ATHANOR II
Florida State University

In Memoriam

Günther Stamm
1940-1982

The last assignment given
to his students dealt with
a Neo-Classical monument in
the Old Tallahassee Cemetery
which bears the inscription:

*"He has crossed over the river
and rests
under the shades of the trees"*

ATHANOR II

The Institute for Contemporary Art is especially pleased to sponsor the second volume of ATHANOR for several reasons. For the first time, we have received considerable support from the Fine Arts Council of Florida, Division of Cultural Affairs, Department of State, and we are grateful for help at a difficult time. ATHANOR I has received an excellent reception, here and abroad, and we are delighted that the second issue ranges over many areas of art history, including photography, Oriental art and contemporary criticism. The publication of ATHANOR I led to the first Art History Graduate Student Symposium of the Southeast, held at Florida State University in April 1982. It gave students and faculty the opportunity to discuss many topics of art history, some of which are presented in this volume. A second symposium of graduate students from the southeastern United States is planned for Spring, 1983, and will provide the basis for ATHANOR III.

It is to be hoped that ATHANOR will continue to provide not only a forum for a lively debate over central concerns of art history, but, at the same time, demonstrate the range and quality of graduate research in Florida and the Southeast.

F. Bucher, *Advisor*
Institute for Contemporary Art, and
Professor of Art History
Florida State University
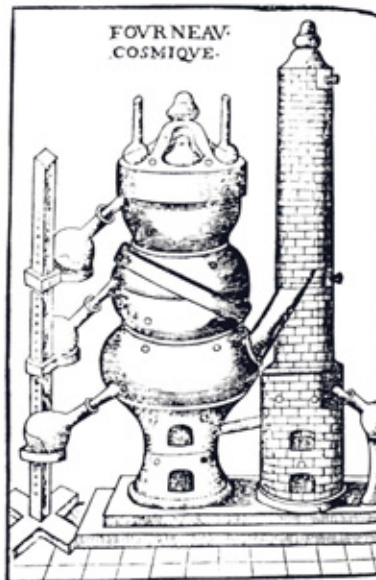
Cosmic oven or Athanor from Annibal Barlet,
Le Vray Cours de Physique, Paris,
1653

Readers are invited to submit manuscripts for consideration. Authors should consult *The Art Bulletin,* Notes to Contributors, for matters of form; manuscripts should be original typescripts with photographs and cannot be returned unless accompanied by a self-addressed, stamped envelope. The University assumes no responsibility for loss and damage of materials. Correspondence and mss. may be addressed to the Editor, ATHANOR, Department of Art History, FAB, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306.

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ATHANOR II

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A Ptolemaic Portrait in Sarasota

Michael Hoff

The legacy left by Alexander at his death at Babylon in 323 BC gave the world its first far-reaching cultural unity. This legacy, known as Hellenism, sprouted in newly created cultural and artistic centers built by Alexander and his successors. Cities such as Alexandria, Antioch, Priene and Pergamom became famous almost immediately as centers of learning. Alexandria, the seat of the Ptolemaic dynasty, was renowned in antiquity for its Museion, a forerunner of our own modern museum and library. For several centuries the Library at Alexandria attracted learned men from all over the Hellenistic world, poets such as Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes, and scholars like Eratosthenes. Art, architecture and artists also flourished in Alexandria under the patronage of the Ptolemies, as exemplified by the celebrated Lighthouse on the island of Pharos built by Sostratos, which became one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

Communication between Hellenistic centers was made much easier as a result of common language, religion and custom. Consequently, artists were frequently itinerant, travelling wherever commissions would take them. It is not surprising therefore to see how homogeneous Hellenistic art is, particularly in comparison with the more isolated art of the Classical period. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to differentiate stylistic characteristics of the great Hellenistic schools. However, discernible styles emerged within these schools, setting each one apart from the other. These styles, or rather trends, were often dictated by taste, either official or public. One such case is the art of Alexandria, a product of which is the focus of this paper.

At the outset, Alexandrian sculpture is probably derived from Attic tradition,[1] or, more specifically, from the style of the great fourth century sculptor Praxiteles.[2] The softened, languid Praxitilean rendering of the human form and the characteristic "melting gaze" as seen on the famous Hermes from Olympia become the predominant features of Alexandrian sculpture. This dream-like quality in sculpture lent itself well to the use of portraiture. Many examples of royal Ptolemaic portraits exist throughout the world, exhibiting various degrees of quality. One particularly fine female head is now on indefinite loan from the collection of Dr. and Mrs. Freddie Homburger to the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida (Figure 1a, b, and c).[3]

This lifesize marble head is in a fine state, marred only by slight damage to the nose and upper back of the head.[4] The entire back of the head is missing, purposely made in that condition to be covered over in stucco as was the usual practice in Alexandrian sculpture.[5] Set on a long neck, the head is tilted upwards and slightly to the left. The face is finely polished while the neck and hair are rough. The hair is centrally parted, carried over the temples and ears in long, wavy strands and gathered together in a small bun at the nape of the neck. A ribbon or fillet binds the hair. On the neck, below the left ear, are two small drill holes which may have been used for fastening a separate band or diadem.

The Praxitilean qualities of this beautiful head are readily apparent: the shadowy, trance-like eyes, the slightly flaring nostrils and parted lips.[6] The soft, transparent quality of the face is paired with a rough impressionistic blocking-out of the hair, a contrast frequently found in Praxitilean expression. Heightening this effect is the Alexandrian tendency to contrast a smooth polished face with rough crinkly hair. The added stucco would have emphasized the sharp contrast. Uncharacteristic of the style of the fourth-century master is the attenuated, almost manneristic neck demonstrating the eclecticism and originality of the head's anonymous sculptor.

One of the closest parallels to the Homburger head can be found in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (Figure 2).[7] The features are strikingly similar. Besides the stylistic qualities already mentioned, the Alexandria portrait exhibits similar facial features: rounded face, fleshy lips and close-set, deeply-recessed eyes. Picard, who published this piece in 1925, drew immediate attention to its Praxitilean quality as compared with the Knidian Aphrodite.[8] He also pointed out the close resemblance in appearance between the head and certain issues of Ptolemaic coinage.[9] The use of a divine Aphrodite type for royal portraiture was justified by Picard on the basis that the Macedonian Ptolemies considered themselves divine as did the ancient pharaohs before them. Thus, a sculptural portrait resembling an Aphrodite type would not be heretical. The coin portrait Picard associated with the Alexandria head was that of Berenice I, the second wife of Ptolemy I, dating the head to the late fourth/early third century.[10]

Recently, however, the Alexandrian head has been reattributed to Arsinoe III, the sister/wife of Ptolemy IV Soter, who lived in the last decades of the third century BC.[11]

A few definite portraits of this Hellenistic queen exist, particularly coin portraits.[12] On a gold octodrachm in the Hunterian Collection in Glasgow we find the rather idealized portrait in profile of Arsinoe (Figure 3).[13] She holds a scepter and is adorned with a necklace, earrings and diadem, all trappings fitting for a regal portrait. From London another octodrachm containing the same elements perhaps better reveals the likeness of her portrait (Figure 4).[14] The neck appears long, and the cheeks fleshy, while her eyes are wide with some modelling to the brow; but the more prominent and significant features are the chin which juts out perpendicular to the lips and the long nose. A portrait head in Boston, identified as Arsinoe III by Caskey,[15] contains the very same features found on the coins, including pierced earlobes for the insertion of earrings (Figure 5).

Stylistically similar to the Boston head is a fine example in Cairo, identified as Arsinoe Philopator by Adriani (Figure 6).[16] The diadem crowning the head certainly suggests

a royal portrait and appears to parallel the features found on the coinage: the fleshy cheeks, sharply modelled eyes, jutting chin, and long nose.

Other portrait heads identified as Arsinoe III display these same identifying characteristics.[17] Two examples in particular, from Mantua[18] and Dresden,[19] besides the stylistic similarities, reveal a subtle quality of pathos in the modelling of the face (Figures 7 and 8). Generally, those portraits mentioned previously appear to display no emotion but rather are stark and stately. The Mantua and Dresden heads, however, betray hints of sadness in the eyes and, more importantly, the pursed lips. Indeed, the Dresden piece, with the slightest tilting of the head and the mournful upward gaze of the eyes, accentuates this emotion.

This same pathos is found in the Alexandria head, the closest parallel to the Homburger portrait. Again, we note the saddened visage, seeming almost doleful in appearance. Yet the characteristic portrait features of Arsinoe III remain relatively unaltered, both in the Alexandria and Homburger portraits.

Apart from coins and sculpture portraits of Arsinoe, representations exist in other media. Numerous examples can be found on gems which generally seem to follow the numismatic renderings very closely.[20] Arsinoe may also appear on the Archelaos Relief in the guise of Oikoumene with Ptolemy behind her as Chronos crowning Homer (Figure 9).[21] Also, many small faïence heads exist representing the Ptolemaic queen, often articulated with the same precision, skill and characteristics found on the larger-scale stone portraits.[22]

Thus because of stylistic parallels to already identified portraits of Arsinoe III Philopator, I suggest that the Homburger Hellenistic head of a young woman also can be identified as this Ptolemaic queen.

Though much time and effort and scholarly writing have been devoted to identifying her physical features and portraiture, little is known concerning her life.[23] Born sometime between 230 and 225 BC, Arsinoe III was the daughter of Ptolemy II Euergetes and Berenice II. Unfortunately for Arsinoe, she was also the sister to the heir apparent, Ptolemy IV, who was accounted one of the worst Ptolemaic kings by Strabo.[24] She first appears in history in 217 on a battlefield in Syria where her brother (and future mate) met and defeated the armies of another Hellenistic monarch, Antiochus. In an account preserved in the third Maccabees, the girl, who was still little more than a child, ran back and forth to the front encouraging the soldiers on

to victory.[25] Polybius, generally a dry historian, gives no such descriptive details but only confirms the fact that she was present at the fighting.[26]

After this episode, her life as a Ptolemaic queen is cloudy at best. Bits and pieces are preserved only in inscriptions and official decrees. Probably soon after the defeat of Antiochus, Ptolemy married his sister, an act not unheard of among Macedonian royalty. Their son, the future Ptolemy V Epiphanes, was born in 209 and it was probably the youth of the queen which accounts for the long interval between marriage and the birth of Ptolemy V.[27]

The death of Arsinoe came in 203, shortly after the mysterious death of Ptolemy IV. Ministers, who may or may not have had a hand in his death, certainly did in hers. It is known that Ptolemy's death was concealed for some time for political reasons[28] and there is some evidence that Arsinoe may have been secretly divorced from Ptolemy, an event which would account for the absence of her name on official decrees in the last years of Ptolemy's reign.[29] It is possible that, although well-loved by the Egyptian people, Arsinoe may have been assassinated because her indomitable spirit, which she exhibited as a child on the Syrian battlefield, proved an obstacle to the designs of the regents for the new young king.

Upon her death it was announced that she and Ptolemy were accidently killed in a palace fire. Polybius describes an emotional scene where the regents crowned the little king before the Macedonian soldiers and displayed the urns holding the ashes of Ptolemy and Arsinoe to be given over for burial.[30] Rumors that she had died were now publicly admitted yet the official reasons were disbelieved by the populace. The love the people had for Arsinoe turned to hate against her murderers who were ultimately killed.

Arsinoe, then, was beloved by the people of Egypt. Indeed, Eratosthenes wrote a book about her which, except for one small fragment recorded in Athenaeus,[31] has not survived. Through her popularity a cult was established by her son in her honor, as suggested by a passage on the Rosetta Stone which names a priestess to Arsinoe Philopator.[32] Perhaps here we find the origin and the purpose behind the numerous portraits of Arsinoe and possibly the Homburger head. Polybius said that "Arsinoe endured insult all her life."[33] The face of the Homburger portrait expresses the brooding sadness of one who has known the bitterness of life and yet reflects a gentle love which the people of Alexandria and Egypt felt for their queen.

Ringling Museum of Art
Sarasota, Florida

1 M. Bieber, *Sculpture of the Hellenistic World,* 2nd ed., New York, 1961, 89.

2 *Ibid.*

3 The portrait head is one of several antiquities presently on indefinite loan to the Ringling Museum of Art. I would like to thank Dr. and Mrs. Freddie Homburger for their kind permission to publish this piece. Also, I would like to thank Mrs. Elizabeth Telford and Dr. William Wilson of the RMA for their support during my stay in Sarasota.

4 PH 0.368 m. The surface of the marble contains several blotches of discoloration as well as numerous scratches and small nicks.

5 Bieber, 90.

6 Walter Amelung first used the Italian words *sfumato* and *morbidezza* in connection with the Praxitilean style of Alexandrian sculpture; cf. *Bollettino Comunale,* XXV, 1897, 110ff. Also, see Bieber, 89.

7 E. Breccia, *Alexandria ad Aegyptum,* Bergamo, 1922, 177f and 115, fig. 48; C. Picard, "Tête féminine du Musée d'Alexandrie," *Monuments et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Fondation Piot),* XXVIII, 1925, 113-130.

8 Picard, 117f.

9 Picard, 121ff.

10 *Ibid.*

11 H. Kyrieleis, *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer,* Berlin, 1975, 106f.

12 Cf. J. Svornos, *Ta Nomismata tou Kratous tōn Ptolemaiōn,* Athens, 1904-8, cat. nos. 1159-1174; 1269; 1272.

13 G. Macdonald, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection,* Glasgow, 1905, "Ptolemy IV," no. 22.

14 R.S. Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins. The Ptolemies,* London, 1883, 67, no. 1.

15 L.D. Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture,* Boston, 1925, 120ff; also, cf. Kyrieleis, 104.

16 A. Adriani, "Nuovi ritratti di Arsinoe III," *Arti Figurative, Rivista d'Arte, Antica e Moderna,* III, 1947, 51-60, pls. 25 and 26; also, cf. Kyrieleis, 104.

17 Kyrieleis, 105ff; other probable portraits of Arsinoe III can be found in Paris, Alexandria and Copenhagen. For a catalogue of all portraits identified as Arsinoe, see Kyrieleis, 181f, L1-L9. One other possible portrait exists in Toronto although it is not mentioned by Kyrieleis; cf. B. von Bothmer, *Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period,* Brooklyn Museum, 1960, no. 105, 134f, pl. 98.

18 A. Levi in *Bollettino d'Arte,* Series II, no. 6, I, 1926-27, 548ff; E. Pfuhl, "Ikonographische Beiträge zur Stilgeschichte der Hellenistischen Kunst," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* XLV, 1930, 38ff; Adriani, 51ff; Bieber, 92f; Kyrieleis, 105 and 182.

19 Kyrieleis, 105 and 182.

20 For portraits on engraved gems, cf. Svornos, IV, pl. 3 no. 20; Kyrieleis, 44, note 165; F.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the Finger Rings in the British Museum,* London, 1907, 383, pl. XII; H.B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos in the British Museum,* London, 1926, 1186, pl. XVII; J. Charbonneaux, "Sur la signification et la date de la tasse Farnèse," *MonPiot,* L, 1958, 95, fig. 7; J. Boardman and M.-L.

Vollenweider, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Finger Rings in the Ashmolean Museum,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1978, 289.

21 A.H. Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum,* III, London, 1904, 244ff, no. 2191; Bieber, 127f and 90, figs. 404 and 497. D. Pinkwort, however, in her thorough study of the Archelaos Relief dismisses the possibility of the pair as representing Ptolemy and Arsinoe; cf. *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene und die 'Musen des Philiskos,'* Kallmunz, 1965. D.B. Thompson, however, in light of evidence given by faïence portrait heads, believes that the two figures crowning Homer are indeed Ptolemy and Arsinoe; cf. *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Faïence,* Oxford, 1973, 90.

22 For a complete listing of portraits in faïence, see Thompson, 88ff. Also, for a small glass portrait head of Arsinoe (?) in the W.C. Baker Collection which follows the same characteristic patterns found on the faïence heads, see Thompson, 89f and no. 132.

23 For a history of Arsinoe III, see Wilcken, "Arsinoe," in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopedie,* II, A1, 1287; G.H. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens,* Baltimore, 1932, 136ff.

24 Strabo, *Geography,* XVII, 1, 11.

25 Maccabees, III, 1-4.

26 Polybius, V, 83.

27 Macurdy, 138.

28 See F.W. Walbank, "The Accession of Ptolemy Epiphanes," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* XXII, 1936, 28ff.

29 *Ibid.,* 29.

30 Polybius, XV, 25.

31 Athenaeus, VII, 276a.

32 Cf. Macurdy, 141.

33 Polybius, XV, 25, 9.
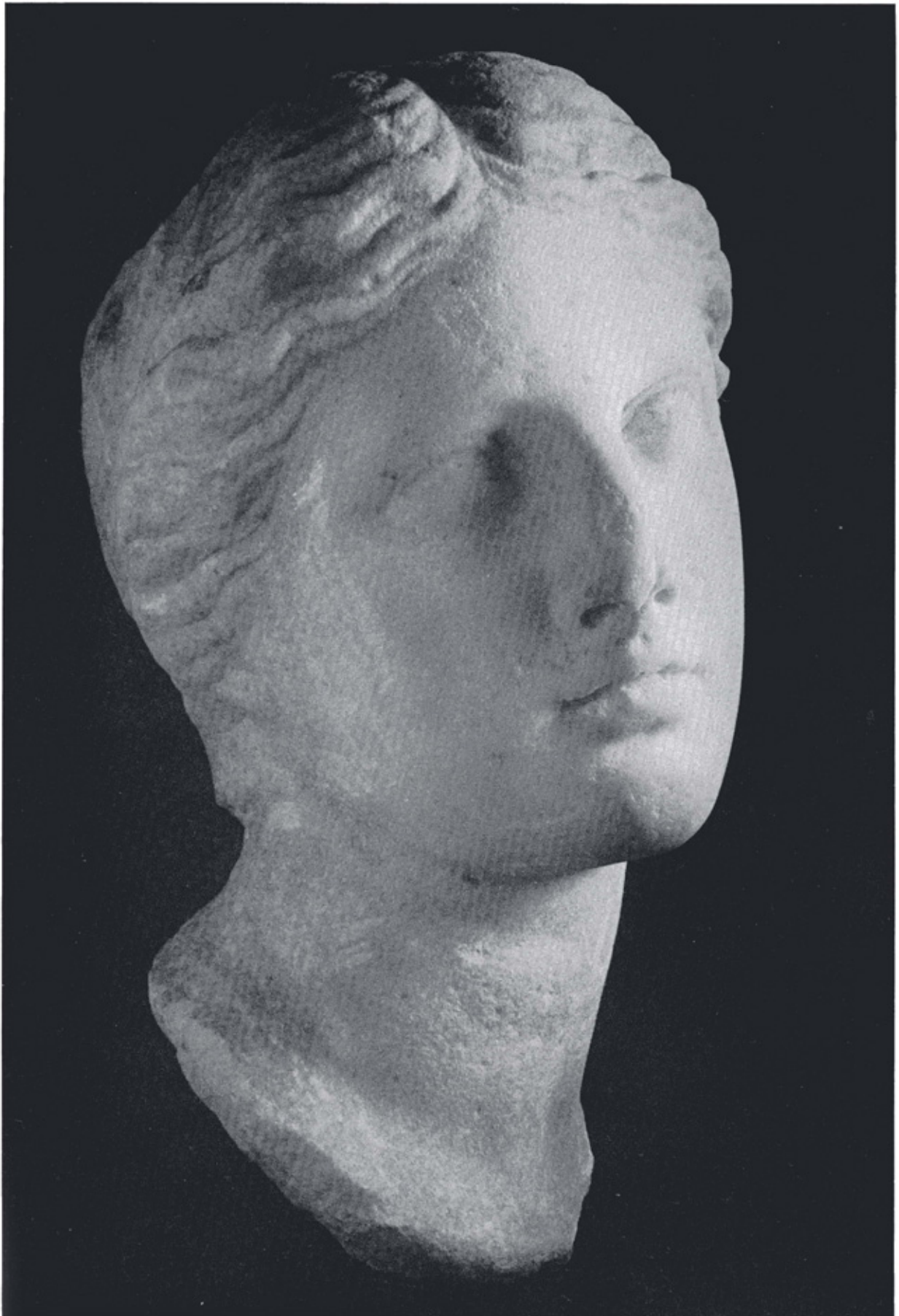
Fig. 1a, b, c, Female head, collection of Dr. and Mrs. Freddie
Homburger, John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art,
Sarasota.
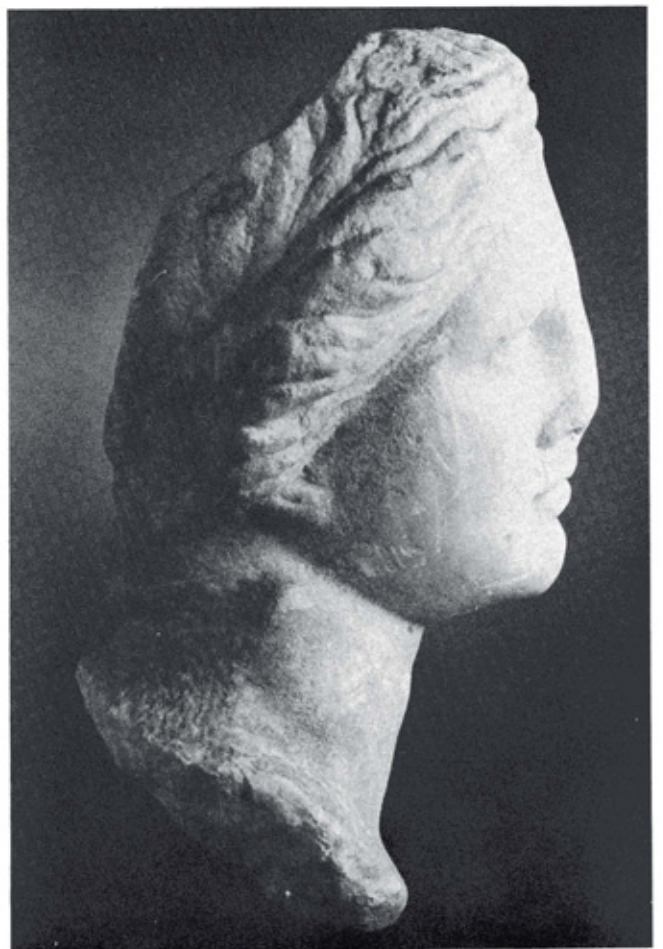
Fig. 2, Female head, Musée Greco-Romain, Alexandria.

