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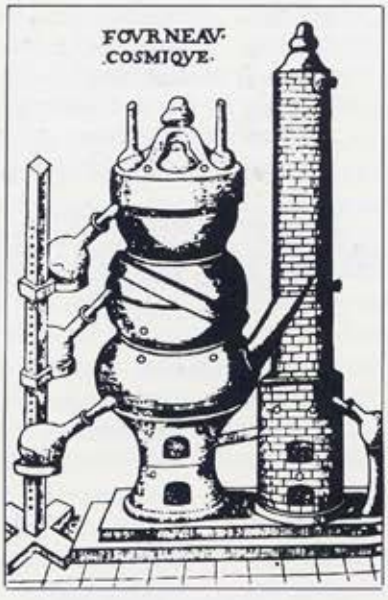

Cosmic oven or Athanor from Annibal Barlet, LeVray Cours de Physique, Paris, 1653

Cover: Gabriel Metsu, *Vegetable Market at Amsterdam,* mid 1650s, oil on canvas, 97 x 84½ cm, Louvre, Paris.

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ART HISTORY — THE LONG SHOT

At the Nautilus Foundation a time capsule to be opened in 2222 A.D. was recently filled with newspaper clippings, photos, coins, essays of high school students addressing or describing the future, a leather-bound two volume cosmological theory, and two issues of *Athanor.* Having arrived in this century at what seems the peak of discoveries and theories—such as genetic engineering, micro-engines thinner than a hair, impending fusion that copies internal events of the sun which many believe can henceforth only be refined—the future, assuming that mammals will survive, seems to some relatively predictable.

If we reverse the process by going back two centuries let us say to the year 1768, our predictions of the world at 2000 A.D. would certainly not have included instant communication, aerial travel or nuclear submarines. In 1768 Maria Theresa was in charge of Austria, Russia began its six-year war with Turkey, and Goethe lay sick in Leipzig; Mozart wrote *Bastien und Bastienne,* Linné continued to develop his *Systema Naturae* and James Cook his exploration of the Pacific and Alaska; Lawrence Stern of *Tristram Shandy* fame and the painter Canaletto died that year, and the 51 year old Johann Joachim Winckelmann was murdered by a thief. Son of a shoemaker, teacher, small town librarian, and convert to Catholicism in order to accept a job in Italy, Winckelmann had—from 1763 onward—been put in charge of the monuments of Rome. He had analyzed classical sculpture critically, separating copies from originals. He had periodicized art and had tried to establish firm perimeters for judging quality. Intent on describing both the intrinsic and extrinsic characteristics of works of art he had established a new definition of the classical as a glorious marriage between the simplicity and quiet grandeur of nature and divine artistic idealization. He deeply influenced Goethe and inspired Lessing's fundamental "Laokoon." As one of the founders of Neo-Classicism, he deeply affected the European and American landscape of thought and helped to bring new vigor to the groundswell of democratic ideas which were to lead to the French and American revolutions.

It seems rather obvious that, with the exception of the navigator Cook, none of these contemporaries could have imagined, alone understood a mission to the moon or Mars. Could it be that only one discipline, the humanities, whose methodology is now infinitely more detailed, has not fundamentally departed from its earlier, even pre-18th century roots? Our research is surely more refined, but also culturally often more narrow and certainly less epic. In contrast to Winckelmann's writings, our work may lack the perception anchored in a deep sense of a cultural continuum or the informed enthusiasm through which the full understanding of an integrated past will send sparks into the future.

What might art history be two centuries from now—what direction should it take? The methods for dating, restoration, the viewing of distant objects through laser processes will continue to be refined. Learning might be instantly transmitted through electrodes implanted in the brain. Memory will become nearly infallible. Libraries will be available on screen at the pull of a switch. The "art product" will be aimed at huge audiences and aim at producing an all encompassing experience which could also be used as a powerful propaganda tool.

In the nearer future art history will be de-nationalized and become transcultural. Teams or computers might prepare the raw data for the study of unexplored areas such as a reassessment of the Doric Invasion, the influence of Central Asia on European artifacts throughout the early Middle Ages, or the impact of Islamic mathematics on Gothic vaulting. Major exhibits and books have already dealt with precise connections between "Primitive" and Modern art or the continued contacts between Orient and Occident. Creativity will be studied in context with the chaos theories. Perception and the interpretation of visual signals will increasingly move from acculturated responses toward genetic signals and will include the work of Jung and others regarding archetypes and the collective global imagery of the subconscious. Cross disciplinary work such as Kimberly Smith's Byron and Delacroix or Katherine Morris Westcott's *Atalanta Fugiens* as well as Sherry Piland's integration of Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève into the large 19th century movements of social philosophy will become the norm.

If indeed we are witnessing the emergence of global concepts and global consciousness crying out for a federation of all nations beginning with those in the northern hemisphere we must take advantage of a trend which will stress the communality of art, address its deepest roots, and its primary importance as an expression of a shared human heritage, a visual language on par with the spoken or written word, and thus a bulwark against barbarism.

François Bucher, Faculty Advisor
Professor of Art History, Florida State University
President, Nautilus Foundation

DEDICATION

This issue is dedicated to Dr. Gulnar Bosch who founded the Florida State University Art Department in 1960. As professor, department head and professor emerita, it has been an honor to work with her. As a not always good sweet maid, she used proper words in proper places to cultivate a garden of excellence. Her lack of cowardice, her courage and gall have charted the course of this department which is helping to give the department national prominence. Unmeasured by the flight of years, untouched by the whirligig of time, Gulnar Bosch, on her 80th birthday, deserves not only our thanks and this issue of *ATHANOR,* as well as the dedication of the 10th Graduate Symposium to her, but even more our collective wish

Abou ben Adhem
May the tribe she founded survive.
The Art History Faculty

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To obtain copies: ATHANOR is published annually by the Department of Art History under the sponsorship of the Institute for Contemporary Art. The issues are available for a suggested minimum donation of $5.00 to cover handling and contribute to subsequent issues; please request volumes through the Department of Art History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-2037.

Annual Art History Graduate Symposium: Held at week's end on one Friday and Saturday in March each spring, Symposium paper sessions cover a wide variety of topics. Students from the Southeast deliver presentations which frequently become published in ATHANOR. The format of the symposium includes a featured speaker of national reputation in addition to the student paper sessions. For details of date and for precis submission, please contact Professor Patricia Rose, Chairman, Department of Art History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-2037.

ATHANOR X

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Typography and Design: Mediatype, Tallahassee

Printing: Gandy Printers, Inc., Tallahassee

The essays contained in ATHANOR are articles by graduate students on topics of art history and humanities. As such, ATHANOR exists as a critical forum for the exchange of ideas and for contrast and comparison of theories and research and is disseminated for non-profit, educational purposes; annotated allusions, quotations, and visual materials are employed solely to that end.

ATHANOR was produced at a total cost of $5,965.00 to its departmental publisher, or $5.97 per copy, with gratefully acknowledged in-kind donations of time and expertise by the School of Visual Arts and Dance faculty.

Figure 5. Heinrich Khunrath. "The Oratory and the Laboratory," from *Amphitheatre Sapientiae Aeternae* of 1609. (Reproduced from Stanislas Klossowski de Rola, *The Golden Game* [New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1988]: p.33).

Atalanta Fugiens
The Alchemical King in Transformation

Catherine Morris Westcott

Michael Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens* is a visual and musical alchemical emblem book first published in 1617.[1] Each of its fifty emblems (Figure 1) consists of an image on the right-hand page with the title of the emblem in Latin above it, and an epigram in Latin verse beneath.[2] On the opposite page is a musical composition entitled *fuga*.[3] The voices in each *fuga* are given mythological names. In the first forty emblems, the first voice to sound is the *cantus firmus* entitled by Maier as *Pomum morans*. This "apple in the path" is followed by the voice *(dux)* entitled *Atalanta fugiens*. The final voice to sound *(comes)* is entitled *Hippomenes sequens*. In the last ten emblems, there is greater variety and complexity in the parts, especially in the treatment of *cantus firmus*. In the preface to *Atalanta Fugiens*, Maier explains his musical form in the context of the myth of Atalanta's race:

> As this Atalanta flees, so one musical voice always flees in front of the other, and the other follows like Hippomenes, while they are stabilized and grounded by the third voice, which is simple and of constant rhythm, as if by a golden apple.[4]

Over the *fuga* is the emblem's title translated in German, and beneath the *fuga* is the epigram, also in German. The text of the *fuga* is the Latin setting of the epigram. Michael Maier contributes to thoughtful analyses by following each emblem with a two page discourse.

Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens* stands as a unique document revealing important alchemical allegories, and it testifies to the relationship between alchemy and music.[5] In his preface, Maier recounts the traditional view that the musical modes can alter the affections of the soul, and he invokes the reader's imagination by introducing alchemical verities through the "joining of sight and hearing with the intellect."[6] The format of the book supports Maier's statement in that each emblem consists of an image and *fuga* positioned between the title and the epigram—in essence the same, but in different languages. Each emblem, therefore, constitutes a "union of opposites" by joining visual and audible means of artistic expression, equally dependent on the text. Nevertheless, the parameters of Maier's intriguing suggestion that things seen might function as things heard have not yet been determined.

Emblems XXIV, XXVIII, XXXI, and XLIV (Figures 1-4) portray selected images of the Alchemical King undergoing the process of Putrefaction and Albification. In each emblem the King is pictured as an elderly but majestic man with a full beard and muscular limbs. He wears a crown with pointed rays, simulating the sun. In two of the four emblems (Figures 1 and 4) the King is dressed in traditional alchemical garb suggesting imperial status: a Roman cuirass, cloak and boots.[7] In the remaining two emblems (Figures 2 and 3), the King is nude. Furthermore, in Emblem XXXI (Figure 3), the Alchemical King's crown is distinct from any other image of the King in *Atalanta Fugiens* in that it is studded with stones and topped by five tri-lobes. In each of the four emblems, the King undergoes some sort of ordeal and transformation.[8] I suggest that examination of related emblematic themes might bring to light correlations between the images and the music.

Alchemy involves the pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone (also known as the Elixer of Life). The Stone has a paradoxical nature, being both physical and philosophical. It is vile, yet precious; omnipresent, but hidden in the four elements—air, earth, water and fire. Putrefaction (or decomposition) was a necessary stage in the alchemical refining process by which the Stone of Enlightenment was achieved. Although there are many alchemical regimens, the procedure is usually described in four stages.[9] First, the ingredients *(prima materia)* are "married" in a flask. This stage is called Conjunction. Next, the ingredients are steadily heated and allowed to ferment and multiply in a stage called Coagulation.[10] Putrefaction is the third stage and involves the placing of the vessel in the hottest fire possible, sometimes called the "mouth of hell."[11] Here the ingredients "die" and turn black in the bottom of the alchemical vessel. In the fourth stage called Albification, the ingredients are cleansed and revivified, turning white and then red—the color of the Stone—as perfection is achieved.[12] While Putrefaction occurs in the lower part of the alchemical vessel, the perfected material emerges in the upper part.[13]

Alchemists veiled their procedures through numerous allegories.[14] The Alchemical King's ordeals symbolize the transmutation of *prima materia* into the Stone. Moreover, every stage of the King's transformation was designated by a metal and ruled by a planet. The purity attained in Albification which was ruled by Venus and symbolized by copper, was begun in the blackness of Saturnian Putrefaction, designated by lead. Maier writes in Emblem XII that Saturn is the last and humblest of the planets,[15] and because of its base nature, Saturn marks the beginning of life's journey. Saturn, therefore, becomes the purifier, because destruction brings about a higher state

of being.[16] The death of metals in Saturnian Putrefaction, followed by life in the Venusian Albification refers to the King's demise and resurrection.

In the Renaissance, the planets were associated with musical modes. The diagram below demonstrates a common connection between the planets, their modal "final" or point of origination, and their respective metals:[17]

Saturn	G	Mixolydian	Lead
Jupiter	F	Lydian	Tin
Mars	E	Phrygian	Iron
Sun	D	Dorian	Gold
Venus	C	Hypolydian	Copper
Mercury	B	Hypophrygian	Mercury
Luna	A	Hypodorian	Silver
Earth	G	Silence	Earth

Ancient Pythagorean theory held that each planet sounded its respective tone as it moved, thereby producing the "music of the spheres."[18] The planetary character of each mode was designated by its point of origination (final), and by the arrangement of the tones and semitones in intervalic relationships.[19] Furthermore, planetary connections in the modes carry with them certain allegories that reflect man and the cosmos. For example, the Saturnian Mixolydian mode—with a semitone between the third and fourth tones, and the sixth and seventh tones— refers to idleness, intellectual pursuit, solitude;[20] the Martian Phrygian mode—with a semitone between the first and second tones and the fifth and sixth tones—is violent; Venusian Hypolydian with its final on C represents happiness, music and feasting; and above all the Solar Dorian mode—with a semitone between the second and third tones and sixth and seventh tones—represents theology or the Alchemical Stone.[21]

Renaissance composers knew several means by which they might alter the modes to lend variety. First of all, because modal character is intervalically determined, modes could be transposed (as on a keyboard) from one place to the other. Secondly, certain intervals in one mode could project a similar interval in another mode. For example, Horsely states that the Dorian fifth D-A projects the Aeolian A-E; and when a foreign species is introduced into a melody, like the Phrygian fifth E-B into the Dorian, the result is a mixture of the two modes.[22] Furthermore, where the musical text called for harsh treatment, the modes could be altered by changing tonal centers and/or the adding of chromatic tones.[23]

How music plays into Alchemy is controversial. While there are few extant musical works composed to alchemical texts,[24] there are ample literary and pictorial examples involving music. At the very least, the often-reproduced engraving in Heinrich Khunrath's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (Figure 5), as well as the role of music in Thomas Norton's *Ordinall of Alchemy,*[25] are allegorical expressions describing the idea of harmony resounding in man and the world. As music was a part of the quadrivium, its numerical nature was based on theory, not practice.[26] However, more than an abstract theoretical viewpoint, the music of the spheres was thought to heal human illnesses and assist alchemical operations.[27] Medical tradition in Maier's day trusted music to cure Saturnian melancholy,[28] and because many of the faults in the alchemical operation were believed to be caused by the imperfections in the operator, music served a double cleansing function.[29]

Since the identical *cantus firmus* is the most unusual feature in all fifty *fugae,* most writers have approached it first.[30] In 1938, Helen Joy Sleeper identified the tenor that forms Maier's *cantus firmus* as "Christe eleison" (or "Christ have mercy") of Gregorian Mass IV, *Cunctipotens genitor.*[31] In pre-Reformation times, this *cantus firmus* was used as the basis for numerous compositions. In *Atalanta Fugiens,* the *cantus firmus* gives the *fugae* their tripartite form, for in the celebration of the Mass, the "Christe eleison" is sung three times just as Maier's couplets of each epigram are sung three times in each *fuga.*[32]

The key signature in each *fuga* has one flat, and the *cantus firmus* sounds first at D and moves to G. Streich has interpreted the beginning tone of the *cantus firmus*—D, and the last—G, respectively as the Sun and Saturn, which symbolize the journey of the Alchemical Stone from the "spiritual realm to the earthly sphere."[33] Furthermore, the intervalic relationships signify that the *cantus firmus* is in the Dorian mode (usually found at D) transposed into the Mixolydian mode at G, resulting in an interpenetration of the Sun and Saturn. This juxtaposition suggests, first of all, the alchemical belief that philosophical gold is found in base matter, and secondly that Saturn—base matter—is the place from which the alchemical journey begins. As the first and last notes of a modal phrase are important, it holds that if one associates tones with the planets, then the symbolization must hold for the other voices as well. I contend that in the following emblems describing the Alchemical King undergoing Putrefaction and Albification, the musical notes and modal interrelationships will serve as a means of *text-painting.* I have approached this problem in each emblem by examining the accidentals placed close to gravitating tonal centers.[34]

As the symbol of transmutation in macrocosm and microcosm, the King is the resurrected Christ allegorized as the alchemical process. Maier describes the violent nature of the King's putrefaction and albification in his *Arcana Arcanissima:*

> Our King should be seized and divided into extremely small parts, be washed with fire and water, and—after deposits superfluous things having been removed—be put together again, after which he rises, young and stronger than before.[35]

The King's blackness during Putrefaction has medical connections to melancholy as relayed in the Duenech and Merlini allegories.[36] In each of these allegories the King is beset with "Saturnian somberness and Martian fury,"[37] and thirsts and drinks to the point of illness. Ultimately, the King must be made well, and his physicians subject him to various forms of "cures" involving heat and water.

In Emblem XXIV (Figure 1), the ongoing quest of the practitioner and the cyclical nature of the Stone is emphasized by simultaneously presenting the Alchemical King's death and resurrection in a landscape. In the foreground of the image, the King is devoured by a wolf symbolizing Saturnian Putrefaction. In turn, the wolf is consumed by a fire that gives new life to the King.[38] In the background, the King walks toward a river which represents the role of water in the King's vivification in Albification, as well as the arduous voyage that the alchemist must undertake if he is to win the Stone.[39] Beyond the river in the left background is a city, and dominating the city is a circular building punctuated by arched windows with an entablature on its lower level, capped with a smaller dome bearing identical features.[40] The similarities of this building to an alchemical furnace, as in the lower right of Khunrath's "The Oratory and the Laboratory" (Figure 5) are more than coincidental.

Both the image and music in Emblem XXIV (Figure 1) parallel the narrative, and the musical text-painting is easy to follow. For example, Maier's *fuga* accentuates the important words in the text by extending note values, as in the "Vulcanus" of measure five. Moreover, there are modal changes that—when related to respective planets—correspond to the action in the emblem. This emblem, as a part of the first forty, is characterized by the *cantus firmus* entering on D and ending on G. It is followed by the *dux* (Atalanta) at D, which is imitated by the *comes* (Hippomenes) a fifth above on A. While the chromatic changes evident in the music are determined by the imitation of these latter voices, they are also accompanied by a sense of shifting tonal centers that suggest a change in modality. In the first two bars, Atalanta sounds a Dorian fourth centered on D. Hippomenes imitates above, and with the B-natural in the second measure, signals a shift to the tonal center of C. Atalanta responds with an E-flat, making the intervalic relationship involving E-flat and B-flat on a tonal center of C—the Dorian mode transposed to C. At the seventh measure, the music has gravitated to the Dorian at G prepared by the F-sharp, and in the last two measures, prepared by the B-natural, the voices enter into a C Major chord on which the *fuga* resolves. The King, represented by the Dorian mode, has undergone a musical alteration to be resolved in Albification, rightly centered on the Venusian root of C.

In Emblem XXVIII (Figure 2), the Alchemical King is identified as Duenech who is being cured of Saturnian melancholy in the steam-bath. Maier writes:

> For in hot water baths the warmth that is penned up in the body, is carried back to the surface of the skin, and together with warmth, the blood. That is why the beautiful colour of the skin returns and that is also a sign that the black melancholy is gradually being driven away . . .[41]

In the music, the *cantus firmus*—Maier's "apple in the path"—sounds first, followed by the Atalanta at G to which Hippomenes imitates at an A. The sufferings of the King are represented by the musical dissonance. For example, the first six-note phrase in the Atalanta voice ends at an E-flat, and is answered almost immediately by the Hippomenes at E-natural, resulting in the interval of a minor second—particularly dreadful to Renaissance ears if prolonged. The identical dissonance will sound in measures six through eight. For the most part, the Hippomenes voice remains relatively stable in the Dorian mode in G—it also cadences in G, as does the Apple voice. It is in the Atalanta voice in measures seven through nine that an E-flat almost continuously sounds within a tonal center of C, suggesting the Dorian mode transposed to C. Indeed, the music sounds as if it is composed in two different modes. The ending with two G's and an E is also ambiguous, for it may indicate the Phrygian mode—with an added B; or the Venusian Hypolydian centered on C. The latter seems probable, for Maier sounds the C several times in the Atalanta voice before the cadence. Nevertheless, the listener is not prepared by the notes to hear either a chord built on E-G-B, or C-E-G. I suggest that the ending is intentionally ambiguous. It goes both ways for the reason that the King is in the midst of his transformation; he is suffering through the violence of Putrefaction indicated by the Phrygian mode, while on his way toward the whitening of Albification in the Hypolydian.

Similarly tense is Emblem XXXI (Figure 3). In the image, the Alchemical King is naked, except for his crown; he struggles in the water of death far from the docked ships and buildings in the mountainous landscape. As the King cries for someone to save him, he promises his rescuer a reward of wealth and good health. The difference in the King's crown in this image is due to the important role it plays in the narrative: its trilobes sparkling with gems allow for the King's identification to whomever is wise enough to save him, and its stones make the King valuable to his rescuer.[42]

The music begins with the usual Apple voice, followed by Atalanta at A, and Hippomenes imitates a fifth above at D. The E-flats in the Hippomenes voice are a result of the imitation, but when both voices descend in successive triads in the first and second measures, they constitute the dissonant diminished fifth. Furthermore, at this point the Hippomenes voice bears a consistent E-flat and B-flat centered on D (indicating the Phrygian mode), while the Atalanta voice sounds an E-natural next to it. The music is resoundingly chromatic and tense. The King's cry for help is described musically by the juxtaposition of stately half-notes and dotted half-notes in the beginning of the piece with a series of quarter notes quickly moving downward in measures five and seven. His struggle on the surface of the water is reinforced in the scoring, for each of the three voices are treble, without a bass voice to give the music a sense of balance and stability. Finally, the piece—prepared by the F-sharp, ends in the Saturnian Mixolydian mode with G and B-natural. The music effectively parallels the corresponding image in the call for further alchemical purification and stability in the person of the Alchemical King.

While the dissolution of the Alchemical King by water was emphasized in Emblem XXXI (Figure 3), the Alchemical King of Emblem XLIV, Osiris (Figure 4) suffers dismemberment. As described in the discourse, Osiris is caught by Typhon (or fire), who dismembers him and scatters him throughout the world—symbolizing the Alchemical King's distribution throughout *prima materia.* But Isis, who is Osiris' sister and wife finds his body and reunites him. As in the previous emblems, Osiris suffers death and destruction in fiery Putrefaction to be revived in Albification.

In the image, the space is divided horizontally into halves and the action of the image is tripartite. At the left-hand background, Isis stands tensely over the dismembered parts of the King, whose crown is still on his head. Barely visible are the arm and leg of Typhon, grasping an uplifted sword. He is dressed like the King, with boots and cuirass. At the right background, a turbaned man speaks to a man seated at a table on which are situated several items associated with eating and drinking. These objects are barely distinguishable, but the outlines of a liturgical chalice, alchemical beaker, and a small stringed instrument called a rebec can be recognized. In the foreground, the wise man and two soldiers are astonished when—opening a box—they find the King now intact.

In the music, the three voices enter at the same time. Throughout the *fuga*, the *dux* and the *cantus firmus* are in equal mensuration and there is a syllabic relationship between notes and text. The *comes* (Hippomenes), is divided into quarter and eighth notes and there is a florid relationship between notes and text. It is in this voice, according to Sleeper, that the dismembering of the King finds its musical counterpart.[43] The *comes* voice—the King being divided—begins in the Dorian mode but in the seventh through ninth measures the inclusion of the E-flat enforces the violent action. There is no tonal center; the music seems to wander. Furthermore, the *comes* voice moves in triple-time (repeating the triple action in the image). It seems likely that the music should resolve in a triad based on C; instead, the tones G and B-natural sound. I can only assume that the piece resolves in the place the alchemical journey begins—Mixolydian Saturn—to reinforce the idea that the alchemical process is cyclical. The action in the image supports this hypothesis based on the role played by Osiris and the magus. First of all, the magus is present in the foreground and witnesses the death and resurrection of Osiris—symbolic of the whole alchemical process. Next, the wise man stands by the table at the back of the image. It has recently been shown that a table laden with eating and drinking implements indicates the alchemical process called *cibatio,* where the King undergoing transmutation is kept nourished by the practitioner.[44] Furthermore, the objects on the table symbolizing faith (the chalice), music (the rebec), and alchemy (the beaker) point to the alchemist's daily conversation, if the work is to succeed. Finally, the alchemist's communication to a servant seated at the table indicates the generative nature of alchemical instruction and practice.

