. I had a huge collection, but then I lost interest when color prints became more available.

My father would also take us to museums because he thought it was his duty, and he'd tell us all about the works of art that we'd see. He knew absolutely nothing, and what he told us was probably all claptrap! But he was doing his duty and we were dutifully taking it in, and so maybe that was a factor too. Maybe the lesson for those who want to teach art history is that you don't have to know anything, so long as you and the people who listen have a common conviction that this is the right thing to be doing, and sooner or later the students will find out for themselves!

INT: Last summer you gave a talk at the Richard Krautheimer Symposium in Rome about your relationship with him as a teacher. Where will this be published? How did Krautheimer affect your work?

JA: This whole Krautheimer Symposium is being published in Canada this spring by the organizers. When I went to NYU, he was then at Vassar, but he gave one seminar course at NYU. I took his course on Renaissance and Baroque architecture. After I was at NYU for a year I picked a Master's thesis topic on Greek sculpture because I wanted to work with Karl Lehmann. He was a tremendous disciplinarian and teacher. I learned the techniques of art history under his wing, and so I chose to focus on ancient art. I was drafted in 1941 after my first year there, however, and I was in the Army for the ensuing three years. Toward the end of the war we were in the Italian campaign, and when the war ended we were in north Italy sitting around waiting for further assignments. I got bored sitting around and volunteered to work with Monuments and Fine Arts, which was a department within the army. They transferred me to Milan where this organization was working, and my assignment was to go from Milan to the Certosa of Pavia where they had stored the archives from the Royal Palace. I went out every day in a U.S. Army truck with the Italian workers, and we picked up the piles of documents and brought them back to the palace in Milan. Since I saw the Certosa of Pavia daily, I got interested in poking around there. When I came back I thought this would be a good thesis subject, and that's how I started with Krautheimer, with whom I had a very good rapport. He and his wife Trude were very hospitable; they didn't have any children of their own, so they treated their students more or less like family. I would go on weekends to Poughkeepsie and we would talk about our work and go for walks; we became very close. I then did my Doctorate with him. He had a very different approach to everything than Lehmann did. Lehmann was a consummate disciplinarian and very precise, while Krautheimer worked more by intuition. As a researcher he tended to start with the answers and try to find out how one could validate them. This was quite different from the usual inductive method. He would have perceptions on the spur of the moment and later check them out, and he never was overly scrupulous about details in documentation. When I was editing his papers I continually found that I wouldn't be able to find the citations from his articles and I'd have to go poking around to find what they should have been. But he was certainly a fountain of ideas and was very inspiring because of that human element that he brought to his work.

INT: Was there anyone else who influenced your work?
JA: Lehmann, Focillon, and Krautheimer were the three people I worked with most closely, and then Panofsky was also an inspiration. At that time he lectured regularly at NYU and he gave exciting lectures, some of which went into his book called *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism.*[3] It was then that he told me about an interesting body of documents that had been published from the Archives of the Milan Cathedral. They turned out to be essential documents of Gothic architectural theory, and led me to do the paper that became my first publication, along with an article on the Certosa of Pavia, from my Master's thesis.[4]
INT: This first paper was published in 1949, which is very early in your career.
JA: I published the one about Milanese architecture before that, which I gave as a paper at the College Art Association in 1948.[5] That was twelve hours before my first child was born. In those days we did everything earlier than you do now. Academic life was less of a hassle.
INT: You've given a lot of attention to questions of methodology, style, and education in the visual arts. You said that to write your Michelangelo book, it took you six weeks to read the essential bibliography on his Saint Peter's design, and someone will now need six and a half weeks because the bibliography includes your work.[6] In American scholarship, you seem to find that this leads to an increase in specialization, where the literature may not be so overwhelming. Rather than becoming overspecialized, how would you suggest art historians approach broad fields of research?
JA: Well, I think our education encourages people to become overspecialized, and our idea of what constitutes a Ph.D. thesis is excessively philological. I had a conversation a couple of years ago with John Shearman about this before he came to Harvard. He pointed out that German theses a while back were really *theses* in the sense of emphasizing an *idea* about a subject. They were short, they were imaginative, and the documentation was only as much as you needed to get away with it. Under those circumstances, you had to show that you could think with agility and that you were creative. Now in order to qualify, you have to show that you can do your footnotes properly; the process has become excessively detailed and esoteric. I also think that it takes outrageously long to produce these theses. Our average degree takes about seven and a half years, which I don't think is really necessary. In Europe, when theses had that character of being *ideas*, the degree candidate had to teach everything. The position required giving a series of public lectures every year, based upon everything that the public might be interested in hearing. One year it might be Impressionism and the next year it might be Early Christian art. The tradition is now in decline, although Hans Belting still preserves it. He writes books on the art of many different time periods.

[3]E. Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism*, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, 1951, from Wimmer Lecture, 1948.
[4]J. Ackerman, "'Ars sine scientia nihil est': Gothic Theory of Architecture at the Cathedral of Milan," *Art Bulletin*, XXXI, 1949, 84-111, and J. Ackerman, "The Certosa of Pavia and the Renaissance in Milan," *Marsyas*, V, 1947-1949, 23-37.
[5]J. Ackerman, "Studies on Gothic Architecture in Lombardy," *Marsyas*, IV, 1948, 116-117.
[6]J. Ackerman, "On American Scholarship in the Arts," *Art Journal*, XVII, 4, 1958, 357-362; 359, and J. Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2 vols., London and New York, 1961.

Before the refugee Germans came to America during the war, the English had a tradition of a casual, gentlemanly amateurism that had been Berenson's model. Kenneth Clark was perhaps the epitome of that, although he obviously benefitted from the scientific aspect of art history. We have lost that "essay" approach to the discipline which gave art history a certain character in the old days. It is possible, however, to do responsible art history without the kind of bottomless research into almost everything, regardless of its significance. I'm now writing a book in which every chapter is in a different field. I've found that in coming to a new field, one which I know nothing about but with the benefit of a lifetime of experience, it doesn't take me very long to get sufficiently acclimated so that I can do a decent job. Three chapters of my book are about American architecture, and although I've never dealt with American architecture, I think they are as good as the ones on Renaissance architecture. I do think that it is not so hard to write in various areas and assume a breadth of knowledge, but I think people are usually a little frightened to expand. The whole career emphasis makes it very unwise for somebody to start free-wheeling too young because it's felt that one has to establish the right to do this, and it's best to have tenure first!

INT: Not to backtrack, but it sounds like you really ended up with the right mentor in Krautheimer. It seems as if Karl Lehmann leaned more toward the details and precision, whereas Krautheimer leaned more toward ideas.

JA: Yes, well, I wouldn't shortchange Lehmann. He had everything as a teacher, but he wanted to make sure his disciples performed in a very orderly way. He had a fantastic imagination. He decided it would be interesting to do something which would celebrate his becoming an American, and wrote one of the finest books on Thomas Jefferson ever written.[7]

INT: Onto a slightly different topic, in your interpretation and response essay of 1984 you note that the "diachronic" method, which focuses on the historical evolution of art history, is now sometimes giving way to the "synchronic" method, which studies one moment across various disciplines; i.e., political, social, and economic.[8] Will this lead to changes in university curricula, such as greater interdisciplinary requirements?

JA: I don't know how much it may affect the curricula, but certainly in our graduate school this change of attitude had a considerable influence. Besides, our graduate students for the past five or six years have been very much concerned about theory and have in some cases come together in reading groups. A feminist/social history group has been sponsored by an associate professor here, Anna Chave. And there are three or four students this year who are taking a course on Humanism in the history department. They're looking for a greater depth. Anyway, it's a self-generating movement on the part of the students and the younger faculty. I am teaching an undergraduate course now which is interdisciplinary, called "Renaissance Rome," which covers five areas and all disciplines in Rome during this time period.

[7]K. Lehmann, *Thomas Jefferson, American Humanist*, New York, 1947.

[8]J. Ackerman and M. Abrams, "Interpretation, Responses and Suggestions for a Theory of Art Criticism," *Theories of Criticism, Essays in Literature and Art*, Washington, D.C., 1984, 33-49; 37.

INT: You mentioned that graduate students are now interested in theory. In your "Re-reading 'Style'" essay, you note the lack of historical and critical theory in writings by art historians.[9] Scholars and students should be more aware of the role of methodology in art history. Is there, or should there be a methodology course at Harvard? If so, what is taught in this course?

JA: Well, you chose that remark from an essay written prior to the big turn-around. Since the late '70s the concern with social, economic, and political history has been very intense, and so I don't think we have to worry about that. Most schools have theory courses.

INT: Is methodology taught here at the undergraduate level?

JA: Yes, for the last two years we've tried to do it by reading works of Meyer Schapiro on the grounds that he is a distinguished figure of the elder generation who has written in various fields, such as medieval, modern, and so on, and has dealt with a whole range of problems. I haven't found this very successful, because I think the material is a little beyond the experience of the people I'm teaching. We have a formal introduction to method and theory in the graduate school, which used to be, at the time I came here, a course on connoisseurship. Gradually it became more and more intellectual and abstract, and different members of the faculty teach it in different ways. When I taught it, I selected from four or five different philosophical contributions: Marxism, semiology, psychology, etc. There's been a lot of agonizing over method, and at the time that Tim Clark came here, the fact that he represented a Marxist approach stimulated others to discuss our differences in approach. I once wrote that I thought it was dangerous that people didn't think theoretically. However, now I'm concerned that this could become all that they do. I find that social art history is being pushed into the absurd. Recently there was almost a whole session at a CAA meeting on prostitutes in the nineteenth century, and I think that this is moving away from what art history ought to be about. What we have to be concerned about now is the duality which I dealt with in my article on interpretation and response. That is, how you deal with both the analysis and interpretation of art of the past and the relationship which you, as a present day being, have with works of art. In spite of all the philosophy and theory, people aren't really expressing any aims or pursuing any ideals.

INT: In that interpretation and response essay, you emphasize the importance of a personal response to a work of art. What ramifications does this have for university curricula, which usually require a one-semester survey of pre-determined monuments which uphold "idealist absolutes," the traditional, classical standard of quality? Would a course in art appreciation be more worthwhile?[10]

[9]J. Ackerman, "On Re-reading 'Style'," *Social Research; an International Quarterly of the Social Sciences*, XLV, 4, 1978, 153-163; 153.

[10]J. Ackerman, "On Judging Art Without Absolutes," *Critical Inquiry*, V, 3, 1979, 441-469; 448.

JA: Well, no, I don't think that you should get into "art appreciation." It's very dangerous territory because it's not a subject.
INT: It has a kind of derogatory connotation.
JA: Yes, but whatever art you're dealing with in an historical framework, the subject of appreciation certainly could appear. But I think when you put things together in an arbitrary way that is determined entirely by preferences of the speaker, you have certain problems. I'm teaching an introductory course in architecture now, and because it doesn't have an historical framework, it is very arbitrary. In some senses, however, I'd rather deal with what has already been defined, because for one thing, you're stuck with text books written according to the traditional methods, and it's very hard to invent new ideas. But I think that I've never had difficulty getting involved in issues of what I call "response" when teaching a survey. Whatever format you're using, it's the way you treat a work of art that is going to determine whether people get more than just an historical documentation. Somebody who's giving an introduction to art should feel that he or she can be a model of how an experienced person interacts with an object. I don't like to see an academic ideal that has no room for personal feeling. Keep in mind, a lot of things that you think about in human relationships can be transferred to relationships with works of art. If we attempted to put human relationships on the footing of academic distance, we wouldn't have any.
INT: So it's not so much a pre-determined list that upsets you. It's more a case of not being sensitive to a relationship with a work of art.
JA: Yes.
INT: ...And getting that relationship across to the students?
JA: Well, I think if you made a list of the people who have meant the most as teachers, it would consist of those teachers whose communication with works of art has been the most intense, sincere, and rich. I spoke of Focillon as a person who inspired me. Focillon had an incredibly rich capacity to put feelings into words with respect to his perceptions of works of art. That authenticity of human response can move people, but I think that there has been a shift away from this toward theoretical exercises. While this shift is a great improvement over what was done before, I'm afraid that in taking this direction we remove people from art, and this is particularly true of social art history today. Few historians, in giving a socio-economic analysis, have been concerned with how one can also represent the work of art as valid in and of itself, as opposed to being a document of some social situation. I worry about this in the book I'm finishing now, since I have emphasized ideas to such a degree that I'm afraid that the art has escaped.
INT: So you are saying that your sensitivity to these issues consciously affects your writing.
JA: Yes, and I think that anybody who is good, and feels that criticism is involved in art history, is going to constantly shift their approach. It is simply being responsive.

INT: To many of us, the art historian has a different role than the art critic. In your essays on style, you observe that "objective" art historians have a system of standards that puts them in the role of art critics.[11] How do you perceive this relationship?
JA: Well, I think that critics have the virtue of knowing what they are doing, but a lot of art historians are not conscious of their values. They just operate according to the prevailing ideology, and I think it is a terrible thing for people to not know what their presumptions are. Art historians of my generation were never expected to examine such things. They just took everything at face value, which meant more or less accepting the classical tradition and the assumption that the Italian High Renaissance was the apex of achievement, a standard by which to judge other things. It's becoming increasingly clear with recent critical investigation how myopic that view was. Of course you can accept the classical standard if you want to, but to do it without self-consciousness is unforgiveable. If you look at the present fashions of the field, you'll see how few areas have been subject to investigation. For example, a course on nineteenth-century painting is normally a course on Paris in the nineteenth century. The beginning of all training in art history is a survey course, in which the works that are dealt with are pre-determined by a long-standing classical scheme. If some naive student were to ask, "Why are you showing me that?" the instructor wouldn't be able to answer.
INT: Because it's in the book!
JA: And it's in the book because it's in the lectures. I have found in teaching surveys that if I choose nothing but things that are accepted as masterpieces the students have no idea of how they got selected as masterpieces. They don't know what it is to make that selection, because it has been made for them already. It's always advisable to show them some pieces of art that you don't think are so good, and say "this is one that I don't think is so good, this is the one I do think is good," and then try to make this process clear. And yet, I don't have a fully articulated method by which to explain what quality is, and if somebody really pinned me down and wanted to know why this was better than that, I would certainly fall back on a lot of traditional, classical positions, talking about a "vitality of line," that kind of stuff. I think maybe I've underestimated in my writing how overwhelmingly difficult it is to avoid traditional methods.
INT: Even though you articulate a personal standard, and your response is different from one work to another, your response might be conditioned in that western tradition of classicism.

[11]Ackerman, "On Re-Reading 'Style'," 154-5, and Ackerman, "On Judging Art," 443.

JA: In the "response" article, I gave a list of things which are the standard justifications for great art, such as originality, permanence, unity, variety, and individuality. All of these standards are part of the traditional vocabulary once used to establish what makes a work of art good. I pointed out that these standards have all been blasted by some work of art or some movement in the last twenty years, and effectively. It's no longer sufficient to use the old argument that "this is good because it's spontaneous and individual." And yet, we have nothing else to take the place of these standards. I feel that I can have reactions that aren't necessarily justified by present standards. Perhaps new standards are in the process of emerging, but there's not enough attention given to how to promote them. Even those who have adopted the prevailing mode of social history seem to have done so without integrating a social ethic that might help to address questions of quality and value. That's very much part of our present ethos. We're not concerned with value questions in the stock market, nor in international relations. We're acting in an amoral way in the world. I wish that people teaching in the humanities were really offering alternatives to this kind of irresponsibility.

INT: So, in a way you're saying we're not concerned with these questions because we can't define them?

JA: No, we can't define them because we're not concerned with them! That's very different. What I'm talking about can't be an individual task. Lots of people have to be involved in formulating some different mode of critical standards, and if that's the case it's very hard to proceed until there's a more general concern. Universities certainly ought to be investigating and questioning values, but they aren't. The university should be a critic of society and not a factory for conformists. I feel that I've lost some of that mission because of the ethos of the time, and I regret the loss. Once I tried to encourage students to seek an ethic and an ideal, as well as to learn a subject.

INT: You said that in the present day, heavy teaching schedules, faculty meetings, and extensive reports take away time that used to be devoted to research.[12] What reasonable administrative changes would you propose to ease this work load?

JA: What is keeping people from doing the kind of intensive individual work that I was able to do in the beginning of my career are the increased pressures and responsibilities of our lives. Let's just take one example, and it's a very crucial one for art history. Most of the achieving people of my generation and the generation before were men. And one factor in their achievement was that society provided a two-person team that included a wife who was at home taking care of the children, typing the manuscript, and cooking dinner. Today, fortunately, there is more equality in marriage; however, this absorbs enormous energies because people are trying to forge solutions that society has not established. Still, women scholars are carrying more of the responsibilities in partnerships than men. In an earlier time

[12]J. Ackerman, "On American Scholarship in the Arts," *Art Journal*, XVII, 4, 1958, 357-362; 358.

there were many more fixed solutions, about everything, not just marriages and childrearing. For example, when I first started teaching here, the transportation system wasn't developed to the point where somebody could ask me to come to a meeting in New York City at twelve o'clock and I could get back to Boston that same evening. The fact that I can do this now means that life is that much more disrupted. If you look at what any of our senior faculty members have achieved at the time that they were hired and then you look at what the candidates for tenure today have achieved, the work of the latter would be about 50 percent smaller. It is not that my generation was superior, it's just that in the interum there's been an inflation of responsibility that absorbs our time. Today people don't often write two books before they're forty. I think that economics has also been a very important factor. In this period, it's been hard to get jobs, and this has had an effect on peoples' intellectual development. In earlier times if you were an assistant professor, you might wonder *when* you'd be a full professor, but you didn't wonder *whether* you'd get to be a professor. Recently three junior faculty members in my department who didn't get promoted found no other position. This has never happened before, and it is a tragedy the academic establishment should not condone. It should be better for your generation, the previous one ran into the worst period.

INT: You have also mentioned that the financial survival of art history may entail addressing a broader, non-professional audience.[13] How would you accomplish this?

JA: Movies. I'm an addict of film-making for scholars. Anyhow, I'm not so worried about financial survival as I was before, because now people seem to get published and art history seems to flourish. I don't think it's an endangered species, partly because in the university, art history offers a service that is in great demand, in contrast to Sanskrit Departments, which might be endangered financially. But I'm very strong on the development of the use of moving images by people in our field, partly because we can do it better than people who are just professionals in film. We made five films here, and the need for them is demonstrated by the number of people who use them. In the films I've made myself, I've reached one hundred times as many people as are reached in the lecture hall. I think that as know-how develops we have a wonderful resource; people in the smallest rural college can be taught by the faculty of a major university. There's a new organization in New York called the Center for Art on Film, which is sponsored by the Getty Foundation and the Metropolitan Museum. Its purpose is to fund and encourage the making of films, getting libraries interested, and so on. The biggest problem is how to present two-dimensional works of art while achieving meaningful cinematic quality. We still haven't figured out how to make a movie camera present a painting or a drawing better than a slide machine.

[13]Ackerman, "On American Scholarship," 362.

INT: Would you think that if you used a video in your class it would change how you taught or described a building? It seems to me that when we study architectural history, we primarily discuss the facade and the floor plan of a building. Do you think that more attention would be given to the interior space of a building if we used these videos?

JA: Film may not present architectural space better than stills, but it offers an alternative that gives some of the feel of being in a building or environment, and it is superior in showing a physical context. For all of the architecture films we've made we used a helicopter, which is especially effective in relating the building to its setting. This is what we did in shooting the villas of Palladio and the topography of Isfahan.

INT: I was also thinking of, for example, the fact that a lot of corporations these days are sponsoring art lectures for their employees during lunch time. Do you find these kinds of things to be a good example of increasing interest in art history as well as improving the finances of an art history program?

JA: Corporations have been most helpful by sponsoring the "block-buster" exhibitions that have increased public interest in art and stimulated a terrific flow of people into museums. I'm amazed when I go to some special exhibit at the Met at how it's so packed that you can't even see the works. But when I wander into that incredible nineteenth-century wing, it's empty, although the art is just as good as what they have at the exhibit.

INT: Also related to the question of addressing a broader audience is your Michelangelo book. People have considered the first volume to be a book for more general readers, while the second volume is for a scholarly audience.[14] Was this your intention in writing these two volumes, to be able to address a broader audience?

JA: My feeling is that art history should always be written so that it is a pleasure to read. I don't believe that just because you have an esoteric subject that you have to write in an obscure way. Every scholar should write good prose; it's an obligation. In the case of the Michelangelo book, the publisher wanted to market the two volumes separately, the effect of which was disasterous. The second edition of the catalogue was put out at a different time than the text so that it's a bibliographical horror. I don't believe in isolating the apparatus of scholarship. When I published the book in paperback I had the sections combined.

[14]D. Coffin, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXI, 2, 1962, 103-4; 103, and J. Schulz, *Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, XXI, 1962-1963, 91-94; 92, (review articles of Ackerman, *Architecture of Michelangelo*.)

INT: In several of your essays on style and criticism, you raise the issue of perception and its role with respect to cultural conditioning versus a genetic predisposition; i.e., the preference for order rather than disorder.[15] Do you have any new insights into this problem?

JA: No, I wouldn't say new ones. We were talking about the difficulty of having a critical system that would replace the traditional western system, and I think that it certainly would be interesting to pursue, without a classical bias, investigations into what genetic or acculturated responses are. I am not overly impressed with the kind of thing that Arnheim has done.[16] I think that was very much a product of its time, it's just time-bound. His efforts to establish visual associations were important, but I would think anybody dealing with critical systems ought to take into consideration the difference between what culture does and what nature does. Where this has come up so much is in proportion studies. In the past, an effort has always been made to demonstrate that we like certain proportions because they have to do with the confirmation of our symmetry as human beings. But I think the responses could just as well be derived from the way we're brought up.

INT: High Renaissance and Baroque architecture is generally seen as developing in Rome, and its influence spread outward to the provinces. In your studies of Milanese architecture, however, have you found that any northern ideas have influenced architecture in Rome?

JA: In one of my most recent articles, I wrote about San Carlo Borromeo's influence on architecture.[17] I suggested that elements proposed by him in relation to Counter-Reformation church architecture were picked up in Rome.

INT: At the end of your article on the Tuscan order and rustication, you wrote that Renaissance artists were generally sensitive to the fact that the orders were designed as symbolic and supportive elements, something post-modern architects seem to have forgotten.[18] Do you disapprove of the way classical elements are used in post-modern architecture?

JA: It's hard to generalize, but I am not very happy about the ironic use of the orders. There's never been a period when historicism has been used in such an uncommitted way as it is in post-modernism. When people used historicism before, they earnestly believed that they were saying something. It is integral to the post-modern spirit that you don't earnestly believe in something, but that you do it for the effect. Unfortunate things occur when you take as your model motifs that are appropriate in very heavy masonry, and then are translated into something with a very thin veneer. Classical motifs are used symbolically, unrelated to structural

[15]Ackerman, "Interpretation, Response," 46.

[16]R. Arnheim, *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of the Creative Eye*, Berkeley, 1954.

[17]J. Ackerman, "Pellegrino Tibaldi, San Carlo Borromeo e l'architettura ecclesiastica del loro tempo," *San Carlo e il suo tempo: Atti del convegno internazionale nel quarto centenario della morte (1984)*, Rome, 1986, 573-586.

[18]J. Ackerman, "The Tuscan/Rustic Order: A Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XLII, 1, 1983, 15-34; 34.

requirements. This was often the case in the Renaissance as well, but today the viewer has no contact with classical sources and no interest in them, so that the symbols don't symbolize anything.

INT: What are your present areas of research?

JA: I'm just finishing a book from my Mellon lectures of 1985 and then I'm going to do a collection of essays of my work with commentaries for each essay, re-assessing the material from a distance. I'm also engaged in coordinating the volume on Vermont for the *Buildings of America* series, which is sponsored by the Society of Architectural Historians.

INT: What are the most promising areas of research for the next generation of Renaissance architectural historians?

JA: I myself have been very much interested in looking at typologies. I know several people who are working on the arrangement of palaces and audience halls, and on the political meanings of public and private structures, since the shift to social history fits an examination of building types and their uses. We'll be seeing more in this direction, and I think we'll be seeing fewer monographs on the best known architects, since the best known are the best studied, and since monographs on single architects were better suited to a time when the arts were studied in isolation from society. But whatever the format, I feel that it really elevates a scholar to work on a very important subject, and one should always study things that have the potential of being important.

St. Francis of Assisi, the Penitent Magdalen, and the Patron at the Foot of the Cross

KETTI NEIL

Francis of Assisi led an exemplary life of austere penance, of poverty and humility following the Gospels, and of devotion to Christ's Passion and to the cross. After his death, Francis was frequently painted in Crucifixion scenes kneeling before the cross and adoring the wounds of Christ. Similar representations of Mary Magdalen clutching the base of the cross or touching the wounds of Christ appear for the first time in the thirteenth century, illustrating a close association between the two saints during this period.[1] While the depiction of individuals kneeling at the Crucifixion existed previously in Northern Europe, the portrayals of Francis and Mary Magdalen originated in thirteenth-century Italy and, therefore, may be understood in light of religious and cultural developments in Tuscany and Umbria.[2] The combination of this particular imagery with the theme of the *Christus patiens*, the suffering or dead Christ, may be associated with Franciscan teachings on the necessity of penitential suffering for spiritual purification.[3]

In emulation of Francis and Mary Magdalen, thirteenth- and fourteenth-century patrons were sometimes depicted praying at the foot of the cross, a

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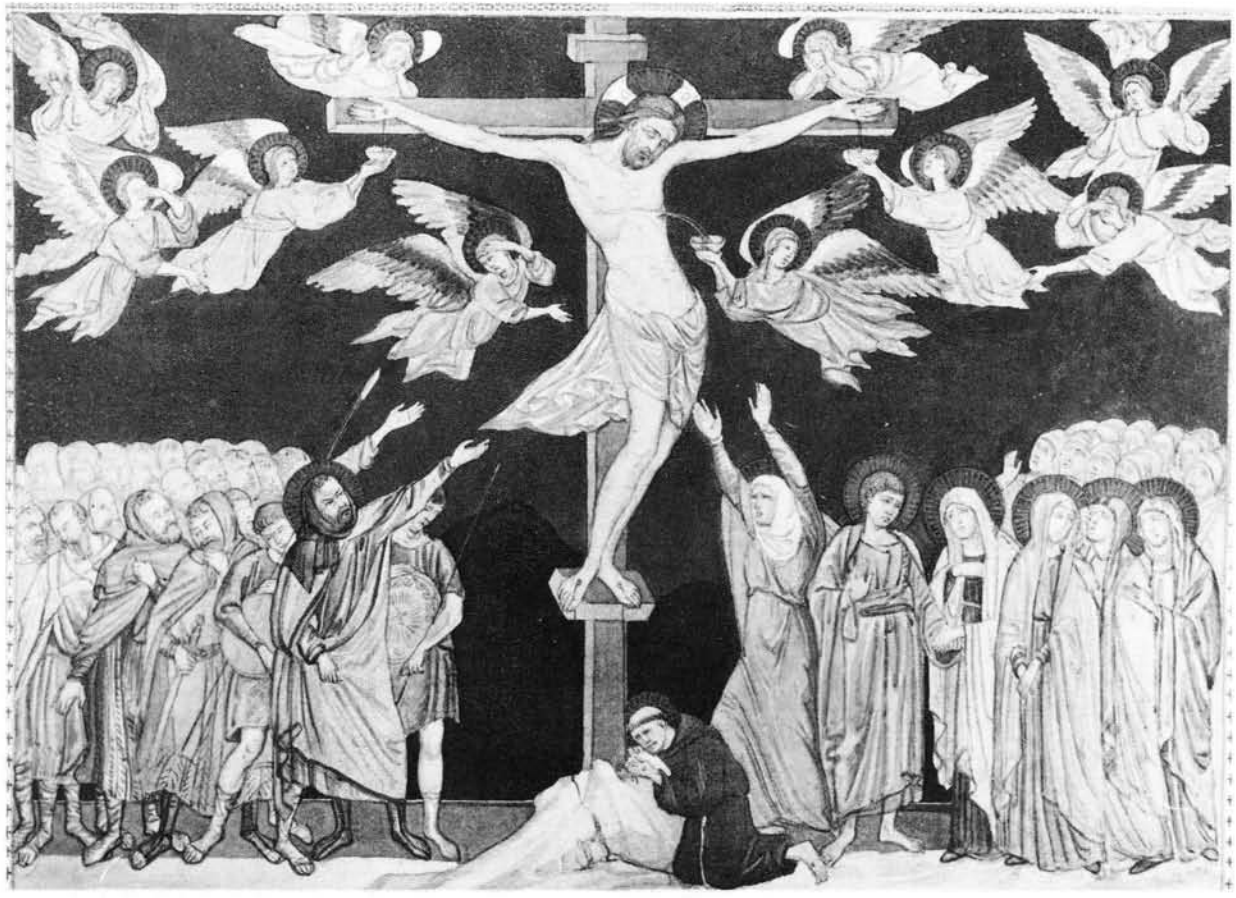
[1]I have found no depictions of Mary Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the cross which predate the images of Francis. See M. La Row, "The Iconography of Mary Magdalen. The Evolution of a Western Tradition until 1300," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1982, II, Appendix II, which lists all surviving images of Mary Magdalen compiled in the Index of Christian Art. The penitent female in the eleventh-century Gospels of Judith of Flanders (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 709, fol. 1v) has sometimes been identified as Mary Magdalen, but this attribution is controversial and, in my opinion, probably incorrect. The figure wears a contemporary brown sackcloth garment, suggesting that she may represent Judith herself, or perhaps a personification of the Church. M. Harrsen, "The Countess Judith of Flanders and the Library of Weingarten Abbey," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, XXIV, 1931, 1-13.