Fig. 3, Octodrachm with portrait of Arsinoe III, Hunterian Collection, Glasgow.

Fig. 4, Octodrachm with portrait of Arsinoe III, British Museum, London.

Fig. 5, Portrait of Arsinoe III, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 6, Portrait of Arsinoe III, Cairo Museum.
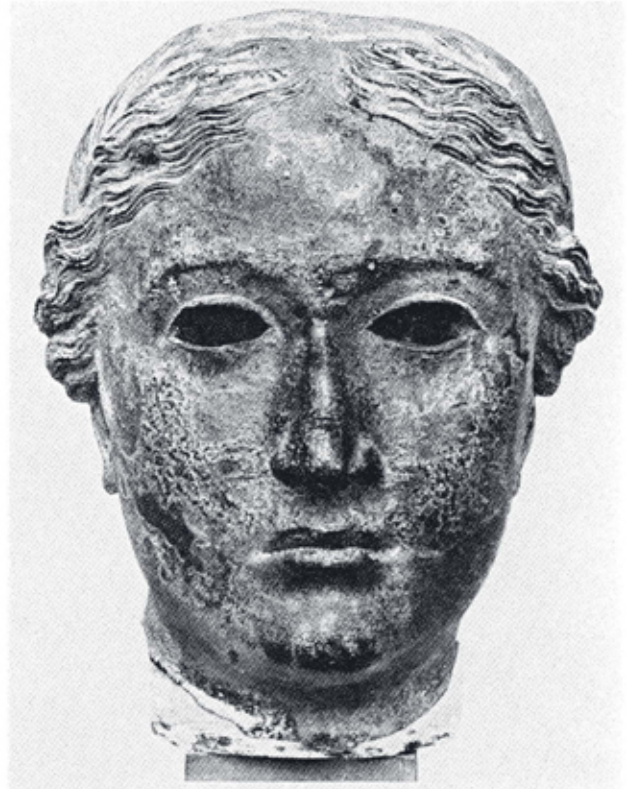
Fig. 7, Female head, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.
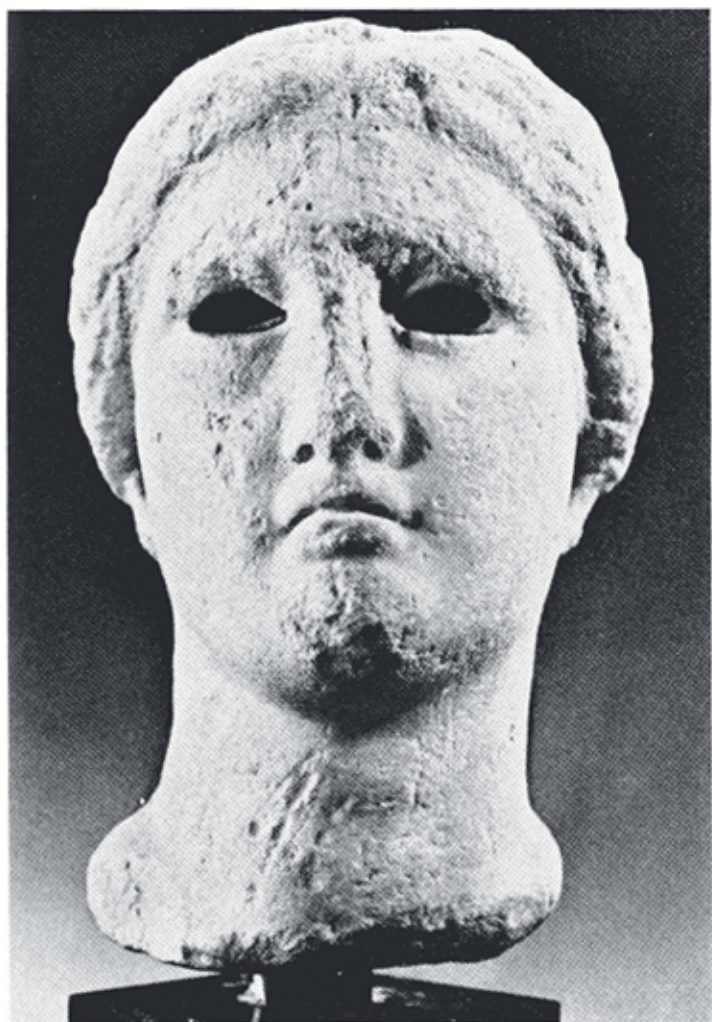
Fig. 8, Female head, Albertinum, Dresden.

Fig. 9, Detail of the Archelaos Relief, British Museum, London.

The Landscape Genre in Northern Europe:
The Emergence of a New Secular Symbol

Karin M.E. Alexis

The paintings of Albrecht Altdorfer and Joachim Patinir testify to the new status given to landscape in art by the first decades of the 16th century. While the emergence of a landscape genre in Northern Europe during this period is readily acknowledged, Charles Talbot has recently shed new light on its development, contending that Albrecht Altdorfer was directly influenced by landscapes from early printed books.[1] This not only offers a new point of departure from which to examine Altdorfer's work, but challenges some of the preconceived notions about the inception of 16th century landscape. This paper investigates the awakening interest in landscape, and the role and purpose it may have had within the cultural context of late 15th and early 16th century Germany and the Netherlands.

As the woodcut illustrations *Venice* and *Candia* from Bernard von Breydenbach's *Journey to the Holy Land,* published in 1486, reveal, Erhard Reuwich portrays landscape not as background for a narrative, but as it may actually have appeared on his travel to Palestine. While painter Conrad Witz most certainly based his depiction of landscapes on a particular view of Lake Geneva,[2] Reuwich's works may be the first based on actual topographical studies,[3] and are the beginnings of a landscape genre in Northern Europe. Unlike Witz's painting *Miraculous Draught of Fishes,* 1444, Reuwich's woodcut illustrations are devoid of narrative and, therefore, focus upon landscape as a subject in its own right. While Reuwich's landscapes are still stylized and without an accurate depiction of scale or perspective, they testify to an obvious preoccupation with the external world. Not surprisingly, the appearance of landscape in early printed books (i.e., *Journey to the Holy Land* and *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493) paralleled the growing curiosity of the German and Netherlandish reading public in other lands, exploration and travel being still something of a novelty. This predisposition was greatly enhanced by Columbus' discovery of America, reports of which were published in Germany in 1497. It is interesting to note that a disproportionately large number of reports were printed in Germany and the Netherlands.[4] Though Reuwich's works do not employ atmospheric perspective and are not exactingly realistic, *Venice* and *Candia*[5] capture the mood of foreign localities. For the most part, these hybrid illustrations which fuse fact and fiction must have helped satisfy the longing to know the world-at-large.

At this time, Italian humanism was brought to Northern Europe through students and intellectuals who returned to the North after studying in Italy. The German publishing industry played a key role in the dissemination of humanist thought throughout Northern Europe by printing the works of ancient writers and contemporary humanists. In fact, German humanists—most notably Conrad Celtis—greatly affected the character of the printing business and were involved in the promotion and publication of humanist literature. In true humanist fashion, Celtis journeyed through the German-speaking world, parts of Eastern Europe and Italy, because he believed that travel was an appropriate and effective educational tool. As he travelled he recorded his ideas in the form of prose and poetry, contending that: "the true poet's task is to present in picturesque and beautiful garment of speech and of song the customs, affairs, happenings, localities, peoples, lands, rivers, the course of the stars, the true essence of all things and what moves the heart of man."[6] His definition of the poet's duties approximates what Reuwich and later Altdorfer were attempting in visual form.

While Northern Europeans were fascinated by far-off lands and the new concept of humanism, their attention was also directed toward their own history and land. The Germans had long felt that their history had been ignored, slighted and even misrepresented largely because it had been recorded by foreigners. In fact, Italian historians and geographers had described the area between the Rhine and Danube as a wasteland of swamps, overgrown forests and wild oxen the size of elephants.[7] Such histories portrayed the Germans as a war-like ignorant group who often went about naked even in the coldest weather.[8] Fifteenth-century Italians continued thinking of Germans in derogatory terms. Of great significance during this period were the discoveries of Cornelius Tacitus' *Germania*,[9] an ancient Roman history and geography which presented Germany in a favorable light, and the plays of an 11th century nun, Roswitha of Gandersheim.[10] Tacitus' history and Roswitha's dramas gave the German humanists and intellectuals the material needed to defend their national heritage and to assert that their culture had a continuous and honorable tradition dating back to antiquity.[11]

Celtis considered the Germans the last true survivors of the Roman Empire and implied that they were not indebted to the Italians for their enlightenment but that, as descendants of the ancients, they had been renewed from within.[12] To Celtis,[13] humanism was no longer coming from an outside and foreign source but emanated from within the German borders. The German humanists, therefore, had no reason to apologize for their past or present state of civilization for, according to Celtis, ancient Greeks and Romans described Germany as the greatest part of Europe.[14]

Remembering that the Italian histories had not only insulted the Germans, but Germany itself, contending that virtually nothing of worth, especially of a civilized nature, existed there, it is natural that texts which re-evaluated German history, like the *Nuremberg Chronicle* of 1493,[15] would frequently be accompanied by illustrations like *Bavaria* (Figure 1) and *Nuremberg* (Figure 2) which bore witness to the fact that Germany was not a wasteland but filled with mountains and rivers as well as impressive and numerous cities. Tacitus' statement that "the Germans themselves are...an indigenous people, very little affected by admixture with other races through immigration or

intercourse"[16] closely associated the Germans with the land of Germany, and fostered the creation of contemporary geographies largely based on the Roman historian.[17] To Celtis, the height of all shame was to be ignorant of the topography, climate, rivers, mountains and peoples of the German-speaking world.[18] Otto Benesch believes that the interest in topography during this period affected the development of landscape representation in Germany.[19] He points out that Emperor Maximilian admired and enjoyed nature, and even had inventories made of his hunting grounds and fishing waters; the inventories were then decorated with landscape depictions of the respective localities.[20] Like many Northern humanists of the period, Maximilian was obviously interested in the land of the German-speaking world.[21]

While Maximilian commissioned artists like Jorg Kolderer to record particular landscapes,[22] Conrad Celtis wrote essays and poems, among them *Germania, Amores,* and *Norimberga* which described and glorified the German-speaking world in a manner reflecting romanticized "nationalism"[23] and fervent patriotism.[24] In *Amores,* Celtis' four lovers personify the four principle regions of Germany. *Norimberga,* a positive description of the humanist center[25] like the illustration of the city (Figure 2), expresses both civic and regional pride. While *Bavaria* (Figure 1) depicts the stereotypical amenities of the German countryside, *Nuremberg* presents a particular city identified by landmarks such as St. Sebald's Church, the Spittler Gate and the Carthusian monastery all of which are labeled. The *Nuremberg Chronicle* is filled with illustrations depicting different aspects of Germany; some focus upon its countryside and topography while others emphasize its cities and civilization (see *German Cities,* Figure 3).[26]

Devoid of narrative trappings, landscapes and cityscapes like *Bavaria* and *Nuremberg* were looked upon as fitting themes to embody and symbolize German history, civilization and culture. They set a precedent for younger artists like Altdorfer, Huber and the Flemish Patinir who became increasingly more absorbed in the depiction of landscapes. While Altdorfer and other members of the Danube School may have been inspired by Dürer's watercolors of landscapes,[27] it is apparent from looking at some of Altdorfer's and Huber's works that these artists also adopted motifs from the landscapes found in early printed books. For example, Altdorfer's *Landscape with Satyr Family* (Figure 4), and *Landscape with Large Fir Tree* as well as Huber's *Danube near Krems* or *Landscape with Large Tree,* and even Patinir's *Baptism of Jesus Christ,* all 16th-century works,[28] include a prominent, foreground tree which is frequently found in woodcut illustrations from incunabula. As in *Portugal* (Figure 5) the foreground tree of Altdorfer's landscapes stands before a receding landscape with mountains, rivers and waterways; it also serves as a repoussoir device.[29]

The towns and castles often nestled in a valley or perched atop a hill in woodcut illustrations from early printed books are seen in Altdorfer's, Huber's and Patinir's works. While Altdorfer and Huber, whom Benesch contends was the first artist to journey throughout the countryside for the expressed purpose of sketching specific localities in nature,[30] would have observed such scenes in the mountainous area of southern Germany and Austria where members of the Danube School worked, Patinir would not have seen them in the flat lands around Antwerp; all three, however, had access to the *Journey to the Holy Land,* the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and other well-circulated books con-

taining such landscapes.[31] As Altdorfer probably combined traditions from incunabula with what he actually saw in the Alpine region of Germany, Patinir apparently was far more dependent upon prototypes. This is not only exemplified in his use of the foreground tree and his interest in mountains as part of landscape depictions, but also by his treatment of these mountains.

Beyond thematic and compositional affinities, there are also stylistic similarities. For example, Altdorfer employed parallel strokes in much the same way Reuwich did. In Altdorfer's renditions, such strokes may express the sense of moving water or may convey the feeling of light-dark modeling. In effect, his drawings utilize methods common to woodcut illustrations.[32]

Rock and mountain formations found in Patinir's *Landscape with St. Jerome* (Figure 6) bear a striking resemblance to those of Reuwich's *Venice* or Wolgemut's *Creation of Eve* (Figure 7). In all these works, mountains and rocks project abruptly, are barren, craggy, stylized and slightly tilt to one side in a contrived manner. While Robert Koch speculates that Patinir may have been inspired by some of the rock forms of the Meuse,[33] the striking resemblance between the stylized rock formations of *Venice* or *Creation of Eve* from the *Nuremberg Chronicle* and those of Patinir's paintings cannot be denied. Patinir not only knew of such forms from early printed books, but he must have used them as the point of departure for his own paintings.

In many landscapes from incunabula, two vantage points are simultaneously employed. For example, in Reuwich's topographical depiction of the Holy Land from *Journey to the Holy Land,* or in some landscapes found in books printed in Haarlem,[34] rivers and lakes are seen from a bird's eye view while mountains and buildings are seen frontally. This dual system is also found in Patinir's paintings[35] for instance *Landscape with St. Jerome* (Figure 6), where the panoramic background is viewed from overhead and the foreground and vertical objects such as mountains are depicted from the front.

Altdorfer and Huber, as well as other artists, often selected a high vantage point from which to view the landscape, creating the impression of looking down at a scene. Huber's *View of the Valley* and *View of Passau,* and Altdorfer's *The Battle of Issus* epitomize this. As a means to rationalize such a perspective, they sometimes make the viewer feel he is standing on top of a hill, surveying the terrain from above. The use of an aerial or semi-aerial view recalls the sensation one experiences when examining a map or geographical chart.

Living all their lives in southern Germany, Altdorfer and Huber would have been aware of Conrad Celtis and his philosophy. In pursuing his goal to disseminate what was now clearly a German humanism and to espouse the cause of German cultural and even political unification, Celtis had founded societies or humanist sodalities all over the German-speaking world. Prominent members of both the lay and cleric communities joined regional sodalities where they could discuss intellectual, cultural and political issues. These groups were also responsible for promoting the publication of much humanist literature, especially the works of Celtis.[36]

In the late 1490s, Celtis—then teaching at the University of Vienna—founded and personally fostered the Danubian Sodality, encompassing approximately the same geographical area which gave birth to the Danube School. Other humanists like Johannes Cuspinian taught at the University during this period. Zwingli was a student there. Artists

from all over the German-speaking world, including Lucas Cranach from Franconia, Albrecht Altdorfer from Bavaria and Joerg Breu from Swabia, were attracted to the city of Vienna.[37] Born about 1480, Altdorfer would have been in his late teens when the Danubian Sodality was established, and in his twenties and thirties during its most influential period. As a man with humanist orientation who was influenced by the Augsburg Renaissance, Altdorfer was surely stimulated by the Danubian Sodality.

The emergence of artists forming the Danube School occurred approximately one decade after Celtis founded the Danubian Sodality, and, like the sodality, it testified to the regionalist and "nationalist" pride which was certainly invigorated by the presence of Maximilian on the throne of the Holy Roman Empire. Maximilian consciously attempted to give new prestige to the Germans and especially to the region surrounding the university town of Vienna. During his reign, the various regions of the German-speaking world enjoyed the benefits of exchanging artists as well as leaders in academic areas.[38] The humanist sodalities facilitated this, and, thereby, worked towards a cultural unification of the German-speaking peoples.

Celtis' ideas about Germany, the Germans, and his admiration for and elevation of nature were widely known, and may have inspired the development of the landscape school. Painters of this period felt compelled to give more attention to their surroundings by giving greater emphasis to northern landscapes. Many artists depicted Biblical narratives, or stories from the lives of the saints, as outdoor scenes.[39] In many of these works, the narrative elements became increasingly less important and visually less prominent. Altdorfer's figures emerge from the landscape but they are part of their environment, part of nature itself.[40] Finally, just as in some landscapes from incunabula, a few of Altdorfer's works are completely free of narrative.

