

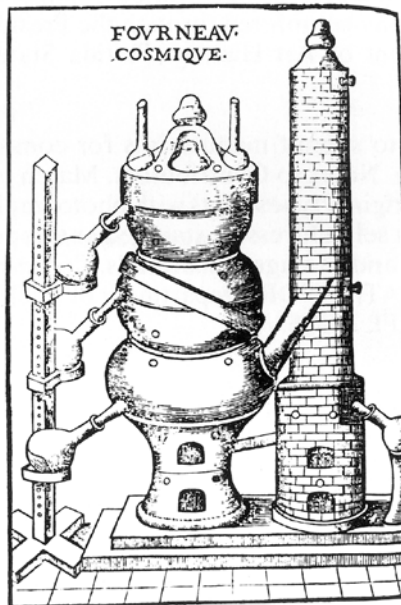
ATHANOR XXV



FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY

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FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT OF ART HISTORY



Cosmic oven or *Athanor* from Annibal Barlet,
Le Vray Cours de Physique,
Paris, 1653.

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The Annual Art History Graduate Symposium for the 2006-2007 academic year will be held February 23-24; symposium paper sessions cover a wide variety of topics. Students from universities nation-wide make presentations which frequently become published essays in ATHANOR. The format of the symposium includes a keynote address by major scholars. Since 1993 keynote speakers have been: Fred Licht, Boston University and the Peggy Guggenheim Collection, Venice (1993); Gerald Ackerman, Pomona College (1994); Marcel Roethlisberger, University of Geneva (1995); Robert Farris Thompson, Yale University (1996); Oleg Grabar, Institute for Advanced Study (1997); Phyllis Bober, Bryn Mawr College (1998); Carol Duncan, Ramapo College (1999); Bogomila Welsh-Ovcharov, University of Toronto at Mississauga (2000); Neil Stratford, ret. Keeper of Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum (2001); Debra Pincus, Professor Emerita, University of British Columbia (2002); Jonathan Brown, Institute of Fine Arts, NYU (2003); David Summers, University of Virginia (2004); Thomas B.F. Cummins, Harvard University (2005), and W.J.T. Mitchell, University of Chicago (2006). For details of date and for precis submission, please contact Professor Richard K. Emmerson, Chair, Department of Art History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, FL 32306-1150.

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Genre-Portraits and Market Value: Emanuel de Witte's *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket, 1661-63* by Michelle Moseley Christian won the Günther Stamm Prize for Excellence at the 2006 Art History Graduate Student Symposium.

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Inscribing Order: The Didactic Function of The Walters Art Museum MS 73

Jennifer M. Feltman

The Walters Art Museum MS 73 (W. 73, c. 1190-1200, Figures 1-5) has been described in previous scholarship as either a miscellany, a cosmography, or as “an illustrated medieval schoolbook of Bede’s *De natura rerum*.”¹ While a great portion of W. 73’s texts are excerpts from Bede’s *De natura rerum* dealing with issues of cosmology, the internal evidence of the manuscript suggests that it did not function simply to introduce students to the Venerable Bede. The carefully arranged excerpts in W. 73 come from Pliny the Elder (23-79), Isidore of Seville (c. 560-636), Bede (672 or 673-735), and Abbo of Fleury (c. 945-1004), and are accompanied by schematic diagrams, known as *schemata*, that derive from Isidore’s *De natura rerum*.² The structure of the texts and images in W. 73 demonstrates the characteristic twelfth-century didactic practice of organizing essential writings of medieval authority on natural science to elucidate a particular message.

Although the origins of the texts and images of W.73 have been identified in previous scholarship, no one has adequately explained the manuscript’s function in relation to similar manuscripts that were used to teach the discipline of computus, or the calculation of the date of Easter.³ It is my contention that W. 73 is not just a miscellany of excerpts, but is an example of cosmological texts and images that were carefully selected and arranged in a way that poetically references the

ability of computus to harmonize the lunar and solar calendars.

The methodology of this paper relies on a visual analysis of the schema of the microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony (Figure 4) in W. 73. The pedagogical function of graphic exegesis within this particular image uses a type of schema called a *rota* (so named because it resembles a wheel) to harmonize categories of opposition, such as hot and cold, by setting them in dynamic balance with one another both graphically and intellectually. In this paper it is argued that W. 73 functioned to train students to interpret structural patterns through a process that is described here as graphic exegesis. This methodology will aid in deciphering the function of W. 73, and as will be demonstrated, was used in monastic settings for both contemplation of the natural world and theology.

Schemata as a Means of Graphic Exegesis

Before Harry Bober’s study of W. 73, *schemata* received little attention compared to illuminated miniatures in manuscripts.⁴ *Schemata* were often viewed as mere visual complements to the text of didactic manuscripts and were often avoided because their function was so little understood. Only recently have they been studied for their ability to provide a means of exegesis that goes beyond mere complement of tex-

This paper developed out of a seminar on medieval didactic manuscripts directed by Professor Paula Gerson. I would like to thank Professor Gerson for her many comments, guidance, and encouragement on this project. I also want to extend thanks to William Noel of The Walters Art Museum for his suggestions in the beginning phases of my research. Thanks also to Florida State University, The New College of Florida, and Western Michigan University for providing me with various forums in which to present my research and to those who attended for the many insightful questions and comments.

¹ The dating of W. 73 has varied throughout scholarship. Seymour de Ricci classified it as a thirteenth-century Latin Comsographia written in Germany that includes astronomical diagrams on nine vellum folios measuring 27 x 15 cm. W. 73 was later called French twelfth-century Latin text written in Gothic script, containing 20 colored cosmological diagrams. A subsequent note calls it a northern French text dated c. 1220 intended for use by medieval astronomers. Finally, Harry Bober, using paleographical and stylistic analysis, determined that W. 73 was most likely an English manuscript dated between 1190 and 1200. I am using Harry Bober’s dating because it places W. 73 in context with similar manuscripts whose provenance is more certain. See Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York 1935-1940) 826, no. 412.; Walters Art Gallery, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Baltimore 1949), no. 35, pl. XX.; (9 vellum leaves, 10

5/8” x 6 1/4”). Walters Art Gallery, *The World Encompassed, and Exhibition of the History of Maps* (Baltimore 1952), no. 14, pl. II.; Harry Bober, “An Illustrated Medieval School-Book of Bede’s ‘De Natura Rerum,’” *The Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 19-20 (1956-7): 64-97.

² Bober 88. Isidore of Seville’s *De natura rerum* was also known as the *Liber rotatum* because of the use of circular diagrams throughout the text. See Isidore de Séville, *Traité de la nature*, ed. Jacques Fontaine (Bordeaux: Féret et fils, 1960).

³ Bober 67, 77. The following manuscripts include material that has been related to computus: Oxford, St. John’s College MS. 17; London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius C.I; London, British Library, MS. Cotton Tiberius E. IV; London, British Library, MS. Harley 3667; London, British Museum Egerton MS. 3088.

⁴ Anna C. Esmeijer, *Divina Quaternitas: A Preliminary Study in the Method and Application of Visual Exegesis* (Assen: Gorcum, 1978); John E. Murdoch, *Album of Science: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (New York: Scribner’s and Sons, 1984); Barbara Obrist, “Wind Diagrams and Medieval Cosmology,” *Speculum* 72 (1997): 33-84; Bruce Eastwood and Gerd Graßhoff, *Planetary Diagrams for Roman Astronomy in Medieval Europe, ca. 800-1500* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004).

tual description. In *Divina Quaternitas*, Anna Esmeijer has shown how quadripartite images were often used as a means of visual exegesis to explain such ideas as the Creation, the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Cross, and Humanity:

...diagrams which had long been used in secular learning for illustrating the inner cohesion and harmony of the cosmos, could obviously be fairly easily adapted to expound the harmony of the Scriptures, all the more since cosmos and Scriptures, as image and word, offered equivalent possibilities for illustrating platonic views about the way in which number and order in the cosmos reflected the world of ideas, or for serving as 'vehiculum' to transport the mind from incomplete, visible things to reality and truth.⁵

Bianca Kühnel has also investigated the relationship between cosmological diagrams and theological issues in her book *The End of Time and The Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art*, where she addresses the relationship between computus and concerns about the end of the world during the Carolingian period art by investigating rotæ.⁶

This project on W. 73 builds upon this scholarship in visual exegesis by identifying the logical system that allowed the integration of science and theology: the harmonizing of opposites. This essay locates the schemata of W. 73 within a discourse on nature that was theorized by Augustine of Hippo in the fourth century and given visual form by Isidore of Seville in the seventh century through the image of the microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony, as seen in a copy of Isidore's *De natura rerum* (Figure 6) and in W. 73, 7v (Figure 5).

From Augustine to Bede

In *The City of God*, Saint Augustine laid the foundation for the medieval Christian understanding of opposition in the universe. Chapter eighteen of book eleven begins:

Of the beauty of the universe, which becomes, by God's ordinance, more beautiful by the opposition of contraries for God would have never created any [man] whose future wickedness He foreknew unless He had equally known to what uses in behalf of the good He could turn him, thus embellishing the course of the ages, as it were an elegant poem set off with antitheses. For what are

called antitheses are among the most elegant of the ornaments of speech. They might be called in Latin "oppositions," or to speak more accurately, "contrapositions"...As then these oppositions of contraries lend beauty to the language, so the beauty of the course of this world is achieved by the opposition of contraries, arranged, as it were, not by an elegance of words, but of things.⁷

Isidore of Seville gave Augustine's theory of beauty visual form in his rotæ. His *Etymologies* are a testament to his knowledge of the ancient past, and his role in preserving ancient knowledge and transmitting it into the seventh-century Christian learning. What Isidore did with ancient texts, by interpreting them theologically, he also did with images from antiquity. In fact, his *De natura rerum* was commonly referred to in the Middle Ages as the *Liber rotatum*, literally "the wheel book," because of its inclusion of many rotæ. These rotæ served to illustrate the logical order of the Created world and were derived from Roman diagrams of the cosmos such as those provided by Pliny and Macrobius.⁸

Isidore of Seville's treatise on the nature of things was written as a response to the Visigothic king Sisebutus who wanted to know "the reasons behind the nature of phenomena and material substances."⁹ Apparently, the king was disconcerted over the appearance of several lunar eclipses, and sought consolation in the learning of Isidore.¹⁰ Inherent in Isidore's work is the integration of theology and natural science. His treatise concerning the nature of things combined the abstract mathematical schemes of Boethius with the figural calendrical cycles of Philocalus, and gave them a Christian gloss.¹¹ Bianca Kühnel argues that Isidore made remarkable contributions to the history of science, theology, and medieval art by "compiling ancient and late antique knowledge and transmitting it to the Middle Ages...linking the natural sciences with the interpretation of scripture...conducting his discussions around figuræ, and developing a method to express textual correlations by graphical means."¹² Indeed, these contributions to science, theology, and manuscript illumination are evident in W. 73.

In the eighth century, the Venerable Bede composed his own version of *De natura rerum*. Though Bede's text relied heavily upon Isidore, he included no images because he thought they were unnecessary aids for those who truly understood mathematics. This emphasis on mathematics shows Bede's

⁵ Esmeijer 33-34.

⁶ Bianca Kühnel, *The End of Time and the Order of Things: Science and Eschatology in Early Medieval Art* (Regensburg: Schnell and Steiner, 2003).

⁷ Saint Augustine, *The City of God* (New York: The Modern Library, 1950) 297-98. For more on the role of contraries in medieval thought, see Catherine Brown, *Contrary Things: Exegesis, Dialectic, and the Poetics of Didacticism* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1998).

⁸ Eastwood and Graßhoff 1-19. Eastwood discusses the dissemination of Roman planetary diagrams by the Carolingians.

⁹ Fontaine 2-6, 328-335.

¹⁰ Kühnel 123.

¹¹ Kühnel 123.

¹² Kühnel 124.

effort to provide increased precision in the calculation of dates. However, the impetus for correctly dividing time was not a merely scientific endeavor that was separate from his religious concerns. Throughout his text, Bede incorporates church doctrine and Scripture. Bianca Kühnel reiterates:

The structure of [*De natura rerum*] is in general similar to Isidore's treatise of the same title. However, Bede enlarged Isidore's *De natura rerum* by three chapters (from 48 to 51) and arranged the material in a new order: first God as Creator of the universe (ch. 1), then the elements and the heavens (2-8); the five zones and the five klimata in chapters 9-10; then astronomy, most of it according to Pliny, in chapters 11-12, meteorology (13-27); water and tides (28-43), and the earth (44-51).¹³

While Isidore and Bede's *De natura rerum* are excerpted in the W. 73, their order and structure in this manuscript are unique. To explain their order, one must look first to the contents of the manuscript itself and then compare it to other manuscripts to which it has been related.

Contents of W. 73

The chart which appears at the foot of this essay illustrates how the images and texts of W. 73 correlate across its folios and gives the source for the textual excerpts.¹⁴

The Context of W. 73

Compilation manuscripts were not uncommon in the England during the twelfth century. The Oxford, St. Johns MS. 17 f.40r (c. 1110, Figure 6) contains images and texts that closely resemble the schema of the celestial and terrestrial climate zones from the verso of folio six (Figure 3) in W. 73. This manuscript also contains a Paschal table listing the days of Easter and (Figure 7) gives a calendar showing the age of the moon on the calends (first day) of each month in order to coordinate the lunar and solar cycles over a period of 19 years.¹⁵ The transmission of these texts into English monasteries is thought to have come through Abbo of Fleury, who was sent to England in the tenth century to help to restore its monastic centers after the Scandinavian invasions.¹⁶

Although this examination of the texts and images does help to reassure us of the twelfth-century English monastic context of W. 73, it does not explain how it was used. In order to do this we will first consider the role of graphic exegesis in the schema of the microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony and its relationship to theological images, then examine the overall

structure of W. 73, and finally address the complicated issue of computus.

Microcosmic-Macrocosmic Harmony

Throughout the Middle Ages man was thought of as a small universe and the universe a small man. This idea is exemplified in the image of microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony on verso of folio seven (Figure 4). The accompanying texts are excerpts and derivations from Isidore's *De natura rerum* concerning the elements of the world and the four seasons.

The schema of the macrocosmic-microcosmic harmony serves to emphasize the unity of diverse parts within of the universe. In the center of this rota, the words *mundus*—world, *homo*—man, and *annus*—year are written. Eight intersecting arcs are used to graphically illustrate the convergence of the four elements, the four humors, and the four seasons. This graphic depiction forms a cross shape inscribed in a circle, with the primary divisions of the Creation—the world, man, and the order of time—in the center. The four elements are represented on the main cross-axis, with fire at the top, water at the bottom, earth at the left, and air to the right. This arrangement of the elements opposes opposites. The secondary arcs create four sections of two compartments with description of the primal qualities that link each element. The inner sectors of the main cross-axis link the seasons and humors with the elements.

The image of the microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony is emblematic of the ordering and logical arrangement of knowledge through graphic exegesis. The elements of the world, the humors of man, and the seasons of the year are represented as antitheses held in harmony by their opposition. The intermediary characteristics of the elements run around the exterior circle of the diagram, showing the interrelationship of the parts. Fire is dry and hot, air—hot to humid, water—humid to cold, earth—cold to dry. Earth is associated with autumn and melancholy, water—winter and the phlegmatic humor, air—spring and the sanguine humor, and fire—summer and yellow bile. The graphic shape of a cross holds these all in harmony and unity within the circle, pointing to the ability of such an image to provide a graphic exegesis of theological concepts.

Theological Texts and Images

The twelfth-century theologian Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141), testifies to the relationship between nature and theology in Christian understanding: "*Scriptura explicat quae creatura probat*, Scripture explains what the Creation demonstrates."¹⁷ The interrelations of science and theology during

¹³ Kühnel 98.

¹⁴ This table correlates information already identified by Harry Bober, but does so in a way that allows the reader to more clearly understand the relationship between text and image in W. 73. See Bober 66-7.

¹⁵ E. Edson and E. Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos: Picturing*

the Universe in the Christian and Islamic Middle Ages (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2005).

¹⁶ Bober 74.

¹⁷ Hugh of St. Victor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor (New York: Columbia UP, 1961).

the Middle Ages allowed for the migration of schemata between these two areas of knowledge.¹⁸ The theological justification for the use of visual images to explain natural phenomena derives from a parallel that was drawn between Scripture and Creation during the Middle Ages.¹⁹ According to exegetes, before the Fall, Creation was in a state of harmony with the will of God. Man was able to see in Creation the glory of God. The Fall of man disrupted that harmony and necessitated another Creation, namely the Scriptures, and ultimately the Incarnation of the Word—Christ—to restore balance and meaning to nature.

Three manuscript illuminations from explicitly theological contexts testify to the way that schemata, like the ones found in W.73, could be used to propound doctrine. The Genesis Initial from the Brussels, Bibliotheque Royal, MS. II 1639, f. 6v (c. 1060, Figure 9) illustrates the use of the five circle structure with the four elements surrounding a cross-nimbed Christ. Harry Bober has shown how this initial of the opening Incipit of Genesis conflates Platonic cosmology and the account of the Creation in the Gospel of John with the Genesis text.²⁰ Another theological image that uses schemata comes from a twelfth-century missal from St. Michael's church at Hildesheim (Figure 8) and shows Christ above a rota that depicts the seven days of Creation. The first six days are depicted in small circles that radiate around the seventh day when God created Adam and Eve. The Fall is depicted beneath on either side with the banishment from Eden on the left and the Murder of Abel by Cain on the right. At the very bottom, a figure that has been identified as a prophet holds up a scroll, which may signify the role of the revelation of Scripture in restoring the balance caused by the Fall. A thirteenth-century copy of Hildegard of Bingen's *Divinorum operum dei* (Figure 10) shows her familiarity with cosmological treatises. Her vision of macrocosmic-microcosmic harmony and the theological implications present in her text demonstrate the way her thoughts were governed by the logic of graphic exegesis.

These illustrations demonstrate how the method of graphic exegesis found in W. 73 could be applied beyond the context of this particular manuscript to explicate other areas of study, but this method is also useful in interpreting W. 73.

The Structure of W. 73

The overall structure of W. 73 harmonizes three divisions of nature that are found in the center of the microcosmic - macrocosmic harmony (Figure 4): mundus, annus, and homo. The first section deals with mundus, or the natural world: the

zodiac, the winds, and the planets (1r-2v), the sun and moon (3r-4v), the harmony of the zodiac, planets, sun, moon (5r-7v), and 7v includes the emblematic image of harmony—the Isidorean rota. Of course mundus is implicated in creating the time of annus and 8r incorporates the year and seasons. The second harmony schema on 8r incorporates the elements (mundus), the seasons (annus), and the humors (homo). On the last folios, the mundus, annus, homo structure is changed so that the last folio ends dealing with the subject of time. On 8v, the harmony of the moon and tides are demonstrated (mundus), 9r shows the interrelationship of humanity through kinship by using a consanguinity schema (homo), and the last textual excerpt of W. 73 derives from Bede's *De temporum ratione* and gives three ways of reckoning time (annus). This structure suggests that there may be a reference to computus in W. 73, after all.

The Computus

In general terms computus concerns the ordering of time, but specifically it was used to calculate the date of Easter.²¹ Determining the exact day of this feast required harmonizing the lunar calendar of Judaism, which varied from year to year, with the solar calendar, which had been used by the Imperial Rome and adopted by the Church.²² According to Bianca Kühnel:

Easter posed a serious problem of concordance since twelve solar months contain 11¼ days more than twelve lunar months. This was accomplished by 'intercalating' an added lunar month into some of the years of a cycle corresponding to a selected number of solar years. The most successful cycle was that of nineteen solar and seven embolismic years. *Rotae* illustrating the concordance between solar and lunar years, whether according to this or other variants of the method, had to give the age of the moon on the first day or kalends of each month for each year of the cycle. Such a *rota* alone was not enough to determine the date of Easter for a given year. One also required some source or table showing exactly where the year in question fell within the nineteen-year cycle, plus some other table connecting the relevant date to the days of the week.²³

The difficulty with ascribing a computistical function to

¹⁸ David C. Lindberg, "Medieval Science in its Religious Context," *Osiris* 10 (1995): 61-79. This essay gives a historiography of medieval science, exposing the biases that have hindered its understanding. Lindberg shows the integral role that religion played in informing the concept of science in the Middle Ages. The Latin word *scientia*, from which the word *science* derives, simply means "knowledge" or "skill" and does not connote a distinction between religion and science that is commonly assumed today.

¹⁹ Esmeijer 33.

²⁰ Harry Bober, "In principio: Creation before Time," *Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky*, ed. Millard Meiss, *De Artibus Opuscula* 40, vol. 1 (1961):13-28.

²¹ The Venerable Saint Bede, *Bede: The Reckoning of Time*, trans. Faith E. Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1999) xviii-xxxiv.

²² Kühnel 117.

²³ Kühnel 117.

W. 73 lies in its lack of a Paschal table, or chart used to calculate the date of Easter, like the one found in Oxford, Saint John the Baptist MS 17, 17 (Figure 4). However, this view constrains the computus to a stricter definition than its medieval proponents intended. Faith E. Wallis has done much to broaden the understanding of computus, and her explanation of the typologies of computus manuscripts is instructive in this present study:

There is a classic shape to a computus manuscript, centered on the Paschal table and the solar calendar, surrounded by their explanatory tables and texts. These texts may be anything from lists of formulae to extensive treatises such as Bede's *De temporibus ratione*. This classic model may be modified in two ways. One way is to split the table from the treatises. Generally neither part will survive in isolation; tables alone tend to preface Psalters or service books; and treatises without the tables they are designed to explain take refuge in anthologies of mathematical, physical, or astronomical materials. This is the centrifugal model. On the other hand the classic core of tables and texts can attract a more or less extensive halo of satellite topics. This is the centripetal model, of which J [Oxford, Saint John the Baptist MS 17] is a type.²⁴

Considering the content and small number of folios in W. 73, it is likely that it was originally appended to a larger computus manuscript and was intended as a poetic reference to the ability of computus to harmonize the discordant parts of the lunar and solar calendar to provide the date of Easter. After all, the Paschal feast references both the Resurrection and the mo-

ment in time when Christ was crucified on the cross—that graphic image that holds contraries together in harmony within the schema of microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony in W. 73.

Conclusion

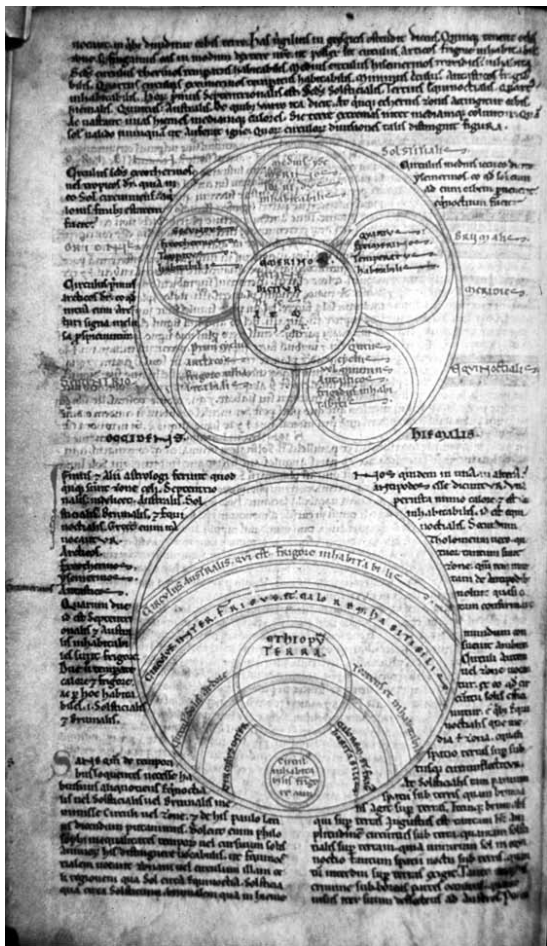
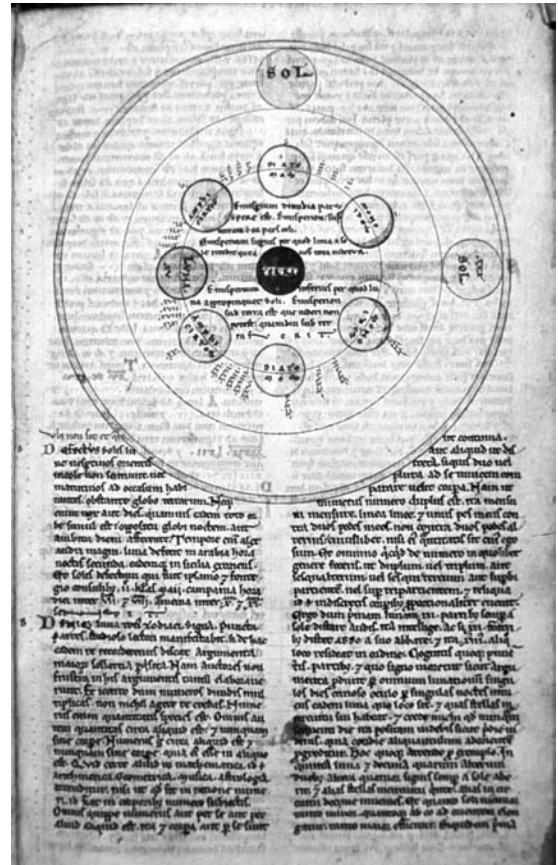
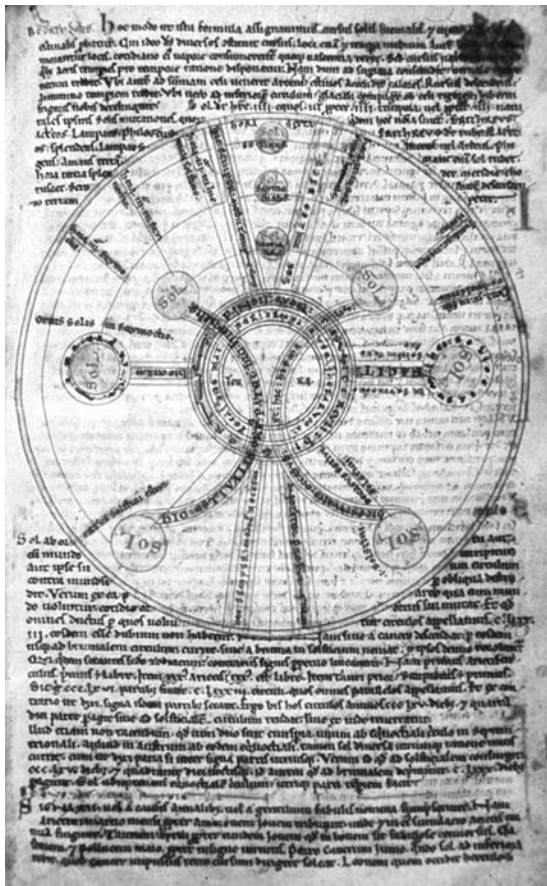
This examination of the schema of microcosmic-macrocosmic harmony in W. 73 in terms of graphic exegesis, and the structuring of the texts in W. 73, suggests that the manuscript should no longer be viewed as simply a schoolbook or collection of texts. W. 73 demonstrates the role that logic played in the exegesis of Scripture and of nature, or Creation. Discordant parts were harmonized. The lunar and solar calendars, the four elements, the four humors, and the seasons—all were ordered by logic and explained through graphical representation.

W. 73 provided monastics with the visual and intellectual tools to explain Scripture and the nature of things. It also provided them a poetics of exegesis which could span both Scripture and the great book of nature. As a text, which would, without doubt, be studied along with the Scriptures in the twelfth century, W. 73 trained scholastics to think in terms of graphic exegesis. Those who studied this manuscript were also taught to think of nature as a book of revelation, one that could be read if it was carefully observed. The contemplation on nature led to the classification and the simplification of knowledge provided by schemata. Contrary things were seen as part of the dynamic structure of nature; they were diverse parts that were unified within the whole. The disorder of nature could be redeemed through the Scriptures and computus, and W. 73 encouraged the harmonizing of Creation by the order that was inscribed through its schemata.

Florida State University

²⁴ Faith E. Wallis, *MS. Oxford Saint John's College 17: A Mediaeval Manuscript in Its Context*, diss. University of Toronto, 1985 (Ann Arbor: UMI 1985) 18; also see Charles W. Jones, *Beda's Opera de Temporibus* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1943).

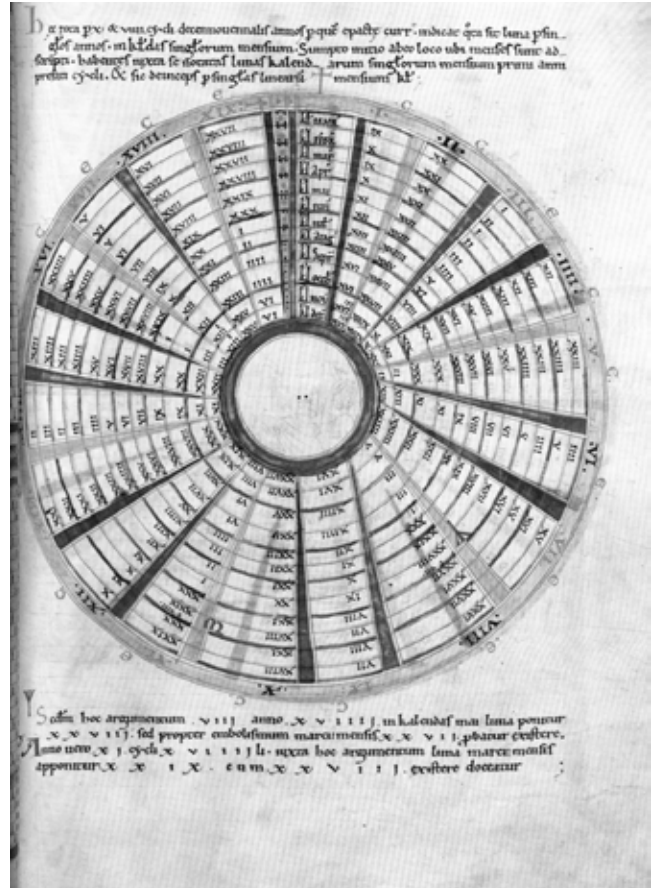
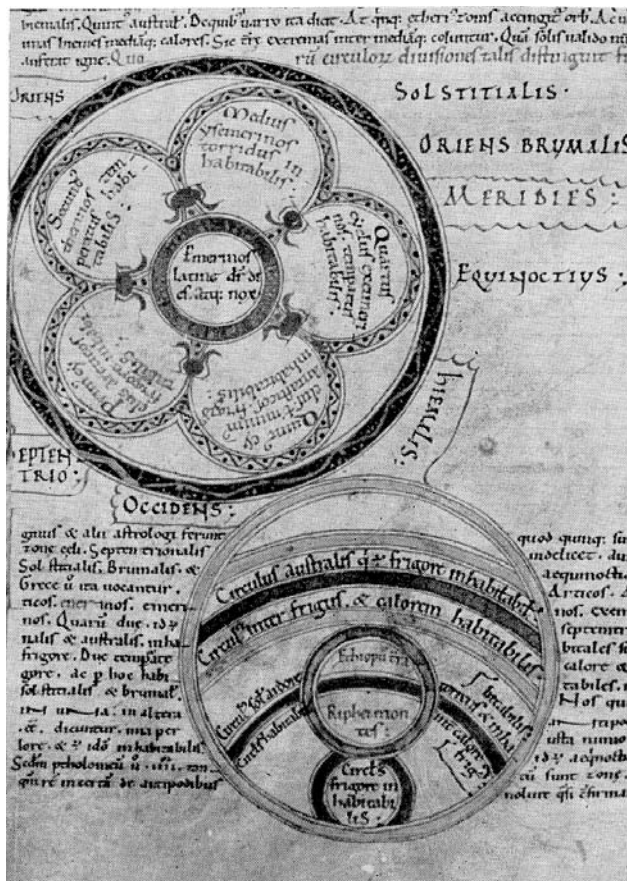
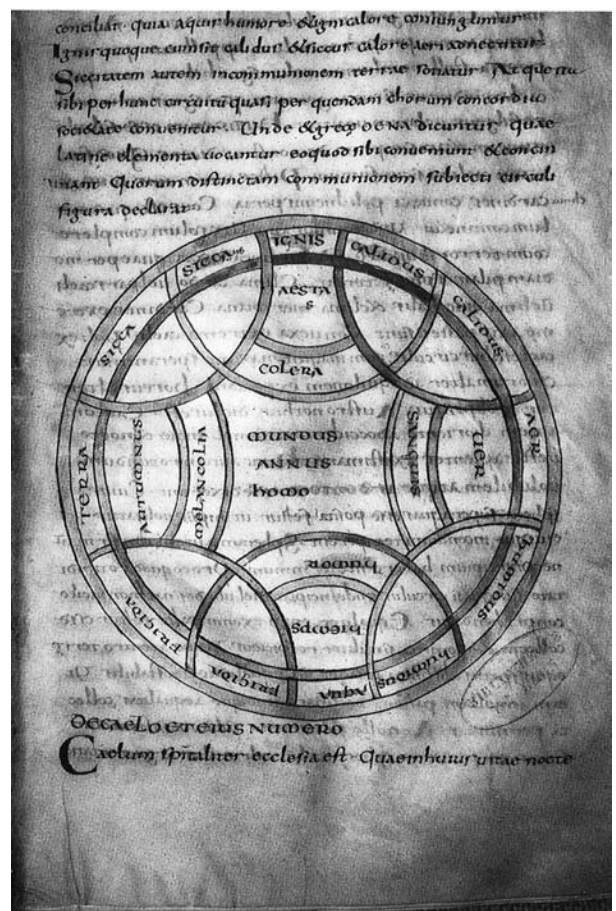
Folio	Image Description	Text Title	Text Source
1r.	Zodiac Circle	Tractatus de sphaera	(Title added c.13 th cen.)
1v.	Wind Rota	Concerning the winds: <i>De ventis</i>	Isidore, <i>Etymologiae</i> , XIII, xi
2r.	Schema of the Wind Names	Concerning the Zodiac Circle: <i>De zodiaco circulo</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XVI
2v.	Schema of Planetary Orbits and Zodiac Schema of the Planet Cycles		
3r.	Schema of the Solstices and Equinoxes	Concerning the sunrise: <i>De ortu solis</i>	Isidore, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XVII,3,etc.
3v.		Concerning the twelve signs: <i>De duodecim signis</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XVII
		Concerning the course and size of the sun: <i>De cursu et magnitudine solis</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XIX
		Concerning the orbit of the planets: <i>De cursu planetarum</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XII
		Concerning the stars: <i>De stellis</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XI
		Concerning the nature and position of the moon: <i>De natura et situ lune</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XX
		Concerning the eclipse of the sun and of the moon: <i>De eclipsi soli et lune</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XII
		Concerning comets: <i>De cometis</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XXIV
		Concerning the air: <i>De aere</i>	Bede, <i>De natura Rerum</i> , XXV
		Concerning the Milky Way: <i>De lacteo circulo</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XVIII
4r.	Schema of Phases of the Moon	When none exists and why: <i>Ubi non sit et quare</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XXIII
4v.		Text beginning: <i>Denique luna...</i>	Abbonian
		Concerning the course of the sun and of the moon: <i>De cursu solis et luna</i>	Abbonian
		Concerning the course of the moon through the signs: <i>De cursu lunae per signa</i>	Abbonian
		Concerning the intervals of the planets: <i>De intervallis planetarum</i>	Pliny, <i>Historia naturale</i> , II xix-xx
		Concerning the orbits of the planets: <i>De absidibus planetarum</i>	Pliny, II, xii-xiii, cf. Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XIV
		Concerning the position of the planets: <i>De positione et cursu septem planetarum</i>	Pliny, II, vi, cf. Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XII
5r.	Schema of the harmony of the spheres Schema of the planetary orbits		
5v.	Graph of planetary courses in the zodiacal signs	Concerning the difference between the circle and the sphere: <i>De differentia circuli et spere</i>	Abbo of Fleury, <i>Sententia</i>
6r.		Text beginning: <i>Certa ratio...</i>	Abbo of Fleury, <i>Sententia</i>
6v.	Schema of the celestial climate zones	Concerning the five zones: <i>De quinque circulis</i>	Isidore, <i>De natura rerum</i> , X, 1-2
		Text beginning: <i>Iginus et alii astrologi...</i>	Abbonian
		Concerning the five zones of the world: <i>De quinque circulis mundi</i>	Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> , XXXIV
7r.	Schema of the terrestrial climate zones and Rhiphaean mountains Schema of the Moon and circuit in the zodiac		
7v.	Schema of the cube (<i>figura solida</i>) Schema of Microcosmic-Macrocosmic Harmony (<i>mundus, homo, annus</i>)	Concerning the elements of the world: <i>De partibus mundi</i>	Isidore, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XI, 1-3
8r.	Schema of Harmony of the Year and Seasons Schema of Harmony of Elements, Seasons, Humors	Concerning the four seasons: <i>De quattuor temporibus</i>	<i>iuxta Yisidorum</i> (cf. <i>De natura rerum</i> , VII)
8v.	Tidal Rota	Concerning the harmony of the sea and the moon: <i>De concordia maris et lunae</i>	<i>ut Beda</i> (cf. <i>De temporum ratione</i> , XXIX)
9r.	Consanguinity Schema	Concerning the tides of the ocean: <i>De aestu oceani</i>	Bede, <i>De natura rerum</i> , XXXIX
9v.		Of three ways of reckoning of time: <i>De trimoda ratione temporum</i>	Anonymous after Bede, <i>De temporum ratione</i> , etc.



[upper left] Figure 1. Schema of the Solstices and Equinoxes. Walters Art Museum, MS. W. 73, 3r. Reproduced by permission of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

[right] Figure 2. Schema of the Phases of the Moon. Walters Art Museum, MS. W. 73, 4r. Reproduced by permission of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

[lower left] Figure 3. Schema of the Celestial Climate Zones. Walters Art Museum, MS. W. 73, 6v. Reproduced by permission of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.



[facing page, left] Figure 4. Detail of Microcosmic-Macrocosmic Harmony. Walters Art Museum, MS. W. 73, 7v. Reproduced by permission of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.

[facing page, right] Figure 5. Schema of the Microcosmic-Macrocosmic Harmony. Laon, Bibliothèque municipale MS. 422, 9r.

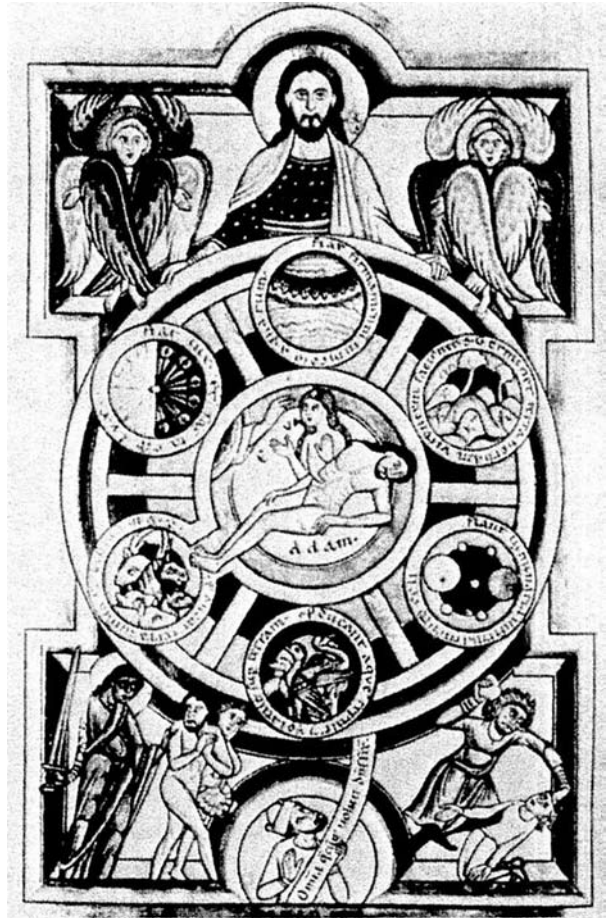
[facing page, lower left] Figure 6. Schema of Celestial Climate Zones. Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17, 40r (English, 1110). Reproduced by kind permission of The President and Scholars of Saint John Baptist College in the University of Oxford.

[facing page, lower right] Figure 7. Calendar showing the age of the moon on the calends (first day) of each month in order to coordinate the lunar and solar cycles over a period of 19 years. Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17, 27r (English, 1110). Reproduced by kind permission of The President and Scholars of Saint John Baptist College in the University of Oxford.

[right] Figure 8. Creation Rota. Haus Brabecke (Sauerland), Sammlung Fürstenburg, Missale from Hildesheim, 10v.

[lower left] Figure 9. Genesis Initial. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. II. 1639, 6v.

[lower right] Figure 10. Hildegard of Bingen, *Liber divinorum operum*, 13th cen. Lucca, Bibliotheca Statale, MS. 1924, 9r. Photo credit: Scala/Art Resource, NY.



The Parish Monstrance of St. Kolumba: Community Pride and Eucharistic Devotion in Cologne around 1400

Heather McCune Bruhn

The Church of St. Kolumba was the oldest and richest parish church in late gothic Cologne.¹ However, Baroque and Rococo remodeling, secularization under the French, and Allied bombing in World War II led to the loss or disbursement of most of its treasures (Figure 1). Late gothic panel paintings from St. Kolumba's, including Rogier van der Weyden's St. Kolumba Altarpiece and several anonymous masterpieces, receive the greatest amount of art historical attention.² Consequently, the four remaining pieces of medieval goldsmithwork from the parish church, now in the Cologne Cathedral Treasury, are largely ignored. They consist of a shrine-shaped crystal reliquary from the late twelfth century, a small silver reliquary monstrance from the mid-fifteenth century (Figure 2), and two exquisite pieces from around 1400, a highly ornamented processional cross and a large, beautifully worked host monstrance titled, for purposes of discussion here, the Kolumba Monstrance (Figure 3).³ This paper suggests that the magnifi-

cent Kolumba Monstrance was not the donation of a single wealthy patron but of the parish as a whole, and that it represented the community pride and Eucharistic devotion of the parish well into the modern era.

The term *monstrance* refers to a vessel that is used to display the consecrated Host for veneration by the faithful, whether it is placed upon an altar or used in procession.⁴ Monstrances developed as a result of the institution of the feast of Corpus Christi in 1264.⁵ This new feast was intended to celebrate the sacrificial, redeeming and miraculous nature of the consecrated Host. The earliest statutes and offices for the feast of Corpus Christi simply mention that the consecrated Host should be honored with readings and hymns.⁶ Exposition of and processions with the Host came later. The first documented Corpus Christi procession was held at the church of St. Gereon in Cologne before 1277.⁷ Following the earlier custom of not exposing the Host except at the moment of el-

This article represents a portion of my recently completed dissertation on late gothic monstrances. I would like to recognize Dr. Elizabeth B. Smith and the other members of my committee for their continuing encouragement and assistance. My research would not have been possible without funding from The German-American Fulbright Commission, The Medieval Academy of America, and the Pennsylvania State University. Prof. Johann Michael Fritz guided my research in Germany during the academic year 2002-2003. For my access to the Kolumba Monstrance and the Solingen-Grafräth Monstrance, I wish to thank the staff of the Deutsches Klingensmuseum in Solingen-Grafräth and the Domschatz in Cologne, particularly Dr. Leonie Becks and master goldsmith Cordula Baumsteiger.