[2]Carolingian examples such as the Prayerbook of Emperor Charles the Bald (Munich, Residenz Treasury, fol. 38v., 39r.), depicted the *Christus triumphans*; however, beginning in the eleventh century, images such as the Gospels of Gundold (Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, cod, bibl. 402, fol. 9v.) stressed a more personal relationship between the patron and the Crucified Christ. Images which included a donor portrait invariably depicted the *Christus patiens*, an iconography reinforcing the humanity of Christ and the dogma of the Incarnation. For a theological discussion of these two types and the development of the *Christus patiens*, see J.R. Martin, "The Dead Christ on the Cross in Byzantine Art," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, ed. K. Weitzmann, Princeton, 1955, 189-196.

[3]While the humility of the kneeling figure may be related to Franciscan spirituality, it is important to note that the stance ultimately derived from the Byzantine ceremonial act of *proskynesis*, in which a follower knelt in supplication and kissed the foot of the emperor or empress. For a summary of the art historical literature on early Byzantine donor portraits and the ceremony of *proskynesis*, see C. Bertelli, *La Madonna di Santa Maria in Trastevere*, Rome, 1961, 59-63, and 123, n. 136. See also A. Grabar, *L'Empéreur dan l 'art byzantin, Recherches sur l 'art officiel de l 'Empire d'Orient*, Paris, 1936. I have found only a few later Byzantine paintings of the Crucifixion which include donor figures, but the portraits are relegated to the border frame, removed from the iconic function of the scene.



1. Cimabue, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1290, fresco. Assisi, S. Francesco, Upper Church (drawing: J.A. Ramboux, Foto Landesbildstelle Rheinland, n. 174/5097; photo: courtesy of the Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, Graphische Sammlung, n. 32)

development which may be connected with the increasing importance of public penance as a means of personal salvation.[4] The inclusion of Franciscan and Dominican friars, nuns, and penitential lay persons kneeling at the Crucifixion may be discussed in relation to the historical background, to contemporary literature, and to popular devotional practices.

Perhaps the most famous portrayal of Francis kneeling at the foot of the cross appears in a fresco in the Upper Church at Assisi painted by Cimabue around 1290 (fig. 1).[5] The inclusion of the Franciscans' patron saint was most likely requested by the friars at Assisi, for the theme was already popular on painted crosses in Umbria by the middle of the thirteenth century.[6] Kneeling figures also appeared on painted crosses and on altarpieces in Tuscany during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.[7] The Italian "innovation" of including a devotee in the Crucifixion is generally ascribed to Giunta Pisano, who first introduced Brother Elias on a painted cross, now lost, dated 1236, for the church of S. Francesco in Assisi.[8] Under the influence of Giunta Pisano and his Umbrian follower, the "St. Francis Master," the inclusion of devotees on painted crosses representing the *Christus patiens* was diffused throughout Umbria and Tuscany.

Several variations of the iconography survive from the thirteenth century. In a painted cross by the "St. Francis Master," dated 1272, for example, Francis, kneeling to the left of Christ, displays the stigmata and gestures towards Christ's wounds (fig. 2).[9] Francis is positioned similarly in crucifixes painted by other followers of Giunta

[4]See A. Pompei, "Il movimento penitenziale nei secoli XII-XIII," in *L'Ordine della Penitenza di San Francesco d'Assisi nel secolo XIII, Atti del Convegno di studi francescani* (Assisi, July 3-5, 1972), ed. O. Schmucki, Rome, 1973, 9-40; G.G. Meersseman and G.P. Pacini, *Ordo fraternitatis. Confraternite e pietà dei laici nel medioevo*, Rome, 1970, I, pt. 2, esp. 355-389; S. Gieben, "Confraternite e penitenti dell'area francescana," in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nel '200, Atti dell'VIII Convegno Internazionale* (Assisi, Oct. 16-18, 1980), Assisi, 1981, 169-201.

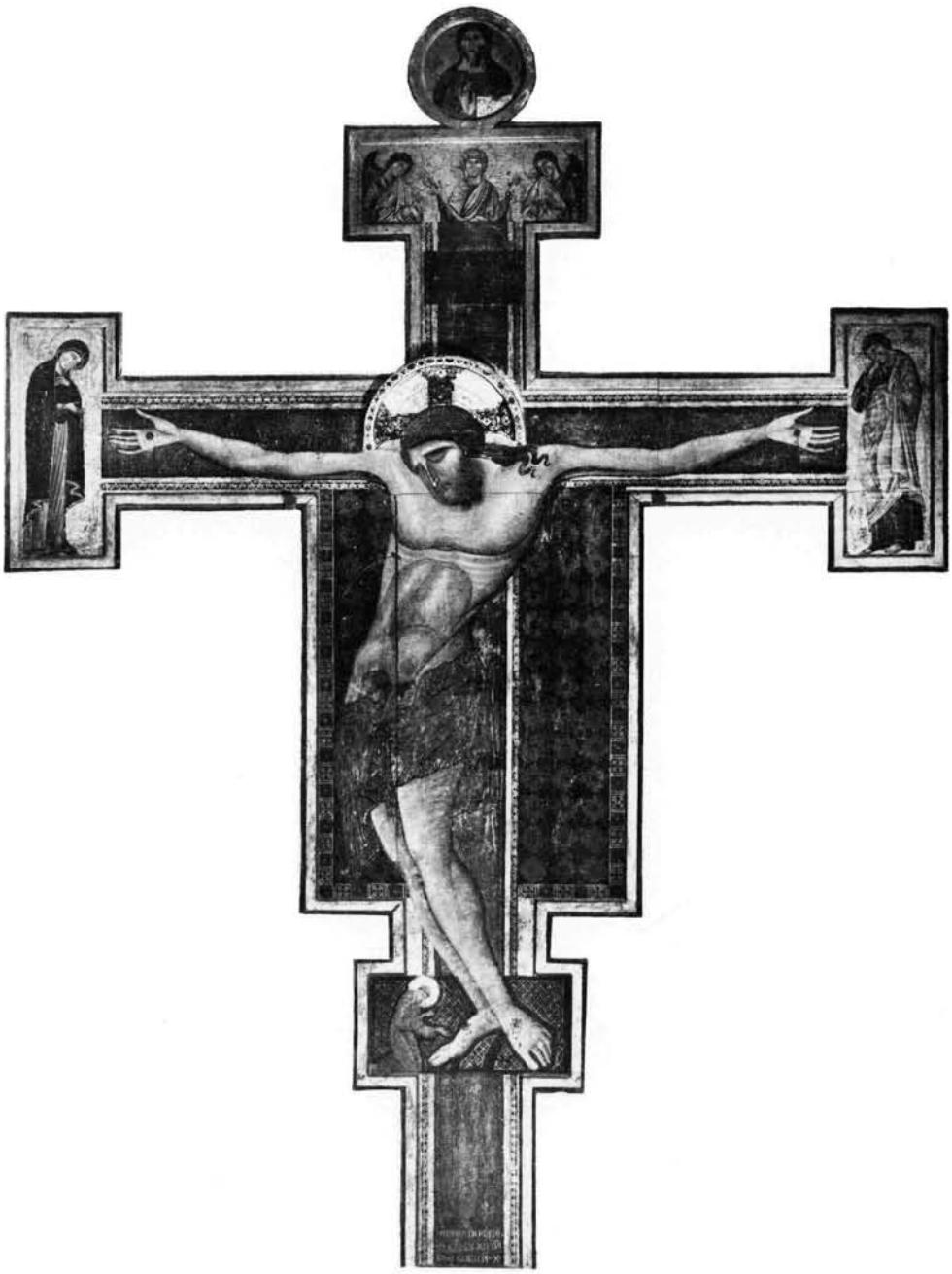
[5]H. Belting, *Die Oberkirche von San Francesco in Assisi*, Berlin, 1977, pl. 41, 131-32. Some scholars cite this fresco as a model for later depictions. For example, see M. Mosco, ed., *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano. Da Giotto a De Chirico*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti, Florence, (May 24-Sept. 7, 1986), Florence, 1986, 102.

[6]This is the only surviving painting by Cimabue which portrays Francis in this manner. See E. Sandberg-Vavalà, *La Croce dipinta in Italia e l'iconografia della passione*, Verona, 1929, I, 123. Later images from the fifteenth century which depict Francis kneeling alone at the Crucifixion are discussed by K. Bauch, "Christus am Kreuz und der heilige Franziskus," *Sonderdruck aus der Festschrift zum 60. Geburtstag von C.G. Heise*, Berlin, 1950, 103-112; and H.S. Francis, "Sassetta: Crucifixion with St. Francis," *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin*, L, 1963, 46-49.

[7]Sandberg-Vavalà, I, 123-24, believed that the theme was peculiar to Umbria, citing the rarity of examples from Tuscany—the cross at S. Francesco in Arezzo and the Crucifix in the Pinacoteca Comunale at Castiglionfiorentino (two examples which will be examined shortly). However, many Tuscan examples survive from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in panel painting, only a few of which will be discussed in this paper.

[8]Sandberg-Vavalà, I, 123-24. The lack of surviving examples from Lucca and from Pisa, the home of Giunta, reinforced Sandberg-Vavalà's theory that the iconography became popular in Umbria and was adopted by Giunta in deference to local custom. See also D. Campini, *Giunta Pisano Capitani e le croci dipinte romaniche*, Milan, 1966, 148-154.

[9]The cross, n. 26 in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria in Perugia, was originally from the church of S. Francesco at Prato. G. Sinibaldi and G. Brunetti, *Pittura italiana del Duecento e Trecento*, exh. cat. of the *Mostra giottesca*, Florence, (1937), Florence, 1943, fig. 42, 137. Sandberg-Vavalà, II, figs. 518 and 519, 823. Campini, pl. XIV, 148-49. E.B. Garrison, *Italian Romanesque Panel Painting: An Illustrated Index*, Florence, 1949, fig. 533, 205.



2. "St. Francis Master," Painted Cross, 1272. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, n. 26 (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

and by the workshop of the "St. Francis Master."[10]

One variation that became quite popular during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries alluded to Francis's spiritual identification with Christ, confirmed through his stigmatization. This is illustrated by a large crucifix by the "St. Clare Master," located in the basilica of S. Chiara in Assisi, dating to the 1270s (fig. 3).[11] Francis kneels and, with his face near the nail, embraces Christ's feet. The first two abbesses of the Poor Clares, Beata Benedetta and St. Clare, are represented kneeling to either side, facing inward and meditating on Francis's intimate relationship with Christ's wounds.

Similar to the S. Chiara Crucifix but offering a somewhat different interpretation is Francis's pose in the crucifix at S. Francesco in Arezzo (fig. 4).[12] Francis does not kneel, as he does in other examples, but bends his knees as if supporting the weight of the Crucified Christ. This pose may refer to Francis's spiritual elevation of the Church, and it may also allude to an emotional response, a slight swoon resulting from penitential lamentations.[13]

The presence of this iconography on painted crosses may be associated historically with the growing cult of the cross, with popular pilgrimages, and with

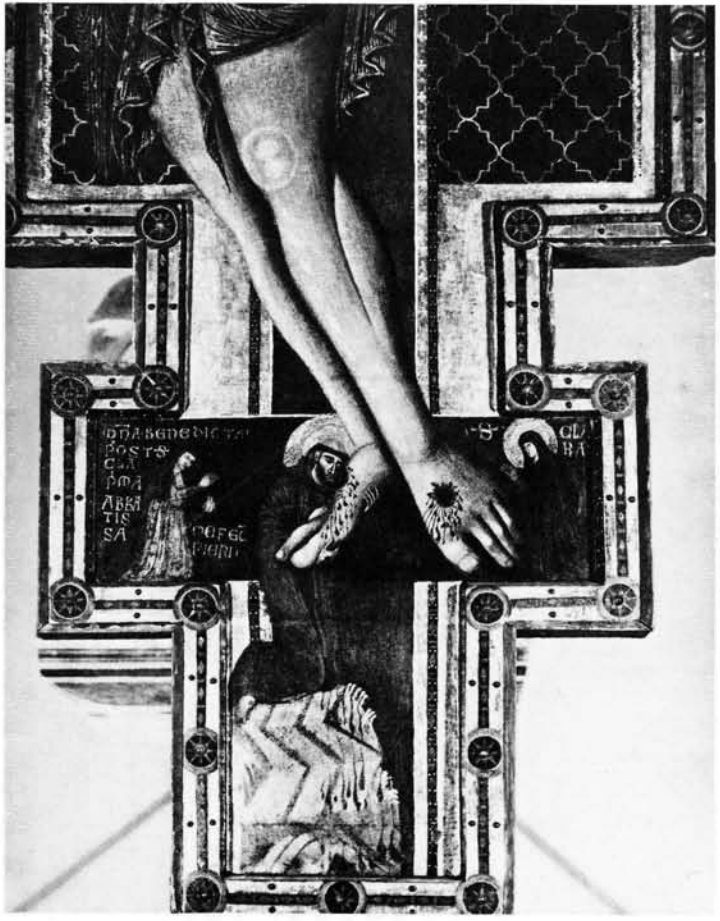
[10]Examples include the *Acton Crucifix* (Florence), a double-sided processional cross (Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, n. 18), the *Faenza Crucifix* (Pinacoteca Comunale), and the cross by the "Master of the Borgo Cross" (Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale). See respectively Sandberg-Vavalà, II, figs. 522 and 524, 834; fig. 520, 829-833; fig. 533, 848; fig. 536, 855; and Campini, 151, 175; pl. 12, 49; fig. 16, 49.

[11]Campini, fig. 8, 134-135; Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 43, 139; Garrison, fig. 542, 207. This cross has been restored and repainted several times, as seen by a comparison of the photo taken by Alinari in 1939 (fig. 3) and illustrations of two previous conditions provided by Sandberg-Vavalà, II, figs. 528 and 529, 841-44. Sandberg-Vavalà describes the perspectival rendering of the nails, visible in the earlier photographs, which is also mentioned in this essay. Sandberg-Vavalà, II, 843. In addition, there is some controversy with regard to the dating of the cross. The inscription, which was repainted over the original, today reads "DNA BENEDICTA POST S[ANCTAM] CLARA P[RIMA] ABB[ATISSIMA] ME FECIT F[IERI]." Although the crucifix was commissioned by Benedetta, who died in 1260, she is depicted wearing a halo. Also, the cross shows a dependence on the crucifix of 1272 by the "St. Francis Master." Sandberg-Vavalà, II, 841-844. The influence of Bonaventure's *Major Life*, which will be discussed shortly, gives a *terminus post quem* of 1263. The evidence suggests a date in the 1270s.

[12]Sandberg-Vavalà, II, figs. 550-552, 873-876; Garrison, fig. 541, 207. This crucifix has been much restored. For a recent photograph, see Campini, pl. XX, 54.

[13]The latter interpretation was suggested by Professor David Wilkins.

[14]For general information, see Delaruelle, *La piété populaire du moyen-âge*, Turin, 1975, 268-274; and Sandberg-Vavalà, I, 72-74. The dedication of Franciscan churches to the Sacred Cross provides additional evidence for important developments in the cult of the cross.



3. "St. Clare Master," Painted Cross, 1270s. Assisi, S. Chiara
(photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

4. Aretine School, Painted Cross, ca. 1250-1300. Arezzo, S. Francesco
(photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

the crusades.[14] It may be connected especially to the notion of *imitatio Christi* advocated by Francis and his followers.[15] The popularity of the iconography on painted crosses themselves may be related to the episode of Francis's conversion as told in the *Second Life* by Thomas of Celano written in 1247.[16] According to the text, a painted crucifix (now in the church of S. Chiara, Assisi) spoke to Francis, telling him to repair his house, the church of S. Damiano.[17] The author immediately associated Francis's conversion with his later stigmatization, the two crucial events in the saint's life, and related both events to the Crucifixion of Christ: Francis returned home and "appeared crucified when Christ had spoken to him from the wood of the cross;" and "the love of his heart made itself manifest by the wounds of his body." Following this momentous episode, St. Francis wept uncontrollably and constantly bewailed Christ's Passion.[18]

The development and popularity of images which depicted Francis adoring Christ's wounds may also be connected with the description of the stigmatization promoted by the *Major Life (Legenda maior)*, written by Bonaventure between 1260 and 1263. In 1266 this biography became the authoritative text on the life of St. Francis; all earlier lives of Francis were ordered burned.[19] Bonaventure's account of the stigmatization differed greatly from that described in Francis's first biography, written by Thomas of Celano in 1228. In the early version, Francis saw a vision of a man who was like a seraph affixed to a cross, and Francis's "flesh took on the appearance of the ends of nails, bent and driven back and rising above the rest of the flesh."[20] In contrast to the account by Thomas of Celano and those of other early biographers, Bonaventure stressed the stigmatization as the culmination of Francis's life, connected integrally with the Passion of Christ. According to the text, Francis went to the hermitage of La Verna to fast and to meditate. Then on the morning of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, there appeared before Francis a seraph, transformed into the image of a man crucified on a cross. Francis by his extreme love for Christ was "crucified like Christ," and actual black nails appeared in his hands and feet. On his side was a livid scar that bled often and profusely.[21]

[15] M.A. Habig, *St. Francis of Assisi, Writings and Early Biographies: English Omnibus of the Sources for the Life of St. Francis*, Chicago, 1973, 6-8; Delaruelle, 237-239. For the concept of *Franciscus alter Christus*, see H.W. van Os, "St. Francis of Assisi as a second Christ in early Italian painting," *Simiolus*, VII, no. 3, 1974, 115-132; and R. Goffen, *Spirituality in Conflict: Saint Francis and Giotto's Bardi Chapel*, University Park and London, 1988, esp. Chapter 2, 13-22.

[16] Thomas of Celano, *Second Life*, VI, 7, in Habig, 370-1. For a possible explanation of why the story of the Conversion does not appear in the *First Life*, see J.L. Smith, *Francis of Assisi*, New York, 1972, 33-34.

[17] This was interpreted by Thomas of Celano and by later biographers to refer to Francis's renewal of the Christian Church.

[18] Habig, 371.

[19] Habig, 615.

[20] Thomas of Celano, *First Life*, III, 95, in Habig, 309.

[21] *Major Life*, Pt. I, XIII, 1-4, in Habig, 729-732.

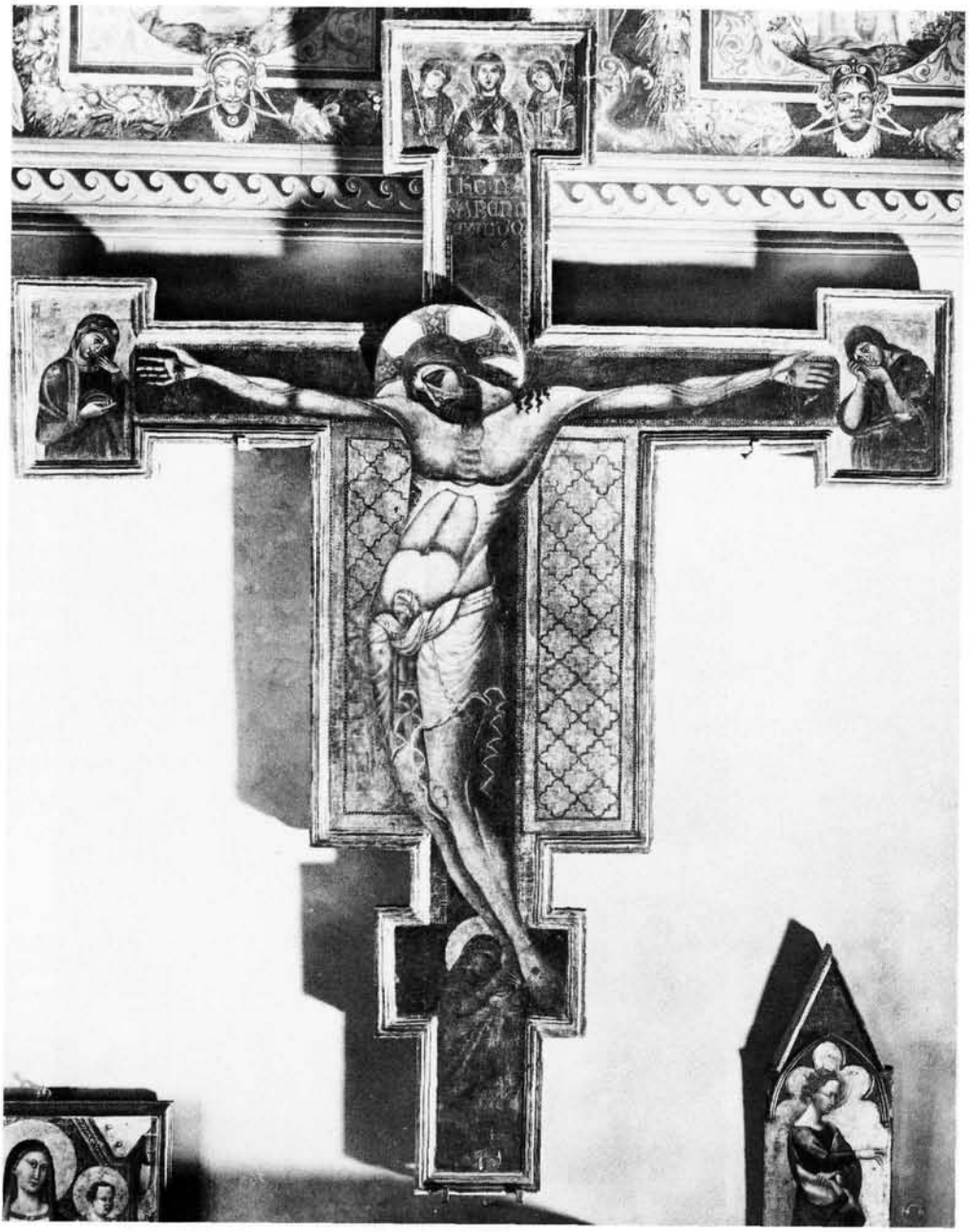
After describing the episode, the text extolled Francis's humble imitation of Christ achieved through meditation and austere penance. "Francis now hung, body and soul, upon the cross with Christ."[22] Bonaventure related that "the seal of the cross had been impressed upon St. Francis," who "clothed himself with the cross and put on the habit of penance which was in the form of the cross."[23] The actual physicality of the nails which appeared in Francis's hands and feet reinforced the notion of an intimate relationship between Francis and the Crucified Christ. In the *S. Chiara Crucifix*, the nails in Christ's feet are prominently displayed and rendered perspectivally, while the stigma visible on Francis's right foot (rendered as a nail?) directly relates to his adoration of Christ's right foot.

Many painted crosses of the period emphasized the blood which flowed from Christ's wounds, indicating a popular concern for redemption and for personal salvation. Blood was traditionally associated with death, rebirth, and rejuvenation; the blood of Christ, in particular, symbolized the redemption of humanity and the new life brought by Christ's sacrifice. Bonaventure, in Chapter 31 of his *Tree of Life* entitled "Jesus Dripping with Blood," wrote that "Christ the Lord was stained with his own blood, which flowed profusely...So that with God there might be plenteous redemption,..."[24] Blood also played an important role in various posthumous miracles recorded of Francis, such as that which described "How Blood came out of a picture of the Stigmata of St. Francis."[25]

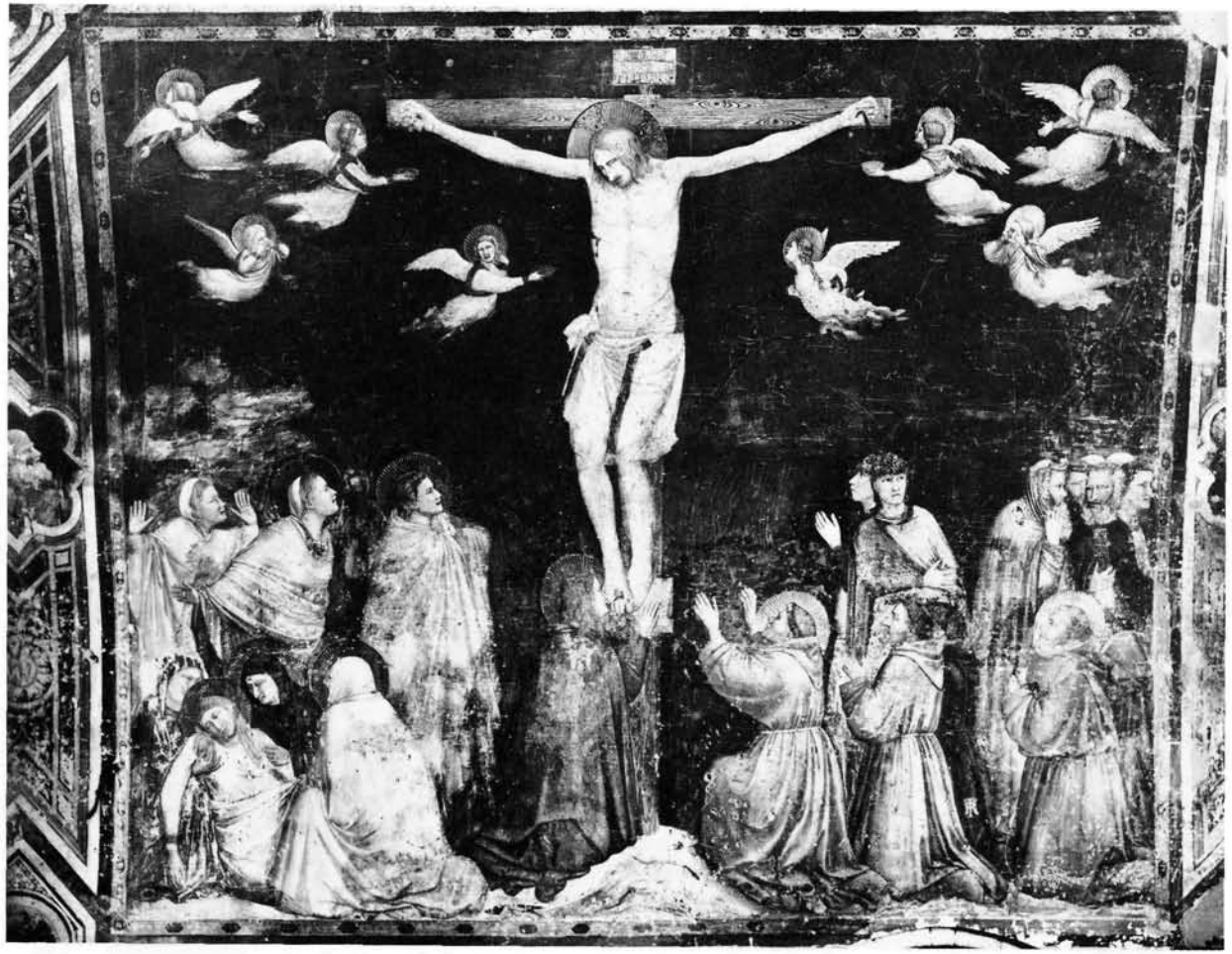
Blood was also traditionally recognized as a cleansing "baptismal" fluid: by shedding his blood, Christ "washed away the sins" of mankind. Bonaventure presented Francis's conversion and stigmatization as explicit acts of purification which were connected with Christ's Crucifixion. The cleansing properties of blood may also be related to the penitential tears of Mary Magdalen: at her conversion she washed Christ's feet with her tears and annointed his feet, and after his death she again annointed his feet with oil before burial. Bonaventure, in Chapter 32 of his *Tree of Life*, described how Mary Magdalen "bathes the tomb with her tears" and uttered the words of the Prophet, "My tears were my food day and night,..."[26] Weeping was an important expression of penitential sorrow and contrition, which also was commonly practiced by thirteenth-century penitents, including Francis himself.