My research indicates that Maier juxtaposed modal finals and modal intervalic relationships as a means of musical text-painting in his fifty brief *fugae.* The chromaticism and shifting modal centers in the music aptly express the chaos and violence of the corresponding images. The combined force of planets, metals and modes working within *Atalanta Fugiens* satisfies Maier's provocative statement that through the emblems, sight and hearing might be joined to the intellect.[45]

Florida State University

I wish to thank John F. Moffitt at New Mexico State University, Joscelyn Godwin at Colgate University, and especially Laurinda S. Dixon at Syracuse University for their assistance in completion of this project.

1 Michael Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens* was first published 1617 at Oppenheim by Johann Theodor de Bry. In 1618, a second edition was produced including some corrections made by Maier. When he died in 1623, J.T. de Bry left his publishing firm to his son-in-law Matthaus Merian. Earlier, Merian was credited with the copper engravings found in *Atalanta Fugiens*. See H.M.E. de Jong *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: Sources of an Alchemical Book of Emblems* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969) 6; and Francis Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972) 82. Recently, however, scholars assert that the engravings are the work of none other than Johannes Theodore de Bry. See Joscelyn Godwin, *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens: An Edition of the Fugues, Emblems and Epigrams* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Phanes Press, 1989) 15; and Stanislas Klossowski de Rola in *The Golden Game* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1988) 68.

2 The prefatory material consists of an illustrated title page, an epigram, dedication page to the Imperial Consistory, prefatory lecture, and finally an engraving of the author.

3 The correct term for Maier's music is *fuga per canonem* indicating strict canonic imitation over the same *cantus firmus.* Traditionally adapted from liturgical plain-song, a *cantus firmus* served as a basis for other compositions. The choice of the *cantus firmus* may or may not be relevant to the new composition. In the case of *Atalanta Fugiens,* the origins and context of the *cantus firmus* are indeed important. The appropriate musicological term for the Atalanta voice is *dux*, which is answered by the *comes,* or the Hippomenes voice.

For additional musicological information on Maier's music, see Helen Joy Sleeper "The Alchemical Fugues in Count Michael Maier's *Atalanta Fugiens," Journal of Chemical Education* September 1938:410-415; J. Rebotier, "L'Art de musique chez Michael Maier," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* clxxxii (1972):29-51; F. H. Sawyer's Appendix in John Read, *Prelude to Chemistry* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1937) 281-284; and Godwin, 7-14.

4 Michael Maier, "Preface to the Reader" in *Atalanta Fugiens,* trans. by Joscelyn Godwin, 103.

5 Maier 102.

6 Maier 102.

7 The King's appearance is found in several sources. In Emblem *XLVIII,* Maier cites Bernhardus Comes' *Dy Chymico Miraculo, quod Lapidem Philsophiae appelant* description of the Merlini king dressed in a black cuirass, a white upper tunic and a purple-red cloak (de Jong 291).

The King is similarly dressed in another allegory by Bernard of Treves quoted in C.G. Jung's *Mysterium Conjunctionis* (Princeton, New Jersey: Bollingen, 1970) 300, 301. The King gives his golden

garment first of all to Saturn, his black cuirass to Jupiter and Luna, and then his white tunic to Mars, and gives his red blood for all to drink. The colors described are significantly related to the sin, baptism and bliss of Christian mysteries, and also relate to the alchemical color scheme: black of the Putrefaction, the white of the Purification or Albification, and the red of the perfected Stone.

8 For emblems that involve the violence of Putrefaction, see VIII, XII, XXIV, XLI, and XLIV and XLVIII; for emblems describing the lowly nature of Saturn which functions as a portal through which a higher station is achieved, see Emblems XVII and XXVII; for the influence of Saturn in medicine and other Merlini emblems, see XXIV, XXVIII, XLIV and XLVIII; for emblems including Putrefaction as one stage in the total Alchemical process, see Emblem XIV with the Dragon devouring its tail; Emblem XXII on the Woman's work; Emblem XXXIII on the Hermaphrodite; Emblem XXXIV on the conception of the Philosophical Child; Emblem XXXIX "Oedipus"; Emblem XLIII "Vulture and Raven."

9 Laurinda S. Dixon, *Alchemical Imagery in Bosch's Garden of Delights* (Ann Arbor Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1981) 13.

10 Dixon 27.

11 Read 138.

12 Maier 178 (Emblem XXII in de Jong).

13 De Rola 207.

14 Destructive implements like the sword, scissors and scythe indicate Putrefaction. Alchemical stages were also associated with certain totem animals: serpents, crows and ravens with Putrefaction, and a white swan with Albification. (Read 147).

15 Maier 119 (Emblem XII in de Jong).

16 In Michael Maier's *Symbolae Aureae Mensae* of 1617, the author journeys among the seven planets in search of Philosophical Mercury. The first place he must go is Saturn—the "coldest, heaviest, the most distant, the abode of evil and the mysterious." From Saturn, he ascends to the region of the sun, but must descend again to Saturn. Maier quotes Morienus' axiom to "Purify (Saturn's) lead by special washings, take blackness and darkness from it and white light and purity will come out" (Jung 224).

17 The exact correlation of ancient Greek mode to its corresponding planet is debated, as is the identification of each mode to its final (point of origination). The chart on page 2 is derived from the following sources: Willi Appel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972) 551; Thomas Morely's *A Plain and Easy Introduction to Practical Music,* ed. Alec Harman (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1952) 110; Edward E. Lowinsky, "The Goddess Fortuna in Music," *Musical Quarterly* 29 (1943): 72; and Imogene Horsely, "Fugue and Mode in 16th-Century Vocal Polyphony," *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music,* ed. Jan LaRue (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1966) 406, 407. For the revival of ancient modes in France, see Frances Yates, *French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (Warburg Institute, 1947) 46-48.

18 Egon Wellesz, "Music in the Treatises of Greek Gnostics and Alchemists," *Ambix* 4 (Feb. 1951): 147.

19 Horsel 406.

20 Marsilio Ficino, *The Book of Life,* trans. Charles Boer (Dallas Texas: Spring Publications, Inc., 1980) 93.

21 Lowinsky 72.

22 Horsely 407.

23 Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint*, trans. Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1968) 234.

24 For a detailed discussion of music composed to alchemical texts, see Christoph Meinel, "Alchemie und Musik," *Die Alchemie in der europaeischen Kultur-und Wissenschaftsgeschichte.* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986) 200-224.

25 Maier was in England from 1612 to 1616 and there translated Thomas Norton's *Ordinall of Alchemy* of 1477 (De Rola, 60). In his *Ordinall,* Norton stresses the interconnections between the intervals of music, the proportions of alchemy, the influence of the planets, the soul of the practitioner, and the total effect on the perfection of the Work (Read 250).

26 Meinel 207.

27 Dixon 58.

28 Franz Leissen, *Musik und Alchemie* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1969) 155.

29 Dixon 59.

30 Maier probably knew Zarlino's ideas on composition through Sweelinck's synopsis of it, when Maier visited Sweelinck in 1611 (Sleeper 412). Maier seems to have taken Zarlino's directions literally (Zarlino 85, 86):

> When beginning to write in simple counterpoint, choose a tenor from any plain chant to be the subject of the composition or counterpoint, and examine the cadences which will indicate the character of the composition.

31 Godwin 11; Sleeper 413.

32 Godwin 11, 12.

33 Hildemarie Streich, "Introduction" to *Michael Maier's Atalanta Fugiens,* ed. Joscelyn Godwin (Grand Rapids Michigan: Phanes Press, 1989) 42.

34 Edward E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art of the Netherlandish Motets* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1946) 15, 74.

35 Maier's *Arcana Arcanissima,* quoted in de Jong, 212.

36 De Jong's Commentary in Emblems XXVIII and XLVIII, 210-211 and 292-294.

37 Maier 207 (Emblem XXVIII in de Jong).

38 Maier 187 (Emblem XXIV in de Jong).

39 The Golden Fleece, as the object of Jason and his fifty Argonauts, provides a type of the Alchemist's quest for Gold. Moreover, the number of Argonauts may have provided a model for the quantity of Maier's fifty *fugae.*

40 The circular temple resembles the greenhouse in IX, and the circular ruins in XIV, XVI and L. This structure also appears in Emblems XXV, XLVI, and in Emblem XXXIX. Maier suggests the structure is a temple of the city of Thebes. Jung writes that it is the *vas rotundum* whose roundness represents the cosmos and at the same time the world-soul (279).

41 Maier 208 (Emblem XXVIII in de Jong).

42 Maier 222 (Emblem XXXI in de Jong).

43 Sleeper 414.

44 Laurinda Dixon and Petra ten-Doesschate Chu. "An Iconographical Riddle: Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout's *Royal Repast* in the Liechtenstein Princely Collection" *Art Bulletin* LXXI, #4 (December 1989): 620.

45 Maier 104 (Preface to the Reader in Godwin).

Der Wolff den König gefressen hat/ vnd wie er verbrant/ wider gegeben.

Atalanta fugiens.

Multivorum captare lupum tibi cura sit il-

li projiciens Regis corpus ut inglu viem;

Regem fugiens.

Multivorum captare lupum tibi cura sit

il li projicieus Regis corpus ut inglu viem

Fatum mirans.

Multivorum captare lupum tibi cura sit, il li

Projiciens Regis corpus ut ingluviem

XXIV. Epigrammatis Latini versio Germanica.

Den geitzigen Wolff zufangen/laß dir befohlen seyn/
Vnd würff jhm für deß Königs Leib/daß er jhn schlinge ein/
Leg jhn auffs Holtz/vnd laß Vulcanum zünden an das Fewr/
Damit verbrennen mög dasselbe Thier vngeheur/
Diß thu öffter/ so wirt der König vom Todt wider auffstehn/
Vnd mit einem Löwen Hertz stoltz vnd frech hereiner gehn.

EMBLE-

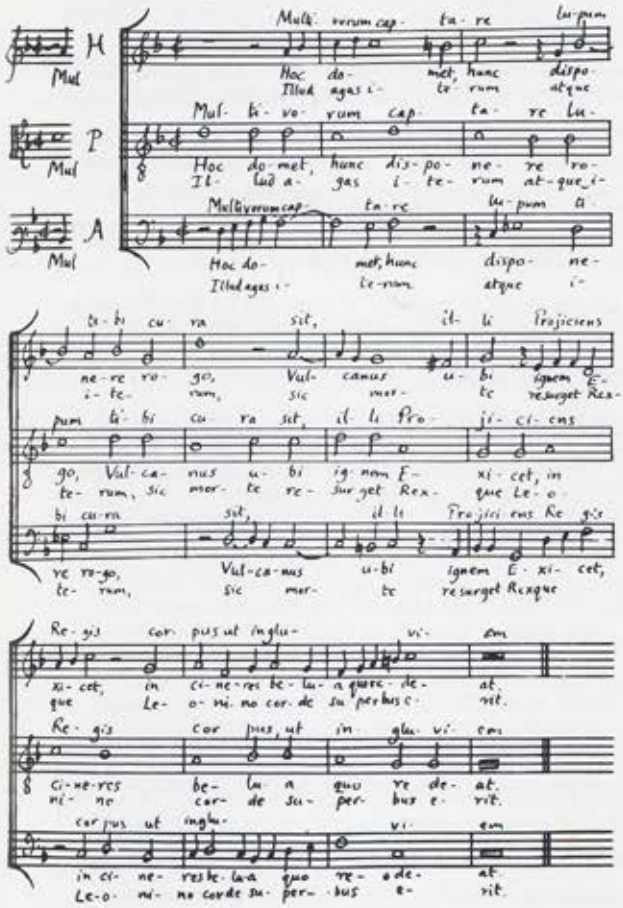
Regem lupus voravit & vitæ crematus reddidit.

EPIGRAMMA XXIV.

Multivorum captare lupum tibi cura sit, illi
Projiciens Regis corpus, ut ingluviem
Hoc domet, hunc dispone rogo, Vulcanus ubi ignem
Excitet, in cineres belua quo redeat.
Illud agas iterum atque iterum, sic morte resurget
Rex ſi, Leonino corde superbus erit.

O QUANTA

FUGA XXIV. Regem lupus voravit, et vitae, crematus reddidit.



152

Figure 1. Michael Maier. Emblem XXIV, *Atalanta Fugiens.* "The wolf devoured the King, and when burned, it returned him to life."

Epigram XXIV

Make certain that you trap the ravening wolf,
By throwing it the King's body to eat,
Then put it on the pyre where Vulcan burns,
And let the beast to ashes be reduced.
Do this time after time, and then from death
The King will rise, proud of his Lion's heart.

(Facsimile of 1618 edition, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1964; musical transcription and English translation by Joscelyn Godwin, pp. 104-105).

Der König badet im lüfftigen Bade/ vnd wirt der schwartzen Gallen entledget durch Pharut.

Atalanta fugiens.

Rex Duenech(viridis cui fulgent ar ma Leonis) bile

tumens rigidis mo ribus u sus erat.

Hippom. sequens.

Rex Duenech (viridis cui fulgent ar ma Leo-

nis)bile tumens rigidis moribus u sus erat.

Pomum cursans.

Rex Duenech(viridis cui fulgent arma Leonis)

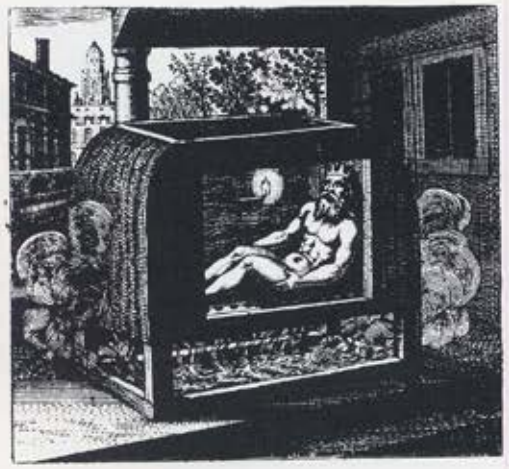
Bile tumens rigidis moribus usus erat.

XXVIII. Epigrammatis Latini versio Germanica.

DEr König Duenech (der ein grünen Löwen führet in seinem Schildt)
Durch der Gallen Vberfluß von Sitten scheinte gantz wildt/
Drumb fordert er zu sich den Artzten Pharut/der zusagt
Ihm zuhelffen / vnd bald ein lüfftig Wasserbad macht.
Hierinn er badet sehr offt mit gläserm Gewölbe vmbgeben/
Biß er vom Thaw benetzt/ von der Gallen frey thät leben.

EMBLE-

Rex balneatur in Laconico sedens,
Atráque bile liberatur à Pharut.



EPIGRAMMA XXVIII.

REx Duenech (viridis cui fulgent arma Leonis)
Bile tumens rigidis moribus usus erat.
Hinc Pharut ad sese medicum vocat, ille salutem
Spondet, & aërias fonte ministrat aquas:
His lavat & relavat, vitreo sub fornice, donec
Rore madenti omnis bilis abacta fuit.

Q UT

FUGA XXVIII. Rex balneatur in Laconico sedens, atraque bile liberatur a Pharut.

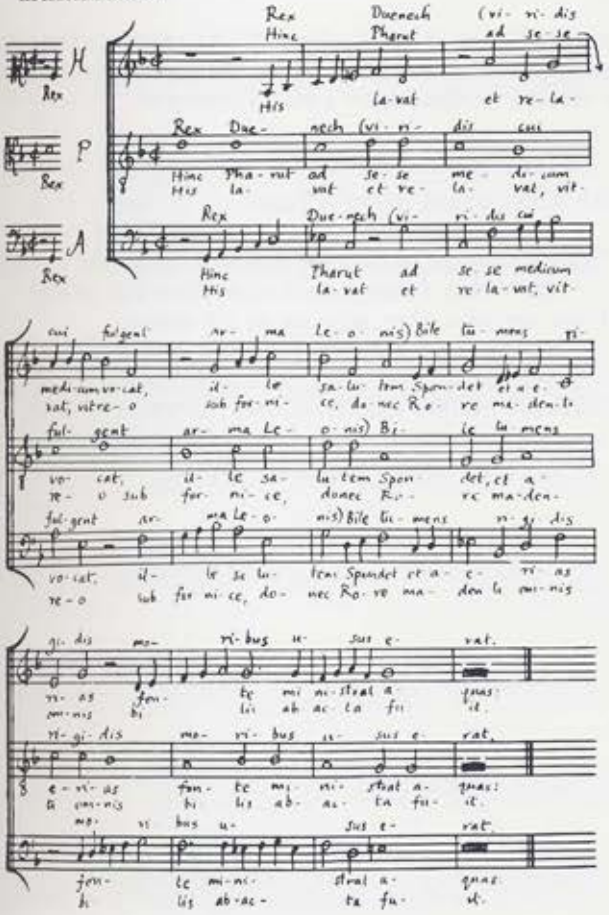


Figure 2. Michael Maier. Emblem XXVIII, *Atalanta Fugiens.* "The King is bathed, sitting in a steam-bath, and is freed from black bile by Pharut."

Epigram XXVIII

King Duenech (shining with the Green Lion's arms),
Swollen with bile, was cruel and severe.
Then calls the Doctor Pharut, who assures
Him of recovery and warms the bath:
In this he soaks, beneath the arch of glass,
Till by the dew his bile is washed away.

(Facsimile of 1618 edition, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1964; musical transcription and English translation by Joscelyn Godwin, pp. 120-121).

Der König/schwimmende im Meer/schreyet mit lauter Stimm/wer mich errettet/wirt ein groß Geschenck empfangen.

Atalanta fugiens.

Rex, Diadema caput cui prægravat, æ quore vasto

Inna rat atque altis vo cibus usus ait.

Hippom. sequens.

Rex, Diadema caput cui prægra vat æ quore vasto

Inna rat atque altis vocibus u sus ait.

Pomum morans.

Rex, Diadema caput cui prægravat æquore vasto

Innatat atque altis vocibus usus ait.

XXXI. Epigrammatis Latini versio Germanica.

DEr König/dem sein Haupt ist von einer güldnen Kron gantz schwer/
Rufft also vberlaut/schwimmende im tieffen Meer:
Warumb helffet jhr mir nicht? Warumb kompt nicht gelauffen jederman/
So ich errettet auß Noht deß Wassers begaben kan/
Bringt mich/so jhr weiß seyt/in mein Reich/vnd es sol zu keiner Zeit
Euch Armuht trucken/oder beschwerlich Leibes Kranckheit.

Rex natans in mari, clamans altâ voce: Qui me eripiet, ingens præmium habebit.

EPIGRAMMA XXXI.

REx Diadema caput cui prægravat, æquore vasto
Innatat, atque altis vocibus usus ait:
Cur non fertis opem? Cur non accurritis omnes,
Quos ereptus aquis forte beare queo?
In mea, si sapitis, me regna reducite, nec vos
Pauperies premet aut corporis ulla lues.

FUGA XXXI. Rex natans in mari, clamans alta voce: Qui me eripiet, ingens praemium habebit.

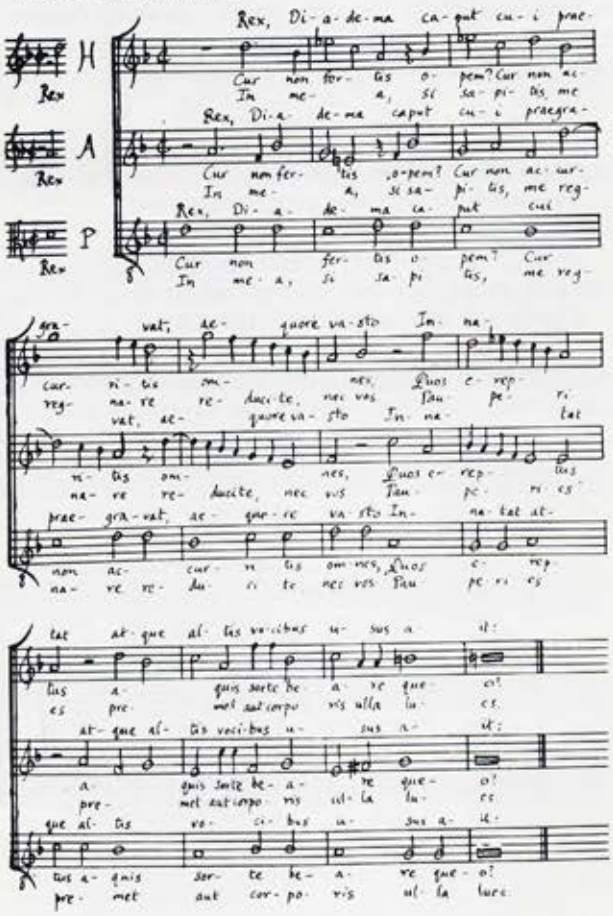


Figure 3. Michael Maier. Emblem XXXI, *Atalanta Fugiens.* "The King swims in the sea, crying with a loud voice: 'He who rescues me shall have a mighty reward!' "

Epigram XXXI

The King, whose crown is heavy on his head,
Swims in the wide sea and cries aloud:
"Why don't you rescue me? Rush forward, all,
You whom I can make happy when I'm saved!
If you are wise, then take me to my realm,
And poverty and sickness you'll forget."

(Facsimile of 1618 edition, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1964; musical transcription and translation by Joscelyn Godwin, pp. 132-133).

Durch Betrug Typhon Osirim tödtet/ vnd seine Glieder zerstrewet/ welche widerumb zusammen bringt die Isis, so weit berümbt.

Atalanta fugiens.

Sy ri a Adonidem habet, Dio-
Ægyptus, qui sunt nil nisi Sol Sophi-

nysum Græcia, Osi rim
æ, nil nisi Sol Sophi æ.

Regum fugiens.

Syria Ad ni dem ha bet Dio ny sum
Ægy ptus, qui sunt nil ni si Sol So phi-

Græ cia Osi rim
æ nil nisi Sol Sophi æ.

Tempus moratur.

Sy ri a Adonidem habet, Dio-
Ægyptus, qui sunt nil nisi Sol Sophi-

nysum Græcia, O si rim
æ, nil nisi Sol Sophi æ.

XLIV. Epigrammatis Latini versio Germanica.

Syrien Adonim hat/ Dionysum Griechenland eben/ Egypten Osirim, so seynd die Sonn den Weisen geben/ Die Isis ist die Schwester/ auch Mutter vnd Osiridis Weib/ Welchs Glieder der Typhon theilt/ sie wider fügt in ein Leib/ Ihm aber gebrach das Glied deß Manns/ im Wasser verlohren/ Dann der Schwebel vergeht/ so den Schwebel gebohren.

EMBLE-

Dolo Typhon Osyridem trucidat, artúsque illius
Hinc inde dissipat, sed hos collegit Isis inclyta.

EPIGRAMMA XLIV.