¹ Eduard Hegel, *St. Kolumba in Köln: Eine mittelalterliche Großstadtpfarrei in ihrem Werden und Vergehen*, Studien zur Kölner Kirchengeschichte 30 (Siegburg: Verlag Franz Schmitt, 1996) 37-40.

² Recent studies of interest include: Alfred Acres, "The Columba Altarpiece and the Time of the World," *Art Bulletin* 80.3 (Sept., 1998): 422-451; Angela Kulenkampff, "Stifter und Stiftungen in der Pfarre St. Kolumba in Köln in der Zeit von 1464-1487," *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 48/49 (1987/88): 443-452; Kulenkampff, "Der Dreikönigsaltar (Columba-Altar) des Rogier van der Weyden: Zur Frage seines ursprünglichen Standortes und des Stifters," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 192-193 (1990): 9-46.

³ Leonie Becks and Rolf Lauer, *Die Schatzkammer des Kölner Domes*, Meisterwerke des Kölner Domes 6, ed. Barbara Schock-Werner and Rolf Lauer (Cologne: Verlag Kölner Dom, 2000), cat. 52, 61, 78, 80, pp. 41, 47, 54, 55; Walter Schulten, *Der Kölner Domschatz* (Cologne: Greven Verlag, 1980), cat. 26, 27, 36, 82, pp. 18-19, 21, 120-1.

⁴ The most complete studies of the liturgical function of the monstrance and its historical and stylistic development are by Joseph Braun and Lotte Perpeet-Frech. Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein*

und in seiner Entwicklung (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1932) 348-411; Lotte Perpeet-Frech, *Die gotischen Monstranzen im Rheinland*, Bonner Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 7 (Düsseldorf: Rheinland-Verlag, 1964) 9-67. Holger Guster is currently writing a dissertation on the formal development of the earliest monstrances under the guidance of Johann Michael Fritz. Other useful studies include: Anton Joseph Binterim, "Über die heutigen Monstranzen (Schauegefäße) für das allerheiligste Sacrament," in Binterim, *Die vorzüglichsten Denkwürdigkeiten der Christ-Katholischen Kirche aus den ersten, mittlern und letzten Zeiten*, vol. 7 (Mainz: Simon Müller, 1833) 365-376; J. Corblet, "Des ostensoirs," in "Des vases et des ustensiles eucharistiques," part 8, *Revue de l'Art chrétien*, ns 4 (1886): 49-58; Édouard Dumoutet, *Le désir de voir l'hostie et les origines de la dévotion au Saint-Sacrement* (Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne, 1926) 80-85; Peter Browe, *Die Verehrung der Eucharistie im Mittelalter* (Munich: Max Hueber Verlag, 1933) 98-102; Michel Andrieu, "Aux origines du culte du Saint-Sacrement: reliquaires et monstrances eucharistiques," *Analecta Bollandiana* 47 (1950): 397-418; Charles C. Kovacs III, "Monstrances," in *Eucharistic Vessels of the Middle Ages*, exhibition catalogue (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University and Garland Publishing, Inc., 1975) 97-103.

⁵ The feast was established when Urban IV published the bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo* in 1264. The text of the bull is printed in: Peter Browe, *Textus antiqui de festo Corporis Christi*, Opuscula et textus, Series Liturgica, ed. Richard Stapper and A. Rucker, Fasc. IV (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1934) 27-33.

⁶ Browe (1934) 1-40; C. Lambot, "L'Office de la Fête-Dieu; aperçus nouveaux sur ses origines," *Revue Benedictine* 54 (1942): 95-123.

⁷ The document describing the institution of Corpus Christi and the procession at St. Gereon was first published, with commentary, by Richard Stapper and later included in Peter Browe's collection of texts relating to Corpus Christi. Richard Stapper, "Der alte Gereonsaltar und die früheste Form der

evation, it was carried in a closed pyx. Although some churches continued to conceal the Host as late as the fourteenth century, the earliest known monstrance can be securely dated to 1286, and monstrance use was firmly established by the end of the fourteenth century.⁸ Monstrances are constructed with central crystal vessels that, according to a document from 1343, allow their contents “to be better protected...and to lead the people to greater and better devotion.”⁹ The Host is held upright in a *lunula*, a crescent-shaped holder that stands inside the central vessel. Though early monstrances had widely varied and experimental forms, by the late fourteenth century monstrances were being made according to standardized types.¹⁰ The Kolumba Monstrance is a tower monstrance, the most popular type in the late gothic period, and the form of its spire, buttresses and carrying knob indicate that it was made in Cologne.¹¹

Even among the highest quality tower monstrances, the Kolumba Monstrance ranks as an outstanding example of the goldsmith’s art. A comparison with the well made but more standard Cologne monstrance from Solingen-Gräfrath, also made around 1400, will help illustrate what makes the Kolumba Monstrance so extraordinary (Figure 4). At 88.5cm, the Kolumba Monstrance is among the tallest of its time, while the Solingen-Gräfrath Monstrance has a more typical height of 69.4cm. Both consist of a vertical crystal vessel within an elaborate silver gilt architectural framework supported by a stem, knob and foot.¹² But in the case of the Kolumba Monstrance, the goldsmith has gone far beyond fabricating the required elements. If we compare the two spires, it is clear

that the Kolumba Monstrance has more than just a simple buttressed chapel housing a cast figure of the Madonna. Instead, St. Kolumba stands within a web of delicate tracery and is surrounded by colonnettes, flying buttresses and cast pinnacles (Figure 5). A smaller chapel above her houses three additional virgin martyrs cast in silver. The dome of the spire, which also serves as the lid of the crystal vessel, is beautifully engraved with the symbols of the four evangelists. On most monstrances, this area would be studded with cut enameled flowers or left undecorated. Flowers can also be found at the center of spirals below the buttresses of most monstrances. The Kolumba Monstrance, however, has tiny animated corbel figures that appear to support each buttress. The stem and base of the crystal vessel, which receive only the most basic ornament on other pieces, are here decorated with colonnettes, overlapping ribs and fine crosshatching (Figure 6). The complex stepped base of the stem resembles that of a compound pier. This architectural emphasis suggests that the Kolumba goldsmith might have had the geometric design training recommended by the goldsmith Hans Schmuttermayer in his 1486 book on finial design.¹³ Finally, the foot of the Kolumba Monstrance is a masterpiece in its own right (Figure 7). Each of the six lobes is engraved with an enthroned saint contained within a plain border and finely crosshatched background. In each lobe either a foot, a piece of drapery or a portion of throne overlaps the plain border. Compositionally and stylistically these enthroned saints resemble painting and manuscript illumination in Paris and the Low Countries. A strong comparison can be made with André Beauneveu’s miniatures of

Fronleichnamfeier in Köln,” *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 106 (1922): 130-141; Browe (1934) 44-46.

⁸ A pyx was used in processions in Hildesheim (1301), Gerona (1320) and Barcelona (1322). The Host was hidden inside a chalice in processions at the Church of St. Martial in Limoges as late as 1470. Braun (1932) 355; Browe (1933) 98. The first monstrance, from 1286, was donated by Abbess Adelheid of Diest to her Cistercian Abbey at Herkenrode. The silver-gilt monstrance bears the mark of the royal gold and silver workshops of Paris as well as an inscription naming its patron and date of donation. The inscription reads: *Anno domini M cc lxxvi fecit istud vas fieri domina Heilwigis de Dist priorissa in herkenrode commemoracio in perpetuum cum fidelibus habeatur*. W. H. J. Weale, *Catalogue des objets d’art religieux du moyen âge, de la renaissance et des temps modernes; exposés à l’hotel Liedekirke à Malines septembre 1864*, 2d ed. (Brussels: Imprimerie de Charles Lelong, 1864) cat. 439, p. 76; Weale, *Instrumenta ecclesiastica: Choix d’objets d’art religieux du moyen-âge et de la renaissance exposés à Malines en septembre 1864* (Brussels: Simonau et Toovey, 1866) cat. 26; E. Maffei, *La réservation eucharistique jusqu’à la Renaissance* (Brussels: Vromant, 1942) 129, fig. 49; Andrieu (1950) 403; Robert Didier, catalogue entry, *Schatz aus den Trümmern: Der Silberschrein von Nivelles und die europäische Hochgotik* (Cologne: Verlag Locher, 1995) cat. 27; R.H. Marijnissen, “De monstrans van Herkenrode,” *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der schone Kunsten* 56.1 (1996): 81-6.

⁹ “...soll sie Gottes Leichnam sehen lassen in der Cristallen dem Volk zu einer mehrern und bessern Andacht.” Staatsarchiv Nürnberg cod. man. 2, 38ff and 15, 25ff, in Xaver Haimerl, *Das Prozessionswesen des Bistums Bamberg im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1937; reprint, Hildesheim: Verlag Dr.

H.A. Gerstenberg, 1973) 51 (page citations are for the reprint edition).

¹⁰ Braun describes a wide range of monstrance types in his study, but the more limited number of classifications given by Perpeet-Frech has enjoyed wider use by art historians. Braun (1932) 366-379; Perpeet-Frech 21-28.

¹¹ On the typical characteristics of a Cologne tower monstrance, see: Perpeet-Frech 26-7, 33-42.

¹² The damaged crystal of the Kolumba monstrance was replaced with glass after the cathedral treasury was burgled in 1975. A report on the theft and its effect on the monstrance can be found in: Peter Bolg and Paula Zieleskiewicz, “Der Domschatzraub 1975: Restaurierungs- und Wiederherstellungsbericht,” *Kölner Domblatt* 60 (1995): 269-72.

¹³ Schmuttermayer dedicated his booklet to the glory of God, the church, and: “alle(n) maisteren vn gesellen die sich diser hohen vn freyen kunst der Geometria geprauchten ir gemute speculierung vnd ymaginacion dem ware(n) grunt des maswercks paß zuunterwerffen nach gedencken vnd ein zu wurtzeln.” Ulrich Coenen, *Die spätgotischen Werkmeisterbücher in Deutschland: Untersuchung und Edition der Lehrschriften für Entwurf und Ausführung von Sakralbauten*, Beiträge zur Kunstwissenschaft 35 (Munich: scaneg Verlag, 1990) 42, 353. It is also possible that the goldsmith was working from design drawings produced by someone else, perhaps an architect in the employ of the parish or the cathedral. Several contracts and payment records refer to designs and models that were produced by someone other than the goldsmith, for example the goldsmith Jorg Ziechlin, who made the *fisierung* for a monstrance that was ordered from the goldsmith Hanns Schmidt in 1484. Justus Bier, “Riemenschneider as a Goldsmith’s Model Maker,” *Art Bulletin* 37.2 (1955): 110, note 59; Walther Karl Zülch, *Frankfurter Künstler, 1223-1700* (Frankfurt: Verlag Sauer & Auvermann, 1907) 221.

prophets in the Psalter of Jean, Duc du Berry.¹⁴ There was a great deal of artistic exchange between Cologne and Paris and the Low Countries, and the Kolumba goldsmith has adapted the imported style, masterfully designing these enthroned saints specifically for the lobes of the monstrance foot. The feet of most other monstrances are decorated with scrollwork or with simple figural compositions that do not take the shape of the lobes into account.¹⁵

Although no contract or payment records survive for the Kolumba Monstrance, it is possible to use surviving financial documents to estimate its cost. Cologne goldsmiths, according to a document of 1372, received wages that were dependent upon the silver weight and complexity of the objects they

made.¹⁶ From surviving contracts and payment records, it is clear that goldsmiths were paid significantly less for simple objects like beakers and rings than they were for large, complex host monstrances.¹⁷ For a ring, the goldsmith's wage might be as little as 5% the value of the silver, but for a monstrance the pay range was between 75 and 92% of the silver cost. A monstrance contract stated the names of the goldsmith and his patron or patrons, the name of the church, and any witnesses involved. The size of the monstrance in terms of its weight in silver, and the goldsmith's payment based upon that weight, were also stipulated. The purity of the silver would also be set. Additional materials, like rock crystal, gilding and precious stones were generally subject to a separate payment.¹⁸

¹⁴ Ohm was the first to indicate the similarities between the Kolumba monstrance foot and the illuminations of Beauneveu (c. 1386), but overestimated their importance (by assuming the goldsmith copied them) and misdated the monstrance (c. 1480). Fritz correctly states that although Beauneveu's miniatures are compositionally similar to the Kolumba engravings, the engravings reflect contemporary taste that can also be found in the Nicholas panel from Soest, attributed to Conrad of Soest (c. 1400), and the similarity of both to the Kolumba engravings reflects the large number of Netherlandish artists working in and around Cologne. Annaliese Ohm, "Rheinische Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik," *Trierer Zeitschrift* 22 (1953): 192; Johann Michael Fritz, *Gestochene Bilder: Gravierungen auf deutschen Goldschmiedearbeiten der Spätgotik*, Beihefte der Bonner Jahrbücher 20 (Cologne and Graz: Böhlau Verlag, 1966) 90-99, cat. 358. For André Beauneveu's prophet miniatures, see: Millard Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean, Duc de Berry: The Late Fourteenth Century and the Patronage of the Duke*, National Gallery of Art Kress Foundation Studies in the History of European Art 2 (London and New York: Phaidon, 1967) 135-40, 331-2.

¹⁵ See, for example, a monstrance donated by Hermann Starkmann of Cologne, c. 1430, in the Museum Schnütgen, Cologne, no. G97. Fritz (1966) 104, cat. 374; Perpeet-Frech, cat. 89.

¹⁶ "Determinationem vero salarii certam non habent, sive fuerit operas deaurati sive non deaurati, sed illud attendunt et ponderant circa difficultatem et laboris quantitatem." July 22, 1372. The Cologne statement (found in von Loesch and in Korn) was in response to an attempt by the city of Breslau to standardize prices with Cologne and Brussels. Brussels was the only city with a documented price scale for goldsmithwork, and this, too, was dependent upon metal weight and difficulty of execution. According to the Brussels price scale, goldsmiths were paid 1 *muton d'or* per mark silver for simple tankards and cups and roughly double that rate for smaller, more intricate vessels containing approximately 1 ½ marks silver. The highest rate paid in Brussels was for a complex lady's girdle, for which the goldsmith received a sum equal to the cost of his materials. A summary of these negotiations and the content of the Brussels letter can be found in Karcher, and Korn prints the text of the Brussels letter. Heinrich von Loesch, ed., *Die kölnner Zunfturkunden nebst anderen kölnner Gewerbeurkunden bis zum Jahre 1500*, vol. 2 (Bonn: P. Hansteins Verlag, 1906) doc. 426; Georg Korn, ed., *Schlesische Urkunden zur Geschichte des Gewerberechts insbesondere des Innungswesens aus der Zeit vor 1400*, Codex Diplomaticus Silesiae, ed. Vereine für Geschichte und Alterthum Schlesiens, Bd. 8 (Bratislava: Josef Max & Co., 1867) docs. 44-5; Richard Karcher, *Das deutsche Goldschmiedehandwerk bis ins 15. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: E.A. Seemann, 1911) 88.

¹⁷ For simpler objects, which constituted the goldsmith's everyday stock in trade, the most illuminating resources are the account book of Steffan Maignow, a goldsmith of Konstanz, and the records of Matthäus von Gent, a Cologne goldsmith in the employ of Archbishop Dietrich I. Wages for more complex secular goldsmithwork can be determined from records of payments made to Willem van Vlueten and other Bruges goldsmiths pub-

lished by van der Velden. Witte's collection of church financial records relating to art history is particularly helpful for determining pay rates for chalices and other church objects. Additional material can be found in records published by Merlo, Rott and von den Brincken. For Steffan Maignow, see: A. Nuglisch, "Das Geschäftsbuch des Konstanzer Goldschmiedes Steffan Maignow (1480-1500)," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. Bd. XXII, (1907): 456-470; Johann Michael Fritz, catalogue entry, *Spätgotik am Oberrhein: Meisterwerke der Plastik und des Kunsthandwerks 1450-1530* (Karlsruhe: Badisches Landesmuseum, 1970) cat. 249; Fritz, "Goldschmiedekunst. Spätgotik am Oberrhein: Forschungsergebnisse und Nachträge zur Ausstellung im Badischen Landesmuseum 1970," *Jahrbuch der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg* 9 (1972): 185-6; Fritz, *Goldschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (Munich: Verlag C.H. Beck, 1982) 60-61. For Matthäus von Gent, see: Paul Hübinger, "Zur Geschichte des Kölner Goldschmiedegewerbes im späten Mittelalter," *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere das alte Erzbistum Köln* 142-143 (1943): 263-270. For Willem van Vlueten (and several other goldsmiths in Bruges), see: Hugo van der Velden, "Defrocking St. Eloy: Petrus Christus's Vocational Portrait of a Goldsmith," *Simiolus* 26.4 (1998): 268-76. See also: Fritz Witte, "Kunsthistorische Notizen aus den Ausgaben- und Einnahmenregistern der Domfabrik zu Osnabrück 1415-1550," *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst* 12 (1911): 378-384; Witte, *Quellen zur rheinischen Kunstgeschichte I: Rechnungsbücher des Niederrheins, Die Chronik des Wilmus*, vol. 5 of *Tausend Jahre deutscher Kunst am Rhein* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1932); Johann Jacob Merlo, *Kölnische Künstler in alter und neuer Zeit* (Düsseldorf: Gesellschaft für Rheinischen Geschichtskunde, 1895, reprinted Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1966); Hans Rott, *Bodenseegebiet*, Vol. 1 of *Quellen und Forschungen zur sudwestdeutschen und schweizerischen Kunstgeschichte im XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder Verlag, 1933); Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, *Regesten, part 1 of Das Stift St. Mariengraden zu Köln (Urkunden und Akten 1059-1817)*, Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln 57 (Cologne: Verlag Paul Neubner, 1969) 256.

¹⁸ Five fifteenth century monstrance contracts have survived from Middle Europe (roughly modern-day Germany and large portions of its immediate neighbors). The earliest known monstrance contract, between Willem van Moudick and representatives of the parish church of St. John in Sambeek (1438), is not published. The archives of the Parish of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek, sent a typescript and a photocopy of this contract to me. Information about the contract can be found in: *Beelden uit Brabant: Laattogische kunst uit het oude hertogdom, 1400-1520*, exhibition catalogue (s'Hertogenbosch: Noordbrabant Museum, 1971), cat. 137; Fritz (1982) cat. 459. The contract between Hans Rutenzwig and the parish church of Porrentruy (1477) is published in: J. Trouillat, trans., "Le conseil de fabrique de Porrentruy fait marché avec Jean Rutenzwig, orfèvre à Bâle, pour la confection d'un ostensor en argent," *Momuments de l'histoire de l'ancien Evêche de Bâle* 5 (1867): doc. 179. The contract between Georg Seld and the church of Ss. Ulrich and Afra in Augsburg (1486) can be found in: Ingrid S. Weber, "Drei Aufrisse spätgotischer Monstranzen im Stadtarchiv Ulm," *Pantheon* 36.1 (1978): note 36, pp. 29-30. Georg Schongauer's

A premium was placed upon high quality workmanship, and the best rates were paid for pieces that were “well and richly made,” as stipulated in a contract from 1487.¹⁹ The Kolumba Monstrance contains just over 13a pounds of silver, and based on its exquisite workmanship, the goldsmith likely received the maximum price for his labor, worth approximately 12.3 pounds of silver.²⁰ Using late gothic records for bread prices in Cologne, it is possible to translate the price of this monstrance into something more tangible for a modern audience, that is, large loaves of rye bread, each weighing 7½ lbs.²¹ The Kolumba Monstrance had a value equivalent to approximately 5,948 large loaves of rye. Its silver value was more than three times that of a monstrance donated by the bishop of Eichstätt to his cathedral in 1383, and nearly four times that of a monstrance donated by the wealthy Cologne landholder Henry de Cervo to the church of St. Mary ad Gradus in 1358.²²

Given the splendor and expense of the Kolumba Monstrance, it seems surprising that it bears no indication of its patronage. There is no inscription, coat of arms or donor portrait visible on the Kolumba Monstrance. However, the monstrance does place particular emphasis upon the figure of St. Kolumba, who is recognizable by her attribute, a small

bear that saved her from rape and burning before she was finally beheaded.²³ Kolumba is the largest saint figure on the monstrance, and she occupies the spire chapel, a place customarily occupied by the Virgin and Child. Two other pieces from St. Kolumba’s, the processional cross from around 1400 and the small reliquary monstrance of the mid-fifteenth century also give prominence to the saint. Kolumba occupies the spire of the reliquary, which contains a thorn from Christ’s crown of thorns, and she stands in a niche at the base of the cross, just under a medallion with the symbol of St. John (Figures 2, 5 and 8). Like the Kolumba Monstrance, neither the reliquary monstrance nor the processional cross can easily be identified with a patron. Given the prominence of St. Kolumba, this paper argues that all three of these objects were donated by the parish as a whole. There are several examples of group patronage for monstrances; for example, the knob of the early fifteenth century monstrance in Gerresheim is inscribed *co(mun)is eley(mosyn)a me fecit*, indicating that the offerings of the community funded its creation.²⁴ On the Gerresheim Monstrance, too, the patron saints of the church are emphasized. The earliest known monstrance contract, from 1438, states that the monstrance in question was ordered on behalf

contract with the Parish of Porrentruy to replace Rutenzwig’s monstrance in 1487 has been published twice: in 1946 with a German translation (by Reinhardt and Rais) and by Rais in 1962 with additional documents related to the payment for the monstrance. Hans Reinhardt and André Rais, “Neue Beiträge zu einigen Stücken des Basler Münsterschatzes,” *Historisches Museum Basel: Jahresberichte und Rechnungen des Vereins für das Historische Museum und für Erhaltung baslerischer Altertümer und der Kommission zum Historischen Museum* (1946): 38-9; Rais, “L’histoire du Grand Ostenoir gothique de Porrentruy Œuvre de Georges Schongauer,” *Zeitschrift für schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte* 22 (1962): 73-80, here 78-79. The contract between the goldsmiths Hans Payer and Master Frantz and the church in Neunkirchen (1490) is printed in: Heinrich Kohlhaussen, *Nürnberger Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters und der Dürerzeit: 1240 bis 1540* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1968) 220-21.

¹⁹ “...bien faict et richement ouvres...” Rais (1962) 78.

²⁰ I have approximated the silver weight of the Kolumba monstrance based upon the weight of two other monstrances of similar size: the Kölner Dommonstranz (11.68 lbs) and the Ratingen Monstrance (18 lbs). The architecture of the Ratingen Monstrance is less open and much heavier in terms of silver weight than either the Kolumba Monstrance or the Kölner Dommonstranz. From the average of these two weights I have subtracted 1½ lbs for the approximate weight of the crystal (the crystal vessels are particularly thick and heavy in the Ratingen and Kolumba monstrances). For weights, see: Alexander Schnütgen, “Die silbervergoldete hochgothische Monstranz des Kölner Domes,” *Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst* 9 (1899): 226; Arnold Dresen, *Die Ratinger Monstranz* (Ratingen: Max Wagner, 1913) 4.

²¹ Bread prices in both coin and fine silver are recorded in the Cologne city archives and published in: Dietrich Ebeling and Franz Irsigler, *Getreideumsatz, Getreide- und Brotpreise in Köln: 1368-1797, Teil I: Getreideumsatz und Getreidepreise: Wochen-, Monats- und Jahrestabelle, Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln 57* (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1979) especially XV, LIII.

²² Bishop Friedrich von Öttingen’s monstrance for Eichstätt is described in his biography: “Monstranciam deauratam valde pretiosam in pondere 15 habentem marcas argenti...” *Gesta episcoporum Eichstadiensium continuata*, MGH SS, XXV, 602. See also: Bauerreiss, Romauld, “Zur Entstehung der Fronleichnamprozession in Bayern,” *Beiträge zur altbayerischen Kirchengeschichte* 21.3 (1960): 98. Henry de Cervo’s monstrance donation is from his will: “Item lego eisdem dominis magnam meam monstrantiam novam, in qua eucharistie sacramentum portari solet, de valore ottuaginta florenorum,” A. Heuser, “Das Testament des Heinrich von Hirtz,” *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 20 (1869): 85. The weight and a higher value for the monstrance are recorded in the memorial book (c. 1370) from the church of St. Mary ad Gradus in Cologne (7 marks weight and 83 florins value). Von den Brincken 256. For my calculations, I have used the weight of the silver mark from Regensburg reported by Eikenburg for the monstrance in Eichstätt, and estimated the goldsmith’s pay at 83.5% of the silver price (the average of the highest and lowest wages that are documented). I have used the value of 80 florins for Henry de Cervo’s monstrance. Because the price of rye was variable based upon the harvest, I have compared the overall prices of the three monstrances in terms of silver and have not calculated comparative bread prices. Wiltrud Eikenburg, *Das Handelshaus der Runtinger zu Regensburg: Ein Spiegel süddeutschen Rechts-, Handels- und Wirtschaftsleben im ausgehenden 14. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976) 288.

²³ Boninus Mombritius, “Passio S. Columbae,” in Boninus Mombritius, *Sanctuariurn sive Vitae Sanctorum*, in: *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bruxellensis*, ed. Hagiographi Bollandiani I/1 (Brussels, 1886) 302-306; Joseph Braun, *Tracht und Attribute der Heiligen in der deutschen Kunst*, (Stuttgart 1943) 430-1.

²⁴ This inscription, *cois eleia me fecit*, was originally interpreted as an artist’s signature (e.g. by Clemen), but was later identified by Dresen as an abbreviation of *co(mun)is elee(mosyn)a me fecit*. I am using Heppes’s spelling of the inscription. Paul Clemen, *Der Stadt und des Kreises Düsseldorf*, Bd. 3.1 of *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, (Düsseldorf: L. Schwann, 1894), 103; Dresen 7-8; Karl Bernd Heppes, *Düsseldorf-Gerresheim*, Rheinische Kunststätten 350, ed. Rheinscher Verein für Denkmalpflege und Landschaftsschutz, (Neuss: Neusser Druckerei und Verlag, 1990) 29.

of the entire parish of Sambeek.²⁵ Multiple donors are sometimes described in church records, as for example in a list of eighteen wealthy men who contributed the cost of a monstrance made by Georg Schongauer for the parish church of Porrentruy in 1487.²⁶ Similarly, a contract for a monstrance in Augsburg from 1486 indicates that pious women of the community donated rings, rosaries and other valuables to fund its creation.²⁷

In addition to the common practice of group donation for expensive works like monstrances, there is a more compelling reason to believe that parishioners funded the Kolumba Monstrance. This is the nature of the parish itself. A parish constituted the smallest part of a diocese, and its church, unlike a cathedral, collegiate church or monastery, served a set group of people in a specific area. Parish churches baptized and buried their parishioners, and were supported by their tithes.²⁸ Most late gothic cities were divided into a small number of parishes: there were just two parish churches in Nuremberg and five in Utrecht, for example. Cologne, with nineteen parishes, was quite unusual. Unlike other major trade centers such as Utrecht and Lübeck, Cologne lacked a central market church that could be identified with all of its citizens. Since the burgers of Cologne had first exercised their independence from the archbishop in 1079, they no longer identified themselves with the cathedral.²⁹ Thus, each of Cologne's nineteen church parishes maintained an identity distinct from the others. Parish pride and inter-parish rivalries were manifested in increasingly larger churches, taller spires, and more lavish church decoration.³⁰

Tax records from the late thirteenth and late fifteenth centuries indicate that St. Kolumba's was the richest and most

populous of Cologne's parishes, containing almost 20% of the city population and supplying 15% of the city tax revenue in 1487 (Figure 9).³¹ Among the residents of the parish were many of Cologne's richest noble and merchant families as well as prominent craftsmen, university professors and students. The parish also contained several conventual and mendicant houses as well as the largest number of the religious laywomen known as Beguines in the city.³² St. Kolumba's parish also had its own political identity. Late gothic Cologne was divided into twelve governmental districts. At St. Kolumba's and the other parishes within the Roman and earliest medieval walls, the boundaries of the parish and the governmental district were identical. Each district administered its own legal documents, and was governed by an elected council with two co-chairmen and several other officials.³³ In the case of St. Kolumba's parish, the council and officials identified themselves as the *parish council* and *officers of the parish*.³⁴ Beginning in 1212, these parish officers played a key role in electing the priest of St. Kolumba, either choosing him from three candidates presented by the dean of the cathedral, or choosing their own candidates for the dean's approval.³⁵ Parish officers were also responsible for maintaining the church and parish house and administering church finances.³⁶ The church of St. Kolumba was truly the focus of religious and secular life in its parish, and it is not surprising that an expensive and beautifully-worked piece like the Kolumba Monstrance would be donated by the parish as a whole. But why a monstrance?

Theodor Schnitzler has portrayed medieval Cologne as a city with Eucharistic veneration in the air.³⁷ There were three miraculous Hosts in the city and five more in the surrounding

²⁵ "T is te weten, dat her Jonan vande Velde, pastoir tot Zandsbeke, Gerit van Holt ende die kirckmeister aldair in behoeff onser kirspels vurs. verdingt hebben an Willem van Moldick, goltsmit, burger tot Nymegen, een monstrancie van syns selfs sthoff te maken..." Typescript of a contract for a monstrance between Willem van Moudick and the Parish Church of Sambeek, 1438 (Parish archives of Sint Jan de Doper, Sambeek).

²⁶ Rais (1962) 78-79.

²⁷ Weber note 36, 29-30.

²⁸ On the parishes of Cologne, see: Hegel (1996) 35-6; Hegel, "Das mittelalterliche Pfarrsystem und seine kirchliche Infrastruktur in Köln um 1500," in *Köln um 1500* (Cologne: Rheinland-Verlag, 1992) 3-26.

²⁹ Klaus Gereon Beuckers, *Köln: Die Kirchen in gotischer Zeit: Zur spätmittelalterlichen Sakralbautätigkeit an den Kloster-, Stifts- und Pfarrkirchen in Köln*, Stadtpuren—Denkmäler in Köln 24, ed. Ulrich Krings (Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1998) 43-6.

³⁰ Beuckers 43-57.

³¹ For tax revenues: Joseph Greving, "Wohnungs- und Besitzverhältnisse der einzelnen Bevölkerungsklassen im Kölner Kirchspiel St. Kolumba von 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 78 (1904): 2; Hegel (1996) 37. For population (between 6,000 and 8,000 in the parish and ca. 40,000 in the city): Josef van Elten, "Zum Verhältnis zwischen Stadt und Kirche im spätmittelalterlichen Köln," *Geschichte in Köln* 10 (1981): 46-7; Wilhelm Janssen, *Das Erzbistum Köln im späten Mittelalter 1191-1515*, vol. 2, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Köln* 2, ed. Norbert Trippen (Cologne: J.P.

Bachem Verlag, 2003) 59.

³² Hegel (1996) 58-97.

³³ Hermann Keussen, *Topographie der Stadt Köln im Mittelalter*, vol. 1, *Preis-Schriften der Mevissen-Stiftung* 2, ed. Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde (Bonn, 1910, reprint, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1986), 47-8 (page citations are for reprint edition); Hegel (1996) 37-44; Beuckers 15.

³⁴ Joseph Greving, "Statut der Amtleute von St. Kolumba in Köln vom Jahre 1269," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein insbesondere die alte Erzdiözese Köln* 73 (1902): 78-87; Hegel (1996) 41-3.

³⁵ Beuckers 24-5, 46; Hegel (1996) 53-55.

³⁶ Hegel (1996) 44.

³⁷ "So liegt denn die Eucharistieverehrung im Stiftsgebiet von St. Gereon so sehr in der Luft, daß sich darin die Fronleichnamsprozession, die Frömmigkeit des Volkes und das mit der Devotio moderna und Thomas von Kempen eng verbundene Fronleichnamskloster entwickeln." Though Schnitzler is describing one particular quarter of Cologne in this passage, he also calls attention to the importance of Eucharistic veneration throughout the city and its surrounding countryside in his article. Theodor Schnitzler, "Liturgiegeschichte einer Straße (Das Bemühen der kirchlichen Stände um das Allerheiligste Altarssakrament, ausgewiesen am Wege zwischen Dom und St. Gereon in Köln)," *Die Kirche und ihre Ämter und Stände (Festgabe Joseph Kardinal Frings)*, ed. Wilhelm Corsten, Augustinus Frotz and Peter Linden (Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1960) 667-683, quotation 676-77.

countryside. One of these was at St. Christopher's, next to St. Gereon's where the first recorded Corpus Christi procession was held. Another was kept at St. Alban's near the Roman Mars Gate, and the third belonged to the church of St. Kolumba.³⁸ Caesarius of Heisterbach, writing in the first half of the thirteenth century, tells us that the consecrated Host fell from the priest's hands during mass at St. Kolumba. The fragile wafer did not shatter when it hit the floor but remained whole, leaving an impression in the floor tile. The Host and tile were both venerated as relics.³⁹ The Beguines, lay sisters who were especially devoted to the body of Christ, flocked to these miraculous Hosts. Thus the greatest concentration of Beguine houses in late gothic Cologne could be found near the churches of St. Christopher and St. Kolumba.⁴⁰ Juliana of Liege, whose visions of the Host led to the establishment of Corpus Christi, was a Beguine, and she led a group of these holy women on a pilgrimage to Cologne around 1240.⁴¹ The earliest documented Corpus Christi procession, held at St. Gereon's in 1277, was just the first of many Host processions in the city. By 1326, fifty years before Corpus Christi processions were common in European cities, nearly every church in Cologne had its own procession either on Corpus Christi or during its octave.⁴² Processions with the consecrated Host in a monstrance became so popular in Cologne that in 1452 the provincial council, fearing the mystery of the consecrated Host would be lost, ruled that each parish could hold only three such processions per year: two during Corpus Christi and its octave and the third on a day determined by the parish.⁴³

In light of the culture of Eucharistic veneration in the city as a whole and in St. Kolumba's parish in particular, the religious of the parish—Beguines, monks, nuns, mendicants and others—would have been likely to contribute towards the cost of a monstrance for the parish church. The laypeople certainly shared in this Eucharistic devotion, and doubtless had

additional reasons to fund the cost of a monstrance. Monstrances were high status objects that were used only at particular times of the year, and then with great pomp. Most churches possessed only one monstrance. It had to be splendid enough to serve as the container for the body of Christ and the focal point of Corpus Christi processions. Around 1400, when the St. Kolumba Monstrance was made, the parish was experiencing a surge in one particular part of its population: *Neubürger*, or the nouveau riche new citizens of Cologne. *Neubürger* were rich men, generally merchants and skilled craftsmen who had purchased their citizenship after residing in the city for three years. Cologne's *Neubürger* were eager to establish themselves in their new community, and usually accomplished this through large and very visible acts of charity and church patronage. Prominence brought power in trade and guild relations, and in parish and city politics.⁴⁴ Contributions towards a large, expensive and high quality monstrance would have helped to establish the place of these new citizens within their parish. The preciousness of the monstrance demonstrated the high status of the parish within Cologne, particularly when it was used in Corpus Christi processions.

St. Kolumba's two Corpus Christi processions were held on two consecutive Thursdays, on Corpus Christi and its octave. On Corpus Christi, the procession route began at St. Kolumba's and traced the boundaries of the parish, with stations at three churches and a street nearest the four corners. At each station the sign of the cross was made with the monstrance. The second procession followed the most heavily populated streets at the center of the parish, with stations at churches along the route.⁴⁵ Since the parish priest of St. Kolumba's was required to take part in the citywide rogation processions, the parish did not have its own rogation procession with relics and the Host to symbolically bless and protect the area of the parish.⁴⁶ The two Corpus Christi processions

³⁸ A. Ditzes, "Die Verehrung des allerheiligsten Sakramentes in Köln," *Zwanzigster Internationaler Eucharistischer Kongreß in Cöln* (Cologne, 1909) 144; Schnitzler 676.

³⁹ Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum IX: 14, in H. von E. Scott and C.C. Swinton Bland, trans. *The Dialogue of Miracles, Caesarius of Heisterbach (1220-1235)*, vol. 2 (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1929) 119-20.

⁴⁰ Schnitzler 669; Hegel (1996) 74; Beuckers 17-18. Several of Keussen's maps of Cologne, particularly for the parishes of St. Kolumba, St. Christopher and St. Alban, show the location of Beguine houses. Keussen, maps I, III, VI and XII.

⁴¹ Schnitzler 675; *Vita b. Julianae* II:2.11, in Acta Sanctorum, April I, 462. The new critical edition of Juliana's life can be found in: Jean-Pierre Delville, ed. and trans., *Vie de Sainte Julienne de Cornillon*, vol. 2 of: *Fête-Dieu (1246-1996)*, Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales: Textes, Études, Congrès 19.2 (Louvain: Institut d'études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain, 1999).

⁴² Peter Joerres, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Einführung des Fronleichnamfestes im Nordwesten des alten Deutschen Reiches," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 16 (1902): 175; Browe (1933) 106.

⁴³ Joseph Klersch, *Volkstum und Volksleben in Köln: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Soziologie der Stadt*, vol. 1 (Cologne: J.P. Bachem Verlag, 1965) 216; Janssen 349.

⁴⁴ Hugo Stehkämper, "Kölner Neubürger 1356-1798," *Mitteilungen aus dem Stadtarchiv von Köln* 61 (1975): 49, 53-4, 73, 83, 98; Hegel (1996) 97-100. Changes in the structure of city government at the end of the fourteenth century made the guilds much more powerful in government, since the reorganized city council (*Rat*) consisted of representatives elected by the guilds and not by the limited number of rich noble families that had previously held power. This change made it possible for Neubürger to play a role in the council, provided they were able to establish themselves as prominent members of their guild and community. For a clear summary of changes in Cologne's government to c. 1500, see: Beuckers 25-40.

⁴⁵ Eduard Hegel, "Stadtkölnischer Pfarrgottesdienst zwischen Barock und Aufklärung: Peter Hausmanns Pfarrbuch von St. Kolumba," *Zur Geschichte und Kunst im Erzbistum Köln: Festschrift für Wilhelm Neuß*, ed. Robert Haas and Joseph Hoster (Düsseldorf, 1960), reprinted in Hegel, *Ecclesiastica Rhenana: Aufsätze zur rheischen Kirchengeschichte*, Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein, insbesondere das Alte Erzbistum Köln 16 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1986) 151 (page citations are for reprint edition).

⁴⁶ Hegel (reprint 1986) 150.

performed the role of the rogations and also symbolically marked the territory of the parish. The focus of these processions was the expensive, beautifully-worked Kolumba Monstrance, demonstrating the wealth, prestige and Eucharistic piety of the parish.

The Kolumba Monstrance was kept in continued use and good repair well into the modern era. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when most churches replaced their late gothic monstrances with new sun monstrances, the parish of St. Kolumba's continued to use their late gothic monstrance.⁴⁷ Significant Baroque and Rococo renovations took place at St. Kolumba's: the gothic spire of the tabernacle, for example, was removed and replaced with an eighteenth century Roman style cupola, complete with curving volutes and an orb at the top. The Kolumba Monstrance retained its late gothic form, despite the fact that the original closure of the spire was replaced with a jeweled pin. The medallions hanging below the vessel of the monstrance commemorate Corpus Christi processions between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and demonstrate the ongoing importance of the Kolumba Monstrance.⁴⁸ In 1700 Rudolf von Geyr and Maria von Groote

donated a new, diamond-encrusted lunula for the monstrance. It depicts a pelican feeding its young with its own blood. On each wing is an enameled coat of arms. The same couple also donated a diamond-studded medallion in 1736 in memory of their dead daughter.⁴⁹ Finally, during the French occupation of Cologne in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Kolumba Monstrance was kept despite the fact that parish processions were forbidden and religious displays strictly limited. The parishioners managed to keep their monstrance and a few other treasury objects from being melted down in 1794 by paying the French a huge ransom in silver coin.⁵⁰ These pieces were hidden away during World War II and survived the bombing that destroyed the church of St. Kolumba. They are now displayed in the Cologne cathedral treasury, enclosed in vitrines and divorced from their original context. The average treasury visitor of today might dismiss this object as an elaborate curiosity, but for nearly six centuries the Kolumba Monstrance was the embodiment of the community pride and Eucharistic devotion of its parish.

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⁴⁷ A new monstrance was actually donated at the beginning of the 16th century. This piece was smaller (70.5 cm), and judging by its smaller size and the number of medallions and other 16th to 18th century embellishments on the Kolumba Monstrance, the new monstrance was not used as frequently as the Kolumba Monstrance. Perhaps it was used for static display of the Host but not in procession, as was the case at Mainz cathedral (a large monstrance was used in processions, and a smaller one was listed as the monstrance "in which the host was formerly carried"). The new Kolumba Monstrance survived World War II, but it is not kept in the Cologne cathedral treasury. I am unaware of its current location. Perpeet-Frech cat. 84.

For Mainz, see: Sigrid von der Gönna, "Der Mainzer Domschatz im späten Mittelalter: Zwei Inventare aus dem 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1999): 358.

⁴⁸ The original medallions were lost in the theft of 1975. Bolg and Zieleskiewicz 269-70.

⁴⁹ Schulten 121.

⁵⁰ Hegel (1996) 229-241.



Figure 1. Anonymous, Parish Church of St. Kolumba with Cologne Cathedral in the distance, March 1948, photograph, Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.



Figure 2. Anonymous Cologne goldsmith, Reliquary Monstrance with a Thorn from Christ's Crown, mid-fifteenth century, silver, gold, rock crystal and precious stones, h: 48.5cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba), Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.



Figure 3. Anonymous Cologne goldsmith, Kolumba Monstrance, c. 1400, silver gilt, rock crystal, enamel (lunula), precious stones and pearls, h: 88.5cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba), Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.



Figure 4. Anonymous Cologne goldsmith, Large Host Monstrance, c. 1400 (foot restored by Leonhard Schwann, Cologne, c. 1850-60), silver gilt, rock crystal and enamel, h: 69.4cm, Gräfrath, Deutsches Klingensmuseum (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Mariä Himmelfahrt). Photo: Author.



Figure 5. Kolumba Monstrance, detail of St. Kolumba in the spire chapel, c. 1400, silver gilt, rock crystal, enamel (lunula), precious stones and pearls, h: 88.5cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba). Photo: Author.



Figure 6. Kolumba Monstrance, detail of the underside of the central vessel showing tracery, c. 1400, silver gilt, rock crystal, enamel (lunula), precious stones and pearls, h: 88.5cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba). Photo: Author.



Figure 7. Kolumba Monstrance, detail of the foot showing Judas Thaddeus, c. 1400, silver gilt, rock crystal, enamel (lunula), precious stones and pearls, h: 88.5cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba), Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.



Figure 8. Processional Cross, detail showing St. Kolumba at the foot of the cross, c. 1400, silver, partly gilt, total height without staff 79.8 cm, Cologne, Domschatz (on loan from the Kirchengemeinde St. Kolumba), Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Köln.