For Celtis, the natural domain of Germany had given birth to a great and noble race which had lived at one with the land since time's beginning. The land itself was, therefore, associated with the German people, their character, accomplishments and past. Celtis viewed the external world in Neo-Platonic terms, perceiving God as an omnipotent spirit permeating all aspects of nature. He advocated individual and private communication with God through nature.[41] A feeling of being alone in nature is often found in the drawings, graphics and paintings of Altdorfer and Huber. Altdorfer and Huber created landscapes based on their knowledge and observation of nature, modified and transformed by their own feelings about the subject. Less manicured and wilder in appearance than the woodcut illustrations from incunabula, many of Altdorfer's and Huber's works do not merely duplicate the external character of nature, but bespeak the unseen forces which animate nature, giving all living forms the capacity to grow and change. Such works reflect a pantheistic view which does not only conform to the ideas of Conrad Celtis but to those of Theophrastus Paracelsus von Hohenheim, a Swiss-born physician and intellectual. Paracelsus saw nature as a spiritual totality. Benesch contends that the "intellectual formations (of Paracelsus) were often surprisingly similar to the artistic visions of Altdorfer."[42]

While some scholars believe that increased interest in landscape backgrounds for stage settings inspired the development of a landscape genre and others that an Italian market for landscape painting stimulated it,[43] the emergence of a landscape genre in Northern Europe during the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance can best be explained by the mood of society. As Benesch aptly put it, the use of landscape as a subject for painting "could not have originated if the predisposition for it had not existed in the general intellectual situation.[44] While stage backdrops and Gombrich's notion of an Italian audience intrigued by Pliny's description of landscape painting from the Augustean Period contributed to the demand for painted landscapes,[45] they do not sufficiently explain what purpose landscape had in Northern society. Altdorfer and other Northerners were certainly aware of Italian ideas and incorporated them into their own thinking, but the art of such men is decidedly Northern in character and is naturally indebted to the landscape illustrations from printed books. While its cities and man-made elements alluded to and resurrected German history, its natural forms bespoke the nation's geography and land. In the works of Altdorfer, forms of mountains, rivers and trees harmoniously comingle with man-made buildings while nature has become a far more powerful and independent force than it was in the printed book illustrations. It is also more realistic in terms of scale, in proportion and in the use of both linear and atmospheric perspective. By the time Altdorfer and the Danube School matured, nature with or without signs of civilization could express nationalism and German humanism for artists and patrons in Northern Europe.

After 1509, publication of material on exploration decreased in Germany while literature on ideas associated with the Reformation became more popular.[46] Members of the Danube School such as Cranach and Altdorfer became Lutheran. However, the interest in landscape continued to increase and, therefore, cannot be explained by mere curiosity about the world-at-large. Like Lutheranism, the art of the Danube School was a means to assert a German national identity.

In the Netherlands, the publication of material on exploration continued more intensively. Moreover, most, if not all, of the reports on travel subjects issuing from the North came from Antwerp[47]—the city in which Patinir worked. While Altdorfer, Huber and Patinir were most likely influenced by many of the same early printed books and prevailing attitudes of the day, their works are not interchangeable. All were stimulated by humanism, the publication industry, Celtis, and notions elevating landscape to the status of subject. Patinir, however, would not have been affected by German cultural unification or the Reformation in the same way Altdorfer and Huber were. This many explain why he was not interested in creating landscapes approximating the appearance of the Low Countries. It is very probable that while the landscapes of Altdorfer and Huber satisfied their clients' desires to see in visual form the glories of Germany, the landscapes of Patinir satisfied his patrons' curiosity about the external world in general—a world in which Columbus, Cortes and others were exploring.

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1 Talbot, 1976, 321-325.

2 Smith, 150-156. Molly Teasdale Smith points out that Witz used a view of Lake Geneva as the setting for the Biblical story in his painting "Miraculous Draught of Fishes," 1444.

3 Hind, 356. Hind suggests that Erhard Reuwich's woodcut illustrations for Bernard von Breydenbach's *Journey to the Holy Land* were the first depictions based on actual topographical studies.

4 Hirsch, 1976, 537-60.

5 Reuwich's *Venice* and *Candia* from Breydenbach's 1486 *Journey to the Holy Land,* may be consulted in the original at The Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., or studied in the 1977 Elizabeth Geck facsimile. These works are pure landscapes, not landscapes merely used as backdrops for narratives. While such works are most likely based on actual sketches made when Reuwich travelled with Breydenbach to the Holy Land, they are not realistic in terms of scale and do not employ linear or atmospheric perspective systems.

6 Forster, 5.

7 Strauss, 8-30.

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.,* 30; *Germania* was rediscovered between 1429 and 1455 by Poggio in the library of Hersfeld. Interestingly enough, the humanist Pope Enea Silvio Piccolomini called attention to the significance of the find in his famous letter of 1458 to Martin Mayr. In 1473 *Germania* was published in the German humanist center of Nuremberg. Celtis believed it to be an extremely important account and it stimulated his creation of *Germania,* 1500, and his *Germania Illustrata,* a comprehensive historical and geographical account which was never completed.

10 Spitz, 42; In 1493 Conrad Celtis discovered Roswitha's six dramas at the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, Altdorfer's hometown, and a city located in the area where the Danube School of Painting was born.

11 This and other finds proved to many German humanists and intellectuals that German civilization had begun during antiquity and had continued to the present day. Naturally such discoveries encouraged the re-evaluation and re-writing of history, specifically German history. In histories such as *Nuremberg Chronicle,* published in Nuremberg by Celtis' friend and Dürer's godfather the humanist Anton Koberger, Germany history was given special emphasis.

12 Spitz, 86.

13 Celtis is considered to be among the three most important German humanists of his day. His ideas were extremely influential and may be considered representative of the mood of the times.

14 Forster, 43.

15 The *Nuremberg Chronicle* was a very popular text and well distributed. According to Adrian Wilson, 42-46, there were originally 1500 issued in Latin and 1000 in German. Today 800 of the Latin editions and 400 of the German versions are extant. The Library of Congress has several copies.

16 Tacitus, 89.

17 Strauss, 8-30.

18 Forster, 43.

19 Benesch, 1972, 342.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.* As Benesch points out, Emperor Maximilian apparently encouraged artists to depict specific landscapes, most notably areas that were familiar or interesting to him.

22 *Ibid.*

23 Since there were multiple German national entities during the late 15th and early 16th century, "nationalism" was a strong desire among political leaders like Maximilian and humanists like Celtis to encourage a cultural and, at the time, political unification of the German-speaking peoples.

24 *Amores,* written in 1491 and illustrated by Dürer, must be read and interpreted on various levels; while it is at one level about the poet's four loves, it is about the four corners of a great German nation on another.

25 *Norimberga* was begun in 1493 (the same year the *Nuremberg Chronicle* was published) while Celtis was visiting friends in the city; the work was not completed until 1502-03.

26 Hartman Schedel used Vincent de Beauvais' approach to history, thus beginning with God's creation of the universe, the earth and man, and ending with the Apocalypse, leaving three blank pages between the section on contemporary life and the Last Judgement for all events after 1493. Considering the pro-German thrust of the *Chronicle,* it is appropriate that it was published in 1493—the year Maximilian became emperor. While there were illustrations presenting other nations and areas of the world, a disproportionately large number of the illustrations represented German provinces, geographical regions and cities.

27 The influence of Dürer upon the artists of the Danube School is significant. See Benesch, *The Art of the Renaissance,* chapter 3.

28 Most of the works by Altdorfer and Huber mentioned here are etchings; graphic works as well as paintings (see Figure 4) by these masters contain motifs and ideas which may have been adopted from landscapes from incunabula.

29 Talbot, 1976, 321-325.

30 Benesch, 1965, 54.

31 The publishing industry was international in character. Anton Koberger's company was among the most important and influential publishing houses in Germany, if not in all of Northern Europe. Adrian Wilson discusses the importance of the firm in *The Making of the Nuremberg Chronicle.*

32 Talbot, 1976, 321-325.

33 Koch, 19.

34 Some illustrations in Haarlem books are seen from two vantage points and in some ways resemble maps or topographical studies of the period. For an example consult Schretlen, plate 28-B, reproduced from a Haarlem book published in 1484.

35 Koch, 16. Living and working in Antwerp, a principle publishing center in Northern Europe, Patinir had access to books published in the Low Lands and Germany as well as those issued from other parts of Europe.

36 Spitz, 93-105.

37 Benesch, 1965, 48.

38 *Ibid.*

39 *Ibid.,* 47.

40 *Ibid.,* 52.

41 Forster, 75-77.

42 Benesch, 1965, 55.

43 Rose, 212.

44 Benesch, 1965, 46.

45 Gombrich, 107-125.

46 Hirsch, 1976, 537-60.

47 *Ibid.*

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The Woodcut Print from the 15th to the Early 20th Century, Portland Museum, Oregon, 1976.

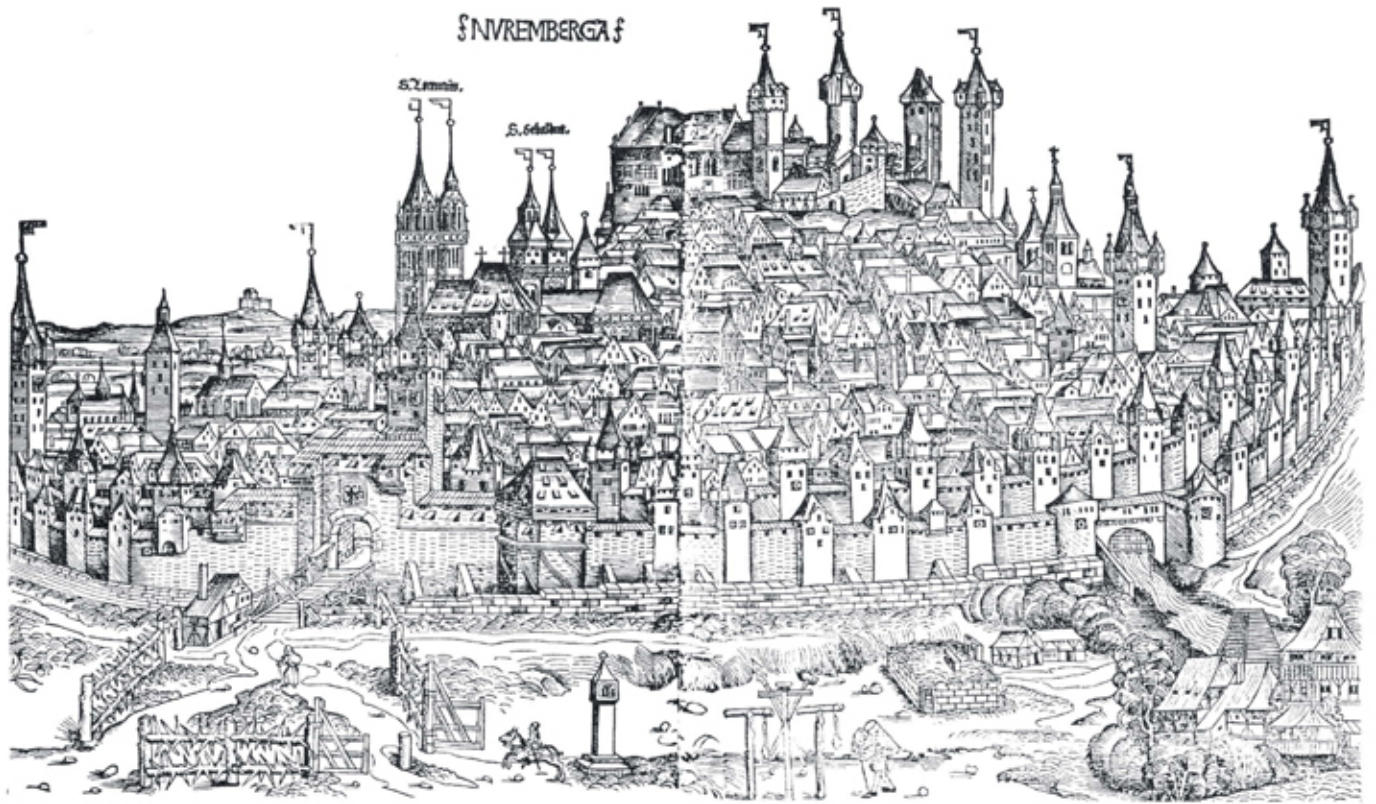Fig. 1, 'Bavaria,' *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

Fig. 2, 'Nuremberg,' *Nuremberg Chronicle.*

Fig. 4, *Landscape with Satyr Family.* Altdorfer,
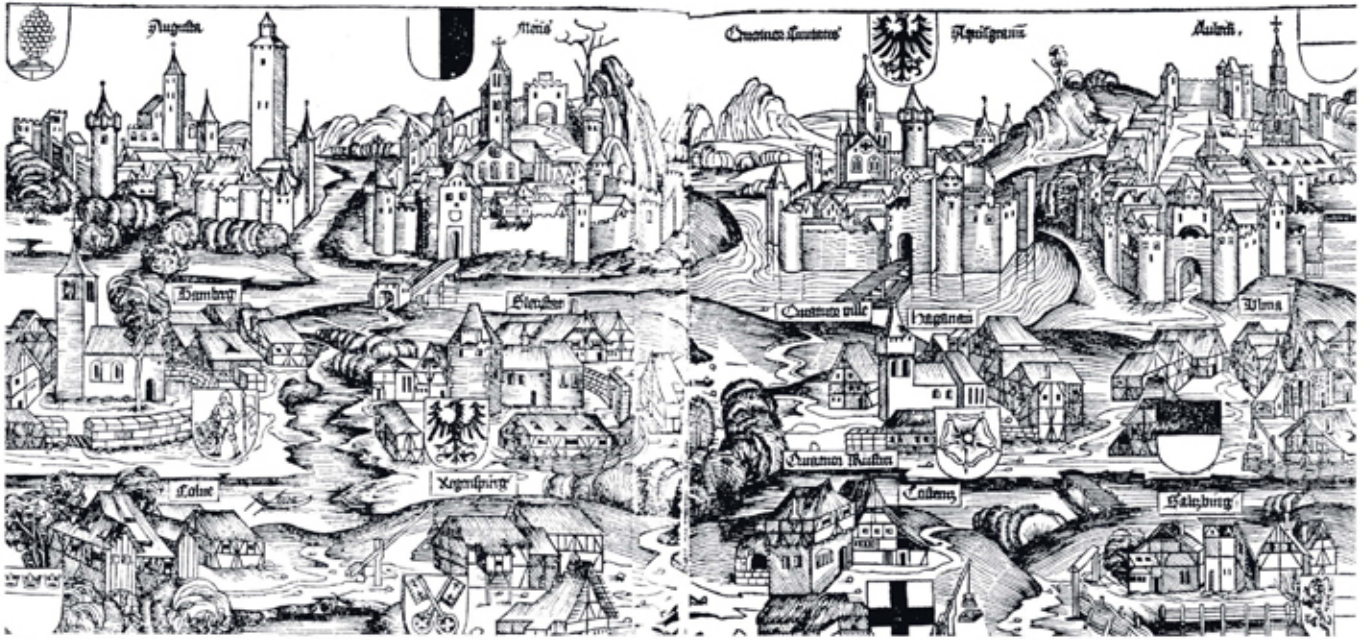Staatliche Museen, Berlin.

Fig. 5, 'Portugal,' *Nuremberg Chronicle.*

Fig. 3, 'View of German Cities,' *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

Fig. 7, 'Creation of Eve,' *Nuremberg Chronicle*.

Fig. 6, *Landscape with St. Jerome*, Patinir, Prado, Madrid.

Michelangelo's Aedicula for the Chapel of Leo X: Some Symbolic Considerations

Richard B. Wright

Michelangelo probably received his first architectural commission for the embellishment, in 1514, of the sole window for the tiny Chapel of Pope Leo X, in the Castel Sant'Angelo. This papal fortress, the former Mausoleum of Hadrian, overlooks the Tiber in Rome. The design for this facade (or aedicula) is usually mentioned briefly, if at all, in discussions of Michelangelo's architecture. James Ackerman and John Shearman note Michelangelo's bold manipulation of classical architectural vocabulary in this work, a point further emphasized by its occurrence both so early in Michelangelo's career and in relation to the development of Mannerist architecture.[1] As yet, however, there has been no close examination of this aedicula in its contemporary setting.

The following will attempt just such an examination, primarily by focusing on the aedicula's most prominent feature—its functionally overlarge, axially aligned console. Of course, Michelangelo's innovative use of consoles and brackets continued throughout his career, from the "kneeling windows" of the Palazzo Medici (ca. 1517) to the Porta Pia of 1561-65. Yet, the use of a single large console as the sole visual focus of an entire work is unique in Michelangelo's oeuvre, if not in the whole of Western architecture. Although it is not certain if such a monumental console carried any connotations for architect or patron, the study will explore the potential for such connotations, specifically in the visual language of classical architecture, and in the literature dealing with the life of Pope Leo X (the former Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici).

The changed appearance of the aedicula (Figures 1-2) is due to a well-intentioned restoration of 1909-10,[2] somewhat faithfully based on a drawing of about 1545 by Aristotile da Sangallo (Figure 3).[3] Eraldo Gaudioso argued persuasively in 1976 that the roundels (seen in Figure 2) are not part of Michelangelo's original design, and that the pre-1909 appearance probably reflects the original conception of the artist. For the purposes of this paper, Gaudioso's contentions are accepted as accurate.[4]

Ackerman states that this marble facade, despite its small size, achieves "monumentality without mass: grandeur is suggested by the subtle arrangement of delicate members" (Figure 4).[5] A projecting, pedimented central bay is flanked by narrower, niche-filled bays surmounted by lion's masks, in keeping with the work's papal patronage. Four Roman Doric pilasters divide the three bays; two engaged Roman Doric columns mask the inner pair of pilasters and delimit the projecting central bay (Figure 5).

David Summers notes the "arrogant quotation" of this Doric order from Bramante's *Tempietto*.[6] Yet even bolder is the articulation of the central bay. Instead of a column screen, with an opening canonically occupying the central axis in Vitruvian fashion, the axis is articulated by a support—a panelled pilaster flanked by marble half-balusters that, as a whole, seems to swell from the compression of

the large console directly above. The pediment contains an undulating ribbon motif centered by the ring with three feathers, a symbol of Medicean patronage.[7] This undulating effect is also evident in Giuliano da Sangallo's pediment for the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano, completed in the 1480s.

Gaudioso discusses the subtle interweaving of horizontal and vertical elements, in both marble and iron, and compares them to similar effects in Michelangelo's initial ideas for the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence (Figure 6),[8] a project to which the artist turned not long after working on the Leo X aedicula. Also notable, and evocative of the rhythms of classical architecture, is the use of half-consoles and half-balusters at the limits of the central bay.