Syria Adonidem habet, Dionysum Græcia, Osirim
Ægyptus, qui sunt nil nisi SOL *Sophiæ:*
Isis adest soror & conjunx ac mater Osiris,
Cujus membra Typhon dissecat, illa ligat.
Defluit at pudibunda maris pars, sparsa per undas,
Sulphur enim, SULPHUR *quod generavit, abest.*

Aa OSYRI-

FUGA XLIV. Dolo Typhon Osyridem trucidat, artusque illius hinc inde dissipat, sed hos collegit Isis inclyta.

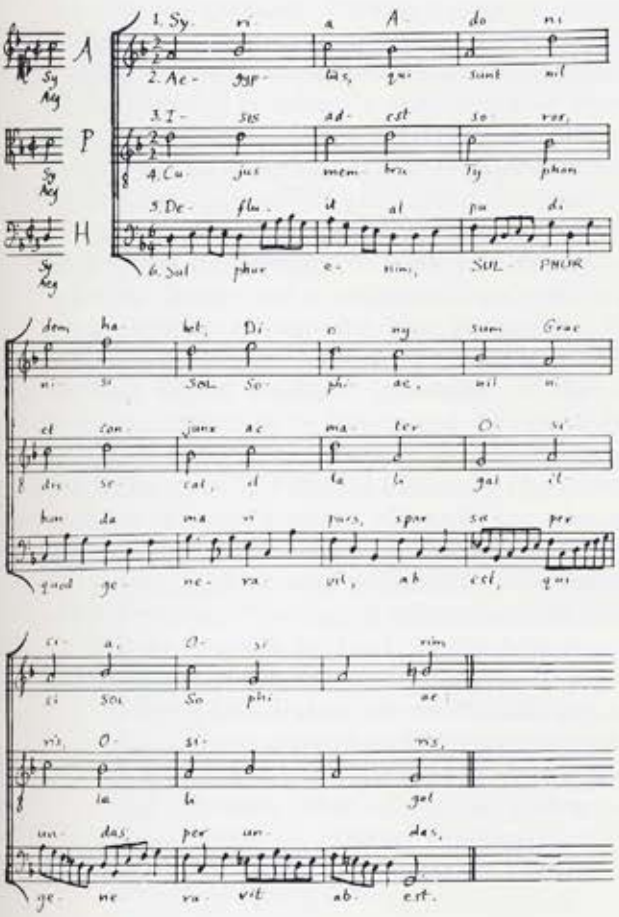


Figure 4. Michael Maier. Emblem XLIV, *Atalanta Fugiens.* "Typhon kills Osiris by trickery, and scatters his members far and wide, but the renowned Isis collects them."

Epigram XLIV

Syrian Adonis, Dionysus Greek,
Egyptian Osiris: all Wisdom's SUN.
ISIS, Osiris' sister, mother, wife,
Rejoins the limbs that Typhon cut apart,
But lacked his virile member, lost at sea;
The Sulpher that made SULPHER is not there.

(Facsimile of 1618 edition, Kassel: Barenreiter, 1964; musical transcription and translation by Joscelyn Godwin, pp. 184-185.)

The Importance of Palladio's Villas for Seventeenth-Century France

Susan Davis Baldino

This paper elucidates the effects of Andrea Palladio's villas on prominent French architects of the seventeenth century. The subject is challenging because, though one might expect that Palladio's designs were widely imitated in the century after his death, the notion of French Palladianism is absent from the literature dealing with this period. While historians have written about early seventeenth-century English Palladianism, which was initiated by Inigo Jones, they have not recognized a similar movement in France until the advent of Neo-Palladianism, which occurred in several Western nations after 1720. Furthermore, references to Palladian-like structures in France are scattered, invariably brief, and, at times, skeptical. However, the results of my study indicate that Palladio's influence was quite significant in France during the second half of the seventeenth century, especially where it concerns his residential architecture.[1]

One can measure Palladio's impact in two areas—theory and practice. To justify a Palladian movement, evidence must exist to show that French architects not only followed his written precepts but used his physical plans for their own buildings. Palladio is generally considered to have been a theoretical genius whose well-known treatise, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (first published in 1570), informed architects in many countries about ancient monuments and rules concerning the orders. The French were no exception. Architectural publications and academic discourse evince a reliance on the axioms found in the *Quattro libri,* therefore proving a theoretical dependence on Palladio. To argue that Palladio's own practical designs had a comparable authority requires closer scrutiny. As Anthony Blunt pointed out, French architects of this period did not visit Venice or the Veneto, so they lacked firsthand knowledge of the actual buildings.[2] However, by focusing on the French designs identified as Palladian in various art historical texts, and examining them for Palladian hallmarks, I have compiled a wealth of visual evidence. Moreover, one must realize that the *Quattro libri* is not solely theoretical; a major portion, Book II, is devoted to Palladio's own designs for private residences. The French had access to the buildings of Palladio through his book. James Ackerman aptly describes this as follows:

> There is little abstract theory: Palladio was a practical and straightforward writer who used words economically and liked to discuss actual situations. Most of the text relates to issues raised by existing buildings, partly ancient and partly modern— the latter being primarily of Palladio's own designs.[3]

In view of both theoretical and practical influence, I can identify an initial phase of Palladianism in France from about 1650 to 1712.

Theoretical Influence. Seventeenth-century French architects were exposed to Palladio primarily through a proliferation of French literature that developed from the *Quattro libri.* These publications disseminated Palladio's views on the orders, public edifices, ancient monuments and designs for public residences. In 1645, Pierre Le Muet translated Palladio's book on the orders, the first book of the *Quattro libri.*[4] Five years later, Roland Fréart de Chambray offered the first complete French translation of all four books comprising Palladio's treatise: *Les quatres livres d'architecture.*[5] This important publication included the original woodcuts from the first Italian edition. In the same year Fréart's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* praised Palladio for his expertise in measuring ancient monuments.[6] In 1665, Abraham Bosse included a Palladian table in his *Traité des pratiques géométrales.* Between 1675 and 1698, François Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* was published in volume form and included more references to the work of Palladio than to that of any other architect.[7] These publications vested Palladio as a resource for French architectural theory.[8]

The *Quattro libri* also played a prominent role at the Royal Academy of Architecture.[9] The *procès-verbaux* (minutes of academy meetings) reveal that as the academicians strove to establish a common theoretical foundation, they employed the rules of Palladio, the great Vitruvian, to legitimize their endeavor.[10] The records state that soon after its formation in December 1671, the Academy declared Palladio supreme among modern architectural authorities.[11] By 28 February 1673, Palladio's treatise was on the agenda. For fifteen months, until 4 June 1674, the Academy scrutinized the *Quattro libri* using both an Italian edition and Fréart's 1650 translation. The procedure involved chapter by chapter readings and subsequent discussions. Sixteen meetings were devoted to Book I on the orders, nine covered the second book on private dwellings, twelve dealt with the public buildings of Book III and, finally, fifteen concentrated on Palladio's conceptions of ancient structures in Book IV. It was only after their examination of Palladio that the academy approached other architectural authorities.

In 1682, during a consideration of past registers, the conferees devoted fourteen meetings to a rereading of the

proces-verbaux that involved Palladio. Fifteen years later, on 11 May 1699, they began a second chapter by chapter reading of the treatise, taking over a year and a half, until 19 December 1700 when they completed their study with chapter 24 of Book IV.

Frequently, they used the *Quattro libri* to confront theoretical problems that dealt with proper employment of the orders and other ancient motifs. This is particularly reflected in their discussions of Book I on the orders and Book IV on Roman monuments. They found Palladio to be the architectural standard of excellence whose authority equalled or surpassed that of Vitruvius.[12] This confirms Palladio's theoretical value for the French.

Practical Influence. The overwhelmingly favorable criticism ceased when the Academy turned to the portions of the *Quattro libri* which presented Palladio's own designs of villas and town houses for Venetian gentlemen. In many cases these were problematical for the French architects. Perceptive comments from the *procès-verbaux* mix denunciation with praise. The entry for 15 February 1700 explicates the divergent evaluations. First, they found that Palladio's ground floor elevation of a certain residence was too excessive and that his designs in general were not appropriate for use in France. Then, they deemed him praiseworthy for being the first of the modern architects to display spatial harmony in his residential interiors.[13] Various entries show the problems they had with other conceptions. For instance, the minutes for 24 and 31 July 1673 are lengthy censures of the Palazzi Chiericati and Valmarano.[14] Palladio's corner treatments of these buildings were thought to be too corrupt, and too mannerist by his critics. On 28 August 1673, they found the stairway at the Villa Ragona to be poorly designed because Palladio had not incorporated landings in his arrangement.[15]

Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos construes the harsh criticisms to mean that Palladio's concepts were incompatible with the French architectural idiom.[16] Pérouse joins fellow theorist Blunt in contending that Palladio's command of matters of theory is his only notable influence. They reject Palladio as a leading source for French architects because, for them, his practical influence was negligible.[17] The following statement by Pérouse encapsulates their position:

> The work of Palladio appears to be less a model to imitate than one that succeeds as an example which ought to be analyzed and reduced to its principles. Due to this the influence of Palladio on treatises [*i.e.,* theoretical issues] constitutes the principal chapter of the history of French Palladianism.[18]

However, I believe that a reassessment of the opinions expressed in the *procès-verbaux* is in order. The faults that the Academy found with the *Quattro libri* should not cause us to minimize Palladio's influence on building design. Although the architects at the Academy subscribed to a strict theory, they were less dogmatic in their practical work.[19] Their high regard for Palladio seems to have led them to emulate his villas in their own designs. Fréart's praise of the villas, in the following passage from the *Parallèle*, certainly conveys that they would:

> The first of all is without any contest the famous Andrea Palladio, to whom we are obliged for a very rare collection of antique plans and profiles of all sorts of buildings, designed after a most excellent manner, and measured with a diligence so exact, that there is nothing more in that particular left us to desire. Besides the very advantageous opportunities which he has had at Venice, and in all the Vincentine his native country do leave us such marks as clearly showed him not only to have been a spectator of these great masters of antiquity; but even a competitor with them, and emulous of their glory.[20]

Furthermore, the unique character of the *Quattro libri* must again be stressed. Much of it was a picture book of Palladian houses; thirty-seven palazzo and villa designs were fully illustrated with plans, elevations, sections, and details, accompanied by a cursory text. The remarks in the *procès-verbaux* signal the extreme care with which the French architects scrutinized the illustrations. For example, their understanding of the stairway at the Villa Ragona was due solely to their reaction to the woodcut; Palladio wrote only a brief description of the villa that barely mentions the stairs.[21] Careful study thoroughly familiarized them with Palladio's practical work. It follows that, when they set down their own schemes, they discarded what seemed incompatible and incorporated those Palladian concepts that appealed to them.

Visual Evidence. The visual evidence supports the view that Palladianism was founded in France before the eighteenth century. An examination of French designs shows that ten important structures are derivative of villas found in the *Quattro libri.* These structures variously adopt the following Palladian hallmarks: (1) the conception of the structure as a compact freestanding block; (2) the organization of the ground plan into integrated systems that include corresponding rooms, cross vistas, and the axial system of the vestibule/main hall combination; (3) the employment of central emphasis, both in ground plan (especially with domed central salon), and in facade decoration (with the distinctive unadorned planar walls usually embellished by the order surrounding the entrance); and (4) the addition of curving side wings to the central block.[22]

Two French examples, Germain Boffrand's Hôtel Le Brun (1699) and Pierre Bullet's Château d'Issy (1681-87) epitomize the concept of the unencumbered cubic block (Figure 1). Both depart from the traditional French residence that comprised a loose aggregate of forms (*corps-des-logis,* pavilions, galleries) integrated with a courtyard. They express the monolithic character considered to be a fundamental Palladian trademark.

Their facades similarly adopt the Palladian characteristic of a simple wall treatment that relegates

classical ornament to the central motif. Boffrand denied the French penchant for surface enrichment; as Kalnein observed, the Hôtel Le Brun's unadorned expanse is unthinkable in France without Palladian influence.[23] A slight projection in the middle accompanied by a pediment over the cornice is reminiscent of a similar treatment used by Palladio in the Villa Zeno.[24] At Issy, aside from some quoining and minimal window embellishment, Bullet reserved the classical ornament for the central pedimented temple front, a trait widely used by Palladio in such *Quattro libri* designs as the invention for Garzadore (Figure 1).

The ground plan of the Château d'Issy further reveals Bullet's debt to Palladio. First, its vestibule and salon occupy the central axis, mimicking the loggia/main hall system of the Villa Sarego (Figure 2). Second, the positioning of the lesser rooms exhibits a correspondence between the *chambre* on the right and the *chambre à coucher* on the left, and one between the *salle à manger* on the right and the combination of small rooms and staircase on the left. This correspondence exhibits Palladio's desire, as stated in the *Quattro libri,* that "the rooms ought to be distributed on each side of the entry and hall . . . those on the right correspond with those on the left."[25] In addition, the stairs and portico of the front are echoed on the garden side as in numerous Palladian cases such as the Villa Valmarana and the Villa Oleardo-Thieni.[26]

Antoine Le Pautre's Second Design from *Desseins de plusieurs palais* (1652) enables a similar comparison with the Villa Pisani (Figure 3). Both plans display a square block into which a visitor would enter a vestibule area, proceed through a central rectangular hall, and enter a long gallery situated on the cross axis. Lesser rooms on either side of the main axis correspond to one another.

The exterior view of Le Pautre's Second Design pictures a fantastic conception flaunting gigantic Persian caryatids, strong channeled rustication and bold moldings—motifs more assertive than Palladio's (Figure 4a). Yet, the rising central dome and projecting porches echo the most famous of Palladio's works, the house Palladio devised for Monsignor Paolo Almerico, known as La Rotonda (Figure 4b).[27]

La Rotonda inspired a number of French conceptions. Its design incorporates the freestanding cubic mass, flat facades with central embellishment, and corresponding rooms, but adds a significant dimension to the Palladian repertoire. Here, the master incorporated a bi-axial vestibule/hall system that radiates outward from a circular, domed central hall to four lookouts framed by pedimented temple fronts.[28]

J.H. Mansart extracted motives from La Rotonda for two structures, the Château de Marly (1679) and Château de Navarre (1686). Though destroyed, Marly is well-documented with remaining plans, elevations, and aerial views. Its ground plan closely follows Palladio's precedents (Figure 5b). A large octagonal salon, like La Rotonda's circular hall, comprises the central core. Vestibules radiate outward ending in entrance platforms that correspond to the porticoes of the Italian plan. Triple room *appartements* occupying the areas between the vestibules compare favorably with the L-shaped double configurations of La Rotonda. The disposition of the rooms in both designs allows for cross vistas from one end of the interior to the other. The aerial view shows another example of the detached cubic mass (Figure 5a). However, the continuous decoration that articulates the facades signifies the typically French preference for decorated surfaces. The Château de Navarre, also destroyed, but known by an existing print, is another instance of an isolated cubic mass, here distinguished by a dome rising in the center (Figure 5c). Steps lead from four entries that are defined with columns. The walls, however, are articulated by quoining strips, variously shaped windows and an assortment of moldings that, as at Marly, break from the Palladian aesthetic.

La Rotonda influenced two French schemes for garden structures. The Pavilion of Aurora (1673-77), variously attributed to either Claude Perrault, Charles Le Brun, or Andre Le Notre, decorates the garden at Colbert's Château at Sceaux (Figure 6a). With an obvious affinity to La Rotonda, it exhibits a detached compact block with a dome that implies the existence of the central salon. The four side projections serve as reminders of the Palladian pedimented porticoes. The Pavilion of Apollo (1712), designed by Nicodemus Tessin for Versailles, was also patterned after Palladio's masterpiece (Figures 6b and 6c). The plan is disposed similarly to La Rotonda. A central circular salon is surrounded by identical suites of rooms on four sides. Cross views unite the outer rooms; projecting porticoes define each facade. The elevation displays the four projecting pedimented temple entrances, but it also shows that, as in several of the aforementioned buildings, the architect handled the wall surfaces differently than Palladio by adorning them with ornamentation.

Just after the close of the seventeenth century, Germain Boffrand completed a design for a hunting pavilion at Bouchefort (1705, Figure 7). A comparison with La Rotonda shows its unique use of Palladian motifs. Bouchefort's elevation contains more surface ornament and fenestration than that of La Rotonda, but it shares the elements of detached block, central dome, and projecting pedimented porticoes on four sides. Ground plans of the two indicate the common use of a central salon and a central focus that radiates outward in four directions through vestibules to the entries. The arrangements of the peripheral rooms of both structures may seem incomparable since Bouchefort is an octagonal structure with spatial variety and complexity that typify a Baroque conception, whereas La Rotonda is square with a round central core surrounded by four identical pairs of rooms that evoke Renaissance clarity. However, closer scrutiny of Bouchefort divulges a symmetrical system that complies with Palladio's notion of room correspondence. On the plan, the rectangular *chambre de Madame El* corresponds to the *antichambre de Son Altesse El;* the hexagonal *antichambre de Son Altesse El* corresponds to the

hexagonal area reserved for the staircase. The *garde robes* and *petit cabinets* of Madame complement those of the Monsieur that are opposite.

A final structure illustrated in the *Quattro libri,* the Villa Trissino at Meledo, provided impetus for two public buildings in Paris (Figure 8a). The Villa Trissino plan approximates the design for La Rotonda with one important difference: the addition of curving side arms that project from the central domed block. This is repeated in J.H. Mansart's project for a square in front of the Dôme des Invalides (1698, not built, Figure 8b) and Louis Le Vau's Collège des Quatres Nations (1662-72, finished by d'Orbay, Figure 8c) where colonnades define the areas before the main structures. In his remarks about such designs, Palladio wrote that loggias, "which like arms tend to the circumference, seem to receive those that come near the house."[29] Here Palladio initiated the concept of embracing arms reaching out to the visitor also attributed to Bernini's Piazza de San Pietro;[30] the French adopted it after their perusal of the *Quattro libri.*

Similarities and associations provided by these visual comparisons justify the assumption that French architects used Palladio as a source. They had unique ways of doing this that did not involve duplication, but rather, imitation on a motif by motif basis. In almost every example, their buildings retain a certain "Frenchness," whether it be in the inclusion of surface enrichment or in more complicated ground plans. Just as Palladio added classical elements to the Venetian villa vernacular to form his composite style, the French added Palladian traits to transform their native architecture. Hautecoeur expressed the process as follows:

> Artistic forms follow on the span of time as a fugue continues; a motif appears, is developed, and reprised by another instrument on a different register; by then the melody is already transformed.[31]

Rudolf Wittkower noticed that the same behavior occurred half a century later in England. Writing about English architects he stated, "In reality, their Palladianism is a good deal more English than is generally realized. These men could neither ignore the development of the previous hundred years in English architecture nor their own national tradition. . ."[32] Thus, with France anticipating developments in England, seventeenth-century French Palladianism deserves full recognition as an historical movement.

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This paper summarizes research I conducted for a graduate seminar in French Baroque Architecture. I wish to thank Professor Robert Neuman for suggesting this provocative topic.

1 The scope of this paper includes Palladio's villas and certain of his town houses (such as La Rotonda and Palazzo Antonini) that are characteristically indistinguishable from villas; it does not include the influence of Palladio's religious or public architecture.

2 Anthony Blunt, "Palladio in Francia," *Bolletino CISA* 10 (1968) 10. Blunt states that relatively few French architects visited Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and when they did, they sought out the ancient architecture of Rome as in the case of Philibert de l'Orme. The only other instance he sites is Clément Métezeau's visit to Florence to see the Palazzo Pitti, which served as a model for the Luxembourg Palace in Paris (begun 1615).

3 James Ackerman quoted in Dora Wiebenson, *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) I.-25.

4 Le Muet's translation was entitled *Traicte des cinq ordres d'architecture desquels se sont seruy les anciens,* (Paris: Langlois).

5 There is evidence that French architects followed Palladio's *Quattro libri* even before the French translations of 1645 and 1650. For instance, François Mansart's library included a copy of the 1616 Italian edition along with Fréart's 1650 translation. See Allan Braham and Peter Smith, *François Mansart* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1973).

6 The title page of Fréart's work includes reference to Palladio. The full citation reads: *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne, avec un recueil des dix principaux autheurs qui ont écrit des cinq ordres, scavoir: Palladio et Scamozzi, Serlio et Vignola, D. Barbaro et Cataneo, L. B. Alberti et Viola, Bullant et de Lorme, comparez entre eux* (Paris: E. Martin, 1650). In Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio et la théorie classique dans l'architecture français du XVIIème siècle," *Bolletino CISA* 12 (1970) 99, the author points out that Fréart recognized Palladio as the greatest of modern architects and the founder of classical art.

7 Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio et la théorie classique" 101, 103 and 105 n. 18.

8 Slightly later, the following publications, which included discussions on Palladio's use of the orders, also served to establish his importance: François Nicolas Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* (Paris: Lambert Roulland, 1675), Antoine Babuty Desgodet's *Les édifices antiques de Rome* (Paris, 1682), and Jean Le Blond's *Deux exemples des cinq ordres de l'architecture antique, et des quatres plus excelens autheurs qui en ont traitte scavoir Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, et Vignole* (Paris: Chez'autheur, 1683). Palladio's supremacy in the theoretical realm was also recognized by Perrault, who considered him as one of the three most famous architectural authors, and devoted chapters to Palladio's designs of ancient and modern buildings in *Ordonnance.* For this, see Wolfgang Herrmann, *The Theory of Claude Perrault* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1973).

9 For a thorough discussion as to the function and purposes of the Royal Academy of Architecture, see M. Henry Lemonnier, trans., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'architecture.* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1915) I, Intro., vii., and Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948) II, chap. 4, 462. We know that the Academy members (Bruand, Gittard, Le Pautre, F. Le Vau, J. H. Mansart, Boffrand, Bullet) perused the *Quattro libri* and can be relatively sure that most important architects working in France at the time were familiar with the treatise and its woodcuts, which were so often referred to by French writers (especially Fréart and F. Blondel). The architects discussed in this essay who were not on the roster at the Academy, *i.e.* Le Vau and Tessin, were nevertheless mentioned repeatedly in the *procès-verbaux,* Tessin in 1705 for his work on the Louvre (see *Procès-verbaux* III, 226-31; 234-36) and Le Vau on many occasions (see *Procès-verbaux* X 153).

10 The *procès-verbaux* comprise a record of the subjects that were read, discussed, and criticized by the royal academicians. Their compilation was undertaken early this century and fills ten volumes, see M. Henry Lemonnier, trans., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'architecture.*

11 *Procès-verbaux,* 11 Feb. 1672, I:6. At its inception, the Academy deliberated as to which architect best expressed the doctrine of Vitruvius. Palladio headed their hierarchy of Vitruvian disciples, followed by de l'Orme, Scamozzi, Alberti, and Serlio.

12 *Procès-verbaux,* I, 315, contains a passage from 9 June 1681 that exemplifies Palladio's foremost position of authority: "La facilité de la division des parties de trois en trois dans le dessein de Vitruve luy paroist ingénieuse, mais comme le filet sur le talon semble un peu petit, elle ne désaprouve point le changement que Palladio y a fait."

13 *Procès-verbaux,* III, 90.

14 *Procès-verbaux,* I, 42. This criticism was repeated in 1682, see *Procès-verbaux* II, 7.

15 *Procès-verbaux* I, 47. This comment was repeated in 1682, see *Procès-verbaux* II, 8.

16 Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio in Francia" 102.

17 See a series of three articles: Anthony Blunt, "Palladio e l'architettura francese," *Bolletino CISA* 2 (1960): 14-18; Anthony Blunt, "Palladio in Francia," *Bolletino CISA* 10 (1968): 9-14; and Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio et la théorie classique," *Bolletino CISA* 12 (1970): 97-105.