- 1. St. Kolumba
- 2. Cologne Cathedral
- 3. St. Alban
- 4. St. Gereon
- 5. St. Christopher
- Parish of St. Kolumba

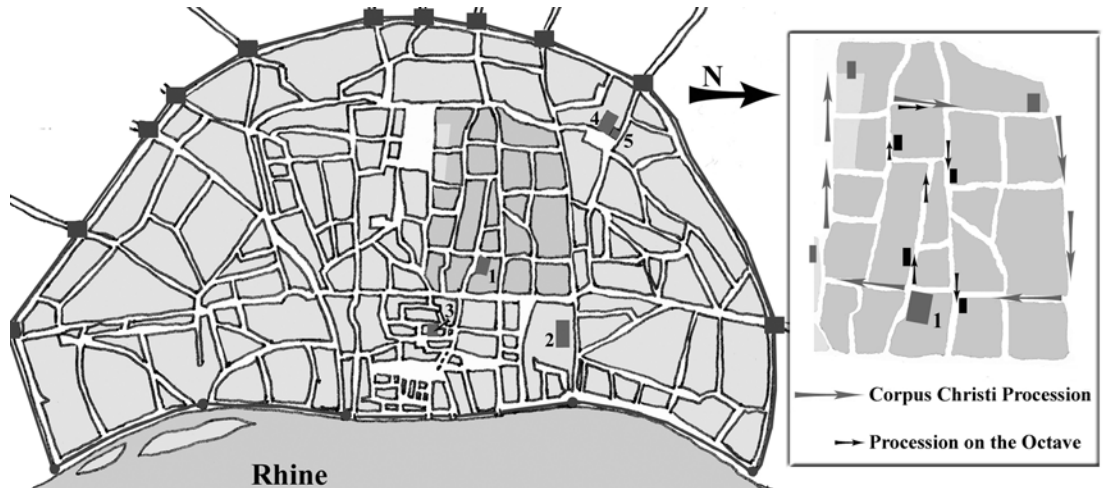


Figure 9. Map of Cologne in the late Gothic period showing the cathedral, churches with miraculous hosts and the Parish of St. Kolumba with an inset showing parish processional routes for Corpus Christi and its octave. Graphic illustration: Author.

A Woman Enthroned: Margaret of York and the *Recuyell* Engraving

Lee Todd

The frontispiece in the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* features a presentation scene with portraits of the book's printer, William Caxton, and its patron, Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy (Figure 1).¹ Commissioned by Margaret of York and printed in 1475 C.E., the book is Caxton's English translation of an earlier French version based on the history of the Trojan War, Raoul le Fèvre's *Recueil des Histories de Troie*, which was commissioned by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.² Historians recognize the translated text as the first book printed in the English language and attribute the engraved frontispiece to an anonymous artist known as the Master of Mary of Burgundy, a Flemish illuminator who worked in Ghent and was active from 1469 to 1483.³ Evocative of presentation scenes traditionally found in manuscript miniatures, the composition of the image directs the viewer's attention to the pair of figures essential to the book's production.

As the patron of the *Recuyell* engraving, Margaret of York dictated the composition of the frontispiece and adopted visual signs from earlier presentation scenes depicting the Dukes of Burgundy, specifically her father-in-law, Philip the Good, and her husband, Charles the Bold. This paper suggests that the image she constructed does not pay tribute to the Dukes of Burgundy. Rather, she emulates them, thereby elevating the female self to the status of the male. By doing so, the duchess positioned herself within the legacy of the Court of Burgundy as an equally contributing bibliophile.

Although the focus of the engraving is the moment of presentation, there are many layers of narrative framed within the context of this interior environment. The foreground features Caxton kneeling and presenting the two volumes of his translation to the duchess, and between them sits a monkey imitating Caxton's gestures.⁴ Organized by a grid floor, the composition is diagonally divided into gendered segments. Along the right side of the image are five ladies of the court attending the duchess, all of whom gaze demurely downward. In the left background, behind Caxton, stand the male court members. At the far left, a man stands within the entryway to the room; he serves as one of the few visual indicators of an outside world. Framed by architectural elements, the room houses pieces of furniture draped in textiles and set with vessels of varying types and sizes, and overall the image is of a constructed environment that captures a specific, though imagined, moment in time: the presentation of a commissioned work to a noble patron.⁵

Art historians have, for the most part, ignored the engraving, and the literature that does exist considers the image a portrait that presents the duchess as subservient to her husband. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, in "Margaret of York and the Burgundian Portrait Tradition," writes that the artist's decision not to depict Margaret of York seated on a throne was a purposeful choice, and one that was intended to emphasize Charles' office as a ruler.⁶ Lotte Hellinga-Querido, in "Read-

¹ The frontispiece is affixed to the copy of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* that is held in the collection at the H.E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Joseph A. Dane, "'Wanting the First Blank': Frontispiece to the Huntington Copy of Caxton's *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67.2 (2004): 315. Dane describes the Huntington Library copy, its patrons and provenance. The fact that the Huntington copy of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* once belonged to Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV's queen and Margaret of York's sister-in-law, is documented by other scholars. See Lotte Hellinga-Querido, "Reading an Engraving: William Caxton's Dedication to Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy," *Across the Narrow Seas: Studies in the History and Bibliography of Britain and the Low Countries*, ed. Susan Roach (London: British Library, 1991) 1.

² Jeffrey Chipps Smith, "Margaret of York and the Burgundian Portrait Tradition," *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and "The Visions of Tondal"*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992) 52.

³ S. Montague Peartree, "A Portrait of William Caxton," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 7.29 (1905): 383-387. Peartree was the first

to attribute the engraving to the anonymous artist referred to as the Master of Mary of Burgundy, grouping the engraving with manuscript miniatures also commissioned by Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy. The dates for printing and for the engraving, and the fact that William Caxton was the translator and printer of the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye* are all well documented, and can be found in Caxton's biographies. Refer to George Duncan Painter, *William Caxton: A Biography* (New York: Putnam, 1977).

⁴ Hellinga-Querido 7.

⁵ Hellinga-Querido 1.

⁶ Smith 52. Smith argues that Margaret of York borrows "to a degree" from the Burgundian prototypes developed by the dukes; but, she does so in order to develop a new iconography, one of her religious character. He describes the *Recuyell* engraving, stating: "The most significant difference between these two scenes is Margaret's lack of a throne, which specifically reflects Charles's office as a ruler."

ing an Engraving: William Caxton's Dedication to Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy," also argues that the duchess is purposely depicted as deferential to her husband.⁷ Hellinga-Querido's thesis relies entirely on the assumption that the figure at the door is entering the interior scene and is, in fact, Charles the Bold. These two studies ignore the power of patronage and instead view the figure of Margaret of York as representative of a shared identity dependent upon her husband.

This paper will demonstrate that the presentation scene as well as the subject of the book indicate an acknowledgement of the interests and pursuits of the Court of Burgundy. In addition, by closely examining the composition and imagery put forth in the *Recuyell* engraving, it will be shown that they were careful appropriations of the artistic conventions found in earlier presentation scenes patronized by the Court of Burgundy. This argument is supported by the fact that Margaret of York, following the examples set by her male predecessors, played an active role in developing her own personal library, and that her commissions evolved from traditionally feminine works, such as devotional manuscripts, to one based on a historical subject closely associated with the Dukes of Burgundy. This paper will also examine how Christine de Pizan set a precedent for female authority in the Court of Burgundy, and will dispute prior scholarship by discussing late medieval notions about the royal chamber and the implications of these concepts in regards to the figure at the door and the lack of a throne. Finally, the possible motivations that led Margaret of York to construct a new self-image will be considered.

Born in 1446 in England, Margaret was the daughter of Richard, Duke of York, and Cicely Neville. Her brother Edward, one of her eleven siblings, became King of England in 1461 and in 1468 arranged his sister's marriage to Charles, the son of Philip the Good, forging an alliance between England and the Court of Burgundy.⁸ The marital union was a

political relationship and Charles saw the arrangement as a way to prevent England and France from forming an alliance.⁹ By all accounts the wedding was a sumptuous affair and the event introduced Margaret to the elaborate displays of wealth that were common in the Court of Burgundy, displays that also included the production of artwork.¹⁰ After the wedding, Margaret of York lived the majority of the time at the family's castle in Ghent, though she often traveled to Bruges and Brussels. Her husband was usually away on military campaigns; historical documents show that they lived apart for most of their marriage.¹¹

Considered quite cosmopolitan at the time of their union and reflective of a court that placed great importance on the production of manuscripts and art, the cultural environment in Flanders was, to a certain extent, unfamiliar territory for Margaret of York.¹² Unlike her mother-in-law or Charles' first two wives, however, Margaret embraced the court's literary and artistic culture and began to put together her own library. Scholars are not aware of any commissions by Charles' previous wives, and only know of a few by Margaret's mother-in-law, Isabella of Portugal.¹³ The portraits of Isabella of Portugal that were made show the duchess in religious devotion only, such as *Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal in Prayer*, a miniature from the Breviary of Philip the Good (Figure 2). There are no known portraits of Charles' first wife, Catherine of France, and only one of Charles' second wife, Isabella of Bourbon.¹⁴ Entitled *Charles the Bold and Isabella de Bourbon in Prayer* (Figure 3), the miniature is detached from a book of hours, and like that of Isabella of Portugal, shows a wife united with her husband in prayer.

Based on the contents of her library, Margaret of York appears to have taken a special interest in devotional manuscripts.¹⁵ Caxton's history of Troy is exceptional in that, of the approximately thirty texts commissioned by the duchess, it is the only printed book, the only secular book, and the only one

⁷ Hellinga-Querido 11. Hellinga-Querido argues that Charles the Bold was "the 'real power' behind any influence Margaret exerted by her patronage." She makes this argument based on the assumption that the figure at the door is Charles the Bold, which she identifies by the hat worn on his head; however, she does not take into consideration the fact that the figure does not wear the Order of the Golden Fleece.

⁸ Wim Blockmans, "The Devotion of a Lonely Duchess," *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion and "The Visions of Tondal"*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992) 29.

⁹ Blockmans 29. Blockmans discusses political reasons for the union, as well as the hope that Margaret would provide Charles with a male heir.

¹⁰ Otto Cartellieri, *The Court of Burgundy* (New York: Barnes & Noble Publishers, 1972) 125. Cartellieri describes the wedding, which took place on July 3, 1468, and includes a description of the Duke and Duchess: "Duke Charles appeared attired in a long gold embroidered robe lined with marten fur, with wide, open sleeves; large golden bells tinkled on his horse. The Duchess was at the window of one of the houses which had been splendidly decorated. She was dressed in a crimson and gold brocaded gown lined with ermine, and wore a golden crown on her head." Also see Thomas Kren,

introduction, *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and "The Visions of Tondal"*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992) 14.

¹¹ Blockmans 30. Blockmans provides documentation on the amount of time the duke and duchess spent together as a married couple: "During the first six months of their married life, duke and duchess were together for only twenty-one days. During the next two years, they saw each other for ninety-six and 145 days, respectively, and in 1471 even less frequently. Early in 1472, they regularly resided at short distances from each other, the duke visiting Margaret once or twice a week as he pleased. In 1473 and 1474, they met only for about ten to fifteen days, and in July 1475 they were together for the last time, a visit of a few days."

¹² Blockmans 30.

¹³ Smith 48-49.

¹⁴ Smith 48.

¹⁵ Pierre Cockshaw, "Some Remarks on the Character and Content of the Library of Margaret of York," *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and "The Visions of Tondal"*, ed. Thomas Kren (Malibu: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1992) 58.

written in the English language.¹⁶ Early in her marriage, Margaret of York followed the example set by her mother-in-law and commissioned devotional manuscripts, yet the number of texts she commissioned set her apart, for though the number does not approach that commissioned by Philip the Good or Charles the Bold, it far exceeds the patronage of any earlier Duchess of Burgundy. In addition, there are approximately twelve portraits of Margaret of York included within these texts; again, many more than those of the women who preceded her. Only one miniature, *Margaret of York and Charles the Bold Watching the Vision of Saint Colette*, places Margaret together with her husband (Figure 4). This miniature is consistent with the majority of the individual portraits in its portrayal of the duchess, for it shows her experiencing a vision while engaged in prayer. Other devotional portraits include *Margaret of York and the Resurrected Christ* (Figure 5), and *Margaret of York at Prayer* (Figure 6).

The *Recuyell* frontispiece is the first of two presentation scenes showing Margaret as the patron receiving commissioned works. The second is a miniature, dated 1476, from *La Consolation de Philosophie* by Boethius (Figure 7). Also attributed to the Master of Mary of Burgundy, this presentation scene features the scribe David Aubert, like Caxton, kneeling and presenting his text to the duchess, who is wearing a similar gown trimmed in ermine. Here, however, the duchess receives a French manuscript based on meditative religious philosophy, only ladies of the court are present, and the event takes place in an exterior courtyard setting.

The interior setting of the *Recuyell* engraving and the subject of the presented text relate this portrait of Margaret of York to those of the Dukes of Burgundy, who, according to art historian William Forsyth, claimed to be descendants of King Priam of Troy.¹⁷ The dukes associated themselves with this ancient royal lineage in order to validate the authority of their newly established dynasty; thus, Philip the Good and Charles the Bold disseminated their proclaimed lineage by commissioning textual and visual narratives based on the Trojan War.

Ideas about women and knowledge began to change in the fourteenth century,¹⁸ and the Court of Burgundy promoted

these humanist notions, as evidenced by Philip the Bold, grandfather to Philip the Good, and his patronage of the writer Christine de Pizan.¹⁹ Born in Italy in 1364, de Pizan found inspiration in works by Leonardo Bruni and Boccaccio, and developed their ideas in her own writings, two of which concerned the education of women. Susan Groag Bell defines Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* as an Italian humanist work that aimed to improve women's learning and knowledge, and quotes a treatise on women's education written by Bruni in 1405: "Morals, indeed have been treated of by the noblest intellects of Greece and Rome. . . . First among such studies I place history: a subject which must not on any account be neglected by one who aspires to true cultivation. . . ."²⁰ Within the Court of Burgundy, Christine de Pizan opened the doorway, allowing Margaret of York to explore these masculine intellectual pursuits.

The prologue of the *Recuyell*, penned by Caxton, states that Margaret was responsible for the commission.²¹ By adopting the role of patron, Margaret of York achieved a level of power otherwise not available to women, and she utilized the format of the frontispiece to identify herself as the person responsible for the book, ultimately constructing a new image of herself, one divorced from devotion and, instead, focused on intellectualism.²² The image of the patron as intellectual is one that Margaret of York appropriated from her father-in-law and her husband, which becomes apparent by comparing stylistically the *Recuyell* engraving with presentation scenes and other miniatures depicting these two dukes: *Jean Wauquelin Presenting to Philip the Good* (Figure 8); and *Vasco da Lucena Giving His Work to Charles the Bold* (Figure 9).

When a duke is enclosed within a private interior filled with furniture and personal possessions, and not an exterior or court environment, the throne is not necessary, for the private chamber serves as the throne, as seen in *Jean Miélot Presenting to Philip the Good* (Figure 10). In their discussions on art associated with the Court of Burgundy, art historians including Edwin Hall and Sandra Hindman comment on the convention of artists employing images of the private chamber and its adornments as indications of a court environ-

¹⁶ Cockshaw 58.

¹⁷ William H. Forsyth, "The Trojan War in Medieval Tapestries," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 14.3 (1955): 76-77.

¹⁸ Blockmans 33. Blockmans discusses the traditional limitations placed on women and patronage, and how typically women were limited to the "devotional sphere."

¹⁹ Susan Groag Bell, "Christine de Pizan (1364-1430): Humanism and the Problem of a Studious Woman," *Feminist Studies* 3.3/4 (1976): 173-184.

²⁰ Bell (1976) 174-175. Bell defines de Pizan's intellectual pursuits as "masculine."

²¹ William Caxton, prologue, *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, ed. Charles W. Eliot, *Prefaces and Prologues to Famous Books* (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1910) 5-9. Caxton writes: "And thus. . . I fell in despair of this

work, and purposed no more to have continued therein. . . till on a time it fortuneth that the right high, excellent, and right virtuous princess, my right redoubted Lady, my Lady Margaret, by the grace of God sister unto the King of England and of France, my sovereign lord, Duchess of Burgundy. . . sent for me to speak with her good Grace of divers matters, among the which I let her Highness have knowledge of the foresaid beginning of this work. . . and when she had seen them anon she found a default in my English, which she commanded me to amend, and moreover commanded me straitly to continue and make an end of the residue then not translated; whose dreadful commandment I durst in no wise disobey, because I am a servant unto her said Grace and receive of her yearly fee and other many good and great benefits. . . ."

²² Brigitte Buettner, "Profane Illuminations, Secular Illusions: Manuscripts in Late Medieval Courtly Society," *The Art Bulletin* 74.1 (1992): 76. Buettner writes: "... an identifiable patron's portrait functioned as a sort of self-celebratory mark of visual ownership, the mimetic equivalent of a heraldic device..."

ment.²³ In addition to the interior setting, the *Recuyell* frontispiece features furniture and vessels, also indicators of wealth and status. Examples of these visual indicators of social rank are evident in the miniature of Philip the Good (Figure 10), and such representations became commonplace in art produced during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries when the idea of the royal chamber as an inner sanctum and the center of power was established.²⁴ Historian Fiona Kisby discusses the centralization of power and how this development had an impact on the architecture of the royal houses, which became organized so that they contained an inner sanctum of private rooms that was carefully guarded and within which the nobility spent the majority of their time.²⁵ Another miniature of Philip the Good represents this division of space and also includes the figure of a man who controls access to the duke's chamber (Figure 11).

Because, as a woman, she could not be depicted on a throne,²⁶ this paper suggests that Margaret of York employed the artistic convention of the interior chamber to enthrone her image in the *Recuyell* frontispiece. The engraving includes additional elements appropriated from presentation scenes, such as another example with Charles the Bold (Figure 12). Both presentation scenes include the figures of a monkey and a dog and there is a visual adaptation of the form of the baldachin over the throne upon which Charles sits, which, in the *Recuyell* engraving becomes transformed into the structure of a chimney located in the center of the composition and directly over the head of the duchess. The chimney is also

marked with inscriptions that commonly identify the duchess's manuscripts, including her motto, "Bien en aviegne," and the initials C (for Charles) and M (for Margaret).²⁷

The notion of the royal chamber serving as the throne also explains the odd figure at the doorway on the left, who cannot be Charles the Bold, for he does not wear the Order of the Golden Fleece as was customary in images of the duke.²⁸ By revisiting the miniature of Philip the Good (Figure 11), one becomes aware of the figure controlling access to the duke's inner sanctum. Another presentation scene, *Pierre Salmon Presents to Charles VI* (Figure 13), depicts the division of private and public space, and a figure, identified as an usher, protects the doorway to the royal bedchamber.²⁹ Otto Cartellieri writes about life in the Court of Burgundy: "It was the greatest honour to serve the prince in his most intimate and private affairs."³⁰

The *Recuyell* marks the sole secular, printed, and English work in Margaret of York's library. To understand her motivations for commissioning this book, and for the self-image she constructed, one must understand the institution of marriage as it existed in the fifteenth century. As previously noted, Margaret of York's marriage to Charles the Bold was arranged for political reasons, often the case for nobility, therefore, royal medieval marriage can also be described as an international relationship or the union of two cultures. One of the few ways a woman could retain a connection with her national heritage was through books. Bell and Brigitte Buettner state that, as a result of medieval marital customs that removed brides from their homeland and placed them in the domains

²³ Edwin Hall, *Arnolfini Betrothal: Medieval Marriage and the Enigma of Van Eyck's Double Portrait* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1994) 83. Jan van Eyck was a court painter for the Court of Burgundy. Hall, in this book on the double portrait, explains the artistic convention of including furniture and vessels as: "a concept that originated in the royal courts of the thirteenth century, furniture visually represented the owner's 'degree of estate'." Sandra Hindman also addresses this concept in *Christine de Pizan's "Epistre Othea": Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles IV* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986), as does Craig Harbison in "Sexuality and Social Standing in Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Double Portrait," *Renaissance Quarterly* 43.2 (1990) 249-291.

²⁴ Allen Farber, "The Frontispiece to the *Chroniques de Hainaut*: An Introduction to Valois Burgundy," *Court of Burgundy*, State U of New York, College at Oneonta, 6 April 2005 <http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth214_folder/burgundy_intro.html>. Farber compares the *Chroniques de Hainaut* frontispiece with the Pierre Salmon frontispiece discussed in this paper (Figure 13), and states: "The miniature makes clear the exclusiveness of the space of this chamber from the courtyard outside. This appears to reflect the division of the court between what the English call the *domus providencie* (the Hall) and the *domus magnificencie* (the Chamber). This courtyard is still the space of privilege and is in marked contrast to the world outside the palace's walls." Farber also describes the king's chamber as an "inner sanctum."

²⁵ Fiona Kisby, "Royal Minstrels in the City and Suburbs of Early Tudor London: Professional Activities and Private Interests," *Early Music* 25.2 (1997): 201. Court structure and architectural division in Tudor England is further discussed by Simon Thurley in *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: Architecture and Court Life 1460-1547* (New Haven: Yale UP,

1993). Thurley links the concepts of *domus providencie* and *domus magnificencie* with the Court of Burgundy.

²⁶ Smith 52.

²⁷ Hellinga-Querido 5.

²⁸ Cartellieri 11. "Philip the Good regarded himself as a man born to be King. His intentions were perfectly clear when he caused himself to be freed for life from all feudal dependence on the French King: when he announced himself 'by God's grace;' when he founded the Order of the Golden Fleece, which emperors and kings were proud to wear." Cartellieri also discusses how the dukes utilized the arts to proclaim, glorify, and celebrate the Order, 136 and 159.

²⁹ Allen Farber, "Court Culture: Representations of Intimacy," *Court Culture* State University of New York, College at Oneonta, 6 April 2005 <http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/arth/arth214_folder/court_culture.html>. Farber identifies the figure as a court usher guarding the inner chamber, and writes: "The miniaturist here clearly divides the palace into two spaces. We see at the bottom a guard who controls access to the palace. He greets two petitioners at the gate of the palace. This outer space is the *domus providencie*. At the top we see another usher holding a mace and standing in a doorway decorated with the French royal arms. This usher controls direct access to the inner sanctum, the space of the King. This is the *domus magnificie*." Farber goes on to describe the court culture, the hierarchy of the staff, and the division between public and private space.

³⁰ Cartellieri 65.

of their new husbands, women began to bring with them books reflective of their own culture and language.³¹ This growing practice allowed women to become more influential as “cultural ambassadors” who spread literary, artistic, and religious ideas.³² Books became a part of the medieval woman’s dowry; however, this was not the case for Margaret, who came from a family and court environment where manuscript production was not as prolific as it was in Flanders, and, therefore, for the duchess to own something that reflected her heritage, she had to create it herself. Margaret of York chose to abandon French (traditionally the language of the court) in favor of English, and she chose to be responsible for the first printed book in that language. It is posited here that she did so in order to spread English culture, for the nature of print meant that reproduction was not only easy but likely.

In conclusion, the *Recuyell* engraving features a presentation scene purposely constructed to emulate earlier presentation scenes and miniatures depicting Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. In this frontispiece, Margaret of York adopts the role of patron and mirrors images of the Dukes as patrons, elevating the image of her female self to that of the male. The

motivations for this constructed image are multi-layered. By establishing a visual authority, the duchess lent credence to the language of her mother country, England. She also took advantage of the new technology of print in order to spread the English language in the form of Caxton’s *Recuyell*. Finally, this paper argues that Margaret of York wanted to establish a legacy for herself in the Court of Burgundy, and because she remained childless, never producing the much-desired male heir, she was unable to establish this legacy in the traditional female manner.³³ Therefore, following the example of her father-in-law and her husband, she developed a personal library. In order for her library to be complete and cultivated (according to the ideas of Brunni and Christine de Pizan), Margaret of York moved away from the religious manuscripts and devotional images that were common to women at that time, and entered into the masculine domain of intellectualism, establishing her legacy as a bibliophile equal to, not reliant upon, her husband.

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³¹ Susan Groag Bell, “Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture,” *Signs* 7.4 (1982): 760-763. Also see Brigitte Buettner, “Women and the Circulation of Books,” *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscript and Printing History*, vol 4, ed. Martha Drive (New York: Pace UP, 2001).

³² Bell (1982) 760-761. Bell describes women as cultural ambassadors and writes: “. . . women acted as international ambassadors of cultural change through their distribution of books over a broad geographic area.”

³³ Blockmans 29. Blockmans writes about the court’s and the people’s desire for a male heir: “The Burgundian subjects probably welcomed Margaret for a different reason: the third wife of their duke brought new hope for a male heir. . . . The absence of a male heir made the future rather uncertain, since the dynastic links had consequences for trade relations and economic opportunities.”



Figure 1. Master of Mary of Burgundy, Frontispiece to the *Recuyell of the Histories of Troye*, 1475, engraving, 7.08 x 4.72 inches, reproduced by permission of The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.



Figure 2. Willem Vrelant, *Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal in Prayer*, 1460, manuscript miniature in the Breviary of Philip the Good, MS 9026, fol. 258 © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.

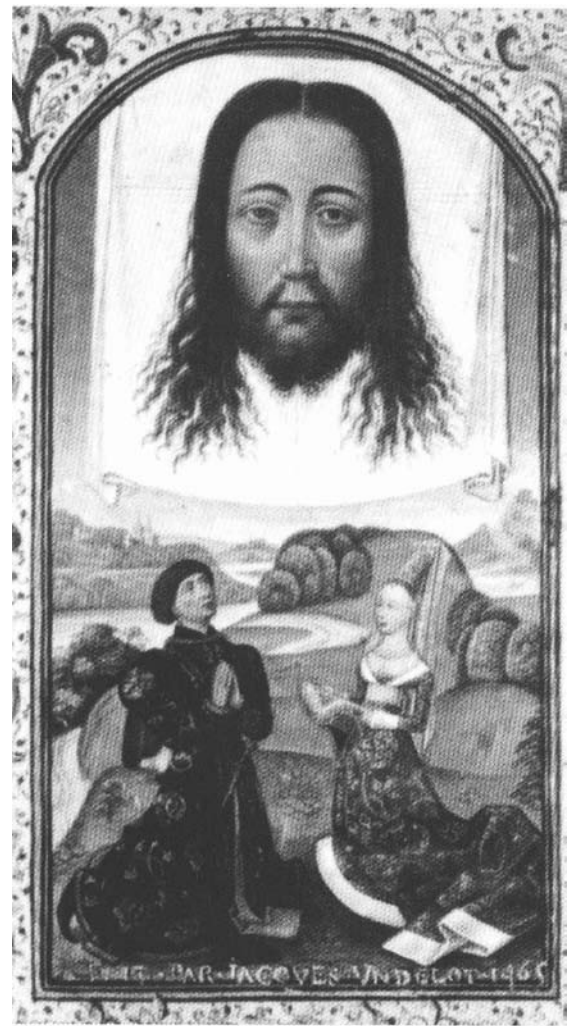


Figure 3. Willem Vrelant, *Charles the Bold and Isabella de Bourbon in Prayer*, 1465, detached manuscript miniature, MS GKS 1612, fol. 1v, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek.



Figure 4. Master of Margaret of York, *Margaret of York and Charles the Bold Watching the Vision of St. Colette*, 1465, manuscript miniature in *La Vie de Sainte Colette*, MS 8, fol. 40v, Ghent, Convent of the Poor Clares.



Figure 5. Master of Girart de Roussillon, *Margaret of York and the Resurrected Christ*, 1474, manuscript miniature in *Le dialogue de la duchesse de Bourgogne à Jésus Christ*, MS 7970, fol. 1v, London, British Library.

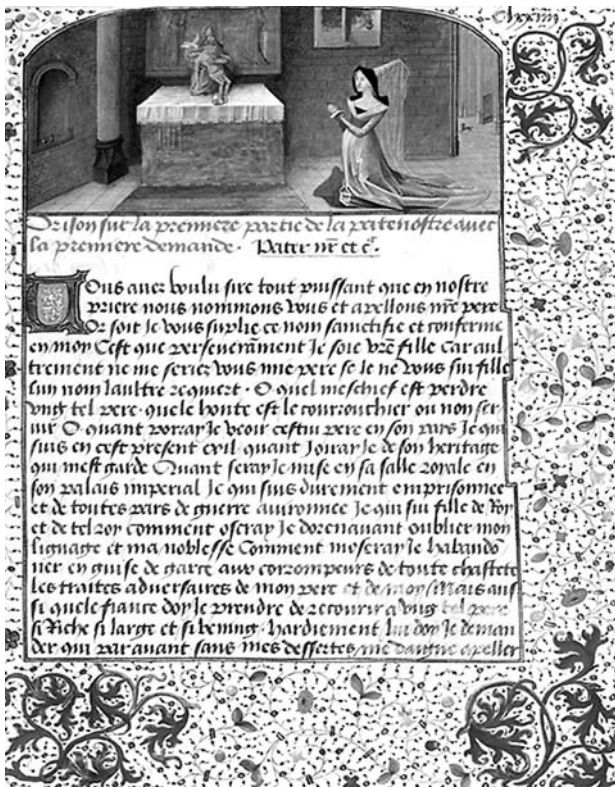


Figure 6. Master of Mary of Burgundy, *Margaret of York at Prayer*, 1476, manuscript miniature in a book of moral treatises, MS 9272-76, fol. 182 © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.

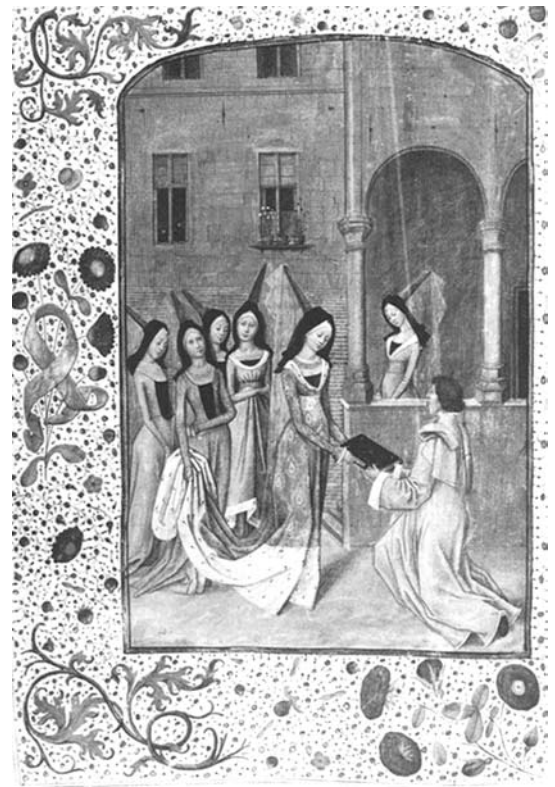


Figure 7. Master of Mary of Burgundy, *David Aubert Presents the Book to Margaret of York*, 1476, manuscript miniature in *La consolation de philosophie*, MS EL f. 85, fol. 13v, Jena, Universitätsbibliothek.



Figure 8. Rogier van der Weyden and Workshop, *Jean Waquelin Presenting to Philip the Good*, 1448, manuscript miniature in *Chroniques de Hainaut*, MS 9242 © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.



Figure 9. Master of the *Jardin de vertueuse consolation* and assistant, *Vasco de Lucena Giving His Work to Charles the Bold*, 1470s, manuscript miniature in *Les faits d'Alexandre le Grand*, 83. MR. 178 (MS. Ludwig XV8) folio 2v, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum.



Figure 10. Anonymous, *Jean Mielot Presenting His Work to Philip the Good*, 1457, manuscript miniature in *Traité sur l'oraison dominicale*, MS 9092 © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.

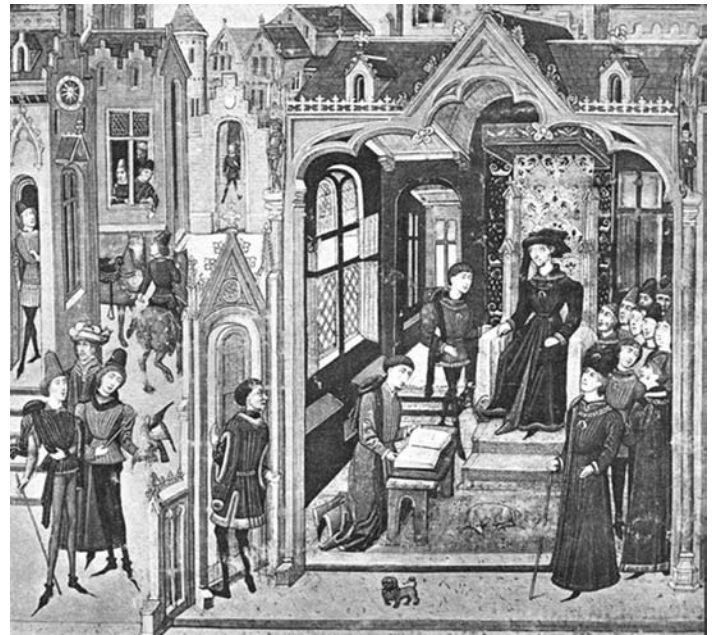


Figure 11. Loyset Liédet, *Philip the Good has the Chroniques de Hainaut Read to Him*, 1468, manuscript miniature in *Chroniques de Hainaut*, MS 9243 © Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.



Figure 12. Loyset Liédet, *Vasco de Lucena Presents His Translation to Charles the Bold*, 1468, manuscript miniature in *Les faits d'Alexandre le Grand*, MS f. 22547, fol. 1, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.



Figure 13. Master of Maréchal Boucicault, *Pierre Salmon Presents to Charles VI*, 1410, manuscript miniature in *Réponses à Charles VI et Lamentation au roi sur son état*, BNF MS 23279, fol. 53, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.

The Social Mapping of Self and Other: Cross Purposes and Double Mistaken Identity in Colonial Mexico and Europe

Jamie Ratliff

The growing field of global Renaissance studies seeks out the points of encounter between two or more cultures and redefines the experience separated from its traditionally limited understanding.¹ The work of social historian James Lockhart represents such a project. Lockhart focuses on the Nahua people of ancient Mexico and their relations with their Spanish rulers and finds that many institutions in colonial Mexico operated with the conjoined participation of both the Nahua and the Spanish, even if they were ultimately working toward different results. The convergence of cultures in many of these instances, he states, was due to “Double Mistaken Identity,” a construct in which each participant of an exchange assumes their own cultural hegemony over the project and its results.² This paper examines the *Codex Mendoza*, a colonial Mexican manuscript produced in 1541-2, as a syncretic product, with both a Nahua and a Spanish history. Beyond its initial context as a colonial art object produced a generation after the Spanish Conquest of Mexico, the global impact of such works of art will also be considered, and how, once removed from their original setting, objects like the *Codex* helped to construct identity both at home and abroad. Central to this exploration is the format of the map, which according to Barbara Mundy, “by definition, arises out of a particular culture’s understanding of space, which in turn is presaged on a culture’s own construction of reality; when cultures both understand and encode space differently, their maps will vary as well.”³ The

Codex Mendoza can be linked to the respective concepts of mapping both in Mexico and Europe because of the ways in which each culture understood and used such texts. Such an exploration, that examines the *Codex’s* function and purpose from more than one perspective, helps to illuminate the cultural differences and constructions of identity inherent within each understanding and ultimately widens the scope of Renaissance knowledge and culture.

When the Spanish conquistadors set foot in Mexico in 1519, they discovered a people with a highly impressive tradition of manuscript production. Housed in libraries within each Nahua community were large collections of historical, familial, and social texts.⁴ Soon after arriving in the ‘new world,’ the Spanish began shipping indigenous objects to the King of Spain as records and prizes of the contact; a small number of pre-Conquest manuscripts were included, of which only 12-15 survive today.⁵ In 1520, a campaign to rid New Spain of “pagan worship” put a colony-wide stop to indigenous production by closing the Nahua schools and subsequently destroying existing materials, including manuscripts.⁶ A few years later however, production resumed under new circumstances. As early as 1523, Charles V began commissioning new works so that he might familiarize himself with his new subjects.⁷ The manuscripts produced under direction of the Spanish crown represented a “new ‘colonial’ kind of writing,”⁸ which, according to Elizabeth Hill Boone, drew from

¹ In order to locate means of representation with respect to each cultural aspect that contributed to its making, it is essential to flesh out these sites of convergence in Renaissance times. For according to Cecilia Klein, “we can only identify and fully understand the nature and range of colonial-period representational processes if we can locate those points at which Renaissance representations both resembled and differed from indigenous modes of conceptualization.” Cecilia Klein, “Wild Woman in Colonial Mexico: An encounter of European and Aztec Concepts of the Other,” *Reframing the Renaissance*, ed. Claire Farago (New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1995) 246.

² James Lockhart, *Of Things of the Indies* (Stanford: U of Stanford P, 1999) 99. Lockhart defines “Double Mistaken Identity” as a cultural construct of convergence within which “each side of the cultural exchange presumes that a given form or concept is functioning in the way familiar within its own tradition and is unaware or unimpressed by the other sides’ interpretation.” Lockhart primarily focuses on social, political, and economic organizations in the colonial period in order to expound upon this phenomenon. However, extending this construct into the visual arts can perhaps be fruitful in exploring how certain works of art took affective roles in the construction of societal identity and ordering for both the Nahua and the Spanish.

³ Barbara Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geograficas* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1996) xii-xiii.

⁴ Miguel León-Portilla, *The Aztec Image of Self and Society: An Introduction to Nahua Culture* (Salt Lake City: U of Utah P, 1992) 43; Elizabeth Hill Boone, “Pictorial Documents and Visual Thinking in Postconquest Mexico,” *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, eds. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummings (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998) 183.

⁵ Donald Robertson, “Mexican Indian Art and the Atlantic Filter: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries,” *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, vol. 1 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976) 491.

⁶ Serge Gruzinski, *Painting the Conquest: The Mexican Indians and the European Renaissance* (Paris: Flammarion, 1992) 16.

⁷ Boone 156.

⁸ Stuart Schwartz, *Victors and Vanquished: Spanish and Nahua Views of the Conquest of Mexico* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s Press, 2000) 23.

Nahua subjects and forms in order to comply with a European audience.⁹

The *Codex Mendoza* is one example of this type of hybrid object. It was commissioned by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, working under the direction of Charles V, who demanded a census to ascertain the financial holdings of the Nahua and to create a cultural survey of the area.¹⁰ The codex, created in 1541-2, consists of three sections each in Nahuatl pictographic form supplemented by Spanish translations.¹¹

The first section contains historical annals, the most common pre-contact theme, which delineates the historical succession of Tenochtitlan rulers from the city's founding in 1325 C.E. to the time of Moctezuma, who ruled at the time of contact (Figure 1).¹² The second section of the codex is a tribute roll, which outlines the taxation of Nahua outposts by the councils of Tenochtitlan, representing the yearly toll each town was expected to pay to the governing center (Figure 2). These two sections are both common pre-Conquest depictions, and it is probable that they were based on earlier codices.¹³ The third section, however, contains a format that was virtually unknown before this time, an ethnographical account of Nahua daily activities.¹⁴ This section outlines, year by year, the life and instruction of male and female children, beginning at birth, up until the point of marriage, followed by a representation of the role of the warrior within society, and ending with the rewards of a long and moral life (Figure 3).

Formally, the manuscript exhibits aspects of both indigenous and European art. It relies on the Nahua pictographic code by using five distinct classes of glyphs: numerical, calendrical, pictographic, ideographic, and phonetic, which

are evenly distributed across the page without background and demonstrate the characteristically native sharply-defined expanses of color, with little or no shading, and dark linear boundaries.¹⁵ But the codex also exhibits European elements.¹⁶ Instead of an accordion-folded manuscript meant to be read in a circular motion, the organization of the *Codex Mendoza* conforms to European books with bi-fold pages, at times organized into registers that read from the top down. With the Spanish writing opposite each page of native glyphs, the codex appears as a book of text complemented by illustration plates (Figure 2).¹⁷ To the European eye, the juxtaposition of the text and image would appear as two separate entities, each complementing the other. This differs from the Nahua understanding as no such distinction between painting and writing was made.¹⁸

The *Codex Mendoza* resists categorization as either an indigenous manuscript or European book; as such, it is a hybrid object. It can be argued that the codex format served separate purposes for each party involved, a fact that attests to its continued production long after the Conquest. For the Spaniards, the codices were a way to understand and ultimately subordinate the natives; for the Nahua, colonial codices served as sites for self-identification and the continuation of a culture being suppressed in the wake of physical and cultural war.

Historically, the codices had always served a self-identifying purpose for the Nahua. Filled with their histories, beliefs, and ways of life, they were, according to Miguel León-Portilla, the vehicles of their most "significant doctrines... [and] the means by which the masses of the people were linked

⁹ Boone 160. The Spanish commissioned manuscripts containing Nahua histories, religious beliefs and rituals, as well as calendars. Specific instructions were given regarding the actual format of the codices, since the Spanish provided the native painters with European paper and "requested that the painters leave room for alphabetic annotations that would clarify the images for European readers." According to Boone, even though the native painters drew from their own pictorial traditions and almost certainly even copied images from earlier codices, they were creating manuscripts that "were essentially European in their audience, purpose, and conception, documents that satisfied a European thirst for cultural information."

¹⁰ Boone 157. The commission was reportedly handed down to Mendoza so that Charles V would be able to determine the amount of tribute or tax that could be drawn from the indigenous peoples of Mexico and also to create a "relation of things of the land." The mandate was passed from Mendoza to Francisco Gualpuyogualcatl, who was at that time the director of the Mexico City painter's guild, who in turn, hired native *tlacuilos*, or artist-scribes, to execute the codex, Gruzinski 107; Schwartz (2000) 21. Peter Mason, however, points out some difficulty in definitively identifying the particular *Codex* in question as the same one commissioned by Mendoza himself, despite the fact that it is now commonly regarded as the *Codex Mendoza*. According to Mason, Mendoza's commission was to contain the years of the Conquest within the historical annals; the *Codex Mendoza* does not contain these years. See Peter Mason, "The Purloined Codex," *Journal of the History of Collections* 9.1 (1997): 2-3.

¹¹ For a comprehensive description of the contents of the *Codex Mendoza*, see Frances F. Berdan and Patricia Rieff Anawalt, *The Codex Mendoza*, vol. 1-4 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1992) and Berdan and Anawalt, *The Essential Codex Mendoza* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1997). Berdan and

Anawalt provide a page-by-page description of the *Codex* along with detailed discussions of the historical, conventional, and stylistic significances of the individual glyphs and pages as a whole.

¹² Lockhart 230-31.

¹³ Elizabeth Hill Boone discusses a tradition of recopying earlier painted information into post-Conquest codices, as typical pre-Conquest information was "reworked for Spanish authorities," 169.

¹⁴ Berdan and Anawalt (1997) xii.

¹⁵ León-Portilla 44; Robertson 484-85.

¹⁶ Gruzinski speculates that the indigenous painters of the codex were probably between the ages of thirty and forty years old, having lived the first half of their lives during the pre-Conquest period and having had European contact for at least 15 years, during which time the Spanish were bringing European art, in the form of prints, to New Spain, Gruzinski 160. For more detailed iconographical and stylistic studies of the *Codex Mendoza* specifically, see Berdan and Anawalt (1992) vol. 1; for a more general iconographical discussion of colonial Mexican manuscript painting, see Donald Robertson, "Mexican Indian Art and the Atlantic Filter: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries," *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, vol. 1 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976) 483-494.

¹⁷ Gruzinski 110.

¹⁸ Gruzinski 15.

to and educated about the ancient ideals of their religion and culture.”¹⁹ They served sometimes as political sites of identity. León-Portilla discusses a “double orientation” to the codices by the Nahua, who were not opposed to using them opportunistically. Native peoples often drew from the achievements and successes of the past to emphasize legitimacy. At the same time, they were also aware of the impact that the codices could have on their future image. This is why, at times, they rewrote their history to privilege certain events over others.²⁰ Whether used for recording or revisionist purposes, the codices nonetheless share an innate recognition of the command of the painted image that derives from the processes of self-identification.