In relation to similar images of Francis, Mary Magdalen was depicted for the first time kneeling at the foot of the cross during the thirteenth century.[27] Many such images survive from this period in Tuscany and Umbria, corresponding to the

[22]*Major Life*, Pt. I, XIV, 1, in Habig, 737.
[23]*Major Life*, Pt. II, I, 1, in Habig, 747.
[24]Bonaventure, *The Soul's Journey into God. The Tree of Life. The Life of St. Francis*, trans. E. Cousins, New York, 1978, 156.
[25]*The Little Flowers of St. Francis*, Pt. III, V, in Habig, 1481.
[26]Cousins, 157-158; from *Psalms* 41:4.
[27]Although Mary Magdalen's cult flourished in Europe from the eleventh century onward, the earliest surviving Northern depictions of her kneeling at the Crucifixion date from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and often display an Italian influence. See, for example, G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Seligman, New York, 1968, II, figs. 517 and 518. See also note 1 above.



5. Aretine School, Painted Cross, ca. 1300. Castiglionfiorentino, Pinacoteca Comunale (photo: Alinari/ Art Resource)



6. School of Giotto, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1300-1350, fresco, Assisi, S. Francesco, Lower Church (photo: Alinari/ Art Resource)

growing Magdalen cult.[28] In a crucifix at the church of S. Maria del Carmine in Florence, for example, Mary embraces Christ's foot in a pose similar to that of Francis in the *S. Chiara Crucifix*.[29] Another crucifix from the church of S. Francesco at Castiglionfiorentino (fig. 5), dating from the late thirteenth century, depicts Mary Magdalen in the same position as Francis in the *Arezzo Crucifix*.[30] Similarly, her arms embrace Christ's feet and her face is pressed near the wounds. The influence of contemporary depictions of Francis demonstrates in visual terms the close historical association between the two saints during this period: Mary Magdalen's conversion and ensuing penance, her eremitic contemplation, her apostolate, her extreme sorrow at Christ's Passion, and her humble love and devotion to Christ were all important aspects of Francis's own life and vocation.[31]

Although Mary Magdalen was traditionally the supreme example of a converted sinner, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the focus of her cult shifted to her austere penance and to her legendary apostolate in Provence.[32] Francis and his followers, in particular, preached a message of penance and held Mary Magdalen in high esteem. Franciscan preaching guides, for example, had a central chapter on contrition, citing Mary Magdalen as a primary example to be followed.[33] In 1217 Francis sent seven monks to Mary Magdalen's shrine in Vézelay, which was also the starting point of several crusades.[34] The connection was underlined by the dedication of the Magdalen Chapel in the Lower Church of S. Francesco at Assisi between 1315 and 1320.[35] Also in the Lower Church, a *Crucifixion* fresco by the school of Giotto depicts Mary Magdalen with her right hand on the cross, gazing at Christ's wounds (fig. 6).[36] Significantly, Francis kneels beside her with his arms extended towards Christ, accompanied by two friars who also kneel. This fresco echoed Cimabue's *Crucifixion* in the Upper Church and reinforced the close relationship between Francis and the Magdalen promoted by the Franciscan Order.

[28]Two typical panels may be cited here from Florence and from Siena, both of which formed parts of small-scale and probably devotional altarpieces: a painting by the school of Giotto (Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen) and another by Pietro Lorenzetti (Siena, Pinacoteca Nazionale). For the former, see Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 112, 367. The latter is reproduced in Mosco, 105.

[29]Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 87, 283; Sandberg-Vavalà, II, fig. 489, 793; Garrison, fig. 562, 211.

[30]The cross is located in the Pinacoteca Comunale at Castiglionfiorentino. Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 39, 127; Sandberg-Vavalà, II, fig. 553, 876-77; Garrison, fig. 552, 209.

[31]La Row, intro, xxi-xxviii. See also V. Saxer, "Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du moyen âge," *Cahiers d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Auxerre-Paris, n. 3, 1959.

[32]La Row, 129-132. The most important works on the development of Mary Magdalen's cult are by V. Saxer: "Le cult de Marie Madeleine," and *Le dossier vézelien de Marie Madeleine. Invention et translation des réliques en 1265-1267*, Brussels, 1975.

[33]D.L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality*, Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975, 59. See also I. Magli, *Gli uomini della penitenza. Lineamenti antropologici del medioevo italiano*, Milan, 1977, esp. 35-57.

[34]E. Borsook, *The Mural Painters of Tuscany*, Oxford, 2nd ed., 1979, 15. The Crusades were also viewed as a form of penance. H.E. Mayer, *The Crusades*, trans. J. Gillingham, London, 1965, 99. See also C. Dukker, *The Changing Heart. The Penance-concept of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. B. Molina, Chicago, 1959.

[35]The chapel was commissioned by Bishop Teobaldo Pontano of Assisi (1314-1329). Borsook, 15. See also L. Schwartz, "The Fresco Decoration of the Magdalen Chapel in the Basilica of St. Francis of Assisi," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1980.

[36]For a color reproduction, see D. Formaggio, *Les Basiliques d'Assisi - The Basilicas of Assisi*, Novara, 1960, 109.

While her associations with Francis made Mary Magdalen especially popular among Franciscans, she was also greatly honored among Dominicans. It is notable that while her sanctuary at Saint-Maximin in Marseilles was originally guarded by the Benedictines, it was transferred to Dominican control in 1295.[37] The Dominicans' special reverence for Mary Magdalen is illustrated by a document of 1297, which proclaimed her patroness of the Dominican Order.[38] Immediately, the feast of Mary Magdalen assumed great importance among Dominicans, and its solemn celebration was prescribed in 1298 by John Vigorosi, the second Dominican prior at Saint-Maximin, when he spoke at the General Chapter of the Dominican Order in Venice.[39] Thus, while crucifixes depicting St. Francis at the foot of the cross were located primarily in Franciscan convents and churches, many of those portraying Mary Magdalen may easily have come from Dominican churches and convents.

Both Franciscans and Dominicans regarded Mary Magdalen as a model saint who, according to popular medieval legends, combined the active and the contemplative within her own life.[40] Francis himself, for example, in *De religiosa habitatione in eremo*, described persons living in groups of three or four, "some living the [apostolic] life of Martha, and others the [eremitic] life of Mary Magdalen."[41] The Dominican preacher fra Giordano da Rivolto, in a sermon of 1305 dedicated to Mary Magdalen in Florence, expressed this combination in practical terms, comparing the active life to civil and political participation and the contemplative life to intellectual and noble endeavors.[42] This balance between the two attitudes, advocated by the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, provided an important guide for penitential religious and lay groups and for society as a whole.

In emulation of these portrayals of Francis and Mary Magdalen, Tuscan and Umbrian patrons were sometimes depicted kneeling at the Crucifixion. These persons are identifiable members of the Franciscan and Dominican Orders and penitential lay fraternities. A brief discussion of the development of penitential Orders is useful for understanding the images.

[37]La Row, 144. See also V. Saxer, *Le dossier*, II, 361.

[38]A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres généraux de l'ordre des frères prêcheurs*, II, Paris, 1903-20, 345. An important work on the Dominicans is R.F. Bennett, *The Early Dominicans: Studies in Thirteenth Century Dominican History*, Cambridge, 1937.

[39]La Row, 144; A.M. Walz, *Compendium Historiae Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Rome, 2nd ed., 1947.

[40]The traditional interpretation of the Mary and Martha parable presented the contemplative life of Mary as superior to the active life of her sister. However, legends describing Mary's apostolate in France developed in the eleventh century which were later elaborated upon and combined with the earlier eremitic legends. La Row, 93-100, 168-171. A general discussion of the Martha and Mary theme is found in M.E. Mason, *Active Life and Contemplative Life: A Study of the Concepts from Plato to the Present*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1961.

[41]P.F. Anson, *The Call of the Desert: Solitary Life in the Christian Church*, London, 1964, 127; cited in La Row, 171. See also T. Merton, "Franciscan Eremitism," *The Cord*, XVI, 1966, 356-364; L. Pellegrini, "L'esperienza eremitica di Francesco e dei primi francescani," in *Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo dal 1216 al 1226, Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale* (Assisi, Oct. 15-17, 1976), Assisi, 1977, 279-313.

[42]"la vita che diciamo attiva la chiama Egli vita civile e politicha, l'altra chiama vita intellectuale e vita nobile." *Predica*, MCCCV, addì XXII di Luglio, giovedì mattina il dì di Santa Maria Maddalena, alla chiesa su nella Chosta di San Giorgio: "Maria ottima...," cfr. BRF ms. Ricc(ardiana) 1345, cc. 79-82; cited in M.P. Mannini, "La diffusione del culto in Toscana: Lazzaretti, conventi, case delle Convertite e Malmaritate," in *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano*, 60, n. 1.

Penitential lay groups were an important element in societal reform and in the expansion of the mendicant Orders.[43] The penitential Orders began as small groups of sympathizers who initially provided moral as well as material support for Franciscan and Dominican houses, which were located primarily in urban areas.[44] Members, who were sometimes called tertiaries, tended to the costs and the upkeep of the churches and engaged in charitable works of *misericordia*.[45] They also assisted the poor and the needy with donations of buildings and money.[46] By 1280, the activities of most penitential organiztions had expanded to include the education of children, the welfare of the poor, and the care of hospitals.[47] Penitential groups were also an important element in the growth of confraternities in Central and Northern Italy.[48]

From the beginning, penitential orders were composed of both men and women of various social classes.[49] These persons did not want to enter a religious house, either because they were married or for other reasons, but felt the same

[43]These groups were not created by Francis or Dominic but originated during the eleventh century in connection with popular movements for church reform. See A. Pompei, "Il movimento penitenziale nei secoli XII-XIII," in *L'Ordine della Penitenza di San Francesco d'Assisi nel secolo XIII*, 1973, 23-27; G.G. Meersseman and G.P. Pacini, I, 217-304; P. Mandonnet, "Les origines de l'Ordo de Poenitentia.'" *Compte rendu du IVe congrès scientifique international des Catholiques*, V, Fribourg, 1897; P. Brezzi, "Francesco e i laici del suo tempo," in *Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo dal 1216 al 1226*, 161-191; R. Manselli, "Spiritualità francescana e società," in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nel '200*, 391-406; P. Gratien, *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'ordre des frères mineurs aux III siècle*, Paris, 1928; and Delaruelle, *La piété populaire du moyen-âge*, 161-194, 247-276.

[44]The origins of the penitential movement in Florence, for example, coincided with the arrival of the first mendicant preachers, from 1218 to 1221; penitential groups were centered around the Dominicans at S. Maria Novella and around the Franciscans at S. Croce. See A. Benvenuti, "Fonti e problemi per la storia dei penitenti a Firenze nel secolo XIII," in *L'Ordine della Penitenza di San Francesco d'Assisi nel secolo XIII*, 1973, 285-86; A. Benvenuti-Papi, "I frati della penitenza nella società fiorentina del due-trecento," in *I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del due e trecento, Atti del 2 convegno di studi francescani* (Rome, Oct. 12-14, 1976), ed. M. D'Alatri, Rome, 1977, 191.

[45]Benvenuti, 1973, 288. The Franciscan and Dominican Third Orders of Penitence were not officially recognized until the late thirteenth century.

[46]In Florence, for example, documents record that in 1224 Berlinghiero de' Girolami and the penitential group around S. Maria Novella provided for the construction of the Hospital of S. Niccolò at Fontemanzina. Benvenuti, 1973, 287; R. Franci, "L'Ospedale di San Paolo in Firenze e i Terziari Francescani," *Studi francescani*, VII, 1921, 52-70; See also L. di Stolfi, "Il Terz'Ordine a Firenze nel Trecento," *Frate francescano*, XIII, 1940, 207-214.

[47]A.G. Matanic, "Legislazione propria dei penitenti francescani dal 1289 a tutto il secolo XIV," in *I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del due e trecento*, 1977, 66. Many hospitals were named after Mary Magdalen, who became the protectress of the infirm due to her associations with Lazarus. See Mannini, in *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano*, 1986, 60.

[48]F.A. Dal Pino, *I frati Servi di S. Maria dalle origini all'approvazione (1233-ca. 1304)*, Louvain, 1972, I, pt. 2, 580-597, 779-795. See also M.D. Papi, "Le associazioni laiche di ispirazione francescana nella Firenze del due-trecento," in *I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del due e trecento*, 221-243; S. Gieben, "Confraternite e penitenti dell'area francescana," in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nel '200*, 169-201.

[49]F. Casolini, "I penitenti francescani in 'leggende' e cronache del Trecento," in *I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del due e trecento*, 72. The *Liber de laudibus beati Francesci*, for example, written after 1278, describes penitents as members of the clergy, laity, virgins, married women, and widows.

impulse as those who joined the First and Second Orders.[50] After adopting the *propositum vitae* of the fraternity, married persons could continue leading married lives, while celibates took a vow of chastity.[51] Married women wishing to join needed the consent of their husbands.[52] Tertiaries wore special garments identifying their affiliations.[53] They were considered ecclesiastical persons and as such were exempt from carrying arms and from serving in the army.[54] They were immune from civil obligations and exempt from paying taxes imposed by the commune.[55] They were also excluded from the ecclesiastical censures that could cripple entire cities.[56]

Franciscans, Dominican, Cistercians, Augustinians, as well as Servites and penitential lay groups, all honored Mary Magdalen as a model penitent.[57] Of particular interest is the development of penitential institutions for women during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, many of which chose Mary Magdalen as their patron saint.[58] Florence offers good examples of the variety of these religious institutions, which were also dedicated to social reform. Documents indicate the existence of Third Order regulars composed entirely of women at S. Maria Novella in 1258 and at S. Croce around 1266.[59] In 1257, Benedictine nuns founded a convent in the Borgo Pinti (an area then known as *Borgo delle pentite*) to watch over penitent

[50]Pompei, 1973, 33. Members were often described in documents as "*Servi di Dio*" or "*Servos Dei*" and were generally known as "*terziari*." Benvenuti-Papi, 1977, 202. See also A. Pompei, "Terminologia varia dei penitenti," in *Il movimento francescano della penitenza nella società medioevale, Atti del 3 Convegno di studi francescani* (Padua, Sept. 25-27, 1979), ed. M. D'Alatri, Rome, 1980, 11-22.

[51]Pompei, 1973, 37; Matanic, 1977, 63.

[52]G.G. Meersseman, *Le dossier de l'Ordre de la Pénitence du XIIIe siècle*, Fribourg, 1961, 133.

[53]Matanic, 1977, 55

[54]Concessions granted by Honorius II specified that penitents, although considered ecclesiastical persons, were not forbidden to swear because it was necessary for many public professions, such as the office of notary. Benvenuti-Papi, 1977, 202-203; Piana, 1957, 51; D'Alatri, 1977, 103; See also C. Piana, "La posizione giuridica del Terz'Ordine della penitenza a Firenze nel secolo XIV," Part VI of "Silloge di documenti dall'antico archivio di S. Francesco di Bologna," in *Archivum franciscanum historicum*, L, 1957, 52-54.

[55]Piana, 1957, 50.

[56]Piana, 1957, 53.

[57]Mosco, 45; See also H.M. Garth, *St. Mary Magdalene in Mediaeval Literature*, Baltimore, 1950.

[58]For important studies dealing with the development of Franciscan institutions for women, see *Movimento religioso femminile e francescanesimo nel secolo XIII, Atti del VII Convegno Internazionale* (Assisi, Oct. 11-13, 1979), Assisi, 1980. See also S. Cohen, "Convertite e Malmaritate - Donne rirregolari' e ordini religiosi nella Firenze rinascimentale," in *Memoria, Rivista di storia della donna*, V, *Sacro e Profano*, 1982, 46-63; and E.V. Della Robbia, *Nei Monasteri fiorentini*, Florence, 1947. There is also record of exclusively female orders of *Poenitentia Beatae Mariae Magdalenae* as early as 1255 in France and Germany. Mannini, in *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano*, 60. See also Meersseman and Pacini, *Ordo fraternitatis*, I, 498-504; II, 374-376.

[59]Benvenuti-Papi, 1977, 205-6, n. 46.

prostitutes (*convertite*). The convent, originally called S. Maria Maddalena la Penitente, passed to Cistercian nuns in 1321 and was soon retitled S. Maria Maddalena in Cestello.[60] During the late fourteenth century, another monastery for *convertite* dedicated to St. Elizabeth was founded in the Via dei Serragli, near the church of Santo Spirito, by Augustinian nuns with the help of the confraternity of S. Maria delle Laudi.[61] Religious houses for reformed prostitutes were also established in Naples in 1324 and in other Italian cities.[62]

Penitential movements were an important element in Italian religion and culture during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In emulation of Francis of Assisi and Mary Magdalen, two model penitents, patrons were sometimes similarly depicted kneeling in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Crucifixion paintings. Their desire to be visibly associated with Francis and Mary Magdalen probably reflected an actual endeavor to imitate these saints in real life.[63] Surviving images demonstrate the popularity of this iconography among Francis and Dominican friars, nuns, and tertiaries.

One example which shows the close association between the Orders and the association of the iconography with Francis is a double-side reliquary cross (c. 1300) painted for the Benedictine/Franciscan convent of S. Paolo near Spoleto.[64] On the side depicting the Crucified Christ between two groups of soldiers, a nun kneels at the bottom of the composition with her face and hands placed near Christ's feet. This figure is haloed and may represent St. Clare or, because of the monastery's Benedictine Rule, St. Scholastica.[65] On the reverse, which depicts the dead Christ between four saints, Christ's knees are turned to the right, disrupting the "S" curve in an effort to mirror the composition on the obverse. In direct counterpart to the praying nun, a male saint kneels holding Christ's feet.[66] Although this figure has

[60]Mosco, 43-45; and Mannini, in *La Maddalena tra sacro e profano*, 61. See also A. Luchs, *Cestello, A Cistercian Church of the Florentine Renaissance*, London and New York, 1977; C.A. Emereau, *Le Monastère de Sainte Marie Madeleine de Pinti à Florence*, Paris, 1936; W. and E. Paatz, *Die Kirchen von Florenz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1940-54, IV, 105, n. 4 and 5.

[61]In the fourteenth century, additional houses were founded for battered wives (*malmaritate*) and for orphaned children. Cohen, 47; Mannini, 60-64.

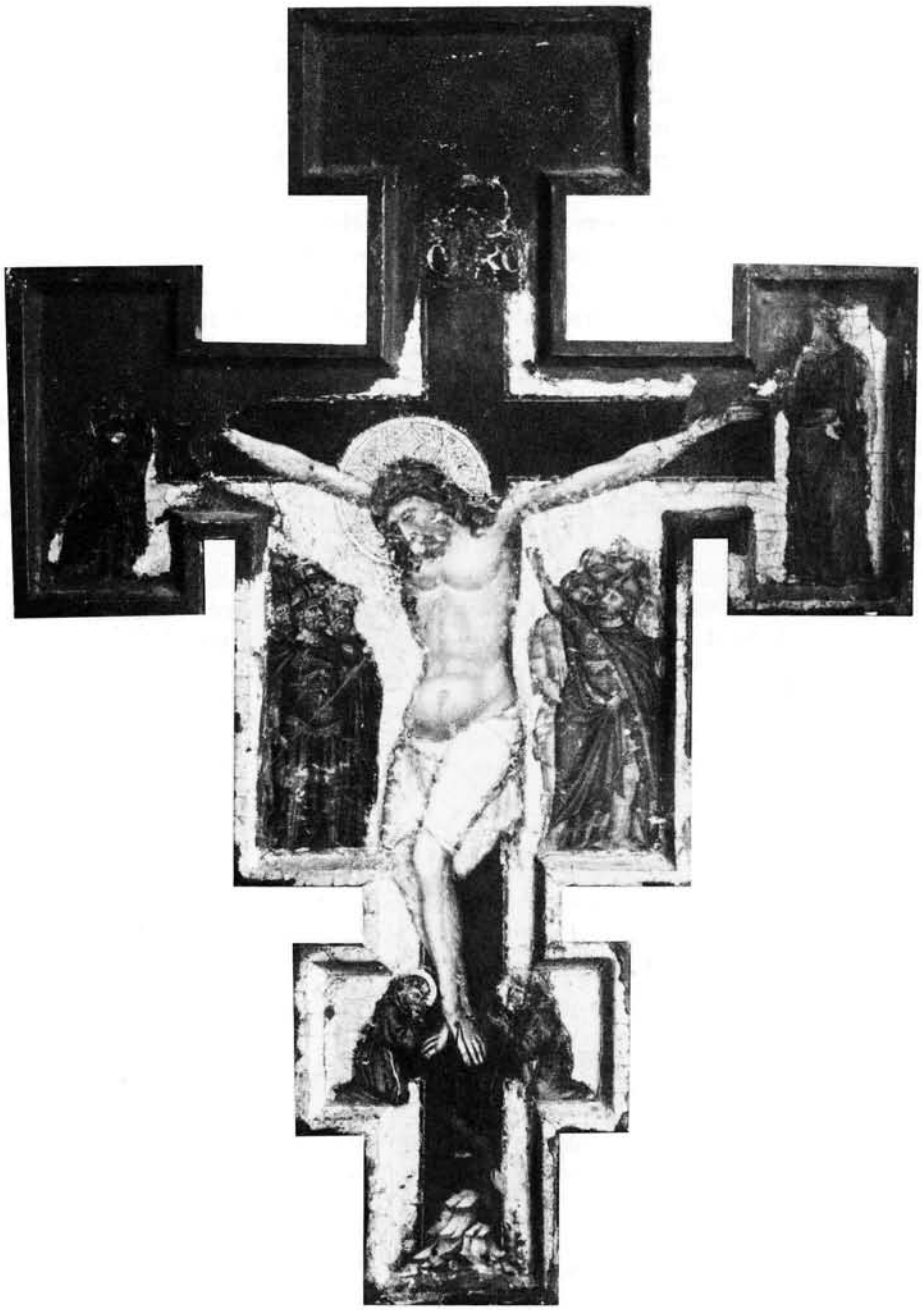
[62]Garth, 100.

[63]See Meersseman, *Ordo Fraternitatis*, I, 355-359. For general discussions on the importance of role-models, see M.-H. Vicaire, *L'imitation des aptres, moines, chanoines, mendicants (IVe - XIIIe siècle)*, Paris, 1963; J. Le Goff, "Franciscanisme et modèles culturels," in *Francescanesimo e vita religiosa dei laici nel '200*, 83-128.

[64]The cross is located in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. See B. Toscano, "Antichi reliquari di un convento benedettino di Spoleto," *Commentari*, IV, 1953, 99-106. The nuns modified their rule in 1234 and became associated with the Poor Clares until they transferred to the convent of Sant'Alò in 1396 and returned to their former Benedictine status. M. Faloci Pulignani, "Le Clarisse di S. Paolo presso Spoleto in documenti inediti del XIII secolo," *Miscellanea francescana*, IX, 1909, 65-82.

[65]It is difficult to define iconographic particulars with regard to the various Orders, for the religious affiliations were often intermingled. The Franciscan Order of Poor Clares, for example, was closely linked to the Benedictines, since St. Clare originally wore a Benedictine habit, and many Franciscan monasteries, including that of S. Damiano, largely observed the Benedictine Rule. See G. Salvi, "La Regola di S. Benedetto nei primordi dell'ordine di S. Chiara," *Benedictina*, VIII, 1954, 77-121.

[66]This figure is reproduced clearly in P. Scarpellini, "Osservazioni su di una crocefissione miniata nell' antifonario 2798 nella Biblioteca Augusta di Perugia," in *La miniatura italiana in età romanica e gotica, Atti del I Congresso di storia della Miniatura Italiana* (Cortona, May 26-28, 1978), ed. G.V.S. Waldenburg, Florence, 1979, fig. 4, 231.



7. Double-sided Processional Cross, ca. 1250-1300. Perugia, Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, n. 74 (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

been identified as Francis by the presence of the stigmata, the long white beard and heavy black cloak suggest that he actually represents St. Benedict. The stigmata, which have confused some scholars, may well have been added at a later time because of the traditional association of Francis with this theme.

A double-sided cross from Umbria depicting the *Crucifixion* and the *Flagellation* affirms the historical association between Franciscans and Dominicans by the combined depiction of Saints Francis and Dominic kneeling together at the base of the *Crucifixion* (fig. 7).[67] Another example demonstrating a clear association with the Dominican Order is a crucifix painted by the workshop of the "Magdalen Master," in which a female supplicant, wearing a black mantle and a white kerchief, kneels praying with her arms raised towards Christ (fig. 8).[68]

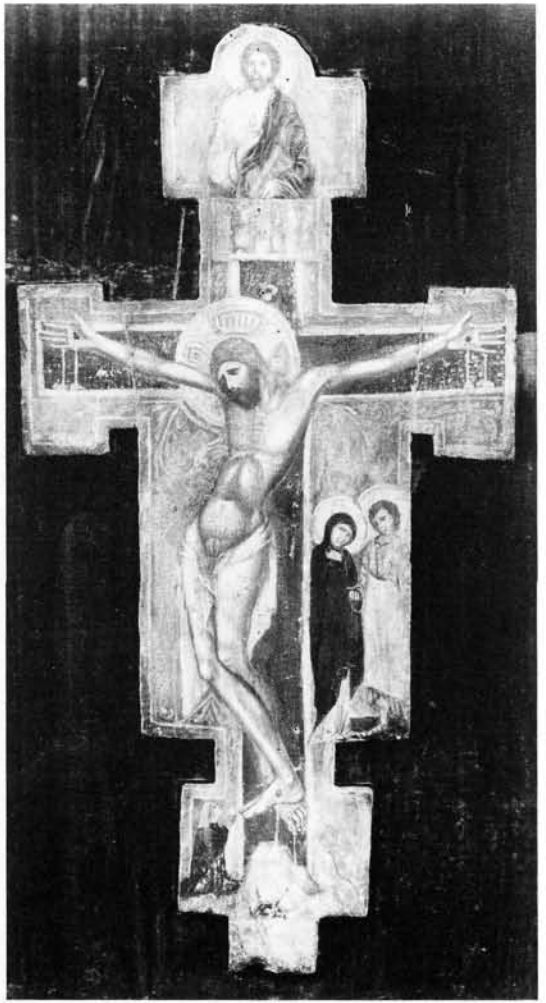
Several panel paintings which depict Francis or Mary Magdalen at the foot of the cross include a patron or a donor kneeling alongside in an attitude of prayer. In a small *Crucifixion* panel by the workshop of Bernardo Daddi, for example, probably part of a portable altarpiece, Mary Magdalen kneels embracing the cross, accompanied by a small female patron kneeling with her hands folded in prayer.[69] The considerable number of female supplicants depicted in Crucifixion scenes attests to the strength of the female religious movement during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[70]

[67]The cross is n. 74 in the Galleria Nazionale dell'Umbria, Perugia. Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 48, 155; Campini, 176; Scarpellini, fig. 3, 227-28; Garrison, fig. 481, 188.

[68]The crucifix, in the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, was formerly part of the Hendecourt Collection in London. Sandberg-Vavalà, fig. 495, 791; Garrison, fig. 465, 185. The clothing is similarly described in museum records; letter from Phoebe Peebles, Archivist of the Fogg Museum, May 18, 1989. In another double-sided processional cross from Umbria, Francis (apparently) is depicted kneeling on one side, and on the reverse, a Franciscan supplicant kneels praying and looks towards Christ with her face contorted in grief. See C. Seymour, *Early Italian Paintings at the Yale University Art Gallery*, New Haven and London, 1970, fig. 70, 101.

[69]The painting, now in the Accademia in Florence, was originally the side panel of a small triptych from the convent of S. Gaggio near Florence. Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 168, 525.

[70]My selection of images is not arbitrary, but representative of surviving depictions. A good summary concerning statistics on the survival of paintings is provided by E.B. Garrison, "Note on the Survival of Thirteenth-Century Panel Paintings in Italy," *Art Bulletin*, LIV, 1972, 140. For information on the female religious movement, see H. Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhang zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der Deutschen Mystik*, Berlin, 1935; and especially R. Rusconi, "L'espansione del francescanesimo femminile nel secolo XIII," in *Movimento religioso femminile e francescanesimo nel secolo XIII*, 263-313.