18 "... L'oeuvre de Palladio apparaît moins comme un modèle à imiter que comme une réussite exemplaire qui doit être analysée et réduite à ses principes. De ce fait, l'influence de Palladio sur les traités constitue le chapitre principal de l'histoire du palladianisme français." (Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio" 97)

19 A case in point would be Germain Boffrand, who produced extremely imaginative designs, free from theoretical constraints, but behaved in a solemnly dogmatic fashion at Academy meetings. See W. Herrmann, "Antoine Desgodets and the Académie Royal d'architecture," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958): 23.

20 Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne,* trans. John Evelyn (1664; London: Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1970).

21 Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture,* trans. Isaac Ware (1738; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965) 51.

22 For a thorough discussion of Palladian hallmarks see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Alex Tiranti Ltd., 1952) 63-68, and James S. Ackerman, *Palladio* (1966; New York: Penguin Books, 1983) 160-85.

23 Wend Graf Kalnein, *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Harmondsworth, England and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972) 210.

24 The Villa Zeno elevation appears in *The Four Books,* Book II, pl. XXXII. My source for *Quattro libri* illustrations is the 1738 English edition by Isaac Ware (see n. 19), which offers a "faithful and accurate reproduction of the original plate, and an exact translation of the text." (Adolf K. Placzek, preface, *The Four Books* vi.)

25 Palladio, *The Four Books,* trans. Ware 27.

26 Palladio, *The Four Books,* Book II, pls. XLII and XLV.

27 Palladio, *The Four Books,* Book II, pl. XIII.

28 The central domed hall was termed a *salon à l'italienne* by seventeenth-century French architects. Robert Berger describes it as Palladio's adaptation of a design of Francesco di Giorgio, used in Mantegna's house in Mantua (1476) which Berger sees as a prototype for La Rotonda. See Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969) 26.

29 Palladio, *The Four Books* 55.

30 For a discussion of Palladio's potent influence on Bernini see Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* (New York: George Braziller, 1974) chapter 2.

31 "Les formes artistiques se suivant sur la portée du temps comme une fugue continue; un motif apparaît, se développe, est repris par un autre instrument sur une registre différent, alors que la ligne mélodique est déjà transformée." (Hautecoeur, *Histoire* II, 617.)

32 Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* 155.

Figure 1. a. Germain Boffrand, Hôtel Le Brun, court facade, 1699. Courtesy of Michel Gallet and J. Garms, *Germain Boffrand 1667-1754; L'aventure d'un Architecte Indépendant* (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

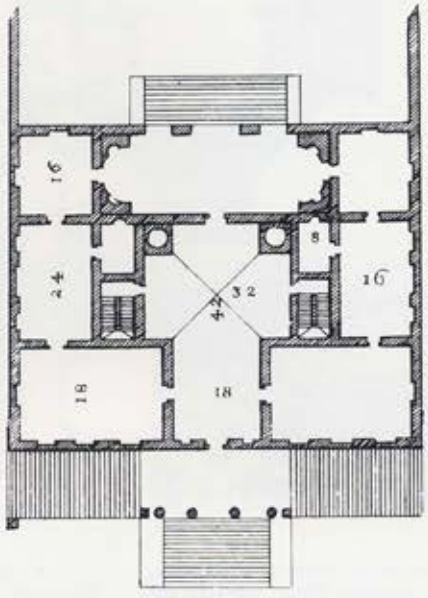
b. Pierre Bullet, Château d'Issy, elevation, 1681-87. Courtesy of Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948).

c. Andrea Palladio, Invention for Garzadore, elevation, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl. LVII. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965).

Figure 2. a. Pierre Bullet, Château d'Issy, plan, 1681-87. Courtesy of Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948).

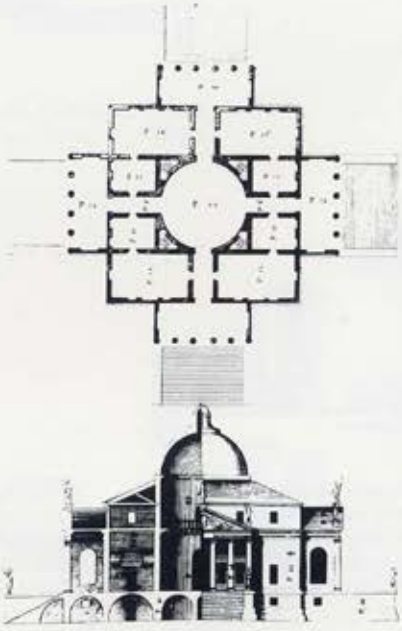
b. Andrea Palladio, Villa Sarego, plan, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl. L. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1965).

Figure 3. a. Antoine Le Pautre, Second Design, plan, 1652. Courtesy of Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).



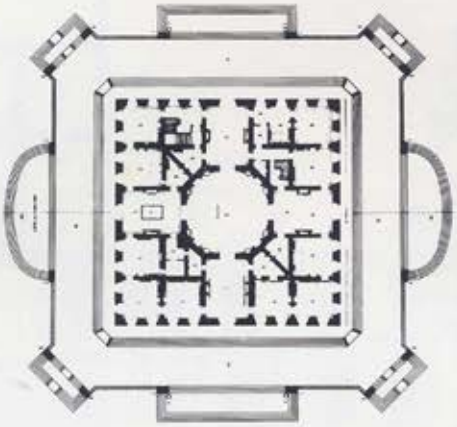
b. Andrea Palladio, Villa Pisani, plan, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl.xxx. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

Figure 4. a. Antoine Le Pautre, Second Design, view, 1652. Courtesy of Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).



b. Andrea Palladio, La Rotonda, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl. XIII. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

Figure 5. a. J. H. Mansart, Château de Marly, view, 1679. Courtesy of Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700* (New York: Viking, 1988).



b. J. H. Mansart, Château de Marly, plan, 1679. Courtesy of Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Histoire de l'architecture française: De la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Mengès, 1989).

c. J.H. Mansart, Château de Navarre, view, 1686. Courtesy of Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948).

Figure 6. a. Claude Perrault, Charles Le Brun, or Andre Le Notre, Pavilion of Aurora, view, 1673/4. Courtesy of Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).

b. Nicodemus Tessin, Pavilion of Apollo, plan, 1712. Courtesy of *Versailles à Stockholm: Dessins du Nationalmuseum Peintures, Meubles et Arts Décoratifs des Collections Suédoises et Danoises* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985).

c. Nicodemus Tessin, Pavilion of Apollo, elevation, 1712. Courtesy of *Versailles à Stockholm: Dessins du Nationalmuseum Peintures, Meubles et Arts Décoratifs des Collections Suédoises et Danoises* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985).

Figure 7. a. Germain Boffrand, Hunting pavilion at Bouchefort, elevation, 1705. Courtesy of Michel Gallet and J. Garms, *Germain Boffrand 1667-1754: L'aventure d'un Architecte Indépendant* (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

b. Germain Boffrand, Hunting pavilion at Bouchefort, plan, 1705. Courtesy of Michel Gallet and J. Garms, *Germain Boffrand 1667-1754: L'aventure d'un Architecte Indépendant* (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

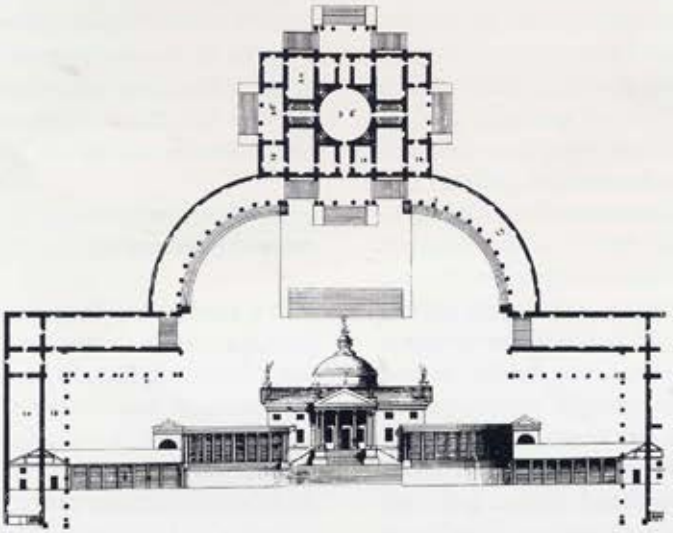
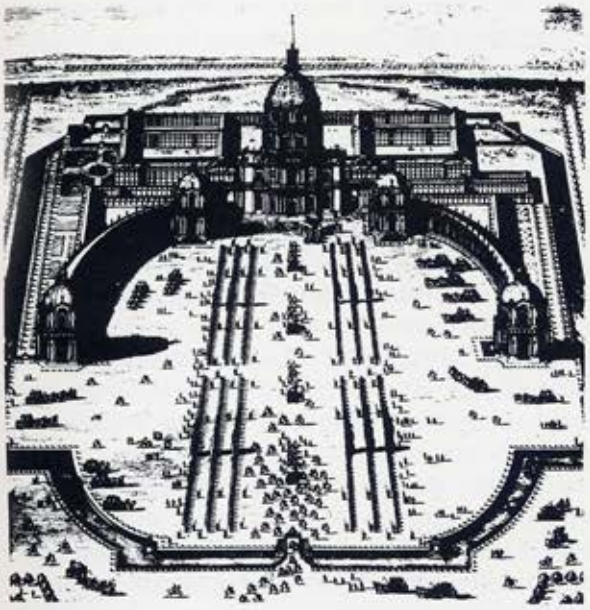
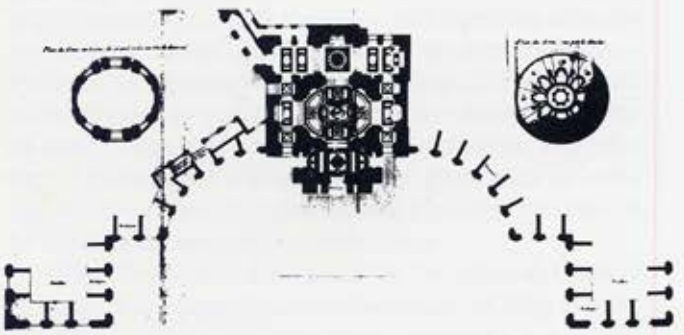


Figure 8. a. Andrea Palladio, Villa Trissino at Meledo, *Quattro libri*, Book II, pl. XLIII. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).



b. J. H. Mansart, project for the Dôme des Invalides, 1698. Courtesy of Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Histoire de l'architecture française: De la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Mengès, 1989).



c. Louis Le Vau, Collège des Quatres Nations, 1662-72. Courtesy of Albert Laprade, *François d'Orbay Architecte de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fréal, 1960).

The Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art Market: The Influence of Economics on Artistic Production

Thomas M. Bayer

During the seventeenth century, Holland enjoyed numerous benefits of an unprecedented economical growth. This newly-found wealth affected almost all levels of society, including artistic production. During the "Golden Age," as it became later known, the notaries in charge of listing inventories of Dutch households and businesses became noticeably more conscious of recording artists' names and the specific subject matter of painting.[1] This meticulous record keeping affords us with the means of investigating and analyzing the distribution of particular artists' works and subjects among the art buying public as well as providing the tools to examine their tastes[2] and collecting habits.[3]

This study will attempt to examine the specific role of subject, that of paintings of market scenes in relation to the Dutch art market.

The depiction of markets in painting reflects a slice of Dutch life and an essential aspect of the national character. The basis for wealth of the Dutch economy was a sophisticated network of national and international markets, ranging from the typical rural farmers' market to the complex financial market at the Amsterdam Beurse. The new republic had become a truly capitalist nation with a marked, very mercantile national identity.[4] Linda Ferrier, in her discussion of Gabriel Metsu's *Vegetable Market at Amsterdam* observes: "whether literary or visual, the description of markets, in the city histories of Amsterdam acknowledges the importance and prominence of that colorful aspect of street commerce."[5] An anonymous quote of 1662/63 states that "the markets extend to a support of people and quays. This is the gold mine of an honorable tradesman."[6] The significant role played by the market system in the success of seventeenth-century Dutch capitalism one assumes to be translated into a widespread popularity of paintings of market scenes. Ferrier mentions the appearance of an unprecedented number of paintings of vegetable markets by Dutch artists. According to her these paintings convey pride in local markets and often relay scientifically accurate information.[7] She lists nineteen examples of market scenes in the *Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie* in The Hague and provides a list of artists generally known for the depictions of market scenes.[8] The discovery of only nineteen market scenes, painted at a time when the average middle-class Amsterdam household contained, according to Bredius, between one hundred and two hundred paintings,[9] seems infinitely small and in clear contradiction to her statement regarding an "unprecedented number" of market scene paintings. This discussion seeks to resolve the curious discrepancy between the importance and familiarity of markets for the Dutch populace and the infrequence of the pictorial representation of this subject.

An examination of the two main sources of recorded inventories, Bredius' *Kunstler Inventare* and Montias' *Artists and Artisans in Delft,*[10] shows an almost complete absence of market scene paintings. For the most part, the subject of the recorded works were specified in a manner which would preclude an intentional omission. Nevertheless, allowing for the possibility that market scene paintings may have been described under a different subject heading, I examined a five year span of auction sales of Dutch seventeenth-century paintings held worldwide between 1984 and 1989. Assuming that loss and destruction of seventeenth-century Dutch art works occurred in similar proportion among all different subject matters, auctions would reflect, to some degree, the popularity of certain subjects in the seventeenth century through the frequency of their appearance at recent auctions.[11] The survey results corroborated the data obtained from the inventories examined. Even with the inclusion of paintings depicting a single figure involved in or alluding to the selling of merchandise, the number of market scene paintings amounts to fewer than thirty out of a total of over three thousand works offered for sale. One cannot help but get the impression that Dr. Ferrier's general observations regarding the appearance of an "unprecedented" number of market scene paintings disregarded contemporary inventories. The recognition of the significant scarcity of fully developed market scene paintings[12] in seventeenth-century Dutch art poses the obvious question as to the reasons for this curious phenomenon. The answer for this may lie within the very structure of the highly sophisticated Dutch art market. I will therefore examine the scope or size of the art market in seventeenth-century Holland, its dynamics and inner workings, the roles played by art dealers as well as artists, the popularity and value of specific subjects and methods of valuation and pricing of paintings. I will conclude my discussion by looking at several typical market scene paintings in relation to the aforementioned considerations.

The Size of the Art Market in Seventeenth-Century Holland. The frequently used observation of John Evelyn, the English diarist and art patron, regarding the annual markets in Rotterdam is worth repeating here. Evelyn comments on the amount and low price of the paintings offered for sale and gives as a reason the lack of available

land as a place to invest surplus money. He further reports that it is an "ordinary thing to find a common farmer lay out two-or-three thousand pounds in this commodity [paintings]. Their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their fairs to very great gains."[13] If we take Evelyn's observation at face value, his report tells us three important things: paintings were available in large numbers; paintings were inexpensive; and paintings were used for investment and speculation.

The growth of the Dutch art market was directly related to the economic expansion the Netherlands experienced after 1609 and the truce with Spain. The prosperity of the middle class played a major role in accelerating private patronage.[14] Even the lower-middle class exercised influence on art taken as merchandise (*i.e.* art not specifically commissioned but acquired through a middleman).[15] Although public patronage had declined, the growth of the market for individual consumption more than picked up the slack.[16] Besides Bredius' observation concerning the existence of large numbers of paintings in an average apartment (see *n.* 9), Montias provides additional data regarding the widespread purchase of paintings in the city of Delft: two thirds of the population, estimated at twenty eight to thirty thousand people, lived in households possessing paintings which amounted to as many as forty to fifty thousand paintings in the city's more than four thousand houses, or an average of eleven paintings per household.[17] Although much work still has to be done analyzing inventories in other Dutch towns, Montias suggests that his findings in Delft are not atypical, particularly as far as proliferation of artworks among the broad population is concerned.

The art market, or more precisely, the offering of paintings as a finished product in the form of merchandise to an anonymous buyer is not an invention of the seventeenth century. Although it reached a hitherto unknown level of sophistication during that age, art dealing activity is mentioned as early as 1457 in Brugge.[18] Numerous regulations governing the business with paintings in mid-sixteenth century Utrecht attest further to the importance of the art market. The lucrative and enjoyable character of markets in general attracted art dealing, and artists traveled from market to market selling their works. Sometimes traveling salesmen sold, along with other merchandise, inexpensive paintings for two to ten guilders at these markets,[19] thus satisfying the growing demand for cheap paintings often in the form of copies manufactured by the dozen.[20] Just because these works were sold for low prices, they were not necessarily second rate. Isaac van Ostade, for instance, once painted a group of thirteen paintings for the art dealer Leendert Hendricksz for a total of twenty-seven guilders, or slightly above two guilders per work.[21] Typically, those pictures were simple, popularly-appealing subjects intended for sale to the art hungry lower middle class and rural population. Eloquent sales techniques enhanced the works desirability and speculative attraction.[22] As the art market grew in complexity towards the mid-century, specialization occurred: soon the general merchant, who in addition to selling other goods, also offered paintings at fairs and markets, and the traveling artist, who sold his works and perhaps some paintings by others during the same occasion, found competition from professional art dealers. The appearance of this new profession and its in-built demands and requirements paved the way to an art market in which anonymous consumer demand, observed and manipulated by the professional middleman—the art dealer— dictated to a large degree the artistic production. The role of the dealer was to recognize, respond to, or create this demand and find the most effective, efficient, and profitable way to satisfy it. The widespread popularity of paintings and the profit potential of art dealing also attracted other professions to the business. Paintings were sold, for example, by book dealers, in pubs, often because painters gave them to the inn-keeper in lieu of payment for food and drink, by dealers in religious objects, second-hand merchandise dealers, jewelers, flower dealers and frame makers.[23] The trade in Dutch art in the seventeenth century did not just touch almost every facet of the consuming public in Holland proper, but also encompassed an active export trade with France, Italy (although to a lesser degree), Spain, Germany, and England.[24]

From the aforementioned, one can thus conclude that the market for paintings was extensive; the emergence of the middle class as patrons significantly broadened and solidified the demand, while the supply—the artist painting for an increasingly anonymous market—was to a large extent regulated by professional merchants, members of an advanced capitalist society. Artistic production and private patronage were thus affected by considerations such as saleability of product, cost and supply of inventory, overhead, profit and loss, risk factor, loans and interest rates and speed of turnover.

Dynamics and Structure of the Art Market. Having briefly discussed the size of the Dutch art market, we now turn to its structure and dynamics. During the seventeenth century, paintings were accepted by the majority of the population as a liquid, tangible value. This conclusion can be derived from the variety of financial functions pictures fulfilled in Dutch society.[25] Contemporary records show that artists, and sometimes also art dealers, had to resort on occasion to settling their debts with paintings as payment.[26] These debts could consist of anything—rent payments, house purchases, clothing costs, wine and food bills, pub tabs (which caused many pub owners to double as art dealers), even interest payments on loans.[27] Due to the relatively high liquidity of paintings coupled with the surplus wealth among the burgeoning middle class, art works took on the characteristics of an investment suitable for speculation. Those who benefitted from the economical growth that the young country enjoyed needed places to invest their money—land was scarce and property in limited supply. The rarity of such traditional investments also significantly helped (for example, the popularity of the Amsterdam Beurse, in these days the most advanced investment vehicle) as well as affected the

art market.[28] With a passion almost equal to that of the famous tulip mania (1623-1637), the Dutch population collected, invested, bought and sold paintings.[29] Because the pictures were still intended for homes, a system of secondary markets had to be developed to facilitate the busy trading activity. Of course, private patrons still visited studios of artists they admired to purchase their work. Not infrequently, painters also kept works by fellow artists in their possession to copy and to sell to any interested buyer.[30] Besides the master's original compositions the choice of paintings available in the studio could typically consist of: works by Italian artists used for copies and eventual sale; and paintings by contemporaries for the same purpose, as well as copies executed by either master or apprentice. Due to the low price of copies and workshop pictures, they were popular sellers, in other words, "pot boilers" or "bread and butter" pictures. In addition to direct buyer-to-seller contact, the market also offered lotteries to artists, dealers, and collectors. The Dutch enjoyment of betting and gambling enhanced the popularity of these lotteries and provided one of the outlets for speculation.[31] Art lotteries appeared as early as 1445 in Brugge and gained widely in popularity in the seventeenth century. Sometimes the paintings raffled off were the work of one artist only as was the case at a lottery of thirty paintings by the landscape painter Jan Willemsz Decker held in The Hague in 1614. At other times the offering could have been more varied, as for example at a Utrecht auction held in 1649: 2182 tickets were sold for 158 objects, mostly paintings by contemporary local artists and some copies.[32] Other marketplaces for paintings were weekly-held auctions. The busy schedule of sales further enhanced the potential for speculation. Strict regulations governed this aspect of the business and attempts to violate these were not uncommon.[33] These auctions, sometimes called "Fridaymarkets," were the ideal place for the speculator, and also for the professional art dealer, as an important and convenient source for inventory.[34] Towards mid-century the auction system was so much in demand that it presented a danger of proliferation of the market.[35] The accessibility to the public, the open, competitive spirit, and the seemingly unlimited supply of goods, made the auctions an inexpensive buyer's market,[36] as well as providing instant liquidity for tangible art assets of both collectors and dealers. It is worth noting that Montias, in his extensive analysis, found no evidence of artists using these weekly auctions to sell their own works.[37] One can only speculate on the reasons; perhaps the unpredictability of the eventual selling price made this way of selling too risky for the artist. Nevertheless, the records of these auctions are considered one of the most important sources of knowledge about the prices of paintings in Holland.[38] Besides these weekly auctions, estate auctions were held as needed, by the order of creditors or heirs which could, of course, also serve as a supply source for art dealers' inventories.[39] Art exhibitions, as we know them today, were still in their infancy and had difficulty finding support from artists as well as collectors who preferred the more traditional avenues of buying and selling.[40]

In addition to marketing vehicles such as lotteries and auctions, another important factor influenced the dynamics of the art market: the collector, whose taste demands and pocketbook extended the power of patronage. As the market for paintings grew and specialization of artists developed further, the needs and habits of the patron exerted an increasing influence over the artistic production.[41] This control exercised by the demand side of the market went as far as having clearly detailed contracts between patrons and artists specifying time frame, price, size, subject, and quality of the painter's production.[42] Painting "to sell" was not only acceptable but necessary for an artist to attain commercial success, and one must be conscious of the dialectic of the painter/patron relationship and its significant impact on the artistic and cultural character of the age.

In summary, the sophisticated Dutch art market of the seventeenth century was highly active, competitive and liquid. Middle class collectors, speculators and the emerging specialized art dealer added to the overall volume and exercised both financial and aesthetic influence.