The codices also served as a site for self-identification because of the interactive way in which they were read. Because of the coded system of representation, the pictorial glyphs were somewhat limiting to narrative and situational development; the glyphic representations could not easily clue the ‘reader’ to specific details or nuances.²¹ In order to supplement this lack, the codices were accompanied by an oral tradition. Thus, the Nahua taught a discipline known as “the art of memory,” which sought, through rhythmic language, “to fix in the student’s mind the commentaries that deciphered the narratives signaled by the inspirations and paintings in the codices.”²² Therefore, the histories and beliefs of the Nahua culture were situated within human memory itself, which relied on the codices as a catalyst for release.

With the arrival of the Spanish, the understanding of the codices was somewhat altered. According to Serge Gruzinski, the foreign encounter affected the self-awareness of the Mexicans, forcing them to look at themselves in terms of their difference to their invaders, giving the codices a new slant: “Whereas before lectures and warnings accompanying the stages of life had a basically moral tone, the details of the codex now reveal an acute eye for everyday incidents.”²³ The new positioning of the natives, who were in danger of losing their way of life to outside suppression, sought within the colonial codices a form of nostalgia and order, a way visually to

perpetuate and guarantee the continued existence of their civilization.²⁴

The ethnographic section of the *Codex* serves as an example of this nostalgia. The new subject attests to, from a Nahua point of view, an attempt to reformulate fundamental elements of civilization, most noticeable in the yearly account of daily life. Beyond the birth, and beginning with age three, the following pages outline the instruction of a boy and a girl, represented side by side, each shown with an adult who tutors and punishes them in order to instill in them the values of their people. The emphasis here is on education, on the passing down of information from one generation to the next, reflecting a strong appreciation of instruction and obedience. The Nahua sought to assimilate their young into their cultural roles from an early age through a system of education that was universally enforced and that emphasized the importance of the unified community above all else.²⁵ This instruction ends with the marriage of the figures at the age of 15, surrounded by their parents, each with words of advice to offer to the young couple who, by community standards, have just graduated into adulthood.²⁶

The significance of this section can be understood in several ways. Primarily, as a step-by-step manual for living, it represents a way to communicate a charge for the continuation of a group of people who were by the time of production, twenty years after the initial conquest, already dwindling in numbers.²⁷ Perhaps the heterosexual ordering, as well as the ultimate marriage, is also significant. According to Cecilia Klein, this education included specific gendering of each child, steering them towards the “stable and productive marriage of a fully feminine woman to an entirely masculine man [which] represented the hallmark of social maturity and formed the basis of the socioeconomic order.”²⁸ In addition to a general desire for social stability, perhaps the call for procreation was even more strongly felt during this time.

The Codex Mendoza then, although created with the European audience in mind, functioned in a way that was beneficial to its creators as well. As an object that contained glyphic

¹⁹ León-Portilla 202.

²⁰ León-Portilla 202. Rewriting their history sometimes also included destroying their own manuscripts. León-Portilla offers an historical account of the ruler Tlacaélel who, after he assumed the rule of Tenochtitlan as the result of war, enacted an “ideological reform” during which he burned the ancient codices and pictures of both the people he had conquered and also those of his own people. He had his own codices burned for fear of being identified as weak because of what was pictured within them. Beginning with a new history and a new identity, Tlacaélel ordered “new images of self-importance” for the people of Tenochtitlan by emphasizing his new reign and establishing an order of legitimacy that connected him to the ancient Toltecs and various other peoples known to be powerful, León-Portilla 100.

²¹ León-Portilla 70.

²² León-Portilla 70.

²³ Gruzinski 124-28.

²⁴ Boone echoes Gruzinski’s statement that the people of Tenochtitlan would have found both nostalgia and self-identification within the post-Conquest manuscripts as many “were painted out of a ... fundamental desire for self-identification, to keep the old memories and to preserve what remained of one’s position. The genealogies were important in reestablishing lines of descent at a time of high mortality. The histories, too, reconnected people with their ancestors, and they glorified a polity’s past stature,” Boone 190.

²⁵ León-Portilla 189-90; Gruzinski 128.

²⁶ Gruzinski 132.

²⁷ Gruzinski 132.

²⁸ Cecilia Klein, “None of the Above: Gender Ambiguity in Nahua Ideology,” *Gender in Pre-Hispanic America*, ed. Cecilia Klein (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001) 189. For further discussions of gender relations in pre-Columbian society, see also Rosemary Joyce, *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica* (Austin: U of Texas P, 2000).

representations of the history, religion, and functions of the Nahua, as well as the key to unlocking the complementary memories of such aspects of culture, it was a site for the nostalgic recreation of a time that had forever been changed.

The Spanish crown, Charles V, had specific reasons for commissioning colonial objects such as the *Codex*. Financial and cultural curiosity were primary; however, colonial art objects soon found other purposes in European collections. There, these same images had a larger, more global impact by adding to a growing ethnographical trend that would socially order newly ‘discovered’ peoples of the world, and be utilized in the construction of new notions of racial and ethnic difference.²⁹

The *Codex Mendoza* left Mexico on a ship headed to Spain in 1542. It did not, however, reach its intended destination. French sailors intercepted the ship and claimed its contents for the crown of France. The *Codex* remained in the possession of the king for over a decade, before being passed to Franciscan André Thevet, a Frenchman who actively studied the Amerindian people through collected Aztec antiquities.³⁰ From Thevet the codex moved into the possession of a succession of English archivists who eventually prepared a translation that was published as a set of “crudely” copied woodcuts along with an erroneous English text, a version that was subsequently republished in both Dutch and French editions in the mid-seventeenth century.³¹ The codex eventually made its way into the collection of Oxford’s Bodleian Library, where it remains today.³²

The provenance situates the *Codex* within Renaissance European interest in colonial objects from around the world.

Exploration undoubtedly challenged the worldview of many Europeans, and in order to come to terms with the diversity that was becoming known worldwide, the exotic Other was often approached in an encyclopedic manner. In attempts to understand and define their new global neighbors, Europeans collected as much knowledge as possible about them, giving rise to the well known *Wunderkammer* and *Kunstkammer*, the curiosity cabinets that claimed to microcosmically represent the world through the juxtaposition of extraordinary objects, both natural and artificial. These collections, although often arbitrary and flawed in their systems of classification and organization, were nevertheless believed to have represented a structured global perspective, since they were seen as “the allegorical mirror reflecting a perfect and completed picture of the world.”³³ Manuscripts like the *Codex Mendoza*, along with other pre-Columbian and colonial objects from Mexico, also often ended up in European collections where they were, according to Peter Mason, considered “curiosities” themselves and very often “recontextualized” within their new settings.³⁴ It was within early collections such as these that these New World objects began to take on new meanings, very often divorced from the significance they originally carried.³⁵ These works, nevertheless, added to the growing body of knowledge about recently “discovered” areas and peoples of the world. Characterizations of Amerindian people became based on amalgamated stories, rumors, drawings made first, second and even third hand, and primary source material such as art works themselves, including the codices; such descriptions were largely exaggerated and generalized, formed with little regard

²⁹ Valerie Traub, “Mapping the Global Body,” *Early Modern Visual Culture: Representation, Race, Empire in Renaissance England*, eds. C. Hulse and P. Erickson (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2000) 44.

³⁰ Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Yale UP, 1991) 149. Thevet, whose signature the original *Codex* now bears in several places, owned the *Codex* for a number of years and is known to have amassed a significant collection of New World objects from both his own travels to the Americas as well as having purchased from others.

³¹ Keen 206-7; the designation “crude” is given by Keen in describing the historical accuracy of the images as well as the quality of the woodcut prints; nevertheless, he credits the *Codex* with “[opening] a new era in the appreciation and study of ancient Mexican civilization.”

³² An extended provenance is as follows: From the collection of Thevet, the *Codex* was sold to Richard Hakluyt, chaplain to the English ambassador in France and an acquaintance of Thevet who came to study in Paris between the years of 1583 and 1588. It was during this time that he purchased the *Codex*. Hakluyt transported the text to England and hired translators to prepare an English version of the Spanish text with hopes of publishing it in print form in England. Before this task could be carried out, however, Hakluyt died and at some point after 1616, the *Codex Mendoza* fell into the possession of Samuel Purchas, who compiled travel books. It was Purchas who carried out Hakluyt’s plan by having the *Codex* published in several editions. Purchas’ son later sold the manuscript to another collector of New World texts, John Selden. Five years after Selden died in 1654, the *Codex Mendoza* entered the collection of the Bodleian. Provenance provided by Patricia Rieff Anawalt and Frances F. Berdan, “The *Codex Mendoza*,” *Letter Arts Review* 11.4 (1994): 45 as well as Mason 3 and Keen 170-71, 207-8.

³³ Anthony Alan Shelton, “Cabinets of Transgression: Renaissance Collections and the Incorporation of the New World,” *The Cultures of Collecting*, eds. John Elsner and Roger Cardinal (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1994) 185. According to Shelton, it was not until the collections passed into public ownership or the audience was somehow widened, that attempts at cataloguing and classification became more rigorous and methodical, 186.

³⁴ Mason 14. According to Detlef Heikamp, the largest number of such objects were found in collections within Italy and German-speaking countries, Heikamp, “American Objects in Italian Collections of the Renaissance and Baroque: A Survey,” *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, vol. 1 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976) 456.

³⁵ Peter Mason, in “The Purloined Codex,” discusses the specific transformation in meaning through which the *Codex Mendoza* progressed once it entered into André Thevet’s collection of New World objects. Thevet is known to have used the documents and objects that he owned to inform his own publications about historical kings and world leaders. Mason looks specifically at the iconographical similarities between glyphs found within the *Codex Mendoza* and some of the portraits found within Thevet’s *Les Vrais Portraits et Vies des Hommes Illustres Grecz, Latins, et Payens Recueilliz de Leurs Tableaux Livres, Medalles antiques, et Modernes*, “a collection of portraits and lives of dead popes, bishops, warriors, poets and others, published in Paris in 1584.” Beyond Thevet’s own appropriation of the images, Mason also notes the influence that Thevet’s publications had on later writers of natural history who were known to have widely used Thevet as an important source on the Americas. Mason traces a lineage of meaning as the images within the *Codex Mendoza*, copied by Thevet, subsequently republished and even later recopied by various other illustrators, began to take on a life of their own as they became further and further removed from their original context. Mason 3-13.

to geographic or ethnographic specificity.³⁶ The growing knowledge about people of the Americas was, then, riddled with misconceptions.³⁷ According to John Elliot, attempts to approach people in this manner often failed in terms of true ethnographic study, the collections having “[debased] facts into mere curiosities to be collected,” for it was “easier to marvel at diversity than attempt to explain it.”³⁸

Valerie Traub states that one way in which Europeans sought to deal with aspects of difference was to order them visually in terms of appearance and location, specifically on maps. Traub explains that the representation of figures within maps takes on new significance during the Renaissance because of the widespread availability of voyage illustrations, descriptive accounts of Americans, and art works.³⁹ Traub discusses the development of an “ethnographic idiom” as figural representations from around the globe were repositioned from within geographical maps, superimposed over the land, to the margins of such documents. Mimicking the profusion of longitudinal and latitudinal lines that geographically chart the globe, human bodies were similarly placed in regimented grid-like spaces along the borders, implying that “bodies themselves may be terrain to be charted.”⁴⁰ According to Traub, this process ultimately reduced actual colonial experiences of human variety into standardized types, creating a uniform fig-

ural system of representation that “[encouraged] classification and comparison.”⁴¹ Indeed, the movement of these figures onto maps allowed for even more comparison when figures from many countries, continents and cultures were depicted side by side. However, these worldly comparisons led to the establishment of a formal hierarchy of representation that was aided in its legitimacy by form with “consistency of scale, stable orientation, and isolation... [producing] the body as a rational object of knowledge.”⁴² Traub ultimately argues that the figural representations on maps in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were integral to the construction of racial difference as it would come to be understood from the Enlightenment forward, clarifying, through this process of comparison and classification, the global Other as defined by the intertwined notions of ethnic, racial, national, and geographical difference inherent in the visual markers of dress and appearance.⁴³ In doing so, European maps carry much more than simply territorial designations; through the embodiment of race and culture, they might also be seen as social maps as well, ordering the inhabitants of the globe into neatly contained, and controlled, bodies of information.⁴⁴

The use of figures superimposed on maps is not a wholly European notion. In a moment of “accidental convergence,” it appears that the use of figures within Mexican maps oc-

³⁶ Mason 4-8. Thevet himself is guilty of this generalization of the Americas; Mason argues that Thevet’s portraits of not only Motecuhzoma [Thevet/Mason spelling] of Mexico, but also those of the kings of Peru and Florida were all derived in part from glyphs in the *Codex Mendoza*.

³⁷ Both first-hand accounts, as well as European collectors who published reports, led to a dominant negative stereotype of the Amerindian in the European mind. This misconception labeled the Nahua as savages, barbarians, devil-worshippers, prone to the vices of drinking, gluttony, and sodomy. One account by a Dominican friar who studied among the Nahua attempted to classify them scientifically in terms of an evolutionary status; in this instance, it was deemed that the native peoples of Mexico were not as fully developed as Europeans, lacking the proper cultural understanding that would put them on par with Europe. Keen 94-98, 141, 172.

³⁸ John H. Elliott, “Renaissance Europe and America: A Blunted Impact?” *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, vol. 1 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976) 19.

³⁹ Traub, 50-51; 61-64. Traub draws connections between narrative accounts and textual products such as costume books and other voyage-oriented publications. As she explains, costume books were widely used as references for the appearances of global figures; many mapmakers copied nearly directly from costume books, which were, in many instances, copied or drawn from voyage illustrations and primary New World sources. Peter Mason briefly discusses the popularity of Thevet’s publications among costume book authors and artists and believes that this influence would have included images derived from the *Codex Mendoza* as well, although he states that further research must be done to examine more specific links between the *Codex* and specific costume illustrators and publications, 13. The widespread availability of such images and accounts is also discussed by Wayland D. Hand in “The Effect of the Discovery on Ethnographical and Folklore Studies in Europe” *First Images of America: The Impact of the New World on the Old*, ed. Fredi Chiappelli, vol. 1 (Berkeley: U of California P, 1976) 45-55. Hand states that after 1492 and well into the sixteenth century information about the New World was passed through word of mouth, and not necessarily limited to “discourse at court,” “deliberations of secular and religious councils, nor to people connected with mercantile houses and other

more or less public agencies,” and instead was undoubtedly discussed by nearly all levels of European society, 46.

⁴⁰ Traub 49.

⁴¹ Traub 64.

⁴² Traub 63.

⁴³ Traub 57-8. It is interesting, however, that alongside the developing concepts of racial, ethnic, national and cultural difference, Traub argues that gender is used conversely to unite the figures from around the globe. Noting the dominance of figures arranged in male-female pairs, she believes that these maps imply the global appearance of the husband-wife relationship, and in some instances a nuclear family with the inclusion of children, as a universal normative construct. This, Traub argues, is another instance of containing and ordering racial difference as it promotes “domestic heterosexuality” and guards against interracial marriage, creating clear racial distinctions between each couple or “family,” 80-84. Within this discussion of “domestic heterosexuality,” perhaps another comparison presents itself, between the representations discussed by Traub and another Mexican art form, the *castas* paintings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. As an art genre that gave rise to constructed notions of racial and ethnic difference within Mexico, the link between Traub’s argument and *castas* paintings seems to be an avenue that could give rise to further discussions of social ordering and “mapping” that unfortunately lie outside of the scope of this paper. For more detailed discussions of the *castas* genre see Magali M. Carrera, *Imagining Identity in New Spain: Race, Lineage, and the Colonial Body in Portraiture and Casta Paintings* (Austin: U of Texas P, 2003) and Ilona Katzew, *Casta Painting: Images of Race in Eighteenth-Century Mexico* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2004).

⁴⁴ Traub 53. The social hierarchy implied by such representations is also discussed by Traub as it was used to not only come to terms with the new global perspective but also to maintain European superiority through the Orientalist notions of the Other that were produced and reproduced on published maps.

curred pre-Conquest.⁴⁵ The frontispiece of the *Codex Mendoza* is a map of Tenochtitlan, which includes this precise mode of representation (Figure 4). The outer blue band represents a calendar; the inner band represents the water surrounding the islands of Tenochtitlan, the blue that crosses from corner to corner indicates the canal systems that were employed across the island. Each of the figures represents a section of the city, a specific neighborhood, or in the case of the two lower figures, neighboring towns. Each specific area of the map is designated by a body, which is accounted for by a certain amount of overlap between the disciplines of mapmaking and the self-identification in manuscript painting.⁴⁶ The notion of space and distance in native Mexico was inherently dependent upon the body, since “long distances were measured by...the rest that the human body needed en route.”⁴⁷ The Nahua also created what are now called ‘social settlement maps,’ which represented geographical areas not by typological markings, but according to the social hierarchies that existed within the area.⁴⁸ This self-identification distinguished Nahua mapmaking from European mapmaking at the time, a difference attested to by the account that during colonial times, “the Spanish commission to paint a map of the town was quickly (and somewhat mistakenly) translated by indigenous painters into a bid to paint a map of the community.”⁴⁹ Viewed with regard to this concept of social mapping, the *Codex Mendoza*, as a whole,

can be seen as a manuscript that outlines both the territorial and the communal aspects of society, a social map of Tenochtitlan that defined a sense of Nahua self. Once in Europe, the *Codex Mendoza* continued to define the culture from which it came, although from a different perspective. In Europe, the *Codex* became part of a corpus of new information that helped to define the global Other through nascent forms of racial and ethnic difference.

By focusing on such colonial documents as the *Codex Mendoza*, “Double Mistaken Identity” is carried into the visual arts by way of an ambiguous art form that was used towards specific purposes for each culture involved, which, despite the inherent differences, were somewhat aligned in their pursuit of a visual ordering. Each culture sought to maintain their own separate identities: the Nahua by nostalgically recreating their culture in visual (and therefore oral) form, and the Europeans by creating visual hierarchies that allowed them to incorporate newly-discovered Others into their world on their own terms. In examining the *Codex Mendoza* from several perspectives, the multivalent character of such works of art becomes more apparent and can lend insight into the nature of a time period that stood in the midst of monumental global change.

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⁴⁵ Gauvin Alexander Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia and Latin America, 1542-1773* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2001) 28-9. The term “accidental convergence” was first used by George Kubler and is discussed by Bailey as one model of fusion and correspondence between differing cultures who come into contact with one another. In his discussion of the varying degrees of cultural convergence and syncretism, Bailey identifies “accidental convergence” as a convergence of form and/or content that occurs between two or more cultures that have not had previous contact. As such, it is a construct not unlike Lockhart’s own “Double Mistaken Identity.”

⁴⁶ Mundy 93.

⁴⁷ Mundy 112.

⁴⁸ Mundy 118.

⁴⁹ Mundy 91. For a more detailed discussion of the differences between Nahua mapmaking and European mapmaking, see the preface of Mundy’s *The Mapping of New Spain*, xii-xix. Mundy compares the frontispiece of the *Codex* to a map known as the Cortés map of Tenochtitlan, 1524, made by an anonymous European draftsman, that conforms to a mapping format commonly used to represent European cities in the early sixteenth century.

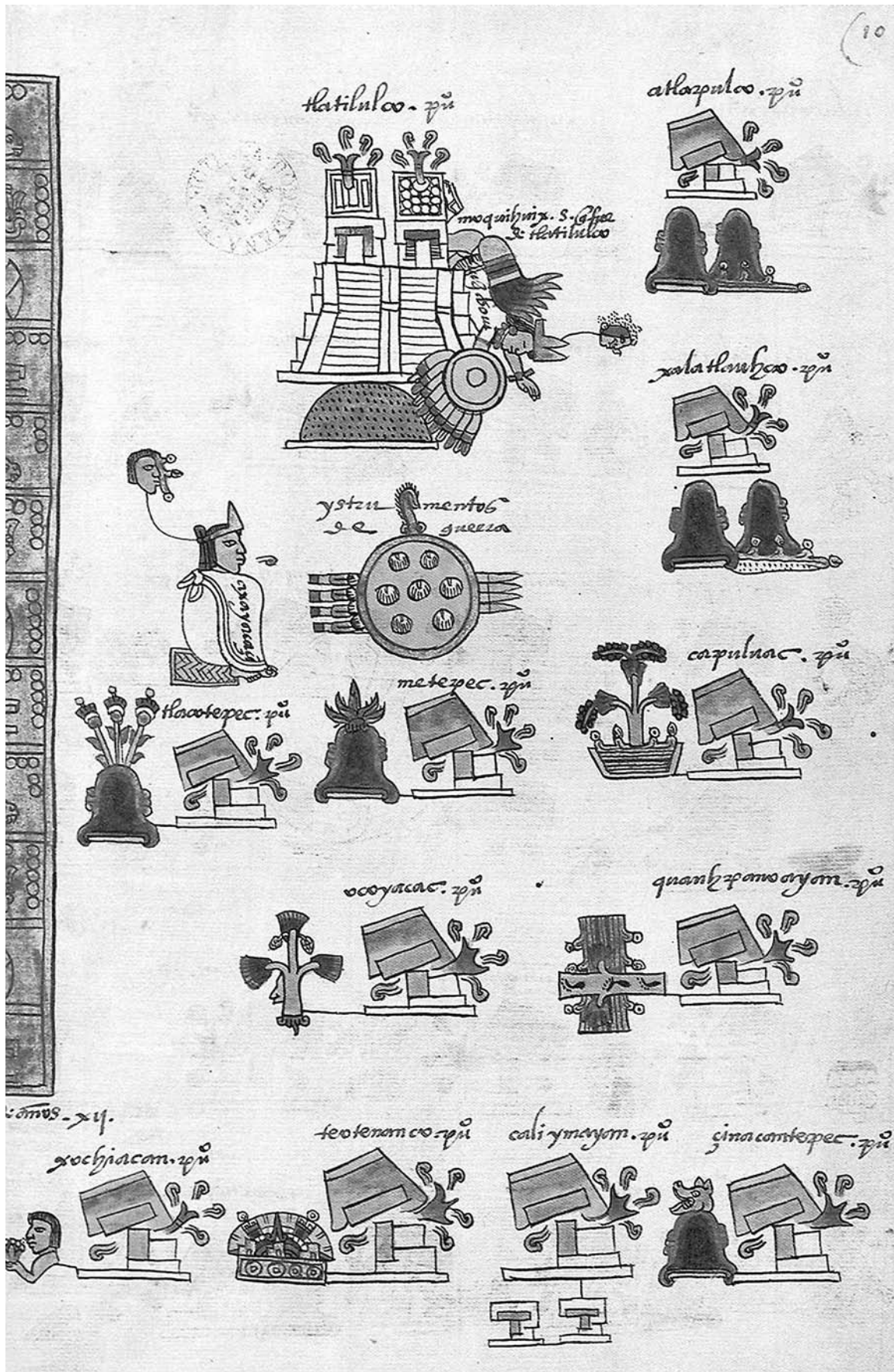
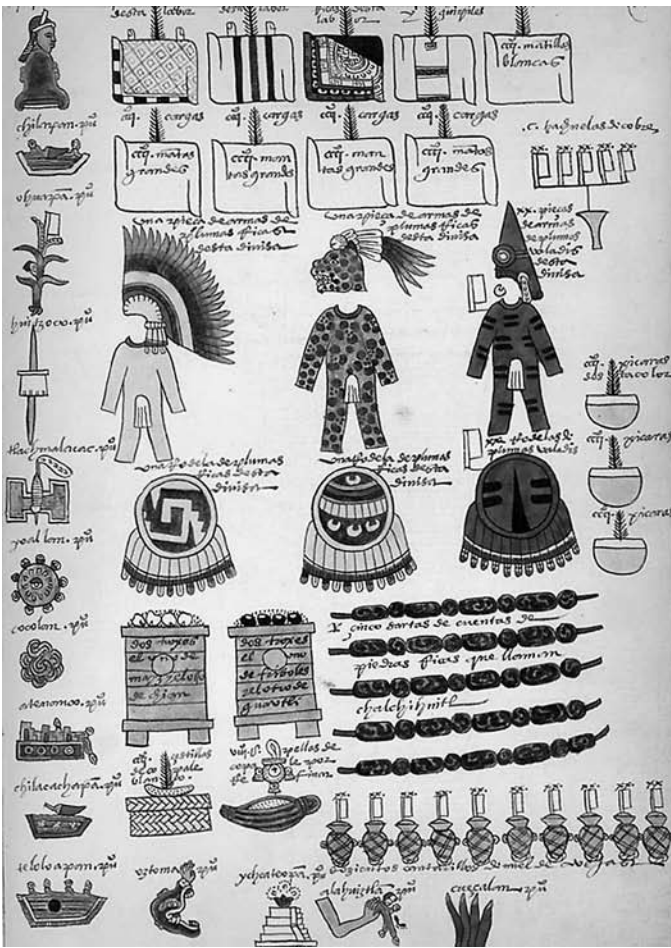


Figure 1. *Codex Mendoza*, folio 10r, Axayaxatl. Image courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1.



Y mmas de los ptes de tierra caliente firmadas
 como grados En la p loma digno de 9 don
 catorze pueblon

Y pte mente quatrocientas cargas de mantas colgadas
 Y mas quatrocientas cargas de mantas betadas de negro
 o blanco p
 Y mas quatrocientas cargas de mantas finas
 Y mas quatrocientas cargas de magnas que pille
 Y mas quatrocientas cargas de mantas grandes
 Y mas mill e seis (cargas) de mantas grandes
 todo lo qual fributaron de seis e nse p mbe 67

Y ten mas fributaron con sac nelas de cobre
 Y mas mill e setenta e cinco de barmas amarillo
 Y mas setenta e cinco de m el de abe fa 67
 Y mas quatrocientas cestillas de coque blanco p
 e nsumerios
 Y mas solo mill e setenta de coque p p fofora qm
 mismo se fofora p de barmas todo lo qual
 fributaron de adenta En (setenta e six)

Y ten mas de las piezas de armas con sus fo de la
 que neladas con plomas finas de la demora
 eorum firmadas
 Y mas de nte piezas de armas con fo de las que
 neladas con plomas de abe fa
 Y mas como setenta e setenta e cinco de plomas
 de abe fa
 Y mas quatrocientas grandes de madera de la
 mont de las oc de las llamas de m 32 de fa
 goles de diom e quatro p todo lo
 qual fributaron una vez en el ano p



Figure 2. Codex Mendoza, folio 37r and 37v, Tepequacuilu. Image courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1.

Figure 3. Codex Mendoza, folio 60r, Ethnographic section displaying, top to bottom, years 11-14. Image courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1.

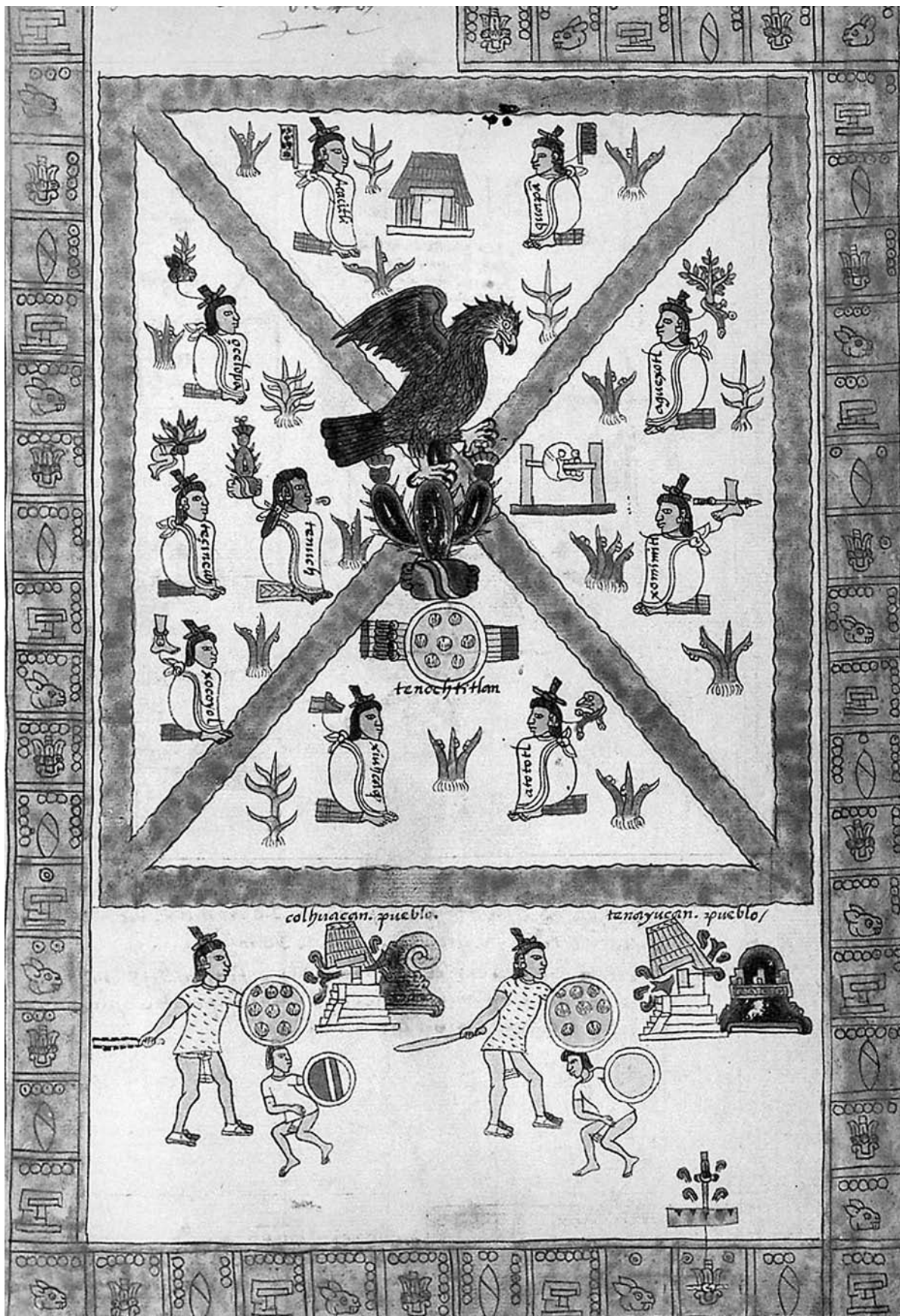


Figure 4. *Codex Mendoza*, folio 2r, The Founding of Tenochtitlan. Image courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS. Arch. Selden. A. 1.

Bruegel's *Cripples* and Early Modern Humor

Yemi Onafuwa

Floris Harmenszoon, a crippled church beadle, is one of many vividly drawn characters who animate Bredero's *Spaanschen Brabander* of 1617. Harmenszoon, during his brief appearance in the play, comes in for rough treatment from a pair of boys. They harry and mock him as he goes about the task of carrying a coffin-scaffold across the churchyard. To their cries of "Cripple, cripple, crooked-leg," and their punning jests that he has been "declawed," he responds with vehemence and malediction, calling them Devil's knaves and threatening them with a thrashing. The boys, as they exit, pelt him with stones and Harmenszoon is heard to cry: "They vex me so, and me a cripple too. God help me. My legs tremble. They can't support me."¹ Earlier in the play, Robbeknol, one of two main characters in the play, informs the fop Jerolimo (the other lead, to whom he seeks to be apprenticed) that as a youth, he had been given over by his mother as a guide to a "cocky, withered, bastard, blind man."² This, like the rest of the abundantly crude language in the play, is played for laughs and the treatment meted out to cripples or to the blind is anything but gentle. The earliest and richest sources still available for this popular Dutch model of humor are several medieval farces, including those collected in the Hulthem Manuscript of 1405-10. Plays like *The Box-Blower*, *The Witch* and *Truwanten* are characterized by an outrageousness and verbal energy, in which scatology, blasphemy and violence are all employed as stock devices. Occasionally, a sacred figure is invoked in the coarsest possible terms.³ The range of targets for these jokes is wide, including country bumpkins, the clergy, beggars, shrewish women, gullible men, and the disabled. A group of popular notions about disability, and about the disabled, can be traced

in this dramatic literature, as well as in jest books of the sixteenth century, in printed music, and in the visual arts.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder ought to be considered within this matrix. That no other Northern visual artist of the early modern period was as reputed for humor as he has been the subject of much comment. Less attention has been paid to the corollary fact that none other gave as much attention to the various pathologies of the human form. That nexus of disability and humor is the subject of this paper.

The spirit of carnival is the active force in Bruegel's work and the imagery to which we attach the term "Bruegelian"—those paintings, drawings and prints that the artist created in a fecund ten-year span during the third quarter of the sixteenth century—are testament to his carnivalesque view of the world. By carnival, we do not simply mean festivity, since feasts could be, and often were, official. The official is sanctioned by temporal powers, but carnival, by contrast, pertains to the alternate life of the people: that other, uncontrolled way of being in the world. It is an energetic disruption of the normal order of things.⁴ In this periodic eruption, hierarchies are subverted and that which is ordinarily improper is given rule over the seemly. In Bruegel, the carnivalesque spirit has as its center of gravity the human body. Bruegel's people are different from those created under the influence of Greco-Roman antiquity. They do not simply adopt pious poses, or display nonchalant classical ease, rather: they run and dance wildly; they eat and over-eat; they drink to excess and face the walls to urinate; they fight; they doze; they kiss noisily; they squat to defecate; they are damaged by disease and by violence, subjected to various restraints, or lost in the rhythms of various

My research into this subject has been guided by Professor David Freedberg, Professor Keith Moxey and Professor David Rosand. I would like to thank them for their help and insightful comments. I would also like to thank Professor James Beck for his support.

- ¹ Gerbrand Adriaenzoon Bredero, *Spaanschen Brabander* (Culemborg: Tjeenk Willink/Noorduijn, 1974) 174-76.
- ² "Een weetighe, teetighe, versoorde blinde-man./Die versocht mijn tot zijn laytsman." Bredero, 164.
- ³ In medieval Dutch farces, there are frequent epithetical references to God, the Devil, Termagant ("Allah"), St. Mary, St. Michael, and so on. *Three*

Days Lord, a play about a shrewish wife, has a character that fulminates, "Look at these gawking fools, by St. Nick's ass" ("Coels sette," St Nicolaas' ass; also sometimes "by God's ass," or, "by Mohammed's ass"). *Netherlandic Secular Plays of the Middle Ages: The "Abele Spelen" and Farces of the Hulthem Manuscript*, trans. Theresia de Vroom (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, 1997) 234, 246.

- ⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1968) 11. See also Bakhtin 89: "For a short time, life came out of its usual, legalized and consecrated furrows and entered the sphere of utopian freedom. The very brevity of this freedom increased its fantastic nature and utopian radicalism, born in the festive atmosphere of images."

physical exertions, and, always, they are animated by the spirit of carnival which carries, as one of its characteristics, the invitation to inventory-making. The unreality that is carnival is heightened by several means, one of which is the alteration of the body through injury, illness or folly.

The *Cripples* (Figure 1), at eight inches square, is the smallest of Bruegel's surviving paintings, and one of his last.⁵ Set within an enclosure, painted in a rough impasto style, the horizon line set high in the picture plane, and possessed of an airless mood, it feels small. The physical confinement of the amputees that dominate the visual field of the painting is underscored by the attenuated means of their depiction. The inscription on the reverse of the panel, partly obliterated, is a benediction: [k]ruepelen—hooch—dat u nering beteren moeg, meaning, "Cripples—high—may your business improve" or "Cripple, may it go better with you."⁶ Additionally, there is a pair of Latin distichs of unknown authorship commending Bruegel's rivalry with and equality to Nature.⁷ The hagiographical distichs are probably of later date. While we do not know how Bredero's church beadle Harmenszoon's lost his limbs, there are enough clues in Bruegel's *Cripples* to warrant a diagnosis for his entire group. Earlier interpretations of the picture had read the figures allegorically. The fox-tails⁸ that dangle conspicuously from their tunics (visible on four of the men) were seen to signify a political identification with the signatories of the Compromise of Breda, the nobles who in opposing Margaret of Parma in 1566 were proud to call themselves "beggars."⁹ This interpretation is no longer accepted: as early as 1559, long before any organized political resistance to Spanish rule in the Netherlands, similarly costumed figures were presented in Bruegel's the *Battle of Carnival and Lent* (Figure 2), in which they are integral to the carnivalesque spirit, and are not mere political ciphers. The evidence indicates, rather, that the wearing of fox-tails was closely related to leprosy¹⁰ and would have been recognized as such in the context of the *Cripples* as well as the *Battle of*

Carnival and Lent. The men's loss of limbs is secondary to the edema and nerve damage from the variant of the disease known as lepromatous leprosy.¹¹ The pock-marked faces are also typical of this disease.

The man closest to the foreground in the *Cripples* has a wooden clapper dangling from his belt. The man just behind him bears a festoon of tiny metal bells on both his curtal shins. The men have some means of alerting passersby that they might give a wide berth to these bearers of contagion, but the clapper and bells play another role: by their characteristic noise, they complement the cries and supplications of the men, and call townspeople to the Christian virtue of alms giving. In this sense, they are symbols of poverty and of the beggar's complex role in society.¹² Such was the visual effectiveness of the clapper that a century later, in Jan Steen's *Topsy-Turvy World* (Figure 3), it was twinned with the cripple's crutch as an ominous warning about poverty's abjection.¹³ Steen's use of the clapper and the crutch raises important questions about how the lepers in Bruegel's painting would have been viewed in their own time. In light of the warning being sounded about the ill-effects of *ijdelheid*, would it not mean that leprosy and its accompanying poverty were seen, to a certain extent, as merited, particularly by those who spent too much of their time on leisure and carousing? If so, was the insistent moralism of informed seventeenth-century Dutch art anticipated in Bruegel's painting? A constellation of issues subtend this one: vagrancy, disease, beggary, and charity. The remainder of this discussion is concerned with showing how these issues are layered into Bruegel's depiction of the lepers, and how he effectively seconds them to his work of laughter.

Let us begin with the lepers. Leprosy is, by any historical or medical account, one of the most feared of diseases. Familiar across a broad range of cultures and present in the most antique literatures, there yet remains no consensus on what leprosy is in a given historical context. Part of the difficulty is that the name has been used in different times and places for a

⁵ 1568, oil on panel, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Édouard Michel, *Catalogue Raisonné des Peintures du Moyen-Age, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes: Peintures flamandes du XVIe et du XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Éditions des Musées Nationaux, 1953) 42.

⁶ Michel 42.

⁷ The compliment, which echoes Ortelius, is as follows: "There is nothing in nature that is beyond our art./So great is the favor granted the painter./Here nature, transformed into painted images and seen in its cripples./Is bewildered to find Bruegel is its equal." Michel 42. Stechow suggests that the distichs could have come from Ortelius himself, and that the panel might have been a gift to him from the artist. Wolfgang Stechow, *Bruegel* (New York: Abrams, 1990) 124. The Latin inscription was first deciphered by M. Genaille. See F. Grossman, "New Light on Bruegel I: Documents and Additions to the Oeuvre; Problems of Form," *The Burlington Magazine* 101 (1959): 342.

⁸ Or badger tails. Phillipe and Françoise Roberts-Jones, *Pieter Bruegel* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002) 230.

⁹ Gustav Glück, *Das große Bruegel-Werk* (Vienna: Anton Schroll & Co., 1963) 88.

¹⁰ Stechow describes the foxtail as an "emblem of lepers, displayed during their customary procession on the Monday after Twelfth Night and the days of Carnival." Stechow, 1990, 124. The association of fox-tails with fools and jesters is antique. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites *Robert of Cicyle* (1370) 57: "The fole Roberd with hym went, Clad in a fulle sympulle garment, With foxe tayles to renne abowte."

¹¹ Saul Nathaniel Brody, *Leprosy in Medieval Literature: The Disease of the Soul* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1974) 29.

¹² F.D. Kligender suggests that the beggar was occasionally seen as a symbol of the people's struggle. Francis D. Kligender, "Les Misères et Malheurs de la Guerre," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 81 (1942): 205. Virginia Tuttle's study of Bosch's *Wayfarer* (on the exterior of the Haywain triptych) addresses the ambiguous nature of poverty (the vice of avarice, the virtue of charity) in the Low Countries in the early sixteenth century. Virginia G. Tuttle, "Bosch's Image of Poverty," *The Art Bulletin* 63 (1981): 89-92.

¹³ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1988) 209-210.

rather disparate range of conditions. There is no certain way of determining which of the many instances of leprosy in literature and art were caused by the bacillus *Mycobacterium leprae*.¹⁴ However, the priority in a socio-historical minded study such as this one is not so much on whether a given depiction was actually leprosy, but whether the people of the time thought so, and acted accordingly.

In medieval Arabia, leprosy was often taken to be God's punishment for immoral behavior: early Islamic literature invokes leprosy as a curse for those suspected guilty of fornication,¹⁵ and in Europe during the middle ages and well into the early modern period, leprosy was associated with various moral defilements.¹⁶ There was also a widespread belief that leprosy was a venereal disease—it was often confused with syphilis—and that lepers burned with desire for sexual intercourse.¹⁷ The disease was accordingly seen as punishment for lust.

The leprosy that afflicted the Judean king Naman and others, so frequently cited in the Old and New Testaments, is typically characterized by the epithet "white as snow."¹⁸ This is a different condition from the one that Robert Henryson in the fifteenth century evoked with such exactness (the "spottis blacke") in his Chaucerian sequel the *Testament of Cresseid*. Henryson, whom earlier scholars took to have been a physician, describes a disease that it is now believed to have relied heavily on medical tradition instead of clinical observation;¹⁹ Cresseid's spots are emblematic not only of the humoral theory that governed medical diagnosis of the disease at the time, but are also distinctive of the many depictions of lepers in medieval manuscripts. A fourteenth century German missal depicting Job and his comforters shows the surface of his skin covered with the dermatological pathology known as rose spots.²⁰ The disease is represented in a similar fashion in Hans Wechtlin's 1517 woodcut of Job as round, raised nodules.²¹ These depictions, and most others from the late middle ages, tended to indicate leprosy by the spots on the skin instead of deformities of the extremities or face, but both skin spots and limb deformities are typical of lepromatous leprosy.

Bruegel's lepers were founded on this ambient cultural influence. To an even greater extent, they answered the specific examples provided by Hieronymus Bosch. Two related sheets of drawings—one by an unnamed follower of Bosch (now in the Albertina in Vienna), the other by an imitator (Figure 4, Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale)²²—depict dozens of cripples, beggars and indigent musicians in a variety of attitudes and poses. Some of these are related to figures in the *Feast of Saint Martin*, a tapestry ostensibly woven after Boschian design or inspiration.²³ Saint Martin was reputed to have healed lepers miraculously. While neither sheet is accepted as autograph any longer (the Brussels sheet in fact carries a bogus Bruegel signature and the date 1558), it is generally agreed that the figures must be close copies of designs by Bosch. Certainly, they bear a close stylistic affinity with his work: an engraving of the Vienna drawing (the engraving is at the Albertina) from Hieronymus Cock's *Aux Quatre Vents* names Bosch as inventor.