8. Workshop of the "Magdalen Master," Florentine Painted Cross, ca. 1300-1350. Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Art Museum (photo: courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, through the generosity of Henry S. Bowers, Class of 1900)

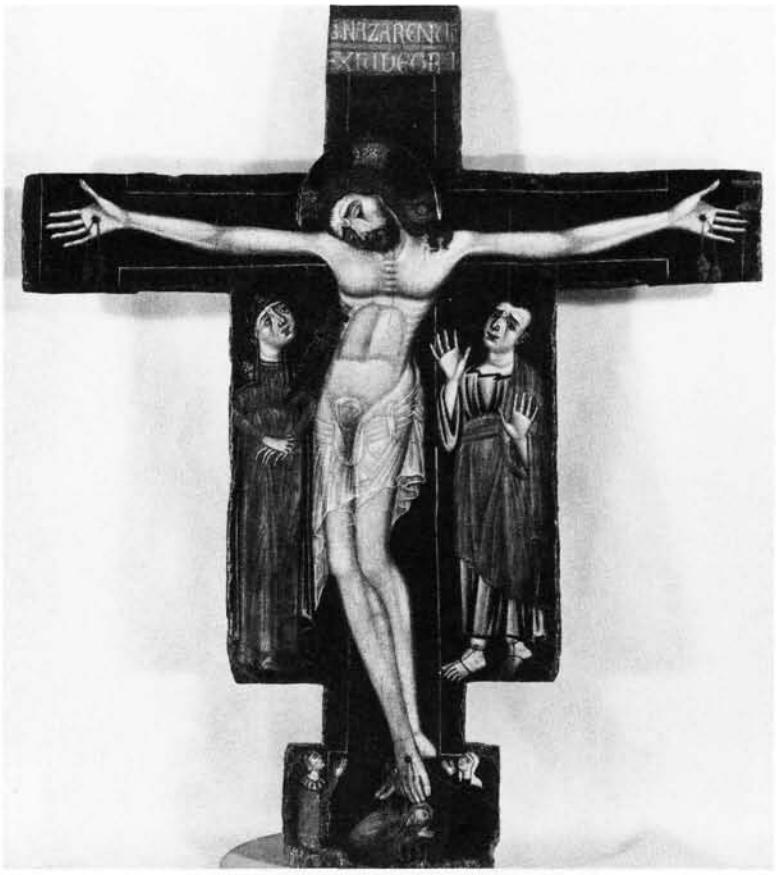
Detail of figure 8.

9. Taddeo Gaddi, *Tree of Life*, ca. 1360, fresco. Florence, Refectory of S. Croce (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

The close association between Francis, Mary Magdalen and other saints, and the patron, is demonstrated by a fresco in the former refectory of the convent of S. Croce in Florence, painted by Taddeo Gaddi around 1360 (fig. 9).[71] The scene depicts the *Crucifixion* combined with Bonaventure's *Tree of Life*. The parallel between the Tree of Death, or the Cross, and its antithesis, the Tree of Life, was especially stressed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[72] In the fresco, Francis holds the base of the cross, and a smaller female donor kneels praying beside him, wearing the grey and white garments of a Franciscan tertiary. Opposite them are Bonaventure, who sits recording his vision of the Tree of Life, and Saints Anthony of Padua, Dominic, and Louis of Toulouse. The surrounding scenes depict

[71]A. Ladis, *Taddeo Gaddi: Critical Reappraisal and Catalogue Raisonné*, Columbia (Missouri) and London, 1982, 171-173; Borsook, 42-43. The scheme follows the *Arbor vitae* painted by Pacino di Bonaguida around 1320 for the Franciscan nuns of Monticelli, near Florence.

[72]The parallel became quite popular in Italy with the spread of the Legends of the True Cross and through Bonaventure's *Tree of Life* written in the 1260s and Umbertino da Cassale's *Tree of Life of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ* written in 1305. See A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*, London, 1934.

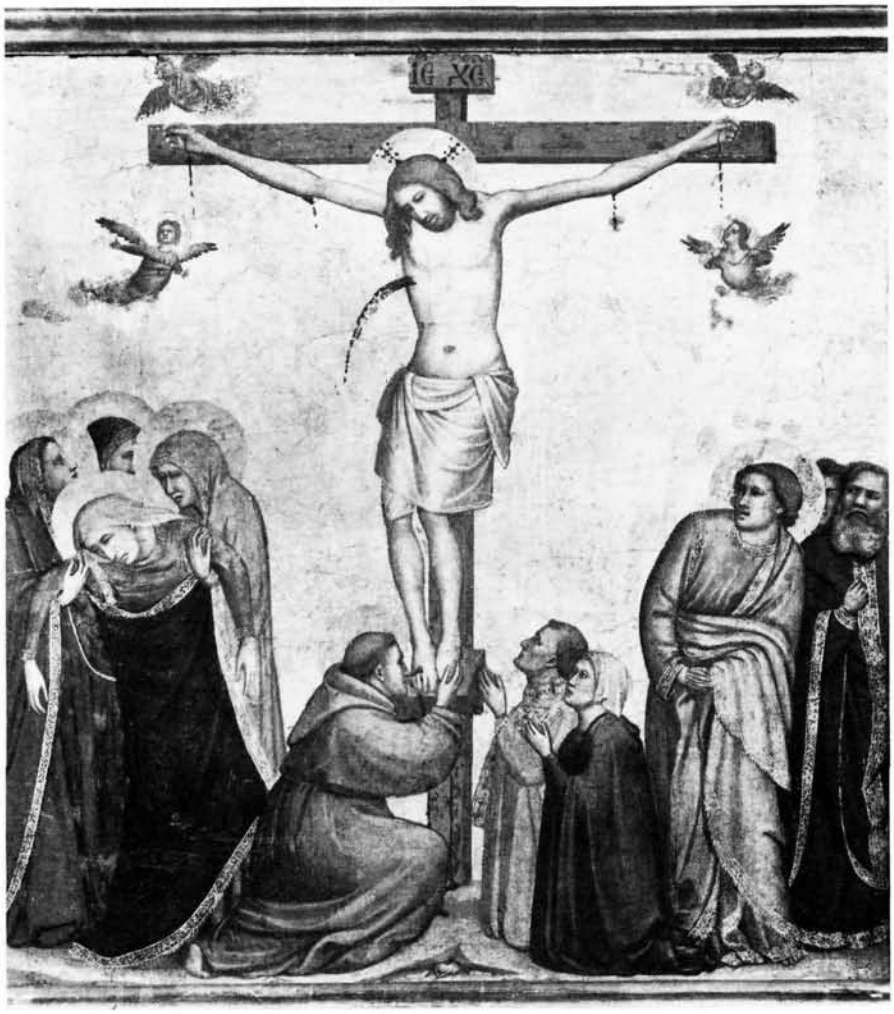


10. Workshop of the "Magdalen Master," Florentine Painted Cross, 1275-1285. Worcester, Mass., Worcester Art Museum (photo: courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum)

important events from the lives of Francis, Louis of Toulouse, Benedict, and Mary Magdalen and serve to link the saints visually.

Several *Crucifixions* depicting Francis or Mary Magdalen at the foot of the cross include a male patron kneeling alongside a female tertiary. The odd nature of this combination suggests that the male donor may represent the husband or a male relative of the tertiary. A crucifix dated 1275-1285 from the workshop of the "Magdalen Master" depicts three figures, without haloes, kneeling near the base of the cross (fig. 10). Mary Magdalen, identified by her reddish brown cloak, kneels in the center underneath the bleeding wounds of Christ. To the left is a male patron wearing lay garments, and to the right is a female who wears a black mantle and a white kerchief, suggesting her identity as a Dominican tertiary.[73] Interestingly, the Virgin, who is depicted with her heart literally "pierced by a sword of sorrow," wears

[73]The cross is located in the Worcester Art Museum in Massachusetts. Campini, fig. 18, 52; Garrison, fig. 497, 192. The catalogue, *European Paintings in the Collection of the Worcester Art Museum*, 1974, 395-397, describes the male figure as richly dressed, wearing a cape with a fur (vair) collar and lining.



11. School of Giotto, *Crucifixion*, ca. 1300-1350, panel. Munich, Staatliche Museen (photo: Alinari/Art Resource)

a veil which resembles female monastic costume. A similar example is provided in a small panel painting by Giotto's workshop which was probably part of a portable altarpiece (fig. 11).[74] Francis kneels meditating on the wounds of Christ with his right hand, the stigma visible, holding Christ's foot. To the right, a male lay person and a female tertiary of the Franciscan Order kneel together in prayer.

Some paintings show a more personal association between the patron and Francis or Mary Magdalen. In a Florentine dossal now in the Timken Art Gallery in San Diego, California, by the workshop of the "Magdalen Master," a portly patron kneels holding the base of the cross (fig. 12). He has a tonsure and wears the reddish-brown habit of the Friars Minor, but he is not haloed and therefore does not

[74]The cross is in the Staatliche Museen in Munich. Sinibaldi and Brunetti, fig. 104, 339.

12. Workshop of the "Magdalen Master," Florentine Dossal, ca. 1300-1350. San Diego, Timken Art Gallery (photo: courtesy of the Putnam Foundation, Timken Art Gallery)

represent St. Francis.[75] He chose to display his association with Francis prominently on an alterpiece, providing an example for other friars to follow.

The *Passion Altarpiece* painted by Simone Martini also includes portraits of contemporary persons who participate in the action in every panel (fig. 13).[76] While these persons are visually recorded as partaking in Christ's sorrow and suffering, they also serve to mediate the viewers' own meditation on the Passion. The *Crucifixion* depicts Mary Magdalen embracing the base of the cross. In the *Deposition*, the elderly Cardinal Napoleone Orsini kneels beneath the cross, meditating on the scene with his hands folded in prayer. Nuns wearing mantles of various colors are interspersed throughout the Passion sequence: they appear lamenting in the *Way to Calvary*, in the *Deposition*, and especially in the *Entombment*.

Joel Brink has recently connected this altarpiece with the Franciscan-Augustinian convent of S. Croce in Montefalco, founded in 1281, and with the life of the famous abbess Chiara della Croce, around whom a cult developed in the early fourteenth century.[77] He proposed that the alterpiece was a "personal record" of Cardinal Orsini to the cult of Chiara della Croce and to the Passion of Christ. In the *Entombment*, he identified the Franciscan nun kneeling next to the Virgin as Chiara herself, and the elderly Augustinian nun standing above the grieving Magdalen as Giovanna di Damiano. This latter figure was the first abbess of the convent and Chiara's older sister and spiritual mentor, famous for having advocated poverty and devotion to Christ's Passion. In this scene she instructs the sorrowful nuns as well as the viewers to meditate on the *Entombment* of Christ.

This same elderly nun (depicted with wrinkles and a hooked nose) appears in the *Way to Calvary* and in the *Deposition*, each time viewed in profile (possibly signifying her deceased state at the time the altarpiece was painted). Unaccounted for by Brink is a nun wearing a red mantle with a neck cowl extending up over her chin, who is depicted next to the elderly nun and near Mary Magdalen in each of these three instances. The prominence of this figure dressed in red in relation to Mary Magdalen and to the other contemporary portraits suggests an even more complex reading of the altarpiece which should be further investigated. In the *Way to Calvary*, she glances sideways toward Mary Magdalen, suggesting a penitential

[75]Victoria Harrison of the Timken Art Gallery corroborated this description and stated that the folds around the back of the garment may be read as a hood; letter dated April 3, 1989. Richard Offner believed that the half-length Madonna and Child with angels was painted by the "Magdalen Master" around 1300, and that the twelve scenes of the Passion were painted some twenty years later by his workshop. R. Offner, *An Early Florentine Dossal* (14-page monograph, privately printed in Italy, c. 1930 or earlier—copy at Frick Art Reference Library, New York); E.B. Garrison, "A Tentative Reconstruction of a Tabernacle and a group of Romanizing Florentine Panels," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, XXIX, 1946, fig. 27, 343; A. and E. Mongan, eds., *European Paintings in the Timken Art Gallery*, San Diego, 1969, pl. 18, 102; *Timken Art Gallery: European and American Works of Art in the Putnam Foundation Collection*, San Diego, 1983, pl. 20, 58-59.

[76]The four panels originally formed a portable altarpiece which could be folded and rearranged to form a diptych or a single image depending on the devotional requirements. G. Contini and M.C. Gozzoli, *L'opera completa di Simone Martini*, Milan, 1970, figs. 28 C-F, pls. LVII-LVIII. The *Crucifixion* and the *Deposition* are in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts, Antwerp; the *Way to Calvary* is in the Musée du Louvre, Paris; and the *Entombment* is in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

[77]J. Brink, "Cardinal Napoleon Orsini and Chiara della Croce: A Note on the Monache in Simone Martini's Passion Altarpiece," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLVI, 4, 1983, 419-24.

13. Simone Martini, *Way to Calvary*, ca. 1300-1350. Paris, Musée du Louvre (photo: Giraudon/Art Resource)

attitude which may have had some bearing on the commission or on the destination of the altarpiece.[78]

The inclusion of Francis, Mary Magdalen, and contemporary persons in painted *Crucifixions*, kneeling as if physically present at Christ's death, may be understood in relation to popular literature and devotional attitudes. Francis himself stressed compassion for the Crucified Christ and the importance of meditating on Christ's sufferings.[79] Bonaventure also stated, "How wholesome it is, always to meditate on the cross of Christ."[80] Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153), who was very influential on the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century, preached meditation on the Passion as a way of inwardly participating and sharing in Christ's sufferings.[81]

The Franciscans' particular concern for the Passion and for the important role played by Mary Magdalen is best exemplified by the *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, composed in Tuscany during the late thirteenth century. Written for a Franciscan nun and carried by mendicant preachers in their travels, the text describes extended periods of meditation between the Crucifixion and the Entombment, devoting much attention to lamentations before or beneath the Cross and to the readers' personal participation in the Passion.[82] The text relates that after Christ died and the multitude departed, the remaining followers, the Virgin, John, Mary Magdalen, and two sisters of the Virgin, literally did not know what to do and sat down near the cross in sorrow and in contemplation. When soldiers arrived, the Virgin and the other followers all knelt weeping beneath the cross. At the Entombment, the text describes Mary Magdalen's special role of holding Christ's feet: "She gazed at the feet, so wounded, pierced, dried out and bloody;...she would gladly have died, if she could, at the feet of the Lord."[83] Also, at various intervals following the Crucifixion, followers wept and knelt in adoration before the dead Christ.

Margaret of Cortona (1247-1297), the Franciscan tertiary later described as "the Magdalen of the Seraphic Order," illustrates the penitential devotion to the cross and its associations with Mary Magdalen during the late thirteenth century. Margaret lived nine years with a marchese in Montepulciano, bearing him a son, after which she converted to a life of austere penance, meditation, and self-abasement. She also engaged in nursing and other charitable activities and

[78]The nun's red habit and her close association with Mary Magdalen, for example, suggest that she may belong to a penitential religious house of "convertite."

[79]Thomas of Celano, *Second Life*, LXI-LXV, in Habig, 439-443; and CLII-CLIV, regarding Francis's devotion to the body of Christ and to the cross, in Habig, 522-524. Bonaventure, *Major Legend*, IX, in Habig, 698-700. *Legend of the Three Companions*, V, in Habig, 903-905.

[80]*Sermon on Good Friday*, IX, 265, cited in Cousins, xiii.

[81]Schiller, II, 138. The *Meditations*, for example, borrowed extensively from the writings of St. Bernard. I. Ragusa, trans. (ed. with R.B. Green), *Meditations on the Life of Christ. An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century, Paris, Bib. nat. ms. Ital. 115*, Princeton, 1961.

[82]Ragusa andGreen, ch. 79-82, 336-345.

[83]Ragusa and Green, 343.

converted a large number of sinners.[84] According to her biographer fra Giunta Bevegnati, she overcame temptation in 1287 by praying fervently before the crucifix, today in the church of S. Margarita in Cortona, holding it and kissing it with great emotion.[85] She strongly associated herself with Mary Magdalen and appears to have responded to contemporary depictions of the saint. In the 1290s, for example, she wrote, "I would sing between the flames of the furnace with the children of Israel, like the Magdalen I would stand at the foot of the cross, like St. John immerse myself in a caldron of boiling oil, like the martyrs I want the palm of blood."[86] This comparison indicates that Margaret connected the penitential stance of Mary Magdalen with the notion of miraculous salvation achieved by acts of penance and self-mortification.

Increased concern for a more intimate relationship with Christ during the thirteenth century, illustrated by images depicting St. Francis or Mary Magdalen kissing or embracing the feet of the Crucified Christ, may also be related to the popular idea of a spiritual marriage with Christ.[87] St. Bernard, for example, wrote that the kiss of the feet was the first and most humble stage in a spiritual marriage, citing Mary Magdalen who "laid down her sins" at Christ's feet.[88] Since early times, Mary Magdalen was likened to the allegorical figure of *Ecclesia*, who was proclaimed as the bride and servant of Christ in the writings of Paul.[89] Also, both Thomas of Celano and Bonaventure reiterate the notion of Francis as the lover and spouse of Christ, describing him as the "immaculate spouse of God" and the "bridegroom" of Christ.[90]

Jacopone da Todi (1228-1306), an Umbrian lawyer who converted to a life of penance and self-mortification as a Franciscan tertiary, wrote spiritual poetry (called *Lauds*) extolling a penitential imitation of Francis's mystical marriage with Christ.[91] An important aspect of the relationship between thirteenth-century penitents and the Crucified Christ was the actual act of embracing the cross. In a

[84]H. Thurston and D.A.H. Atwater, ed., *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, I, New York, 1963, 396-399; F. Mauriac, *Margaret of Cortona*, trans. B. Frechtman, New York, 1948. See also F. Casolini, "I penitenti francescani in 'leggende' e cronache del trecento," in *I frati penitenti di San Francesco nella società del due e trecento*, esp. 74-79.

[85]L. Mori, *S. Margherita da Cortona, S. Luigi - Lodovico IX, S. Elisabetta d'Ungheria*, Turin, 1919, 42.

[86]This quotation was cited by Mori, 57-58: "Canterei intra le fiame de la fornace con li fanciulli d'Israele, come la Maddalena starei alli pie' della Croce, come Santo Giovanni tuffermmi ne la caldaia d'Oleo bollente, come li martiri vorrei la Palma di Sangue." John the Evangelist (present at the crucifixion) was according to tradition cast by Emperor Dormitian into a caldron of boiling oil, but like the three children in the fiery furnace of Babylon he miraculously remained unharmed.

[87]The popularity of this theme was illustrated, for example, by paintings of the *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine of Alexandria*.

[88]In *Canticles*, III, 2, cited in W. Williams, *The Mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux*, London, 1931, 86.

[89]Saxer, *Le dossier*, II, 328; La Row, 13. Paul, Ephesians, 5:21-32. See concluding remarks and note 93 below.

[90]Thomas of Celano, *First Life*, III, 7, in Habig, 235; and *Second Life*, LXI, 95, in Habig, 440. Bonaventure, *Major Life*, IX, 1-4, in Habig, 698-700.

[91]E. Underhill, *Jacopone da Todi. Poet and Mystic, 1228-1306. A Spiritual Biography*, trans. T. Beck, London and Toronto, 1913, 13.

dialogue entitled, "On the differences in the contemplation of the cross," Jacopone related how one monk wanted to run away from the ardor and power of the cross, while the other described the peace, joy, and comfort provided by the cross. The second monk argued, "The cross is my joy, brother,/ Do not call it torment;/ Perhaps you have not become one with it,/ Not embraced it as your spouse."[92] In relating Francis's seven visions of the cross, Jacopone described how Christ told Francis to "Come and lovingly embrace this noble cross."[93]

The act of embracing the cross must also be understood in a literal sense, reflecting popular devotional attitudes. In a poem entitled "On the love of the crucified Christ and the soul's desire to die with him," Jacopone wrote, "I run and cling to that cross/ That my anguish may not drive me mad;" "O cross, I fix myself to you and cling to you,/ that as I die, I may taste Life!"[94] Bonaventure echoed this desire for a spiritual union in Chapter 26 of his *Tree of Life*, "Jesus nailed to the Cross": "he appeared to you as your beloved/ cut through with wound upon wound. in order to heal you;" to which the repondent answered, "I long...[to] be fixed with my beloved to the yoke of the cross."[95] These poems expressed the penitential desire for spiritual and physical mortification as a means of sharing in Christ's suffering. They also, interestingly, reflect the idea of a lover who dies to save his spouse, so that the spouse may one day join him in eternal happiness.

Images of Francis of Assisi and Mary Magdalen kneeling at the foot of the cross became popular in Tuscany and Umbria during the thirteenth century for various reasons, including the rise in the cult of the cross and the increased importance of penance. While the iconography was influenced by a preceding Northern European tradition, this particular depiction of Francis and Mary Magdalen developed in an Italian context and reflected contemporary theological writings and devotional practices. Personal participation in the Passion of Christ became amplified during the thirteenth century by the popularity of works such as the *Meditations on the Life of Christ* and Jacopone da Todi's *Lauds*.

[92]Laud 75, trans. S. and E. Hughes, *Jacopone da Todi. The Lauds*, New York, Ramsey, and Toronto, 1982, 227; Underhill, 361: "De la diversita de contemplazione de croce," "Frate, la croce m'e delettamento, nollo dir mai ch'en lei sia tormento; forsa non ei al suo giognermento che tu la voli per sposa abracciare."

[93]Laud 61, Hughes, 187; the Italian original is not available at the present time. For a discussion of Jacopone's presentation of Francis, see S. da Campagnola, *Francesco d'Assisi nei suoi scritti e nelle sue biografie dei secoli XIII e XIV (Fonti francescani)*, Assisi, 1977, 235-236; and F. Ageno, "Motivi francescani nelle laude di Iacopone da Todi," *Lettere italiane*, XII, 1960, 180-184.

[94]Laud 83, Hughes, 241; Underhill, 288: "De l'amore de Cristo in Croce, e come l'anima desidera morir con lui," "O croce, io m'appicco/ ed ad te m'affico,/ ch'io gusti morendo la vita."

[95]Cousins, 149.

Italian portrayals of penitent patrons kneeling near the base of the cross were promoted by similar images of Francis and Mary Magdalen. But while some paintings represented individuals kneeling humbly and piously near the cross, with or without Francis or the Magdalen, other images more directly emulated depictions of these saints. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, supplicants engaged in penitential activities to become spiritually closer to Christ's suffering and death. Francis and Mary Magdalen provided models for the faithful by having attained this spiritual bond with Christ.

In addition, portrayals of Francis and of Mary Magdalen embracing the cross or the feet of Christ reflected the contemporary ideal of a spiritual marriage which was also expressed in the literature. In this respect, the Italian images continued and developed one element of Northern European iconography which was separate from the tradition of donor portraits: the personification of *Ecclesia*, the bride of Christ, who was sometimes depicted at the Crucifixion standing near the Cross, holding a chalice to catch Christ's blood—her wedding gift.[96]

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[96]Northern European depictions of the Crucifixion dating from the Carolingian period through the fourteenth century often included the personifications of *Ecclesia* and *Synagogue*. See Schiller, II, figs. 367, 371, 372, 373, 424, 428, 432. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the virtues were sometimes included: Schiller, II, figs. 446 , 451. Of special interest is an illustration from the Ebrach-Würzburg Psalter dating from the early thirteenth century (Munich, Universitäts-bibliothek, 4o Cod. MS. 24) which depicts the female personification of Charity, strongly resembling the figure of *Ecclesia*, who embraces the body of the Crucified Christ and, like *Ecclesia*, holds a chalice to catch the blood. Schiller, II, fig. 447.

America's First Painter of Temperance Themes: John Lewis Krimmel

JANET MARSTINE

The temperance movement played a major role in American political, religious and social affairs of the mid-nineteenth century.[1] The American Temperance Society, which was founded in 1826, gained political leverage in the 1830s and advocated abstinence as necessary for a healthy, industrious, and moral life. With the support of the evangelical churches, temperance became a popular cause taken up primarily by the middle and working classes and by women. In 1830 approximately 100,000 people, one in ten Americans, belonged to one or more of the 1000 regional and national organizations involved in the fight against alcohol. This crusade, which lasted through the 1880s, had a revolutionary impact on American culture.[2] American genre painting reflects this impact; in the 1840s artists such as William Sidney Mount began to include temperance themes in their paintings. As is well-known, by mid-century motifs of intemperance became standard in the works of Francis William Edmonds, David Gilmour Blythe, and other American genre painters.[3]

The virtues of temperance, however, had been espoused in America as early as the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, primarily by Quakers and Protestant

[1]An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the Boston University Symposium on the History of Art held at the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in March of 1987. My work on Krimmel began in a seminar on American genre painting given by Professor Elizabeth Johns at the University of Pittsburgh. I am indebted to Professor Johns for her enthusiasm, guidance, and support. I also thank Professor David G. Wilkins of the University of Pittsburgh who tirelessly edited many drafts of the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions.

[2]O. Pendleton, Jr., "Temperance and the Evangelical Churches," *Journal of Evangelical History*, XXV, no. 1, 1947, 26-7; "American Temperance Society Fourth Annual Report," Boston, 1831, 28; I.R. Tyrrell, *Sobering Up: From Temperance to Prohibition in Antebellum America, 1800-1860*, Westport and London, 1979, 12; I.R. Tyrrell, "Temperance and Economic Change in the Antebellum North," in *Alcohol, Reform and Society*, ed. J.S. Blocker, Westport and London, 1979, 47.

[3]The best-known examples include Mount's *Loss and Gain*, ca. 1847, Suffolk Museum and Carriage House, Stony Brook, Long Island, New York; Edmond's *Facing the Enemy*, ca. 1845, Private Collection, New York, and Blythe's companion pieces *Good Times* and *Hard Times*, ca. 1854-58, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh. A.V. Frankenstein, *William S. Mount*, exh. cat., The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1968, 38; M. Mann, "Francis William Edmonds, Mammon and Art," *American Art Journal*, II, no. 2, 1970, 102; B.W. Chambers, *The World of David Gilmour Blythe*, exh. cat., The National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1980, 154; P. Hills, *The Painters' America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910*, exh. cat., Whitney Museum of American Art, New York, 1974, 22-23.

1. John Lewis Krimmel, *Country Frolic and Dance,* 1820, pencil, watercolor and India ink on paper, 8¼ x 11 1/16 in. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division (photo: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division)

clergymen. It can now be demonstrated that these first currents influenced art, for the Philadelphia painter John Lewis Krimmel (1786-1821) portrayed intemperance in the teens of the nineteenth century, thirty years before Mount.[4]

Krimmel's *Country Frolic and Dance* (fig. 1), a watercolor of 1820, contains the most obvious of Krimmel's temperance themes.[5] It depicts a seemingly innocuous rural inn where couples drink and dance, but their behavior is neither quaint nor wholesome. One dancing couple moves sensuously across the floor, while behind them a man jumps about with wild abandon, his mouth open as if singing or shouting. Against the back wall, a seated man leans amorously towards a woman, his hand venturing towards her breasts. And by the bar, a tavern-keeper spills a bottle on a man and woman on a bench. The woman may be a prostitute, as suggested by the coquettish look on her face, the dog by her side, and the grasping of her waist by the man next to her. Near the door, a seemingly intoxicated woman rests her head on her hand, while two men hover over her; one grabs her shoulder and offers her a punch bowl overflowing with drink. She refuses his advances, maintaining a measure of innocence. Her attitude is reinforced by the caged bird, symbol of chastity and domestic obligation, which hangs above her from the ceiling.[6] The room itself appears commonplace, but the gun hung upside-down over the door implies that Krimmel is presenting a topsy-turvy world, where insobriety dominates. Clearly, *Country Frolic and Dance* is a commentary on intemperance.

[4]Milo Naeve's 1987 monograph, based on his earlier thesis, provides a detailed and reliable catalogue raisonné of Krimmel, but neglects to explore the cultural issues that Krimmel's works reflect. Naeve does not investigate Krimmel's temperance themes and recognizes their presence only once when he suggests that in *Village Tavern* (fig. 3), "the woman, child and seated man may be a temperance statement." See M. Naeve, *John Lewis Krimmel: An Artist in Federal America*, Newark (DE), London, and Toronto, 1987, 74, and M. Naeve, "John Lewis Krimmel, his Life, his Art and his Critics," Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1955. Millard F. Rogers and Susan E. Strickler have commented on the temperance theme in *Village Tavern*, while Donald Keyes has identified temperance motifs in *Country Frolic and Dance*. William T. Oedel, in a recent review of Naeve's monograph, has noted the depiction of intemperate behavior in five of Krimmel's works. None, however, have explored this issue at length. M.F. Rogers, "Artists of a New Nation," *Museum News: Toledo Museum of Art*, n.s., II, no. 2, 1959, 10; S.E. Strickler, "John Lewis Krimmel," in *The Toledo Museum of Art: American Paintings*, Toledo, 1979, 72; D. Keyes, "William Sidney Mount Reconsidered: Book Review," *American Art Review*, IV, no. 2, 1977, 118; W.T. Oedel, "Review Essay: Krimmel at the Crossroads," *Winterthur Portfolio*, XXIV, no. 4, 1988, 278.

[5]An almanac hanging over the bar in the watercolor is dated 1820. In the previous year, Krimmel painted the same subject in oil. He exhibited the oil, now in a private collection, in 1819 at the Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, no. 58; see Naeve, 1987, 79.

[6]Krimmel often relied on seventeenth-century Dutch prototypes for his iconography. In Dutch genre painting, the dog commonly symbolized prostitution and the caged bird connoted virginity as well as domestic virtue; P. Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 1984, 184, 220, 321. Also see notes 10, 11 below. Sometimes dogs signify fidelity in Dutch genre paintings. Oedel, 278, interprets the dog as such, contrasting with the intemperance of the scene.