The Role of the Dealer. Although direct contact between artists and collectors persisted throughout the seventeenth century, the age gave birth to the professional art dealer, which, in job description was very similar to his or her twentieth-century counterpart. As middleman, he or she stepped between consumer and producer of art works, and, since his or her income was derived from the frequency of turnover, the art dealers' activities were governed by the desire to enhance this aspect of the business. Increasing one's turnover required a knowledge and awareness of current popular trends as well as the ability to actively promote styles and artworks suitable for a trendy and widespread market. One must, therefore, consider the art dealer in a passive as well as active relationship to the market. Not only did the business require the ability to satisfy existing demands but also to create new ones. As in any business dealing with merchandise, inventory was essential. Sensibly the cost—and therefore the risk—of this stock of paintings was kept as low as possible for each individual item in order to present the largest selection for the least capital output. Frequently, the inventory was bought at auctions or *kirmesses,* and purchases often consisted of fine originals which were then copied by the dozen by young artists employed for meager wages.[43] Occasionally, these young painters were assigned to do independent work, such as Van Dyck who at age sixteen was ordered to execute thirteen paintings—Christ and the twelve apostles—for the Antwerp dealer Willem Vergaagen.[44] The auctions were also an excellent source for inexpensive paintings, sometimes even unfinished, which were purchased with the intention of having them completed by the dealer's own stable of artists.[45] It was also common practice for dealers to commission painters to execute specific works in large quantities, again for very little money.[46] A wide selection of cheap but popular

paintings reduced the dealers' risk and facilitated quick and easy selling to satisfy the growing demand among the middle class who represented the bulk of the buying public. Selling works on consignment was also practiced to further reduce capital investment in stock.[47] More expensive works were only found in very small numbers in dealers' inventories, generally there to be copied or occasionally sold to a wealthy client.[48]

The popularity of art collection, and the potential profit to be made from dealing in paintings, attracted a variety of individuals to the business. In his essay on art dealers in the seventeenth-century Netherlands,[49] Montias differentiates between three different types of dealers. The first category was the *exclusive dealers* who were oriented more or less entirely to meeting the demand of a high class clientele for quality paintings, offering their customers different national styles (*i.e.,* Dutch, Italian, Flemish) and periods. They almost certainly did not have a stable of artists working for them on a regular basis. Second, and on the other end of the spectrum, were those dealers who made their living by selling works for which they paid very little by obscure artists.[50] And finally, the middle ground was occupied by dealers who catered to a clientele somewhat superior to that of the aforementioned though far below the exclusive category of wealthy art collectors of the first group. Besides the full-time professional dealer, there existed also a wide variety of enterprising individuals seeking to enhance their livelihood by trading in paintings (page 23),and it comes as no surprise that the business in paintings enjoyed a somewhat dubious reputation. Dealers quite regularly changed the attribution of paintings to follow market trends by removing authentic signatures and replacing them with more currently-popular painters.[51] Practices such as these and other devices earned the trader in art the reputation of doing anything for a sale, dishonest or not. This liberal attitude towards authorship is also among the chief reasons for the ongoing difficulties in correctly identifying many works of this period.

The role of the art dealer as described above leads to certain conclusions regarding the effects of this profession on the art scene in seventeenth-century Holland. As money flowed into art, the growth of the market gave birth to the specialized art dealer. The momentum inherent in this further fed the demand for paintings and resulted in increasing pressure on the suppliers effecting a need for inexpensive, quickly executed, often mass-produced paintings. The subsequent flooding of the market exercised a further downward pressure on the average price of paintings. Dealers in art took on the role of financiers while collectors became speculators. The volatility of an active and overloaded market in contemporary paintings made art of the past a more attractive and safer investment.[52] This leads to the further conclusion that the majority of pictures produced by living painters for dealers were necessarily of the inexpensive kind, while only artists with an already-established reputation and direct contact to collectors were inclined to devote time and money to the execution of major—and thus expensive—works which could only be afforded by a wealthy and, therefore, much smaller group of patrons.[53] The high prices these artists had to charge for their works also put them in competition with older, pre-seventeenth century art, which added further to the inherent risk and their reluctance to execute expensive paintings. The position of the dealer created the very anonymity of the consumer for which the artist painted. Rules of business more than aesthetic considerations of the artist exercised influence over artistic production, and the dealer manipulated artist and patron alike to satisfy the demands of his or her business.

The Role of the Artist. The next aspect to be considered in this survey of the Dutch art market is the role played by artists in their relationship to dealers and the buying public. Many of the painters came from the middle or upper classes of society who could afford the relatively high cost of the required six-year training period or were themselves the children of painters.[54] This fact also accounts for the very few instances of illiteracy among painters.[55] Initially, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, these artists owned small workshops with only a few helpers and worked primarily for the church and private patrons. As the middle class grew in wealth the artists adapted to the new environment. Artistic expression was directed by the perception and understanding of the anonymous customer's taste and painters were forced to create large inventories to be able to have a broad selection of works available for sale.[56] This necessity demanded that the artists work in genres which could be inexpensively mass produced, such as still lifes, landscapes, simple interiors, etc.[57] To market the production of their studios, it was frequently necessary for the artists to actively seek buyers. Once their names were firmly established, it became possible to sell directly to the consumer by engaging in personal contact with the patrons. Special arrangements with collectors, such as the right of first refusal, did exist.[58] However, the artists, already occupied with a busy studio, preferred to work through dealers whose very roles gave them a better understanding of consumer taste and could give suggestions or outright commissions to the painters as well as providing working capital.[59]

The activities of a painter were very demanding, and the organization of a studio taught most Dutch artists to work hard and produce easily at a young age.[60] Their lives were regulated by the rules of the powerful guild, membership of which was almost essential to the artists' economic survival. The art market was very competitive, and it was by no means easy for painters to make a decent living. Many died in poverty,[61] and it was not uncommon for artists to have more than just one source of livelihood. A further demand the market placed on the artists was the need for specialization regarding subject matter of their work. Montias records, for example, the specialization of thirty-four guild members in Delft in 1613.[62] This growth of specialties provides an accurate mirror of trends

in consumer taste throughout the century.[63] Mass production of certain subjects and the resulting downward pressure on prices gave way to a form of exploitation of artists known as the "galley" system,[64] whereby dealers and heads of studios would employ professional artists for poverty wages to produce large amounts of special subjects of particular current interest to be sold inexpensively to the public.

What can be concluded from all this? The change from direct contact with the patron to painting largely for the anonymous market reached through the professional dealer, and the resulting mass production, forced the value of art to go down. This price tendency again increased mass production, further depressing prices.[65] It became therefore economically imprudent for painters to execute major, *i.e.* expensive, works unless they were intended for a specifically identified buyer.

Value and Valuation of Paintings. The popular use of paintings as a financial instrument, the position of artists as members of a professional guild coupled with the already described dynamics of the art market, necessitated a structured system of valuation for artistic production. The prime factor determining a given artwork's cost was the artist's labor influenced to a degree by the forces of supply and demand.[66] As far as demand was concerned, one must take into consideration the change of the painter's role from craftsman to artist. Through skillful promotion, certain individuals succeed in breaking out of the confinements of a valuation based strictly on labor and incorporated more ambiguous and flexible considerations in the pricing of their works.[67] Leaving these exceptions aside, painterly skill, subject matter, and production time remained the determining factors for valuation. On the high side were painters like Vermeer, Gerard Dou, and Frans van Mieris—the Fijnschilder— who received anywhere from 1,000 to 2,500 guilders per work.[68] These artists worked slowly, executing highly-detailed, meticulously-finished paintings which took six months or more to complete. For these artists it was difficult, if not outright impossible, to paint works "on spec." The long production time and the resulting high prices of their paintings significantly reduced the number of potential buyers—works by van Mieris and Dou cost the equivalent of an average house—and they would have needed a great deal of capital to keep an inventory on hand.[69] A small group of wealthy patrons, who bought their works on a fairly regular basis, functioned as the main source of livelihood for these artists (*e.g.,* Vermeer). It comes, therefore, as no surprise that paintings, which by their very method of execution were very expensive, were also exceedingly rare. On the low side of the market, were the unattributed, often mass-produced paintings for the broad public. An analysis of dealers' inventories shows without exception that unattributed works comprised well over 60% of their stock with prices rarely exceeding 50 guilders per painting.[70] Even attributed paintings by well-known artists were subject to the value reducing effects of a flooded market.[71]

One of the most interesting consequences of this oversupply was the effect of the market on style. What is often thought of as a change of aesthetic considerations was actually the result of certain cost-lowering innovations which painters were forced to adopt for reasons of competition. One of the devices was the shift from a linear-mannerist to a painterly baroque style. Originating in Harlem, from the 1620s on, the supply of works in the "new" style increased by leaps and bounds as prices declined simultaneously. The typical cost of a landscape in the new style was around 15 to 20 guilders as compared with 60 or more guilders for the old.[72] Such outright prostitution by market forces may be shocking to modern critics, but one must not forget that the majority of artists treated their craft as a way of making a living rather than a sacred calling. Numerous instances are known of well-established artists who ceased to paint when they made rich marriages or found a more lucrative occupation.[73]

Production time was closely linked with subject matter. A broadly executed landscape by van Goyen, for example, took considerably less time to paint than an architectural interior by de Witte. Consequently, the inventories of the period recorded not only prices but also subject matter.[74] On the average, history paintings and architectural pictures were the highest priced throughout the century while landscapes were the cheapest and enjoyed the widest distribution among the middle class collections; again, no market scenes are mentioned in the records of these inventories.[75] This confirms the notion that the very forces of the market played a significant and dominating influence on the artistic production of seventeenth-century Holland.

Examples of Market Scene Paintings. An analysis of several representative examples of seventeenth-century Dutch market scenes allows for a judgement of their position in relation to their place in the market.[76]

The first painting to be addressed is a work by Hendrick Sorgh depicting a *Vegetable Market,* signed and dated 1662 (oil on panel, 20 x 28", Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).[77] (Figure 1) The painting incorporates three distinct elements: architectural painting, still life, and genre. All aspects of the composition are executed with meticulous attention to detail. This, as well as the highly-finished surface quality of the picture which shows almost no visible evidence of individual brushstrokes, puts this work clearly in the category of "Fijnschilder"—by itself the most expensive method of execution. In order to depict the various elements of townscape, figures, and market goods on this relatively small panel, highly detailed execution was necessary and months of labor went into this painting. Taking quality and production time into consideration, as well as the mixture of three different pictorial elements, the cost of this particular, and typical, example of a market scene must have been extremely high. If the artist was actually paid a large price for this panel or if he had to settle for a lesser amount is, unfortunately, not known, nor can we identify its first purchaser and

the method of acquisition. It is unlikely that Sorgh put so much time and money at risk and executed the panel to be sold on the open market. It is far more likely that he had a specific buyer in mind or was actually commissioned to do this work. The portrait-like quality of the seated female figure on the left could possibly provide a clue. A dealer would also not be inclined to purchase this work for resale and tie up a large amount of capital with only one single very expensive piece which, due to price, appealed to a very wealthy and small group of buyers who preferred to commit large sums of money to the purchase of established Old Masters. Thus, market appeal, inventory cost considerations, and production time would explain why paintings executed in the described manner were not likely to exist in large numbers.

Another quite similar example is the *Fish Market* painted by the same artist in 1654 (oil on panel, Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Kassel).[78] (Figure 2) The same aspects apply. Architectural elements, figurative painting, and still life elements, even seascape, are combined in a painstakingly executed, time-consuming, and, therefore, costly picture. Although Sorgh was noted for his market scenes and to a degree even specialized in them, by far the larger part of his oeuvre consisted of much less elaborate works which could be sold much more easily on the open market to the average middle-class collector.

Another market scene painted by Gabriel Metsu, *Vegetable Market at Amsterdam* (oil on canvas, 97 x 84-1/2 cm, Louvre, Paris)[79] incorporates fewer still life elements, but places emphasis on the figurative parts of the composition. (Figure 3) Also, highly finished, the painting again falls under the category of the expensive "Fijnschilder."

There exists a slightly larger number of pictures depicting individual market stalls or single figures offering products for sale. Less elaborate in composition and execution, they were much cheaper to produce and, consequently, enjoyed a broader base of potential buyers, perhaps the members of the very trades they depicted.[80] Even so, their numbers, as recorded in the inventories, are still very small in comparison with other categories. (Figure 4)

Examining market scene paintings with respect to their cost or potential selling price and its related consequences will almost always produce the same conclusions. The technical challenges and the time needed to successfully execute a typical example of good quality puts these paintings into an exclusive category. Because they were time consuming and difficult for the artist, expensive and risky for the dealer, affordable only to the very wealthy, therefore of relatively low liquidity and unsuitable for speculation to the investment-hungry middle class, the very nature of the art market dictated a very limited production of this category of paintings.

Regrettably, in my investigation I was unable to locate any records which could identify the first purchasers and original prices of well-known market scene paintings. Such information would provide further insight into this issue. Ultimately, more studies of the complex interrelation between patron—market—and artist are needed to fully gage the extent to which economic forces affected the visual heritage of the first fully developed capitalist economy of Western Europe.

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Note: *The Art Bulletin* of September 1990 (Volume LXXII, number 3, pp. 358-373) published an essay "Socio-Economic Aspects of Netherlandish Art from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Century: A Survey" by J. M. Montias. I received the article after the completion of this paper, and, while it endorses my argument for the economical basis of the relative scarcity of certain subject matters among the works of seventeenth-century Dutch painters, the author addresses several sources I relied upon. Montias criticizes the often quoted diary entry of John Evelyn regarding the widespread popularity and speculative use of paintings by the Dutch rural population as well as the diarist's conjecture that the reason for the abundance and cheapness of pictures in Holland was to be sought in the lack of land in which to invest money. Equally, Montias disputes Bredius' claim that "almost every Dutchman in the seventeenth century owned a small gallery; there were lots of pictures hanging in the houses of citizens, from the most distinguished to those of the plainest status." I cited both Evelyn and Bredius as evidence for the widespread popularity of paintings among the population of seventeenth century Holland, as well as Montias' own findings in this regard in the city of Delft. A significant reduction of Evelyn's and Bredius' quantitative comments is of little bearing to my argument and the proliferation of paintings among the Dutch population during the period addressed in my study remains still significant. For readers with specific interest in the study of the Dutch art market of the seventeenth century, Montias' article presents an up-to-date critical analysis of past and present scholarship on the subject as well as a basis from which to undertake further specific research.

1 John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft. A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982) 227.

2 I am using the term "taste" loosely here. Taste, as we will see, was not strictly a reflection of aesthetic concerns but subject to manipulation from the side of art dealers and also directly affected by price.

3 See Montias 227 and also Albert Bredius, *Kuntsler-Inventare, Urkunden zur Geschichte der Hollaendischen Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIII Jahrhunderts* (Martinus Nijhoff, Den Haag, 1921). It should be pointed out that it was generally customary to record inventories of the middle and upper class households only, yet it can be assumed that the lower classes imitated to a large degree the collecting habits of their wealthier counterparts.

4 Eric Larsen and Jane Davidson, *Calvinist Economy and 17th Century Dutch Art* (University of Kansas Publication, Lawrence, 1979) 19, as quoted by J. W. Smits, *Preconditions of Revolution,* 52, 53.

5 Linda Scott Ferrier, "Gabriel Metsu's Vegetable Market at Amsterdam: 17th Century Dutch Market Paintings & Horticulture," *Art Bulletin* LXXI, 3, (1989): 442.

6 Ferrier 442.

7 Ferrier 428. Quote: "After the middle of the seventeenth century an unprecedented group of paintings of vegetable markets was produced.... The large number of such paintings extant demonstrates their popularity at the time they were produced....the growth in the importance of Dutch horticulture in these communities paralleled the growth of production of the marketplace paintings."

8 Ferrier 428, and note 3. Gerrit Dou, Jan Steen, (and others of the Leiden School), Gabriel Metsu, Jan Victors, Nicolaes Maes, Hendrick Sorgh, Quirijn van Brekelenkam, Emmanuel de Witte, Michiel van Musscher, Jacob Toorenvliet and others.

9 Albert Bredius, *Meisterwerke des Rijksmuseums* (Amsterdam, 1903) 62. For accuracy of this statement see my note at the end of this essay.

10 Bredius 62; Montias 227.

11 Christie's, Sotheby's, Hotel Drouot.

12 By fully developed, I mean market scene paintings similar in elaboration to their sixteenth-century predecessors by Aertsen and Beuckelaer. However, one must recognize the difference in their meaning as well as the difference of the patronal structure in the sixteenth versus the seventeenth century.

13 John Evelyn, *Diary & Correspondence of John Evelyn, Frs,* ed. W. Bray (London) 15, as cited by Larsen 40, and H. Floerke, *Studien zur Niederlaendischen Kunst-und Kulturgeschichte,* Georg Muller, Munchen und Leipzig, (1905), ed. Davaco Publishers, Soest Holland, (1972) 20. See also my note at the end of this essay.

14 John Michael Montias, "On Art and Economic Reasoning," *Art in America* July 1988: 27.

15 Larsen 17.

16 Montias 48.

17 Montias 220. The difference between Bredius' number and Montias' is probably due to the fact that most of the inventories of the poor and lower class people in Delft artworks are summarily described. Montias caveats that his sampling does *not* provide unbiased data but records mostly the upper end of wealth distribution—about one inventory to every 10-15 households (222,224).

18 Floerke 6.

19 Floerke 11, 14, 17, 18.

20 Floerke 158. These paintings were often called "Brabanter Dutzendware" after the city in which they were frequently produced, Brabant and their mass production "by the dozen."

21 Floerke 22.

22 Floerke 28, 29, 100.

23 Floerke 74.

24 Floerke 74-83.

25 Montias 25.

26 Montias 195; Floerke 30ff.

27 Floerke 30ff.

28 Larsen 48.

29 Larsen 37, 38, 48; Montias 197; Floerke 164.

30 More on the role of the artist in the art market will be discussed in a subsequent part of this paper. Doubling as art dealers was a common source of supplementary income and a natural extension of the studio activity. (See for example Vermeer, who, for most of his career as a painter also maintained, together with his wife, an active trade in pictures by other artists.)

31 Montias 197.

32 Floerke 55-57.

33 Floerke 42.

34 Floerke 37.

35 Floerke 46.

36 Montias 203.

37 Montias 203.

38 Montias 202.

39 Floerke 37.

40 Floerke 58-67. Floerke is of the opinion that the idea of exhibitions seemed to have been contradictory to the interest and habits of artists and collectors.

41 Alan Chong, "The Market for Landscape Paintings in Seventeenth Century Holland," *Masters of the Seventeenth Century Dutch Landscape Painting,* ed. Peter Sutton (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1987) 113.

42 Floerke 168.

43 Floerke 96, 105.

44 Floerke 95; for an additional example see 19.

45 Floerke 95.

46 Floerke 97. For example, the art dealer Peter Coenrarts commissioned Tobias van Haecht to paint 18 works for a unit price of 30 guilders. Floerke lists numerous similar cases; John Michael Montias, "Art Dealers in the 17th Century Netherlands," *Simiolus,* 18, no. 4, 245; Larsen 44.

47 Montias 209.

48 Floerke 105.

49 Montias, "Art Dealers in the 17th Century Netherlands," 252.

50 Montias 202, 204. The dealers of this category were often women from lower class backgrounds. See also Floerke 116.

51 Floerke 99.

52 Floerke 120.

53 Larsen 43.

54 Montias 133.

55 Montias 114.

56 Montias 195.

57 Larsen 195.

58 Larsen 195.

59 Montias, "Art Dealers in the 17th Century Netherlands, 246.

60 Floerke 131.

61 Montias 130.

62 Montias 141; Floerke 87, 88.

63 Montias 146; Floerke 87, 88.

64 Floerke 246.

65 Larsen 48.

66 John Michael Montias, "On Art and Economic Reasoning," *Art in America* July 1988: 25; Floerke 54, 55, 178.

67 Svetlana Alpers, *Rembrandt's Enterprise: The Studio and the Market* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). Alpers suggests that Rembrandt's style, quite opposite to that of the "Fijnschilder" method, was designed to save production time as well as remove his work out of the traditional evaluation system. This argument stands largely unsupported but Rembrandt, like all other painters, had to deal with a saturated market and the resulting low prices. Merely reducing production time by adopting a more painterly style would have depressed the prices of his work. Therefore, consciously changing the expressive quality of his work to step outside the value system generally applied seems a plausible solution to maintain his high prices.

68 Chong 115; Montias, "On Art and Economic Reasoning," 25.

69 Montias, "On Art and Economic Reasoning," 25.

70 Chong 116.

71 Floerke 52, 109; Larsen 46.

72 Montias, "On Art and Economic Reasoning," 27.

73 Montias, "On Art and Economic Reasoning," 25.

74 Montias 231, 238. In 1,224 inventories between 1610-1679 the subject was specified in a little over half of the pictures listed. 9,623 paintings were classified in various categories: monks, hermits, confessions, seascapes, river landscapes, barn scenes, dogs, cats, live birds, other small domestic animals, family portraits, royal portraits, Old Testament, New Testament, other religious subjects, mythologies, landscapes, genre, still lifes, children, naked persons, and candlelight scenes.

75 Chong 112, 116.

76 I am purposely omitting any discussion regarding the emblematic versus descriptive content of these paintings, since the aspect I am addressing in this paper does not concern itself with this issue.

77 Peter C. Sutton, ed, *Masters of Seventeenth Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1984) 305, plate 95.

78 Sutton, fig. 87, LI.

79 Christopher Brown, *Images of a Golden Past* (N.Y.: Abbeville Press Publishers, 1984) 114.

80 Sutton, 138, plate 119. *The Baker* by Job Berckheyde, (o/c, monogrammed, 25 x 20-3/8").

Figure 1. Hendrick Sorgh, *Vegetable Market,* 1662, oil on panel, 20" × 28", Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Figure 2. Hendrick Sorgh, *Fish Market,* 1654, oil on panel, 20" × 24", Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Kassel.

Figure 4. Job Berckheyde, *The Baker,* c. 1681, oil on canvas, 25" × 20 7/8", Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Figure 3. Gabriel Metsu, *Vegetable Market at Amsterdam,* mid 1650s, oil on canvas, 97 x 84½cm, Louvre, Paris.

The John Foster Gravestone

K. O'Neil

Two factors severely limited artistic output in the first century of Colonial America. One was a preoccupation with basic necessities which consumed the energies of the settlers and left them "little time for the development of a taste and all that an interest in the arts implies."[1] The other was the Puritans' belief that "human inventions in art led to idolatry."[2] Despite these limitations, a confluence of circumstances and the appearance of a few enlightened individuals contributed to the creation of an artistic masterpiece, the John Foster gravestone.

Gravestone carving in the seventeenth century was encouraged by the same factors that limited other art forms. The Puritans rejected Catholic funerary rituals because their eschatology decreed that "judgement came immediately at the moment of death, thus denying the need for rituals undertaken by the living to affect the state of the dead."[3] Yet gravestone carving was acceptable because the Puritans needed the imagery to advance and promote understanding of their beliefs.[4] To them, gravestones were necessary tools rather than icons. Death provided the Puritan congregation with an opportunity to remind people of their impending fates; according to David Waters in *With Bodilie Eyes,* the Puritans transformed the Catholic ritual into a *memento mori* framework.[5] *Memento mori,* "Remember that you must die," and *fugit hora,* "the hour is fleeting," were common Latin inscriptions on gravestones.[6] For the illiterate majority, the Latin inscriptions and epitaphs were not as important as the imagery on the gravestones. Since members of the congregation often passed the noon hour meditating in the cemeteries, pictures on the tombstones served to remind them that they too must prepare for death.[7] Simple images including winged skulls, coffins, pick-axes (scythes), hourglasses, and figures representing Time gave them a direct understanding of Puritan moral precepts—perhaps more than did the "sometimes too ponderous sermons."[8]

Despite being iconophobic, this culture embraced gravestone carving as long as it enhanced the Puritan ethic. Harriette Merrifield Forbes, in her book *Gravestones of Early New England,* outlines five primary images found in early gravestones: recognition of the flight of time, certainty of death, occupation of the deceased, the Christian life, and the resurrection of the body and activities of the redeemed soul.[9] The symbols used to express these concepts were not only restricted to these meanings, they were also limited artistically because stonecutters had few sources on which to draw. Most stonecutters did not serve solely as gravestone carvers; they also worked at jobs such as making ship figureheads, furniture, silverware, and architectural decorations.[10] Like the painting and architecture of the time, stonecutters looked to European prototypes. Images that fulfilled the Puritans' eschatological needs came from such graphic sources as book illustrations, broadsides, and emblem books.[11] Stonecutters could easily translate these two-dimensional, black and white images onto stone with the result that many of the gravestones are both austere and flat.[12] Although Puritan gravestones have been regarded as merely decorative art due to their naive style and borrowed imagery, I intend to show that in the case of the John Foster gravestone, the carver's decisions concerning iconography and stylistic motifs have made this stone a masterpiece of Colonial art (Figure 1). In order to understand the emergence of such a masterpiece in provincial seventeenth-century America, one must understand its social context, its artist/carver, and its subject, the deceased.