Bosch's cripples, in their peculiar combination of cheerfulness and pathos anticipate Bruegel's. Other than in the copied drawings, Bosch depicted cripples in the outer wings of his *Last Judgment* triptych (1505, Akademie der bildenden Künste, Vienna). One such figure, on crutches, bears a sinister avian head. Another stretches out a bowl and begs for alms, with a shrunken, severed foot in front of him deployed as a prop. In these images, as well as in the drawings, Bosch makes a strong connection between disability, begging and deception. It has been suggested, for example, that the severed foot (which the cripple would have us believe is his) could have been hacked off a corpse. In a recent study, these drawings are interpreted to indicate an attitude of unremitting hostility towards the cripples: "negative" and based on "strict, middle-class" values.²⁴ This interpretation, though, seems anachronistic, and it discounts the comedic aspect of the depictions.

We cannot properly read Bruegel's image of the *Cripples* without attempting to understand some of what it was to be an outsider in his place and time. These men are not merely medi-

¹⁴ Identified by Dr G. H. Armauer Hansen in 1874 as the microbe that causes leprosy. Saul Nathaniel Brody, *Leprosy in Medieval Literature: The Disease of the Soul* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1974) 22.

¹⁵ Leprosy has been identified in Aswan, Egypt, as early as A.D. 500 on the basis of osteological studies. Research by Møller Christensen has located proof in two skeletons. Michael W. Dols, "The Leper in Islamic Society," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 894-95.

¹⁶ In a sermon given in 1520, Luther allegorizes a New Testament text (Luke 17: 11-19) by insisting, as some medieval exegetes had done, that leprosy is the "internal sickness of faith" or "unbelief," which one contracts by disbelieving the Word of Christ. Interestingly, just one year later, Luther rejects this interpretation in favor of one (shared with Saint Augustine) that equates leprosy with heresy. Timothy J. Wengert, "Recently Discovered Notes on Two Sermons from 1520 by Martin Luther," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 14 (1983): 193-94.

¹⁷ Brody 57.

¹⁸ Exodus 4:6, Numbers 12:10, 2 Kings 5: 27, Luke 17: 11-19. The typical

leprosy of these biblical texts is likely not identical with that caused by the *Mycobacterium leprae* identified by Hansen, and is more probably a skin condition like psoriasis or leucoderma (vitiligo). See Peter McNiven, "The Problem of Henry VI's Health," *The English Historical Review* 100 (1985): 747-72.

¹⁹ Brody 50.

²⁰ Most likely from the elevated and inflamed nodules secondary to lepromatous leprosy. Illustrated in Brody 29.

²¹ Brody 48.

²² Erwin Pokorny, "Bosch's Cripples and Drawings by His Imitators," *Master Drawings* 41 (2003): 295, 299.

²³ Otto Kurz, "Four Tapestries After Hieronymus Bosch," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1958): 156-160.

²⁴ Pokorny 293.

cal cases; they are “social cases” as well, with their physiological condition compelling them into a role that is, among other things, performative.²⁵ We should seek to understand what it was about disability that was so easily linked with performance, vagrancy and folly. There is undeniably an aspect of false charity in the depiction, but the picture is more complex than presented by those who see in the *Cripples* “less a record of contemporary carnival customs than a timeless image of human deceit.”²⁶

The epidemic character of leprosy was stemmed in the sixteenth century, and this brought about certain social changes. In the early modern period, concerted efforts were made throughout Europe to sequester, control and “treat” lepers. This led to the isolation of infected populations, and a subsequent reduction in the numbers of the afflicted. While the woman who walks across the background of Bruegel’s *Cripples* is sometimes described as uncaring or nonchalant, it seems clear from the walls around the foreground that the cripples are in an enclosed space (probably a leprosarium) and the woman is probably a nurse or sister of charity. From the fourteenth century onwards, populations fell so steeply that many leprosaria stood empty,²⁷ and this sharp drop in numbers created a vacancy which was eventually filled by those deemed insane, criminal or mentally abnormal.²⁸ According to Foucault, this substitution was possible because both the leper and the mental outcast were linked by their exclusion:

What doubtless remained longer than leprosy, and would persist when the lazar houses had been empty for years, were the values and images attached to the figure of the leper as well as the meaning of his exclusion, the social importance of that insistent and fearful figure which was not driven

off without first being inscribed within a sacred circle.²⁹

The sacred circle is a reference to the peculiar terms of the leper’s exclusion: he manifests God’s presence by being a bodily example of both divine anger and divine grace.³⁰ This liminal position, before it is later supplanted by the figure of the madman, is common to all those who, for reason of anatomy or employment, are marginal to society’s function. They are excluded, cast out in order to expiate society, in a manner similar to the purifying function of the *Narrenschiff* (Ship of Fools) and because they move from those margins into the center during periods of misrule, they literally embody carnival. In Bruegel’s paintings, and in his prints of feasts and kermises,³¹ there is a statistical overrepresentation of fools, cripples, vagabonds, and musicians. The literature suggests that these ranks would also have included Jews, heretics, homosexuals, fugitives, witches and gypsies.³² By the seventeenth century (in the works of Jan Steen, among others), this retinue of “freaks” expanded to include *terata* such as dwarves, hunchbacks and others born with genetic defects.³³

While Foucault describes the way out of society for these marginalized figures, it is Bakhtin who takes up the task of describing a way back in. Much of what Bakhtin has to say about Rabelais’s bodily humor is relevant to Bruegel, not only because these masters are contemporaries, but also because they mine the same vein of mirth to powerful effect. They suggest that order, state control and civic harmony provide only part of the story of societies. In so doing, they point out the life of “the material bodily principle,”³⁴ what we might call the biological life of the people. The work Rabelais and Bruegel have bequeathed to the ages is an important revivifying aspect of what one writer has memorably termed “the persecuting society.”³⁵ In a complex matrix that included the im-

²⁵ Koerner mentions this aspect in passing when he notes that “revelers were licensed to force all bystanders to join them or else become the victim of their fun” and that in the case of the cripples and lepers in his picture, “Bruegel portrays persons who have been roped into enacting cruel, negative allegories about themselves.” Joseph Leo Koerner, “Unmasking the World: Bruegel’s Ethnography,” *Common Knowledge* 10 (2004): 229.

²⁶ Walter S. Gibson, *Bruegel* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1977) 184.

²⁷ A Stuttgart magistrate’s report of 1589 indicates that for fifty years already, there had been no lepers in the house provided for them. There is similar evidence from lazar houses in England and France. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Pantheon, 1965) 6. For more in-depth detail on the foundation of the leprosaria and the social sanction for the exclusion of lepers, see Françoise Bériac, *Histoire des Lépreux au Moyen Age: Une Société d’Exclus* (Paris: Editions Imago, 1988) 151-204.

²⁸ “Leprosy disappeared, the leper vanished, or almost, from memory. Poor vagabonds, criminals, and ‘deranged minds’ would take the part played by the leper.” Foucault 7.

²⁹ Foucault 6.

³⁰ Moore suggests that lepers, who were often called *pauperes Christi*, were, like hermits and monks, considered something of a quasi-religious order.

The leper was considered the grantee of a special grace by which he entered into early payment for the sins of this life, the better to gain redemption in the life to come. See R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Power and Deviance in Western Europe 950-1250* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987). The issue is also discussed, with particular regard to institutionalized lepers’ uniforms and priests’ habits, in Peter Richards, *The Medieval Leper and His Northern Heirs* (Cambridge [England]: D.S. Brewer, 1977) 55-57.

³¹ The arguments presented here could easily be expanded to deal with the several prints, believed to be after Bruegel’s designs, that feature cripples (like the engraving of *Charity*), musicians, and epileptics. These are comprehensively catalogued in H. Arthur Klein, *Graphic Worlds of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (Toronto: Dover, 1963).

³² Moore 66-99. See also the discussion of “the marginal population” in Henry Kamen, *European Society 1500-1700* (London: Hutchinson, 1984) 167-193.

³³ Barry Wind, *A Foul and Pestilent Congregation: Images of Freaks in Baroque Art* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) 112-14.

³⁴ Bakhtin 18.

³⁵ Moore 5.

pulse to Christian charity, sponsored and fostered by both church and state, there also existed a fearful and aggressive attitude towards those marked out for difference. In the categories we have already mentioned, heretics and Jews were subjected to particularly rough treatment. In the case of lepers, their diagnosis was sometimes linked to a rite of exclusion closely modeled on the rite for the dying.³⁶ Yet, such was the ambivalence with which lepers were considered that charity to them was considered particularly meritorious. This uncertainty about the right attitude, in early medieval times, had even led to the curious practice of washing the sores and kissing them, almost as a fashionable religious exercise,³⁷ the better to emulate the virtue of Christ.

Some of that ambivalence fell away with the increasing centralization of states in the early modern period. By the early sixteenth century, when vagrants came to be seen as threats to the stability of the state, legislation was enacted to confine those people without visible means of support, or even to press them into forced labor. The English vagrancy act of 1531, for example, permitted judicial action against beggars and wanderers.³⁸ This period marks something of a shift in the view of the poor and dispossessed. Where they had been chiefly characterized as objects of charity in the past, they became, in the view of the state, criminals.³⁹ Yet even with all this considered, neither Bosch's nor Bruegel's cripples can accurately be read as presenting a purely "pessimistic world-view." We must keep in mind the considerable delight the artists took in limning the details of grotesque malformations. Indeed, were drawings audible, these would be among the least-gloomy ever set down: the sounds of clappers, the bawdy music of lutes and the keening of hurdy-gurdies, the clatter of crutches and wooden prosthetic limbs, as well as the cries and songs of the beggars themselves, would all emanate from the sheets. At the top left of the Vienna sheet is a figure with a fool's costume; at the bottom right a man whose otherwise undamaged limbs have been twisted into an unlikely amphibian pose, with one leg on the ground and the other flapping over his back to rest on his head. There is more variety here than in Bruegel's condensed composition. A recent analysis by some doctors from the Netherlands has identified a number of afflictions in the

Vienna sheet: syphilis, leprosy, ergot poisoning. In addition, they have also concluded that a few of the figures are actually hale, feigning disability.⁴⁰ Otto Kurz cites a satirical tale from the contemporary *Mystère de la vie et hystorie de monseigneur saint Martin, lequel fut archevesque de Tours* in which two cripples tried desperately, but in the end unsuccessfully, to escape Saint Martin's healing power, knowing that once cured, they would be deprived of the easy money that came from begging.⁴¹

Bruegel's world-view is certainly of a troubled reality, but the comment it makes on human life is not wholly negative. There have been attempts in the literature to tie Bruegel's ideas too closely to the neo-Stoic philosophy of Abraham Ortelius' humanist circle.⁴² Bruegel's images, however, insist that he is not programmatic in this way, and the evidence does not support a conscious neo-Stoic or Platonist program. The Bruegelian image is less prescriptive than inclusive, and the visual style, even in the most discomfiting subject matter (the *Triumph of Death*, for example, or the print of the *Allegory of Justice* from the virtues series), is distinguished by its enthusiasm. It is not simply the lepers, pivoting on their crutches, jangling their bells, crying out in song, who are eager to please, it is their maker: he, too, wants their business to improve.

The Boschian influence is helpful for our reading of Bruegel's disabled bodies. At this late point in his career Bruegel revisits the fantasist technique, derived from Bosch, which had featured so substantially in his earlier works. The influence is now sublimated, so that where there was outright unreality—humanoids, animal hybrids, life forms emerging directly out of the slime—there is instead the profound and actual grotesquerie of the body deformed. Bruegel rescues the Boschian image from what James Elkins has termed the "edge of visual desperation."⁴³ Visually, the results are as eerie as Bosch's, but with a new firmer basis in the natural world. None of Bruegel's lepers is physically impossible. They are real people who, either from disease or from injury, or even from a temporary contortion, find themselves in the category of the grotesque. Where they had appeared earlier as part of the narrative—for example in the *Battle of Carnival and Lent* or the *Netherlandish Proverbs*—they are now isolated and

³⁶ Writing of the Third Lateran Council of 1179, Moore indicates that "Lepers were to be segregated from the rest of the community by expulsion or confinement and deprived of legal rights and protection, and of their property and its disposition. . . the leper was treated henceforth as being effectively dead, with all the cruelty and all the ambivalence that implies." Moore 11.

³⁷ Moore 61.

³⁸ Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 226.

³⁹ Valencia expelled vagrants in 1586, and France issued an edict against all those without visible means of support in 1666. Ruff 226-28.

⁴⁰ J. Dequeker, G. Fabry and L. Vanopdenbosch, "De processie van kreupelen naar Jeroen Bosch (c. 1450-1516): een historische analyse," *Millennium, tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies*, 15 (2001): 140-53.

⁴¹ Cited from R. Schenda, *Die französische Prodigienliteratur in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 1961, 53 in Otto Kurz 161.

⁴² De Tolnay characterizes Bruegel as the "platonicien" of the "monde renversé." Charles de Tolnay, *Pierre Bruegel L'Ancien* vol. 1 (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions, 1935) intro and 20. Zagorin provides a necessary corrective to this in his survey of the literature on Bruegel's philosophy, in which he suggests that neither Bruegel's purported knowledge of classical antiquity nor his adherence to neo-Stoic ideals is proven. Perez Zagorin, "Looking for Pieter Bruegel," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 64 (2003): 77-78.

⁴³ Elkins uses the term to highlight the extent to which we rely on analogic thinking when we are confronted with an image that barely makes visual sense. James Elkins, *Pictures of the Body: Pain and Metamorphosis* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1999) 219.

presented with the starkness of icons. It is not enough that Bruegel plumbs the more difficult aspects of human experience: it is his particular combination of dark themes with laughter that is one of the hallmarks of the grotesque.⁴⁴ In the absence of laughter, we would cease to have a true grotesque and instead be left with unrelieved horror.

Bruegel, having started his career with the weird images that met market demand for Boschian subjects, gradually began to retrieve the uncanny from mundanity. This is the late Bruegelian world of the *Beekeepers*, the *Magpie on the Gallows*, the *Parable of the Blind*, the *Cripples*—legs without feet, heads without eyes, blind men and isolated lepers in their curial condition who stand as metonyms for the world beyond control. The paradox by which humor is paired with infirmity resists historical retrieval, and the fact that these damaged bodies are comical is related to the unwritable history of laughter. It is not only depictions of laughing people that are funny, for few of Bruegel's figures are seen laughing. In fact, laughter can be inimical to comedy, precisely because laughter is not the joke but the reaction to it. A case in point is Bruegel's exact contemporary, Pieter Aertsen, who depicts reveling peasants in his *Egg Dance* of 1557. Yet Aertsen's peasants are completely un-Bruegelian in effect: the torsos are elongated, the bodies elegant, the laughter clinical. Where Bruegel is an

empathic humorist, Aertsen's strengths lie elsewhere. He is an anthropologist, viewing the goings on with a sophisticated outsider's gaze, a different take on the visual vernacular. By the same token, the laughter that becomes so abundantly present in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, such as that of Steen, Honthorst and Hals, functions as emphasis for the moralistic tone of the images.⁴⁵

The straight-faced exaggeration of comedy in Bruegel, on the other hand, is a source of the bubbling, Falstaffian mirth for which he was renowned. It is akin to the slapstick that has endured through the ages. Because his bodies are so extreme, so mangled, so outrageous, because they go beyond the pale of the ordinary, because of the unease of their plenitude and peculiarity, uncontrollable laughter is elicited from the viewer. The jokes continue to generate mirth for as long as the cultural context permits. Have we perhaps lost the contextual frame that would initiate us into the *Cripples*, the *Parable of the Blind*? Humor is difficult to translate across centuries. We are to take Ortelius, who says "viewers cannot help laughing, or at least smiling," and Lampsonius, whose claim is that "Bruegel abounds in jokes and wit," at their word.

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⁴⁴ Geoffrey Harpham, "The Grotesque: First Principles," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 34 (1976): 464.

⁴⁵ For more on the link in the seventeenth century between dietetic laughter and explicit moralizing, see Johan Verberckmoes, *Laughter, Jestbooks and Society in the Spanish Netherlands* (New York: Macmillan, 1999) 75.

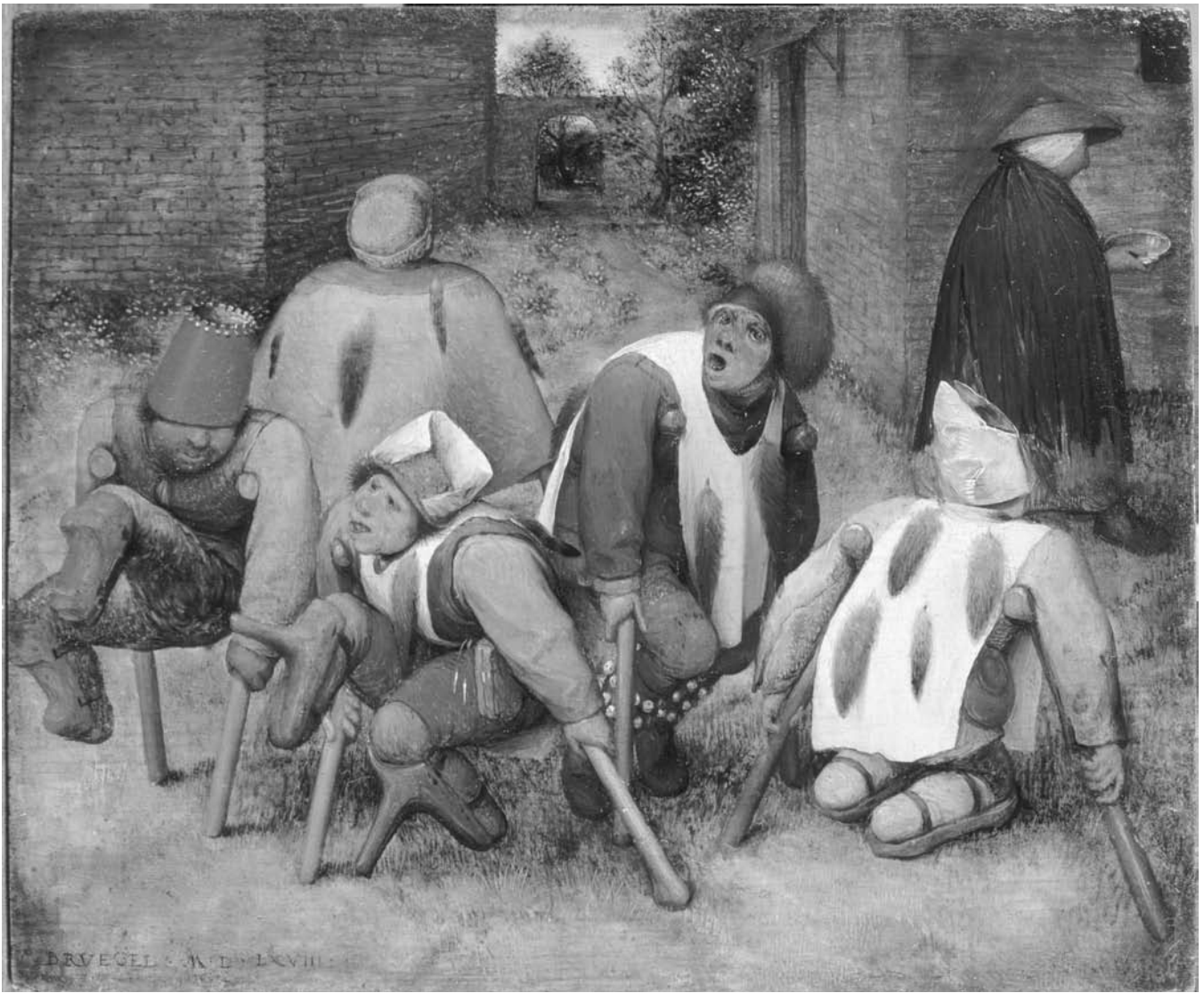


Figure 1. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *The Cripples*, 1568, oil on wood, 18 x 21 cm, Inv.: RF 730, Photo credit: C. Jean, Louvre, Paris, France, Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY.



Figure 2. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Battle of Carnival and Lent*, 1559, oil on oakwood, 118 x 164.5 cm, Cat. 45, Inv. 1016., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3. Jan Steen, *Topsy-Turvy World*, 1663, 105 x 145 cm, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. Photo Credit: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.

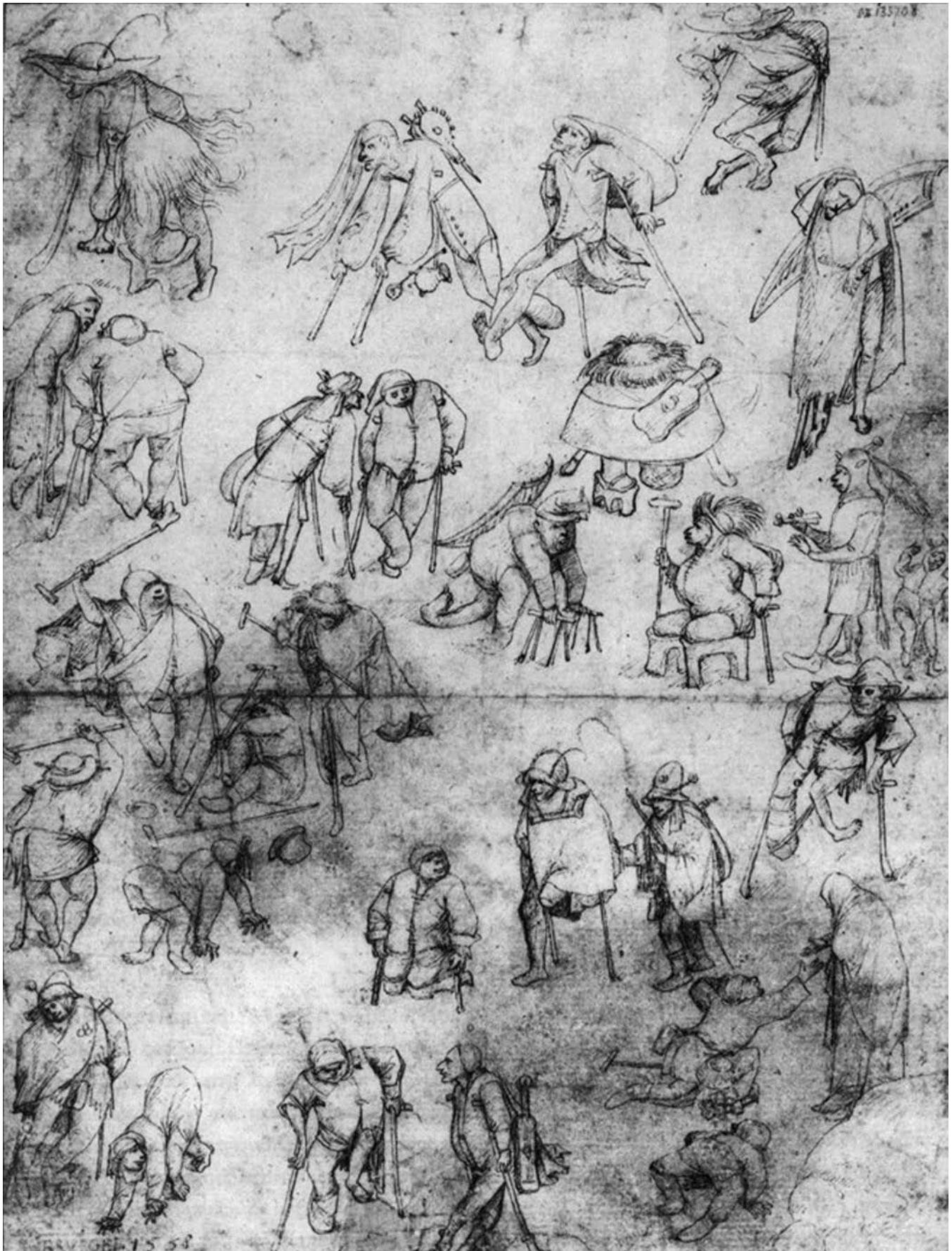


Figure 4. Follower of Hieronymous Bosch, *Cripples and Beggars*, early 1500s, drawing, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels, Belgium.

Gerrit Dou's Niche Pictures: Pictorial Repetition as Marketing Strategy

Angela Ho

Gerrit Dou exemplified the commercially successful genre painter in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. His small, jewel-like paintings made him one of the most celebrated Dutch artists of his time. From the mid-1640s to the 1670s, Dou repeatedly framed his genre scenes with an illusionistic stone window. In this so-called “niche picture” format, Dou positions one or two principal figures just behind a window in a shallow foreground. These figures, brightly lit by a raking light from the upper left, stand silhouetted against a deep, dark background. The recurrence of this distinctive compositional scheme is the focus of this essay. While nineteenth- and early twentieth-century criticism regarded Dou as a limited, unimaginative artist, most recent studies defend him as someone who succeeded in satisfying the preferences of his contemporaries. This paper acknowledges and extends the latter view by contending that the framing window functioned as a signature feature for the artist. It considers Dou's strategy in relation to contemporary social and cultural practices associated with the ownership of paintings, and argues that his reuse of the window motif was a positive marketing ploy in the top tier of a complex art market.

Gerrit Dou's “Niche Pictures”

Dou was not the only seventeenth-century Dutch painter to construct compositions around a limited range of themes and motifs. Indeed, the prevalence of repetitive imagery has been a topic of interest to historians of economics. In a seminal article from 1987, John Michael Montias investigates the way in which the forces on the open Dutch art market influenced the visual characteristics of the paintings.¹ Following his analysis, it could be argued that repetition of stock motifs

reduces the time required to finish a painting, and thus brings the economic benefit of improved productivity.² However, it is unlikely that speed of execution was an important consideration for Dou. He was known for a time-consuming manner of painting that involved the rendering of minute details. His paintings were highly valued and, as shall be explained later, he was not under financial pressure to maintain a large output. If we cannot look at Dou's reuse of motifs as an attempt to expedite production, how do we account for this practice? Some recent studies offer a different economic explanation, namely that Dou was responding to his customers' demands. Scholars maintain that early modern viewers had very different conceptions of “originality” and “creativity” from our own. The repetition of motifs and themes would not have struck them as objectionable.³ While such attempts to situate Dou in the proper historical context enable a fuller understanding of his art, such an argument does not fully acknowledge the complexity of Dou's imagery. This paper suggests that the recurrence of the niche window was seen not only as *acceptable*, but as *desirable* by discerning collectors. Dou's pictorial strategy was intimately linked to the preferences of his buyers. It is therefore important to consider what those preferences entailed, and how repetition of certain devices emphasized his ability to meet or exceed those expectations.

The niche picture format highlights Dou's abilities in creating illusionistic effects. *The Doctor* from 1653 (Figure 1) demonstrates how the painter uses the motif as a vehicle for displaying his skill. The combination of elements indicate that this is a scene of a doctor examining a urine sample brought to him by a maidservant. Dou thematizes the act of careful observation in the figure of the doctor, who holds up the flask

the economic benefit remains regardless of the painter's intention. Once that innovation proves successful, competing painters would be compelled to imitate it in order to survive in the market.

¹ John Michael Montias, “Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art,” *Art History* 10 (1987): 455-466.

² Several historians have drawn on Montias's idea of “process innovation” in considering the use of stock motifs. See for example Filip Vermeulen, “The Commercialization of Art: Painting and Sculpture in Sixteenth-Century Antwerp,” *Early Netherlandish Painting at the Crossroads: A Critical Look at Current Methodologies*, ed. Maryan Ainsworth (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2002) 46-61; Elmer Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play: Northern Netherlandish Scenes of Merry Companies, 1610-1645*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2005) chapter 4. It must be pointed out that Montias does not suggest that the painters' practices were determined by economic considerations. Instead, he posits that if an innovation originating from artistic impulse also reduces production costs,

³ Eric Jan Sluiter, “On *fijnschilders* and meaning,” *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000) 265-271; Pieter Hecht, *De Hollandse fijnschilders van Gerard Dou tot Adriaen van der Werff* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1989) 18-19. Ronni Baer posits that Dou “fortuitously” found pictorial formulae that appealed to buyers, and subsequently adhered to these popular schemes throughout his career. I believe that such an argument leaves unanswered questions about the nature of consumers' expectations, and places the artist in a highly passive role. See Ronni Baer, “The Paintings of Gerrit Dou (1613-1675),” *diss.*, New York U, 1990, 82-83.

and gazes intently at its content.⁴ Dou's detailed descriptions of various motifs call for a similarly attentive study by the viewer. He carefully renders the play of light as it passes through the liquid and reflects off the glass container. On the window sill are various objects, all described in minute detail. For example, Dou uses small, parallel brushstrokes to simulate the weave of the carpet, but blends away marks of the brush to suggest the smooth surface of the copper basin. Yet the window does not simply provide a display space for Dou's still life objects. It also allows him to play with the integrity of the picture plane. Because the top and sides of the window and the base of the stone relief closely follow the borders of the panel, a correspondence between the wall surface and the picture plane is implied. The illustrated book on the right protrudes beyond the face of the wall, with a corner almost reaching the right boundary of the painting. The tapestry likewise drapes over the wall, and almost touches the base of the picture. By carefully positioning these objects, Dou creates the illusion that they are physically penetrating through to the viewer's space. The illusion is effective because Dou is able to differentiate the textures of stone, textile, paper and metal by rendering the action of light over these surfaces.

The improbable setting stands in contrast to the verisimilitude of the rendering of individual objects. The arched stone window, so painstakingly described in the paintings, was not a feature found in contemporary domestic architecture. Its presence thus signals the fictitious nature of the depicted

scenes, placing it in an order of space different from the viewer's own. The use of such a stage-like setting for different subjects further underscores the artificiality of the paintings.⁵ The paradox would prompt knowledgeable viewers to pause and contemplate Dou's skill and wit, as well as the deceptiveness of the art of painting itself.⁶ Moreover, the recurring motif encouraged them to recall and compare various paintings by Dou seen over time.

Painting for the Elite: Dou's Audience

Contemporary textual sources indicate that Dou's audience consisted of a small, exclusive circle of wealthy collectors.⁷ The agreement between Dou and Pieter Spiering Silvercroon, the ambassador of the Queen of Sweden to The Hague, is often cited as evidence for art-lovers' admiration for the artist. Philips Angel, Dou's colleague in Leiden, recounted that Spiering paid a yearly sum of 500 guilders for the right of first refusal of Dou's works.⁸ Furthermore, the prices for individual works by Dou were extraordinarily high. Joachim von Sandrart, a German artist and writer, claimed that the price for one of Dou's palm-sized panels ranged from 600 to 1,000 guilders.⁹ To put these figures in perspective, Dou's works were selling at up to 100 times the average market price for a genre painting in the mid-century.¹⁰

Archival evidence also suggests that Dou's buyers were among the social elite of the Dutch Republic. Apart from Spiering, admirers of Dou in his own lifetime included the

⁴ Dou's painting depicts a *piskijker* (urinomancer) rather than a *polsvoeler* (a doctor taking a patient's pulse), a character favored by artists such as Jan Steen and Frans van Mieris. Steen and Van Mieris create a satirical tone in representations of a doctor's visit to a female patient, suggesting the amorous nature of the illness. They also accentuate the incompetence of the doctor by presenting him in outmoded dress. In Dou's painting, the costume and accessories—such as the book and the globe—identify the doctor as a man of learning. See Ronni Baer, *Gerrit Dou, 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt* (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2000) cat. 26. Dou's emphasis is thus not on the comic overtones associated with the depictions of quack doctors or lovesick women. Instead, his depictions of the *piskijker* (two similar examples are located in Copenhagen and the Hermitage, while the *Dropsical Woman* in the Louvre combines the themes of the doctor's visit and the *piskijker*) all foreground the act of looking.

⁵ Pictures such as *The Doctor* were described as lifelike by Dou's contemporaries, who praised the artist as "an excellent painter of life in miniature." This has prompted scholars to argue that the contradiction between the lifelikeness of individual objects and the unrealistic scene as a whole was simply accepted by Dou's contemporaries. I suggest, however, that the paradox was recognized, and it formed part of Dou's commentary on the deceptiveness of the art of painting. In his 1901 monograph on Dou, Willem Martin distinguishes between images that were "realistic" and those that were "good as real." He explains that the subject of a painting could be fanciful, but in the seventeenth century "no one cared so long as they were correct, natural and highly finished in drawing and execution." See Willem Martin, *Gerard Dou*, trans. Clara Bell (London: George Bell, 1902) 71. See also Sluijter, "In Praise of Painting," *Seductress of Sight: Studies in Dutch Art of the Golden Age* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000) 205.

⁶ This conclusion is similar to Ute Kleinmann's. My approach differs from hers in that I place more emphasis on the commercial motivation for Dou's

artistic strategy. See Ute Kleinmann, *Rahmen und Gerahmtes: das Spiel mit Darstellung und Bedeutung* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996).

⁷ At the age of 28, Dou was included in the list of illustrious citizens in Jan Orlers's *Description of the City of Leiden* (1641). Orlers stated that Dou was held in great esteem by art-lovers, who paid handsome prices for his paintings. In the same year, Philips Angel praised Dou as an exemplary painter in *Lof der Schilder-konst (Praise of Painting)*. Angel based his judgment on Dou's skill and his commercial success as a painter. See Jan Jansz. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der Stad Leyden*, reprint of second edition (Leiden/Amsterdam, 1781) 403; Philips Angel, *Lof der Schilder-konst* (1642; facsimile edition, Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, 1972) 23.

⁸ Angel 23.

⁹ A. R. Peltzer ed., *Joachim von Sandrarts Academie der Bau-, Bild- und Mahlerey-Künste von 1675* (Munich: G. Hirth's Verlag, 1925) 196; Eric Jan Sluijter, "Schilders van 'cleyne, subtile ende curieuse dingen.' Leidse 'fijnschilders' in contemporaine bronnen," *Leidse fijnschilders van Gerrit Dou tot Frans van Mieris de Jonge 1630-1760*, ed. Sluijter et al (Zwolle: Waanders, 1988) 51.

¹⁰ Montias estimates that the average price for an attributed painting in 1650 was about 9.3 guilders. His calculations are based on price information from a sample of Amsterdam inventories. See John Michael Montias, "Estimates of the number of Dutch master-painters, their earnings and their output in 1650," *Leidschrift* 6 (1990): 68-69. Studies of inventories from other Dutch towns also show that the prices of most paintings were valued at between one and twenty guilders. See John Michael Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1982) 259-268; Eric Jan Sluijter, "'All striving to adorn their houses with costly peeces': two case studies of paintings in wealthy interiors," *Art and Home: Dutch Interiors in the Age of*

Leiden residents Franciscus de le Boe Sylvius and Johan de Bye. As an internationally renowned professor of medicine, Sylvius was a prominent member of the city's intellectual community.¹¹ By the time of his death in 1672, Sylvius has amassed a collection of 172 paintings in his house on the Rapenburg, including eleven by Dou.¹² De Bye, a wealthy merchant, had the most extensive collection of Dou paintings in the 1660s. In 1665, he mounted an exhibition of 27 pieces by the master in the front room of Johannes Hannot's house on Breestraat.¹³

Probate inventories and sale catalogues show that Dou's paintings were also acquired by buyers outside his hometown of Leiden. His works were listed among the assets of Johannes Renialme and Gerrit Uylenburgh, inventoried in 1657 and 1675, respectively.¹⁴ Both were Amsterdam art dealers who specialized in the trading of expensive paintings. The presence of Dou's works in their stocks suggests that he was known to the high-end collectors in the Amsterdam market.¹⁵ Inventories taken in the early eighteenth century regularly featured paintings attributed to Dou. Moreover, several of the owners were from prominent Dutch families.¹⁶

Dou's clientele was not limited to Dutch towns, however, since foreign collectors also acquired his paintings. Three works by Dou were included in the "Dutch gift" from the States of Holland and Westfriesland to Charles II of England in 1660. Dou reportedly declined a subsequent offer of the position of court painter from the English king.¹⁷ By this time, Leopold

Wilhelm of Austria owned at least one of his paintings. Cosimo III de' Medici recorded his visit to Dou's studio during his tour of the region in 1669, on which occasion he possibly bought two works.¹⁸ One year after Dou's death, Cosimo's agent in Amsterdam made "an attempt to move heaven and earth" to acquire a self-portrait by the famous master for the grand duke's gallery.¹⁹

Since Dou's prices were far above market averages, and his buyers included both the Dutch and foreign elite, he had been regarded as a painter who operated outside the competitive art market.²⁰ However, separating transactions for paintings into two opposing categories—open market purchases and private commissions—obscures the complexity of the interactions between painters and buyers. Citing Dou's agreement with Pieter Spiering as evidence, historians of art and economics claim that the artist painted for private patrons. However, the annual sum of 500 guilders gave Spiering the first choice of Dou's works, but not the right to specify subject matter, dimensions, or the price of each piece.²¹ This arrangement reflects the desire of the buyer to secure a portion of the artist's output, over which he had little direct control. Hence the relationship between Dou and Spiering could not be described as a traditional form of patronage. Yet Dou was clearly not working in the open market, where products by different painters were considered interchangeable. Instead, Dou operated in a market segment where the artist's reputation was a

Rembrandt, ed. Mariët Westermann (Zwolle: Waanders, 2001) 227-228 n. 14; John Loughman, "Een stad en haar kunstconsumptie: openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719;" *De zichtbaere werelt: schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad*, ed. Peter Marijnissen et al. (Zwolle: Waanders, 1991) 51-53; Marion E. W. Goosens, *Schilders en de markt Haarlem 1605-1635* (diss., U Leiden, 2001) 288-294. Goosens puts the average price of a genre painting in the period at 16 to 20 guilders. However, she only takes into account artists with established reputations, such as Jan Miense Molenaer and Adriaen van Ostade. Unattributed paintings would have been much cheaper.

¹¹ E. D. Baumann, *François de le Boe Sylvius* (Leiden: Brill, 1949) 2-20; Sluijter (2001) 106.

¹² Sluijter (2001) 107.

¹³ An advertisement in the *Haarlemische Courant* announced the exhibition, stating that 29 paintings would be on view. However, a list of paintings taken by the notary A. Raven contained only 27. For discussion of the event see Martin 72; Sluijter (1988) 36-37.

¹⁴ Johannes Renialme's assets were inventoried after his death in 1657. The paintings were evaluated by Adam Camerarius, a painter, and Marten Kretzer, a "gentleman-dealer." Three works by Dou were recorded in Renialme's possession. Two tronies were listed at 40 and 30 guilders each. A picture of a "kitchenmaid" was valued at 600 guilders. See Abraham Bredius, *Kunstler-Inventare* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1915-1922) 230-239. Gerrit Uylenburgh's assets were inventoried after he declared bankruptcy. A picture of St. Francis by Dou was listed. See Bredius 1662-1673.

¹⁵ For an analysis of the stocks of both dealers, see John Michael Montias, "Art Dealers in the Seventeenth-Century Netherlands," *Simiolus* 18 (1988): 249-256.

¹⁶ For example, Gerard Bicker van Zwielen, a wealthy and titled collector, had five paintings by Dou in his possession, including one at 1,290 guilders. The collection was put on auction in 1731, and the price information is derived from a catalogue of the paintings on sale. See Gerard Hoet, *Catalogus of naalyst van schulderyen, met derzelver pryzen* vol. 2 (The Hague, 1752) 10-30. Anthony Grill, an official of the Wisselbank (Amsterdam Bank of Exchange) and heir to a considerable fortune, owned two paintings by Dou. See Hoet, *Catalogus* vol. 1, 325-330. For information on Anthony Grill see Jaap van der Veen, "Dit klain Vertrek bevat een Weereld vol gewoel: negentig Amsterdammers en hun kabinetten," *De wereld binnen handbereik. Nederlandse kunst- en rariteiten-verzamelingen, 1585-1735*, eds. Ellinoor Bervelt and Renée Kistemaker (Zwolle: Waanders, 1992) 320. Also with two Dou paintings in his collection was Isaac Gerards, the owner of the largest collection of paintings in Leiden. The Gerards family was also related by marriage to the prominent Van Buren and Van Bambeeck families in Amsterdam. See Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, Notarial archive 4256 ff. 801-866. See Johan E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795* vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Israël, 1963) 729-730.

¹⁷ Ronni Baer, "The Life and Art of Gerrit Dou," in *Gerrit Dou 1613-1675: Master Painter in the Age of Rembrandt*, ed. Ronni Baer (Washington DC: National Gallery of Art, 2001) 31-32.

¹⁸ G. J. Hoogewerff, *De twee reizen van Cosimo de Medici Prins van Toscane door de Nederlanden (1667-1669). Journalen en Documenten* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1919) 251.

¹⁹ Baer (2001) 31.

²⁰ Montias (1987) 462-463.

²¹ Sluijter, "In Praise of Painting" 215-217.

crucial factor in determining the value of his/her works, and his success depended on his ability to meet and stimulate his buyers' interest.

Modes of Display

Dou's paintings featured in some of the most important collections in Europe in the second half of the seventeenth century. Such collections shared one characteristic: a large number of paintings, of different subjects and styles, hung in a dense pattern. Even if Dou did not know in which collection a particular picture would be hung, he would have been aware of the conventional modes of display in such spaces.²² In a princely gallery, or a reception room in a wealthy Dutch residence, there could be as many as sixty paintings vying for the viewer's attention. It stands to reason that a painter needed to distinguish his/her work in some way. Dou's niche pictures not only underscored his virtuosity, but they also addressed their own display environment in a witty manner.

In a private collection, where paintings were not installed as part of an architectural ensemble, the frame was an important device that established each picture as a discrete entity on the wall.²³ In *The Doctor* (Figure 1), the stone window serves as a second frame to the figural scene. Beneath this is another framed image, that of the stone relief. This arrangement is repeated in *The Trumpeter* (Figure 2) from about a decade later. As he did in the earlier paintings, Dou lavishes attention on the figure and the still life objects in the foreground. He uses small, lightly blended strokes to render the trumpeter's face and costume and captures nuances of reflections on the silver ewer and dish with a smooth finish. Dou differentiates the textures of the carpet and the leather curtain by providing stronger highlights and angular folds in the latter. The trumpet, which projects beyond the window, shows Dou's ability to depict foreshortened objects. Once again, the top and sides of the window and the base of the stone relief follow the borders of the picture, hence doubly framing the scene.

²² Although the Dutch burghers' collections could not compare with their princely counterparts in other parts of Europe, the number of paintings recorded in inventories combined with the smaller dimensions of Dutch houses suggest that paintings were likely hung closely together and possibly in several tiers. Since only the wealthiest collectors could afford the prices, Dou's best works were destined for such an environment.

²³ According to Stoichita, a new kind of painting, the "tableau," developed as the private collection replaced the church as the primary exhibition space for art. Many of these paintings became reflexive, that is, they took the redefinition of the identity of painting as their theme. One of the ways in which painters could comment on the new role of painting in a collection was to address the issue of framing. Stoichita argues that seventeenth-century painters experimented with various forms of margins, such as niches, doors, and windows. In doing so, they incorporated the frame within the pictorial field and underscored the status of the picture as a representation. See Victor I. Stoichita, *The Self-Aware Image: An Insight into Early Modern Meta-Painting* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997), chapter 3. While I draw on Stoichita's insights, I do not treat Dou as a philosopher contemplating the nature of pictorial representation. Instead, I argue in this paper that Dou's use of framing elements has to be considered in relation to con-

Dou's most explicit meditation on the frame is shown in his *Painter with Pipe and Book* (Figure 3). He has included a feigned curtain hanging from a brass rod, which in turn is attached to the top edge of a counterfeit frame. The fiction is that the curtain is drawn to the right to reveal a painting fitted with an ebony frame. In other words, this is a painting of a painting. The curtain refers to the common practice of protecting valuable works in a collection. It also alludes to the contest between legendary Greek painters Zeuxis and Parrhasios.²⁴ By the seventeenth century, this story had become a *topos* for discussing illusionistic painting in Netherlandish commentary. A knowledgeable collector would have immediately understood *trompe-l'oeil* drapery hanging over an image as a reference to the legend. Hence the combination of the frame and the curtain in this picture addresses its display context and underscores the painter's reputation as a skilled practitioner of illusionistic painting.