Gaudioso points out that a bifurcated window exists behind this architecture (Figure 7). The overlaying of Michelangelo's design gives the window the appearance of having a mullion-and-transom articulation.[9] Michelangelo and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (the chapel's architect) included the window and the extant vaulting of the room in their designs. Antonio did not become a full-fledged architect until 1516; his conversion of the space into a chapel (dedicated to the Medicean patron saints Cosmas and Damian) merely involved a new foundation and floor and the subsequent raising of the door. An estimate for this work dates from November 1514. Antonio supervised the construction of the exterior as well. The work fits stylistically, according to Ackerman, into the period prior to Michelangelo's departure from Rome in 1516. As a result, the date of the aedicula's execution is probably contemporary with that of the documented interior, therefore dating Michelangelo's design to some time earlier in 1514.[10]

As is so often the case, no finished design by Michelangelo exists. Charles de Tolnay attributes a rough sketch of a facade ground plan to Michelangelo and to this facade, while noting that the placement of columns and pilasters does not correspond to the final ground plan.[11] Ackerman feels that a drawing, now in Oxford, for an unidentified altar, is closest in design to the facade, even though it has nothing specifically in common with the aedicula.[12] Frederick Hartt believes that this drawing may be for an altar, for San Silvestro in Capite, drawn in 1518.[13]

It is the opinion of David Summers that the aedicula reflects a design solution that is graphic in character, a Michelangelesque *fantasia,* a *grottesco* that was born and grew out of a process of two-dimensional design, the final result being more pleasing to the intellect than to the eye.[14] This would be in keeping with the cultivated and refined nature of Medicean patronage; both Leo X and his cousin Clement VII had a penchant for *fantasie* and *grotteschi* in painting as well as in architecture.[15]

A reference to the cultivated tastes of the first Medicean pope is essential to the discussion of this aedicula. Not only would *grotteschi* and *fantasie* have been well-received by

Leo X in and of themselves, but the intelligent utilization of the classical elements of architecture would have appealed to the Pope as well. Leo X "favored the researches into antiquity . . . well understanding how much the prestige of ancient Rome would help to raise the prestige of papal Rome."[16] Moreover, a papal Bull in July 1515 authorized Raphael, as new papal architect and "conservator of antique marbles and inscriptions,"[17] to utilize ancient marbles in the building of St. Peter's.[18]

We find in Michelangelo's aedicula design, if not a faithful utilization of the vocabulary of ancient architecture, at least a relatively respectful one, especially in its use of a single, large console. While its role within the design is quite distinctive, its actual utilization here seems closer to an antique quotation than in most subsequent usages by the artist. Indeed, the aedicula's monumentality and gravity, its material, its location (within an Imperial mausoleum), the inspiration for its design (from classical tombs),[19] the patron's interests at the time, Michelangelo's residence in Rome—all point to a strong classical influence, even as the artist's design willfully violates several canons of classical architecture.[20]

Given this influence, we can find one predominant antique precedent for Michelangelo's employment of a monumental, axially deployed console: consoles that ornament the keystones of triumphal arches, often bearing statues of Roman deities appropriate to the iconographic program of the arch (Figure 8).[21] Michelangelo almost certainly studied such arches in the years immediately prior to 1514. Sven Sandström remarks on the strong similarity, in compositional structure, between the visual programs of the Sistine Ceiling and the Arch of Constantine.[22] Furthermore, Johannes Wilde notes the similarity in pose of God the Father (in the Sistine Ceiling's *Creation of Adam*) to that of hovering Victories in the spandrels of works such as the Arch of Titus.[23] Raphael adapted consoles for his Vatican Stanze frescoes of 1508-14. Small painted consoles adorn the fictive arches surmounting each work and bear appropriate thematic referents, such as attributes of the theological virtues.[24]

Even more pertinent is Leo X's utilization of the Roman triumphal entry and its concomitant architectural forms. Leo X apparently gloried in the pageantry and powerful, eidetic symbolism of the triumphal entry. For his Lateran *Possesso* of April 11, 1513, and for his *Entrata* into Florence on November 30, 1515, lavish triumphal processions took place. The triumphal route, on both occasions, was adorned with temporary triumphal arches, as many as eight in the case of the Florentine *Entrata,* according to Shearman.[25] Beyond mere salutatory and honorific considerations, and Leo's "personal taste for ceremony,"[26] Shearman finds evidence for a highly personalized, Medicean interpretation of such triumphal imagery, based largely on Leo's belief in fate:

> One of the most revealing facets of Leo's personality was his preoccupation with Fate, and his remarkable life had certainly been marked by such reversals of fortune and such coincidences as to make them reasonable objects of his attention. When pope he took the opportunity to manipulate Fate and thus to produce further coincidences. The sequence of events following his capture at Ravenna is a case in point. That event had marked one of the lowest points in his fortunes, and his escape was

read at the time as a result of divine intervention.[27]

Leo's Lateran *Possesso* was arranged to occur not only on the first anniversary of his capture at the Battle of Ravenna, but on the feast day of Saint Leo as well. The irony was further emphasized by his choice of horse for the ceremony—the same white horse that he was riding the day of his capture.[28]

Such ignominious episodes in Leo's life as the capture at Ravenna were chosen to illustrate several of the lower borders of the Sistine tapestries based on Raphael's cartoons of 1515-17. These relief-like friezes, when linked with the main scenes and proposed lateral borders adjoining them (in Shearman and John White's reconstruction of their original placement), contain a powerful Medicean message:

> The onlooker is shown in detail how each seeming catastrophe was turned to profit. He sees how, by God's will, the triumph of the just cause of the Medici, and therefore of the church, was, in the end, assured in spite of every seemingly overwhelming obstacle.[29]

In short, Leo is choosing to be seen in the tapestry borders as "the conqueror of misfortune," famous for "miraculous reversals of ill fortune."[30]

It is this belief in the divine favoring of both the Medici and the papal office that allows the elevation of Leo X's successes to the level of triumphs.[31] All of the relief scenes dealing with the life of Leo and the Medici culminate, according to Shearman and White, with the "ecclesiastical triumph"[32] represented on the altar wall (below the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*), where Pope Leo enters Rome in 1513, and receives homage as the new pope. The pose of Roma, "the personified *Natio*"[33] who greets Leo, seems derived directly from the Arch of Titus, where Roma occupies a keystone console on one side of the arch.

The Medicean belief in providence manifests itself in other examples of Leonine patronage as well. One new coin commissioned by Leo in 1513, a *Giulio* (also known as a *Leone*) depicts a lion in profile crowned by a Victory.[34] We noted earlier the presence of Victories in triumphal imagery. They often occupy the spandrels of triumphal arches, to either side of the central console, crowning the deity there, and by implication, the returning Triumphator (Figure 8).[35]

Yet even more vivid is the providential symbolism of the Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo in Florence, on which Michelangelo worked, on and off for over a dozen years beginning in 1519. Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici, Leo's nephew and brother respectively, are represented by Michelangelo as idealized *Capitani* of the Roman Church, resurrected by God,[36] and triumphant over death and the shifting fortunes of life on earth.[37] Leo X had conferred the Roman patriciate upon both in a Capitoline Hill ceremony, "among Roman triumphal trophies and Medici symbols," in the fall of 1513.[38] Moreover, consoles are positioned axially above the idealized figures. Borrowed from triumphal arches, they still exhibit a keystone-like tapering.[39]

As we have seen, the potent symbolism associated with Pope Leo is due largely to his Medicean heritage. Even if he had not been a layman, it seems doubtful that Leo would have developed a personal symbolism from the iconographic traditions of the Augustinians or the Franciscans,

for example.[40] While the laity and the clergy alike always harbor expectations for a newly crowned pope, the expectations surrounding the election of Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici were particularly heightened because of his name. In the wake of the divisiveness that plagued Julius II's rule, Leo's papacy was lauded in "Messianic, even soteriological allegorizing."[41] The talent for diplomacy and peacemaking, evinced during his cardinalate,[42] was assumed to be inherited from his father, Lorenzo the Magnificent.[43] And, of course, "There is every reason to suppose that Giovanni . . . inherited the family flair for inventing a mythology of their rule."[44]

Admittedly, even though we know much about Leo X's enthusiasm for distinctive visual imagery, and while the general aims of Michelangelo's aedicula design for Leo X exist in a finished work, we have no documentation to link the most distinctive aspect of the design to a specifically Leonine (or Medicean) interpretation. Perhaps Leo X selected the design solution we now see embodied in the Castel Sant'Angelo's Courtyard of Honor for a variety of reasons, some of which may have been personal. He frequently imbued his public acts and his artistic commissions with a strong sense of personal symbolism, as we have seen. If Michelangelo presented several design ideas to the Pope, it is not inconceivable that Leo X would have chosen the design which was executed because its honorific and triumphal connotations carried over into his own life and papacy, little more than a year old at the time. Certainly there can be no doubt that Pope Leo was fascinated by Roman architecture generally and triumphal arches specifically.

We can only wonder about the significance of the design for Michelangelo. At the time, he was immersed in the 1513 project for Julius II's tomb. Also, he had signed a contract for a *Resurrected Christ*, to be placed in Santa Maria sopra Minerva.[45] Given this, how much time did the artist devote to the Leonine project? Did he feel that future papal commissions hinged on the success of this initial one? And why did Leo X give the artist an architectural problem as his first commission when Michelangelo had never worked as an architect? Should we see the "arrogant quotation"[46] of the Roman Doric order from Bramante's *Tempietto* as precisely that, given the strained relationship between Michelangelo and the ailing papal architect?[47] Moreover, to what extent was Michelangelo's use of the monumental console intended to be symbolic? This question, as well as the others, cannot be answered fully at this time. Of course, Michelangelo did use massive consoles on the final 1545 version of the Tomb of Julius II in a way that could be seen, symbolically, as consistently antithetical to the triumphal interpretation of the aedicula proposed here: inverted consoles, placed low in the tomb's elevation, replaced the bound captives of earlier projects.[48]

While proposing more questions than it has answered, this study was completed in the desire to draw Michelangelo's aedicula design closer to the fascinating period of its creation and away somewhat from its more frequent historical role as precursor of the artist's later architectural works.

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1 Ackerman, II, 2; J. Shearman, *Mannerism*, Baltimore, 1967, 71.

2 Ackerman, II, 1.

3 Gaudioso, 34-35.

4 Gaudioso discovered documentation for a refurbishing of the papal fortress in 1544-47 in which the ceilings of the apartments overlooking the aedicula were to be raised. A corresponding vertical stretching of the papal chapel also was proposed, but never carried out; ultimately, only the wall behind the aedicula was heightened. It now holds a circular niche with a bust of Antoninus Pius based on a Roman original. Aristotile da Sangallo's drawing was a proposal for modifying the aedicula (he was involved with the general refurbishing). Hence the renovation is ill-founded, according to Gaudioso, 7-10 and 37-45.

5 Ackerman, II, 2.

6 Summers, 162.

7 Ackerman, II, 1.

8 Gaudioso, 18.

9 Gaudioso, 15-17; Tolnay, IV, 31; Ackerman, II, 2. Gaudioso and Ackerman note Tolnay's linking of this type of articulation to a popular, late Quattrocento window type—the Guelphic cross.

10 Ackerman, II, 1-2.

11 Tolnay, IV, 31-32.

12 Ackerman, II, 2. See Ackerman, II, 1, for other, less tenable attributions; also, Gaudioso, 29-37.

13 Hartt, 1970, 160.

14 Summers, 162.

15 *Ibid.*, 153.

16 A.M. Brizio, "Raphael," *Encyclopedia of World Art*, English ed., London, 1966, XI, 857.

17 A. Marabottini, "Raphael's Collaborators," *The Complete Work of Raphael*, Introd. by Mario Salmi, New York, 1969, 200.

18 G. Becatti, "Raphael and Antiquity," *The Complete Work of Raphael* (as in note 17), 496.

19 Ackerman, II, 2.

20 A. Schiavo, *Michelangelo Architetto*, Rome, 1949, 89; Summers, 153.

21 It was at Frederick Hartt's suggestion that this exploration of both a Leonine interpretation for the aedicula's console, as well as its possible connection to antique precedents was undertaken. The transition from unwieldy seminar report to this more focused study is due largely to Professor Hartt's guidance, and is gratefully acknowledged.

22 S. Sandström, "The Sistine Chapel Ceiling," *Michelangelo: the Sistine Chapel Ceiling*, ed. by Charles Seymour, Jr., New York, 1972, 212.

23 J. Wilde, "Eine Studie Michelangelos nach der Antike," *Mitteilungen des kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, IV, 1932, 63; citation brought to the author's attention by Frederick Hartt.

24 For instance, above the lunette fresco depicting the cardinal and theological virtues in the Stanza della Segnatura, a putto bears an attribute of the theological virtue Hope—a torch.

25 J. Shearman, "The Florentine *Entrata* of Leo X, 1515," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XXXVIII, 1975, 139.

26 Shearman, 1972, 15.

27 *Ibid.,* 17.

28 White and Shearman, 212.

29 *Ibid.*

30 *Ibid.*

31 Of course Leo X was not the first to adopt the symbolism of the triumphal entry. See Shearman, 1972, 87, where earlier precedents are discussed as well as the various Advents associated with the Imperial Epiphany. The imagery of Advents such as the *Adventus regis pacifici* became assimilated into the ritual of papal entry by the Middle Ages. It is significant that the *Rex pacificus* was a role shared both by Christ and Leo X.

  A fine general study of the evolving role of the triumphal entry is E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages,* Princeton, 1956; see Smith's opening essay, "The City-Gate Concept," especially 19-37.

32 White and Shearman, 212.

33 Shearman, 1972, 87.

34 *Ibid.,* 19.

35 See the discussion of the Arch of Titus (citation above, n. 23). Such Victories also occur on the Arches of Septimius Severus (Fig. 8) and Constantine.

36 See Hartt, 1968, 174: Leo X, upon hearing of the death of his nephew Lorenzo in 1519 (the last legitimate descendant of Cosimo the Elder), reportedly exclaimed, "Henceforth we belong no more to the House of Medici but to the House of God!"

37 This study relies implicitly upon the interpretation by Frederick Hartt of the meaning of the Medici Chapel's visual program, which is that the program was based on the Resurrection. See Hartt, 1968, 168-83.

38 *Ibid.,* 174.

39 The author is grateful to Douglas Lewis for the observation of the tapering of the consoles, and thus their probable source.

40 Shearman, 1972, 90.

41 *Ibid.,* 17 and 75. This largely paraphrases Shearman's discussion.

42 *Ibid.,* 15.

43 *Ibid.,* 14.

44 *Ibid.,* 17. It might be useful to mention the frequent usage of architectural metaphor in the commentary on Pope Leo's rule. Christ was often referred to as the Cornerstone who joined the two sides (Shearman, 1972, 79); by extension, Leo was proclaimed in this way in at least three Lateran orations of 1513-15 (Shearman, 1972, 80-82). Certainly both Michelangelo and Raphael must have been aware of the use of such metaphors of peace and unity. Shearman notes as example the architectural character of Raphael's Sistine tapestries (1972, 81).

  While the aedicula's console is only indirectly related to keystones, which are at best functionally related to cornerstones, it is at least conceivable that Michelangelo had such a metaphor in mind when he designed the aedicula. After all, directly above the console is the ring with three feathers, which may be interpreted in two ways, both associated with the themes of peace and unification. First, this symbol of the Medici may be linked easily to the *Christus medicus;* "Leo was the new *medicus* who would cure the ills of the Church" (Shearman, 1972, 77). Secondly, the ring—as part of the Leonine *impresa*—is explained in one ecclesiastical dictionary as a symbol of unity since "the ring unites, the yoke is easy" (Shearman, 1972, 87); admittedly, the metaphorical interpretation (peace and unity) in application to this specific console is predicated on fragile connections.

45 Hartt, 1970, 399.

46 See the discussion, n. 6 citation.

47 A. Bruschi, *Bramante.* English ed., London, 1977, 179-81.

48 Frederick Hartt has pointed out the symbolic and expressive potential which Michelangelo could impart to these architectural forms. In a Nov. 6, 1981 symposium paper on Michelangelo delivered at Virginia Commonwealth University (soon to be published), Hartt demonstrated that the inverted consoles of the final version of the tomb not only replaced the bound captives of earlier, more ambitious projects, but may well have been carved from the very blocks that originally were to become the captives.