Dorchester, a suburb of Boston, experienced both a growing population and increased prosperity during the seventeenth century. The so-called "Great Migration" between 1620 and 1640 resulted in 14,000 Europeans immigrating to Massachusetts.[13] The Puritans came to America seeking a new spiritual life and better economic opportunities. Their ingenuity together with their religion, which regarded work as an end in itself, helped them to become rich businessmen.[14] Their success enabled them to afford the trappings of a growing urban center. Boston prospered primarily from fish and wood; Catholic Fridays in Europe demanded a constant supply of fish that Bostonian fishermen happily satisfied.[15] Wood products in the form of barrel staves and clapboards, as well as agricultural products such as sheep, pork, and goats, were traded for wine, sugar and tobacco.[16] Boston expanded culturally as well as materially. Books from England began to fill libraries; periodicals and newspapers from abroad brought the latest information which domestic printing presses made available to many.[17] The three-and-a-half foot telescope that Governor John Winthrop, Jr. brought from Europe in 1662 helped Harvard students focus their eyes on the universe.[18] New England cultural life was expanding.

John Foster was a prominent figure in this new urban culture. He was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts in 1648, the son of Mary Bates Foster and Hopestill Foster, the town Brewer and a captain in the militia.[19] He attended Harvard and taught school for a time after graduation. The Reverend Increase Mather and John Eliot, who was known as "apostle to the Indians," were his friends and

religious colleagues. They were, in fact, responsible for encouraging him in 1675 to open the first successful printing press in Boston.[20] Although not a great artist, he is remembered for, among other things, a woodblock print which he created of Richard Mather that was most likely made as a frontispiece to the 1670 pamphlet "Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Richard Mather."[21] Foster was also responsible for engraving the Great Seal of Massachusetts, compiling one of the earliest almanacs in the Colonies, and creating minor broadsides and important early maps and charts. In 1681, he drew an astronomical chart of *The Copernican System* and wrote an essay on "Comets, their Motion, Distance, and Magnitude."[22] This fascination with stars and physics was not uncommon among Puritan thinkers; Cotton Mather, for example, had tried to show "how divine order manifests itself throughout the phenomenal universe."[23] When John Foster died in 1681, the best carver in the area, known as "the Stonecutter of Boston" was commissioned to create an appropriate gravestone.

There were many stonecutters among the craftsmen who came to Boston in the seventeenth century, but three workers from this early period were preeminent. Although the name of the earliest is unknown, he was called "The Stonecutter of Boston." Forbes concluded that "if there was more than one stonecutter in Boston at that time, he was of slight consequence, and one alone was worthy to be called 'The Stonecutter.'" The gravestones attributed to this man "exceed in quantity the output of all the other very early stonecutters." His work is found in all the old burying-grounds near Boston and date from 1653 to 1695. Most of his stones are simple, with little ornamentation, but sometimes he attempted more ambitious effects as in the John Foster gravestone, which is considered by some scholars to be his masterpiece.[24]

When Foster died, his will requested that "twenty or thirty shillings should be paid or reserved for a pair of handsome gravestones."[25] According to Forbes, "his brothers must have tried to select the best man they could find to make the stones, and they saw how very appropriate to him would be a design similar to that on Joseph Tapping's stone" of Boston's King's Chapel (Figure 2).[26] The Tapping stone, which was created by "the Stonecutter of Boston" in 1678, did in fact serve as the prototype for the Foster stone. Like most colonial images, its central design had come from Europe, specifically from the 1638 emblem book *The Hieroglyphikes of the Life of Man* by Francis Quarles (Figure 3).[27] Illustrations created by the English engravers Marshall and Simpson accompanied Quarles' religious poetry. "The Stonecutter's" use of "Hieroglyph VI" may have resulted from its legibility, an important consideration in Puritan eschatological imagery. In this image, a skeleton is prevented from snuffing out a candle by a bearded figure holding an hourglass. Puritans were well-versed in the imagery of death and would know that this hieroglyph represented the flight of time and the certainty of death. To them the skeleton was Death, the candle Life, and the old man Time. This conflict is dramatized in Quarles' verse:

> "Time: Behold the frailtie of this slender snuff;
> Alas, it hath not long to last...
> Death: Time, hold thy peace, and shake thy slow pac'd sand...Canst thou appoint my shaft?
> Time: Or thou my how'r?
> Death: 'T is I bid, do.
> Time: 'T is I bid, When."[28]

The argument over who decides when a life is ended must have reinforced the certainty and omnipresence of death to the Puritans because it emphasized not only its finality but also the capriciousness of when it might come.

Creation of the Foster gravestone began with the selection of the imagery by "The Stonecutter of Boston." His earlier stone for Joseph Tapping had been designed with an elaborate scroll top and images common to many gravestones of the time: leafy borders, a large winged death's head, a large hourglass, and rosettes. The copy of the hieroglyph filled a small section of the stone and was flanked by gothic arches which held the inscription. For the Foster stone, "the Stonecutter" chose a simpler tripartite shape, possibly symbolizing a doorway. The Boston minister Samuel Willard had made this comparison in "Death is the portal to eternity, and carries men over to an unchangeable state." To further simplify the Tapping design, "the Stonecutter" eliminated all imagery except the hieroglyph. He moved the Death and Time scene to the center of the tripartite arch. To border the epitaph he employed a leafy scroll motif similar to the decorative carving on Wainscot Chairs created in Massachusetts at this time (Figure 4). An odd detail of this headstone is the difference in relief between the top leafy scrolls and the lower ones; the latter are carved in a much lower relief and suggest a later reworking of the stone or evidence of a second set of hands in the carving.[29]

The hieroglyphic image was also changed, first from the original to the Tapping stone and again for the Foster stone (Figures 5 and 6). Although Death and Time stand in the same positions as in the hieroglyph, Death's head on the tombstones is rendered as a large, flat bulb with an abstracted triangular "nose" and stylized "eyebrows," a signature of "the Boston Stonecutter." This change relates to the more common image of death's head in Colonial gravestones, such as "the Stonecutter's" Mary Cromall monument, Salem, 1683. The sundial and Death's dart have been eliminated from the hieroglyph. The sun, which Quarles compares to God in the line "Great God, I am thy tapour, thou my sun," was transformed from an orb with graphic lines radiating to an expressive face with abstracted triangular rays on the Foster stone.[30] The candle in the original hieroglyph is nearly two-thirds the size of the figures and rests in an urn with plain scroll handles (Figure 3). The Foster and Tapping candles are smaller and each rest on a candle plate balanced atop a globe. The globe on the Foster stone rests on ornamental "paintbrush" feet, common to the Boston chairs popular at the time (Figure 7). The plain scroll handles have been transformed into serpents with duck

heads, a symbol of regeneration, similar to the serpent handles of Jeremiah Dummer's *Silver Punchbowl,* Boston, 1692 (Figure 8). These images had certain currency since they appear in Colonial silver, furniture, and gravestones.

Below the illustration and between the rosette borders a flat area is reserved for the epitaph, reading "THE INGENIOUS Mathematician & printer/ MR JOHN FOSTER/ AGED 33 YEARS DYED SEPTR, 9TH/ 1681." According to Forbes it was customary for "the Stonecutter of Boston" to follow the epitaph with a Latin inscription of his own choosing, typically a verse from Ovid or simply "memento mori." On this stone however he used a Latin verse that Increase Mather had sent to John Foster upon learning in April of 1681 that his friend had not long to live. In their correspondence he wrote, "Living thou studiest the stars; dying, mayest thou Foster, I pray, mount above the skies and learn to measure the highest heaven." Foster had written back to Mather "I measure it and it is mine; the Lord Jesus has bought it for me; nor am I held to pay aught for it but thanks."[31] This allusion to Foster's fascination with astronomy reinforces additional meanings for the globe and sun images on his stone. Typically a smaller footstone was anchored parallel to the headstone about six feet away creating a "symbolic bed of repose."[32] Foster's footstone is mentioned by Forbes; she states "the Stonecutter" inscribed on the footstones as he pleased, and being fond of Ovid, chose for Foster "Ars illi sua census erat" or, as is translated beneath the quote, "Skill was his cash."[33] This seems an appropriate quote given the accomplishments of John Foster during this period of prosperity of Boston.

John Foster's death was called "a great loss to the country;" the Massachusetts Colony and the city of Boston had benefitted from his extraordinary talents.[34] When "the Stonecutter's" skills were put to the task of carving a stone for such an important figure, he created his best gravestone. Its sophistication is evident in its refined form, economical design, rhythmic and poetic repetition of elements, and deep, rich carving. The John Foster gravestone exhibits the subject-specific imagery and symbolic design motifs in which Puritan eschatological art culminated.

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3 Watters 15.

4 Allan I. Ludwig, *Graven Images: New England Stone Carving and Its Symbols* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1966) 4.

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10 John Wilmerding, *American Art* (New York: Penguin Books, 1976) 12.

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13 Wright *et al* 19.

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17 Wright *et al* 20-21. Harvard College was established in 1636 to educate ministers in the New World and had the first commercial printing press in this country.

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28 Grosort 190.

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30 Grosort 191.

31 Forbes 25-27.

32 Duval viii.

33 Forbes 27.

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Figure 1. The John Foster Gravestone, 1681. Dorchester, Massachusetts. Courtesy of American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

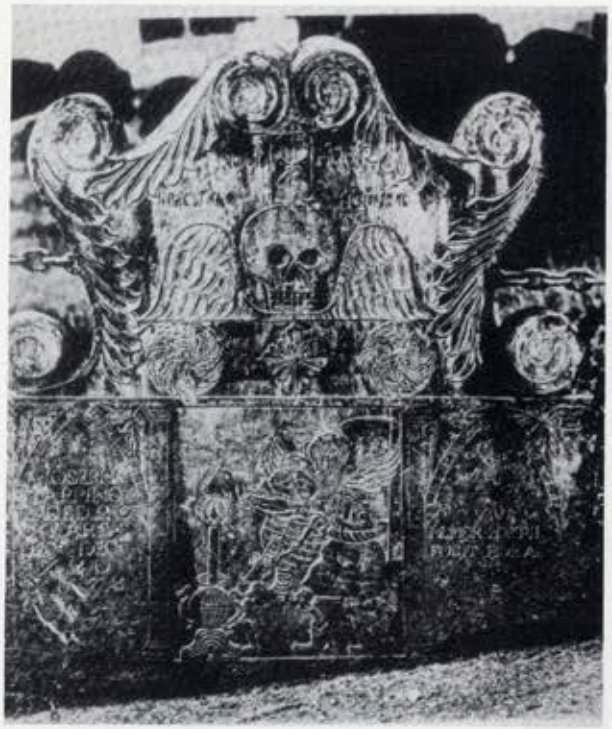

Figure 2. The Joseph Tapping Gravestone, 1678. King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts. Courtesy of H.M. Forbes.

Figure 3. Francis Quarles, Hieroglyph VI. Courtesy of Grosort.

Figure 4. The Wainscot Chair, 1670-1685, Massachusetts. Courtesy of Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.

Figure 5. The Joseph Tapping Gravestone, detail. Courtesy of Allan Ludwig.

Figure 6. The John Foster Gravestone, detail. Courtesy of Allan Ludwig.

Figure 7. The "Boston Chair," 1700-1725, New England. Courtesy of Henry DuPont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

Figure 8. Silver Punchbowl by Jeremiah Dummer, 1692, Boston. Courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, Mable Brady Garvan Collection.

Contours of Conflict: "The Giaour" in Byron and Delacroix

*Kimberley J. Smith**

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries many artists drew their subjects from Near Eastern culture in the trend known as Orientalism. During this period, one of the most prominent discourses of European narration and illustration focused on the Near East as a realm characterized by inherent violence. The Near East at that time extended from Morocco to Greece and Turkey. Both the Scottish poet Lord George Gordon Byron and the French painter Eugéne Delacroix were no exception when it came to portraying intense conflict within an Oriental context. Delacroix's 1826 and 1835 versions of *The Combat of the Giaour and Hassan* are inspired by Byron's tale of violence, *The Giaour,* published in 1813. The focus of this examination will lead beyond the Orientalist matrix. In his temporal medium of literature Byron manipulated the plot and locale of *The Giaour* to focus the reader on the violent interaction of his characters. Correspondingly, Delacroix manipulated the formal and chromatic qualities of his paintings to focus the viewer on the central encounter. In any exhaustive discussion of an artist, there will be, inevitably, a consideration of artistic sources. Scholars have recognized elsewhere Rubens' influence on Delacroix and Milton's influence on Bryon: this study instead seeks to investigate methodology, the interdisciplinary correlation of the depiction of intense conflict. To reveal the analogous methods that Byron and Delacroix used to focus the viewer, and to shape and intensify the antagonistic encounters of their compositions is the objective.

Although there are Orientalist themes in the first two cantos of Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,* published in 1812, *The Giaour* is the first of what are known as his Eastern tales. It was published in its final form with 1334 lines on December 27, 1813.[1] The story is about the beautiful Leila, who deceived Hassan, her Muslim lover and master by falling in love with another man, who is called a Giaour, which was both a derogatory term for a non-Muslim and a word meaning stranger. Hassan discovers her unfaithfulness and, although deeply in love with Leila, punishes her by sending her to be drowned, as custom demanded. Her lover, the Giaour, kills Hassan in revenge and then spends the rest of his life at a monastery, unrepentant and unhappy, haunted by the vision of the lost Leila. The character of the Giaour is an example of the fate-stricken, defiant Byronic hero.

Byron manipulates plot and locale to focus the reader's attention on the main characters and on their interaction with one another; he encapsulates the simple plot in his preface to the poem. The plot, as revealed in the poem itself, is composed of what Byron called "disjointed fragments." As a composition of fragments told by four different narrators, *The Giaour* text disregards linear time progression.[2] Byron's goal in using this technique of fragmentation is to focus the reader's attention towards the main characters, the Giaour and Hassan, and towards their relationship to one another as antagonists. The poet presents the reader with a vague locale and subtle descriptive references that allude to the East. Though he often expressed concern for accuracy in these contextual details, he did not want to emphasize the Oriental surroundings. These manipulations reduced the poem's flexibility.[3] The reader has neither a clear story line to follow nor a lush Oriental setting to get lost in; the reader must focus on the main characters. Peter Thorslev was one of the first scholars to demonstrate that all of Byron's Eastern tales depend primarily on their protagonists, or heroes, rather than plot or verse, for their effect.[4]

The prototypical Byronic hero, not just those in his Eastern tales, presents a forceful ego; he shows the destructive capacity of the powerful self. While Byron's poetry is about conflicts between powerful egos, it is also about the creation of those powerful personalities. He allows the character of the Giaour to develop a self-awareness that is dependent upon a system of resemblances and contrasts, in this case, the resemblances and contrasts between himself and his enemy Hassan. The cohesion of the poem relies on the intensity created by the textual symmetries between the enemies.

Byron shapes the Giaour and Hassan into characters whose essences are strikingly reflective of one another, despite the fact that they are enemies. He molds the Giaour and Hassan into psychologically and physically congruent characters. Hassan possesses Leila physically; the Giaour possesses her affections. Their relationship is encircled by their love of Leila and their hatred of each other. Hassan does not find solace in having Leila drowned; the Giaour does not find solace in killing Hassan. The contour of their antagonism is intensified by what they share. The reflective psychological disposition of the Giaour and Hassan is manifested in several passages. In the following excerpt, the Giaour expresses the intensity of his love and hate in lines that could also have been spoken by Hassan.

> But place again before my eyes
> Aught that I deem a worthy prize—
> The maid I love—the man I hate—

*Ms. Smith's paper was awarded the 1990 Gunther Stamm Prize for Excellence.

And I will hunt the steps of fate,
To save or slay—as these require
Through rending steel, and rolling fire:
Nor needst thou doubt this speech from one
Who would but do—what he hath done. (1016-1021)

Even in his rage, the Giaour admits that, betrayed by his paramour, he would have done what Hassan had done. Again the Giaour speaks,

Yet did he but what I had done
Had she been false to more than one.
Faithless to him—he gave the blow;
But true to me—I laid him low;
Howe'er deserved her doom might be
Her treachery was truth to me. (1062-1067)

The Giaour despairs as he develops an awareness of his link to Hassan. He expresses his realization that Leila's death is as much his own doing as Hassan's.

She died—I dare not tell thee how,
But look—'tis written on my brow!
There read of Cain the curse and crime,
In characters unworn by time;
Still, ere thou dost condemn me—pause—
Not mine the act, though I the cause. (1056-1061)

The Giaour's reference to Cain is a reference to himself, not as the murderer of Leila, but as the murderer of Hassan, with whom he shares, as a "brother," the intensity of a powerful and consuming personality. Byron develops not only a psychological symmetry between the antagonists, but also, in his descriptions of them, a physical symmetry referring at times to their dress or faces in similar terms. The following couplet describes the Giaour as he stands over the dying Hassan.

And o'er him bends that foe with brow
As dark as his that bled below. (673-674)

It is Byron's opposition of characters, equally powerful, that intensifies the conflict the outcome of which will be the destruction of both selves; for Hassan it is a physical destruction, for the Giaour it is a psychological destruction. Thus, Byron focused the reader's attention towards the Giaour and Hassan, and created a fierce encounter by shaping the characters' contours into a self-consuming whole. Delacroix used a method analogous to Byron's to structure his scenes of conflict.

Delacroix drew many of his scenes from Byron's poetry. Delacroix's borrowings reflect an interest in powerful personalities whether it be Marino Faliero, Don Juan, Sardanapalus or the Giaour. Delacroix read *The Giaour* in May of 1824. Two of Delacroix's paintings inspired by *The Giaour* depict the battle between the Giaour and Hassan. In the 1826 painting *The Combat of the Giaour and Hassan* (Figure 1), the riders and their horses are contained within a nearly rectangular space in the center of the painting, the Giaour on the left and Hassan on the right. They are in a space representing a sandy ravine surrounded by dark rocky hills and the glow of the setting sun. The space of their conflict is about to be invaded by the figure at the lower right, but the riders are oblivious to the potential interloper.

Delacroix feathered the borders of color areas and used scumbling because he advocated simplifying and blurring the peripheral areas of paintings so the viewer would focus on the central group of figures. In contrast, the borders of late eighteenth-century French paintings, with their clearly delineated vegetation or their heavy, rigid, and strongly vertical architectural borders, presented a distinct context that often resembled stage flats. Delacroix also increased dramatic focus by using concentrated colours to accentuate the conflict. The glowing white raiment of the Giaour opposes the bright red of Hassan's skirting. The brilliant reds and the range of golden yellows that accentuate the Giaour and Hassan create chromatic links that focus the viewer and that contribute to the unity of the whole central encounter. As Byron denied the reader a clear plot and locale on which to focus, Delacroix denied the viewer the chance to get lost in sharply delineated details peripheral to the main encounter.

After focusing the viewer, Delacroix—as Byron—used a system of resemblances, or symmetries, and contrasts to shape and to intensify the violent encounter. The riders, seemingly at one with their horses, are connected by rhythms both symmetrical and contrary. Though they do not touch, each horse and its rider form half of a horizontal vortex; the figure of Hassan and his horse extend back into the space of the picture, the Giaour and his horse swing out toward the viewer. These figures also form nearly identical, yet opposing, dynamic contours which begin with the head of each rider, curving out and down each horse's mane, then turning inward along each horse's body, and curving again out, following the slope of each horse's hooves. There is a reflective quality of selves in the painting not unlike the reflectiveness of selves in Byron's poem. It is one powerful self against another. The tension, created by the rhythms between the enemies, reaches out and links the antagonists together; both take part in a harmonious union, without losing antagonism towards each other.

Eight years later, in 1835 Delacroix painted a second scene also entitled *The Combat of the Giaour and Hassan* (Figure 2). Delacroix filled the picture plane with his antagonists; the viewer is immediately focused on the battle; the interloper no longer threatens as he lies dead beneath the conflict. The murky, hazy brown of the clouds parallels the dusty brown ground. It is the violent encounter at its ultimate moment. The tense visible space between the Giaour and Hassan in Delacroix's 1827 version is gone. The men and their horses enfold one another, and embrace each other in the moment of destruction just as they fold, embrace, and fuse in Byron's poem,

Though few the numbers—theirs the strife,
That neither spares nor speaks for life!
Ah! fondly youthful hearts can press,
To seize and share the dear caress;
But love itself could never pant
For all that beauty sighs to grant
With half the fervour Hate bestows

Upon the last embrace of foes,
When grappling in the fight they fold
Those arms that ne'er shall lose their hold:
Friends meet to part; Love laughs at faith;
True foes, once met, are joined till death! (643-654)

The Giaour and Hassan's forms, once separate, give way to their lethal fusing. Two compositional features contribute significantly to the contour of the unified energy. A spiralling ellipse is formed, the lower arc by the overlapping horses' heads and the upper half by the lunging forms of the Giaour and Hassan whose heads converge and arms unite above their horses. Overlaying this vortex, chromatic lines of force curve through the antagonists linking them inextricably. The white skirting of the Giaour curves over his own horse and connects with Hassan's white steed and is carried along its body. A potent red follows the same curve from the Giaour's shoe, through his saddle, his red vest, over to Hassan's turban and Hassan's skirting. The figures are locked in a violent encounter that will leave neither unscathed. At this point, both Delacroix and Byron go beyond enticements of narrative and exotic locale toward a portrayal of the contours of conflict.

I want to return now to the discourse that initiated this study, the discourse of Orientalists, and European society as a whole, who regarded the Near East as a realm characterized by inherent violence. This concept of violence, of a way of being that is inextricable from the self offers the reader of *The Giaour* and the viewer of Delacroix's *Combats* a poignant understanding of the destructive capacity of those similar selves. The Giaour and Hassan are developed by Byron and Delacroix into characters who mirror one another's antagonism. To destroy the mirror is to destroy oneself. The battle will not have a winner and a loser: the structure created by Byron and Delacroix mandates destruction.

Delacroix successively narrowed the focus of his paintings *The Combat of the Giaour and Hassan* as Byron eliminated extraneous detail to focus his poem *The Giaour.* Both artists manipulated their compositions toward conflict. This intensifies the expressive energy of the whole. The clash of the characters becomes the most important element. Byron and Delacroix were concerned with the energy of conflict at its highest intensity, forcing together antagonists of a similar, yet contrary, essence. The antagonists share a bond, yet they must, tragically, destroy each other.

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1 The first edition with 635 lines was published June 5, 1813. Seven subsequent editions with additions and minor revisions were published in the same year.

2 Frederick W. Shilstone, "Byron's *The Giaour:* Narrative Tradition and Romantic Cognitive Theory," *Research Studies of Washington State University* 48 (June 1980): 96.