Each of the three paintings discussed above shows a principal figure occupying the shallow foreground, with no logical transition between this zone and the background. Although it has been suggested that Dou favored the niche picture format because it eliminated the need to produce a convincing spatial construction,²⁵ paintings such as *The Young Mother* in the Mauritshuis or *The Dropsical Woman* (Figure 4) in the Louvre show that he was adept at evoking depth by arranging zones of light and shadow. This discussion argues that Dou deliberately produced the spatial disjunctions in his niche pictures to highlight the deceptive nature of pictorial representations.

But why emphasize the painting as an artificial object at all? To address this question one has to consider Dou's strategy in relation to the concept of perfection in painting as it was understood in his milieu. As mentioned above, the ability of the painter to deceive the viewer with lifelike representations was a major theme in seventeenth-century Dutch commentaries.²⁶ Sluijter has persuasively argued that Dou's paint-

temporary artistic ideals, as well as cultural practices associated with paintings.

²⁴ Pliny the Elder described the event in *Natural History*. Although Zeuxis painted fruit so lifelike that birds tried to peck at the picture, Parrhasios won when he deceived Zeuxis himself with an illusionistic curtain. See Pliny the Elder *Natural History* 35:65.

²⁵ For this opinion, see Martha Hollander, *An Entrance for the Eyes: Space and Meaning in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art* (Berkeley: U of California P, 2002) 64-65. I believe that the compositional device played a much more complex role than simply masking the painter's supposed deficiencies.

²⁶ See Eric Jan Sluijter, "Didactic and Disguised Meanings? Several Seventeenth-Century Texts on Painting and the Iconological Approach to Northern Dutch Painting of this Period," *Art in History, History in Art: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Culture*, eds. David Freedberg and Jan de Vries (Santa Monica: Getty Center for the History of Art and Humanities, 1991) 175-201.

ings constituted a pictorial counterpart to Philips Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst* (*Praise of Painting*). Despite, or because of, Angel's lack of theoretical sophistication, his text unwittingly offers insights into a practicing painter's view of his art, as well as the reception of paintings in Leiden, Dou's hometown, in the 1640s.²⁷ Angel maintained that illusionistic imagery was the key to arousing the art-lover's desire for art.²⁸ He referred to painting as "semblance without being," for it could simulate all kinds of materials and phenomena on a two-dimensional surface.²⁹ Samuel van Hoogstraten, writing later in the century, defines painting as "a mirror of Nature that makes things which do not actually exist appear to exist," and deceives the viewer "in a permissible, pleasurable, and praiseworthy manner."³⁰ The tension between naturalistic appearances and conspicuous artifice in Dou's niche pictures echoes the ideals expressed in the treatises. The format may not carry meaning traceable to a textual source, but when it reappeared in multiple paintings, it could be seen as a sign of the painter's ability to create convincing fictions. Through subtle variations, the painter wove a self-referential pictorial dialogue among his own paintings.

Conversations and Connoisseurship: Social Rituals in the Collection

Collectors could only follow Dou's inter-pictorial dialogue if they saw more than one of these pictures, and there are indications that they were able to do so. First, we know from inventories and visitors' accounts that some of Dou's buyers owned several of his works.³¹ Second, it was likely that collectors knew of works in one another's possession. Princely courts in Europe had been entertaining traveling dignitaries with their *Wunder-* and *Kunstkammern* since the sixteenth century. The new genre of the published catalogue, with engraved illustrations, allowed mediated access to a wider audience in the seventeenth century.³²

In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, communal viewing of paintings had become a social ritual. Entertaining at home was common, allowing individuals in the same circles to see each other's collections.³³ In addition to viewing art owned by acquaintances, it was possible, provided one had the credentials, to gain access to famous collections. Von Sandrart, for example, viewed paintings in the residences of Spiering and Sylvius.³⁴ Balthasar de Monconys, the French connoisseur and diplomat, visited Johan de Bye in Leiden, as well as several collections in Rotterdam in 1663.³⁵ The French engraver and author Abraham Bosse wrote in 1649 that a collection of fine paintings could inspire "satisfying admiration of other true connoisseurs."³⁶ It would thus appear that paintings played a role in social rituals among prominent citizens.³⁷

The ownership of paintings was not the most effective form of conspicuous consumption in the seventeenth century. Paintings were generally less expensive than tapestry, jewelry, or goldsmith work.³⁸ However, since the sixteenth century, humanist writers and artists had striven to elevate the status of painting among the crafts. The ability to discuss paintings, crafted objects that had an intellectual dimension, became a mark of cultural distinction. Instructional manuals on conducting such conversations first appeared in France in this period. These publications showed aspiring collectors how to distinguish between originals and copies, and provided a vocabulary for discussing the authorship and quality of paintings.³⁹ Although the Dutch did not produce such books, a variety of sources suggest that connoisseurship became an increasingly important practice in the course of the century. The average size of collections grew, as did the proportion of attributed paintings within them. Treatises on paintings, such as Karel van Mander's *Schilder-boeck* and Angel's *Lof der Schilder-konst*, set out the standards for artistic evaluation. Constantijn Huygens, the secretary to the House of Orange, was an example of a member of the patrician class who had

²⁷ Sluijter, "In Praise of Painting," 201.

²⁸ Angel 37-57.

²⁹ Angel 23-26.

³⁰ Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der Schilderkonst* (Rotterdam, 1678) 24-25. For translation and discussion see Celeste Brusati, *Artifice and Illusion: The Art and Writing of Samuel van Hoogstraten* (Chicago and London: U of Chicago P, 1995) 157-159.

³¹ I have already mentioned Sylvius and De Bye as important collectors of Dou's paintings. According to Von Sandrart, Pieter Spiering owned several of the painter's works. See Peltzer/Von Sandrart 90; Sluijter (1988) 36.

³² An example is the *Theatrum Pictorium*, a series of 243 engravings after the Italian paintings in Leopold Wilhelm's collection. David Teniers the Younger, the grand duke's court painter, oversaw the publication in 1660. See Jonathan Brown, *Kings and Connoisseurs: Collecting Art in Seventeenth-Century Europe* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1994) 180; Stoichita 109-110.

³³ John Loughman and John Michael Montias, *Public and Private Spaces: Works of Art in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Houses* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000) 30.

³⁴ Peltzer/Von Sandrart 195-196.

³⁵ Balthasar de Monconys, *Journal de voyages* vol. 2 (Lyon: H. Boisset et G. Remeus, 1665-66) 131 ff.

³⁶ Carol Gibson-Wood, "Studies in the Theory of Connoisseurship from Vasari to Morelli," diss., U of London, 1982, 49.

³⁷ When Johan de Bye mounted the 1665 exhibition of Dou's paintings, he clearly expected his fellow citizens to be attracted by the opportunity to see 27 works by the renowned painter. The event testified as much to the interest in painting among the affluent as to Dou's celebrity.

³⁸ Elizabeth Alice Honig, *Painting and the Market in Early Modern Antwerp* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1998) 205-206.

³⁹ Abraham Bosse's *Sentiments sur la distinction des diverses manières de peindre, dessin et gravure et des originaux d'avec leurs copies* (reprint, Geneva: Minkoff, 1973) is the earliest example in 1649.

considerable knowledge about the pictorial arts. He recounted in his autobiography that his father Christiaan had arranged for him to take lessons in drawing, so that he could talk about art intelligently.⁴⁰

Huygens's comments implied a pressure to perform in the social setting of a collection. This essay has argued that ambitious collectors hoped to attract prominent visitors to their collections. In front of paintings, the social elite were expected to demonstrate their knowledge. The topics of conversation could range from interpretations of imagery to technical aspects of painting.⁴¹ Judging from manuals such as Abraham Bosse's, the primary criterion for judging quality was the verisimilitude of the representation.

Painters, through their interactions with collectors and dealers, were aware of these social rituals and expectations. To thrive in these circumstances, painters had to produce works

that addressed contemporary standards of artistic excellence, stood out in an assembly of objects, and offered connoisseurs something to talk about. This was the kind of environment in which Dou worked. The niche picture format, far from an arbitrarily chosen formula, was an innovation that underscored Dou's expertise. It became a trademark for the painter through its recurrence in works from around 1650 to the 1670s, and it came to embody his unique combination of virtuosity and industry. Enriched with subtle variations, the repetition of the framing window invited viewers to recall and compare paintings seen in different locations. The art-lover marveled at Dou's descriptive powers, but was never permitted to forget that the paintings were but deceptions. Dou thus exploited the social and cultural practices of his time and presented himself as the exemplary purveyor of pictorial illusions.

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⁴⁰ Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, ed. C. L. Heesakkers (Amsterdam: Querido, 1987) 70-71.

⁴¹ Jochen Becker, "Plaatjes en praatjes. Emblemata, gespreksspelen, conversatie en kunstgekleets," *Zeventiende eeuw* 15 (1999): 118-119.



Figure 1. Gerrit Dou, *The Doctor*, 1653, oil on panel, 49.3 x 36.6 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum. Photo credit: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.



Figure 2. Gerrit Dou, *The Trumpeter*, c. 1660-65, oil on panel, 38 x 29 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo credit: Erich Lessing, Art Resource, NY.

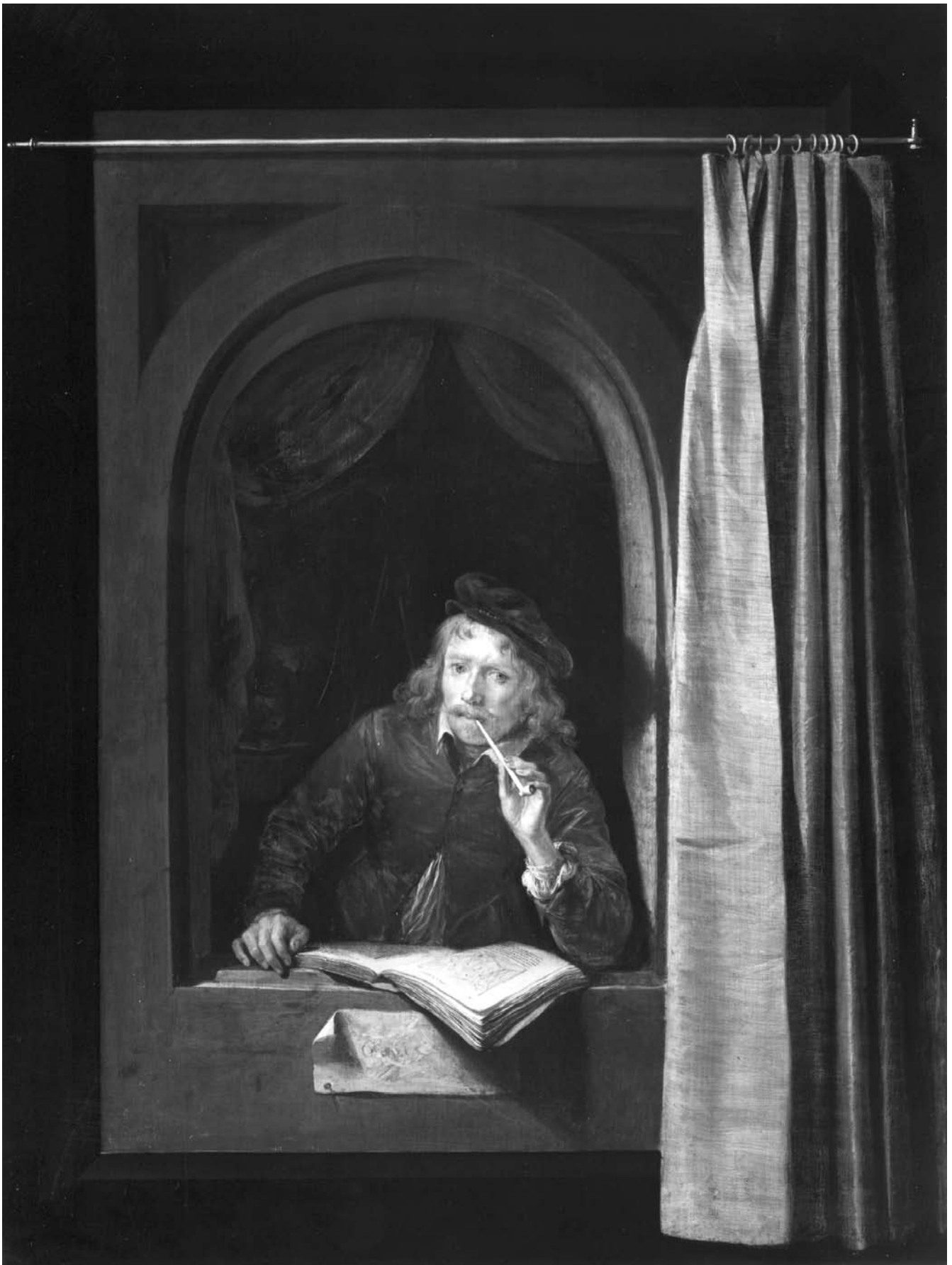


Figure 3. Gerrit Dou, *Painter with Pipe and Book*, c. 1645-50, oil on panel, 48 x 37 cm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. © Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.



Figure 4. Gerrit Dou, *The Dropsical Woman*, 1663, oil on panel, 86 x 67.8 cm, Paris, Musée du Louvre. Photo credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

Genre-Portraits and Market Value: Emanuel de Witte's *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket, 1661-63*

Michelle Moseley Christian

Emanuel de Witte's *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket* (Figure 1) painted between 1661-1663, depicts a well-dressed woman with her young child shopping in a busy market setting. The two figures stand before a covered stall laden with a sumptuous variety of fish, displayed by a market seller who attentively waits on her customer. The painting of Adriana van Heusden and her daughter is one of a small but significant number of genre-portraits produced in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. Genre-portraits are images that combine portraits of sitters with a quotidian scene of everyday life.¹ They are distinct from typical modes of Dutch portraiture, such as Govert Flink's *Portrait of a Woman*, 1658, because they do not conform to prescribed portrait conventions. This visual conflation results in more casual and yet complex pictorial constructions of portraiture that are informed by, but not restricted to, traditional themes in genre painting; the genre settings chosen, for instance, are individual to each sitter. The *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket* locates the sitters within a popular type of seventeenth-century genre painting of a market scene, instead of a more traditional, formal portraiture format.

This essay will address problematic issues of interpretation and meaning that arise when looking at a work that references multiple pictorial categories that are often treated by scholars of Dutch art as distinct and self-contained. Why would this patron presumably desire her portrait to be set into a common public venue such as a marketplace? Why would an artist choose the particular pictorial category of a market scene as a vehicle for portraiture? For all the intriguing interpretive possibilities the genre-portrait of Adriana van Heusden offers, it has generally been regarded as an image closely tied to seventeenth-century moralizing texts related to feminine virtue and has not been addressed in any further depth. This paper will broaden the iconographic and iconological discourse on the painting by proposing how this specific pictorial juxtapo-

sition of a portrait within a market scene may have fashioned identities for both patron and artist. By examining de Witte's oeuvre, the larger scope of seventeenth-century Dutch market pictures and portrait traditions, as well as the extraordinary circumstances of patronage surrounding the painting, this interpretation will reveal more multivalent aspects of the picture as an image that was highly valued by both patron and artist as an example of their respective aesthetic tastes and abilities as collector and creator.

The question of identity concerning the sitters in the genre-portrait has revealed rather unusual patronage issues surrounding this particular work. The painting is neither signed nor dated, but legal documents and inventories have provided evidence that the adult sitter is Adriana van Heusden, wife of Joris de Wijs, an Amsterdam notary.² Around 1658, Emanuel de Witte contracted an exchange agreement with de Wijs in which de Witte received food, lodging and eight hundred guilders per year, a substantial sum, in exchange for all the pictures he painted while living in the de Wijs home.³ During that time, Emanuel de Witte painted the *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter*, a highly unusual picture within the scope of the artist's own work and within Dutch portraiture.

Primarily known as a genre painter, Emanuel de Witte's portraits are few in number, but diverse in format. *Adriana van Heusden and her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket* is only one of three known portraits by the artist and it is his only genre-portrait. One pendant portrait pair of unidentified sitters from 1648 (Rotterdam, Museum Boymans van Beuningen) is attributed to de Witte. De Witte's *Portrait of a Family*, 1678, renders an unidentified Dutch father, mother and daughter placed within a domestic interior.⁴ In contrast, the painting of Adriana van Heusden and her daughter is a striking departure from these more conventional examples of de Witte's portraiture. The a well-appointed room and richly dressed sitters seen in *Portrait of a Family* follows prescribed

This paper is an excerpt from my dissertation in progress, *Seventeenth-Century Netherlandish Genre-Portraits*. I would like to thank my advisor, Linda Stone-Ferrier, for her guidance and suggestions for this study.

¹ Little has been written on genre-portraiture as a phenomenon in seventeenth-century Dutch art. See, for example, Lyckle de Vries, "Portraits of People at Work," *Werk: Opstellen voor Hans Locher*, J. Locher and Jan van Jong, eds. (Groningen: Instituut voor Kunstgeschiedenis, Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1990).

² Neil MacLaren, *The Dutch School* (London: Publications Department, The National Gallery, 1960) 461.

³ MacLaren 460.

⁴ A similar work in composition, setting and pose, was painted by Gabriel Metsu entitled, *Family of Burgermeister Valckenier*, 1657, (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) suggesting artistic exchange between the two artists. See Franklin Robinson, *Gabriel Metsu: A Study of His Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age* (New York: A. Schram, 1974).

Dutch family portrait conventions in addition to hierarchical composition, static pose and formal costuming. Adriana, however, is active and dynamic, operating within the public sphere, rather than within a domestic interior. The formal, idealized setting that most often encloses the sitters within a private, often intimate and familial framework is absent here, replaced by a lively market scene.

De Witte's use of a market context as a vehicle for seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture is unprecedented, and is typical of the highly specialized genre settings used in genre-portraits. Only Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp's *Fish Seller*, 1627 (Figure 2) represents another fish market scene containing a possible portrait. Ostensibly, a self-portrait of the artist is believed to be in the right background, though there is no confirmation of the identity of this figure. It was not until de Witte moved to Amsterdam in 1652, that market scenes became a prominent theme in the artist's oeuvre.⁵ De Witte's decision to combine the portraits of Adriana van Heusden and her daughter within a fish market scene reflects the artist's burgeoning interest in the theme of market paintings, which continued throughout the 1670s.⁶ As a large, populous and urban area, Amsterdam held extensive markets in prescribed areas of the city during certain days of the week, each specialized to sell specific goods. The fish markets were of particular interest to de Witte; of nine market paintings attributed to him, seven are fish markets.⁷

De Witte's acute interest in market subjects reflects a pervasive mid-century trend, when these types of genre scenes experienced a surge of popularity in the Netherlands.⁸ Market pictures were executed by a large number of artists, including Gabriel Metsu, Quiringh van Brekelenkam and Hendrik Sorgh, among others. A distinctive feature of these pictures in Dutch art is the many variations on the marketplace theme. Because markets themselves were restricted to the sale of certain wares, market scenes are almost always dedicated to a particular type of product for sale. A 1663 account of Amsterdam's markets by Olfert Dapper in his *Historical Description of Amsterdam* (*Historische Beschrijving der stad Amsterdam*) lists markets for vegetables, fruit, meat, fish, poultry and even non-edible goods such as clothes and metal containers.⁹ Considering the

numerous markets in Amsterdam at mid-century, not all markets were captured in genre scenes. For example, there are no pictures of the Amsterdam butter markets or cheese markets, both connected to the highly important and rapidly expanding dairy industries of the mid-century Netherlands.¹⁰ The privileging of certain markets in paintings indicates that fish markets may have had a wider resonance within Dutch culture than other excluded market scenes. As Linda Stone-Ferrier has observed, each type of market scene is imbued with "idiosyncratic" visual and iconological information inherent to that subject.¹¹ For the genre-portrait of Adriana van Heusden, we shall see that the fish market context was chosen for the inherent qualities of its iconography to communicate the respective talents and skills of the sitter and the artist to the viewer.

Interpretations of the *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter* have selectively concentrated on the image as one extolling Adriana's virtue as a capable mother and wife. Both Lyckle de Vries and Wayne Franits have viewed the picture through the prism of conduct manuals for women and have tied it closely to popular seventeenth-century moralizing texts. De Vries discusses the painting as a narrative borrowed from an anecdote by popular moralist Jacob Cats, relating the story of a housewife who skillfully shops at the market to procure good food at the best prices for her family.¹² Franits also places de Witte's genre-portrait within a narrative context, associating it with the "virtue and prudence" of careful housewives represented in Cats' 1625 treatise *Houwelyck* (Marriage). Cats' marriage manual put forth the ideal model for a modern Dutch household and clearly outlined roles for all its members. Simon Schama observes that part of a well-run home in the seventeenth-century Netherlands included a properly supplied table, a duty that was the sole responsibility of the wife to oversee and manage.¹³ Adriana thus is seen fulfilling her role as responsible *huishouder*.¹⁴

This essay contends that the painting's fish market context was chosen as a format for Adriana van Heusden's portrait because it was a genre scene that associated the subject, or in Adriana's case, the sitter, with the concept of *verkiezing*, or the ability to discriminate well in choosing. *Verkiezing* is also applied to aesthetic judgment in creating works of art

⁵ Born in Alkmaar, de Witte moved frequently during his career, first to Rotterdam in 1636 and then Delft in 1641. In 1652, de Witte moved to Amsterdam, and stayed there until his death in 1691/92.

⁶ Friso Lammertse, *Dutch Genre Paintings of the Seventeenth Century, Collection of the Museum Boijmans van Beuningen* (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 1998) 201; Ilse Manke chronologically places the Van Heusden portrait as the first of the artist's market scenes, though some are undated. Ilse Manke, *Emanuel de Witte, 1617-1692* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1963).

⁷ The only monograph on de Witte, by Ilse Manke, lists nine market scenes that are attributed to him. Ilse Manke *Emanuel de Witte, 1617-1692* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1963); Ivan Gaskell, *Seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish painting* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers for Sotheby's Publications, 1990) cat. 61.

⁸ Gaskell cat. 61; Linda Stone-Ferrier, "Gabriel Metsu's Vegetable Market at Amsterdam: Seventeenth-century Dutch Market Paintings and Horticulture," *Art Bulletin* 71 (1989): 428.

⁹ Dapper's discussion of markets is cited in Stone-Ferrier 440.

¹⁰ Jan de Vries, *The Dutch rural economy in the Golden Age, 1500-1700* (New Haven, Yale UP, 1974) 143-44.

¹¹ Stone-Ferrier 428-30.

¹² De Vries (1990) 56.

¹³ Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987) 423.

¹⁴ De Vries (1990) 56.

and is discussed in Gerard de Lairese's *Groot Schilderboek* (Great Book of Painting), 1707, a theoretical treatise produced at the end of the artist's career explicating artistic practices and ideals that would have been familiar to Dutch artists of the second half of the seventeenth century. In his text, de Lairese advises artists on the defining elements that make a successful still life:

But we must know, in the first place, what constitutes a good still life piece, since, though it is naturally penciled, nothing but a good choice [*verkiezing*] can charm the senses and bring fame to the master... My opinion is, that the beauty and goodness of a still life consists only in the most choice objects: I say the most choice; as among flowers, the most rare and beautiful, and the same in the fruits and other things. These will gain the master credit, especially with the addition of some particular significations proper to them.¹⁵

Adriana's gesture draws attention to the still life display in de Witte's genre-portrait, which appears to be the focus of the picture. Franits notes that "The luminous, wet sheen of the fish is rendered so vividly that it inadvertently detracts from the portrait of the woman and her child."¹⁶ Directing the viewer's gaze to the fish, which occupy the foreground plane closest to the viewer, is neither incidental nor inadvertent, for we are intended to recognize the *verkiezing* of de Witte who has followed the approach described later by de Lairese and has emphasized the "most choice objects...the most rare and beautiful..." The intent, certainly, is as de Lairese advises, to "gain the master credit, especially with the addition of some particular significations proper to them." These are revealed as de Witte's reconstruction of a genre *topos* into a specific reference to the superior taste of his client, Adriana. Evidence of excellent taste is manifested by *verkiezing*: her knowledge and care in choosing the best product—in shopping, as well as the choice of skilled painter, is represented by de Witte's rendering of the fish still life, which is the most carefully and elaborately executed portion of the painting.

It appears that in the case of some market paintings, and fish markets in particular, that the quality of *verkiezing* applies not only to the artist's skill, but is a central theme revolving around the aesthetic ability of the patron as well. The term *verkiezing* means "choosing," but de Lairese uses it in the context of an ability to discriminate between objects for quality, choosing only the most aesthetically pleasing with the intent of the work reflecting the taste, and thus the talent, of the painter. According to de Lairese's text, it is the artist's skilled choice in rendering the proper object in the correct

manner with the requisite meaning that makes a painting successful, all efforts directed toward the goal of increasing celebrity.

In fish markets, figures are often engaged in a limited range of poses, repeated within this type of scene. The buyer, who is with few exceptions a woman, peruses goods for sale, actively chooses a product or pays for a purchase. It is only in fish market scenes, within market pictures in general, that the rhetorical gesture of pointing is used as a consistent visual trope. Besides Adriana's genre-portrait, a further example of a fish market scene employing this visual cue is represented by Adriaen van Utrecht's *Fishmarket* (Figure 3). In van Utrecht's picture, an elegantly dressed buyer examines still life displays, and is shown choosing the best wares with a simple pointing gesture. De Witte's combination of portrait with a fish market scene provides the opportunity for Adriana to distinguish herself through the act of choosing, and creates a strong visual impression of the buyer's powers of discernment and selection.

As part of these allusions to choice and taste, figures who are purchasing goods in fish market scenes are often well-dressed, separating them from the rougher salesfolk and placing them in a more elevated social stratum. In addition to the women in Adriaen van Utrecht's representative market scenes, Jacob Gerritszoon Cuyp's *Fish Seller* (Figure 2) presents the viewer with three monumental figures in the foreground: the two women are differentiated by costume. The purchaser wears a black cloak indicative of her more elevated burgher status while the maid wears a simpler garment, carries a pail and looks directly at the viewer. The purchaser does not acknowledge the viewer, she is fully occupied with her task as she points with one hand to the piece of fish, having given her coins to the seller.

Perhaps the most direct picture of this type to self-consciously acknowledge *verkiezing* is H. Coveyn's *Woman Inspecting Fish* (Figure 4). Here, the respectable buyer does not point directly, but demonstrates interest with a monocle, through which she closely examines the catch in order to make the appropriate selection. It is the fishwife who looks directly at the viewer with a smile of complicity as *she* points to the customer in recognition of *verkiezing*, the housewife with discriminating taste. This self-reflexive image implies a binary recognition of the connoisseurship abilities of both the viewer of the painting, who appreciates the carefully rendered surface of the fish still life, and the woman wisely purchasing goods of a high quality.

The portrait of Adriana van Heusden borrows from this tradition emphasizing *verkiezing*, as she indicates her choice to the fishwife, an action that seems clearer and more decisive than Franits' description of this as a scene of "haggling."¹⁷

¹⁵ English translation from Gerard de Lairese is taken from *A Treatise on the Art of Painting*, vol. II, London: Edward Orme, 1817 edition 179. "Doch men dient dit voor afte weeten, waar in een schoon en konstig Stilleven bestaat: want het is niet genoeg, dat danig een Stuk natuurlyk en wel is geschilderd. De verkiezing is noch veel meer; die bekoort en voldoet de zinnen der aanschouwers, en maakt den Meester roemruchtig."

¹⁶ Wayne Franits, *Paragons of Virtue: Women and Domesticity in Seventeenth-century Dutch Art* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1993) 92.

¹⁷ Franits (1993) 92.

Adriana's fine taste and aesthetic choice are echoed by her costly fur-trimmed jacket, a garment more typically seen in genre paintings of women in domestic interiors. It is used as well to distinguish Adriana not only from the fishwife, but also from other market goers in the middleground, none of whom are dressed with such elegance.¹⁸

The *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and her Daughter in the New Amsterdam Fish Market* successfully exemplifies the artist's and the sitter/patron's discriminating tastes as creator and collector. The viewer is also involved in acknowledging the skill of the painter and the admirable qualities of the subject. That the painting was highly valued by both Adriana van Heusden and Emanuel de Witte is clear from documents that record extended legal battles involving the painting. In 1663 the artist left the household of Adriana van Heusden and her husband Joris de Wijs, extricating himself from their longstanding agreement that de Witte would receive room and board as well as 800 guilders a year in return for all the pictures he painted while in the couple's residence. On de Witte's departure, he took four paintings with him, including the genre-portrait of Adriana van Heusden.¹⁹ Of the three other works, two were unfinished—a winter scene, and a church interior. The third painting was another fish market scene.²⁰

What value might a portrait of another person have had for the artist who painted it? We know that the picture was significant to Adriana, due to the extraordinary lengths to which she went in order to retrieve it. In 1669, Adriana, widowed and now married to her second husband, Johannes van Heden, initiated legal action through her new spouse to recover the four paintings from de Witte. The published legal brief cites the original agreement with her first husband and claims the four works as her property. Since a woman could inherit a husband's property upon his death, the portrait would then become hers through hereditary inheritance laws, and would be her rightful possession.²¹ As part of the court proceedings, testimony was issued by two witnesses who had seen the four paintings in Adriana's home, including the portrait. They were able to identify the genre-portrait to prove her claim of ownership. They described the picture as "a little painted

piece...depicting the new Fishmarket, at the Haarlem lock, there also under another stand [fishseller's stall] [is] the portrait likeness of Adriana van Heusden."²² None of the other pictures taken by de Witte is described with such detail in the documents, nor were they the sole focus of a number of the legal proceedings, as was the genre-portrait.

The lengths to which de Witte went to avoid relinquishing the genre-portrait are equally as impressive. De Witte kept the genre-portrait in his possession for four years until he was forced to part with it in order to ameliorate a large debt to a colleague, Johannes Collaert, in 1667.²³ In 1669, de Witte was given a court order to return the four pictures to Adriana's second husband or reimburse the plaintiffs for the sum of 450 guilders, a large amount of money for four paintings. De Witte did not obey the order since the genre-portrait was no longer in his possession. In 1670, the genre-portrait's new owner, Johannes Collaert, put Adriana's genre-portrait up for sale at the *Heerenlogement* in Amsterdam. Johannes van Heden, who had claimed ownership of the painting on behalf of his wife Adriana, successfully enacted a second legal procedure to stop the sale.²⁴ In 1671, de Witte finally agreed to return the pictures or remunerate Adriana van Heusden. A few months later, de Witte stated that before returning the pictures, he would complete the two unfinished ones, change another at Adriana's request and would restore the genre-portrait of Adriana that ostensibly had incurred some minor damage.²⁵ On the pretense of cleaning the genre-portrait, de Witte and Collaert removed the work from its frame but then replaced it with a copy. The copy was returned to the *Heerenlogement*, where the original had been placed for sale.

The *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and Her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket* had value enough for the artist and later owner Johannes Collaert to have been copied not once, but twice. Johannes Collaert of Amsterdam was known to have possessed two contemporary copies in 1671.²⁶ The original portrait was still in the possession of Collaert during late 1671.²⁷ A deposition of these events given by de Witte suggests that Adriana likely obtained her picture eventually, though no records can confirm this. One of the seven-

¹⁸ Female market shoppers in Gabriel Metsu's *Vegetable Market in Amsterdam*, 1661-62 (Paris, Louvre) and *Bird Seller*, 1662 (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), both wear colorful jackets of the same type in public. I would assume that because images of mistress and maid in the market place are a common type, the jacket may have been used in a public setting in this sense to distinguish the station between the two women.

¹⁹ Neil Maclaren and Christopher Brown, *The Dutch School: 1600-1900* (London: National Gallery Publications, Ltd., 1991) 489.

²⁰ Abraham Bredius, *Künstler-Inventare V* (Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1915-22) 1841, 1837-39.

²¹ Peter Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1984) xxvi.

²² In 1670, the portrait was identified in an affidavit by artists Pieter de Hooch and Hieronymus Pickaart. They claimed to have seen the painting in the de Wijs home sometime between 1661-63, while de Witte lived there. The

picture is described as "een stukje schilderij...uytbeeldende de nieuwe Vismarkt, aan harlemmer Sluys, daar in ook onder andere stondt het portret ofte countrefejtsel van Adriana van Heusden." See MacLaren 458. Author's translation. After leaving the de Wijs-Heusdens, de Witte was recorded as staying with Laurens Mauritz. Doucy, where the picture was again seen between 1664-65. A. Bredius, *Oud Holland*, v.7, 1889 (Nendeln: Kraus Reprint, 1976) 166. Also cited in Maclaren and Brown 491.

²³ To this, Pieter de Hooch testified that the son of Laurens Mauritz. Doucy, whom de Witte was living with at the time, sold the painting in 1667 to Johannes Collaert, an artist, in return for the settlement of de Witte's debts with Doucy's father. Maclaren and Brown 489.

²⁴ *Oud Holland* 166; *Künstler-Inventare V*, 1840.

²⁵ *Künstler-Inventare V*, 1844.

²⁶ Maclaren and Brown 489-490.

teenth-century copies is known today, in a private collection.²⁸ The location of the second copy is now unknown.

Evident from the fact that it attracted the interest of a number of buyers between 1667 and 1670 and was copied at least twice, why would the *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket* have apparent value for so many people besides the artist and sitter? While it was standard practice for Dutch families to have portraits of heads of state, or other nationally important figures in their homes, or for elite art lovers to have self-portraits of famous artists, such as Rembrandt, in their collections, a

burgher housewife would hardly seem to have had that same appeal.²⁹ It may have been the innovative and unusual genre-portrait aspect of the work conflating the portrait of Adriana with a lively market scene that made it desirable to a wider audience. The work may also have been appreciated for the fine quality of painting and the versatility of the artist, allowing the patron and the viewer to participate in the act of *verkiezing*, or aesthetic discrimination, along with Adriana.

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²⁷ Maclaren 459.

²⁸ Manke misidentified the later copy as the original, now in the National Gallery, London, painted between 1661-63. Manke, cat. no. 222.

²⁹ Ernst van de Wetering, "The Multiple Functions of Rembrandt's Self-Portraits," *Rembrandt by Himself* (London: National Gallery Publications, 1999) 23-25.



Figure 1. Emanuel de Witte, *Portrait of Adriana van Heusden and her Daughter at the New Amsterdam Fishmarket*, 1661-63. © The National Gallery of London.



Figure 2. Jacob Gerritsz Cuypp, *Fish Seller*, 1627. Dordrechts Museum, Dordrecht.



Figure 3. Adriaen van Utrecht, *The Fishmarket*, Rubenshuis, Antwerpen © Collectiebeleid.



Figure 4. H. Coveyn. *Woman Inspecting Fish*. Present whereabouts unknown.

The Validation of Terracotta in Eighteenth-Century Image and Text

Lauren R. Cannady

The material and functional qualities of clay (or, once fired, terracotta) have traditionally aligned the medium with the preparatory stages of the sculptural process. Because clay was inexpensive and highly malleable, the material was more regularly employed in the creation of sculptural models than finished works of art. However, despite the conventional conception of clay as a strictly preparatory medium, numerous portrait busts were executed by French academic sculptors, in particular the sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon, in the period from 1770 to 1790, and these busts were considered by sculptors as well as patrons to be finished works of art rather than models. One example of an eighteenth-century portrait in terracotta is Houdon's bust of the French philosopher and critic, Denis Diderot (Figure 1). Houdon's *Diderot*, a finely-modeled and highly animated depiction of the sitter, was first realized in 1771 and was exhibited in the Paris Salon of the same year.¹ Interestingly, this moment in the late eighteenth century, when terracotta portrait busts like Houdon's *Diderot* became more prominent and patronized, coincided with a proliferation of depictions of sculptors shown in the process of modeling portrait busts. These simultaneous occurrences suggest that there emerged in the late eighteenth century a heightened appreciation for both the aesthetic value of terracotta as a sculptural material and for the technical skills of the master sculptor.

The association of clay with the preparatory stages of the sculptural process, rather than as a material for finished sculptures, is illuminated by the text of Johann Joachim Winckelmann, the mid-eighteenth century German art theorist. In the *History of Ancient Art*, first published in German in 1764 and then translated into French in 1766, Winckelmann articulated his perception of the function of clay,

Modeling in clay is not the execution itself,
but only a step preparatory to it, the term

This paper is derived in part from my Master's thesis, entitled *Materiality, the Model, and the Myth of Origins: Problems in Eighteenth-Century European Terracotta and its Reception*, written under the direction of Alisa Luxenberg at the University of Georgia. I would like to thank the Art History Department at Florida State University for inviting me to participate in their annual graduate symposium.

¹ Anne L. Poulet, *Jean-Antoine Houdon—Sculptor of the Enlightenment* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 2004) 141.

² Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *The History of Ancient Art*, trans. from the

“execution” being understood as applying to works in gypsum, ivory, stone, marble, bronze, and other hard materials.²

However, this understanding of clay as a material exclusively reserved for preparatory models is problematized by the actual existence and proliferation of terracotta portrait busts: works conceived and executed as finished sculptures in what had been, traditionally, only a preparatory material. This is not to state that sculptors ceased to create three-dimensional sketches and models in clay, because this practice certainly did continue; however, this paper will explore the possible reasons that this material came to be deemed suitable for finished portrait busts in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Perhaps one explanation why late eighteenth-century French terracotta portrait busts were increasingly appreciated was not for the real value of their actual material, but for the association of terracotta with the *première pensée*, or the first thought of the sculptor, and the physical mark of his genius. In the article entitled ‘Modèle’ from the *Encyclopédie*, Louis de Jaucourt elucidates the function of terracotta as the sculptor's sketch for a work in another material,

Modeler en terre ou en cire; c'est, parmi les Sculpteurs, l'action de former avec de la terre ou de la cire les modèles ou esquisses des ouvrages qu'ils veulent exécuter, soit en marbre, soit en bois, ou en fonte.³

Furthermore, Claude-Henri Watelet, an author and art collector who also contributed to the *Encyclopédie*, although referring to the two-dimensional sketch of the painter in his article on ‘Esquisse,’ evokes the association of the sketch with the concept of genius,

L'Imagination, maîtresse absolue de cet ouvrage [esquisse], ne souffre qu'impatiem-

German by G. Henry Lodge (Boston: J.R. Osgood, 1872) 79. Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* was first published in Dresden in 1764.

³ Louis de Jaucourt, ‘Modèle,’ in Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, eds. *Encyclopédie*, vol. 2 (New York: Pergamon Press, 1985) 910. “Modeling in clay or in wax; amongst sculptors it is the action of forming with the clay or wax models or sketches of works that they would like to execute either in marble or wood or iron.” All translations are my own unless otherwise noted.

ment le plus petit ralentissement dans sa production. C'est cette rapidité d'exécution qui est le principe du feu qu'on voit briller dans les esquisses des peintres du génie; on y reconnaît l'empreinte du mouvement de leur âme.⁴

From these two *Encyclopédie* entries, the first relating to sculpture and the second to painting, it is clear that the term *esquisse* was used interchangeably in discussions of the fine arts and, thus, the implications of the two-dimensional sketch with genius was also applied to the three-dimensional sketch in the eighteenth century. Therefore, it is possible to explain the increased popularity of terracotta portrait busts in the late eighteenth century as a phenomenon due, in large part, to the association drawn between this material and the modeler's hand, as well as the increased importance and value assigned to visible signs of the hand that remained on the surface of terracotta as an inevitable result of the working process.

The history of terracotta in the arts reveals that it has been linked with sculpted portraiture since antiquity.⁵ Perhaps the earliest reference to terracotta portrait modeling derives from the writings of Pliny the Elder (henceforth Pliny), a first-century Roman who wrote his *Natural History* circa 77 C.E. Of his three books devoted to the history of the arts, Pliny dedicates Book XXXV to *Pictura et Plastique*, or painting and modeling.⁶ After a lengthy discussion of the origins of painting, Pliny shifts his focus to clay modeling and its origins,

It was by the selfsame earth that Boutades, a potter of Sikyon, discovered, with the help

of his daughter, how to model portraits in clay. She was in love with a youth, and when he was leaving the country she traced the outline of the shadow which his face cast on the wall by lamplight. Her father filled in the outline with clay and made a model; this he dried and baked with the rest of his pottery, and we hear that it was preserved in the temple of the Nymphs, until Mummius overthrew Corinth.⁷

According to Pliny's account, the daughter's two-dimensional tracing of the shadow constitutes the model, while the father's portrait bust in clay becomes the final creation, or work of art. Importantly, Pliny's tale of the Corinthian maid and her father locates the historical invention of terracotta portraiture within the context of classical Greece and male artistic practice.

Variations of Pliny's tale of the origin of clay modeling were widely available to eighteenth-century audiences: from 1634 to 1779, *The Natural History* was published numerous times, translated from Latin to French and English.⁸ Moreover, the particular tale of the Corinthian maid and her father was frequently repeated in texts independent of the *Natural History*: André Félibien's treatise on the fine arts entitled *Des Principes de l'Architecture...*, published in 1676, and Louis de Jaucourt's 'Modèle' entry in the *Encyclopédie*, published almost a century later in 1765, included versions of Pliny's tale and both works were major texts which would have been available to artists and patrons alike.⁹ Given the prevalence of

⁴ Claude-Henri Watelet, 'Esquisse,' in Diderot and d'Alembert, eds. *Encyclopédie*, vol. 1, 1246. "The imagination, absolute master of this work (the sketch), suffers only impatiently the slightest slowing down of its production. It is the rapidity of execution which is the principle of the fire that one sees burning in the sketches of the painters of genius; one recognizes in the sketch the imprint of the movement of their spirit."

⁵ Several terracotta portrait busts dating from the first century B.C.E have survived. An excellent example is a bust of an unknown sitter that was discovered in the area surrounding Cumae in Italy in the late nineteenth century. Today in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, the bust is thought to be a *bozzetto*, or model, for a work in a more permanent material, either marble or bronze. Diana E. E. Kleiner's *Roman Sculpture* (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 1992) 37-8. For a reproduction of the Cumae bust, see Kleiner, fig. 15. Although eighteenth-century sculptors would not have been familiar with this particular bust because of the late date of its discovery, at the least, sculptors would have been conscious of the fact that terracotta was used in sculpted portraiture as far back as classical antiquity.

⁶ Pliny's chapter entitled *Pictura* begins on line 15 and goes through line 149 while *Plastique* is from line 151 to 158.

⁷ *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, trans. K. Jex-Blake (Chicago: Argonaut, 1968) 175.

⁸ *The Natural History* was translated from Latin into English in 1634 (London) and into French in 1725 (Paris) and 1771 (London). Additionally, the French academic sculptor and acquaintance of Denis Diderot, Étienne-Maurice Falconet, translated Pliny's three chapters on art into French in 1773.