Krimmel is generally recognized as America's first genre painter. While several of his colleagues, including Washington Allston, Charles Bird King, Bass Otis, and Charles Willson Peale, occasionally painted genre scenes, the latter three in Philadelphia, Krimmel was the first artist to show a sustained interest in genre and to depict temperance themes. His compositions and subjects had a major impact on Mount and helped shape the development of genre painting in the mid-nineteenth century.[7]

Krimmel's interest in genre may be attributable, in part, to his European training. Born and educated in Württemberg, Germany, Krimmel studied genre painting in Stuttgart with Johann Baptist Seele, painter to the Duke, before emigrating in 1809 to Philadelphia. At the academies in Stuttgart, Düsseldorf, and Munich, numerous artists specialized in genre at the turn of the century. Seele was known for his genre scenes, portraits, and military pictures, and, as William Dunlap reported, Krimmel "had been well-instructed in drawing and the management of color."[8] Under Seele's tutelage, Krimmel probably studied contemporary German genre paintings by Johann Erdmann Hummel, Friedrich Kersting, and others.[9]

Krimmel clearly studied seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre and eighteenth-century English genre, as his paintings demonstrate. Krimmel, as did these Northern artists, employed a meticulous style and naturalistic colors to create stagelike compositions, often containing open doors, focused lighting, and exaggerated gestures. He often used a mechanical drawing instrument as a perspectival aid to enhance the clarity and legibility of his paintings. Most likely, he knew representative European works from his travels to England (ca. 1809), to Paris and Vienna (ca. 1816-1818), and from prints. In fact, he owned a number of Dutch, Flemish, and English prints, including engravings by David Wilkie and William Hogarth, and he painted copies after five works by Wilkie.[10]

[7]William Russell Birch and his son Thomas, Alvan Fisher, and Francis Guy also produced genre paintings before 1830. See H.W. Williams, Jr., *Mirror to the American Past, A Survey of American Genre Painting: 1750-1900*, Greenwich (CT), 1973, 38-5. Mount's *Rustic Dance after a Sleigh Ride*, 1830, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston is based on Krimmel's *Country Frolic and Dance*. D.D. Keyes, "The Sources for William Sidney Mount's Earliest Genre Paintings," *Art Quarterly*, XXXII, no. 3, 1969, 259-60; K.M. Adams, "The Black Image in the Paintings of William Sidney Mount, *American Art Journal*, VII, no. 2, 1975, 42-3; C. Hoover, "The Influence of David Wilkie's Prints on the Genre Paintings of William Sidney Mount," *American Art Journal*, XIII, no. 3, 1981, 17-22.

[8]Naeve, 1987, 9, 16-17, 30; A. Harding, *German Immigrant Painters*, exh. cat., Goethe Institute, Boston, 1975, 13; W. Dunlap, *A History of the Arts of Design*, 3 vols., 1834; new ed., Boston, 1918, II, 392.

[9]See K.S. and K. Champ, *German Painting of the Nineteenth Century*, exh. cat., Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, 1970; *German Masters of the Nineteenth Century*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1981; H. Schrade, *German Romantic Painting*, trans. M. Pelikan, New York, 1977; W. Vaughan, *German Romantic Painting*, New Haven and London, 1980.

[10]Eighteenth-century English genre painters, in turn, relied on Dutch precedents. For more on Krimmel's sources, see Keyes, 1969, 260; Hoover, 5-7, 12; Naeve, 1987, 40, and catalogue raisonné; Krimmel may have been influenced, as well, by the highly sentimental domestic genre scenes of Jean-Baptiste Greuze, see Hills, 5. Documents reveal that Krimmel was working in England in July 1809; he returned to Europe in 1816 to settle the estate of his sister, and, after a year and a half of travel abroad, he went back to Philadelphia. That Krimmel owned Northern prints is documented in the assessment of his belongings at the time of his death. Paintings by Krimmel after Wilkie include *Blind Fiddler*, ca. 1813, *The Cut Finger*, ca. 1814, *Blind Man's Bluff*, ca. 1814, *Village Politicians*, ca. 1814, and *The Jew's Harp*, ca. 1817. Naeve, 1955, 2-3; Naeve, 1987, 16, 22, 23, 28, 87; *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 21 July, 1821, 2; Hoover, 6-7.

He may have found Dutch sources to be particularly appropriate to American audiences, due to the similarities between the largely Protestant, middle-class, mercantile cultures of Holland and the United States. He emulated Wilkie, who had won respect for genre painting in England, presumably because Krimmel aspired to do the same in America.[11]

Many Dutch and Flemish genre paintings contain temperance themes and could have encouraged Krimmel to provide visual commentary on drinking in Philadelphia; such subjects were conventional for genre painters trained in the Northern tradition. From prints and pattern books, he probably knew seventeenth-century "Merry Company" pictures and tavern scenes designed with a didactic purpose. Jan Steen's *Dissolute Household* (fig. 2), ca. 1668, and many works like it from the same period possess iconographic equivalents to Krimmel's temperance motifs. Elements from the Dutch tradition in Krimmel's *Country Frolic and Dance* include inebriation, music-making, prostitution, an attentive dog, and picturesque clutter. Music, as the most transitory of arts, is traditionally an invitation or a prelude to an illicit amorous encounter, while the prostitutes obviously allude to sexuality, and the dog symbolizes the infidelity brought on by drunkenness. The clutter represents the chaos that intemperance generates.[12]

Krimmel also may have depicted temperance themes, because he thought they would make popular pictures. And indeed, he exhibited at many institutions, including the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the American Academy of Fine Arts. He was well-respected by his artist peers; in fact, in 1821, just before his accidental death, he was elected President of the Society of Artists of the United States. Nevertheless, his works, which he advertised as "Conversations, Subjects of humor, Portraits, &c.," did not sell well and he received virtually no commissions. He derived his primary income as a drawing master in a girls' boarding school.[13] At

[11]Oedel, 280; Hoover, 11-12.

[12]For Dutch iconography of intemperance, see Sutton, xxiii-xlvi, 172, 321-22, 362; C.S. Ackley, *Printmaking in the Age of Rembrandt*, exh. cat., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1981; L.A. Stone-Ferrier, *Dutch Prints of Daily Life: Mirrors of Life or Masks of Morals?*, exh. cat., Spencer Museum of Art, Lawrence (KS), 1983; K. Hellerstadt, *Gardens of Earthly Delight* exh. cat., Frick Art Museum, Pittsburgh, 1986; G.S. Keyes, *Essias van der Velde, 1587-1630*, Doornspijk, 1984; O. Naumann, *Frans van Mieris, the Elder (1635-1681)*, Doornspijk, 1981.

[13]"Ninth Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts," exh. cat., Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, 1820, 16; "Explanation of Plates," *Analectic Magazine*, I, n.s., 1820, 175-76. For more exhibitions in which Krimmel participated, see Naeve, 1955, 9-15. A few collectors, usually wealthy Boston, New York, and Philadelphia merchants, did buy Krimmel's paintings. These include Francis Bayard Winthrop, who also collected Washington Allston paintings, Alexander Murray, a naval officer, and Pierre Flandin, a New York merchant who may have served as Krimmel's agent. Dunlap, 2: 394-95; "Krimmel's Picture: Return from Boarding School," *Analectic Magazine*, II, December 1820, 508; Naeve, 1987, 24. Krimmel's works did not become popular until the 1830s, when, due to a new pride in uniquely American culture, genre painting was highly acclaimed. In the 1830s many of Krimmel's paintings were purchased and prints were made from them.

2. Jan Steen, *The Dissolute Household*, ca. 1668, oil on canvas, 31¾ × 35 in. London, The Victoria and Albert Museum (photo: The Victoria and Albert Museum)

his eulogy it was said,

> The pictures of Mr. Krimmel have long been considered by artists and men of taste, as works of great merit, yet this painter, with all his industry, and that too exercised for more than ten years in the populous and wealthy city of Philadelphia (the Athens of America) could barely obtain the means of subsistance.[14]

Most likely, as William Oedel suggests, Krimmel depicted temperance themes in order to teach middle-class values to the upwardly-mobile democratic society he found in the United States. And as Oedel points out, temperance is just one of the values that Krimmel advocated through his paintings; others include domesticity, community, industry, literacy, and nationalism, though his imagery of these other values is never as biting as his temperance motifs. Krimmel's interest in middle-class values foreshadows a "cult" of domesticity that developed in the 1830s. In this context it is illuminating to consider why Krimmel emigrated to America; he may have needed the financial support of his successful merchant brother already living in Philadelphia, or perhaps he was evading the draft of the 1809 Austrian campaigns. His moralizing themes suggest, however, that reformist political and social convictions may have prompted him to participate in America's democratic experiment.[15]

Genre painting was Krimmel's answer to the ongoing debate about the role of art in the United States. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most Americans looked upon art with suspicion, associating it with European luxury, aristocracy, corruption, and decline. Nevertheless, many intellectuals held that art was necessary for the well-being of the nation and published apologias, demonstrating the compatability of art with democracy. Among the most influential of these apologias was a discourse by architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe, delivered in Philadelphia in 1811 at the Society of Artists of the United States and subsequently published in the *Port Folio*. Latrobe explained,

> The history of Grecian art refutes the vulgar opinion that the arts are incompatible with liberty, by an arguement the most irresistable, that of fact upon record.... If a conviction can be wrought, and diffused

[14]"Eulogy to John Lewis Krimmel," *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 6 August, 1821; Naeve, 1987, 24.
[15]Oedel, 274-81. For more on the cult of domesticity, see M.P. Ryan, "American Society and the Cult of Domesticity, 1830-1860," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1971.

> throughout the nation, that the fine arts may indeed be pressed into the service of arbitrary power, and—like mercenary troops, do their duty well while well paid—yet that their home is in the bosom of a republic; then indeed the days of Greece may be revived in the woods of America, and Philadelphia become the Athens of the Western world.[16]

Other scholars argued that art had tremendous power to shape its viewers morally, not only as individuals but as a society. As an 1818 article from *Analectic Magazine* stated, the arts are "the instruments of public morality."[17] Undoubtedly, as his genre paintings demonstrate, Krimmel was familiar with such arguments. Through the paintings, Krimmel hoped to create a democratic art form that would serve as an instrument of public morality in America.

It is significant that though Krimmel anglicized his name and lived in the United States for more than a decade, he never became an American citizen.[18] Perhaps being an outsider, culturally and artistically, enabled him to be unusually perceptive about American behavioral patterns, including drinking. Between 1810 and 1821 he painted several temperance motifs, which help us to reconstruct a most volatile period in American history.

The appearance of temperance themes in Krimmel's paintings in the teens of the nineteenth century is initially surprising, given that the temperance movement did not become a potent force across the nation for another thirty or forty years. In the Quaker center of Philadelphia, however, a few strong advocates of sobriety voiced their appeals in the colonial period and early years of independence, as drinking reached unprecedented levels. In 1816 the average American drank seven gallons of hard liquor per year, or twice the per capita consumption levels of Americans in the 1980s. Alcoholism was particularly acute in Philadelphia during the first decades of the nineteenth century, due to economic problems and a large transient population. There were 4000 taverns and 1800 tippling houses to serve the city's population of 136,000, or one drinking establishment for every twenty-three

[16]B.H. Latrobe, "Anniversary Oration, Pronounced before the Society of Artists of the United States, by Appointment of the Society on the Eighth of May, 1811," *Port Folio*, X, 1811, supplementary, 1-32 as quoted in *The Early Republic, 1789-1828*, ed. N.E. Cunningham, Jr., Columbia, SC, 1968, 241, 245. For more on these discourses, see W.H. Gerdts, "The American 'Discourses': A Survey of Lectures and Writings on American Art, 1770-1858," *American Art Journal*, XV, no. 3, 1983, 61-79. See also J.J. Ellis, *After the Revolution: Profiles of Early American Culture*, New York and London, 1979, 34-8; L.B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860*, Chicago and London, 1966, 8-20; N. Harris, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860*, New York, 1966, 29-53.

[17]*Analectic Magazine*, IX, March, 1818, 225. Krimmel was an active participant in Philadelphia's cultural life and belonged to the Society of Artists of the United States. Miller, 20-23.

[18]Naeve, 1987, 28.

people, a strikingly high ratio.[19]

The tavern as a center of American life contributed to this problem of intemperance. With the rise of the stagecoach, news travelled through visitors from one tavern to another; to be posted on current events, one had only to stop for a drink at the local inn. It is clear that Philadelphia had a disproportionately large number of taverns for its size in the early nineteenth century; many of these establishments catered to travellers using the busy Philadelphia-Lancaster turnpike and stage lines to and from New York. Inns functioned as polling centers too, and alcohol played a major role in American politics through the hard cider campaign of 1840. During elections, men bribed by local politicians commonly posted themselves at the bar, offering drinks to anyone who would vote for their candidates. Imbibing local cider and corn whisky, particularly bourbon, was considered a patriotic act.[20]

In the workplace, drinking was a common sight. Laborers often used liquor to get themselves through a day of work, for alcohol was cheap and was considered an invigorating beverage which helped to revive one's strength. To increase productivity most employers encouraged work by offering around the bottle. Nevertheless, it was primarily the unemployed who suffered most from alcoholism, as economic difficulties exacerbated the problem of intemperance.[21]

[19]Philadelphia's first temperance society, the Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits, was founded only in 1827; the Pennsylvania Temperance Society succeeded it in 1834. For more on drinking in America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see B. Laurie, "'Nothing on Compulsion': Lifestyles of Philadelphia Artisans, 1820-1850," *Labor History*, XV, no. 3, 1974, 352; J.R. Gusfield, "Status Conflicts and the Changing Ideologies of the American Temperance Movement," in *Society, Culture and Drinking Patterns*, eds. D.J. Pittman and C.R. Snyder, New York, 1962, 37, 104; Pendleton, 15, 26; A. Seybert, *Statistical Annals*, 1818, reprint, New York, 1970, 460; D. Dorchester, *The Liquor Problem in all Ages*, New York, 1884, 608; J.T. Scharf and T. Westcott, *A History of Philadelphia, 1609-1884*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1884, I, 475; J. Kobler, *Ardent Spirits: The Rise and Fall of Prohibition*, New York, 1973, 30; M.E. Lender and J.K. Martin, *Drinking in America: A History*, New York and London, 1982, 46-58; M.E. Lender, *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography*, Westport and London, 1984, 226; J. Jessup, "The Liquor Issue in American History: A Bibliography," in *Alcohol Reform and Society*, 259-80. At this time numerous phrases were coined for getting drunk, including "half shaved," "cut in the craw," and "high up to picking cotton."

[20]Lender and Martin, 53-54; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 18, 21-26; *Cyclopedia of Temperance and Prohibition*, New York and London, 1891, 311; J.A. Krout, *Annals of American Sport*, New Haven, 1929, 23; C. Williamson, *American Suffrage, from Property to Democracy, 1760-1860*, Princeton, 1960, 40-61; E. Lathrop, *Early American Inns and Taverns*, New York, 1926, 168; R.E. Graham, "The Tavern of Colonial Pennsylvania," in *Historic Philadelphia, From the Founding into the Early Nineteenth Century: American Philosophical Society Papers*, XLIII, pt.1, 1953, 318-25; Scharf and Westcott, II, 981; Laurie, 346; H.M. Lippincott, *Early Philadelphia: Its People, Life and Progress*, Philadelphia and London, 1917, 121; J.A. Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition*, New York, 1925, 44-45.

[21]Kobler, 29-30; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 16-20, 27-28; H.G. Gutman, "Work, Culture and Society in Industrialized America, 1815-1919," *American Historical Review*, LXXVIII, 1973, 531-88; E.P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present*, XXXVIII, 1967, 56-97; Laurie, 339-50; J.K. Alexander, *Render them Submissive: Responses to Poverty in Philadelphia, 1760-1800*, Amhurst, 1980, 26-28, 52.

Philadelphians faced extreme economic hardships in the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a coastal harbor town, Philadelphia suffered an economic depression in the 1810s when competition from both Europe and New York devastated its shipping industry. To compound matters, the Second Bank of the United States called in loans, creating the Panic of 1819. By August of 1819 approximately 20,000 persons were unemployed and sought work daily in the city. As Philadelphia Mayor Robert Wharton wrote,

> Our city as to traffic is almost a desert, wharves crowded with empty vessels, the noise and buz (sic) of commerce not heard, whilst hundreds of labourers are roaming the streets without employ or the means of getting bread for their distressed families.[22]

In this failing economy, farmers found themselves with an overabundance of grain which they distilled into liquor to save their investment.[23]

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Philadelphia became an early center of temperance thought. The city's educators, physicians, and clergymen pursued temperance as a cause, chiefly in order to instill social and moral controls in the name of progress. Furthermore, as the largest, wealthiest, and most centrally located city in America and as the nation's capital from 1790 to 1800, Philadelphia provided a conducive environment for temperance leaders.[24]

It may have been discussions among the Friends condemning drink that encouraged the Quaker teacher Anthony Benezet to campaign against the indiscriminate use of alcohol.[25] In 1774 Benezet anonymously published the first major American temperance tract, "The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, [and] the Dreadful Havoc Made by the Mistaken Use as Well as Abuse of Distilled Spiritous Liquors, [written] by a Lover of Mankind." It asserts that spirits are unhealthy, demoralizing,

[22]As quoted in Scharf and Wescott, II, 530; E.P. Richardson, "The Athens of America, 1800-1825," *Philadelphia, A Three Hundred Year History*, R.F. Wegley, ed., New York and London, 1982, 208-13, 255-56; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 24, 34-36; W.M. Gauge, *A Short History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States*, Philadelphia, 1833, 110. For more on the Panic of 1819, see George Dangerfield, *The Awakening of American Nationalism, 1815-1828*, New York, Evanston and London, 1965, 72-96. The decline of the shipbuilding industry in Philadelphia eventually worked to the city's economic advantage, for this decline forced businessmen to turn inland, to exploit the resources of coal and its by-products in eastern Pennsylvania; Philadelphia thus became America's first industrialized city. For more on Philadelphia's industries, see J. J. Macfarlane, *Manufacturing in Philadelphia, 1683-1912*, exh. cat., Philadelphia Commercial Museum, Philadelphia, 1912.

[23]See for example H. Hall, "Hall's Distiller, Adapted to the Uses of Farmers as Well as Distillers...," Philadelphia, 1813, 2.

[24]Lender and Martin, 65-66; Gusfield, 104-6; E.D. Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia*, New York, 1979, 5, 353; S.V. James, *A People Among People: Quaker Benevolence in Eighteenth-Century America*, Cambridge, 1963, 316-36; Alexander, 86, 128; *Philadelphia*, comp. A. Siegel, Dobbs Ferry (NY), 1975, 11-26; D.J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*, Boston, 1971; B.J. Klebaner, "Poverty and its Relief in American Thought, 1815-1961," *Social Service Review*, XXXVIII, 1964, 382-84; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 5, 35; Tyrrell, "Temperance," 46-47, 55.

[25]A.G. Lawson, "What the Century has Shown in Literature," in *One Hundred Years of Temperance*, New York, 1886, 220-221; D.L. Colvin, *Prohibition in the United States*, New York, 1926, 13; Pendleton, 16; H.M. Chalfant, *Father Penn and John Barleycorn*, Harrisburg, 1920, 14-23; W. Edgerton, "The Society of Friends," in *One Hundred Years of Temperance*, 341.

and a cause of social chaos. Benezet wrote,

> Is is sound policy to encourage vice in the people because a present revenue arises from their debaucheries? Where will the revenues be when the people who should pay them are destroyed?...And will not temperance in the end be found a more effective means to increase the real wealth and strength of a nation, than to make drunkenness the cheapest of vices?[26]

Benezet's efforts influenced the Philadelphia physician Benjamin Rush, considered the father of the temperance movement. Raised as a Quaker, Rush was the first American to recognize chronic drunkenness as a disease and an addictive process. His powerful 1785 tract, "An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits on the Human Mind and Body," exposed the fallacies of drinking for medicinal purposes and warned that spirits lead to intellectual and physical decay. He explained,

> The effects of spiritous liquors upon the human body in producing diseases are sometimes gradual. A strong constitution, especially if it be assisted with constant hard labor, will counteract the destructive effects of spirits for many years. But in general they produce the following diseases: a sickness of the stomach, a universal dropsey, destruction of the liver, madness, palsy, apoplexy and epilepsy.[27]

Reissued year after year in pamphlets and reprinted by leading newspapers and magazines. Rush's "Inquiry" aroused the interest of the entire nation and remained the standard source on temperance until long after Rush's death in 1813. The American Tract Society alone printed and circulated some 175,000 copies of it during the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly, it was the most widely-read temperance tract during Krimmel's years in Philadelphia.[28]

[26]A. Benezet, "The Mighty Destroyer Displayed, in Some Account of the Dreadful Havoc made by the Mistaken Uses as Well as Abuse of Distilled Spiritous Liquors, by a Lover of Mankind," as quoted in Chalfont, 1920, 54. Also see Lender, 42.

[27]B. Rush, "An Inquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits," as quoted in Chalfont, 1920, 57. See also Lender, 422-23 and Dorchester, 189. It is important to note that Benezet and Rush fought primarily against distilled spirits, not wine and beer, as did most temperance advocates before the 1830s. Wine and beer were considered to be relatively harmless in most cases.

[28]J.G. Woolley and W.E. Johnson, *Temperance Progress in the Century*, London, Toronto, and Philadelphia, 1903, 56, 59; Pendleton, 17; Dorchester, 173-74, 281; Alexander, 82; H.M. Chalfant, *These Agitators and Their Ideas*, Nashville, 1931, 15, 28-29; Lender and Martin, 64. Rush added material to the later editions, enlarging the pamphlet to a thick 36 pages.

Rush preached numerous temperance sermons, some of which he published anonymously, and urged ministers to follow his example. As General Clinton B. Fisk explained at an 1885 Philadelphia convention marking the 100th anniversary of the original publication of the "Inquiry,"

> [Rush's] famous essay of 1785 is the temperance reform century plant, this day bursting into magnificent blossoms, filling all the land with light and beauty and fragrance. Dr. Rush followed his essay with musical voice, pleading most earnestly in the Quaker meetinghouses, in Methodist conferences, in Roman catholic convocations, in Presbyterian synods, in Baptist associations, and in Episcopal conventions for the combined power of the Christian church against the monstrous wrong of intemperance.[29]

Rush's work inspired several groups to campaign for temperance. For example, in 1797 the Presbyterian Synod of Pennsylvania enjoined its ministers to preach temperance sermons. In 1805 the paper-makers of Philadelphia began an association to "use every possible endeavor to restrain and prohibit the use of ardent spirits in their respective mills." And throughout the 1800s and 1810s, small temperance societies sprang up across the nation, for instance at Moreau, New York (1808), at Bath, Maine (1812) and throughout Connecticut.[30]

Rush's efforts also prompted the publication of essays concerning temperance. In 1805, antiquarian John Watson wrote a series of articles entitled "Observations on the Customary Use of Distilled Spiritous Liquors" that was published in *The Evening Fireside.* These articles attracted so much attention that they were reprinted in the *Port Folio* and other periodicals and in 1810 reappeared in a pamphlet. Equally popular were treatises by the Reverend Mason Locke Weems, the famed George Washington biographer, including "The Drunkard's Looking Glass," 1812, and "Calm Dissuasive Against Intemperance," 1816. The former, published in Philadelphia, went through six editions in as many years. In it, Weems recommends six "Golden Receipts" or lessons in morality, such as "Never marry but for love; hatred is repellant and the husband saunters to the tavern." In addition, the first periodical devoted to temperance, the *Panopolist,* was founded in Boston in 1810 and the *North American Review* published articles on the liquor problem throughout the decade.[31]

The spokesmen for temperance united for the first time in 1811 at the General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches of Philadelphia. There, in what some call his

[29]As quoted in Chalfant, 1931, 35-36.
[30]Dorchester, 167; Woolley and Johnson, 59-67.
[31]Pendleton, 26; A.F. Fehlandt, *A Century of Drink Reform,* Cincinnati and New York, 1904, 40-46; Dorchester, 180, 209; Woolley and Johnson, 62-63.

most significant achievement for temperance, Rush distributed 1000 copies of his "Inquiry" and organized a temperance committee to investigate alcoholism and to suggest measures to combat it. Moved by Rush, the assembly encouraged ministers to preach sobriety as moral progress and as a remedy for poverty, insanity, and crime, ideas the Presbyterians disseminated to other churches.[32]

At the 1812 General Assembly of Presbyterian Churches, Rush's temperance committee urged all ministers to:

> deliver public discourses on the sin and mischief of public drinking [and] pointedly and solemnly warn their hearers, and especially members of the church, not only against actual intemperance, but against all those habits and indulgences which may have a tendancy to produce it.... We really think it is not consistent with the character of a Christian to be immersed in the practice of distilling or retailing an article so destructive to the morals of society, and we do most earnestly recommend the Annual Conferences and our people to join with us in making a firm and constant stand against the evil which has ruined thousands both in time and in eternity.[33]

Such efforts helped to inspire the formation of America's first major temperance group, the Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, in 1813. It was not until the 1830s, however, that the temperance movement reached the national level, due to more effective use of agitation and revivalist tactics. In Krimmel's day temperance advocates relied primarily on moral persuasion and their uncalculated and makeshift efforts did not appeal to a vast audience.[34]

Nevertheless, it is clear that their philosophy was prevalent enough to evoke the interest of Krimmel. The historical evidence presented above supports the theory that Krimmel's paintings are a response to drinking habits and the crusade against

[32]Dorchester, 187-88; E. C. de Puy, *Temperance Work of the World*, Chicago, 1888, 26; Lender and Martin, 65-66; Pendleton, 20-24; H.W. Blair, *The Temperance Movement*, Boston, 1888, 466; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 36-38.

[33]Woolley and Johnson, 57-59; Chalfant, 1931, 29-30; Chalfant, 1929, 32-33; Fehlandt, 40-41.

[34]Pendleton, 19, 25-26; Laurie, 351; Tyrrell, *Sobering Up*, 3-5, 16-48, 59; Watson, 14; Woolley and Johnson, 62, 65-67; Fehlandt, 45; Dorchester, 208; Gusfield, 10. For more on revivalism, see M.L. Bell, *Crusade in the City: Revivalism in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia*, Lewisberg and London, 1977; C.C. Cole, *The Social Ideals of The Northern Evangelists, 1826-1860*, New York, 1954.

3. John Lewis Krimmel, *Village Tavern*, 1813-14, oil on canvas, 16⅞ × 22½ Toledo, The Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Florence Scott Libbey (photo: The Toledo Museum of Art)

spirits in Philadelphia. *Analectic Magazine* explained in 1820 that Krimmel's genre painting is "...a true portraiture of nature..." and his works can thus be interpreted as reflecting social patterns of the period, probably in order to teach moral values.[35] Moreover, *Country Frolic and Dance* is merely one of a body of Krimmel's works containing temperance motifs; an inventory of his *oeuvre* demonstrates how prominently this theme figured in his art. Six of his 16 extant genre compositions incorporate obvious references to excessive drinking.[36]

Village Tavern (fig. 3), 1814, alternately known as *Interior, The Country Stage-House Tavern and Post Office, with the News of Peace*, portrays the announcement of news concerning the War of 1812.[37] Close examination reveals, however, that here intemperance is as important as contemporary political life. Although the bartender and a few customers turn toward the figures announcing the war news at the doorway and one man on the right reads a newspaper, many seem engrossed in drinking or in responding to the drunkenness of others. For example, a seated man, right of center, whose hand supports his chin, looks particularly intoxicated, while a woman with a child begs her husband, still in his shop apron, to put down his glass and come home. A grim-faced Quaker in traditional costume refusing a drink serves as a foil and reminds us that the scene takes place in a Philadelphia inn. Gestures create a compositional oval which skillfully directs our eyes to these social and political confrontations and to the almost caricatured expressions of the participants.[38] While poking fun and examining an array of human responses, Krimmel was at the same time associating intemperance in Philadelphia with conflict and examining its impact on children and the family unit.

[35]"Explanation of Plates," *Analectic Magazine*, n.s., I, February 1820, 175. Though no records have come to light proving that Krimmel was a temperance activist, this is not surprising, given that few primary documents survive pertaining to Krimmel's life. Concerning his religious affiliation, it is known only that he was buried at the German Lutheran Burying Ground of Saint Michael's and Zion Church, Philadelphia. The Reverend J.S. Walz, pastor of Zion German Lutheran Church presented the eulogy; See Naeve, 1987, 27, 192.

[36]In addition, numerous pages from Krimmel's sketchbooks contain motifs of taverns and drinking: Sketchbook No. 4, 2, 10, 57; No. 5, 4; No. 6, 16. Naeve, 1987, 155, 159-60, 173.

[37]In accordance with the second title, acquired shortly after the death of the artist, Strickler, Rogers, and Williams have postulated that the announcement relates to the ending of the War. Naeve disagrees and claims that the second title is incorrect; evidence from the almanac hanging at the bar and the days of the week painted above the door in the picture have led Naeve to date the painting to May 1814. Naeve further explains that because the peace treaty of the War of 1812 was not signed until December 24, 1814 and not ratified until December 30, Krimmel's announcement concerns not peace but an event of the war. Strickler, 72; Rogers, 10; Williams, 43; Naeve, 1987, 74. Krimmel exhibited the work in 1814 at the Fourth Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy, no. 234.