3 Daniel P. Watkins, *Social Relations in Byron's Eastern Tales* (London: Associated University Presses, 1987) 35.

4 Peter L. Thorslev, Jr., *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962) 147.

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Figure 1. Eugène Delacroix, French, 1798-1863, *Combat Between the Giaour and the Pasha,* oil on canvas, 1826, 59.6 x 73.4cm, Gift of Mrs. Bertha Palmer Thorne, Mrs. Rose Movius Palmer, and Mr. and Mrs. Arthur M. Wood, 1962.966 © 1990. Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago, All Rights Reserved.

Figure 2. Eugène Delacroix, *Combat Between the Giaour and Hassan,* 1835. (Reproduced in Escholier, Raymond. *Eugène Delacroix.* Paris: Editions Cercle d'Art, 1963, p.111.)

A Positivist Reading of Labrouste's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève

Sherry Piland

The upheaval of the French Revolution necessitated major social and political adjustments. As a result, the first half of the nineteenth century in France was a time of political and economic ferment, of rapid industrialization, and of unprecedented richness in social theorizing. A new architecture evolved during this period that has been termed Rationalist-Romantic, a mode which has concerns and solutions related to the philosophy of Positivism. The Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris (Figure 1), designed by Henri Labrouste, is an excellent example of this confluence of architecture and philosophy. The Positivist elements in the design of the building have been noted by architectural historian Neil Levine.[1] This discussion will expand on Levine's observations to show that Labrouste was directly involved in Comtean thinking and that the decoration of the library is a consistent Positivist program.

The Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, formerly part of the Abbey of Sainte-Geneviève, was nationalized in 1791. By the 1830s it was housed in an attic of the Abbey where it was heavily used by students from nearby colleges. In 1838 the attic was illuminated with gas and became the first library in Paris to be open at night. Part of the reason for the construction of the new building was to provide a fire-proof structure with gas lighting, central heating and ventilation.[2] These practical needs determined the spatial arrangement of the structure. The library is Rationalist in its approach to structure and function. It is Romantic in seeking to be of its own time and place.

Labrouste's design for the library was approved in January 1840, but funds for the building were not allocated until July of 1843. Construction began in August 1843. The building was completed in December 1850, and was opened to the public the following February. Construction of the building was virtually complete before Labrouste conceived the decoration that determines the final programmatic reading of the building and gives visual expression to many of the concepts embodied in the Positivist philosophy of Henri de Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, and Hippolyte Taine.[3]

Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825) is generally credited as the founder of Positivist philosophy. Positivism has been defined variously as a philosophy of history, a sociological theory, a religious theory, and/or a theory of knowledge. It has also been described as a general attitude of mind in which confidence in the scientific method is combined with religious and metaphysical skepticism. Saint-Simon believed that the emerging industrialization of France required new social solutions which could be achieved through the application of science and technology. Napoleon III, President of the Second Republic, was sympathetic to such socialist ideas. His economic advisor was a Saint-Simonian and Saint-Simonian thought was generally diffused in his government. Napoleon III's interest in rebuilding Paris is believed to have been through the influence of some of these advisors.[4] The Saint-Simonians were interested in practical improvements such as heating, gas-lighting, and the development of the railroad system. They surely would have applauded the publicly-funded library building and its use of cast iron, a new technological material. Saint-Simon's ideas were widely influential in the thinking of many French philosophers for the next several decades.[5] Labrouste would have been familiar with this popular stream of thought.

The Saint-Simonians saw both history and the arts in scientific terms. History was viewed in social terms as a process of inevitable progress. Historical analysis was concerned with the meaning of events that have occurred and the patterns they formed: a study of history would thus provide successive tableaux of the physiological states of collective human existence. There is an element of determinism in Saint-Simonian philosophy as seen in the belief that the "natural course of things has created the institutions necessary for each age of the body social."[6]

For the Saint-Simonians history and art were connected. They viewed art as a social act, an instrument to arouse interest in the public welfare. According to Saint-Simon, "For a long time luxury has been concentrated in the palaces of kings, in the dwellings of princes .... Conditions today are favorable for making luxury national. Luxury will become useful and moral when the whole nation enjoys it."[7] The Saint-Simonians believed art could only be understood within the framework of the social conditions that surround the artist and that artistic work always constituted a symbolization of the basic conception of the age.

Auguste Comte (1798-1855) became a disciple of Saint-Simon at the age of nineteen and served as his secretary for a time.[8] His philosophical writings have been criticized for a lack of originality, for merely being clever in the new arrangement of old material. His strong point, however, was his ability to systematize.[9] Comte attempted to synthesize all knowledge and to comprehend all human experience. Out of this vast intellectual construct, he sought to reorganize modern society with a system that

would provide a safeguard against all threats to social order.[10] Like Saint-Simon, Comte saw human history as progressing upward in successive stages from superstition toward a utopian future. Comte's impact was profound and his philosophy became one of the major bodies of ideas that emerged into wide public awareness and profoundly influenced French thinking in the 1840s.[11] This was also the decade in which Labrouste's library was constructed.

Comte's ideas about the social role of art were especially germane to Labrouste's artistic choices in the library design. Like Saint-Simon, Comte viewed art as an ideal instrument of propaganda, capable of stimulating actions necessary to bring about the regeneration of society. He believed art, "determined" by its milieu, developed out of and was related to its particular time and place. Comte believed that art integrated the community by reflecting its feelings and ideas and by motivating its common actions.[12] Architecture was important to Comte because of the powerful and permanent impressions it conveyed. He viewed great public buildings as especially significant for they stood out "as the most imposing record of each successive phase of social development."[13]

Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), writing a decade later than Comte, attempted to apply scientific methods to art, literature, psychology and history. He, however, sought truth without any ulterior intention, such as the reorganization of society that preoccupied Comte.[14] Taine believed the best art was that which most clearly represented the image of a society and the age in which it was produced. The surrounding circumstances which produce art, which he described as race, milieu, and moment, meant that art was never an isolated phenomenon.[15]

The view of history espoused by the Positivist philosophers appealed to the thinking of a group of young French architects who won the Prix de Rome in four consecutive years and worked together as students at the French Academy in Rome in 1827-1828.[16] Their association with Saint-Simonian thinking has been documented and it seems only reasonable that they would have been acquainted with the ideas of Comte and Taine as well.[17] One of the main figures in this group was Henri Labrouste, who won the Prix de Rome in 1824 and worked in Rome for five years beginning in 1825.

During their fourth year of study in Rome the French Academy students designed and described the restoration of an antique monument. The designs Labrouste and his fellow students sent back to the Academy in Paris reflected Taine's belief that history is evolutionary and that each age has a separate, distinct ideal.[18] In 1829 Labrouste submitted his controversial study of the Temples at Paestum. The traditional dating of the buildings had been based on the progressive refinement of the Doric order as it appeared in the three temples. In his written commentary that accompanied the drawings, Labrouste explained his rationale for reversing the dating.[19] He rejected the idea of external ideal form and read the buildings as signifiers of specific states of mind of the colony of Greeks. He explained the changes in the order as the result of its transmission away from its time and place of origin. This concept of form evolving with the passage of time and from place to place was perceived as an attack on the continuing use of classical architecture. If the Doric order could not survive intact in Paestum, how could it have validity in the architecture of early nineteenth-century Paris? This attitude conflicted with the Academic view, strongly upheld by Quatremère de Quincy, the *Secrétaire Perpétuel* of the Académie des Beaux-Arts, that the architecture of ancient Greece and Rome manifested a universal and eternal ideal. In Quatremère's view the task of modern architecture was to reproduce the ancient orders as accurately as possible.[20]

Labrouste's controversial student *envoi* and his participation in attempts to reform the École des Beaux-Arts in 1830 seem to have cut off his access to official commissions for years. On returning to Paris in 1830 Labrouste set up an atelier where for twenty-six years he devoted his energies to his students. His first official commission of note, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, was not obtained until 1839, a year after Quatremère de Quincy retired from the Academy.[21]

Labrouste's rejection of a slavish adherence to classical architecture and his knowledge of Positivist philosophy combined to produce a strikingly novel building. At first glance the exterior of the library seems classically derived, but then one notices there is no classical order. The design of the simple entrance was not worked out by Labrouste until the cast bronze doors were put into place in August of 1850. The doors are flanked by relief carvings of "lamps of learning," a reference both to the function of the building and to its novel gas-lighting and evening hours.[22] The lower floor supports a continuous arcade on the second floor. Inscribed panels are placed below the nineteen arched window openings along the primary facade.

The function of the building as a receptacle of human knowledge is announced by its legible decoration. Both Labrouste and the Positivist philosophers had excellent visual models of schematization from the encyclopedists, such as the "System of Human Knowledge" from the *Encyclopedia* of 1754 by d'Alembert and Diderot. Here a chart shows human knowledge divided into three major categories, which are then further subdivided. Another visual depiction from the same source shows human knowledge arranged like a tree. The trunk of the tree divides and subdivides into limbs and branches that represent various disciplines. This ability to compress, simplify and categorize as in the graphics of the *Encyclopedia* is a trait of Positivist thinking. Taine has been described as having a passion for formula and an ability to reduce ideas to their essentials. He said every man and every book could be summarized in three pages, and every three pages in three lines.[23]

The panels below the library windows, inscribed with 810 names, were designed by Labrouste in 1848 (Figure 2).[24] There is striking similarity between these panels and

the descriptions of a Positivist religious system that Comte was formulating in the late 1840s. Both the library panels and Comte's system summarize historical personalities and recall their importance simply by the letters of their names. Comte's religious system, a worship of humanity, consisted of various festivals graphically displayed in his *Conspectus of Sociolatry* (Figure 3). His Positivist calendar of 1849 (Figure 4), in which significant men and moments are organized into a graph, was intended as an intellectual system of commemoration and as an introduction to his religion. The calendar is arranged in chronological order to provide a sense of the continuity of history. Comte also wanted to emphasize the characteristics and qualities of various types of civilizations and of human energy and thought. All this is achieved by merely recalling the names of individuals. Each of the 13 months in Comte's calendar is given a separate focus. "Initial Theocracy" is the subject of the first month, Moses. The last month, named after a French scientist Bichat, commemorates "Modern Science."[25] The names within each month are also arranged chronologically. Comte's calendar lists 520 names, plus an additional 180 names that are substituted in leap years, for a total of 700.

The library panels are stone imitations of the print medium. Like a card catalogue, they signify the building's content. As Levine observes, they also recall the graven stone tablets of Moses.[26] The format of the panels is reminiscent of a chart, like those from the encyclopedia, and thus suggests a synthesis and organization of knowledge. The panels, however, are even closer to the organization of Comte's calendar. Consistent with Positivist thought, they record a progressive, evolutionary history of mankind.

Positivist ideas expressed two-dimensionally on the exterior of the building are amplified on the interior by a three-dimensional presentation. The lower floor is divided in half by a central vestibule that extends the depth of the building (Figure 5). Positivist ideas about contemplation are expressed in the vestibule space. Comte described art as an "instrument to turn minds of the young towards contemplation, which will serve them in their scientific work later on."[27] He also described art as affording a "suitable transition from the active to the speculative life."[28] Parallel with these thoughts, Labrouste regretted that the constricted site for the library prohibited the incorporation of a forecourt "planted with big trees and decorated with statues . . . to shield it from the noise of the street outside and prepare those who came there for contemplation." To compensate, he decorated the deep vestibule as an illusionistic garden, which, he stated, had "the advantage of offering trees always green and always in bloom."[29] Lining each side of the vestibule are portrait busts of French artists, writers, scientists and philosophers, arranged chronologically.[30] The inscriptions of the exterior panels are thus converted into three-dimensional forms—busts that provide an intellectual and sensory stimulus to augment the exterior listing of abstract names. Trees were painted behind the busts, to create the illusion of outdoor space while the ceiling of the vestibule was originally painted blue and the iron columns green, furthering the illusion of an outdoor garden.

Both Comte and Taine in their writings discuss "types." Comte believed that "the beautiful" has an effect on our emotions which is a stimulus to action. These emotions are aroused by the contemplation of moral and immoral types, which must be exaggerated in order to be an effective tool to social reform.[31] For Taine, race, moment and milieu found their embodiment in a representative man—the cultural hero of the period and the primary subject of its art.[32] The vestibule with its representative busts can be read as a gallery of moral types.

The dark vestibule terminates in a grand stairway, illuminated by light from above, signifying the transition, through study, to the "light" of knowledge. A copy of Raphael's *School of Athens* is placed on the stairway landing, so that as the visitor climbs the steps to the reading room he assumes the role of participant in the painting, suggesting that the world of Renaissance knowledge is within the reach of anyone utilizing the library. The painting can be seen as representative of the historical tableaux described by Saint-Simon. As such, it shows the collective state of human existence.

The entire second floor is given over to the spacious reading room (Figure 6). Labrouste utilized an internal cast-iron frame, which is frankly exposed in the reading room. The cast-iron frame was an approach to making the building fireproof. The internal iron frame of the building is only hinted at by the black cast iron discs on the exterior which terminate the tie rods. The Saint-Simonians advocated the use of iron, believing this industrial product could contribute to raising the general standard of living and the quality of life. The architectural treatment of the walls of the reading room mirrors that of the facade, except the spaces below the windows and behind the inscribed panels are filled with bookshelves. Labrouste described the principal decoration of the exterior as words, and the interior decoration as the books themselves.[33]

The building reveals itself in progressive fashion, from the literal to the more abstract and complex. The outside, with its incised list of authors, is a written listing of history. The vestibule sculpture is concrete in its suggestion of morality and the passage of time. The stairway painting provides a complex narrative scene, but its two-dimensional format is a more abstract mode of representing material reality. The clarity, logic and order of the building is analogous to the writing and ideas of Comte and Taine. For Taine the perfect art was that which combined formal content, culminating in social order.[34] According to one scholar the words used most frequently by Comte were organization, structure, construction, unity and harmony—all concepts valued in Rationalist architecture and expressed in the library through the simplicity of its exterior and the austerity of its decoration.[35]

Comte's *General View of Positivism,* published in

1848, the same year Labrouste designed the inscribed panels of the library, summarizes Comte's ideas for social reorganization, which were first presented as a series of lectures in 1847. He believed social order had to be achieved before progress could be realized. He compressed the description of his plan into a three-line slogan:

"The principle, Love;
The basis, Order;
The end, Progress."[36]

Love was the principle to channel scientific effort into inquiries that would be useful to mankind in the achievement of order and progress. The availability of the library to all who sought knowledge would be consistent with this principle. Comte's fondness for order is apparent in the content and structure of his writing style. Order is also visibly expressed in the systematic decoration of the exterior of the library building. Progress is the end result of love acting on order, resulting in a harmonious new society. Comte believed that ". . . positive philosophy will lead us on to a social condition the most comfortable of human nature, in which our characteristic qualities will find their most perfect respective confirmation, their completest mutual harmony, and the freest expansion for each and all."[37]

The library's decorative scheme clearly expresses this Positivist goal of personal and social progress. Its function was to contribute to the needs of the general public, conforming to the Positivist belief in art that serves a social function. The library is the kind of "national luxury" advocated by Saint-Simon. In its novel technology and system of decoration, a modern, nineteenth-century statement is added to the Positivist progressive view of history.

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1 A detailed description of the library and its decoration and an interpretation of the interior space as a sequence of historical signs is found in Neil Levine's essay, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," in *The Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts,* edited by Arthur Drexler (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 325-357. Levine has also noted the similarity in the decoration of the exterior of the building to the format of Comte's Positivist calendar.

2 David Van Zanten, *Designing Paris* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987) 88-89.

3 Van Zanten 88-89; Levine 351.

4 David Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958) 3, 30, and 37.

5 Emile Durkheim, *Socialism and Saint-Simon* (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1958) iv-x; François Louer, *Paris Nineteenth Century* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988) 231; Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times: From the Enlightenment to the Present* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1981) 186-190.

6 Durkheim 101.

7 Frank Manuel, *New World of Saint-Simon* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956) 135.

8 Donald G. Charlton, *Positivist Thought in France During the Second Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959) 24.

9 George Boas, *French Philosophies of the Romantic Period* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1925) 254; Wright 296-297.

10 Gertrud Lenzer, *Auguste Comte and Positivism: The Essential Writings* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975) xiv.

11 David Pinkney, *Decisive Years in France, 1840-1847* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986) 92.

12 Arline Standley, *Auguste Comte* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1981) 127-132.

13 Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1973; reprint of 1875 edition) Vol. 1, 236.

14 Wright 136.

15 Thomas Goetz, *Taine and the Fine Arts* (Madrid: Playor, 1973) 20; Leo Weinstein, *Hippolyte Taine* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1972) 40 and 101.

16 These Prix de Rome recipients were Félix Duban, who won the Prix in 1823; Louis Duc (1825) and Léon Vaudoyer (1826).

17 Robin Middleton, *The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth Century French Architecture* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1982) 217; Van Zanten 46, notes that a friend of the group, the critic Hippolyte Fortoul, was a Saint-Simonian.

18 David Van Zanten, "Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts From Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," *Architecture of the École des Beaux Arts* 223.

19 Labrouste also argued that one of the buildings was in fact not a temple, but a stoa for public meetings. His drawings of the building shows a decorative coating of paint, objects (shields and spears) attached to the walls, as well as graffiti inscriptions on the wall, that seem to foreshadow the inscribed letters on the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. See Van Zanten, Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts" 219-222.

20 Van Zanten "Architectural Composition at the École des Beaux-Arts" 223; Van Zanten, *Designing Paris* 49.

21 Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the École des Beaux-Arts," *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* 99.

22 Levine 334.

23 Wright 297.

24 Levine 351.

25 Bichat (1771-1802) was the founder of the discipline of histology.

26 It is probably not a coincidence that Moses is the first name on the library and also the first name in Comte's calendar. Levine also notes that the last name on the library is the Swedish chemist Berzelius, who died in 1848. Comte places Berzelius at the 20th of Bichat. The 409th name inscribed on the library wall, Psellus, is placed directly over the central date inscription "1848." Levine sees the placement of the name of this Byzantine writer and philosopher as representing the meeting of east and west. The mid-point of Comte's calendar is the seventh month, Charlemagne, which commemorates feudal civilization.

27 Boas 301.

28 Auguste Comte, *The Positivist Philosophy of Auguste Comte* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1915), vol. 1, 236.

29 Levine 334 and 338.

30 The twenty busts represent: St. Bernard, Montaigne, Pascal, Molière, La Fontaine, Boussuet, Massilion, Voltaire, Busson, Laplace, L'Hospital, Descartes, Poussin, Corneille, Racine, Fénelon, Montesquieu, Rousseau, Mirabeau, and Cuvier. Twelve of the twenty are also represented in Comte's Positivist calendar.

31 Boas 298.

32 Goetz 36-37.

33 Levine 350.

34 Goetz 16.

35 Standley 89 and 91.

36 Standley 94-97.

37 Standley 90.

TABLE A.

CONSPECTUS OF SOCIOLATRY,

OR

SOCIAL WORSHIP.

Love as the Principle; Order as the Basis; Progress as the End. | Live for Others. (The Family, Country, Humanity.)

Embracing in a series of Eighty-one Annual Festivals the Worship of Humanity under all its aspects.

THE FUNDAMENTAL SOCIAL RELATIONS.

1st Month.—HUMANITY
- New Year's Day — Synthetical Festival of the Great Being.
- Weekly Festivals of the Social Union — religious, historical, national, municipal.

2nd Month.—MARRIAGE — complete, chaste, unequal, subjective.

3rd Month.—The PATERNAL RELATION
- complete — natural, artificial.
- incomplete — spiritual, temporal.

4th Month.—The FILIAL RELATION — *Same subdivisions.*

5th Month.—The FRATERNAL RELATION — *Same subdivisions.*

6th Month.—THE RELATION OF MASTER AND SERVANT..
- permanent — complete, incomplete.
- temporary — *Same subdivision.*

PREPARATORY STATES.

7th Month.—FETICHISM
- spontaneous — nomad (*Festival of the Animals.*); sedentary (*Festival of Fire.*)
- systematic — sacerdotal (*Festival of the Sun.*); military (*Festival of Iron.*)

8th Month.—POLYTHEISM
- conservative (*Festival of Castes.*)
- intellectual (*Sabæanism*) — esthetic (*Homer, Æschylus, Phidias.*); scientific and philosophic (*Thales, Pythagoras, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Archimedes, Apollonius, Hipparchus.*)
- social (*Scipio, Cæsar, Trajan.*)

9th Month.—MONOTHEISM
- theocratic (*Abraham, Moses, Solomon.*)
- catholic (*St. Paul.*; *Charlemagne.*; *Alfred.*; *Hildebrand.*; *Godfrey of Bouillon.*; *St. Bernard.*)
- Mahometan (*Lepanto*) (*Mahomet.*)
- metaphysical (*Dante.*; *Descartes.*; *Frederic II.*)

NORMAL FUNCTIONS.

10th Month.—WOMEN — Moral Providence. — mother, wife, daughter, sister.

11th Month.—The PRIESTHOOD — Intellectual Providence.
- incomplete (*Festival of Art.*)
- preparatory (*Festival of Science.*)
- definitive — secondary; principal (*Festival of Old Men.*)

12th Month.—The PATRICIATE — Material Providence.
- banking (*Festival of the Knights.*)
- commerce.
- manufactures.
- agriculture.

13th Month.—The PROLETARIATE.... — General Providence.
- active (*Festival of Inventors: Gutenberg, Columbus, Vaucanson, Watt, Montgolfier.*)
- affective.
- contemplative.
- passive (*St. Francis of Assisi.*)

COMPLEMENTARY DAY.....Festival of All the Dead.

The additional Day in LEAP YEARS .....General Festival of Holy Women.

Paris, Saturday, 7 Archimedes, 66 (1 April, 1854).

Auguste Comte (10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.)

Figure 3. Auguste Comte's Conspectus of Sociolatry. From Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (New York: Burt Franklin; originally published London, 1877) Vol. 4, 141.

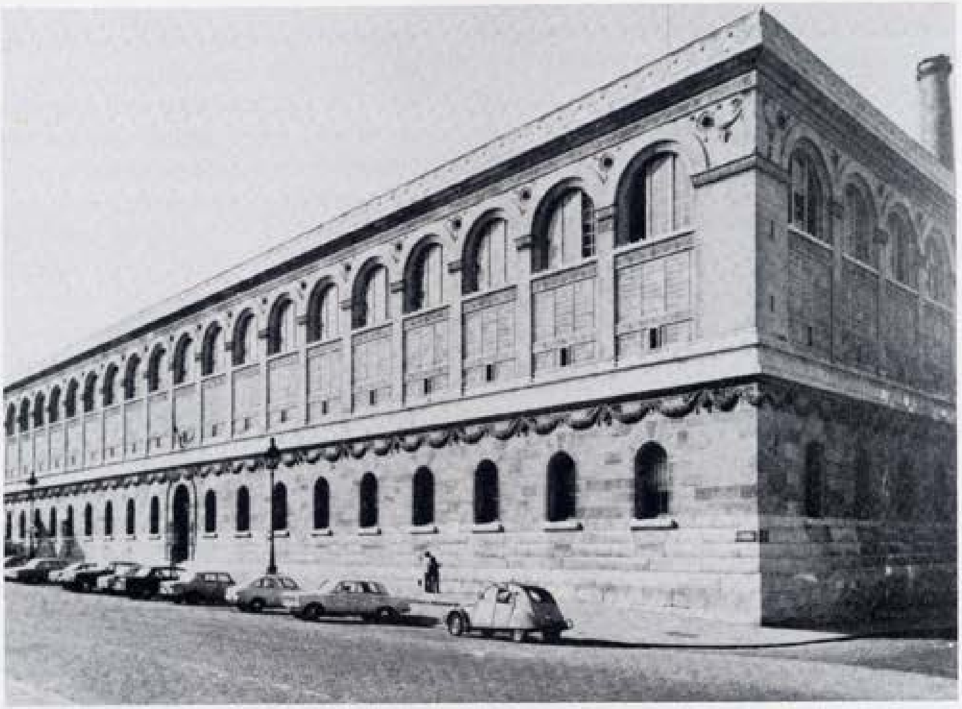

Figure 1. Exterior, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. From Arthur Drexler, ed., *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 335. Photo: James Austin.