⁹ The complete title of Félibien's treatise is *Des Principes de l'Architecture, de la Sculpture, de la Peinture, et des Autres Arts qui en Dépendent*. On the invention of sculpture Félibien wrote, "In respect to the profane authors who wrote on sculpture, there are those who say that it was a potter from Sycione named Dibutade who made the first sculpture, and that his daughter created portraiture by tracing the image of the shadow of her lover that a lamp cast on a wall." (Farnborough, Hants., England: Gregg Press Limited, 1966) 219-220. Likewise, in his article on 'Modèle,' Louis de Jaucourt wrote, "Nevertheless, one can not say that the method of making models in clay was ignored by the Greeks, or that they never even attempted it, because we even have the name of the first to try. It was Dibutade of Sicyone." Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, eds. *Encyclopédie*, vol. 2, 910. In addition to the textual references to Pliny's tale of the Corinthian maid, a number of painted depictions of the tale were created between 1770 and 1790, contemporaneously with the proliferation of finished terracotta portrait busts as I have noted. These two-dimensional representations were created by British as well as French painters, including: Alexander Runciman (*The Origin of Painting*, 1771); David Allan (*The Origin of Painting*, 1773); Joseph Wright of Derby (*The Corinthian Maid*, 1785); Jean-Baptiste Regnault (*Dibutade Traçant le Portrait de Son Berger*, 1785). However, whereas Pliny's tale seems to place emphasis on Boutades' invention of the sculpted portrait in terracotta, these paintings privilege the Corinthian maid and her traced or drawn image of her lover, thus underscoring the romantic theme of the tale. I have discussed this trend in painting at length in my Master's thesis and I have interpreted the frequent depiction of the Corinthian maid rather than Boutades and his creation as a manipulation of Pliny's tale in order to privilege the origin of the two-dimensional arts over that of the three-dimensional.

this tale about the origin of clay modeling, it is plausible to argue that the eighteenth-century portrait busts renewed this ancient validation of terracotta as a medium worthy of sculpted portraiture.

It is important to note the consistent, yet evolving, use of terracotta for sculpted portraiture in order to determine how the appearance and function of the eighteenth-century busts departed from those that were created earlier. The significance of Houdon's decision to leave the terracotta *Diderot* natural—neither painted nor glazed—is made clear when the portrait is compared to seventeenth-century busts made of terracotta, but intentionally disguised. In several instances, seventeenth-century portrait sculptors painted busts in order to more closely resemble expensive sculptural materials such as marble and bronze. One such painted bust is Alessandro Algardi's terracotta bust of *Pope Innocent X*, c. 1646-49, which has traces of varnish and gilding applied in layers over white paint, thereby simulating the smooth, reflective, luminous surface of polished white marble.¹⁰ By working in terracotta, Algardi was able to achieve the same details that he would have in marble, as seen, for example, in the delicate wrinkles on the sitter's face and the ornate embroidery on the clothing, but in a less time-consuming process than marble carving. While it can not be asserted that terracotta busts such as Algardi's were painted so as to deceive the viewer, these practices suggest that several sculptors were interested in emulating the surface qualities of fine materials like marble.

The 1771 terracotta version of Houdon's *Diderot* was not only the first version executed by the artist, but it also served as the template for all other versions in different materials, including marble, bronze, and plaster. Thus, like the preparatory clay model, this terracotta bust was the first thought—the *première pensée* of the sculptor—as well as the model for all other versions and, simultaneously, an independent work of art. Customarily, Houdon would initially model a portrait in clay from life in most often one, but occasionally multiple, sessions with the sitter. After this first model and the subse-

quent firing of it, Houdon created plaster molds from the original terracotta and retained both the terracotta and the first plaster mold in his studio in order to make copies, or multiples, in different materials at the request of his patrons.¹¹ By guarding possession of the terracotta and plaster versions of certain portrait busts, Houdon was able to use an original bust modeled years earlier to make replicas at later dates. This working process is highly evocative of Pliny's tale of the origin of modeled portraiture in which the clay portrait was created in order to reconcile the absence of the departing lover. Thus, the absence of Houdon's sitter from the actual production of future versions of a portrait is rectified by the presence, or existence, of the original terracotta. The original terracotta, modeled from life, was intrinsically associated with the source, the "original" original, the sitter. In the case of Houdon's bust of *Diderot*, following the original terracotta that was first modeled in 1771, at least three marble versions, two bronzes, and eight plasters of the bust were executed in Houdon's workshop during the 1770s and the 1780s.¹² Despite the multiple versions that Houdon executed to fulfill his patrons' requests, it is possible to speculate that terracotta portrait busts, whether modeled or taken from a mold, were considered the literal embodiment of the "authentic," as the material itself was inextricably linked by Houdon's patrons either to the idea of the original composition or to the unique touch of the master's hand.

The portrait busts in the collection of the Prince and Princess of Mecklenberg-Schwerin, in the Saxe-Gotha region of Germany, attest to the desirability of French terracotta portraiture at that time.¹³ The royal couple sat for their portraits during a visit to Houdon's studio while on their Grand Tour to Paris in 1782; however, their commission was not for busts in marble or bronze, but for works in terracotta.¹⁴ In addition to these portraits, the couple also purchased from Houdon ten other busts of well-known figures including *Voltaire*, *Rousseau*, *d'Alembert*, and *Gluck*, all ten made in plaster but painted the color of terracotta, and all dated 1778.¹⁵ The fact that the plas-

¹⁰ The distinctiveness of Algardi's terracotta bust is that it is thought to be the final version of the sculpture rather than a preparatory model. Bruce Boucher, in agreement with Bruno Contardi, argues that this terracotta bust is an early example of works in this medium functioning as finished art objects. Bruce Boucher, ed. *Earth and Fire: Italian Terracotta Sculptures from Donatello to Canova*, exh. cat. (New Haven and London: Yale UP, 2001) 190. Another example of a terracotta bust painted to simulate the appearance of a finer material, in this case bronze, is Giovanni Battista Foggini's bust of *Cosimo III de' Medici*, circa 1687. For color reproductions of Algardi's bust of *Pope Innocent X* and Foggini's bust of *Cosimo III*, see Boucher, ed. *Earth and Fire*, cat. nos. 41 and 60 respectively.

¹¹ H. H. Arnason, *The Sculptures of Houdon* (New York: Oxford UP, 1975) 21

¹² Poulet, *Houdon* 148-50.

¹³ For color reproductions of Houdon's terracotta busts of the Princess and Prince of Mecklenberg-Schwerin, refer to *Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Jean-Antoine Houdon: Vermächtnis der Aufklärung*, exh. cat. (Schwerin: Staatliches Museum, 2000), cat. nos. 11 and 12.

¹⁴ *Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Jean-Antoine Houdon: Vermächtnis der Aufklärung*, exh. cat. 190-91. The following quotation from December 2, 1782 was taken from the journal of one Kavalier von Brandenstein, who accompanied the Prince and Princess on their trip to Paris, and is quite revealing about the manner in which Houdon's patrons visited his studio and commissioned portraits from him. The original text is in German, translated into French in the exhibition catalogue, and the translation from French to English is my own. "We passed by the house of M. Houdon, the famous sculptor, who had just recently finished the superb statue of Voltaire, for the foyer at the Comédie Française. There, Their Highnesses saw the busts of several of their acquaintances, and being struck by the resemblance, they resolved to have there portraits made as well." From Kristina Hegner's essay "Die Werke Houdons im Staatlichen Museum Schwerin," in *Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Jean-Antoine Houdon: Vermächtnis der Aufklärung*, exh. cat. (Schwerin: Staatliches Museum, 2000) 191.

¹⁵ *Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Jean-Antoine Houdon: Vermächtnis der Aufklärung*, exh. cat. 170-99. For reproductions of Houdon's plaster busts today in the collection of the Staatlichen Museum in Schwerin, see *Jean-Baptiste Oudry, Jean-Antoine Houdon*, cat. no. 3 (*Gluck*), no. 5 (*d'Alembert*), no. 6 (*Voltaire*), and no. 7 (*Rousseau*).

ters were painted to deceptively resemble the natural, earthy pigment of terracotta attests to the elevated status of the material. One can deduce from these painted plasters that if the appearance of terracotta was desired, yet forged, the material must have been more costly than plaster by this time. Unlike the seventeenth-century examples in which the natural terracotta surface was disguised to give the impression of a more costly material, like Algardi's bust of *Innocent X*, the terracotta-colored plasters reveal both a heightened interest in and increased aesthetic value of the natural appearance of terracotta in the eighteenth century. Although minor German princes most likely would not have had the financial means to acquire ten busts in marble or bronze, it is important to note that the plaster busts were not painted to resemble these more expensive materials.¹⁶

The desire to create and even replicate the appearance of terracotta sculptures, as seen in the painted plasters commissioned by Houdon's German patrons, suggests that terracotta was valued for its materiality and, further, that this material was associated with the hand of the master sculptor. The increased production of and the heightened appreciation for terracotta portrait busts in the second half of the eighteenth century paralleled the growing number of portraits, executed in either paint or pastel, depicting academic sculptors in the process of actively modeling a portrait bust in terracotta. In 1782, the French painter Adélaïde Labille-Guiard created a pastel portrait entitled *Augustin Pajou with the Bust of Lemoyne* (Figure 2), a representation of the sculptor Pajou modeling the portrait of his master, the sculptor Jean-Baptiste Lemoyne.¹⁷ The immediacy of the sculptor's touch thought to be left on the surface of terracotta portrait busts is made manifest in this portrait of Pajou, shown with his sleeves rolled up, holding a modeling tool in his left hand, and working the surface of the terracotta with his right hand. However, in con-

trast to Labille-Guiard's portrait of Pajou at work, an earlier painted portrait of the sculptor François Girardon, executed by Gabriel Revel in 1683, focuses on the gentlemanly and intellectual qualities of the sculptor, rather than on the manual nature of the artist's profession.¹⁸ In Revel's portrait, Girardon is surrounded by sculpting tools and a sculpted head, but these elements act mostly as props alluding to the sculptor's work; they are not included as a means for allowing viewers to see Girardon actively involved in the process of sculpting.¹⁹ Unlike portraits of the sculptor as gentleman, portraits of the artist at work did not require the representation of fine clothing or other adornments to elevate the status of the sculptor from laborer to artistic genius.²⁰ Instead, this status was effectively established by his creative process and production, as seen in the well-known and, in the eighteenth century, easily-identifiable bust of Lemoyne.

In a painting entitled *Houdon in His Studio* (Figure 3), executed in 1803-4 by the French genre painter Louis-Léopold Boilly, the contemporary French sculptor is shown in his studio modeling the likeness in clay of the sitter seated before him.²¹ The sculptor, located in the center of the image, is absorbed in capturing the sitter's likeness, but, the viewer's attention, rather than being focused on the sitter who appears in profile, is directed toward the sculptor, his creation, and his actual working process. This painted image of the sculptor departs from earlier seventeenth- and eighteenth-century representations of sculptors, such as Revel's portrait of *François Girardon*, in that Houdon is not aggrandized or elaborately dressed; rather, he is depicted as slight of stature in working clothes and with his hands actually engaging the material.

To conclude, the relationship between Boilly's painted depiction of Houdon and Pliny's tale of the origin of clay modeling reveals that the moment when the sculptor first modeled a portrait in clay was considered one of primacy and imme-

¹⁶ In 1789, shortly before leaving Paris to return home to Virginia, Thomas Jefferson purchased seven plaster busts to display at Monticello, all painted the color of terracotta, including busts of *Franklin, Washington, Voltaire* and himself, from Houdon. Like the terracotta-colored plasters in the Schwerin Collection, Jefferson's collection of busts by Houdon again attests to the desirability of the terracotta surface in the eighteenth century. Poulet, *Houdon* 271.

¹⁷ The terracotta *Lemoyne* was actually modeled by Pajou in 1759 and exists in several versions today, both with and without drapery in the antique style.

¹⁸ For a reproduction of Gabriel Revel's portrait of *François Girardon*, refer to *Les Peintres du Roi: 1648-1793*, exh. cat. (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2000) cat. no. 13.

¹⁹ It is difficult to discern whether Girardon is actually modeling the portrait, or if he is merely pointing to the tools of his trade. Regardless, it serves in this portrait not as an original creation that could be identified as a work from Girardon's hand, but rather as a reference to the classical tradition of sculpture and, in turn, ultimately to elevate the sculptor's status as an academic artist. A comparable portrait of a sculptor is Hyacinthe Rigaud's portrait of *Desjardins* from 1692. In this portrait, the sculptor is also dressed in fine clothing with a lace collar. His left hand is placed on top of a colossal

head which appears to also be terracotta. Although *Desjardins* is situated in some sort of interior space, a view of antique and/or classicizing ruins can be seen behind him. The ruins as well as the scroll placed off to his right all allude to the sculptor's classical training. For further information on the tradition of academic artist portraiture, see *Les Peintres du Roi* catalogue.

²⁰ The social status of sculptors really began to be called into question in the sixteenth century with the increased discussions of the *paragone*, the debate over the supremacy of painting and sculpture. According to Leonardo da Vinci, painting was indeed superior to sculpture because painting was more cerebral, mathematical, and scientific, whereas sculpture, according to him, was more physical and, therefore, easier to achieve.

²¹ Boilly actually executed two versions of his painting entitled *Houdon in his Studio*. Aside from the painting from 1803-4, today in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris, he painted another version circa 1803 (Musée d'Art Thomas Henry, Cherbourg) in which Houdon appears exactly as he does in the 1803-4 portrait, but rather than modeling a portrait in clay, he is depicted modeling a full-length nude from an actual sitter before him. The other figures in the studio are also different; instead of Houdon's wife and daughters who are depicted in the Paris version, there is a group of young men, presumably students, surrounding him, sketching while he models in the Cherbourg version. Houdon's sitter in the Paris painting has been identified as the mathematician and astronomer Pierre-Simon Laplace. Poulet, *Houdon*, 342.

diacy because it was from this first model that all subsequent versions or casts of the portrait bust were realized. Like Boutades, who filled in the traced outline of his daughter's lover with clay to create the mythic first sculpted portrait, Boilly's Houdon is also in the process of modeling a portrait of his sitter, who appears in profile to the viewer. Moreover, Houdon is unequivocally the focal point of the painting and, accordingly, he is situated not in an obscure potter's workshop, but, rather, in a studio fit for an accomplished academic sculptor: he is seen in the Louvre—the seat of the Académie and, by this time, the national art museum in France—a site that reflects his important status as contemporary creator and inheritor of tradition. The impressive array of finished por-

trait busts that line the shelves of the studio, many of which appear to be works in terracotta, alludes to Houdon's proficiency in modeling as well as his custom of keeping his terracotta models, his "original" originals, for future versions. Thus, this representation of Houdon modeling a terracotta portrait from life, when considered in relation to the ancient tale of origins and the finished terracotta portrait busts themselves, speaks directly to the eighteenth-century validation of terracotta as a sculptural material.

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Figure 1. Jean-Antoine Houdon, *Denis Diderot*, 1771, terracotta, 52cm x 26.9cm x 22cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Art Resource, NY.



Figure 2. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, *Augustin Pajou Sculpting the Bust of Lemoyne*, 1782, pastel, 71cm x 58cm, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.



Figure 3. Louis-Léopold Boilly, *Houdon in his Studio*, 1803-4, oil on canvas, dimensions unspecified, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Photo Credit: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, NY.

“The Wonderful Works of Omnipotency” T. Addison Richards and the Aura of the Romantic Southern Landscape

Adam H. Veil

A prolific author, Thomas Addison Richards (1820-1900) employed a highly effusive vocabulary in his descriptions of the American South. Influenced by literary and pictorial Romanticism, Richards promoted the region's landscape through both text and image, an intersection of literature and art that would be a recurring theme throughout his professional career. In the years between 1842 and 1857, Richards issued at least five major volumes, all of which sought to elevate the status of southern scenery. Notable among these is *Georgia Illustrated* (Figure 1), published by Richards in 1842 in collaboration with his brother, William; *The Orion*, a monthly periodical published briefly between 1842 and 1844; and, in 1857, *Appleton's Illustrated Handbook of American Travel* (Figures 2 and 3)—the nation's first comprehensive travel guide.¹

In nearly all of his literary endeavors, Richards articulated a passion for the southern landscape. From 1835 to 1844, while living in the South, Richards often escaped to the northern counties of Georgia to engage in what he referred to as his “search for the picturesque.”² From these excursions, he acquired an intimate knowledge of the region's natural landmarks—from its picturesque mountains and waterfalls to its serene lakes, peaceful rivers, and rolling valleys.

Richards's travels contributed significantly to his vision as author and artist. Upon returning from his sketching trips, he would enlist specific landmarks as the focal points for his books and essays. In many instances, Richards's travels throughout the South contributed to the vocabulary—both visual and verbal—with which he sought to romanticize the region.

In his introduction to *Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book* (1857), Richards outlines both the physical and psychological benefits of travel.³ He was, however, hardly the first American artist or writer to equate nature and well-being. As early as the 1820s, Americans were beginning to recognize the benefits of landscape tourism. Hastened by revolutionary modes of transportation—namely the steamboat, canals and, in the 1830s, the railroad—tourism was the logical consequence of an increasingly consumer-oriented culture. It evolved into an important recreational activity that allowed middle-class Americans to transcend the anxieties and social restrictions of everyday life.⁴ Through his contributions to landscape literature, Richards not only promoted travel but also provided a visual and verbal surrogate for actual tourism.

Beyond its capacity for diversion, tourism provided the means by which America would invent its cultural identity.⁵ Coinciding with this growth in the tourist industry, especially in the Northeast, was an increase in the proliferation of landscape literature and landscape imagery. Authors and artists would self-consciously participate in this construction of American culture, praising such sites as Mount Holyoke, Mount Washington, the Catskill Mountains, and Niagara Falls as so-called “attractions.”⁶ Literature, in the form of Romantic narratives by authors such as Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, and James Fenimore Cooper and imagery, in the form of Hudson River School landscape paintings, both endorsed and promoted tourism in the North.⁷

According to James T. Callow, art and literature often overlapped in its promotion of the natural landscape. In *Kin-*

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¹ Thomas Addison Richards, *Tallahula and Jocassee, or, Romances of Southern Landscape and Other Tales* (Charleston: Walker, Richards & Co., 1852); *The Romance of American Landscape* (New York: Leavitt and Allen, 1854); *Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book of American Travel* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857); William Carey Richards and T. Addison Richards, *Georgia Illustrated, In a Series of Views Embracing Natural Scenery and Public Edifices* (Penfield, Georgia: W. & W. C. Richards, 1842); William Carey Richards, ed., and T. Addison Richards, *The Orion* (Penfield, Georgia: William Richards, 1842-1844).

² Thomas Addison Richards, “The Fine Arts: Painting,” *Augusta Mirror* 2 (December 28, 1839) 82.

³ Richards, *Hand-Book*, vi.

⁴ John F. Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth-Century* (New York: Oxford UP, 1989) 6.

⁵ According to John Sears, the eighteenth-century aesthetic principles of the beautiful, sublime, and picturesque as well as the works of Romantic writers Wordsworth, Scott, and Byron, had “identified culture and landscape so closely with each other that they seemed almost identical.” Sears 3-5.

⁶ Alan Wallach, “Making a Picture of Mount Holyoke,” *American Iconology*, ed. David C. Miller (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993) 81.

⁷ In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the term *Knickerbocker* came to signify almost any author working in New York.

dred Spirits, his seminal text on the subject, he ventures that “[authors] and...painters frequently saw nature through each other’s eyes and sometimes forgot to distinguish between the pen and the brush.”⁸ Using seemingly analogous methods, authors and artists proclaimed nature’s religious, therapeutic, and didactic values. Motivated by nationalism and romanticism, authors and artists promoted the landscape as an authentic form of recreation.⁹

Northern developments in landscape tourism—perpetuated through Romantic literature and glorified depictions of rural scenery—present a stark contrast to similar developments in the South. In the antebellum period, when the majority of magazine articles and their accompanying illustrations focused almost solely on the northern landscape, Richards was one of the few painters who aggressively promoted southern subjects.¹⁰ In his writings, Richards described the southern landscape using an ostensibly romantic vocabulary—that is sentimental, praiseworthy, and highly visual. In his articles, essays, and short stories, he retained the expressive language of Bryant, Irving, and Cooper; however, in terms of content, he concentrated almost solely on southern history, southern traditions, and above all, southern scenery. He adopted a writing style that promoted southern locales as worthy and attractive tourist destinations, while, simultaneously, entreating a broad demographic of readers.

At a very early age, Richards strove to give “clearer definition to a specifically Southern identity.”¹¹ The reasons for Richards’s affections for the South are many, though it is obvious that through his essays, travelogues and drawings from the 1840s and 1850s, he contributed to a growing awareness—in both the North and the South—that the South (and Georgia especially) was a unique place, well-deserving of the attention of authors, artists, and tourists.

In an 1853 essay aptly titled “Landscape of the South,” Richards reiterated a theme established eleven years earlier in *Georgia Illustrated*—when he, along with his brother, first attempted to bring Georgia, and the entire South, into the national eye. With baroque language, Richards affirmed the article’s objective—to promote southern scenery through art and literature. He laments that:

...little has been said, either in picture or story, of the natural scenery of the Southern States; so inadequately is its beauty known

abroad or appreciated at home. This ignorance is not likely to be enlightened by the reports of tourists led hastily by business errands over highways which happen for the most part to traverse the least interesting regions...neither will the indifference pass away in the censurable blindness which overlooks the near in its reverence for the remote.¹²

In addition to praising the beauty of the southern landscape, Richards seems to reproach contemporary authors and artists for neglecting the region.¹³ *Georgia Illustrated*, then, was an attempt to instruct readers—who might be prospective tourists—as well as colleagues on not only the singularity of the South but also its potential as a subject for books and paintings.

Thus, in the nineteenth century, artists—perhaps to an even greater extent than authors—turned their attention towards landscape. The southern region, though replete with natural landmarks, had heretofore been entirely disregarded or at the very best casually overlooked by northern authors and artists.¹⁴ In an article from December 1858, the editor of the New York-based *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* spoke of these underrepresented areas of America. He advised that after having focused for so long on the “White Mountains, the Hudson [River], Lake George, the Catskills, [and] the St. Lawrence [River],” American artists should redirect their sights and their brushes to

...the “hills” of Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia, and Ohio—...all these remain almost strangers to us, chiefly because our painters have not made them subjects of pious study, and our authors have not sung their praises. We shall not know our country until these recognized interpreters reveal to us the excellence of our native possessions.¹⁵

O. J. Victor, the author of this excerpt, recalls Richards’s own endeavors, in the early 1840s, to promote the southern landscape and to encourage fellow authors and artists to make the South the subject of pious study. The article, written sixteen years after the publication of *Georgia Illustrated* and the first issue of *The Orion*, similarly concentrates on the southern

⁸ James T. Callow, *Kindred Spirits: Knickerbocker Writers and American Artists, 1807-1855* (Chapel Hill: The U of NC Press, 1967) 145.

⁹ Wallach 81.

¹⁰ Angela Miller, *Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1993) 235.

¹¹ Bruce Chambers, *Art and Artists of the South: The Robert P. Coggins Collection* (Columbia: U of South Carolina P, 1984) 13.

¹² Thomas Addison Richards, “Landscape of the South,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* 6 (May 1853): 721.

¹³ One interesting exception to this is the wealth of abolitionist literature produced in the 1850s by northern authors. Of particular relevance to this paper is Frederick Law Olmsted’s *The Slave States* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1959). Composed as a travel narrative, this text follows the author’s excursions throughout the South in the 1850s. It is an informative source on the manners and customs of the southern states, supplemented by Olmsted’s own observations and opinions on slavery.

¹⁴ In the antebellum period, the so-called “Old South” was comprised of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas.

¹⁵ O. J. Victor, ed., “Character in Scenery: Its Relation to the National Mind,” *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 3 (December 1858): 9.

United States, though it does contain a curious omission. Victor peculiarly fails to note the state of Georgia in his enumeration of the country’s often overlooked regions. Perhaps Richards, a renowned apologist for the South by the late 1850s, had already carved out a niche in both describing and depicting the natural landmarks of his adopted home.

By the late 1850s, Richards had written of the picturesque qualities of the Georgia landscape numerous times. Through his writings and illustrations, Richards attempted to cultivate an appreciation for the South and for Georgia especially. Employing natural scenery as the distinctive elements of his drawings, books and essays, Richards introduced Georgia into the mainstream discourses on landscape tourism and Romanticism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Indeed, Richards’s allegiance to the South and his interest in promoting the southern landscape would fuel his professional ambitions for the next fifteen years.

In March 1842, while living in Penfield, Georgia, the Richards brothers published the second of their major literary collaborations. Issued monthly, *The Orion* magazine followed in the tradition of combining text and image as well as in drawing attention to the southern landscape (Figure 4).¹⁶ Richards’s illustrations for *The Orion* were engraved using the latest in reproductive technology, which in turn bestowed a certain cultural sophistication upon the otherwise rural outpost of Penfield. The scope and literary character of *The Orion* were expressly stated in recurring advertisements for the magazine, revealing the overall mission of the periodical (Figures 5 and 6). In the words of William Carey Richards, the artist’s brother, the overriding purpose of the magazine was to advance and refine “the intellectual taste and habit in the South.”¹⁷ Therefore, at the same time that Thomas Addison Richards was refining his own literary style, *The Orion* was attempting to enhance the intellectual culture of the South and the intellectual character of its mainly southern audience.

Throughout *The Orion*’s brief term of publication, Richards contributed several original works of art and literature. In addition to several serialized works of prose, he supplied tasteful depictions of southern landmarks. One of the highlights of the magazine, illustrations were included from the inaugural issue, for which Richards composed a sympathetic version of *Tallulah Falls* (Figure 7).¹⁸

Located in the mountains of northeast Georgia, Tallulah Falls was a favorite subject of Richards. In this, his very first embellishment for *The Orion*, the falls occupy a large portion of the picture plane; centrally located, they flow diagonally from left to right and are flanked on either side by trees and cliffs. The former, jutting out above the falls and to the left,

are reminiscent of Claudian framing devices. Both, however, serve to stabilize the composition, forming a parenthetical enclosure around the falls. Ultimately, these elements serve both to frame and highlight Tallulah Falls, certainly the image’s most noteworthy feature, so that the falls appear to emerge from a background of atmospheric haze; behind them, water and landscape coalesce into a picturesque vista.

In the foreground of the picture stand two Native Americans, a male and female, the former drawing back his bow and the latter kneeling in quiet observation. The function of these figures is twofold: they serve as demarcations of scale—that is, they emphasize the comparative grandeur of the falls amid the landscape—and, appropriately for a region steeped in Native American folklore, they reinforce the romantic connotations attached to the landmark. Indeed, as a form of natural theatre, encounters between tourists and Native Americans surely offered an exotic and thrilling counterpoint to an otherwise innocuous recreational activity. Moreover, their leisurely comportment bespeaks a peaceful coexistence between man and nature, and we, as witnesses of the scene, are summoned to partake in the multi-sensory experience the falls afford. Although nearly engulfed by the bucolic backwoods of northern Georgia, these figures act as surrogates for the viewer’s participation in the retreat.

Well-documented as a popular nineteenth-century tourist destination, the falls rush violently past the figures, who have come to bask in the presence of their monumental aura. In the foreground are the vestiges of gnarled trees, America’s natural ruins. Functioning as arboreal *repoussoir* figures, the trees, in light of their suggestive placement within the composition, not only demonstrate Richards’s familiarity with the conventions of landscape painting, but perhaps more importantly, they suffuse the work with an air of romantic nostalgia.

In drawing attention to America’s natural landmarks, Richards is responding to the contemporary interest in recreational tourism. Richards summarized his feelings towards the phenomenon in the June 1842 edition of *The Orion*. Speaking of the “eminently beautiful” views of his adopted homeland, he declared that “no one need go [beyond] the mountainous parts of Georgia and South Carolina for the noble and picturesque in scenery.”¹⁹ Though perhaps suggesting a certain equivalency between southern and northern landscapes, Richards, this discussion would argue, is emphasizing a *need* to travel, a *need* for landscape tourism in the South. This rang especially true for Richards, the consummate author-artist, whose responsibility it was to supply illustrations and remarks for a southern periodical. Indeed, this was a task that required an intimate knowledge of the natural environs of the South,

¹⁶ Throughout its publication history, the magazine went through numerous title changes. Volumes 1-2 were entitled *The Orion, a Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art*; Volume 3, *The Orion, a Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art*; and Volume 4, *The Orion; or Southern Monthly, a Magazine of Original Literature and Art*.

¹⁷ William Carey Richards, ed., *The Orion, a Monthly Magazine of Literature and Art* I (July 1842): 247.

¹⁸ Almost without exception Richards’s illustrations appeared in every issue of *The Orion*. Two plates for the March 1844 issue had been damaged and had to be postponed until the next issue. The images included in this essay are, then, merely a sampling of Richards’s pictorial contributions to the magazine.

¹⁹ William Carey Richards, *The Orion* I (June 1842): 186.

and, appropriately, it was through travel that Richards had acquainted himself with the southern countryside.

Similarly, for the November 1843 issue of *The Orion*, Richards produced a view of the Falls of Eastatoia, located near the town of Clayton, in the county of Rabun, in the extreme northeast of Georgia (Figure 8). As was his custom, Richards preceded the illustration with a literary sketch that copiously described the character of the site. The sketches, both visual and literal, were the result of a trip that Richards had taken to the area during the summer of 1841. As in his rendition of Tallulah, Richards positions the falls centrally within the composition. They dominate the surrounding landscape in a fashion that approximates eighteenth-century conceptions of the sublime, with water crashing tumultuously into the jagged rocks below. A deer, standing just steps away from the bottom of the falls, returns the viewer's gaze. The rural character of the site is thus emphasized not only by the wildlife present but also by the dense forest that surrounds the falls on three sides.

In the extensively annotated sketch of his visit to the falls, Richards recounts his approach and overall impression of the site:

With each succeeding step, the cascades broke upon the eye in growing effect and beauty. At length, after clambering down rugged cliffs; over, between and under huge masses of rock, we stood by the wild basin of the great fall, from which our present view was taken. The effect here is grand and startling in the extreme. From a great height [*sic*] the waters are precipitated over walls of alternately projecting and receding rocks, momentarily caught in the their descent upon the point of some jutting mass, and dashed furiously from their course. The surface of the rocks at the summit of this fall, varies much from the horizontal, yet so great is the impetus gained by the water in its previous descent, that it is urged over every part. At your feet huge rocks are scattered in the wildest confusion, many of which have, doubtless, fallen from the stratas above. The effect, in this wild glen, of a thunder-storm—an event of daily occurrence—is truly sublime. It was our delight to witness the lightning flashing upon the waters, and to listen to the countless echoes of the thunder's

voice, and lastly, to admire the enchantment of the shifting rainbow, as it trembled on the restless spray.²⁰

Richards employs a highly visual language to create a dramatic and sensationalized account of Eastatoia. His overtly praiseworthy tone demonstrates an almost contagious affection for the falls and reveals his familiarity with English philosopher Edmund Burke's characterization of the sublime.²¹ Burke's definition and the tradition of the sublime in eighteenth and nineteenth-century art and literature were not lost on Richards whose effusive description of awe-inspiring grandeur, immensity, and seemingly irresistible power sets the Falls of Eastatoia into context. Whereas Burke considered phenomena that generate fear and terror (a viewer's recognition of peril) to be a defining feature of the sublime in art, Richards's emphasis on the "truly sublime"—i.e. the thunderous torrent of the falls experienced during a storm—invokes language that stresses wild, overwhelming beauty in order to elevate the site from mere southern landmark to regional tourist attraction. To this end, he includes in his sketch directions to the site and references to such incidentals as lodging and logistics.²²

In *The Orion*, Richards ultimately established the foundations for his later career, during which he would not only explore but exploit the American landscape as a tourist paradise. Very early in his career Richards secured his reputation as a prolific author and artist. In part, it was his contributions to *The Orion*—both literary and pictorial—that provided the evidence in support of this title. His subsequent contributions include *Tallulah and Jocassee* (1852), *The Romance of American Landscape* (1854), and *Appleton's Illustrated Hand-Book of American Travel* (1857). In each, Richards persists in his preoccupation with landscape tourism, ultimately selling the landscape to his readers by romancing it.

Richards merged southern landscape and romantic tradition to evoke an idyllic vision of the region's natural scenery, which he marketed to prospective tourists through his numerous literary contributions. His books and essays as well as the illustrations within them are best viewed in light of the complex social, political, and cultural dynamics of the antebellum period in America. Ultimately, Richards's response to the landscape was tempered by the following factors: contemporary developments in tourism, the influence of Romanticism on nineteenth-century art and literature, the progressively contentious relationship between the North and the South, and his respective (and oftentimes conflicting) allegiances to each region. Each of these influences shaped Richards's approach

²⁰ T. Addison Richards, "The Falls of Eastatoia," *The Orion* (November 1843): 98.

²¹ For Burke's analysis of the aesthetic category of the sublime, see his *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1757).

²² Though vague, Richards locates the Falls of Eastatoia in the county of Rabun, in north-central Georgia, near the village of Clayton and twelve miles from the falls of Tallulah. He mentions a residence in the Valley of the Tennessee, which was located in close proximity to the falls. See Richards, "The Falls of the Eastatoia," 97.

to both writing about and representing the landscape of the South.

Richards’s investment in elevating the status of the southern landscape was the logical consequence of his personal and professional connections to the region. Early on, as a young man in Penfield, Richards embarked upon an ambitious campaign to promote the natural scenery of Georgia and South Carolina—a type of zealous promotion that would encourage, if not initiate, the desire among middle-class Americans to seek the physical, psychological, spiritual, and recreational benefits of travel.

Throughout his life, Richards was a dynamic figure who consistently produced works of landscape literature and landscape imagery. Best remembered for his contributions to the latter, his role as author has largely gone unnoticed. This discussion endeavors to highlight some of Richards’s more noteworthy *literary* contributions and the illustrations which

complement them as expressions of the artist’s passion for the southern American landscape. His combination of text and image displays not only his talent as an artist, in the broadest sense of the word, but also his high, almost reverential affection for the natural environment.

Indeed, in his role as author, Richards composed overtly positive portraits of the southern landscape, which, again, scholars have either ignored entirely to this point, or, at best, relegated to mere footnotes in the history of antebellum landscape literature. This essay reveals that an equally illustrative body of written work supplemented his artistic contributions. Richards cultivated the consummate author-artist persona; never completely independent of one another, these roles defined both his personal and professional life.

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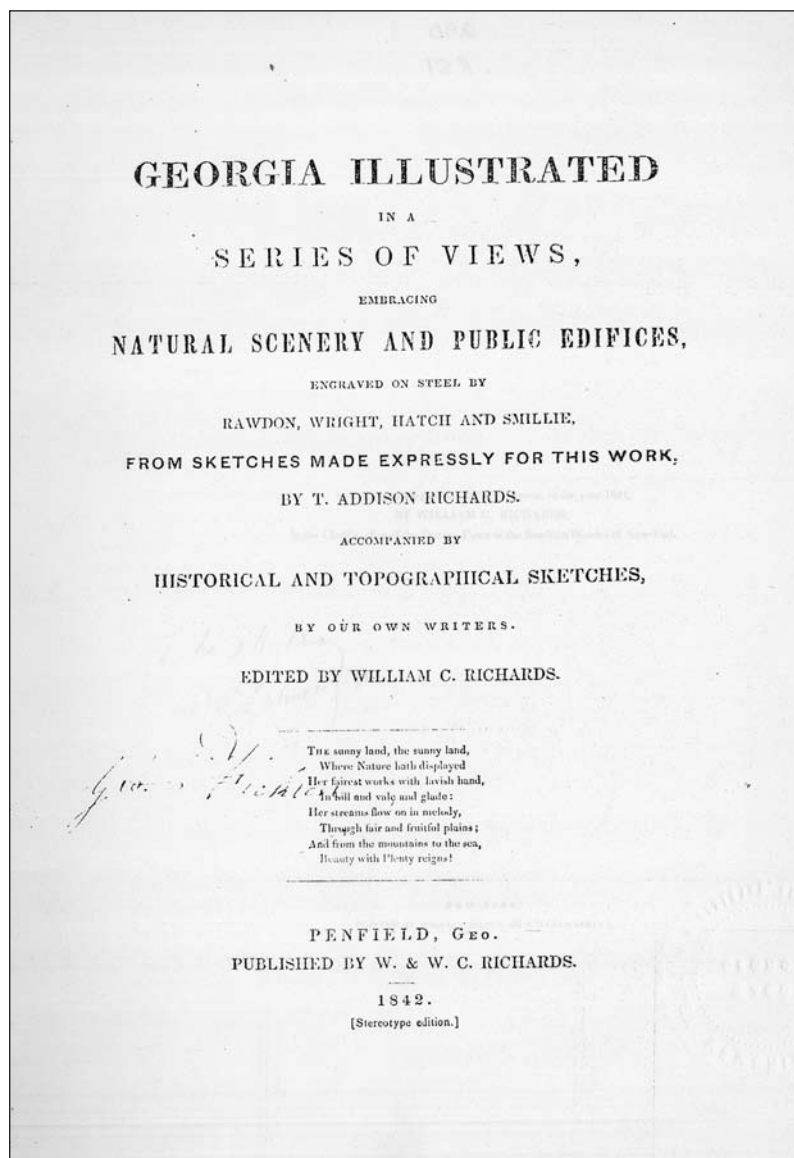
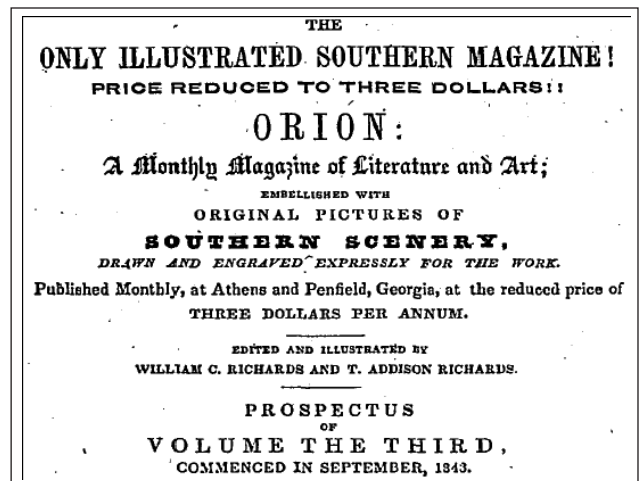
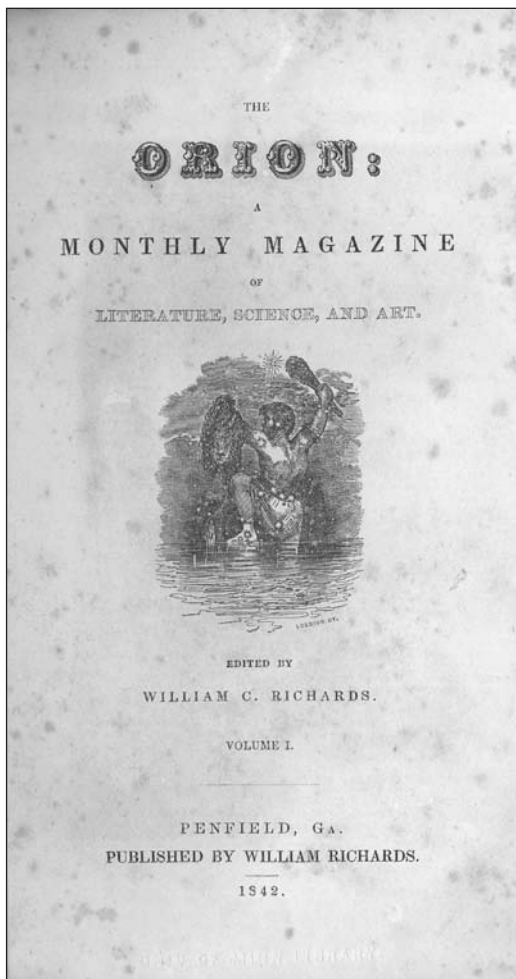
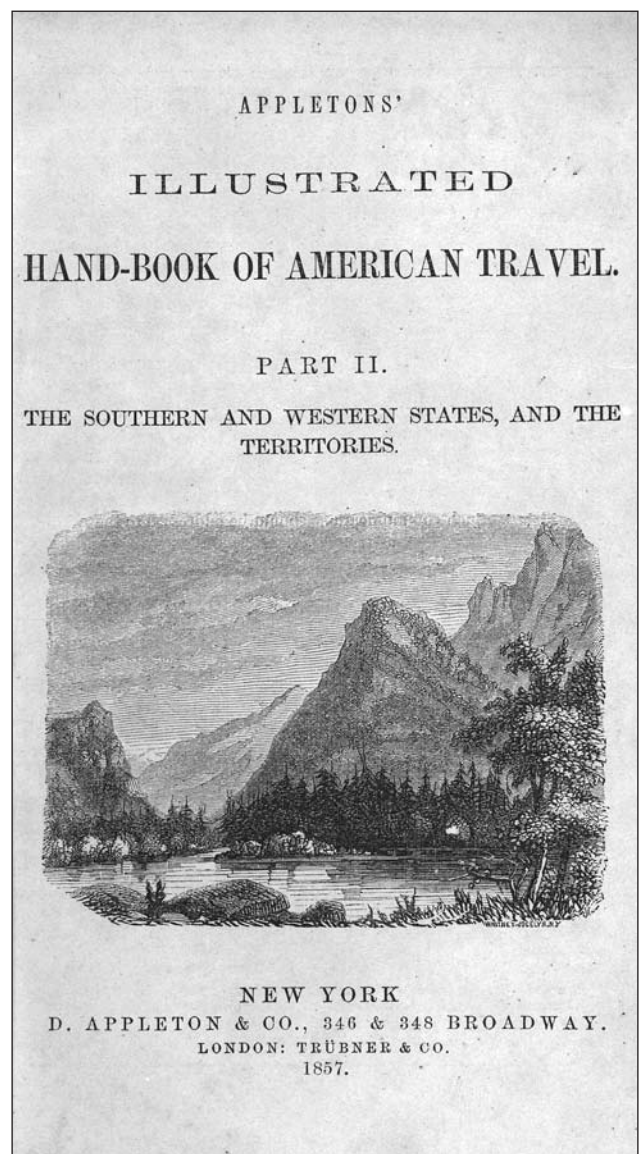
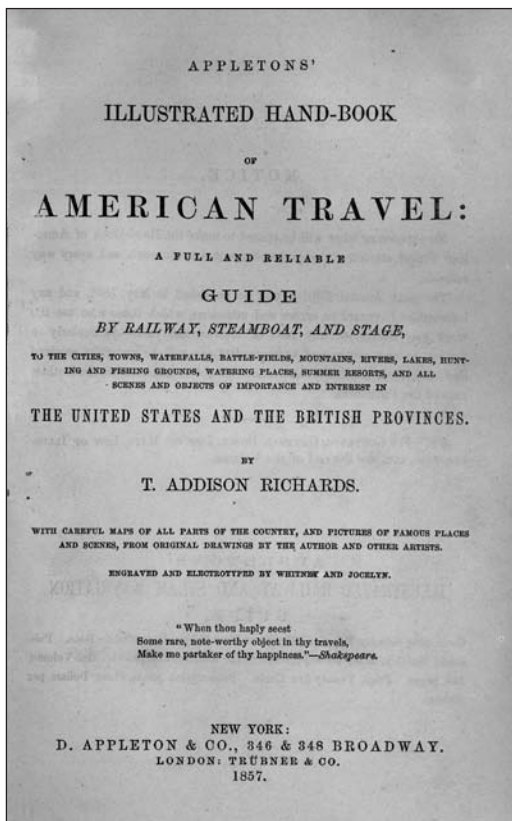


Figure 1. Title Page, *Georgia Illustrated* (Penfield, GA), 1842.