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Fig. 1, Aedicula, Chapel of Leo X, pre-renovation (Gaudi-
oso, pl. 2)
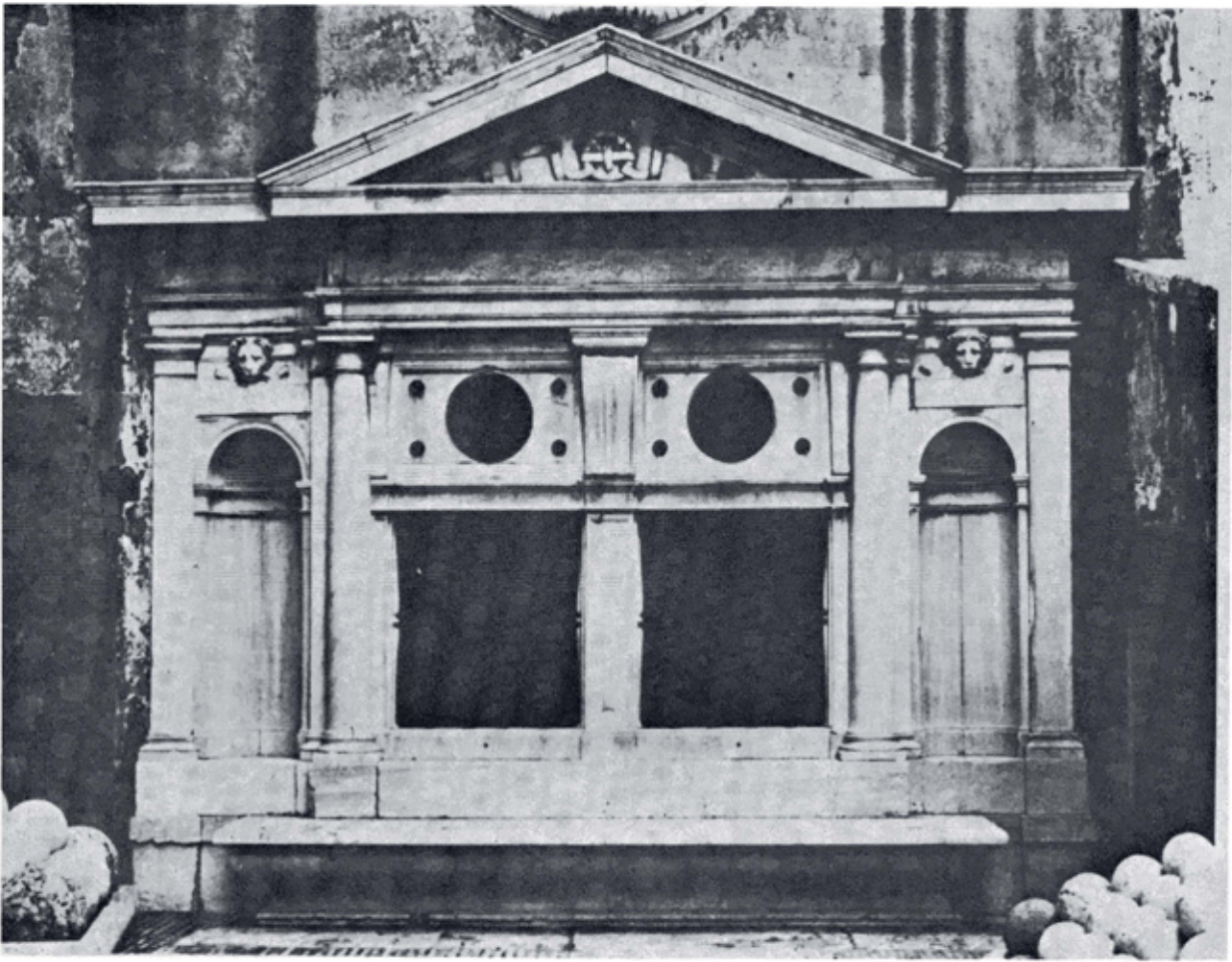
Fig. 2, Aedicula, Chapel of Leo X, after renovation (Gaudi-
ioso, pl. 1)
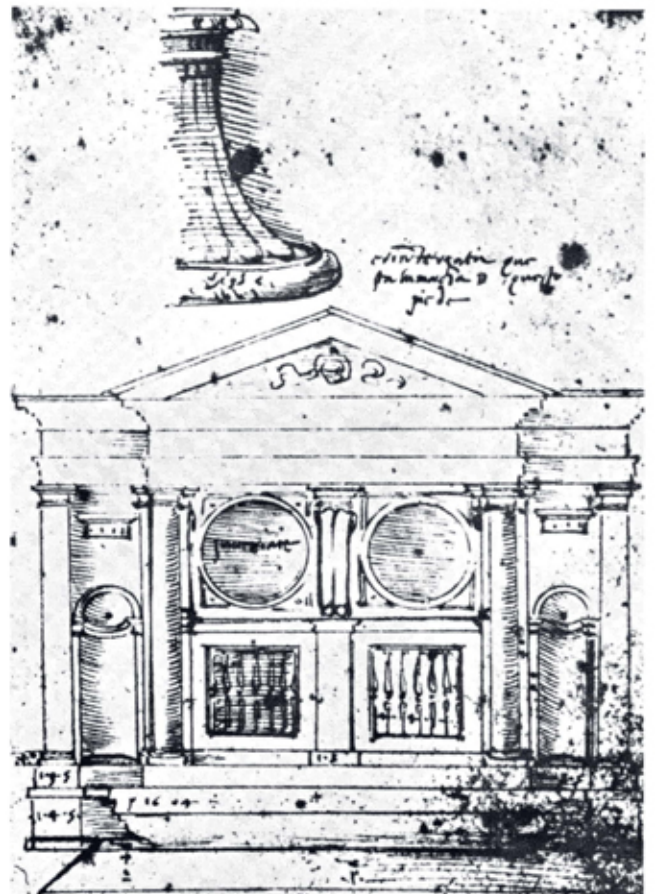
Fig. 3, Aristotile da Sangallo, study for aedicula, Chapel of
Leo X, Lilles, Musée des Beaux Arts (Gaudioso, pl. 32)
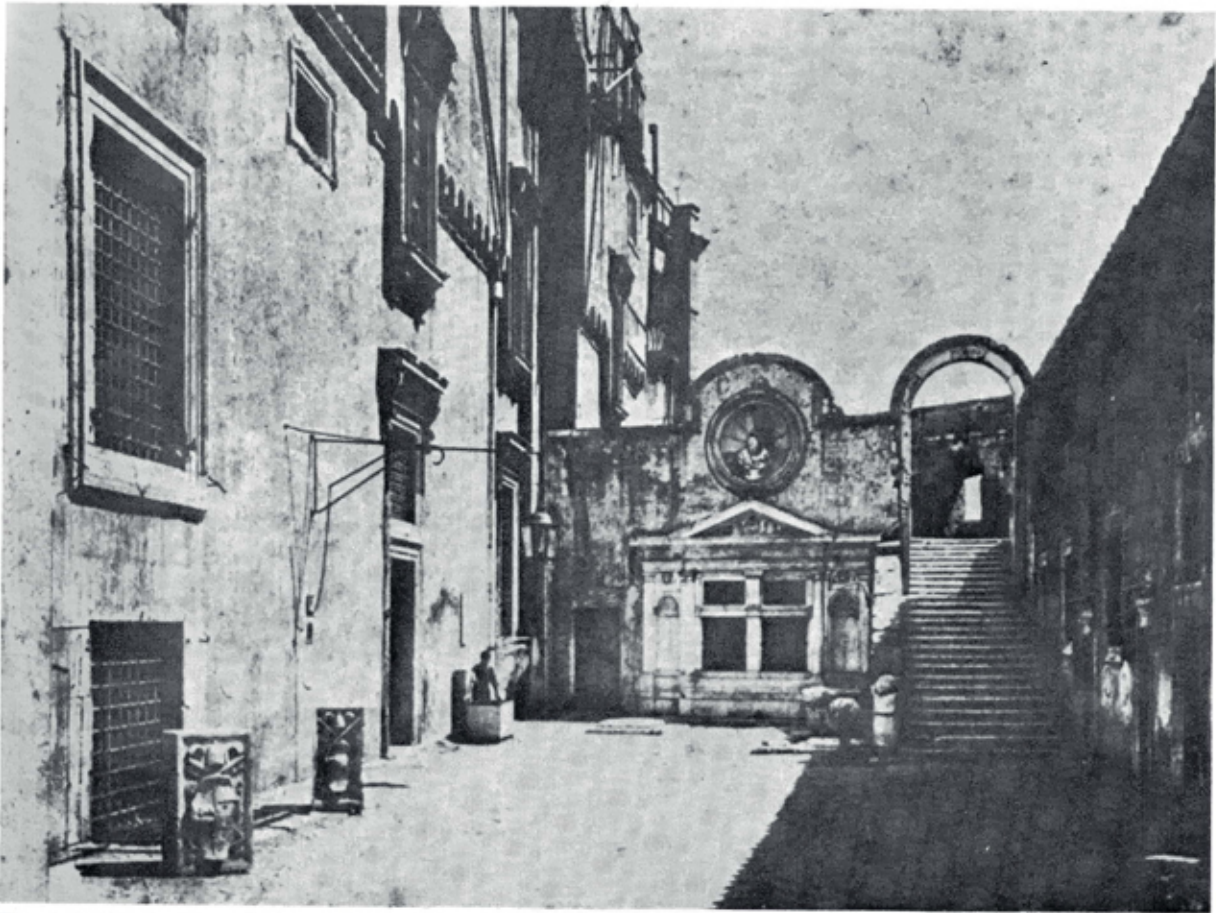
Fig. 4, Aedicula, Chapel of Leo X, View from the Courtyard
of Honor (Gaudioso, pl. 53).
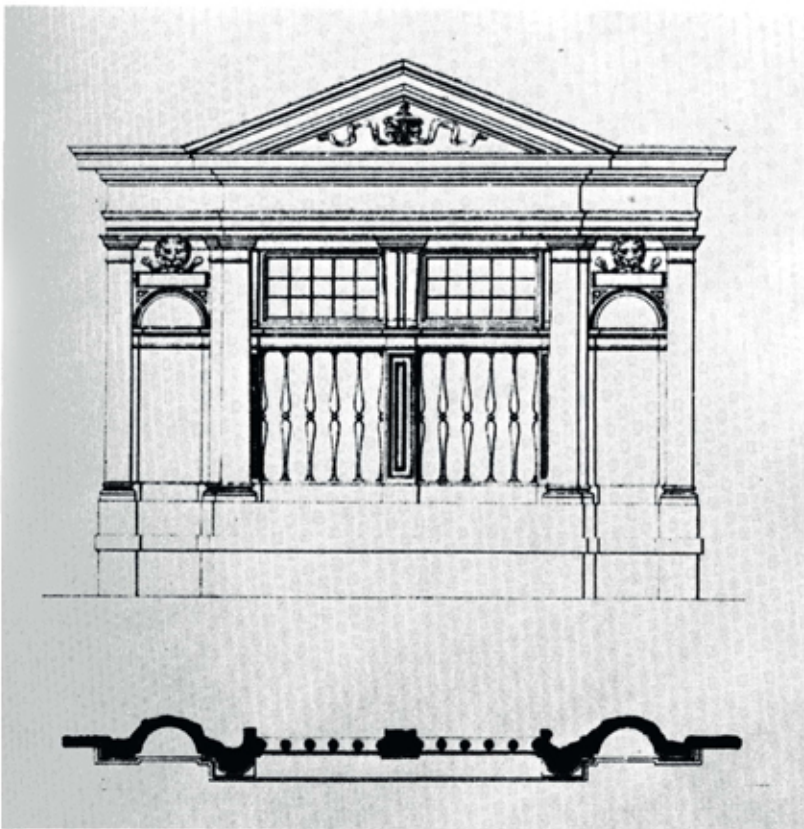
Fig. 5, Aedicula, Chapel of Leo X: elevation, ground-plan,
cross-section (Gaudioso, pl. 28)

Fig. 6, Michelangelo, sketch for facade of San Lorenzo, Florence, Casa Buonarroti (Gaudioso, pl. 12)

Fig. 7, Chapel of Leo X, interior view (Gaudioso, pl. 36)

Fig. 8, Arch of Septimius Severus, detail (Brilliant, pl. 33).

Okada Beisanjin—A Nanga Artist in Need of Reappraisal

Sharon Collins

Okada Beisanjin, a Japanese painter working in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the Nanga, or literati, style is generally perceived by art historians to be a mediocre artist, a transitional figure working in the period between the innovative artists of the second generation and the polished scholar-painters of the third.[1] At the same time Uragami Gyokudō, who is now hailed as the epitome of the Nanga tradition, was also working in a style outside the mainstream of literati painting. I believe that Beisanjin is due for a re-evaluation, and that he and Gyokudō represent the high point of the Nanga movement, both in the intent expressed in their work and in their emulation of the Chinese scholar-painter's lifestyle. These men stand apart from their contemporaries because their lives and work represent two major principles of the Nanga tradition, individuality and dissent. Thus Beisanjin's status as a "transitional" painter is inaccurate; instead he and Gyokudō function as the dénouement of the Nanga tradition because of the unique character of their work and their understanding of the political nature of literati painting as it developed in China.

Chinese literati painting evolved as an offshoot of the Confucian education system instituted in the Han dynasty. Prospective government administrators were required to have a high degree of knowledge as well as skill in composing prose and poetry and writing in calligraphy in order to pass the exams given them. Only true scholars passed, and those men were usually aristocrats who developed their artistic skills in their spare time. By the 11th century painting had become an important accomplishment of the scholar as a vehicle for expressing his inner being and nature. Thus the traditional theory, that the image of an object or place should produce the same emotions that actually viewing that object or place would produce, was denied, and the artist was given license to depart from a realistic rendering of the subject and still maintain artistic credibility.[2]

Because the scholar painters were government officials they were deeply involved in politics, and it became popular to resign a government post as a sort of passive protest against unpopular policies or regimes. For example, many literati withdrew during the Yüan dynasty, when the Mongols ruled China. Devoting themselves to scholarly activities and expressing their resistance through their art, these artists painted subjects in nature such as the gnarled tree, metaphor for the retired scholar who had to make himself as useless as the dying tree to escape retribution.[3]

The literati movement was introduced into Japan in the 18th century, during the Edo period. At that time there was a growing dissatisfaction with the government-sponsored Kanō school, and the concept of Nanga was welcomed as a pleasing alternative. The first artists to paint in the Nanga style were samurai, who were roughly the equivalent in Japan during the Edo period of the Chinese scholar bureaucrat. These men learned about the literati theory of painting as a result of the adoption by the Tokugawa Shogunate of a Confucian-based bureaucratic system borrowed from the Chinese which required the samurai to study Chinese subjects. Because the Tokugawa government had closed Japan by restricting the importation of foreign cultural material, there were few examples of Chinese literati painting to study. These first generation painters turned to the recently imported Chinese painting manuals for instruction. Particularly influential were the *Mustard-Seed Garden Painting Manual (Chieh-tzu Yüan Hua-ch'uan)* and the *Eight Kinds of Painting for Beginners (Pa-chung Hua-p'u).*[4] The major drawback of these books was that they were illustrated with wood block prints, incapable of capturing the subtle tones of pigment and layers of wash present in the original painting. Much of the work produced using the manual illustrations as examples is quite derivative.

The majority of the second wave of Nanga artists were not samurai and the eclectic nature of their work reflects the freedom resulting from their merchant-class origins. These men, unconcerned with the theory of Nanga painting and the scholarly way of life, produced work which reflected a variety of sources interpreted in the Nanga style. Ikeno Taiga was one of these second generation painters and *Looking at Fishing from a Riverside Pavillion* (Figure 1) is an example of the type of work for which he is best known. He began his career as a professional artist executing calligraphy and fan painting in various styles, and became interested in Nanga after seeing the *Pa-chung Hua-p'u.* His work borrows from earlier indigenous and Chinese styles as well as from Western art, and he often combined his sources in a single painting. Taiga typifies the innovative spirit of the second generation.

The Nanga movement essentially ended with the artists of the third generation. The majority of these men, like the first generation artists, were also samurai and Confucian scholars. They had an obsession with the Chinese literati culture and their work strongly reflects the influence of the Ming and Ch'ing literati paintings which were becoming more prevalent in Japan. The character of Nanga changed dramatically as these artists learned to apply layered washes and increased their vocabulary of brushstrokes. Their work became more intimate and the compositions more complex as a result of this exposure. While these technical innovations account in part for the refined and elegant appearance of their work there is a sense of nostalgia and regret present in many of their paintings that cannot be explained by technique alone. *First Visit to the Red Cliffs* (Figure 2), painted by Tanomura Chikuden, is based on a prose-poem by the Chinese literati painter Su Tung-p'o, which describes his first excursion to the Red Cliffs. Chikuden added his own inscription in which he said that he executed the painting as a release, because he was unable to forget the past.[5] This motivation was a common one for the third generation painters who were longing for

a culture impossible to assimilate into their own.

Chronologically Beisanjin stands as a link between the second and third generation painters. He was born in 1744 in Hyogo prefecture and orphaned as a child. Adopted in early adolescence, he learned the rice trade and studied Confucianism and Chinese subjects, and eventually migrated to Osaka in 1772. There he was hired as a warehouse guard by Lord Tōdō of Ise who owned one of Osaka's largest rice businesses. This event was significant because the rank of samurai was attached to the position, and with it came a large stipend which provided Beisanjin with some degree of independence. During the next several decades he quietly rose to the position of Lord Tōdō's private secretary. He acquired his own studio overlooking the Yōdō River and began to paint seriously in the 1790s, drawing a circle of friends around him whose interests were similar. These men included Totoki Baigai, Tanomura Chikuden, Uragami Gyokudō, Aoki Mokubei, and Rai Sanyō. Beisanjin retired in the early 1800s, leaving his son to assume his duties, and moved to a more secluded spot. There he continued to paint until his death in 1820.[6]

Beisanjin's style changed dramatically as he matured. His early work is awkward, the forms betraying his dependence on illustrations from the *Mustard-Seed Garden Painting Manual* as guides. *Scholars Under a Pine* (Figure 3) is a characteristic early Beisanjin. Painted in 1800, this work is a study in composition, and although the forms are derivative the structure of the painting is Beisanjin's invention. The pine is used to unify the elements of the landscape and to smooth the rough transition from foreground to background. The scholar's focus on the distant mountains leads the eye back into the painting, and there is a diagonal created by the rock group in the foreground and the hill echoing this slant. The only hint of eccentricity occurs in the foreground motifs. The figures, for example, are probably borrowed from the *Mustard-Seed Garden Painting Manual* (perhaps from the page shown in Figure 4) and then made stiff and angular.

Although some of Beisanjin's later works are compositional studies, the majority exhibit the strange forms that make his paintings so easily identifiable. In *Pines Standing* (Figure 5), a landscape painted in 1814, Y-shaped lines appear in the center of the foreground rocks, suggesting angular three-dimensionality, and in the cliff area in the upper right the overhanging mountain is splintered into nearly rectangular forms. The even spacing of the dotting used in the trees in the lower right corner is a Beisanjin trademark, used here to accentuate the diagonal path created by the river on the left which leads the eye back into the distance. An attempt is made to indicate depth by diminishing the relative sizes of objects—for example, the rock forms in the foreground versus the clustered forms on top of the distant mountains, and the trees in the foreground versus those in the upper right background. There is a good deal of controlled tension between the surface decoration and the three-dimensional depth of the landscape.

This surface-depth tension is a concern of both Beisanjin and Gyokudō in their mature work. In *Waterfall Landscape* (Figure 6), painted in 1816, Beisanjin carries this type of tension one step further. Depth is still suggested but it has become a secondary concern. Beisanjin is primarily dealing with the surface patterns, natural objects abstracted to such a degree of flatness that there is a visual ambiguity created between the reality of nature and the decorative surface of the painting. This abstraction can be clearly seen in the detail of the work (Figure 7). Beisanjin outlined the rock forms

and then added parallel lines, causing these forms to look almost completely flat. Furthermore, the forms in the painting do not change size to indicate depth. For example, the size of the brushstrokes used in the foliage in the extreme lower left is the same as that used in the trees in the upper right, and the foreground rocks are virtually the same size as those that form the background mountains. Again there is a visual diagonal which follows the mountain range through the middle of the composition, but the illusion of depth is countered by the flat surface patterns.

An examination of the work of two Nanga artists active at the beginning and end of Beisanjin's mature period illustrates the uniqueness of his work. Totoki Baigai and Aoki Mokubei were known to both Beisanjin and Gyokudō through the friendship of all four men with Kimura Kenkadō, a wealthy painter and art patron associated with the literati circle in the Kyoto-Osaka area. Members of that circle, which included Mokubei and Beisanjin's son, Hankō, traveled the countryside visiting other painters and exchanging paintings and ideas. Baigai even collaborated with Beisanjin in 1802 by inscribing a Chinese poem on one of his paintings. Baigai and Mokubei represent the closing years of the second generation and the opening years of the third, respectively.

Totoki Baigai was born in 1749 and although he was only several years younger than Beisanjin he died in 1804. Had he lived longer he might have experienced the influences acting on Beisanjin and Gyokudō. Baigai was educated in Edo where he became a Confucian scholar and Sinophile. He studied painting in Kyoto with the second generation master Ikeno Taiga and his work resembles that of his teacher. His sources are the work of the second generation painters and the Chinese wood block painting manuals, both evident in his masterpiece, *Landscape in the Style of Taiga* (Figure 8). The painting is long and narrow and the viewer is imagined to be standing level with the bottom of the scroll looking up. There is an awkward jump from foreground to background with virtually no transition between the two. This compositional arrangement was common to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The flat, jagged rock forms are similar to those often seen in Taiga's paintings, and can be found in the wood block painting manuals as can the technique of dotting used so profusely in this work. Taiga is the source for this type of handling, in which the dots seem to be applied almost randomly. The most outstanding feature of the painting is the strong brushwork defining the rock forms, attesting to Baigai's status as a master calligrapher. In spite of this, the overall effect is delicate and lighthearted in much the same way as Taiga's work. Few types of brushstrokes are used and there is relatively little tension generated in the painting. The decorative quality of this work is based on the imitation of an earlier artist's handling, and is not Baigai's personal development.

Aoki Mokubei, a third generation literati artist, was born in Kyoto in 1767. He is best known as a potter and worked for quite a few of the nobility in that capacity, establishing workshops at Kasugayama and Kyoto. From 1824 on Mokubei became more active as a literati painter. His paintings are unique and at the same time very dependent for elements of style on the examples of Ming and Ch'ing literati painting then available to the interested painter in Kyoto. A work like *Spring on the Min River* (Figure 9) by the Chinese artist Tao Chi of the Ch'ing Dynasty has a number of points in common with Mokubei's *Sunny Morning at Uji* (Figure 10), painted in 1824. A

major similarity involves the technique of employing layered washes, used in both examples to give volume to the mountain forms. The emphasis is painterly versus linear although the calligraphic outlines are still evident. There is a soft, sensuous mistiness evident which many of the third generation artists employed, perhaps due to a combination of the new ability to use washes and to a more direct observation of nature. The most important similarity between these two paintings is the emphasis on three-dimensionality. Visual cues to indicated depth are evident here, and again there is very little surface tension created in the work.

Uragami Gyokudō's work provides the stylistic comparison that validates the analysis of Beisanjin's work as having been produced by an artist concerned with surface-depth tension and an abstraction of nature. Like Beisanjin, Gyokudō was a samurai, born to the ancient Ki family in Bizen in 1745. He served Lord Ikeda for many years and studied music and the Chinese classics in Edo. Gyokudō abandoned his post in 1794, at a time when he was in some danger due to his connection with a number of literati involved in the study of a revisionist school of Confucianism, based on the teachings of Wang Yang-Ming and banned by the Tokugawa government. For ten years following his resignation he wandered through Japan in the true literati fashion, wearing the feathered cloak of the Taoist sage, painting, and practicing medicine for a living. He finally settled in Kyoto with the group of literati painters established there and continued to paint until his death in 1820. Most of Gyokudō's paintings are undated but almost all were produced after his retirement.[7]

In *Crossing a Mountain Bridge with a Stick* (Figure 11), painted in 1815, Gyokudō's style is clearly evident. This painting exhibits much agitated brushwork acting at cross-purposes to the images depicted. The large wet dotting strokes used to define the mountain forms deny their shape and the scale of these strokes deny the distance of the background from the foreground. Gyokudō often left sections of his works unpainted, as he does here in the area below the mountain range, using the bare segment to emphasize the painted portions of the work. In this example, the "high distance"[8] perspective is further denied by the separation of fore, middle, and background in such a way that they fail to overlap. The effect is twofold: the obvious illusionistic image of mountains and trees is countered by the rhythmic agitated surface patterning.