[38]The traditional Quaker men's costume is characterized by a plain buttoned waistcoat and beaver hat with brim, as seen here. For more on Quaker dress, see E. McClellan, *History of American Costume, 1607-1870*, New York, 1937, 529-32.

4. John Lewis Krimmel, *View of Center Square on the Fourth of July,* ca. 1810, oil on canvas, 23 x 28¾ in. Philadelphia, The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (photo: The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts)

In a similar mode, *View of Center Square on the Fourth of July* (fig. 4), ca. 1810, offers Krimmel's commentary on Philadelphia character types in the people who have gathered for Independence Day festivities.[39] The crowd represents a cross-section of Philadelphia's citizenry; it includes, for example, an isolated black couple, a young flower vendor, a somber Quaker family, and three elegantly-costumed aristocratic women. Krimmel focused on the socializing habits, especially drinking, of this crowd which is meeting by the city's most talked-about monuments of the early nineteenth century: Benjamin Latrobe's pumphouse, which housed Philadelphia's first municipal waterworks, and William Rush's *Nymph and Bittern* fountain. It seems ironic that Krimmel so prominently featured the steam-emitting pumphouse, which gave Philadelphians free and safe water, in a painting that portrays the intemperate consumption of alcohol. Two men at the extreme right of the composition marvel at the pumphouse and fountain in operation.[40]

Bright light on the right and ominous shadow on the left divide the canvas in two and suggest a symbolic division between good and evil. While fashionable women and gentlemen seem engaged in frivolous conversation on the light-filled side, unkempt-looking men fraternize enthusiastically around a grog vendor in the dark half. One lone woman by the vendor's table, child in hand, is either pleading with her husband to stop drinking or is flirting adulterously. Her fancy hat and red dress suggest that she may be a prostitute. The old vendor clutches her bottle and seems to scorn her customers as she hands them their drinks. Children, following the intemperate example of their elders, reach for the grog and swipe fruit from the vendor. A black child underneath the table steals and drinks the vendor's goods, spilling some in the process. Other less-than-virtuous activities include a flirtation between sniffing dogs in the center of the picture and the use of snuff by a man on the far left. Just left of center, a Quaker, who represented the voice of conservatism in Philadelphia, provides comic relief, as he admonishes his son about some aspect of the celebration; whether he disapproves of the grog, the sensuality of Rush's fountain sculpture, or the games of the gayly-clad children behind him remains unclear.[41]

As the details in the painting are so accurate, the scene was probably sketched from life. Contemporary accounts relate that Philadelphians flocked to Centre Square on the Fourth of July to eat, drink, socialize, and observe the parades and speeches. Such "noise in the city" induced Benjamin Rush to take his family to the country on Independence Day of 1809.[42]

[39]Naeve, 1955, 59, dates *View of Centre Square on the Fourth of July* to before May 1812, when the painting was first exhibited at the Second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States and the Pennsylvania Academy, no. 67.

[40]Oedel, 275.

[41]See Oedel, 275-76. Most scholars assume that the Quaker is referring to Rush's fountain, but he may instead be showing his disapproval of the alcohol. See H.E. Dickson, *Pennsylvania Painters*, exh. cat., University of Pennsylvania, University Park, 1955, 16; F.H. Goodyear, "American Paintings at the Pennsylvania Academy," *Antiques Magazine*, CXXI, no. 3, 1982, 697; Naeve, 1955, 61. Elizabeth Johns has demonstrated that the fountain did not in fact create the scandal formerly imagined, but instead brought great acclaim, E. Johns, *Thomas Eakins, the Heroism of Modern Life*, Princeton, 1983, 85.

[42]Naeve, 1987, 53. See also "Cincinnati Celebration, Fourth of July," *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, 8 July, 1811, 2; *Letters of Benjamin Rush*, ed. L.H. Butterfield, 2 vols., II, 1006, as quoted in Naeve, 1987, 68.

5. John Lewis Krimmel, *Fourth of July, 1819*, 1819, pencil, watercolors and India ink on paper, 12 5/16 x 18 1/8 in. Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania (photo: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania)

Fourth of July, 1819 (fig. 5), a watercolor, documents Philadelphia's Independence Day fête seven years later, with soldiers and townspeople expressing the even greater boisterousness and self-confidence that resulted from the victory of the War of 1812. *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser* of 4 July, 1821 reported,

> In commemorating the political birth of our country, we should guard against the abuse of the day by including intemperance, dissipation, and vice.... The vicinity of the Centre Square has, too often, on this day, been disreputably distinguished.[43]

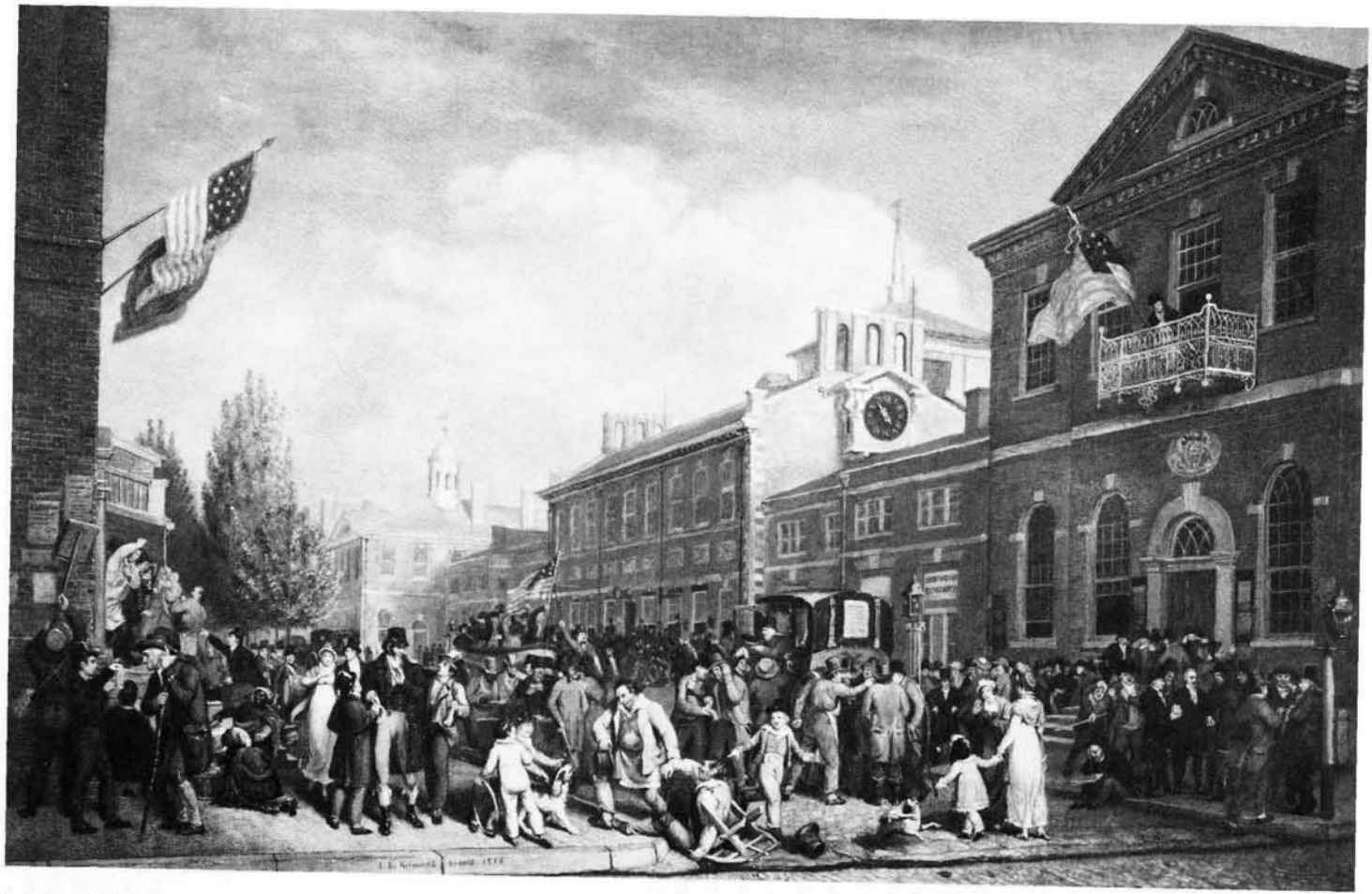
The following year liquor was outlawed within a half mile radius of a military parade, but this legislation did not restore order. Thus in 1823 Philadelphia's Mayor Wharton denounced the "debauchery, gambling, and drunkeness" and temporarily outlawed the public celebration of the holiday in Centre Square.[44]

As sketches made on the actual site suggest, Krimmel's primary concern was the documentation of the day's activities. Nationalistic references fill the canvas; flags fly high, an old soldier shows his wound, and a woman sells copies of "Yankee Doodle" and "Hail Columbia." A military parade files past the waterworks in the distance and the crowd drinks to celebrate the occasion. Again Krimmel has represented temperance motifs. He repeated the images of grog vendor, customers, and black thief found in the earlier version, juxtaposing them here with a fiddler and a tent, in which people toast to Jackson and the war victory. In addition, Krimmel included the motif of a black boy, running and looking over his shoulder as if in trouble. Krimmel's images of Blacks are always demeaning. Intoxicated figures with emotionally charged gestures and expressions create a sense of disorder in the crowd.[45]

[43]This work is dated, lower right. Z. Poulson, "The Day," *Poulson's American Daily Advertiser*, 4 July, 1821, as quoted in Naeve, 1987, 102.

[44]Dunlap, II, 416; H.M. Lippincott, *Philadelphia*, 1926, reprint, Port Washington (N.Y.), 1970, 113; Naeve, 1987, 102.

[45]Krimmel's sketches for *Fourth of July, 1819* can be found in his sketchbooks, rare and fascinating resources at the Winterthur Museum: Sketchbook No. 5, 26 and No. 6, 11, as published in Naeve, 1987, 167-68, 171-72. For a discussion of Krimmel's nationalistic iconography, see *Three Centuries of American Art*, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 1976, 254.



6. John Lewis Krimmel, *Election Scene, State House in Philadelphia*, 1815, oil on canvas, 16⅜ x 25⅝ in.
Winterthur, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum (photo: The Winterthur Museum)

Inebriated voters of every class and age group line the streets and generate chaos opposite Independence Hall in Krimmel's *Election Scene, State House in Philadelphia* (fig. 6) of 1815. Here with both didacticism and humor, the artist depicted men visiting a tavern on the left and then casting their ballots alongside well-known politicians of the day. A marching band and a float commemorating Washington's crossing of the Delaware provide entertainment. John Barker, a revolutionary war hero who served as mayor of Philadelphia in 1808 and 1809, stands at the right edge of the picture, wearing a three-cornered hat and spectacles.[46] A contemporary description of an 1817 Philadelphia election demonstrates that Krimmel relied on careful observation of an actual event:

> They were all betting upon the election; but I lament to say, that few, if any, appeared to care one straw about principle. Old General Barker... was travelling about to the several depots of leading characters.... His chief employment during the day seemed drinking rum and gin, with any and everybody.[47]

Many of the figures in Krimmel's painting appear so drunk they can hardly stand, let alone cast a responsible vote. Images that suggest bribery and corruption predominate. Numerous fights are breaking out, and we are led to conclude that alcohol has helped induce this violent and immoral behavior. Because Krimmel's native Württemberg had suffered severe political turbulence during and after the Napoleonic wars, he may have been unusually sensitive to corruption in the American democratic process.[48]

[46]The work is signed and dated on the curb in the left foreground. Krimmel exhibited the work in 1816 at the Exhibition at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts of Mr. Allston's Picture of the Dead Man Restored..., no. 73. The engraver Alexander Lawson purchased the painting from Krimmel after the exhibition. Naeve, 1987, 76. William Dunlap wrote, "...[it was] a great composition of several hundred figures in miniature oil, executed with a taste, truth, and feeling, both of pathos and humor.... It is filled with miniature portraits of the well known electioneering politicians of the day." Dunlap, II, 237. Most of the individual portraits have yet to be identified. An acquaintance of Krimmel, Abraham Ritter, identified Barker in his notes on the artist. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, "Recollections of the Village of Nazareth, Northampton Co., in the More Primitive and Unsophisticated Times of 1809-10 & 11," 1855, 119, as quoted in Naeve, 1987, 77; see also H. Simpson, *The Lives of Eminent Philadelphians Now Deceased*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1859, I, 25-26.

[47]H. B. Fearon, *Sketches of America: A Narrative of a Journey of Five Thousand Miles Through the Eastern and Western States of America*, London, 1818, 146-47, as quoted in Naeve, 1987, 77.

[48]Naeve, 1955, 132-33; Naeve, 1987, 16; B. Groceclose, "Politics and American Genre Painting of the Nineteenth Century," *Antiques Magazine*, CXX, no. 5, 1981, 1216.

Return from Market (fig. 7), a painting after an engraving of a lost Krimmel oil executed before 1820, was intended for both instruction and entertainment.[49] Here in a seemingly tranquil domestic vignette, the artist portrays a family unloading baskets that contain the week's shopping. At first glance temperance themes seem to be absent, but further scrutiny reveals that the husband, on the left, is hiding a jug in a covered basket. He and his father or father-in-law, seated on the porch, stare furtively at a small black servant whose hand rests conspicuously in his pocket, as if fingering a bribe received for having procured or concealed the liquor. The hidden jug and covert glances suggest that the men are engaged in a deception.

In light of visual evidence from these six works, it seems evident that while providing amusement, often by making people laugh at their own folly, Krimmel also intended to dramatize the ills of intemperance in his paintings. Krimmel came to be known as "the American Hogarth," and although he lacked the Englishman's biting sarcasm, both artists showed concern for the corruption alcohol brought to politics. Hogarth's *Polling* (fig. 8) of 1753-54 sardonically portrays politicians as drunkards, gluttons, and agents of bribery and makes a mockery of the English political system.[50] Likewise, Krimmel's *Election Day in Philadelphia* illustrates misdeeds for which intemperance is responsible and emphasizes the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.[51]

[49]Naeve, 1955, 132-33; Naeve, 1987, 92. By 1820 the engraver, Alexander Lawson, owned the painting. A surviving oil sketch, badly damaged, is owned by Dr. and Mrs. William G. Hayden, Paris, Texas. The original painting was intended to accompany a companion piece, *Going to Market—The Disaster,* now lost. No documents survive that suggest the nature of the "disaster." Naeve, 1987, 91.

[50]See for example "Review of the Second Annual Exhibition," *Port Folio,* n.s., I, July, 1812, 24, which calls *View of Center Square on the Fourth of July* "truly Hogarthian". For more on Hogarth's Election series, see R. Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times,* II, New Haven and London, 1971, 191, 202. Krimmel owned a collection of prints by Hogarth; *Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Register,* 7 August, 1821, 2.

[51]Oedel, 278.

7. Unknown Artist, *Return from Market*, oil on canvas, 18 x 26 in. After engraving of painting by John Lewis Krimmel executed before 1820. Cooperstown, New York State Historical Association (photo: New York State Historical Association)

8. William Hogarth, *The Polling* (from *Election* series), 1753-54, oil on canvas, 40 x 50 in. London, Sir John Soane's Museum (photo: The Soane's Museum)

How the public in Krimmel's day reacted to his temperance themes is difficult to guess. His lack of popularity may have been due more to America's disinterest in genre subjects at this time than to a rejection of his particular subject matter. One reviewer at the Second Annual Exhibition of the Association of Artists in the United States (1812) did write interestingly about *View of Center Square on the Fourth of July:*

> The artist has proved himself no common observer of the tragicomical events of life that are daily and hourly passing before us...[52]

This reviewer, like Krimmel, perceived intemperance as one of the "tragicomical" events of life. That Krimmel intended to portray it as such is clear. His genre scenes are more than anecdotes of American life; they are the earliest references in art to the growing concern about the consumption of alcohol in nineteenth-century America.

University of Pittsburgh/
National Museum of American Art,
Smithsonian Institution.

[52]*Port Folio,* II, July, 1812, 24.

Sources and Ideas for the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Garden

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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association held in San Francisco in February of 1989.

As soon as there is a large new body of information, we are as much enriched as we feel impoverished, since new knowledge increases our realization of gaps in that knowledge. This is also the case with the Dutch seventeenth-century garden, where the widening of our understanding of the development of Dutch garden art now necessitates further research of the role of Dutch garden art in a larger European context and its place in the wider circle of cultural-scientific phenomena at the time. Many new books have been published on the subject, particularly in connection with the celebration of William and Mary and the Glorious Revolution. A few of the most important publications include David Jacques and Arend Jan van der Horst's *The Gardens of William and Mary*, Stephan van Raay and Paul Spies's *In het Gevolg van Willem III en Mary. Huizen en Tuinen uit hun Tijd* and, in conjunction with an exhibition on gardens at Palace Het Loo and at Christie's in London, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary*, edited by John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong.[1] An abundance of new visual material is collected in these works and they give new insights into the development of later seventeenth-century garden art in Holland and its influence across borders. For the first time, unhindered by the inheritance of historiography, we have a more objective view of garden artistic development in The

[1]David Jacques and Arent-Jan van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary*, London, 1988; Stefan van Raaij and Paul Spies, *In het Gevolg van Willem III en Mary. Huizen en Tuinen uit hun Tijd*, Amsterdam, 1988; John Dixon Hunt and Erik de Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden in the Age of William and Mary/De gouden Eeuw van de Hollandse Tuinkunst*, exh. cat. and special double issue of the *Journal of Garden History*, VIII, 2 and 3, 1988.

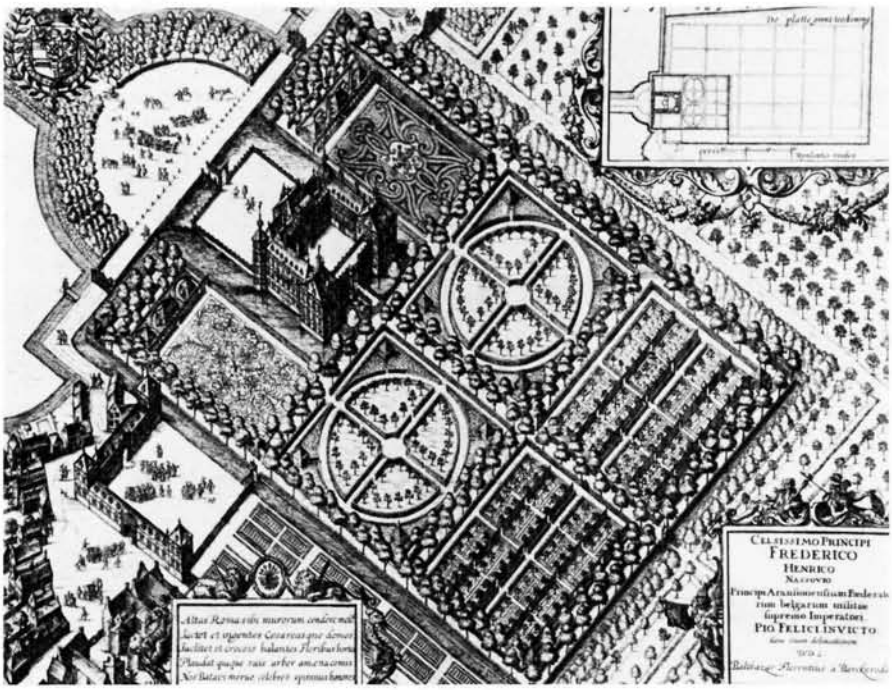
Netherlands.[2] For example, the preconceived notion that, similar to the country's "national characteristics," a typical Dutch garden is small and crowded, can now be said to have been put finally to rest.

While these studies represent steps in the right direction, what remains to be done is an equally exhaustive research of earlier seventeenth-century garden art in The Netherlands. Many of the recently published works concentrate on Dutch garden art in the latter half of the seventeenth century and mention the development in the first half of the century only in passing. For this earlier period of Dutch garden art, we still have to rely primarily on books published more than forty years ago, such as those by Bienfait and Slothouwer.[3] Although these books provide essential information, they are still colored by the nineteenth century's largely negative judgment of the formal garden as being hopelessly artificial.[4]

[2]The inheritance of historiography is a many-sided and complex issue. Three main points ought to be mentioned here, including in the first place the general attitude (until quite recently) toward the formal principles of garden design (preference for the "natural" landscape garden over the "artificial" geometric layout) and, secondly, the prejudice toward the "Dutch Taste" in gardening. This dislike of the Dutch style stems primarily from early eighteenth-century English, nationalistic tendencies toward garden design. Also mentioned should be the tendency to draw parallels between imputed Dutch national characteristics (smallness, intimacy, soberness, frugality) and Dutch garden layouts, so that as a result the grand, monumental, and opulent was automatically considered un-Dutch. Even today such notions of diminutiveness linger, as shown by the remarks like those of Geoffrey and Susan Jellicoe, Patrick Goode and Michael Lancaster, *The Oxford Companion to Gardens*, Oxford and New York, 1986, 391: "Monumentalism and the grandiose were alien to the ruling class of the urban bourgeoisie [in Holland]," Furthermore, M.L. Gothein in *Geschichte der Gartenkunst*, 2 vols., Jena, 1914, II, 302-304, already mentioned the biased approach to Dutch garden art in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literature. However, Gothein refers to a small and topiary-filled, late nineteenth-century garden (p. 306, fig. 540) as a typical Dutch layout, characterized by its over-decorated and "Spielkastenhaften" (puppet theatre-like) appearance. Gothein's mistake was pointed out by L.A. Springer, who in the introduction of *Oude Nederlandsche Tuinen*, Haarlem, 1936, notes the misrepresentation of the Dutch garden in older literature. As a typical example of the general false critique of the Dutch garden, Springer quotes the following text from J. Gardener Wilkinson, *On Color*, London, 1858: "The change from the old dressed garden was the consequence of the fantastic caprices of the Dutch (by whom it was caricatured) having been brought into England." For further reading on the problem of the "Dutch Garden," see Jacques and Van der Horst, *Gardens of William and Mary*, 97-102. Also Hunt and de Jong, *The Anglo-Dutch Garden*, 36 and 41-60.

[3]A.G. Bienfait, *Oude Hollandsche Tuinen*, 's Gravenhage, 1943; D.F. Slothouwer, *De Paleizen van Frederik Hendrik*, Leiden, 1945.

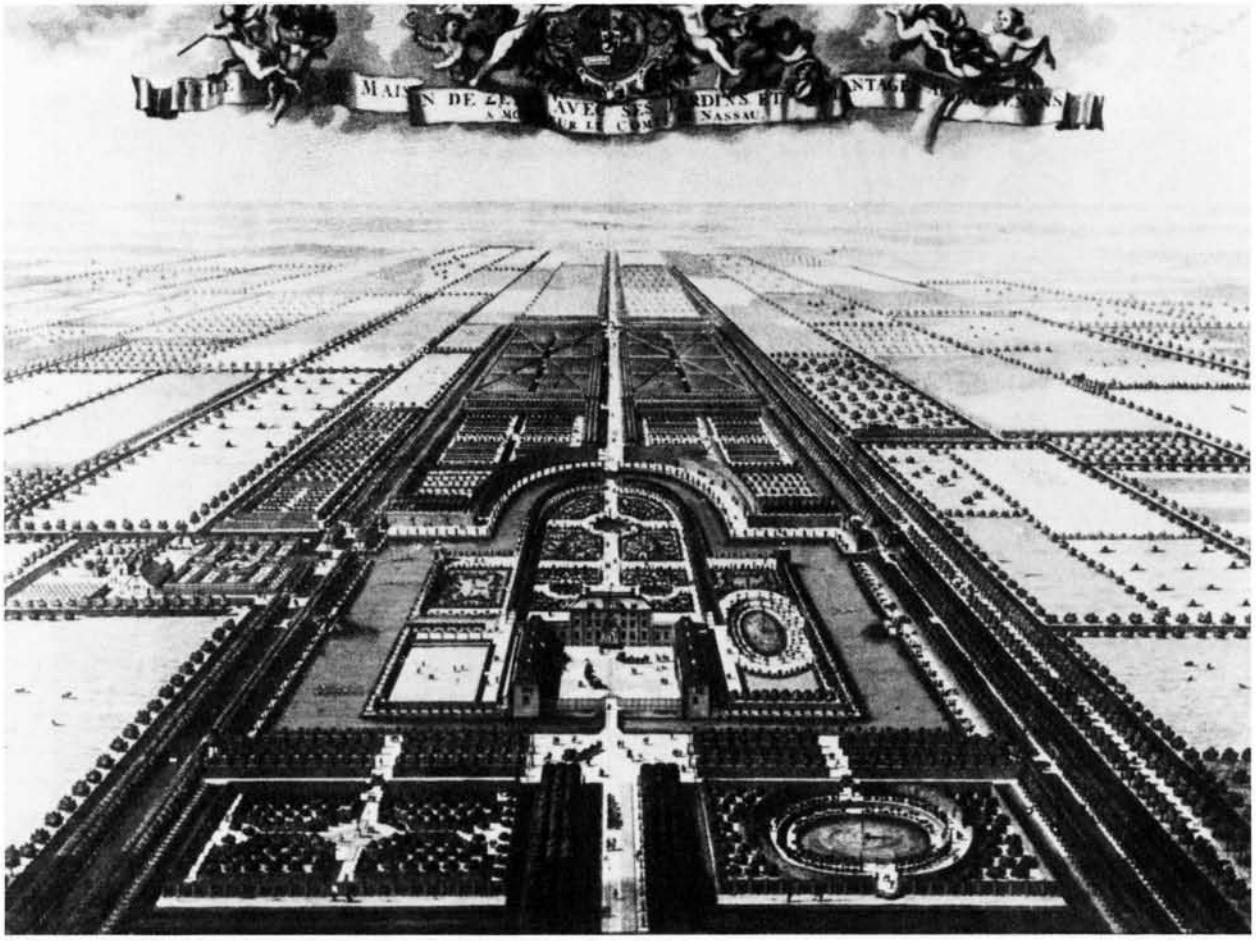
[4]J.T.P. Bijhouwer, *Nederlandsche Tuinen en Buitenplaatsen*, Amsterdam, 1946, 7: "We would not think of laying out parks with cut hedges, severely trimmed trees, boxwood pyramids or scrollwork figures of palm. We have become the admirers of Nature, of the free and original space and do not want to know anymore about all that stiff artificiality." See also Bienfait, *Hollandsche Tuinen*, 31: "A dualism between art and nature until the landscape style would bring the solution," and 112: "This very stiff layout...was replaced by a new design, more in accordance with [the style of] today." (transl. author)



1. Bird's eye view of Honselaarsdijk engraved by Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, ca. 1640, showing the early seventeenth-century garden laid out for Frederik Hendrik of Orange from 1620 onward. (photo: Municipal Archives, The Hague)

Historians today may be freed from such prejudice. However, they are still restricted in their analysis of garden art by a lack of a clear *vocabulary* to explain, compare, and define the various style-forms in Dutch garden art. Our vocabulary is derived from the art historical discipline, and the terminology used to denote style and form in painting and architecture is not sufficient to describe all aspects of garden art. Since gardens, by their very nature, are partly organic and ephemeral in character, they do not quite fit into the categories of art and architecture. The lack of a precise vocabulary to analyze gardens is immediately related to the traditional method, also borrowed from art history, to divide artistic style developments in blocks or periods of time.[5] A fair analysis of Dutch gardens is consequently hampered by the application of an art historical method used to analyze French and Italian gardens, regardless of the huge discrepancies in time and place. Thus, Dutch gardens are often still approached as mere extensions of French and Italian garden art.

[5]A good example is the work and methodology written and developed by Heinrich Wölfflin. Wölfflin's art historical methodology basically consisted of a comparative formal analysis of a work of art, determining primary characteristics of the art of a particular style in a specific period. Wölfflin described his methodology in *Renaissance and Baroque*, New York, 1966 (German original: *Renaissance und Barock*, Munich, 1888) and *Classic Art. An Introduction to the Italian Renaissance*, London and New York, 1952 (German original: *Die Klassische Kunst. Eine Einführung in die Italienische Renaissance*, Munich, 1899) and *Principles of Art History*, London, 1932 (German original: *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe, Das Problem der Stilentwicklung in der neueren Kunst*, Munich, 1915).