[above left] Figure 2. Title Page, *Appleton's Illustrated Handbook of American Travel* (New York), 1857. [above right] Figure 3. Frontispiece, *Appleton's Illustrated Handbook of American Travel, Part II: The Southern and Western States, and the Territories* (New York), 1857. [left] Figure 4. Title Page, *The Orion: A Monthly Magazine of Literature, Science, and Art* (Penfield, GA), March 1842. [above] Figure 5. Advertisement for *The Orion* (September 1843).

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Figure 6. Quality Assurance Statement, *The Orion*, 1842-1844 (most issues).



Figure 7. T. Addison Richards, *Tallulah Falls, Georgia, The Orion* (March 1842), lithotint. Courtesy of Hargrett Rare Book & Manuscript Library / University of Georgia.



Figure 8. T. Addison Richards, *The Falls of Eastatoia, Georgia, The Orion* (November 1843), lithotint.

Femme Fatale: Guilty as Charged?

Mary Vens

If... as they say, hysteria is the exaggeration of the feminine character, then Medusa is the hysterical woman beyond time, and if... prostitution is among women the category of crime that leads to all others, Medusa is the type of criminal woman...

—Edouard LeFort, 1892

...Dancing Salomes... princesses of lewdness and unconscious cruelty who offer, with the swooning grace of monstrous flowers, the mystery of their sex and their smile... have incarnated... all the debaucheries of ancient Asia, all the ambiguous and bloody mysteries of lost religions, all the crimes committed by and about that sex...

—Jean Lorrain, 1893¹

In the ancient figures of Medusa and Salome, Edouard LeFort and Jean Lorrain unearth an inherent deviancy and, significantly, a *criminality* residing in women of all eras. LeFort, a man of science and champion of criminologist Cesare Lombroso, and Lorrain, a Symbolist writer and critic, make for strange bedfellows. Symbolism, both in theory and practice, stood in staunch opposition to the empiricism and positivism of modern science, and science, especially as filtered through Max Nordau's cultural critique, was similarly antagonistic to the "degenerate" production of Symbolist artists. Yet these two statements, written in France just one year apart, deny a clear demarcation between the ideology of criminal science and the evocative expression of Symbolist art practice. This nearly indistinguishable pairing of scientific and Symbolist commentary offers a view into the general cultural consciousness of the last decades of the nineteenth century, and it poses questions of the correspondences and contradictions between the aesthetic of the criminal woman presented by criminal anthropology and the Symbolist depiction of female deviancy in the femme fatale. Other studies have invoked Lombroso's degenerate female to prove a general misogynist cultural impact on the construct of the femme fatale. This paper further complicates the question of the identification between modern criminality and the archetype of the "fatal woman," given the inspirational role of her dark beauty for male artists of the period.

Elaine Showalter has aptly described the *fin de siècle* as an anxious period of cultural crises, marked by heightened threats to traditional social, cultural, and gender power structures. In particular, the rise of feminism and of the New Woman elicited new fears of women and a new brand of misogyny. Patriarchal structures were jeopardized as women broke through the confining boundaries of motherhood and of the home, and the very nature of "woman" came into question.²

Symbolist femmes fatales are well known manifestations of the *fin de siècle* construct of the inherent dangers presented

by the female sex. Almost entirely the product of male artists, such imagery is widely discussed as evocative of the threat, felt by men, of woman as inherently mysterious and seductively evil. Femme fatale images, most famously Salome, corresponded with Symbolist theory and practice, evoking the otherworld and rejecting realist descriptions of contemporary events.

Concurrently, new scientific theories, buttressed by Darwinian concepts of biological determinism, "proved" woman as naturally more primitive and less developed than man. A brief, though damning, passage in Darwin's 1871 study entitled *The Descent of Man* highlights the disparaging possibilities his text offered to nineteenth-century gender theorists: "The female... assumes certain distinctive characters, and in the formation of her skull, is said to be intermediate between the child and the man."³ The field of criminal anthropology, largely dominated by the work of Cesare Lombroso, posited the theory of the born criminal and employed extensive physiognomic analysis to determine atavistic traits. Lombroso's work on the female criminal not only naturalized and supported notions of female inferiority, it determined the potential for danger and evil lurking within all women. "And women are big children; their evil tendencies are more numerous and varied than men's, but usually these remain latent. When awakened and excited, however, these evil tendencies lead to proportionately worse results."⁴ Grounded in empirical analysis and statistical data, Lombroso's research and findings had the forceful appeal of scientific truth.

The comparison of LeFort's Medusa and Lorrain's Salome illuminates a relationship between the misogynist ideology of *fin de siècle* criminal science and the mysterious danger of the femme fatale. Both statements figure female crime as a condition disassociated from economic, political or historical circumstance and locate the notion of crime in mythical and fantastic subjects. Neither Lorrain nor LeFort were unique among their artist or scientist peers in their identification of

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own. Edouard LeFort, *Le Type Criminel d'Après les Savants et les Artistes (Documents de Criminologie et de Médecine Légale)* (Lyon: A. Storck, 1892) 90. Jean Lorrain, quoted and translated in Bram Dijkstra, *Idols of Perversity: Fantasies of Feminine Evil in Fin de Siècle Culture* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986) 386.

² Elaine Showalter, *Sexual Anarchy: Gender and Culture at the Fin de Siècle* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990) 1-18.

³ Quoted in Dijkstra 168.

⁴ Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *Criminal Woman, The Prostitute, and the Normal Woman* (Durham: Duke UP, 2004) 183.

an ahistorical, universal criminality or deviancy in the female sex.

The Symbolist group of dark women comprises a long list of subjects, although few stem from depictions of contemporary individuals. Notably, Symbolists showed no interest in depicting individual *femmes criminelles* (or real-life criminals) so popular in Parisian courtrooms, weekly newspapers, and in anthropological texts. The diverse roster instead includes ancient and timeless murderesses and enigmatic creatures of violence: Biblical and historical “heroines”—Salome, Judith, Delilah, Messalina, Lilith, Eve; mythological characters—Medusa, sphinxes, sirens; as well as abstract allegories—death, animality, or the apocalypse. Representative of the “enduring past,” these dark women re-enforce the notion of female atavism.

Stereotyped Darwinian identifiers link femme fatale subjects to the specific idea of criminal “dangerousness” in the *fin de siècle* atmosphere. The emerging field of criminology set forth a “new” criminal, born as a deviant and therefore identifiable as dangerous even before committing an unlawful act.⁵ Lombroso’s theories in particular emphasized the potential of danger. He presented the possibility of hidden criminality within all women because of the weakness of the sex: “Cruelty, in sum, tends increasingly to become an exception and compassion to become a normal condition in women. Nevertheless, in every woman there remains a substratum of cruelty which erupts either when she has a wicked character or when she is assailed....”⁶ Dangerous criminality therefore lay within the unmarked, mysterious boundaries between good and evil and in hidden or veiled dangers. This construct of danger relates to a common signifier in Symbolist imagery in general and in the femme fatale in particular: the trope of veiling. In his “Literary Manifesto—Symbolism,” Jean Moréas argues that Symbolist poetry is “an enemy of... objective description... [It] endeavors to clothe the Idea in a form perceptible to the senses....”⁷ Showalter devotes a chapter, “The Veiled Woman,” to demonstrating the significant and pervasive role of veiling in *fin de siècle* artistic manifestations that reveal the fear and distrust of woman’s sexuality.⁸

The femme fatale frequently veils her dangerous nature within a seductive beauty. Edouard Toudouze’s *Salome Triumphant* (1886), for example, offers the viewer an attractive

young girl, whose head is dressed in blooming flowers (Figure 1).⁹ This coquette engages the (intended male) viewer with an alluring gaze, seductively sucking her thumb. She lies upon an animal skin on a couch, with her legs parted as her right leg hangs off of the cushion. Only secondarily does the viewer depart from her gaze, follow the line of this curvy leg from the bed to the floor, and discover the decapitated head of John the Baptist. The grotesque head, mouth still agape in a scream of pain, betrays the faux innocence of the scene, and it bespeaks the evil lurking within the nymphette on the couch. This highly sexualized image of a too-young seductress hides the machinations of Salome’s criminality and is a reminder of the depth of evil within woman’s beauty. Toudouze does away with the physical veils of Salome’s dance for Herod and more abstractly disguises her true deviant nature beneath an alluring beauty.

Toudouze’s Salome also serves to exemplify the signals of atavistic danger that originated with social Darwinism and became reinforced by Lombroso as gendered stereotypes. This picture implies a link between the young Salome and a threatening animality. She cozies up to the sculpted animal head that rests on the arm of the couch as she lies on the fur of an animal skin. Bram Dijkstra has offered a comprehensive exploration of the pairing of woman and beast that is a common misogynist trope in many femme fatale images.¹⁰ The link to animality posits the Darwinian connection between woman and the primitive, and implies the threat, designated by Lombroso, of criminal behavior that resides in baser human traits. Salome’s youth further emphasizes the Darwinian / Lombrosian concept of woman as less-developed and more childlike. Lombroso’s charting of traits developed a code-like system to identify and reveal ethical deviance through abnormal or ugly features. However, Toudouze’s femme fatale denies any easy dichotomy between good and evil, or beauty and ugliness. Her angelic face, sensuous curves, and languorous demeanor are woven together with the narrative of her awful act. Delight and terror are fused in this realm of Symbolist fantasy.

In contrast to the Symbolist’s lack of interest in current reality as a source of inspiration, the field of criminology was fueled by the study and physical documentation of contemporary women criminals. Criminology sought to unveil the criminal body through visual classification of the physiognomic

⁵ David Horn has demonstrated this. Horn notes that Lombroso’s albums of real criminal faces portraying predictable traits of deviancy appeared to be: a montage of citizens of the modern European city; readers could reasonably be expected to bring the scrutiny of the criminologist to their encounters on the streets of Turin, Paris, London, and New York. A generalized anxiety—that everyone was potentially dangerous... was only partly assuaged by the hope that bodies of the truly dangerous would signal their difference.

David G. Horn, *The Criminal Body: Lombroso and the Anatomy of Deviance* (New York: Routledge, 2003) 143. On the nineteenth-century concept of criminality see Michel Foucault, “About the Concept of the ‘Dangerous Individual’ in Nineteenth-Century Legal Psychology,” in *The Essential Foucault*, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 2003). Also see Peter Hutchings, “Modern Forensics: Photog-

raphy and Other Suspects,” *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature*, 9.2 (Autumn-Winter 1997): 229-43.

⁶ Lombroso and Ferrero (2004) 72.

⁷ Jean Moréas, “A Literary Manifesto—Symbolism,” in *Symbolist Art Theories: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Henri Dorra (Berkeley: U of California P, 1994) 151.

⁸ Showalter 144-68.

⁹ Georges Olmer and Saint-Juirs, *Salon de 1886: Cent Planches en Photographie par Goupil et Cie* (Paris: 1886) facing p. 34.

¹⁰ Dijkstra 272-332.

traits of criminals. The practice and theory of criminal science included a diverse range of graphic illustrations, photography, and pictures culled from art history, creating its own aesthetic system of evidentiary documentation. Allan Sekula has demonstrated the field's extensive application of documentary photography.

Despite the acute differences between the warring factions of the emerging criminological profession, a common enthusiasm for photographic illustration of the criminal type was shared by almost all of the practitioners.... The photograph operated as the *image* of scientific truth.¹¹

Frontal and profile-view portraits of criminals were integral to Lombroso as evidence for his categorization of physiognomic traits innate to the criminal. His texts include photographs paired with true stories of individuals that describe their descent into criminality and expose their physical differentiation from the normal. The descriptions of subjects Berland and Thomas in Lombroso's 1893 book *The Female Offender*, present the occasion for a typical Lombrosian analysis (Figure 2):

...Another female criminal, Thomas by name, who was alcoholic and libidinous, had committed hundreds of abortions, falling into a dipso-epileptic stupor immediately after each crime. Her face was asymmetrical, her protruding ears were abnormally tight against her head, her nose was oblique and twisted, her lips were thin and crooked, and her wrinkles were extraordinarily painful.¹²

The portrait image functioned as a document of proof to be read, analyzed and categorized, and in Lombroso's analysis, abnormality or ugliness revealed the inborn potential for ethical transgression.

To confirm the universality and timeless truth of atavistic theory, scientists sought comparable examples from historical sources. Lacking photographic evidence of criminal atavism before the nineteenth century, men of science like Lombroso, LeFort, and Charcot (perhaps best-known) looked to the history of art. Seeking hard and fast truths about criminal nature, scientists located atavistic deviance in Biblical, mythical and historical miscreants—a pool of subjects analogous to femme fatale imagery. Lombroso's daughter, Gina Lombroso Ferrero indicated the usefulness of art history to criminology:

painters and poets... divined this type long before it became the subject of a special

branch of study. The assassins, executioners and devils painted by Mantegna, Titian and Ribera embody with marvelous exactitude the characteristics of the born criminal.¹³

The structure of criminology's established representational system of photographic images enabled Lombroso to treat artwork as indexical objects, just as he employed portrait photographs. Matters of subjective, emotional or symbolic content became irrelevant as these pictures were incorporated into a scientific, ahistorical archive of evidence.

Lombroso used a sculpture of the ancient Roman empress Messalina as an example of "those who most clearly manifest exaggerated and unceasing lustfulness...both born criminals and born prostitutes" (Figure 3).¹⁴ He reproduced an unidentified bust of the empress to provide visual proof of her atavistic traits: "Messalina...flattered though she was by contemporary writers, yet offers many of the features of the criminal and born prostitute—having a low forehead, very thick, wavy hair, and a heavy jaw."¹⁵ The selected statue operated as a portrait subject for Lombroso's creative identification of this ancient woman's criminal traits. While a text contemporaneous with Lombroso's *The Female Offender* described Messalina as "a woman like so many others of the Roman aristocracy of the day, young, beautiful, capricious, frivolous, fond of pleasure," Lombroso's description instead reinforced a correlation of her moral deviance with abnormal attributes.¹⁶ His reproduction of the sculpture echoes the format of the frontal, bust-length photographic portraits pictured elsewhere in *The Female Offender*, and, like the photographs, it corresponds to his representational system in which images are revealing and function as "straight," indisputable documentary proof.

Edouard LeFort's characterization of Medusa, with which this essay begins, follows Lombroso's method. Printed as a part of a series of documents of criminality and medical science, his book first dryly outlines theories of criminology, and then proceeds to diagnose the atavistic criminal traits in artists' renderings of Biblical and mythical subject matter. His canon of art historical evidence compiles works from varied time periods and national origins. LeFort's main objective, as he declares in his conclusion, is to demonstrate the "perfect analogy between artwork from all periods of the past and Lombroso's concept of the born criminal."¹⁷

Pairing LeFort's criminal Medusa with Lorrain's Salome, who evokes "all the crimes" committed by women, suggests a correspondence between these men from the opposite poles of scientific fact and artistic imagination. Both statements reveal a misogynist anxiety that infected the *fin de siècle* cul-

¹¹ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter, 1986): 37-40.

¹² Lombroso and Ferrero (2004) 140.

¹³ Quoted in Horn 64.

¹⁴ Lombroso and Ferrero (2004) 171.

¹⁵ Cesare Lombroso and Guglielmo Ferrero, *The Female Offender* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897) 98.

¹⁶ Guglielmo Ferrero and Corrado Barbagallo, *A Short History of Rome* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1919) 170.

¹⁷ LeFort 96.

tural consciousness. In light of the present study it seems an ironic coincidence that the term *criminalité* is gendered feminine.

A close examination of LeFort's and Lorrain's specific phrasing and context, however, reveals a significant difference in their meaning, and offers an analogy for understanding the femme fatale's relationship to criminology. LeFort's project was to demonstrate Lombroso's concept of the born criminal. He describes the specific atavistic qualities of a Medusa statue before labeling her "*le type criminel*." His physiognomic evidence includes her large open mouth; large, long nose; large, prominent chin; massive cheeks and cheekbones.¹⁸ Working within the Lombrosian aesthetic system, LeFort identifies and labels Medusa a corporeal criminal.

Lorrain, on the other hand, waxes poetic about the entertainer La Laus' dance performance of the Salome character, which leads to his reverie on several manifestations of the Biblical seductress (including Moreau's). He alludes to her "electricity," her adornment in jewels, her "swooning grace of monstrous flowers."¹⁹ He concludes: "La Laus incarnates all the debaucheries of ancient Asia, all the ambiguous and bloody mysteries of lost religions, all the crimes committed by and about that sex...." Lorrain has no intention of identifying La

Laus, or the Salome character, as a particular criminal or even as a criminal type. Unlike LeFort, he does not "undress" her physiognomy to discover and identify the criminal within her. Instead, he "clothes" her in metaphor; he embellishes the physical reality of La Laus' depiction of Salome.

The projects of criminal science and Symbolist creation were at odds. Criminal science sought quantifiable evidence in order to unveil the individual criminal, and thus protect society against the violence of deviance. Symbolist imagery functioned instead through systems of veiling and mystery, therefore eliding boundaries between good and evil. LeFort's Medusa is a criminal, guilty of hysteria, and he makes the leap to the specific crime of prostitution. Lorrain's femme fatale is instead subjective; she embraces a multitude of unspecific, ambiguous, criminal acts; she is an exciting evocation of a phenomenon of deviancy. While femme fatale images corresponded to some of the constructs of nineteenth-century criminality and misogyny, they rejected the ethical and scientific identifiers of the criminal body. The femme fatale is not a representation of the body of a criminal. She embodies criminality.

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¹⁸ LeFort 89.

¹⁹ Quoted in Dijkstra 386.

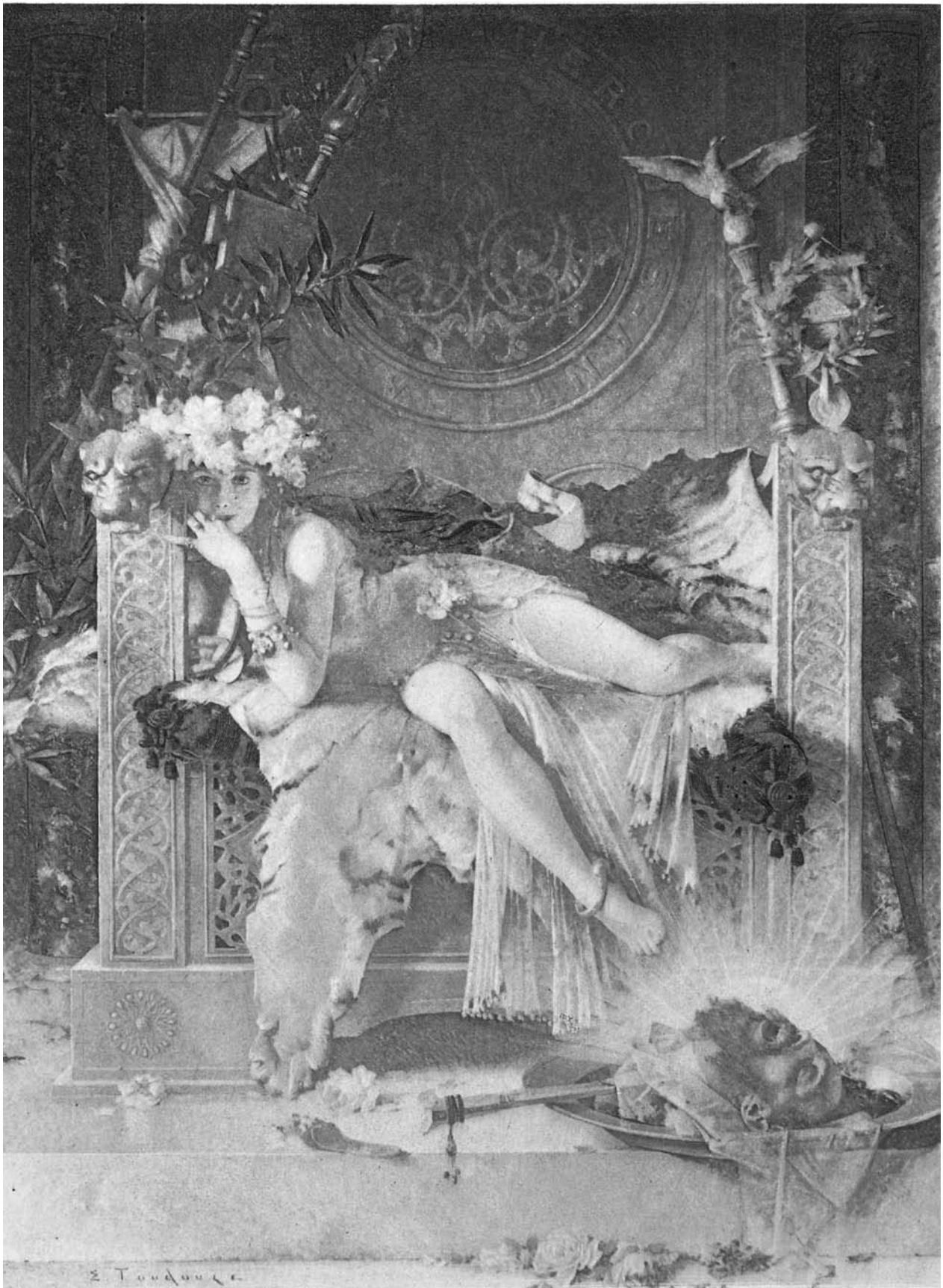


Figure 1. Edouard Toudouze, *Salomé Triumphant*, 1886. Georges Olmer and Saint-Juirs, *Salon de 1886: Cent Planches en Photogravure par Goupil et C^{ie}* (Paris: 1886) facing p. 34. Art & Architecture Collection, Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.



Fig. 7.

(Berland).

Fig. 8.

Fig. 9.

(Thomas.)

Fig. 10.

Figure 2. Cesare Lombroso, *The Female Offender* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897) facing p. 98.



MESSALINA.

Figure 3. Cesare Lombroso, *The Female Offender* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897) before p. 99.

Imaging the Landscape as Feminine: A Series of Nudes by Franz Roh

Elizabeth Cronin

Mother Nature, Mother Earth, and Earth Mother: these figures of speech can describe something nurturing and beautiful as well as mysterious and powerful. A series of photographs by Franz Roh, dated 1922-28, depicts the nude female torso superimposed on various landscapes (Figures 1-3). Roh mentions his unpublished series of nudes in a 1951 article on the liberating possibilities of photography:

Especially handsome was, for example, a gentle glowing reclined female nude, photographed large, close-up and placed over a snowy landscape, so that the gentle curves of the female body engage in a peaceful, imaginative game.¹

Although Roh seems to have been mostly concerned with the visual play of forms, his images suggest that there is also a visual game with the viewer and the perception of woman as nature. His series use of modern photographic technique in combination with its subject matter helps characterize the feminine and its metaphorical relationship to the land as intrinsic and sexual, but it is also presented to the viewer as being deceptive and fantastic.

Roh was not alone in his exploration of the feminine, the land, and fantastical portrayal. The fin-de-siècle symbolists and pictorialists sought unity with nature as they depicted the world of fantasy and mythology. Symbolist and pictorialist thought rejected naturalism in representation. Spring, for example, was often depicted as a female. Using the figurative, symbolists particularly played with opposing ideas, so that, for instance, woman and her fertility were linked to both motherhood and death. Ophelia, another favorite figure for the symbolists, was depicted with water, a life-giving element that caused her death. For many symbolists, particularly Franz von Stüick, the female played a complex role as depictions oscillated between sensual and threatening.

The landscape likewise allowed the symbolists and pictorialists to explore the enigmatic realms of a deeper consciousness. Nature was mysterious and the symbolists and

pictorialists looked for personal and spiritual meaning in it. Depicted ambiguously at dusk or dawn, the landscapes were both mystical and melancholic, signifying a desire for a spring paradise, but were also commemorative signs for death.² In exploring a fantastical world the symbolists could work through and reconcile conflicting themes like life and death and fear and passion.

Roh's series plays with these same ideas yet he specifically expresses them through modern photographic aesthetic and technique. This sets Roh apart from his pictorialist predecessors. When the pictorialists depicted the human at peace with nature or mythological tales they used a variety of photographic techniques and often used a brush to produce the desired painterly effect. They favored soft, gum prints which produced a hazy mystical environment. Roh's largely untitled series lacks this softness, yet the photographs still have a mysterious, sometimes even haunting quality. With his superimpositions Roh demonstrates the possibilities modern photography specifically creates.

In 1929 Roh argues for the art status of photography, discussing it in terms of form and expression and stating that the value of photography lies in its ability to produce more than just a copy from nature.³ The exceptional technical quality of his photographs renders the images in a realistic fashion, yet the depictions are of improbable, even impossible situations. The series uses the sandwich technique⁴ which combines multiple photographic representations in one composite print. Each photographic image, based on reality, can be expressively shaped independently or in the act of combination so that it is distanced slightly from the depicted subject matter. Using photography as a means to convey a world that is mysterious, Roh's floating nudes certainly do seem to participate in an "imaginative game."

In 1947 László Moholy-Nagy describes the technique of superimposition in terms of its ability to overcome space and time and record dreamlike content.⁵ Combining disparate images blurs the boundaries of what the seemingly 'objective'

¹ "Herrlich war z.B. ein zartschimmernder liegender Frauenakt, vordergründig groß fotografiert und nun über eine Schneelandschaft gelegt, wobei die zarten Kurven des Frauenkörpers ein friedlich-phantasievolles Spiel eingingen," see Franz Roh, "Über die freieren Möglichkeiten der Fotografie," *Leica Fotografie* 1 (January-February 1951): 5-6.

² See Reynolds, Simon, "The Longing for Arcadia," in Ingrid Ehrhardt and Simon Reynolds, eds., *Kingdom of the Soul: Symbolist Art in Germany, 1870-1920* exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel, 2000) 53-77.

³ Franz Roh, "Mechanism and Expression: the Essence and Value of Photography," in Franz Roh and Jan Tschichold, *Photo-Eye: 76 Photos of the Period* (New York: Arno Press, 1929 repr. 1973) 15.

⁴ Moholy-Nagy included the idea of sandwich techniques in montage, which he later more fully explained as superimposition; see László Moholy-Nagy, *Vision in Motion* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1947) 210.

⁵ Moholy-Nagy 210.

lens can document, creating an illusion based upon a certain degree of everyday familiarity. The dreamlike content of Roh's images consists of fragmented female nudes and landscapes. More than just background or an environment in which the dream occurs, these landscapes are integrally linked to the nude bodies. The photographic technique allows the female nude and the land to appear as connected. Imaginative possibilities such as this made the sandwich technique particularly attractive to Maurice Tabard and other surrealists, who used the seamless method precisely because it holds onto the reality effect⁶ of photography, while also creating an irrational and dreamlike space.⁷

The surrealists celebrated chance occurrences and the unpredictable find.⁸ Roh's belief in the illuminating possibilities of photography shares the same basic idea of finding. In 1929 Roh wrote that photography can create new visual effects to bring out not only the beautiful, but also the exciting and cruel in the world.⁹ Rosalind Krauss explains that for the surrealists photography is reality transformed into a sign, a coded trace, and not a mere interpretation of reality.¹⁰ This is useful for elucidating Roh's series because it describes the experience of the contorted reality being found in signs.¹¹ The photographic version of reality in Roh's series also seems to represent this 'coded trace' as it plays with presence and absence. The connection between Roh's own experimental work and the surrealist movement must be read carefully despite significant visual and conceptual similarities due to the fact that Roh's work is more surrealistic than it is surrealist.¹²

Franz Roh was not a surrealist and the surrealists did not write about his work, but he was certainly aware of them and concurrent avant-garde movements. Roh corresponded frequently with Max Ernst, an active member of the French surrealist circle, and he later praised the surrealist and expressionist painters for conveying imaginative situations, asking why this should not also be done with photography.¹³ Of course many of the surrealists, Man Ray and Hans Bellmer as just two examples, were indeed avidly using photography, but regardless of whether or not this was known to Roh, the creative possibilities photography offered prompted Roh to experiment (albeit privately) during the 1920s.

In Roh's imagery, extremely large in proportion to the landscape the body grows out of the landscape. It extends across from the middle ground to the foreground, almost covering the entire image. The position of the body varies throughout the series: it appears horizontally against the background of a forest, falls head first from the sky, or extends upward, arms outstretched, echoing the growth of the tree branches. Formal elements such as framing, composition, and transparency create this surrealistic document. The combination printing emphasizes the white flesh of the body, as both modeled and translucent. The body appears present, yet also as if it is in the process of materializing or is about to vanish. The images seem to play with time metaphorically by playing with transparency. Perhaps indefinitely caught in a constant conflict between presence and absence the depiction is mystifying, simultaneously accessible and restricted from view. It appears dreamlike.

Roh does not fully portray the protruding limbs; but instead frames tightly around the torso, creating a fragmented body that does not represent a specific individual. Berger points out that in photography the nude is often photographed so that it is generalized and made an unspecific object of desire, thus creating a fantasy.¹⁴ The cutoff thigh in one image especially emphasizes the nudes in Roh's photographs as de-individualized and fragmented. This can be interpreted as a form of neo-classicism, relying on ideal types, but more likely it seems to echo a form of surrealism, which takes the fragment and interprets it as signifying a lack of subjectivity.

Surrealist nudes are often viewed as conveying the angst of male desire and power, either as erotic object or as threat.¹⁵ As in surrealist photographs by Man Ray, the depictions of fragmented bodies represent sites of desire and even more vulnerable objects of a fetishistic gaze. The nudes in Roh's series have their arms raised, with their hands placed behind the head, suggesting that the figure is daydreaming or sleeping. This self-referential action points to the dreamlike appearance of the entire image but it also suggests that the dreaming nude is not aware of any gaze. The representations (some undoubtedly more than others) suggest that the nude is being spied upon by the viewer. In an inattentive state, the undis-

⁶ Photographic reality is a term loaded with potential falsehoods. In the context of this paper I am referring to the fact that a camera records reality in some fashion, whether manipulated or not.

⁷ Rosalind Krauss, "Photography in the Service of Surrealism," in Krauss, Rosalind, Jane Livingston, and Dawn Ades, *L'Amour fou: Photography and Surrealism* exh. cat. (Washington, D.C.: Corcoran, 1985), 24.

⁸ For more on surrealism and the find, see J.H. Matthews, *Languages of Surrealism* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1986) 162-171.

⁹ Roh (1929) 16-17.

¹⁰ Krauss 31-35.

¹¹ Krauss 24.

¹² Sabine Młodzianowski, for example, erroneously suggests that Max Ernst's 1921 "La Puberté proche...ou Les Pléiades" in particular could be the inspiration for Roh's series because the work places the photograph of a headless nude in a created dreamlike setting, "Franz Roh: Fotografie zwischen Theorie und Praxis," in *Franz Roh: Foto-Auge* exh. cat. (Hamburg: Deichtorhallen, 2002): 6.

¹³ Roh (1951) 6.

¹⁴ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (New York: Penguin, 1977) 60.

¹⁵ See Hal Foster, "Violation and Veiling in Surrealist Photography: Woman as Fetish, as Shattered Object, as Phallus," in Jennifer Mundy, ed. *Surrealism: Desire Unbound* exh. cat. (London: Tate Publishing, 2001).

turbed fragment paradoxically could seem to become the object of the gaze. At the same time though, the transparency of the image along with the fragmented body question the voyeuristic gaze. The oneiric depiction does not allow the viewer to comprehend the dreamlike representation or fully grasp the slumbering figure. Visual trickery plays on the gaze as the female nudes appear vulnerable and transparent, yet also assertive and solid. The nudes linger as they are only seemingly connected to reality but attached to the landscape.

The portrayal of body hair in Roh's series also underscores the complexity of the bodies as objects. Berger points out that pubic hair is associated with passion for the woman and lack of hair on the represented female body allows for the male viewer exclusively to have such sexual passion and power.¹⁶ As the private becomes public and is exposed it is no longer reserved for the fantasy of the male gaze. The female nude represented with hair thus possesses a power linked with sexual passion. Roh's images complicate Berger's clear-cut argument because only slightly visible in some of the photographs, tree branches or dark soil mostly replace and define the hair (Figure 2). Alluding to a sexuality and power that is inherently rooted in nature, the images assert a femininity that if one agrees with Berger could be potentially threatening. The simile—the body is like the soil and can bear fruit—seems a rather obvious one, yet the way in which Roh presents this idea suggests that it is not so simple. Not only are the bodies fragmented and transparent but their sexuality and source of sexual passion is intimately connected to nature. As such the body engages fantastic visual forms, while it also represents a visual game for the viewer.

Several of the images in the series have been given the title *Daphne* (Figure 1), after the nymph, who in her efforts to escape the love-stricken Apollo is turned into a laurel tree. Despite this transformation Apollo still embraced the tree. The half-present, half-absent nude in Roh's series reinforces the same idea. Nature as woman (Daphne as tree) is something that man desires but cannot fully possess, for she appears in a transformative process or state. Referring to man's desire and failed pursuit of the feminine, the deceiving game in the series becomes especially poignant. Roh's *Daphne* is presented at precisely the moment in which the desired female becomes the unattainable tree.

Daphne appears in winter, the harsh and cold season in which very little grows. The series as a whole never depicts the nudes against fruitful spring or summer landscapes. The female nude seen in combination with the land in this case cannot refer to the fruitfulness of nature or the nurturing elements of Mother Earth. The cold whiteness of the flesh con-

trasts strongly with the dark and barren trees. In some of the images the bodies appear to be hibernating, frozen (Figure 3). Winter, though, can also conjure up a beautiful snow-covered wonderland. The duality of winter reinforces the complexity established with the half-transparent and half-fragmented body. Like the body, the winter landscape is attractive yet cold.

Other photographers contemporaneous to Roh have explored the relationship of the female body to the environment and have done so through superimposition. Heinz Hajek-Halke most notably stands out with his 1932 work *Malicious Gossip* [*Die üble Nachrede*] which depicts three dark-clothed bourgeois men in top-hats standing on a street that appears as a nude female torso.¹⁷ The men stand just above her right breast and peer down on her body. The photographic series *Ci-Contre II* by the Bauhaus student Moï Ver (Moshé Raviv-Vorobeichic) also contains an image of a reclining nude superimposed on a latticed fence.¹⁸ While these few examples are interesting to consider, even more so is the later work of Harry Callahan. His photographs explore representations of the feminine and nature. *Eleanor* (1949) shows a head just above the water as if she were Ophelia. Callahan also produced a large series titled *Aix-en-Provence* (Figures 4 and 5), which is quite similar to Roh's. This series plays with the idea of a feminine landscape in a manner that demonstrates how similar subject matter can be transformed: the photographic technique is integral to the appearance and effect of the resulting image.

Like Roh's nudes, the nude body in Callahan's series is also both present and absent, fading and emerging from the land. This can be described as dreamlike, yet not necessarily surrealistic. Although Callahan knew and admired the work of the surrealists in his earlier years, with regard to this series he was not consciously pursuing a surrealistic feeling.¹⁹ James Alinder suggests that Callahan's first concern was the landscape and its intimacy.²⁰ Indeed in Callahan's images the appearance of the female body is faint against a better-defined landscape. His superimpositions are marked by their visible, although ethereal clarity. Callahan's series has a flatness that makes the images decidedly simple and straightforward. The nude torsos are always centered, parallel to the landscape. The clarity and frontality suggests stability and a kind of objectivity. The quieting effect of the images posits a relationship of woman to land that is intrinsic, peaceful, natural, and feminine.

Rather than threatening, the nudes presented against vernal landscapes refer to the female role as a nurturer. Sherman Paul explains that Callahan's photography was a means of awareness and represented his contact with the environment.²¹ Callahan similarly portrays the nudes as in tune with the natu-

¹⁶ Berger 55.

¹⁷ Hajek-Halke's use of the sandwich technique is a result of his early and short-lived collaboration with Berlin photographer Yva (Else Neuländer-Simon).

¹⁸ In 1931 Moï Ver corresponded with Franz Roh, who was the editor of the short-lived *Fototek* series, in hopes of publishing his series.

¹⁹ Harry Callahan as quoted in Jain Kelly, ed. *Nude: Theory* (New York: Lustrum Press, 1979) 32.

²⁰ James Alinder, "Harry and Eleanor," in Anne Kennedy and Nicholas Callaway, eds. *Eleanor* exh. cat. (New York: Callaway Editions, 1984).

²¹ Sherman Paul, *Harry Callahan* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1967) 6.

ral surrounding of Aix-en-Provence. The sedentary bodies embody the landscape of southern France known for its historic traditions and bucolic beauty. With an abundance of flowers and grass, the landscapes are warm, a stark contrast to the cold and barren wintery snowscapes in Roh's images; the nurturing pastoral vision presented by Callahan is more easily equated with a fertile femininity.

The series certainly does not play with the male gaze in the same manner that Roh's does. The detailed fragments are direct despite their semi-appearance. Although we know that Callahan used his wife Eleanor in his images, he does not distinctly portray her face in this series of superimpositions. With this approach Callahan objectifies the female body by portraying fragments of it.²² The series portrays the rear and back of a seated figure, the lower torso and thighs, or the full torso as separate objects. This would seem to make them objects of the gaze, yet they do not seem to be erotic objects for visual pleasure. The nudes are not idealized, body hair is shown, and this candidness seems to make them powerful. The frontal portrayal of the torsos, furthermore, emphasizes the curving feminine lines of the body. They are not dangerously seductive because the female is emphasized in terms of a purely functional role as nurturer. The woman is presented as transparent and fragmented but against the flowering land so that the feminine is not threatening. In Callahan's images woman appears as natural Mother Earth, ubiquitous and continually present.

The Aix-en-Provence series does surmount realistically defined space and time but the dreamlike ambiguity of Roh's images does not seem present in Callahan's. Nudes which are transformed into focused transparency, are similarly dreamlike but not necessarily estranging. Callahan's nudes do not have a haunting, cold presence because the crisp aesthetic seems almost documentary.

The photographic series of both Roh and Callahan effectively use photography to examine the female body and its traditional association with landscape. Both series use superimposition to combine the land seamlessly with the body, connecting the feminine and the natural. As depictions of the rational and irrational and the natural and estranged, both series complicate the portrayal of the nude fragment as object. Not completely objectified by the gaze, the fragmented nude is both present and absent as part of the landscape. These critically provocative images demonstrate impressions of mystery, beauty, and power associated with Mother Nature.

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²² Many of Callahan's images of Eleanor show her entire body but they are not superimpositions. Another series of superimpositions of Eleanor where her entire body is shown as a silhouette certainly relates to the feminine landscape but is beyond the scope of this paper.



Figure 1. Franz Roh (1890-1965), *Untitled (Frauenakt in der Parklandschaft; Daphne II / Nude in Park landscape)*, c. 1922-28, vintage gelatin silver print, sandwich, 19.4 x 11.4 cm. © R. Hampe, Munich/ Courtesy Kicken Berlin.

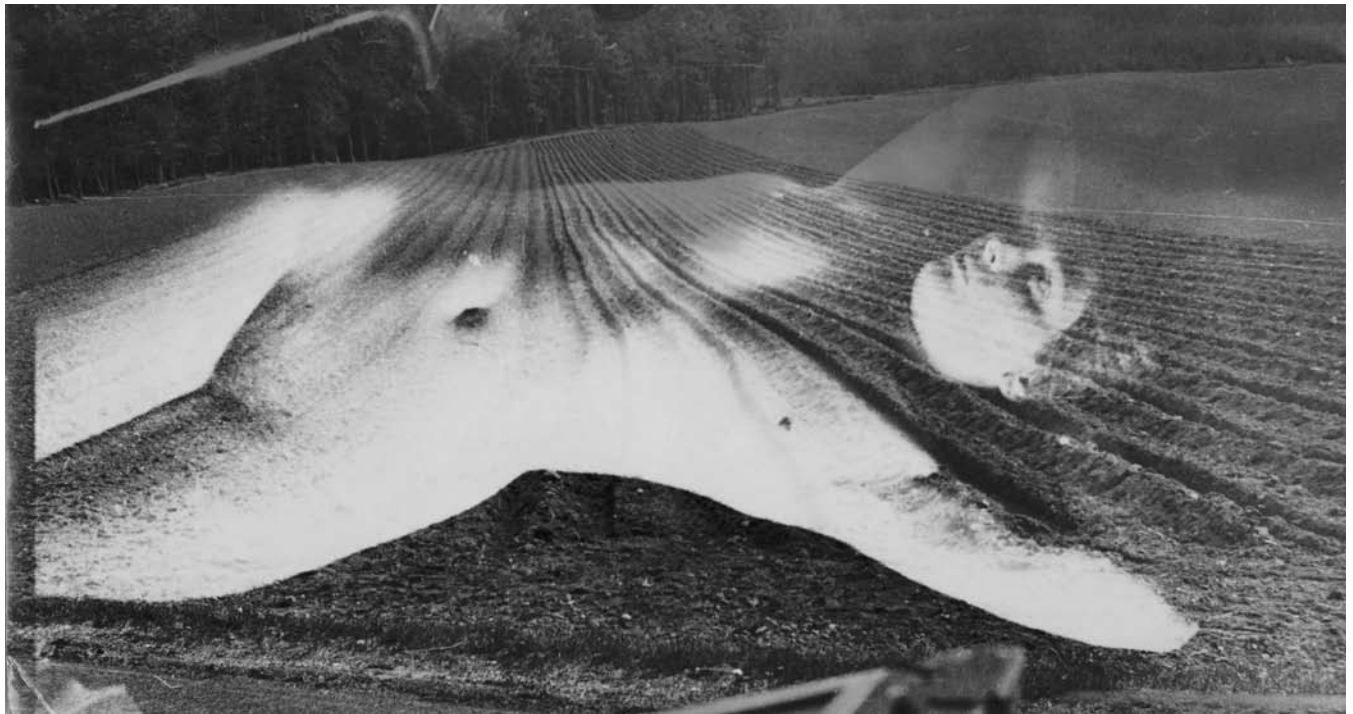


Figure 2. Franz Roh (1890-1965), *Herbstbäuerin / Farmer's wife in the fall*, c. 1922-28, vintage gelatin silver print, sandwich, 12.4 x 22.7 cm., © R. Hampe, Munich/ Courtesy Kicken Berlin.



Figure 3. Franz Roh (1890-1965), *Untitled (Akt im winterlichen Garten/Nude in wintergarden)*, c. 1922-28, vintage gelatin silver print, sandwich, 16.1 x 23 cm, © R. Hampe, Munich/Courtesy Kicken Berlin.



Figure 4. Harry Callahan, American, (1912-1999), *Eleanor, Aix-en-Provence*, 1958, gelatin silver print, 11.9 x 9.6 cm (4 11/16 x 3 3/4 in.), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Gift of Susan and Peter MacGill, © The Estate of Harry Callahan, courtesy of Pace MacGill.



Figure 5. Harry Callahan, American, (1912-1999), *Eleanor, Aix-en-Provence*, 1958, gelatin silver print, 9.9 x 9.6 cm (3 7/8 x 3 3/4 in.), National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Gift of Mrs. Ann Solomon, © The Estate of Harry Callahan, courtesy of Pace MacGill.

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