Many Houses Seen from on High (Figure 12) is another painting by Gyokudō which exhibits the same concern with surface pattern. The work is divided horizontally through the center by a path composed of diagonals, and the eye is lead across, from right to left, by the dotting in the foreground trees. The angle of the dots changes to echo the mountain form above. The balance between light and dark is carefully maintained, for example, the dark foreground is placed directly beneath a relatively light area. Again the separation of foreground and background is handled so that the illusion of depth is denied.

The recognition by Beisanjin and Gyokudō of the importance of individuality in Nanga art was probably responsible for their artistic development outside the mainstream of the movement. Both men respected the Nanga tradition as much as did any of the third generation artists, and they lived their lives accordingly. Gyokudō spent the years following his resignation traveling as had many Chinese scholar-painters, and Beisanjin conducted his studio in the manner that he and his friends had learned from studying the lives of the Chinese painters. Beisanjin expressed his regret over his son's adoption of the style practiced by the third generation, probably because he realized that borrowing so closely from other sources would make Hankō's work too derivative.[9] Although Gyokudō lived with the Kyoto-based third generation artists his style remained the same as it had been before he joined them. In spite of the available Chinese models, both artists developed very personal styles.

The closeness of the two men was probably very important in the development of Beisanjin's mature style. He and Gyokudō were friends who worked together as early as 1797, when they collaborated on a painting to commemorate a friend's birthday, and Gyokudō spent more than a month at Beisanjin's studio in 1807. Both men were self-taught painters of provincial origin who had to struggle to gain recognition as literati artists. Gyokudō left his post under pressure and may have influenced Beisanjin to resign. While there is no evidence to suggest that Beisanjin was making a political gesture in doing so, he was certainly aware of his friend's situation and the restrictive policies of the government, particularly apparent to the samurai.

In spite of the stylistic differences evident in the work of Beisanjin and Gyokudō it can be argued that they both exhibit a concern with surface-depth tension not found in works produced by their contemporaries. The devices used differ, but the effect of creating an ambiguity between the image and the abstract patterning and forms in the painting, is the same. Totoki Baigai's work, while abstract, lacks tension because he relied almost exclusively on flat, decorative surface patterning. Aoki Mokubei's style reflects the concerns of the third generation artists who, having discovered the painterly techniques of the Chinese literati artists, chose to use them to move toward greater realism. Mokubei's *Sunny Morning at Uji* (Figure (10) is a typical third generation painting, and he justified the realistic rendering of the landscape by identifying it as a specific place. Beisanjin and Gyokudō rarely did so, preferring less immediate titles. To have referred to their landscapes as specific locations would have lessened the impact of the abstraction incorporated in their work. Beisanjin apparently learned his theory of painting from Gyokudō, and then developed his own style. In his mature phase, during the crucial years between 1800 and 1824, Beisanjin found it necessary to defend the concept of Nanga by ceasing to produce works based on either the painting manual illustrations or actual examples of Chinese painting. Like Gyokudō, he produced art during those years which was expressively abstract. Within the confines of the literati style Beisanjin was able to do what the third generation artists could not; he produced unique and personal paintings while still remaining true to the theories and lifestyle that had developed as part of the Nanga tradition.

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1 For an examination of the traditional view of Beisanjin's status within the Nanga movement see B.I. Monroe, "Okada Beisanjin (1744-1820): Transitional Bunjinga Artist," Ph.D: diss., University of Michigan, 1973.

2 See J. Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, New York, 1977, 89-91, J. Cahill, *Hills Beyond a River: Chinese Painting of the Yüan Dynasty, 1279-1368*, New York, 1976, I, 3-15 and S. Bush, *The Chinese Literati on Painting: Su Shih (1037-1101) to Tung Ch'i-ch'ang (1555-1636)*, Massachusetts, 1971, 1-22, for discussions of the Chinese theory of painting prior to the eleventh century and the subsequent development of the literati movement.

3 Trees and rocks are frequently used in Chinese painting to refer to the artist. The tree is particularly appropriate as a subject used in this context because it, like man, is vulnerable and finite. See R. Barnhart, *Wintry Forests, Old Trees: Some Landscape Themes in Chinese Painting*, New York, 1972, an exhibition catalogue from the China House Gallery, China Institute in America.

4 *The Mustard-Seed Garden Painting Manual* was the more influential of the two texts mentioned here. It was reprinted in Japan in 1748, but it is unclear exactly when it reached the island. The *Eight Kinds of Painting for Beginners* was reprinted much earlier, in 1672, and again in 1710. See Y. Yonezawa and C. Yoshizawa, *Japanese Painting in the Literati Style*,

New York/Tokyo, 1974, 170-178 and Y.K. May-ching, *Literati Paintings From Japan*, Hong Kong, 1974, 35-38 (an exhibition catalogue produced by the Chinese University of Hong Kong).

5 See P. Mason, *Japanese Literati Painters: The Third Generation*, New York, 1977, 16-17.

6 For best biographical material on Beisanjin see the dissertation of Betty Iverson Monroe (n. 1 above).

7 See J. Cahill, *Scholar Painters of Japan: The Nanga School*, New York, 1972, 72.

8 F. Van Briessen discusses the three types of perspective employed by the Chinese and learned from them by Japanese artists. "High distance" (kao yuan) places the viewer in the position of looking up at the painting from below, and traditionally the movement up through the painting is achieved by diminishing the size of objects and by decreasing visibility. See F. Van Briessen, *The Way of the Brush*, Vermont, 1962, 126-127.

9 See Mason, *Japanese Literati Painters*, 15.

Fig. 1, Ikeno Taiga, *Looking at Fishing from a Riverside Pavilion*, color on paper (from Osamu Hankō and Susumu Suzuki, *Taiga • Buson*, Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei, XII, Kodansha, 1977, 87).
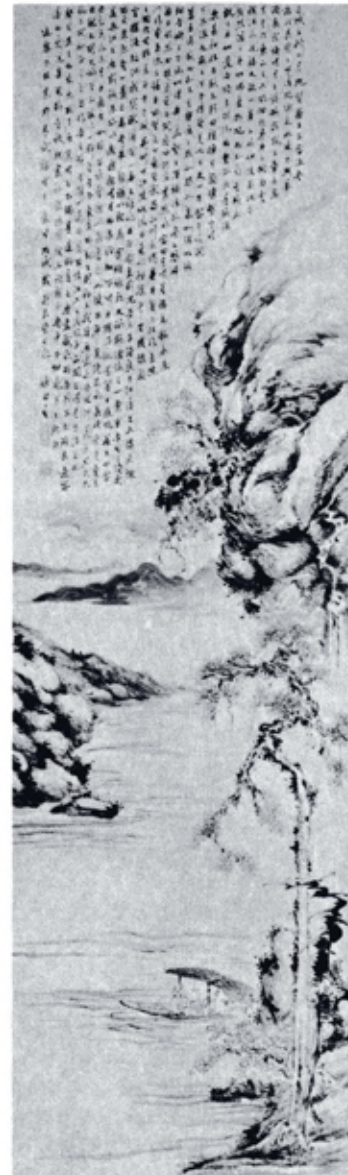
Fig. 2, Tanomura Chikuden, *The First Visit to the Red Cliffs*, hanging scroll, ink on paper (from P.E. Mason, *Japanese Literati Painters: the Third Generation*, Brooklyn Museum, 1977, 16).

Fig. 3, Okada Beisanjin, *Scholars under a Pine*, ink and slight color on paper (from C. Yoshizawa, *Gyokudō • Mokubei*, Suiboku Bijutsu Taikei, XIII, Kodansha, 1978, 146).

Fig. 4, Page from the 1697-1701 *Mustard Seed Garden Manual of Painting* (reproduced in Mai-Mai Sze, *The Tao of Painting*, Pantheon Books, 1963, 2nd ed., 5).

Fig. 5, Okada Beisanjin, *Pines Standing*, ink and slight color on paper (see citation Fig. 3, p. 153).

Fig. 6, Okada Beisanjin, *Waterfall Landscape*, ink and slight color on paper (see citation Fig. 3, p. 159).

Fig. 9, Shih-t'ao, *Spring on the Min River*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper (Cleveland Museum of Art; John L. Severance Fund).

Fig. 8, Totoki Baigai, *Landscape, in the Style of Taiga*, hanging scroll, ink and slight color on silk (Los Angeles County Museum of Art, California; gift of Frederick Weisman Company).

Fig. 7, Okada Beisanjin, detail from *Waterfall Landscape*, Fig. 6.
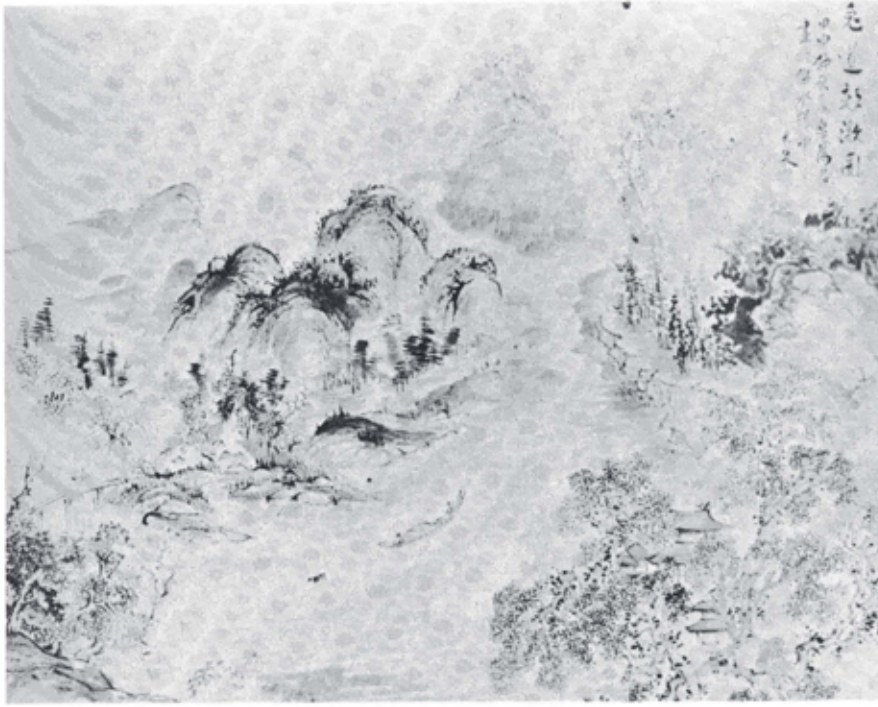
Fig. 10, Aoki Mokubei, *Sunny Morning at Uji*, hanging scroll, ink and colors on paper (from Y. Yonezawa and C. Yoshizawa, *Japanese Painting in the Literati Style*, Weather-hill/Heibonsha, 1974, 95).

Fig. 11, Uragami Gyokudō, *Crossing a Mountain Bridge with a Stick*, ink on paper (see citation Fig. 3, p. 106).

Fig. 12, Uragami Gyokudō, *Many Houses Seen from on High*, hanging scroll, ink on paper (see citation Fig. 10, p. 154).

Eugène Delacroix and Color: Practice, Theory, and Legend

Joyce Bernstein Howell

Eugène Delacroix, the foremost master of French Romantic painting, earned a reputation as the great colorist of the mid-nineteenth century. In the history of Western art there have been different styles of coloring in different times and geographical locations. Among these styles Delacroix's color marks an historical watershed. He began as the heir to Rubens and Géricault and ended as the progenitor of Van Gogh and Signac. As a colorist Delacroix is most often linked with the artists of the two generations following him, famous as the great master who exploited the science of color in the art of painting.

This acclaim is puzzling. Knowledge of the science of color and of late nineteenth-century painting styles would lead one to expect in Delacroix's painting a prodigious use of spectral hues and frequent pairings of complementary colors. However, these elements of style are not outstanding in Delacroix's color, especially not in his early and well-known Salon works. Even in his last significant easel painting, *Arabs Skirmishing in the Mountains* (Figure 1 and cover) he used a palette of close, subtle harmonies among modified earth tones. Unfortunately, Delacroix's fame as a "scientific" colorist diverts attention from fundamental elements of his coloring—his transformation of *chiaroscuro* painting and his technical procedure. Interestingly enough, the seeds of this critical appraisal were planted in Delacroix's own lifetime.

A misleading critical evaluation of Delacroix's color began in the 1860s and gained momentum in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Art critics of mid-century such as Charles Blanc and Théophile Silvestre believed that an artist's coloring could be controlled successfully if he or she understood the physical and optical properties of color. These properties had recently been defined according to findings from the scientific community. Both critics, seeking to link science and art, wrote that Delacroix had calculated his coloring according to principles which paralleled laws formulated by the French chemist Michel Chevreul and published in his book of 1839, *De la loi du contraste simultané des couleurs.*[1]

Chevreul had discovered and empirically verified many predictable optical modifications that occurred when colors were viewed simultaneously. The principles which he formulated could serve as practical aids to the artist in painting and in analyzing color effects seen in nature. With regard to art theory, Chevreul's discoveries were relevant to the concept of harmony through color contrast. Chevreul defined maximum hue contrast as the contrast of complementary colors. Based on his experiments with the optical effects of complementarity, Chevreul confirmed the theory that strong contrasts of such colors as well as close similarity of broken, or mixed, colors produced pleasing harmony.[2] The concept of harmony through contrast superseded the prevalent eighteenth-century view that color harmony was born exclusively through arrangements of similar, analogous colors. In that century complementary colors were considered antipathetic and were avoided in the interest of a harmonious ensemble of tones.[3]

Notwithstanding their great practical worth and theoretical import the laws of color interaction and color harmony had a limited range of application in the practice of painting in mid-nineteenth century France where color itself played a relatively minor role. At the time, though, the very existence of "laws of color" was greeted with great enthusiasm. For over a century the French academy had maintained that, even though there was a firm curriculum for drawing, rules governing color were impossible to objectify and to teach.[4] It is not surprising that Charles Blanc, a former Minister of Fine Arts, affirmed the greatness of Delacroix's coloring by contending that the "laws of color" (which, he said, Delacroix had grasped intuitively) were effectively at work in the paintings. In a very influential essay of 1864 Blanc exaggerated the degree to which the exploitation of spectral hues and complementary pairings of color figured in Delacroix's coloring.[5] Blanc implied that the systemization of color he thought he saw in Delacroix's paintings signified a fundamental object of the artist's interest and study. Although this was an interest of Delacroix's, it did not deserve the emphasis Blanc gave it.

Blanc was one of the first of many writers to have overstated the case for Delacroix as a scientific colorist.[6] In Delacroix's writings there are notations which parallel observations made by Chevreul and Goethe, but Delacroix's interest in the science of color is intermittent rather than central.[7] His journal, which was published in 1893-1895 and therefore unavailable to Blanc and Silvestre, reveals a sustained interest in artistic issues concerning color, mostly focused on the problem of how to increase the role and vigor of color in the medium of oil. Preliminary to concerning himself with a scientific system of color Delacroix altered the practical norms of *chiaroscuro* painting to make color an essential element in the structure of a painting.

Color was considered to be of minor importance in French academic theory of the early nineteenth century. Students of French art are familiar with the long-lived quarrel between those who favored the effect of drawing and those who favored the effect of color in painting. Within that quarrel there was a less well-known but important conflict between color, that is chroma, and *chiaroscuro (clair-obscur),* that is light and dark, or value. In French terminology color was categorized as a half-tint *(demi-teinte)* because its value was between the extremes of dark and light. The conflict between color and *chiaroscuro* became more defined in art criticism as the nineteenth century wore on.[8]

Chiaroscuro, which is pictorial combinations of light and dark, was a fundamental category of French academic theory. *Chiaroscuro* expressed sculptural relief of forms, and it was a means by which a picture's composition was

organized. Regardless of subject matter or motif, the artifice of the composition in light and dark produced the expressive effect (*éffet*), which captured attention and which activated interest and thought. During the first half of the nineteenth century the *éffet* of color was considered greatly inferior to the *éffet* of the *chiaroscuro* in the ensemble of a painting.[9] An early academic treatise put it thus:

> It is chiefly to combinations of light and dark that the effect owes it energy, sweetness and charm: . . . Colour of course produces an effect of its own but is optically subordinate to those obtained by masses of light and dark, half-lights and half-darks.[10]

An ideal formula for the ensemble of the *chiaroscuro* was codified by the French. According to the formula, the ensemble of a painting was to be unified by presenting no more than one dominant light mass and one dominant dark to which all other values were relatively subordinated.[11] The eighteenth-century diagram in Figure 2 illustrates formulae for *chiaroscuro*, and the existence of such a diagram demonstrates the degree to which light had been rationalized for the purposes of painting.

Delacroix's opinion about color in painting differed from the opinions of most of his academic contemporaries and predecessors. He advocated a kind of painting in which color would not be "optically subordinate" to the value composition of the *chiaroscuro*. Analyzing the constituent effects of a painting, Delacroix equated the *éffet* of color with the *éffet* of *chiaroscuro*. He wrote:

> Painters who are not colorists produce illumination and not painting. All painting worthy of the name . . . must include the idea of color as one of its necessary supports, in the same way that it includes chiaroscuro and proportion and perspective.[12]

Delacroix felt the artifice of *chiaroscuro* was poorly suited to expressing the appearance of color seen in natural daylight which, to his sensibility, was what painting required to give the "appearance of life."[13] As Lee Johnson has observed, the fantastic and sometimes supernatural nature of Delacroix's subjects may prohibit our noticing the naturalism of his color, yet the goal of natural-looking color was a constant preoccupation which guided the development to his mature style.[14] Delacroix analyzed color in nature and used the terminology of painting to record his observations. The following succinctly describes his ideal for painted form: "Speaking radically, there are neither lights nor shades. There is a color mass for each object, having different reflections on all sides."[15] In his later works Delacroix came close to embodying that radical ideal, but in his early Salon paintings one can see that the ideal and the technique to achieve it were still inchoate.

In the *Death of Sardanapalus* of 1827 (Figure 3), for example, Delacroix tried to imitate in oils the bright color effects of pastels, a medium of strong chromatic intensity. The work was inspired by Lord Byron's drama about the King of Ninevah who destroyed his harem, his possessions, and himself rather than submit to his conquerors. Delacroix experimented with a technique which he hoped would allow him to translate the coloristic effects and appearance of pastel, which he had worked out in pastel studies, onto the canvas of a giant Salon painting. Delacroix's idea was to recreate the blond tonality of pastel by laying in the underpainting (*ébauche*) with a substance called distemper.[16]

Distemper is a mixture of powdered pigment, water and size which has a bright, mat surface when dry. On top of this distemper underpainting Delacroix applied the cacophony of hot-toned pigments and glazes which supported the painting's theme of cruelty and passion. The technique was largely a failure, however, because in most areas the oils and glazes obscured the brightness and mat surface of the distemper. Only in a few places was the coloristic quality of the pastels sustained in oil.[17] To make matters worse the distemper formula caused an unusually rapid deterioration of the canvas.[18]

A bit later in his career Delacroix discovered a successful way to translate into oils the brightening effects of distemper and similar substances. His technique involved an adaptation of value range and simplification of modeling used in the underpainting in oils. The discovery came through Delacroix's study of the Venetian master, Paul Veronese.