To face p. 348.

POSITIVIST CALENDAR: ADAPTED TO ALL YEARS EQUALLY;

OR,

CONCRETE VIEW OF THE PREPARATORY PERIOD OF MAN'S HISTORY.

Especially intended for the transition through which the Western Republic has to pass: the Republic which, since Charlemagne, has been formed by the free cohesion of the five leading populations—the French, Italian, Spanish, British, and German.

Days of the Week	FIRST MONTH. MOSES. THE INITIAL THEOCRACY.	SECOND MONTH. HOMER. ANCIENT POETRY.	THIRD MONTH. ARISTOTLE. ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY.	FOURTH MONTH. ARCHIMEDES. ANCIENT SCIENCE.	FIFTH MONTH. CÆSAR. MILITARY CIVILIZATION.	SIXTH MONTH. SAINT PAUL. CATHOLICISM.	SEVENTH MONTH. CHARLEMAGNE. FEUDAL CIVILIZATION.
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun.	7 NUMA	7 ÆSCHYLUS	7 THALES	7 HIPPOCRATES	7 THEMISTOCLES	7 ST. AUGUSTIN	7 ALFRED
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun.	14 BOUDDHA	14 PHIDIAS	14 PYTHAGORAS	14 APOLLONIUS	14 ALEXANDER	14 HILDEBRAND	14 GODFREY
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun.	21 CONFUCIUS	21 ARISTOPHANES	21 SOCRATES	21 HIPPARCHUS	21 SCIPIO	21 ST. BERNARD	21 INNOCENT III.
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sun.	28 MAHOMET	28 VIRGIL	28 PLATO	28 PLINY THE ELDER	28 TRAJAN	28 BOSSUET	28 SAINT LOUIS

Days of the Week	EIGHTH MONTH. DANTE. MODERN EPIC POETRY.	NINTH MONTH. GUTENBERG. MODERN INDUSTRY.	TENTH MONTH. SHAKESPEARE. THE MODERN DRAMA.	ELEVENTH MONTH. DESCARTES. MODERN PHILOSOPHY.	TWELFTH MONTH. FREDERIC II. MODERN POLICY.	THIRTEENTH MONTH. BICHAT. MODERN SCIENCE.	
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Complementary Day (Dec. 31) .... Festival of ALL THE DEAD
Sun.	7 ARIOSTO	7 COLUMBUS	7 CALDERON	7 ST. THOMAS AQUINAS	7 LOUIS XI	7 GALILEO	
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Additional Day in Leap-year .... Festival of HOLY WOMEN
Sun.	14 RAPHAEL	14 VAUCANSON	14 CORNEILLE	14 LORD BACON	14 WILLIAM THE SILENT	14 NEWTON	
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Sun.	21 TASSO	21 WATT	21 MOLIERE	21 LEIBNITZ	21 RICHELIEU	21 LAVOISIER	
Mon.–Sat.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Sun.	28 MILTON	28 MONTGOLFIER	28 MOZART	28 HUME	28 CROMWELL	28 GALL	

NOTE.—In Leap-years the first of March and all subsequent days will coincide with the day following that to which they are placed opposite in this Calendar. The names in Italics are those of the persons who, in Leap-years, take the places of their Principals.

Figure 4. Auguste Comte's Positivist Calendar. From Auguste Comte, *System of Positive Polity* (New York: Burt Franklin; originally published London, 1877) Vol. 4, 349.

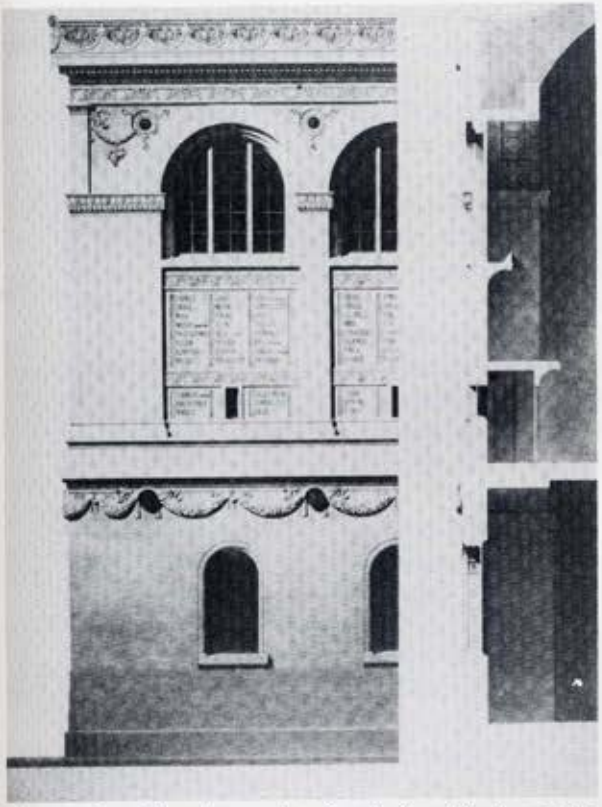

Figure 2. Elevation, detail of inscribed panels, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. From Arthur Drexler, ed., *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 337. Photo: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

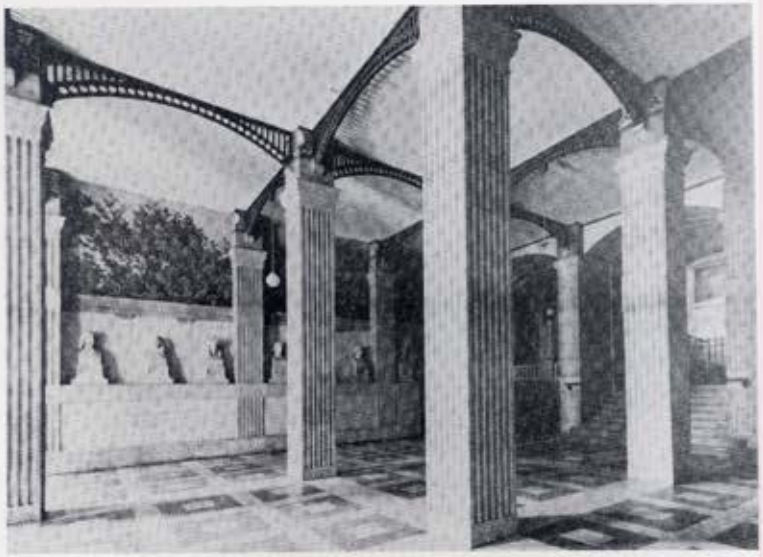

Figure 5. Vestibule, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. From Auguste Comte, ed., *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 341. Photo: James Austin.

Figure 6. Reading Room, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève. From Arthur Drexler, ed., *Architecture of the École des Beaux-Arts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977) 345.

Exhibitionism and Skoptophilia: Fischl's *Sleepwalker*

Martha Culliton

The paintings of Eric Fischl immediately arrest the viewer with their curious blend of enigma and Eros. But why should the depiction of strange sexual dramas, often within a context of everyday activity or recreation, be so compelling? Why is there such pleasure in perplexity? To answer these questions, one might examine one of Fischl's representative early paintings notable for an air of meaningful intent, of seriousness, that seems to be related to its explicit, near-pornographic sexual content.

Fischl chose deliberately to paint provocative images. In reference to *Sleepwalker* (1979) (Figure 1), a night scene in which an adolescent boy is shown masturbating in a backyard children's pool attended only by two vacant lawn chairs, he has suggested that the contemporary viewer's ability to respond to painting has been so debased by a perpetual glut of imagery that shock tactics are necessary. To engage the viewer, the content has to be powerful—shocking, titillating—in itself. On the most basic level, Fischl wanted to get attention: "My reason for starting the painting was to make a dirty picture . . . I thought I would do a pornographic picture to give it power, to offend somebody."[1] But Fischl's own relationship to *Sleepwalker* changed as he worked on it. When he finished the painting he found that, in spite of his original intent, he had "painted a sympathetic image. It wasn't simply a trick to get power. It wasn't a powerful image detached from emotional context and history. I painted this sympathetic image of a profound moment in a child's psychological and sexual life."[2] Indeed, his relationship to the painting was so unexpectedly complex, and the image itself so loaded with potential meaning as to result in the attenuation of prurience. "It seemed like I was watching a natural event in a child's life. I couldn't condemn it. The only thing that seemed awkward to me was that I was watching, that I was put in that position."[3]

Devotees of Fischl's paintings can sympathize, for many of his works are most emphatically about looking. As one realizes in considering the two empty chairs in *Sleepwalker,* the viewer's presence is implied or expected. Complicity is the viewer's lot. Indeed, the position of voyeur—the position Fischl has chosen for the viewer—is common in this artist's early paintings, such as *Bad Boy* (Figure 2), *St. Tropez* (Figure 3), *The Old Man's Boat and the Old Man's Dog* (Figure 4), and *Birthday Boy* (Figure 5), as well as in *Sleepwalker.* Thus, in enigmatic but powerfully cathected images, he presents, especially in the early work, variations on the theme of skoptophilia, which Freud defines as the desire, the wish-impulse, to look—a desire rooted in childhood curiosity regarding the sexual life of the parents. This curiosity, tinged with guilt, has its origin in a real or fantasized witnessing of parental intercourse, in what Freud calls the primal scene.[4]

The artist's feeling of awkwardness before *Sleepwalker,* along with the mixture of pleasure and fear that attended its development, is analogous to both the boy's imagined feelings and the viewer's response. Similarly, the boy's assertion of power, of self-mastery, of independence and defiance, is indirectly that of the artist himself. It is worth noting that the title implies a dream state, and dreams invite conventional psychoanalytic interpretation. Freud, as it happens, includes among "typical dreams" in his *Interpretation of Dreams* those in which one appears naked in public. These, he argues, are for the most part dreams of infantile exhibitionism. But the word he favors appears in English translation as "exhibiting"[5]—a word having special relevance for the public dreams of an artist who himself means to be a "bad boy."

One can go on interpreting. One can continue in a psychoanalytic vein (the boy stands in thalassic water, giving the expression to some complex desire to return to the womb or to possess the mother) or shift to something more outré: that an ancient idea of standing in a charmed circle and raising spirits is here mocked with another kind of "raising." But the important point for my purposes is less the content of interpretation than the *act* of interpretation and how it "justifies" one's interest in such a work of art. This idea is developed brilliantly by literary critic Norman Holland, who, using contemporary cinema as a paradigm in *The Dynamics of Literary Response,* discusses the pleasure we take in art whose meaning is elusive, and whose symbols serve more to mystify than to communicate.[6] Holland accepts *a priori* that these works often take a rather casual attitude toward sex in all its forms and just as often make a statement about the moral and social confusion of our times. Yet "the quality that still stands out is the puzzlement they create."[7] That is, we think they mean something, but what it is we do not know. We see the boy in *Sleepwalker* isolated in the center of the canvas, engaged in his solitary activity. We note his posture and his concentration. We recognize his act. But the enigma remains: why is he there, and what does it mean?

Holland postulates that the intellectual promise of meaning justifies the simpler, more primitive pleasure: "the puzzling quality . . . gives us an intellectual justification for gratifying the simplest of visual desires, looking

at sexy things."[8] The viewer in the public art gallery looks at Fischl's adolescent committing, in an open space and under strong light, a usually covert act. The viewer's public space is analogous to the boy's arena. But there is no need to conceal the act of looking; the viewer is expected to pay attention to the painting, to reflect, to determine its meaning. The boy's defiance of convention and propriety is the artist's too. By painting the scandalous act Fischl provides the opportunity to look; by locating it in an incongruous setting, and by designating it art, he provides the excuse.

In addition, the impulse to grapple with any disturbing moral or emotional content in the puzzling work of art is displaced into the search for intellectual or aesthetic meaning, in Holland's view a much more pleasurable, and manageable, task. *Sleepwalker's* audience is thus occupied in trying to interpret it. The baffling and difficult questions clustered around the moral implications and emotional significance of the act are disquieting to address, and perhaps impossible to resolve. But the question of what is going on and why admits of a speculative answer at least. The painting is a disturbing text the astute, aesthetically aware viewer is asked to gloss.

Puzzling works like Fischl's *Sleepwalker* and the films discussed by Holland typically present cryptic actions and enigmatic settings as a substitute for emotions and motivations that remained concealed. "We are seeing events without understanding their meaning, particularly their emotional meaning," says Holland.[9] In the case of *Sleepwalker,* we acknowledge the boy's action, and note its circumstances. But what is Fischl's intention? What does he wish us to think it means? In Holland's view, the experience reproduces in several respects a situation with which all viewers are familiar: that of children confronted by adult emotions and actions they cannot understand. Certainly the "plot" as well as the "subtext" of most of Fischl's work is bewilderingly complex and slippery; the meanings of actions and objects is unclear. This elusiveness does have much the same character as the mysterious behavior of adults has to children.

Furthermore, the viewer's confusion about the significance of sexuality in the painting, as in the films, resembles the child's pervasive anxiety about adult sexuality. Holland says, "The child's general uncertainty about the adult world finds a focus for itself in his uncertainty, arousal, and fear at this particular area of adult life—sexuality. It serves as a nucleus for his total puzzlement at adult emotions and actions, just as sexuality in the puzzling [work of art] serves as a nucleus of the total atmosphere of mysterious, baffling emotions and motivations."[10]

Holland's analogy has particular relevance to Fischl's case; indeed, the sentiments Fischl identifies as the true subject of his painting echo the confusion felt by the child confronted by incomprehensible adult behavior:

> central to my work is the feeling of awkwardness and self-consciousness that one experiences in the face of profound emotional events in one's life... One, truly, does not know how to act! Each new event is a crisis, and each crisis is a confrontation that fills us with much the same anxiety as when, in a dream, we discover ourselves naked in public.[11]

Thus, Fischl's own sense of the anxiety and perplexity generated by having to act and react in a culture that provides no guidance and whose threadbare rituals afford no comfort or reassurance is also an expanded, more fully articulated version of the child's confusion and the viewer's predicament. Anxiety and perplexity are both the "subtext" of Fischl's paintings and the responses of the viewer, driven by childhood experience.

This reciprocity of meaning and response, never quite perfect, will continue to be a consistent, and intriguing, feature of Fischl's work. The viewer may be disconcerted by *Sleepwalker,* but this reaction gives way to the sense that something beyond the desire to provoke powers the painting. As in the case of the movies discussed by Holland, Fischl does not provide access to a simple or authoritative reading of the work. But in the intimations of meaning the viewer discovers the work's psychological and moral context, which authorizes a plurality of possible interpretations. The viewer's complicity, which, as we have seen, is signaled by the device of the empty chairs and impelled by Fischl's skoptophilic strategy, can now be seen as something more than a guilty reflex; it is instrumental to the making of meaning.

The consciousness of the role this complex relationship among subject, response, and intention plays in the process of interpretation is part of the viewer's pleasure in early works such as *Sleepwalker.* As the critic and theorist Donald Kuspit wrote in his introduction to an exhaustive interview conducted with Eric Fischl in 1986,

> The task of art today is to maintain mystery in a world that thinks there is none. In this age of overexposure art becomes a subtle way of underexposing, not to artificially generate a sense of mystery, but to remind us that there are experiences that are incompletely analyzable but have a profound effect... Fischl's pictures seem to promise us clarity about complex issues, but in fact suggest depth of a complexity that can never be fully deciphered. It is this that makes his pictures...abysses of meaning we can never quite climb out of once we have accepted their terms.[12]

With its manifestly sexual subject, ambiguous meaning, expressionistic style, and implied narrative, *Sleepwalker* is the first of those works that, at the end of the 1970s, guaranteed the artist notoriety. In this early work, Fischl contrived to paint a taboo, and the resulting image predicts the direction of Fischl's work for the next few years. As we have seen, Fischl in his early paintings engages in a calculated flirtation with pornography. He avoided the precipice, however, in his brilliant manipulation of a "skoptophilic" fantasy that has affinities with

what Norman Holland calls the "puzzling movie." Inviting the viewer to look, in this Freudian sense, and to engage the enigma of the painting's meaning, Fischl evokes in his audience the anxiety and perplexity that remain the true subject of his art.

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1 Nancy Grimes, "Eric Fischl's Naked Truths," *ARTnews* September 1986: 76.

2 Donald Kuspit, *Fischl* (New York: Vintage Books, 1987) 34.

3 Grimes 76.

4 Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psychoanalysis*, trans. and ed. Joan Riviere, (New York: Pocket Books, 1970) 232, 236.

5 Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, trans. and ed. James Strachey (New York: Avon Books, 1971) 274-281.

6 Norman N. Holland, *The Dynamics of Literary Response*, (New York: Oxford UP, 1968) 162-174.

7 Holland 163.

8 Holland 166.

9 Holland 169.

10 Holland 170.

11 Peter Schjeldahl, "Witness," in *Eric Fischl*, ed. David Whitney New York: *Art in America*/Stewart, Tabori & Chang, 1988) 21.

12 Kuspit 7.

Figure 1. Eric Fischl, *Sleepwalker,* 1979. Courtesy of Mary Boone Gallery, New York.

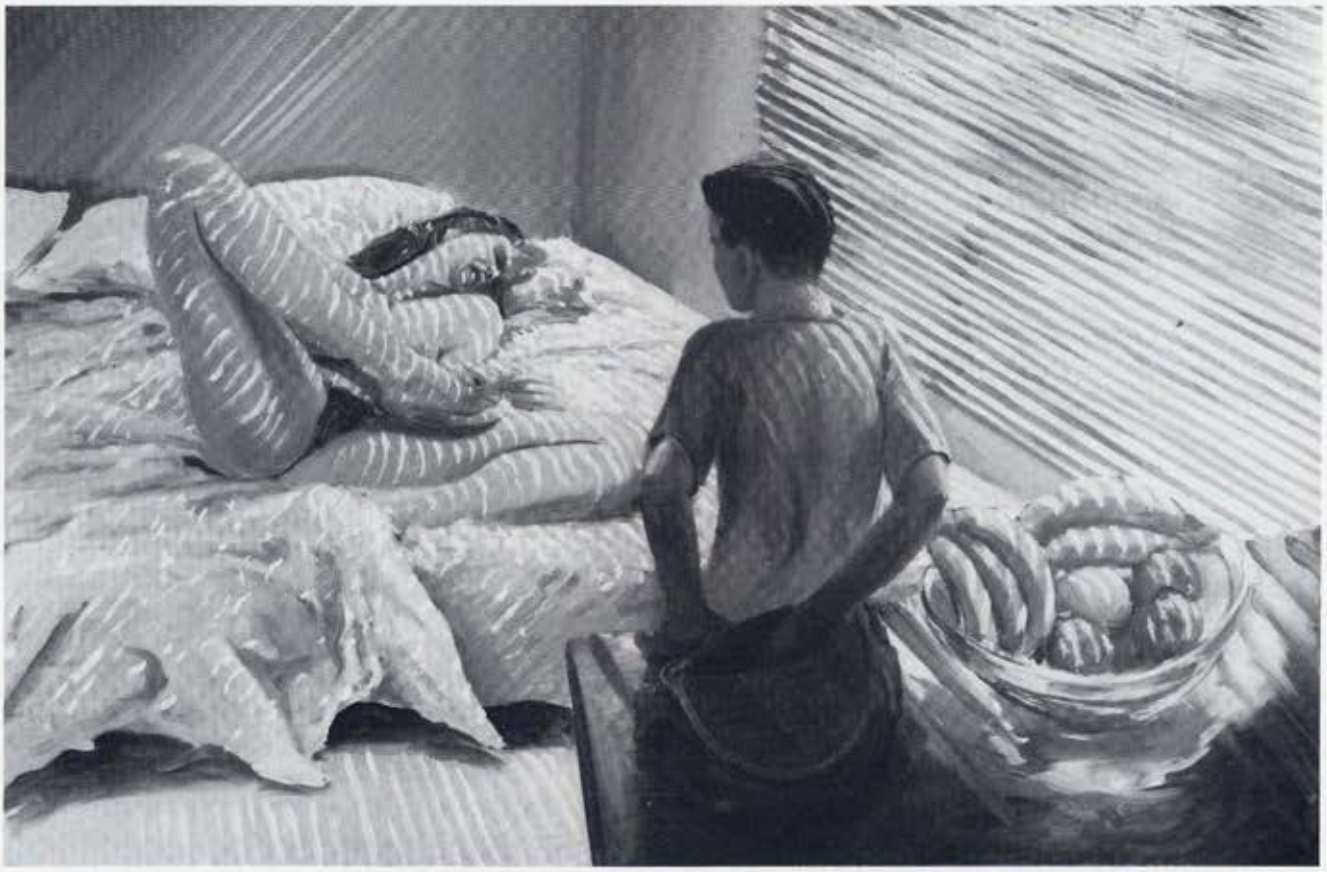

Figure 2. Eric Fischl, *Bad Boy,* 1981. Courtesy of Mary Boone Gallery, New York.

Figure 3. Eric Fischl, *St. Tropez,* 1982. Courtesy of Mary Boone Gallery, New York.

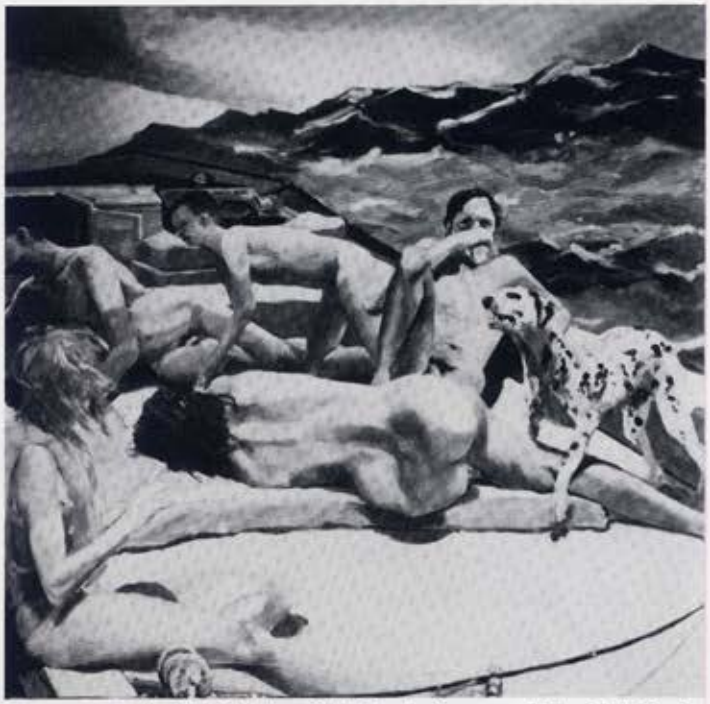

Figure 4. Eric Fischl, *The Old Man's Boat and the Old Man's Dog,* 1982. Courtesy of Mary Boone Gallery, New York.

Figure 5. Eric Fischl, *Birthday Boy,* 1983. Courtesy of Mary Boone Gallery, New York.

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