2. Bird's eye view of Zeist engraved by Daniel Stoopendael, ca. 1690, showing a grand, late seventeenth-century Dutch garden layout. (photo: author)

A case in point of the confusion created in the application of art historical vocabulary and method of formal analysis can be shown by comparing the print of the Honselaarsdijk garden by Balthasar Florisz van Berckerode, dated around 1640, with the late seventeenth-century layout of Zeist, engraved by Daniel Stoopendael around 1690 (figs. 1 and 2). The Honselaarsdijk garden, along with other early seventeenth-century garden layouts around the Court of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik of Orange, have been defined by different authors in terms of late Renaissance solutions in garden art with Mannerist overtones.[6] At the same time the Honselaarsdijk garden is called the first grand Baroque layout in Holland, and recently it has been defined as a Classical Canal Garden.[7] Obviously something must be amiss to allow for such an erratic use of art historical terminology. How can a work of art be classified as "Classical" and "Baroque" at the same time and yet also belong to the Renaissance? To complicate matters even further, the garden at Zeist is also considered the high point of Baroque garden art.[8] It is also sometimes called a

[6]The sentences in which Honselaarsdijk and other early seventeenth-century gardens owned by Frederik Hendrik and his circle, are described in terms mentioned above, are: Bienfait, *Hollandsche Tuinen*, 21: "...the influence of the Renaissance can also be counted as the introduction of the golden age of Dutch garden art." See also Bijhouwer, *Nederlandsche Tuinen*, 30: "...Our great country estates are for a small part still laid out in the Renaissance period,...." (transl. author) See also *Oxford Companion*, 392-3, referring to later seventeenth-century Dutch gardens as a "hybrid of the Renaissance and Baroque." Compare also Gothein, *Gartenkunst*, 308-9, where the word "Renaissance-motiv" and "Renaissance character" is also used in connection with Honselaarsdijk and referring to certain features in later seventeenth-century garden layouts in Holland. For the Mannerist tendency, see W. Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture. A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Architectural Relations from 1625 to 1700*, Delft, 1980, 61: "If there was one influential man in the Republic who was highly dissatisfied with the Late Mannerist style, and who...was in a key position to promote the new style, it was Constantijn Huygens. He could not fail to be aware of the inconsistencies of Honselaarsdijk and Ter Nieuburch;" with regard to Frederik Hendrik's other gardens at The Hague and Huygens's house, 63: "...not a picturesque accumulation of motifs in the Mannerist manner, but harmony based on correct proportion;" and 120: "The very interesting development of Late Mannerist architecture in the Netherlands in the 1620s, which led to a particular Mannerism with a strongly Baroque feeling...;" and 139: "Count Maurice...considered creating a garden towards 1610; the result was the symbolist—or if one prefers—Mannerist garden....A garden still in transitional style after Mannerist was the Princessetuin, the garden developed since 1609 at the back of the Oude Hof (Noordeinde Palace, The Hague) for himself [Frederick Henry] and his mother Louise de Coligny."

[7]Bijhouwer, *Nederlandsche Tuinen*, (transl.) 30: "Around 1580 the style of closed squares begins to free itself from the "boersheid" of the late medieval garden. Around 1640 the perspective has won, the Dutch Baroque-park has been created. See also Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 120: "In Holland the early seventeenth-century Proto Baroque was swept away on the strong tide of Classicist work." See also F.A.J. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst*, 3 vols., 's Gravenhage, 1941, II, 55: "[with Frederik Hendrik's court]...we see the French Baroque directly transferred into the most important cultural centre of the Northern Netherlands." For the Classical Canal Garden see Florence Hopper, "The Dutch Classical Garden and André Mollet," *Journal of Garden History*, II, 1, 1982, 32-3. An extended version of this article was also published in Dutch as "De Nederlandse Klassieke Tuin en André Mollet" *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond*, LXXXII, 2-3, 1983, 98-115 [Further indicated as *Bulletin KNOB*]. See from the same author also the entry on garden art in the Netherlands in *The Oxford Companion to Gardens*, 391-3.

[8]Bijhouwer, *Nederlandsche Tuinen*, 30. See also: H.W.M. van der Wijck, *De Nederlandse Buitenplaats, aspecten van ontwikkeling, bescherming en herstel*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1982, 113: "... the baroque breakthrough announced itself already before the French invasion..." and p. 157: "The park [Heemstede], together with the much grander Zeist, can be considered the highpoint of Dutch garden art." (transl. author).

Le Nôtre style garden, although completed seventy years later than Honselaarsdijk.[9] Since the words "Renaissance" and "Baroque" are used in a very general way and equally void of any meaning here, the closest description of the Honselaarsdijk garden is "Classical Canal Garden." To drop the word "Classical" and call it a "Canal Garden" would be even nearer to the truth, since only a small part of its inner design was influenced by classical architectural theory. The basic form of the garden layout, with its proportion of 4:3 is said to have been influenced by classical ideals of proportion.[10] However, in reality the layout was still dictated by the form of an original medieval castle and grounds on the spot with similar proportions, a fact which can be seen by comparing the Van Berckerode print with older maps of the area.[11]

Furthermore, in the course of the seventeenth century the traditional form-idea of the medieval moated castle, with its original strategic function, gained a new purpose as an aesthetic feature and influenced the layout of later seventeenth-century gardens. The form of the moated castle may have been retained by Stadholder Frederik Hendrik at Honselaarsdijk for its evocative memories of feudal power. However, if we call Honselaarsdijk a "Canal Garden" we will have to make a clear distinction between the early and late seventeenth-century garden layouts, which for their similar enclosure within a rectangular canal system, can also be defined as "Canal Gardens," although the inner layout and decoration of these gardens differ. This can be seen when comparing the Honselaarsdijk plan with the plan of the Zeist garden layout (figs. 1 and 2).

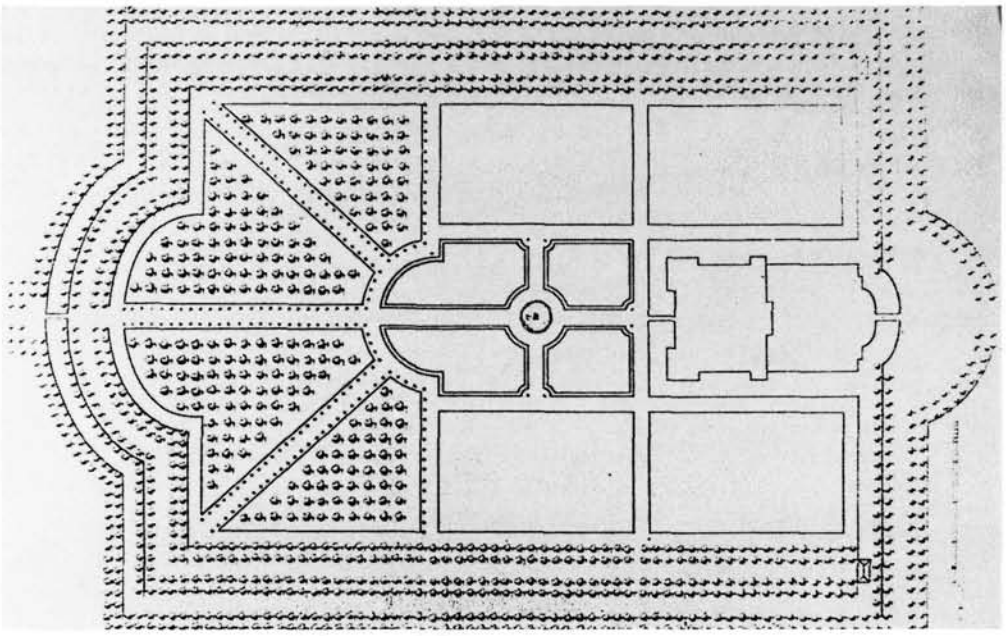
To avoid the semantic problem of the term "Baroque," popularly used for the seventeenth-century Dutch garden in general, and in order to stress the influence of mid-seventeenth-century French garden art as developed by André Le Nôtre, we can use the term "Le Nôtre style garden" to define later seventeenth-century layouts such as the Zeist, Heemstede, and Clingendael gardens. However, one should be aware of the fact that this term may be misleading, since the total impression of these gardens is not Le Nôtre-like, except for the decoration of the parterres and details of garden ornament.[12] Here we have come to the point where we simply lack a better

[9]Bienfait, *Oude Hollandsche Tuinen*, 102: "Na de dood van de Stadhouder was de glorietijd van dezen zogenaamden Le Nôtre tuin voorbij." See also: Bijhouwer, *Nederlandsche Tuinen*, 29: "...de stijl van Le Nôtre" and p. 37, describing why Zeist is not completely a 'Le Nôtre park.' See also: *Oxford Companion*, 391-2: "The Dutch canal garden, characterized by its flat and static nature...;" Jacques and Van der Horst, *Gardens of William and Mary*, 51: "At Zeist there is no mistaking the rigid rectangular framework of the Dutch classical canal garden."

[10]Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden," 33-34.

[11]For these maps, showing the situation of the estate before Stadholder Frederik Hendrik's improvements, see the facsimile edition entitled *Kaartboek van het Baljuwschap van Naaldwijk*, Alphen aan den Rijn, 1985, fols. 1 and 19. See also Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden," 31, fig. 3, where one of these maps, ascribed to Floris Jacobsz van der Salm, is dated ca. 1621. It is not clear whether the outline formed by canals, surrounding the property of Honselaarsdijk, existed already before the new gardens were designed, or whether they were laid out under Frederik Hendrik in the early 1620s. Even then the question remains, whether the placing of these canals, fixing the 4:3 proportion of the garden, was dictated by topographical considerations (water drainage) or artistic (classical theory) ones.

[12]The term "André Le Nôtre garden," is used in my article on a French-inspired Dutch garden layout, see: Vanessa Bezemer-Sellers, 'Clingendael: an early example of a Le Nôtre Style garden in Holland,' *Journal of Garden History*, VII, 1, 1987, 1-43. This term was used in order to avoid the semantic problem of the general term "Baroque," popularly used for the Dutch garden throughout the seventeenth century.



3. Ideal garden plan from André Mollet's *Jardin de Plaisir*, 1651, the design of which can be compared to the Honselaarsdijk layout (photo: author)

vocabulary to define the late seventeenth-century Dutch garden.

The misconceptions created by thinking of the Dutch garden as an extension of French garden art is illustrated by a map of Honselaarsdijk dated ca. 1620, showing a monumental avenue lined by trees, leading up to a semi-circular piazza situated in front of the island with the new palace.[13] The form and spatial unity of the completed avenue, semi-circular piazza, palace, and garden can be recognized clearly in the Van Berckerode print (fig. 1). The existence of such a monumental avenue ending in a semi-circle, and the fact that the French garden architect André Mollet worked at Honselaarsdijk between 1633 and 1635, has led to the assumption that Mollet designed this avenue. After all, who else in Holland could have come up with such a grand idea? The truth, however, is that the map of Honselaarsdijk described here was drawn up around 1620, a full ten years before Mollet arrived in Holland.[14] What is more, in his garden treatise *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, Mollet acknowledges his indebtedness to Dutch garden architecture.[15] As has been pointed out by Florence Hopper, the Honselaarsdijk layout may in fact have served as a model for Mollet's ideal garden plan published in his treatise (fig. 3), showing a marked

[13]General State Archives (Algemeen Rijksarchief), The Hague. Nassause Domeinraad, Eerste afdeling, vervolg nr. 1475, fol. 22. This map was published by Hopper, "Nederlandse Klassieke Tuin," 107, fig. 4.

[14]Plans for this avenue were first developed ca. 1615, at the time when Floris Jacobsz signed and dated a few other maps of the area in front of Honselaarsdijk. One of these hand colored maps (Nassause Domeinraad, Eerste afdeling, vervolg nr. 1475, fol. 2) showing the newly dug landstrip on which the avenue was to be laid out, has notes on the map reading: "This [land] has been levelled for the sake of the New Allée." (transl. author)

[15]André Mollet, *Le Jardin de Plaisir*, Stockholm, 1651 (facsimile edition, Paris, 1981), 10: "...de ce qui dépend du jardin de plaisir, suivant ce que j'en ai appris et pratiqué en travaillant tant en France et en Angleterre qu'en Hollande...."

similarity in the form and proportion of the whole layout, as well as the shape of the moated castle with forecourt and semi-circular piazza.[16] Thus, here we may have a clear example of a Dutch contribution to French garden art.

Whether or not Mollet's ideal garden plan was directly modelled on the Honselaarsdijk garden, his design clearly reflects the characteristics of the Dutch garden. These characteristics were partly due to geographical conditions of the Dutch countryside rather than the result of artistic considerations. Among those topographical factors which affected Dutch garden design were the natural flatness of the country, the abundance of water in the low-lying, humid grounds, which necessitated a network of canals for drainage, the traditional division of the grounds in elongated strips of land, and the absence of natural rock in Holland. Marble or stone needed to be imported from abroad at great expense and effort, and large quantities of finished statues were collected from Italy and France. The lack of native rock in combination with the flatness of the country precluded a monumental system of terraces and waterworks such as cascades. The difficulty in acquiring sculpture also meant that one had to look for alternative means of garden decoration, such as *painted sculpture* (i.e. sculpture painted on garden walls and on so-called Dummyboards), an aspect we will return to later.

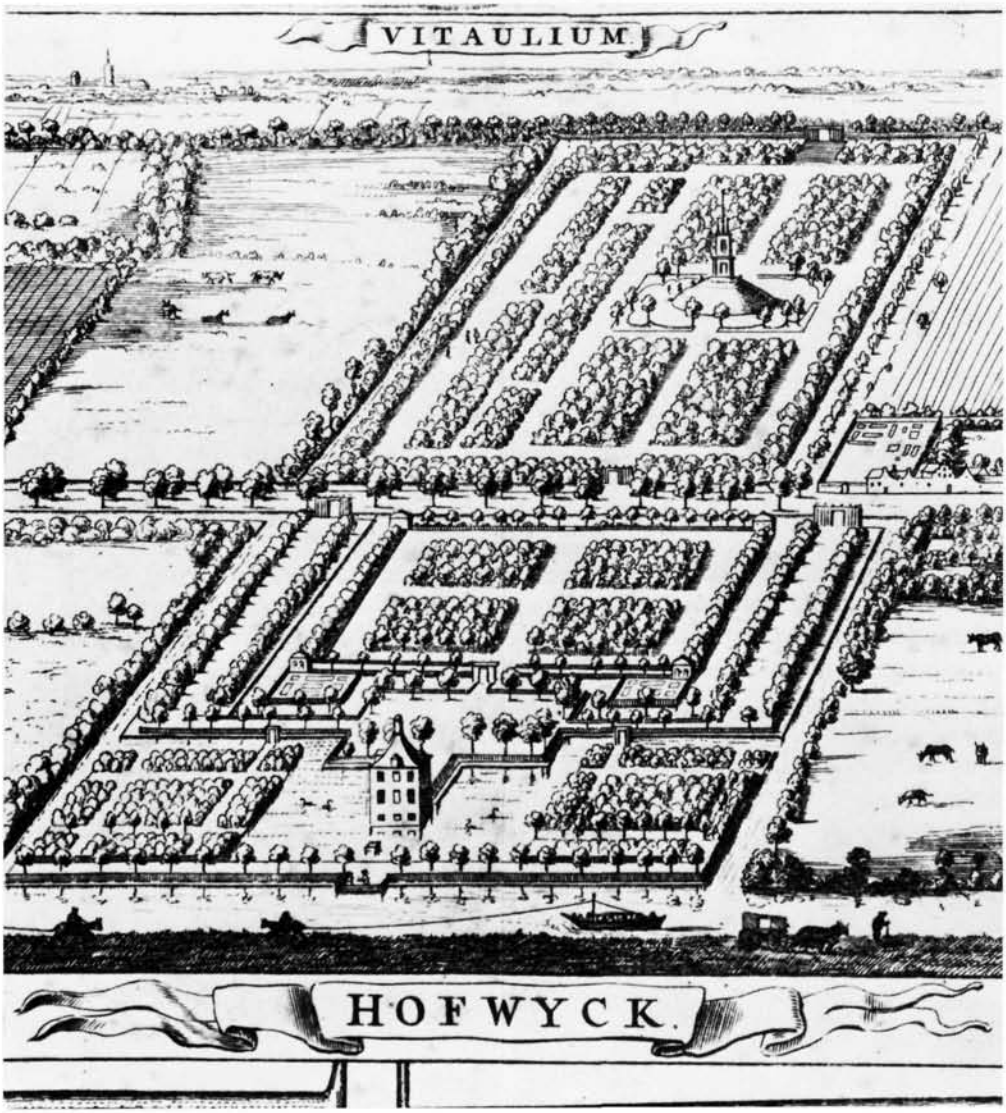
In coming to an assessment of the Dutch formal garden, the evidence gathered from visual material, such as maps, prints, and drawings, is of primary importance. The information gathered from the visual material is enhanced by the research of accountbooks, correspondence of important dilettantes, travel journals, and garden treatises. In particular, much information can be collected from the careful study of country house poetry. Jacob Cats and Constantijn Huygens's poems, among others, provide us with an insight into the *idea* of garden art at the time and thus resolve larger questions of iconographical and philosophical content.[17] A famous case in point where poetry has directly helped to explain form and meaning of a garden layout, is Constantijn Huygens's *Hofwijck*, illustrated with a print, showing a bird's eye view of Huygens's estate (fig. 4).[18] In his poem Huygens compares the form of his garden with the form of the human body, basing his ideas on Vitruvian-Pythagorean theories. According to a careful analysis of the poem by Robert Jan van Pelt, Huygens describes a walk through his garden as a pilgrimage toward God, whereby the three parts of which the garden is composed symbolize the three components of man's methaphysical nature, body, soul, and mind.[19] A reconstruction by Van Pelt demonstrates that the form of the human body, following the proportions of the

[16]Mollet's possible dependency on gardens seen in Holland, was commented upon by Hopper, "Dutch Classical Garden," 34 and "Nederlandse Klassieke Tuin," 112.

[17]Jacob Cats, *Ouderdom, buyten-leven en hof-gedachten op Sorghvliet*, Amsterdam, 1656. For further reading concerning the literary genre of the "Hof-dicht" or Country-house poem, see P.A.J. van Veen, *De soeticheydt des buyten-levens, vergheselschapt met de boucken*, Utrecht, 1985. For Huygens see especially 28-31, for Cats 33-35.

[18]Constantijn Huygens, *Vitaulium, Hofwijck Hofstede van den Heere van Zuylichem onder Voorburgh*, 's Gravenhage, 1653.

[19]Robert van Pelt, "Man and Cosmos in Huygens's Hofwijck," *Art History*, IV, 2, 1981, 150-174. Also published in Dutch as "De wereld van Huygens's Hofwijck," *Bulletin KNOB*, LXXXII, 2-3, 1983, 116-124.



4. Bird's eye view of Hofwijck, detail of the print in Constantijn Huygens's poem *Vitaulium, Hofwijck*, 1653. (photo: Municipal Archives, The Hague)

Vitruvian ideal man, can indeed be recognized in the form of the garden, whereby the head of the Vitruvian man corresponds with the place where the house is built, and the knees are drawn on the place of the mount in the lower part of the garden.[20] That such an analysis relating poetry and garden architecture is not merely far-fetched, as one might think, is evidenced by the recurrence of complex iconological garden programs in other Dutch seventeenth-century gardens. For example the layout of Everhard Meyster's gardens Nimmerdor and Doolomberg ("Never Barren" and "Wander about the Mountain"), reflected a unique iconological program, filled with classical allusions to a bucolic past and the owner's own religious beliefs, as fully explained in Meyster's country house poem.[21]

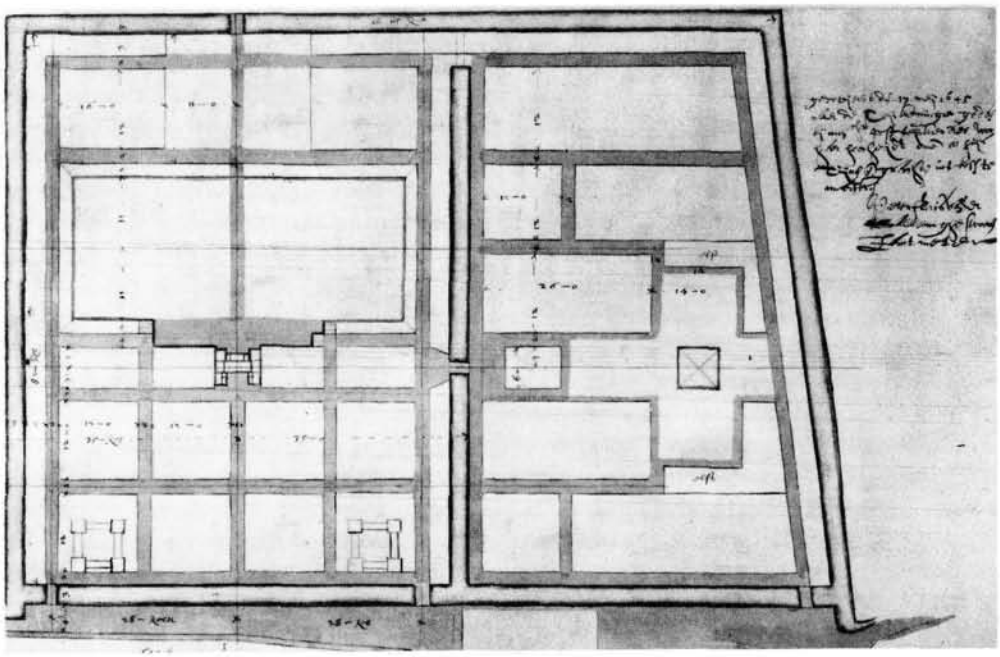
Having described some aspects of Dutch seventeenth-century gardens, we may ask ourselves where we should direct our attention for future research. Here we can put forward three specific suggestions: first, we need to look closely into the *process and practice* of designing gardens in The Netherlands. Indeed, we should begin by incorporating the very process of creating gardens instead of exclusively focussing on the garden as a finished product. Then we need to consider how the art historical tendency to concentrate on the most famous artists, especially the preference for the study of works of art ascribed to one particular genius, influenced garden history. This tendency specifically leads to misconceptions concerning Dutch garden layouts. For example, the Honselaarsdijk garden was believed to be completely designed by the French genius André Mollet, although he only designed the parterres; Daniel Marot's role as garden architect was, and still is, greatly exaggerated.[22] In general, this tendency leads to the neglect of the element of "teamwork," which is typical for early seventeenth-century Dutch garden art, whereby local craftsmen and artisans are involved in the final layout.[23] It is necessary to study the original seventeenth-century system of work division anew. We must realize from the outset that, for instance, such generally ignored people as map makers and land surveyors played a crucial part in developing ideas for the basic garden design. A good example is the plan of the Huis ten Bosch, another palace built for the Orange family at The Hague in the mid-seventeenth century.

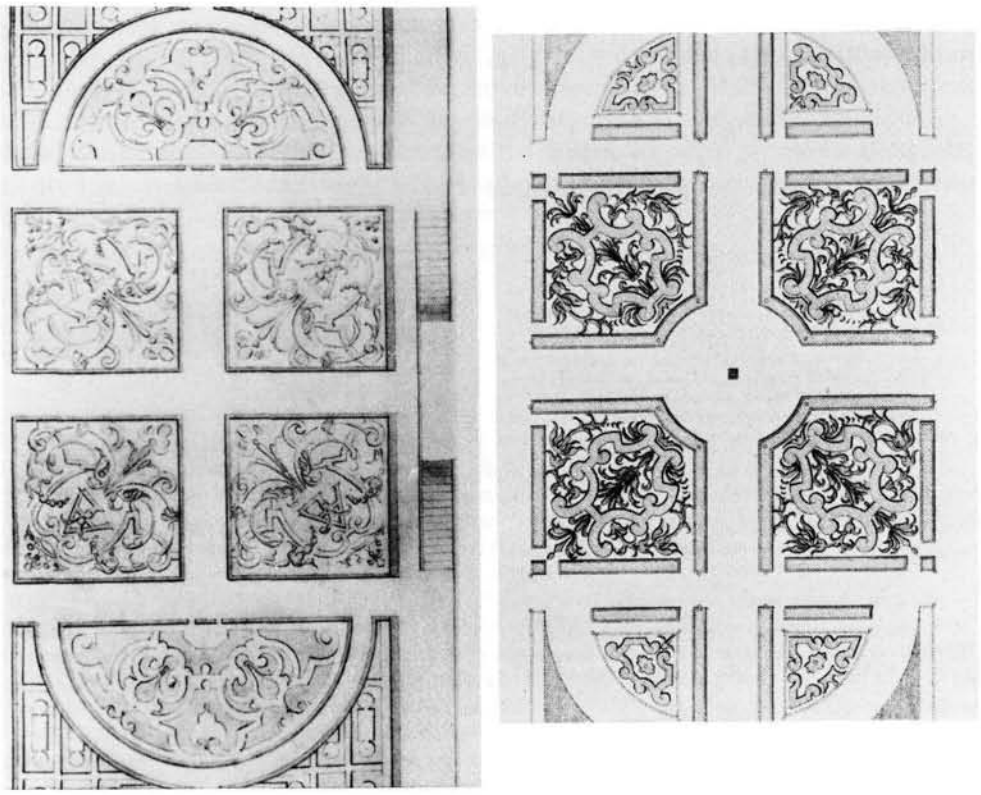
[20]Van Pelt, "Man and Cosmos," 154, fig. 2 and "Wereld van Huygens," 118, fig. 3.

[21]D. Hamer and W. Meulenkamp, "Nimmerdor en Doolomberg, twee 17e-eeuwse Tuinen van Everard Meyster," *Bulletin KNOB*, LXXXVI, 1, 1987, 3-14.

[22]Springer, *Oude Nederlandsche Tuinen*, 7: "Claude Mollet... was commissioned for the layout [of Honselaarsdijk] and he sent his son [André] to execute the plans." See also: Th. Morren, *Het Huis Honselaarsdijk*, Leiden, 1908, 17, "the new style [developed by the Mollets] in gardening is consistently applied [at Honselaarsdijk]. And André who was also responsible for the layout of Buren had himself paid royally for his work." Slothouwer, *De Paleizen*, 367: "the gardens were laid out by Francois [sic] Mollet, son of Claude." Also Bienfait, *Oude Hollandsche Tuinen*, believed that "Mollet was responsible for the most important works [in the garden]." For further remarks and quotes by other authors, see also Hopper, "Nederlandse Klassieke Tuin," 105, n. 40.

[23]This conclusion can be drawn from the study of the account books of the Nassau Demesne (Nassause Domein Archief Hingman) in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at The Hague. Part of these accounts concerning the building activities of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik are published by Slothouwer in *De Paleizen*, 261-340.





6. Plan of the main parterre of St. Germain-en-Laye (left), laid out by Boyceau, modernized by Le Nôtre ca. 1665, after which the parterre at Clingendael (right) was modelled, ca. 1680. (photo: author)

The plan of Huis Ten Bosch shown here (fig. 5), was made by the land surveyor and map maker Pieter Floris van der Sallem in the year 1645.[24] This plan shows the completed idea for the garden layout, consisting of a division of the grounds into squares intersected by canals. What is remarkable here is the fact that this garden plan was completed by a land surveyor, in collaboration with an architect.[25] The architect Pieter Post's later engraving of the Huis ten Bosch demonstrates that land surveyor Van der Sallem's plan was followed closely in the general layout of the garden, while the architect Post was primarily responsible for architectural features, including the palace and garden pavilions.

Another point is also in order. Since specialized garden architects were rare, it was not an unusual practice for a well-educated gentleman to make his own garden architectural designs. Indeed, in Holland, the role of the dilettante architect, often the owner of an estate, was of particular importance. A perfect example of this is Philips Doublet, a close friend of William III, an ardent book and print collector and a prototype of a "gentleman-virtuoso," who was at the center of important artistic and scientific circles both in Holland and France.[26] He was responsible for designing the famous gardens of Clingendael at The Hague from the 1660s onward, which would have an impact on the whole scope of garden architecture in the later half of the century. Moreover, the Clingendael garden layout is all the more important, since it demonstrates the method applied by a private individual to design his garden, namely with the help of *print books*. Thus, for his main parterre at Clingendael, Philips Doublet directly copied a French parterre design from a print, namely André Le Nôtre's parterre at St. Germain-en-Laye, as can be seen when comparing these two parterre layouts (fig. 6).[27] Thus far the study of contemporary prints has shown that especially the form and ornamentation of parterres, and secondly the decoration of fountains and choice of sculpture, were taken from French sets of engravings. These French engravings included those by Le Pautre, Perelle, and Silvestre, all depicting the gardens and garden ornamentation of the

[24]Cartographical Department, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, VTH 3323.

[25]The map is signed by Pieter Floris van der Sallem (upper right) and dated 20 April 1645 (lower left). The text on the upper right reads: "Copied on the 17th of May 1645 after the drawing by Mr. Post, draughtsman of Her Highness to make house and gardens and canals in the wood." (transl. author)

[26]Bezemer-Sellers, "Clingendael," 1-43, earlier published in a condensed version under the title 'De ontstaansgeschiedenis van een vroege Nederlandse baroktuin: Clingendael onder Philips Doublet III,' *Bouwen in Nederland*, A.R.E. de Heer and M.C.C. Kersten, eds., Delft, 1985.