Veronese's painting, especially the *Wedding of Cana* in the Louvre, was a model for Delacroix because Veronese's local color was not obscured by strong *chiaroscuro*. Veronese's *chiaroscuro* was attenuated because he used a limited range of values. This was the middle to light segment of the complete scale of values from deepest dark to highest light. In Charles Dempsey's words, "Veronese painted from the light *(chiaro)* range of the tonal scale, avoiding the dark *(scuro)* range."[19] Instead of washed-out highlights and dark, colorless shadows, Veronese's forms had light areas of blond local color and showed local color even in the shadows. Delacroix admired the naturalism of color which resulted from Veronese's use of limited value contrast. He realized that by using limited value contrast of half-tints, he could model forms adequately and approximate natural appearances.[20] He wrote in a letter that because of his principles of tonality, Veronese was "possibly the only painter to have grasped the whole secret of nature."[21]

In mature works Delacroix applied Veronese's principles to his own technique by using half-tints for the underpainting: this was a barely modeled *grisaille* in low value contrast over which the local color was brushed.[22] Preparation in half-tints was a new kind of *ébauche*. In conventional academic practice, the *ébauche* in earth tones served the artist by setting the placement and gradation of values between deepest dark and highest light. There, masses of light and dark would be painted first and then these opposing values were linked by a series of at least six half-tints between each opposition.[23] Implicit in the conventional procedure was the minor importance of color because its effect was mitigated by the value gradations required to bridge a long scale of tones from dark brown or black to white. On the other hand, Delacroix's preparation was broadly modeled, worked only until the form "turned," and served as what he called the "bed" of color.[24] Having color as a preparation assured Delacroix a great deal of freedom to improvise in touch and in color in the next phase of painting.

Establishing the local "color mass" in the preparation, Delacroix would proceed to paint the "reflections on all sides," which harmonized color. According to French academic tradition various colors in an ensemble were harmonized by blending pigments of adjacent local colors. This artifice was supposed to produce an equivalent to the effect of reflected light which causes color exchanges among neighboring objects.[25] In contrast, Delacroix unified the colors in an ensemble by using touches of unblended color. He modified his local colors with these touches, and

thereby gave visible expression to the variety and nuance of color seen in the atmospheric unity of natural daylight.[26]

Delacroix's first attempt to do this on a large scale occurred in 1824.[27] He reworked the color in his Salon piece that season, the *Massacre of Chios* (Figure 4), in response to his learning about the technique of the English landscape painter, John Constable. Constable has used sketchy strokes of unblended color, called *flochetage* by the French, to enliven the greens of his meadows and to render the sparkling effects of sunlight. In the foreground of the *Massacre of Chios,* a painting which commemorated a very dark event in the abortive struggle of the Greeks against the Turks, Delacroix peppered figures and landscape with touches of orange, pink, green, and blue. For example, there are touches of spectral color applied over the smoothly-modeled shadow of the old woman's arm.[28] The color additions were literally superficial because they had been applied on top of a carefully-modeled, finished painting. Later in his career Delacroix was able to exploit successfully the technique by applying his touches of color on top of his simplified underpainting.

Delacroix's *Arabs Skirmishing in the Mountains* of 1863 exemplifies the two aspects of his mature technique that have been discussed. The coloring of the sandy landscape is an excellent example of the use of unblended color. Its local tone is composed of visibly distinct touches of a gray, two yellow, and three green tones worked on top of a gray underpainting. These multiple tones are used to vary the color across the surface. In some areas it is more green, in others more gray, and so on. The multiple tones harmonize the landscape color with the colors of the figures, the foliage, and the azure sky. For example, the left-hand figure in yellow was massed in using one of the yellows which appears in the landscape, and two of the other yellow tones with which the figure was painted are identical to tones found among the colors of the sand. Similarly, the color of the sky and the color of some of the plants relate closely to the blue-green tone that is woven throughout the landscape turf. Local colors of adjacent figures are likewise harmonized with strokes of color superimposed on a different tone beneath. For example, touches of ochre and vermillion tints were applied on the sienna tones of the horse in order to harmonize that form with the colors around it.

Reduced value contrast is obvious in figures in the background where forms were not developed much past the state of the lay-in. Where there is accentuated value contrast, for example between the lights and shadows of a white form, the darkest colors were clearly applied as accents in a late state of the painting. Reduced value contrast allows the local color to appear in the highlights as well as in the shadows. For instance, the lightest value of the tones that comprise a mustard-colored tunic is painted with an almost pure Naples yellow; the highlight of a red sleeve is a pure vermillion. Shadows of these forms are brown-yellow and brown-red respectively. With the exception of the shadow beneath the falling horse, black appears as a local color and not as the absence of light. Where white is the local color one can see how the ivory-gray half-tone of the lay-in helps stabilize the form as a solid mass because it shows through the myriad blue-grays, rose-grays, purple-grays and ivory tones which bathe the form in reflected light and color.

Whereas his Salon painting of the 1820s allowed Delacroix to experiment in techniques, the nature of his commissions from 1833 to 1861 necessitated a reliable and efficient procedure. Throughout these decades he decorated the walls and ceilings of many public interiors with mythological, allegorical, and religious murals.[29] For these projects labor was divided between Delacroix and his assistants, the latter laying in the painting using set palettes mixed according to the master's recipes.

The use of a set palette *per se* is certainly not unusual. However, Delacroix's palettes were extraordinary for the number of tones found there. Delacroix's palette for the ceiling of the Gallery of Apollo at the Louvre, for example, was composed of twenty-eight pure and twenty-six blended colors for a remarkable total of fifty-four tones which he orchestrated to achieve the complex nuances of his color.[30]

According to his assistants Delacroix spent weeks composing his palettes. He would hang strips of painted canvas on the wall of his studio to consider the ensemble of tones.[31] In his journal he included page after page of color lists which read like ritual incantation.[32] These set palettes are called Delacroix's synthetic palettes because they were more or less dreamed up rather than composed to match natural appearances.

The composition of Delacroix's synthetic palettes is the most artificial aspect of his coloring. Unlike Impressionist palettes which aimed to match tonal relations in nature, Delacroix's palettes were composed according to the artist's sensibility and according to the requirements of a method carefully calculated to render into oil painting color effects analogous to natural color effects. It was the invention and application of his personal method and not simply the application of the science of chromatic color that made Delacroix the great colorist that he was.

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1 C. Blanc, "Eugène Delacroix," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 1ère sér., 1864, 106-110; T. Silvestre, *Eugène Delacroix, Documents nouveaux,* Paris, 1864, 16-17.

2 M. Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Color* (1st ed. 1839), 3rd. ed., trans. Charles Martel, London, 1883, 62ff.

3 De Piles, 337; F.M. Marsy, *Dictionnaire abrégé de peinture et d'architecture,* 2 vols., 1:301; Diderot, 47. Mérimée summarized these ideas, J.F.L. Mérimée, *The Art of Painting in Oil and Fresco* (1st ed. 1830), trans. W.B.S. Taylor, London, 1839, 259.

4 De Piles, 341; Diderot, 44 and 47. Blanc revealed the opposite attitude when he wrote, "Not only can color, which is under fixed laws, be taught like music, but it is easier to learn than drawing, whose absolute principles cannot be taught." C. Blanc, *The Grammar of Painting and Engraving* (1st ed. 1867), trans. K. N. Doggett, New York, 1874, 146.

5 Blanc (as in n. 1), 108-113. See also Johnson, 69. Van Gogh read Blanc's essay, and was so impressed with it that he copied portions of it, and continued to quote from it for the rest of his life. V. Van Gogh, *The Complete Letters of Vincent Van Gogh,* 3 vols., Greenwich, Conn., 1953, letters 370, 401, 430.

6 Outstanding at the turn of the century was P. Signac, *D'Eugène Delacroix au Néo-impressionnisme,* Paris, 1899. Connections between Delacroix's "science" and symbolism were suggested in E. Bernard, "Les palettes d'Eugène Delacroix et sa recherche de l'absolu de coloris," *Mercure de France,* Feb. 1, 1910.

7 For a summary of these parallels see F. Trapp, *The Attainment of Delacroix,* Baltimore, 1971, 329 and 330-334.

8 R. Shiff, "Impressionist Criticism, Impressionist Color, and Cézanne," Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973, 74ff.

9 Boime, 29.

10 P. de Montabert, *Traité complèt de la peinture,* 9 vols., Paris, 1829, 1:153, cited in Boime, 29, note 29.

11 Shiff (as in n. 8), 76-77.

12 Delacroix, 263.

13 *Ibid.,* 263, see also G. Mras, *Eugène Delacroix's Theory of Art,* Princeton, 1966, 121-123.

14 Johnson, 80.

15 Delacroix, 268.

16 Piot, 75-76.

17 For a comparison between the pastels and the painting see Johnson, 37 and pls. 15-16.

18 Piot, 76; L. Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix 1816-1831,* 2 vols., Oxford, 1981, 1:121.

19 C. Dempsey, *Annibale Carracci and the Beginnings of the Baroque Style,* Glückstadt, 1977, 22.

20 Delacroix, 170.

21 E. Delacroix, *Eugène Delacroix, Selected Letters 1816-1863,* ed. and trans. J. Stewart, New York, 1971, 354.

22 Delacroix, 268 and 381; L. de Planet, *Souvenirs de travaux de peinture avec M. Eugène Delacroix,* Paris, 1929, 24-25. The same method of preparation is given in a treatise approved by Delacroix, M. Cavé, *Color: The Cavé Method of Drawing for Students, Second Part* (1st ed. 1851), trans. M. Cavé, New York, 1869, 51-53 and 101-102.

23 The full procedure is given in Boime, 36-41.

24 Delacroix, 247; Piot, 87-88.

25 See, for example, de Piles, 354; A.J. Pernety, *Dictionnaire portatif de peinture, sculpture et gravure* (1st ed. 1757), Geneva, 1972, 107; Diderot, 45. The 18th-century theory mentioned above that complementary colors were antipathetic resulted from mixing to harmonize. Complementary colors would not share color when mixed; rather, they would neutralize each other.

26 Delacroix, 558.

27 Johnson (as in n. 18), 89-90.

28 Johnson, 25.

29 M. Sérullaz, *Les peintures murales de Delacroix,* Paris, 1963.

30 Piot, "Galerie d'Apollon."

31 *Ibid.,* 2.

32 For example, see E. Delacroix, *Journal de Eugène Delacroix,* 3 vols., ed. A. Joubin, Paris, 1932, 1:431.

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Fig. 1, Delacroix, *Arabs Skirmishing in the Mountains*,
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Chester Dale Fund.
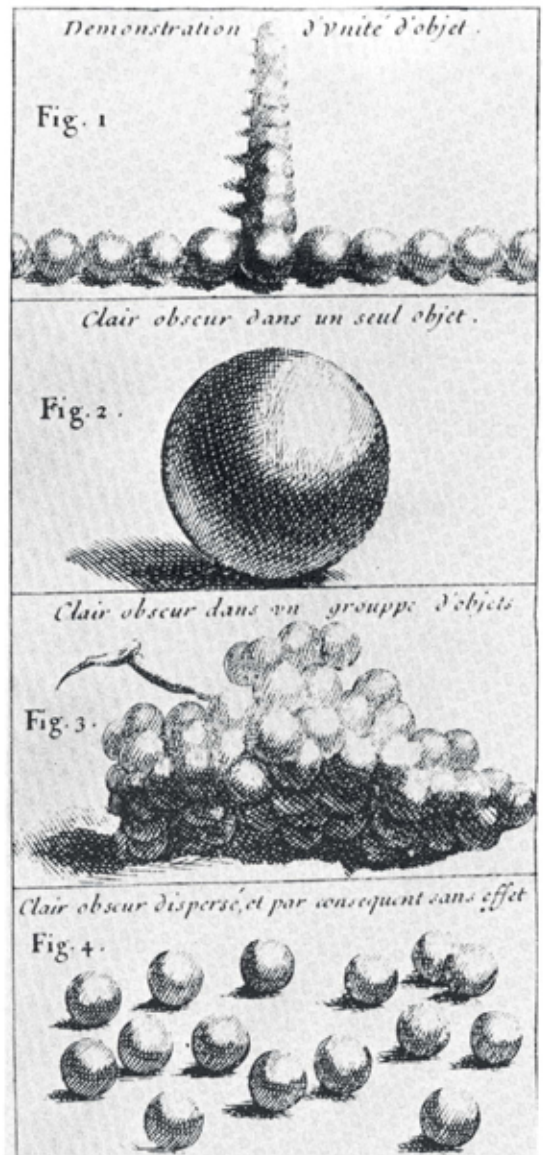(Color reproduction, cover.)

Fig. 2, *Clair-obscur* (from de Piles, *Cours de
peinture par principes*, 382).

Fig. 3, Delacroix, *Death of Sardanapalus*, Louvre, Cliché des Musées Nationaux-Paris.

Fig. 4, Delacroix, *Massacre of Chios*, Louvre, Cliché des Musées Nationaux-Paris.

Jack Delano: Some Aspects of His Work After Leaving the F.S.A.

Carmen Ruiz-Fischler

Jack Delano belongs to the generation of North American artists formed during the economic depression of the 1930s. His prolific career covers the media of photography, cinematography, graphic arts, and music composition. Because of his initial studies in both music and plastic arts at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and at the Settlement Music School of Philadelphia, he was able to pursue simultaneous careers in both disciplines. From 1937-39 he worked as a photographer for the Administration of Labor in Philadelphia, and in 1940 he joined the Photographic Division of the Historical Section of the Farm Security Administration (F.S.A.).[1]

The F.S.A. was created by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in 1935 in order to aid poverty-stricken farmers. Roy Stryker was put in charge of organizing a group of photographers who photographed different activities of the F.S.A. The primary reason for taking the photographs was sociological: to capture different ways Americans were living during those difficult times. Nevertheless, the photographs also must be studied as works of art because of their exceptional artistic qualities.

When Jack Delano joined the Historical Section of the F.S.A. in 1940, he was one of the last photographers hired before the section was dismantled.[2] In one of his assignments he visited Puerto Rico, where the people and their culture so impressed him that when the Puerto Rican government later offered him a position, he returned to live there permanently.

For forty years Jack Delano and his wife Irene lived in Puerto Rico and have contributed their art to the Puerto Rican culture. The late Irene Delano was a gifted graphic artist; she designed posters, developed educational material, and illustrated books. She organized the Graphic Arts Section of the Division of Community Education (Div. Ed. Co.)[3] in the mid-1950s, where for the first time in the history of Puerto Rican art, silkscreen posters were produced along with educational material of artistic value. While Irene organized the Graphic Arts Section, Jack organized the Cinematography Section, and there the first documentaries of artistic value were completed.

Since the Historical Section of the F.S.A. was dismantled shortly after gathering much important photographic material, the United States never responded to the art work. In Puerto Rico the historical moment was propitious for a merger between artistic experiment and social idealism. On one hand, not only was the presence of the Delanos stimulating to the artistic climate but also many young artists were returning home after being trained in New York, Mexico and Europe. At the same time, Puerto Rico was going through a rapid program of industrialization in order to solve its urgent social problems. Programs like those of the Div. Ed. Co. were instrumental in carrying forward reforms.

In the United States, appraisals of the Historical Section of the F.S.A. give account of Delano's importance while he worked under Stryker; however, when the critics refer to his varied accomplishments in Puerto Rico, they fail to see a relationship between his work in the Historical Section of the F.S.A. and his work in Puerto Rico.[4] I wish to demonstrate how certain themes appear first in his early photographs and are fully developed into works of art possessing a social message. In 1946 Delano moved from photography to cinematography as the best medium for transmitting a social message to the rural communities of the Island.

By comparing photographs made by Delano for the Historical Section with those taken in Puerto Rico during the 1940s one finds that the photographs illustrate basic imagery recurrent in his work: men and their working environment; people standing by the entrances to their homes, observing the photographer; people allowing themselves to be photographed inside their homes with their possessions tellingly evident in the background; and children reflecting the economic situation of their parents.

Roy Stryker acknowledges Delano's talent for transmitting a multiple message within one image. He remembers Jack—seeking to capture the essence of a state—saying, "What is the *one* picture I can take that will say Vermont…"[5] In *Men Going to Work*, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1941, (Figure 1) Delano's concern is successfully realized: the photo captures an industrial cityscape with a man descending a flight of wooden stairs. The town lies amidst the fog that characterizes our modern industrial cities; dynamic diagonal lines of the staircase and the electric cables give a forceful direction to the image of man on his way to work, crystallizing forever that place, that time, that American mood.

Cultivating Tobacco in Barranquitas, Puerto Rico, 1941, (Figure 2) was taken during Delano's first assignment in Puerto Rico, and presents conditions of agricultural workers. Although tobacco is no longer cultivated in Puerto Rico, it was then one of the important tobacco-producing areas of the world. A line of men rake and prepare the land for cultivation; in the background to the right is the tobacco shed where the harvested crop will be placed to dry.

Men Going to Work and *Cultivating Tobacco* achieve similar goals: description of social situations, of men and their working environment. They offer also the contrast between modern cities with their industrial buildings dominating the scenery and the open panoramas where men cultivate the land. In the 1940s it was important to stress men at work in agriculture and industry.

The second theme—people standing by the entrance of their homes—is one frequently used in photography. It places a figure between two different spaces, seemingly preventing the viewer from leaving the world and entering the photographic space. One example is *Interior of a Negro Home*, Green County, Georgia, 1941 (Figure 3). We visual-

ize the relationship among the three women and feel a lack of communication between them. In the threshold stands a young woman; behind her is another doorway in which can be seen two additional women. All three look toward a source of light at the left of the composition. The woman in the foreground stares outside without acknowledging the presence of the photographer. Deep in the interior of the house two women stare toward the source of light oblivious of the woman in the foreground. The camera captures the physical presence of the three women and their detachment. The hat and scarf placed on the table at our left indicate that the woman is leaving. The last words have been spoken, and the self-absorption of the three women reflects the sadness of a departure.

If we compare *Interior of a Negro Home* with *Farmer's Family from San Germán*, Puerto Rico, 1941 (Figure 4), we see different treatment of the same theme. Figures in *Family from San Germán* protect themselves behind a wooden railing. A man stands outside the house introducing the family to us; he leans against the door and confidently rests his right hand on his hip. The family group stares at the camera with distrust. The mother caresses the child on her lap, while the father stands shirtless and shoeless by the door. The family group is placed off center to the right of the composition and the left side is dominated by the wooden planks of the house, the man standing outside, and the clothes hanging on the line. Contrary to *Interior of a Negro Home* where the depth-of-field allows us to ponder about the relationship between the figures, the flatness of the composition in *Family from San Germán* serves to emphasize the lack of trust the family shows toward the photographer's intrusion into their world.

One of Delano's most moving photographs of subjects inside their homes is *Mr. Jimson from Erin*, New York, 1941 (Figure 5). This photograph is an example of the images that Stryker asked of his photographers. He said, "People—we must have at once . . . . Pictures of men and women, and children who appear as if they really believed in the U.S. Get people with a little spirit . . ."[6] Mr. Jimson is an example of the American farmer, proud of his land. Delano placed him in front of his desk with symbols of his calling around him. On the wall hangs a thermometer, a calendar, an almanac, and a clock. All these instruments are related to changes in the seasons, which directly affect the life of a farmer. Among the hanging objects are a pair of scissors which add a mythical touch to the composition. Since the farmer is an old man, the open scissors are reminiscent of the Greek *Moirai* (the three fates that determine the span of man's life); of the three, Atropos, the most terrible, snips the thread of life with her shears. Thus the image of an old man staring at us gains pathos.

We can argue that the photographer captured merely that which was already there; yet we have to be sensitive, in a person's life, to the small details that reflect on the meaning of his existence. That is one of photography's greatest challenges.

Sugar Cane Worker from Corozal, Puerto Rico (Figure 6), shows a family gathered around a sewing machine. The farmer sits proudly while the wife is sewing diligently and the young daughter observes her parents. We have been welcomed inside the sugar cane worker's home, and we are aware that this is a productive family. The husband works the land and the wife demonstrates the mechanical skills which will enable her to work at home or join the garment industry, thus supplementing family income.

In the background of the composition are two photographs. The one at our left is of the political leader Luis Moñoz Marín. When the photograph was taken, Muñoz Marín was president of the Senate and Rexford Tugwell was governor of Puerto Rico. Muñoz was founder of the Popular Democratic Party which promoted the social and economic legislation that changed the focus of Puerto Rican economy from agriculture to industry.

The *Family from San Germán* conforms to the Historical Section of the F.S.A. guidelines on showing rural families in typical situations. In the *Sugar Cane Worker* we see the family of the future. In this future all members of the family will develop skills in order to meet the requirements of a developing country. The wife prepares herself to work in industry while the husband cultivates the land. It is important that the farmer wears his hat while inside the house, although custom dictates removing it. The straw hat, called *pava* in Spanish, became the emblem of the Popular Democratic Party and its leader Muñoz Marín. The photograph thus provides an image that presents a specific political ideology.

The last theme of Delano's work embraces children. *Gypsy Child on U.S. 13, Salisbury, Maryland*, 1940 (Figure 7), is a moving image of a neglected child. A small girl, probably three years old, stands by the side of a dirt road. She belongs to a group of wandering gypsies and is used by them to entice customers for palm reading. Delano took a close-up of the girl. It captures two important details: the little girl's fragile figure clothed in dirty and ragged garments and the huge misspelled sign behind her. We are moved by the thought of the material and cultural poverty in which this child is condemned to grow.

One of the films made by Delano while working for Div. Ed. Co. is a statement about his belief in children and their future. He directed the *Baseball Players*, 1951 (Figure 8), and also composed the musical score. He makes a positive statement about children and what they can do for themselves. Contrary to the child in *Gypsy Girl* whose life has already been marred, *Baseball Players* records the lives of children able to shape their own destiny.[7]

Baseball Players was the last movie Delano made for Div. Ed. Co. It ends a decade dedicated to photography and cinematography. In the next three decades his artistic production was mostly in music composition and book illustration, which he was able to produce even while working in the government Radio and Television Station as director of programming, as general administrator, and as consultant. In 1979 he received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to do a photographic study comparing the Puerto Rico he photographed in the 1940s with that of the 1980s. Clearly Delano's work is not yet finished.

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1 Henceforth, when referring to the Farm Security Administration, the abbreviation F.S.A. will be used.

2 J.F. Hurley, *Portrait of a Decade,* Louisiana, 1972, 147.

3 When referring to the Division of Community Education, the official Spanish abbreviation Div. Ed. Co. will be used. This division was established in 1946 under the Department of Education with the purpose of improving health and education and advancing social reforms in rural areas.

4 For more information on Jack Delano's production for the F.S.A., read Hurley, *Portrait of a Decade,* R. Stryker, *In This Proud Land,* Connecticut, 1973, and H. O'Neal, *A Vision Shared,* New York, 1976.

5 Stryker, 8.

6 *Ibid.,* 188.

7 Delano has explored the themes of children in other media. In 1969 he designed a Museum for Children for the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture and in 1974, together with Irene they received the Brooklyn Museum Book Award for their book, *The Emperor's New Clothes.* For more information on Jack Delano's work in Puerto Rico see the catalogue to the exhibition *Irene y Jack Delano en Puerto Rico,* June 1981.

Fig. 1, *Men Going to Work.* Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (Library of Congress).

Fig. 2, *Cultivating Tobacco in Barranquitas*. Puerto Rico
(Library of Congress).

Fig. 3, *Interior of a Negro Home*. Green County, Georgia
(Library of Congress).

Fig. 4, *Farmer's Family from San Germán.* Puerto Rico
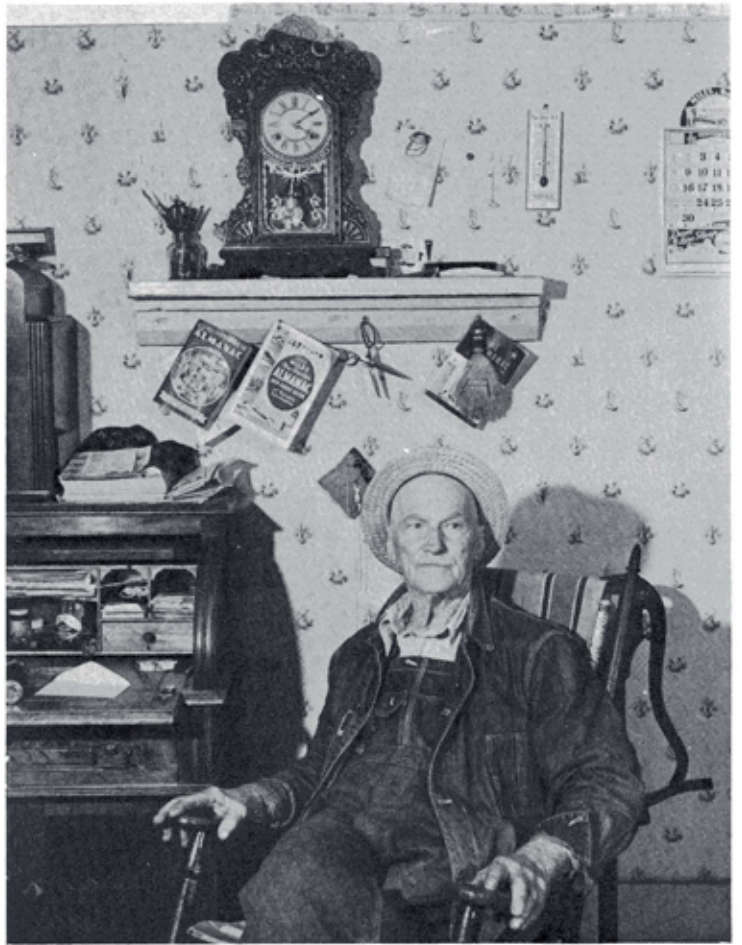(Library of Congress).

Fig. 5, *Mr. Jimson from Erin*. New York (Library of Congress).

Fig. 6, *Sugar Cane Worker from Corozal*. Puerto Rico (Library of Congress).

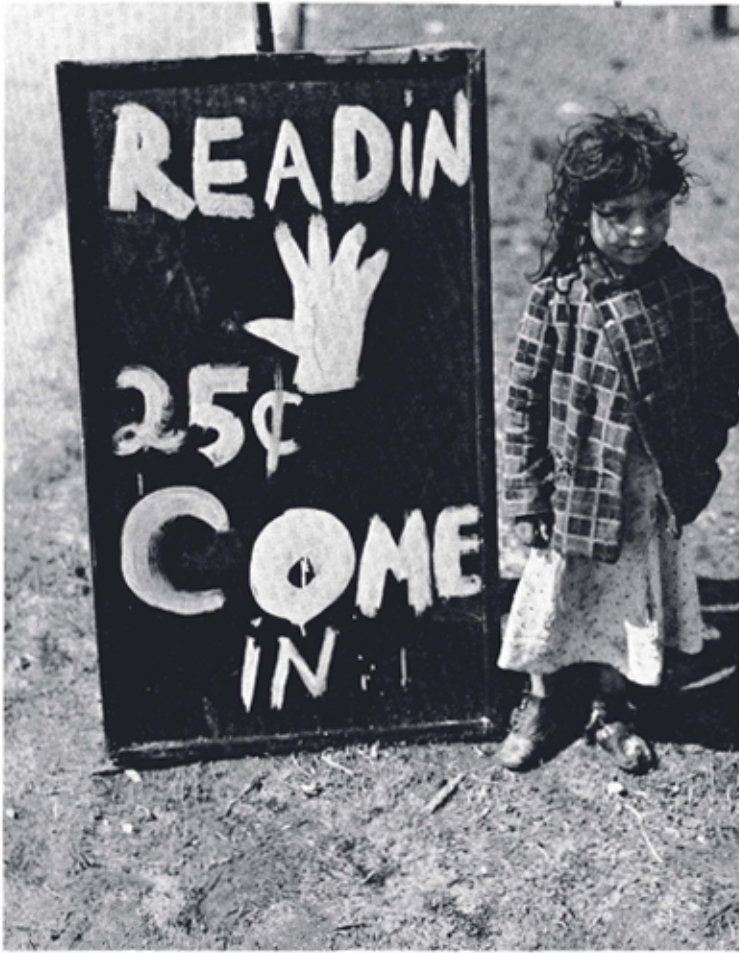Fig. 7, *Gypsy Child on U.S. 13, Salisbury.* Maryland (Library of Congress).

Fig. 8, *Baseball Players.* Puerto Rico. Museo Universidad de Puerto Rico *(Irene y Jack Delano en Puerto Rico,* Catalogue of the exhibition, June 1981, illustration).

A Review of the Critical Approaches of Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg to Abstract Expressionism

Richard William Lizza

In recent years it has become increasingly apparent that American abstract painting in the forties and early fifties resulted in substantial impact on the widely diverse art forms which followed. Much attention has been given to the artists of the so-called New York School. The critics of the movement have also come under increasing scrutiny. Of these critics, Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg have presented us with diametrical approaches in their attempts to define the new directions that they detected in the works of such artists as Jackson Pollock, Wilhelm de Kooning, Mark Rothko and Barnett Newman.[1] In this paper, I will attempt to define these polarities in order to evaluate the extent to which each author succeeded in ascertaining the role of Abstract Expressionism as harbinger of the directions that American art would take after 1955.

Greenberg's first fully developed presentation of his basis for critical analysis appeared in the 1940 July-August issue of *The Partisan Review* in an article entitled "Towards a Newer Laocoön."[2] In effect, the author offers an historical apology for abstract art. He emphasizes the historical precedents for the art of his own times, discusses the relationship of literature and music to the visual arts, acknowledges Cubism as the precursor for all subsequent abstraction, and describes the use of formal elements in the works of avant-garde painting. Greenberg developed a "purist" aesthetic, the postulates of which called for clearly visible and well-defined brushstrokes, and tints and shades replacing primary colors. Additionally, works had to show a minimal use of line, with forms being simplified, and mirroring the shape of the preferably square canvas. Flatness predominated, with forms sitting parallel to and flush with the picture plane. A distinction existed in Greenberg's mind between what he called "optical illusion" and "realistic illusion."[3] The former, the preferable solution, made use of *trompe l'oeil* or carefully-drawn lettering. The main difference between the two approaches involved subject matter: optical illusion referred to the suggesting of light and shade on a geometric form, while realistic illusion referred to the illusionistic rendering of recognizable objects taken from the everyday world.

A major flaw in Greenberg's evaluation of abstract painting was his failure to assess the impact of Surrealism on the American avant-garde. One may question Greenberg's understanding of Surrealism. He lamented the suppression of technique, specifically, of brushstrokes and texture, and questioned Surrealist subject matter: he could only see "a new object to be posed and arranged, but requiring no further fundamental changes in the conventions of painting as established by the Renaissance."[4] Further, he charged Surrealism with being "more literature or document than painting or art."[5] His formalist views, predisposed towards the evaluation of a purist art, were, contrarily, less disposed towards the detection of the appearance of new subject matter in painting. The content of Surrealist art and later of Abstract Expressionist painting *was* a documentation of sorts, not of a literary nature to be sure, but rather of subjective experience.

The problem central to the evaluation of the critical writings of Harold Rosenberg is one of applicability. Hermetic by nature, the concept of Action Painting as defined by Rosenberg has value as a literary equivalent of *the mood* engendered by the images discussed, but falls short in seeking to establish a meaningful commentary on other than the broadest of concepts underlying the corpus of Abstract Expressionist works.

In the "American Action Painters," published in the December 1952 edition of *Art News*, Rosenberg dismisses the traditional means of critical analysis: "Form, color, composition, drawing, are auxiliaries, any one of which can be dispensed with. What matters always is the revelation contained in the act."[6] In his description of the act, Rosenberg uses words such as "encounter" and "event," terms that bring to mind Jackson Pollock's celebrated description of himself as being literally *in* his paintings.

Rosenberg intentionally and forcefully counters the views of Clement Greenberg. Rosenberg directly attacked the concept of "pure art," maintaining that "the extrusion of the object was not for the sake of the aesthetic."[7] Traditional aesthetic references are replaced by what the critic called "role" as the basis for the critical analysis of the new art. Rosenberg described role as "the way the artist organized his emotional and intellectual energy."[8] The spectator-critic, we are told, must come to think "in a vocabulary of action: its inception, duration, direction, psychic states, concentration and realization of will, passivity, and alert waiting. He must become a connoisseur of the gradation between the automatic, the spontaneous, the evoked."[9] Elsewhere, the critic claims philosophical and social ideals to have been left behind in favor of "what is basically an individual, sensual, psychic and intellectual effort to live actively in the present."[10]

Rosenberg's existential tone is characteristic of much of his writing. In the single issue of the Abstract Expressionists' publication, *Possibilities,* the author speaks of an "estrangement from American objects reaching to the level of pathos."[11] For Rosenberg, the anonymity of the megalopolis resulted in loneliness for the artist in relation not only to things, but to people as well.

Rosenberg's existential criticism accounts, I believe, for an anti-traditional outlook. The solipsistic mentality of the Existentialist does not allow of the present for the building of bridges with past effect or event for purposes of establishing a hierarchy of universally-shared experience or statement.

Rosenberg's description of the creative process has an uncanny quality to it. For Rosenberg, the creative process is climactic in nature, the anticlimax itself coming about

within a short interval of the completion of a work and characterized by the distancing of the artist's *communitas* with the just-completed image. This concept, too, is based in Existentialism and illustrates the manner in which the author sees as futile any attempt to deal in depth and, *a posteriori,* with the issuance of the creative act, that is, the work of art itself. Rather, it is the artist's psychological state in the fury of the creative act which merits our attention, the canvas itself being a vestigal record of the spent creative force.

A peculiar correlation may be shown to exist between the approach of the critic and the evaluation of that approach which I would now like to attempt. The common denominator of this correlation, I call *time.* Rosenberg sensed a futility in the objective description of the painting as object. Attempts to assess Rosenberg's writings might be said to be similarly futile. Today, we are more distant than ever from the collective mentality necessary for producing the Abstract Expressionist gesture. At the same time, historical perspective now necessitates a treatment of Abstract Expressionism that goes beyond an apology for gesture. As the collective American aesthetic consciousness becomes more and more distanced from fundamental Abstract Expressionist sensibility, Rosenberg's approach seems to proportionally lose its ability to communicate the uniqueness of the Abstract Expressionist experience.

The evaluation of the contributions of Clement Greenberg and Harold Rosenberg with regard to subsequent directions in American art necessitates fixing the position of Abstract Expressionism within the whole of twentieth-century American art. Specifically, if Abstract Expressionism has set itself apart in the mainstream of twentieth-century art as a period of pronounced innovation and originality, should the movement then be seen principally as a culmination of prior events, or may it be seen as an incipient form of what follows?—and, if both, on which side of the argument should the emphasis be placed?

Clement Greenberg advocated the first of these hypothetical positions. For him Abstract Expressionism was part of a continuum beginning with the developments introduced at the turn of the century. His purist art theory featured the purging of elements not endemic to the plastic arts. While both he and Rosenberg cited the suppression of the object from Abstract Expressionistic works, Greenberg saw this suppression as part of a linear development beginning early in the twentieth century. Greenberg's talents seem to have lain with the detection of subtle shifts in the attitudes of the American vanguard as regards their continuing responses to the developments of contemporary European abstractionists.

I believe Rosenberg's views are more important in the description of the evolution of Abstract Expressionism. He refused to admit that purging of the object from painting was a conscious aesthetic principle of a formalist nature. For Rosenberg, what mattered always was the revelation contained in the act of painting.

In "The American Action Painters," Rosenberg does not treat the suppression of the object and the relevance contained in the act of painting independently, but rather as symptomatic of one upon the other. Accordingly, Rosenberg has described the beginning of more recent trends in American art and not the finalizing of trends first appearing at the turn of the century. In 1962, Rosenberg noted a later manifestation of the above-discussed phenomenon when he wrote of the abandonment of the canvas itself in order to produce happenings.

Abstract Expressionism was a forward-looking movement. The artists accepted a credo that was basically existentialist in nature. Their beliefs were open to question, to differing interpretation, and to change. The hermetic quality of their art with its predominantly closed and unyielding iconography has resulted in some confusion as to its purposes, aims and directions. In particular, the extreme painterliness of Abstract Expressionist compositions often impedes the reading of a continuity between these works and the subsequent, more conceptually-oriented pieces typical of much post-Abstract Expressionist art. As a result, a desire to consider Abstract Expressionism exclusively in terms of preceding developments and stressing a continuum of formalist-oriented essays is all the more expected.

It is possible, indeed preferable, to consider Abstract Expressionism as a basis for subsequent developments. For example, in the historical chronology of post-Abstract Expressionist art, happenings may be isolated as the direct heirs of the New York School. Happenings stress gesture and, as Rosenberg himself suggested, may be seen in one respect as action painting without the painting. Close historical and stylistic parallels are such that critics have, on occasion, referred to happenings as baroque manifestations of Abstract Expressionism. Conceptual art, too, offers basic tenets whose incipient forms may be found in Abstract Expressionism. Among these are the suppressing of art object, the advancing of art as idea, and the holding of the importance of documentation over that of product.

Ideational aspects of Conceptual art, defined by Ursula Meyer[12] as dealing with *intentions* rather than appearances in any given work, find *their* direct counterparts in Rosenberg's discussion of "role" and "the spectator-critic." Further, the relationship of the purity of an idea as *inversely* related to the rendering of the art object is a theme explored by Rosenberg in his analysis of the act of painting and the metaphysical distancing of the artist from his work upon its completion.

The subject of an evaluative review of the critical literature surrounding Abstract Expressionism is indeed a complex one. It is certainly deserving of greater attention than is here possible, given the restrictions of the present undertaking. Today, we are wont to talk not only of Abstract Expressionism and the impact of Abstract Expressionist artists on subsequent American art, but also of the schools of criticism attending to the critical analyses of Abstract Expressionist painting. Often times this criticism is broached in terms suggesting an independence from the very art which ostensibly was the catalyst for critical review. Ironic though this might seem, a brief survey of the most recent art criticism clearly suggests such an evaluation.

Recently, authors such as Barbara Rose, Donald Kuspit and William Barrett have debated the existence of schools of critical thought, the influence of Harold Rosenberg and Clement Greenberg among others on the development of a schism in contemporary approaches to critical review and the historical consequences of such seats of power as typified by the editorial board of the *Partisan Review* (Clement Greenberg was a writer for the publication) in the fourth and fifth decades of this century.

New attitudes and approaches by present-day art critics invite reappraisals of earlier critical evaluations. The era of the late thirties and forties of our century is ripe for this type of re-evaluation, as I have attempted to demonstrate. Specifically, the formalist approach of Clement Greenberg in the review of Abstract Expressionist painting has proved inadequate in terms of the identifying of Abstract Expres-

sionism as a springboard for subsequent artistic activity. Contrarily, the more personal and at times seemingly hermetic and mystical writings of Harold Rosenberg do, I believe, reveal a greater prescience of developing trends. In this manner, Abstract Expressionism is seen as a point of departure rather than the dénoument of a linear development of formalist concerns first appearing in the early twentieth century. It is my hope to have shown here the manner in which, clearly, specifics can be cited, illustrating Rosenberg's understanding of the underpinnings of Abstract Expressionism as inaugurating new directions in American art which only subsequently were to realize their full flowering.

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1 Clement Greenberg was at various times art critic for *The Nation* and *Partisan Review.* A collection of critical essays was independently published under the title, *Art and Culture* by the Beacon Press in 1961. Harold Rosenberg published extensively in *Art News* and was a contributor to the single edition of the Abstract Expressionist magazine, *Possibilities,* 1947.

2 C. Greenberg, "Towards a Newer Laocoön," *Partisan Review,* VII, no.4, July -August, 1940.

3 *Ibid.,* 308.

4 Greenberg, "Surrealist Painting," *The Nation,* CLIX, no. 8, August 19, 1944, 219.

5 *Ibid.,* 220.

6 H. Rosenberg, "The American Action Painters," *Art News,* LI, no. 8, December 1952, 23.

7 *Ibid.*

8 *Ibid.*

9 *Ibid.*

10 R. Motherwell (ed.), *Possibilities,* Winter 1947/48, 75.

11 *Ibid.*

12 For a discussion of ideational aspects of conceptual art as put forth by Ursula Meyer, see her introduction to *Conceptual Art.* New York, 1972.

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