[27]F. Hamilton Hazlehurst, *Gardens of Illusion: The Genius of André Le Nôtre*, Nashville, 1980, 204, n. 5 and 210-212, figs. 157 and 160.

French Court under Louis XIV.[28] This practice of copying prints became especially prevalent in the second half of the century and, by the early eighteenth century, had resulted in the large-scale publication of pattern books specifically for this purpose. The practice of using prints as direct examples for designing gardens deserves a separate study as it raises questions about the role of prints in the dissemination of art forms throughout Europe in general and its implications for the penetration of style-forms in Dutch gardens in particular.

Another topic ripe for further speculation is that of the use of the garden as a setting for other artistic media. Generally unknown and neglected in the history of Dutch, as well as other garden art, is the phenomenon of the use of mirrors and illusionistic paintings as a means to decorate and extend the bounderies of the garden. The neglect of this subject is due to the ephemeral character of such paintings and the difficulty in obtaining visual proof of such garden decorations. Nevertheless, one can conclude from descriptions in garden treatises and travel journals that illusionistic paintings were indeed a widespread form of garden decoration. According to contemporary descriptions, the Stadholder's garden at The Hague included mirrors set against the wall in order to make the enclosed garden court seem larger and reflect hundreds instead of just a handful of flowering tulips.[29] Contemporary treatises, for example André Mollet's *Jardin de Plaisir,* advise garden architects to place such painted perspectives at the end of allées to create the illusion of far views.[30] Such perspective paintings and mirrors at the same time reflect the contemporary fascination for scenography and optics (such as those shown in the works published by Salomon de Caus), and relate garden art to the discipline of science.[31]

A few particular examples of such paintings in Dutch gardens include those which the well-known scientist, Christiaan Huygens, painted on the wall between his father's house and the Mauritshuis in The Hague in the year 1646. The subject depicted was the "Dance of Death" copied from Holbein's famous print series, according to Christiaan Huygens's own remark.[32] Although the original mural painting is gone, some of Christiaan Huygens's sketches, which look like preparatory

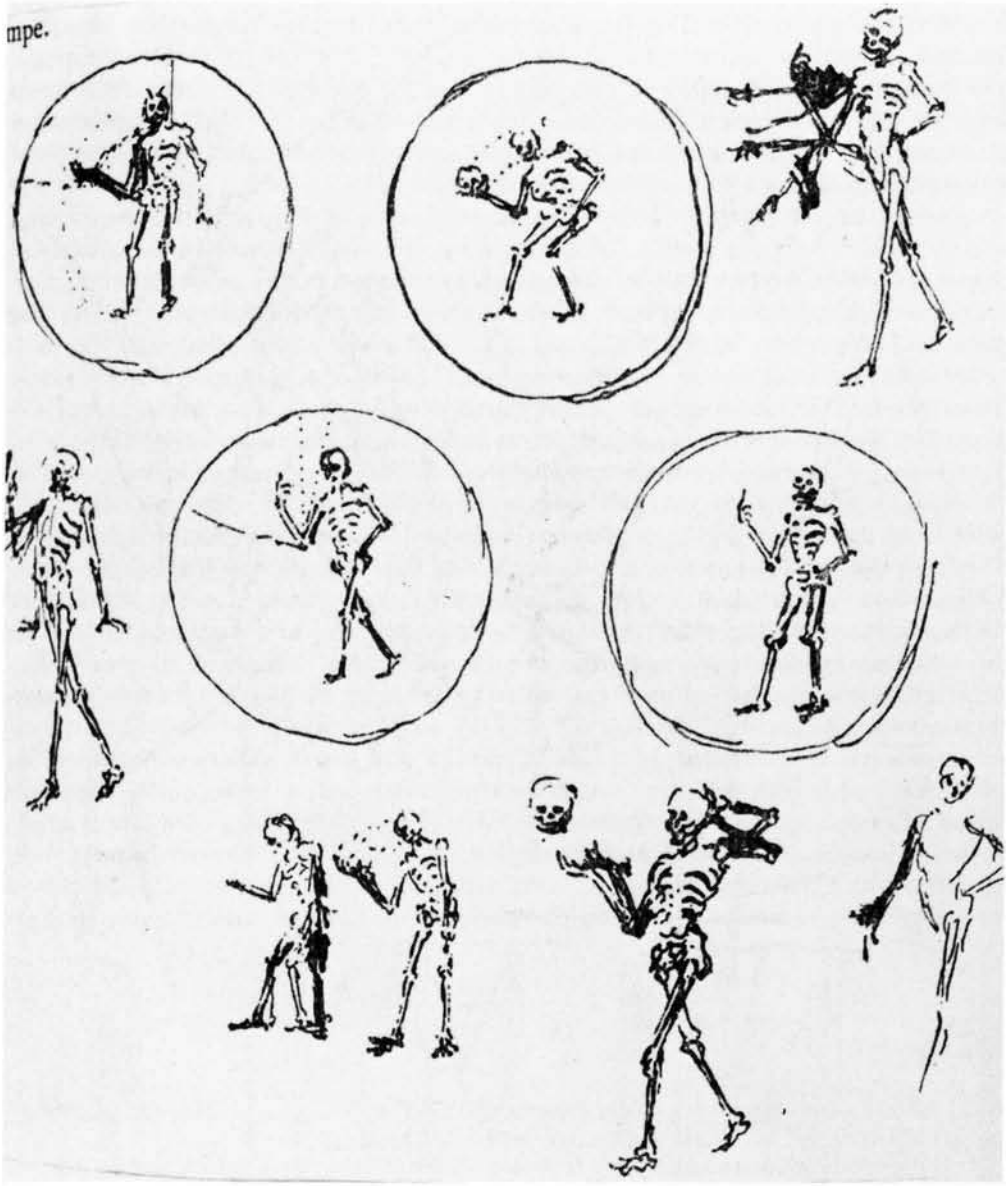
[28]For a list of the most important series of French engravings concerning architecture and garden art, brought to and studied in Holland, see Bezemer-Sellers, "Clingendael," 41-42.

[29]One of these descriptions is given by Jacob de Hennin, *De Zinrijke Gedachten toegepast op de Vijf Sinnen van 's Menschen verstand,* Amsterdam, 1681, 110: "...let toch hoe al deze schoone groote Spiegels, respondeere op den gantschen Hof en Fontein..." (See how all these beautiful large Mirrors reflect the whole Court and Fountain). See also Bienfait, *Oude Hollandsche Tuinen,* 47.

[30]Mollet, *Jardin de Plaisir,* facsimile edition, 31: "Aux extrémités de ces allées, on posera de belles perspectives peintes sur toile...."

[31]Salomon de Caus, *La Perspective,* London and Brussels, 1612; *Von gewaltsamen Bewegungen,* Frankfurt, 1615; *Les raisons des forces mouvantes,* Frankfurt, 1615 and Paris, 1624.

[32]*Oeuvres Complètes de Christiaan Huygens, publié par la Société Hollandaise de Sciences,* 22 vols., The Hague, 1888-1905, I, letter by Christiaan Huygens to his brother Constantijn, d.d. 14 Aug. 1646 (no. 10): "J'aij peint en nostre jardin des grandes figures comme le vif, avecq du charbon mis dans l'huijle et du craijon blancq, contre les aijs qui separent nostre jardin d'avecq celuij du comte Maurice, ce sont des figures d'Holbeins Dodendans, que, de petites comme le petit doict qu'elles sont, j'ay aggrandies à la hauteur susdite."



7. Sketch by Christiaan Huygens from the *Oeuvres Complètes*, probably a preparatory drawing for the garden mural representing Holbein's *Dance of Death*. (photo: author).

drawings for this garden wall decoration, still exist today (fig. 7).[33] Later seventeenth-century examples of illusionistic paintings can be found in the Sorgvliet garden, where depictions of military triumphs were set at the end of long allées, celebrating the deeds of the Stadholders of the House of Orange.[34] In addition to painted perspective, the set-up of two dimensional, life-size boards, so-called Dummyboards, cut out and painted to represent figures, as for example soldiers, servants, animals, and feigned statues, is recorded in contemporary documents.[35] Such Dummyboards were set up at the end of avenues or under thickets to add an element of surprise to the garden layout, shocking unwary passersby. These painted objects and other garden paintings are not only of interest as examples of the use of other media in a garden setting, but also for their iconographical meaning within a larger garden program. A penetrating iconological study of these representations might clarify the deeper meaning of the total form and function of seventeenth-century gardens.

Naturally, the suggestions presented in this survey are not intended to be exhaustive. Indeed, other aspects, involving horticulture, religion, and inquiries into technological and socio-economical developments and their relationship to Dutch seventeenth-century garden art, need further study. Only such a wide, interdisciplinary approach will lead to a full assessment of the Dutch garden and its place in seventeenth-century European culture.

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[33]*Oeuvres Complètes*, XXII, 197, sketches of skeletons, which could be designs for the mural representing Holbein's *Dance of Death*.

[34]In the plan and bird's eye view of the Sorgvliet estate, executed by Jan van de Aveelen and published by Nicolaas Visscher at Amsterdam, ca. 1690, these monuments, seven in total, are described as "Piramidise Trophees ter eeren van de Princen van Oranje" (Pyramadic Trophies in honor of the Princes of Orange). This series of engravings is kept in the Cartographical Department of the Municipal Archives at The Hague.

[35]Dummyboards representing six *commedia dell'arte* characters decorated the eighteenth-century garden of Zijdebalen, near Utrecht. See E. De Jong, "Zijdebalen: A late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century Dutch Estate and its garden poem," *Journal of Garden History*, V, 1, 1985, 44 and n. 46.

André Salmon in Perspective

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This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the College Art Association held in San Francisco in February of 1989.

On March 25, 1988, I attended a conference on Picasso and psychoanalytic art history where Françoise Gilot gave a paper on the artist she had met in 1943 and had lived with from 1946 to 1953. (Gilot is the author of the book *Life with Picasso*, written with Carlton Lake in 1964.[1]) After Gilot presented her paper, I approached her privately to ask her whether Picasso had ever discussed his old friend André Salmon, the subject of my dissertation.

Salmon, a poet and art critic, met Picasso in 1904 and was part of the infamous gang called *la bande à Picasso* (fig. 1).[2] As an art critic, he is known for praising Picasso's work early on, naming Picasso's masterpiece *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, and exhibiting *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* for the first time in 1916.[3] While reading Salmon's memoirs, *Souvenirs sans fin*, I found a passage which I thought (at the time) referred to a visit paid by Picasso and Gilot to Salmon at home in the south of France. It said that Picasso arrived "with a young woman...surrounded by numerous children from diverse 'époques.'"[4] I assumed that the "young woman" was Françoise Gilot, and when I approached her last March, I anticipated that she would recall that visit to Salmon with a warm touch of nostalgia. Thus, I posed my question entirely unprepared for her hostile response.

Gilot looked at me and rather bitterly said that Salmon had been "a terrible man" and a "collaborator." She also recalled that Picasso had slapped Salmon's face at Max Jacob's "funeral." (I assumed that she meant the memorial mass said for Jacob, who had died of pneumonia in the concentration camp at Drancy.[5]) Completely taken aback by an attack on my subject's character and forced to confront a viewpoint I had not heard in previous interviews, I felt suddenly knocked off balance as if I, and not Salmon, had been unjustly accused of sympathizing with the Nazis. Feeling rather defensive, and immediately distrustful of a story I had never heard before, I unfortunately lost my presence of mind and failed to ask her whether or not she witnessed this slap. Instead, I sensed that she had said all that she wanted to say on the subject, and so I quickly thanked her and left.

1. F. Gilot with C. Lake, *Life with Picasso*, New York, 1964.
2. J. Fluegel, "Chronology," *Pablo Picasso: A Retrospective*, ed. W. Rubin, New York, 1980, 56. Salmon reported that the year was 1903, but Picasso moved into his studio at 13, rue Ravignan in 1904. Therefore, Salmon's date is one year off. See, A. Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, Paris, 1955, I, 164.
3. W. Rubin, "La Genèse des *Demoiselles d'Avignon*," *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon*, exh. cat., Musée Picasso, Paris, 1988, 376-377.
4. Salmon, *Souvenirs sans fin*, III, 174.
5. *Ibid.*, III, 295. The mass was arranged by Missia Sert and held at Saint-Roch Church in Paris.

1. André Salmon, c. 1935 (photo: E. F. Fry, *Cubism*, New York, 1966, 162)

Before this brief encounter, I had consulted many sources on Salmon and interviewed a few people who knew him and/or his second wife, Léo. Most sources agreed that Salmon was a fine man who had exercised "poor judgment" during World War II. Gilot was the first dissonant voice I had heard.

Presenting this experience as a case in point, this paper deals with confronting subjectivity: that unavoidable and pernicious factor that is everpresent while conducting scholarly research. Here I will discuss one art historian's subjectivity and the problems encountered when that subjectivity evaluates divergent accounts told by people who viewed themselves as objective sources.

After I heard Gilot's remarks, my first inclination was to examine its validity: was Salmon a "terrible man" and a "collaborator" during the Nazi Occupation of France? Could Picasso have slapped Salmon across the face at Max Jacob's funeral? I reviewed several sources on Salmon and Picasso, considered the motivation behind these memoirs and biographies, and then realized that I, like most biographers, had probably distorted or suppressed information unconsciously in order to focus sharply my conceptual picture of Salmon from a one-point perspective. I also wanted to forgive him, as did most of the people I consulted.

Ironically, my dissertation condemns the one-point perspective of art historians which has prevented an informed and fair consideration of Salmon's views on Cubism. As I mulled over Gilot's remarks, I realized that I too was culpable of adhering to a biased approach in order to maintain a sense of control over my material. My dilemma then was twofold: I questioned both Gilot's credibility and my own objectivity. In an effort to resolve this dilemma, I then returned to oral and written evaluations of Salmon's character and his World War II activities.

Salmon began to contribute to *Le Petit Parisien* in 1928 and in 1936 he accepted an assignment to cover the Spanish Civil War from the Nationalist front, believing that between his coverage and that of his colleague on the Liberation front the whole picture would emerge. Pierre Cabanne, in his book on Picasso, said that Picasso and Salmon broke relations at this point only to become reconciled many years later.[6]

Upon returning from Spain in 1939, Salmon did not hesitate in taking the job as *Le Petit Parisien's* foreign correspondent in the Middle East, even though at this point the newspaper was "authorized" under the Vichy government.[7] Returning to Paris in late 1940, he continued to contribute a supposedly apolitical arts column to *Le Petit Parisien*, because he had to support his dying wife, Jeanne, who needed medication.[8] In an interview with Jenifer Stolkin, who wrote a master's thesis on his

6. Pierre Cabanne, *Pablo Picasso: His Life and Times*, trans. Harold J. Salemson, New York, 1977, 459-460.
7. C. Bellanger et al., *Histoire de la presse française, tome IV: de 1940 à 1958*, Paris, 1975, 36-38.
8. Jenifer Stolkin, "The Poetry of André Salmon," Master's Thesis, St. Hugh's College, Oxford, 1970, 42. Stolkin is an instructor of French literature living in London who interviewed Salmon and his second wife, Léo, in 1968, shortly before his death.

poetry, Salmon explained that he feared for his life at that time because of his "Jewish ancestry."[9] Nevertheless, Salmon's willingness to remain with *Le Petit Parisien* seemed to many a form of collaboration. Therefore, I concluded that Gilot's opinion concurred with that of the Comité National des Écrivains, which blacklisted Salmon during France's *épuration* (the "purge") in late 1944.[10] Salmon's dishonor lasted about ten years. Then, evidently his motive for continuing his tenure with *Le Petit Parisien* was reviewed and pardoned by his peers, for in 1958 he received the Grand Prix de la Société des Poètes and in 1964 he received the Grand Prix de Poésie de l'Académie Française.[11]

Still, critics of those who did not participate in the Resistance during the Nazi Occupation continue to hold a dim view of Salmon—including Gilot, who did not herself take an active part in the Resistance. Therefore, the fact that Gilot denounced Salmon's activities during World War II did not come as a complete surprise. However, in the previous interviews conducted with such people as Salmon's friend Jacques Busse (editor of the Bénézit Dictionary when Salmon contributed to that publication), Jacqueline and Jacques Gojard, Salmon biographers living in Paris, and Jenifer Stolkin, the consensus was that his decision to write for the conservative newspaper *Le Petit Parisien* demonstrated "poor judgment," but was not sufficient evidence to indicate that he sympathized with the Nazis.[12]

The next question: did Picasso attend the memorial service for Max Jacob? While the affair between Gilot and Picasso heated up in February 1944, Max Jacob, another member of *la bande à Picasso*, lived out his last days in the monastery Saint-Benoit-sur-Loire in Orléans.[13] In his memoirs, Salmon explained that he sensed Max Jacob was in danger at the monastery as one Jew (albeit converted to Catholicism) among Christians and he invited Jacob to live with him in Paris. Jacob, however, declined the offer, replying that if he needed asylum he would turn to Picasso.[14] Meanwhile, at about the same time, Jacob wrote to his friend Marcel Béalu that Salmon seldom wrote and Picasso not at all.[15] Who is telling the truth? Perhaps, all

9. *Ibid.* More research on Salmon's "Jewish ancestry," as Stolkin wrote, needs to be undertaken. It should be noted that Sidney Alexander erroneously claimed in his book on Marc Chagall that Salmon was a Russian Jew (see S. Alexander, *Marc Chagall: A Biography*, New York, 1978, 135). Salmon was born in Paris and went to St. Petersburg with his father, Émile, an engraver, in 1897. His father left about 6 months later, but Salmon decided to remain. He returned to Paris in 1901 to fulfill France's military service requirement. As for his religion, Stolkin explained in her thesis that Salmon's parents considered themselves atheists and that their conviction was so strict that Salmon purposely did not tell them that he once took shelter in a church while it rained for fear that they would disapprove. (André Salmon's "Enfances," an unpublished memoir about his childhood, is cited in Stolkin, 2.) However, Salmon married in the church Saint-Merri and wrote a poem entitled *Saint André*, both indicative of his willingness to be associated with Catholicism.

10. Pierre Assouline, *L'épuration des intellectuals*, Paris, 1985, 130, 162 (the list of the writers designed as "undesirable" by the Comité National des Écrivains).

11. *Larousse du XXe siècle*, 1932 ed., s.v. "André Salmon."

12. Jacques Busse, interview with author, 28 June 1984, Paris; Jacqueline and Jacques Gojard, Interview with author, 18 June 1984, Paris; Jenifer Stolkin, interview with author, 5 August 1985, London.

13. Gilot, 54, 57-60. In Gilot's discussion about how Picasso and she became lovers at this time she made no reference to Max Jacob.

14. Salmon, III, 391.

15. Patrick O'Brian, *Pablo Ruiz Picasso*, London, 1976, 366.

are, in their own way. Perhaps, Salmon did write to and visit Max Jacob—but infrequently—and perhaps, Jacob considered this infrequency "neglect" (a supposition advanced by Patrick O'Brian in his book *Pablo Ruiz Picasso*).[16] Salmon, on the other hand, is the hero of his own memoirs and, therefore, might have taken this opportunity to inform his reader of his good deeds during the war in order to reinstate his reputation. These are all speculations which demand further investigation.

Jacob was taken by the Nazis to Drancy on February 28, 1944. En route to the camp, he managed to send a letter to Jean Cocteau.[17] Cocteau immediately composed a letter to protest Jacob's internment and had several writers sign it, including Salmon.[18] Salmon recalled in his memoirs that he met with Georges Prade of the newspaper *Paris-soir.* Prade knew Max Jacob and was quite fond of him. Salmon believed that Prade would make the necessary calls to free his friend, which he did. On March 5, Roger Toulouse telephoned Salmon to report that Max Jacob died at Drancy. Shortly afterward Prade called Salmon to say that he had succeeded in securing Jacob's release.[19] While describing this episode and the subsequent memorial service in his memoires, Salmon never mentioned Picasso.[20] Thus he neither confirmed nor denied Picasso's participation in this situation concerning Jacob.

According to Jacob's biographer, Pierre Andreu, the dealer and manager of Jacob's affairs in Paris, Pierre Colle, called upon Picasso as soon as he knew that Jacob had been taken to Drancy. Picasso allegedly replied: "It is not worth the trouble to do anything about it. Max is a little imp [*lutin*]. He has no need of us to fly out of prison."[21] Again, Picasso's response can be considered hearsay, rather than fact, another thread of oral history.

Although it seems that Picasso did not try to help Jacob, it is still possible that he attended the memorial service which took place in Paris soon after Jacob died. Did Picasso attend? The answer for the moment cannot be known for certain, since the second-hand sources do not agree. Pierre Andreu answered no.[22] Roland Penrose in his *Picasso: His Life and Work* (1981) said yes.[23] Pierre Cabanne in his *Pablo Picasso: His Life and Times* (1977), referred to Jacob's plea for help and Picasso's response, but did not mention a memorial service.[24] Patrick O'Brian in his Picasso biography (1976),

16. *Ibid.*
17. Salmon, III, 294; Pierre Andreu, *Max Jacob*, Paris, 1962, 77.
18. Salmon, III, 294; Andreu, 78.
19. Salmon, III, 294.
20. *Ibid.*, III, 295.
21. Andreu, 79-80.
22. *Ibid.*, 80.
23. Roland Penrose, *Picasso: His Life and Work*, New York, 1958, 348.
24. Cabanne, 357-358.

said that he distrusted the accounts concerning Picasso's refusal to help Jacob and felt that it was uncharacteristic of Picasso at the time.[25] Pierre Daix, in the recently published biography *Picasso créateur* (1988), agreed with O'Brian and stated that Picasso attended the memorial. He also rationalized that Picasso's intervention on behalf of Max Jacob would have been more of a hindrance than a help, because the Nazis had considered his art "degenerate."[26] In the final analysis, I realized that each author had represented Picasso in a certain light. I had even recognized the personality of each author as he slanted the standard Picasso stories to conform with a specific image. Therefore, I decided to attack this Gordian knot from another direction.

The evidence suggests that it is very unlikely Gilot ever met André Salmon and that whatever she knew of him must have been colored by Picasso's hurt and outrage over Salmon's reporting from the Franco side of the Spanish Civil War. Since Gilot left Picasso in 1953, she probably was not aware of their reconciliation in the mid- to late 1950s, nor, presumably, was she motivated to learn about it.[27] However, she had reason to be acquainted with Salmon's loyal allegiance to Picasso by the time her book appeared in English in 1964. Salmon, along with several of Picasso's friends, signed a letter to request the suppression of her book's publication in France. The letter was published in the literary review *Les lettres françaises*.[28] Gilot probably never forgave Salmon and his colleagues for this action, and perhaps, this is the real evil which she still associates with that "terrible man."

Was Salmon a "terrible man?" Gertrude Stein said in her *Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933) that she liked him, but did not find him as "wonderful" as his friend Guillaume Apollinaire.[29] Fernande Olivier, a live-in companion of Picasso's from 1905-1909, said of Salmon in her *Picasso et ses amis* (1933):

> A marvelous story-teller, Salmon would narrate the most scabrous tales in an exquisite fashion. Indeed different from his friends Guillaume Appollinaire and Max Jacob, Salmon asserted himself with a delicate, subtle, fine and nimble mind. A caustic, and also likeable, poet, he was perhaps more sentimental than the others. A dreamer with a sensibility that was ever alert, light and distinguished, his eyes full of intelligence in a too pale face, he seemed very young. Moreover, he hasn't changed.[30]

25. O'Brian, 367-368.
26. Pierre Daix, *Picasso créateur: La vie intime et l'oeuvre*, Paris, 1987, 285, 431, n. 28.
27. Gilot, 352.
28. Daix, 363.
29. Gertrude Stein, *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas*, New York, 1933; New York, 1960, 58.
30. F. Olivier, *Picasso et ses amis*, Paris, 1933, 94: "Merveilleux conteur, Salmon narrait les histoires les plus scabreuses d'une façon exquise. Bien différent de ses amis, Guillaum Appollinaire et Max Jacob, Salmon s'imposait par un esprit délicat, subtil, fin, délié, élégant. Caustique, aimable aussi, poète, il était peut-être plus sentimental que les autres. Rêveur d'une sensibilité toujours en éveil, grand, mince, distinqué, les yeux pleins d'intelligence dans un visage trop pâle, il paraissait très jeune. Il n'a d'ailleurs pas changé."

Finally, American writer Malcolm Cowley, who chose Salmon as the paradigm among avant-garde writers in Paris, said in the *Bookman* magazine (1923): "He talks kindly about his friends and their work, kindly about his enemies even, for Salmon is one of those rare writers who converse on other subjects than their own selves."[31]

It should be remembered that Salmon energetically supported avant-garde art and literature, and refused to engage in militant political activities (with the exception of his stint in World War I). This demonstration of a nonpartisan personality gave his contemporaries ample reason to view him as an independant—neither strictly on the Left nor on the Right.[32] Salmon himself described his "fraternal predilection" for Max Stirner and his writings on individualist anarchism.[34] Corresponding to this espousal of Stirner's ideals, Salmon consistently proclaimed a distaste for dogmatic programs, manifestos and conformity, especially the collective activities launched by art movements such as Cubism, Futurism, and Dada, as he wrote in his memoirs:

> Surrounded by my friends, I found myself however rather alone all the same... I never signed the least manifesto. Since birth, I did not follow any president or head of a school. Satisfied with my modernism and with what others know of it, I did not need to adhere to the "New Spirit." In that regard, I found myself not as close to Guillaume Apollinaire as to Picasso, refusing to patronize Cubism, [Apollinaire's] Cubism...[34]

Despite Salmon's reluctance to join group efforts, he contributed to the first and only issue of *La section d'or* (9 October 1912) and the first issue of the Dada review *Littérature* (March 1919), in which Salmon published the overture to his epic poem *L'âge de l'humanité*.[35] He also participated in a lecture program sponsored by the same group which took place on January 23, 1920.[36] However, Salmon's "fraternal predilection" for individualist anarchism lies at the very core of his poetry, criticism, and politics. With this in mind, I find it all the more difficult to see Salmon with Gilot's eyes, as an active supporter of the Nazi regime.

Gilot's accusation is alarming, perhaps improbable, but not unthinkable. Therefore, I can only agree with her in part. I believe that Salmon can be considered a "collaborator," because he contributed to *Le Petit Parisien* after it became an "authorized" Vichy newspaper. However, as to the alleged slap from Picasso, I

31. M. Cowley, "André Salmon and His Generation," *Bookman*, LVI, 8, 1923, 714.
32. L. Somville, *Devanciers du Surréalisme: Les groupes d'Avant-Garde et le mouvement poétique, 1912-1925*, Geneva, 1971, 111.
33. A. Salmon, *La Terreur noire*, Paris, 1959, 38.
34. Salmon, II, 232: "Tout entouré d'amis, je me trouvais alors assez seul quand même.... Je n'ai jamais signé le moindre manifeste. Je ne suis pas, comme de naissance, président ou chef d'école. Je n'ai pas eu, satisfait de mon modernisme et de ce que l'on en savait reconnaître, besoin d'adhérer à l'Esprit nouveau. Sur ce plan, je me suis trouvé toujours moins près de Guillaume Apollinaire que de Picasso refusant de patronner le cubisme, son cubisme..."
35. J. Golding, *Cubism: A History and an Analysis, 1907-1914*, London, 1959, 32. According to Golding, Salmon helped organize the first Cubist exhibition in room 41 at the Salon des Indépendants in 1911, but Salmon does not mention his participation in his memoirs.
36. Salmon, III, 52.

still hesitate either to accept or reject the possibility on the basis of Gilot's testimony. The matter remains open for other evidence and other viewpoints that might corroborate or refute Gilot's assertion.

In conclusion, I view Salmon as a human being with human failings, whose "poor judgment" and inability to resist the Nazi take-over caused his own undoing. Unfortunately, as a scholar who is writing the first dissertation on Salmon's art criticism, I feel quite responsible for painting a judicious picture of the man. Typically, one would like to present a good man, and as most scholars, I have come to expect heroism from every avant-gardist who professes libertarian and humanitarian ideals. I also feel protective of my subject and wish to maintain some semblance of a positive image, the image that seemed in place when I began my research.

As we begin to critically review our discipline's methodologies, I believe that it is healthy to admit to anxieties provoked by confronting contradictory information, and I also believe that one must try to present the "whole picture" without turning the biographical aspects of the material into a soap opera. It seems to me that one of the tasks of an art historian is to correct "misinformation" and to catch ourselves in the act of neatly packaging art history in order to present a convincing argument or coherent theory. To accomplish this objective, one must try to acknowledge one's own subjectivity and to scrutinize the identification or countertransference which often accompanies a passionate investment in one's topic. We should then try to incorporate this subjectivity into the investigation. At this juncture, it is hoped that one can re-examine the material in a more dispassionate frame of mind. For, indeed, one should actively seek truths, rather than complacently perpetuate falsehoods, in order to bring forward more informed studies of well-known or lesser-known subjects.

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